

The Madonna and the Horse

Becoming Colonial in New Spain and Peru

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AMONG THE MARVELS praised by Europeans in the New World, in New Spain (Mexico) and Peru in particular, was the artistic ability of its native inhabitants. They not only made marvelous things for themselves before the Spanish invasion, but also, in less than a generation, were able to produce European-style images as pleasing to the eye as anything created in Europe. In fact, the retraining of native artists to create such images was interpreted as a sign of the success of the Spanish mission.

Thus one finds the inveterate conquistador, Bernal Diaz de! Castillo, writing in a chapter entitled 'How We Instructed The Indians Of New Spain In The Holy Doctrine ... And How We Taught Them The Crafts Used In Spain ...' that 'before this could be accomplished the Spaniards first had to extirpate the idolatry of the Indians.' He then goes on to state that after this success native artists learned to paint the Passion of Christ so well that if one did not see them do it, it would be impossible to believe that a native had made such images; and these in his judgement made the work of three Mexican artists, Andres de Aquino, Juan de la Cruz, and el Crespillo, comparable in stature to that of the ancient Apelles, the modern Berruguete, Michelangelo, and the most recent master from Burgos. High praise for their craft surely, but there is more to Diaz's words than mere praise. The transformation of the makers of idols for idolatry into makers of images for Christian contemplation was an essential step in the transformative acculturation of native Americans. In the eyes of sixteenth-century Spaniards, you became what you made.

One can see the ideology of this transformation perhaps no more clearly than in the different representations of artists in one of the great colonial Mexican manuscripts, the Florentine Codex produced by the Franciscan Bernardino de Sahagun with the aid of Aztec artists and scribes trained by him. In one where an Aztec sculptor in wood is depicted making idols for the ancient religion, the image is composed of just Mexican elements set against a flat, empty background (figure 1). In another section where the ability of native artists is addressed (rather than what they once produced), their representation

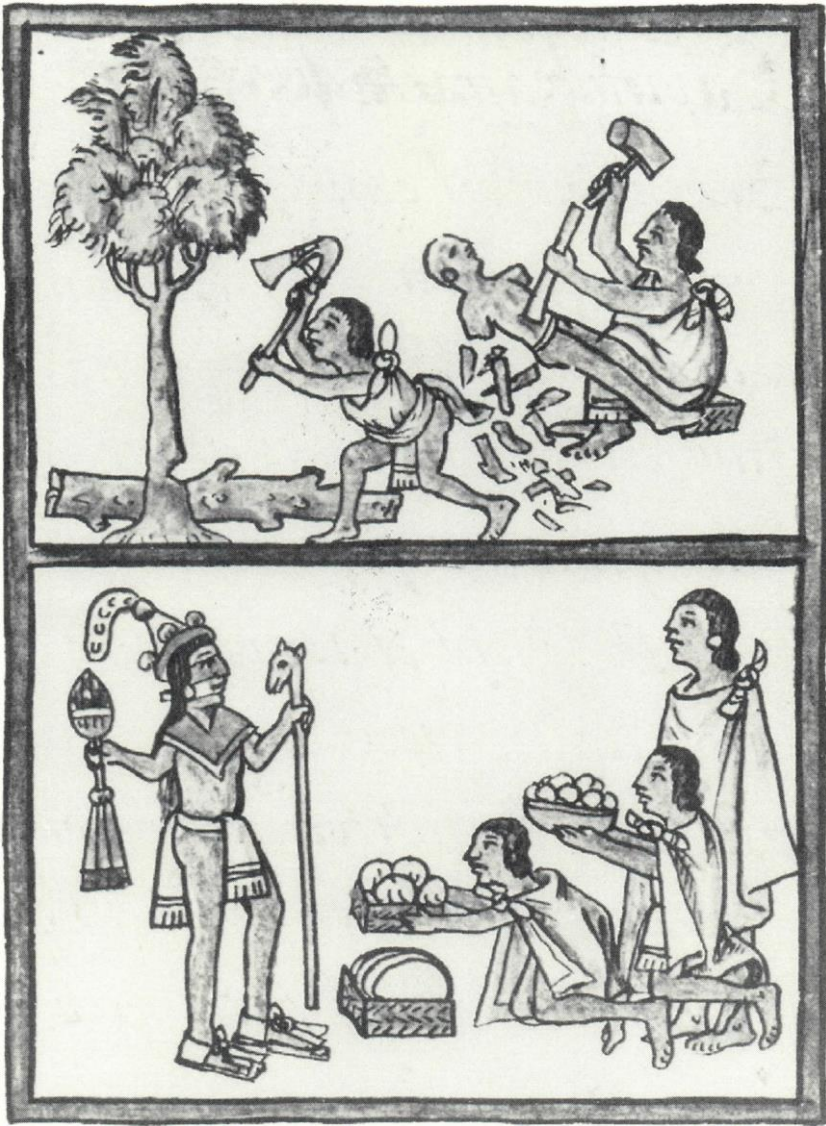


Figure 1. Construction of an idol, Florentine Codex, Book I, appendix ix, folio 26. From Bernardino de Sahagun, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva Espana*, Cadice Florentino (Florence and Mexico, 1979), I.



Figure 2. Gathering *nacazolotl*, dyeing with it, writing with it, Florentine Codex, Book XI, folio 218 verso. From Sahagun, *Historia general* (1979), 111.

is based on European woodblock prints and set within an illusionistic background (figures 2 and 3). Here, the depiction of native craftsmen has been with a sense of status commensurable with their European counterparts; they have been distanced from their idolatrous connections through the use of a European prototype.'

The status and function of native colonial artists and what they produced, however, was defined in cases like these first through writing. That is, these examples all occur within a European context that ultimately gives precedence to the written word, and we tend to lose sight of the fact that such techniques of

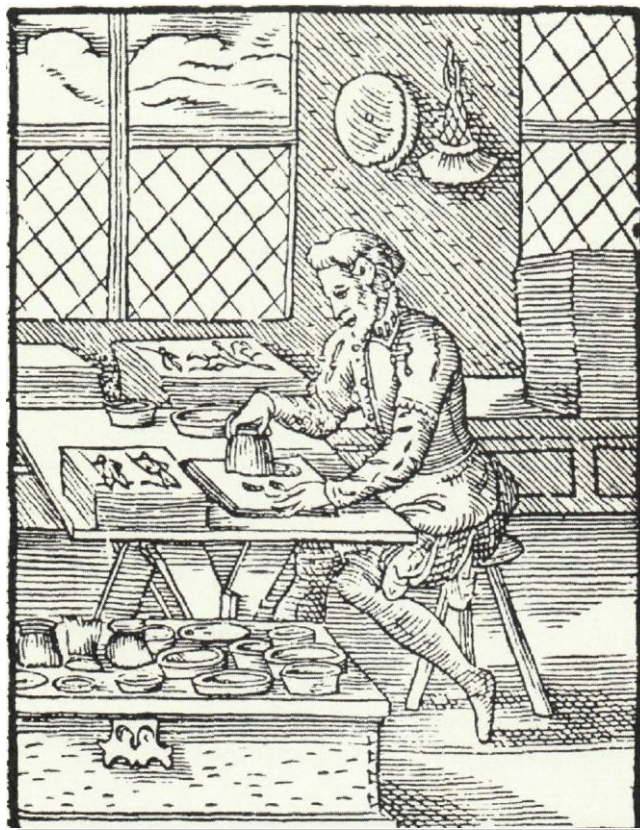


Figure 3. Jost Amman . *Der Brieffinaler*, woodcut , in Harmann Schopper ,
Panoplion (Frankfurt , 1568).

inscription are a part of the complex strategy of conquest.' In this paper I want to move away from such self-conscious colonial works in which the European symbolic technology of writing ultimately dominates. Writing is presumed too often by modern scholars to control the epistemological discourse of the other;' and, since they study mostly writings by Europeans, what is revealed is only what Europeans thought , knew, or loved.' There is thus only one 'other:' the non-European. Natives remain captured in the written word as objects of European self-reflection. • To move beyond the bonds of writing, I wish to turn to native forms of symbolic technology, visual images that frame and record knowledge

within the native world. Many forms produced by native artists in the colonial period in and of themselves were not new or unusual to native expression before the Conquest, but they were fundamentally altered in meaning because they were produced after the Conquest, bringing up issues that can arise only from a European experience and a colonial context.

In contrast, I will concentrate on two examples of European forms found in traditional contexts - one, an image found in a 1531 manuscript from Mexico, and the other, an image found on a gold embossed band from Peru (figures 4 and 5) - that I will treat as case studies in which we cannot ascribe the shifts and disjunctions in visual forms to purposeful European agendas. Here, native artists themselves have taken up certain European pictorial conventions to communicate about things which are 'new' to them and must be addressed because they have impinged directly on their lives. I am not so concerned with Aztec or Inca constructions of the European as 'the other' as much as with the internal native dialogue that comes about because of the European 'other.' This distinction is important because, as a concept, the 'New World' is more a matter of time than place; it is a time in which two ancient world cultures collided through the aggressive act of invasion, to begin a process of continuing dialectical permutations where native participation was neither as passive, reactive, or silent as is so often believed. In addition, colonial art is not a single entity but multiple phenomena, and native artists were from the very beginning capable of producing works that expressed a colonial content in their own terms and for their own needs. Native artists therefore cannot simply be enclosed between the poles implied by the terms 'makers of idols' and 'imitators of Apelles or Michelangelo.'

