PREFACE

THIS VOLUME FOCUSES on art sponsored or produced by native Latin Americans during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in areas formerly controlled by the Aztec and Inca empires. The authors are among a growing number of scholars who view the cultural productions of the Spanish colonies as resulting not from an unbalanced binary opposition between Europeans and Amerindians, but from a more complex situation of historical dynamics involving the contestations of power. This view runs contrary to more traditional approaches that see native societies at the time of the Conquest as an undifferentiated unity, historically unresponsive and incapable of change, and as passive recipients of European ' influences .' Here , in contrast , native artists and patrons emerge as active and conscious co-shapers of colonial culture, who manipulate visual forms to create sites of self-representation; and no single or essential form of native participation is seen as dominant . With the increasing numbers of examples brought forth in recent years, it is becoming obvious that native productions varied greatly and that this variety was a function of a multitude of factors. Most salient among these are differences in the sequences of historical events in particular places, in Spanish imposition of cultural norms, in the specifics of native traditions, and in individual choices.

The volume begins with two articles on the artists of central Mexico in the Viceroyalty of New Spain during the second half of the sixteenth century, some of whom conceivably might have been trained in the last years before the fall of the Aztec empire in 152r. Jeanette Favrot Peterson focuses on the inclusion of pre-Hispanic motifs in church murals, while Ellen T. Baird studies the illustrations of Fray Bernardino de Sahagun 's great encyclopedic work on the Aztecs - both cases in which native artists were working under the close supervision of European humanists. In the church murals, Peterson investigates to what extent obvious and less obvious native motifs may have retained pre-Hispanic meanings and how these supplemented or subverted the Christian messages intended by the friar-patrons. For Peterson (as for other authors in this volume) the question of audience reception is as important as artists' and patrons' intentions . How were different motifs read by Spaniards and natives of different social and educational

levels? Especially interesting are murals, like those at Ixmiquilpan, which reveal the intellectual collaboration of native artists educated by the friars, and the complexity of the resulting syntheses of ideas.'

In contrast to Peterson, Baird's questions deal with the meaning of style itself. She questions a scholarly tradition that conceives of changes from pre-Hispanic to European modes as a gradual progression over time based solely on degree of native acculturation and skill. Recent studies reveal a more complex situation , with conscious choice being an important factor. Here Baird speculates on Saha gun's reasons for having his artists illustrate the Florentine Codex with obviously Europeanized drawings as opposed to the more native style of his first work, the Primeros Memoriales. She suggests that it was not a matter of evolution but rather of intended audience. While Baird concentrates on the early colonial period and the non-native patron who directed the project (the input of Sahagu n's informant-collaborators being difficult to determine), other recent studies reveal that native patrons and artists might choose styles appropriate to their own agendas, as in the late seventeenth-century Techialoyan manuscripts, which are in an archaizing native style.' Brought out also in Baird's discussion are symbolic aspects of Renaissance mathematical perspective and the complex of ideas that accompanied it - ideas that Americanises sometimes forget were new in Europe as well and the subject of much theoretical speculation.

In the third article, Tom Cummins bridges the gap between Mexico and South America by comparing sixteenth-century colonial images from both areas. He focuses on two examples in which Europeanate depictions (the Virgin Mary and an equestrian figure) were inserted into traditional Mexican and Andean contexts, respectively. Cummins uses accompanying documents in the Mexican case and analogies from ethnohistoric evidence in the Peruvian case to ascertain how these images would have been read. In addition to illustrating their new contextualization , his comparison points out some essential differences between the two areas of study in both pre- and post-Hispanic times. In South America pre-Conquest Inca art tended to represent concepts through abstract symbols, and even natural motifs took the form of non-narrative emblems alluding to a complex of ideas through metaphor. The Inca did not have recordation systems besides bundles of knotted strings called *quipus.* In contrast, pre-Columbian Mexicans had documents and ' books' in which they recorded information in pictographs of natural motifs and hieroglyphic writing. Narrative readings of sequential images were not unusual; most notable are the historical manuscripts. The Mexican codex that Cummins studies here is an early colonial transformation of the native manuscript tradition, examples of which continued to appear until

the nineteenth century (for instance, the Techialoyans mentioned above). In contrast, Cummins ' second object, a gold bracelet, is exemplary of the type of materials remaining from the colonial Andean area, where native leaders commissioned a range of hybrid works making visible their liminal position between native and European societies. These include Europeanate oil portraits of Andeans in traditional costumes, ceremonial drinking cups *(keros)* decorated with narrative scenes, and textiles and costumes with mixed native, European, and Asian imagery.' In Mexico, few examples of this type of hybrid object remain, although documents and paintings indicate the continued use of archaic costumes and other traditional paraphernalia throughout the colonial period.'

The final two articles by Carlos Espinosa and Carolyn S. Dean deal with seventeenth-century South American native elites in the Viceroyalty of Peru. Carlos Espinosa focuses not on the reading of particular objects, but rather on the historical and ceremonial contexts in which genealogical paintings and archaizing paraphernalia were used , as well as the deeper intellectual structures behind their manipulation. Utilizing court records from near Quito (Ecuador) at the northern end of the former Inca empire , he presents the readings of both natives and Spaniards of a sequence of events in a power play between an Inca descendant and the colonial authorities. Among other things, Espinosa argues that ceremonies featuring figures wearing Inca costumes (termed 'dances of the Conquest') were sponsored by Spanish administrators to justify and validate the colonial political structure and, in addition , that native elites were co-producers of the ceremonies. In the case he examines, the Inca 'pretender ' subverts these ceremonies and their pre-Conquest imagery.

