Let Me See! Reading Is for Them: Colonial Andean Images and Objects “como es costumbre tener los caciques Señores”

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The frontispiece to the Nueva corónica y buen gobierno by Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala is as good a place as any to enter into a discussion of the issues of native Andean visual traditions in the postconquest world (Fig. 1). With its portraits of the author, the pope, and the king of Spain, so begins one of the most significant objects of colonial Andean intellectual production. The discovery of the more than one thousand pages of drawings and writings addressed to Philip III is as rich a mine to twentieth-century scholars as the discovery of Potosí was to sixteenth-century Spaniards. Yet the enticement of this portada beckons an entrance into the constructed Andean world of Spanish written and pictorial narrative just as the portadas of colonial churches open unto the ritual space of Catholicism (Fig. 2), and the ephemeral portadas once welcomed the triumphal entry of a new viceroy, an archbishop, or a votive icon into town. These entrances all have their allure of promise, knowledge, salvation, sanctuary, or exaltation, but one must not merely look through the frontispiece into the document any more than one might pass through a church’s portal without understanding that one is moving into the Spanish world even as it tells us of the Andean one. It is important to remember that almost all Andeans stood at the threshold of these entrances, existing there between their culture and another, most often without direct access to the interior world of Spanish discursive power.

Guaman Poma’s portada is such a threshold, neither completely Western nor Andean. Yet it is just this state of being neither—as seen through a letter ad-

1 Rolena Adorno argues that this position forms the very manner in which Guaman Poma describes and depicts the Spanish colonial world: “Throughout the visual and verbal texts, Guaman Poma as narrator approaches the sphere of the European as though he were simultaneously alien and native to it” (1986: 131).
Fig. 1 Frontispiece, portada, from Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, Nueva corónica y buen gobierno, ca. 1615 (after 1980 edition).
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Fig. 2 Portal, portada, of San Francisco, Quito, ca. 1590.

dressed as a gift to the king of Spain— that one senses, I believe, the type of presence of Andean tradition that exists in colonial representation as we know it through the images and objects that have been preserved until today.2

If one is then to seek forms of persistence in colonial Andean representation, one cannot look for purity as if the “authenticity” of Andean expression were a static, uncompromising, and unitary phenomenon, or that European influence somehow corrupts “authenticity.”3 Nor is the continuation of Andean

2 Certainly there were sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Andean practices and forms of representation (perhaps the majority) that, because of their mundane or unremarkable nature within the norms of observation and recording, have remained obscured to us. (This is equally true for all the Americas.) It is only within the chance recording of specific practices, such as those discussed by Frank Salomon (this volume), that one can glimpse a fuller range of continued traditional representational practices in the Andes. The range of what has come to our notice as forms of tradition was understood already (for the most part) by natives and Spaniards as important places/sites of negotiation and contestation, and hence they are historically conditioned as privileged forms of tradition.

3 The notion of authenticity as well as originality is something that has hounded the study of colonial art in all of its manifestations in a more dogged manner than that of its European counterpart. The readily accepted art historical idea that colonial art is derivative and therefore lacks its own authenticity in terms of the production of its referent is a conceit of the last two centuries. It supposes an always anterior referent that is located
representational forms and practices simply a matter of resistance to Spanish control. Certainly Andean forms of religious practice and social conduct that stood against the norms imposed by the Spaniards persisted, most especially in terms of idols and idolatry; there is too much evidence in the literature of extirpation to suggest otherwise. Yet we know about these practices and images precisely because they form the content of this literature; they are revealed in the historical record as a continued tradition only because that tradition continued to trouble the Spaniards.

If we want, as I do, to pierce this historically overdetermined view, we cannot merely read the documents of suppression. Instead we must look also to Andean colonial objects, images, and practices that circulated more or less openly within the economy of colonial society and that operated within the nexus of the exchange of representation both within the Andean community and across cultures. Here one sees the continuation of Andean representational practices in the types of objects and images produced and used but now conjoined with European-style images and values such that these images and objects fluidly moved within colonial culture in various contexts, alternatively or simultaneously being heirloom, gift, barter, and/or commodity. That is, these images and objects could operate in relation both to traditional forms of Andean reciprocal exchange and a European monetary economy; hence they were able to express meaning within an Andean colonial society among both Europeans and natives.

either in the European or Pre-Hispanic prototype. Hence, colonial art is almost always a copy and not an original (see Kubler 1962: 112–113). The historicism of copy and original is raised by Baudrillard in regard to European copies but pertains equally to the categorization of colonial art as copies. Baudrillard notes that “until the nineteenth century, the copy of an original work had its own value, it was a legitimate practice. In our own time the copy is illegitimate, unauthentic; it is no longer ‘art’” (1981: 103).

The notion that artistic representation forms a locus for cultural, political, and/or social resistance in the Andean colonial world is a common theme in modern scholarship. See, for example, Wachtel (1977) and Gisbert (1992).

This overdetermined historical view is as true for the modern scholarship of Mexico, as it is for Peru. See, for example, Gruziński (1988) and Clendinnen (1987).

I am not saying that there is a single or even mutual meaning, but that the value (meaning) of the object is contextual in the manner that Arjun Appadurai discusses objects. Appadurai (1986) talks about the “social life of things” in the sense that “politics [in the broad sense of relations, assumptions, and contests of power] is what links value and exchange in the social life of commodities.” It is the nature of politics in which these “things” operate (Appadurai would use the word circulate) that allows for their mutability because within politics there is “a constant tension between the existing frameworks [of price,
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This circulation of objects and images is an important avenue for colonial Andean studies because, unlike Mexico (see Wood and Lockhart, this volume), writing plays almost no part in colonial Andean discourse outside of juridical and doctrinal issues. And although certain types of documents were kept as important possessions, the quantity of colonial Peruvian illustrated manuscripts or documents written in Quechua or any other Andean language is minimal. Moreover, this lack is not just a matter of restriction by Spanish authorities. Andeans were disinclined, I believe, toward writing and accompanying illustrations as a means of self-expression because these European forms were too distanced from traditional Andean modes of expression (Cummins 1994). The tactile and visual world in relation to oral discourse remained for Andeans the form through which Andeans “inscribed” their existence. Of course, the colonial objects and images that I shall discuss were intimately related to texts, and many of them appear only as words written in various types of colonial
documents, but they remained important in the Andean colonial world because they first of all appealed to Andean forms of both economic and sociopolitical discourse, forms that were primarily oral and/or performative.

The appearance of these images and objects within the colonial documents is therefore not based on the discourse of difference, that is, the radical alterity of native and European as framed within the extirpation literature of pagan idolatry. Rather, as I shall argue, they existed within what Nicholas Thomas (1991: 3–4) calls a “mutual entanglement” in which these images and objects operated variously within the complexity of relations between natives and Spaniards in the sense of exchange in which the distance between the two cultures is bridged by the contextual mutability of the images and objects themselves (Appadurai 1986: 15; Thomas 1991: 211, note 4).

Textiles, for example, are such a bridge in the colonial Andes because they were highly valued within the norms of each culture prior to contact. In the colonial period, textiles (both European and native) came to function at a mutual level of commodity value, and at other levels they continued to be valued separately according to Spanish sumptuary laws and Andean symbolic use.

In Mexico that commonality is more immediately recognized in the colonial co-mingling of Mexican pictorial and Spanish written traditions (see

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10 Although Thomas (1991) discusses colonialism and material culture in the South Pacific, his analysis of objects as being dynamic, “promiscuous,” within the negotiations of colonial relations that suppose no uniform interests (be they European or native) (p. 205), allows those working in colonial Latin American studies to do away with the extremely misleading term “syncretism.” As a concept in colonial studies, “syncretism” creates a static and uniform definition of cultural relations between natives and Europeans that impedes both theoretical and specific (ethnohistoric) study. For an excellent critique of “syncretism” see Henrique Urbano (n.d.).

11 Sixteenth-century textiles, both Andean and European, were valued in relation to monetary cost and were bought, sold, left as valuable commodities in wills, and used as collateral for loans of money by Spaniards and natives.

