# Who's Naughty and Nice

## *Childish Behavior in the Paintings of Cuzco's Corpus Christi Procession*

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A SERIES OF CANVASES by anonymous Andean artists depicting the Corpus Christi procession in Cuzco are among the best known works of viceregal Peru (1532-1825).[1] Sixteen canvases, dating from 1674 to 1680, have been attributed to this series which originally decorated the walls of Cuzco's parish church of Santa Ana.[2] Portrayed are members of the various racial, social, religious, and political groups that comprised Cuzcan society of this period as they participated in, or witnessed, the Corpus Christi procession. The series colorfully documents seventeenth-century Cuzco, the population of which was numerically dominated by indigenous Andeans but governed by a minority of European descent. Sponsored by native elites and oriented towards these Spanish authorities, the canvases depict adults of Cuzco's upper classes as differentiated from their lower class compatriots in appearance, demeanor, and behavior. In contrast, children of different classes, while distinguished by appearance, are not behaviorally differentiated. Whereas the adult elite respectfully attend the procession, a number of their children are disruptive; they behave like many commoners of all ages who are similarly disrespectful. This paper explores the behavioral linkage of misbehaving youngsters and members of the lower classes in terms of the multifaceted society for which these images were produced.

The visual analogy of children and commoners was meant to encourage festive decorum in Andeans by equating rowdy adult behavior with childish misbehavior. Evidence suggests that the message behind this analogy, however, was confounded by the fact that the European conception of 'children' differed from that of the native Andean. While the European assessment of childhood as a state of mind as well as body allowed a symbolic pictorial linkage between children and adults whose behavior was deemed 'childish,' the traditional Andean evaluation of youngsters according to physical development, rather than mental state, muddied this analogy. It is likely that these differing notions of childhood created an interpretive chasm between Europeans / Europeanized Cuzcans and the culturally marginalized indigenous lower class majority.

In the paintings Cuzcan society is organized into distinct horizontal planes which help the viewer differentiate between various social groups. Of the sixteen canvases, eleven are arranged in three planes.[1] Those participating in the procession - the municipal council, the ecclesiastic council, various religious orders, and numerous local sodalities - occupy the center of the canvas. Because each canvas of the series focuses on a distinct segment of the procession, they can be referred to by naming the central parading group or groups (for example, the canvas of the Franciscan friars or that of the sodality of San Cristobal , and so forth). The majority of people situated above and behind the cortege are Cuzco's non-participating elite and their retainers; below and in front are viewers of the middle and lower economic sectors ofCuzcan society. These spatial planes contain a spectrum of ethnic types with people of Andean, African, and European descent clearly identifiable in all three zones.

Each plane is characterized by behavioral similarities among its constituents that serve to relate these members of shared space, while segregating one plane from another. In general , those located in the upper plane respectfully watch the procession or discuss the proceedings with their neighbors. Their hands are folded over their waists or in gestures of prayer or rest on balcony railings or window sills; some men have removed their hats as the religious images pass. Heads incline toward one another to indicate quiet conversation; for the most part, gesturing remains subdued with hands kept close to the bodies. Their comportment matches that of the participants who occupy the central sector of the canvases, walking erect from right to left in a dignified manner. Some participants engage in conversation with co-participants. As in the upper plane, activity is restrained; facial expressions are serious.

In contrast to the upper and middle zones, the lower plane, occupied primarily by Cuzcan commoners and dominated numerically by native Andeans, is characterized by more diversified behavior. While many individuals, their backs to us, watch the procession pass, numerous others engage in animated discussions. Many are inattentive, if not disrespectful. In this plane we find men smoking and eating; facial expressions are less restrained and activity more pronounced. In general, the figures are stacked one upon another in a way that suggests a cro wd, if not a mob, in contrast to the more even spacing of the upper two sectors.

A number of children found in the upper and middle spatial planes do not conform to the behavioral characteristics associated with their elders, however. In fact , misbehaving youngsters appear in all three sectors. In the foreground of the canvas featuring friars of the Mercedarian Order in procession, a child aims a pea shooter at a nearby celebrant (figures r and 2). Similarly, in the foreground of the canvas of the parading Dominican friars, two children with pea shooters

Figurer. The Mercedarian friars in the Corpus Christi procession.
Archbishop's Museum of Religious Art , Cuzco.

Figure 2. Detail of child with a pea shooter in the foreground
of the canvas of the Mercedarian friars.

molest a man of African descent while a third prepares to join in by pouring small projectiles into his mouth (figure 3). In another of the paintings a child, leaning over a balcony in the upper background, aims a pea shooter at a group of musicians who are riding in the processional cart of the Virgin of the Purification. A second child, located in another balcony, aims his shooter at the first child. In the canvas featuring Cuzco's magistrate (the *corregidor*) in procession, a child in the right background aims a pea shooter at some target off canvas. Because all those around him are kneeling, an action performed in the presence of the Holy Sacrament, his target is undoubtedly the approaching procession of the Bishop with the monstrance (the subject of another canvas). In the canvas of the parading Franciscans a child in indigenous dress, located at the far left, aims his pea shooter at the procession of friars (figure 4). Our final example can be found in the central zone of the canvas of the parish of San Sebastian where a child, possibly of African descent, attempts to catch a ride on the back of the processional cart (figure 6).

