Human and Divine Love
in a Pastoral Setting: The Histories of
Copacabana on Lake Titicaca

Just before sunrise on February 2, the day of the Purification of Mary in the year 1583, a group of ten Andean men was approaching the small town of Copacabana, which from its peninsula overlooks a spacious bay on the southeastern end of Lake Titicaca. Setting out at cockcrow, they had traveled in the cold early dawn for more than two hours from the small village of Tiquina on the other side of the lake, first by boat and then by road, transporting the image of Our Lady of the Purification. Within sight of Copacabana, they were met by its governor, Jeronimo Marañón, and by the missionary priest Antonio Montoro, wearing liturgical vestments, and also by many Andean people. Arranging themselves in processional order, preceded by a banner and accompanied by the sound of trumpets, all of them together walked on to the church, where they placed the image on an altar, and Mass followed. From the missionary parish of Juli, across the lake, the Jesuit fathers had come with their rector Diego de Torres, and there were also some other Spaniards, friends of the governor, to help celebrate the occasion.

Within a few years, pilgrims from all over the Andes, and even from Europe, were visiting the Virgin of Copacabana to seek cures for disease, personal and financial misadventure, and the effects of unseasonable weather and other natural disasters. The pilgrims, although united in their desire for divine assistance, were separated by status, occupation, and culture. Spaniards and Creoles, among them landowners, members of the professions, soldiers, and the clergy suffered misfortunes, for example injuries to their honor, and requested favors matching their privileged position in

ABSTRACT In 1583 an image of the Virgin, the work of an indigenous sculptor, was set up in Copacabana on Lake Titicaca, near an ancient cult site of the Inca Sun. It soon attracted Indian and Creole pilgrims and also became known in Europe. United by their devotion to the Virgin, the pilgrims and others who sought her help did so for diverging reasons. In Creole and European terms the cult of the Virgin of Copacabana is explicable in the context of other cults of Christian miracle-working images. Viewed in its Andean context, however, it highlights deep-rooted continuities with pre-Christian observance and the autonomy and resilience of Indian religious and cultural forms.
Indigenous Andean suppliants, by contrast, sought deliverance from simpler but more fundamental ills, such as starvation and disease. Spaniards spoke to the Virgin in Spanish, while her Andean devotees addressed her in Quechua, Aymara, or another indigenous language. Even the place itself, the town of Copacabana and Lake Titicaca, meant very different things to indigenous people on the one hand and to those who had come after 1534, in the footsteps of the Spanish invaders of the Inca empire, on the other. They all thought the place was holy, and that the Virgin possessed saving powers, but their reasons for these beliefs differed profoundly and so did the manner in which they expressed their devotion.

This was not only because the Spanish had long been Christians and indigenous Andean people were recent converts but also because the place where the Virgin had arrived, Lake Titicaca and the plains, hills, and mountains surrounding it, conveyed quite different meanings to the Virgin’s diverse worshippers. For Spaniards and Creoles, the newly established cult of the Virgin represented confirmation of their victory and the victory of the Christian religion, whereas Andean worshippers who came to Copacabana were returning—as we shall see—to a region long sanctified by the presence of the Sun of the Incas. Before discussing this complex reality, some preliminary considerations are in order.

First, Spanish and Creole custodians of the Virgin’s sanctuary of Copacabana liked to interpret the continuity of the cult of the Virgin with that of Sun of the Incas in and near Copacabana as an example of *praeparatio evangelica*, a manifestation of divine providence impinging on human experience thanks to which the religion of the Incas, for all that it was a “false religion,” foreshadowed Christian truth and in some sense came to be subsumed within that truth. In this view, Copacabana was merely one of many sites in the Andes, and indeed elsewhere in the Americas, where an earlier cult, shriven of idolatrous content, was thought to have fused into a Christian one. This theological interpretation of cultic practice formed part and parcel of a view of history according to which, in the words of the historian Francisco López de Gómara, addressing the emperor Charles V: “God has wanted to reveal the Indies in your time and to your vassals, so that you should convert them to his holy law.” In the absence of this kind of conviction, the transition of one mode of worship into another confronts us not with a theological or political claim, but with the human phenomena of acculturation and assimilation, of cognitive adjustment and the resulting emergence of hybrid Christian cults that early modern missionaries attributed to the workings of providence.

