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Artist and Patron in Colonial Cuzco: Workshops, Contracts, and a Petition for Independence¹

CAROL DAMIAN

The city of Cuzco, Peru, was the capital of the empire the Inca called Tawantinsuyu. The Inca had imported artists from throughout their territories to create monumental architecture, distinctive textiles, ceramics, stonework, and metal objects for personal and ritual glorification. After the Spanish conquest, the artists of Cuzco continued to produce works of art, but for a different religion and patronage. By the eighteenth century, they had achieved considerable commercial success with paintings of religious imagery tooled in elegant gold *estofado* (intricate patterns tooled on gold leaf) and bearing the imprint of an indigenous class of artisans unfamiliar with European methods of stylization (Figure 1). The Cuzco school of painting was the first school of art in the New World. It is distinguished from other areas of artistic production (Mexico, Quito, Potosí) by its unique syncretic style of painting created by indigenous and mestizo artisans and by the enormous output of its workshops.

While specifically concerned with images of the Virgin Mary, the most characteristic subject of the Cuzco school, it became clear that the assumption that the artists of Cuzco were merely "naive" and anonymous followers of European models producing "charming" paintings is absolutely false. They were superb artisans, with notability, and they had a voice in the production and sale of their works. The contracts found in the city archives make it possible both to identify them and to verify the significance of their ambitious religious and

¹ This article is concerned with the theme of independence and artist-patron relationships. It arose out of an investigation of indigenous artisans' contracts for iconographic content for a book on the syncretic art of Cuzco. Carol Damian, *The Virgin of the Andes* (Miami Beach: Grassfield Press, 1995).

Figure 1



Virgin of Bethlehem, anonymous, Cuzco, 18th century, Banco de Credito, Lima

commercial enterprise. They also reveal more than mere lists of artistic participants and projects.² The archival documents expose social relationships and the unique character of Cuzco artists who rose above Spanish domination to assert their independence and capitalize commercially on their talents.

Grand-scale artistic production began in Cuzco after the earthquake of 1650 destroyed much of the Spanish city and its churches. As a testament to Inca architectural engineering, the foundations of the Inca city remained. The rebuilding of the city of Cuzco, utilizing rather than destroying the ancient foundations, provided an opportunity for Spanish, native, and mestizo artisans to participate in the reconstruction effort, forming active workshops and guilds that set standards for everything from carpentry and gold and silver decoration to painting large-scale church murals and ceilings and small-scale canvases.

While it may easily be surmised that the majority of the artists who produced paintings and contributed to the building of the Spanish city of Cuzco in the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries were indigenous because of the isolated location of the city, it should not be assumed that these artisans were so unimportant as to remain unidentified. Information on the organization of painters and other artists into workshops and on the production of works of art for the patrons of the city of Cuzco and its environs can be derived from notarial contracts in the historic archives of the city. The contracts have their limitations and frequently omit mention of the indigenous artists, referred to as *indios* in the documents, but do provide the names of artists and the subject and quantity of artworks produced for a variety of patrons. Assuming that the works were completed satisfactorily, the contracts assist in identifying the production of the artists and, more significantly, in naming the artists and, in many of the records, their parishes as well. This information contradicts the generally accepted idea that, for all the artistic activity in Cuzco, few well-known or identifiable artists emerged. By listing the artists by parish, by patron served, and by subject of production, it was possible to trace and locate many of their works, and, by creating a log of their contracts on a yearly basis, to

² Jorge Cornejo Bouroncle has compiled the most complete list of documents regarding artistic production in his "Arte cuzqueño," *Revista del archivo histórico de Cuzco* 2 (1951):270-97; 3 (1952):66-140; 4 (1953):174-210; 5 (1954):49-97.

draw conclusions regarding the quantity of production over a period of time (1600-1760, the most significant years of Cuzco artistry) and to present new information regarding the status of the indigenous population of artists. (For a list of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century indigenous artists of Cuzco, see Figures 2 and 3.)

The notarial records of the city from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries cite numerous contracts between artisans and patrons, naming both Spanish/mestizos and *indios* as *maestros* (foreman or head artist in the workshop) and painters who were occupied with the decoration of the city's churches as well as with requests of private patrons.³

The majority of the archival materials related to the artisans of Cuzco are from the seventeenth century, a period of significant artistic production in the city. These include references to the painters, sculptors, and *ensabladores* (assemblers of altarpieces) working together to create monumental church altars as well as references to artists working for single-patron commissions.

There are only a few archival references to indigenous artisans in the sixteenth century. In fact, few records exist of contracts for painters before 1600, and none before 1560. The artists working in the building of the cathedral, certainly a project of great importance in the early years after the conquest, were the most cited. There is an early notice of an indigenous artist in 1560, when Juan Tomás Tuyrotopa, master gilder and sculptor, was hired to work in the church of Santa Ana. In 1572, evidence of indigenous participation can be found when Viceroy Toledo sent the king four hand-painted cloths to show him to

³ There is frequently the designation "*naturale*" after both Spanish and Indian names. This refers to people born in a particular place, as in the city of Cuzco and its environs specifically, and could apply to Spanish, mestizo, or Indian. There is no way to distinguish between artists of Spanish birth in the New World in the notarial records. The designation "*naturale*" is inconsistent and does not occur on a regular basis or refer to every artist born in the New World. It is a distinction made with the *maestros* and with the workers alike. There would be no way to surmise that if *naturale* did not appear it would mean that the artist was of Spanish birth and temporary residence, rather than a permanent resident of a New World location.

