

The Marian Cult as a Resistance Strategy: The Territorialized Construction of Devotions in the Province of Potosí, Charcas, in the Eighteenth Century¹

Candela De Luca

IDIHCS/ UNLP

candeladeluca@yahoo.com.ar

Translated by Javiera Jaque Hidalgo

A Brief Tour: Mary in the Andes

Mary has been a controversial icon of American culture and politics since the beginning of the conquest until today, representing both European militarism and universal motherhood, as well as a “difficult” model of femininity². This figure and its importance in the configuration of Christianity in the New World has been approached through very different perspectives, from different disciplines that range from Theology, Sociology and Anthropology as well as to History and Art History. As a symbol,³ Mary is as precarious as she is versatile – virgin, woman, mother, queen, teacher, mediator, conqueror, liberator – as well as variable in relation to the particular historical context in which popular fervor formed around the figure.

Regarding these variations, the Argentine historian Patricia Fogelman uses the concept of “refraction”⁴, understood as an explanatory instrument that allows one to unravel the transformations of the Marian cult in its transfer from Europe to America. With this theoretical tool, Fogelman analyzes the actions that various agents in different media implemented in the processes of construction, transformation and incorporation

¹ A first version of this work was presented in “Symposium III. Gender and Resistance.” May 28, 29 and 30, Santiago, Chile. Organized by the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, 2019.

² Patricia Fogelman, “El culto mariano y las representaciones de lo femenino: Recorrido historiográfico y nuevas perspectivas de análisis”, *La Aljaba*, Vol.10 (2006a): 175-188.

Theologians such as Silvia Moreira Da Silva denounce the macho bias of the Marian cult, which is represented as a model of “ideal femininity,” since it carries women's own values such as passivity, resignation, modesty. These are understood as “virtues” to which the global dimension of the feminine being is reduced. See Vilma Moreira Da Silva, “La mujer en la teología. Reflexión biblicoteológica” in *Mujer latinoamericana. Iglesia y teología*, (México: MPD, 1981), 155- 156.

³ In line with Julia Costilla’s approach, we understand the figure of Mary as a symbol while resulting in a fencing tool used by different sectors and by different social actors to generate mechanisms of social cohesion, access certain spaces and / or benefits, or to legitimize positions. See Julia Costilla “El milagro en la construcción del culto a Nuestra Señora de Copacabana (virreinato del Perú, 1582-1651),” *Estudios Atacameños. Arqueología y Antropología Surandinas*, N°39 (2010): 35 – 56.

⁴ Patricia Fogelman, “Simulacros de la virgen y refracciones del culto mariano en el Río de la Plata Colonial”, *EADEM UTRAQUE EUROPA*, año 2, n° 3 (2006b): 11 – 34.

of the religious practices developed around Marian fervor. Referring specifically to this cult, which spread widely following the Counter-Reformation, the author analyzes a certain “matrix” of visible practices from the Spanish Reconquest process, which are reproduced during the American Conquest and the colonial period. The concept of “refraction” is particularly interesting since it takes into account the dynamism of the models of development of Marian devotions, as well as the common denominators present in both the Old World and the New: the development of local devotions toward an image (especially in the form of busts), the importance of geographical and political positions in the construction of each sanctuary built for its contemplation, and the presence of miracles attributed to it.

However, one of the differences observed in American lands is that local actors modified and adapted the resources and practices woven around devotional figures, since on this side of the Atlantic there were different geographical, ethnic, and social borders which, added to the particular weight that pre-Hispanic traditions had in each place, acquired different characteristics in each case. In this sense, it is interesting to analyze these different processes of refraction, understanding their impact on the configuration of local religiosity.⁵

These issues are present from the beginning of the evangelization process, and are able to be reconstructed based on the information that the documents carry, as well as on other material sources. It is interesting, then, to address the characteristics and the path of various depictions—either paintings and / or engravings—in which Mary is portrayed at different stages, such as childhood, joy, pain, glorification— or sculptures corresponding to different dedications. Undoubtedly, the most iconic case of Hispanic America is that of the Virgin of Guadalupe, who in 1531 appeared to Juan Diego, a native of Cuauhtitlan, to request that he go to see the bishop with the goal of erecting a chapel in her name. According to tradition, it would be an image “not made by human hands,” and therefore a bearer of divine design. In her representation, both the darkness of her face, as well as of her hands and facial features, made her especially suggestive to indigenous people⁶. In this case, the link to Juan Diego clearly defines Mary’s role as articulator and, fundamentally, as Mediator, from early on.

⁵ We agree with Julia Costilla and incorporate as a theoretical instrument the concept coined by William Christian of “local religiosity,” while enabling us to analyze the configuration of Catholic religiosity in a specific historical and geographical context, avoiding that of “popular religiosity.” Costilla, “El milagro en la construcción...”

⁶ Héctor Schenone, *Santa María. Iconografía del arte colonial* (Buenos Aires: Educa, 2008), 235.

In the Central Andes, the image of Mary has been present practically since the beginning of the Conquest. However—and unlike in New Spain, where the process was less problematic and violent than in the Andes—some of the earliest sources do not associate their figure with lavish favors toward subalterns. Writings by Guamán Poma and the Inca Garcilaso describe how the Virgin descended on the Spaniards to defend them from the siege of indigenous peoples who, under the command of Manco Inca II, surrounded the city of Cuzco in 1535-1536 in an attempt to retake it. The role of the Virgin does not appear in the first-hand documents that relate this event – like Pedro Pizarro’s sources – but later on. Guamán narrates:

*When the said heathen Indians revolted and surrounded a great number of Christian Indians in order to kill them, the Virgin Mary appeared in the sky as a very young, beautiful, and resplendent maiden. And the Indians say that she emitted sun rays and that her dress was whiter than snow, and that she defended the Christian Indians by throwing dirt in the eyes the heathen Indians.*⁷

In this case, Mary appears as a protector of the Spaniards who found themselves in a rudimentary chapel, located in what would have previously been a place of vital importance to the indigenous people, identified as the house of Viracocha, or the Sunturhuasi (“Casa Privilegiada”). This event is represented on different canvases known as *La Virgen del Sunturhuasi*⁸ and *Aparición y milagro de la Virgen en el sitio de Cusco*.⁹ In these paintings,¹⁰ the Virgin is seen descending from the sky and

⁷ Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El Primer Nueva Crónica y Buen Gobierno* (México: Siglo XXI, 1980), 402 (quoted in Gabriela Siracusano, Rossana Kuon, y Marta Maier, “Colores para el milagro. Una aproximación interdisciplinaria al estudio de pigmentos en un caso singular de la iconografía colonial andina”. *Investigación en conservación y restauración: II Congreso del Grupo Español del IIC: [9, 10 y 11 de noviembre de 2005, Barcelona]*. (Barcelona: Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, 2005).

⁸ Anonymous. Oil on canvas, 330 x 250 cm, Escuela Cuzqueña, early 18th century. Private Collection, Lima, Peru.

⁹ Anonymous. Oil on canvas. 282 x 230 cm, Escuela Cuzqueña, 17th century. Enrique Udaondo Museum Complex. Luján, Argentina.

¹⁰ Although it has been traditionally considered that was made at the mid-18th century, in an interdisciplinary analysis in which both history and the history of art, chemistry and conservation techniques converge, Gabriela Siracusano and her team agree to raise that it was made in a prior date and that probably corresponds to the seventeenth century. It is important to point out this question since in the 18th century, both the images and the narratives about Mary are going in the opposite direction to those raised here, since the Virgin appears, in more advanced stages of the Conquest and Colonization process, as an intermediary and lawyer of the souls of the natives. See Siracusano, Kuon, Maier, “Colores para el milagro”, 37.

spreading her mantle over the Spaniards to extinguish the flames, to the surprised and terrified gaze of the indigenous.