Such misbehavior on the part of children runs contrary to the otherwise highly structured formal arrangement of these paintings, wherein people's actions are prescribed according to their location within the canvases. That children, as shown in the Corpus series, act according to age group rather than class affiliation echoes the prevailing European paradigm regarding the nature and behavior of youngsters. In Catholic Europe the notion that a child was naturally inclined to misbehave was articulated in the doctrine of infant depravity, which held that childhood folly was a manifestation of original sin. Children were thus as much, if not more, a product of their imperfect mental and spiritual states as of their immature physical condition. Children were seen to be capable of reason from age seven onward, but it had to be actively encouraged by both schoolmasters and parents.[1] While scholars of the history of childhood disagree about when and why this abstract notion of childhood as a separate mental state developed in Europe, there is general agreement in the literature that, by the seventeenth century, European intellectuals were devoting considerable attention to the mental development of children and the positive impact of education on molding a well-behaved, productive adult.[2] One aspect of the European assessment of childhood was that 'childish' behavior, not acceptable in an adult, was acceptable and even expected in children. Consequently, the Corpus Christi children can be seen to behave / misbehave according to European expectations, and indeed, no adults move to correct the youngsters' disruptive activities. Misbehavior on the part of children is thus pictorially characterized as normal and customary.

It is worth noting that while the intellectuals who helped forge this notion of the separateness of childhood referred to children in general, their observations were applied only to boys.[3] Young girls remained in the home, receiving training

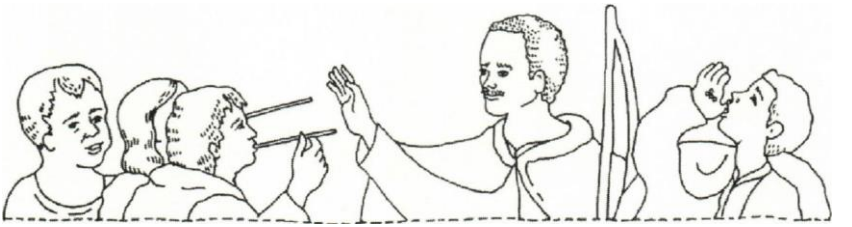

Figure 3. Detail of children with pea shooters in the foreground of the canvas of the Domi nican friars in the Corpus Christi procession. Private collection, Santiago, Chile.

in domestic tasks from their mothers. This andro-centrism has its corollary in the Corpus Christi paintings where we see only male children transgressing. Female children, where distinguishable, behave properly as do most female adults.

While on one level the misbehaving children of the Corpus Christi series serve as an anecdotal acknowledgment of typical festive chaos, their prominent pictorial presence also addresses the desire to control that chaos. In addition , these children are behaviorally linked to all those of lower economic status, most of whom are indigenous, crowded into the foreground. Both children and

Figure 4. Detail of child with a pea shooter at the far left of the canvas of the Franciscan friars in the Corpus Christi procession. Private collection, Santiago , Chile.

Figure 5. The canvas of the patron of the parish of San Sebastian in the Corpus Christi procession. Archbishop's Museum of Religious Art, Cuzco.

the lower classes, as portrayed in this series of canvases, are distinguished from society's elite by either their ignorance of correct behavior or their refusal to conduct themselves in a respectful manner when in the presence of religious and /or civic authority. In seventeenth-century Europe, those of low social status were commonly described as childlike. Moralists and pedagogues blamed the unacceptable behavior of both groups on their lack of education and inherent moral weakness.' Children, for obvious reasons, are convenient symbols of the unsocialized or unacculturated elements of society and seventeenth-century Europeans are not the only people to have likened social groups, be they distinct by virtue of class, ethnicity, or gender, to children in order to justify 'pate rnalistic' control.

