

Painting Andean Liminalities at the Church of Andahuaylillas, Cuzco, Peru

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Murals painted along the walls of parish churches served as important tools in the evangelization of native Andeans throughout the colonial period. Depictions of key doctrinal images facilitated the transmission of Christianity through a didactic visual language. Priests often used murals and canvas paintings to punctuate their sermons with forceful imagery on the fate of the righteous and the damned (Mujica Pinilla 2006), thus capitalizing on the importance of orality and visuality in the transmission of knowledge among Andean peoples.¹ Mural paintings proliferated throughout the Viceroyalty of Peru as religious patrons began to recognize their utility in the catechization process and cost effectiveness, having the ability to imitate architectural detailing and expensive materials such as gilded frames and *retablos*.² Murals acted as multi-compositional constructions extending from wall to ceiling that included ornamental friezes, *trompe l'oeil* columns and archways, ceiling decorations, floral and vegetal motifs, and large-scale religious and allegorical scenes. These images were located at the veritable center of indigenous social and spiritual life, thereby possessing unparalleled potential to communicate critical religious concepts and codes of social conduct to local communities. Murals formed ‘social skins’ (Turner 1980) that enveloped the bodies of churches—as permeable yet permanent surfaces on which images breathed and pulsated through dynamic engagement with their viewers. While the resident priest or *cofradía* typically selected the subject matter and source prints for murals under their patronage, artists wielded the ability to carefully emulate, appropriate, and modify European source images so that they would resonate with Andean audiences. Murals were thus endowed with a tremendous multivalency whose meanings could be differently interpreted based on the modes of knowledge—ranging from locally understood Andean cosmovisions to classical training in Catholic doctrine—to which a given viewer had access.

This article focuses on one of the most well-known yet poorly understood murals of the colonial Andes: the *Camino del cielo e infierno* (*The Way to Heaven and Hell*) painted along the interior entrance wall (*sotacoro*) of the church of San Pedro Apóstol

de Andahuaylillas just outside Cuzco. *El camino del cielo e infierno* (ca. 1626) is an allegorical scene depicting the narrow and broad roads to Heaven and Hell one encounters upon death. While this mural has been the object of scholarly attention for over half a century, scholars have made little effort to pursue original research on its origins or potential meanings to seventeenth-century Andean congregations. This article identifies and analyzes critical primary sources associated with the image, including the original print on which it was based by Flemish engraver Hieronymus Wierix, seventeenth-century religious writings, and a Spanish *auto sacramental*, which provide invaluable context for understanding its participation in contemporary debates on the nature of indigenous religious practice. In particular, I demonstrate how the entrance wall mural strategically features liminal acts of boundary crossings, pilgrimage, and performance that would have been meaningful to Spanish-descended ecclesiastics and native parishioners alike. Examination of the mural's subtle compositional adjustments and iconographical departures from its source print open up new pathways of interpretation that reveal its embeddedness in the religious, theatrical, and cultural milieu of seventeenth-century Cuzco.

Coined the 'Sistine Chapel of the Americas,' the church of Andahuaylillas contains an array of murals, canvas paintings, polychrome statues of saints, and gilded retablos that cover nearly every interior surface (Figure 1).³ The works of art span the entirety of the colonial period; the mural under consideration here, however, corresponds to the earliest phase of artistic activity in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. The entrance wall mural depicts a complex allegory of good and bad faith: the road to



Figure 1 Exterior and interior views of the church of Andahuaylillas, province of Quispicanchis, Cuzco, Peru. Founded in the early seventeenth century. Photograph by author.



Figure 2 Luis de Riaño and assistants, *Camino del cielo e infierno*, ca. 1626. Photograph by author.

Hell to the left of the entrance portal features sinners walking along a flower-strewn plank leading to a flaming castle, while the road to Heaven to the right is depicted as a path covered in thorns that leads to the resplendent Heavenly Jerusalem (Figure 2). Scholars have attributed the work to the *criollo* artist Luis de Riaño, but close inspection of the mural program reveals multiple hands, indicating that he was aided by indigenous assistant painters (Cohen 2012, 56–58).⁴ The mural serves as the final image that parishioners would have viewed upon exiting the church. Let us first flesh out the geographic and historical parameters within which the mural was conceived in order to better understand its important mediating role in contemporary discourses on the demarcation of sacred borders and boundaries.

Overview of Andahuaylillas, *Reducción* and Church

The town of Andahuaylillas was founded in accordance with Viceroy Francisco de Toledo's 1572 decree that indigenous populations were to be organized into *reducciones* (also known as *doctrinas*), or small villages laid out on a centralized grid plan. Indigenous populations were redistributed as a means of facilitating their conversion to Christianity and exacting tribute through organized labor regimes.⁵ By 'reducing' indigenous peoples into small villages, Spaniards were able to more effectively exploit their labor and distance them from their place-based *huacas*, or sacred shrines (see MacCormack 1985, 453–54). At the center of each *reducción* was a small plaza surrounded by the priest's house, a prison, a hospital, and a church.

Andahuaylillas was established as a farming district, specializing in the cultivation of maize and wheat (Hopkins 1983, 12).⁶

Andahuaylillas originally boasted a small chapel constructed in the 1570s and founded in 1580 as referenced by contemporary Fray Sebastián de Lartaún (Kelemen 1951a, 174; Castillo Centeno, Kuon Arce, and Aguirre Zamalloa n.d., 15), but the church of San Pedro Apóstol was constructed in the early seventeenth century (Mesa and Gisbert 1982, 237) along the *plaza mayor*.⁷ The church is of adobe construction and consists of a single nave with a polygonal apse and an elevated choir loft. It rests on an Inca stone foundation, suggesting that it was constructed on the remains of a pre-Hispanic temple (Kelemen 1951a, 174). The church has a triumphal arch façade with lateral niches flanking the doorway, sandwiched between two large pilasters. The façade extends upward into a balcony from which the priest could deliver sermons to congregations stationed in the atrium. The balcony served as a mediating space that enabled un-baptized villagers whose entry to the church was restricted to still attend mass. This type of church is known as an open chapel, or *capilla abierta*, an architectural phenomenon specific to the colonial Americas intended to accommodate large crowds of indigenous parishioners. The niches flanking the doorway are decorated with heavily deteriorated murals depicting Saint Paul and Saint Peter, the patron saint of the church. The martyrdom of Saint Peter is depicted at the balcony level of the façade. This tradition of adorning the triumphal arch and balcony with mural painting was common throughout Indian parishes in the Cuzco region, with representative examples found in churches located in the southern Peruvian towns of San Jerónimo (a neighborhood of Cuzco), Oropesa, Urcos, Huasac, and Cay-Cay (Gutiérrez 1983, 61; Gisbert and Mesa 1997, 84).

The imposing entrance wall mural transmits an important message to parishioners as they exit the church of the moral decisions they will confront on their spiritual journey. The two paths refer directly to the biblical passage from Matthew 7:13–14, which states, ‘Enter through the narrow gate. For wide is the gate and broad is the road that leads to destruction, and many enter through it / But small is the gate and narrow the road that leads to life, and only a few find it.’ A nude figure wearing nothing but a white sheet around his waist walks cautiously down the narrow and thorny path to the Heavenly Jerusalem, with three lines emanating from his head that lead to a representation of the Holy Trinity as three identical male figures (Figure 4). A thick rope also connects his back to the composition on the left of the doorway, where the Devil attempts to pull him over to the left side. At the foreground of the scene is a banquet attended by four individuals feasting on wine, fish, bread, pie, and fruits. A naked sinner falls into the maws of a Hell mouth featured along the path to Hell (Figure 5). At the forefront of the scene is an allegorical female figure guiding a young man standing directly below the rope held by the devil. The path culminates at a castle engulfed in flames guarded by deer poised on the roof with bows and arrows.