The reference to this previously described event is important for several reasons. First, the figure of Mary appears here linked directly to the Spaniards, and her role as Protector is not associated with the natives; instead, she is shown as a Conqueror.¹¹ This very early representation differs from what is usually found throughout Hispanic America, in which the Virgin traditionally manifests herself as a mediating figure in times of chaos and cultural disintegration, and is linked to subaltern, humble, or directly marginal agents: children, slaves, indigenous people, women...¹² But although we initially observe a radical difference regarding the role of the Virgin, certain elements form a common matrix of practices of diffusion and incorporation of the cult mentioned previously: a) the miraculous appearance of Mary, who intervened in a critical situation in defense of the needy – in this case she presents herself as an intermediary for the Spanish troops under indigenous siege, – b) the place where the Virgin acts is significant in that it has a sacred character to the indigenous people – *Sunturhuasi*; – c) that space is “re-sacralized,” by subsequently establishing a church there – the Church of Triumph – which initially functioned as the Cathedral of Cuzco. This implied the “re-symbolization” of religious practices, now oriented around the figure of Mary.

These types of actions can be identified on numerous occasions, especially in the Andean area. Surely the most emblematic case is that of the Virgin of Copacabana, whose image was enthroned on the shores of Lake Titicaca in 1583. The writings of Alonso Ramos Gavilán¹³ describe how the bust was sculpted in *maguey* by the indigenous Tito Yupanqui in Potosí, similar to Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria.¹⁴ This

¹¹ It is another reason why we agree with Siracusano *et. al.* in thinking that these canvases – or perhaps the canvases that probably inspired them – are of much earlier production, which both in representation and in narrative can be assimilated to the figure of Santiago Mataindios (which in turn was represented during the Reconquest as Santiago Matamoros).

¹² See Elina Vuola, “María, mujer en la política. Nuevos desafíos para la teología latinoamericana”. *Albertus Magnus*, Vol. 4, N° 2, julio-diciembre. (2012): 59-71; Patricia Fogelman, *La omnipotencia suplicante. El culto mariano en la ciudad de Buenos Aires y la campaña en los siglos XVII y XVIII*. Dissertation presented in order to fulfill the final requirements for obtaining the Doctoral degree at Universidad de Buenos Aires en Filosofía y Letras. FILODIGITAL. Repositorio Institucional de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de Buenos Aires. 2003. Available in http://repositorio.filo.uba.ar/jspui/bitstream/filodigital/1420/1/uba_ffyl_t_2003_48872.pdf; Antonio González Dorado, *De María conquistadora a María liberadora. Mariología popular latinoamericana*. (Madrid: Sal Terrae, 1988).

¹³ Alonso Ramos Gavilán [1621], *Historia del Santuario de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana* (La Paz: MUSEF, 1988).

¹⁴ This advocacy originated in the evangelical episode of the Purification of Mary, and her feast day was set on February 2, 45 days after the Birth of Christ. From the fifth century, the use of candles is introduced on this holiday, which refers both to the radiance that the encounter with Christ implies, as

dedication, spread by the Order of the Augustinians, was presented with the goal of founding a confraternity that brought together indigenous peoples, divided into *Anansaya* and *Urinsaya* factions. Although at first rejected by the latter faction, which proposed to found the confraternity around San Sebastián, the realization of the Virgin's miracles in favor of primarily indigenous people (although also of blacks, mestizos, mulattos, Spaniards, and Creoles of different social conditions) culminated with the establishment of the cult of Mary in the Andean world's most sacred pre- and post-Hispanic space. In this case, we observe that, unlike in the previous example, the figure of the Virgin appears as a Mediator in favor of the humble, bringing together social subjects from different cultural, political and ethnic backgrounds¹⁵. This "refraction" demonstrates the plasticity of Mary as mediator, since her figure is re-signified when she passes from Conqueror to Protector. However, fundamentally, she presents herself to the dispossessed as a Healer, as a Teacher, and above all, as a Mother.

One of the miracles recounted by Ramos Gavilán describes how an Uro Indian, noting the existence of the miraculous Sanctuary of the Virgin in Copacabana, went there to request that his disability be cured and

*Quiso la buena suerte de este indio tullido que llegase a su noticia, que en Copacabana estaba una saludable piscina o fuente de salud, contra todo género de enfermedades, que era la Santísima Virgen.*¹⁶

[The good fortune of this crippled Indian wanted that he reached its news, that in Copacabana was a healthy pool or source of health, against all kinds of diseases, which was the Blessed Virgin.]

This fragment makes evident the complete identification between the sacred lake and the Virgin, as what appears as a "source of health" cannot be distinguished. The description continues, fundamentally appealing to the pedagogical character of Mary by saying that:

Apareciósele llena de luz, y acompañada de Ángeles, hablóle amorosamente, y examinole si sabía rezar para tomar ocasión de enseñarle, no le dio el

well as humility, malleability and docility in the work of Mary, represented in the wax of which they composed the candles (Schenone, *Santa María*, 326-27).

¹⁵ See Gabriela Ramos "Nuestra Señora de Copacabana ¿devoción india o intermediaria cultural?" in *Passeurs, mediadores culturales y agentes de la primera evangelización en el mundo ibérico, s. XVI-XIX*, edited by Scarlett O'Phelan and Carmen Salazar Soler (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 2005), 163-179.

¹⁶ Archivo y Biblioteca Nacional de Bolivia (ABNB). Anonymous. *Documentos históricos Relativos al origen y milagros con que se estableció el culto de la imagen de María Santísima que se venera en el santuario de Copacabana, publicados por un devoto*, (Lima: Imprenta del pueblo, 1849).

indio buena cuenta, porque ni aun persignarse sabia; reprendiole blandamente la Virgen, y tomo a su cargo el enseñarle por su misma persona, sin encargarlo, como pudiera a uno de los muchos Ángeles que la venían sirviendo. [...] Empezó desde aquella noche a enseñarle a persignarse, y por espacio de aquellos nueve días que duró el novenario, todas las noches venía la santísima Virgen a enseñarle las demás oraciones, y explicarle todos los misterios de nuestra Santa Fe, hasta que los supo muy bien todos, y para esto compuso la misma Virgen un humo elegantísimo en lengua aimara¹⁷.

[She appeared to him full of light, and accompanied by Angels, she spoke to him lovingly, and examined him if he knew how to pray to take the opportunity to teach him, the Indian did not give her a good account, because he did not even know how to cross himself; The Virgin rebuked her softly, and took charge of teaching him by herself, without commissioning it, as she could to one of the many angels who had been serving her. [...] She began teaching him to cross himself from that night, and for the space of those nine days that the novena lasted, every night the Blessed Virgin came to teach him the other prayers, and explain all the mysteries of our Holy Faith, until he knew everyone very well, and for this the Virgin herself composed a very elegant smoke in Aymara language.]

However, and as we said, the main reference and role with which the figure of Mary is identified is first that of the Mother of Christ, and by extension, Mother of all Christianity, upon which collective identities configure and bind together. The persistence of that role is evidenced in the cult of Copacabana from very early on, and in a very curious way, to the point that the maguey sculpture was literally modified with that objective; her wrist was broken, since the position of the child initially prevented devotees from contemplating the face of the Divine Mother. When the priest of Tiquina, a town through which the image passed before being enthroned, notices this situation, he tells Tito Yupanqui to correct it. The next day,

queriéndola bajar del altar, hallaron al niño reclinado, y como desviado de la suerte que está el día de oy, sobre el brazo yzquierdo de la Madre, y tan

¹⁷ ABNB, Anonymous, *Documentos históricos*, 1849.

*bien puesto, que en ninguna manera estorva la vista del Virginal, y Materno rostro, aunque le pongan corona por grande que sea, quedó juntamente tan alegre (...), dando muestras del regozijo grande que siente de ver que miren los fieles a su Madre con tanta devoción.*¹⁸

[wanting to bring her down from the altar, they found the reclined child, and as diverted from the fortune that to this day he is, on the left arm of the Mother, and so well put, that in no way hinders the view of the Virginal, and Maternal face, even if they put a crown on him, no matter how great, it was so cheerful together (...), showing signs of the great joy he feels to see the faithful look at his Mother with such devotion.]

