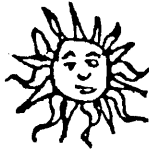


Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ

Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru

Carolyn Dean

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To Robert Y. and Esther D. Dean

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Acknowledgments

Ten years have passed since I first began research on a series of paintings of the Corpus Christi procession in colonial Cuzco. I came to the topic as a curious student of pre-Columbian Inka art and culture who wanted to explore what happened in Cuzco—the Inka imperial capital—after the Spanish occupation. What I discovered was a festival that both brought together and sundered the residents of Cuzco and rendered impossible my efforts to consider any faction of the colonial city in isolation. I am grateful to a far-sighted advisor, Cecelia F. Klein, for encouraging me to transgress the boundaries between pre- and post-conquest worlds. I am indebted also to the Art History Department at the University of California, Los Angeles, which consistently funded my efforts. The personal encouragement I received from faculty, staff, and fellow students there was even more valuable. Dissertation research was also supported by the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Subsequent investigations which carried me far beyond a single series of paintings were funded by faculty research grants from the University of California, Santa Cruz. The precious time to write this book was made possible by a J. Paul Getty Postdoctoral Fellowship in the History of Art and the Humanities (1996–97).

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Introduction

After military conquest and occupation, Spain introduced the Roman Catholic festival of Corpus Christi to the Americas. An important festival in all parts of the Spanish colonies, it was especially meaningful in Cuzco, Peru, the former capital of the Inka empire, which was America's largest pre-Hispanic state, spanning the South American Andes from Colombia to Chile (Bayle 1951, 251–298). In Cuzco, Corpus Christi, the festival that had been called “a triumph over heresy” by the Council of Trent (1551), frequently featured indigenous Andean Christians who embodied Peru's “pagan” past in their performances. Even as the European council encouraged all Christians—especially the newly converted—to participate in the triumph that was Corpus Christi, the first provincial council of Lima (1551–1552) barred Andeans from the Eucharist except by special authorization. Thus, natives in Peru were prohibited from partaking in that which Corpus Christi celebrated: the body of Christ transubstantiated in the wafer of the eucharistic host. Although the second and third councils of Lima (in 1567 and 1582–1584, respectively) relaxed these restrictions, in practice natives received the Eucharist only infrequently (J. Rowe 1957, 188).¹ Even as they danced, sang, and marched in celebration of Christ's transubstantiated body, Andeans were distanced from it.

Corpus Christi in the Andes was what I have termed *semiophagous*: it was a feast that dined on signs of difference, gaining sustenance for its triumph from the Andean subaltern. While from the moment of its instigation the ravenous festival fed on the colonized, consuming their markers of cultural difference, Andeans themselves could not ingest the Corpus Christi. Later, even after they were “invited” to consume the host, they were inscribed by the Corpus Christi celebration as sub-

alterns and denounced by colonization as incomplete converts. In part, then, this is the story of how Corpus Christi alienated the colonized and enacted colonization. This is also the story of how some Andeans, by embodying necessary difference, found ways to triumph as well.

Here I consider how both the colonizer and the colonized understood their participation in Corpus Christi in colonial Cuzco. By looking from multiple perspectives I hope to draw sustained attention to the spaces and moments between the dominating and the dominated, without homogenizing either group. For this multiperspectival approach, I am obviously indebted to several generations of poststructuralists who have explored the polysemy of symbolic form. I also build on foundations laid by the many and diverse postcolonial discourse theorists who have amply demonstrated not only how European colonization worked through language, but how the colonized took advantage of the multiple, fluid, and unfixable meanings of language to define themselves as something other than colonial subjects (see Seed 1991, 182–183). The languages I deal with here are primarily performative and visual, for it is through public presentations that Andeans articulated colonial identities.² Recently, Joanne Rappaport and Tom Cummins (1998, 8) raised the question of visual literacy, of how culturally diverse audiences understand images differently. Here, visual and performative literacy will be brought into question both implicitly and explicitly as we consider a set of specific historical conditions under which polysemous representations of a pre-Hispanic Andean past (be they alphabetic, visual, or performative) were created and received.

In the first three chapters I examine how the Spanish Corpus Christi became meaningful as a colonial festival in the city that had once been the capital of the Inka empire. The formal and festive language of triumph that was enunciated through the celebration of Corpus Christi not only encouraged but required the appearance of ethnic subalterns. This understanding contests the traditional scholarship on Corpus Christi in Cuzco which has tended to characterize its Andean aspects as either fossilized remnants of pre-Hispanic culture or as evidence of ahistorical native resistance.

