THE RECONFIGURATION OF CIVIC AND SACRED SPACE: ARCHITECTURE, IMAGE, AND WRITING IN THE COLONIAL NORTHERN ANDES

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The spatial order, whether topographic space, community organization, pictorial composition, or the surface of the written page, is a social creation and therefore never fixed. In the northern Andes, the colonial spatial order reworked Spanish and indigenous structures in new ways, creating a unique social formation whose character cannot be adequately comprehended through recourse to notions of "hybridity," "syncretism," or "acculturation." The nature of the colonial social formation can be studied through the analysis of ideological structures that manifest themselves simultaneously in a variety of domains, including alphabetic literacy, visual representation, architecture and town planning. This paper will explore the ideological backdrop of the recasting of colonial civic space in political ritual, the organization of sacred precincts, and the production of religious and political images in the Pasto Province and the Sabana de Bogotá of what is now southern and central Andean Colombia, in the 16th to 18th centuries. Such non-alphabetic spaces are reformulated on the written page in census documents, baptismal records, and legal papers. We will examine the intersection between these spatial genres, their social production, and their reconfiguration, in an effort to comprehend the interrelationships of visual and alphabetic literacy as they were inscribed upon indigenous bodies in the colonial era.

Visual and alphabetic literacy were perceived by colonial-era Spaniards and native Andeans as being intimately related. In a continuation of the medieval notion of the fundamental identity of pictures and writing, both of which were believed to produce images in the mind when read aloud and memorized (Carruthers; Clanchy; Huot), literacy was not necessarily wholly

alphabetic in colonial Latin America. The 1611 dictionary of Sebastián Covarrubias, for example, defines *leer* (to read) as, "pronunciar con palabras lo que por letras está escrito" (to pronounce with words that which is written in letters) and "enseñar alguna disciplina públicamente" (to teach a discipline publicly) (706). Sermons were among the most common texts read aloud to both Spanish and indigenous audiences, gathered in communal spaces of the church's interior or the exterior plaza. However, in sermons prepared for a native audience the spheres of administrative documents and religious images were drawn together through ontological analogy such that various forms of colonial culture and society overlapped in unexpected ways (Concilio de Lima 653; Rappaport and Cummins n.d.). In dictionaries of Muisca (Chibcha), Páez, and Quechua prepared by Spanish clerics, a process of colonial language planning assigned the same term to writing and painting in a region where neither was known before the Spanish invasion (Anónimo 260, 295; Castillo y Orozco 50; González Holguín 301, 513; Santo Tomás 357; cf. Rappaport and Cummins n.d.).

Visuality and literacy were also intimately connected to bodily practice. Graphic symbols were simultaneously inscribed and enacted ritually, the most simple example being the making of the sign of the cross at the moment the cross was written or drawn into a document (Ibid.). Such literate patterns were, moreover, superimposed in both sacred and secular contexts upon the architectonic and topographic space within which people walked, upon the temporal and kinship space by which they traced descent, and in the ritual space of sacred precincts where they worshiped. That is, alphabetic and visual texts were ceremonially manipulated, or the categories and spatial dimensions of their organization were reproduced in non-literate genres. In this sense, we must understand literacy as transcending the producer or the direct consumer of an alphabetic or pictorial text, to include a much broader range of participants: we must pay heed to the corporeal experience of a colonial culture that was inscribed both on paper and canvas, as well as upon the land, its buildings, and the bodies of its inhabitants.

Such multiple spaces physically overlapped discourses of power and were perceived as analogous by the Spaniards. They were all understood as bestowing order upon the chaos the Spaniards discovered when they arrived in the New World, a disorder which they considered to be diabolical. The Spanish term *reducir* meant to order or to bring to reason (Covarrubias 350, 854). For the Spaniards, Christianity was central to this ordering process: a Jesuit annual letter from Bogotá speaks of "reduc[ing] them [the natives] to the true knowledge of the holy God" —"ridurle alla uera cognitione di dio beneditto" (AGCG/R 1616, 116v). Language, the symbolic system through which the Christian doctrine was taught, was susceptible to such ordering. The generation of grammars of indigenous languages was seen as meeting this end, as was the teaching of alphabetic literacy (for Bogotá, see AGCG/

R 1606, 48r). Both grammar and literacy were measuring-sticks through which the Spaniards constructed a universal hierarchy in which Latin and Latin-derived alphabetically-written languages occupied the highest rungs (Mignolo; Pagden). The predominant forms of discourse in the Spanish colonial world, the domains in which this hierarchical model was implemented, were written law (González Echevarría) and evangelization, whose performative force was most clearly expressed in the grid pattern upon which all towns and cities in the New World were founded, duly recorded in acts of foundation authorized by legal officials, and written and validated by notaries.

The grid was itself understood as a *reducción*, a model for creating order in a world in which antisocial and wild chaos lurked in the countryside (Rama). The order of the urban grid was a visual manifestation of the divine order of Augustine's City of God, as contrasted against the chaos of the *civitas diaboli,* the cities of the heathens; thus, there existed a morphological relation between the material form of the terrestrial city and the celestial one. Before a space was "reduced" through architecture, however, it was carefully planned in the graphic space of a map, the names of new residents written within the city blocks (see, for example, *Cabildo de Lima* 12-3). The physical act of creating order in space began with the construction of a church, because, as Jesuit Bernabé Cobo wrote in 1639, the plan's moral basis was in God and thus by necessity commenced with His church (289-90). Pizarro therefore began the plan of Lima with a church, then marked out the plaza on the grid, laid the first stone of the temple, and finally divided the city blocks among the citizens. Urban space was thus the spatial enactment of a discourse of colonization that was previously constituted through writing.