Rather, in the very early colonial period before the so-called 'extinction' of pre-Columbian motifs, the crisis provoked by the European invasion involved not *only* destruction but also dynamic change in native forms of representation. In the case of the Mexican document the motif in question is a representation of the Virgin and Child and in the Peruvian gold piece it is a man riding a horse. These new images are placed within a context of traditional native forms, however, and, although as European-style images they may appear intrusive and awkward, they operate as part of native expression. Their deployment is not as much about contestation between two cultures, as it is about the taking-on of new forms and their becoming something different. In both examples, the native artist's ability to improvise comes in response to a need to renegotiate formal conventions within new systems of power in the colonial world without abdicating the capacity of traditional forms to signify in that world as well. Nonetheless, the result of artistic improvisation is not simply the inclusion of new formal and iconographic elements, it is about what the new images mean in the native world.

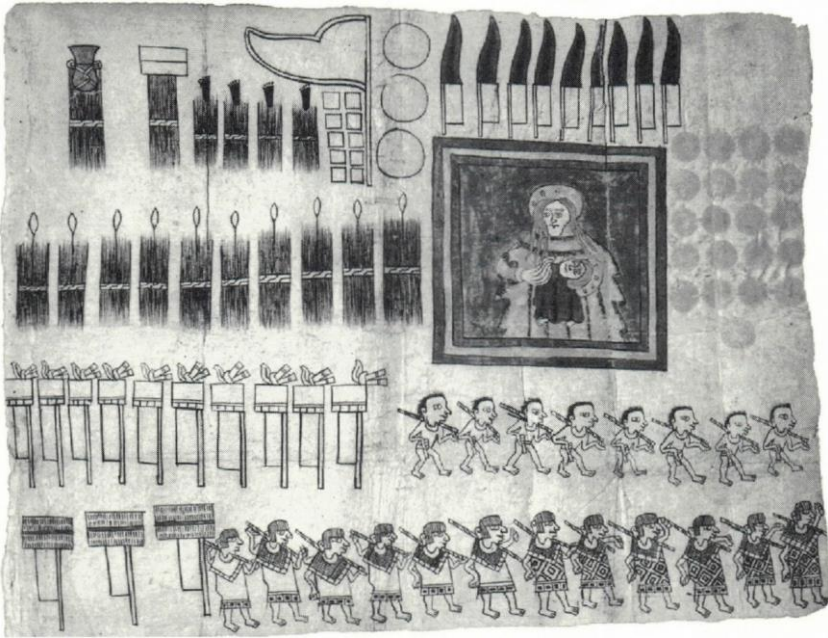


Figure 4. Painting Number 5, Huejotzingo Codex, 1531.
Harkness Collection, Library of Congress.



Figure 5. Sixteenth-century gold band from South Coast of Peru, 10 x 2 7/16 inches.
The Art Institute of Chicago, number 55.2608.



Figure 6. The Spaniards making boats for the assault on Tenochtitlan.
From Diego Duran, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España*, chapter LXXVII, about 1579-81.

It can be argued that there is an internal dialogue within such 'images about images' that references and juxtaposes the two worlds. Moreover, the dialogue generated is not the same in the cases of the two works discussed, because they were produced in two very different colonial situations. Imagery operated at a variety of levels in the Americas before the Conquest and to reduce it and its place in the colonial world to the single arena of concerns about idolatry and religious icons overlooks the dynamic capacity of native expression. The examples I have chosen are truly New World images that reveal in one manner or another such dynamism. They are different from the European-derived illustrations in the works of Guaman Poma de Ayala, Sahagun, and Duran (figure 6), which are descriptive images of the New World, because they represent a particularly native construction of the 'newness' of the New World as a colonial entity.

The Madonna

The Mexican image comes from a thoroughly colonial context. It is one of eight native paintings (figures 4 and 7) interspersed in a larger manuscript, now called the Huejotzingo Codex, of seventy-nine folios written in Spanish.¹⁰ Some of the paintings are on fig-based paper and some are on maguey-based paper,¹⁰ and they are painted, for the most part, in the style of Aztec tribute lists, which are composed of series of pictographs. The paintings survive among the documents

in a lawsuit brought by Hernan Cortes against the members of the first Audiencia of Mexico, Nufio de Guzman, Juan Ortiz de Matienzo, and Diego Delgadillo, who had taken advantage of Cortes' return to Spain in 1528 to gain control of lands and resources granted to him. Their survival as evidence in the case does not mean, however, that the eight paintings were produced for the trial. Rather it is more likely that they were produced during the period of Nufio de Guzman's control of Huejotzingo as a native record of events of that period. First of all, it is clear that they were not made all at once by the same person, because of the variety of paper types and stylistic differences that reveal the work of at least three different *tlacuilos* (scribes). Moreover, the paintings were not originally part of the case but were presented only after the plaintiff became aware of their existence:

I, Garcia de Llerena, in the name of the Marques del Valle [Cortes] in the lawsuit which I am conducting with the Licentiates Juan Ortiz de Matienzo and Diego Delgadillo concerning the interests of the town of Huejotzingo, say that it has come to my notice that in this city there are certain leading men of the said town who have paintings of what the said town gave to the said licentiates. I beseech Your Majesty that you command and compel them to give the paintings to the secretary because I make presentation of them; and I ask that their statements be taken by means of the paintings and by the questionnaire which I have presented in the case and for this I ask an extension of time if necessary... (emphasis mine)"

The paintings represent an additional form of evidence called to be presented by the Indians of Huejotzingo to document their (and by extension Cortes') costs for the enforced aid to Nufio de Guzman and the other members of the Audiencia during their military expeditions and building campaigns." The other form of evidence, the written document with which the paintings were included, was recorded by a Spanish scribe from the translated oral testimony of three native witnesses.

The written document, of course, is more comprehensive, covering the full extent of Cortes' charges against Nuno de Guzman and the others, and includes the testimony of many Spanish witnesses. The paintings record only the material costs of forced tribute, labor, and purchases which are testified to in the written document. But unlike later colonial tribute lists, such as the Codex Mendoza or the Pintura de los Tributos de Coyoacan, the paintings are not glossed with Spanish or Nahuatl (Aztec) text (with one minor exception)." Rather, the two sources of evidence appear together equally as Mexican and Spanish traditional forms of documentation. In fact, during the recording of the oral statements, one

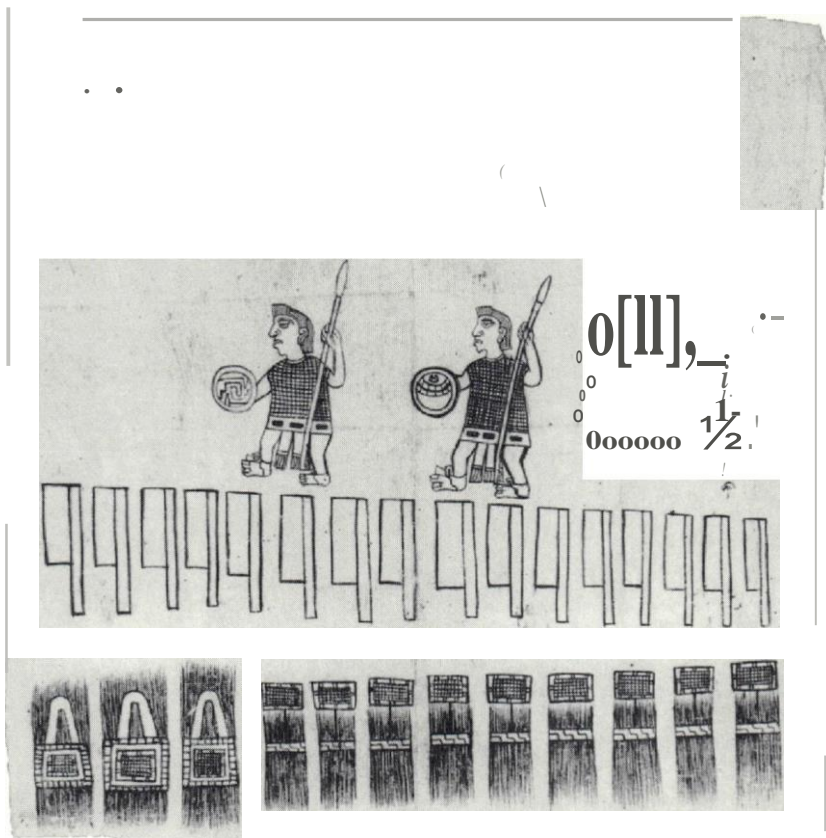


Figure 7. Painting number 6, Huejotzingo Codex.

of the three native witnesses from Huejotzingo, Estevan, asked to be shown several of the paintings, including the painting with the image of the Madonna, and after viewing them he related the specifics of his testimony."