Figure 2

**SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY INDIGENOUS
ARTISTS OF CUZCO**

(Artists' names derived from contractual documents
and research in the Archivos Históricos de Cuzco)

Francisco Aima	Lorenzo Machucama
Miguel Alinay	Diego Martinez de Ovieda
Esteban Arias	Don Felipe de Mesa
Juan Bautista Caceres	Juan Nicolas
Julian Calderán	Pedro Nolasco
Diego Callaimara	Juan de Dios Pacheco
Juan Toma Camosatan	Cristobal Paucar
Bartolomé Chalco Sutig	Francisco Paucar Inga
Antonio Chaquivi	Juan Paucer
Juan Chaquivi	Juan Pilis
Andres Chichuantito	Pedro Pizarro
Pedro Chichuantito	Guaman Poma de Ayala
Diego Felipe Catac	Andres Quispe
Antonio de la Cruz	Bartolome Guaman Quispe
Juan Diego Cusi huaman	Juan Quispe Guaman
Francisco Flores	Juan Quispe Naupi
Diego Gabriel	Lorenzo Sanchez Palaque
Lorenzo Garcia	Pascual Quispe Topa
Mauricio Garcia	Juan Tamos
Pedro Gonzalez Villaba	Juan Inca Raurahua
Francisco Gualpa Mayta	Salvador Sandoval
Juan Guaman Puma	Miguel Saqui
Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala	Basilio de Santa Cruz
Martin Guari Paucar	Pumacallao
Pedro Gutierrez	Antonio Sinchi Roca
Deigo Huallpa	Juan Sinchi Roca
Miguel Huallpa	Luis Tito
Pedro Huallpa	Andres Juan Tupa
Andres Huaman	Mateo Tuiro Tupa
Francisco Huaman Rimachi	Juan Tomas Tuiro Tupac
Isidro Fernandez Inga	Juan Tupaqcana
Don Fernando Inga	Diego Uscamayta
Bernabé Nina Inga	Jose Uscamayta
Juan Zapata Inga	Juan Uscamayta
Simon Inga	Lucas Vilcas
Lucas Llauli	Alonso Yunca
Martin de Loayza	Cristobal Yunca
Pedro de Loayza	

Figure 3

**EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY INDIGENOUS
ARTISTS OF CUZCO**

(Artists' names derived from contractual documents
and research in the Archivos Históricos de Cuzco)

Melchor Arias Pacheco
Sebastian Brillante
Marcos de Cacaes
Pablo Chille Tupa
Diego Francisco de Aranciba
Jose Gamarra
Felipe Garcia
Sebastian Guaman
Melchor Guaman Mayta
Tomas Lara
Juan Mamani Espinoza
Juan Maras Mayta
Felipe de Mesa
Blas Munoz del Barco
Agustin de Navamuel
Alonso Nina
Pedro Nolasco Pabon, Viejo
Pedro Nolasco Pabon, Hijo
Alejandro de Orduña
Antonio Pabon
Basilio Pacheco
Tomas Pascasio Plano
Juan Quispe
Sebastian Quispe Brillante
Tomas Quispe Rivero

Diego Quispe Tito
Martin Quispe Tupac
Lorenzo Quispe Uscamaita
Lorenzo Sanchez
Gabriel Rincon
Jacinto Sanchez
Melchor Saldana
Pedro Saldana
Blas Sutec Uscamaita
Blas Tupac Amaru
Tomas de Uribiarte
Francisco Valencia
Gaspar Valencia
Martin de Valencia
Guillermo del Valle
Jusepe Vazquez
Antonio Vilca
Marcos Zapata

what extent the Indians had advanced in painting, and even proposed sending native painters to Spain.⁴

The records of 1600-1760 distinguish between *maestros* and *indios* (a few of whom may also be *maestros*, but are listed in the back of the folios in the *indios* section or with the distinction *indio* after their name in the main body of documents). The distinction between *maestro* and *indio* is an important characteristic of labor relations in the colonial world. Even when an Indian had achieved the success of a *maestro* (and a few of them did), he was always distinguished as *indio* as well. When an Indian *maestro* was contracted, the designation of race preempted the status of accomplishment.

For example, in one period of considerable artistic production (1650-1685), the records indicate that in the year 1650, twenty-three Spanish *maestros* and twenty-five *indio* artists were contracted; between 1651 and 1685, sixty-three contracts for Spanish artists were registered and forty-seven for *indios*, but only seven *maestros indios*.⁵ All of these contracts record the names of the artists in addition to providing specific details about their aesthetic production and subject matter. (For a compilation of contracts, see Figure 4.)

In fact, many of the artisans working in Cuzco in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did not sign their works. Most indigenous artisans did not read or write and were not accustomed to adding signatures to their works. In other cases, even those who could sign their works were not permitted to do so if the quality of the finished work did not meet the satisfaction of the patron or of the *maestro*. It should also be noted that after three hundred years, dust has covered many of the signatures, and restorers frequently painted di-

⁴ Robert D. Wood, *Teach Them Good Customs: Colonial Indian Education and Acculturation in the Andes* (Culver City: Labyrinthos, 1986), 107. More information on the paintings sent to the king of Spain, which included Inca portraits and histories, may be found in Enrique Marco Dorta, "Las pinturas que envié y traje a España don Francisco de Toledo," *Historia y cultura* 9 (1975):67-78. Arthur Franklin Zimmerman, *Francisco de Toledo, Fifth Viceroy of Peru, 1569-1581* (Caldwell: The Caxton Printers, 1938) also describes these works.

⁵ Each painter could have contracted for as many as forty to fifty paintings or other forms of painted decoration, and all of them worked in workshops with numerous assistants.

Figure 4

NOTARIAL CONTRACTS FOR ARTISANS IN CUZCO
(from the Archivos Históricos de Cuzco)

	<i>Maestros</i>	<i>Indios</i>	<i>Maestro/Indio</i>
1650	23	25	
1657	11	2	
1658	3		
1659	3	1	
1660	7	1	
1661	1		
1662	5		
1663	7	6	
1664	4	1	1
1665	3	1	
1666	4		
1667	4	1	1
1668	4	7	
1669	5		
1670	1	1	
1671	4		1
1676	1		
1677	2		
1678	1		
1679	1	3	
1680	4	5	
1683	2	1	
1685	5		
1686	2		

	<i>Maestros</i>	<i>Indios</i>	<i>Maestro/Indio</i>
1687	3		
1688	1	1	
1690	3	1	
1691	1	1	
1692	1	1	
1693	2	3	
1694	3	2	
1695	4	1	
1696	1		
1697	3		
1698	6	4	
1699	1	3	1
1700	2	2	
1701	1	6	
1702		3	
1704	2	1	
1707		1	
1708	1	2	
1709		1	
1712		2	
1713	2		
1714		2	
1717		1	
1718	1		
1740		3	
1754	2	2	

rectly over them.⁶ In any case, signing paintings was not common in this era, even in Europe.

