

POPULAR RELIGION AND APPROPRIATION: The Example of Corpus Christi in Eighteenth-Century Cuzco

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Historical studies of Andean popular religion have largely been confined to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in the main exegeses of the early chronicles and the rich materials on "extirpation of idolatry."¹ The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries remain largely terra incognita, while information on twentieth-century popular religion has come primarily from ethnographic field studies. More recently, historians and anthropologists have begun to explore the religious or messianic dimension of the great uprisings of 1780–1783 in the southern Andean sierra, taking their cue from a 1955 essay by John Rowe on a purported "Inca

1. A useful although controversial overview of studies of Andean religion is Henrique Urbano, "Representaciones colectivas y arqueología mental en los Andes," *Allpanchis* 17, no. 20 (1982):33–83. Especially important are two historically informed anthropological treatments: Michael J. Sallnow, *Pilgrims of the Andes: Regional Cults in Cusco* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987); and Deborah Poole, "Los santuarios religiosos en la economía regional andina (Cusco)," *Allpanchis* 16, no. 19 (1982):79–116. Sallnow also provides a full bibliography on Andean festive culture that updates in certain respects that of Urbano. The leading works on colonial Andean religion include Johann Specker, *Die Missionsmethode in Spanisch-Amerika in 16. Jahrhundert* (Chur, Switzerland: Beckenried, 1953); Pierre Duviols, *La lutte contre les religions autochtones dans le Pérou colonial: "L'extirpation de l'idolâtrie" entre 1532 et 1600* (Lima: Institut Français d'Etudes Andines, 1971), with a Spanish translation published as *La destrucción de las religiones andinas (durante la conquista y la colonia)* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1977); Lorenzo Huertas Vallejos, *La religión en una sociedad rural andina (siglo XVII)* (Ayacucho: UNSC Huamanga, 1981); Manuel M. Marzal, *La transformación religiosa peruana* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica, 1983); Sabine MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991); *Catolicismo y extirpación de idolatrías, siglos XVI–XVII*, edited by Gabriela Ramos and Henrique Urbano (Cuzco: Centro Bartolomé de las Casas, 1993); Kenneth Mills, *An Evil Lost to View? An Investigation of Post-Evangelization Andean Religion in Mid-Colonial Peru* (Liverpool, Engl.: University of Liverpool, 1994); and Mills, "The Limits of Religious Coercion in Mid-Colonial Peru," *Past and Present*, no. 145 (1994):84–121. The debate has been given an important fillip with the publication of sections of the extant documentation on "idolatría" in the seventeenth century in *Cultura andina y represión: Procesos y visitas de idolatrías y hechicerías, Cajatambo, siglo XVII*, edited by Pierre Duviols (Cuzco: Centro Bartolomé de las Casas, 1986); and in *Amancebados, hechiceros y rebeldes*, edited by Ana Sánchez (Cuzco: Centro Bartolomé de las Casas, 1991).

nationalism."² Yet between early-colonial historiography and twentieth-century ethnography, one encounters a virtual silence of two centuries. This hiatus is largely explained by the lack of printed sources for the period and the consequent need to sieve scarce data from archives. Also pertinent is the fact that by the end of the seventeenth century, the tide of early-modern missionary zeal had ebbed. That waning of interest in extirpatory endeavors by church and state alike coincided with a diminution of witch-hunts in Europe generally and a decline in the influence and fervor of the Inquisition in Spain specifically.³

Such lack of zeal also appears to have represented something of an accommodation between church and state on the one hand and Andean popular religiosity on the other. Beliefs and practices once viewed as incorrigibly heretical might henceforth be incorporated or tolerated as superstitious or magical, as elements of a popular culture grounded in ignorance that might nonetheless coexist comfortably on the margins of post-Tridentine Catholicism.⁴ This belated tolerance was no doubt facilitated by official conviction that the more outrageous native Andean religious practices had already been eradicated or at least driven underground. Yet this newfound tolerance had its limits: the state (even more than the church) continued to proscribe features of religious praxis deemed malign, thereby continuing to set strict parameters for the permissible in religious observance. The fragmentary post-1700 data on native Andean

2. See John H. Rowe, "El movimiento nacional inca del siglo XVIII," *Revista Universitaria* 43, no. 107 (1954):17–47. This article draws heavily on George Kubler, "The Quechua in the Colonial World," in *Handbook of South American Indians*, edited by Julian H. Steward (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1946), 2:331–410.

3. The correspondence between these episodes and the campaign to extirpate idolatry in Peru should not be pushed too far. See, for example, the remarks of Antonio Acosta Rodríguez in "La extirpación de las idolatrías en el Perú: Origen y desarrollo de las campañas," *Revista Andina* 5, no. 1 (1987):171–95.

4. There was less tolerance of popular religiosity in Europe, for which see the two key texts: Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Temple Smith, 1978); and Robert Muchembled, *Popular Culture and Elite Culture in France, 1400–1750*, translated by Lydia Cochrane (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1985; originally published in 1978). For an appraisal and comparison, see William Beik, "Popular Culture and Elite Repression in Early Modern Europe," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 11, no. 1 (1980): 97–103. For critiques of approaches to the study of popular religion, see Stuart Clark, "French Historians and Early Modern Popular Culture," *Past and Present*, no. 100 (1983):62–99; most recently, Gerald Strauss, "The Dilemma of Popular History" *Past and Present*, no. 132 (1991):130–49, and the related debate with William Beik, 150–219. A pioneering methodological essay of enduring value is Natalie Zemon Davis, "Some Tasks and Themes in the Study of Popular Religion," in *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion*, edited by Charles Trinkaus and Heiko A. Oberman (Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1974), updated to some extent in Davis, "From 'Popular Religion' to Religious Cultures," in *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research*, edited by Steven E. Ozment (St. Louis, Mo.: Center for Reformation Research, 1982). Many of the methodological issues are discussed in Robert Scribner, "Is a History of Popular Culture Possible?" *History of European Ideas* 10, no. 2 (1989):175–91. An article with important consequences for the historical study of popular religion is Peter Burke's "Strengths and Weaknesses of the History of Mentalities," *History of European Ideas* 7, no. 5 (1986):439–51.

religion that are extant have, in the main, been recorded by agents of an alien culture—clergy, royal officials, or bemused travelers—to greater or lesser extent either hostile to or uncomprehending of the “Other.”⁵ Even at their most acute, such reports rarely convey more than surface impressions.

Such fundamental hurdles compound the difficulty of assessing the problematic of the “appropriation” of popular religion. What was being appropriated, by whom, and for which purposes? The contrasting categories of “elite” and “popular” evident in European historiography have their counterparts in Andean studies in the dichotomy between “Spanish” (or official) post-Tridentine religion and “indigenous” (or native Andean) belief systems. This distinction overlooks the circumstance that colonial Andean religion had to a degree already digested Spanish popular religious culture, for all that there was wide variation across space and time. Such Hispanic religious strains are all too often ignored in Andean studies; where not, they tend to be treated as an annoying palimpsest through which purists may view the essence of “native” culture. For example, Cuzco’s festival of Corpus Christi is often regarded as an essentially native Andean celebration, thus eliding its obvious origins as one of the great feast days of Spain and Catholic Europe.⁶ If on one level exploration of the festival’s specifically native Andean dimension is a necessary undertaking, on a broader canvas it may distort understanding of the very nature of colonial and postcolonial religion in the Andes, not least its dynamic and protean features.

This observation returns to the central question of who appropriates what and why. Roger Chartier, a leading advocate of the self-styled “new cultural history,” has portrayed such appropriation as stemming from above—from elites, from a self-conscious absolutist monarchy, or from patrician city fathers—with the underclasses standing more or less helplessly by.⁷ This approach certainly reflects dominant trends in the

5. Muchembled noted further, “we have to ask repression to recount the history of what it is repressing.” See Muchembled, *Popular Culture and Elite Culture in France*, 3–4. Michel Vovelle similarly observed that the “sources come primarily from the agents of repression and are affected by all the distortions and omissions which such a role carried with it.” See Vovelle, *Ideologies and Mentalities*, translated by Eamon O’Flaherty (Cambridge: Polity, 1990; originally published in 1982), 88.

6. Treatments of the Cuzqueño Corpus Christi were until recently impressionistic and “popular” rather than scholarly in orientation. Two major studies have now appeared: Carol Ann Fiedler, “Corpus Christi in Cuzco: Festival and Ethnic Identity in the Peruvian Andes,” Ph.D. diss., Tulane University, 1985; and Carolyn S. Dean, “Painted Images of Cuzco’s Corpus Christi: Social Conflict and Cultural Strategy in Viceregal Peru,” Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1990. The former is an ethnography with some historical background, the latter an exceptional art-historical treatment well-grounded in colonial social history.

7. See Roger Chartier, “Culture as Appropriation: Popular Cultural Uses in Early Modern France,” in *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*, edited by Steven L. Kaplan (New York: Mouton, 1984), 229–53. See also Chartier,

historiography on early-modern Europe, and on the long view, the leading role of the state in repressing popular religion in Europe appears justified by the evidence. Yet this thesis of “successful repression” has managed to incorporate a more dynamic Bakhtinian view of the double-edged, potentially subversive function of popular religion and its role as a conduit for popular protest and resistance.⁸ The overriding impression that emerges from research on popular religion in Europe after the Reformation, however, is of a one-sided struggle in which popular religious culture was inexorably ground down and largely eradicated by the end of the nineteenth century. Yet if the Bourbon regime was diligent and largely successful in its attempts to reform, repress, and appropriate many facets of popular religion in Spain,⁹ the same cannot be said of the extension of

Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations, translated by Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity, 1988). For an unorthodox contrary view, see Prudence Jones and Nigel Pennick, *A History of Pagan Europe* (New York and London: Routledge, 1995). It emphasizes both the persistence and recrudescence of non-Christian beliefs, symbols, and praxis in Europe up to the present. On the so-called “new history,” see especially *The New Cultural History*, edited by Lynn Hunt (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989); Peter Burke, “Overture: The New History, Its Past, and Its Future,” in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, edited by Peter Burke (Cambridge: Polity, 1991), 1–23. Historical studies, “new” or not, have come under increased pressure from aficionados of postmodernism, poststructuralism, postcolonialism, and “subaltern studies.” For polemical rejoinders, see Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob, *Telling the Truth about History* (New York: Norton, 1993); Gertrude Himmelfarb, *On Looking into the Abyss: Untimely Thoughts on Culture and Society* (New York: Knopf, 1994); and Keith Windschuttle, *The Killing of History* (Sydney: MacLeay, 1994). The same debate appears to have begun in earnest in Latin American history with Patricia Seed’s “Colonial and Postcolonial Discourse,” *LARR* 26, no. 3 (1991): 181–200; and the subsequent “Commentary and Debate” in *LARR* 28, no. 3 (1993):113–52, which consisted of responses from Hernán Vidal, Walter D. Mignolo, and Rolena Adorno and a reply from Seed. This exchange in turn has elicited a trenchant critique from historian Florencia E. Mallon, “The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies: Perspectives from Latin American History,” *American Historical Review* 99, no. 5 (1994):1491–1515.

8. On the increasing influence of Mikhail Bakhtin on historical studies, see Peter Burke, “Bakhtin for Historians,” *Social History* 13, no. 1 (1988):85–90; Dominick LaCapra, *Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts, Contexts, Language* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1983); and more generally, Katerina Clark and Michael Holquist, *Mikhail Bakhtin* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1984). Bakhtin’s central work is *Rabelais and His World*, translated by Helene Iswolsky (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1968). Vovelle opined that Bakhtin “sees popular religion rather as a collection of attitudes and modes of behaviour, in a word, as a dynamic, based on the inversion of values and hierarchies; the corrosive action of laughter and derision, whereby a spontaneous and constantly demystifying counter-system is opposed to the established order and the established religion.” See Vovelle, *Ideologies and Mentalities*, 86. R. W. Scribner introduced six approaches to the historical study of carnival and the “world turned upside down” in *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London and Ronceverte: Hambledon, 1987), 71–101. In a work of great relevance to historical studies, Michael D. Bristol provided a clear exposition of concepts, methods, and approaches to the study of carnival and other themes related to the study of popular culture. See Bristol, *Carnival and Theater: Plebeian Culture and the Structure of Authority in Renaissance England* (New York and London: Routledge, 1985), especially chaps. 2–4.

9. Popular religion has been a leading theme of recent research on early-modern Spain (approximately 1492 to 1833). Especially important for present purposes is *Carlos III, Madrid y la Ilustración*, published by the Equipo Madrid de Estudios Históricos (Madrid: Siglo Vein-

such measures to its Andean possessions. In eighteenth-century Peru, the Spanish Crown faced problems of a different magnitude related broadly to the need to wind back the remit of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, with all that this implied for a concomitant extension of royal jurisdiction, power, and ultimately wealth.¹⁰ If this was also to some extent the case on the peninsula, ecclesiastical institutions there had much less opportunity to thwart the royal will, given their proximity to the bases of monarchical power.

Preoccupied with a drawn-out jurisdictional struggle with ecclesiastical institutions in Peru, the Crown made only sporadic, half-hearted attempts to reform what its representatives saw as “abuses” and “excesses” in popular religion. The vigorous “attack” on popular religion so evident in Bourbon Spain (most notably under Carlos III) found only faint resonance in the Viceroyalty of Peru.¹¹ The irruption in 1780 of the

tiuno, 1988). See in particular the essays by María José del Río, “Represión y control de fiestas y diversiones en el Madrid de Carlos III,” 299–329; Jesús Pereira Pereira, “La religiosidad y sociabilidad popular como aspectos del conflicto social en el Madrid de la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII,” 223–54; and Virgilio Pinto Crespo, “Una reforma desde arriba: Iglesia y religiosidad,” 155–88. See also Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Sociedad y estado en el siglo XVIII español* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1976), 359–82. For an elegant summary of the religious policy of Carlos III, see Domínguez Ortiz, *Carlos III y la España de la Ilustración* (Madrid: Alianza, 1988), 141–60. For valuable treatments of religious reforms, especially the peculiarly Spanish “Jansenist” tendency at the heart of the reform movement, see Richard Herr, *The Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1958); William J. Callahan, *Church, Politics, and Society in Spain, 1750–1874* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984); and John Lynch, *Bourbon Spain, 1700–1808* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 269–80. For context, see the contributions in *Church and Society in Catholic Europe of the Eighteenth Century*, edited by William J. Callahan and David Higgs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), which provides a country-by-country survey complete with bibliographies. A valuable, if slightly dated, overview of the era can be found in the same volume in Marc Venard, “Popular Religion in the Eighteenth Century,” 138–45. A pioneering and still useful survey of popular culture and popular religion is Charles E. Kany, *Life and Manners in Madrid, 1750–1800* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1932), especially 339–96. José María Díez Borque has conveniently gathered contemporaneous descriptions (especially by foreign travelers) of popular religious practices in *La vida española en el Siglo de Oro según los extranjeros* (Barcelona: Ediciones del Serbal, 1990), 91–106.

