Pachacamac and El Señor de los Milagros

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INTRODUCTION

SOME YEARS AGO I BEGAN a study and analysis of the logic of Andean thought through its various manifestations. Myths and the cults they narrate are important resources for this kind of research because the native way of seeing and representing the universe can be detected. Lately I have directed my research toward the god Pachacamac and his shrine, the most important huaca of the central coast, whose cult had spread throughout the Andean area during the last millennium before the Spanish conquest. Equally important, Pachacamac continued to exercise a place in coastal imagination in the colonial period, and as I shall argue Pachacamac can be connected to the cult of El Señor de los Milagros that developed in seventeenth-century Lima around a painting of the crucified Christ.

Pachacamac represents an instance of the transformation of a pre-existing native religious center and its ritual practices into a Christian cultic practice directed toward a sacred image produced in the New World rather than toward an image brought from Europe. This transference is a colonial phenomenon that occurred in many parts of Latin America. The Virgin of Guadalupe is perhaps the most famous of these manifestations, and I shall return, for comparative purposes, to that image and cult as well other Andean examples at the end of the paper. At issue in these various cases is the concept of syncretism, which in broad cultural terms is used to signify the coming together of native and European forms and concepts to produce new and wholly distinct practices and beliefs. Syncretism, when used in this way, attributes agency to both European and native social and religious institutions in the formation of colonial culture.

Translated by Harry Iceland and Tom Cummins.
The pan-Andean importance of Pachacamac as a religious site was recognized almost immediately by the Spaniards. For example, Hernando Pizarro wrote in his letter of 1533 to the king that the two most venerated huacas were the “Mezquita” of Pachacamac and the Temple of the Sun in Lake Titicaca (Fernández de Oviedo 1945). However, to understand the Andean logic within which Pachacamac operated, the early descriptive accounts of Pizarro, Zarate, Cieza de León and others are not enough. I have taken as a point of departure the myths collected by the chroniclers and the singularly important information provided by Francisco de Avila’s informants (Taylor 1987; Salomon and Urioste 1991; Salomon, this volume) recorded in the only Quechua text known to date concerning the Andean world. The text deals with the Huarochirí region located in the mountains adjoining the coastal region of Pachacamac, and it often details the relationship of Huarochirí’s local deities with Pachacamac. The myths of Huarochirí provide the first indication of how interregional relationships between Andean religious beings were imagined to exist.

In this investigation I found that the principal Andean huacas had kinship ties similar to those of the human inhabitants (Arriaga 1968; Albornoz 1967). Thus, Pachacamac had three wives and several children and siblings. One of his wives was Urpay Huachac, the mother of marine fish and fowl (Taylor 1987). Mama is named by Dávila Briceño (1965), corregidor in Huarochirí in 1586, as another wife of Pachacamac; she was an ancient divinity whose temple was located at the confluence of the Rimac and Santa Eulalia rivers. The third wife was Pachamama, the Earth Mother, according to a late account collected by Villar Córdoba (1933) in the region of Canta. This goddess, after a series of episodes, became the mountain called La Viuda. Concerning the children of Pachacamac, Santillán (1968) mentions four: one living in Chincha, another in Mala, a third in Andahuaylas, and a fourth who remained with the Inka Tupac Yupanqui as a result of his conquest of the coast. These children, siblings, and wives of Pachacamac became religious enclaves whose temple storerooms were filled with the products of the soil dedicated to the deity.

There is mention by Avila of another son of Pachacamac called Lloclahuancupa, whose image, according to the same source, was painted on both sides of a lienzo (cloth). This is an interesting piece of information for my analysis because it is known that there was a long tradition of mantle painting on the coast, according to data collected for 1566. In fact, these artisan-painters requested permission from the oidor Gregorio González de Cuenca to practice their craft in the valleys and towns of the coast without interference from the Spanish authorities (Rostworowski 1977, 1989).
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Other important huacas similarly enjoyed various kinship ties such as the god Pariacaca of the Huarochirí region and deities of mountain peaks known as Apu and Wamani, who were of both sexes and related among themselves in various ways. The concept of kinship among the Apu and Wamani was so ingrained in the native mentality that the campaigns to eradicate native religious beliefs could not erase its spirit, and its profound cultural content persists to this day.