Through its performance in Peru and because of the engagement of Peruvian actors and audience, Corpus Christi was Andeanized. By “Andeanized,” I do not necessarily mean indigenized (made Indian), but rather that colonized Andeans understood and participated in Corpus Christi in Andean ways.³ The Andean adaptation of the Spanish Corpus

Christi festival was neither uncomplicated nor unqueried. In fact, the Andeanizing of Corpus Christi prompted prolonged debates throughout the colonial period. The anxiety of colonial authorities over the necessary difference displayed by Andean participants in Corpus Christi is clearly evident both in early seventeenth-century extirpatory activity and in late eighteenth-century restrictions on festive evocations of pre-Hispanic royalty.

At the height of the colonial Corpus Christi, circa 1680, a series of canvases depicting the festival in Cuzco was created (Chapter 4). These provide us with a partial—but, importantly, not impartial—record of the midcolonial celebration. The paintings hint at the festive intercultural that was created by and through both performance and records of performance—textual and pictorial. While this book is not about paintings, it does pivot around this extraordinary visual record, a record that is as polysemous as the festival it depicts. The many opaque, often contradictory, assertions of the painted record allow us to shift from a generally Hispanic vision to multiple envisionings, especially those of some native Andeans in Cuzco.

Chapters 5 through 7 explore how the Inkas occupied those spaces provided to them in Corpus Christi; that is, how they fashioned new, culturally mediative identities for themselves that were appropriate responses to Spanish cultural hegemony. Here the paradoxes of mimesis are confronted, and I question the notion that alienated references to the pre-Hispanic past represent a utopian nostalgia for the return to power of the Inka. A detailed examination of the costuming that Inka elites devised for Corpus Christi performances suggests that those elites strategically occupied cultural interstices. The bicultural signification of their costuming allowed them to embody alterity not as nostalgic references to an irretrievable past, but as a means of constructing new selves. Although the new selves were colonial subjects, they were absolutely not abject.

Rather than merely identify festive representations of the pre-Hispanic Andean, I want to understand how those representations signified alongside and inside European performative practices. Paraphrasing Frank Salomon (1982), I want to understand how Inkas and other Andeans performed the impossible; how they, as alienated subalterns, faced the triumphant Corpus Christi. I suggest that Inka nobles, in particular, responded to colonization with and through *tinkuy*, a Quechua concept indicating the powerful conjoining of com-

plementary opposites. Framing their necessarily interstitial stance as a position of *tinkuy* allowed them to formulate puissant statements of mediativity in which the oppositions between Andean and European, pagan and Christian, past and present, empowered their new colonial selves.

In Chapter 8 I am concerned with the debates that arose within the multiethnic Andean community in Cuzco because of the multiple others—the subalternatives—that were performed for Corpus Christi. There were no *indios*, the homogeneous Other, in colonial Cuzco's Corpus Christi; rather, the festival summoned the heterogeneity that Andeans recognized in themselves—the many ethnicities that made up the indigenous composite glossed by the term *indios*. While the colonial Inkas sought to extend their dominance over other Andeans in the colonial period, many of the formerly dominated used alliances with the Spaniards to shrug off Inka authority. The Andean voices that were elevated in protest to enacted Inka visions merit attention, for hearing the disharmonies in the colonial Andean community disrupts the legacy of colonialist ethnocentric homogenizing and spotlights Andean proactivity. Accordingly, Chapter 8 records concerns raised during Corpus Christi by Cañari and Chachapoya residents of Cuzco.