10. The potential scale of the problem confronting Spanish reformers in the Americas has been neatly encapsulated by Adriaan C. van Oss: “To a greater degree than is sometimes realized, the church was the Spanish State in the Indies.” See Oss, *Catholic Colonialism: A Parish History of Guatemala, 1524–1821* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 181. Nancy M. Farriss analysed a reform process that was mirrored in the Viceroyalty of Peru in *Crown and Clergy in Colonial Mexico 1759–1821: The Crisis of Ecclesiastical Privilege* (London: Athlone, 1968). On Peru, see María Consuelo Sparks, “The Role of the Clergy during the Struggle for Independence in Peru,” Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1972; Mary A. Y. Gallagher, “Imperial Reform and the Struggle for Regional Self-Determination: Bishops, Intendants, and Creole Elites in Arequipa, Peru (1784–1816),” Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1978; David Cahill, “Crown, Clergy, and Revolution in Bourbon Peru: The Diocese of Cuzco, 1780–1814,” Ph.D. diss., University of Liverpool, 1984; and Kendall W. Brown, *Bourbons and Brandy: Imperial Reform in Eighteenth-Century Arequipa* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986), chap. 6.

11. For discussion of this “attack” in an American context, see D. A. Brading, “Tridentine Catholicism and Enlightened Despotism in Bourbon Mexico,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 15, pt. 1 (1983):1–22.

great uprising in the southern highlands, however, gave Spanish officials pause for thought, faced as they were by a mass movement with deep roots in an alien culture. In the vengeful repressive measures that attended the suppression of the rebellion, attempts were made to eradicate vestiges of Incan culture, notably Incan insignias, imagery, and costumes in the Corpus Christi celebrations in Cuzco, although with minimal success.¹² Even here, however, the impetus to reform drained away in 1788 with the transfer of the royalist strongman, Benito de la Mata Linares, to a judicial post in Buenos Aires. Further impulse to reform was desultory: bureaucratic will was weak, and the currents of Andean culture ran deep. The problem of harnessing and reforming, much less eradicating, worrisome aspects of popular culture in the southern sierra was so intractable that no contemporary pundit, however cognizant of the magnitude of the task, knew quite where to start.

In a very real sense, the quandary of how to get a grip on the complex theme of popular religion is the principal difficulty faced by its historians. Faced with inadequate sources, historians tend to seize on the spectacular, the dynamic, or the economic dimension: the fiesta as backdrop to a protest revolt, a rebellion driven by messianic expectations, bitter conflicts among parish notables, hard financial data from church accounts and episcopal visitations, and so forth. For other aspects, historians are turning increasingly to the regressive method of using ethnography to reread chronicles and colonial documents, to pose fresh questions of familiar material. Yet this approach does not go far, given the lack of sources, and such a procedure heightens the risk of anachronistic interpretation.¹³ Moreover, the regressive method helps little in reconstructing bygone mentalities, in recovering hearts and minds from the traces. Nor do traditional categories help much at this point: firsthand experience of great festivals, such as Semana Santa in Seville or Corpus Christi in Cuzco, only underscores the extent to which Emile Durkheim's distinction between the "sacred" and the "profane" in religious life is illusory—the one is the obverse of the other.

This dichotomy is nevertheless a useful point of departure for

12. This policy was initially outlined by Visitor-General Josef Antonio de Areche. See Archivo General de Indias (henceforth AGI), Audiencia del Cuzco, Legajo 29, Areche to Gálvez, 1 May 1781, following a detailed recommendation by the Bishop of Cuzco, Juan Manuel Moscoso y Peralta, and Moscoso to Areche, 13 Apr. 1781.

13. Use of the regressive method is most associated with structuralism, currently the dominant strain of anthropology in Andean studies, but it is a house of many mansions, and many of its practitioners have some acquaintance with historical archives. Yet one can have too much of a good thing. Consider the acrid remarks of Henrique Urbano: "En los últimos años . . . hemos recogidos miles de referencias a *pachakuti*, a 'dualismo y a cuadruplicaciones' . . . que, como los embudidos industriales, son indigestos e impiden a muchos escuchar lo que en forma sencilla les susurran al oído las fuentes escritas." See Urbano, "Tunupa, Taguapaca, Cachi: Introducción a un espacio simbólico andino," *Revista Andina* 6, no. 1 (1988):201–24, 218.

studying popular religion in eighteenth-century Peru, for it surfaces again and again in “enlightened criticism” of religious practices (“*la profanación de lo sagrado*”) in Peru and elsewhere in the Hispanic world during the Bourbon era.¹⁴ This article will explore the social, economic, and political dimensions of colonial fiestas by way of an analysis of the feast of Corpus Christi in the *cercado* of Cuzco.¹⁵ It will consider “appropriation” as a double-edged phenomenon: while rulers and other elites sought to control popular religion for their own ends (to draw its venom, one might say), still others recognized that a throng assembled ostensibly for religious ends provided an ideal setting for subverting, even overturning the colonial order itself. Such subversive instincts existed among all strata of colonial society, a circumstance that at once calls into question the distinction between “elite” and “popular” in the study of colonial religious life.

In Spain as elsewhere in the Hispanic world, reform of popular religion commenced in the cities and only gradually spread to the countryside. In the Viceroyalty of Peru, by contrast, the order of priorities was reversed: despite the iconoclasm of the conquest years, the first root-and-branch reform of Andean popular religion occurred in the countryside with the extirpation campaign of the seventeenth century. In Europe, urban festivities were more visible to princes and prelates and posed a

14. Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1976). The distinction has always been criticized for being too rigid and difficult to sustain, especially in traditional societies, where experience tends to be more unitary than in those in which modernization has made significant inroads. Nevertheless, the distinction continues to have its proponents, most notably Mircea Eliade in *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, translated by Willard R. Trask (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1959). It has been widely discussed by Burke in *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 210–13; and by Río in “Represión y control de fiestas,” 299–329. Scribner argued in *Popular Culture and Popular Movements* that “the sacred is always experienced from within the profane; it is always manifested as a historical fact, within some historical situation.” (I am grateful to Nancy Van Deusen for having drawn my attention to this formulation.) Jean Delumeau argues that the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages accepted the pagan-Christian syncretism and that the turning point only came in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. See Delumeau, *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire: A New View of the Counter-Reformation*, translated by Jeremy Moiser (London: Burns and Oates, 1977; originally published in 1971), 154ff. Lending support to this view is A. N. Galpern, *The Religion of the People in Sixteenth-Century Champagne* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), chaps. 2–3. Much-embled noted in *Popular Culture and Elite Culture in France* that “city authorities gradually agreed that the fêtes were useless or dangerous and must first and foremost be Christian” (p. 161). María José del Río summarizes an influential (in Spain and Peru) 1777 view of the Bishop of Toledo to the effect that dancing and other carnivalistic features of Corpus Christi in Spain “were products of the barbarity and ignorance of other times . . . and distracted the attention of the faithful from its only object, the Eucharist.” See Río, “Represión y control de fiestas,” 305. Sallnow, citing the work of Efraim Morote Best, reported that during Corpus Christi in Cuzco, the saints themselves “are said to indulge in profane behaviour, drinking, gambling, and quarrelling among themselves.” See Sallnow, *Pilgrims of the Andes*, 164.

15. The *cercado* of Cuzco comprised the eight city parishes as well as the towns of San Jerónimo and San Sebastián. The village of Poroy, which belonged administratively to the parish of Santa Ana for at least part of the colonial era, also contributed a saint to the colonial Corpus Christi procession.

latent challenge to proliferating state power. In the Andes, cities and towns were largely coterminous with Hispanic space, and political menace was identified with the overwhelmingly indigenous villagers of the highlands. The siege of the city of Cuzco by insurgent forces in January 1781 was a tableau of this political equation: as *españoles* huddled in the cusp of the city, the heights were ringed with an insurgent horde that was emphatically "Indian."¹⁶ In the wake of the rebellion, it was to be the festivals of the city that were ironically singled out for reform, supposedly a prelude to more wide-ranging controls.

Yet a thoroughgoing reform of rural religious customs in the Andean possessions was probably never a realistic option for church and state, whose manpower resources were too thinly spread. Even if village fiestas had been brought within the compass of officialdom's aesthetic ideal, repressed customs and the social and religious principles that underlay them would have been readily displaced into more marginal space: to the high places, the punas, and the rural chapels far from villages and priestly scrutiny. Such an invigilation would, in any case, have required a massive effort of will by royal officials and clergy as the prerequisite for even limited success, and such motivation was conspicuously absent in the last century of colonial rule in the Andes. While the discourse of reform was strongly moralistic in tone, there were other motives that fueled attempts at reform. Keywords like *discipline* and *excess* bore weighty economic overtones related severally to efforts toward the promulgation of a work ethic, the avoidance of conspicuous consumption, the loss of days of work and production through an inordinate number of fiestas, all reinforced by concern that the opportunity costs of such frittering of resources would be lack of investment and inability to meet the growing tax demands of the Crown.¹⁷ Yet in the final analysis, the overriding priority of religious reformism was political security (and thus survival of the monarchy).¹⁸ How, for example, could the Bourbons

16. Both sides were in fact multiracial coalitions to some degree, but the siege (much like that of La Paz the same year) threw into stark relief the distinction between the two principal cultures. In particular, the Cuzco siege witnessed a wholesale desertion of the "español" and "mestizo" components of the rebel host. On the multiple meanings of such racial labels in colonial Cuzco, see David Cahill, "Colour by Numbers: Racial and Ethnic Categories in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1532–1824," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 26, pt. 2 (1994):325–46.

17. On the kinds of economic motives that underlay reforms, see Río, "Represión y control de fiestas," 304, 318; Pereira, "La religiosidad y sociabilidad popular," 238, 242, 247–51; and Muchembled, *Popular Culture and Elite Culture in France*, 97–98, 126. Interesting in this context is the view that popular participation in festive culture was in part a reflection of a desire to participate in the "culture of abundance" (to use Bakhtin's phrase), by which individuals could escape at regular intervals from the exiguousness of their daily struggle. There were thus economic considerations present at all stages of a fiesta, quite apart from the economic burden imposed on its sponsors.

18. These official fears were most evident in the many prohibitions (partly reproduced in the Americas) against masks, disguises, and the bearing of arms during fiestas. For details,

forget that the revolt of the Catalans in 1640 had commenced during Corpus Christi and that the Esquilache riots in Madrid in 1766 had flared during Palm Sunday celebrations?¹⁹ The removal of the Bourbons in France in 1789 merely underlined survival as the surpassing priority of the absolutist state.

RELIGIOUS CULTURE IN THE CUZCO REGION

The revived critique of popular religion in late-colonial Cuzco and subsequent sporadic efforts at reform in the erstwhile Inca capital converged in the wake of the general uprising of 1780–1783. The specter of a rekindled Indian uprising was to inform most endeavors of church and state during the following four decades to independence, an interregnum at once reformist and repressive. Given this scenario, there was scant possibility that popular religious customs could elude the official heavy-handedness that marked the era; yet religious culture was only lightly brushed by the bleak regime installed in the wake of the rebellion. Official interest in grappling with threats (real or imagined) posed by popular religion spanned this period of repression precisely: it commenced in 1780 with the insurgency and faded eight years later with the departure of Benito de la Mata Linares, its driving force.²⁰ Although the problem continued to be recognized officially, none of Mata's successors possessed his inquisitorial drive or sense of urgency. Curbing perceived ecclesiastical excesses had to take priority over a reform of popular religious customs, as even Mata Linares soon realized. In the ensuing years, intermittent com-

see Río, "Represión y control de fiestas," 300–301, 310–13, 321–23; and Pereira, "La religiosidad y sociabilidad popular," 249. On similar measures in early-modern France, see Muchembled, *Popular Culture and Elite Culture in France*, 140, 145, 161; Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 203–4; Davis, "Rites of Violence," 172; and Davis, "Reasons of Misrule," 120. Similar injunctions operated elsewhere in Europe: for example, see Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements*, 71–101, for the German case. Spanish Bourbon prohibitions in this area drew on French regulations to some extent but were mainly a revival and development of earlier Habsburg festive regulations.

19. Burke made this point in *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 204. Galpern indicated that Corpus Christi provided a propitious occasion for rebellion and protest in several European states in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See Galpern, *Religion of the People*, 71–78. Domínguez Ortiz dealt with "los motines de 1766," pointing out that the Esquilache riots in Madrid were not merely a localized protest against a prohibition regarding the wearing of capes and wide-brimmed hats—for long the standard interpretation—but were part of a wider conjuncture of unrest, such that in 1766 seditious pasquinades were registered in 126 separate localities, with disturbances ("motines") recorded in 39 of them. See Domínguez Ortiz, *Carlos III y la España*, 63–94.

20. For overviews of the period following the rebellion, see John R. Fisher, "Royalism, Regionalism, and Rebellion in Colonial Peru, 1808–1815," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 59, no. 2 (1979):232–57; Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy, "El mito de la 'independencia concedida': los programas políticos del siglo XVIII y del temprano XIX en el Perú y Alto Perú (1730–1814)," in *Problemas de la formación del estado y de la nación en Hispanoamérica*, edited by Inge Buisson et al. (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1984), 55–92; and Luis Durand Flórez, *Criollos en conflicto: Cuzco después de Túpac Amaru* (Lima: Universidad de Lima, 1985).

plaints were lodged with regional authorities concerning a supposedly untrammled popular religious culture and its allegedly deleterious ramifications in political, moral, and economic terms. Rural *curas* and even royal officials inveighed against the profanity, financial waste, and latent threat to public order posed by festivities that were said to degenerate into bacchanalia.²¹ As Spanish historian Jesús Pereira has put it, this official mindset envisaged *carnaval suave* becoming *carnaval salvaje*.²² If *curas*, officials, and other invigilators were doubtless shocked at the profanity innate in fiestas, their critique may also be read as the natural reaction of cultural outsiders adrift beyond the shores of their accustomed habitus.

