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Indians and Artistic Vocation in Colonial Cuzco, 1650-1715

John Alan Crider

The school of painting that emerged in Cuzco during the second half of the seventeenth century marks one of the more extraordinary and unique expressions of colonial art in Spanish America. Thematically and stylistically the paintings are too Christian and urbane to be assigned the status of folk art, yet too tantalizingly "other" to be included in the canon of European art. In the Cuzco paintings Christian iconography is often strikingly reinterpreted. There is an anachronistic preference for flat hieratic figures, reminiscent of Medieval art, and for archaic methods such as gold-lace gilding. In sum, the paintings of the Cuzco school exhibited a surprising fusion of European visual ideas, techniques, and styles.

Primarily, this paper is interested in those anonymous Indian artisans who became increasingly active in art production after 1650, when one sees not only greater participation of native Andeans in the official guild, as reflected by contract documents, but eventually their close association with the rise of the unique artistic style which variously has been called the Cuzco school, Andean Baroque, or Andean Mestizaje.

No visual representation of space can be divorced from its context of intellectual and social values. Indeed, in order to understand the circle of art which emanated from colonial Cuzco, and which intersected with the widening circles of influence shed by

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other regional style centers such as Potosí and Quito, we should attend to the city itself, before turning to what little is known of the Indian artists themselves.

Colonial Cuzco

Unlike the capital of the Aztecs (Tenochtitlan), which was razed stone by stone with Carthagian precision, Cuzco was neither entirely destroyed, nor spatially rearranged in typical Spanish grid fashion. Instead the Spaniards superimposed their architecture onto Incaic foundations, retaining much of the architectural character and force of the former imperial city. Unlike Lima, the City of the Kings, Cuzco was separated from the sea--the cultural lifeline back to Spain--by a tortuous thousand mile trek ascending 12,000 feet through the Andes. "The city of Cuzco itself," wrote Pedro de Cieza de Leon in 1553, "is built upon a very rough site, and closed in on all sides by mountain-ridges" (Castedo: 139). Despite this isolation and forbidding terrain, Cuzco was an important civil and religious center in colonial Peru--the site of the first bishopric in South America. Economically, the region depended on agriculture, although there was some modest mining activity (Gibbs: 7). More importantly, the city was strategically located roughly halfway on the overland route between Lima and Potosí, making it a commercial hub of great importance. The distribution network which extended from Cuzco's active market was, no doubt, a contributing factor behind the development of Cuzco's healthy arts industry.

Demographically, Cuzco remained predominantly Indian. According to census figures for 1690, there were 130,000 inhabitants for the Diocese of Cuzco, of which 93% were Indians, while only 6.5% were mestizo or white. In the city proper there were approximately 12,200 residents with Indians making up 72% of the population (Gibbs: 262). Karen Spalding, in her article "Social Climbers: Changing Patterns of Mobility in Colonial Peru," writes that artistic and skilled craft occupations offered native Andeans some of the earliest avenues for entering Spanish society, especially for those individuals who previously may have been marginalized outside the kinship-emphatic, Andean social structure.¹ The first Indians who followed this avenue of mobility assumed that prestige in the new colonial order was achievable by replicating objects of Spanish function and design. By the late seventeenth century, these Indian artisans "had taken on many of the attitudes and practices of Spanish culture" (Spalding: 158). These

social climbers not only participated in the new money economy, investing in urban properties rather than cultivatable land, but also purchased luxury clothing, jewelry and other European prestige goods.

Yet the main thrust of Spalding's essay is to argue that entrance into Spanish culture was *not* the only means by which Indians might achieve social standing. Spalding rejects the conceptual picture of a single Spanish social hierarchy being superimposed over a subordinate Indian society. Although colonization caused a reshuffling of rank and stratification among the Indians, an Indian value system, which marked prestige by a different set of criteria, persisted parallel to the Spanish system: "For an Indian, being Indian meant not just the place in the social hierarchy assigned to him by Spanish laws and regulations. It meant a way of living, a way of looking at the world and defining one's place in it" (Spalding: 160). Looking at the specific case of Cuzco, one finds that by the end of the seventeenth century many Indian artisans were straddling both these cultural value systems. Originally, these artisans entered the world of the Spaniards by painting in European styles. Later, however, the artistic record clearly shows the emergence of a uniquely Andean style. By attending to what documents are available, especially to contracts, we can discern several social conditions and events which played important roles in fostering this evolution.