The paths to Heaven and Hell were familiar tropes in medieval Christianity, with frequent representations in paintings, manuscript illuminations, and stage sets.⁸ Despite its decline in popularity in Europe by the Renaissance, this type of allegorical



Figure 3 Detail of upper nave mural, ca. 1626. Photograph by author.

imagery carried great import in the colonial Andes.⁹ The didactic iconography, painstakingly labeled with relevant biblical passages, was ideal for preaching Catholic doctrine to Andean parishioners. In fact, it is highly likely that Juan Pérez Bocanegra, the parish priest who commissioned the murals and accompanying decorative program, would have conducted his sermons using the murals as a focal point. The life and work of Juan Pérez Bocanegra has been elaborated in depth elsewhere (see Vargas Ugarte 1960; Barnes 1992; Harrison 2002; Mannheim 2002, 2008; Durston 2007; Cucho Dolmos 2008; Charles 2010), but, for the purposes of this article, I wish to highlight his artistic patronage at Andahuaylillas and the motivations behind commissioning an image like the *Camino del cielo e infierno* to adorn the interior of his church.

A noted humanist and linguist, Juan Pérez Bocanegra is perhaps best known for his bilingual (Spanish and Quechua) manual for priests entitled *Ritual formulario* published in Lima in 1631.¹⁰ He completed the book in 1622, but, for reasons not fully understood, it was not published for another nine years.¹¹ *Ritual formulario* is a 720-page instruction manual for administering the seven sacraments to indigenous Andeans. As Pérez Bocanegra mentions in the *epístola* (epistle), he follows the rubrics laid out in the Tridentine Office Book for parish priests, published in Antwerp in 1620 (see Toribio Medina 1965, 279; MacCormack 1998, 106). A third-order Franciscan, Pérez Bocanegra was assigned as *párroco* of Andahuaylillas by the Diocese at some point before 1621,¹² and remained there until the brief Jesuit takeover of the parish on 31 December 1628. The church was passed back into the hands of the secular clergy on 4 April 1636, and Pérez Bocanegra was reinstated until his death in 1645 (Mannheim 2008, 516).¹³ While scholars have remained divided on the patronage of the church's



Figure 4 Detail of *Camino del cielo*, ca. 1626. Photograph by author.

mural program,¹⁴ recent evidence further supports Pérez Bocanegra's role in commissioning the church's murals at some time between 1621 and 1628.

An upper nave mural previously covered by a canvas painting until the recent World Monuments Fund restoration campaign of 2010–2012 provides crucial support for Pérez Bocanegra's patronage of the mural program.¹⁵ It contains a decorative scheme similar to the lower nave murals, differing only in pigmentation; it retains its original bright color palette as the result of being covered up for centuries, lending us a small glimmer of the mural program's original splendor (Figure 3). Elaborate strapwork encircles two areas of text that read like a rebus. The first circle contains the letters 'edi' 'fi' when read from bottom to top, likely an abbreviation for 'edificó,' or built. The next circle to the right of it contains the inscription 'boca,' or mouth. An image to the right of this decorative frieze offers a visual analogy to 'boca,' featuring an archangel protecting a young boy from the gaping jaws of a dark greenish-black Hell mouth, which bears striking resemblance to the one painted



Figure 5 Detail of *Camino del infierno*, ca. 1626. Photograph by author.

alongside the *Camino del infierno*. The stylistic and iconographical similarities between this nave mural and its entrance wall counterpart suggest that the entire program was painted and commissioned under Pérez Bocanegra's tutelage before his brief departure in 1628.¹⁶

While the appearance of a mere three words—'edi,' 'fi,' and 'boca'—may seem like a tenuous reference to Pérez Bocanegra's patronage, we must consider this rebus within the context of other contemporary writings that reference his name. A poem written by Dominican priest Adrián de Alesio (the son of Italian émigré artist Mateo Pérez de Alesio) in the opening pages of *Ritual formulario* provides further evidence of Pérez's unique maternal last name as fodder for witty wordplays. The last lines of the poem read, 'Pues tu pluma le dà lengua / Y tu nombre le dà boca' [For your quill endows it with tongue / And your name gives it a mouth]. Alesio's poem is followed by an anonymous sonnet that continues this theme. The first four lines read: 'Boca de oro esmaltada [h]a de llamarse / Trocando Bocanegra a su apellido / Qu' el oro de

quilates mas subido / De esmaltes negros puede perfilarse' [Enameled mouth of gold has to be called / Changing Bocanegra for his surname / That gold with the most carats / And black enamels could appear] (Pérez Bocanegra 1631, n.p.).¹⁷

Now that we have established his role in the patronage of the entrance wall mural, why would Pérez Bocanegra have chosen this particular theme to serve as the centerpoint of the church's decorative program? Aside from its didactic value, we also know that a number of his contemporaries working throughout the viceroyalty evoked the trope of the roads to Heaven and Hell in their sermons to indigenous congregations.¹⁸ For instance, the Jesuit priest Francisco de Ávila published a sermon on this very theme in his *Tratado de los evangelios*:

Christ our Lord came, my children, to this world for reason none other than his immense piety, and compassion, and being God he tried to be Man at the same time in order to show us the path toward heaven, and how we can arrive there. And this he did with his works and his words. But look, first you have to know that the True path, which goes right toward heaven is only one path, *just as long ago in this land there had been a Royal road, which allowed the Incas to travel from one town to the other*. Well, the path to Heaven is to love God above all things, and to love others as we love ourselves. (Ávila 1648, 1:81; emphasis mine)¹⁹

Of particular interest is the way in which the two Christian paths became superimposed onto Andean histories and landscapes. Instead of rendering the Inca past as a dangerous space to be silenced into the all-encompassing arena of sin and diabolism, Ávila actually equates the path to heaven, the *camino del cielo*, with the *capac ñan*, the Quechua term for the royal Inca road. The *capac ñan* was a major feat of engineering and imperial organization, linking up the entire empire through a total of 15,000–20,000 miles of roadway. The highland road ran from Quito, Ecuador, to Mendoza, Argentina, while the coastal road ran from the Inca outpost of Tumbes in Ecuador all the way south to Santiago, Chile (Hyslop 1984; Instituto Nacional de Cultura 2004). Perhaps recognizing the magnitude and utility of the Inca road system (which was modified in the colonial period to meet Spanish transportation needs), Ávila simply urges indigenous congregations to reorient their understandings of paths along which they travel and conduct pilgrimage. The *capac ñan* thus becomes a template for envisioning the divine path leading to Heaven.

Ávila's colleague Fernando de Avendaño went further, including *tambos* in his sermon on the roads to Heaven and Hell published in his 1648 *Sermones de los misterios*. *Tambos* were way stations situated at different points on the Inca road to provide respite for travelers. He states,

Haven't you seen on many occasions, when a Spaniard (*chapelón*) travels from here to Cuzco, or to Potosí, that he asks at the *tambo* for an Indian to guide him and show him the path until he gets to the next *tambo*, so that he doesn't get lost and take the wrong path, end up down a precipice, fall off a cliff, and become smashed into pieces? Well in the same way that we walk from the *tambo* in this mortal life to the other *tambo* of the immortal life, we never should never let go of this guide, whom

we call Faith, because this is how God showed us the true way for the good of our souls, that teaches us the truth without deceiving us and committing errors; because God knows a lot and knows the truth, and he advises men that if they break away from the path they will go to Hell, which is a twisted path, and that they must go on the right path of the Commandments of God. (Avendaño 1648, 1:2r-v)²⁰

Ávila reclassifies *tambos* for insertion into a Christian framework while also appealing to his congregations' knowledge of a shared Inca past. *Tambos* transform from secular sites of respite into sacred dualities that house the world of the living and the world of the dead. The practice of pilgrimage as means of linking and commemorating sacred spaces was an important component of Inca religious practice, a point that would not have been lost on Avendaño. Pilgrimage was also central to the Inca notion of the afterlife. For instance, the deceased were believed to cross a treacherous bridge called *achacaca* made entirely of prickly human hair in order to enter into *ucupacha*, the underworld (Calancha 1639, 379). Sabine MacCormack draws a parallel between the bridge to the underworld and actual Inca bridges made of *ichu* grass, which creates a tight association between the Inca royal road and the metaphysical pathways of the afterlife. In addition, the path along which the Inca king made his royal entry into the city of Cuzco was strewn with flowers, coca leaf, and feathers, not unlike the path to Hell featured in the mural (Calancha 1639, 375; MacCormack 1991, 180). The painting's subject matter thus held unique significance in the Andes whose parallels to Inca practice were utilized by contemporary ecclesiastical authorities for the creation of culturally relevant sermons to native Andean congregations.²¹