The plaza of a *reducción*, the town built on a grid pattern in which native Andeans were required to live and which, like Lima, was also mapped prior to construction, was filled by practices that made tangible the power of the secular colonial order. Punishments were enacted at the *picota*, the stone column in the plaza that symbolized a stake and stood as a reminder of the gallows (Nader 135-137); community meetings were held at the same location or at the cross in the town square (Ibid. 137). *Caciques* (hereditary chiefs) were carried on chairs around the square in rites of investiture. The plaza was also the scenario in which the *pregonero* or town crier translated into indigenous languages the orders and announcements of the colonial administration. Urban space was always a zone of interaction between native peoples and Spaniards, both metaphorically and actually, embodied in the presence of Europeans centralized around the plaza. It was the bringing of *civitas* and the *polis* to the Andean native, who was seen as occupying a state of incomplete social and cultural development. The spatial hierarchy thus had its analog in the social and political hierarchy.

Superimposed upon this secular grid was the space of practice of the Church, from which emanated the sound of the church-bell calling inhabitants to Mass, to the recitation of the Rosary, and to catechism classes; the territory within which such a sound carried was constituted as a legal community, mapped onto provincial space. Out of the church and into the plaza came processions of religious images. The populace congregated several times a week in the atrium of the church as the doctrinal priest directed sermons at them, instructing them in the mysteries of Christianity.

Although native Andean institutions and forms of territoriality persisted into the colonial period, they were reconfigured or "colonized" by European forms of order and control. Extending out of the plaza into the countryside was the very distinct organization of the native community. In the Pasto community of Cumbal, such sections radiated out of the town center in a hierarchy which regulated the periods of office by which colonial native governors took turns in administering justice (Rappaport 1988; Ibid. 1994), a rotational system similar to the Muisca system, in which towns alternated in providing caciques for some communities (Simón 415). In Sutatausa, near Bogotá, Muisca *parcialidades* or community sections were (and still are) associated with chapels —similar to and probably derived from the *posas* or chapels at the four corners of the courtyards in Mexican sixteen-century missions (McAndrew)—standing at the corners of the plaza, thus extending the conceptual structure of the plaza out into the (unordered) hinterland; or the objects upon which they were found were ceremonially manipulated.

The architectural volume of the plaza is conceptually a void. But as a social space, the plaza was bounded by the architectural manifestations of sacred and secular institutions of power: the chapel and the *cacique*'s house in a *reducción*; in a city, the major administrative offices and the homes of important officials, in addition to the church. The plaza was therefore constantly filled by a multiplicity of practices that were simultaneously inscribed aurally and ritually in urban space, as well as pictographically and alphabetically in paintings, murals, and written documentation. As Rama so eloquently argued in *The Lettered City*, literacy provided the foundations of the Spanish American state, from the grid that demarcated the smallest town even before its first foundations were laid, to the exercise of power within it, engendering the state both in letter and in the ideology that structured daily administration. What Rama omits in his treatise, however, is any consideration of the role that native people played in the lettered city, as much in the production and reception of written documentation (Rappaport and Cummins 1994, n.d.), as in the realization of this plan through daily activities that sustained the primacy of literacy in the colonial world. In the remainder of this paper, we will probe this palimpsest by examining the spatiality of literate practice in colonial Muisca and Pasto communities.

Alphabetic Space

The space of the alphabetic document is constituted by more than its linguistic contents. Of equal importance in assigning meaning to alphabetic writing is the organization of the page (Messick; Street), the nature of validating seals and signatures (Clanchy; Fraenkel), the deployment of illustrations and marginalia (Adorno; Camille). In the Spanish American world, documents were readily recognizable by their form: the sometimes indecipherable scrawl of the notary, the hierarchical sequence of the *visita* or tribute census, the seal at the end of the royal decree, standing in for the monarch in his royal court. Documents validated by a notary were sometimes signed with handwritten signatures accompanied by elaborate interwoven emblems that were not easily falsified. Most often composed of complex designs fashioned out of Christian phrases, these emblems appeared on key pages of documents and in particular positions on the page (Luján Muñoz 58).

There existed, in native Andean communities, local notaries and scribes who were, of course, intimately acquainted with legal formulas and rhetoric (ABC/I 1654, 3r-v; ANE/Q 1588, 105v; ANE/Q 1634, 125v; ANE/Q 1653; Mannheim 143-44; Murra; Spalding 217). But those who owned documents also understood their meaning, whether or not they had command of the technology of literacy or the grammar and vocabulary of Castilian. The graphic space demarcated by these different genres was constitutive of a social space within which power could be contested, a fact well recognized by indigenous people, literate and illiterate alike.

Baptismal records and tribute censuses were frequently referred to by native disputants in contests over political positions and lands (ANE/Q 1686, 1695, 1735). Stored in the church or in portable desks (*escritorios*) owned by *caciques* (ANE/Q 1681), many of these records were readily accessible to native authorities. The baptismal record is particularly interesting, because it created a transmutable social space which was modified over time, as the priest added marginal notes to update each entry. The visual form of these books was considered of utmost importance to Church authorities, who mandated certain types of organization be followed by parish priests. Luis Zapata de Cárdenas explains that baptismal records were to be amended with marginal notes and signs at the occasion of later sacraments in the life of the inscribed individual. The production of baptismal records was therefore not seen as fixed or static. Rather, the records were modified in relation to sacramental ceremonies enacted within public architectonic spaces rituals (cf. Inclán Valdés 14; Peña 465-66) to which access was strictly limited by social category, particularly emphasizing the distinction between Christians and non-Christians (Zapata cap. 45). Difference—between the initiated, catechumens, and the unconverted—was thus simul-

taneously inscribed in architectonic space and in the graphic space of the baptismal record.