Earthquakes, Guilds, and Ecclesiastical Patronage

Thursday March 31, 1650, after the fourth Sunday of Lent, the moon being in conjunction...with the sign of Aries, between two and three in the afternoon, the day clear with some white and porous clouds, there occurred in this great city of Cuzco and her provinces an earthquake, the most formidable which has yet to be experienced in these parts (*Anales del Cuzco*: 11).

According to legend, the tremors were placated only after the terrified Cuzqueños emerged in procession from the Cathedral bearing forth the statue of Our Christ of the Earthquakes.² Damage to the city was immense. Among ecclesiastical edifices only the churches of Santa Clara, San Juan de Dios, and the new Cathedral escaped with only slight damage. Of the oldest sixteenth-century structures only the cloister of San Francisco and the lower gallery of

Santo Domingo survived (Wethey: 39). The rebuilding of Cuzco, especially its religious structures, stimulated and sustained artistic activity in the city for at least two decades. The reconstruction of La Compañía wasn't completed until 1668, while La Merced was not finished until about 1670 (Wethey: 58-59). During this period a range of artisans were employed--wood carvers, carpenters, masons, stone sculptors, painters and gilders--to rebuild in twenty short years what had previously taken a century. Not only were artists from Cuzco gainfully employed, but artisans from surrounding regions were drawn to the city. Also the need for workers and assistants necessitated recruiting new apprentices and trainees, and it is probable that a great many Indians were able to enter the artisan trades who otherwise could not have done so.

Membership in guilds in the New World, as in medieval Europe, was closely guarded. Indians, mulattoes, and negroes were often barred from participation in guilds, except at the level of journeyman, and were excluded from the rank of master. Haring believes that this exclusionist policy, especially in areas where Indian civilizations had formerly flowered--Mexico, Guatemala, Alto-Peru---was "without a doubt" due to "fear of native competition, both in skills and in prices on the open market" (Haring: 253). In spite of this, Indian artisans achieved precocious levels of artistic expertise in Cuzco during the seventeenth century. The Indian Diego Quispe Tito (1611-1681), for example, was acknowledged as one of the most talented artists in all of Peru, painting for the most part in the style of the Italian mannerists.

The organization and activities of New World guilds were "governed by elaborate ordinances issued by the municipal cabildos with the confirmation of the Viceroy" (Haring: 252). One such a document of "elaborate ordinances," a guild constitution dated February 24, 1649, attempted to codify procedures and practices for painters and gold-gilders within the entire viceroyalty of Peru. Although drawn up in Lima, these ordinances were signed by artists known to be active in Cuzco--Juan Calderon, Francisco Serrano--as well as others who painted in other cities outside Lima. The implicit objective of the document is to standardize the profession: "to convert *all* who occupy themselves in the art and execution [of painting and gilding] into a single guild," and to set standards of quality for the arts as with the guilds "in Spain, especially in the city of Sevilla."

Several of the ordinances of this constitution cast light on the social, economic, and ethnic relations within the guild: 1) members

were required to pass an exam in figure drawing, classical techniques, and perspective; 2) an initial membership fee of 40 pesos was required; 3) to be considered for the rank of master a journeyman (*official*) had to labor under the tutelage of an approved master for no less than one year, and in that time he must produce a "masterpiece"; 4) no painter or gilder could work in his home without a special license, nor could any take his works to sell in the plaza or on the streets under penalty of 30 pesos and ten days in jail; and 5) no master painter or gilder could teach mulattoes, negroes or zambos under penalty of 20 pesos to be paid to the guild ("Ordenanzas" 1649: 42v-47r).

The historical significance of this guild constitution is that, in addition to the above, it represents the first formalized inclusion of Indian painters into a guild with Spanish painters. Far from representing a progressive advance in equality between Indian and Spanish painters, however, the main intent was certainly to place independent artists, especially Indians, under greater Spanish supervision, authority, and economic control.