The Mural and the Print

Like most Andean paintings of the early-mid colonial period, the basic compositional and iconographical features of the *Camino del cielo e infierno* were inspired by northern European print culture.²² Scholars have speculated for decades over the precise identity of the source print with varying levels of success; the present publication is the first to my knowledge to identify and reproduce the precise print in question.²³ An engraving by the Flemish printmaker Hieronymus Wierix entitled *The Wide and Narrow Road* (also known more popularly as *The Broad and Narrow Way*) dating to ca. 1600 serves as the primary visual source for the *Camino del cielo e infierno*.²⁴ The copperplate engraving measures 7.2 inches in height and 4.29 inches in width (Figure 6).²⁵

The striking resemblance between the print and the mural leave little doubt that Andean muralists would have had some variation of this image on hand when creating the Andahuaylillas entrance wall mural. The painted figures maintain the same positioning as in the print, although they are rendered with a greater degree of flatness and angularity in contrast to the finely modulated bodies found in the original. They retain the same Flemish style of dress, lending the Andahuaylillas murals a sense of archaism in the disjuncture between the costumed characters of the



Figure 6 Hieronymus Wierix, *The Wide and Narrow Road*, ca. 1600. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisa Whittelsey Fund, 1951 (51.01.6312).

entrance wall mural and the kind of clothing Spanish or *criollo* (American-born Spaniards) contemporaries would have worn in the seventeenth century. Some aspects of the print are copied with painstaking fidelity to the original, such as in the flaming palace of Hell, surmounted by deer bearing bows and arrows, as well as in the

depiction of *Caro*, the personification of flesh, leading a young boy astray in his spiritual journey.

A few key modifications of the original source, however, reveal interesting strategies of localization undertaken by the Andahuaylillas muralists—that is, pictorial modifications to the pre-existing image to make it meaningful to local audiences. Perhaps the most obvious difference between the mural and its print source is in its lateral reversal of the Christian spatial hierarchy. The path to Hell is positioned to the right of Jesus, who hovers over the central doorway, while heaven is positioned to his left. This unorthodox inversion violates Christian conceptions of the cosmic order, and is rarely found in contemporary European paintings of the Last Judgment or similar allegorical paintings. The very obvious rotation of the spatial relationships inscribed in the print, in fact, points to a significant intervention to facilitate a uniquely Andean reading of the mural image.²⁶

The composition, I would argue, follows an Andean conception of the universe as divided into two complementary forces known as *hanan* and *hurin*. These spatial concepts infused many aspects of life throughout the pre-Columbian period, from social relations to the built environment.²⁷ *Hanan* is commonly associated with masculinity and dominance, spatially expressed as up, above, or to one's right. *Hurin*, in contrast, represents femininity and subordination, spatially corresponding to notions of down, below, or to the left. Several art and literary historians have examined the preponderance of Andean spatial hierarchies in the visual arts of the colonial period, most notably in the richly illustrated manuscript, *El primer nueva corónica i buen gobierno* (1615) by the indigenous chronicler Guaman Poma de Ayala. Rolena Adorno's groundbreaking work on the metalinguistic capacity of Guaman Poma's manuscript to articulate both Spanish and Andean subjectivities (Adorno 1981, 1992, 2000 [1986]) laid the foundation for a wealth of provocative approaches to Guaman Poma's *oeuvre*, and to images of the colonial encounter as a whole (e.g. Zuidema 1991; Cummins 1997; Chang-Rodríguez 2005; Quispe-Agnoli 2005). Adorno (2000, 89–116) and Mercedes López-Baralt pay close attention to the encoding of Andean spatial hierarchies in *El primer nueva corónica* through the compositional distribution of Spanish and indigenous figures. López-Baralt argues that in Guaman Poma's vision of a world 'upside down,' Indians placed in a compromised or humiliated state by Spaniards often occupy the *hanan* position of the composition (at the bottom or internal right of the picture plane), while their oppressors are frequently situated in the opposing *hurin* position (1988; 1992, 14–31). This subtle compositional organization of the illustrations further solidified Guaman Poma's polemic that the humanity of indigenous Andeans validated their right to self-rule.²⁸

The *Camino del cielo e infierno* similarly retains an Andean cosmological format, but instead of corresponding to the internal mechanics of the image as we see in Guaman Poma's illustrations, the deployment of *hanan* and *hurin* components is determined by architectonic space. The entrance wall mural is indissolubly engaged with the architecture of the church, requiring a bodily engagement with the image

distinct from the optically oriented process of viewing a manuscript page. As parishioners face the mural and literally walk under and through it when exiting the church, the dominant component representing the path to Heaven would then be located to one's right and the weaker and subordinate *hurin* section to one's left. The human body served as an important guiding metaphor for the expression of these spatial concepts.²⁹ If we understand the reading of murals in the colonial Andes as an embodied experience that was activated by movement through architectural space, then this curious positioning of Heaven and Hell begins to attain greater significance. Murals in the colonial Andes and, indeed, throughout the Americas offered persuasive religious and allegorical images intended to invigorate one's personal commitment to the faith. The two paths beckon the viewer to imagine him or herself walking *into* the composition, experiencing the trials and tribulations offered by each route. The composition encourages a personal connection to the scene, orienting the viewers' experience toward the figures traversing the two paths. The viewer, positioning him/herself with respect to the figures on the paths, with backs turned, would have thus interpreted *hanan* and *hurin* relative to his or her point of entry into the scene rather than from the central position of Christ, facing the viewer from above the doorway. In effect, indigenous parishioners would have recognized Heaven to reside in the dominant *hanan* sector of their universe, further emphasized by the Quechua translation of Heaven as *hanacpacha*, or 'upperworld,' while Hell would reside in the left-hand *hurin* sector, appropriately termed *hurinpacha* or *ucupacha*, which translate to underworld or lower world. This convergence of Christian and Inca paths of pilgrimage is most interestingly encapsulated in the way that seventeenth-century priests translated *camino del cielo* into Quechua. The term *hanaccpachaman ñan* compresses concepts of *hanan*, the dominant upper cosmological component; *pacha*, the world; and *capac ñan*, the Inca royal road (see Ávila 1648, 174). In other words, these pictorial references were embedded in the very language employed in the evangelization process, creating a productive tension between language, image, and collective constructed memories of the Inca past.

Another significant modification of the print can be found in the representation of the entry portal to the heavenly Jerusalem. In the print, the arched entranceway is tall and wide, depicted as a rusticated arch under which a group of angels stand, bathed in rays of sunlight. The entry portal in the mural version appears quite differently. In proportion to the rest of the façade, the actual arch is small. While the arch in the print appears open, the mural entryway is depicted with a closed door. In fact, the portal bears a close resemblance to the painted portals leading to the baptistery and choir loft—both consist of an arched doorway flanked by pilasters and topped with a heavy entablature. But perhaps the closest visual source for the doorway depicted in the mural can be found in the entry portal to the church of Andahuaylillas itself (Figure 7). The white pilasters and entablature represented in the mural echo the white paint encasing the entrance, which itself is decorated with mural painting. The clever self-referentiality at play is heightened by the close correspondence between the wooden door of the mural and that of the church.



Figure 7 Detail of entrance portal, church of Andahuaylillas. Photograph by author.