As I have tried to show elsewhere and seek to show here, however (and this is my second consideration), hybridity does not explain everything. True, the landscape surrounding Copacabana and Lake Titicaca itself, long...
sacred significance when pilgrims began traveling to Copacabana to visit the Virgin. But pilgrims’ experience of this layered sacrality immanent in the landscape as they understood it diverged. In the eyes of Spaniards and Creoles, the region’s pre-Hispanic past had been overtaken by the events of invasion and conquest, most especially by the distribution of land and people in *encomienda* grants to the conquerors and their successors. While to some degree, *encomienda* grants preserved preexisting ethnic units, they nonetheless overrode the spatial, religious, and societal values that had ordered relationships among those ethnic units in Inca times. For Andean people, by contrast, those values continued to matter. Consequently, the Virgin’s interactions with her diverse suppliants unfolded in quite different cognitive worlds. For Andean people, interethnic relations that had been mapped onto the landscapes surrounding Lake Titicaca were a living reality and spoke of their ancient past. This past, although overlaid by new structures of economic and political power, has never been forgotten—not even in our own present. Spaniards and Creoles by contrast accommodated themselves comfortably to the present and recent past, in which—in their own understanding—they played a dominant role.

But, third, this did not mean that two distinct modes of viewing space and time—one Spanish, the other Andean—ran side by side. For one thing, Spanish and Andean views of space and time cannot be collapsed into unitary totalities, for both were composed of multiple strands. In addition, by their sheer coexistence in the Andean environment, these two traditions of understanding space and time impinged on each other in diverse ways. Indeed, the cult of the Virgin of Copacabana can be understood as precisely one such reciprocal impingement. For although different groups of pilgrims and devotees brought before the Virgin concerns that were dictated by their experience of distinct and indeed conflicting pasts, they were nonetheless joined into a new collectivity by virtue of their shared devotion.

Here, the timing of the cult’s emergence merits attention. In 1581, two years before the induction of the Virgin’s image into Copacabana, Francisco de Toledo ended his twelve-year term as viceroy of Peru. Those years witnessed the definitive economic and juridical incorporation of the viceroyalty of Peru into the Spanish Monarchy (*Monarquía Española*). This meant that the former empire of the Incas along with adjacent regions was united under one single source of power and authority, the Spanish crown, represented in Peru by the person of the viceroy. Whatever authority might still have been attributed to the Incas was now set aside once and for all. Furthermore, the Toledan reorganization of Peru, in particular his program of resettling indigenous people into Spanish-style towns and villages, delegitimized such narratives of the Spanish invasion, conquest, and government of
Peru as left room for ambiguity, inconclusiveness, and multiple or discordant interpretations. Selected episodes of invasion, conquest, and governance became canonical markers of the viceroyalty’s development, and whatever documents did not fit this narrative were laid to rest in Peruvian and Spanish archives—whence they have only recently reemerged. Even so, within Peru integration of different sectors of the population with one another had its limitations—as it still does. In the early seventeenth century, Peru came to be seen by those who lived there or were born there not just as a geographical region, but as a patria, a homeland. Sometimes described as the patria of all the viceroyalty’s inhabitants, and at other times only or primarily of the Creole population, the term’s ambiguities highlighted the ambivalent status of the indigenous population who were usually described as indios or naturales, not to mention the status of people of mixed descent, mestizos. The distinction between Spanish and Indian also appears in the records of the Virgin’s miracles—in short, people united by their devotion to the Virgin were at the same time kept apart both by their understanding of her presence in their lives and by their political and social status. In one sense, this still continuing differentiation between Creole and Indian, between the descendants of newcomers on the one hand and people identified as culturally and genetically indigenous on the other, tells a story of privilege and the absence thereof, respectively. In another sense, however, this social and political reality demonstrates that, for all their power, dominant narratives of invasion, conquest, and the subsequent emergence of nationhood have only succeeded partially. For to this day, in Peru as elsewhere in the Andes, the discourses of national and political belonging are far from unified—a testimony not only of disenfranchisement but also, as I try to show here, of the resilience of Andean, indigenous ways of organizing both discourse and lives.