It is at this juncture in Estevan's testimony, however, that the context in which the Mexican paintings functioned shifts from a native one, in which they are used as mnemonic devices, to a European one, in which the truth of their contents becomes more important. After having been commented on by Estevan, the paintings are further identified by the scribe, who interjects the authority of his presence into the testimony by writing that 'all that has been stated is painted on the said paper on which is depicted the said image of Our Lady and which is

signed with my sign.¹⁵ The paintings, all of which bear the scribe's rubric, thus enter into the written testimony as material evidence establishing for any future European audience, as the case moves to higher courts, that what has been said is true.¹⁶ Moreover, while the paintings are not glossed, the scribe's rubric, which is an ambiguous sign standing between the universality of the written word and the unique sign of an individual, signifies here the cross-over from the written testimony to the paintings. "That is, the scribe's rubric both appears and is stated in the testimony to appear on the back of each painting, to assure that this is the painting referred to. The paintings are, as it were, 'tagged and entered.' One sees here how neatly the 'content' of the native signs is transformed into the signs of the written word. They have become evidence of an act, illustrations of a text.

But, whereas the nature of the image as sign changes through a contextual shift, this is not a shift controlled by the native artists. It takes place through the institution of the Spanish legal system and all eight paintings are equally subject to the power of this discursive transformation. Our concern here is the original native context of the images, however. From this perspective, one finds that the capturing of what is 'new' within the discursive strategy of ancient Mexico takes place in only one of the paintings, the one which includes the image of the Virgin Mary. And I mean capture quite literally. The image of the Virgin Mary is taken over through native representation to be something 'other' than what it is in a European context. It is changed from a Christian devotional image to a material object through the artistic conventions of ancient Mexico.

The style and organization of this painting, like the others, follow the basic pre-Hispanic formal conventions of a tribute list, the most 'standardized of any form of Aztec art' (for example, figure 8).¹⁷ Systematically arranged in horizontal rows against the neutral or empty space of the page, the pictographs of figures and objects are schematic and repetitive. They are indicated by only a black ink outline forming the contours of most of the figures, with the exception of one row in which the interior areas of the human figures are filled by cross hatching or concentric squares in order to indicate the textile designs of their garments.

If the painting is divided vertically more or less in half and then only the left side is read from left to right, top to bottom, as is the normal pattern of reading a written text, then one sees a pictorial list of the items that the Indians were forced to contribute arranged in horizontal rows and depicted in abstracted glyphic and pictographic forms as in other tribute lists.¹⁸ Following the identifications made by Lucas, the second witness from Huejotzingo,²⁰ there is, first, a tied bundle of grass with a jar at the top.²¹ The grass bundle is the glyph for the Nahuatl word *centzon tli*,²² four hundred, which with the jar above it signifies the

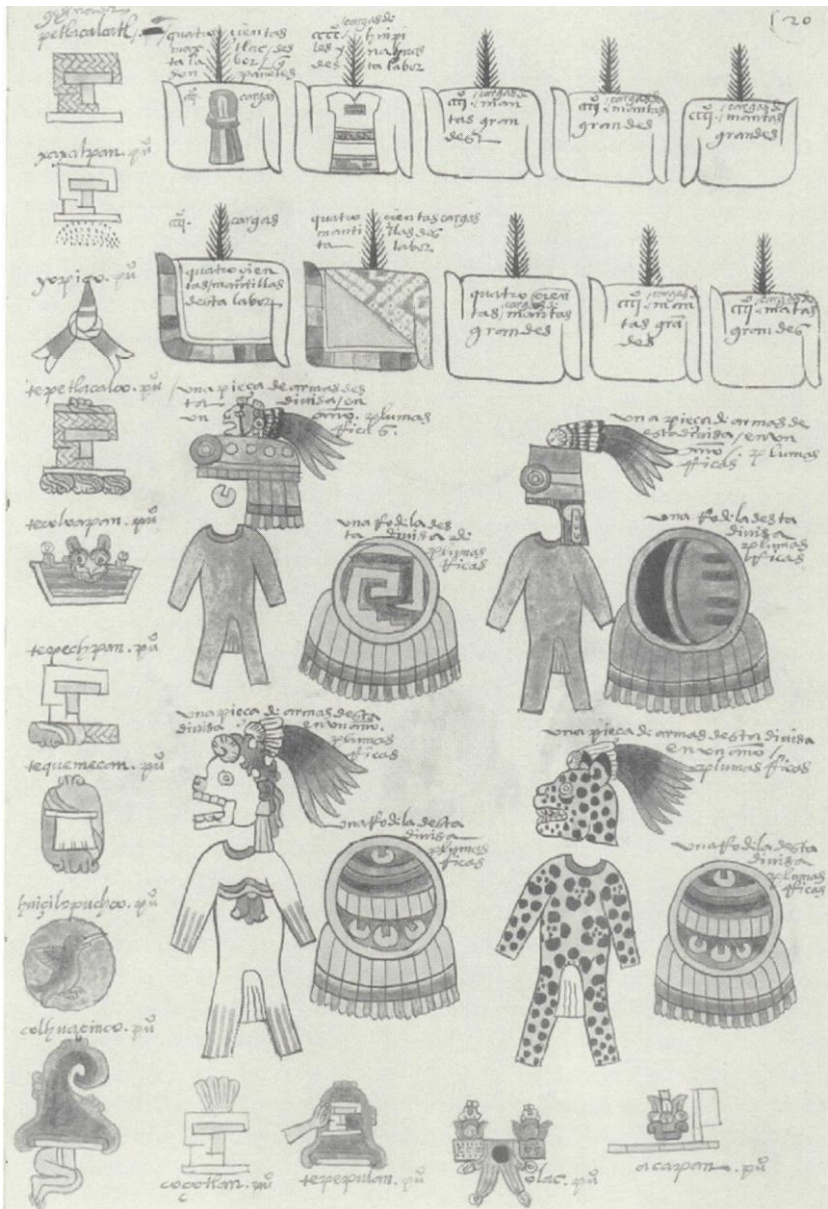


Figure 8. Codex Mendoza , 1541-42 , folio 20.

From Codex Mendoza , commentary by Kurt Ross (Fribourg , 1978) , 37.

four hundred jars of liquidambar that were supplied. This is followed by a similar glyph and pictograph representing four hundred mantles. Sixteen hundred pairs of sandals are indicated next by four bundles with feet at the top. The last object in this row is a banner with ten outlined squares, indicating ten painted banners that had to be contributed to Nuno de Guzman. " The next row down shows ten bundles with arrows on top, tallying up the four thousand arrows given to the Spaniards. Below the arrows are ten glyphs each representing twenty loads of twenty mantles or four thousand in total.

Except for the image of the banner, these glyphs and pictographs represent objects that were common tribute items prior to the European invasion, and, although the colonial legality of the tribute is at issue in both the native and Spanish documents, the manner in which these specific traditional items are represented is not problematic. It is not problematic because, as has been pointed out, such tribute books focused pictorially on things rather than actions. " So, although here it is the colonial action of illegal tribute that is at stake rather than the tribute itself, it is the objects (their pre-Hispanic glyphs) that stand as evidence. As such their visual appearance coincides with their written appearance in the Spanish text as it was taken from oral testimony; that is, the objects and quantities are simply listed sequentially in the same order as they are ordered in the painting. The major difference is that from the written testimony one discovers that, according to one witness at least, most of these things were used to supply the thousand warriors forced to accompany Nuno de Guzman to war, and thus they were not given directly to Nuno de Guzman himself.

I have described the order of the images as if they were to be read from left to right according to what is considered to be a standardized pattern by Europeans. " But this is not the sequential order of this painting if one takes into account Lucas' oral testimony, as transcribed into the document. And his testimony is crucial because it is only through him that any of the paintings can be read through the written document in a coherent manner. The other two native witnesses ask to see the paintings while testifying, but they do not systematically replicate the order and composition of the painting in the narrative pattern of their oral testimony."

What is significant is that, unlike the other two native witnesses, Lucas does not actually refer to the painting as he testifies, although he, in fact, describes it. Lucas probably had the painting placed before him as he gave his testimony (he mentions papers [paintings] that record the tributes and things given to Nuno de Guzman at the beginning of his testimony), but he always couches the validity of his testimony in terms of whether he was an eyewitness to the events. Truth here

is established by statements of what Lucas does or does not know from personal experience and not by his reading and recalling of information from the paintings. The authority of his testimony is based solely on his status as an eyewitness.

Although Lucas insists on this status, the fact that his testimony follows the painting is important, because it indicates that he too is using it as a mnemonic device to order his recollections. " He does not ask that the paintings be entered into the legal dialogue, as Estevan does, because they are not the standard of proof by which he corroborates his narrative. In Lucas ' testimony the paintings remain solely within the context of a pre-Hispanic use and do not enter as a physical form of evidence. Estevan 's use of the manuscripts as evidence, in contrast, changes the nature of his testimony, because he enters into a dialogue with the scribe through the paintings. That is, once Estevan asks to see the paintings, the scribe inserts himself into the record by confirming that he too has seen the paintings and has marked them.