The *visita*, a detailed census of native tributaries that included precise ethnographic description of the structure and customs of communities, orders to be implemented by colonial officials, and minute tabulations of the names, ages, and families of tributaries, was more than a written document. It was also an elaborate performative act in which bureaucrats moved from town to town, across a vast terrain. In the course of his performance, the *visitador* (the official charged with making the census) ritually enacted the colonial social order through the consultation of church records (such as the baptismal books) and the interviewing of all the tributaries of the town, who were congregated by their *caciques* in the plaza of the *reducción*, paraded in long lines before the *visitador* and his huge retinue (Guevara-Gil and Salomon 1994). So in the public space of the plaza, the social space written into baptismal records and inscribed in the organization of the church was re-enacted in secular ceremony and ultimately inscribed on the pages of lengthy documents stored in official archives and by hereditary chiefs.

Visitas have a characteristic design, readily recognizable by anyone initiated into the colonial power structure. They appear as long lists of individuals, organized into community segments; the Quechua word *ayllu* or the Spanish *parcialidad* are employed alongside the names of political units in the Pasto Province. Each tributary is accorded a paragraph, each parcialidad introduced with centered titles in bold print naming the section and the ethnic lord who commanded it. There is a characteristic hierarchical ordering of these entries, beginning with the principal *cacique* and his immediate family, moving to the other lords below him (*principales*), the male community members of tributary age and their families, and finally the *reservados*, those who were exempted from tribute due to age or illness. Thus, the *visita* page graphically reproduces the ritual procession that systematized data; the documents also reproduce movement of the Spanish officials across the territory.

In the Pasto area, *cacicazgos* or chiefdoms were organized in territorial hierarchies, which emanated out of town centers in radial or linear sequences divided into upper and lower moieties. Frequently, chiefly spokespersons or ethnic lords serving as governors took turns according to this hierarchy. In the *cacicazgo* of Cumbal, the hierarchical organization moved in descending order from northeast to southwest, following the path of the sun between the June and December solstices. While the territorial hierarchy may have resembled precolumbian forms of political organization, we are speaking here of a *colonial* structure, created through the colonial amalgamation of precolumbian *cacicazgos* into a single district, in the face of population movements and land usurpations by the Spaniards (Rappaport 1988). In other words, while the territorial organization of Cumbal must be interpreted

as an *indigenous* cultural form, it is manifestly *colonial* nature; its precolumbian structures were sedimented over with distinct meanings during the course of the colonial process.[1] The colonial territorial hierarchy of the Pastos was inscribed into *visitas*, given that the native authorities from each section were interviewed in strict hierarchical order. The space of the written page thus merged the Spanish rituality of the *visita* with native forms of social hierarchy expressed through territorial structure, producing a document that constituted both the colonial and the native orders in rituality and in graphic form.

Such documents were reinscribed repeatedly into later manuscripts, produced as evidence for disputes, and served as ritual props. In 1695, for example, the ritual of installation of the *cacique* of Guachucal included acceptance of his community's census records (ANE/Q 1695, 37r). In other words, the written word both reflected and constituted reality: as social, political, and ritual space were inscribed graphically, the written record became a central vehicle for the construction of the colonial order. In the process, certain elements of native memory, particularly those which lent meaning to topographic space, were effaced. Toponyms, which carried information on crop types, geographic features (such as rivers and plains), and architectonic forms (such as mounds and terraces) (Caillavet), were slowly simplified by Spanish-speaking scribes in a process that parallelled the language-loss which resulted, by the 18th century, in Spanish monolingualism among the Pasto. Place-names also lost their significance as the Pasto population fell precipitously in the first half of the colonial period (Padilla, López Arellano and González) and as lands were usurped by Spaniards. Given that historical memory depended upon topographical referents in the Andes, these related processes fostered a toponymic simplification which "reduced" the semantic load of place-names within the order of notarial practice and diminished their significance for later indigenous readers (Rappaport 1993, 120-121), forcing them to pay more heed to the European-framed models conveyed graphically in written documentation.

Architectonic and Urban Space

The space of public ritual for such pronouncements was the plaza at the center of the reducción, a void that became occupied by people engaged in social activity. The plaza was not only framed by surrounding buildings defining the civic space of political, social, and religious activities: the plaza also reframed the reference of vision for Andeans. Passing through the entrances of the main roads leading to the plaza, the gateways defined the limits of the grid layout of orderly crisscrossing streets at right angles and straight lines. This in itself was a spatialization of the political or civic order, which was called *policía.* Here, an individual passed into a colonially-

configured space to become part of the Christian community, a membership that could never be complete in the sense that all natives were understood as perpetually in a social state of becoming. That is, although natives might mature physically, they did not mature psychically (Pagden). Rather, they were suspended in a liminal state of social and spiritual development. One can think of the gateways of the *reducción* as forming an axis of this transitional state, marking the teleological movement from wilderness to civility. Only the priest —by virtue of his ordination, the only sacrament denied natives, due to their arrested state of being— standing in the sanctuary of the church represented the ultimate stage of Christian humility. Still, on their way to their fields, natives passed in and out of the *reducción*, and its representation of order and of their place in it.