It is possible that the artists themselves rarely sought formal recognition for their work. They came from an Inca tradition where laborers, artisans, and craftsmen were brought to work as part of a system of taxation or tribute for the service of the Inca nobility and the republic. In the words of Father Bernabé Cobo: "The taxpayers came to these jobs by turns or *mita* [rotating service in obligation to the state]...when each person was called; and they all took part in the occupations and chores that the Inca and his governors assigned to them...."⁷ Those who were independent from their *ayllu* (tribal group) and tribute obligations also worked in the service of the Inca empire. They were described as *yanacona* (anonymous employees who were free to travel to various projects). In short, Inca artisans and laborers were accustomed to collective projects. According to Cobo:

It must be pointed out here that these artisans who with study learned and practiced these occupations were not ordinary craftsmen who did business with anyone willing to pay for their services, as our craftsmen do; they worked only in the service of the Inca and the great lords and *caciques* [traditional Indian nobles and chieftains who became mayors of parish communities under the Spanish], doing their works exclusively for them....⁸

The Spanish took advantage of these ready-made labor structures for the implementation of their vast building projects. The indigenous people were the dominant force in the labor and artisan sector. The Spanish settlers in Cuzco (as in all of the New World) were in the minority. Busy with the difficulties of adjustment to a totally

⁶ Cornejo Bouroncle, "Arte cuzqueño," 2:270.

⁷ Bernabé Cobo, *History of the Inca Empire: An Account of Indians' Customs and Their Origin, Together with a Treatise on Inca Legends, History, and Social Institutions*, trans. and ed. Roland Hamilton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), 231.

⁸ Bernabé Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, trans. and ed. Roland Hamilton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 239.

strange environment, they depended on indigenous workers to do the menial tasks. Furthermore, the Spanish were described as a "society which disdained trade and industrial pursuits,"⁹ so the indigenous peoples were the obvious source of manual labor. The Spanish were the directors—the *maestros*. While to work in any trade amounted to an admission of humble birth for a Spaniard, the opportunity to become a *maestro*, which was possible in the New World, represented a respected position and status in the community. In Peru, the formidable development of Spanish commerce in the conquest period left a wide field of action for the numerous groups of Spanish artisans who could enjoy an elevated status above that of their indigenous counterparts and assistants. The majority of these Spanish artisans were tailors, shoemakers, and producers of clothing. The remainder were from a list as varied as barbers, ironsmiths, muleteers, and carpenters. In the fine arts, they included the painters, *ensabladores*, sculptors, and *doradores* (gilders).

It appears that Spanish artisans, if not artists, were quite commonplace in Peru from the early years of the conquest.¹⁰ However, few of them were involved in the actual painting, sculpture, and architecture, but worked as directors and, in the difficult early days of colonization, few stayed after their original commissions expired, unless they were very successful. The number of confirmed cases of renowned artists emigrating to the colonies from Spain or Europe is small in proportion to the demand for the production of art. "In the various memoirs, treatises, and contracts which remain from the colonial period, there is little mention of artists or art works going to

⁹ Clarence Henry Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1963), 241.

¹⁰ Research done by James Lockhart "resulted in a list of over 800 Spanish artisans who were in Peru between 1532-1560.... Needless to say, the list of 800 artisans is far from complete.... [I]t seems conservative to estimate that there were at least three times 800, or about 2,500, artisans in Peru during the period 1532-60. This is to be compared with a total Spanish population which a few would imagine to have exceeded 10,000 before 1560, with a possible maximum of 20,000 Spaniards...through the whole period." James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru 1532-1560: A Colonial Society* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 96-97.

America."¹¹ While there must have been a significant amount of prints and paintings from Europe to be used as models and artists to direct their copying, little contractual evidence or cargo registry is available. Furthermore, the isolation of Cuzco may have prevented travel of the same frequency as there was to Mexico City and Lima. Artisans (painters, sculptors, and architects) involved in the decoration of the churches are included in colonial procedures regarding craftsmen, artisans, and laborers. The workers were completely regulated by Seville under the *Casa de Contratación*, established in 1503 for the superintendence of commercial matters in the New World, and the *Real y Supremo Consejo de las Indias* (Council of the Indies) that dated from a decree of Emperor Charles V on 1 August 1524.¹² Regarding those who came specifically to build and decorate the churches, it may be surmised that they were obligated to the crown on a contractual basis under these regulations or to a particular religious order (the earliest superintendents of the artistic guilds). Upon completion of their work, they were free to return to Spain, which many of them did. Painters were able to leave their projects, complete or incomplete, because the indigenous artisans were capable of following drawings and graphic illustrations that were used to serve as a guide. In other words, the vast amount of artistic production must have been done by the indigenous people under the direction of a few artists and the missionary priests.

¹¹ Pál Kelemen, *Baroque and Rococo in Latin America* (New York: Macmillan, 1951), 20. There is very little information about artists from Spain who emigrated to the New World. A number of entries can be found in Emmanuel Benezit, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs de tous les temps et de tous les pays*, 10 vols. (Paris: Grond, 1976), but it lists only names and does not indicate the production, arrival, or departure dates. See also Duncan Kinkead, "Juan de Luzón and the Sevillian Painting Trade with the New World in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century," *Art Bulletin* 66 (1984):303-10.

¹² A description of these Spanish administrative systems as related to labor and industry may be found in numerous sources on colonial Latin America, including Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America*; Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*; and Ernst Schäfer, *El consejo real y supremo de las Indias: su historia, organización y labor administrativa hasta la terminación de la casa de Austria*, 2 vols. (Seville: Imprenta M. Carmona, 1935-1947). Among the responsibilities of the *consejo* (council of administration) was the regulation of labor of both the Indians and Spaniards under the auspices of the municipal *cabildos* (corporations for local administration). The *cabildos* were governed by elaborate ordinances requiring the confirmation of the viceroy or king, and controlled every aspect of labor and industry, including the guilds.