Such a dialogue does not appear in Lucas ' testimony, and , if one reads the narrative as a linear sequence and compares it to the spatial arrangement of the objects in the painting, they do not match. Whereas one reads the text from left to right, one must read the images from right to left with a dramatic break in the center where the image of the Virgin Mary appears. Thus while the facts in each form of document (the Spanish written and Mexican pictorial forms) are almost identical , the order in which they are laid out seems to be disjunctive. The written testimony is a transcription of an oral narrative, and its temporal order, of course, acquires European spatial characteristics through transcription. But preserved for us here is a reading of the images that belongs to the oral traditions of before the Conquest. That is, the Mexican glyphic representations in this document are not reordered according to Western ideas, even though the oral narrative has such an order in the Spanish translation. " Lucas ' oral testimony not only reveals the order of his viewing of the images but indicates what that viewing meant in a native context, and, most important for this essay, the significance of the image of the Madonna.

Lucas begins to read the painting from the right where there are twenty-one solid gold disks arranged in four vertical rows of five with the odd disk at the bottom. The disks represent the twenty-one measurements of gold that were spent to equip Don Tome, Senor de Huejotzingo, with a horse so that he could accompany Nufio de Guzman to war. A depiction of the horse itself would certainly have been ' new,' but the horse is here represented by the glyphs that stand for its value, staying within the conventions of Mexican notation. It is the section to which Lucas refers next in his testimony where one sees the striking image of the Virgin and Child implanted in the composition.

Handled unlike any of the other images, the three-quarter length frontal view of the haloed Virgin holding the Christ child is startling (perhaps 'wondrous' in Greenblatt 's sense of the term) and out of scale. The figures have the same hard dark outline as the others but the interiors are filled with color with various tonal gradations to indicate the volume and folds of their garments, according to European conventions. They are set against a dark blue background which is surrounded by a frame of three bands of color. The frame, the solid-colored background, and the frontality of the figures isolate this image from the rest. These and its distinctive formal qualities are based on the uniqueness of the object that this image is meant to represent. Glyph, cipher, and stereotype cannot be used here; this becomes a mimetic representation of a unique image. But the distinctive nature of the representation, its not being signified by a general cipher, does not mean that its signification stands apart from the rest of the painting. The ontological character of the image of the Virgin Mary is transformed by its placement in the context of the tribute list with the figures above and below it.

Only here in relation to the Virgin ' s image are the order and pattern of discrete objects on the page broken. Lucas first mentions the two rows of human figures below. And in this ordering, one finds that the pictorial narrative focuses on the production of the referent, which is actually a standard with the depiction of the Virgin Mary. The images in this part of the document are not simply isolated ciphers tallying tribute; they also relate to each other in a temporal sequence of actions. As Lucas notes, Nufio de Guzman requested an image of the Virgin Mary made of gold and feathers to take to war with him, and because the villagers did not have either the gold or the feathers to make the image, they were forced to sell twenty slaves to Indian merchants. These are the twenty figures shown, eight men in one row and twelve women in the other.

At this point, one is still in the realm of the expenditures to which all the other pictographs refer. Except for gender differentiation and clothing, the slaves are stereotypical and have no identity other than as ciphers for objects of commerce. But unlike the other objects, such as the twenty-one disks of gold, their purchase value and purpose are not left to an oral narrative (which in this instance takes on a written form in the legal testimony). Rather the value of the slaves is represented by what they purchased. Their exchange value is represented above the image of the Virgin by nine glyphs of feather bundles each of which contained twenty feathers, and to the right of the Virgin by three disks representing the amount of gold required.

Value here is still represented by Mexican glyphs and pictographs of objects, but the action of market exchange is implied by the representation of two different sets of objects of equal exchange value. The value is represented a third

time by the image of the Madonna which is the transformation of that exchange value into representation. Lucas narrates the transformation:

And from the said ingots of gold the said image of Santa Maria was made and it was made as broad and as long as more than half an arm. And the said nine bundles of plumage were of the long and rich kind which the said Indians value very highly, and they placed the said feathers all around the said image after the manner of an enclosure . And when it had been made after this fashion, the said lord and leading men of the said town, and this witness with them, brought it to the said Nufio de Guzman with said overseer who is named Gibaja. And they gave it to the said Nufio de Guzman in the presence of this witness, and he received it."

The image in the painting refers to the Christian religious icon that the leaders of Huejotzingo had produced and given to Nuno de Guzman to be carried to war by him. But in this tribute list, the Christian icon has entered into the native semiotic system through its representation. The seemingly blank, neutral spaces between the three related images thus allow for the telling of their histories as they are viewed. Of course the image derives from a European prototype, and Mexican familiarity with the image was probably dependent upon two sources: the image of the Virgin on the standard that Cortes himself carried into Huejotzingo and the image that was certainly later displayed to the community in the Franciscan monastery established there.¹⁰ The image of the Virgin and Child in the context of the manuscript painting, however, is not simply a matter of a copy of a sacred image from a European source. That production was the task already performed by the native artisans who made the feather standard for Nuno de Guzman. Unlike the standard, with its votive and protective aura, this representation of the Virgin and Child seems emptied of its Christian meaning, demythologized as it were. Although it is represented through an analogic image and thus appears unique, its uniqueness is not based on the supernatural power of the image within a Christian context; rather it is unique because it refers to a particular object produced in Huejotzingo. Its presentation, of course, appears awkward because what is recorded is new, outside the standards of Mexican representation. It is a presentation of an alien image that by its likeness and, certainly, its reproduction and its size in relation to the other figures on the page indicates a sense of wonder and display of artistic virtuosity. Nevertheless, the likeness, first of all, is reproduced here to signify material value within the mode of Mexican production and exchange.

Thus the sequential order of Lucas' testimony regarding the Virgin and the images related to it is the pictorial representation of a narrative of economic

transformations. This then is not a Christian image but an image of an object that happens to be a Christian image. The Madonna has been transformed, metamorphosed through its careful surrounding by other figures, to having the semiotic status of a cipher, a glyph. It comes to have the value of a trope within the Mexican system.

To accomplish this act of becoming something else meant departing from the traditional conventions used throughout the manuscript. But how was the native artist to make his image not be read as a religious icon when that is what the mimetic image refers to?" He (all recorded native *tlacuilos* are males) does not surround it with native images merely to frame the foreign image. As simple framing devices, these Mexican images could be read as contingent or competing ones, in which case the artist's tactic might be seen as accidental and perhaps as an index of his incapacity to maintain the highly structured composition of the rest of the images in dealing with the foreign image. But this is a highly structured composition that, I believe, maintains consistent standards of representation. The norms are broken only so that the artist can contextualize the new image through a narrative relationship with the surrounding figures. Nor is their narrative relationship to be read apart from the rest of the painting (and by narrative I mean that one image relates to the next in a temporal sequence of actions). The narrative linking of this particular group of images therefore also serves an intratextual purpose. The objectifying of the representation of a sacred Catholic icon through a narrative relationship between Mexican and European images creates a relationship of equivalence among all images in the painting.

What is therefore important about this painting is not so much that it contains one of the earliest surviving Nahuatl illustrations of the Madonna and Child, a fact that no author discussing these paintings fails to mention (after all, once the Conquest took place, there had to be a first or earliest image). What is more important is that the image is not just a Catholic icon but is, first of all, a Mexican image recording its production. Whatever the residents of Huejotzingo had learned about Christian doctrine or the veneration of Christian icons is not at issue here. Rather, the *tlacuilo* has improvised on the canons of Mexican representation to convey the material cost of tribute as it took new forms. Moreover, it is interesting to note what the Nahuatl artists chose to depict or not depict. The horse, a new symbol of status and power, is not represented by its likeness, but rather a manufactured object of European representation is signified by similitude. And that similitude is not meant to reproduce the aura of the sacredness of the Christian icon as taught in the new monastery at Huejotzingo. It instead divests the image of its Christian iconic power and, thus, opens it to different sorts of inquiry. One should not necessarily read this representation as

a purposeful act of resistance, but most surely as an act of observation and the result of dialogue about new imagery as seen through the eyes of the people of Huejotzingo. At the very least, we see here in microcosm a contested view of the 'spiritual conquest' of the New World. Because native artists were retrained to produce liturgical objects and sacred images, as Bernal Diaz de Castillo and others remarked, many scholars fall too quickly into seeing their productions and the post-Conquest New World as a matter of syncretism. This affirmative view, unfortunately, implies a monolithic colonial being and disavows continued differences in relation to power - the real stuff of a colonial society - and individual negotiations.