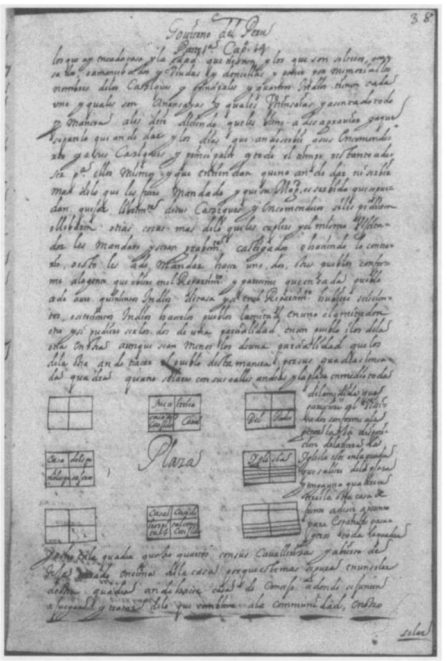

FIGURE 1

The plaza's space of public ritual was framed materially by the buildings of colonial authority. At the same time, the space and the buildings were linked conceptually to the other symbolic technologies of colonial knowledge and power. Most immediately, the plan of the city could be and often was graphically rendered according to a line drawing of the grid, emanating from and around the central void (Figure One). Such representations were legitimate in courts of law, metonymically standing for the social aggregate. But even when the *reducción* had been physically constructed and filled with bodies, the principal architectural elements were

defined by multivalent terms such as *portada* (portal), *frontispicio* (frontispiece), and *lienzo* (canvas). Portada and *frontispicio* were used interchangeably to refer to the main portals of important buildings, most of which faced onto the plaza. *Frontispicio* is defined by Covarrubias as "la delantera de la casa" (the front of the house) (560), *portada* as "la delantera de la casa, adonde está la puerta principal con adorno" (the front of the house, where the main door with its decoration is located) (839). *Portada* was also used to term the gates of a city, town, or *reducción*; it also named the ephemeral arches that were erected in the plaza, under which passed religious processions or the festive entrance of a distinguished visitor, such as a viceroy or new bishop (Esquivel y Navia; Mugaburu).

FIGURE 2

These two terms conjured up more than visions of doorways, ephemeral arches, and entrances constituting the passageways into *reducciones*. They also referred to writing, books, and painting. *Portada* and *frontispicio* were used interchangeably to name the fronts of books or manuscripts. This relationship was more than linguistic, however. Very often, the frontispiece of a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century book or illustrated manuscript imitated the architectural features of a doorway, depicting columns, lintels, and jambs in illusionistic detail, suggesting a spatial entrance for the reader passing into the constructed world of the text (Figure Two). The perspectival illusion of the drawing, engraving, or woodcut of the title page thereby

visually evoked more than a word play between page, architectonic image, and their positions in the manuscript. Both *portada* as frontispiece of a book and *portada* as architectural penetration framed a sense of being and transition by suggesting an entrance into knowledge, *policía*, and civitas. The text could only be penetrated by European alphabetic literacy; the church could only be entered by the faithful. That is, the act of passing through a *portada*, whether it be a doorway or a page, was a point of liminal differentiation of time and/or place.

Conceptually, the *portada* of the book and of architecture placed the reader/viewer momentarily within the closed structure of a frame. In terms of the *portada* of a book, the viewer/reader occupied a constructed artificial world of images and conscious illusion laid out on the flat page. At the same time, the viewer/reader looked through this frame as though it were a door or window opening onto a view of the world that was suggested without conscious reference to the artifice of painterly illusion, simply promising what lay beyond. There is, then, a word play between the page and image and their position in the manuscript. Both the page as a frontispiece and the illusionistic architectural structure that frames it are termed *portada*, and both suggest the entrance into something from some place. But only one sense of the term *portada* is intended as a physical passage: the gateway, arch, or door through which a body passes, materially, into another space. No less important a transition was the passing through the *portada* of the church of the *doctrina* into the nave of the usually single-aisle church of the *reducción*. Here, the sense of liminality was spiritually marked. Only those who had been baptized could remain within the church for communion, as Zapata clearly writes (see above). The rest sat in the rear of the church, and were asked to leave before the transubstantiation. The *portada* of the church marked this phenomenological differentiation. This sense of enacted spatial liminality was clear within Catholic doctrine, in that the catechumens who left the church and died in that spiritual condition, remained literally in a state of eternal liminality or limbo (Covarrubias 717). What is important to a sense of colonial phenomenology is that the body was integrated into this cross-referentiality. The terms for doorways were also related to the appearance of a person, such that *frontispicio* as doorway is understood by Covarrubias as, "the most showy and spacious, as is the brow on the face; with this similarity the Italian calls the front of the house fachata"). Not only is the doorway likened to the forehead of a person, but a person's appearance can be defined by the term "buena portada de una persona, buena presencia" (830), that is, a person with a good bearing or presence.

It is crucial to recognize that Covarrubias's definitions are not dependent upon historical or true etymologies in the sense of the modern dictionary. Rather, he stresses the social and cultural meanings of words and their etymologies (the longest definition of a word is found under the entry

for "elephant"; however, one would be hard-pressed to recognize the animal by the characteristics that are listed). The tensions of Covarrubias's definitions and characterizations of words pull them and their references into various discursive realms of unsuspected social and cultural reifications. It is visual discourse that brings *portada*, *frontispicio*, and *lienzo* together, such that the final term, *lienzo*, unites the planar properties of architecture with the illusionary properties of painting in a way that underscores the ideological regime of vision and order.

One of Covarrubias's definitions for *lienzo* is, "the continuing, upright wall" (715). In another definition of the word, however, he writes that "canvases frequently mean the pictures painted on canvases" (Ibid.). That is, the flatness of the wall is equivalent in some ways to the surface of the painting. At one level, it is simply the property of the surface, which is flat and smooth. At the same time, in 16th- and 17th-century painting, that flatness is denied by the illusions of perspective. Depth, rather than flatness, operates such that recession into and the penetration of the surface are desired. This illusion is predicated on techniques of perspective as developed by Alberti and others. In the colonial Andean world of the *lienzos* of the *reducciones*, this illusion, based in part upon converging orthagonal lines drawn obliquely to the surface, had to be learned to be recognized as a system that presented convincingly the here and now of the universal history of Catholicism. That is, the *portadas* in the walls of churches into which the native community passed were covered with paintings of the gospels.