Popular religion and popular culture were inextricably entwined in late-colonial Cuzco. Moreover, the urban environment was so conducive to acculturation that within the city and the surrounding areas, it was well-nigh impossible to gauge where the “popular” ended and the “elite” began. This acculturation worked in two directions: from indigenous to Spanish and vice versa. Religion and culture in Cuzco were imbued with symbolism and ritual that harked back, obliquely or unambiguously, to the Incario. The image of the Inca and the associated siren rumors of a return to Tawantinsuyu held center stage in the political life of late-colonial Cuzco, a myth seductive to creoles and Indians alike. The political potency of Inca symbolism, so manifest in the 1780 rebellion, provided sufficient justification for its proscription thereafter. The repressive policy implemented enthusiastically by Intendant Mata Linares had been initiated in 1781 by the Crown’s Visitador General, Josef Antonio de Areche, following a swingeing attack on popular culture and religion in the southern sierra by the Bishop of Cuzco, Juan Manuel Moscoso y Peralta. Areche had instigated the report, and Moscoso told him just what he wanted to hear: that popular religiosity was saturated with elements that evoked the former glories of the Incario, replete with customs that added up to passive resistance to Spanish culture and revealed religion, and was therefore innately subversive to the monarchy.²³

The results of the extirpation campaign of the seventeenth century indicate that it was not an entirely futile exercise to attempt to isolate and eradicate those elements of Andean religion found unpalatable by colonial authorities. Yet the exercise required both skill and tenacity, much like grasping quicksilver. After 1780, skill was lacking, and what tenacity there had been trickled away with Mata Linares’s removal to more sanguine climes. The overall success of the seventeenth-century crusade was in any case equivocal, inasmuch as fierce monitoring by the “extirpators”

21. David Cahill, “Etnología e historia: los danzantes rituales del Cuzco a fines de la colonia,” *Boletín del Archivo Departamental del Cuzco* no. 2 (1986):48–54.

22. Pereira, “La religiosidad y sociabilidad popular,” 249.

23. See note 12.

drove autochthonous religious practices underground. Any assessment of quite how much was stripped away by those punitive endeavors is inevitably complicated by the secretive nature of colonial pantheism. Then as now, evaluations varied wildly. Certainly many of the rites, institutions, and appurtenances of the *pax incaica* were easily eradicated, not least because many were of relatively recent genesis and had been imposed from above. Yet in many respects, the essential structures of native Andean belief had hardly been touched, and within the church itself there was a countervailing threnody as to the effects of more than two centuries of evangelization, whether its gentle or savage variant. Not a few well-placed churchmen judged its impact on hearts and minds to have been nugatory. Hence Bishop Moscoso's fulmination against Incaic survivals in town and village, which viewed the entire constellation of "Gentile" traditions, rites, and maxims as a brew analogous to a structure of colonial resistance. Quite clearly, something had to be done. But where to start?

The Andean religious panorama was vast and many-hued. By the late eighteenth century, its coordinates were noticeably Catholic. The Diocese of Cuzco was organized into 136 parishes, each typically comprising a *cabecera de doctrina* and one or two subparishes (*anexos*, about 170 in all).²⁴ Thus the landscape was dotted with some 300 parochial or subparochial churches, yet this was not the extent of the sacred architecture in the southern sierra. In the punas and isolated estancias lay chapels that rarely saw a priest but were loci of native Andean worship. Similarly, on many haciendas and in town houses, there were chapels and oratories licensed for celebrating mass,²⁵ where rural proprietors might keep their *colonos* safe from meddling curas, or where the well-shod might avoid

24. With small variation, contemporary descriptions of the Cuzco diocese are comparable to the schema of Cosme Bueno, *Geografía del Perú virreinal, siglo XVIII*, edited by C. D. Valcárcel (Lima: 1951; originally published 1764–1771), which appears to rest in part on the viceregal census of 1754. See also British Museum, Additional MS 17580, "Estado Geográfico del Virreynato del Perú, sus Yntends. Partids. Doctrins. Puebs. anexos y sus Pobladres," ca. 1760; British Museum, Egerton MS 1810, "Compendio Histórico, Geográfico, Genealógico, y Político del Rno. del Perú . . ." (1780); and AGI, Indiferente General, Legajo 1528, "Descripción de todos los pueblos del Virreinato del Perú," n.d. (internal evidence indicates the second half of the eighteenth century).

25. These buildings included public as well as private chapels, oratories, sanctuaries, and even a hermitage (*ermita*). Their owners or guardians were obliged periodically to renew their license by paying a fee to the Tribunal de la Santa Cruzada. In 1765, 119 such chapels and oratories were licensed (to celebrate mass) in the fourteen provinces of the diocese of Cuzco, yet they were only a portion of the nonparochial churches. See Archivo Departamental del Cuzco (hereafter ADC), Asuntos Eclesiásticos: Santa Cruzada, Legajo 23, "Razón de las Capillas, y Oratorios que . . . se hallan corrientes en esta Ciudad del Cuzco y su Obispado," 24 Feb. 1765. Indigenous groups often had their own chapels, especially in out-of-the-way districts. For an example, see ADC, Corregimientos: Ordinarias, Legajo 50, "Petición de Da. Juana Uclucana," 6 Dec. 1769. See also Michael J. Sallnow, "Manorial Labour and Religious Ideology in the Central Andes: A Working Hypothesis," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 2 (1983):39–56.

rubbing shoulders with the shabby. The southern sierra was and remains a primarily ecclesiastical landscape. Against this panorama, the great festive cycles ebbed and flowed and lapped over into one another, and the liturgy was appropriately and formally Tridentine.

The peaks and troughs of the festive calendar ran like a jagged thread through a religious backcloth that was already richly embroidered. For there was a further network of fiestas that were not, in the first instance, related to the festive cycle. These consisted of a number of scattered shrines, of varying degrees of importance, that were the foci of pilgrimages.²⁶ Some among these were no more than the fiestas of patron saints of a village and thus indeed cogs in the religious treadmill. Others—such as Cocharcas, Coyllur R'iti, and Huanca—stood largely outside such rhythms, having their *raison d'être* in miraculous apparitions unrelated to the agricultural calendar underpinning its religious counterpart.²⁷ This latter group provided a temporally and geographically random set of coordinates that contrasted with the regularity of local festive cycles. The pilgrimages associated with each group were of three types: local, intra-regional, and interregional—concentric ripples of religious activity contrasting markedly with the vertical unfurling of local calendars.

There was thus an element of competition in the Andean devotional world, and most pilgrimages and even some local fiestas had early developed a commercial character. The “sacred topography” was therefore simultaneously a commercial network in which a shrine might be transformed into a trade fair, “a commercial and industrial Babel”²⁸ in traveler Paul Marcoy’s description of the impromptu fair of Pucará in the nineteenth century. For it was a mobile society. There were *mitayos* constantly underway to Potosí, Huancavelica, and Cailloma; seasonal workers headed for the *cañaverales*, haciendas, and *obrajes*; *arrieros* seemed to be in perpetual motion, sharing their journey with the *chasquis* of the postal service; smaller merchants, tinkers, and especially artisans also kept on the move due to the smallness of local markets.²⁹ Such trade

26. Sallnow, *Pilgrims of the Andes*; and Poole, “Los santuarios religiosos,” 79–116.

27. Sallnow provided excellent and partly historical accounts of the Coyllur R'iti and Huanca (Wank'a) festivals in *Pilgrims of the Andes*, 207–42, 243–58.

28. Paul Marcoy noted that this fair lasted fifteen days in *Travels in South America from the Pacific Ocean to the Atlantic Ocean*, translated by Elihu Rich (London: 1875), 1:108.

29. See, for example, ADC, Administración del Tesoro Público: Asuntos Contenciosos, Legajo 76, Subprefect of Cotabambas to Administradores del Tesoro Público, 19 Nov. 1828. It remarks on the impossibility of collecting the *contribución de castas/blancos* because “los contribuyentes nombrados españoles son en la mayor parte bagos sin tener cosa que los estimula a la residencia en la provincia.” This peripatetic lifestyle was well attested in the first decade of republican rule, a period exacerbated by the dislocations resulting from the independence wars and expeditions. Oricain also recorded nomadic groups of Indians cut adrift from mainstream, sedentary indigenous society. See Pablo José Oricain, “Compendio breve de discursos varios . . . año 1790,” in *Juicio de límites entre el Perú y Bolivia: Prueba peruana presentada al Gobierno de la República Argentina por Víctor M. Maurtua* (Barcelona: 1906), 11:331–32.

circuits and migratory labor patterns were to a large extent coterminous with the spatial distribution of pilgrimage venues, and participation in the one and the other was not confined to Andeans. In religion as in commerce, class and racial boundaries were readily crossed for the duration of a fair or a pilgrimage. It was, to be sure, no more than a rough and ready egalitarianism, a social fiction that was evanescent yet necessary in a polity characterized by a horribly skewed distribution of wealth.

Mechanisms of social leveling thus came into play in the celebration of popular religious festivities, but their impact differed widely from *fiesta* to *fiesta*. The Corpus celebration in Cuzco integrated and reinforced existing social gradations in the structure of its processional arrangements even while a carnivalesque element eroded, however ephemerally, the obeisance and obsequiousness that necessarily accompanied such barriers. Away from the city, however, the cost of a village *cargo* to its incumbent was an essential leveling mechanism that minimized inequalities of wealth within communities and thereby served to ameliorate social tensions and obviate violent conflict.³⁰ Pilgrimages were also occasions for relaxation of social distance, to greater or lesser degree. Even small fiestas in rural parishes might witness some erosion of customary protocol when an hacendado or local official came calling, not least when district and village notables became the butt of mummers.³¹ In the colonial period, moreover, there existed a series of fiestas, now long-forgotten, that were the common property of all ethnic groups: the monarch's birthday, the birth of an infanta, the marriage of a prince, the celebration of martial triumph, and similar occasions.³²

These disparate religious occasions reflect a marshaling of popular religious energies from above but also of appropriation from below, of

30. Suggestive for future work on such processes in Andean societies is Eric Van Young, "Conflict and Solidarity in Indian Village Life: The Guadalajara Region in the Late Colonial Period," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 64, no. 1 (1984):55–80. Catherine J. Allen manages to cover most of the nuances of the Andean *cargo* system within a few pages in *The Hold Life Has: Coca and Cultural Identity in an Andean Community* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), esp. 115–19.

31. The Paucartambo dancers guy notables such as lawyers and hacendados and their mestizo mistresses, although these caricatures are also said to represent the personalities of indigenous tellurian gods (such as *apus* and *auquis*). I witnessed their full range on two occasions in Cuzco in 1985 and 1986 and also attended a folkloric festival in Ayacucho in 1979 at which indigenous dancers geyed rural curas. Allen's *The Hold Life Has* is a study of a community located in the Paucartambo district. On the social significance of mumming, see Gerald M. Sider, "Christmas Mumming and the New Year in Outport Newfoundland," *Past and Present*, no. 71 (1976):102–25; and Sider, *Culture and Class in Anthropology and History: A Newfoundland Illustration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 75–77, 88–93, 138–39. I am grateful to Verena Stolcke for drawing this last reference to my attention.

32. Evidence of these may be found scattered throughout most regional archives. Ignacio de Castro commemorated one such occasion in *Relación del Cuzco* (Lima: 1978; originally published in 1795). The study by Diego de Esquivel y Navia contains many mentions of these ad hoc festive occasions. See Esquivel y Navia, *Noticias cronológicas de la gran ciudad del Cuzco*, edited by Félix Denegri et al. (Lima: Fundación Augusto N. Wiese, 1980), 2 vols.

liberties taken and petty subversions slyly introduced into the whirl of festivities. Although the joint festive participation of groups whose quotidian interests were diametrically opposed probably served to reinforce social bonding, such a lowering of the social guard might on occasion prove fatal, as demonstrated by the village riots of the eighteenth century against venal *corregidores* that flared during fiestas.³³ Noteworthy, too, in this regard is Tupac Amaru's capture of the corregidor of Tinta (the event that launched the great uprising of 1780–1783), following a festive meal celebrating the birthday of Carlos III, which both had attended as honored guests. If such shuffling of social groups during festive occasions never quite became a jumble and the traditional order snapped back into place at the culmination of festivities, there was nonetheless a measure of social bonding that served to meld social groups into something of a coherent whole. Such consensus was a countervailing force to the widespread social conflict that was such a feature of the southern sierra, and it was mediated by cultural brokers such as priests, notaries, traders, *mayordomos*, and caciques—individuals who had a foot in both camps.

Yet it would be unwise to overemphasize the commingling of estates, classes, and ethnic groups during fiestas as some kind of social balm. The issues that divided such groups from one another remained strong, and each was riven from within. Moreover, there were in the religious sphere eternal verities that remained beyond the ebb and flow of fiestas and pilgrimages. The religious culture of the Andes was imbued with animistic beliefs that seemed impermeable to all attempts at official intervention and reform. Closely related to animism were several forms of witchcraft, innate both to native Andean life and to the underworld of European belief during the Counter-Reformation.³⁴ Animism and witch-

33. For example, see Esquivel y Navia, *Noticias cronológicas*, vol. 2, Año de 1730, p. 249. No systematic attempt has yet been made to correlate the liturgical and festive calendars with incidents of Andean revolt.