The Horse

The horse that is absent in the Mexican painting is the subject of representation in one of the earliest examples of change in traditional Andean imagery toward a colonial content. It appears as an embossed design on an early colonial gold band (figure 5) often identified as a *chipana* (bracelet) because of its shape and length as well as the two holes at the end to bind it." Again there is a juxtaposition between traditional and new forms in an indigenous object, but unlike the Mexican painting just discussed this imagery does not articulate specific colonial interactions between native and Spanish cultures. The Peruvian image is based on a similar transformational operation that brings the outside world of Spanish representation into the semiotic practice of native expression. However, the transformational operation serves to situate the image within an Andean metaphoric context." The referent is not to a specific image and act, but to general social categories and associations. This contextual difference between Mexican and Andean examples is not just a matter of historical chance. One cannot find a Peruvian counterpart to the image of the Madonna; for, whereas Mexican traditional forms, such as the Huejotzingo Codex, entered into the official sphere of colonial culture as specific evidence of facts (of genealogy, land boundaries, tribute, history), Andean forms did not." Thus one must look to objects that were made to operate solely within native Andean society to see how images of 'new' things were improvised and 'naturalized.' For this reason, one can rarely attach the names of specific individuals to Andean images or find written texts to (con)-textualize them. There are no Lucases or Estevans whose recorded words allow us a seemingly more approximate understanding of the images of the Huejotzingo Codex. In some ways Andean cultural practices remained more hermeneutic in the colonial period than Mexican practices. Thus, the approximations that can be suggested for this decontextualized Andean image are different, being, of necessity, based on broader analogies drawn from a wider context of recorded Andean practices and colonial institutions.

The bracelet was a traditional piece of jewelry, which when made of gold was worn by elite members of Andean society." From its design and form, it was probably produced on the coast. The precious material and the traditional motifs on the colonial example indicate that it belonged to a *curaca* or at least someone who pretended to that rank. *Curacas* were the traditional leaders of Andean communities, called *ayllu*, which were organized by moieties called *hanan* and *hurin*. The *curacas* under the Inca provided the intermediate leadership between the imperial state and the individual ethnic groups that comprised the empire. The Spaniards recognized the value of these ethnic leaders and they too counted on the *curacas'* authority in their communities to organize corvee labor and collect taxes for the colonial state. However, the status of *curacas* as 'natural lords' (*señores naturales*), as termed by the Spaniards, changed in the colonial period and they had to be legally recognized through the Spanish power structure. Some of the traditional signs of their 'natural' status also changed with this new legal recognition, and I shall suggest that the indigenous design on the gold band was altered to represent this new colonial status. The formal change was from a hieratic and symmetrical design that metaphorically referred to Andean socio-political concerns, to a design that incorporated a European-style image that pictorially illustrated aspects of the *curaca's* colonial role. Yet, just as the image of the Madonna and Child was transformed, 'captured,' to operate within a Mexican system, so too the image of the man on a horse is drawn into the metaphorical system of Andean representation. In both cases this capturing and transformation must be seen as an act of appropriation. But whereas the Mexican image (re)presents a European symbol as an object of tribute, the Peruvian image introduces a Western object into the syntigmatic chain of Andean metaphor.

The primary compositional structure of the band is predicated on a bilaterally symmetrical design, but the symmetry is not fully carried out. Only the left side of the composition is as it should be. It is composed of two horizontal rows of alternating monkeys and felines, eight animals altogether, facing toward the center of the composition. The monkeys are in full profile and oriented vertically while the felines are horizontal with their bodies in profile and heads turned to the viewer. Each vertical row of animals is composed of a male and female member of the species, as indicated by either the presence or lack of the phallus and testicles. In the case of the monkeys this sexual difference is accentuated by the type of fruit each one eats. The female eats what appears to be a *guama*, a fruit that has a decidedly phallic shape, and the male eats a *chirimoya*, a fruit that may have female sexual connotations. The figures are metaphoric images that pertain to a pre-Hispanic symbolic code and presumably refer to the social and political status of whoever wore the band."

These metaphors may concern the symbolic values of the moiety division of an Andean community, or the principles of social balance that the moieties represent. *Hanan* and *hurin* signify a number of complementary attributes through which the moieties were classified and, at one level of social complexity and symbolic language, they anchor the syntagmatic chain to which further metaphors are linked.⁹ These social values may be represented by both the figures and their compositional disposition. *Hanan* is considered male and *hurin* is considered female, and this dichotomy is clearly expressed by the sexual differences between members of the same species. At the same time, *hanan* and *hurin* can be expressed in terms of high and low. This concept may be represented by the difference between the two species of the animals. The felines appear to be pumas which are native to the highlands while monkeys are native to the jungle. That is, the felines signify *hanan's* attribute of high and the monkeys signify *hurin's* attribute of low.

One can carry this line of interpretation further by looking at the relationship between the two sets of animals. If these animals do express moiety values, then there are two representations of *hanan* and *hurin*: one by members of the same species but of the opposite sex and one by different species from different geographical locations. Seen together they may represent a third quality *ofhanan* and *hurin* known as *yanatin*. *Yanatin* is a concept that recognizes at once the distinction between the two moieties as well as their complementarity. *Yanatin* expresses the notion of one's social identity as having a complementary mirror image or moiety counterpart, one's needed social and sexual opposite. This aspect of moiety identity has been studied by Tristan Platt, who cites as an example the ritual battles that take place in Andean communities between moieties. "These battles not only act out the distinction between the two moieties but they are also considered to represent symbolic coitus between the two combatants, even though such battles are fought between members of the same sex. It is therefore possible that the complementarity aspect of *yanatin* is expressed by the sexual difference between members of the same species, while the oppositional character of *yanatin* is expressed by the two different species, the felines and monkeys."

A specific iconographic interpretation of the animals' symbolic values within the community in which the *chipana* was produced is impossible to reconstruct. The general point, however, is that one can find close parallels between the metaphoric language of Andean social structure and the way these animals are represented and compositionally organized.¹⁰ What I wish to stress is that this part of the band's design reveals the rich metaphoric values that were embedded

in traditional Andean figural imagery, which still operate to express the transitional states of social status in Andean communities.⁴¹ Moreover, although I cannot give a precise reading for the images on the gold band, there is clear evidence that such animal imagery could be very specific in its references. Garcilaso de la Vega records that there was a monumental rock painting just outside Cuzco, consisting of two contrasting images of condors. One was depicted as a bird trying to hide itself with wings closed and head tucked beneath one of them. The bird faced south with its back to Cuzco. The second condor was quite different. Its head was boldly turned toward the city and its wings were open as if in flight and ready to swoop down on its prey. According to Garcilaso, the composition commemorated the events surrounding the defeat of the Chanca, a victory paramount in the mytho-historic rise of the Inca empire. The first condor with its head under its wing represented the Inca king who had shamefully fled Cuzco when the Chanca attacked the city. The second bird symbolized his son who successfully defended the city against the enemy."

Garcilaso's description reveals that even specific 'historical' events were represented in a broad metaphorical manner. Here 'historical' personages are subordinated to a single animal figure type whose instinctual habits stand for cultural values; that is, the image of a sleeping bird is equated with shame and the image of flight is equated with valor.

Garcilaso's text can also be used to introduce the right side of the design on the gold band, where such pure metaphoric language gives way to a European-style descriptive image. In describing the rock painting he says that when he left Peru it was in good repair, but in 1592 when he asked a priest just returning from Peru about it, he was told that it and other images like it could hardly be seen because they were neglected. In both literal and figurative senses, traditional imagery was fading in importance and slowly being replaced by Western forms of representation, and it is this replacement that can be seen on the right side of the gold band.

The far right side begins by mirroring the left with a pair of felines (presumably it originally began with two monkeys which are now missing). The second set of four animals seen on the left side, however, is replaced by an intrusive figure that breaks the overall symmetry of the conventionalized composition. It is recognized at first glance as a descriptive image of a man riding a horse, a representation that identifies the piece as obviously colonial. The horse by itself could have been unobtrusively integrated into the composition by being replicated on the other side, or at the very least the horse could have been centered rather than confronting the left half of the image. The human figure shown on

top of the horse indicates another distinction of this part of the design. That is, the horse is not integrated into the composition as another metaphoric element in a purely 'natural' sense because it is combined with a human figure; it is a man riding a horse. Only the two birds, one above the rider the other below, signal an Andean representational context.

By placing the human figure astride the horse and controlling it by the reins held in his hand, a physical relationship is depicted and a form of narrative is suggested based upon a temporal and spatial interaction between two pictorial elements. Moreover, the narrative that is suggested derives from observations only possible in the colonial world. This figure is thus a representation of contemporary experience and at the immediate signifying pictorial level does not connote the kind of metaphoric values that the other animals do.

But why the need to image contemporary cultural experience within a traditional composition based on animal metaphors? Its inclusion disrupts the harmony of the composition, and the two pictorial codes, one metaphoric the other mimetic, are awkwardly juxtaposed and seem to make little sense in relation to one another. Yet if one heeds Ricoeur's sense of metaphor in relation to imagination as the process of 'seeing' that affects the logical distance between entities or categories being connected, then one sees here the beginning of the metaphoric process in which the horse and rider lose reportive mimetic value, and the semantic, cultural distance is reduced between this image and the others."