12 Textiles are acknowledged by anthropologists (Zuidema 1991), art historians (Paul 1992: 289), ethnologists (Zorn 1987: 67), archaeologists and ethnohistorians (Murra 1962) as one of the principal media of Andean artistic production and symbolic expression; however, the fact that textiles had equally high symbolic and economic values in European culture is not part of this acknowledgment. Therefore the descriptions of Andean textiles in colonial documents and the continuation of an Andean textile tradition into the present is interpreted as a result of the primacy of textiles within Andean culture, and little regard is paid to the implications of the privileging or foregrounding of Inka and colonial Andean textiles in Spanish colonial writings and economy. This lack of recognition of the “mutual entanglement” of textiles in the earliest stages of the colonization of the Andes has led to the very unfortunate state in scholarly research in which textiles have become an essentialist quality of “Andeaness,” a word which I use here in the homologous sense of Said’s (1979) meaning of the term “Orientalism.”
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Karttunen, Lockhart, and Boone, this volume), which, because these are privileged European forms of recording historical knowledge, seem more accessible or transparent in revealing the nature of tradition and its transformation. But the written and illustrated text, as I have suggested, is too removed from Andean orality and visuality, and if we remember Atahualpa’s rejection of the book, Valverde’s breviary, at Cajamarca as the metaphoric act that precipitated his capture, it was based on the perception that the written word could neither speak to nor represent the Andean.

IMAGES, TRADITION, AND COSTUMBRE

The failure to exchange properly at Cajamarca, which pictorially frames one of the earliest published narratives (Anonymous/Cristóbal de Mena 1534) as both its frontispiece and endpiece (Figs. 3, 4), represents at once the Spanish arrival and the ultimate destruction of Tawantinsuyu. And, although Tawantinsuyu as a political entity was recent and in many conquered areas was represented by the local ethnic group, the destruction of this last Andean empire provided the colonial symbols and images of an Andean past that were attached to the objects of Andean tradition. Symbols were loosened from their imperial moorings of precise Inka content and came to operate in a wider semiotic field of colonial Andean culture for Spaniards as well as Andeans, from Bolivia to Ecuador. For example, the Inka imperial “crown” (masaipacha), or red fringe that hung over the forehead of the ruler, became a pictorial sign that stood for various and often contradictory concepts, including, within a Spanish context, the defeat of the Inka. Thus, one must look first to the fragmentation of the Inka system and then to the reconstitution of Andean representation within the colonial context to understand the power of tradition as something dynamic, creating both form and place for expression. The pan-Andean colonial use of

13 It would be impossible, for example, for there to be an art historical study in Peru of any colonial body of work comparable in theme to Donald Robertson’s study (1959) of early colonial Mexican manuscripts.

14 This is, at least, according to Spanish accounts of the event. Tito Cusi Yupanqui’s version is entirely different in its focus of exchange and rejection. Here it is the Andean gift that is refused by the Spaniards (Tito Cusi 1988: 128–130; Cummins n.d.a), and the book is an image, quellca, that cannot be visually understood.


16 See Murra, this volume.

17 In 1537, Francisco Pizarro was granted a new coat of arms in which was placed one of the earliest representations of Cuzco “en memoria de habella vos poblado y conquistado, con una corona de Rey de oro, sobre ella, de la cual esté asida una borla colorada [masaipacha] que el dicha cacique Atahualpa trai . . .” (Paz y Méjía 1892: 45).
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Fig. 3 Frontispiece to Anonymous (Cristóbal de Mena), *La Conquista del Perú*, 1534 (after 1929 edition).
Fig. 4 Endpiece to Anonymous (Cristóbal de Mena), La Conquista del Perú, 1534 (after 1929 edition).
Inkaic symbolic objects and/or images of them cannot, however, be considered as a naturally occurring phenomenon, endemic to any colonial formation. It is historically specific and indicates the active intervention of Spanish institutional recognition of these images and objects as beneficial in “streamlining” the sociopolitical and economic interaction between the two peoples for effective control by the Spaniards, just as Quechua and Aymara became the principal languages of religious interaction (see Mannheim 1991 and this volume).

The construction of this colonial Andean representation takes place roughly within the first seventy years after the conquest (Cummins n.d.a: 307–364). Here one can see rather than read the will to persist with the Andean understanding of what constitutes tradition, that is, yachauscancani, the knowing of how to carry on the social, religious, and political life before the conquest, and which can be embodied in an object and/or an image.18 But this Andean tradition of knowledge is mediated and therefore transformed by the Spanish colonial concept of costumbre, custom, in which tradition can be divided morally into two categories: malas costumbres and buenas costumbres.19 That is, tradition in the Andean sense of “knowledge” and tradition in the Spanish sense of costumbre can exist simultaneously in an Andean colonial object/representation such that any object/representation can be categorized differently depending upon context and audience. So, as at the threshold of the colonial portadas, there is an ambiguous nature to any object of Andean tradition that enters into the recorded European notice of its existence.

If we then pause at Guaman Poma’s frontispiece (Fig. 1), we can first see this ambiguity in terms of what I mean by the fragmentation of Inka imperial representation and its reconstitution in a colonial Andean drawing. The page is divided by a central vertical axis composed of three coats of arms: the papal arms, the royal house of Spain, and Guaman Poma’s own “fabricated” coat of arms. His coat of arms is composed, like that of Leon and Castilla, of the pictorial likenesses of the things to which the words of his name refer: Guaman

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18 This is the Quechua term that González Holguín (1989: 464) uses for the Spanish entry costumbre tener. The root word is the verb yachani which means “to know” (ibid.: 361). In the Huarochirí Manuscript (1991: 153, 253), when expressing the sense of tradition as something that originated in the past but is still practiced in the colonial present, the root form of the word is yacha.

19 For example, José de Acosta (1988) uses the word costumbre as a negative term in his discussion of idolatry and as a positive term in his discussion of Aztec and Inka civil and political practices. However, buenas costumbres is a political term in the administration of the colonial world that became codified in the royal cárdula of Charles V and Doña Juana issued in Valladolid, August 6, 1555 (Recopilación de leyes, 1973, 1: bk. 2, título 1, ley 3, 126); see also Hampe Martínez (1985).
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(falcon) and Poma (puma). The difference is that one sees here an ideographic representation of the Andean parts of his name in distinction to the ideographic representations of territory in the Spanish Royal coat of arms.20

Guaman Poma's coat of arms, although it is “fabricated”—false within the European sense of authenticity in that the design of a coat of arms must be given, granted, by the crown in a royal cédula—presupposes here that the gift would be granted were the king to know of Guaman Poma's noble heritage and service. Hence Guaman Poma's coat of arms is legitimate in the sense that his status as a noble pre-exists Spanish recognition and is based on Andean precedent. His coat of arms, in a sense, acknowledges the acceptability of the exchange of images between Europeans and Andeans as a sign of a social relationship, and he copies the European-style heraldic figures of a lion and an eagle to indicate his Andean name as a part of this exchange.21

This circulation of imagined exchange, however, is predicated on the mutual status of nobility of both Philip III and Guaman Poma. Thus, below the image of the European-style eagle in Guaman Poma's shield is a third figure, a tiana, or low seat, which was a sign of rank within Inka sumptuary laws as described by Guaman Poma himself (Fig. 5).22 Here, the tiana's representation refers not only to a past Inka symbolic object, but, like his own ideographic symbols, refers also to Guaman Poma's personal claim to the privileged colonial status of a kuraka, as recognized legally by the possession of the tiana.

In Guaman Poma's frontispiece, the object in its material form is absent. Its transformation into a European system of representation23 opens up its possible range of reference and association, so that the image of the tiana corresponds not only to the object of its imitation and its Andean meaning of authority, but also to the alphabetic transcription of the Spanish word principe on the left side of the page. This word, added at a slightly later date, is written below Guaman Poma's monogram, and it thus occupies a position equal to that of the tiana in

20 Rolena Adorno (1986: 95) interprets, I think correctly, that the composition itself is based upon Andean symbolic spatial concepts that appear here as a colonial transformation of the original paradigm, including the fact that Guaman Poma elsewhere even translates the name as águila y León real (Guaman Poma 1980: 1037); but Guaman Poma does not quite banish “all indigenous elements” in the portada as she suggests, for the tiana (noble seat) in Guaman Poma's coat of arms is the image of an Andean object.

21 There is, to my knowledge, no Pre-Hispanic Andean pictographic image of names in the way that Guaman Poma puts his name together pictorially.

22 Guaman Poma (1980: 422) notes that rank was indicated by the size and material of tiana. It seems from archaeological evidence that the more prestigious tianas of silver and gold were also made of the same wood and covered with sheets of silver or gold.

23 There are, to my knowledge, no Pre-Hispanic Inka graphic images of the tiana, thus the form of its representation in Guaman Poma is completely within a European structure.
relation to the heraldic images composing Guaman Poma's name. The coat of arms, with its two European heraldic animals and Andean object, thus stands literally between the pictorial portrait of this Andean author and the written form of his name and status. It is in this type of fusion of Andean objects and European-style images that one finds Andeans availing themselves of the power of European representation in order to assert, by appealing to both the Andean and European notions of tradition, both place and identity in colonial society.