As Mother of Christ, the assimilation of Mary to archaic deities associated with Mother Earth and Fertility has been quite frequent since the beginning of the process of evangelization, both in the New World and in the Old. In the Andes especially, traditional cults to the land and the hills, which were articulated with the Christian rites, persist strongly (albeit with modifications). This is particularly visible in the resignification of the sacredness of Titicaca in the Virgin of Copacabana¹⁹. The association of the landscape with the maternal breast has been present, according to Mircea Eliade, since the first human religious experiences. The earth, as the foundation of the cosmos, is a source of *existence* since it is what sustains and contains and, therefore, constitutes a great *unity* and, we might add, by extension, identity:

Men were related to each other through their mothers only, and that relationship was precarious enough. But they were related to their natural surroundings far more closely than any modern, profane mind can conceive. They were literally, and in no mere allegorical sense, “the people of the land.”²⁰

The sanctuary of Copacabana was built in relation to the lake and therefore with the rock of Isla del Sol, the great *pacarina*, articulating an Andean worldview. This concept refers to “place of origin” as *waka*. In general, *wakas* are social, political and,

¹⁸ Ramos Gavilán, *Historia del Santuario*, 243-44.

¹⁹ Costilla, “El milagro en la construcción”, 48.

²⁰ Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*. Translated by Rosemary Sheed. (Lincoln and London: U. of Nebraska P., 1958), 243.

religious complexes that can be defined as “the materiality of the sacred,” which are composed of both the natural and supernatural, and are linked to collective identity, in line with the worship of ancestors.²¹ Thus, they also articulate different social subjects’ rights over the territory and access to the resources. In this sense, the ritual practices developed in this context permanently renew the social and political centrality of these complexes. This is especially interesting as we consider that fundamentally, these practices unite the social subjects who take part in them, consolidating the conformation, resignification and legitimization of collective identities around a concrete devotional figure. We choose the concept of identity as this term implies a relational, procedural, and dynamic character that is developed in power relations and which implies “a self-understanding, the recognition of shared attributes and the creation of communal bonds and a feeling of belonging”²².

The radiation of the cult of the Virgin of Copacabana and the reconfiguration of religious geography in the Andean space has already been studied extensively, especially in the Titicaca area²³. However, and as we mentioned previously, these types of practices can be observed in different places during the evangelizing process. Therefore, it is not surprising that to observe a continuum of these kinds of strategies in

²¹ In the Andean worldview there are different types of *wakas* – sacred polymorphic objects intervened or not by human hands, or spaces such as hills, water courses, rocks, – which simultaneously have different categories: there are smaller *wakas*, linked to family worship – as the mummies of the ancestors – and older *wakas* – like the *apus*, – in which much larger collective identities come together. See María Alba Bovisio, *Las huacas del NOA: objetos y conceptos*. (Buenos Aires: Mimeo, 2006). The *wakas* also function as territorial demarcators and transition sites between the “ecumenum” and “anecumen” space. The sacredness of the *wakas* and the interactions of men with them show the eminent relationship that exists between religious conception and the organization of society in that geography. See, Pablo Cruz “Mundos permeables y espacios peligrosos. Consideraciones acerca de punkus y qaqas en el paisaje altoandino de Potosí, Bolivia,” *Boletín del Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino*, Vol. 11, n° 2, (2006): 35-50 y Liliana Regalado de Hurtado, “Espacio andino, espacio sagrado: visión ceremonial del territorio en el período incaico,” *Revista Complutense de Historia de América*, 22 (1996): 85 – 96.

²² See Julia Costilla “Itinerarios religiosos y espacios sacralizados: santuarios, devotos y peregrinos en el culto al Señor del Milagro de Salta y la peregrinación a la Virgen de Copacabana en Jujuy,” in *Espacialidades altoandinas. Nuevos aportes desde la Argentina. Tomo I: Miradas hacia lo local, lo comunitario y lo doméstico*, edited by Alejandro Benedetti & Jorge Tomassi (Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires: Editorial de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras Universidad de Buenos Aires, 2014), 145.

²³ Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne, “El sol de adentro: *wakas* y santos en las minas de Charcas y en el lago Titicaca siglos XV a XVI,” *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP*, N° 8 (2004): 59 -97; Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne “Las minas de centro-sur andino, los cultos prehispánicos y los cultos cristianos,” *Boletín del Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos*, 34, (3) (2005): 443 – 462; Teresa Gisbert [1980], *Iconografía y mitos indígenas en el arte* (La Paz: Editorial Gisbert y Cía. S.A, 2008); Gabriela Siracusano “Copacabana, lugar donde se ve la piedra preciosa.” *Imagen y materialidad en la región andina*. Versión ampliada de capítulo de Tesis doctoral: *Polvos y colores en la pintura colonial andina. Prácticas y representaciones del hacer, el saber y el poder*. (Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires, 2002); Verónica Salles Reese, *De Viracocha a la Virgen de Copacabana*. Institut français d’études andines, (La Paz: Plural editores, 2008). Among the vast existing bibliography, we cite only some works that are in more direct dialogue with this article.

the *potosino* space in the early colonial period. The writings of Bartolomé de Arzáns²⁴ reference on numerous occasions how “among the most miraculous images of the Blessed Mary that are venerated in the temples of Potosí,” it is the Virgin of the Candelaria who miraculously intercedes for the life of the natives in different moments of danger, especially those associated with mines and hills, which, as we know, have a sacred character²⁵. I am interested in contextualizing such actions as resistance strategies; the reconfiguration of sacred spaces around figures of Christian devotion—that is, the conformation of a colonial infrastructure over the pre-Hispanic structure—does not imply only violent or imposed ploys, but also rejection, appropriation, re-significance, in which the decisions and creativity of individuals can be recognized. In fact, and in line with Christian’s statement, which proposes that sharing the same devotions becomes a cohesive instrument in disaggregated societies, such as in the Andes²⁶ we consider the Marian cult as a resistance strategy in this space, since Mary, as Mother, brings together social groups that are identified in certain *wakas* of greater or lesser scope, such as the Titicaca *pacarina* or that of Porco Hill, for example. The cult is projected in religious topography with territorial implications and, therefore, refers both to senses of belonging and to the rights wielded in that space.²⁷

The (Many?) Faces of Mary in the 18th Century

²⁴ Bartolomé Arzáns De Orsúa y Vela, *Relatos de la Villa Imperial de Potosí*, (La Paz: Plural editores 2009).

²⁵ See Tristan Platt, Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne y Olivia Harris, *Qaraqara – Charka. Mallku, Inka y Rey en la Provincia de Charkas (Siglos XVI – XVII). Historia antropológica de una confederación Aymara*. (La Paz: Institut français d’études andines - IFEA; Plural editores; University of St. Andrews; University of London; Interamerican Foundation; Fundación Cultural del Banco Central de Bolivia, 2006); Tristan Platt y Pablo Quisbert. “Sobre las huellas del silencio: Potosí, los incas y el virrey Francisco de Toledo (siglo XVI)”, in *Minas y metalurgias en los Andes del Sur, entre la época prehispánica y el siglo XVII*, edited by Pablo Cruz y Jean-Joinville Vacher, (Sucre: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos e Institut de Recherche pour le Développement 2008), 231-277; Pablo Cruz, “Huacas olvidadas y cerros santos. Apuntes metodológicos sobre la cartografía sagrada en los Andes del sur de Bolivia”. *Estudios Atacameños. Arqueología y Antropología surandinas*, N° 38 (2009): 55 – 74; Carmen Salazar Soler, “La Villa Imperial de Potosí. Cuna del mestizaje (Siglos XVI – XVII)” in *Colonización, resistencia y mestizaje en las Américas. Siglos XVI – XX*, edited by Guillaumem Boccara, (Lima: IFEA – Ediciones Abya – Yala, 2002), 139- 160.

²⁶ William Christian, *Religiosidad local en la España de Felipe II* (Madrid: Editorial Nerea 1991), 81 quoted in Costilla, “El milagro en la construcción”, 23.