While no earlier guild documents have been located which might reveal more about the previous status of Indian painters, there fortunately exists a substantial number of contracts which contain information about the activities of Indian painters during the period of the reconstruction of Cuzco (1650-70), and also later during the period of the intensive mass-production and exportation of religious art (1670-1750).³ These contracts offer invaluable information about the ethnicity, place of residence, and level of expertise of artists and apprentices. The contracts distinguish between *pintores maestros* and *pintores oficiales*, the latter being those who were merely members of the guild and who most often worked in the ateliers of master painters. The contracts are of various types. Although most are between artists and patrons, a great many are between master painters and apprentices and designate such things as salaries and the terms of apprenticeship.

In accord with a guild document of 1649, which united Indian and Spanish painters within a single guild for the first time, there are no contracts prior to 1649 in which Indian artists are referred to as *pintores oficiales*. Painters who are referred to as *oficiales* invariably have Spanish surnames, as is the case of Pedro Pizarro, mentioned in a contract of 1648.⁴ In a contract dated September 1649, seven months after the date of the Lima guild document, there is the first mention of an Indian having the rank of *pintor oficial*, one Tomás Tecse, who contracted with Cristobal Riano to "add

colors and other material to all unfinished works presented to him" (Document 11-IX-1649).⁵

In September of 1651 there are in this "contractual record" indications of an amplification of painting activities involving Indian artists. For the first year and a half after the 1650 earthquake, there are very few contracts for painters in general, as compared with contracts for other types of work, and there are absolutely no contracts naming Indian painters. This is not so surprising in light of the fact that other facets of the reconstruction--the actual labor of rebuilding walls, pulpits, railings, altar pieces, etc--would have had a higher priority than the replacement of paintings. The first contracts for religious paintings appear in September 1651; between four Indian painters and the master painter Juan Rodriguez Samané, all agreeing to work under his supervision for a period of one year. Together these four contracts suggest that the highly skilled occupation of painter in Cuzco, due to the demands of reconstruction, was becoming accessible to a wider range of aspirants. Two of the four--Bartoleme Chalco Sutic and Lucas Yaulli--seem to be entering the profession, or at least the guild, for the first time. They are not referred to as *oficiales* and their salaries are well below those of other *oficiales* in other contracts (Docs. 20-IX-1651; 7-IX-1651). The others--Lucas Ullca and Cristobal Paucar--are designated official painters (Docs. 2-IX-1651a; 2-IX-1651b). If one compares the salary of Paucar (96 pesos), who *was* an official painter, with the salaries of Sutic (108 pesos) and Yaulli (125 pesos), who likely were not, one finds an unexpected disparity. It is interesting to note that Paucar is also referred to as a *yanacona*, an Inca term for a lowly servant class, and his lower wages might reflect some continuance of pre-conquest social patterns. At the upper range, Ullca was to receive 170 pesos and was the only painter not native to Cuzco, but came from Checacupe, thus probably an already accomplished painter attracted to Cuzco by the promise of work following the earthquake. The highest salary awarded by Master Samané went to a non-Indian worker *pintor oficial*, Martín González de Lagos, who received 180 pesos plus board during the year of his contract (Doc. 2-IX-1651c).

The contracts between painters and clients demonstrate that ecclesiastical patronage associated with the reconstruction sustained the majority of artistic activity through the 1650's and 60's.⁶ During the 1650's only Spanish or *criollo* painters were entrusted with contracts by the church, although Indians and mestizos certainly were employed by these painters. By 1662, however,

we find evidence of a definite sea change in the status of a few Indian artists. On July 6 of that year:

Andrés Chihuantopa and Alonso Nina, natural Indians of Santiago parish, master painters, [contracted] with Gabriel Anticusi and others, *mayordomos* and stewards of the *cofradía* of Our Lady of Charity, founded in the Cathedral of Cuzco, to produce twelve shields, painted and gilded with the image of the Holy Spirit in the center like that found on the altar of don Pedro Ortega Sotomayor, former bishop of Cuzco, and to be paid 400 pesos for each (Doc. 6-VII-1662).