That is, Guaman Poma appropriates European signifiers (coat of arms, totemic pictorial images) to demarcate the Andean signified (social/political position) in order to press a personal claim to gain a place in the new colonial social order.

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24 Rolena Adorno has pointed out that the word principe was added later to the frontispiece (Guaman Poma 1980: 1317). It is as if Guaman Poma wanted to insure the reading of the claims made visually in the coat of arms.

25 In the early part of the “Buen gobierno” section, Guaman Poma (1980) gives a narrative explanation of the hierarchy of the Inka in which he establishes the position of his ancestors as ranking just below the Inka king; their rank is signified by the material and height of the tiana they are permitted to have. By these precedents Guaman Poma is able to introduce himself in this section as “don Phelipe de Ayala, principe, autor desta dicha corónica.” Here then he gives a textual connection between his presumed colonial status and ancient precedent using the same combination of elements that appear visually in the portada (Guaman Poma 1980: 462, fol. 453 [455]).
Although Guaman Poma is unique in colonial Andean history by his production of the Nueva corónica, he is not alone in the appropriation of the old and the production of new images to establish an Andean identity within a colonial world. Rather, as Andean elites, descendants of the Inka and local kurakas, scrambled for personal rights and privileges, mercedes, they reused Inkaic symbols to establish their own personal claims within a colonial legal context of individuality and genealogy. Becoming representational images, the imperial symbols appeared in a variety of media and contexts, including on other objects of Andean tradition so as to have a more expanded play in Andean colonial society. If, however, colonial Andean imagery is to be seen as having any sense of power, it must be seen first in its manipulation by Andean elites to (re)establish their position of power within the hierarchy of colonial authority. This is especially true in the face of acts such as those of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo, who in 1575 gathered the principal kurakas of Xauxa (Jauja) and all their “documents that proved the legitimacy of their cacicazgos . . . and had them burned” (Jucio de residencia tomado al Dr. Loarte, A de I, cited in Levillier 1935: 210). The possession of traditional objects and images of nobility within colonial documents could be used to establish legitimacy, a legitimacy that could be pressed in the courts all the way to Spain. (Toledo’s act recognizes the power of such documents, which included images, and seems to have been a preemptive move against any such claims by the kurakas of Xauxa.)

An example of such documents and the use of Inkaic symbols can be seen in the tempera painting on parchment (Fig. 6) of a coat of arms granted in a 1545 cédula by Charles V to Felipe Tupac Yupanqui, kuraka of Cusicanqui de Pacajes.

My discussion of mercedes in relation to the use of Inka symbols by local elite is indebted to Rolena Adorno’s work on Guaman Poma (1986) and to discussions with and the publications of Carlos Espinoza (n.d., 1989, 1995).

The intermediary position of sixteenth-century kurakas between their communities and the Spaniards produced a number of sociopolitical strains that affected not only their position in the economic and social structures of the Andes (see Spalding 1984 and Stern 1982), but their understanding and use of cultural forms as well, such as history (see, in particular, Urton 1990). The traditional authority of the kuraka therefore was not only incorporated into the secular hierarchy of political colonial authority, but was instituted into the confessional practices of control by the church. In the trilingual confessional—Spanish, Aymara, and Quechua—Indians were first asked, in regard to the fourth commandment: “have you [in the informal as if speaking to a child] honored your parents or grandparents, the priests, the justices, and have you obeyed the kurakas in all the proper things they command you to do?” (Confessionario 1982: 430).

By the mid-seventeenth century the cultural forms of history produced by these antagonisms became almost completely theatrical forms, and yet they could be played out upon a real political stage, but, if pushed to an Andean utopian reality, ended in legal suppression (see C. Espinoza n.d., 1995).
Here, one sees emblazoned on the upper right quadrant of the escutcheon the mascapacha, the royal red fringe permitted only to the Sapa Inka, flanked by two amaru, serpents; and below, in the lower right quadrant, a heraldic bird appears below a rainbow at the base of which are rampant felines, a colonial heraldic device that was associated with the Inka. 28 The Cusicanqui kuraka establishes noble lineage in terms not only of particular regional descent, but like Guaman Poma, also in terms of a relation to the Inka. In this case there is a direct claim to dynastic descent through a relationship to Tupa Inka Yupanqui.

28 In describing the Coricancha, the most important sacred structure of Cuzco, Garcilaso de la Vega writes that “they dedicated another chamber to the rainbow because they believed that it came from the sun and therefore they took it as their sign and symbol because they boasted that they descended from the sun” (1918, 1: bk. 3, chap. 21, 219). Whether or not the Inka used the rainbow before the conquest as a heraldic device as described by Garcilaso de la Vega is uncertain. It however quickly became a part of Andean coats of arms with one of the earliest granted to the descendants of Huyana Capac by Charles V in 1545 (Montoto de Sedes 1927: 300–305).
the tenth Inka king, according to Guaman Poma, whose fictive portrait appears holding the coat of arms on the verso of the preceding folio. 29

This coat of arms and portrait most likely were produced in Cuzco and sent to Spain as part of a late-sixteenth- or early-seventeenth-century case presented by the descendants of Felipe Tupac Yupanqui to press legal claims. 30 The attachment of the coat of arms to historical precedent through its juxtaposition to the pictorial representation of an Inka king is part of the visualization of Andean culture that one finds in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth cen-

29 For a brief discussion of the coat of arms and its description as found in documents in the Archivo de la Paz, see Escoari de Querejazu (1982: 163–166).
30 This would account for how the painting and coat of arms came to be in Spain, where they are now on display in el Salón de Exposiciones del Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla.
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tury in the related manuscripts of Guaman Poma and Martín de Murúa. Moreover, there is more than a passing resemblance between the image of the Inka in the Cusicanqui document and the dynastic portraits of the Inka in Guaman Poma and Murúa (Figs. 7, 8). This is not to suggest that any one of them served as the source for the other, but that in the sixteenth century in Peru there was a common, colonial style of imperial Inka portraiture to which all these images belong. But whereas the portraits in Nueva corónica y Historia del Perú are illustrations of an Andean metahistory, the portrait in the Cusicanqui document refers through the specific coat of arms to the contemporary history of a discrete set of individuals and their colonial legal claims based upon that metahistory.

The ancient figure of the Inka dressed in traditional garments thus represents the foundation of a political claim, although as an image it is the antithesis of how a late-sixteenth-century kuraka actually should dress and comport himself. In another document conceding a similar coat of arms to the kuraka Juan Ayaviri de Sacaca, the kuraka presents himself to Philip II thusly:

Yten. As being in said town in your royal service, I dress myself very elegantly in costly Spanish clothes in order to be respected and feared [temido]. . . .

Yten. I am a man of twenty-six years, of good appearance, good stature, and polished good manners such that I am no different in my bearing, dress and speech than courteous and courtly Spaniards. . . .

31 Both Andeans and Spaniards participate in this visualization of the Inka past in which the images are sent to Spain. See Cummins (1991).

32 Many of the Murúa’s portraits of the Inka kings are accompanied by a distinctive coat of arms that would attach these portraits to the living descendants of the various kings.

33 Guaman Poma, in fact, does interweave his personal history with this Andean metahistory, but in a more subtle way than appears in the Cusicanqui document and for less personal reasons (see Adorno 1986: 54–55). The melding of personal and metahistory in the Nueva corónica has its roots in the documents of his earlier legal struggles in Ayacucho in which ancestor portraits have a similar substantiating role for Guaman Poma’s assertions of rights and privileges as the Inka portrait does in the Cusicanqui document (see Guaman Poma 1991; Cummins n.d.b).

34 “Yten. Por estar en la dicha villa en vuestro real servicio y traer mi persona muy adorna como la truxe con vestidos costosos de español para ser respetado y temido. . . .