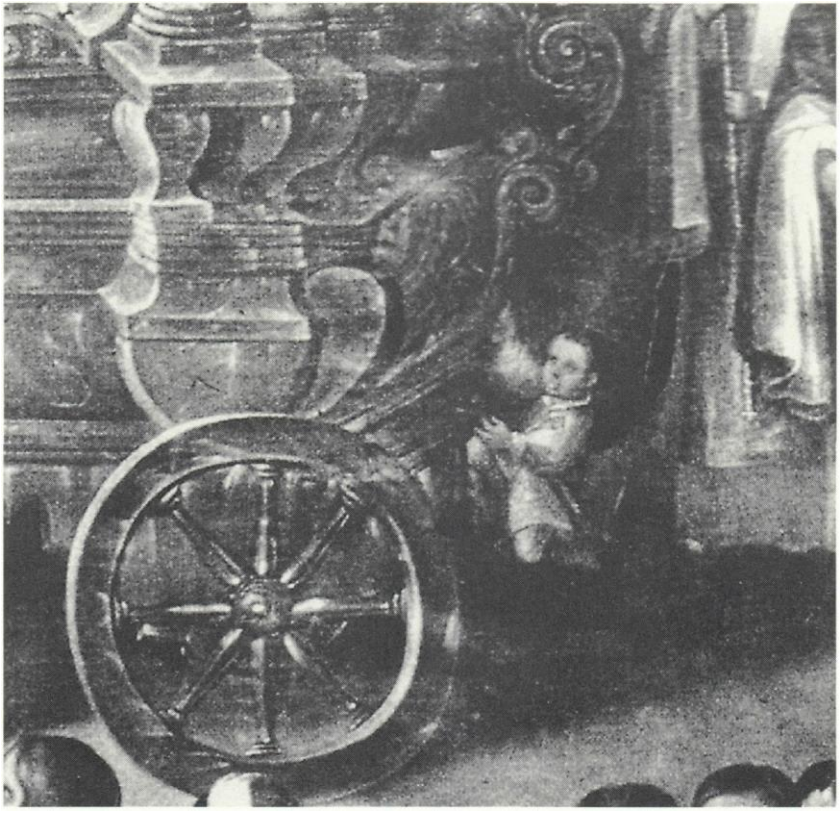

Figure 6. Detail of chi.Id attempting to ride the processional carriage of San Sebastian.

When Europeans encountered native Americans, they confronted cultures whose behavior was alien, incomprehensible to them, and therefore from a European perspective irrational. Despite the Papal Bull of 1537 which recognized the natives of the Americas as rational men, ensuing discourse about the nature of the 'In dian' revolved around his ability to reason. Indian ' irr ationa lity' was frequently explained by analogy with other creatures already defined by Europeans as irrational- the most common being beasts, barbarians, and children . Indigenous Americans , at various times and for various reasons, were compared to all three groups. The notion that they possessed the temporarily irrational mental condition of European children was evoked in particular by many members of the

religious community who proposed that although neither 'Indians' nor children regulated their lives by the laws of reason, the behavior ofboth could be 'improved' thro ugh Christian education. Because priests and friars were the educators and protectors of the Indians, analogies of their native wards to children was a useful one. The familial language of the church, whose representatives were addressed as 'father ,' predisposed the European to this line of reasoning.

The writings of the mendicants include numerous comparisons of native Americans to children. The Jesuits were prominent proponents of this analogy in that they saw themselves as the religious order especially devoted to education. In the sixteenth century Jose de Acosta wrote, 'Such are the miseries that many Indians have lived in, and do to this day, for the devil abuses them like children, with many foolish illusions .. .' and adds that their 'childish behavior ' *( niiierias )*, which is how he describes various ' idolat rous' practices, ought not to be condemned but rather that the Andeans ought to be pitied, as such 'childishness' was the consequence of their lack of education.• Bernabe Cobo tells us that native Americans 'are extremely puerile in their behavior ' and compares them to Spanish children in their love of play and trickery? The seventeenth-century extirpator of idolatry, Pablo Joseph de Arriaga, wrote that priests should tell their native charges that their offenses against Christian teachings would be punished corporally for, like a mother, the Church would castigate her disobedient children.[10]

Indeed, punishment of American natives was similar to that of European schoolboys . The offender was first admonished; then, if the offense were repeated, corporal punishment was administered publicly.'' Arriaga mandates that known sorcerers were to be taught doctrine in the church in the morning and afternoon 'as children are.' He also dictates that for the vice of drunkenness commoners ought to be admonished; if a second offense occurred, they were to be publicly flogged. For a third offense the hair was to be cropped.'' Andeans were acutely sensitive to this latter punishment, as short hair was characteristic of native children. '' Priests and friars thus made their native charges physically more like children to underscore the ideational equation and make clear that misbehavior on the part of adults was not acceptable.

Festivals were another means of teaching ' rational' European behaviors. Ideally, religious processions would demonstrate not only who was in charge but also accepted ways of showing respect to that authority (hat doffed, head bowed, voice hushed, knees bent). The paintings of the Corpus Christi procession make permanent the desired ephemeral demonstr ation, allowing the lesson to be taught year-round through their location on parish church walls and with the sanctification of the Christian God.

Aside from the indigenous elite, who were responsible for the parish's entry in the Corpus Christi procession , the Andean parishioners of Santa Ana - the audience

of these works - would have identified with those portrayed in the lower zone of the canvases. Consequently, these paintings informed their audience of their separateness from the Cuzcan elite by emphasizing not only the physical distance between the classes but differences in appearance, manner, and behavior. The link between misbehaving members of the lower plane and children encodes an encouragement to refrain from disrespectful or childish behavior / misbehavior and to emulate the elite and those associated with them. The artists of the series have employed a para digm, familiar to Europeans and the Europeanized elements ofCuzcan society, that was thought to accurately characterize the mental state and consequential behavioral patterns of children, European lower classes, and unacculturated Andeans (most of whom, in urban Cuzco, were lower class as well).