Any study such as this which considers colonial cultures must struggle with Gayatri Spivak's (1988) contention that subaltern voices cannot be recovered; she forces us to confront the contradictions involved in "speaking for" subalterns in ways that inevitably essentialize and flatten out, if not fictionalize, their experiences. Indeed, what we hear in the present book, in part, is the subaltern spoken by the subject(ed) position they occupied in colonial Peru (see Griffiths 1994; also Sharpe 1989). Yet, even though there was much about their circumstances that they did not control, they are not entirely spoken, defined, or brought into being by colonial culture. In the Andean case, indigenous leaders armed with *tinkuy* and other ways of understanding the transcultural web of significance produced by colonization were proactive as well as reactive. After all, *people*—not their circumstances—have agency. I do not argue that Andeans politicized Corpus Christi, but rather that they recognized that their Corpus Christi performances were implicitly political. The Andean perspectives and strategies in which I am interested are not conventionally recorded, however; the evidence I rely on is often indirect and anecdotal. Meanings and intentions are at best, and always at risk of being, interpreted through records that are, like the

paintings of Cuzco's Corpus Christi, doubly partial (i.e., both biased and fragmentary). In this work, it must be admitted, I listened primarily to Inka and other Andean male elites; the multiply subordinated groups—commoners and women at all levels—remain in this here and now, but one hopes not forever, silenced.

In Chapter 9, an epilogue, the distorted echoes of Inka voices reverberate in the festive life of modern Cuzco. This final chapter considers the curious offspring of the semiophagous colonial Corpus Christi and its consumption of native performative culture—the modern *Inti Raymi* festival. This twentieth-century version of the Inkas' June solstice festival was introduced in 1944 to promote *indigenismo* and generate tourist activity. Because some colonial-period authors linked *Inti Raymi* with Corpus Christi, the Inka festival (although considered “past”) was kept forever present and was able to be “resurrected” when Peruvians desired/needed to find (or imagine) the Inka within themselves. Celebrated on June 24, the new *Inti Raymi* follows Corpus Christi and exceeds it in every measure of pomp and circumstance. It is the occasion to recall the glory of the Inka past. In the closing pages of this project I consider what is at stake, particularly for Peru's Indians (now uniformly called *campesinos*), when “ethnic” history becomes “national” history. While the imagined Inka of the modern *Inti Raymi* emerges triumphant on this day of celebration, his existence is transient. In fact, the transient triumph sustains current social inequities by hailing long-dead Inkas and denying living Indians agency in the here and now. Although for colonial Inkas the pre-Hispanic past was not a forfeited history, the popularity of the modern festival rests precisely on the irretrievability of the Inka past. My argument ends on a somewhat positive note, however, by recalling how memories of the pre-Hispanic era have had, in the past, a way of evading, if not subverting, totalizing triumphs. In fact, I recognize in *tinkuy* not only the hopes of the colonized, but the continuing hope of postcolonial Peruvians, for the imagined Inka—first created for colonial festivals—continues to nourish contemporary Andeans.

My colleague Shelly Errington (1990, 9) once observed that bodies are “constructed artifacts.” The present book, which is ultimately about human beings as embodied identities, attempts to concretize her general observations by showing how Corpus Christi—the festival of Christ's body—framed the bodies of its participants in a particular place and time. Given that human bodies are historical, they are bearers

of meanings that they have taken on and that are put upon them (Foucault 1980 and 1990). An investigation of Corpus Christi in colonial Cuzco allows us to consider both how the bodies of the colonized—the subjugated—were asked to signify and how they signified themselves. This project is, therefore, profoundly historicizing. Only by recognizing subaltern activities as particularized can we begin to theorize subaltern proactivity in general.⁴ It is my hope, then, that this examination of the ways Andeans were asked to embody difference, and the ways they chose to bear difference, will give birth to new ways of looking at and encouraging agency and self-definition outside of and beyond the historical and geographical limits of my project.



Chapter 1

Corpus Christi Triumphant

The Spanish celebration of Corpus Christi, introduced to native Andeans after the invasion and occupation of their lands, made room for indigenous performances and conditioned the meanings conveyed by them. A brief examination of the history and manner of celebration of Corpus Christi on the Iberian peninsula at the time of the colonization of the Andes indicates that the festival signified by means of an oppositional framework through which innumerable conquests were viewed. From its inception Corpus Christi, which celebrates the doctrine of transubstantiation, has specifically incorporated references to non-Roman Catholic beliefs and, frequently, peoples. It does so in the form of a triumph, a celebration heralding a victor.¹ In the case of Corpus Christi, that victor was Christ himself, embodied in the consecrated host. When the triumph of Christ's body was performed annually in colonial Peru, the Spanish conquest was rehearsed as well. Implicitly the colonizer's Corpus Christi celebrated military triumph and domination over yet another non-Christian people.