As the years passed, new opportunities and a more settled existence brought a significant change in this pattern; more artists arrived in Peru and the successful artisans remained. The less successful probably left, still able to return to Spain with new respect and money. Success in the viceroyalty translated into commercial contracts and commissions and the opportunity to continue a career with economic benefits. The difficulty of life in the New World did little to compensate for the effort to compete. However, the money received was perhaps more than the same struggling artists would have received in Europe (and if they were famous, they would have had little incentive to travel to and remain in Peru). For this reason, by the seventeenth century the proportion of Spanish artists actually decreased. Also, if an artisan prospered and chose to remain, he would buy black and Indian slaves to increase his productivity. If possible, he bought artisans who were already trained. For the production of the fine arts of painting, gilding, and sculpting in the city of Cuzco, there were the descendants of the highly accomplished Inca artisans to choose from, a situation which contributed greatly to the unique quality of artistic objects created there. Many references make it clear that Spanish artisans themselves continued active personal work in their shops, but their role as foremen and trainers was equally if not more important.¹³

The continued growth and success of artistic enterprise necessitated the increased participation of the native peoples and the organization of their production in *gremios* (workshops) or guilds. The initial organization of artisans by the Spaniards under such arrangements for the purpose of decorating the churches came with the missionaries in the middle of the sixteenth century. Because of the lack of notarial records for the period before 1560 in Cuzco, it is impossible to examine independent commercial artistic activity before that date. Nevertheless, in the early days of colonization, church decoration gained great importance.

Artisan guilds were most likely formed around organizations already established in certain sectors of the city that had been designated by the Inca for specific commercial and artisan activities in

¹³ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 95.

pre-Hispanic times.¹⁴ The artisans in these sectors simply continued to produce for the Spanish administrators. To this day, there are areas of Cuzco—San Blas, and the Calle Plateros along the River Saphi in particular—which are said to have maintained their position as artisan sectors from Inca times. Specialized artisans organized throughout the city of Cuzco were an integral part of the cultural and ritual life of the native peoples, and it is not surprising that the Spanish were quick to recognize their skills. Under Spanish administration, these artisans were reorganized and controlled by the municipal administrators of the *cabildo* and their ordinances, legislated in Spain.¹⁵ These ordinances endeavored to establish an equilibrium between the conditions of labor, the interests of the consumer, and the claims of the royal exchequer.¹⁶ In general, the *cabildos* regulated mercantile organizations, stores, exportation products, rudimentary labor codes, etc.

In this early period of Spanish administration in Cuzco, there was no explicit legislation governing the procedure of organization or production of artistic objects. Regulations implemented by Viceroy Toledo in 1571 refer only to stores and ovens, not specifically to artisans. Early regulations by the *cabildo* make little mention of organized artisan guilds. Only one early document refers to the organization of a guild for *plateros* (silverworkers).¹⁷ However, the strictness of *cabildo* regulation and its ultimate control over the artisan guilds may be inferred from a document of 1573 which orders the architect Juan de Zamora to "put order in his works and buildings...and henceforth to make nothing new which is not inspected first."¹⁸ The *cabildo* was responsible for the hierarchical work structure within the guilds and its products. Quality was ensured by periodic inspections of workshops, and *cabildo* administrators assisted with examinations and issued licenses.¹⁹ The *cabildo* oversaw a system of labor administra-

¹⁴ Garcilaso de la Vega, "El Inca," describes the wards of the city and artisan sectors in *Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru*, trans. Harold V. Livermore, 2 vols. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966), 1:426.

¹⁵ See Schäfer, *El consejo real y supremo*, vol. 1.

¹⁶ Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America*, 252.

¹⁷ Ramón Gutiérrez, "Notas sobre organización artesanal en el Cuzco durante la colonia," *Histórica* 3, no. 1 (1979):2.

¹⁸ Jorge Cornejo Bouroncle, *Derroteros de arte cuzqueño: datos para una historia del arte en el Peru* (Cuzco: Ediciones Inca, 1960), 324.

¹⁹ Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America*, 253.

tion and control based on the European guild system imposed on already existing native artisan organizations. This imposition of the European over the native workshop/guild system, coupled with the imposition of the Christian over the native system of visual representation and ritual iconography, led to difficulties at numerous levels and the eventual dissolution of the Spanish-indigenous artisan guild in 1688.

The European guild system involved a graduated program of instruction beginning at the rank of apprentice and continuing through that of journeyman to the rank of master or employer-entrepreneur. This overall system applied to the training of artisans. Admittance to the highest grade depended upon the production of a "masterpiece," and membership in the guilds was jealously limited. Members of the guild were required to pass an examination in figure drawing, in classical interpretation, and in perspective.²⁰ In the New World, individuals classified as Indians, negroes, mulattoes, and, in some of the guilds, mestizos, were rarely allowed to attain the rank of master with its lucrative rewards, although they constituted the bulk of the journeymen. Despite the high quality of their work, praised in numerous accounts by Spanish observers, native artisans were seldom given adequate credit or recognition by their patrons, who did not recognize their contributions in wills and donations which document the works of art bequeathed by title only. For this reason, the works produced by native hands are almost always considered to be anonymous. Certainly one of the motives for the exclusion of Indians from membership in the guilds beyond the lowest level was fear of native competition, both in skills and in prices in an open market. If they were allowed the same training beyond rudimentary techniques, they would be a threat. Denied this training, they would never acquire the skills to pass the examinations and to rise through the ranks. The guilds, therefore, worked as organizations of social control.²¹

²⁰ Teresa Gisbert, "Andean Painting," in *Gloria in Excelsis*, exhibition catalog, (New York: Center for International Relations, 1985), 26.

²¹ This same situation existed in Europe where women were not allowed membership and therefore could not achieve the same level of technical skill as male artists, especially during the Renaissance when complex compositional arrangements demanded the knowledge of the latest treatises and theories. This situation effectively closed the doors to women's participation in the great artistic achievements of the Renaissance and the following centuries.

In Cuzco, guilds were probably first organized in the seventeenth century according to medieval European custom and were associated with religious societies called *cofradías* (confraternities or brotherhoods; ritual lay organizations comprised of members of parishes including the native peoples in their parishes). These societies were associated with a particular church. With its chaplain and elected officers from the lay brotherhood, the *cofradía* took care of the spiritual interests of the members, provided for the material necessities of festivals and other activities, and frequently was charged with the decoration of the church or its chapels within. The philanthropic *cofradía* was also a business organization. One of its responsibilities was to act as the actual administrator of guilds formed for the specific purpose of decorating the church and its festival objects.²² The guilds played a principal role in public celebrations, processions, and feast days for patron saints. They created the statuary, decorative ornaments, processional litters, and paintings displayed during such events.