Yten. Soy hombre de veinte y seis años bien agestado, de buena estatura, lustroso y bien tratado, que no hago ninguna diferencia en mi trato, aspecto, y habla a los españoles políticos y cortezanos . . . .” In “Memorial de Charcas,” 1584–1598, fol. 12, cited in Arze and Medinaceli (1991: 15). Such statements are proforma in the acquisition of rights as granted in Spanish documents so that nearly one hundred years later and more than a thousand miles to the north one finds in the document for the toma de posesión of the cacica Doña
The good kuraka thus describes himself as a courtly Spaniard in clothes, speech, and manners, even though the status of such acculturated decorum is beholding to the ability to establish hereditary links to traditional authority. In the cédula of Cusicanqui those links are presented visually in both the fictive portrait with archaic dress and the Andean elements of authority placed within the coat of arms.\textsuperscript{35}

These images and coats of arms, however much they refer to traditional Andean objects, are nonetheless still European images and a part of a Spanish constructed juridical text of mercedes. That is, they are still part of the colonial world of text and image in the same sense that Guaman Poma’s Nueva corónica is. In that context, the symbols of the imperial Inka past become universalized as signs of tradition within colonial Andean society from Bolivia to Ecuador.

For example, the tiana that Guaman Poma places in his coat of arms is appealed to as one of the signs that established the legitimacy of Don Alonzo Hati, and as a consequence the legitimacy of his son, as the kuraka of San Miguel Cotopaxi in the audiencia of Quito. In the proceedings it was asked of the witnesses:

if they know that said Don Alonzo Hati, my father, was cacique señor principal of the pueblo of Tiguahalo that now is called San Miguel [and that] said Don Alonzo was cacique y principal since the time of the Inka [el tiempo del Inca] having his duho and tiana as señor de bassallos. . . .\textsuperscript{36}

The witnesses testified that Don Alonzo had indeed been their kuraka who went with Atahualpa to Cuzco as his captain\textsuperscript{37} and “Estaba mucho tiempo en su gobierno y tiana.”\textsuperscript{38} The tiana that Guaman Poma so carefully places as a picto-

\textsuperscript{35} For a discussion of the relation of portraits of colonial kurakakuna and the establishment of privilege, see Cummins (1991).

\textsuperscript{36} “Iten si saben es publico y notario que el dho Don Alonzo Hati mi padre fue cacique señor principal del pueblo de Tiguahalo que aora se dize San Miguel a donde poblaron y reduzieron el dho Don Alonzo desde el tiempo del Inga fue cacique y principal teniendo su duho y tiana como señor de bassallos . . . .” This document, dated August 24, 1592, is included in “Auto seguido por Luis Hati Pasan con Guillermo Hati sobre cacicasgos de San Miguel en Cotopaxi, 1687,” in the section entitled Cacicazgos, Archivo Histórico Nacional Quito, Caja 3, doc. 11; the quote is from fol. 15r.

\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., 50v.

\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., 50r.
rial image into his coat of arms thus has a resonance beyond its place within Inka imperial rule. It becomes one of the colonial signs that authenticate contemporary claims to authority because it is considered by both Andeans and Spaniards as a traditional sign within the metahistory of the Andes. In this sense, one sees here the transformation of the Inka imperial object into an Andean colonial image in which local histories are seen as a part of an Andean metahistory based upon a colonial construction of the cultural hegemony of the Inka. That is, the tiana becomes both a pictorial sign, as in the case of Guaman Poma’s coat of arms, and a written sign in the Alonzo Haci document for “el tiempo del Inca,” which stands as the terminus post quem for establishing the descent of a kuraka throughout the colonial period. 39

These sixteenth-century documents, therefore, were often either inserted or copied into later cases. The possession of one, even if its owner could not read it, was tremendously empowering because it authenticated any later claim to the rights and privileges of a kuraka. 40 In this sense, the documents replaced the mallki, body of the ancestor, as the authenticating object of genealogy and descent. 41

IMAGES ON OBJECTS OF CUSTOM

The fact that these documents establish through text only the association to “el tiempo del Inca” does not mean that the Andean symbolic objects named in them physically disappear as they become European graphic signs of tradition. 42 For example, throughout the viceroyalty of Peru, the tiana was repeatedly brought out for the toma de posesión, the investiture ceremony of a new high-ranking kuraka who sat upon it in the plaza facing the portada of the

39 For further discussion of “el tiempo del Inca,” see C. Espinoza (1995).
40 Orality in the form of the testimony of witnesses that is inscribed into these documents as the means of authenticating claims of heredity ultimately gives way to the document itself as the only substantive means of proof. Without the document, one’s legal and therefore economic status could change from nobility to peasant; see, for example, the 1791 document of Yaurisque (A.D.C., Intendencia, Real Hacienda) transcribed by Urton (1990: 144, note 1).
41 See Joanne R appaport’s (1994) discussion of the importance of colonial documents as objects of empowerment that exist apart from the necessity of literacy. My thinking and reading of colonial documents have been greatly influenced by my discussions with Joanne R appaport.
42 The term “el tiempo del Inca” is a synecdoche standing for the never fully realized simulacrum of an Andean past that could be invoked to authenticate various contemporary colonial practices. Its amorphous reference meant the term could be double-edged as a positive or negative value in the recognition of personal rank and privilege, depending on who was involved and how the term was invoked. Whereas the term could be invoked by
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church and dressed in Spanish clothes (Fig. 9). Moreover, the procedure of the toma de posesión remains the same for almost the entire colonial period. In the recorded proceedings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Quechua term tiana and the Caribe word duho are used together to name the seat on which the new kuraka is placed (cf. Espinoza Soriano 1974: 131).

There is, I would say, a “concreteness” given to the phrase “el tiempo del Inca” established by the tiana’s physicality that conveys both the Andean concept of tradition and the colonial concept of costumbre and the authority it signifies in a way that no written document could. The object, by its physical presence and use, becomes a transitional sign between the ancient authority invested by the Inka in a kuraka and the colonial authority conferred on a kuraka by the Spaniards. Viceroy Francisco de Toledo articulated this position most clearly when he wrote concerning the installation of Hernando Pillohuanca as the kuraka of Carabuco by first stating in general that it was important to recognize the good order through which the Inka once ruled:

and how when one of their caciques died, the Inka who was the person who gave the duho or investiture of the said cacicazgos did not confer it on the oldest sons that the dead caciques left; rather, [he conferred it]

kurakas in the questionnaires of legal documents as a positive value to establish legitimate descent, it equally could be invoked by Spaniards in the questionnaires of their legal documents as a negative value defining a period of idolatry that had existed and continued to exist, the battle against which they performed in service of the state. For example, in the “Información de servicios” of Cristóbal de Albornoz, the sixth question asks the witnesses, “Iten, sy saben que, demás de lo susodicho contenido entre preguntas antes déstas, el dicho Cristóbal de Albornoz descubrió entre los dichos naturales mucha suma y cantidad de huacas que tenían e adoravan del tiempo de los incas…”. (Huamanga 1570, in Millones [1990: 64–65]). In confessional practices, the first question put specifically to kurakas dealt with their status in relation to the past: “El cacicazgo que tienes, hubístele de herencia de tus padres desde tiempo del Inca, o hastú usurpado tú a otro que le pertenecía trayendo pleito con falsas relaciones y gastando la plata de los indios para quedar con el cacicazgo?” (Confessionario 1982: 434). The point is that there are rarely any essential or irreducible definitions in a colonial situation because of the contradictory nature of colonialism itself.

By the late eighteenth century the term silla is used, which may indicate either a European-style chair or the stool form of the tiana; see, for example, “Toma de Posesión de Nicolás Lema y Torres” fol. 5v: 1778, “En el pueblo de Punin, jurisdicción de la villa de R iobamba,” Cacicazgos, Archivo Histórico Nacional Quito, Caja 10, 1730–1802, doc. 17, fol. 5v. See also José Luis Martínez (1986: 101–124).

The fact that the Spaniards were able to use duho and tiana interchangeably in the same fashion that they could substitute the Caribe word cacique for the Quechua word kuraka indicates that Spanish recognition and understanding of Andean political symbols and positions were not intended to be specific in terms of Andean meaning but universal in relation to setting up a colonial system of rule through a body of native elite.
on whichever one had the best mind or [if the sons of the dead cacique were not capable] he chose among the sons of other Indians in the community or even outside of it who had more ability and capacity for the job. . . .