The process however does not take place simply within a closed arena of symbolic language, but within the social and political sphere of early colonial practice. If one presumes that the gold band through its material and form still signified the hierarchic status of the wearer, then the two types of image do relate because they draw the connection between the ancient privileges accorded to the *curaca* by his community and the new privileges granted to the *curaca* by the Spaniards in order that he be able to carry out his traditional duties.⁴⁴

As indicated above, the metaphoric images refer in some manner to the traditional social position of the wearer. The associations of these symbols had been generated and internalized through generations of lived experience. The metaphoric images were a shared cultural language comprised of multifold associations that rendered 'natural' and autochthonous the overt socio-political relations of the community." The 'grammar' that functioned at a deep level and gave specificity to these associations was the structure of that society. These meanings, now lost to us, were embedded within the society as a whole and were 'intuitively' understood. In other words, these metaphors were successful and unquestioned because they operated within an ideology that was completely coherent and fully accepted as true.⁴⁵

The figure of the man on a horse represents aspects of the Andean socius for which there was no autochthonous image, no shared symbol, no cluster of associations. It refers, of course, to an aspect of European power for which there was no traditional precedent. But power as represented by a mounted horse was not just the force of military advantage but also the privilege within colonial society of access to a horse. And it is as much the power of privilege as the power of force that marks the presence of the horse on the gold band."

As discussed, the *curaca* in the colonial period took a mediating position between his traditional culture and Spanish society. For this role he was accorded a number of new privileges by law so that he could fulfill his duties. In particular, a *curaca* was allowed to own a horse with saddle and reins for his government functions." This privilege compensated for the fact that a *curaca* could no longer be carried about on a litter." That is, a traditional right was supplanted by a new one, granted in order for the *curaca* to carry out his new duties. The horse, bridle, and saddle were of course symbolic of the European recognition of the *curaca's* authority within his community,¹⁰ but as symbols from an alien society, there was no way for these new objects to signify within Andean society other than through their physical presence or literal representation.

The intrusive figure on the gold band clearly illustrates the objects of the *curaca's* new role. A man is astride the horse and grasps the reins in one hand and holds either a whip or, more probably, a sword in the other (the artist's technical abilities perhaps restrict him here, as he shows the man's torso above the horse and his feet directly below the belly)." The imaginary space between culture and nature in which many Andean metaphors are generated is reduced to domestication and mastery in a prosaic and even profane sense of power. The only domesticated animal that served as a beast of burden in the Andes was the llama and it is perhaps this quality of the llama that the strange 'hooves' of the horse recall.

Thus an Andean metaphoric image could not be used here because the relationship that was being expressed was entirely new and out of the realm of Andean experience. Here the image seems to express the new relations only at the level of literal illustration. " That is, the privileges that codified the *curaca's* position in colonial society had to be depicted because those privileges did not extend beyond the immediate present in a diachronic fashion nor originate from within the structure of Andean culture. There was no synchronic tradition that accompanied them because they were imposed from without. The image of the rider therefore borrows not only the Western formula of illustration but uses its factual content to assert the right to privilege in much the same way that paintings were introduced in Spanish courts of law.

Here, however, the image is used within an Andean context rather than a Spanish colonial one, and to operate within Andean society such images cannot remain external to it. They must, at the very least, be seen in relation to those symbolic elements that constitute the representation of culture, if that culture is to retain, in any sense, the power to imagine itself. That relationship is here established through a visual language of metaphor. The simple denial in the depiction of the feet of anatomical observation of the crucial natural sign distinguishing the equine from the camelid creates an ambivalence which cannot be dismissed as just the unmanaged persistence of Andean artistic convention. Conventions serve to allow recognition of the familiar; here the mixture of the familiar and the unfamiliar establishes not only ambivalence but an equivalence in which all figures operate beyond the distinctions of natural and cultural and as metaphors for culture, or in the case of the horse and rider as a sign for becoming a metaphor. It is a European-style equestrian on an Andean horse. It is an ambivalence of being neither and becoming something else.

There is a dialectic, then, within the juxtaposition of two artistic systems. The object and a part of the image harken to traditional meaning but the intrusive Western image brings both the object and the autochthonous image into the world of colonial reality, just as the image of the horse and rider is brought into the signifying context of Andean expression by its inclusion on a traditional Andean object. It stands within an Andean context and is a part of the signifying unity of the composition, replacing while becoming an Andean metaphor. The juxtaposition articulates the contradictions of native colonial existence and tries to reconcile the new with the old. That is, by coupling the literal image of the *curaca*'s colonial position with traditional expressions of his 'natural' position there is an attempt to draw an equivalence between the two." Such an equivalence conforms to a new colonial identity not only for the *curaca* but the entire community. Social and political relationships are not only determined by the *ayllu* structure but also by the Spanish colonial power structure as well, something that is certainly associated with the image of a horse. Moreover, this new colonial power structure invested *curacas* with advantages which began to create a social and economic division between them and their communities. The image of the man riding the horse is only the beginning of the colonial positioning of *curacas* within the world of Spanish power and economy.

But as in the Huejotzingo Codex that position is not uncontested in terms of representation, nor in reality. It does not mean simply the mimicking of Michelangelo by native artists. The image of slaves turned into Madonnas or horses into nabobs is, in fact, the history of colonization. That it can be expressed on the other side of writing, non-writing, and within terms established by native

Americans recognizes that colonial history was not epistemologically controlled solely by Europeans . These images do not stand outside of the colonialization of the Americas; they, in fact , participate in it, but they are not our images of it. Nor are they the melancholic 'vision of the vanquished. ' They stand instead as the capacity to (re)articulate ' newn ess' as becoming something else. And if there seems an ambivalence in these sixteenth-century images as we look at them today, it is not based on the Hegelian notion of the inherent ambiguity of the symbolic image." It is because there was, I believe, an ambivalence then about that becoming, an ambivalence that was certainly justified as the New World became a thoroughly colonial world. Yet, the transformative act in both examples, at the very least, turns these representations of things European into either Mexican or Andean tropes and thereby reveals the 'other ' side of colonial discourse." Such revelations, I would suggest, are not isolated but are a constant exercise in a colonial dialectical struggle which makes a colonial project always and everywhere incomplete."

Notes

1. For example, Ludovico Bertonio's abstract geometric forms on Inca textiles as 'Tocapu isi: vestido, o ropa de! Inca hecha a las mil maravillas ...' in *Vocabulario de la lengua aymara* [1612] (La Paz, 1984), 357.

2. *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, I (1984), 455-62.

3. Jennifer Spreitzer, 'Idolatry and the Aztec Artisan in the Florentine Codex,' unpublished manuscript; and Jeanette F. Hill, 'The Florentine Codex Imagery and the Colonial Tlacuilo,' in *The Work of Bernardino de Sahagún, Pioneer Ethnographer of Sixteenth-century Mexico*, edited by Jorge Klor de Alva, H.B. Nicholson, and Eloise Quinones Keber (Austin, 1988), 273-93.

4. The importance of writing and books in the conquest and settlement of the New World has been pointed out by many modern scholars; see most recently Walter Mignolo, 'On Colonization of Amerindian Language and Memories: Renaissance Theories of Writing and the Discontinuity of the Classical Tradition,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, XXXIV, number 2 (1992), 301-30. However, the significance of books and writing goes beyond their use to inscribe the colonial process. The act and object become iconic signifiers of the presence of the Europeans in America. It is, after all, the bringing of a book, the Bible, through which legal cause was given to the Conquest. As a symbol of power and knowledge, the Bible had long been used as an image since the Middle Ages (see Michael Camille, 'Visual Signs of the Sacred Page: Books in the Bible

Moralise e,' in *Word and Image*, v, number 1 [1989], 128); but even so there is almost an obsessive need to represent books and writing in the New World in both Spanish and native imagery. For example, one finds it in Spanish generated imagery such as the murals at Actopan, the sculptures on the facade of Yuririapundaro, Mexico, or La Merced in Ayacucho, Peru, and in illustrations such as the frontispiece to Diego Valades' *Rhetórica cristiana*. It is equally important in native generated imagery such as that found in Guaman Poma de Ayala's *Nueva corónica i buen gobierno* or the *Cadice de Cuétlaxcohuapan*. Finally, it often has been noted to what extent early colonial church decoration is taken from book designs, and this relation is more than just a matter of tracing sources. Books and buildings are metaphorically intertwined. How else are we to understand the increasingly architectonic structures of the frontispiece of books that give the appearance of the portals of the great sixteenth- and seventeenth-century churches? This appearance betrays the seemingly ambiguous use of the Spanish term 'portada' to designate facades of structures, ephemeral triumphal entrance arches into cities, and frontispieces. They are all liminal passages and openings into European worlds and words. See Tom Cummins, 'Books, Bibles and "Portadas,"' unpublished manuscript.