As a parish community grew in size and complexity, the *cofradías* were not the only supporters of artisan guilds. An increased demand for construction of domestic and administrative buildings and their decoration, as well as art for commercial enterprise and for private consumption by the Spanish and mestizo patrons of Cuzco, also required numerous artisans. The guild system associated with and controlled by the *cofradías* had to be expanded outside of their domain to serve the public sector. Artists could work for both the *cofradía* and their own guild, dedicating a certain portion of their work to each. No doubt, with the increased commercialization and popularity of the art of Cuzco, the *cofradía* workshops found it increasingly difficult to compete with the guilds which were independent of the church. These guilds demanded greater production and, at the same time, offered greater material rewards.

Unfortunately, there is no documentation to explain the intricate workings of either the *cofradía* guilds or their independent counterparts. However, the increased number of contracts of independent artists hired by *cofradías* attests to the necessity of employing artists from outside workshops because of the failure of the *cofradías* to meet these requirements from within. It may be surmised from such evidence that by the end of the sixteenth century the *cofradía* guilds in the period

²² Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America*, 252.

of early colonization and evangelization were replaced as the major producers of Cuzco art by independent artists' guilds under the jurisdiction of the *cabildos*.

Cabildo ordinances frequently included the rudiments of a labor code that allegedly protected the interests of the workmen.²³ But it is doubtful that the system was equal for Spaniards, natives, negroes, mulattoes, and mestizos. Within the archival records there are numerous accounts of complaints, abuse, dissatisfaction, and what we would today consider discrimination.

The inequality of the guild system was affirmed by an extremely important event that occurred from 1677 to 1688. A document in the historic archives of Cuzco, dated 1677 and entered into court procedure in 1688, records the petition of eight Spanish master painters responding to complaints by the Indian artisans. The Indians had apparently (no document could be located with this complaint) requested to separate from the Spanish workshop commissioned with the project of painting a triumphal arch for the Corpus Christi procession, one of the most important and spectacular religious events in the city. The indigenous artists must have complained to the authorities that the Spanish painters were treating them poorly and violently. The Spanish described the Indians as drunken and malicious and said they had been accused falsely of mistreating them. "They have not offered proof of that which they have said of us and so they should be corrected and reprimanded severely and they have moved away and left us to our duties but discredited...."²⁴

At the end of the seventeenth century, after one hundred years of "training" in the churches and guilds of the city, the native and mestizo artists separated from their Spanish masters and established their own workshops with commercial independence. José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, the authors of the definitive book on the history of Cuzco art, see this event of 1688 as the official birth of the true school

²³ *Ibid.*, 253.

²⁴ Documento solicitado, escribano Losanos, 1687-1688, Archivos Históricos de Cuzco (hereinafter cited as AHC), Protocolos Notariales. See also Horacio Villanueva Urteaga, "Nacimiento de la escuela cuzqueño de pintura," *Bulletin of the Departmental Archives* 1 (October 1985). The writer is grateful to Roberto Caceres Olivera for assisting in the location of this document which was not in the available archival papers. See Appendix for author's translation of this document.

of Cuzco painting.²⁵ There must have been considerable dissension after the initial petition that led to the virtual separation of the Spanish and indigenous artists. In 1704, the guild of Spanish painters petitioned the authorities to bar anyone from painting who had not passed the examination required by the guilds, "a clear indication that the Indian masters were not following the rules prescribed by the Europeans."²⁶ By the end of the seventeenth century, the painters who had separated themselves from the guild lost contact with European developments and sought inspiration in their own taste and tradition.²⁷ Theirs became an art that expressed a new visual language devoid of Spanish aesthetic requirements and dictatorial constraints. Recorded documents decreased significantly after 1688 as the indigenous artists obviously sought new patrons outside of Spanish administrative procedures. Their commercial success is evident in the vast quantities of works produced and distributed throughout the viceroyalty.

Between 1650 and 1750, a total of 242 notarial contracts were filed in the city of Cuzco, citing sculptors, painters, gilders, and assemblers. These artisans frequently worked together to complete church commissions for interior decoration which included *retablos* (alterpieces) containing at least one painting, but frequently twelve or more.²⁸ Typically, contracts identify artists and patrons and their legal responsibilities. In their descriptions of prices, they provide insights into the economic relationships between Spanish and indigenous. By identifying the ethnic origins of patrons and artists, they also reveal elements of the social structure of colonial Cuzco. The Spaniards were not the only patrons. The artists were not only Indians. There are contracts between Spanish patrons and Spanish artists; Spanish patrons and Indian artists; Indian patrons and Indian artists; and Indian patrons and Spanish artists. Not surprisingly, surviving contracts between

²⁵ José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 2 vols. (Lima: Fundación Augusto N. Wiese, 1982), 1:137.

²⁶ Gisbert, "Andean Painting," 26; Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 1:137.

²⁷ Gisbert, "Andean Painting," 27.

²⁸ Of these 242 contracts, four indicate Spanish artisans commissioned by Indians; 139 were for Indian artisans commissioned by Spaniards; twenty-five involved Indians commissioned by Indians; and seventy-four Spanish artists for Spanish patrons. 1650-1750, AHC, Protocolos Notariales.

Indian patrons and Spanish artists between 1650 and 1750 were few in number (four).

Through the contracts, the artists, even the indigenous artists responsible for the distinctive nature of the Cuzco school, become identifiable individuals who took an active part in the economic, social, and religious events of Cuzco. It was their role in the cultural life of Cuzco that encouraged the production of art of such distinction and relevance to the community, on numerous levels. They satisfied the economic demands of patrons, both Spanish and indigenous, who were frequently interested in the work for their own commercial gain. They interacted socially as members of a guild and/or *cofradía* with their fellow native and Spanish artisans and eventually produced and sold their work independently.

Paintings afforded remarkable new opportunities for economic, social, and religious integration. By apparently limiting the choice of subject and its stylistic rendering to religious subjects such as the Virgin Mary, Christ, and the archangels, the native artist of Cuzco worked within a system which was easily understood by his native audience to refer to their nature deities and less easily misinterpreted by his Spanish directors who considered the works to be of Christian imagery. Both responded to the works of art according to their own personal beliefs and experiences. Both recognized paintings of exceptional aesthetic significance and consistency. This is the syncretic nature of the art characteristic of the school of Cuzco.