Then Toledo wrote directly about Hernando Pillohuancas:

as the said “visitador” states according to his opinion [Hernando Pillohuanca] to be of age, ability, and capacity, and of good example for occupying the said cacicazgo consistent with what is said, therefore using the powers invested in me by his majesty I give favor to the said sir Hernando Pillohuanca . . . I name thou as cadque principal of said repartimiento of Carabuco of the pardoalidad of Hurinsaya such that thou beist cadque as was thou father and as such I give thee the investiture of said cacicazgo principal . . . the said cacicazgo of which thou mayest use and exercise according to what is said and thou will sittest on a tiana as
is the custom among the other cadíes and principales of this kingdom and thou wouldest not consent under any circumstance that any other Indian, be he segunda persona or cadí of pachaca or of an ayllu or another Indian who possess a tiana, sit on it if he were not a cadí principal who in order to be recognized as such has my título or provisión and if in the said repartimiento there be any Indian that by favor of some person or ecclesiastical or secular justice or by appointment by the encomendero or in some other manner uses the said office of cadí or wouldst have the right to it, thou wouldest not permit to him that he occupy the said office nor have the said tiana under penalty of loss of said cacicazgo for three years... (Toledo 1989: 113–115)

In this passage, Toledo usurps the role of the Inka in the installation of a kuraka in his authority and his seat. But to do this, Toledo first establishes that the role itself derives from, and hence is validated by, antiquity: “vista la orden que antiguamente tuvieron.” He then moves to the present and the specific case in which the sitting on a tiana is an ongoing part of political custom: “y sentaros eis en tiana como es costumbre entre demás caciques y principales de este Reino.” The phrase “este Reino” here applies to the contemporary political entity of the viceroyalty so that the power of this custom to confer authority is no longer controlled by Andean tradition. Instead, the violation of precedent as defined by Toledo—those who may or may not sit in the tiana—permits the authority of the state to remove the kuraka from office. The object of custom is expanded in meaning so as to allow the “legitimate” penetration of control over Andean authority by the viceroy in the guise of maintaining the sovereignty of the object’s traditional symbolic function.

Where the power resides to be meaningful, in the sense of Andean tradition outside this Spanish colonial legal discourse, such that the tiana could continue to operate within the community as a valid sign, is in the “objectness” of the object itself. The possession of objects of antiquity is one of the Andean means of providing continuity with the past in the present, for such objects were, along with khipus, the records of history and memory before the arrival of the Spaniards. When in the colonial period certain objects, such as checkered tunics and keros, wooden drinking vessels (Figs. 10, 11), were identified as conjuring up memories and histories that were considered part of idolatrous behavior, they, of course, became subject to the campaigns of extirpators such as Albornoz (1989: 171–172). But such identifications were contextual in the understanding of Spaniards so that costumbre and objects and images of costumbre were not in and of themselves idolatrous and subject to complete suppression in any form. Good Andean history in the form of the service to the king was to
Fig. 10 Inka “military” Unku with black and white checkered design, ca. 1500. Private collection.

Fig. 11 Inka kero, or wooden drinking cup, ca. 1500. Private collection.
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Fig. 12 Coat of arms conceded in 1563 by Philip II to Felipe Guacarpaucar, kuraka of Xauxa (after Paz y Mélia 1892: fig. iv.)

be both remembered and rewarded by combining Andean and European signs. Thus in the coat of arms conceded in 1563 by Philip II to Felipe Guacarpaucar, kuraka of Xauxa, in order that “los servicios del dicho vuestro padre y vuestros quedase perpétua memoria,” the image of a checkered tunic with three decapitated Indian heads at the neck was placed in the upper quarter of the field (Paz y Mélia 1892: 272–273) (Fig. 12). “Perpétua memoria” is understood by Spaniards to reside within the coat of arms as an image that can be inherited and displayed only by Guacarpaucar and his descendants, but Andean memory, in the pictorial form of the tunic, is also represented so that the display of this coat of arms in the Andean town of Xauxa would have had a multivalent reading, depending upon cultural context.

The contextual understanding of practices, customs, and, by extension, representation is expressly stated by José de Acosta at the end of De procuranda indorum salute in a chapter entitled “Mores indorum christo non repugnantes permittendos esse et de conoscordia praetoris cum sacerdote”:

One must go little by little instilling in the Indians Christian customs and our form of living. And one must eliminate step by step the rites and the superstitious and sacrilegious and the customs of the savage barbarians. But in those places in which their customs are not contrary to religion or law, I don’t believe they ought to be changed just for the sake of change. One must conserve their native and traditional customs that do not go against la justica. . . . (Acosta 1984: 586–593)
Certainly the use of the tiana as described in the toma de posesión documents and the representation of the checkered tunic in Guacarpuarca’s coat of arms substantiate the application of Acosta’s philosophic position in the realm of Spanish political rituals. It is, however, the identification of other objects in the wills of kuracas and other Andeans that reveals a sense of the continued importance of Andean objects as signs of costumbre beyond this Spanish political realm, which, nonetheless, by their inscription into these documents, indicates that they were under the surveillance of Spanish judgment. For example, in the 1598 testamento of the cacique of Panzaleo in northern Ecuador, Don Diego Collin lists among the following:

- Item I declare that I have three feather shirts al usso antiguo [and] it is my will that one of them be left to my nephew Don Miguel Zumba and the other to my son Don Diego and the other to my son Don Luis.
- Item I declare that I have two chambachiquer [standards] as it is the custom [for] the leading caciques to have [como es costumbre tener los caciques señores], [and] it is my will that they be inherited by and passed on to the said Don Miguel Salcatacci Sumba, my nephew.45

In addition, Collin leaves at least six pairs of queros pintados (keros) (Fig. 13). In another will of 1592, even further north of Panzaleo, the kuraka of Tuza identifies his painted keros as well as those made in silver even more specifically as “two pairs of painted keros del uso de Cuzco” and “two silver vessels that in the language of Cuzco are called aquilla” (silver keros)46 (Fig. 14). That is, phrases

45 “… Item declaro que tengo mas tres camisetas de plumas al usso antiguo es mi boluntad que la una de ellas deja a mi sobrino Don Miguel Zumba y la otra a mi hijo Don Diego y la otra a mi hijo Don Luís.”

46 “Dos pares de limbiquiros del uso de Cuzco” and “dos cocos de plata que en la lengua del Cuzco se llama aquilla” (Archivo Histórico del Banco Central del Ecuador, Ibarra, Siglo xvi, 1592 Testamentó de Christóbal Cuitín, Principal del Pueblo de Tuza, fol. 1v). The linguistic form of the inscription of these traditional items into the will indicates their already bicultural position. The word limbiquiro is a relatively faithful transcription of the Quechua word for painted (limbi) kero (quiro). The form used to indicate plurality (-s) is Spanish, not Quechua (kuna). Thus one could say that by their pluralization in this document they linguistically as well as graphically become as much Spanish objects as indigenous ones. I would like to thank Joanne Rappaport for bringing this document to my attention and discussing it with me.

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Fig. 13 Colonial painted kero, ca. 1600. Photograph courtesy of Museo de Arqueología, Quito.

Fig. 14 Pair of colonial aquillas, ca. 1600. Photograph courtesy of Museo de Arqueología, Quito.
such as “usso antiguo,” “como es costumbre tener los caciques señores,” and
“uso del Cuzco” could be used in the context of Andean wills throughout the
viceroyalty to modify these personal objects without necessarily causing alarm.47

Inka cloth and vessels constituted a recognizable and viable pan-Andean
form of material culture that was associated with a past before the arrival of the
Spaniards. Tradition therefore exists within these objects as part of their essen-
tial character as gifts passed from one generation to the next, and although the
giving is recorded here within the context of a European-style will, such ob-
jects existed already within the network of Andean gift exchange before the
Spaniards invaded (Murra 1962; Cummins n.d.a).

Equally important, one finds that the keros, aquillas, and kumbi (tapestry)
textiles listed in the wills are not only old but new.48 These objects continued to
be produced and valued, and it is in this context that the continuity of costumbres
in terms of the sites of Andean representation operated openly in colonial soci-
ety. It is no accident that, just as so many colonially produced native mapas,
títulos, and codices have survived in Mexico, colonial Peruvian textiles, keros,
and aquillas, which are frequently named in sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and some
eighteenth-century native wills, are those things that have survived most often
in Peru, particularly in the southern sierras. But equally important, just as the
mapas and other pictorial documents of Nueva España became transformed to
include European forms and meaning, so too Andean traditional objects of
colonial production mentioned in the wills were modified in relation to new
exigencies of colonial representation. In particular, the newly produced picto-
rial colonial images of Inka material symbols, many of which came from the
coats of arms granting mercedes, were attached to the newly produced objects
“como es costumbre tener los caciques señores.”