Celebrating the Body of Christ

The triumphal spirit of the Corpus Christi celebration inheres in its origins. Prior to the thirteenth century, there was no festival in the Roman Catholic church that specifically celebrated the Holy Eucharist, the con-

secrated wafer that, through transubstantiation, becomes the body of Christ in the rite of Holy Communion.² Early in the thirteenth century, according to legend, one Juliana, a virtuous woman who ministered at the leper hospital attached to the Praemonstratensian house of Mont Cornillon (in Liège, Belgium), dreamed repeatedly of a full, radiant moon disfigured by a black scar. Eventually (after some twenty years), Christ himself revealed to her that the moon symbolized the cycle of liturgical feasts of the Catholic church; the scar signified the absence of a celebration of the “Holiest of Holies,” the consecrated host. Juliana related the vision to her superiors and eventually it came to the attention of the archdeacon of Liège (Jacques Pantaléon), who became Pope Urban IV in 1261. In 1264 he published the bull that instituted the feast of Christ’s Body or, in Latin, Corpus Christi. In 1311, Pope Clement V designated Corpus Christi as an obligatory feast of the Catholic calendar, fixing the celebration to the fifth day after the Octave of Pentecost, which is the ninth Thursday after Easter Sunday, or the Thursday following Trinity Sunday.³ Accordingly, the feast of Corpus Christi usually falls between late May and mid-June.

Initially, the Corpus Christi festival was instituted to affirm the controversial doctrine of transubstantiation, considered essential to the Roman Catholic faith, which held that Christ was embodied in the consecrated eucharistic host. The festival was useful in countering heretical assertions that the sacred host was not the actual Body of Christ (Epton 1968, 92).⁴ In 1551, the Council of Trent (session 13, October 11) issued a decree characterizing the feast of Corpus Christi as a “triumph over heresy” and condemning anyone refusing to celebrate the Blessed Sacrament in procession (Addis and Arnold 1951, 787). Thus, the festival was conceived of as a joyous celebration of victory—not only of the Christian God over sin and death, but of the Roman Catholic church over heretics.⁵

Saint Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225–1274) has been credited with championing the new festival of Corpus Christi and devising the liturgy.⁶ Throughout Europe, the celebration included processions featuring the display of the host; often there were mystery plays in which the doctrine of transubstantiation and its importance were explained. Because local celebratory customs were incorporated into Corpus Christi festivals, regional differences manifested themselves. The essential ingredient of Corpus Christi, wherever it was celebrated, was (and is) the triumphal procession of the consecrated host through city or village streets.⁷ The

host—the Body of Christ—is held in a monstrance, a receptacle designed to display the wafer for adoration.

Spaniards were early celebrants of this “triumph over heresy.” It was celebrated in Toledo in 1280 and Seville in 1282; both of these festivals antedate the papal bull of 1311 which made the feast mandatory (Epton 1968; Gascón de Gotor 1916, 6). Records of early festivals exist for Gerona (1314), Barcelona (1319), and Valencia (1348 or 1355) as well (Gascón de Gotor 1916, 11; Zumalde 1964, 37; Arias 1980, 30; Lleó Cañal 1980, 19). Corpus Christi rapidly grew to be one of the most important festivals celebrated on the Iberian peninsula in the early modern period.⁸ In Seville, for example, Corpus Christi became known as the Thursday that shines greater than the sun (“Jueves que reluce más que el sol”) and was the most important celebration in Madrid’s early modern festive cycle.

Because the Corpus Christi celebration was one of the most elaborate festivals sponsored annually in any Iberian town of the early modern era, it was frequently the measuring stick against which other festivals were compared. In festive description it is common to find references to Corpus Christi vis-à-vis the size, participation, decorations, processional route, and other celebratory features of extraordinary (i.e., not annually recurring) festivals. In reports of festive decorations of the processional route for a special celebration, it is not unusual to find an author observing, “The streets of the town were decorated as they are for Corpus Christi.” Corpus Christi was evoked as a common referent so that the reader would know just how richly adorned the route was; such analogies also suggest that the citizenry had outdone itself on a given occasion.

The Visual Vocabulary of Triumph

The celebration of Corpus Christi, like all other nonpenitential processions, employed a vocabulary of triumph derived from Roman imperial ceremonies that themselves were based on a variety of earlier, circum-Mediterranean celebratory practices.⁹ Temporary triumphal arches and adorned processional paths were traditional visual cues that a victor was being heralded. In the case of religious processions, that victor was usually a saint in the form of a statue or reliquary; during Corpus Christi, the host, housed in its monstrance, was triumphant.