On the surface, the stylistic and iconographic consistency of the paintings done by the artists of Cuzco indicate they must have been carefully regulated and controlled by their patrons and the dictates of the church of Spain concerning religious artistic expression and iconography. At the same time, it is also evident that the artists enjoyed a considerable amount of freedom in the incorporation of certain iconographic details in the works, especially Andean details. No strict regulation of their production, stylistically or iconographically, is apparent beyond the broad definitions of subject established by European models presented by the priests. The iconographic conventions respected by the religious directors in Peru no doubt followed European guidelines.

In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe, iconographic and stylistic guidelines established by the Council of Trent²⁹ encouraged the use of spiritual imagery for the propagation of the faith. In the New World, the Councils of Lima reinforced these European directives.³⁰ Interestingly, while the artists of Cuzco were allegedly under the directives of these councils, records in Cuzco do not reflect contractual obligations regarding content or iconographic description. The private and commercial patrons were apparently more impressed with such superficial qualities as decorative detail, amount of gold, sweetness of expression, or recognizability in the background or landscape.³¹ The contracts are very specific in their requirements regarding quality and in stating that payment was to be made only after complete satisfaction; they do not explicitly specify iconographic content. This applied to all the artists—Spanish, mestizo, and Indian. For example, in a contract of 1698,

Don Antonio Sinchi Roca Inga and Don Bernabe Niña contracted with Don Juan Sicos, a merchant of this city, to paint and gild five paintings: Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception; The Blessed Trinity; two Angels and Our Lady of Andestar. They were to be resplendent, beautiful, of perfection and decorated with gold. The artists would not be paid until the merchant was satisfied.³²

²⁹ The Nineteenth Ecumenical Council opened in Trent, Italy, on 13 December 1545 and closed there on 4 December 1563 after meeting in twenty-five sessions. The council's objective was the order and clarification of Catholic doctrine and legislation for a thorough reform of the church. It included directives on sacred imagery. *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 17 vols. (New York: McGraw Hill, 1967-1979), 14:271.

³⁰ Before the disciplinary decrees of the Council of Trent went into effect in the Indies, four provincial councils were held in America, two in Spain and two in Peru. The two councils of Lima were convoked in 1551 and 1556. The Third Council of Lima was convoked in 1582 and enforced Tridentine discipline. Its decrees were approved by 1589. *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 8:468.

³¹ See Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972) for similar contractual obligations regarding aesthetic valuations in Renaissance Italy.

³² Escribano Nicolas de Soto, 1698, AHC, Protocolos Notariales, fol. 575.

While none of the contracts reviewed specified the iconographic content, there were nevertheless "rules" established by the church. Artists studied models in books and paintings distributed by the priests for this express purpose rather than conforming to the written obligations of a contract. This may have given the artists a certain amount of liberty in both the expression or style as well as the incorporation of iconographic details within the generalized framework of the composition set forth in the models. The following contract illustrates this point: "In 1740, Felipe Sicos, Mayor of the Parish of San Cristobal, contracted with Felipe de Mesa, Master Painter, to paint canvases small and grand following prints (*estampas*) which were given to him."³³ There is no provision regarding the exact copying of the prints or for the right of the patron to withhold payment if the artist failed to comply.

It is clear from the contracts that by the seventeenth century, the production of works in Cuzco was for the purpose of commercial enterprise as well as religious evangelization, a situation which would further encourage artistic freedom for the artists from religious directives and the consequent implementation by the native artists of their own essential iconography within official production. After the earthquake of 1650, the amount of contracts for both the Spanish and Indian artists increased dramatically. In fact, in the year 1650, there were twenty-three contracts registered for the *maestros* (who were Spanish or mestizo) and twenty-five for the *indios* (some of whom were also *maestros*). The next fifty years indicate increased participation on the part of indigenous artists in direct competition with Spanish and mestizos and working in workshops under Spanish, mestizo, and Indian directors. The commercial appeal of the paintings expanded patronship outside of the city of Cuzco.

The paintings were distributed throughout the viceroyalty but, judging from the remarkable amount of art in the possession of the private citizens of the city and its environs, were held in particularly high esteem by the people of Cuzco. The documents of the city archives contain long inventories in the testaments of wills and sales of estates which list a tremendous quantity of paintings and artworks among the usual domestic possessions, especially in the haciendas. While the lists do not distinguish the provenance of the works, it is safe

³³ Cornejo Bouroncle, "Arte cuzqueño," 2:284.

to assume that the majority of them came from local production. One list for a will, from the estate of Don Andres Flores de Guzman in 1650, listed a total of thirty-two paintings with such descriptions as "6 *laminas dorados* [gilded paintings];" "3 *pequeña dorados* [small gilded paintings];" "1 *lamina de Sr. Cristo con choncholo dorado* [Christ with frame of gold];" "1 *San José*;" "1 *Immaculada Concepción*," etc.³⁴ Another representative example from these lists is an inventory from the sale of an estate by a rich widow in 1739 that included silver; jewelry; mirrors; clothing; *mantillas* (head shawls); a *retablita* (small altarpiece); six paintings with gold of various subjects; and thirty-two paintings of various descriptions, some with gold frames, some with gilding, etc. The objects were given to a chapel in the widow's name for the Cofraternity of the Immaculate Conception at the Convent of Santa Clara.³⁵ As in the contracts signed between artist and patron, these do not give specific information regarding content, nor do they name the artists, but they do attest to the importance of artistic enterprise in the city. By the eighteenth century, the contracts indicate a decline in the number of Spanish and mestizo masters and an increase in contracts for the *indios* as masters and artists, painting large quantities of work for each contract. Undoubtedly, the commercial success of the newly independent indigenous artisans and the quality of their work account for this increase and for the demise of the Spanish studios.

There are numerous examples of contracts that demanded a great quantity of works from master artists and their workshops. One such contract was drawn up in 1754

...between the painter Mauricio Garcia y Delgado and a dealer in works of religious art, Don Miguel Blanco, for 52 paintings 2 varas wide and a half a vara high; 64 to follow, and 96 more of varying sizes within a three month period. The prices, including the cost of the canvas, were: 20 reales for each of the first 52; 10 reales for each of the next 64, and for the remainder of

³⁴ 1750, AHC, Intendencias, legajo 3.