If, for example, we return to the portada of the Nueva corónica (Fig. 1) and
compare the elements of Guaman Poma’s coat of arms to a sixteenth- or seven-

47 For similar phrases from different areas of the viceroyalty of Peru, see, for example,
“Testamento de Ysabel Chumbicarba natural Santaorlla” of February 8, 1628, made in
Santiago del Cercado: “Y ten declaro que tengo diez mutes de comer [y] tres llimpi [quer]
del Cuzco,” or the “Testamento de Ines Guamguan india viuda natural que soi del Pueblo
de San Bartolome de Guacho, 27 de Marzo 1614.” Among other Andean items, she lists
“una licilla color negro y otra manta pintada de negro y blanco de algodon nueva y un par
de cocas de plata de beber de antiguos ya viejos y mas una escultura de crucifixo de madera.”
Both documents are in Archivo General de la Nación Lima, Testamentos de Indios.
48 For example, the 1574 will of Pedro Arapa, cacique principal of the Pueblo de Pocona in
the jurisdiction of Mizque (Bolivia), lists “20 vestidos de cumbi, mantas y camisetas de
cumbi viejas y nuevas” (Archivo Municipal de Cochabamba Ramo Mizque, vols. 1561–
1590, expediente no. 3). I would like to thank Lolita Gutiérrez for sharing this document
with me.
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Fig. 15 Colonial unku, ca. 1600 (?), side A. Private collection.

Fig. 16 Colonial unku, ca. 1600 (?), side B. Private collection.
teenth-century colonial unku, male tunic, of kumbi weave, we can see the kinds of adaptations made (Fig. 15). The unku has a band of three registers of t'oqapu at the waist. A series of shields and Inka helmets, which I shall discuss below, alternate just above the t'oqapu. What are of interest for now are the images at the neck, framed by a stepped yoke design of three registers of t'oqapu. On one side of the tunic, facing rampant lions appear, and on the other side, a bicephalic crowned eagle appears (Fig. 16). One, perhaps, would like to read these images as the pictographic representation of Guaman (eagle) Poma (lion) emblazoned on an Andean colonial textile just as they appear to represent his name on the portada of the Nueva corónica. These heraldic images, however, may represent other concepts, either European or Andean, such as the metaphoric categories of the Andean moiety division, Hanan and Hurin.

Regardless of their specific referent, one sees here the transference of Spanish heraldic imagery, granted in the context of mercedes, to the kinds of objects one finds mentioned in the wills. Thus the bicephalic eagle and rampant lions equally could have derived from any number of coats of arms, including those of Potosí as drawn by Guaman Poma (Fig. 17). What is important, however, within the context of colonial imagery and tradition is the slippage or loss of control of heraldic images such that there is an exchange between European and Andean sites of presentation. So, whereas the checkered tunic of Andean memory could become a two-dimensional image in a coat of arms, the heraldic figures of the lion and eagle could be transferred to the Andean tunic itself. There is, then, a proliferation of images as well as the objects themselves such that there is no stable category of traditional representation that could be subjected to systematic Spanish suppression of symbolic meaning.

The unku probably comes from Bolivia, and it is clear that in Potosí, by at least 1620, silver objects of Inka formal design were also being decorated with the Inkaic symbols that were incorporated into Andean colonial heraldic forms. For example, the standard ceramic Inka shallow dish with a geometric band dividing the circumference (Fig. 18) is modified in a colonial silver example to display a heraldic image (Fig. 19a–c). The dividing band is composed of four t'oqapu and a central escutcheon in which is placed the maquipacha and two

49 The t'oqapu is an Inka geometric abstract design composed within a square or rectangular shape and which is often included in colonial coats of arms; see Rojas y Silvá (1981: 128–130).

50 This is where I depart from the basis of Kubler's essay (1961) entitled "On the Colonial Extinction of the Motifs of Pre-Columbian Art." For Kubler, language, objects, and images can be simply “purified” of native symbolic content as if there is an essentialist “native” symbolic content that can be identified everywhere and equally, so as to be made “inert” by European will (p. 15).
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Fig. 17 Coat of arms of Potosí from Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, Nueva corónica y buen gobierno, ca. 1615 (after 1980 edition).

flanking profile condors. The mascaipacha, which, as mentioned, appears in a number of colonial Andean coats of arms, is thus reattached, not to the head of an imagined Inka king, but to an Andean-style object. The heraldic presentation of the mascaipacha connotes, within European terms, the venerable nobility of the image, and, by its placement on the plate, a sense of ancient nobility is extended to the object itself. Similarly, one finds the image of the mascaipacha also used as a disarticulated motif on a colonial unku similar to the one with the heraldic eagle and lions at the neck (Fig. 20). Certainly, the notion of sovereignty as invested in the person of the Inka king (sapa Inka, unique Inka) and symbolized by the actual mascaipacha is not part of the experience of colonial reality, and Pre-Hispanic imperial authority, as political power in the present, is not meant to be symbolized by this colonial representation. The multiplicity of the image of this highly restricted Pre-Hispanic object instead produces a site for locating the present objects—plate, tunic, etc.—and their possible colonial use or wear within aristocratic traditions originating in the Pre-Hispanic past.

This process of reattaching Inkaic symbolic objects as images to other Andean objects began at least by 1600 and probably much earlier. The silver dish with
Fig. 18 Inka ceramic plate, ca. 1500. Museum für Volkerkunde, Berlin.

Fig. 19a Silver Inka colonial plate from the Atocha, before 1622. Private collection. Photograph by Dylan Kibler.
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Fig. 19b  Drawing of silver Inka colonial plate from the Atocha, before 1622. Drawing by D. L. Dillin.

Fig. 19c  Silver Inka colonial plate from the Atocha, before 1622, detail of center. Photograph by Scott Nierling.
the mascaipacha, for example, had to have been made prior to 1622, as it is part of the material recently recovered from the Atocha, the Spanish galleon that sank off the coast of Florida in September of that year. The list of passengers reveals that most of them were proceeding from the viceroyalty of Peru. That this piece was likely produced in Potosí is suggested by other colonial Andean pieces retrieved from the Atocha. At least six pairs of silver aquillas have been recovered from the wreck, and all but one carries figural designs around the upper rim. The one non-figural pair has a standard Inka design of two rows of repeated concentric squares similar to the wooden keros from Ollantaytambo that date some fifty years earlier (Figs. 21a–b, 22). In another pair, this geometric motif is combined with two heraldic profile lions, each framed by two columnlike forms (Fig. 23a–b). The theme of the feline is found on yet another pair, but here it is a jaguar in a typical Andean pose with the body in profile and its head turned to face the viewer (Fig. 24a–b).

The final three pairs indicate why the place of manufacture was most likely Potosí. They are all essentially the same, with the upper border divided into five discrete sections composed of different figural motifs (Figs. 25a–b, 26a–b). A profile lion, frontally posed cleric, profile basilisk, rider wielding a sword (per-
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Fig. 21a Pair of aquillas from the Atocha, before 1622. Maritime Heritage Society. Photograph by Scott Nierling.

Fig. 21b Drawing of one of a pair of aquillas from the Atocha, before 1622. Drawing by Ann Theroux.
haps meant to represent Santiago), and a figure playing a trumpet are represented in each of four sections. In the fifth section, the cerro de Potosí itself is depicted with figures working both on the surface and within the shafts, the very source of the material from which the vessels were made. The image is remarkably close to Cieza de León’s illustration of Potosí made some forty-five years earlier (Fig. 27). But here the relation of the image is not to a written text but, at least in part, to the vessel itself through the material in which it is made—the silver extracted from the mines of Potosí.

We do not know for certain why these objects were aboard the Atocha, but they very well may have been part of the baggage of either Diego de Guzman, corregidor of Cuzco; Lorenzo de Arriola, vecino of Potosí, or Diego de Yllescas, mestizo (Anonymous 1622). The aquillas were most likely acquired either as purchase or gift in Potosí or Cuzco, which indicates the rather free commercial circulation of these Andean objects. This circulation, however, was dependent

51 The meaning of the combination of these discrete motifs is not clear, and their cryptic allusions may derive from “hieroglyphs,” pictorial symbolic motifs used to decorate colonial monuments. Several of the images on the aquilla appear in Arzáns’ metaphoric description of Potosí (1965, 1: 3).
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Fig. 23a  Pair of aquillas from the Atocha, before 1622. Private collection. Photograph by Dylan Kibler.

Fig. 23b  Drawing of one of a pair of aquillas from the Atocha, before 1622. Drawing by K. Amundson.
Fig. 24a  Pair of aquillas from the Atocha, before 1622. Private collection. Photograph by Dylan Kibler.

Fig. 24b  Drawing of one of a pair of aquillas from the Atocha, before 1622. Drawing by D. L. Dilllin.
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Fig. 25a  One of a pair of aquillas from the Atocha, before 1622. Private collection. Photograph by Scott Nierling.