Temporary triumphal arches, erected along the processional route for Corpus Christi and many other festive occasions, were concrete references to the Roman imperial past. Canopies likewise bespoke special status. According to Christian tradition, a canopy (or baldachino) covers the consecrated host in the Corpus Christi procession. Canopies were the exclusive prerogative of high ecclesiastic authorities (archbishops or higher), sacred images, and officers of high political rank. The privilege connoted by the canopy was widely appreciated. In both profane and religious processions the canopy signaled the presence of the person(s) or object honored by the cortege. In Corpus Christi, the canopy designates the consecrated host as the supreme hero of the procession. Elevating the consecrated host on a litter or escorting it in a cart (*carro*) also conveyed its status relative both to those who walked in the procession and those who watched it.

Processional routes bedecked with banners, tapestries, and other festive garnishments, gun and flag salutes, fireworks, music and dance, all conveyed the celebratory nature of Corpus Christi. Each of these aspects of Corpus Christi was shared by other celebrations establishing a common festive vocabulary that was both visual and performative. The performed vocabulary of triumph was also shared with profane processions such as the *advent*, the reception of distinguished guests (Romeu Figueras 1957, 37–39). In *advents*, the visitor (or returning dignitary) would be welcomed at the outskirts of the city and escorted into the community, usually to the cathedral or major church, along decorated streets through temporary triumphal arches and past ephemeral altars constructed especially for the occasion.¹⁰ The temporary altars, at which the cortege would pause, sanctified the path by echoing the structure of a church's interior. In church architecture the arch that leads from the nave into the choir or sanctuary is designated as the *triumphal arch*. In a church, then, passage under the triumphal arch signals that one is approaching the main altar. Because, in festive processions, the appearance of triumphal arches through which the cortege passes as it approaches temporary altars is reminiscent of sacred architecture, the pathway is transformed into a sanctified ritual space.

Processions were typically accompanied by music and dancing, fireworks, and short plays or dialogues, traditionally presented in the streets, that entertained and informed the public who celebrated the return or visit of prominent personages (Zumalde 1964, 39). The plays, which on profane occasions informed the public about the deeds of

the entering dignitary, became, by the end of the fifteenth century, the famous Spanish *autos sacramentales*, religious mystery or morality plays (Zumalde 1964, 54).¹¹ Advents and religious processions thus shared a festive structure through which divine and mundane personages were linked.¹²

The procession of Corpus Christi thus presents Christ as the supreme victor who is present at the celebration in his honor. Because Christ is actualized through transubstantiation, the Roman Catholic church and its particular representative who has the power to summon Christ also participates in the triumph. Traditionally, the celebratory cortege that escorts the consecrated host includes a broad spectrum of the community's religious and civic organizations, which display images of their patron saints or banners representing them. While all of these saints are themselves triumphant figures, on the feast day of Corpus Christi each is subordinated to the consecrated host. A divine hierarchy of the Christian God and his supernatural vassals (saints and angels) is thus manifested in the procession. Also implicit in the cortege is the community's social and political hierarchy, the order of the procession connoting the relative status of the participants.

In early modern Spain, Corpus Christi processions usually involved not only the highest religious authorities, but political leaders of the highest ranks as well. In Madrid, for example, the city's secular clergy, religious orders, and municipal council, who appeared in almost all of Madrid's religious processions, were customarily joined in the Corpus Christi cortege by all of the royal counselors, the royal house, lords and high nobility, as well as "other innumerable ministers" (*otros ministros que son sin número*) (Quintana 1629, 386–388). Records from 1482 indicate that Queen Isabela presided over the Madrid procession, and in 1498 Fernando and Isabela each carried a pole of the canopy that shaded the monstrance; in 1518 Carlos I, together with the ambassadors of England, France, Portugal, Venice, and others carried the poles of the canopy, and in 1641 Philip IV and Prince Baltasar Carlos joined the cortege (Gascón de Gotor 1916, 17–21; Azorin García 1984, 145).