Likewise in 1667, one of the best known Indian painters, Brasilio de Santa Cruz, who aspired to the rank of master painter in 1662 (Mesa and Gisbert: 161), was commissioned to paint "four great canvases of the life of Our Father St. Francis" (Doc. 31-X-1667).

Mass Production, Guild Unrest, and the Art Business

One after-effect of these two decades of art activity underwritten by the church (1650-1670), was that Cuzco began to evolve into a center for the mass production of religious art. Although the city and surrounding towns absorbed much of this supply, eventually an export market arose and religious art objects were transported throughout the viceroyalty (Gibbs: 47). In addition to an increase of contracts naming Indian artists as masters during the 1670's, the amount of work commissioned within individual contracts with Indian artists becomes larger. On January 28, 1670, Antonio de la Cruz, "natural Indian and master painter," was commissioned to paint fourteen canvases for the church of Coporoque--a village 150 kilometers southeast of Cuzco--within a six month period (Doc. 28-I-1670). Another early instance of art production intended for export is found in a contract of 1679, in which Francis Chihuantito, *indio maestro*, contracted with Francis Camacho of Pila, a merchant, to paint four scenes in the life of San Juan de Mata. The fact that Camacho was a merchant suggests that the paintings were intended for export. San Juan de Mata was the co-founder of La Orden Trinitaria, and the only Peruvian convent of this religious order was located in Lima (Mesa and Gisbert: 175). It is also well known that by 1670 Diego Quispe Tito was operating his own workshop where he employed four Indian apprentices

(Gibbs: 49)--thus indicating that the operational base of Indian artists was also expanding during this period. Artists like Quispe Tito and Brasilio de Santa Cruz represent the most successful and sought-after Indian artists of their day, yet the style and content of their art remained thoroughly European.⁷ It is not until the 1680's that the emergence of an indigenous aesthetic begins to flavor painting in Cuzco.

Guild conflict is neither extraordinary nor new. There are accounts of such incidents as old as the institution itself. In viceroyal Peru, there were riots in Potosí as early as 1604 protesting the election of guild officers (Hanke: 318). In Cuzco, the painting guild, which since 1649 had a united Spanish and Indian membership, suddenly polarized in 1688. A letter signed by Spanish and Creole masters of the guild and sent to the corregidor of Cuzco, called for prohibiting Indian painters from working on the guild's triumphal arch for the Corpus Christi celebration that year. The obligation of erecting arches for this celebration was an annual responsibility for all the guilds. This abrupt letter, however, was only the second round of an escalating dispute. It was preceded by a complaint written by the Indian guild members and presented to the *corregidor*, Pedro de Balbino, earlier in the year. The Indians claimed to have been verbally abused and subjected to harsh treatment by their fellow Spanish guild members. The language used by the Spaniards in their response to the these charges would seem to corroborate the Indian's case. It speaks of the Indian artisans as "unworthy of reputation and accustomed to getting drunk and making false testimony." Judiciously, the authorities implemented an alternating policy whereby "the said Indians would make the triumphal arch one year and the Spaniards the next"--a solution which, although compromising, clearly indicates a bifurcation within the guild (Mesa and Gisbert: 137). In 1704 another petition was written and signed by Spanish and criollo painters, then presented to the Cuzcan authorities, proposing to bar anyone from entering the guild who had not passed an examination. This stipulation was intended to more strictly regulate the content and style of painting--an indication that the Indian painters were not following the rules of composition prescribed by the Spaniards, a claim which finds ample support in the innovative artistic record for this period (Mesa and Gisbert: 138).

The contractual record between 1680 and 1715--the period of the major florescence of the Cuzco school, and roughly coincident with the internecine struggle within the painting guild--shows a

marked increase in the number of paintings solicited in the contracts. This period of intensified artistic activity, which exceeded even that of the post-earthquake decades, now saw the emergence of new formulations of business arrangements between painters and contractors. The "client-patrons" in most contracts were now private individuals, not ecclesiastical officials, even though the art being produced was obviously religious in content and intended to be displayed in chapels and churches.⁸ In 1714, for example, we find that "don Augustin de Narvanuel, master painter, obliges to deliver to Francisco Javier, merchant, forty canvases of different blessed subjects, of conventional dimensions...in the time of two months (Doc. 31-X-1714).⁹ There are also contracts with military officers (Docs. 18-IV-1712; 17-XI-1712), lawyers (Doc. 28-IV-1714), and an "alcalde mayor of eight parishes"--indicating that the business side of art was attracting enthusiastic patrons from a broader sector of Spanish society. The contract with the *alcalde mayor* is extremely interesting because it outlines a previously unprecedented type of arrangement between client and artist--a mutual commercial venture. Drawn up in 1704,