34. Animism is integral to many Andean ethnographic studies but perhaps merits more scholarly attention per se. Suggestive in this regard is Jeanette E. Sherbondy, *Mallki: Ancestros y cultivo de árboles en los Andes*, Documento de Trabajo no. 5 (Lima: Proyecto FAO-Holanda and INFOR, 1986). Sallnow combined case studies with an overview of the subject in *Pilgrims of the Andes*, 127–44. Delumeau's *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire* is a valuable reminder of how widespread was animism (concerning every living and inanimate body) in early-modern European religion, a belief "shared by eminent minds right up to the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century" (pp. 161–63). Similarly, witchcraft, in spite of the attention it has received in studies of the seventeenth-century "extirpation," often seems underestimated, as in Manuel M. Marzal, *Estudios sobre religión campesina* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica, 1977), 228–33. In late-colonial times, witchcraft remained a potent social, religious, and even political force at the local level. For example, see ADC, Real Audiencia: Criminales, Legajo 137, "Expediente criminal sobre atribuirseles de Hechiseros . . . del Ptdo. de Lampa," 11 Mar. 1809. Useful points of departure are Luis Millones, "Los ganados del Señor: Mecanismos de poder en las comunidades andinas, Arequipa, siglos XVII–XIX," *Historia y Cultura* (Lima), no. 11 (1978):7–43; and Frank Salomon, "Shamanism and Politics in Late-Colonial Ecuador," *American Ethnologist* 10, no. 3 (1983):413–28. On the link between witchcraft and revolt, see Franklin Pease G. Y., "Un movimiento mesiánico

craft (and folk-healing too in certain measure) were largely confined to the lower echelons of society, that is, to the vast majority of the viceregal population. Animism and witchcraft thus had their own congregation, largely determined by class and racial ascription, but popular religious affiliation might further be parsed according to gender. Distinct religious institutions for women were not confined to urban Hispanicized groups, who might enter convents, *beaterios* or *casas de recogimiento*.³⁵ In rural districts, village *beaterios* probably fostered a traditional female role in native Andean religion, for all their ostensibly Christian affiliation. Further afield, there were a few female confraternities, and an early custodian (*mayordoma*) of the important sanctuary and pilgrimage venue of Tiobamba was a woman.³⁶

en Lircay, Huancavelica (1811)," *Revista del Museo Nacional* 40 (1974):221–52 (published in Lima); and David Cahill, "Una visión andina: El levantamiento de Ocongate de 1815," *Histórica* 12, no. 2 (1988):133–59 (published in Lima). On a related theme, idols (*huacas*) continued to be unearthed in Peru long after the end of the extirpation campaign. See ADC, Corregimiento: Ordinarias, Legajo 43, "Provon. Rl. Compulsoria . . . para que . . . remita los autos originales de la Causa . . .," 13 May 1762, concerning a petition of Don Fernando Viñape Ataupaucar; see also Esquivel y Navia, *Noticias cronológicas*, vol. 2, Año de 1739, p. 267.

35. In the late-colonial period, there were 1,144 nuns and 217 beatas in the seven Intendencias of the Viceroyalty of Peru. See AGI, Indiferente General, Legajo 1524, "Testimonio del Expedte. de la Junta preparatoria de Elecciones . . .," 1813 (figures employing the 1795 census as a base). But many times this number lived within their walls, especially as servants. Castro noted that the Cuzqueño monastery of Santa Clara, with 85 to 100 nuns, held a total population (including servants and pupils) of some 500 persons (p. 51). But see AGI, Estado, Legajo 74, Submission of Francisco Martínez y La Costa, 30 Aug. 1781, in which the population estimate for Santa Clara varies markedly: "there are few more than one hundred nuns, and among these, the female pupils, and servants, there are 3,500 women within the cloister" [of Santa Clara]. Martínez cited Santa Clara as an example of the prevailing disorder found among the female orders in Cuzco. A former rural cura of the region and commissar of the Santa Cruzada, Martínez was well acquainted with Castro, who also wrote in the 1780s. Martínez directed his comments to the king (through the Consejo de Indias) as a call (in the wake of the general uprising) for a wide-ranging reform of the several civil and ecclesiastical institutions in the southern sierra, whereas Castro's *Relación* was a paean dedicated to the queen, commemorating the "erection" of the Real Audiencia in Cuzco in 1787. The pioneering study of *recogimientos* in Spanish America is Josefina Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres: Respuesta a una problemática social novahispana* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1974). On the Viceroyalty of Peru, see Nancy E. Van Deusen, *Dentro del cerco de los muros: El recogimiento en la época colonial* (Lima: Cendoc Mujer, 1987); and Van Deusen, "Los primeros recogimientos para doncellas mestizas en Lima y Cuzco, 1550–1580," *Allpanchis* 22, nos. 35–36 (1990):249–91.

36. Anecdotal hearsay indicates that until recent decades, village *beaterios* were widespread in the Cuzco region, although they apparently escaped the notice of colonial census takers entirely. See AGI, Audiencia de Lima, Legajo 306, "Vissita que el Dor Don Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo Obpo del Cuzco . . . hizo el año de 1674." Folio 1v records their presence in the province of Quispicanchis, when Bishop Mollinedo ordered the cura of Quiquijana "que quitase los havitos a ciertas indias, que con titulo de Beatas Francas. le trayan viviendo en forma de comunidad, entregaronse a sus padres por que combino assi al servicio de Dios." Yet another *beaterio* was attached to the Franciscan convent in Yucay, in the province of Urubamba. See Oricain, *Compendio breve*, 348. Ramón Gutiérrez recorded a *beaterio* at Coporaque (in the province of Espinar, colonial province of Canas y Canchis), founded in 1799 by "royalist" kuraka Eugenio Canathupa Sinanyuca. See Gutiérrez, *Arquitectura virrey-*

The forms and praxis of popular religion in the southern sierra pervaded in such manner the fabric of everyday life. Any putative attempt at thoroughgoing reform could not but fail in the short term, given the lack of resources and manpower, and not least the sheer immensity of the task. Selectivity was the only viable strategy, and political sensitivity its touchstone. Accordingly, the features selected for culling by royal officials from a broad array of religious forms and customs were precisely those that most vividly recalled the Inca and thereby (according to the argument) inculcated a yearning for the halcyon days of Tawantinsuyu.³⁷ A root-and-branch extirpation was, however, out of the question, because the religious culture of native Andeans was thoroughly impregnated with rituals and forms of worship that evoked the Incan past, and ancestor worship appears to have been still prevalent in the region. Yet the more blatant pageantry and ostentatious finery displayed on ceremonial occasions might have been assimilated with ease, or so it had been thought prior to the "Inca uprising" of 1780. That event encapsulated neatly the ambiguous significance of Incan costume and symbolism that were annually in evidence during the Corpus Christi cycle. Was such representation merely commemoration of the Inca past, or did it presage a different future? It was surely an appropriation, but were colonial masters appropriating the culture of the subjugated or the latter subverting the religious *pièce de résistance* of the former?³⁸ It was probably a bit of both,

nal en Cuzco y su región (Cuzco: Editorial Universitaria, 1987), 87–89. A "beaterio de Franciscanas" also existed "with royal permission" in the city of Huánuco, identified at AGI Lima, Legajo 908, "Relación diaria de la Visita de esta Diócesis de Lima que hizo su Arzobispo Dn. Juan Domingo Gonzales de la Reguera . . ." 1782–83. On confraternities, see Olinda Celestino and Albert Meyers, *Las cofradías en el Perú: región central* (Frankfurt, Germany: Klaus Dieter Vervuert, 1981). Diane Elizabeth Hopkins has examined the seventeenth-century *cofradía* for unmarried females, Nuestra Señora de Monsarratte in Andahuayllillas (in the province of Quispicanchis). See Hopkins, "Ritual, Sodality, and Cargo among Indigenous Andean Women: A Diachronic Perspective," in *Manipulating the Saints: Religious Brotherhoods and Social Integration in Postconquest Latin America*, edited by Albert Meyers and Diane Elizabeth Hopkins (Hamburg, Germany: Wayasbah, 1988), 175–95. A woman could also become a ritual sponsor (*alférez*) of religious fiestas. See ADC, Corregimiento: Ordinarias, Legajo 66, "Autos de la comprobación del Testamento de Da. Rosa Chulluncuía . . ." 16 Sept. 1765. On the female incumbent of the *mayordomía* of the sanctuary (and pilgrimage destination) of Tiobamba (near Maras, in the province of Urubamba), see Archivo Arzobispal de Lima, Apelaciones del Cuzco, Legajo 51, "Expediente sobre Tiobamba," 31 Aug. 1786.

37. This is the essence of the views expressed by Bishop Moscoso y Peralta and Visitor-General Areche (see note 12).

38. Such questions lie at the heart of the thesis of a supposed "Andean utopia," first delineated by Manuel Burga and Alberto Flores Galindo in "La utopía andina," *Allpanchis* 17, no. 2 (1982):85–101. See also Flores Galindo, *Buscando un inca: Identidad y utopía en los Andes* (Lima: Instituto de Apoyo Agrario, 1987); and Manuel Burga, *Nacimiento de una utopía: Muerte y resurrección de los incas* (Lima: Instituto de Apoyo Agrario, 1988). See in addition Franklin Pease G. Y., "Mesianismo andino e identidad étnica: continuidades y problemas," *Cultura* 5, no. 13 (1982):57–71 (published in Quito); and Wilfredo Kapsoli, *Ayllus del sol: Anarquismo y utopía andina* (Lima: Tarea, 1984).

and therein lay the dilemma of royal officials: Corpus Christi was useful to the Spanish Crown in that it was a binding force, but its celebration carried within it the seeds of latent subversion. Corpus in Cuzco was, then, a backdrop for potential insurrection, a possibility enhanced in its Cuzqueño version by its flagrant advertisement of the erstwhile splendors of the Incario, counterpoint to the felt miseries of colonial rule.

CORPUS CHRISTI IN CUZCO

Transplantation of the festival of Corpus Christi from the Iberian Peninsula to the New World found especially fertile ground in the erstwhile Inca capital. Its place in the Catholic liturgical calendar coincided almost exactly with the discrete celebration of both the winter solstice and the maize harvest in its Inca counterpart. Even today, Corpus in Cuzco takes up an inordinately large swathe of the liturgical year, there being not only the Corpus cycle itself in the city but a number of smaller "Corpuses" of most of the participating saints in the parishes. This latter practice is an Andean liturgical innovation and perhaps even an appropriation—of the "official" by the informal, of the "elite" by the "popular," of the conquerors' own by the conquered—that extends the ostensible official cycle by a further six weeks.³⁹ Paralleling the Corpus cycle in the city and environs were similar, albeit foreshortened, Corpus festivities in provincial towns and villages, the populations of which had participated in the urban spectacle in the sixteenth century.

In colonial times, the popularity and importance of Corpus fluctuated. During the mid-sixteenth century, it was an elaborate extravaganza involving more than a hundred saints drawn not only from the city and its environs but also from the region's *encomiendas*.⁴⁰ By 1620 there was some evidence of a decline in popularity, perhaps a reflection of the prevailing demographic (and thus socioeconomic) catastrophe.⁴¹ In 1685

39. The Cuzqueño Corpus Christi runs for some ten weeks and involves fourteen patron saints, who are carried to the cathedral, where they remain for eight days. The saints commence their *bajada* on 25 May and enter the cathedral 4 June (the *entrada*). Corpus Christi itself begins on 5 June, with the octave of Corpus running 6–12 June, the departure (*salida*) on 13 June, and the individual "Corpuses" of most of the participating saints span the period 15 June to 3 August.

40. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Historia General del Perú* ("Segunda parte de los Comentarios Reales") (Madrid: 1960; originally published in 1617), bk. 8, chap. 1, 184–88, 278–99. On "postconquest Corpus Christi," see Fiedler, "Corpus Christi in Cuzco," 278–99. On the colonial fiesta, see Sallnow, *Pilgrims of the Andes*, 56–58.

41. Esquivel y Navia, *Noticias cronológicas*, año 1620, 2:41. Sallnow has offered an alternative explanation of this decline, suggesting that it reflected religious change in the region: Corpus in Cuzco became an event more for and by urban dwellers, with their rural counterparts replicating the urban celebrations in their own local festivities; thus the focus was shifted to local rather than diocesan "pantheons of saints and advocations." See Sallnow, *Pilgrims of the Andes*, 62–63. There were indeed Corpus celebrations in the *pueblos*, but (then as now) attendance at the one did not preclude attendance at the other, not least because the urban festival lasted some ten weeks.

Bishop Mollinedo limited the fiesta's catchment area to the city and *cercado*, a measure that does not seem to have diminished in any way the unrivaled preeminence of Corpus in the liturgical calendar of the southern Andes.⁴² Late-colonial iconographic and literary sources portray the festival as attracting participation by all castes and estates, organized severally in *cofradías* and especially in trade and professional guilds.

The multiracial character of colonial Corpus should be emphasized because it is a feature that tends to be lost to view in modern accounts of the fiesta. Ethnographers divide Cuzqueño religious culture and its concomitant fiestas and pilgrimages into "indigenous" and "mestizo" or "*misti*." Quite what these terms signify is not made clear. Are they racial, cultural, or socioeconomic categories? At any rate, projected back into the colonial era, they produce a Cuzco controlled by mysterious "Mestizo authorities,"⁴³ whereas those who shared local power in colonial times were obsessed with nuances of race, status, and ethnicity, and they professed *limpieza de sangre* as an indispensable ingredient of their ruling ideology. Notwithstanding some evidence in elite family trees of miscegenation, colonial elites continued to regard themselves as *españoles de pura cepa*. The often paranoid preoccupation with social nuances in Cuzco was reflected in the very organization of Corpus festivities, which in turn underscored and reinforced such niceties. For Corpus in Cuzco was a Spanish fiesta introduced, organized, and controlled by representatives of the hegemonic Spanish culture, in which native Andeans and other castes happened to participate. For this reason, it is folly to attempt to overlay the structure of the Corpus procession with native Andean spatial and oppositional classifications (such as *hanan* and *hurin* or the *suyus*) as a means of evaluating the autochthonous significance of the fiesta. Native Andeans simply had no say in the route and morphology of the Corpus procession.⁴⁴

Yet to argue for greater cognizance of the Hispanic character of the colonial fiesta is not to ignore its past and present meaning for native Andeans, although to what extent its participants (drawn mainly from the city parishes and nearby San Sebastián and San Jerónimo) may be regarded as "indigenous" is problematical. In the eighteenth century,

42. Sallnow cites a "diocesan ruling of 1685" located at AGI, Audiencia de Lima, Legajo 306. See Sallnow, *Pilgrims of the Andes*, p. 63, n. 5.