5. These are the categories of Tzvetan Todorov's extremely influential book *The Conquest of America* (New York, 1984). Stephen Greenblatt's *Marvelous Possessions* (Chicago, 1991) also casts knowledge of the New World in terms of written texts which tell of only

European views. Both are literary scholars, so it is no surprise that writing is not only privileged but also the only source of representation. Thus Greenblatt can reduce the initial European response to the New World to an essentialist argument through what he reads: 'Wonder is, I shall argue, the central figure in the initial European response to the New World, the decisive emotional and intellectual experience in the presence of radical difference ...'(page 14).

6. Rolena Adorno's *Guaman Poma: Writing as Resistance in Colonial Peru* (Austin, 1986) is one of an increasing number of studies by literary historians that address the capability of a native to use European literary techniques to form the image of the European as the 'other.' Moreover, she recognizes the equal importance of the non-literary, visual elements to such a task. See also her discussion through native texts of Todorov and de Certeau's work ('Arms, Letters and the Native Historian in Early Colonial Mexico,' in *1492-1992, Re-Discovering Colonial Writing*, edited by Rene Jara and Nicholas Spadaccini [Minneapolis, 1989], 2m-24).

7. George Kubler, 'On the Colonial Extinction of the Motifs of Pre-Columbian Art,' in *Essays in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology*, edited by Samuel K. Lothrop and others (Cambridge, 1964), 14-34.

8. By focusing on this moment of crisis, or even rupture in Foucault's sense of the term, I will suggest that Todorov's thesis about the inability of Native Americans to improve, and hence the inevitability of the European conquest, is not true, at least not in terms of visual communication.

9. The document is now in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress and is currently known as 'The Harkness 1531 Huejotzingo Codex.' The entire manuscript has been transcribed and translated by j. Benedict Warren. See Howard Cline, 'The Harkness 1531 Huejotzingo Code x,' in *The Harkness Collection in the Library of Congress* (Washington, 1974), 9-2m. It has previously been called Document 1 of the Harkness Collection (see Howard Cline, 'Ozto ticpa c Lands Map of Texcoco 1540,' *The Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress*, XXIII, number 2 [1966], 78-79) and also the Codex Monteleone by the first modern author to take note of the manuscript (see Alfonso Toro, 'C6dice de! Archivo de las Duques de Monteleone,' *Anales del Museo Nacional de Arqueologia*, VI [1925], 60-66).

10. For a description and material analysis of the paintings, see Silvia Rodgers Albro and Thomas C. Albro, 'The Examination and Conservation Treatment of the Library of Congress Harkness 1531 Huejotzingo Codex,' *JAIC*, XXIX (1990), 97-n5.

n. All translations are by Benedict Warren (in Cline's Huejotzingo Codex, '85).

12. There is internal evidence in the document that further suggests that the paintings were not part of the original construction of the case against Nuno de Guzman and the others. The series of questions, or questionnaire, are referred to by Garcia de Llerena as already presented to the court. The order and composition of this questionnaire (pages 91-95) does not conform to the order or specific information in the paintings. If the questionnaire had been prepared in

relation to the paintings, one would expect a much closer correlation between the two. The native notion of recording the costs of aid ing the Europeans for some future reference is not altogether unusual in the early colonial period . For example, the Wanka of Peru also kept record by *quipu* (knott ed colored string) of the amount of material aid they had supplied to their European allies. The information from the *quipu* was admitted as evide nce in a later litigation against the Spaniards in order to recover the Wanka 's expenditures. See John Mur ra, ' Las etnocategorías de un *kipu* estatal,' in *Fonciaciones económicas y políticas en el mundo andino* (Lima, 1975).

13. The sixth painting has the words 'honze casas principales' with the scribe's rubric written along the numerical and house glyphs in the upper right hand comer (pages 64-65). They are all numbered on the back and include the scribe's rubric; Paintings 1, 7, and 8 have annotations also on the back.

14. The number of native witnesses called to testify is not an arbitrary numb er. Three native witnesses were the minimum number needed to verify a statement.

15. Cline, 'Huejotzingo Codex,' n9.

16. European style portraits and paintings of historical events were also entered as evidence incourt testimony in New Worldcases, and their visual content was attested to by the scribe. See Tom Cummins, ' We are the Other: Peruvian Portraits of Colo nial Kara-ka k u n a,' in *Transatlantic Encounters: Euro-peans and Andean s in the Sixteenth Centu ry*, edited by Kenneth J. Andrien and Rolena Adorno (Los Angeles and Berke ley, 1991), 217.

17. The equ ivalence between iconic image and written wo rd is alrea dy understood within such legal documents in which one swears to the truth both in word and image, 'so br e todo lo cual pido me sea echo entero conplimento de justicia e juro a Dios ya esta + que lo pido no es de malicia,' (Cline, 'Huejot-zingo Codex,' 74, emphasis mine).

18. Esther Pasztory, *Aztec Art* (New York, 1983), 206.

19. Pasztory, *Aztec Art*, 206.

20. Lucas gives the most thorough identi-fication of the objects and quantities in the painting (Cline, 'Huejotz ingo Codex,' 105-15). Where other witnesses substa nt ially differ from his identifications will be noted in footnotes.

21. Cline, 'Huejotz ingo Codex,' 105.

22. For example , in the 1570 dictionary of Molina the term *centzontli* is translated as 'quatrocient os, o una mata de ortaliza, o de yerba' (Fray Alonso de Molina, *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana y mexicana y castellana* [Mexico, 1977], 18).

23. The image of the banner and the ten squares is i nt erpreted differently in the testimony of Estevan: 'and in order to make a banner which he says is painted in the said painting , so that the Indians could carry it, they spent ten loads of little blankets for co ve ring , with twenty blankets in each loa d. He then corrected himself to say that Don Tome carried said banne r' (Cline , 'Huejotzingo Codex,' u9).

24. Pasztory, *Aztec Art*, 206.

25. The standardized left to right reading of tribute lists is used on another later tr i-bute /census list from Huejotzingo (see

Hanns Prem, *Matricula de Huexotzinco* [Graz, 1974]). The left to right order is also the one used by modern scholars to orient a viewer in relation to a listing of the objects depicted in the painting (see Cline, 'Huejotzingo Codex,' 62; and Toro, 'Codice de! Archivo').

26. For example, Estevan first mentions the gold spent to buy a horse for the *cacique* and then asks for the painting in which the gold as well as the image of the Virgin Mary appear (also already described) to be shown: 'And he asked to be shown another paper where they have them [gold ingots] painted, on which is said image and painting of Saint Mary which he has mentioned...' (Cline, 'Huejotzingo Codex,' n 9). It is the voice of the scribe which here described the appearance of the painting as a piece of evidence. This type of collaboration between the scribe and a particular witness occurs whenever the paintings are produced.

27. Often the order of components of the question asked structures the order of the information in the answer. This is not the case here (question 4 and response).

28. It may be that the presumed standardized organization of reading from left to right and top to bottom of tribute lists is actually the consequence of an early adaptation to European patterns. By conforming the pictorial organization of colonially produced tribute lists to the structure of a written page, a standardization was achieved that permitted easy comparison between the two forms. This would explain, in part, why these types of documents are, of all Mexican pictographic material, 'most frequently described as "writing systems"' (Pasztory, *Aztec Art*,

205). The distinct order of this very early document therefore may represent the original organization of such tribute lists, at least from the area of Huejotzingo.

29. Cline, 'Huejotzingo Codex,' 100.

30. The image of the Virgin and Child and the symbol of the cross were the first two Christian images that were distributed to native communities by Cortes. See Richard Trexler, 'Aztec Priests for Christian Altars,' in *Church and Community, 1200-1600* (Rome, 1987), 469-92.

31. Of course the artist cannot control the reading of the image especially once it appears in a bicultural context, such as the lawsuit. Hence, when the scribe records what he sees, he recontextualizes it through his written commentary: 'All this that has been said is painted on the said paper on which is depicted *the said image of Our Lady*' (Cline, 'Huejotzingo Codex,' 119, emphasis mine). Here it becomes again an image of the Virgin Mary rather than being an image of an image of the Virgin Mary.

32. The identification of the piece as a bracelet was made by Pal Keleman (*Art of the Americas, Ancient and Hispanic* [New York, 1969], 175).

33. Other than the basic quality of metaphor as the substitution of one image (verbal or visual) for another to express a concept, I do not assign a fixed meaning to metaphor as I use it in this discussion. Fixing meaning to such an elusive concept is an academic and philosophical exercise. Metaphors, I would suggest, can be situated without specificity to ego. It is the engagement in play that is important because it permits alternatives

even as it employs categories of definitions. I thus have employed a variety of different modern comments about metaphor in relation to my discussion of this piece, not in order to build up a single or unitary definition of metaphor, but rather to suggest the various possibilities of the play among images.

34. For differences in Spanish reactions to and uses of native imagery in the vicerealties of New Spain and Peru, see Tom Cummins, 'Representation in the Sixteenth Century: The Colonial Image of the Inca,' *Dispositio*, forthcoming.

35. The material of an object in Andean culture was part of the symbolic content expressing rank and status; see Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica i buengobierno*, edited by John Murra and Rolena Adorno (Mexico, 1980), 464-65.