Felipe de Mesa, master painter, principal of San Cristóbal parish, from the *ayllu* of free *Ingaconas*, and in the presence of *protector de naturales* and an interpreter, commissions himself to don Felipe Sicos, *alcalde mayor* of eight parishes, for the purpose of painting all small and large canvases, conforming to all the themes to be given him, and to be provided with all the necessary materials. Concerning the receipts from the selling of these works, they shall be divided equally (Doc. 8-V-1704).

Thus, coincident with the freeing of artistic style and composition which is in full flourish by the turn of the century, there is also an innovative opening up of potentialities in the "business of art" as new contractual arrangements evolved.

By 1715 some Indians were aspiring to the rank of master and entering directly into contracts with clients. The contracts clearly demonstrate that avenues for mobility and wealth did exist for Indian artists, and that the Indian was not a passive follower of his Spanish masters, even though the best known Indian artists--Quispe Tito and Basilico de Santa Cruz--achieved fame by paint-

ing in the European style. Yet it would be an historical distortion to leave the impression that all Indian artists in Cuzco were part of a rags-to-riches fable. As the guild document of 1688 clearly indicates, the majority of Indian artists continued to occupy the lower levels of the guild, and were at odds with the aesthetic *status quo* enforced by the master painters. When one turns to the artistic record--the thousands of paintings produced in the Cuzco workshops, and which remain our ultimate primary sources--one finds the majority of the "Indian-touched" paintings unsigned, logged on the pages of art books as *anonimo cuzqueño*. On the other hand, those painters who imitated European trends hence became canonized by generations of Peruvian art historians.

The Iconography and Style of the Andean Baroque

The origin of the Cuzco "horizon" should be placed between 1680 and 1690 for a number of reasons. First, there is a new emphasis on Peruvian locality in some of the paintings. The famous series of paintings depicting the Procession of Corpus Christi was completed during this decade, and shows Indian nobles in Inca dress parading alongside Spanish aristocrats through the streets of Cuzco. Also there are paintings of European saints such as St. Peter of Alcantra and St. Augustine standing in front of the Cathedral of Cuzco (Gisbert: 27). The 1680's is also the first decade when the most important paintings of the Virgin and archangels are produced in the "Andean baroque" style (Gisbert: 30). According to the Dominican chronicler Melendéz, the decade also saw Peruvian-made engravings begin to replace imported European engravings and woodcuts as the copy-models for artists.¹⁰ These new engravings were more in accord with Andean tastes and "consisted of motifs associated with local pious cults such as those devoted to the Virgins of Pomata, Belen, and Cocharas" (Duncan: 53-56). Finally, it is during the 1680's that we find evidence for growing internecine tensions between Indian and Spanish painters, which culminates in an open rift within the guild. This event, which occurs in 1688, together with the situation of ever-intensifying "mass-production" and export of religious paintings, illuminates some of the conditions underlying the emergence of the new indigenous Cuzco style.

The two most distinctive iconographic complexes which are datable to this period are the flat, hieratic virgins of triangular skirts, and the foppish archangels with firearms [Figures 1-2]. As already noted, the most important of these paintings were executed between 1680 and 1715, and the majority of these are unsigned, indi-

cating that they were not painted by master painters but by their anonymous Indian charges.

In the case of the painted Virgins several things stand out as distinctive characteristics that have no apparent antecedents in European artistic tradition. Firstly, the majority of these Virgins or Madonnas are rendered in a severely frontal manner combined with a lack of depth or flattening out of the figure. This flatness is especially pronounced in the dresses worn by these Virgins. Pal Keleman has remarked that the flat pyramidal contours of these gowns may "arise from the ambition of the artist to decorate the figure with an abundance of ornament" (Keleman 1967: 209). Indeed, it is upon these gowns that one finds the most intricate trceries of gold-lace gilding and delicately painted floral designs, hallmarks of the Cuzco school.