In the last article, Carolyn Dean studies a set of paintings from Cuzco, the former Inca capital, recording a Christian religious procession with Andean participants, including figures in lncaic costumes. Commissioned by native elite patrons to decorate a parish church, their creation was an act of devotion directed toward colonial administrators. Like Espinosa, Dean has argued elsewhere that these types of ceremonies incorporating indigenous elements did not represent a veiled version of a pre-Conquest harvest ceremony, as usually supposed , but rather the purposeful evocation of the indigenous ceremony in the context of European, here Christian, triumph .' In this article, Dean focuses on the depicted spectators of the procession, among them Spaniards and both upper and lower class natives. Significant for Dean is the depiction of some lower class Andean adults as misbehaving like children represented in both groups, while native elite and Spanish adults do not. Dean uses this as a basis for contrasting European and traditional Inca attitudes toward childhood and for pointing out the European

view of unacculturated Andeans as being like children.' Telling too is the fact that this negative depiction of Andeans reveals native acceptance of European prejudicial ideas, or more accurately, elite acceptance of ideas about the lower class, less acculturated 'other.'

As noted at the outset, these essays represent a relatively recent app roach, and as such they only begin to reveal the varied textures of colonial experience as manifested in art. For the most part, the native viewpoints represented here are those of elites, whether emanating from artists working for (or collaborating with) the regular clergy of New Spain or those in the employ of native Andeans. We cannot pretend that they are the only forms of representation from these particular groups. Ethnic, racial, and class differences invariably involved different sites of contestation and led to competing and contradictory statements. In addition, some natives enjoyed greater isolation and their productions do not manifest the same motivations as those of natives operating in and near urban centers. Only with the further progress of such material and cultural studies will we be able to map the patterns of native production in greater detail and integrate the results into broader discussions of colonial contestations - whether political, economic, social, or sexual.

Jeanette Peterson's article is an outgrowth of a paper delivered at the 1985 International Congress of Americanists in Bogota, Colombia. Ellen Baird's article was first given as a paper at the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference in Tempe, Arizona, in 1987. Tom Cummins' article developed from a paper given at the College Art Association in Houston, Texas, in 1988. Carlos Espinosa's article derives from his dissertation research on colonial cultural institutions and has not been presented previously. Carolyn Dean's article was delivered as a paper at the Association of Latin American Art session at the 1987 Houston College Art Association meeting.

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EMILY UMBERGER AND TOM CUMMINS

Notes

1. For example, in the murals at lxmiquilpan, depicting a struggle between good and evil as a type of 'just war' between Christianized and pagan Indians, native artists reinterpreted the pre-Conquest concept of 'sacred war fare' between civilized (Aztec) and uncivilized (enemy) groups. For Aztec 'sacred war fare,' see Alfonso Caso, *El Teocalli de la Guerra Sagrada* (Mexico, 1927); for representations, see Emily Umberger, 'Art and Imperial Strategy in Tenochtitlan,' in *Aztec Imperial Strategies,* by Frances F. Berdan and others (Washington DC, in press). For Spanish ideas on 'just warfare,' see john Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World,* second edition (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1970); Carlos Espinosa, this volume.

2. For these, see H. R. Harvey, 'Techialoyan Codices: Seventeenth-century Indian Land Titles in Central Mexico,' in *Handbook of Middle American Indians, Supplement 4: Ethnohistory,* edited by Victoria Reifler Bricker, Ronald Spores, and Patricia A. Andrews (Austin, 1986), 153-64; and Stephanie G. Wood, 'Don Diego Garcia de Mendoza Moctezuma: A Techialoyan Mastermind?' *Estudios de Cultura Ntihuatl, XIX* (1989), 245-68.

3. See Thomas B. F. Cummins, *Abstraction to Narration: Kero Imagery of Peru and the Colonial Alteration of Native Identity,* PhD dissertation (University of California, Los Angeles, 1988), and 'We are the Other: Peruvian Portraits of Colonial Karakakuna,' in *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century,* edited by Kenneth J. Andrien and Rolena Adorno (Los Angeles and Berkeley, 1991), 203-31.

4. For example, an unusual painting of a colonial Indian village depicting traditional objects and archaic garb in ceremonial use, in the Museo de America, Madrid (Teresa Castello Yturbide and Marita Martinez del Rio de Redo, *Biombos mexicanos* [Mexico, 1970], 133-37). Of such traditional objects only wooden drums and sherds of utilitarian ceramics remain.

5. Carolyn S. Dean, *Painted Images of Cuzco's Corpus Christi: Social Conflict and Cultural Strategy* in *Viceregal Peru,* PhD dissertation (University of California, Los Angeles, 1990), 12-13 and chapter 8.

6. The depiction of children as exemplars of adult behavior is part of a broader trend in seventeenth-century Hispanic art. See especially the art of the Spanish painter Murillo (Diego Angulo Ifilguez and others, *Bartolome Esteban Murillo 1617-1682,* exhibition catalog [London, 1982]).