Fig. 25b  Drawing of one of a pair of aquillas from the Atocha, before 1622. Drawing by K. Amundson.
as much on their exchange value as on their use value. (Their very presence on the Atocha places them outside an Andean symbolic and economic context.) Their symbolic value has been incorporated into the mercantile economy of colonial capital. Aquillas, keros, and fine kumbí textiles could stand by their exchange value for the various social relations between and among Andeans and Spaniards. What is equally important is that, although native craftsmen could still produce these things, many of the objects of their production entered into social circulation through the marketplace. Here the relations between artist,
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For example, Francisco de Toledo (1986: 205–207) organized the great number of Indian silversmiths in Cuzco, mandating that a price list, signed by the corregidor, be posted at the door of each house in which they worked. The basic prices depended on the size and weight of the piece, but the price could go up if the piece were worked. Within this context of price control, Toledo also remarks that the native silversmiths “pintan sus ídolos” on the pieces, especially when they work gold and silver. He charges the overseer to be on guard against this type of decoration unless it was expressly asked for by the Spanish client. The marketplace, therefore, was intended to patrol content as well as price.

For example, aquillas could be sold to pay off a debt; see the “Testamento de Lorenzo Collegue Guaman de Santo Domingo de Ólleros 4 de Abril 1659,” Testamentos de Índios, Archivo General de la Nación Lima; and Christóbal Cuatín had “empeñadas en poder de D. García Tulcanga por 50 pesos de plata corriente que me prestó un coco de plata” 1592 Testamentó de Christóbal Cuatín; cf. note 46.

Thus, not only are aquillas, keros, and textiles mentioned in terms of “uso de Cuzco,” which implies use value according to Andean custom, but they could be pawned, sold, or bought. Moreover, the aquillas are also referred to by the intrinsic value of their metal in terms of its exchange value so that the passage cited earlier (p. 114) in regard to Andean value “dos cocos de plata que en la
lengua del cusco se llama aquilla” (two silver vessels that in the language of Cuzco are called aquilla) is coupled with Spanish exchange value “que entre ambos pesan quarenta pesos” (which between the two of them weigh forty pesos). As with the metaphor of the portadas, these objects stand between, and signify by these different values, the two worlds of the Andeans and Spaniards. The use of the aquillas and keros and the wearing of traditional clothes circulated, however, as an image of tradition. On a silver plate from the Atocha, traditionally dressed male and female Andeans are posed around the side in which the August agricultural ritual of Chacra Yapuy takes place (Fig. 28a–b). Similar to the image in the Nueva corónica (Fig. 29), men pull back on their chakitacllas (footplows), while the women break the clods of earth and plant corn. In another part of the composition, a female holds out a pair of aquillas or keros to the male.

Thus one finds in this lot of colonial Andean silver objects a whole set of images that appeal both to Andean and specifically Inka symbols and rituals as well as to contemporary heraldic signs and topographical references. Their appearance on objects found in the treasure of the Atocha testifies to their status as exotica for Europeans, native things and images brought back from the New World. But they are neither just exotica nor commodities. These are also the kind of objects, mentioned in the nearly contemporaneous wills, that are left to one’s kin. And although few Andeans could afford the kinds of aquillas and silver plates from the Atocha, the images found on them are precisely those that proliferated in the Andes on keros and traditional garments that circulated primarily within native communities.55

For example, the figure blowing the horn on the Atocha aquilla is adapted to painted keros, the wooden equivalent of an aquilla (Fig. 30). In fact, the image is almost identical, with the billowed trousers to the knees, cinched jacket, and hat with a feather drooping forward. In this case, however, the figure is placed between two rainbows that emanate from either side of the head of a feline. The trumpeter thus stands as a kind of herald to the figures below the rainbow, an Inka with a staff (champi) and a shield and a Ccoya, the Inka queen, holding a flower. On another kero, an image of the mascaipacha, similar to one chiseled in the center of the Atocha silver plate, appears as the central motif within the rainbow (Fig. 31). Thus one finds a recombination of heraldic and pictorial elements to compose one of the most common motifs on colonial keros.

54 1592 Testamentó de Christóbal Cuatín, cf. note 46.
55 Keros and traditional garments were also bought and sold and, therefore, had a commodity status in colonial Peru; however, their commodity circulation seems to have only occurred within a native market, whereas silver items and other kumbi textiles circulated in a broader market in which Europeans participated.
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Fig. 28a Silver plate from the Atocha, before 1622. Location unknown. Photograph by Scott Nierling.

Fig. 28b Drawing of a silver plate from the Atocha, before 1622. Drawing by D. L. Dillin.
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Fig. 29 Chacra Yapuy Quilla from Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, Nueva corónica y buen gobierno, ca. 1615 (after 1980 edition).

Fig. 30 Detail of figure from a kero, ca. 1600. American Museum of Natural History, acc. no. B9165 (after Rowe 1961).
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The act of tracing pictorial sources indicates here the interface between images and mercedes, exchange value and use value. Yet, it is the objects’ traditional use value that propels them into the world of colonial production at a time when other ancient forms disappear. Keros and aquillas were used not only as a traditional sign of amicable social relations among Andeans, but also among Andeans and Spaniards (López Medal 1990: 239). And it is to this value that the images appeal. That is, there seems to be in this reconstitutive assemblage an attempt to produce images that intentionally provide or reify the sense of the term “al uso antiguo” in relation to the fact that the objects on which they appear are new. The exotic appeal for Europeans of images of the Inka past on Andean objects made in precious material is not at issue here nor is their commodity value. Rather, the European-style images of the Inka past intensify the interrelated connection of these objects to the past. The figures and motifs are used interchangeably on keros and kumbi textiles and create a commonality that pictorially relates them to a common “historical” past.

56 Aquillas, keros, and Inka-style textiles all have a social use value among Andeans in the colonial period that is dependent upon Pre-Hispanic precedents and which accounts for the proliferation in their production, especially keros. For a discussion of this issue, see Cummins (n.d.a).
For example, the rainbow motif just discussed is also found on a colonial unku (Fig. 32). And if we return to the first unku discussed (Fig. 18), we see that the helmets and shields placed above the band of t'qapu are either worn and carried by figures on keros or are independent figural elements as they appear on the textile.57 Certainly, it is no coincidence that t'qapu designs on most colonial unkus now are placed at the waist of the garment and that similar bands appear at the “waist” of keros (R owe 1961: 336; Cummins 1994). On at least one tunic this association is reversed, and the area at the waist where the t'qapu band is normally woven is filled by repeated pairs of Andean males and females with the female holding two keros or aquillas (Fig. 33). These images, t'qapu and figures with keros, also become interchangeable as signs of Andean-ness, and either one could form borders for elite colonial textiles of a more European form (Fig. 34).

In this sense these colonial figural motifs refer to the objects as “proof” of the existence of tradition, a visual remembering. Most importantly, the images systematically do not appeal to the written word. I have only seen one colonial kero and one unku with words placed on them (Figs. 35, 36). On the kero, the words are undecipherable, and on the unku the name Diego Diaz is written backwards. On objects of Spanish colonial production and use, words often anthropomorphize the relation of production and possession of commodities, as in an eighteenth-century wooden and leather box which has the phrase “soi de Don Juan Phelipe de Villavicencio” forming part of the inlaid wooden design on the interior of the lid as well as embossed on the leather cover (Fig. 37a–b). The inscription around the rim of a seventeenth-century silver plate from Cuzco with an image of the facade of the cathedral combines text image and object to commemorate the place, specific time, and ritual act of a child’s baptism, as well as the relationship of the child to his godfather through its presentation as a gift (Fig. 38).58 This form of inscription does not take place in the colonial production of Andean objects even though they may have been bought and sold in a market economy.

57 The southwest wall of the Palace of Sayri Tupac in Yucay has four stepped niches on the back wall on which are multicolored colonial paintings described as representing red-feathered Inka helmets (Moorehead 1978: 85 and fig. 30). These paintings are remarkably similar to the textile and kero images on the helmets, and, because such niches today often are used to store items, it is possible to speculate that the Sayri Tupac Palace niches may have been places to store and display the types of objects under discussion.

58 The text around the rim of the plate reads: “En homenage al infante Don Juan Miguel Campero como Recuerdo de su Cristinazion en esta santa Iglesia Catedral siendo Padrino S.B. Conde Mariano Peralta, Cuzco Año de 1674.”
Fig. 32 Colonial unku, 17th century. Photograph courtesy of Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.
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Fig. 33 Colonial Inka unku, 17th century. Private collection.