The depiction of a firmly shut door on the path to salvation should not be seen as a mere compositional idiosyncrasy. On the contrary, references to such iconography abound in the contemporary religious literature of the Andean region. For instance, in the opening lines of his sermon for the first Friday of Lent, Francisco de Ávila states,

The door to Heaven, its entry is straight, and narrow, and the path leading to that life is the same, and very few make it. Do you know how narrow it is? Listen. If you came to this Church now, and you saw that its doorway wasn't big enough for even a small child to enter, and that the path to get to it was scattered with thorns, wouldn't you be afraid to arrive there? And although you see this so, you are motivated, and you say, I will arrive there anyway: How do you do it? By having strength, continuing on, finding the thorns although they puncture you, stripping yourself of your clothes so that they don't impede your entry through such a small door so that you will be able to enter inside; this is what you must do before, and without doing it, you won't enter.³⁰

Indigenous Andeans were warned of the possibility of refused entry to Heaven if they failed to follow the example of Christ's faith and virtue. In light of seventeenth-century anxieties about the effectiveness of early evangelization efforts, a greater sense of urgency accompanied the use of forceful iconography detailing the arduous journey to become a true Christian. Moreover, the individual standing at the doorway holding a key in his right hand likely represents Saint Peter the Apostle, the patron saint of Andahuaylillas. His figure is not included in the print, which further underscores the efforts taken to imbue the image with recognizable local elements. As the universal head of the Church, Saint Peter held the keys to the kingdom of Heaven, as expressed in the passage from Matthew 16:18–19: 'And I tell you that you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hades will not overcome it. I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven; whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven.' This conflation of Andahuaylillas with the kingdom of Heaven provides parishioners with the implicit message that the church of their very community constituted a New Jerusalem on Andean soil. Indeed, the act of entering and exiting the church left congregations with a palpable reminder of the spiritual pilgrimage necessary for attaining salvation—and one that could be understood within the immediate parameters of their existence rather than as a place only to be imagined and visualized.

Certain incongruities between the print and the mural elucidated above indicate that the mural painters adapted the composition to meet the needs of their local constituency. Other discontinuities between the print and mural, however, may reveal additional sources that played a role in its inception. The feasting scene depicted below the path to Heaven features a strikingly different configuration of characters and foodstuffs than that rendered in the print. In the mural, the table is tipped forward to reveal the vast array of culinary items enjoyed by the participants in the feast. Bearing little resemblance to the square table featured in the print, the table in the mural takes on an amorphous shape in order to reveal each individual item of food, drink, and utensil. We can easily identify apples, a plate of fish, a round cake or piece of bread, and what appears to be a fruit tart, interspersed with a fine drinking glass, forks, and knives. And perhaps of greatest interest, the depiction of a colonial *curaca*, or local ruler, bedecked in Inca-style garb traversing the waters of Hell, along with other figures engaged in acts of Andean ritual, bear no equivalent in the original print. How, then, do we account for these seemingly extraneous compositional details? And furthermore, what was so significant about this particular image for it to occupy such a prominent presence in the church of Andahuaylillas?

The Auto Sacramental in the Andes

An examination of the role of religious theater in the colonial Andes may help to answer some of these questions, serving as another important point of access for

interpreting the Andahuaylillas murals. The dramatic arts developed quickly in viceregal Peru; dramaturgical activity is documented within the first fifteen years of the Spanish conquest. One of the earliest known theatrical performances in the Andes was a medieval mystery play that took place on 6 January 1548, at the Cuzco Cathedral (Lohmann Villena 1945, 7). *Comedias* and *autos* were the most popular forms of early theater practiced in colonial Peru. The institutionalization of the theater is evidenced by the founding of *corrales de comedias* and the development of theater guilds (*ibid.*, 15–25). The arrival of the Jesuits in 1568 also helped to stimulate theatrical activity in the viceroyalty. According to Guillermo Lohmann Villena, the Jesuits promoted a scholastic form of theater promulgated by their *colegios*, in which students acted out scripture in the form of tragedies or dialogues as a means of bringing their studies to life (*ibid.*, 22).

Dances, processions, and ritual pilgrimage were vital modes of Inca performance that retained critical importance in colonial displays of civic identity. Such performances enabled individuals to preserve and propagate histories and foundational myths. Pre-Hispanic forms of public creative expression came into contact with Spanish dramatic expression to produce a wide variety of colonial theatrical manifestations. European plays were often translated and performed in Quechua or Aymara in order to foment indigenous participation in religious drama (Beyersdorff 1997, 2006; Gisbert 2001, 237–54). Members of the indigenous elite masqueraded as royal Inca ancestors during Corpus Christi performances (Dean 1999), and in some cases, hints of indigenous cultural resistance can be found in the dramatic texts of the colonial period (Chang-Rodríguez 1999). Like murals and other forms of visual art, Spanish religious theater, often translated and modified for local populations, served as an important tool in the evangelization of indigenous Andeans (Vargas Ugarte 1943; Beyersdorff 1988, 1997; Itier 2000; Millones 2012).

One form of Spanish theatrical practice held particular significance in the Andes. The *auto sacramental* is a one-act allegorical play performed in conjunction with Corpus Christi to celebrate the sacrament of the Eucharist. *Autos* often dealt with man's struggle to forgo worldly pleasures in order to attain a higher spiritual awareness. As theater historian Melveena McKendrick notes,

Calderón defined them as 'sermons in verse,' as theology translated intoactable ideas [...]. The *auto* was both a lesson in which the tenets of Catholic belief were explained and reaffirmed in an effort to deepen public understanding of them, and an act of faith and devotion in which the enemies of God—Protestant and Moslem—and their ways were symbolically confounded. (1989, 244)

The tradition enjoyed a lengthy career in Spain, reaching its peak of popularity in the mid-seventeenth century with the rise of the great Spanish Golden Age playwrights Lope de Vega and Pedro Calderón de la Barca.³¹ *Autos* reached Peru through a number of different channels in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Printed copies of plays arrived en masse from Seville, included in large-scale shipments of books to the colonial Americas. Documentation of these commercial exchanges is

available to us in the form of both library inventories (e.g., Hampe-Martínez 1993) and shipping manifests (Rueda Ramírez 2005). Plays also reached the Andes through human agents; newly arrived missionaries and bureaucratic officials would have brought copies of important texts from Spain with them either for personal use or to aid in evangelization efforts.

The *auto sacramental* genre of theater was widely disseminated in Peru, seen as an important component in the celebration of Corpus Christi. As early as 1563, *autos* were incorporated into Corpus Christi festivities in Lima (Lohmann Villena 1945, 17; Rodríguez Garrido 2008, 28–29), and became part of Cuzco celebrations by the seventeenth century. *Autos* were performed outdoors in the atria of churches to allow for mass spectatorship on the adjoining plaza. Moreover, their performance in outdoor spaces resonated with indigenous forms of spectacle, which were held outdoors in the pre-Columbian era (see, for instance, Beyersdorff 1997; Gisbert 2001, 237–54; Moore 2005, 123–73). In Cuzco, *autos* and *comedias* were infused with a renewed vigor with the appointment of don Nicolás de Mendoza Carvajal as *corregidor* (magistrate) in 1620 (Esquivel y Navia [ca. 1749] 1980, 39). Mendoza, often coined the ‘*corregidor de las comedias*,’ found that the quality of Corpus Christi celebrations in Cuzco had deteriorated, and called for mandatory participation in the festivities among all parishes and guilds of both dances and performances (Baker 2008, 39).

José de Valdivielso’s *El peregrino*

It was within this context of renewed theatrical fervor that the *auto* under consideration entered the colonial Andean scene. José de Valdivielso (1560?–1638), a playwright who hailed from Toledo, Spain, enjoyed a prolific career writing *autos* and *comedias* throughout the first third of the seventeenth century.³² He wrote seventeen surviving *autos*, some of which traveled far beyond Toledo and Madrid, where he spent the bulk of his career. I bring our attention to one of his less-studied *autos*, entitled *El peregrino*. *El peregrino* was published in Toledo in 1622 and made it to Peru the following year, when it was performed to inaugurate the newly consecrated sanctuary of Our Lady of Cocharcas, an important Marian devotion located in the Apurímac region of the southern Andes (Lohmann Villena 1945, 153).³³ The *auto* was performed in the atrium of the sanctuary of Cocharcas on 10 September 1623, and was attended by twelve priests of the surrounding areas, along with the *corregidores* of Andahuaylas and Vilcashuamán, not to mention the thousands of pilgrims who trekked to Cocharcas from far-flung towns to pay their respects. A number of Cuzco-school paintings illustrate the pilgrimage undertaken to Cocharcas on this auspicious day, and all of them feature to the left of the Virgin a clear illustration of the sanctuary and the atrium surrounding it.³⁴ We can thus imagine the actual site where *El peregrino* was performed within the context of the church and its surrounding landscape.