²⁷ The concept of *waka* can be associated with that of hierophany, coined by Mircea Eliade. In that sense, the sacred space also implies time, while the sacredness of that space is constantly updated through an intricate network of ritual practices that return and perpetrate its strength. See Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion...*

The eighteenth century presented special characteristics in accordance with the transformations carried out by the Bourbon administration.²⁸ Among the reforms brought about, we will focus on those aimed at limiting the foundation of confraternities, as well as others referring to indigenous people in particular and the treatment they should receive. Also included among the provisions issued by the crown were those that reduced the jurisdiction of the parish priests through the subdivision of doctrines that had a large number of followers and which limited the number of celebrations carried out during the year. Although the climate of reforms prompted by the Bourbons limited the number of religious festivals, those dedicated to Marian worship continued to take place. In the Synod of Charcas they appear as mandatory guard parties:

*La dominica de Resurrección sin los dos días siguientes – La Asunción del Señor – La dominica Pentecostal sin los dos días siguientes- La fiesta del Corpus Cristi – Todas las dominicas del año – La circuncisión del Señor – La epifanía del Señor – La Purificación de Nuestra Señora – El día de los Santos Apóstoles San Pedro y San Pablo – La Anunciación de Nuestra Señora – El día de la Natividad del Señor*²⁹.

[*The Dominican Resurrection without the next two days - The Assumption of the Lord - The Dominican Pentecostal without the next two days - The feast of Corpus Cristi - All the Dominicans of the year - The circumcision of the Lord - The epiphany of the Lord - The Purification of Our Lady - The day of the Holy Apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul - The Annunciation of Our Lady - The day of the Nativity of the Lord.*]

²⁸ Beyond the regulations promulgated by the Crown, the dynamics of structuring and exercising power over that territory must be analyzed in a long-term perspective that contemplates the logic and disputes between the different sectors that traditionally settled in that space. This type of analysis must also question the traditional vision that regards the process of “Bourbon secularization” as an attack by the “centralized State” on the prerogatives of the “Colonial Church,” observing that these processes affect and resolve differently, by different sectors and in different spaces. See Dolores Estruch, *El ejercicio del poder en el Jujuy colonial. Enlaces y tensiones entre la jurisdicción civil y eclesiástica. Siglos XVI-XVIII*. (Buenos Aires: La Bicicleta Ediciones, Colección Hipótesis, 2017).

²⁹ Pedro Miguel de Argandoña Pastén y Salazar, *Constituciones Sinodales del Arzobispado de La Plata*, (Cochabamba: Imprenta de los Amigos, 1854), 261.

Importantly, two of them are Marian in character: La Purificación de Nuestra Señora (celebrated on February 2) and the Anunciación de Nuestra Señora (celebrated on March 25).

Such innovations generated opposition on the part of priests, as they implied a decrease in their income, since the synod they received for sponsoring these activities grew smaller, and also on the part of the indigenous, since alterations in the festive calendar did not align with the logic that sustained a large part of the community structure³⁰. For indigenous peoples, rituals were the counterpart to their economic activities, among which their possibility of access to land stands out. For this reason, they carried out different resistance strategies against these innovations.

Within the general framework of these transformations, the Synod of Charcas (celebrated between 1771 and 1773) promoted Marian religiosity rather strongly. As Chapter 6 indicates, “*De la importante devoción a la celestial Reina María Señora Nuestra que deben encargar los curas a sus feligreses*” [*Of the important devotion to the heavenly Queen Mary Our Lady that the priests must entrust to their parishioners*]:

*...a efecto de que en los indios no se escuse medio para desterrar de sus engañados ánimos, la inclinación a la superstición e idolatría, y aficionarlos al culto del verdadero dios y a los oficios sagrados, siendo uno de los más oportunos el de la devoción a María Santísima, virgen y madre de Dios: encargamos a nuestros Curas, promuevan este asunto de tanta importancia con el más diligente estudio, procurando persuadir a estos miserables, a que con afecto fervoroso se acojan con el soberano patrocínio de esta celestial Reina [...]*³¹.
[...To the effect that there is no method not used to banish from the Indians their deceived tempers, the inclination to superstition and idolatry, and to fond them of the cult of the true God and sacred offices, one of the most appropriate being that of devotion to Mary Blessed, virgin and mother of God: we entrust our priests, promote this matter of such importance with the most diligent study, trying to

³⁰ Mónica Adrián, “Estrategias políticas de los curas de Charkas en un contexto de reformas y de conflictividad creciente,” *Andes* n° 11, (2000): 135 – 160; Mónica Adrián, “El espacio Sagrado y el ejercicio del poder. Las doctrinas de Chayanta durante la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII”. En: *Actas del IV Congreso internacional de Etnohistoria. Tomo I. Autoridad y Poder*. (Lima: Fondo Editorial Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. 1998).

³¹ Argandoña Pastén y Salazar, *Constituciones Sinodales*, 139 – 40.

persuade these miserable, to fervently embrace the sovereign patronage of this celestial Queen.]

Teaching the prayer of the Rosary and of the Salve, and celebrating Mass sung to Mary on Saturdays was emphasized, “*aunque no hubiese cofradía que le mande decir.*” [although there was no confraternity who requested to be said.]

When cross-checking this regulation with the logbooks from indigenous parishes in the Municipality of Potosí³², we observe that such a case never occurred, as none of these institutions lacked one or more confraternities devoted to the Virgin. Although the available information is incomplete and fragmented,³³ through a survey carried out in the Archives of the Bishopric of Potosí,³⁴ two types of valuable information can be obtained: first, the inventories of material goods that these parishes had and the income received by priests for baptisms, marriages and burials, and second, the confraternities that operated there, who their authorities were—sometimes all of their members—and which activities they carried out, with their corresponding costs. Likewise, these documents enable one to reconstruct how the parish and doctrinal jurisdiction of the Municipality was configured, since in its creation the original fourteen parishes of the Imperial Village were grouped into seven (each with its corresponding vice-parish); at the same time, the doctrines had many followers, as mentioned above.³⁵

To analyze urban areas, there is information about the parishes of San Cristóbal, Nuestra Señora de la Concepción, San Pablo, San Sebastián, and Nuestra Señora de Copacabana. The parishes of San Pedro, Santiago and San Francisco el Chico are not included, since we only have inventories of their assets, in which the existence or activity of the confraternities that likely took place in them is not specified. Thus, we identified the presence of twenty-five confraternities made up of indigenous people that

³² Founded in 1782, included the Imperial town and its rural annexes, as well as the provinces of Chayanta, Tarija, Porco, Lipez, Atacama, and Chichas. The intendant differs from the rest of those who made up the recently formed Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata, whose territory was delimited with its corresponding Bishopric following the illustrated logic that sought to match the civil and ecclesiastical administration.

³³ In the year of 1980, the parish archives of the diocese of Potosí are centralized in its Bishopric. The archives of many parishes were lost in this maneuver, thus losing a large amount of information that had not previously been relieved.

³⁴ Onwards Archivo del Obispado de Potosí (AOP).

³⁵ We previously addressed the doctrinal and parochial organization of Potosí in Candela De Luca “...y que olviden los errores de sus antiguos ritos y ceremonias supersticiosas, vivan en concierto y policía...” Transformaciones y continuidades en la organización parroquial indígena potosina durante el siglo XVIII,” *Revista de Historia Americana y Argentina*, Vol. 51, N° 1, (2016): 11 – 37.

existed in the parishes located within the city limits. Among the dedications around which the faithful congregated, Blessed Sacrament (three brotherhoods distributed in the parishes of San Cristobal, Nuestra Señora de la Concepción, and San Sebastián) and N.S. de la Purificación, either in the form of N.S. of Copacabana or N.S. de la Candelaria, appointments in the parishes of San Cristóbal, N.S. de la Concepción and San Pablo, predominate. There are also institutions devoted to the Ángel de la Guarda, to the Benditas Ánimas del Purgatorio, San Miguel Arcángel, Santa María Magdalena, San Sebastián, Santa Ana, Santa Lucía, San Cristóbal, San Salvador, and San Gerónimo. Likewise, a large number of confraternities of Marian devotion can be accounted for, including:

- N. S. de la Inmaculada Concepción
- N. S. de la Asunción
- N. S. del Rosario
- N. S. de los Dolores
- N. S. de la Soledad
- N. S. de la Misericordia
- N. S. de la Gracia³⁶

Confraternities in Urban Parishes. Potosí 18th Century³⁷

Parroquias Cofradías	San Cristóbal	Nuestra Señora de la Concepción	San Pablo	San Sebastián	Nuestra Señora de Copacabana
Santísimo Sacramento	X	X		X	
Ángel de la Guarda				X	
Ánimas del Purgatorio				X	

³⁶ The latter also known in the territory of Charcas in the form of the Virgin of Pucarani.