The significance of the kinship ties believed to exist among the native divinities is that these ties formed, first of all, a nexus between local Andean religious beliefs, and then it connected this local network to broader pan-Andean beliefs that allowed for the simultaneous recognition of large-scale interregional cultic centers such as Pachacamac as well as local ones. Equally important, this form of understanding the relationships between deities as based upon some form of kinship persisted well into the colonial period and beyond and influenced the way Catholic religion was practiced and visually manifested. Thus, the natives created diverse kinship ties among the saints, Virgins, and Christ himself, which has been confirmed both in fieldwork in contemporary villages and with information from various written sources. For example, in Ocongate, in Cuzco during Holy Week, the Virgin Dolorosa is considered the “widow” and wife of Christ, and her litter for the procession is decorated by the unmarried women and widows (Carlos Flores, S.J., personal communication). In Huaylas, in a town near Caraz, the Virgin is regarded as the twin of Santa Isabel, and they are represented by two statues side by side. The two ride in the same litter in the procession that takes place on Isabel’s feast day, July 8, and they enjoy identical chapels in the church (Victor Chauca Pérez, personal communication). Moreover, in the town of Maca in the valley of Colca, Santa Ana has a sister with whom she shares the same altar and goes out in procession. In Jauja, in the province of Huanca, they worship three Virgins, those of Perpetuo Socorro, Asunta, and Fátima, each considered distinct individuals and cousins to each other (Carlos Flores, S.J., personal communication). The town of Queda in the province of Lucanas-Parinacocha has two statues of Christ, one large and the other small. They go together in procession after which there is a ritual battle to determine which of the two is the winner (Elsa Rojas Osko, personal communication).

According to Palomino Flores (1971), the church of Sacsamarca contains two statues of the Virgin of the Assumption, the patroness of the town. One is large (hatun) and immobile while the other is small, for transportation from one place to another. The same situation occurs in Topara (Chinchas) in the church dedicated to the Virgin of the Rosary, where there are also two statues...
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of the Virgin of the Rosary, a larger one which does not leave the sanctuary and a smaller one, named “La Peoncita,” which traveled through the neighboring valleys begging alms for the cult until recently forbidden by the bishop of Ica (information collected by the author).

In the moving autobiography of Gregorio Condori Mamani (Valderrama and Escalante 1982), he tells of the belief that the Christ of Pampamarca has four brothers: the first, the Lord of Pampakuchu; the second, the Lord of Huanca; the third, Qolluriti; and the fourth, the Lord of Acllamayo. One more example is Taitacha Temblores of Cuzco, a much-venerated image and Patron Jurado of the city. According to local belief, the Lord makes frequent visits to Mamacha Belén of the parish of the same name (Valencia Espinoza 1991). The Virgin and Taitacha Temblores have a mother-and-son relationship and, for the Cusqueños, are ancestral expressions of the cosmogonic couple of the mother/son binomial. Thus, we find the Andean concept of kinship surviving to the present day in a confusion of Andean huacas, Virgins, and Christ. For the native, there is a spiritual kinship and consanguinity with the Apu or sacred peaks who act as humans, visiting, conversing, and resolving human problems.