El peregrino is an allegory of man's struggle to forgo worldly pleasures and choose the path of God. In the first scene of *El peregrino*, the pilgrim tries to break away from the grasp of the personification of Mother Earth, in her typical guise as an elderly woman bedecked in a garland of flowers and foliage and a mural crown. He tells her that he wishes to leave her so that he can find the sacred land of Heaven. In a spirited exchange, Mother Earth pleads with the Pilgrim, 'Son, can I not give you life?' to which he responds, 'Mother, towards eternity I go,' and in a later passage he continues, 'All that you have lent to me, I must return to you. Give me bread of pain among thorns and thistles, purchased at the price of anger and drops of my sweat' (Arias y Arias and Piluso 1975, 388 [lines 14–15, 49–52]).³⁵ Although Mother Earth is reluctant to part with the Pilgrim, she bids him well on his journey. After he finally gets away, the Pilgrim falls into a deep slumber. In his dream, he encounters two paths: one that leads to the Heavenly Jerusalem and the other that leads to Hell. He is guided by the personification of Truth, but encounters Delight, Falsehood, and Lucifer, who attempt to derail his journey toward righteousness and bring him into the realm of vice. When we consider the description of the stage set included in the original playbill, the similarities to the Andahuaylillas entrance wall mural are remarkable. The opening scene of the play contains the following stage directions:

Two paths will descend from the two carts, like raised bridges. One will be wide and full of flowers and herbs, and festivities: and above will sound music, and there will be a mouth of Hell. The other path will be very narrow, and full of brambles, thistles and spines, crosses, skulls, etc. And above will sound music (Arias y Arias and Piluso 1975, 387)³⁶

The *carros*,³⁷ or carts, from which the two paths descend, could thus represent the palaces of Heaven and Hell that we see in the entrance wall mural. The detailed description of the narrow path of Virtue as 'full of brambles, thistles and spines' recalls the ornate decoration of the path in the mural image in contrast to the bare path provided in the print. On several occasions throughout the play, the Pilgrim complains of the thorns puncturing his feet. In a scene in which he is accompanied by Truth, the Pilgrim states, 'Ay! A strong thorn has entered my foot,' to which Truth replies, 'the thorn of death was always profitable' (Arias y Arias and Piluso 1975, 397 [lines 413–15]). Theater historian Ricardo Arias interprets the prick of a thorn that the Pilgrim suffers as a symbol of sin and death, highlighting the depravity of earthly desires (Arias 1992, 154). The reference to the thorns scattered along the path to heaven in the stage description as well as its frequent allusions in the text of the play could thus account for its prominent presence in the Andahuaylillas mural.

Taken as a whole, the play touches on themes that were of central concern to seventeenth-century religious officials working with Andean populations. In a Peruvian context, the pilgrim's rejection of the earthly realm could also be interpreted as a rejection of Pachamama, the Andean earth mother to whom indigenous peoples provided offerings and respects. The European pagan concept of Mother Earth in many ways paralleled Pachamama as a feminized terrestrial deity. She traditionally

holds a staff with stars at each end, symbolizing the axis mundi. Pre-Columbian Andean religions similarly perceived the earth as imbued with divinity, and the access point from which to communicate with ancestors and the supernatural world. Andeans worshiped earth-based deities such as mountains, stones, hills, and other features of the natural landscape. Scholars have commented on conflations of the Virgin Mary and Pachamama in religious practice and in visual representations of the Virgin (see Gisbert 2004; Damian 1995). Subtle instances of religious syncretism between Andean beliefs and Catholicism were generally tolerated, but rituals geared toward expressing worship of the natural world were strongly opposed by religious authorities. Priests often reproached indigenous Andeans for worshipping Pachamama in both their sermons and religious texts. Fernando de Avendaño, for instance, included Pachamama in an exhaustive list of what he believed to be false gods worshiped by Andeans:

The first [commandment] is that you worship, and honor above all the true God, which is only one, and that you do not worship nor possess other gods, nor idols, nor *huacas*...nor do you speak to the Sun, or to thunder, or to pachamama, asking them to give you livestock, or corn, or health, or to free you from work, or cure you of your sickness. (Avendaño 1648, 29r-v)³⁸

In this case, pagan European and indigenous Andean conceptions of Mother Earth share the same discursive space as beliefs of the ‘past’ that one must disavow as one embarks on the pilgrimage to become a true Christian.³⁹

Moreover, the Pilgrim’s act of falling into a dream state would not have been lost on both the indigenous parishioners and seventeenth-century ecclesiastics in the region. Dreams and the kind of prophesizing they inspired were a major preoccupation among priests working with Andean communities because of their potential associations with idolatry (see Mannheim 1987); in fact, at the forefront of these debates was Juan Pérez Bocanegra himself, who wrote extensively about dreams in *Ritual formulario*. He devotes a significant portion of the manual to confessional questions aimed at deterring Andeans from practices of dream divination that went above and beyond earlier manuals, which had only briefly touched on the subject (Barnes 1992, 75–77). Pérez Bocanegra’s questions concerning dreams demonstrated a keen awareness of the specificities of Andean dream worlds. He produced a total of 128 confessional questions relating to dreams, of which I reproduce a select few:

When you are dreaming do you cross a bridge in order to escape from a certain person?

When you see falcons, or vultures [in your dreams], do you say that you’re going to have a son? Or if you are a woman, that you have to give birth to a son?

If in your dreams you see the sun or moon, do you say that a relative is going to die?

If you see in your dreams a person covered up with a cloth, do you say that it is a sign that you are going to die?

Everything that is dreamt, and that you dream, are you accustomed to believing it, and saying that it has to be the truth? Tell me, what do you say about your dreams when you wake up? (1631, 147 [127])⁴⁰

Alonso de la Peña y Montenegro, who served as Archbishop of Quito from 1653 to 1687, wrote a manual for priests working in indigenous parishes in which he identifies three types of dreams:

It is very ordinary among Indians to believe in dreams, and to divine using them, a type of divination that they use commonly [...] some dreams come naturally, or are caused by some previous thought, or by the disposition of the body, and in this case it is lawful to give credit to dreams, in order to conserve the health of the body, or to fear an illness, for if one dreamed that he saw fire, it can be conjectured that he has a lot of choleric humor [...]. Other dreams are those which come from God, like those of Gideon, Daniel, Jacob, Nebuchadnezzar, Joseph, and others; and these dreams, when they clearly show a certain thing, concurring circumstances are enough to believe that they are dreams caused by God [...]. The last are the dreams that come from the Devil, exciting the fantasy of men [...] it is a grave sin in itself, and belongs to the superstition of divination. (1668, 200)⁴¹

Drawing on the work of José de Acosta in his *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (1590), both Peña y Montenegro and Pérez Bocanegra recognized the importance of directing Indians away from the third type of dream inspired by the Devil. While not eradicating dream interpretation altogether, these religious authorities advocated the divine dream, which could serve as a vehicle by which one could get closer to God. The theme of the divine dream introduced by *El peregrino*, then, would have been particularly appropriate for audiences at Andahuaylillas, whose alleged rampant practices of dream divination were seen as a threat that would compromise their commitment to the Catholic faith.