43. Conflation of the several non-indigenous groups into categories of either "mestizo" or "*misti*" has been standard fare in Andean social science. The opposition "indio versus *misti*" or "indio versus mestizo" as an approximation of historical or present-day social reality has been rejected by some Peruvian scholars. See the critiques made by Jaime Urrutia and Alberto Flores Galindo of Rodrigo Montoya's "El factor étnico y el desarrollo andino" in *Estrategias para el desarrollo de la sierra* (Cuzco: Centro Bartolomé de las Casas, 1986), 309–40. I have elsewhere discussed colonial social categories with special reference to the Cuzco region. See Cahill, "Colour by Numbers," 325–46.

44. For details of the processional route, see Fiedler, "Corpus Christi in Cuzco," 283.

there is evidence of the beginnings of an urban proletariat in Cuzco, of diverse ethnic origins and widely varying degrees of identification with native Andean society, although it is still possible to identify an *indiada urbana*. Subsequent developments have considerably diluted the “indigenous” affiliations of Cuzco’s urban underclasses. There is, however, no gainsaying popular exuberance for Corpus celebrations, then as now. The roots of this attractiveness for Andean underclasses of a transplanted Spanish fiesta that remained under the formal aegis of Spaniards must be sought, in the first instance, in the serendipitous coincidences and correspondences between Corpus Christi and its preconquest counterparts.

Such parallels had already been remarked upon in the sixteenth century. This drawing of contemporary point to Incaic counterpoint has, not surprisingly, become something of a trope in studies of Andean culture. As a guide to the phenomenology of Andean religion, it undoubtedly has its uses, for all that it dispenses with context entirely—with a totally transformed social structure, the introduction of capitalism, different political systems, the widespread adoption of Christianity, and a whole farrago of novel ideas and values that might be expected to have altered radically Andean perceptions of the significance of Corpus Christi. Changes in the festival itself over time are sometimes detected, but any recognition that society was simultaneously undergoing profound changes is conspicuously absent. This failing is most evident in the unintentional parody of the complex Cuzqueño social stratification of the colonial period as comprising mestizos and Indians and in a related determination to read all aspects of Corpus festivities in native Andean terms, as in the nuns of Santa Clara being equated with the *mamaconas* of the Incario. Indeed, some elements of the fiesta—such as the “typical” dances, carpets of flowers, ritual circuits, barefoot *cargadores*, and elaborate raiment and accoutrements—are specific neither to Corpus nor to native Andean culture generally but belong rather to the phenomenology of European and particularly Hispanic religious praxis of the ancien régime, as well as to a universal pattern of religious forms. Where that is the case, evaluation of context becomes a *sine qua non* for any successful analysis.

Notwithstanding such caveats, comparison of the past and present phenomenology of Corpus in Cuzco is still of compelling interest. An analysis by Carol Fiedler sets descriptions of the Incan festivals of Inti Raimi and Capacocha against her own ethnography of present-day Corpus. The parallels are as suggestive as they are numerous. The first is the coincidence of Corpus with the winter solstice and the maize harvest, both being in part celebrations of harvest fruits. Inti Raimi lasted fifteen to twenty days, including a novena of drinking and dancing, while the day of Corpus is preceded by a novena and followed by an octava. Inti Raimi was a festival of the sun, while during Corpus the host-in-monstrance implicitly and the blazonry of the colonial Indian nobility explic-

itly evoked the erstwhile splendor of the Incan solar cult.⁴⁵ More generally, these features in combination with the prominent presence of an Incan nobility served further to underscore the phenomenological correspondence between Inti Raimi and Corpus in Cuzco, not least in the minds of native Andeans.⁴⁶

It is probably true, however, that parallels between Corpus Christi and Capacocha are closer than those between Corpus and Inti Raimi. This is the case argued by Fiedler, who points out that Inti Raimi “was performed by and for the Incan nobility exclusively” whereas Capacocha “involved the entire social community dependent to Cuzco.”⁴⁷ This context certainly appears to explain the succession of parish Corpus festivals that extend the cycle for more than six weeks after the octava ceremonies. This feature of Corpus in Cuzco, unrivalled in the Hispanic world, is comparable to “the subsequent Capacocha celebrations in dependent holy sites.”⁴⁸ Similarly, features of the itinerary of the returning saints resemble aspects of Capacocha, a procession also marked by drinking and dancing. Although the dances featured in colonial Corpus festivals have now largely disappeared, they were identified early on as a continuation of those of Capacocha. Similarly, the dazzling regalia (*libreas*) of the ceremonial dancers of the colonial era, which appear to have been distinctive to the Cuzco festival, were doubtless also a reprise of Incan tradition. During Capacocha, “images symbolizing tributary social units”⁴⁹ were gathered in the central plaza, a feature reminiscent of the gatherings of the saints’ images during Corpus.

Such resemblances are palpable in Garcilaso’s description of Corpus festivities at mid-sixteenth century, although both the catchment area and the social significance of Corpus appear to have been severely truncated by the 1685 reform of the festival, which limited participation to the

45. This link was noted by colonial observers like Bishop Moscoso y Peralta. See also AGI, Indiferente General, Legajo 1525, “Contestación que dirige el Doctor Don Mariano de la Torre y Vera . . .,” 6 Apr. 1814, folio 6r. This document repeats Moscoso’s observations on solar symbolism in Corpus Christi but argues that “aunque los yndios del Perú adoraban el Sol . . . , el Sol no hera propiamente más que el Simulacro de un ser supremo desconocido. . . .” thereby echoing St. Paul’s speech to the Athenians (Acts 17:16–34) but absolving native Andeans from idolatry by reference to the story of Job, who rejoiced on seeing the sun and moon each day. Solar imagery during Corpus Christi, according to Torre’s argument, was both commemoration of the forebears of native Andeans and worship of the one true God. On solar worship in colonial and contemporary Bolivia, see also Tristan Platt, “The Andean Soldiers of Christ: Confraternity Organization, the Mass of the Sun, and Regenerative Warfare in Rural Potosí (18th–20th Centuries),” *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 73 (1987):139–92. On the Archdiocese of Lima in the seventeenth century, see Guillermo Cock C. and Mary Eileen Doyle, “Del culto solar a la clandestinidad de Inti y Punchao,” *Historia y Cultura* 12 (1979):51–73 (published in Lima).

46. For comparison of Corpus Christi with Capacocha and Inti Raimi festivals, see Fiedler, “Corpus Christi in Cuzco,” 241–99.

47. *Ibid.*, 275.

48. *Ibid.*, 274.

49. *Ibid.*, 275.

parishes of the city and *cercado*. It seems beyond doubt that Incan antecedents are crucial in explaining the unique features of colonial and contemporary Corpus in Cuzco. Yet if the famous sixteen paintings of Corpus in the 1680s underscore the role of the colonial indigenous nobility in festivities, they also make explicit the extent to which it was in essence a Spanish fiesta in which social groups other than native Andeans were allocated leading roles. Corpus in Cuzco was above all inclusive—"popular" means what it says.

Indeed, native Andeans were emphatically not the only group subject to religious cargos, a system embodying a variety of often paradoxical social meanings: it was a burden and an honor; a means to and an affirmation of social prestige; conspicuous consumption that implied financial devastation for the *carguero*; a mixture of the pious and the profane. Finally, a cargo might be both voluntary and imposed: the offer and acceptance of a cargo was frequently a drawn-out and ambiguous process in which an individual was courted by a community, whose overtures were initially rejected only to be grudgingly and gradually acceded to by the individual. This curious ritual reflects real tensions that are innate in officeholding: the crippling financial burdens of a cargo balanced against recognition that graduation through that system was indispensable for status and authority within the community.⁵⁰ Indeed, the cargo system should be viewed as something of a *cursus honorum* within native Andean society, although its present form appears to derive principally from the nineteenth century. By the same token, other social sectors—peninsular, creole, mestizo, and perhaps a deracinated urban *indiada*—were similarly locked into cargo obligations, albeit on a far less elaborate scale. They too might hold ritual cum administrative posts in confraternities and in the numerous trade and nonartisan guilds. Yet by and large, they were spared participation in local government, the manifold offices of which were so often a bane of indigenous communities. Although confraternity offices in urban settlements were usually voluntary, their religious counterparts in the guilds were not.

By decree of the city council (*cabildo*) of Cuzco, it was the guilds rather than the confraternities that were responsible for the celebration of Corpus.⁵¹ This duty involved the participation of guild members in pro-

50. Recent work from Mesoamerica with important implications for cognate Andean research indicates that the cargo system was not necessarily hierarchical. See Danièle Dehouve, "Ceremonial Organization and Monetary Capital in Tlapa, Guerrero, Mexico" in Meyers and Hopkins, *Manipulating the Saints*, 149–74; see also John K. Chance and William B. Taylor, "Cofradías and Cargos: An Historical Perspective on the Mesoamerican Civil-Religious Hierarchy," *American Ethnologist* 12, no. 1 (1985):1–26. On the Andes, Allen noted that in the community of Sonqo (near Colquepata), "there is no clear hierarchy of religious cargos," for all that "the junior cargo is generally a prerequisite for the senior one." See Allen, *The Hold Life Has*, 118–19.

51. For the decree of 13 May 1560, see *El Libro del Cabildo de la Ciudad del Cuzco*, edited by

cession and, more controversially, election or nomination of the deputies (*diputados*), whose responsibility it was to provide funds for the construction of elaborate triumphal arches and portable altars each year. The meaning of these arches and altars, central to the festivities, is crucial for those who would interpret the Cuzco Corpus as essentially a native Andean fiesta, largely a continuation and synthesis of Capacocha and Inti Raimi with the necessary Christian veneer. Relying on the famous Corpus paintings housed in archdiocesan headquarters, some authors have noted that the altars were multi-tiered, four-sided, and topped with a symbol (statue, monstrance, or painting)—in other words, much like many altars throughout the Catholic world, even today. Yet it has been argued from this perspective that Corpus altars were thereby symbolic of the native Andean view of the world, as exemplified by Guaman Poma's famous *mappa mundi*. By contrast, one scholar allowed that the triumphal arches "tend to indicate a more Spanish than Andean inspiration."⁵²

While allowing for the possibility that indigenous observers of the Corpus festivities may well have read a "structural" meaning into the altars, it must be said that there is no historical evidence that would support such an interpretation. Indeed, contemporaneous commentators who essayed the subject tended to support a contrary view. For example, Concolorcorvo referred around 1773 to "sumptuous altars . . . such that the entire transit of the procession is a continuous altar."⁵³ Cuzqueño savant Ignacio de Castro recorded in 1795, "there are erected in streets and plazas most sumptuous altars, of extraordinary elevation, of harmonious structure, of an ornateness in which wealth is manifest in precious metals, very precious jewels, rare adornments. . . . There is emulation in the grandiosity; and those who construct these altars compete to outdo each other. Triumphal arches as costly as the altars are raised. . . ." ⁵⁴ Chaplain José María Blanco, writing of the 1835 celebrations, referred to "the beautiful altars that the artisanal guilds make."⁵⁵ Qualitative evi-

Laura González Pujana (Lima: 1982), folio 91, p. 119. José María Blanco recorded that in 1835, the "*gremios de los artesanos*" were still responsible for the ceremonial altars, which were interspersed among the marquees dispensing food and chicha—the "sacred" plaited with the "profane"—around and about which dancing and drinking took place. See Blanco, *Diario del viaje del Presidente Orbegoso al sur del Perú*, edited by Félix Denegri Luna (Lima: 1974; first published in 1837), 1:286. An unsympathetic early-twentieth-century eyewitness account that reinforces the point is Geraldine Guinness, "Corpus Christi" (1909), in *Antología del Cuzco*, edited by Raúl Porras Barrenechea (Lima: 1961), 351. Guinness recorded an observation made during the Corpus celebrations to the effect that "Los altares también son chicherías y cocinas."

52. Fiedler, "Corpus Christi in Cuzco," 291–93.

53. Concolorcorvo (Alonso Carrió de la Vandra), "Fiestas del Cuzco en el siglo XVIII," in Porras Barrenechea, *Antología del Cuzco*, being an extract from the *Lazarillo de ciegos caminantes desde Buenos Aires hasta Lima* (Gijón: 1773), chap. 22.

54. Castro, *Relación del Cuzco*, 57.

55. Blanco, *Diario del viaje*, 1:286.

dence indicates that while a majority of guild members were *indígenas*, most of the appointed Corpus deputies were not.

The limits to the native Andean role in Corpus are suggested by a 1756 dispute. A group of "Indian" butchers (*matanzeros*) petitioned the city council for exemption from sales tax because of their festive outlays, which included the cost of a "triumphal arch in the festivity of Corpus Christi." The responsible official responded that "españoles" contributed much more in tax without exemption and that it was manifest "that the *españoles*, merchants, and every occupational guild build for Corpus not one triumphal arch but various costly and sumptuous altars. . . ."56 Castro's testimony indicates that such arches might well have involved a heavy financial outlay as well, but the point to be made here is that the overwhelming cost of Corpus altars was borne by the non-indigenous sectors. Native Andean expenditure on Corpus Christi was primarily directed toward embellishing the sumptuous costumes and regalia of the indigenous nobility and the ceremonial dancers (who had *alféreces* or sponsors). Given that the altars were organized by the largely non-indigenous guilds, which financed and designed them in emulation of the creations of other guilds, to interpret the altars iconographically in native Andean terms is an approach that, to say the least, is difficult to sustain. Indeed, portable altars like these were a feature of May Day celebrations in Madrid, so much so that Carlos III and Carlos IV found it necessary to forbid the erection of altars in profane places.⁵⁷ Finally, Garcilaso, "the Inca" who straddled both cultures, underscored the point in his description of the sixteenth-century festival. Some eighty *encomenderos* ("vezinos, todos cavalleros nobles, hijosdalgo") were responsible for adorning the saints' floats in the procession, which were to be borne by their indigenous vassals and "resembled those that in Spain are borne by the confraternities in such fiestas."⁵⁸ The floats themselves were thus pointedly symbolic of the very subjugation of native Andeans to colonial masters. How could it be otherwise, when they were designed by the conquistadors themselves, just twenty years after the Spaniards conquered Cuzco?

56. See ADC, Cabildo: Ordinarias-Civiles, Legajo 24, "Petición de los Caciques Principales" (1756), representing interests from the parishes of the Hospital "de los Naturales," Belén, and San Gerónimo.