Among the explanations posited for the origins of this form, the most accepted is that Andean artists were using the altarpiece statues of dressed-Madonnas as their direct inspiration (Duncan: 38-39). Such statues, situated behind the "pulpit," are today among the main focal objects of any Catholic church interior in Latin America. This interpretation finds support in the paintings themselves, for in the margins and backgrounds are found curtains, vaulted ceilings, columns, vases of flowers, cherubs, and other features suggestive of altar-piece backdrops.

Yet the important question of why this form attracted the imagination of native painters and spurred them to produce thousands of such paintings remains unanswered. On an archetypal level, of course, the image of mother and child is universal. There are many pre-Columbian stone sculptures from the Andes which suggest a degree of visual affinity with the Cuzcan paintings. One interesting feature found in all these sculptures is that the child is invariably held in front of the mothers body, usually on the right side. In many of the Cuzco paintings, the "child" is a stiffly-gowned, flat, and triangular form which seems to be pinned against the triangular gown of the Virgin, again usually on the right side. There are also a number of dark-skinned Virgins representing localized adorations of the Divine Mother and attesting to the continuation of strong pre-conquest identifications.

Another possible connection between the iconography of the Cuzcan Virgins and pre-existing Andean beliefs deals with the shape and form of the gowns. One study has tried to trace the origin of the triangular dress to European engravings and fashions, but this is inconclusive (Duncan 1986). Keleman has suggested that the

intention of the artists was to make the figures as imposing as possible, to assert their divinity and super humanness, to invoke awe by sheer mass alone (Keleman 1967). One intriguing clue to the popularity of these "Ladies-of-the-Pyramidal-Skirts" for the Andean psyche can be found in a late painting from Potosí (1720), which has been called the *Virgin of the Hill* [Fig. 4]. Here the triangular-dressed Virgin is united with a mountain, on which a series of diagonal trails bearing horses, humans and carts are delicately rendered in gold, tracing a pattern similar to those found on the dresses in other Virgin paintings (Duncan: 55). The mountain, of course, possessed sacred significance in Andean religion, and even after the Conquest mountains and hills continued to be objects (*huacas*) of worship for the Indians. (Kubler: 397).

Perhaps the most exceptional images to emerge from the Cuzco School are the archangels with guns. These differ notably from Old World depictions of angels in that they are often the exclusive subject of canvases (Keleman 1967: 214). Whereas figures of Christ or the Virgin are often depicted alone in European religious paintings, angels by themselves simply do not exist or are exceedingly rare in European tradition. Looking at these painted archangels, which are at once religious, aristocratic, and militaristic, one cannot help but feel the fascination which these winged creatures must have exerted over native Andeans. Gisbert notes that certain archangels were syncretically associated with Peruvian gods and goddesses. Thus Illapa, god of thunder and lightning, became grafted with St. James, and thence the collective entity was known as "Son of Thunder" (Gisbert: 62).

Iconographically, these angels were presented wearing elaborately stylish Spanish clothing. Details of lace, brocaded fabric, or the plumage of hats are executed meticulously. These archangels are depicted in a wide range of postures--some loading their muskets, others aiming as if to shoot, while still others engage in various military positions for handling firearms which can be traced to illustrations found in seventeenth-century military manuals (Herzberg: 64).

Hypotheses about the popularity of this icono-complex among Andean artists are intriguing, and ultimately no single interpretation is adequate. The twin features of colonial Spanish attire and firearms dramatically severs these paintings from any possible European precursors. While they have been interpreted as oppressive symbols of colonial domination (Keleman 1977:138), the facial aspect of the angels is always benevolent. An equally valid inter-

pretation sees these paintings as symbolic expressions of the unity of church (archangels) and state (colonial dress and rifles) in christianizing the Andes (Herzberg: 66).