Similarly, the Corpus Christi processions of other Spanish cities were attended by high nobility and civic leaders. According to records from 1424, Alfonso V of Aragón hoisted one of the poles of the canopy, as did Carlos I of Spain (by then Holy Roman Emperor Charles V) in Valencia in 1535 (Gascón de Gotor 1916, 12). In 1528 Carlos I attended the festival in Valencia, as did Philip II in 1585 and Philip III in 1612 (*ibid.*).

By parading in proximity to the host (the “Holiest of Holies”), a union of the highest sacred and profane, supernatural and worldly authorities was demonstrated—the body of the ruler and the Body of Christ unified. Spanish Corpus Christi processions thus manifested the inextricable union of divine and royal, heavenly and earthly, religious and political authorities. Traditionally these were supported by armed military battalions, further reinforcing the notion that the triumph portrayed was not restricted to symbolic and supernatural realms.

The Multiple Triumphs of Corpus Christi

To evoke the “triumph over heresy” in the spirit of the Counter-Reformation, most early modern Spanish Corpus Christi processions included the representation of non-Christian elements over which Christ (in the form of the host) would symbolically triumph; sometimes these figures were general references to evil, like the famous *tarasca*, the dragonlike serpent featured in the Corpus Christi processions of Madrid and other Spanish communities. In seventeenth-century Seville, for example, the *tarasca* was accompanied by *mojarrillas*—celebrants costumed as “savages” in brightly colored outfits who carried inflated cow bladders with which they made rude noises directed at the crowd (Lleó Cañal 1980, 39, 41). Their costumes were in accord with medieval conventions for the uncivilized, as was their behavior. The Corpus Christi in Seville also featured “giants,” six figures who represented men and women of diverse nations, all of whom were subject to the triumph of Christ.

Often, Corpus Christi occasioned the celebration not only of the abstract notion of Christ’s victory over death, and hence sin, but of Catholic Christianity over heresy, and Catholic Christians over nonpapists. Not infrequently, references were made to historical and/or contemporary political triumphs involving non-Christian peoples. Spanish Christians, dressed as Moors, Arabs, or Turks, would attempt to impede the celebrations (Gascón de Gotor 1916, 33); they always failed, of course. In early modern Madrid, the devils, who fought—and were defeated by—angels in a Corpus Christi dance, were dressed as Moors (Very 1962, 21). Famous battles were often represented by the celebrated *rocas* (or *roques*), processional carts, of Valencia and other Spanish cities. In the seventeenth century, one such cart was constructed in memory of

the conquest of Valencia (1238). It was accompanied by dancers dressed as Moors while another cart, dedicated to the archangel Michael, was constructed in memory of the *reconquista* (reconquest) with a dance of the infidels (Gascón de Gotor 1916, 12–13). In 1492, the Corpus Christi celebration in Murcia gave special attention to the recent reconquest of Granada in two special mystery plays (Rubio García 1983, 101).

The Spanish Corpus Christi festival explicitly linked the state's political and military victories with divine triumphs; divine will and royal will were inextricably intertwined. Because the "defense" of Catholic Christianity legitimized offensive or "conquest" activity, the triumph of the Corpus Christi was understood as the triumph of those who celebrated Corpus Christi. Many Spanish celebrations of this feast featured choreographed performances that were militaristic in nature. Dancers often appeared as combatants: angels and demons, Samson and the Philistines, and Christians and Moors are just a few of the warring factions presented in Spanish Corpus Christi festivals. By extension, the community of Christians participating in local ritual triumphs enlisted in this global war against nonpapists.

The celebratory structure of Corpus Christi in early modern Spain was confrontational: those who celebrated Corpus Christi (i.e., Roman Catholics) were characterized as victors, while those who did not revere the consecrated host were vanquished. This was especially the case in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries following the capture of the southern Iberian provinces from the Muslim Moors. Corpus Christi in Granada, the last of the Muslim strongholds to fall to Christian forces (1492), involved particular references to the "reconquest." In fact, the celebration of Corpus Christi was introduced to Granada specifically to counteract Islam (termed "infidelism"), with the Catholic monarchs establishing a special endowment to help defray the costs of the Corpus Christi celebration in that city (Garrido Atienza 1889, 6). A decree (*cédula*) in 1501 commanded that the people of Granada celebrate the feast of Corpus Christi with "such great displays of happiness and contentment" that it would "seem as though they were crazy" (*la fiesta ha de ser tal e tan grande la alegría y contentamiento, que parezcais locos*) (ibid.). Thus, while promoting a sense of community among celebrants,¹³ Corpus Christi also occasioned suspicious regard of potential "enemy" elements within the local society. A regulation from 1468 in Murcia, for example, gave Jews and Moors in the street at the time of the procession, especially during the passing of the Body of Christ, two

options: they could flee the streets and hide themselves, or kneel and demonstrate “due respect” (Rubio García 1983, 67).¹⁴