While children were expected to behave irrationally, that is, misbehave, and the Corpus series portrays many children doing just that, we also see children whose behavior is unremarkable as well as some who surpass adults in demonstrating respect. These respectful children, who display the instinctual spirituality which was also associated with youngsters, were undoubtedly meant to encourage emulative behavior on the part of the adult audience. In the canvas of Cuzco's Bishop (Don Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo), who carries the monstrance, a kneeling child serves as a model of religious devotion . The child is placed above, and separated from, the rest of the crowd, clearly serving as an example to all. In the canvas of the magistrate 's procession, two well dressed Andean boys appear as patrons, hands folded in prayer. A number of male yout h, old enough to have learned 'rational' behavior, have been incorporated into the ceremonia l activity itself. Youth in white surplices bear the candles which flank the high cross in six of the canvases (see, for example, figure 5). In another canvas a native youth bears the traditional crown of the native leader of a Cathedral sociality. In this same canvas Charles II, the teen-age Spanish king, is present in the central scene of the altar in which he defends the Eucharist against the Turks (figure 7). The child Christ, wise beyo nd his years, is the subject of another processional altar constructed outside the Jesuit church." These exemplary children , though fewer in number, provide a counterpoint to their misbehaving fellows. By including children so prominently in this series of canvases, the exceptional nature of youth is underscored, and these youngsters are thus able to address the audience in a didactic and moralizing fashion.

While few scholars have focused specifically on the meaning and function of images of children in art, it is clear that youngsters commonly served as symbolic referents to adult issues in seventeenth-century Europe. Mary Frances Durantini, in her exemplary study of images of children in Dutch art of this period, concludes that the artists of the seventeenth century consistently used images of children to address adult problems, vices, and concerns." While the Protestant Dutch and

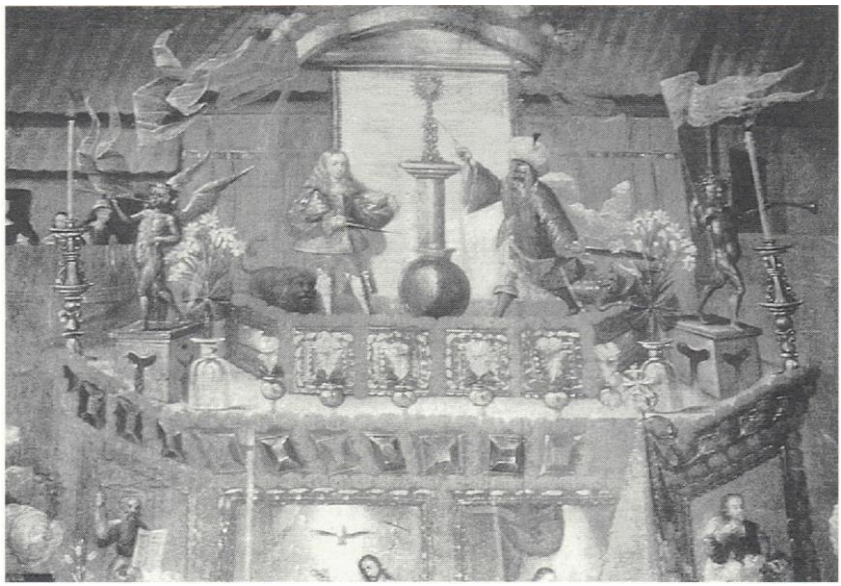

Figure 7. Detail of a processional altar from the Cuzco Corpus Christi series depicting the Spartish monarch Charles II defending the Eucharist. From the canvas of the sodalities of Santa Rosa and 'La Linda:

the Catholic Spaniards certainly differed in many regards, they shared the same notion of childhood as a distinct mental state which required substantial educational efforts. Given this notion, the innocence associated with children and their lack of conscious or calculated (that is, social ized) responses renders them ideal didactic pictorial devices. To the European and Europeanized viewer the Corpus children, both naughty and nice, would have been easily apprehended visual metaphors for inappropriate (irrational) and appropriate (rational) adult behavior.

It is likely that the artists of the Corpus Christi series deliberately featured children in the canvases, as the activities of youngsters are among the most remarkable and humorous elements in these crowded compositions. Their prominent presence can hardly be written off as a mere anecdotal diversion from the primary processional activity. The artist's intentionality can be seen most clearly in the canvas of the sociality of San Sebastian (figure 5). The processional carriage of the saint, representing the local parish of San Sebasti an, was copied from engravings in a Valencian festivity book composed in 1663 byJuan Bautista Valda, as were all of the carriages in the Corpus Christi series." In Valda, the carriage belongs to the tailo r's guild and the engraving is signed by Jose Caudi (figure 8)."


Figure 8. Processional carriage of the tailor's guild
by Jose Caudi. From Juan Bautista de Valda, *Solemnesfiestas* (Valencia , 1663).