The pilgrimages to certain huacas and famous oracles at specific times of the year are another manifestation of Pre-Columbian Andean religiosity that continued into the colonial period in altered forms. For example, Avila’s (Taylor 1987; Salomon and Urioste 1991) informants recount that the inhabitants of the region of the central coast attended the fiestas of the god Pariacaca in the sierra of Huarochirí. Reciprocally, during the time of the celebrations in honor of Pachacamac, there was a great influx of pilgrims to the sanctuary (Cieza de León 1941: chap. 72). This tradition of pilgrimage is still maintained in Peru today, with numerous fiestas for one or another Virgin, Christ, or saint attracting for brief periods multitudes of pilgrims from distant places. These crowded pilgrimage centers are then nearly abandoned during the rest of the year. We can cite as examples the Lord of Qolluriti in Cuzco, the Virgin of Chapi in the district of Arequipa, and the Lord of Motupe, among many others.

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The transposition of the Pre-Hispanic cult to the saints, Virgins, and Christ can be traced over a broad diffusion zone in the country and forms part of the contemporary religiosity of its people. However, a special transformational phenomenon took place with the god Pachacamac, in which an initial symbiosis between the native inhabitants and African slaves led to a later religious syncretism that included Catholicism. I will explain these initial developments
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and the transformation of these earlier beliefs into the present-day devotion of El Señor de los Milagros, a very deeply felt religious practice in Peru that has spread to other countries as well.

According to Avila, in Pre-Hispanic times the god Pachacamac was believed to create and control earth tremors and earthquakes, as an expression of his anger. After the Spanish invasion, the Señorío (lordship) of Pachacamac passed into Spanish hands as encomiendas, as did all the Andean macroethnic groups. There were two original encomenderos, and in 1544 Vaca de Castro granted the encomiendas of Piscas in the Atavillos and Pachacamac in the valley of Lurin to Hernán González and Bernaldo Ruiz conjointly (Torres Saldamando 1900, 1).

La Gasca’s tax roll (tasa) of 1549 indicates that many natives of Pachacamac worked in fields in Lima belonging to González. Their numbers were such that the place came to be called Pachacamilla (little Pachacamac), its name to this day (Torres Saldamando 1900, 1). The strong ethnic identity of Pachacamac in this part of Lima implies that there was a cultural presence there which would include religious practices. What is significant in terms of the relationship/transformation of Pachacamac into a Christian form of belief is that Pachacamilla, a word that already implies a cultural synthesis by combining the indigenous placename with the Spanish diminutive form -illa, became the site of veneration of the miraculous image of a dark-skinned crucified Christ known as El Señor de los Milagros, a Christian icon that is directly related to earthquakes.

Peru frequently experiences earth tremors, and it is natural for the natives after establishing themselves on the fields of Lima, to reproduce the image of their huaca who protected them from tremors in their homeland. For example, if the image of Llocollahuanacupa, son of Pachacamac, was reproduced on both sides of a lienzo, the same could have been done with the image of Pachacamac. When the earth shook, it is likely that not only did the natives of Pachacamac implore the telluric powers of their coastal deity, but that they were joined in their invocations by the African slaves who had so recently been brought to the coast, some of whom were owned by Hernán González (Rostworowski 1992: 132).

What enables us to hypothesize that the African slaves on the coast participated in native beliefs in some form or the other? First, the majority of Africans brought to Peru, especially during this early period of interest to us (1531-1650), were ethnically and culturally an extremely heterogeneous group who came not only from different parts of Africa but also, and of special note, from the Caribbean, Spain, and Portugal. They found among the native followers of Pachacamac a structured religion with strong and deep roots that they naturally adopted for their own. Thus a spontaneous popular symbiosis was produced
between the two groups concerning these beliefs. The Africans may very well have taken the Andean faith for their own motivated by fear and terror before the terrible quakes.

A different situation presented itself in Brazil, for example, where the number of Africans was considerably larger than in the Peruvian case, and where they were permitted to preserve their African customs, languages, rituals, and beliefs. With the natives of Brazil there occurred the reverse of what happened in Peru. Because the African roots were strong and of greater vitality than those of the indigenous Brazilian culture, the natives tended to adopt African rites such as the Candombé and the Caboclo de Bahía as their own (Smith Omari n.d.; Crowley 1984).