Importantly, early in the sixteenth century Queen Isabela had the monstrance that was used in the Corpus Christi procession in Toledo crafted from the first gold to reach Spain from the Indies, also a site of conquest (Epton 1968, 94).¹⁵ American gold—again, the “first gold that came from the Indies”—was also formed into a cross displayed in processions in Seville (Lleó Cañal 1980, 30). Thus, the conquest of the so-called New World was integrated into a known pattern of historic confrontations with non-Christian peoples. Although Native Americans were not represented in human form as subjugated to the Body of Christ in early Spanish Corpus Christi celebrations, the wealth of their land was transformed into its supports. We might well read a metonymic “transubstantiation” of the bodies of American natives, not yet well known, into the gold which, when fashioned into monstrances and crosses, summoned their subjected and doubly converted presence in Spanish Corpus Christi festivals. At this early point in the colonization of America, their personal, bodily otherness hardly seemed to matter. It did matter, however, when Corpus Christi came to be performed on American soil.

Those Spaniards who recognized the triumph of Corpus Christi as the triumph of the Crown in southern Spain are the same Spaniards who were, in the same period of time, introducing Corpus Christi to the Americas following its “conquest.” We now turn to the Andes to examine how the Iberian skeleton of Corpus Christi was fleshed out in one city in Spain’s colonies.

Triumph in the Andes

The historian Sabine MacCormack (1985, 422) notes that the conquest of the Americas was, at times, perceived by those who participated in it as an extension of the *reconquista*, and that certain chroniclers frequently referred to the conquerors as Christians—not only echoing the centuries-old confrontation between Muslims and Christians in Spain, but fitting their New World experience into Old World tropes. What’s more, Andean shrines are identified by early chroniclers of the conquest as “mosques” (*mezquitas*), and Inka customs are often compared

to Turkish and Moorish practices (ibid., 422–423). Importantly, MacCormack also notes that “we are not merely dealing with patterns of perception which were carried over from the reconquest of Granada to the conquest of the New World: for the method which the conquerors of Peru used to organise newly subjected territory and people stems from that same origin” (ibid., 423). Certainly the performance of Corpus Christi in the Andes was organized according to reconquest strategies.

Just as Moors, the defeated opposition to Spanish Christians, were summoned in Spanish Corpus Christi celebrations, the native Andean presence in the Corpus Christi celebrations of colonial Peru was interpreted through the lens of colonization. Andean participation in Corpus Christi thus implicitly constituted conquest and colonization as well as the ongoing battle against satanic forces, with whom native Andeans were tacitly aligned (Silverblatt 1980, 173–174). For Spaniards, it was not only important to include native Andeans in Corpus Christi celebrations, but it was essential that they perform *as natives*, as the people over whom Christians had triumphed. In performing alterity—usually through Andean costume, song, and dance—they provided the necessary festive opponent whose presence affirmed the triumph.¹⁶ Because Corpus Christi ingested, even gorged on, signs of alterity, we can recognize it as semiophagous. The feast of Corpus Christi, prepared in the Andes, not only served up Andean signs but defined its triumphant self by consuming them. Andeans and their festive practices were the necessary delicacies that enabled the Corpus Christi to shift from being the wafer consumed to the semiophagous consumer.

In the early years following the Spanish occupation it would have been impractical to expect Andeans to perfectly mime European celebratory practices, but that was never the goal (as we shall see). For now, it is sufficient to note that not only did Corpus Christi *need* a meaningful opposition, but native celebratory practices were not necessarily anathema to Christianity. Clearly Spaniards distinguished between the means of celebration and the object being celebrated. In other words, they divorced Andean festive forms from Andean religious beliefs. Once (or if) the divorce was finalized, Andean celebratory practices (such as dances) could be used in the celebration of Christian holidays. Evangelizers in the Americas used their knowledge of indigenous American deities to convert Native Americans more easily. One of the first Spaniards to observe that Andean religiosity was a good thing, even if he de-

cried the object of reverence, was the chronicler Bartolomé de Segovia (known as Cristóbal de Molina, “El Almagrista”). In April 1535 he witnessed the Inkas’ harvest festival to the Sun. He concluded that

even though this [giving thanks to the Sun for the harvest] is an abominable and detestable thing, because this festival honors that which was created rather than the Creator to whom gratitude was owed, it makes a great example for understanding the thanks that we are obliged to give to God [emphasis added], our true Lord, for the goods we have received, of that which we forget how much more do we owe. (Molina “El Almagrista” [1553] 1943, 51)¹⁷