³⁷ Own elaboration based on the data extracted from AOP, *Libro de Fábrica de La Concepción 1756 – 1780*; AOP, *Libro de Fábrica de La Concepción y San Cristóbal 1797 – 1801*; AOP, *Libro de Fábrica de San Cristóbal 1756 – 1803*; AOP, *Libro de Fábrica de San Sebastián 1682 – 1808*; ACMP, I. and C. 51. 1791. *Inventario de la Iglesia de San Pedro, entregado por su cura interino Pedro Méndez de la Parra D. Fr. Manuel Rodríguez, que quedó en su lugar*; and ACMP, I. and C. 52. 1779. *Inventario de las iglesias de Santiago y de Copacabana, entregado a su nuevo párroco*.

N. S. de la Purificación/ N. S. de Copacabana/ N. S. de la Candelaria	X	X	X		
N. S. de la Inmaculada Concepción		X			
N. S. de la Asunción		X			
N. S. del Rosario				X	
N. S. de los Dolores			X		
N. S. de la Soledad					X
N. S. de la Misericordia		X			
N. S. de la Gracia				X	
San Miguel Arcángel	X			X	
Santa María Magdalena				X	
San Sebastián				X	
Santa Ana	X				
Santa Lucía	X				
San Cristóbal	X	X			
San Salvador		X			
San Gerónimo		X			

On the other hand, among the institutions surveyed in rural areas are the parish of Nuestra Señora de la Concepción, the vice parish of San Cristóbal, the parish of San Bartolomé, the parish of San Pedro de Uru and Carasi, the parish of San Francisco de Micani, the vice Parish of Santa Lucía, the parish of Nuestra Señora de Surumi, the vice parish of San Salvador de Salinas de Yocalla. Also, this information can be complemented with the logbook from the parish of San Marcos de Miraflores, currently lost, but which Tristan Platt reproduces entirely in his article on the feast of Corpus Christi published in 1987³⁸. Based on such documents, at least sixty-five confraternities in rural churches can be accounted for. Thanks to the information provided by said documents, an overview of the religious festivities actually celebrated in the Indigenous

³⁸ Tristan Platt, "The Andean Soldiers of Christ. Confraternity organization, the mass of the sun and regenerative warfare in rural Potosi (18th-20th centuries)". *Journal de la Société des Americanistes*, LXXXIII. (1987): 139 - 192.

churches of Potosí can also be traced, since each of the confraternities could celebrate their patron's day, a celebration that was added to the holy days allowed by the Synod.³⁹

Furthermore, we will list the confraternities that were located in those parishes, based on information obtained from the contributions of these institutions that appear in logbooks. It was previously clarified that the vice parish of San Salvador de Salinas de Yocalla was not included because only inventories of goods were recorded in its logbook, which is why its confraternities and the festivities that were carried out within its framework cannot be accounted for. I would like to emphasize, however, the importance of the sanctuary that housed the image of Nuestra Señora de Turquí, to which we will return later. It is notable that the dedications around which confreres congregated are often repeated, predominantly the confraternities dedicated to the worship of saints such as Santa Barbara and San Miguel,⁴⁰ and of the Virgen del Rosario and of the Immaculate Conception. It should be noted that in all parishes there were confraternities dedicated to the Santísimo Sacramento – we identified seven – and to Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria (in the form of Nuestra Señora de la Purificación or the Virgen de Copacabana),⁴¹ which appeared as the most popularly venerated figure, even in the sanctuary of Nuestra Señora de Surumi, where the primary venerated figure was the Virgin of the same name. Likewise, three confraternities were dedicated to San Pedro, three to Santa Cruz, three to San Juan, five to San Roque, two to San Salvador, one to the Benditas Ánimas del Purgatorio, one to San Rafael, one to San Bartolomé, one to San Antonio, one to the apostle Santiago, one to San Benito, one to Santa Rosa, one to San Gerónimo, one to San Blas, and one last to San Bernabé.

Confraternities in Rural Parishes. Potosí 18th Century⁴²

³⁹ Carnival, Holy Week, and Easter holidays should be added, as well as the celebration of the Transfiguration of the Lord held in the parish of San Francisco de Micani. However, in its logbook, which confraternities or in what order they paid for such festivities is not specified.

⁴⁰ Five confraternities dedicated to Santa Barbara and four dedicated to San Miguel were identified.

⁴¹ In particular cases, dedications are identified, in others, broken down. This particularity must be analyzed according to the time and place where they are mentioned in the documents. We hope to resolve that question in future work.

⁴² Own elaboration based on the data extracted from AOP; *Libro de Fábrica de Porco 1771- 1835*; AOP, *Libro de Fábrica de Micani 1779 – 1835*; AOP, *Libro de Fábrica de Nuestra Señora de Surumi 1779 – 1810*; AOP, *Libro de Fábrica de Uru y Carasi 1797 – 1804*; AOP, *Libro de Fábrica de Santa Lucía 1724 – 1815*; AOP, *Libro de Fábrica de Talina 1703 – 1808*, and *Libro de Fábrica de la Parroquia de San Marcos de Miraflores*. Anexo Documental Platt, “The Andean Soldiers”, 181- 91.

Parroquias Cofradías	San Bartolomé de Porco	San Francisco de Micani	Santa Lucía	San Pedro de Uru y Carasi	San Marcos de Miraflores	Nuestra Señora de Surumi	San Juan de Talina
Santísimo Sacramento	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Santa Cruz	X						X-X
Espíritu Santo	X						
Benditas Ánimas del Purgatorio							X
N. S. de la Purificación/ N. S. de Copacabana/ N. S. de la Candelaria	X	X	X	X	X	X	X-X-X
N. S. del Rosario		X		X			
N. S. de la Inmaculada Concepción	X			X			X- X
Natividad de Nuestra Señora						X	
N. S. de Loreto		X					
N. S. de la Encarnación			X(*)				
N. S. de las Nieves		X					
N. S. de Surumi						X	
San Pedro	X			X	X		
San Rafael							X
San Bartolomé	X						
San Antonio	X						
Santiago	X		X(*)				
San Miguel	X	X	X(*)	X	X		
San Benito	X						
Santa Rosa		X					X
San Salvador		X	X				
San Gerónimo							
San Juan		X	X	X			

San Blas		X					
Santa Bárbara		X		X	X		X-X
San Roque			X(*)	X		X	X- X-X
San Bernabé						X	

Thus, we observe that the confraternities devoted to the Virgin had, throughout the eighteenth century, a by no means negligible role. The following appear:

- Nine brotherhoods dedicated to Nuestra Señora de la Purificación, (N. S. de la Candelaria / N. S. de Copacabana)⁴³
- Four brotherhoods dedicated to Nuestra Señora de la Inmaculada Concepción
- Two brotherhoods advocate Nuestra Señora del Rosario
- One dedicated to Nuestra Señora de la Misericordia
- One dedicated to Nuestra Señora de Loreto
- One dedicated to Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación de Tarapaya
- One dedicated to Nuestra Señora de la Asunción
- One dedicated to Nuestra Señora de Surumi
- Another dedicated to the Natividad de Nuestra Señora

In this reorganizational period, during which confraternities were attacked by the imperial administration⁴⁴ – which hardly caused them to weaken, rather, they proliferated –⁴⁵ the different Marian dedications around which the confreres gathered became local social symbols, either generating or re-signifying collective identities that, through practices such as processions and pilgrimages, defined particular territories. The metaphor of refraction is still useful in this chaotic context of transformation and deconstruction of the old doctrinal and parochial jurisdictions. On a general level, something a noteworthy occurrence is the “Marian emergence”⁴⁶ in the area, manifested

⁴³ Particularly in Potosí, the reference in the sources made to the Virgen de la Candelaria, not necessarily in Copacabana, is still a question for us. In the written record in opportunities there are mixtures in the mentions that are made to the festivities of Copacabana – Purification – Candelaria, which are sometimes synonymous, and sometimes not. That is to say: we find cases, as in the parish of San Juan de Talina, in which the advocations appear differentiated from each other, while in most cases they appear superimposed. It is important to recognize this in order to be able to reconstruct the different itineraries that articulate the holiday calendar, an issue that we try to address in other works.