36. For the Incaic use of animal imagery in relation to symmetry as a political and social metaphor, see Tom Zuidema, 'The Lion in the City,' in *Animal Myths and Metaphors in South America*, edited by Gary Urton (Salt Lake City, 1985), 89-95.

37. The importance of the social categories *ofhanan* and *hurin* as generating some of the central metaphors of Andean expression was first introduced in a significant manner by Tom Zuidema (*The Ceque System of Cuzco* [Leiden, 1967]) and has been used as an explanatory model for a number of studies of Andean representation. See, for example, Rolena Adorno's discussion of Guaman Poma's drawings in *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance*.

38. My discussion of *yanatin* in general is derived from his work (*Especjos y maíz: Temas de la estructura simbólica andina* [La Paz, 1976]).

39. See, for example, Gary Urton, 'Animal Metaphors and the Life Cycle in an Andean Community,' in *Animal Myths and Metaphors*, 251-84.

40. This kind of social identity of difference and complementarity certainly conditioned ritual behavior imposed by sacred architecture on the central coast well into the colonial period. Felipe de Medina described in 1650 a temple complex in use near Huacho that must have been very similar to the ancient pre-Hispanic temple at Chavin de Huancar. It was a U-shaped structure with underground chambers that led to a central image 'de piedra muy extraordinaria ... traído de muy lejos.' The figure was over nine feet tall and carved in relief with deep spiraling channels that emanated from the eyes and through which ran blood and *chicha* sacrificed to the image. All those who sacrificed came together in this central chamber; however, their paths to it were conditioned by opposing ethnic and sexual identities. There were four separate stone-lined underground passages, two for people from the coast and two for people from the sierra. Men from the sierra entered through one and women from the sierra entered through the other; the same division was made for people from the coast. Thus, one finds the same divisions imaged through animal metaphors on the *chipana* as operating in ritual performance, where opposites became reunited in a single central space. See Felipe de Medina, 'Relación del ... Visitador General de las idolatrias del Arzobispado de Lima...', in *Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Perú* (1650), second series, III (Lima, 1920), 89-91.

The compositional use of male and female as symmetrical elements with both complementary and antithetical metaphoric associations has an extremely long history in Andean representation beginning in the Early Horizon. See Patricia Lyon, 'Female Supernaturals in Ancient Peru,' *Nawpa Pacha*, XVI (1978), 98-103.

41. See, Urton, 'Animal Metaphors.'

42. *Los comentarios reales de la s Incas* (Barcelona, 1968), Book IV, chapter 23.

43. Billie Jean Isbell, 'The Metaphorical Process: "From Culture to Nature and Back Again,"' in *Animal Myths and Metaphors*, 301; Paul Ricoeur, 'The Metaphorical Process as Cognition, Imagination, and Feeling,' in *On Metaphor*, edited by Sheldon Sacks (Chicago and London, 1979).

44. That *chipanas* or bracelets continued to have significance for *curacas* is evidenced by their being listed by their Quechua (Inca) name in wills. For example, in the 'testamento de Don Pedro Arapa, cacique [curaca] principal de la parcialidad de los Indios Collas deste pueblo de Pocona' Uurisdiction of Mizque), are listed 'dos chipanas de oro grandes,' 'dos chipanas de oro chiquitos,' and 'una chipana de plata' (Archivo Municipal de Cochabamba / Ramo Mizque, volume 1561-90, Expedience number 3). I would like to thank Lolita Gutierrez Brockington for sharing this document.

45. Social facts are made 'natural' through the representation of animals or other natural phenomena as symbols. That is, as Terrance Turner in rephrasing McLennan's 1870 concept of fetishism writes: 'the representation of social or cultural phenomena in animal form involves an element of "mis-

representation," which specifically consists in the belief that the social phenomena in question are nonsocial or "natural" in origin or essence' ('Animal Symbolism, Totemism, and Structure,' in *Animal Myths and Metaphors*, 50).

46. For a detailed study of the manner in which symbols work within a native society at both a surface and deep level and the process by which the two levels are related and understood, see Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff, *Amazonian Cosmos* (Chicago and London, 1974). Nonetheless, the representation of the social order as a 'natural' order through the use of metaphoric images is the obfuscation of reality in order that a society may operate to overcome contradictions that might otherwise destabilize social relationships. See Turner, 'Animal Symbolism,' 49-54.

47. This mimicking is what Homi Bhabha calls the 'metonymy of presence' in his discussion of early modern Western colonial discourse. Although discussing British textual examples of the nineteenth century, I would suggest that his process operates in many colonial situations including the example discussed here. These instances of metonymy are the nonrepressive productions of the culture of enunciation through a strategic confusion of the meaning. For each of these instances of 'a difference that is almost the same but not quite' inadvertently creates a crisis for the cultural priority given to the *metaphoric*, as the process of repression and substitution which negotiates the difference between paradigmatic systems and classifications. In mimicry, the representation of identity and meaning is rearticulated along the axis of metonymy. As Lacan reminds us,

'mimicry is like camouflage, not a harmonization or repression of difference, but a form of resemblance that differs/ defends presence by displaying it in part metonymically' (Homi Bhabha, 'Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse,' *October*, XXVIII [1984], 130-31).

48. This law was repeatedly stipulated in varying forms in the *ordenanzas* of Francisco de Toledo. See *Francisco de Toledo disposiciones gubernativas para el Virreinato del Peru 1576-1580*, II (Seville, 1989), 242-45.

49. Gregorio Gonzales de Cuenca, 'Ordenanzas de los Yndios, 1566,' *Historia y Cultura*, IX (1975), 145. The image of a figure carried on a litter becomes a sixteenth and seventeenth-century motif to represent the despotic power of the non-European ruler (both Asian and American) who greets and then often is justly overthrown by Europeans. The earliest image of an Andean offered to Europeans was Atahualpa carried on a litter in the act of receiving the Bible from Fray Vicente Valverde (in Cristobal de Mena's *La conquista del Peru* [Seville, 1534]). The image immediately precedes Atahualpa's act of refusal of the book which gives the Spaniards just cause to pull him from the litter and to seize the empire. Ultimately, as a trope, the image of the litter becomes a site of critique, as it is used by Montaigne in his essay, 'Des coches.' See Tom Conley, 'Montaigne and the Indies: Cartographies of the New World in the Essays, 1580-88,' in *1492-1992: Re-discovering Colonial Writing*.

50. For examples of the prestige of passing on such objects, see Protocolo 2/2 28, Escribano Gregorio Vasquez Serrano, 'Testimonio de Don Joseph Aocatinco de Quiquijana,

Provincia de Quispicancha,' folios 735-41 verso; and 'Inventario de Cajamarca 15-VII-1647,' folios 12-15, cited in Waldemar Espinosa Soriano, 'Los Señorios étnicos del Valle de Condebamba y Provincia de Cajabamba,' *Anales científicos*, III (1974), 133.

51. The right to carry arms was another privilege accorded only to *curacas* (Espinosa, 'Señorios étnicos,' 13) and was often stipulated in the *cedulas* granting a coat-of-arms to a *curaca*, such as the one granted in 1598 to Juan Ayaviri: 'Que se dede cedula para que tenga armas de pasados y pueda traer espada y daga y lo mismo pueden hacer sus descendientes ...' ('Memorial de Charcas,' cited in Silvia Arze and Ximena Medinaceli, *Imágenes y presagios, el escudo de los Ayaviri, Mallku de Charcas* [La Paz, 1991], 12). In the testament of don Pedro Arapa, cacique principal de la parcialidad de los Indios Collas' (cited in note 44) not only are *chipanas* listed but also 'dosespadas con guamación de atauxia.'

52. There is a direct correlation here between indigenous imagery and mythology. The same native thought that employs myth and creates image is based on the concrete and not abstraction (Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* [Chicago and London, 1966], 22-30). Metaphor is used here to express a fixed relationship. The metaphoric symbol may change from one myth to another, but the relationships that are expressed in the myth do not. In other words, there is an underlying structure in mythology, like grammar, so that symbols in myths have no intrinsic significance but are dependent upon their context (Lévi-Strauss, *The Raw and the Cooked* [New York, 1975], 56). The Spanish Conquest brought an entirely new

set of relations for which there was no form for expression other than concrete representation at a surface level.

53. The same difficulties arise in native literature in which Andean and European traditions are brought together. See Frank Salomon, 'Chronicles of the Impossible,' in *From Oral to Written Expression: Native Andean Chronicles of the Early Colonial Period* (Syracuse, 1982), 9-12.

54. Georg Hegel, *Lectures on Aesthetics*. See

also the critique by Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other* (New York, 1983), 123-31.

55. Although speaking about language, I think Ricoeur's statement that 'by providing a kind of figurability to the message, the tropes make discourse appear' can apply to the images discussed here ('The Metaphorical Process as Cognition, Imagination, and Feeling,' in *On Metaphor*, 142).

56. I would like to thank Simon O'Meara for a close reading of the draft of this paper.