The chronicler thus recognized the value of the religiosity manifested in the harvest festival. It was not the giving of thanks to a supernatural entity that was “wrong”; rather, the focus of worship was “misguided” from a Christian perspective.

Spaniards recognized the value of maintaining certain native reverential behaviors in an effort to shift adoration away from native supernaturals (*wak’as* [sacred places and things], celestial bodies, thunder and lightning, and ancestors) to the Christian pantheon. The practice of substitution was nothing new to Europeans, who commonly associated Greek and Roman deities with members of the Christian pantheon. In fact, Greek and Roman deities made appearances in colonial celebrations.¹⁸ Thus, Spaniards did not necessarily find reference to pagan deities anathema but used them to demonstrate the superiority of the Christian God; so, too, did they use certain Andean religious customs. The ecclesiastic councils of Lima, 1551–1772, emphasized not eradication, but utilization of native religiosity and the careful application of substitutions. The first provincial council of 1551 (called by Archbishop Jerónimo de Loayza) set forth the philosophy of substitution in the third of forty *constituciones*. It was dictated that, in Andean communities where there was some conversion, *wak’as* (or *huacas*) were to be destroyed and churches built over them or crosses raised in their place (communities without converts were problematic and were referred to the viceroy). The second council of Lima, convened in 1567 (also under Archbishop Loayza), decreed that, wherever possible, crosses should be erected at all *wak’as* or *pachitas* (indigenous shrines often located on hills or promontories) (Vargas Ugarte 1951, 253, *constitución* no. 99). The council ordered that “pagan” seasonal festivals associated with sowing, rain, and snow be refocused on temporally equivalent Chris-

tian celebrations. Priests were specifically instructed to surreptitiously observe native celebrations of Corpus Christi (celebrated at harvesttime [May–June] in the Andes) to make sure that Indians were not using the feast of the Body of Christ as a pretext for worshipping their “idols,” however.¹⁹ These seeds of doubt which later blossomed into extirpatory rhetoric and action will be examined below (Chapter 3). Civic authorities also condoned the practice of substitution. Viceroy Francisco de Toledo ([1572] 1921–1926b, 171), for example, in the latter half of the sixteenth century, gave his stamp of approval to the practical policy of substitution when he commanded that native images be removed and crosses and other Christian insignias be put in their place.

The didactic dialogue “El Dios Pan,” written at the beginning of the seventeenth century for Corpus Christi in Charcas (Bolivia), is based on the substitution of the pagan Pan by the Christian God (the dialogue is reproduced in Vargas 1943, 1–26). “El Dios Pan” shows how readily Hispanics evoked non-Christian themes as evidence of their “true” religion. In the course of the dialogue it is demonstrated that Christ, in the form of the wafer consumed in the rite of Communion, is the true god Pan (*pan* meaning “bread” in Spanish). The substitution is furthered by the observation that the Greek god Pan was a pastoral figure and that Christ is known as the Good Shepherd; additionally, the Christian character in the dialogue notes that just as Pan was the god of Arcadia so is the Christian God the god of Arcadia because he was responsible for the making of two *arcas*, or “arks”: Noah’s ark and Moses’ ark of the covenant. The dialogue also points out that Apollo, the Greek deity associated with the sun, is the servant of the Christian God. The same Hispanics who relied on fallen Greek gods to provide foundations for Christianity looked to Andean supernaturals to do the same.

Framing the Performative

Certain native celebratory forms—and the selectivity involved will be the subject of the next chapter—were integrated into Corpus Christi (and other festivals, both religious and profane) because the festive framework, that of a triumph, conditioned their significances to the colonizers.²⁰ The triumphal vocabulary allowed native performative enunciations to be heard by the colonizers in ways that were accept-