The mural's ornate banquet scene can also be better understood when considered in light of Valdivielso's *auto*, in which the trope of the feast serves as a critical framing device. The play contains two feasting scenes: in the first, the Pilgrim attends a banquet hosted by Delight and Falsehood celebrating a false Eucharist; and in the second, he celebrates the True feast on the day of Corpus, attended by Saint Peter, Saint John the Evangelist, and Saint James. Indeed, *El peregrino* can help resolve the disjuncture between the unadorned banquet scene depicted in Hieronymus Wierix's print and its festive painted counterpart. The banquet in the mural features an ornate glass cup on the table, which could represent the sacred wine-filled chalice of Corpus Christi representing the blood of Christ. The bread on the table completes the miracle of transubstantiation, by which the wine and bread become the blood and body of Christ. The ornamentation of the banquet scene can therefore be interpreted not solely as an assertion of artistic license, but as a visual accommodation to the play's theme. In light of Nicolás de Mendoza Carvajal's reforms of 1620, the performance of

Corpus Christi *autos* and their glorification in painted form would have marked Andahuaylillas as a commendable parish within the Cuzco diocese.

Small vignettes of the Andean idolaters traversing the waters of Hell also speak to the mural's themes of performativity. Three barely visible figures are seated in a devil-driven canoe beneath the mouth of Hell (Figure 8). The central figure wears an Inca-style *uncu*, or tunic, with a checkerboard pattern around the collar. Such regalia would have been worn in the colonial period by *curacas*, or local indigenous leaders, on ceremonial occasions. Another nearby indigenous figure ingests liquid from an Inca-style aryballos vessel called an *urpu*, probably filled with *chicha*, a type of corn beer used in Inca religious rituals. Although such characters would obviously not have been featured in this Spanish *auto*, these individuals could certainly have represented ancillary actors in the performance of *El peregrino* in an Andean context, serving as culturally specific stand-ins for evil and idolatry. Corpus Christi processions and theatrical performances in the Andes frequently incorporated performers dressed in Inca garb, taking the place of the infidel 'Other' usually occupied by the Moor in Iberian settings. The similarity suggests that the



Figure 8 Detail, *Camino del infierno*, ca. 1626. Photograph by author.

Andahuaylillas murals and associated performance may have set an important precedent for the Corpus Christi celebrations documented in a series of paintings produced around 1680 that feature Andean nobles bedecked in Inca-style garb (see Dean 1999).

And finally, the conflation of the portal to Heavenly Jerusalem with the entrance to Andahuaylillas itself gains greater significance when considered in a theatrical context. Performances of *autos* and *comedias* were conducted in the atria of churches throughout the colonial period; for instance, extensive documentation exists of the specific staging of *autos* in the atrium of the church of San Francisco in Lima (Rodríguez Garrido 2008, 28–37). The performance of *El peregrino* at Cocharcas in 1623 was likewise staged and performed in the atrium of the newly consecrated sanctuary to allow for mass spectatorship among the hordes of pilgrims gathered at the site to honor the Virgin. No known documentation exists of a performance of *El peregrino* at Andahuaylillas. Nevertheless, several external cues indicate that this was likely the case. The performance of the *auto* in the highland town of Cocharcas at around the same time that the mural was executed suggests that the traveling theatrical troupe may have performed it at Andahuaylillas en route from Cuzco to Cocharcas. Moreover, the mural's affinity with several aspects of Valdivielso's play provides us with pictorial evidence of its presence at Andahuaylillas. And if we take a moment to reconsider the subtle choice in the rendering of the doorway to Heavenly Jerusalem to match that of the church of Andahuaylillas itself, then we can imagine the church itself as part of a larger stage set in the outdoor atrium. The mural's connection to both the Wierix print and Valdivielso's play firmly anchors it within overlapping and mutually reinforcing spheres of evangelization in the colonial Andes—that of the visual and the theatrical arts. Examination of a mural, a print, and a play has demonstrated the unexpected ways that visual culture and performance become mutually entangled in the production of new colonial epistemologies.

The entrance wall mural at Andahuaylillas serves as one of the earliest surviving examples of the role that colonial Andean murals played in the localization of Catholic doctrine. The *Camino del cielo e infierno* evinces a dynamic interplay of the mobile and the immobile; of liminality and permanence—the ephemeral nature of engravings and texts becomes reconstituted into a larger-than-life, indelible image fused into sacred architectonic space. Unlike canvas paintings and other mobile artistic media, mural paintings possess an undeniable 'weightiness,' as images that are indissolubly bound to the walls of churches. As such, the Andahuaylillas mural commanded sustained viewership among community members who engaged with it both visually and physically each time they exited the church.

The *Camino del cielo e infierno* signified far more than a purely formal reading would suggest. Spanish and Andean notions of pilgrimage and divinity crossed, converged, and clashed, loading the entrance wall mural with a plurality of meanings. From their conflation with the *capac ñan* and Inca *tambos* to their performative dimension as a backdrop to the spiritual peregrinations of a young pilgrim, the roads to Heaven and Hell were transformed into palpable pathways whose meanings

extended beyond the physical parameters of the image. As an image that crystallizes fluid concepts of movement and passage, the Andahuaylillas mural serves as an important vehicle for envisioning the body's subsequent metaphysical movements in the afterlife. An interdisciplinary approach to the mural that draws from literary, theatrical, religious, and anthropological sources demonstrates the strides that can be made by employing the visual record as a point of departure for uncovering the subtleties of Spanish-Andean exchanges in colonial Peru. This case study also indicates the role of mural painting in the articulation of history itself, serving not simply as a passive imitation of a European print, but as a sophisticated visual document poised to communicate ideas about liminality, death, and the ongoing tensions between Catholic and Andean belief systems during the tumultuous historical moment of its inception.

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Notes

- ¹ The literature on the centrality of oral and visual expression in the colonial Andes is vast. See, for example, the essays contained in Adorno 1982 and Boone and Mignolo 1994, as well as Dean 2010, and Cummins and Mannheim 2012.
- ² For more a more extended discussion of religious mural painting in Spanish South America, see Macera 1975 and 1993; Mesa and Gisbert 1982; Flores Ochoa, Kuon Arce, and Samanez Argumedo 1993; Vallín Magaña 1995 and 1998; Jemio Salinas 1998; and Cohen 2012.
- ³ The church of Andahuaylillas has received substantial scholarly attention for its exceptional artistic merit. It also remains one of the best-preserved churches to survive the devastating Cuzco earthquake of 1650, providing us with a rare glimpse of Cuzco's artistic traditions of the first half of the seventeenth century. See Kelemen 1951a, 174–75 and 1951b; Kubler and Soria