57. Kany, *Life and Manners in Madrid*, p. 221.

58. Garcilaso, *Historia general del Perú*, bk. 8, chap. 1, p. 185. Garcilaso's testimony as to the Spanish etiology of the Cuzqueño Corpus procession is amply supported by the content of the cabildo decree of 13 May 1560 regulating Corpus Christi celebrations: "que se pregone públicamente que todos los oficiales de oficios mecánicos, así de sastres como de calceteros y herreros y zapateros y plateros y los demás oficios que hay en esta ciudad, saquen el dicho día sus pendones y las muestras de sus oficios y las danzas y otras cosas que han acostumbrado. . . . y con todo ello salgan a la procesión, so pena que a cada uno quede los dichos oficios no saliere y sacare su oficio como se usa y acostumbra en España y en estas partes, le llevarán de pena treinta pesos al que no saliere . . . y que estará en la cárcel quinze días. . . ." See González Pujana, *Libro del Cabildo*, bk. 8, chap. 1, p. 185.

While the role of confraternities in the urban fiestas of Cuzco was severely restricted by municipal fiat, their counterparts in Bourbon Madrid shared the ritual and financial responsibilities with the guilds. In Cuzco, by contrast, the heavy financial burden was borne by one or more deputies per guild each year (or, in a few guilds, biannually). In Spain, guilds and confraternities filed numerous objections to this "honor" and petitions for exemption from it throughout the entire eighteenth century. In Cuzco, the hapless individuals nominated as deputies regularly lodged petitions for exemption from the crushing financial burden, which on the peninsula was borne annually by all guild members.⁵⁹

Such petitions were a recurrent feature of Corpus in Cuzco. Confraternities and guilds, functionally regarded as almost classic institutions of social consensus, are not seen at their best when the substance of such claims for exemption is investigated more closely. Some petitions are evidence of no more than an individual's lack of piety; others bear witness to a desperation born of lack of funds. Still others reflect tensions prevailing in society at large or within the guilds, which were variously riven by caste distinctions and even discrimination, by a generation gap, and by commercial and professional jealousies. Such tensions regularly spilled over into arrangements made for Corpus celebrations, taking the form of charges and countercharges that required arbitration by judicial authorities. This propensity for conflict was probably maximized by the somewhat ad hoc appointment procedures prevailing in some guilds.

Ostensibly, however, each guild had its own hard-and-fast rules for designating deputies. There were elections by members and nomination by a guild official or retiring deputy, followed by a corroborating vote. Most guilds, however, allowed retiring deputies to designate their successors without recourse to a vote. The structure of membership was not uniform from guild to guild, a factor that introduced some variety into appointment criteria. Thus the textile producers (*chorrilleros*), of mixed racial ascription, alternated the office between *españoles* and *indígenas*.⁶⁰

59. Pereira argued on the basis of a sample of cognate Spanish documentation that many guilds believed that participation in processions "was more a contribution than a privilege of [their] respective trade or calling" and that "guilds and confraternities [were] the first to denounce the expense that the Holy Week floats occasioned them, whether because their trade was undergoing difficulties, or because of lack of liquidity in the confraternity." See Pereira, "La religiosidad y sociabilidad popular," 247. The response of individual guild members in Cuzco, when their turn to underwrite an altar or arch came around, exactly paralleled the attitude of the guilds in Spain. Galpern concluded for sixteenth-century Champagne that "the artisans did not participate at will" in confraternities. See Galpern, *Religion of the People*, 65.

60. ADC Corregimiento: Ordinarias, Legajo 46, "Pedimento de Don Gerónimo Gordillo [et al.], Chorrilleros," 22 Dec. 1767. Further information on the involvement of this guild in Corpus festivities can be found in ADC, Corregimiento: Ordinarias, Legajo 43, "Diputados pa. Corpus Christi, Gremio de Chorrilleros," 17 Nov. 1762; and ADC, Corregimiento: Ordinarias, Legajo 48, "Pedimento de Diego Aguilar y Juan de Dios de Baldeiglesias," 29 Jan.

The shopkeepers and smaller merchants (*mercaderes*) nominated two deputies among those who specialized in imported goods and two more from dealers in locally produced ware; the four deputies provided two altars each year.⁶¹ The hatmakers (*sombrereros*) were altogether poorer and sensibly spread the annual financial burden among five or six deputies.⁶² The guilds of saddlers (*pelloneros*) and chairmakers (*silleros*) participated only in alternate years.⁶³ Such rules, however diverse, were clear enough, yet their interpretation was often challenged on grounds of fairness. Fledgling members with little capital, no savings, and a negligible clientele found themselves nominated by veterans of comparatively greater means.⁶⁴ Other guilds appointed Corpus deputies on the more equitable grounds of seniority, with correspondingly decent intervals before reappointment.

1770. This guild's membership was fluid, with members moving between it and other guilds such as those of "*mercaderes*" and "*sombrereros*." Inclusion in the guild of "*chorrilleros*" appears to have depended on being "*encabezado*" (having a certain level of income that made one liable for paying the *encabezamiento* tax). The generic "*chorrilleros*" variously embraced other categories such as "*obrajeros*," "*piqueros*," "*tintoreros*," "*teleros*," "*tucuyeros*," and "*puellers*." For such links and the Corpus participation of these groups, see ADC, Corregimiento: Ordinarias, Legajo 43, "Petición de Antonio Aguero," 1762; *ibid.*, Legajo 44, "Petición de Dn. Sebastián Chaparro," 15 Mar. 1764; *ibid.*, "Queja de Diego Cuziguallpa," 1764; and *ibid.*, Legajo 45, "Pedimento de Thomas de Figueroa," 1 Feb. 1765.

61. See ADC, Corregimiento: Ordinarias, Legajo 43, "Petición de Don Miguel Flores [et al.]," 26 Feb. 1761; *ibid.*, "Auto sobre la causa de Don Silvestre Rubin de Celiz," 1762; *ibid.*, Legajo 42, "Elección de Diputados para Corpus Christi pa. la fabrica del Altar del comercio," 1760; and *ibid.*, "Pedimento de Da. María Miranda, Doña Franzca. Villegos, Da. Elena Vasquez y Da. María Gonzz.," 1761. The last item lists the four women named to construct an altar for Corpus Christi, although it is not clear whether this altar was distinct from the "*altar del comercio*." If the altar was a separate one, it would suggest that a gender division was observed in providing altars within some guilds, which could well have been due to native Andean influence ("*ayni*"). See also ADC, Corregimiento: Ordinarias, Legajo 41, "Pedimento de Pedro Gonzales [et al.]," 28 Dec. 1759. It notes that in 1758 and 1759, there were five deputies for the Corpus altar. But in the ADC "Petición de Don Miguel Flores" cited first in this note, the outgoing deputies or electors point out that for purposes of Corpus cargos, "*comercio*" was divided into two parts—"de mantas" and "de comercio"—and both divisions appear to have included female members.

62. See ADC, Cabildo: Ordinarias-Civiles, Legajo 24, "Petición de los Maestros del gremio de los Sombrereros," Mar. 1756.

63. See ADC, Corregimiento: Ordinarias, Legajo 50, "Elecciones, Gremio de Pelloneros," 1770. The guild of *escribanos* observed an even more complex alternation of the cargo, sharing it with procurators and even muleteers (*arrieros*). One year the altar was provided by one scrivener, the following year by one procurator assisted by two muleteers. See ADC, Corregimiento: Ordinarias, Legajo 53, "Pedimento de Hermenegildo Adriaola y Gamboa," 4 Mar. 1775.

64. This complaint was widespread. See, for examples, ADC, Corregimiento: Ordinarias, Legajo 41, "Pedimento de Ambrosio Nieto de Silva [et al.]," 1758; and ADC, Corregimiento: Ordinarias, Legajo 43, "Petición de Don Miguel Flores [et al.]," 26 Feb. 1761. In 1798, Manuel José de Reyes, Teniente Asesor of the Real Audiencia of Cuzco, summarized the problem thus: "siempre hay disenciones, y discordias entre los individuos de cada uno de dichos gremios, pues unas veces arbitran los legitimamente nombrados muchos pretextos para eximirse del cargo, y otros suelen elegir ellos a quienes no corresponde, quisas por fines, y resentimientos particulares." See ADC, Real Audiencia: Ordinarias, Legajo 30, "Expedte . . . sobre la exacción de dros. que se hace a los yndividuos de los Gremios de esta Ciudad en las elecciones de Arcos y Altares," 17 Mar. 1798.

Even so, one retail merchant found himself reappointed after only three years; sheer envy was the motive. Two years previously, he had had the initiative to obtain a large cargo of merchandise from Lima and had sold it all. His fellow guild brethren (“unos pobres mercachifles”) argued in effect that he should be penalized for his good fortune.⁶⁵ Not without reason, for the cost of a portable altar in the 1760s was between five hundred and eight hundred pesos, depending on the degree of embellishment, a task for which there existed a guild of *altareros*.⁶⁶ Each year, in every guild, those nominated as deputies had to balance the conflicting claims of piety, status, and material interest. Small wonder that some resisted, even to the point of packing their possessions and fleeing the city.

These perennial conflicts became part of the texture of Corpus celebrations in Cuzco, introducing a jarring, discordant note into what was intended to be the supreme religious fiesta of the entire urban community. For the guilds provided the backbone of the great procession, much as the ecclesiastical hierarchy lent it pomp and ceremony, and the Incan nobility a glamour that was unique in the Hispanic world. The obverse of all this ceremonial splendor was a certain carnivalistic license, an unstructured sociability in which prevailing urban norms of gender segregation remained in abeyance for the duration of the fiesta. While one pundit argued that a glorious day was followed by a night of “total libertinage,” another contemporary noted that the essential distinction between sacred and profane could be seen in the procession itself: seriousness and silence reigned to the end of its first three files, whence it became “truly jocose.”⁶⁷ Yet this profanity was not quite what it seemed, for the indigenous dances that injected “jocosity” into the proceedings were, it was argued, serious in their substance.

The throng was such that effective policing of existing mores was out of the question. Consumption of alcohol, de rigueur on such occasions, eroded normative checks even further. For example, the procession

65. See ADC, Corregimiento: Ordinarias, Legajo 43, “Petición de Don Miguel Flores [et al.],” 26 Feb. 1761; and *ibid.*, “Auto sobre la causa de Don Silvestre Rubin de Celiz,” 1762.

66. See *ibid.*, document of 1761, in which one of the parties to the dispute claimed he would have to spend “500, 600, or many more pesos.” An adversary retorted that it was commonly known that each deputy (of the “altar de comercio”) gave only 100 pesos. At folio 27r, however, is a memorial of the costs of the altar by the *alterero*, amounting to 796 pesos 4 reales, the major items being 300 pesos for 150 mirrors and 120 pesos for the work of the *alterero* (plus 24 pesos for other wages), the rest to be expended upon cloth, linen, images, candles, and the like. That is to say, each of the four deputies would be out of pocket some 200 pesos (about fifty pounds sterling in eighteenth-century values). It should be noted that the term *alterero* was employed variously as a synonym for “diputado” as well as for a professional altar maker.

67. Castro, *Relación del Cuzco*, 57; Concolorcorvo, “Fiestas del Cuzco,” 161. These accounts are reinforced by Oricáin, who singled out the eve of Corpus as particularly unrestrained, whereas Castro found the night of Corpus itself to have been especially offensive. See Oricáin, *Compendio breve*, 337.

of 1700 was interrupted by a fusillade of stones when a pitched battle erupted between adherents of several parishes, the antagonists being armed with slings and well lubricated with alcohol. Then as now, communal rivalry was a feature in Corpus in Cuzco, but the scandal of 1700 was provoked by “masked Indian dancers” whose mumming evidently exacerbated already simmering tensions.⁶⁸ The culprits received two hundred lashes for their misdeeds, excessive retribution for what was no more than a peccadillo. The seriousness of a misdemeanor is, however, culturally determined, and the embarrassment and impiety involved on such an august occasion was doubtless held to warrant a punishment more appropriate to robbery or even murder. Perhaps that was the point, inasmuch as the incident threw into relief the lax security innate in major festive occasions that so exercised the official mind throughout the eighteenth century. If the authorities’ concern often verged on the paranoid in this regard, their fears of subversion were far from groundless. It is here worth reiterating that the 1640 revolt of the Catalans erupted at Corpus, and the Esquilache riots in Madrid flared on Palm Sunday in 1766. Indeed, in Cuzco in 1804, official investigation of a conspiracy revealed that not only its plotters but those of an earlier intrigue as well had intended to take control of the city during the tumult of Corpus.⁶⁹ Royal officials responsible for maintaining law and order in eighteenth-century Spanish America were only too familiar with the concept of appropriation.

Political subversion and moral peril were, moreover, regarded by contemporary pundits as being closely entwined—even symbiotically

68. See Esquivel y Navia, *Noticias cronológicas*, vol. 2 (Año de 1699), p. 183n. Fiedler claims that this brawl was caused by a group of dancers “performing a mime which mocked Spaniards and Spanish culture.” See Fiedler, “Corpus Christi in Cuzco,” 285. I have found nothing in the source to support such an interpretation beyond the fact that the individuals involved received 200 lashes apiece for their “insolence,” which undoubtedly refers to their sacrilegious interruption of the procession, probably a manifestation of one parish group guying another. Such interparochial competition remains an important feature of the Cuzqueño Corpus festivities, as when several *santos* vie with one another for preeminence. For earlier instances of disturbances in the Corpus celebrations, see Carolyn S. Dean, “Ethnic Conflict and Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 2, nos. 1–2 (1993):93–120. Davis said of early-modern European religious culture, “Almost every type of public religious event has a disturbance associated with it,” adding that random, occasional “encounters are as nothing compared to the disturbances that cluster around processional life.” See Davis, “The Rites of Violence,” 170–71.