³⁵ 1739, AHC, Corregimientos, fol. 13, no. 32.

the 96 that made up 8 dozen, 8 pesos, 4 reales the dozen.³⁶

The prevalence of such contracts confirms the commercial value of the Cuzco paintings and the role of the artist within the city's economic sector. As prosperous members of the economic community, the successful native artists could assume roles of great influence hitherto inaccessible to mere manual laborers or craftsmen. Their negotiations provide further information about the art scene in Cuzco and the artist as businessman.

The fact that the contracts reveal such relationships as Indian patrons commissioning Spanish artisans says something very interesting about the social situation in colonial Cuzco and the economic status of those who must have been the descendants of Inca nobility. They were hardly the poor downtrodden and oppressed victims of conquest. Rather, they assumed a new degree of importance as liaisons with the Spanish and complicit merchants of the Spanish commercial system. The *caciques* were especially successful as merchants and administrators, more frequently for their own advantage than for that of their people. They were the most rapid converts to Christianity because they realized that cooperation could bring them economic and social success. In the area of Cuzco, *caciques* exercised considerable power.

The economic power of a *cacique* is demonstrated in one contract which describes the commission of a Spanish painter:

In 1663, Francisco Serrano, Master Painter, resident of Cuzco, was commissioned by Juan Choquitopa, the *cacique* of the village of Tinta and head steward of the confraternity of its church, to paint eleven paintings of the Life of Christ. Three of the paintings were to be of great height, three to be of medium size. They were to be painted of the best materials and colors and com-

³⁶ Cornejo Bouroncle, "Arte cuzqueño," 2:259; Felipe Cossio del Pomar, *Arte del Perú colonial* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1958), 158. Cossio del Pomar also asserts, without noting sources, that during the colonial period more than ten thousand pictures were exported from Cuzco.

pleted within four months of the contract date. The price upon completion was 25 pesos each painting.³⁷

Another contract reflects the economic power of the *caciques* of the *ayllus* of San Sebastian, Sucso, Aucaylli, Ayarmarco, and Yanacona who negotiated together in 1718 to commission the master Indian painter and *ensamblador* Diego Martinez de Oviedo to create the main altar (*altar mayor*) for the church of San Sebastian.³⁸ The altar (one of the most splendid in Cuzco) was the responsibility of Indian artisans for Indian leaders in an Indian parish.

What the contracts reveal is that as the seventeenth century progressed into the eighteenth century, there was some diversity in artist-patron relations. Moreover, they show that Indian artists progressively gained greater recognition, accepting commissions for numerous works. The very volume of contracts and the works contracted indicate the presence of many workshops with numerous employees. For example,

Don Marcos Zapata [a well-known indigenous painter] contracted with Don Diego de Barrio de Mendoza in Cuzco in 1755 for fifty or more paintings of the Litany of the Virgin Mary for the middle arch of the Cathedral, in a manner fitting for the ambience of the interior and in proper manner with total care and proficiency with colors to satisfy Don Diego.³⁹

This contract reveals a number of facts about artistic negotiations. The indigenous artisans were organized in workshops capable of producing quantities of work, and the work was held in high enough regard to be commissioned by the Spanish community, of which Don Diego de Barrio de Mendoza was a member. As was common, the

³⁷ Escribano M. López de Paredos, 1633, AHC, Protocolos Notariales, fol. 764. Note the confraternity commissioned artists from outside its own guild (if it had one).

³⁸ *Catálogo Archivo de Colegio Nacional de Ciencias in Revista del archivo histórico de Cusco*, Libro 14 (1718), cuad. no. 6, p. 250. For additional information regarding the political and social roles of the *caciques* and other members of the Inca nobility, see Carolyn S. Dean, "Ethnic Conflict and Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco," *Colonial Latin American Review* 2 (1993):93.

³⁹ Escribano Ambrosio Arias de Lira, 1755, AHC, Protocolos Notariales, fol. 354.

contract called for aesthetic quality, not content. It also demonstrates the active commercial production of art in the city and the participation of indigenous as well as Spanish for that production. Spanish patrons did not necessarily support the Spanish artists, although there are also contracts by Spaniards for Spaniards: "In 1754, Don Miguel Blanco [undoubtedly the same merchant/dealer cited above commissioning Don Mauricio García y Delgado] contracts with Mauricio Garcia, Master Painter, to paint 212 paintings of various subjects and sizes."⁴⁰

The native artisan's participation within the commercial enterprise of the city which allowed him to cater to the needs of both the Spanish/mestizo and Andean patrons is corroborated by the notarial records of the *indios*. Representative of contracts of Indians for Indians is that of "Don Antonio Sinchi Roca, Master Painter, commissioned in 1682 by Alazar Quispe and his son Lazaro Quispe of the village of Urcos for a painting of a saint for 40 pesos."⁴¹ In Urcos, a small village in the environs of Cuzco known as a pilgrimage site of ancient origin, Alazar and Lazaro Quispe created and produced works to appeal to a particular audience with Andean sensitivities.

The work of the native artists in the native parishes distinguishes another facet of artist-patron relations in colonial Cuzco. The paintings of Cuzco definitely display two very different stylistic approaches—European and Cuzqueño. Spanish artists produced art for Spanish patrons that was undoubtedly inspired by European models. Indigenous artists produced art for Spanish patrons with the same European appeal, but also frequently painted with the lavish gold-ornamented stylistic techniques characteristic of the Cuzco school. Spanish artists produced works for indigenous patrons also of European style (status symbols most likely) while indigenous artists found a very special audience in their indigenous churches.

The art that native artists produced for native patrons in their own parishes is an important aspect of the art and artists of Cuzco. There is no doubt, judging by the contracts of the indigenous parishes and the indigenous artists, that the vast amount of artistic activity in the seventeenth century extended beyond the Spanish enclaves of the city's center and wealthy landowners and affected the decoration of the

⁴⁰ Escribano Ambrosio Arais de Lira, 1754, AHC, Protocolos Notariales, fol. 368.

⁴¹ Escribano Alonso Bustamente, 1682, AHC, Protocolos Notariales, fol. 73.

indigenous churches as well. Native artists participated in and directed this production.