Caudi's image has been reversed in the canvas of San Sebastian, its decoration has been simplified, and its pedestal cropped by the Cuzcan artist. The image of San Sebastian has replaced that of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, and the flying dragon (attached to the Valencian pedestal) has been eliminated in the painted version. Whereas the Valencian engraving shows the carriage to be occupied by five saints, these figures do not appear on the carriage of San Sebastian. Interestingly, while the Cuzcan artist simplified his prototype by eliminating much of the detail, he added the child who attempts to hitch a ride on the rear of the carriage. Apparen tly, this pictorial amendment was understood to enhance the meaning of the canvas as a whole, perhaps rendering this fictive carriage more relevant and believable to a parochial audience that had never seen such a contraption. "

What and how the misbehaving children signify within the Corpus Christi series is best understood by examining briefly festive behavior in late seventeenth-century Cuzco. While no mention is found in available records of unruly children, there is considerable concern expressed over adult, and especially Andean, 'misbehavior.' As in European art, it would seem that the Corpus children address adult concerns. That the canvases ultimately focus on adult behavior during public festivals is logical, considering that this was an overweening concern of Cuzco' s elite. From seventeenth-century civil records, we know that unruly behavior during public festivals preoccupied both Cuzco's civic and religious authorities. The Municipal Counc il, Ecclesiastic Council, and parish clerics all took steps to discourage public drunkenness, violence, and other manifestatio ns of disrespect on the part of Andeans and the lower classes in general. Indigenous leaders were charged with controlling the drunkenness and unruly behavior of their constituents. The boisterous behavior shown in the Corpus series is mild compared to the actual brawls that often broke out in the midst of festivities. In fact, the artists of the Corpus Christi series restricted violent behavior to the annoying, but harmless, children armed with pea shooters. By showing only mildly unruly behavior and linking it to the irrational behavior of children, implications of serious social discord have been elided and disrespectful actions appear as isolated manifestations of childish minds. Further, featuring misbehaving children allowed the artists of the Corpus series to acknowledge the existence of rambunctious activity, which is a hallmark of most celebratory occasions, without sanctioning it. In fact, by linking the misbehaving children to disrespectful commoners, the parishioner is encouraged to behave reverentially, as noted earlier.

The above interpretation pivots upon the European paradigm of the irrational child. The images of children in the Corpus Christi series could only have served to encourage good behavior if the same conception of the nature of childhood

was held by both colonist and colonized. This is so because 'child' is an ideational construct not firmly tied to physiology; 'children' and thus 'childishness' are, to a great extent, created by culture. The equation of naturally irrational children with improperly irrational adults depends upon the recognition of childhood as a separate state of both mental and physical being. Because the notion of what is 'childish ' is culture specific, we may wonder how the images of misbehaving youngsters were interpreted by the largely unacculturated indigenous parishioners of the church of Santa Ana.

In contrast to the European model of irrationality, evidence indicates that the pre-Hispanic Andean child was distinguished by physiological rather than mental capabilities. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, an Andean native author working at the beginning of the seventeenth century, drew pictures of Andean children and described their function in pre-Hispanic Inca society.[1] He tells us that native children of less than one year of age, still in the cradle, had to be cared for by others, as did those under five years of age who could crawl but who were as yet unweaned. Small children of both sexes were , according to Guaman Poma, without purpose or usefulness in that they served no one and, in fact, had to be served by others. Inca children of ages five through nine, in contrast, were assigned certain tasks. Boys of this age aided their parents and community by watching younger siblings, performing various domestic chores, and helping to raise orphans. Guaman Poma contrasts the pre-Conquest usefulness of this age group to domestic organization with the post-Conquest practice of removing these boys from their homes to educate them. Girls from ages five to nine served as pages for important females; they also helped their parents by collecting firewood and straw as well as spinning, gathering edible wild plants , raising younger children, fetching water, cooking, and cleaning.

According to Guaman Poma, from ages nine to twelve young *males* served both their parents and the *cacique* (native lord) by hunting small birds, herding, fetching firewood, spinning wool, and twisting rope. Girls of this same age served the community by collecting flowers , herbs, and leaves for dying cloth and cooking. They could also serve the government as human sacrifices. Male youth from ages twelve to eighteen guarded the herds and hunted birds. Females of this age group served their elders by spinning and weaving, shepherding, sowing and tending crops, and making *chicha* (an alcoholic beverage made from maize). They also helped around the house performing a number of tasks.

Females over eighteen were eligible for marriage and therefore considered adults; young males, in contrast, from ages eighteen to twenty served in a special capacity as messengers of the community and lackeys to warriors and great lords.

Guaman Poma calls them Indians of half-tribute noting their status as 'not-quite-adults.' Each stage of life was thus characterized by what it *could* do for society in contrast to the European concept of the excusable irresponsibility of children.

The individual's physical abilities and corresponding duties were the basis of the categories used by Inca census-takers. John H. Rowe 's seminal study of the Inca census reveals that Andean age-grades were defined primarily by the individual's ability to contribute to the state economy." In addition to those described by Guaman Poma, named age-grades are recorded by the Mercedarian friar Martin de Murua," the *licenciado* (lawyer) Fernando de Santillan, " Father Cristobal de Castro," and an anonymous group of Andeans ('los Senores' ) who served under Incan lords in pre-Hispanic times." Murua's list is so similar to that of Guaman Poma that Rowe suspects that he used Guaman Poma as a source." While differing from those recorded by Guaman Poma and Murua, the categories provided by Santillan, Castro, and 'los Sefiores ' are close enough to each other that a common source is indicated . Rowe concludes that Father Castro was responsible for recording the testimony of 'los Sefiores' and that SantiJlan used Castro as his source. These three then will be designated as the Castro group in the discussion which follows.