69. See *El conato revolucionario de 1805: El expediente referente al proceso seguido a Aguilar, Ubalde y otros*, edited by Gregorio Loza and Josep Barnadas (La Paz: Municipalidad de La Paz, 1976), 54. The “3^a Declaración de Dn. José Ubalde” stated that in 1804, “había una liga en esta Ciudad dispuesta para hacer uso de las armas, que se reparten en la fiesta del Corpus, dirigiéndolas contra todo hombre de cara blanca . . . que el Caudillo de esa liga era un Médico . . . llamado Justo Justiniani.” This incident came to light during investigation of the better-known Aguilar-Ubalde conspiracy, in which another conspirator (Bernardino Gutiérrez) took up the idea once again: “le había expresado que el día del Corpus al ver las armas de esta plaza, dijo en su corazón o de palabra: ahí en breve os entregareis y sereis de vuestro legitimo dueño D. Gabriel Aguilar, para quien os destina el dueño de todo . . .” *Ibid.*, “5^a Declaración de D. José Manuel Ubalde,” 62.

so—with the corollary belief that a decline in society's stock of morality would result in degeneration of the body politic. Such a view informed an 1819 broadside against the ceremonial dances of Corpus in Cuzco, which commenced with reference to the infinite "moral and political dangers" inherent in their continued performance.⁷⁰ The critique was launched by Martín de Mugica, a peninsular bureaucrat stationed in Cuzco on the eve of American independence. Insecurity of tenure may have accounted for his purple prose, but his sentiments and cultural incomprehension were all too familiar; they were the staple fare, in fact, of culturally isolated Europeans confronted with an alien culture. This cultural purdah nevertheless allowed room for reflection on the "Other." Internal evidence suggests that Mugica the lawyer had studied his brief with care; he marshalled his observations well, blending them with a discussion of Carlos III's attempted reforms of popular religion on the peninsula. Mugica's remarks were fairly typical of the reformist discourse of the era, yet his diatribe contained a more sober moral: that the financial *derrama* entailed by such celebrations cost the state, employers, participants, and their families dearly. Mugica inventoried the occasions for frivolous or non-utilitarian expenditures: the cost of renting dancers' costumes, the hiring of musicians, the outlay on food and drink for dancers and their retinue, the even greater consumption of such items by the multitude, and the expense of sundry entertainments on the fringe of the festival. He pointedly remarked "the vassals, fathers, husbands, and manpower [*brazos útiles*] that society loses as a consequence of the sacred dances."⁷¹

This broadside echoed in all respects the contemporary metropolitan critique of the opportunity costs and perceived excesses of an untrammled popular religion. It also emphasized the drawbacks for economic and commercial development, a theme dear to the Spanish Enlightenment. Mugica harped on the loss of income attending the suspension of occupations and crafts for the duration of a fiesta, and on the coeval "cheating, delays, and damage" caused to "patrons and employers."⁷² He grounded his argument in a reading of the laws and decrees of 1772, 1777, and 1780 that collectively represented the acme of the Caroline attempt to reform popular religion. In such manner, peninsular law yoked the destinies of metropolitan and American religious praxis. The arguments for reform were similar, the discourse familiar.⁷³ Yet equation of the

70. See Archivo Arzobispal del Cuzco (AAC), Correspondencia xliii.3.53, Martín Joseph de Mugica to Juan Munive y Mozo, Provisor and (at this time) "Gobernador y Vicario Capitular (sedevacante)," 5 Aug. 1819.

71. *Ibid.*, folios 1r–2v.

72. *Ibid.*, folio 1r.

73. Precisely these laws are discussed by Río in "Represión y control de fiestas." They were incorporated into the six-volume *Novísima Recopilación de las Leyes de España* (Madrid, 1805–1807), which was not formally promulgated in Spanish America but was widely available and became an influential guide for jurists, lawyers, and administrators.

ostensible transgressions of American popular religion with those of its Spanish counterpart could not obscure the circumstance that the problems posed by popular religion for the absolutist state were in certain respects more intractable in America than in Spain.

Emphasis on the economic ramifications of fiestas was especially apposite in the case of the American possessions. In Spain itself, Crown reservations about festive occasions were balanced by an awareness that "even if the days of fiesta are many, there are even more days of work."⁷⁴ No exact computation of the ratio of working days to fiestas exists for early-modern Spain, but such indicators for neighboring France show that some 90 to 110 days per annum (including Sundays) broke the monotony of the work cycle.⁷⁵ Peasants, artisans, and laborers in early-modern France were thus free from toil for three to four months of the year. Their Cuzqueño counterparts, by contrast, appear to have enjoyed twice as many work-free days. As Mugica pointed out, festivities commonly commenced days before the actual day of the fiesta and continued for several days after—in the case of Corpus, celebrations were spread over several weeks. This feature was not unknown in Europe (the *ducasses* of northern France lasted eight days),⁷⁶ but it appears to have been writ large in the Americas. One contemporary commentator alleged that although a religious function in the Cuzco diocese lasted about an hour and a half in the church, parishioners would remain drunk for three to four days. He cited the example of the feast of San Roque, which unleashed nine nights of dancing and had recently been extended to fifteen days and nights of dancing, drinking, and associated revelry.⁷⁷ Indeed, Mugica calculated that such festivities in Cuzco totaled seven months per year, that is, more days of fiesta than days of work.⁷⁸ This, if true, is a phenomenon that would have justified the dire economic prognosis of

74. Pereira, "La religiosidad y sociabilidad popular," 251.

75. According to Muchembled, due to the "truly prodigious number of holy days of obligation . . . , peasants were obliged to remain idle for what amounted to one quarter of the year, with notable regional variations." He cites the situation in Paris, which enjoyed 55 days of obligations that, when combined with the 52 Sundays, gave Parisians 107 work-free days per annum. See Muchembled *Popular Culture and Elite Culture in France*, 50, 97–98. Pierre Goubert recorded several of the "regional variations" of 95, 105, and 102 days off (including Sundays). See Goubert, *The French Peasantry in the Seventeenth Century*, translated by Ian Patterson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989; originally published in 1982), 220.

76. Muchembled, *Popular Culture and Elite Culture in France*, 98, 137. A good discussion of these types of extended festivals can be found in Goubert, *French Peasantry*, 220–27.

77. Oricain, *Compendio breve*, 338.

78. Mugica explained, "This is not to say that the dances are limited to the days that our religion orders us to sanctify. They commonly precede and continue after them by many other working days; such that by an approximate computation they last seven months in the passage of the year." See AAC, Correspondencia xliii.3.53, Martín Joseph de Mugica to Juan Munive y Mozo, Provisor and (at this time) "Gobernador y Vicario Capítular (sedevacante)," 5 Aug. 1819, folio 1r.

Crown ministers and, incidentally, would also provide a valuable corrective to the customary portrayal of the colonial labor force as unrelentingly exploited.

Yet the economic implications of fiestas were not confined to the outlay on costumes, musicians, and victualing of the participants, nor even to the opportunity costs of having the viceregal labor force engaged in semi-permanent revelry. More than half the diocese's ecclesiastical revenues went into the coffers of parish priests, most of whom had charge of rural, predominantly indigenous congregations. In the Cuzco diocese, some 65 percent of their incomes derived from sacramental fees (*obven-ciones*), fiesta fees, and sundry votive offerings, with the remaining 35 percent made up of subventions (*sínodos*) paid by the royal exchequer from tribute revenues.⁷⁹ Wholly distinct from funds for church maintenance, these emoluments were enjoyed by the parish priest. Nearly all of these revenues were paid, voluntarily or not, by indigenous parishioners. Moreover, fiestas accounted for multiple payments to priests by each sponsor (*alférez* or *prioste*). For example, a fiesta commonly had four sponsors, each of whom paid four to forty pesos for the "privilege." Qualitative evidence indicates that sponsors were often forced into office, did not represent confraternities—in Peru, unlike the situation in Mesoamerica, *cofradías* were generally short of capital and income—but were the luckless nominees of clerical caprice. In urban centers like Cuzco, however, the copious sums changing hands on such occasions were lavished on festive trappings rather than being destined for the cura, as was invariably the case with the numerous fiestas of the rural districts.

Indeed, there was a close correlation between the number of fiestas and the level of a cura's income. A character in a seventeenth-century French comedy is made to say, "the priest gives us a new saint every time he preaches."⁸⁰ In Peru as in France, the point of a plethora of saints was a proliferation in the number of patronal fiestas in a community, with each fiesta providing a hefty increment in the income of the *doctrinero*. In the late-colonial era, this practice of inaugurating "new" patrons was frequently denounced. Although it sometimes reflected the personal devotion of a new parish priest, more often it was a cynical attempt to pry the parishioners from their surplus income. Thus was popular devotion parlayed into money. The proliferation of fiestas was a problem that affected the entire Catholic world. Pope Urban VIII addressed the abuse directly in a 1642 bull restricting the number of fiestas in each diocese, citing "the notable prejudice to poor people."⁸¹ In Cuzco, ecclesiastical authorities did not formally implement papal policy until

79. David Cahill, "Crown, Clergy, and Revolution in Bourbon Peru," 79–140.

80. Goubert, *French Peasantry*, 220.

81. Esquivel y Navia, *Noticias cronológicas*, vol. 2 (Año de 1651), 100. The papal bull was dated 13 Sept. 1642.

1651, and even then, practice fell well short of precept. Complaints mounted until the Bishop of Cuzco was obliged in 1777 to intervene in order to reduce the plenitude of fiestas within his remit. Yet in 1790, another Bishop of Cuzco was implored not to allow "more foundations of festivities and processions that increase with each year."⁸²

In the normal scheme of things, this problem of excessive financial fees should not have surfaced in the Cuzqueño Corpus Christi celebrations. Corpus in Cuzco was exceptional in that expenditure was confined to costumes, food, and drink, and individual priests had little opportunity to profit financially from the fiesta itself. In this regard, the urban environment offered relative freedom from priestly power and caprice, not to mention avarice. Yet there were still religious cargos for Corpus, especially in San Sebastián and San Jerónimo, the two outlying towns that participated on equal terms with the city parishes. Each constituent community required *alféreces* to sponsor its ceremonial dancers, embellish the float and image of its saint, and especially to underwrite the costs of refreshments for participants. Most of this largesse appears to have been lavished on the dancers, the pride of Cuzqueño popular culture. Yet in 1793 Crown officials in the city, mindful both of the recent rebellion and the financial burden on indigenous sponsors, abolished ceremonial dancing in the urban and rural fiestas in districts within the remit of the Real Audiencia. If this decree was often ignored in rural areas, it nevertheless appears to have been honored scrupulously within the city and adjoining purlieus. Implementation of this measure, however, left innate piety and a sense of communal duty wholly unrealized. Accordingly, religious obligations were diverted from supporting dancers to cognate aspects of the cult, such as embellishment of the "float."⁸³ Yet popular religious customs die hard: early republican accounts of Corpus Christi festivities in Cuzco indicate that ceremonial dances were reinstated soon after independence as a central feature of Corpus celebrations in the city.⁸⁴ If this type of ritual dancing has since disappeared from the proceedings, other "profane" features of colonial Corpus Christi have endured to the present day.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Corpus Christi in colonial Cuzco was a transplantation in inspiration and design as well as in origin, notwithstanding that it acquired native Andean traits over time. Corpus in Cuzco was designed, inaugu-

82. Oricain, *Compendio breve*, 336.

83. ADC, Intendencia: Gobierno, Legajo 143, "Expedite. iniciado por los Indios Tributars. de la Parroqa. de S. Gerónimo . . . ," 20 May 1796. Ceremonial dancing during the Corpus festivities was abolished by the Real Audiencia of Cuzco by a decree of 22 May 1793.

84. Blanco, *Diario del viaje*, 289–90.

rated, and embellished by Spaniards just twenty years after the conquest of the city. In the inaugural festival, eighty encomenderos were responsible for adorning the floats, resembling those carried voluntarily by confraternities in Spain, but which in Cuzco were borne by *indios de encomienda*. The very Corpus procession in Cuzco was thus a metaphor for colonial subjugation rather than being from its inception a subversion and appropriation of the dominant culture by native Andeans, often portrayed as availing themselves of Corpus Christi as camouflage for the continued celebration of a conflated version of the Inca festivals of Inti Raimi and Capacocha. Yet it is evident from scattered “snapshot” accounts that Corpus Christi in colonial Cuzco evolved slowly, its celebration changing perceptibly from century to century, and that a two-way appropriation occurred over time, from “elite” to “popular” and back again. The sources consulted for this article are silent as to quite when and how Corpus became a ten-week festival, but there is a strong if unproved presumption that at least the final six weeks—the “Corpuses” of the individual saints—does represent something akin to a “tacking on” of elements of Capacocha and Inti Raimi to Corpus Christi.

Yet this process of gradual change is often bypassed in modern interpretations of the festival’s character. While there is a natural tendency to draw parallels between Corpus and Incaic practices in discussing the Cuzqueño Corpus Christi celebrations, such an exercise overlooks much of the change and, crucially, the context of the intervening centuries. It also overlooks the historical social composition of participating groups and the degree to which the festival reflected their involvement. The social composition of participants was not fixed—there was no immutable colonial social structure, and republican Cuzco has undergone still further social change, some of it momentous. Recognition of the multiracial and multiethnic character of colonial Corpus is consequently crucial to its study, for the kinds of heuristic tools chosen—the ways in which accounts of Corpus Christi are to be “read”—depend crucially on this social character. Because of the Hispanic design of Corpus Christi, it is for the most part pointless to overlay the procession and itinerary (and the altars and arches and iconographic representations of the festival) with a kind of conceptual template drawn from native Andean spatial categories of opposition and complementarity (*hanan-hurin*, the *suyus*, and so on) that are familiar from both ethnography and the indigenous chronicles.

Whereas in Spain the confraternities were responsible for the construction and embellishment of arches and portable altars for Corpus, by a 1560 decree of the city council, it was the guilds that were to be henceforth liable for such tasks in Cuzco. This assignment entailed a considerable financial burden that was frequently unpopular—with entire confraternities in Spain and with individual guild sponsors (*diputados*) in

Cuzco. Subsequent conflicts, complaints, and appeals built up a judicial record that provides a great deal of historical data on the social composition and internal organization of the guilds. This qualitative material indicates clearly that all social sectors had a stake in guild membership, for all that there was variation from guild to guild. Moreover, while many guilds had indigenous members who collectively comprised a separate tributary *repartimiento* category within the city, the onus for construction of festive altars and arches fell largely on the non-indigenous sectors of the guilds. Furthermore, while a few females were regularly designated as sponsors, males overwhelmingly predominated.