Fig. 33 Detail
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Fig. 34 Colonial tapestry. The British Museum.

Fig. 34 Detail
Fig. 35 Colonial kero. 17th century.
Linden Museum, Stuttgart.

Fig. 36 Colonial Inka child's unku. 17th century.
Photograph courtesy of Museo Arqueológico, Cuzco.
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Fig. 37a  Leather and wooden box, with lid closed, 18th century. Private collection.

Fig. 37b  Leather and wooden box, with lid open.
Writing carried the voice of authority in the colonial world of the Spaniard, but things and their images must be seen in the Andean colonial world. These are the objects “como es costumbre tener los caciques señores” and by them kurakas acquired status in both worlds, but it is the status invoked by the force of Andean tradition, and not the morality of Spanish costumbre, that these objects and images ultimately represent.

THE COLONIAL OBJECT AND THE PRESENCE OF HISTORY

There is a meeting ground in the Andes then between Europeans and Andeans, but it is not in the texts of documents but in the customs and in the objects of tradition. They do not bear the words that list them in the documents we read, rather it is the “objectness” in relation to images that constitute a forum for continued tradition. And although these objects with their images may be mentioned in written texts, they operated in the Andean community in performative oral texts in which kurakas participated. It is here that the written word is completely excluded. The objects themselves are the important element, not merely to convey an individual kuraka’s status but to link him, his community, and tradition (Cummins n.d.a). If the keros and unkus are con-
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ceived as being representative of “el tiempo del Inca,” this reference is not just to a legal time to establish political descent within a colonial Spanish framework; rather, “el tiempo del Inca” is a past time that, perhaps, could have been connected to the present by these objects both old and new. This connection can only take place within the oral text of Quechua speakers.

Rosaleen Howard-Malverde has suggested that, among the various past tenses used in Quechua storytelling by the contemporary Andeans of the central Andes, there is the past tense suffix -shqa, which she defines as a “proximal past.” It functions variously to refer to a recent past, a past that is temporally undefined, and a past event the effects of which are still to be felt in the present. While it carries no inherent reference to the source of knowledge of past events, its function as a “past in the present” leads it to be used for reference to past events for which there is only present evidence through the senses (visual, auditory, olfactory, etc.) as opposed to the experiential evidence of an event. Thus, the use of -shqa in conjunction with the personal knowledge evidential -mi can be used to achieve the rhetorical effect of bringing past events into the present, conceptually speaking. In the case of the oral narratives about the Inka analyzed by Howard-Malverde, the physical keys are basically topographic but are not necessarily natural features in the landscape. Thus, the ruins of a colonial building near the speaker’s house serve as the evidence for the speaker to discuss a cacique of the past as part of the speaker’s immediate reality (Howard-Malverde 1990: 73–83).

I would suggest that the venerable objects mentioned in wills and kept in the communities until today may have not been considered merely as heirlooms, in the modern Western sense of nostalgia. These Andean forms and functions originated in the past to which the colonial images on them refer. They operated within Andean communities as testaments of the link with the past. The production of new pieces, destined some day to be old, perhaps served as posts between the past and the future, but the images themselves already placed the new objects in a relation to the past at the point of their production.59

59 The Andean concept of the object and its copy as being somehow a witness to the past perhaps anthropomorphizes the object, a theme that occurs in Andean mythology and pictorial representation (see Quilter 1990: 42–65). Its transformation from being an object of immediate socio-ritual discourse to having the stature of actual witness is, in part, a factor of the passage of historical time. In this sense there is a parallel in Western art in the accretion of aura in relation to authenticity as discussed by Walter Benjamin: “To be sure, at the time of its origin a medieval picture of the Madonna could not yet be said to be ‘authentic.’ It becomes ‘authentic’ only during the succeeding centuries and perhaps most strikingly so during the last one” (1969: 243). In this sense, power is accrued to the object/image that it did not have originally and can only occur by its carefully curated survival.
Whether or not the keros, textiles, and objects discussed here allowed colonial Quechua speakers to alter grammatically and conceptually the way they actually spoke of the past is hypothetical; we cannot recover colonial orality, but certainly these objects allowed an intimacy with the past in a form that no written text could provide.

There is, at least, some indication in seventeenth-century Peru that the evidentiary value of the visual may have altered the way an event was recalled in Spanish as used by an Andean. Rolena Adorno notes that there is a linguistic difference between the way Guaman Poma writes about the account of the Hernández Girón rebellion in 1553 in the text and the way it is written in his drawing. In the prose narration, the account of an incident is written in the secondhand or hearsay tense: “Dicen que un solo arcabuzero mató cien hombres” (they say that just one rifleman killed a hundred men). Whereas in the image, a caption that appears above a figure specifying the same deed omits the qualifier “Dicen que” and is written in the assertive eyewitness form: “este hombre mató cien hombres” (this man killed a hundred men). Adorno, citing Barthes, relates this change to the theoretical difference between text and image in which the power of images “resides in the fact that it signifies not by argument but by imperative; it appears at the same time generalized, neutral, and innocent” (Adorno 1986: 83–84). I would suggest that one could move from this general theoretical explanation to the specific properties of Andean relations between orality and images as an explanatory model.

Thus, when Atahualpa’s rejection of the book at Cajamarca is described by Spaniards as being because the book did not speak to him, are we to understand this as a literal accusation by Atahualpa—that he could not hear words emanating from the object? Or, is it possible that the alien object had no place in Andean culture and therefore could not speak to Atahualpa because the relation between Andean speech acts and objects/images is fundamentally different from the decoding of a written alphabetic text? Even further, was not the European interpretation of the oracle figures at Pachacamac and other sites visited by Pizzaro’s band of conquistadors based upon their own understanding of the Delphic manner in which images “speak” through someone?

Our Western hermeneutic/talmudic tradition of the close reading and interpretation of the text binds us too closely to the written word and our sense of the revelation of history. It all but ruptures any relationship to the object on which history is printed. Objects in the Andean world had a greater place.60

60 For example, Garcilaso de la Vega states directly that objects were kept as the memory of the person and the event. Describing the June celebration of Inti Raymi, during which the kurakas and the Inka celebrated together in a series of toasts using aquillas and keros, he
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This is as true today as it was then. Thus many of the colonial textiles and keros that are so carefully guarded in Andean communities today are referred to as coming from and used by the ancestors madulakuna, or ñawpa madukuna. They are only brought out on special occasions so as to provide those material links with the past in order to communicate ceremonially with the Apukuna, the timeless powers residing in the mountains and waters (Jorge Flores Ochoa, personal communication, 1993; Gary Urton, personal communication, 1989 and 1990: 114). These objects form what Annette Weiner calls, in discussing Marcel Mauss's *Essai sur le Don*, “inalienable wealth” (1985: 210). They are objects that, whatever happens to them, are perceived to belong in an inherent way to their original owners...

The primary value of inalienability...is expressed through the power these objects have to define who one is in an historical sense. The object acts as a vehicle for bringing past time into the present, so that the histories of ancestors, titles, or mythological events become part of a person's present identity. To lose this claim to the past is to lose part of who one is in the present. In its inalienability, the object must be seen as more than an economic resource and more than an affirmation of social relations...To be able to keep certain objects that document these [ancestral] connections attests to one's power to hold oneself or one's group intact. For to give up these objects is to lose one's claim to the past as a working part of one's identity. (1985: 210)

Weiner discusses her Oceanic objects and their exchange in an ethnographic present, as if the cultures such as the Māori, lived and live in some abstracted non-colonial universe. They did not, and they do not, and neither did nor do Andeans. From the moment of their inscription into European texts there has been a continual siege upon traditional native identities, both to destroy and to define their alterity. This “encounter” would suggest that the inalienability of such objects "como es costumbre tener los caciques señores" formed a very material site for the continuation of tradition in which an "Andean" history could be seen.

Because that history is not written does not mean that history does not exist for those who practice it as an aesthetic ideal. Moreover, such an ideal is forever rooted in the real for those who at the same time live with the very real consequences of the historical contradictions of conquest and colonialism.

writes: “Estos vasos [keros and aquillas] los había tocado con la mano y con los labios, los tenían los curacas en grandísima veneración, como a cosa sagrada; no bebían en ellos ni los tocaban, sino que los ponían como a ídolos donde los adoraban en memoria y reverencia de su Inca que les había tocado...” (my emphasis) (Garcilaso de la Vega 1919, 2: 192).
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