The ability of the belief in Pachacamac to be sustained in sixteenth-century colonial Lima and even to be passed on to the African slaves in the household of González is in part due to the non-performance of the encomenderos of Pachacamac in their official duties. According to a document of 1573 concerning the conversion of the natives of Pachacamac, they received such an ephemeral and superficial evangelization that the Real Audiencia de los Reyes imposed a fine of 1,200 pesos of assayed silver on each of the encomenderos. At the same time, the Africans became major agents in the melding of Pachacamac with the Christian faith. This is due in part to the severe demographic decline that tremendously affected all of Peru but most especially the central coast. The collapse was due to various factors, including newly introduced diseases and the civil war among the Spaniards in which troops from both sides caused great damage in the Lurin Valley by seizing the natives' crops and animals. For these reasons the native population on the coast suffered an almost virtual collapse, and the African inhabitants became co-heirs to the coastal beliefs of the natives.

More than one hundred years passed during which the natives of Pachacamac worked the fields of their encomendero in Lima, and illiterate settlers preserved and transmitted their highly charged religious message of faith and hope from one ethnic group to another. During these years religious devotion to the original image of the god Pachacamac was gradually transformed and directed toward the image of a rough Cristo Morado painted in tempera on a wall. The central idea of Pachacamac as a permanently watchful being who offered protection against the dangers of the tremors of the earth persisted among the faithful. The connecting thread of this millenary account is the fear of earthquakes and the autochthonous power that could restrain them. Meanwhile, the Christ figure took on the racial coloring of the Africans and natives rather than the Europeans.

The first chapel was built in Pachacamilla and attended by blacks and mulat-
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toes belonging to a cofradía (guild). It is important to note that the image worshiped and perhaps painted by the African slaves suffered with the passage of the years, similar to the deterioration of the chapel that sheltered it. In fact, the humble chapel of the Christ of Pachacamilla fell into little more than a ruin, and by all accounts the site had become abandoned by 1655, the year of one of Lima’s great earthquakes. Vargas Ugarte (1966) indicated that this event was responsible for reviving the cult. The quake caused the collapse of churches and homes and the spread of panic in Lima. The roof of the chapel fell, and only the wall containing the image of Christ remained intact. Years passed and, beginning in 1670, a resident by the name of Antonio León began to worship the image. According to a much later account by Sebastián de Antuñano (1966 [1670]), the first miracle to be produced was León’s recovery from an incurable disease.

During the period after the earthquake, faith in the Christ of Pachacamilla was also revived within the African community, and on Friday nights the Africans would join in noisy celebrations. These clandestine gatherings came to awaken the suspicions of the priest at the nearby church of San Marcelo which he promptly reported to his superiors. The vicar general, informed of the celebrations in Pachacamilla, ordered on September 5, 1671, that the image on the wall be erased in order to put an end to the cult. According to legend, when the mason climbed a ladder and tried to eliminate the image with his brush he miraculously fell into a faint. The same occurred on his second attempt, and no one else offered to carry out the order.

These miraculous events took place during the regime of the Count of Lemos, but they do not appear in the reports of the viceroy nor in the Diario de Lima of Mugaburu (1927). That is, whatever was occurring in the development of the cult of El Señor de los Milagros, it was at a social level that did not necessitate it being noticed as important within writings of the viceregal court. However, the history of the events and the miraculous power of the image were soon to become a part of the criollo history of Lima, just as the Virgin of Guadalupe became an important element in criollo historical consciousness in Mexico (Lafaye 1974).

According to the later writings of the Limeño Sebastián de Antuñano, the Count of Lemos immediately ordered a stone wall erected around the image. As this wall was being built, however, an adobe wall that held the images of the Virgin and María Magdalena fell to the ground (Vargas Ugarte 1966: 31). This statement indicates that the adobe wall had been built only recently, replacing the one leveled in the quake. So the unfortunate episode of the mason and his ladder related by Antuñano may well have occurred. In support of this version,
there is a royal cédula of April 19, 1681, concerning the cult, and it mentions that the attempt to erase the image of Christ took place during the regime of Count Castellar. The cédula is also the first source in which the image of Christ at Pachacamilla is officially called “el Cristo de los Milagros” (Rostworowski 1992: 154).