⁴⁴ The Synod of Charcas specifies that the Confraternities foundations should have authorization from both the Archbishop and the Crown (Argandoña Pastén and Salazar, *Constituciones Sinodales*, 86-87).

⁴⁵ Dolores Estruch agrees to mention that the same phenomenon is repeated in Jujeño space (Estruch, *El ejercicio del poder...*)

⁴⁶ An abundant corpus of images of Marian devotion appear in the material record of the Potosine churches. Among them appear in large numbers, in addition to several Candelarias – there is no parish that does not present one or more images advocated to the Virgin of Copacabana, – la Virgen de la

in the proliferation of diverse depictions – particularly paintings and busts – around which local devotions developed, articulated through numerous religious confraternities. The refraction of the Virgen de la Candelaria, developed in Copacabana, diversified in the area of Charcas into other dedications, such as the Virgen de Cocharcas, in Nuestra Señora de Sabaya, in the Virgen de Urkupiña, and the Virgen del Socavón de Oruro, to name a few cases. As a result of the modifications in the iconography, the faithful ceased to recognize a single Mary, fueling these localisms⁴⁷. Thus, the mestizo face of Mary in her many dedications continued to be configured as the emblem of Christianity in the Andes.

The proliferation of Candelarias “refracted” into images that allude to the Virgin of Copacabana suggests that the territory, and therefore, the configuration of social identities acknowledged within it, continues to be concretely referenced. The allusion to Copacabana as a reference to a sacred space alters the original hierophany. Copacabana, as Mother and / or Andean *pacarina*, welcomes all her children under her mantle as a large collective.

On the other hand, when cross-checking the documents with material records, we observe that in Potosí, Candelaria’s process of refraction into Copacabana materializes in two particular but different cases. In this space we observe that two completely local dedications emerged from the period in which the doctrinal and parochial jurisdictions were restructured. These are two Candelarias, known as Nuestra Señora de Turqui and the Virgen de Surumi.

Regarding the Virgen de Turqui, it is a bust image of a Candelaria that was venerated in the church of Salinas de Yocalla. This church was founded by the Augustinians in 1743, at the time of the jurisdictional transformation. It was directly dependent on the Imperial Villa, along with its annex, called Ormini. This temple, a jewel of the Andean baroque, presents a series of peculiarities. Its facade is completely full of reliefs that emulate those of the parish of San Lorenzo. As it appears in their

Guadalupe, la Inmaculada Concepción, Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. As a particular topic there are three images where the Virgin Hill is represented. A first approach to the analysis of this survey appears in Candela De Luca “...*De la importante devoción a la celestial Reina María Señora Nuestra...*” Religiosidad mariana en las cofradías de indígenas de Potosí (Alto Perú) en el siglo XVIII”, in *Cofradías en el Perú y en otros ámbitos del mundo hispánico (siglos XVI al XIX)*, edited by David Fernández, Diego Lévano Medina, Diego y Kelly Montoya Estrada (Lima: Conferencia Episcopal Peruana, 2017), 405 – 422.

⁴⁷ Teresa Gisbert and José De Mesa, “La virgen María en Bolivia. La dialéctica Barroca en la representación de María” in *Barroco Andino, Memoria del I Encuentro Internacional*, (La Paz: Unión Latina, 2003).

inventories⁴⁸, their greatest wealth – not only in terms of money, but fundamentally because of its affective and cultural implications – was formed by housing the image of Nuestra Señora de Turqui. It is an image of the Virgen de la Candelaria of which a photographic assessment could not be performed.⁴⁹ However, it is described with a high degree of detail in the logbook, with the image's trousseau, which were traded as indicated by the liturgical calendar, standing out in the inventory:

La señora de Turqui, vestida de Brocato azul de plata encaje assi mesmo, forrado en tafetán Carmessi doblete, boleado con encaje de dedo, y medio ordinario, alva de Clarin, con encaje a la delantera, y otras puntas gruesas, sengulo de plata afondada azul, con sus serafines al extremo, Corona de plata, con varias piedras falzas: Una Gargantilla, con quatro sartas de Perlas chicas y unos sarcillos de oro con Diamantes chispas, que al uno le falta la mitad el pendiente de avajo: En el pecho dos sartas de perlas finas con una Cruz de esmeraldas engarzada en Oro, Contiene diez y nueve esmeraldas: Yten otra Zarta que Comprhende Catorce cuentas de oro chicas, y sus botoncitos igualmente de perlas: Um tembleque de oro filigrana con cinco perlas pequeñas. Su cena en la mano de plata a pedazos dorada, assi mesmo la Candileja; Baston de Cristal con puño y extremo de plata, -canastilla ssi mesmo de plata dorada, Una sortija con cinco esmeraldas que parecen Cristal. Otra dha con tres esmeraldas, la una grande, Otra dha de metal con cristal morado, Otra de plata sin piedra: El Niño vestido de Brocato con sombrero de plata.⁵⁰

[The lady of Turqui, dressed in blue Brocato silver lace likewise, lined in Crimson doublet taffeta, bowling with finger lace, and half ordinary, (...) with lace at the front, and other thick tips, silver seam embossed blue, with

⁴⁸ Among its many assets was a magnificent altarpiece and a large number of paintings on canvas, which were subsequently transferred to the church of San Martín.

⁴⁹ We refer to this image as a Candelaria, relying on the Schenone narration who describes it as “una de las tantas surgidas en el amplio ámbito de dispersión del fervor despertado por la Virgen del Lago. En el Museo Charcas (Sucre, Bolivia) hay un lienzo que la reproduce con sus vestidos y adornos, teniendo a sus pies los santos franciscanos Buenaventura y posiblemente Juan de Capistrano”. [One of the many emerged in the wide range of dispersion of the fervor awakened by the Virgin of the Lake. In the Charcas Museum (Sucre, Bolivia) there is a canvas that reproduces it with its dresses and ornaments, having at its feet the Franciscan saints Buenaventura and possibly Juan de Capistrano] (Schenone, *Santa María*, 535). Querejazu Leyton states that this image derives from another Candelaria, the work of Luis Niño, which is located in the Recoleta de Sucre museum. (See Pablo Querejazu Leyton, “Iconografías Marianas locales y la pintura de imágenes durante el siglo XVIII en la Audiencia de Charcas”, *Barroco Iberoamericano. Territorio, Arte, Espacio y Sociedad*. (Sevilla: Universidad Pablo de Olavide, 2001), 366

⁵⁰ AOP. *Libro de Fábrica de Salinas de Yocalla*, f. 3, (f. y v.).

its seraphim at the end, Silver crown, with several fake stones: A Choker, with four strings of small Pearls and some gold twigs with Diamond sparks, which one is missing half the slope below: On the chest two strings of fine pearls with a cross of emeralds set in gold, It contains nineteen emeralds: And it has another string that includes Fourteen small gold beads, and its equally pearl buttons: A filigree gold tremble with five small pearls. His dinner in the hand of golden silver pieces, likewise the Candileja; Crystal cane with a silver fist and end, - layette of golden silver likewise, a ring with five emeralds that look like Crystal. Another with three emeralds, the large one, another metal with purple crystal, another silver without stone: The Boy dressed as Brocato with a silver hat.]

The contrast between the baroque paraphernalia of the now-abandoned temple and the large number of luxury objects present in it is also curious, as is the total absence of documents that mention it, except for the aforementioned inventory and the images that today lie in the Charcas Museum. On the other hand, we might also wonder what the conditions that enabled us to identify the image of this Candelaria as a different dedication, the Virgen de Turqui, were. In this case, there are no references to miracles or any other particular sign, nor have we been able to observe any ethnohistoric or ethnographic sources regarding the groups that occupied this space and were part of the religious community that belonged to the parish and dedicated to the Virgin. Although the reorganization that was carried out in the Bolivian ecclesiastical archives in the 1980s correlated with the loss of a large part of the repositories, the dearth of records is striking. This perhaps shows a lack of receptivity “from below” towards this dedication, which, unlike the others mentioned, is not widely recognized even today. I propose as a hypothesis with which I will continue to work, that this was an imposition “from above” that did not have enough support to be taken up, in that it did not respect the cultural logic of the community, that is, the territorial references associated with the *wakas*.