All sources list similar categories for adults, but differ in their divisions of the pre-adult years. In all lists, over half of the categories describe the pre-adult years, or the years before the individual bore full responsibility for producing tribute. Once adulthood was achieved (ages twenty to twenty-five ), the Andean was not removed from this category until she / he was incapable of fulfilling the associated occupational and tributary functions. While Guaman Poma describes ten categories for males (six of which designate pre-adults) and ten for females (five of which designate pre-adults), the chronicles of the Castro group tell us that there were twelve age groupings without differentiating *male* and female. [2] In the Castro group, the teen years are divided into two categories, which define the type of service expected. According to Sant illan , ages sixteen to twenty were collectively called *cocapalla* (coca-harvester ); he tells us that youth of this category were expected to reap the state-owned *coca* crop. Castro similarly terms ages twelve to sixteen *cocapalla,* and 'los Sefiores ' assign ages twelve to twenty to the category *cocapallac.* Santillan terms ages twenty to twenty-five *imanguayna,* which he translates as *casi mozo* ('almost a young adult' ), and says these youth contribute to the work of their brothers and relatives. According to Castro, ages sixteen to twenty were called *michoguayna;* ' los Sefiores ' term ages twenty to twenty-five *michuguaina* and say the category consists of those who aid their parents and relatives."

According to the Castro group, seven of the twelve age-groupings designate the growth stages of the pre-puberty yea rs, although, unlike Guaman Pom a, none of them lists specific duties of these ages." What is apparent in this categorization of the years in which the individual experiences rapid physical development is that , to the Andean, 'age ' was not the sum of years but an evaluation of physical attributes, abilities, and dexterity. Cobo confirms this, saying that 'age was not counted in years, nor did any of them know how many years old they were. [For the census] they were accounted for on the basis of the duty and aptitude of each person .. .'" The two major ceremonies for Andean children marked weaning and puberty - the two most important stages of growth, which, significantly, commemorated the increasing independence of the young individual. Weaning, celebrated by the hair-cutting and first naming ceremony, marked the first stage of the child's physical independenc e. The puberty rites and second naming ceremony celebrated the age at which the child became a significant contributor to the local economy. The giving of a new name signaled an important reclassification of the individual and his or her significance to society.

Garcilaso de la Vega, a mestizo writing at the tum of the seventeenth century, tells us that native children were expected to work from age six onward, but provides only scanty details.[30] He describes harsh treatment of children ed to encourage responsible behavior from a very early age. Apparently, in stark contrast to the Catholic notion of infant depravity, neither young age nor ignorance excused native children from contributing to the com munity . Indeed , children in pre-Conquest times were themselves often treated as products. We know they were given to the state as a form of tax payment. In addition, they were highly valued as the most propitious of sacrifices offered at critical junctures such as epidemics, war, and the coronation of new heads -o f-state. " It would appear that children were perceived as natural resources produced by the community and therefore expected to benefit that community. The phrasing of Guaman Poma, which emphasizes the usefulness of the child from the time it was weaned, underscores this interpretation. Evidence thus indicates that any equation of 'adult' to one of the stages of 'child' would make sense to the pre-Conquest Andean only in terms of physical prowess and productivity rather than the rational / irrational dichotomy of the European paradigm.

Because the pre-Hispanic pattern of child rearing continued into the viceregal period , it is likely that the common Andean did not quickly adopt the European concept of childhood irrationality. While most Spanish chroniclers paid little attention to how the Andean adults they were documenting treated native children, a few helpful references can be found. Pedro de Cieza de Leon, writing between

1541 and 1550, commented on the early date, while the child was still in infancy and as yet unweaned, at which language instruction began; he also expressed surprise at the ability of 'little boys' to fashion fine metalcraft." Arriaga was impressed that indigenous children were expected to behave as adults in native religious ceremonies ." Cobo , on the other hand, did not admire the character of native youth. He decried their lack of manners, virtue , orderliness, and praiseworthy habits. His statement that native children of the seventeenth century'... do not know what proper respect and courtesy are ...' suggests, however, that he judged Andean behavior by European standards, interpreting *different* training as *no* training. Cobo did note that age groups were valued according to their ability to work, saying that 'as soon as the poor parents begin to grow weak with age, their ungrateful children forget the natural debt which they have to serve and respect them with even greater care, love, and compassion.'" Such comments then indicate that the pre-Hispan ic emp hasis on work performance was maintained into the viceregal era.