The rich floats, portable altars and arches, ritual sponsorship, costumes, decorations, wages, and food and drink may well prove, upon further investigation, to have been economically significant in local economies. This impression is reinforced when the regular rhythm of festive occasions is taken into account. Be that as it may, the economic opportunity cost of festive culture—loss of production, investment, and fiscal revenue—was a powerful motive in elite and official demands for curbing of the “excesses” of popular religion. There were other motives, notably the security of the realm, while even the familiar aspersions of moral laxity and cultural inferiority contained an innate political message: in the discourse of the era, moral decay imperiled the health of the body politic. These arguments were wrapped in a post-Tridentine theological stance that regarded popular religion as somewhat less than “kosher,” a view that implicitly called into question the legitimacy of the previous fifteen hundred years of a more “catholic” Christianity.⁸⁵

Renewed Bourbon concern over the commingling of the sacred and the profane, in the Andes as in Spain, echoed in most respects a wider post-Tridentine European trend toward delineating a “boundary between superstition and the religion of sacrament and spirit.”⁸⁶ It was a

85. It has been argued that lay piety in early-modern Europe was more vital and innovative. See Davis, “Some Tasks and Themes,” 309; Bernd Moeller, “Piety in Germany around 1500,” in *The Reformation in Medieval Perspective*, edited by Steven E. Ozment (Chicago, Ill.: Quadrangle, 1971), 50–75. Galpern has argued that to view early-modern Catholicism as superficial, erroneous, or only partly digested is “to judge religiosity by a yardstick that had not yet been applied to the people, rather than search for the norms that actually existed and that presumably reflected social needs and cultural traditions.” See Galpern, *Religion of the People*, 1–3. These questions have been discussed for the Andes in Platt’s pathbreaking article, “The Andean Soldiers of Christ,” 139–92. He argued that present-day popular religion in Bolivia is more or less the finished product rather than representing an early stage in the conversion process and that it is no less Christian for the “pagan” elements it unequivocally contains. Platt insists that the native Andean elements of Corpus Christi in highland Bolivia are indispensable to the fiesta’s Christian character, rather than subversive of it.

86. See Davis, “Some Tasks and Themes,” 307. Galpern added that to judge early-modern religious beliefs as “misunderstood” is “to postulate a gulf between the religious behaviour of a small, thoughtful elite and the mass of the illiterates without asking whether . . . the spiritual needs and aspirations of most of the privileged, and most of the people, may not

concerted attempt to drive religion off the streets and plazas and back into the churches and cloisters, where it could scarcely be a cloak for collective political violence.⁸⁷ The discourse in Spain reflected that of Bourbon ministers in France, while that in Peru often simply copied that of Spain. Thus, for example, the critique made by royal official Mugica in Cuzco was spliced together from the many decrees, *cédulas*, and regulations on the public practice of popular religion that were incorporated into the *Novísima Recopilación*. As a historical document, his critique incorporates several other histories, each at a different level of remove. Mugica's observations and his description of the Corpus procession in Cuzco itself must be read in this light.

Examination of the Corpus Christi festival in late-colonial Cuzco serves to highlight the inadequacy of the analytical categories that have dominated much recent historical and anthropological research on popular religion. The familiar dichotomies—official versus informal, popular versus elite, Spanish versus indigenous, Indian versus mestizo, rulers versus ruled, colonial versus metropolitan, hanan versus hurin, dominant versus subaltern—are clearly insufficient to convey the rich texture of Andean religious cultures. Similar criticism can be leveled against ostensibly more flexible concepts such as Gramscian hegemony and Pierre Bourdieu's habitus, especially in view of their built-in bias to interpret societies in terms of ruling classes and to assume appropriation from above as a "given." It is far easier, for example, to reconstruct the historical habitus or hegemonic culture of the upper classes than it is to retrieve working-class, peasant, or artisan culture, simply because much more evidence exists on elites. It is not just a matter of positing a third, middling stratum of society and culture but rather of recognizing that elites and underclasses mimicked one another, borrowing from one another's palettes of ritual forms and carnivalistic praxis.

All the foregoing heuristic categories are necessary points of departure in the study of religious culture, for all that they are somewhat mechanical and can reduce the society under review to a caricature if they are pressed too far.⁸⁸ The utility of the concept of appropriation, very much in fashion in recent years, must also be hedged with reserva-

have been divisible by common religious denominators." See Galpern, *Religion of the People*, 2.

87. Pereira argues that Bourbon religious policy was "based on the abandonment of the street and of collective spontaneity in order to lock [popular] religiosity within parish churches and marginalize it from the conflictive world of the street and the fiesta." See Pereira, "La religiosidad y sociabilidad popular," 239. This policy in turn was partly a function of a wider Bourbon program of municipal reform.

88. For example, such distortions can be perceived in the manner in which postconquest native Andean history is frequently presented. In spite of the manifold ways in which indigenous communities have interacted with Hispanic, mixed-race, and other groups, these non-indigenous groups are made to disappear almost entirely in many anthropological and ethnohistorical studies.

tions lest it imply an ever-present opportunism on the part of historical actors. The notion of appropriation, however, yokes popular and elite politics, culture, and religion together in ways that seem interdependent, perhaps more so than is allowed for by other approaches. Much like familiar acculturation models, the concept of appropriation provides a degree of flexibility not available from other analytical categories. Indeed, popular religious culture reveals so much overlap that it is often unclear at first sight what is “popular” and what is “elite” and who is appropriating what from whom. The study of religion in the Andes, however, has been principally concerned with recovering native Andean beliefs in as pristine a form as possible. Popular religion as a hybrid, eclectic, or even syncretic whole has received much less attention, and its analysis can draw fruitfully on hard-won methodological finesse from very different cultural arenas.⁸⁹

Colonial fiestas, pilgrimages, and processions “served to develop the regular rhythm of work and rest”⁹⁰ that was all the more necessary in an exploitative colonial society, especially in rural areas where these events marked the stages of the agrarian cycle. One complexity of colonial Andean religion was that two religious or liturgical calendars were in operation simultaneously: the autochthonous and the Catholic calendars. These were sometimes parallel, sometimes entwined, but mostly confounded. Their unfurling, most manifest in festive cycles, is indispensable to any evaluation of the oppressiveness of colonial life. For all that peasant life was short and hard, marked by intermittent epidemics, famine, and hunger, there were nevertheless some ninety to a hundred festive days annually in which to recover from adversity and quotidian wretchedness (based on calculations for early-modern France). In Cuzco, according to Mugica’s startling estimate, as much as seven months of work-free days annually were theoretically possible. While it is hard to believe that this potential was ever translated into practice, such an estimate nevertheless allows scholars to refine broad-brush sketches of the misery of native Andean and other peasants in the colonial era. In place, then, of a panorama of unrelenting oppression, by taking cognizance of the rhythms of popular religion, scholars may better understand how such oppression as did

89. Historians are sometimes prone to borrow and adapt approaches from the social sciences and (most recently) literary theory without first considering their own discipline’s rich store of theory and method across a wide range of research fields and time frames. For this article, I found most helpful the large body of work on early-modern European religion, notably concerning the reform of popular religion, a process that occurred simultaneously with attempts to reform Andean religion in the colonial period. These parallel processes in Europe and the Andes were related through a certain “intertextuality” of discourse: reformers in the Andes were attempting to expunge centuries-old unacceptable features of popular Christianity from Catholicism at the very same time as they were trying to extirpate the perceived “pagan” practices of native Andeans. MacCormack’s *Religion in the Andes* and Mills’s “The Limits of Religious Coercion” are most instructive in their use of comparative materials.

90. See Davis, “Some Tasks and Themes,” 311.

exist was endured: the state, the church, and interested elites, by allowing regular cycles of rest, contributed thereby to the social reproduction of the labor force, defused social tension, and reduced the likelihood of mass rebellion.

Religious culture in any society is not fixed and frozen for all time but has its own history, although it usually changes slowly. It cannot be merely tacked on to mainstream political, social, and economic history because it informs, infuses, and is confounded with all areas of social endeavor in traditional societies. Historical analysis in this area needs to focus not only on the intermittent incursions of the state into the religious sphere but also on the barely perceptible long-term changes in the phenomenology, iconography, and social composition of each festival and procession. Investigation of the ways in which religious culture intersected with politics and political culture is an obvious point of entry into these areas. By incorporating notions of ambivalence and subversion into the analysis, something more than a static or "snapshot" history of popular religion should emerge. This approach should obviate the everpresent danger of turning the study of popular religion into a mere catalogue of eternal verities, which is what happens when functionalist and structuralist tenets are too mechanistically employed. Historians have much to learn from anthropological readings of native Andean societies in terms of oppositions and complementarity, but if these phenomena really are as crucial as they are alleged to be in Andean societies, it behooves their proponents to demonstrate their importance in informing historical events. What is required is a structural account (rather than just a theory) of historical change, one that fits well with some five centuries of colonial and republican rule in the Andes.

Even allowing for myriad kindred celebrations of Corpus in rural villages, the urban venue of the main ceremonies of Corpus Christi in Cuzco precludes it from being considered paradigmatic of the religious fiesta of the southern sierra. Nonetheless, many of the features of village fiestas were and still are writ large in the urban context. This is as true of exploitative and confrontational features as of consensual and bonding aspects. Most facets of Corpus exhibit conscious and unconscious forms of cooperation by the several racial, ethnic, class, and status groups that made up colonial Cuzqueño society. There is a certain interdependence that, on occasions and especially within the context of colonialism, may even become a community of interest, however ephemeral, as when forced to make common cause against an overweening metropolitan power or viceregal capital. On such political occasions, social differences merged or were finessed away, but this kind of social fusion was also fleetingly on view during the great feast days of Corpus Christi, El Señor de los Temblores, the unscheduled extravaganzas of the accession of a king or the birth of an infanta, and even during regional trade fairs and village *santo*

festivities. A major religious occasion was also in some degree a social crucible, and the possibility this offered for transitory political alliances was, in the final analysis, the overriding motive behind the attempts of successive monarchs to appropriate "popular" religious culture, as practiced both by patrician and plebeian groups. Political subversion, perhaps especially in a colonial context, was just as likely to emanate from elites as from underclasses.

Awareness of the great Incan festivals of Inti Raimi and Capacocha is doubtless relevant in understanding the roots, structure, and praxis of late-colonial and present-day Corpus Christi in Cuzco. Yet the very architecture of the Corpus celebrations is overwhelmingly Hispanic in origin; even if we allow, for example, that the itineraries of the saints owe something to Capacocha, there are sound Spanish precedents for such "pilgrimages" of the saints (such as Semana Santa in Seville). It is undeniable, however, that the popular classes of Cuzco and environs have appropriated the Hispanic saints, even where there is no obvious correspondence between Christian saint and pre-Columbian deity (as in the case of Santiago). For residents of San Sebastián or San Jerónimo, the eponymous saints were and are *their* saints. Prior to 1532, the sacred space of Cuzco was controlled by Incan elites; following the conquest, with the precipitous decline in the prestige accorded those elites, much of that space fell by default into the hands of the indigenous masses. And there, despite the evangelizing and extirpatory endeavors of both church and state, it remains to the present day.

The intense interest displayed by the state in the supposed political and moral dangers innate in popular religion has produced intermittent bursts of activity but little in the way of a durable policy. As the political threat posed by fiestas has waned in the modern era and church and state in Peru have gone their separate ways, controls have ebbed and the colonial accommodation seems to have been accepted with little demur. Popular religious culture in Peru has absorbed what elites have sought to put in its place and still remained popular. In Europe, by contrast, an increasingly strong leviathan state inexorably ground down popular religious forms and praxis from late-medieval times to the end of the nineteenth century, leaving only vestiges of the rich popular religious culture of the early-modern period. The Peruvian state, whatever its pretensions, has always been comparatively weak, and even when reforms were implemented, the status quo was often restored. Thus the Corpus dancers, abolished in 1793, reappeared nevertheless as a notable feature of the early-republican festival. First the religion of the colonizers, then the mid-colonial extirpation measures, and finally the pallid reforms of the later colonial era were absorbed and appropriated by a protean popular religion. It was able to do so not just because of a heritage of colonial compulsion but also because demarcation lines between the two "traditions"

began to be blurred with the conquest itself and because indigenous communities took not merely what they needed for survival from an introduced Catholicism but also what they found in it to be irresistibly novel and congenial. In the colonial era—in the cities and villas but also in the pueblos—“popular” or “folk” religion was, much like its European counterpart, “sustained and embellished by an elite.”⁹¹ This continuing dialectic between representatives of “elite” and “popular” culture and religion also provided a platform for transitory political alliances, both of rebellion and reaction. Analysis of the Corpus Christi festival of colonial Cuzco indicates that, much like carnival in early-modern Europe, it was able to “evolve so that it can act both to reinforce order and to suggest alternatives to the existing order.”⁹² This ambivalence was a permanent source of anxiety for royal officials but provided a source of hope and opportunity for disaffected colonials, elite as well as non-elite.

91. See Galpern, *Religion of the People*, 68, referring to the “folk religion” of sixteenth-century Champagne. Concolorcorvo provided a fine example of such elite support for popular entertainment in his description (circa 1773) of the *corridas de toros* following election of the *alcaldes* and *regidores* for the city of Cuzco each year. See Concolorcorvo, “Fiestas del Cuzco,” 161–63.

92. See Davis, “The Reasons of Misrule,” 123. A similar view can be found in Muchembled. While acknowledging the possibility of reinforcing the social order, he stressed more the ambiguous and dangerous nature of fiestas, which “might easily end in a challenge to established values that took place in a dream time and an unfenced space.” See Muchembled, *Popular Culture and Elite Culture in France*, 126–27. For Burke, “It is closer to the truth to think of the religious festivals of early-modern Europe as little carnivals than to think of them as grave sedate rituals in the modern manner.” He acknowledged that “there might be a ‘switching’ of codes, from the language of ritual to the language of rebellion.” See Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 199, 203. Although historical research on this theme for Latin America is at an embryonic stage, some evidence for the nexus between fiesta and revolt may be found in William B. Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide, and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1979); Anthony McFarlane, “Civil Disorders and Popular Protests in Late Colonial New Granada,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 64, no. 1 (1984):17–54; and Scarlett O’Phelan Godoy, *Rebellions and Revolts in Eighteenth-Century Peru and Upper Peru* (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1985).

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