- 1959, 322–23; Macera 1975, 71–72; Mesa and Gisbert 1982, 237–38; Flores Ochoa, Kuon Arce, and Samanez Argumedo 1993, 66, 138–42; Macera 1993, 33–34, 67–71; MacCormack 1998.
- ⁴ See Vallín Magaña (1995) and Cohen (2012, 58–61) for further discussion of the use of indigenous labor in the production of large-scale mural programs. This article forms part of a larger project drawing from my doctoral dissertation, ‘Mural Painting and Social Change in the Colonial Andes, 1626–1830,’ which is currently under preparation as a book manuscript provisionally titled “Local Cosmopolitanisms: Mural Painting and Social Meaning in Colonial Peru.”
- ⁵ For further discussion of Toledo’s resettlement campaign, see Mumford 2012.
- ⁶ Different variations existed of the town’s name, including Antahuayla la Chica, Antahuaylla, and Antahuaylla. The latter two were occasionally a source of confusion, because Andahuaylas was the name for a province and town in the Apurímac region of the southern Andes.
- ⁷ The church of Andahuaylillas has undergone several phases of restoration. The Cuzco earthquake of 1950 wrought considerable damage on the structure, necessitating emergency repairs in its immediate aftermath to reinforce the crumbling walls and ceiling by the Corporación de Fomento del Cuzco. In 1979, the Instituto Nacional de Cultura (National Institute of Culture) under the auspices of Copesco (Comisión Especial para Supervigilar el Plan Turístico Cultural PERU–UNESCO), began restorations to the paintings on canvas and murals, with particular emphasis on the entrance wall mural of the church (see Samanez Argumedo n.d.). Most recently, the church has received considerable funding for restoration projects through the World Monuments Fund in an effort to reverse the deleterious effects of poorly executed structural repairs of previous decades. See <<http://www.wmf.org/project/san-pedro-ap%C3%B3stol-de-andahuaylillas-church>>. The restorations were completed in 2012, and the parish plans to open a new local museum featuring some of the recently restored sculptures, silverwork, and paintings on canvas.
- ⁸ Samuel C. Chew’s seminal text (1962) still stands as one of the most authoritative studies on the iconography of pilgrimage in European art. For a general discussion of the theme of the two paths in European stage sets, see Brockett and Hildy 2003, 91–92; and for a discussion of the theme’s relevance in the staging of Spanish plays, see Shoemaker 1973.
- ⁹ Teresa Gisbert makes the salient point that studies of the 1980s and ’90s on the influence of medieval religious concepts and artistic models in colonial Andean art were cast aside by the onslaught of recent publications focused on the baroque qualities of Andean painting and architecture. Themes of the *postrimerías* (Four Last Things), with images of Hell and demons captured in frightening detail that had long fallen out of favor in the European scene, would become wildly popular in the colonial Andes for the next two centuries (Gisbert 2001, 101–16; see also Stastny 1994).
- ¹⁰ The full title of the text is *Ritual formulario, e institucion de curas, para administrar a los naturales de este Reyno los santos sacramentos del baptismo, confirmacion, eucaristia, y viatico, penitencia, extremauncion, y matrimonio, con aduertencias muy necesarias* (Ritual formulary and institution of priests, to administer to the Indians of this kingdom the holy sacraments of the baptism, confirmation, eucharist and viaticum, penitence, extreme unction, and marriage, with very necessary warnings).
- ¹¹ Inspection of the licenses provided at the beginning of the book reveals that only two individuals granted a license for *Ritual formulario* in 1622: Don Lorenzo Pérez de Grado, Bishop of Cuzco, on 26 October, and Maestro Fray Luys Corneio [Luis Cornejo] on 22 November. The four other licenses were provided between 1626 and 1628. This suggests that Pérez Bocanegra may not have been able to secure sufficient funding in 1622, and sought additional licenses in the subsequent years. Of the thirteen known copies of the book located in public libraries, only a handful contain an additional leaf with the licenses of Fernando de Avendaño and the Ordinario, both dating to 1631. Kenneth Ward, curator of Latin American books at the John Carter Brown Library, suggested that there may have existed two editions of the book, with the version

containing the licenses from Avendaño and the Ordinario comprising the second edition (personal communication, August 2010).

¹² For further discussion, see Mannheim 1991, 250–51n17.

¹³ A skirmish between the Jesuits and the secular clergy regarding jurisdictional rights over Andahuaylillas explains Pérez Bocanegra's unstable position in the 1620s–30s. In 1621, the king of Spain, at the suggestion of Viceroy Francisco de Borja, ordered the Jesuits to take over Andahuaylillas under the presumption that they would convert it into a language-training center for the teaching of Quechua to missionaries. It was also believed that the Jesuits would use it as a rest stop during trips between the town of Quiquijana and Cuzco because of its favorable en route location. The secular *cabildo* of Cuzco intervened on Pérez Bocanegra's behalf, arguing that the Jesuits were only interested in taking over the parish so that they could use the Indians of Andahuaylillas to work their *haciendas* in Quiquijana. Pérez Bocanegra managed to delay the Jesuit presence for a few years, but on 31 December 1628, Andahuaylillas was placed under Jesuit control by royal decree (see Vargas Ugarte 1960, 368–69). Alan Durston, however, calls in to question whether the Jesuits actually succeeded in taking over the parish, in light of the fact that the royal decree depended on Pérez Bocanegra's acceptance of the terms (see Durston 2007, 339n24).

¹⁴ There exist roughly two 'camps' regarding the patronage of the murals. José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert (1982, 237), based on Pérez Bocanegra's erudition and humanistic sensibilities, argue that he handpicked all of the mural imagery for the church. Several scholars have followed this line of thought, including Sabine MacCormack (1998) and Elizabeth Kuon Arce (2005). The Vargas Ugarte 'camp' attributed the church decoration to the Jesuits during their takeover of the parish from 1628–1636. See Vargas Ugarte 1960, 368–69; Hopkins 1983, 186–87; and Mannheim 1991, 48, although Mannheim has since changed his stance and believes the full mural program to have been commissioned by Pérez Bocanegra (personal communication).

¹⁵ I thank Architect Diana Castillo Cerf and the Andahuaylillas restoration team for bringing this mural to my attention.

¹⁶ As José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert have amply demonstrated, Riaño's hallmark style of flattened, angular figures with oval faces and sharply pointed chins remains consistent across his signed canvas paintings and the Andahuaylillas murals (Mesa and Gisbert 1975, 145–58). His *Bautismo de Cristo*, located in the church's baptistery, is signed and dated to 1626, indicating patronage by Pérez Bocanegra. We can thus conclude that his murals formed part of the same patronage package and were not commissioned by the Jesuit order. Unfortunately, no known colonial inventories or artists' contracts for the church of Andahuaylillas survive that would help us corroborate this attribution.

¹⁷ I thank Dr. Miguel Arisa for this translation.

¹⁸ References to the paths can be found much of the Christian devotional literature produced in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Spain as well. See, for example, León 1611 and Suárez de Figueroa 1738.

¹⁹ 'Christo Señor nuestro vino hijos míos al mundo por sola su inmensa piedad, i misericordia, i siendo Dios quiso hazerse Hombre juntamente, para solo mostrarnos el camino del cielo, i como gemos de llegar a el. I esto lo hizo con obras, i palabras. Pero mirad, primero aveis de saber que el camino Real que vá derecho al cielo es vno solo, assi como antiguamente en esta tierra a auia vn camino real, que era por donde los Ingas iuan de un pueblo a otro. Pues el camino real para el cielo es amar a Dios sobre todas las cosas, i luego a nuestro proximo como a nosotros mismos.' All translations are mine unless otherwise noted. I retain all original orthography of Spanish sources unless otherwise noted.

²⁰ 'No aveis visto muchas vezes, quando vá vn chapeton de aquí al Cuzco, o a Potosi, que pide en el tambo vn Indio que le guie, y enseñe el camino, hasta llegar al otro tambo, porque no se pierda, y tuerça el camino, y vaya a dar en algun despeñadero, y se haga pedaços? Pues de la misma

manera la Providencia de dios, dio a los hombres que caminamos desde el tambo de esta vida mortal al otro tambo de la vida inmortal, que nunca se ha de acabar esta guía, que llamamos Fé: porque está por ser donde dios nos enseña el camino verdadero, para el bien de nuestras almas, y nos enseña la verdad sin engañarnos, y errar; porque sabe mucho, y dice verdad: por eso avisa, y advierte a los hombres, que se aparten del camino que va al infierno, que es camino torcido, que vayan por el camino derecho de los Mandamientos de Dios.’