During the viceregal period, while the official transition to adulthood was set at twenty-one according to European custom, children of lower classes assumed adult roles and responsibilities at earlier ages. Age fifteen or sixteen seems to have been the age at which working youth were able to undertake professions. While little mention of children is made in documentary sources, there are records of arranged apprent iceships . According to these sources, boys were apprenticed at around eight to twelve years of age with the understanding that they would be fully trained and able to pursue their intended professions by age fifteen or sixteen. " Thus although male youth were considered 'minors' until age twenty-one, they functioned as adults prior to that time. The work patterns of the lower Spanish classes during the viceregal period then would not have conflicted with the native pattern of childrearing. Indeed, there is no evidence to suggest that the paradigmatic progression from irrational child to rational adult worked out by European intellectuals ever gained currency among indigenous commoners. The pre-Hispanic emphasis on the introduction to useful occupations early in life has persisted until today among the less acculturated. In the Andean highlands native children of ages five to ten are put to work herding - quite a responsibility considering that livestock is the family 's major economic investment .'•

In contrast, elite youth in viceregal Peru were educated for longer periods and took up adult occupations at later dates. Like children of European elite, the children of the native nobility were accorded differential treatment. They were taught Christianity , Latin, and the classical humanities - the same course of instruction received by noble youth in Spain. This emphasis on educating sons

of the indigenous nobility is common in the writings of mendicants. For example, Arriaga states,

> The only way to make the *curacas* and *caciques* [native lords] behave (and the fact that they do not is, as I have said, an important cause of idolatry) is to begin at the beginning and instruct their children so that from childhood they may lea rn the Christian discipline and doctrine."

This special schooling increased the acculturation of the native elite, already more Hispanicized than natives oflower status by closer contact with Europeans. To the Andean noble who had himselfbeen singled out as a child and whose male offspring were accorded special educational emphasis, the notion that children were legitimately ignorant of proper behavior was probably a familiar and accepted notion. The images of misbehaving children in the Corpus Christi series would have performed as intelligible signifiers encouraging him to watch out for his constituents as prone to childish behavior. Such images would underscore the socio-political position of the indigenous elite as responsible for the behavior of their constituency.

However, to the common Andean - the primary audience of these paintings - the visually encoded equation of a child's irrationality to an adu lt's misbehavior is of doubtful significance . Considerable evidence indicates that the common Andean did not share the European concept of childhood. The significance of the exceptional images of misbehaving children within the behaviorally segregated world of the Corpus Christi canvases falters unless 'childish' misbehavior is thought to be a reflection of an irrational mind. While images of naughty and nice children undoubtedly evoked special meaning to their Europeanized audience, which included both artists and patrons, they surely failed to bridge the cultural gap that divided Cuzco's colonial society.

*Notes*

1. 'Andean' is used here to designate indigenous peoples while 'European' refers to people of European descent.

2. Twelve canvases of the Corpus Christi series are in the Archbishop's Museum of Religious Art in Cuzco, Peru. Three additional canvases recognized by Ricardo Mariategui (*Pintura cuzqueiia de! siglo XV/I en Chile* [Lima, 1954]) as belonging to the series, are in a private collection in Santiago, Chile. A sixteenth canvas, also in a private collection in Santiago, was identified three decades later by Mariategui (*Nue vo lienzo autentico del Corpus Cuzqueiio* [Lima, 1983]). For a discussion of the dating of these canvases, see Carolyn S. Dean, *Painted Images of Cuzco's Corpus Christi: Social Conflict and Cultural Strategy in Viceregal Peru*, PhD dissertation (University of California, Los Angeles, 1990), 65-67.

3. Three of the five remaining canvases lack one or two of these planes: two lack the lower sector and two lack the upper sector, while the fifth canvas, which features the culmination of the procession, consists only of festival participants.

4. Philippe Aries, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, second edition, translated by Robert Baldick (New York, 1965), 102.

5. Aries, who wrote the seminal work on the history of European childhood (*Centuries of Childhood*), claimed that prior to the seventeenth century Europeans had no concept of childhood as a separate state of being. While recent research by Linda A. Pollock (*Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900* [Cambridge, 1983]) and others have taken issue with this particular conclusion, Pollock agrees that because Europeans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries perceived children to be naturally sinful, education was seen to be of utmost importance (see 113-16). Similarly, C. John Sommerville (*The Rise and Fall of Childhood*, Sage Library of Social Research, CXL [Beverly Hills, 1982], 83-84 and 97) dates the increase in concern for a proper education to the Renaissance, especially the sixteenth century; he concludes that, owing to the religious turmoil which characterized that century, education was recognized as a primary weapon in the war for the minds of European youth.

6. Aries, *Centuries of Childhood*, 60-61.

7. Aries, *Centuries of Childhood*, 102, 262.

8. *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, translated by Edward Grimston [1604], edited by Clements R. Markham (London, 1880), 309; *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, second edition, edited by Edmundo O'Gorman (Mexico, 1985), 224-25.

9. See *History of the Inca Empire*, translated and edited by Roland Hamilton (Austin, 1983), 32.

10. *The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru*, translated and edited by L. Clark Keating (Lexington, 1968), 128.

11. Aries, *Centuries of Childhood*, 262.

12. Arriaga, *Extirpation of idolatry*, 101 and 172.

13. Cristobal de Molina, 'The Fables and Rites of the Yncas,' in *Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas*, translated and edited by Clements R. Markham (New York, 1873), 53; Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El Primer nueva*

*coronica ybuengobierno,* second edition , edited byJohn V. Murra and RolenaAdomo, trans- lated byJorge L.Urioste (Mexico,1988),201.