Later, a document of the Cabildo of Lima of October 27, 1718, states that during the regime of the Count of Monclova, and at his expense, the wall was reinforced with lime and bricks (Vargas U garte 1966: 157–163; AGI Lima 537). From this information we draw the conclusion that the painting suffered changes and additions. First we learn that the Count of Lemos ordered the additional images of the Father and the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove. Then, after the wall collapsed, the original image of Saint John was replaced by that of Mary Magdalene, and the Virgin was redone; according to the legend, only the image of Christ remained intact in its original form.

Despite its deplorable, sunken appearance, other events took place in connection with the chapel of Pachacamilla. Among the Protocolos Notariales of the Archivo General de la Nación there are documents concerning the sale of lands belonging to Don Diego Manrique de Lara, great-grandson of early encomendero Hernán González, to Juan de Quevedo, “majordomo of the structure of the Chapel of the Holy Christ,” dated December 17, 1671 (AGN 1671–75, fol. 395), and a later testimony of 1684 deals with the sale of seven lots to a lieutenant Sebastián de Antuñano y Rivas (AGN 1685). Antuñano is one of the most important individuals in the advocation of the cult. He was a faithful devotee who dedicated himself to the construction of a new chapel after buying the property. Moreover, he promoted the cult by writing “Relación de la casa y santuario de la Santísima Trinidad y Santo Cristo de la Fe y Maravillas” in which he narrated the numerous miracles attributed to the site and the image.

The growing prestige of the image and its chapel attracted not only lay worshipers, but eventually a convent founded by Doña Antonia Maldonado was given the charge to care for the site. Doña Antonia was a criolla born in Guayaquil who, in 1676, married Alonso Oultanilla in Callao by order of her mother. Her marriage, however, was never consummated, and at the premature death of her husband, she founded a beaterio (house inhabited by pious women), taking the name Antonia Lucía del Espíritu Santo. Many years passed before the beaterio for lay sisters became a convent, and she was frustrated several times before finally obtaining a royal cédula authorizing the creation of the Convent of the Nazarenes. On October 27, 1718, the Cabildo of Lima sent a petition to the king requesting the necessary authorizations to respond to the clamor of the people and to convert the Nazarene Institute into a convent,
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with the sisters responsible for the cult of the Holy Christ. The desired confirmation and execution of the royal cédula took place in 1730, although Doña Antonia did not live to see her wish fulfilled, having passed away many years before.

THE EARTHQUAKES OF LIMA

The first earthquake associated with the chapel of Pachacamilla, the telluric powers of the image, and the procession through Lima of a sculpture copying this Christ figure took place on October 20, 1687. The initial quake caused great damage in Lima and Callao, and the aftershocks continued to reverberate throughout the two cities. Antuñano had a copy of the image of Christ made and then had it passed through the streets.

The earthquake most closely identified with the Cristo Morado, however, that of October 28, 1746, was one of the strongest and most destructive in Lima’s history. Following this quake, the date of the annual procession was changed from September 14 to October 28, with the novena beginning on the 18th. Since that time the cult of the Christ of Pachacamilla, or the Lord of the Miracles as he is also called, has been in the ascent. He is venerated in the provinces of Peru, and his cult has been exported to Miami and New York by the Peruvians who reside in those cities. The Christ has been proclaimed Patrón Jurado of Lima, and his protection is implored whenever tremors are felt in the capital.