For example in Sutatausa, a Franciscan *reducción* in Cundinamarca located some 88 kilometers north of Bogotá, a series of murals, based upon European prints (Lara 263-68), were painted on the lateral walls of the single aisle nave church. All but one depict the events of Christ's passion. The final scene, the Last Judgement, was added slightly later. The scenes of Christ's passion are arranged into discrete units that are separated by illusionistic architectural elements painted so as to suggest the division of the actual single aisle nave into a more complicated interior space. Each scene appears to be within a bay defined by painted fluted columns and corinthian columns supporting an entablature. The border of each scene is arched such that it mimics the actual arch (*arco triunfal*) that defines the transition from the nave to the choir. The painted architecture therefore gives the illusion that there are a series of side chapels into which the viewer can look and penetrate imaginatively. This affords a visual transition so that the narrative scene unfolds in an altogether more convincing illusionistic space. The perspectival devices and composition combine to explode the rather confined narrow space of the nave and allow the "cultured" eye to see, not the flat surface of the *lienzo* (wall), but the illusionistic properties of the *lienzo* (painting), such that the historical places of Christ's passion become

recognizable and almost physically experienced.

But how does this fiction play out in the reverse, in the physical environment of the *reducción*? If we think of the linear perspective traced onto the murals at Sutatausa with their converging orthagonal lines as more than an illusion or trick of the eye, but as a regularizing element in the system of ordered experience of the *reducción* itself, then the phenomenology of colonial visuality is already built into the plan of the town. Standing in the plaza and looking outward or down the sight line of one of the main roads towards the countryside, the lines formed by the road and framing walls (*lienzos*) are sight lines that lead the urban gaze to the edge of the grid and beyond (Salinas y Córdava 1: 108-09). This is the illusion that urban and architectural order provides, and which the orthagonal lines of the paintings try to create.

It is important to emphasize that the intersecting elements of visuality exist prior to the formation of colonial *reducciones*. Serlio is quite explict in his 1519 treatise on architecture and perspective in regard to the relation between perspective, theatrical scenes, and the architecture of the plaza, arches, and straight streets (44r; see also Damisch 1995, 199-218). However, in the New World, these elements come to play within a conceptual field of order that is meant to reformulate modes of social identity and being of the colonial subject. Thus, each entrance into the plaza is marked by a small chapel called a *posa*, indicating that it is a ritual staging-place within Catholic drama. Stopping at each chapel in a liturgical procession, one not only focused on the chapel and the ritual, but one could see down the road and note the straight lines converging in the distance. So, too, one could sit, stand, or kneel in the church, listen to the gospels being read, and look into the paintings on the walls.

Capillas posas are found in various towns in the Sabana de Bogotá and Boyacá, the territory inhabited in the colonial period by the Muiscas (Lara 260). The four chapels located at the corners of the plaza of Sutatausa mark the ritual space within which conversion took place. Processions moved from one chapel to the next in counterclockwise order during major feasts, such as the Nativity; today, the children of the town reenact Christ's birth with visits to each chapel, where they ask for lodging. During Corpus Christi, the monstrance is carried from one chapel to another, in numerical order. Just as the colonial indigenous community was "reduced" into the space of a league in radius from the church (González), ensuring that all were within earshot of the bell calling them to observance, the sacred space of the churchyard, framed by the four chapels, extended out into the rural hinterland surrounding the town center. The multiple sections (now called *veredas*) of Sutatausa were charged with the care of the chapels; if we divide the community into four quadrants radiating out of the plaza, the sections lying within each quadrant were responsible for the upkeep of their corre-

sponding chapel, creating a superimposition of topographic and urban space. Wakes for the dead were also held in the chapels; such rites of passage were inscribed into church records. The baptismal books, we must remember, contained images such as crosses and other marginalia that fleshed out the individual life cycle; crosses also became boundary markers in the colonial period, extending documentary and religious iconography out into a now-Christianized hinterland (for the Pasto area, see ANE/Q 1767). Thus, topographic and urban space were superimposed upon ritual and graphic space in a palimpsest in which literacy, rituality, and social organization mirrored one another.

At the door of the church —which was comparable to the frontispiece of a book, both being *portadas*—, the uninitiated were instructed in an open-air chapel. Bishop Zapata of Bogotá mandated that such observance take place at a portal situated at the church door. This open-air space of conversion was conceived of as a theater, a concept sometimes carved into architectonic space The church of San Francisco in Quito is entered by ascending a set of convex steps, followed by a similar set of concave ones, called a *teatro*, or theater (Figure Three). The design is, in fact, derived from Sebastian Serlio's plan of the Belvedere Theatre (Serlio 119v-120r) (Figure Four). A similar arrangement grants access to the altar of the church of Santo Domingo in the Colombian city of Popayán.

FIGURE 3

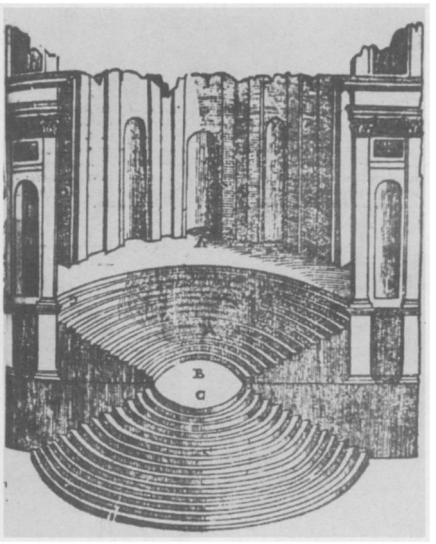

FIGURE 4

The church courtyard thus operated as a kind of theater within which the mysteries of Christianity were related within architectonic space, much as they were on the murals inside the church (Lara 268-70). This is where Muisca initiates were taught the doctrine, as one Jesuit observer wrote:

> Seven capitanías [a Muisca unit of social organization] or parcialidades made seven circles in the plaza, each one in the following manner: the Indians of a capitanía sat on the ground making a semicircle and then in front of them in another semicircle were the women with their backs turned to the men and the space in the middle filled by the boys and girls [and] in the middle of all a child stood with a large cross in his hand and he began to recite the prayers, everyone responding, and once finished, another and another entered, for an hour and a half, and thus at the same time all seven circles were praying, then a father would bring them together and make a large circle in the same form where he would catechize them for the space of five quarters of an hour, then they entered the church to hear the mass sung with much music and there he preached to them... In the afternoon there was a procession of Our Lady around the plaza, singing her litany... (AGCG/R 1608-9, 50v)

The mestizo Franciscan, Diego Valadés, produced an image of such instruction of natives (Chichimecs from Northern Mexico in this case) in his 1579 *Retorica christiana* (Figure Five). This method of teaching in a circle was etymologically related to the concept of the book, particularly to the idea of the encyclopedia. A genre employed by such Spanish authors as Bernardino de Sahagún to classify and make sense of the cultural realities of the New World (Sahagún, cited and discussed in Mignolo 187-200), encyclopedia was more than a genre of written expression; it was also a pedagogical technique based upon the educational benefits of a particular body posture involved in sitting in a circle (Mignolo 203). Thus, in the urban space of the churchyard, the social and territorial organization of the community was transfigured or "reduced" through communal prayer and catechism.[2] The ideological relationship between bodily posture and the book clearly illustrates that in the Spanish value system word, image, and space were perceived as superimposed, associated conceptually and in practice with the "ordering" of the Other through Christian indoctrination and through the rearrangement of physical space.

The entryway to the church was also a scenario for a very different performance of secular colonial power in which ceremonial objects, them-

selves the product of the sedimentation of various cultural traditions, became polysemic and symbolically ambiguous as they were juxtaposed in the colonial context (cf. Salles-Reese). In the mid-eighteenth century, a *teatro* was erected at the doorway of the church of Pastas (today, Aldana, Nariño) in preparation for the investiture of its new *cacique*, don Manuel Nastar y Canchala. The *teatro*, probably consisting of triumphal arches of the sort that greeted the arrival of viceroys or other colonial officials in cities and towns (Espinosa), set the scene for a ceremony in which Pasto, Incaic, and colonial Spanish elements interpenetrated:


Pars quarta. 225

E. Fideles & fratres euntes per montes, rupes, ſaxa. In via ad quærenda Idola vana, & conducendos Infideles ad fidem Chriſti ſubminiſtrat. F. Eſt locus vbi noctu lapidibus calefactis ſenum ſuper ponunt ac ſonũ capiunt. G. Denotat fideles, qui cõmuniter religioſos comitantur tanquam coadiutores, & vt puerorum, ac rerum ſacrarum quas ſemper in manibus deferunt curam habeant. Y Communiter enim deferunt Chriſma Sanctum & oleum, calicem & alia cultui diuino conuenientia paramenta. H. Modum excipiendi fratres, & quomodo mulieres ipſę ſuos doceant fœtus, vt flexis Genibus ipſos recipiant, ac ab eis benedictionem impetrent.

I. Nunquam vacuę in conſpectu religioſi apparent: Nam ſemper aliquid Charitatis enxenium impendunt, videlicet fructus vel quid ſimile. Nullo metu vltro citroquę commeabant centum, aut ducenta milliaria prædicãtes delubra diruentes vna cum Idolis catechizando, baptizando, nec deſpondebãt animum propter minas Z vel vnius vel alterius ſociorũ interfectionem, ſed inde animum vireſquę maiores concipiebant, vt præſens ſtemma demonſtrat.

Capitis continuatio.

Nam

FIGURE 5

In the town of Pastas on the eighteenth day of the month of October of seventeen sixty one, General *don* Gregorio Sanchez Parra, Lieutenant Governor, Corregidor [provincial governor], and High Justice of this province and its jurisdiction for Your Majesty, having come here in conformity with what was ordered in the previous decree, standing in the theater formed according to custom at the door of

> the church, accompanied by the R.P.M. Fr. Fernando Paredes, priest of the town of Carlozama and this its annex, by various individuals, religious and secular, the Protector de Naturales [royal advocate for native people], the caciques of the province, the Alcalde Mayor [constable], and a great number of male and female Indians, I ordered the previous writ and decree read in a clear voice and as its consequence, the anticipated investiture with the following formality and words: I, General don Gregorio Sanchez Parexa, Lieutentant Governor, Corregidor, and High Justice of this province in the name of the King our lord, to you, don Manuel Nasttar y Canchala I elevate you and place you in possession of the cacicazgo of the parcialidad of Nastar, one of those of the town of Pastas, and I order its governor, principales, heads, and leaders, the male and female Indians, boys and girls of the entire parcialidad to receive you and present themselves at your call, to have and obey you as their cacique and natural lord under the penalty of royal law against the inobedient, and as a sign of your possession I give you this staff of lordship and seated the aforementioned cacique in his seat the male and female Indians, boys and girls of his said parcialidad came and laid out their mantas [woven wraps], making [signs of] their obedience according to their uses and customs, they kissed his foot and his relatives embraced him as a sign of welcome and obedience and then he was carried on the shoulders of his principales and processed around the four sides of the plaza. (ANE/Q 1761, 4v-5r)

In the Pasto area (ABC/Q 1748, 137v; ANE/Q 1694, 4v; 1695, 2r; 1735, 41r, 54r-v; 1771, 334-v), and throughout the colonial Andes (Martínez Cereceda), the investiture of *caciques* and other native authorities was marked by the seating of the ethnic lord on a wooden stool (sometimes covered by a rug), commonly called by the Quechua word *tiyana* or the Carib word *duo*. This was followed by an act of obedience in which the new ethnic lord was kissed by neighboring *caciques* or his subordinate principales; in Peruvian and Bolivian documents, this act is called by the Quechua term *mochar*, which in the precolumbian period consisted in the making of a kissing sound in recognition of the sacred character of *wakas* (shrines), mummies, *caciques*, or the Inka himself (Ibid.). In the colonial ceremony, the newly-invested *cacique* was then carried on a litter around the plaza by his political subordinates or by neighboring *caciques*.