As artistic activity among the indigenous artisans was encouraged by their commercial success, there was a certain amount of new status accorded their craft. Guaman Poma wrote:

Painters, engravers, embroiderers are in the service of making images in the likeness of God for the Christians which is good for the health of the body and soul and so is required by our new rulers...these images are now found in our churches and temples with other curiosities and many pictures, among them a painting of the Last Judgement.... [The artist] should be paid for this work and fed and not be invited to get drunk with the Caciques and if this painter is found to be drunk or use coca then he can not complete his work making images of saints for the Christians and must be punished for his sins.⁴²

Guaman Poma's concern for the artists and their importance for the religious edification of the city was admirable, but, reading between the lines, it is evident that he was also revealing other aspects of Indian-Spanish relations—interpersonal relationships which go beyond economics and labor organization. What he seemed to have been saying is that there was a problem of payment. Furthermore, he criticized a situation in which indigenous artists were plied with drink and coca, instead of receiving proper payment in money or food. These were exactly the issues that prompted the separation of the guilds in 1688.

In addition to the considerable quantities of works produced for a variety of patrons and the recognition of artists by name, the contracts disclose other notable facts about artistic production in Cuzco. They describe the inner organization of the workshops through contractual obligations between the artists themselves, beginning with the apprentices, and the master. They also reveal the makeup of the workshops and the presence of extended families, undoubtedly based on the traditions of Inca workshops, as well as European.

⁴² Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (codex péruvien illustré) (Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 1936), 674.

Numerous contracts in the notarial records describe the placement of a son into the studio or workshop of a master painter. For example, in 1709, "Alejandro de Orduna, Master Painter born in Cuzco, is contracted by Don Juan Tupagcana, of the village of Belén, to accept his son into his studio."⁴³ A similar entry from 1707 records that "Don Diego Phelipe Tito of San Cristobal with Don Juan Maras Mayta, Master Painter of San Cristobal contracts for his son, Diego Tito, to remain in his workshop for four years."⁴⁴ The artists' guilds, therefore, provided opportunities in the indigenous sectors, under indigenous direction, to produce works of art. The artists in the workshops were often from extended families, as they must have been in the highly stratified and organized Inca society. These family networks helped perpetuate the skill of their craft for generations. The names in the contract for a *retablo* reveal and exemplify this familial cooperation:

Lazaro Pardo de Lago, Juan Pardo de Lago, Salvador Pardo Osorio and Pedro Pardo de Lago, his sons, Master Painters, are obligated to gild a new *retablo* for the Convento de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios and paint the canvases for this *retablo* which are 6 large and 2 small, filled with children and saints...and with a painting at the top of the Trinity; to put the gold and color and whatever necessary materials to create a work of total perfection, to the satisfaction of Lorenzo Ordóñez de Villaquirán, Commissioner of the Holy Office, Vicar and Ecclesiastic Judge of the monastery and of the Abbess, to be completed within one year and 4 months of the date of contract. They will be paid 7000 pesos in this manner: 1000 pesos upon contract; 2000 pesos on Christmas Day and the other 2000 pesos on Easter of 1660; the remaining 2000 pesos upon completion.⁴⁵

⁴³ Escribano Xaimez Lorenzo, 1709, AHC, Protocolos Notariales, fol. 418.

⁴⁴ Escribano Alejo Escudero Fernandez, 1707, AHC, Protocolos Notariales, legajo 83, fol. 1014.

⁴⁵ Escribano Martin López de Paredes, 1660, AHC, Protocolos Notariales, legajo 575/185, fol. 686.

The production of religious art in colonial Cuzco is described in the notarial records as incorporating the artisan sectors from the Spanish, mestizo, and indigenous communities. It was dependent on the organization of workshops capable of creating great quantities of painted, sculpted, and architectural decoration. It involved extended families and a variety of combinations of apprentices and masters from the Spanish and native population. The work was commissioned by Spanish and native patrons for religious, private, and commercial purposes. Perhaps most significantly, it addressed the needs of a biracial population and two distinct systems of religious beliefs. The religious images produced in these workshops, particularly the image of the Virgin Mary, were also the result of two distinct systems of artistic development—European and Andean. The native artist mastered both.

Appendix

PETITION OF SPANISH PAINTERS (1688)

The Second lieutenant Joseph de Espinosa de los Monteros, Marcos de Rivera, Lorenzo Sanchez de Medina, Manuel Joseph Gamarra, Lazaro de la Borda, Don Andres Fernandes de Azaña, Geronimo de Malaga, Marcos Ponze de Leon, all master painters in this city we appear before you and God and we announce the news that the Indian painters in the presented petition ask to separate themselves from our group, forcing us to make for this year the triumphal arch. Thus, without contradiction and although it has not been notified to us directly, we come together to the owed respect provided for you that all of us together keep, fulfill and execute this order as a thing of importance to the service of God Our Lord and that the next year we will do it [the art] for our collaborators the gold finishers and sculptors who are a few; not more than ten or eleven and as many of us. In order to excuse the liberty and candor with which the Indian painters reduced the gathering to almost chaos with their provocative words and as malicious people they did not follow the rectitude of the commission but being free and because we did not want to irritate justice we hushed them. It is not just that this be paid to us with false testimony which has been raised to our discredit and impediments. They have not offered proof of that which they have said of us and so they should be corrected and reprimanded severely and they have moved away and left us to our duties but discredited by some three or four so-called foremen. Because of them we have been accused of being guilty but we are ready to regain our rights without their violence which makes matters worse. We are ready to pay the people who are accustomed to getting drunk being that they are in the gravity of excess. They raise and declare false testimonies and to any crime they make they only say that they were drunk and thus speaking with due respect opportunity should not be given to such malice, or to pass by without correction. We ask and beg of you to send the two Indians to pay one year of triumphal arch in the day of Corpus and another year for us with two gold finishers and sculptors. With that, malice and misinformation will cease for the two Indians and their bad behavior will show; we ask justice and that which is necessary.

We must say that in order for bad will to be absent among us we ask of two gold finishers and sculptors to make our triumphal arch so that when it is time to do it we have two gold finishers and sculptors who are: Don Juan Tomas, sculptor, Don Pascual Quispiphuro, Don Juan Chauca, Don Andres Llamasicinchi and other masters. That they may be called to this effect. so that they may not be ignorant and so that they know what must be done. We ask and beg of you to do as we are asking and as it is just that we ask for:

Joseph de Espinosa de los Monteros
Manuel Joseph Gamarra
Marcos de Rivera
Lazaro de la Borda
Andres de Azaña
Lorenzo Sanchez de Medina
Geronimo de Malaga