This particular case, in which the Virgen de la Candelaria / Copacabana “refracts” in a local dedication, differs from the case of Nuestra Señora de Surumi. From the beginning of the Spanish conquest, the symbolism of these figures was used many times as a binding element around which collective identities were woven. This allowed for a better spatial organization of the population suppressed for the benefit of the crown and / or members of the clergy. In his work on the doctrines of Chayanta,

Adrián⁵¹ analyzes how a similar strategy was used by the priests of this region to counteract the adverse effects caused by the division of the doctrine of San Marcos de Miraflores from that of Surumi in 1779. As a matter of fact, the conformation of this doctrine was carried out due to the fact that it supposedly had enough resources to be a leading parish, since it housed the miraculous image of Nuestra Señora de Surumi.⁵²

This image had been introduced in August 1769 in the city of La Plata, headquarters of the Archbishopric and the Royal Audience of Charcas. The figure of the Virgin was taken there in a procession from Potosí by clergy who requested donations in order to build a sanctuary to house it, ending their route at the Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios. By not presenting a license to beg for alms, the prelates were immediately asked to suspend their demands. Such requests were unsuccessful, as this prohibition, far from achieving the expected result, caused a multitude of people to congregate around the city. This crowd

*salió acompañando a la dicha Ymagen manifestando sentimientos inducidos por dichos demandantes a que era echada y expelida de la Ciudad por las Justicias Reales contra quienes se vertieron en el vulgo con ese motivo sediciosas tumultantes especies relativas a desautorizar y desacreditar su religión y christiandad.”*⁵³

[(the crowd came out accompanying the said image expressing feelings induced by said claimants that were thrown out and expelled from the City by the Royal Justices against those who poured into the populace with that seditious motive tumultuous species related to disavow and discredit their religion and Christianity.)]

“Expediente formado acerca de la introducción a esta ciudad de la imagen titulada Nuestra Señora de Surumi y el modo que tuvieron para ella los cuatro que la condujeron. (f. 05 v.)

[File formed about the introduction to this city of the image titled Nuestra Señora de Surumi, and the way the four who led it had for it.]

⁵¹ Adrián, “El espacio sagrado”.

⁵² While the miraculous character of the image is mentioned by Platt, “The Andean Soldiers”, and Adrián, “El espacio Sagrado”. We have traced documentation that specifically describes such a claim, without unfortunately even finding it.

⁵³ ABNB. E.C. “Expediente formado acerca de la introducción a esta ciudad de la imagen titulada Nuestra Señora de Surumi y el modo que tuvieron para ella los cuatro que la condujeron,” 1769, 53.

The document continues, stating that:

*y el haver depocitado dicha Ymagen en una caseria inmediata a la Ciudad, donde concurre el pueblo en qadrillas de cuia ocacion se aprovechan dichos questores para continuar la exacción de limosnas que están recogiendo en el campo fomentando para este efecto la mal entendida compacion de la plebe y poniendo la Ciudad en un inminente riesgo de un alboroto*⁵⁴.

[... and having deposited said Image in an immediate farmhouse to the City, where the town attends in groups of whose occasion such cheaters take advantage to continue the exaction of alms they are collecting in the field, promoting for this purpose the misunderstood compassion of the plebs and putting the City at an imminent risk of a riot.]

In 1779, far from enforcing the prohibition on the request for alms, Nuestra Señora de Surumi became the leading chapel of the doctrine. Years later, this sanctuary was almost exclusively maintained by the donations from pilgrims who frequented it, seeking the Virgin's grace:

*Por ser santuario se mantiene y subsiste esta Iglecia. De lo contrario ya hubiera estado arruinada y destruida. Porque los estraños que vienen de Romería la socorren con Limosnas, Dones, O Dadivas a esta Portentosa imagen. El mes de Septiembre por la Natividad de Nuestra Señora y su novenaria se hacen las Fiestas principales y en tonces concurre mucha gente y se [...] en el Platillo con el Niño Limosna de los medios que dan los fieles en todo el Novenario se juntan ya cien pesos ya ciento y mas según el maior o menor concurso de cada año. Esta es la Renta de esta Iglecia y de lo que se forma ella. A esto se agregan las dadivas o dondes de algunas alajitas y piedritas de plata labrada y otras cositas su adoro que todo se pondrá en su lugar, año por año*⁵⁵.

[Because it is a sanctuary, this Church is maintained and subsists. Otherwise it would have been ruined and destroyed. Because strangers who come from Romería help her with alms, or gifts to this portentous image. The month of September for the Nativity of Our Lady and her novenaria the

⁵⁴ ABNB, Loc. Cit.

⁵⁵ AOP. *Libro de Fábrica de la Parroquia de Nuestra Señora de Surumi*. 1797. (f. 26 v. – f. 27 f.)

main Festivities take place and then many people attend and [...] in the plate with the Niño Limosma of the means that the faithful give in the whole Novenario they collect already one hundred pesos and one hundred and more according to the major or minor contest of each year. This is the Rent of this Church and of what it is formed. To this are added the gifts or gifts of some small boxes and pebbles of carved silver and other little things his adoration that everything will be put in place, year by year.]

Through these fragments it can be observed how, as Adrián expresses, the image of the Virgin was used by the *doctrineros* priests as an element of social bonding that summoned thousands of followers grouped in the area. For these prelates, this figure was an effective tool that brought indigenous people into its orbit when restructuring the doctrines. However, this was not only a tool for priests. The collective identities grouped around the image that the restructuring generated also enabled the logics of resource exploitation to continue, maintaining their rights in the highlands and also in the valleys. The register of the San Marcos parish states that:

[...] que hace el territorio de la Parroquia ser los adultos mil ochocientos y siete, y lo que hace al territorio de santuario aparece ser los adultos seicientos quarenta y sinco y los Parbulos ciento diez y ocho absteniéndose, como se nota en los mismos padrones, que esta sola es la Feligrecia Vecina estante, y perpetua en uno y otro territorio sin contar los que entran y salen en tiempo de siembra y cosecha y que tienen su residencia en la Puna y pertenecen a otros curatos, den donde se suponen en Padronados por sus propios párrocos.⁵⁶

[... and what makes the territory of the Parish to be the adults one thousand eight hundred and seven, and what makes the territory of the sanctuary appears to be the adults six hundred and forty-five and the Párvulos one hundred and eighteen abstaining, as noted in the same census, that this alone is the neighboring Feligresía that is, and perpetual in one and another territory without counting those that enter and leave in time of sowing and

⁵⁶ ANB, E. C. 1779. Expediente 23. *Testimonio de la división del curato de San Marcos*, 1797, 23, f. 7 f. and v.

harvesting and that have their residence in the Puna and belong to other curates, where they are supposed to be registered by their own pastors.]

The space occupied by these parishes was divided by the Rio Grande (Mayu Grande) and was composed of:

*[...] su feligresía de perpetua residencia, llega a mil quatrocientas almas: setecientas a la una vanda y otras setecientas a la otra pero en tiempo de cosechas, y también de siembras pasaran de siete mil almas, las que vienen al territorio donde esta la Parroquia, a cultivas, y recojo de sus grano [...]*⁵⁷

[... its parishioner of perpetual residence, reaches one thousand four hundred souls: seven hundred to one band and another seven hundred to the other but in time of harvests, and also of plantings will pass from seven thousand souls, those who come to the territory where the Parish is, to grow, and I pick up its grain ...]