TWO CASES OF SYNCRETISM

We have seen how by means of religious syncretism the principal attribute of a huaca was incorporated into the cult of Christ of Pachacamilla. This is not an unusual phenomenon. Similar cases, for example, are known from ancient Rome when various religious cults from throughout the empire, including Christianity, became important in the imperial city. However, syncretism, as it has come to be defined through modern usage, is a colonial Christian religious process by which ancient indigenous beliefs are used to facilitate the establishment of, as well as to reinterpret, the new Christian beliefs and practices developed in Europe.

The validity of this statement can be demonstrated with two examples. For this purpose I will briefly mention two much-acclaimed Virgins of the Americas, renowned for the expansion of their cults: the Virgin of Guadalupe of Mexico and the Virgin of Copacabana of the Altiplano of Peru and Bolivia.
Like the image of El Señor de los Milagros or Cristo Morado, both images of the Virgin are dark-skinned and are often called Vírgenes morenas, whose Pre-Columbian roots would not be difficult to recognize in the minds of Native Americans. In the case of Guadalupe, she has become, beginning with her seventeenth-century promotion by Mexican criollos (Lafaye 1974), the preeminent symbol of Mexican nationality in the twentieth century, just as the Lord of the Miracles has come to represent, through the criollo promotion of seventeenth-century Limeños, the unity and synthesis of the various ethnic groups that comprise Peruvian nationality.

It is necessary in these examples of colonial syncretism to emphasize that in neither of these cases was the image of the Virgin brought from Europe as were the majority of the images that occupied altars in the Americas. Rather, the Virgin of Copacabana is the work of an Indian sculptor, and the painted image of the Virgin of Guadalupe is believed to have miraculously appeared on the cloak of an Indian as proof of her apparition to him. Both dark-skinned images are the fruits of a native inheritance bearing a millenary past that flourished under the influence of a new faith. As Teresa Gisbert (1980: 52) correctly points out in her study of the phenomenon of syncretism, all these Christian examples carry with them attributes of their Pre-Hispanic predecessors which they replace and with which they in some way identify themselves as being particular to the New World and the people who worship them.

The Virgin of Copacabana

In Pre-Hispanic times in Copacabana, on the shores of Lake Titicaca, there were two very famous huacas, one of which was named Copacabana (Ramos Gavilán 1988: 191). It was a blue stone whose name, in Quechua as well as in Aymara, refers to a greenish turquoise, an appropriate color for an idol of the fishermen (Rostworowski 1983). The stone was beautiful; it had a human face and a body in the form of a fish. It was worshiped as the god or goddess of the lagoon. The second idol, a stone with an “extremely ugly body” and a headful of curled snakes, was named Copacati. It appears that the two idols at once opposed and complemented each other, since Copacabana, on the lakeshore, represented the water from Hurin-Below, while Copacati, on a hilltop, symbolized the rain or the deity of water from Above or Hanan. This complementary duality expressed the social division of the Copacabana community expressed in the Andean moiety terms of Hanan and Hurin. Bouysse-Cassagne (1988), however, suggests that the intense and antagonistic rivalry between the two groups may represent ethnic differences as well, with the Hanan population having an Aymara origin and the members of Hurin Copacabana representing the older lakeshore dwellers.
Whatever the case, the image that came to be known as the Virgin of Copacabana not only replaced the two local huacas but came to be worshiped by both Hanan and Hurin, miraculously overcoming the ancient rivalry between the two groups which had initially given rise to the opposing of the image by the members of Hurin Copacabana. The Augustinian chronicler, Ramos Gavilán (1988), recounts not only the history of these paired Pre-Hispanic huacas but how they were replaced by the next sacred image: the sculpture of the Virgin of Copacabana. An Indian by the name of Don Francisco Tito Y upanqui from Hanan Copacabana began sculpting the image in 1582 even though he had great difficulty with the archbishop in obtaining official permission to do so. After winning approval and finishing the image, Francisco nearly sold it before ever taking it to Copacabana because members of Hurin Copacabana insisted that the statue be made by a Spanish master. At that point, however, the image manifested its miraculous nature by emitting glorious light at night while being kept in the Franciscan monastery. As a result, the image was triumphantly carried into Copacabana in 1583, although much to the resentment of the members of Hurin Copacabana. However, only four years later in 1587 Francisco’s statue came to be worshiped by the entire community when the Virgin interceded on behalf of the Hurin community when she was petitioned by their prayers during a severe drought. The fusion of the community is recognized in the most curious and infrequent aspect of the Virgin who kept the name of the Pre-Hispanic idol (Copacabana) that she replaced. The image has allowed for a focal point that has facilitated the ongoing pilgrimages to Copacabana that are Pre-Hispanic in origin but are now Christian in form (MacCormack 1984).