The terminological and practical similarities that this ceremony pre-

sents across the Andes, even in regions beyond Inca control such as the Pasto Province, suggest that it was standardized by the Spaniards, using an Incaic model. The eighteenth century witnessed further transformation when the ritual bestowal of staffs of office —of European origin— was introduced (Ibid.; Rappaport 1990); here lies the derivation of the insignia received by don Manuel Nastar y Canchala in the quotation, similar to those still carried by native authorities throughout the Andes (Rappaport 1994; Rasnake). Despite the fact that this ceremony flourished under Spanish domination, its constituent elements probably resonated with Pasto tradition: ethnic lords in the Colombian Andes were processed on litters by *principales*, as Cieza de León records for what is now Antioquia (58) and Pedro de Simón describes for the Muisca (Chibcha) of the Sabana de Bogotá (391); Muisca *caciques* were also seated in "chairs of authority" (Ibid.).

The ritual of investiture thus interwove layers of Pasto, Incaic, and Spanish colonial practice. A variant was also employed by Pasto *caciques* in recognition of their Spanish *encomenderos* (ANE/Q 1723; 1727; Rappaport 1990, 17), in an ironic inversion of the chiefly ritual; the *encomendero* received a tribute grant from the Crown and the right to indigenous labor, in return for his support of the doctrinal priest in the community, among other responsibilities. Chiefly investiture therefore entailed numerous forms of "order": the public space in which it was held had been "reduced" by town planning; the precolumbian forms of authority were "ordered" within Spanish models of civil society; elements of the rituals were transferred onto the legitimization of the *encomendero*, who "reduced" the natives to civilization through the control of their productive force and support of the Christian mission; finally, the ceremony itself was then inscribed into the documentary record, it was "reduced" to writing. Like the repetitive recording of the messages of town criers into documents, the ceremony of chiefly investiture was repeatedly described in the documentation disputes over *cacicazgos*, documents which frequently covered chiefly governance for two centuries or more. Hence, the ritual became a significant feature in written communication, reminding the indigenous readers of its symbolic continuity over time.

The Pasto ceremony of chiefly investiture, unlike recorded rituals from other Andean regions, also incorporated the ceremonial exchange of weavings, specifically, *mantas* (shawls or stoles) that were laid at the feet of the newly-installed authority. Pedro de Simón records a similar practice among the precolumbian Muisca upon the selection of the heir to a chiefdom (398). The symbolic importance of weavings among the Pastos is evident from their presence in precolumbian burials (Cardale de Schrimpff 1977-78) and from the fact that they were acquired by *caciques* from status-traders (*mindalaes*) who operated under chiefly control and bolstered chiefly authority (Salomon 105). In the colonial period, native textiles were some-

times included in the wills of *caciques* (ANE/Q 1624, 87v; ANE/Q 1730, 4v-5r). In an early will from the southern portion of the Pasto area that was briefly under Inca control (ABC/I 1606, 1v), a *cacica* (female *cacique*) described an Incaic textile among her many possessions, suggesting that in the colonial order, the authority of Pasto chiefs was validated in part by Spanish recognition of their command of Incaic symbols of legitimacy (Rappaport and Cummins 1994). Here we note once again the superimposition of various cultural forms whose validation is made patent in the alphabetic record. The significance to the colonial Pastos of Andean textiles was further reconfigured as they came to represent an important form of tribute to the Spanish Crown, which annually exacted massive numbers of *mantas* from Pasto *caciques* (AGI/S 1570-71). For this reason, *mantas* were not only offered to newly-installed ethnic lords, but also to new *encomenderos*, the latter act symbolizing the *encomendero*'s crucial role in the transferral of tribute payments to the Crown and, by association, imparting a particularly colonial significance to their presence in the chiefly investiture.

In Andean society, where alphabetic, syllabic, and pictographic literacy were unknown before the Spanish invasion, weaving was an essential medium of inscription, bearing a meaning that was intimately tied into its very technology (Cardale de Schrimpff; Frame). Non-linguistic systems of inscribing narrative, such as the *khipu* or knot-record (Ascher and Ascher; Conklin; Urton), continued to be relevant even under Spanish secular and religious administration in the northern Andes, as well as in Peru (Espinoza Soriano 223-24). Thus, it is not surprising that textiles, whose symbolic load that we can only guess at among the colonial Pasto, were a meaningful addition to colonial secular ceremony.

Alphabetic literacy, however, is not the only channel through which the colonial significance of textiles was communicated. The reattribution of meaning to precolumbian iconographic motifs on painted Muisca textiles can be interpreted from the murals in the church at Sutatausa. Dating from the 1620s,these paintings depict the final events in the life of Christ (Figure Six) and a Last Judgement scene, as we have described above. Below the Last Judgment there is one of two portraits of a contemporary Andean male. On each of two sides of the arch separating the nave and choir is a portrait of one of two *caciques* and a *cacica*. A legend to the lower left of the Last Judgment provides the names of four *caciques* and *cacica*, and it can be assumed these are the individuals who appear in the murals. The three extant cacique portraits depicted them in Spanish dress, as befitted indigenous nobility in the colonial period. The *cacica*, however, is shown wearing an elaborate painted cotton *manta*, complete with complex geometric motifs (Figure Seven).