As observed in this source, the agricultural calendar demarcated the movements of the Puna and Valle regions' populations. For the inhabitants of each side, the River was the meeting place par excellence, where *ch'allas* and libations were also held, often in the presence of the area priest⁵⁸ (see Documentary Annex Platt 1987b), which is why we consider it to be a *waka*. In this sense we agree with Costilla, who states that:

los usos y apropiaciones del espacio en términos consagatorios, desde erigir una iglesia hasta conformar una apacheta o disponer de un altar, nos remiten a procesos identitarios: a la construcción de referentes de carácter religioso y/o a la expresión de sentimientos de pertenencia e identificaciones sociopolíticas, culturales, ideológicas, etc⁵⁹.

[the uses and appropriations of space in consecrational terms, from erecting a church to forming an apacheta or having an altar, refer us to identity processes: to the construction of religious references and / or to the

⁵⁷ ABNB, E. C. 1779. Expediente 23. *Testimonio de la división...*

⁵⁸ See Platt, "The Andean Soldiers", 181 – 91.

⁵⁹ Julia Costilla, "Itinerarios religiosos y espacios sacralizados: santuarios, devotos y peregrinos en el culto al Señor del Milagro de Salta y la peregrinación a la Virgen de Copacabana en Jujuy", in *Espacialidades altoandinas. Nuevos aportes desde la Argentina. Tomo I: Miradas hacia lo local, lo comunitario y lo doméstico*, edited by Alejandro Benedetti y Jorge Tomassi, (Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires: Editorial de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras Universidad de Buenos Aires. 2014), 119 – 163.

expression of feelings of belonging and socio-political identifications, cultural, ideological, etc.]

It is clear to us that building devotions around the image of the Virgin was so effective that it wove around it a religious practice that involved the formation of a new collective identity strong enough to support the new territorial organization. This type of practice was interpreted and used by both priests and indigenous people during the parish transformation carried out by the new administration. While the prelates found mechanisms through which they were able to reduce the decline in their income by spreading this new devotion, for the natives, the Congregation around the image of Nuestra Señora de Surumi meant the possibility of maintaining their communal ties both in the highlands and the lowlands, corresponding with the *double domicile* system, as well as to preserve the festive environment that sealed the sacralization of this space through ritual practices—such as processions and pilgrimages—developed around the image / *waka* of the Virgin.

The Cultural (Re-?) Structuring of *Potosino* Space

At present, the paradigm maintaining that the Bourbons' arrival to the throne of Castile came hand in hand with the implementation of an articulated and coherent reform package, primarily regarding aspects related to ecclesiastical organization, has been called into question. On the contrary, we agree with Estruch⁶⁰, who expresses that the indigenous institutional apparatus had various means of not complying with these regulations and, conversely, of strengthening certain traditional political behaviors.

The resistance strategies mentioned here are oriented in that direction. The new administrative division is justified or resisted, depending on the case, through “re-symbolized” practices that involve aspects susceptible to both the formation of collective identities and the defense of territorial communal rights. In this context, the Marian cult operates as an identitary social matrix that legitimizes and re-signifies social practices that are associated with the expression of the cult. We agree with Barelli and Nicoletti, who understand these representations “como imaginarios sociales dominantes en un conjunto social, que se manifiestan a través de símbolos, ideas, imágenes, valores, etc. y reproducen un poder establecido, construyendo su propia identidad colectiva

⁶⁰ Estruch, *El ejercicio del poder*, 200.

representándose a sí mismas, marcando territorio, alteridades y memorias”⁶¹ [as dominant social imaginary in a social group, manifested through symbols, ideas, images, values, etc. and reproduces an established power, building their own collective identity representing themselves, marking territory, alterities, and memories.]

In Potosí, Marian refraction is permanent. Marian devotions in Potosí constitute “refractions” of the Virgen de Copacabana – which in turn is a refraction of the Candelaria – that refer to their Andean “origin,” the Titicaca *pacarina*. This refraction is also understood as the matrix of practices present in the evangelizing process developed in a different context—the 18th century. Like in the case of Surumi, the matrix that we had mentioned for Copacabana is renewed, encompassing: 1) The miracles associated with the image, 2) Enthronement in a “hierophanic” space, and 3) The resignification of that space and the renewal of its practices. In that sense, the sacred space is (re) constructed as a Hierotopy.⁶² Furthermore, and beyond the sacred nature of the space, practices of spatialization, such as the pilgrimage—devotees’ journey toward an encounter with the image—and the procession—the path the image takes in the context of public ritual—in large part build, define, and territorialize it. It is precisely those practices that articulate and enable the existence of the community, while defining its identity.

The “refracted” Marian devotions of Copacabana and, moreover, local devotions, shaped territoriality and reconfigured identities in this context of de-structuring. Beyond being a new process, references to Mary / Mother evoke a connection to the particular territory, and therefore, to collective identities. Nevertheless, this is not an ancestral question, considering the more than 200 years of “Christian rule” in the area, and especially considering that this process culminates with the Panamanian uprising that shook the region at the end of the 18th century. When observing that one of the common denominators in the three epicenters (Cuzco, La Paz, Chayanta) is a re-

⁶¹ Inés Barelli y María Andrea Nicoletti, “Devociones marianas en la ciudad de San Carlos de Bariloche (Argentina): construcciones identitarias sociales y marcas territoriales”. *Revista Brasileira de História das Religiões*, Ano VII, n. 19, vol. 7, (Maio 2014): 3.

⁶² Hierotopies allude to the dynamics of sacred spaces, capturing both its symbolic and material dimensions, as well as its performative ones. Hierotopies represent human creations that articulate the memory of hierophany. See Astrid Windus y Andrés Eichmann Oehrli, “La (re) construcción de espacios sagrados. Los proyectos hierotópicos de la Isla del Sol/Copacabana, Carabuco y La Plata” *Barroco. Mestizajes en diálogo. VIII encuentro internacional sobre Barroco*, edited by Norma Campos Vera (La Paz: Fundación Visión Cultural, 2017), 383 – 389.

appropriation and vindication of Iberian institutions, we agree with Abercrombie's statement, which proposes that:

En los Andes, la hegemonía española se nutrió y reprodujo a través de la imposición de nuevas formaciones políticas – asentamientos y puestos de autoridad civil modelados sobre, pero mantenidos aparte de un molde de pueblo español – y a través de muchas formas de teatro público y rituales mediante los cuales los andinos habrían de expresar públicamente sumisión al dominio colonial (y de esta manera, civilizarse a sí mismos). Es mi argumento que los grupos andinos modernos, tal como los conocemos en el presente, emergieron en los procesos en que los andinos tomaron en sus manos estrategias administrativas impuestas, tales como la reducción y las instituciones de doctrina, para reconstruir un sistema de articulación que servía tanto para sus propios fines como los de sus dominadores. En este proceso, los mismos vehículos con que la hegemonía debía producirse se tornaron en canales para expresar algo muy poco parecido a los que los arquitectos de la colonia habían previsto. Un tipo de resistencia “táctica” que en oportunidades deviene en terreno fértil para la rebelión.⁶³

[In the Andes, Spanish hegemony was nurtured and reproduced through the imposition of new political formations – settlements and civil authority positions modeled on, but kept apart from, a mold of Spanish people – and through many forms of public theater and rituals whereby the Andean people would publicly express submission to colonial rule (and thus, civilize themselves). It is my argument that modern Andean groups, as we know them today, emerged in the processes in which the Andean took into their hands imposed administrative strategies, such as the *reducciones* and doctrine institutions, to reconstruct an articulation system that served both for its own purposes and those of its dominators. In this process, the same vehicles with which hegemony had to occur became channels to express something very little similar to those that the

⁶³ Thomas Abercrombie, “Articulación doble y etnogénesis”, in *Reproducción y transformación de las sociedades andinas Siglos XVI-XX*, edited by Segundo Moreno y Frank Salomon (Quito: ABYA YALA, MLAL 1991), 202 – 203.

architects of the colony had foreseen. A type of “tactical” resistance that sometimes becomes fertile ground for rebellion.]

On the contrary, in the de-structuring process brought about by the reorganization of the Bourbon administration, new identities are configured in which the so-called “indigenous” or “neo-Inca” does not involve the continuation of a prevailing imaginary, but instead, the configuration of a new one that includes certain traditional elements. Within this framework exists a re-appropriation of European discourses, practices, values, symbols, and institutions, as the case of religious confraternities makes clear.