The Virgin of Guadalupe

The Virgin of Guadalupe from Mexico has a similar miraculous history that, like the Virgin of Copacabana and El Señor de los Milagros, connects, at one level, Pre-Hispanic beliefs and Catholic cult devotion. The shrine in Mexico City dedicated to the Virgin of Guadalupe is at the base of a hill called Tepeyac. On the top of Tepeyac, near Tenochtitlan, the ancient capital of the Mexicas, now Mexico City, there was a Pre-Hispanic sanctuary of a much-venerated goddess called Cihuacoatl-Tonantzin. Multitudes of followers flocked to her temple, and her cult was deeply rooted in the people. It was there that in 1531 the Virgin of Guadalupe appeared to a Juan Diego, a native who reported the apparition and her command to build a church for her to Zumárraga, the bishop of Mexico City. The bishop at first doubted the apparition, and Juan Diego returned to the site where he gathered up the rose petals that the Virgin
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had caused to grow and placed them in his cloak or tilma. When he unfolded the cloak to show the roses to the bishop, the cloak bore the miraculous image of the Virgin.

This history provides the miraculous aura to the image that now is venerated at Tepeyac. Like many of the other autochthonous Christian icons from the Americas, the promotion of the image was at first contested within the criollo and Spanish community, and it was not until the seventeenth century that the cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe became more universalized. At the same time the miraculous nature of the image maintained its specifically Mexican character (Lafaye 1974). For example, the flourishing of the Marian cult among the natives was accompanied by the appearance of a manuscript in Nahuatl attributed to an illustrious native, Don Antonio Valeriano, a former student of the Franciscan Colegio de Santa Cruz in Tlatelolco, who was related to the family of Moctezuma II. It consisted of a collection of poems entitled Niñón Mopouha, dedicated to the praise of the Virgin of Guadalupe and possibly written in the mid-sixteenth century but published only in 1649 by the vicar of Guadalupe, Luis Laso de la Vega. It was only recently translated into Spanish by Ortiz de Montellano (1990).

The cult continued to be discreetly observed until 1648, when a monk by the name of Miguel Sánchez published Imagen de la Virgen Maria, Madre de Dios Guadalupe, which gave a definitive impulse to its diffusion. According to Gruzinski (1990: 188) and Lafaye (1974), an important factor that favored the launching of the cult was the support of the religious creoles imbued with a nascent “Guadalupean patriotism.”

**CONCLUSION**

The final victory over the pagan cults was won by the two Virgenes morenas that were sculpted or painted by native artists. They triumphed over natives, creoles, and Spaniards alike, as had the Cristo Morado of Pachacamilla of Indian/black origin. Around these cults a number of beliefs and symbols crystallized with roots in a distant American past. With them was established the triumph of Christianity over the Pre-Hispanic deities, but the ancient gods did not lose their hold on the people. Guadalupe endures as “Our Mother”; the Cristo Morado continues to protect them from the tremors of the earth; and the ancient deity of the Altiplano becomes the triumphant Virgin who rejects and subdues the devil. These religious syncretisms were achieved by means of miracles, marvels, and events constructed according to the tastes of the times, as required to unite diverse ethnic and racial groups in a single integrating vision of America.
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