14. It was the practice of the Jesuits to establish sodalities dedicated to the cult of the child Jesus in the communities they served. By singling out the special nature of childhood , they were emphasizing their role in educating youth .

15. *The Child in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting(Ann* Arbor, 1979/1983),3,6,177, 191.

16. *Solemnes fiestas que celebro Valencia a la Inmaculada Concepcion de laVirgen Maria por el supremo decreto de N. S. Pontifice Alexandro VII* (Valencia, 1663).Teresa Gisbert and Jose de Mesa *( Arquitectu ra andina: 1530-1830, historia y analisis* [La Paz, 1985), 234, 242-43) first id entified thisfestivity bookas the pictorial source for two of the Corpus Christi carriages;Valda's book was, in fact, the source of all of the carriages depicted in the series (Dean, *Painted Images,* 91-97).

17. Valda, *Solemnes fiestas,* 534.

18. For a consideration of how these fictive carriages both confound and supplement the documentary mode of these canvases, see Dean, *Painted Images,*97 and358-60.

19. *El Primernu evacoronica,*179-89, 201-09.

20. ' The Age Grades of the Inca Census,' in *Miscellanea Paul Rivet Octogenario Dicata ,* XXXI International Congress of Am ericanis es , series 1, number 50, II (Mexico,1958), 499-522 .

21. *Historia del origen y genealogia real de los reyes incas del Peru,* edited by Constantino Bayle ( Madrid , 1946), 322-27; and *Historia general del Peru,*edited by Manuel Ballesteros (Mad rid, 1987),396-400.

22. ' Rela cion,' *inHistoria delos Incas y relaeion de su gobierno porJuan Santa Cruz Pachacuti y el Lie. Fernando de Sa ntillan ,* Colecci6n de Libros y Documentos References a la Historia de! Peru, series2 , I X, annotated by Horacio H. Urteaga (Lima , 1927),18-19.

23. *Relacion ydeclaraeion del modo que estevalle deChincha ysuscomarcanos segobernaban antes quehobieseingas ydespues que las hobo hasta que loscristianos entraronenesta tierra,*Colecci6n de Libros y Documentos Referen tes a la Historia de! Peru, series 2, X, annotated by Horacio H. Urteaga (Lima , 1934),136-37.

24. ' Los Se fio res ,' ' Relacion de! origen e gobierno que los ingas tuvieron y de! que habia antes que ellos sefioreasen a los indios deste reino, y de que tiempo, yde otras cosas que al gobierno convenia, declaradas por sefiores que sirvieron al inga Yupangui ya Topainga Yupangui ya Guainacapac ya Huascar Inga,' in *La imprenta en Lima (1584-1824),* edited byJose Toribio Medina, I (Sant iago, 1904), 202.

25. Guaman Poma and Murua were contemporaries. Guaman Poma defamed both Murua's deeds and character repeatedly in his chronicle *( Primer nueva coronica,* 480,580, and 612-13). Rowe discusses aspects of their problematic relationship ('Age Grades,' 514).

26. Santillan's list actually includes onlyeleven designations , as heskips number nine.

27. 'Los Se fio res' say *michuguaina* means 'almost a young man' *(ya casi mozo ).* Neither their *michuguaina* nor Santillan's *imanguayna* literally means 'almost a young man,' however (Rowe, 'Age Grades ,'507).

28. Rowe doubts that the Inca census employed allseven of the categories listed in the Castro group because of the fact that pre -

pubescent children had little impact on the state economy ('Age Grades,' 517). What concerns us here is not the identification of official Incacensus age-grades, however.but how theAndean perceived and defined childhood.

29. *History of the Inca Empire,* 194.

30. *Theincas:TheRoyalCommentaries,*translated by Mariajolas,edited byAlain Gheerbrant (New York, 1961), 245.

3r. Acosta , *Natu ral and Moral History,* 344; Molina, 'Fables and Rites,' 54-58.

32. *The Incas,* edited byVictorWolfgangvon Hagen, transl ated by Harriet de Onis (Norman, 1959), 169 and 176.

33. *Extirpation of Idolatry,* 23 and 47.

*34. Cobo,Historyof theincaEmpire,22and35 -38.*

35. Published contracts are found in Jorge Cornejo Bou ro ncle 's *Derroteros deartecuzqueiio; datos para una historia del arte en el Peru* (Cuzco, 1960).

36. This is not the case in contemporary urban Cuzco where child-rearing is admittedly permissive. Interestingly, in twentieth-century Corpus Christi celebrations Cuzcan children are given considerable behavioral latitude to the point that petty theft at prescribed processional junctures is sanctioned (Carol Ann Fie dler, *Corpus Christi in Cuzco: Festival and Ethnic Identity in the Peruvian Andes,* PhD dissertation [Tulane Universi ty, 1985], 62 and 215).

*37 Extirpation of Id olatry,* 99.