The archangels with guns represent both a culmination and a pun, an apogee and an irony; for although the artist has equipped them with the symbolic articles of Spanish authority, the compositions themselves are shocking diversions from traditional holy imagery. Had the Council of Trent convened in 1690 (instead of 1545-63) to issue its ordinances on the proper iconographic treatments and styles of religious art, and had the blessed fathers been confronted with the evidence of the Cuzcan angels, there may well have been one more schismatic episode to add to this brief account of the history of art in Cuzco.

The picture which emerges, then, is of respected master painters accepting contracts to paint in the European style (in all likelihood for Spanish patrons who would value the obvious prestige of these works as status and social class markers), whereas lower-level guild members and independent artists were allocated to mass-producing religious paintings for export throughout the viceroyalty. The new style was characterized by striking reinterpretations of European iconography and an airy baroque stylistic quality that was more in accord with New World mestizo tastes.



Figure 1. Anonymous, Cuzco School.
Archangel with Gun, Fortitud.
Early 18th century.



Figure 2. Luis Niño, Potosí School.
Our Lady of the Victory of Malaga.
circa 1735

NOTES

1. The eighteenth-century traveler Concoloncorvo expressed his own ideas as to why Indians chose to enter the vocations of artisans: "The common Indians are regularly attracted to those arts in which the body works little, and thus, for one smith, we find twenty painters, for one stone-cutter, twenty embroiderers of silk, or silver and goldsmiths" (Castedo: 142-43).

2. Keleman believes this statue is of "syncretic" origin despite another tradition that it came from Spain. The iconography is distinctive--a bearded, dark Christ on the cross in a limp, even relaxed posture (as opposed to the bloody, contortionist Christs found elsewhere throughout Latin America) wearing a lace skirt or waist garment. This statue, which now stands in a special chapel at the Cathedral of Cuzco, was reproduced in paintings throughout the colonial period (Keleman 1967: 54).

3. During the 1950's Jorge Cornejo Bouroncle combed the Archivo Historico del Cuzco for documents pertaining to art during the colonial period. The fruits of his reconnaissance were several hundred contracts involving painters, sculptors, wood carvers, gilders, and less skilled workers such as bricklayers and carpenters. Published first in seven installments in the *Revista del Archivo Historico del Cuzco*, this documentary body of contracts was republished as *Derroteros de Arte Cuzqueño: Datos para una Historia del Arte en el Peru* (Cuzco: 1960) Unless otherwise noted, all subsequent references to contracts derive from this documentary collection.

4. Pizarro has been positively identified as a Spaniard (Mesa and Gisbert: 77 n. 40).

5. The citation form--Document 11-IX-1649--refers to the date of the contract. This follows the system used in *Derroteros de Arte Cuzqueño: Datos para una Historia del Arte en el Peru*, which lists the contracts chronologically.

6. Several contracts from this period show that much of work was financed by *cofradías*.

7. Though Tito's style and subject matter derived from European Mannerism, he is often cited as a key predecessor of the Cuzco school. His predilection for populating the margins of his paintings with Andean birds and flora and "angels of his own creation," which he tends to paint in a freer more individualistic style than the foreground figures, which remain mannerist, can be seen as anticipating both the stylistic levity and the *horror vacui* of later Indian painters.

8. One of the rare exceptions to this is found in a contract of 1691 between two Indian painters, Juan Inca Raurahua and Juan Sinchi Roca, with a Franciscan, Fray Diego de Ayala, "to produce four dozen canvases of different dimensions conforming to models to be given by said Padre and to be delivered in three months" (Doc. 2-III-1691). The fact that this friar

does not appear in Franciscan membership records of Cuzco between 1680 and 1710 (see Gibbs: 292, table 16) suggests that these commissioned paintings were intended to be exported; thus even in this case we have an arrangement which differs from the earlier ecclesiastical commissions.

9. Although not indicated in this notice, Narvanuel is clearly stated to be an Indian in another contract of 1717 (Doc. 25-II-1717).

10. The human figures in most paintings were simply copied from monochrome woodcuts and engravings. Colors were then added together with gild-lace designs on the clothing. As we have noted before there was considerable variation in adding marginalia like flora, birds, and angels. For composition and design practices, see Castedo: 48-50.

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