- ²¹ Monica Barnes (1992, 79) argues that the tripartite organization of the universe into that of the living (*kay pacha*), the upper world (*hanac pacha*), and the nether/lower world (*ucu pacha*) may relate more to Renaissance cosmological concepts than pre-Hispanic ones, thus adding an additional layer of complexity to colonial Andean conceptions of the afterlife.
- ²² The relationship between colonial Andean paintings and European prints has received ample scholarly attention. Some notable studies include Mesa 1994, Dean 1996, Torres and Villegas 2003, and Michaud and Torres de la Pina 2009.
- ²³ Martin Soria (1956, 103) was the first to attribute the entrance wall mural to a Wierix print in his 1956 publication, dating it to 1590–1600. In his seminal 1959 publication with George Kubler, they establish a broader date of pre-1650 (Kubler and Soria 1959, 323). All subsequent scholars have supported this attribution. Nevertheless, no scholar to date has reproduced the print in any publication referencing the entrance wall mural nor dedicated any discussion to it other than a vague assertion of its existence. Art historians José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, like Soria, attribute the print to a generic ‘Wierix’ without distinguishing which family member was involved in the production of the print (Mesa and Gisbert 1982, 238). In a recent publication, Ramón Mujica Pinilla (2006, 45) correctly names the print, but erroneously attributes it to Johan Wierix, most likely because art historian John Knipping attributes a similar version of the print to him (Knipping 1974, 70). In his 1993 publication, the Peruvian historian Pablo Macera (1993, 25) remained skeptical of the print’s existence, given the fact that previous scholars had only alluded to it in vague terms. Indeed, in my initial research on the subject, I began to doubt whether the print even existed.
- ²⁴ I am indebted to Dr. Jason Lafountain, whose indefatigable efforts eventually led to the secure identification of the elusive Wierix print during our fellowship term at the John Carter Brown Library in the summer of 2010. I also wish to extend my thanks to the Department of Prints and Photographs at the Metropolitan Museum of Art for allowing me to view and photograph the original print.
- ²⁵ References to the print can be found in Alvin 1866, 238; Mauquoy-Hendrickx 1978, 198; and Hollstein 1993, 127. Indeed, it strikes me as curious that none of the previous authors correctly identified the engraver as Hieronymus, given that his authorship is clearly indicated at the bottom of the print: ‘*Hieronymus Wierix fecit et. excud.*’
- ²⁶ There also exists the possibility that the print may have arrived in the Andes already reversed if it was a copy derived from the printed engraving rather than from the original copper plate. The fact that the text in the mural remains properly oriented leads me to believe that the print from which the muralists referred was not a reversed copy. Tom Cummins (personal communication) has also suggested that the inversion may have been implemented under the direction of Pérez Bocanegra himself to re-orient Heaven and Hell according to his position at the pulpit. Nevertheless, what I intend to demonstrate is that the decision to place the Heaven and Hell components in a manner counter to Christian orthodoxy was not an unintentional one.
- ²⁷ See, for instance, Woodward 1998, 285–89; van de Guchte 1999, 163–65; and for an interesting application of this cosmological concept to Inca drinking vessels, see Cummins 2002, 309–19.
- ²⁸ It should be noted that this theory has received some criticism. In particular, Valerie Fraser (1996, 280–82) urges scholars to read these images with greater nuance by understanding the preponderance of visual left over visual right in medieval and early modern Christian art as well. To suggest that the spatial organization of Guaman Poma’s illustrations adheres solely to an

Andean framework, Fraser argues, serves to undercut his dexterity working in a European visual tradition. I too agree that we must approach these images as complicated manifestations of the colonial encounter, which I hope to have accomplished through a careful consideration of the multiple messages embedded in the Andahuaylillas entrance wall mural.

²⁹ See Classen 1993, 12–15. Some have warned against the use of such a deterministic approach, however, arguing that notions of Inca dualism emerge through social relations that go beyond the conceptual parameters of the human body (see in particular Ossio 1995). While Inca cosmology and duality did not derive solely from the human body, Classen makes a convincing case for the body as a critical component in the articulation of Inca cosmological concepts.

³⁰ ‘La puerta del cielo su entrada es estrecha, y angosta, y el camino para llegar a aquella vida lo proprio, y son muy pocos los que dan con el. No sabeis quan angosta es? Oyd. Si vos vinierais a hora a esta Iglesia, y vierais que su puerta no era bastante para que entrase mas que vn niño pequeño, y que el camino para llegar a ella estaba sembrado de espinas, no temierais el llegar a ello? Y si aunque lo vterais assi, os animarais, y dixerais; sin embargo he de llegar allà: Como os vbierais para ello? Haziendoos fuerza, alentandoos, hallando las espinas aunque punzaçen, desnudandoos el vestido, para que no impida la entrada por tan pequeña puerta para poder entrar dentro; assi antais de hazer, y sin esto, no entrarais’ (Ávila 1648, 173).

³¹ There exists a wealth of literature dedicated to the *auto sacramental* in Spain. For a representative sampling, see Shergold 1967; Arias 1980; McKendrick 1989, esp. chapter 9; and Arellano and Duarte 2003.

³² For the most definitive work on José de Valdivielso, with a full collection of his plays with commentary, see Arias y Arias and Piluso 1975.

³³ Although we do not have secure archival evidence of the play’s arrival to the Americas, shipping manifests from Seville indicate that a number of Valdivielso’s works were shipped to Quito, New Spain, and Peru. His most widely disseminated work was *Vida de San Joseph*; between 1605 and 1649, a total of 995 copies were shipped to the Americas (see Rueda Ramírez 2005, 318–19). Unfortunately, the titles of all books by a given author are not always listed in the shipping manifests, which may account for why *Doze actos sacramentales y dos comedias*, the anthology within which *El peregrino* was included, does not appear in the documentary record. Nevertheless, given Valdivielso’s involvement in the transatlantic book trade, we can assume that his work enjoyed a considerable presence in seventeenth-century Peru.

³⁴ A number of scholars have written on the eleven known paintings depicting Our Lady of Cocharcas. See Damian 1995, 57–58; and more recently, Engel 2009.

³⁵ ‘Hijo, ¿yo no te la doy? / Madre, tras la eterna voy / [...] Dísteme pan de dolor / entre espinas y entre abrojos, / comprado a precio de enojos / y gotas de mi sudor.’

³⁶ ‘De los dos carros se descolgarán dos escalas, como puentes leuadizas. La vna será ancha, llena de flores y yeruas y galas; y arriba aurá música y vna boca de infierno. La otra escala será muy angosta y llena de zarças, abrojos y espinas, cruces, calaberas, &c. Y arriba, música’

³⁷ The *carros* are wheeled platforms that could unfold into elaborate stage sets, setting the auto apart from all other genres of Spanish theater. The *carros* were positioned at opposite ends of the stage, and often represented complementary opposites, such as the cradle and the grave, the earthly and celestial worlds, or the paths of Virtue and Hell.

³⁸ ‘La primera es, que adores, y honres sobre todo al verdadero Dios, que es uno solo, y no adores, ni tengas otros dioses, ni ídolos, ni huacas [...] ni habléis al Sol, ni al trueno, o a la pachamama, pidiendo os den ganado, o maíz, o salud, o os libren de vuestros trabajos, y enfermedades’ (Avenidaño 1648, 29r–v).

³⁹ For a comprehensive discussion of the symbolic import of the Greco-Roman past in the colonial Andes, see MacCormack 2007.

⁴⁰ ‘Quando durmiendo pasas entre sueños alguna puente, sueles dezir, que es para apartarte de alguna persona? [...] Viendo en sueñoalcones, ò bueitres, dizes, que as de tener algun hijo? (y si

es muger) hijo tengo de parir? [...] Si entre sueños vès el sol, ò luna, dizes, que se te à de morir algun pariente? [...] Viendo entre sueños alguna persona arreoçada con manta, sueles dezir que es señal que te as de morir? [...] Todo lo que as soñado, y sueñas, sueles creerlo, y dizes, que à de ser verdad? Dime, que sueles dezir quando despiertas acerca de lo que sueñas?’

- ⁴¹ ‘Mvy ordinario es entre los Indios creer en sueños, y adiuinar por ellos, del qual genero de adiuinacion vsan comunmente [...] vnos que prouienen naturalmente, ò sea por auer precedido antes algun pensamiento [...] ò por la disposicion del cuerpo, y en este caso es licito dar credito a los sueños, para conseruar la salud del cuerpo, ò para temer alguna enfermedad, como si vno soñasse que veía fuego, puede conjeturar, que tiene mucho humor colerico [...]. Otros sueños ay, que prouienen de Dios, como fueron los de Gedeon, Daniel, Iacob, Nabucodonosor, Ioseph, y otros; y a estos sueños, quando claramente muestran alguna cosa, concurriendo circunstancias bastantes para creer que son sueños causados de Dios [...]. Los vltimos son los sueños, que prouienen del demonio, excitando la fantasia del hombre [...] es grauissimo pecado de suyo, y que pertenece a la supersticion de adiuinacion.’

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