Painted cotton textiles were central to many precolumbian Muisca chiefly rituals (Simón 390) and weaving technology was one of the funda-

mental categories of knowledge that myth taught them was acquired from the deities (Ibid. 375). Muisca priests, who spent several years in seclusion in preparation for the priesthood, devoted this period of isolation to weaving and painting *mantas*, among other tasks (AGCG/R 1608-9, 49v). Colonial chronicler Pedro de Simón read Muisca iconography as indicating their prior knowledge of Christianity, since crosses were among the motifs employed (375). The notion of the prefiguration of the Christian era in the Americas was a common motif in colonial writing (Adorno 58-62), sometimes depicted through the appearance of European-like emissaries in ancient times (Hazañero 214). While crosses are not depicted in the Sutatausa *cacica*'s clothing, the Christian significance of indigenous weavings was part of the symbolic load carried by textiles in the colonial period.

FIGURE 6

FIGURE 7

Of more significance, however, is the meaning conveyed by the juxtaposition of women and men in the Sutatausa murals. The *cacica*, although wearing indigenous dress, is portrayed holding a rosary, thus marking her membership in the Christian community. The *caciques*, who wear European dress, need no such tokens of their embrace of Spanish conventions. This gendered enactment of the complex and heterogeneous nature of Muisca colonial culture is embodied in textiles, both European and indigenous (Zambrano). Thus, the use of native textiles presents a multilayered set of meanings: the memory of precolumbian symbolic motifs and ritual practices; the reattribution of meaning to weavings within a colonial system of legitimization that fostered the persistence of Incaic symbols of authority; the restructuring of hierarchical social relationships through colonial tribute payments; the recognition of the prefiguration of Christianity in textile designs; and finally, the gendered nature of colonial hybridity. These multiple significations, originating in a broad array of cultural formations, were articulated within a system that "reduced to order" oral and written communication, territorial organization, urban space, and the hearts and minds of native Andeans in overlapping and simultaneous circles of meaning that irrevocably altered northern Andean society, giving birth to a colonial reality.

Conclusion

At the beginning of this paper, we suggested that the character of the colonial social formation could not be adequately comprehended through appeals to "hybridity," "syncretism," or "acculturation." Such notions obscure the complex relationships that developed between the European and the multiple Andean concepts of space and order that were superimposed in the colonial order, forcing us to simplify the process of transculturation by building bipolar and atemporal models. As Andean territorial, political, and philosophical space was reconformed through architechtonic, legal, and religious practice, it was rearticulated within a Spanish world, engendering what we have since come to know as "Andean culture." In this process, indigenous social and ritual space was reconstituted in terms of its directionality and hierarchy, superimposed or melded with European forms, producing a new colonial sense of space and a colonial hierarchy of power upon localities. This relationship is also expressed in the wider spatial dimension of literacy, given that legal documentation was produced through a movement of scribes, witnesses, and declarants through space, both within and across indigenous jurisdictions, as well between the Americas and Spain, where some ethnic lords continued to press their demands (Guaman Poma; Rojas). The colonization of territorial, ritual, conceptual, literate, and architectonic space would ultimately colonize the native sense of history

(Mignolo), irrevocably altering knowledge of the past by lodging it within colonial ideological structures that were shared, albeit in different ways, by Spaniards and natives.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The research on which we base this paper was funded by a Senior Research Grant from the Getty Grant Program in 1995-1996, permitting us to engage in interdisciplinary discussion and interpretation. The archival documentation used in our analysis was collected by Joanne Rappaport under a Grant-in-Aid from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research in 1989 and with Designated Research Initiative Funds from the University of Maryland Baltimore County in 1990. Thanks goes to the directors of the archives consulted, especially to Grecia Vasco de Escudero, director of the Archivo Nacional del Ecuador, as well as to Rodolfo Vallín Magaña, for providing us with photos of the reconstructed murals of Sutatausa. Thanks also to Cristóbal Landázuri, director of MARKA - Instituto de Historia y Antropología Andina (Quito), and his students, for collaboration in the collection of archival materials and for the pleasure of a continuing dialogue over the past decade. We have benefitted from the commentaries of the Georgetown University Standing Seminar in History and the students in "Alphabetic and Visual Literacy in Colonial Latin America" at Georgetown University, as well as the suggestions of Quetzil Castañeda, Sara Fentress, Sabine MacCormack and Greg Spira.

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3) Facade and staircase of San Francisco, Quito, 1590.

4) Sebastiano Serlio, Architettura et Prospectiva, Bk III, 120r: Plan of the Belvedere Theatre.

5) Diego Valadés, Retorica Christiana: Franciscan teaching doctrine to the Chichimec, 1579, Perugia.

6) Last Supper mural, Sutatausa, Colombia, circa 1620.

7) Portrait of a *cacica* wearing a Muisca *manta*, Sutatausa, circa 1626.

NOTES

[1] Our use of the concept of sedimentation follows the geological sense of the word: the breaking up of rock layers and the creation of overlays of heterogeneous matter. In this sense, we are not referring to homogeneous cultural strata, but to uneven and heterogeneous ones.

[2] Similar acts were held when several communities came together on market days (AGCG/R 1611-12: 68v, 1616: 117r). In the Museo Bedón of the Convent of Santo Domingo in Quito, there is a painting of a similar semicircle of catechumens. The painting depicts a single semicircle, however, because the catechumens are angels, who have no gender.

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