As a result, the story told in this paper has several strands. In beginning with the pre-Christian Inca history of Copacabana, I seek to differentiate Andean from Spanish responses both to the Virgin and to the place. These responses did not fuse into a hybrid whole but remained, and to this day remain, quite distinct. Once the fame of the Virgin and her miracles had begun spreading throughout Peru, Augustinian friars, seeking to bridge the interstices between Inca past and Christian present, allegorized pre-Inca and Inca toponyms of the region along with Inca cults that had been at home there, thus subsuming the history of Copacabana and Lake Titicaca under a single Christian denominator. In Europe, meanwhile, the Virgin’s miracles were perceived as expressions and enhancements of Spain’s imperial reputation. But this was not the whole story. Hence, I next return to the Andes by way of the history of the cult of the Cross of Carabuco, a village facing Copacabana from the other side of Lake Titicaca. A regional counterpart to

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the cult of the Virgin at Copacabana, this cult did not generate a European trajectory, a fact that leads me to a concluding consideration of miracles performed by the Virgin for the indigenous people of her Andean home.

I

By 1583, Lake Titicaca was ringed by doctrinas, missionary parishes, each with its priest or priests, patron saint, and church, all of which added its own layer of sacred significance to this ancient land. Less than a day’s journey from Copacabana, at the eastern end of the lake, was Tiahuanaco, a vast ceremonial enclosure with a pyramid, a stone gateway carved from a monolith, and a group of colossal stone figures that still impress visitors with their silent majesty. These monuments, which by the sixteenth century had gathered around them their own cluster of legends, were the remains of a ceremonial center that had been created in the mid–first millennium AD as the political and religious capital of a powerful polity that extended as far as the Pacific coast and the Cochabamba valley. In 1549, the Spanish historian Pedro Cieza de Leon saw Tiahuanaco when traveling on the Inca road from Cuzco to Potosí, but his guides could tell him nothing specific about the Tiahuanaco culture. The empire that was on everyone’s mind was that of the Incas, which had come to an end when, in 1533, Francisco Pizarro and his band of followers had killed the Inca ruler Atahuallpa. But even if the Incas themselves were gone, traces and memories of them were ubiquitous in the Titicaca region.

According to Inca sacred legend, at the beginning of human history the Sun had risen from a large rock on the Island of the Sun, which is visible from Copacabana, and in addition, some people thought that the first Inca couple, children of the Sun, had set out from the Island of the Sun and the neighboring smaller Island of the Moon to make their way to their future capital of Cuzco, a twenty days’ journey to the northwest. This route, along which the Incas built their “royal road,” was also taken, so legend had it, by the Andean creator Ticci Vircocha, when he called human beings from the rocks and crags, lakes and springs of the Andean landscape, and in historical times Inca processions from Cuzco traveled to Titicaca on this same route. Proceeding toward the south beyond the lake and Tiahuanaco, the route, marked by an Inca road, continued toward Chuquisaca, now in Bolivia, and beyond. But more was at issue than merely a route, however sacred, since this line also demarcated the division between Urqusuyu, the “region of mountains” southwest of the lake, which was inhabited by people considered to be manly and powerful, and Umasuyu, “the region of water” toward the northeast, inhabited by people perceived as more yielding and inferior. In terms of the moiety division that was and is ubiquitous in the Andes,
Urququy was thus the upper moiety to Umasuyu’s lower one. Copacabana, along with the islands, was counted as Urququy.16 In the later fifteenth century, or perhaps earlier, the Incas incorporated the kingdoms of Umasuyu and Urququy into their empire, favoring, so it would seem, the latter. At any rate, more than a century later, people still remembered that the Inca had honored the warlike people of Urququy by allowing them to stand at his right, but had expressed less appreciation for those of Umasuyu.17 The islands appear to have been holy for the preceding millennium or longer, and now, after an initial visit by the Inca Pachacuti, his son and successor Tupa Yupanqui incorporated them into the sacred geography and ritual structure of his empire.18 The original inhabitants of the Island of the Sun were moved to nearby Yunguyu, to be replaced by Inca nobles, by acllas, or chosen women of the Sun, and by state settlers who looked after the new Inca buildings. These included gateways marking access to the sacred rock, a temple of the Sun, a house for the acllas, and a platform from which ordinary pilgrims could view the rock, while the more privileged were allowed to come face to face with it close up. From a plaza in front of the rock it was possible to watch the sun set between two horizon markers at the June solstice, which was a major Inca festival. Other buildings were erected on the Island of the Moon.19 Also special plants, including coca and maize and molle and aliso trees were cultivated on the islands for use in cultic activities, and perhaps as well to reflect the ecological diversity of the empire.20 Copacabana became the home of mitimaes, state settlers drawn from forty-two Andean nations, so that all or most of the Inca’s subjects were represented in the cult of the Inca’s principal deity. Pilgrims, once they reached Yunguyu, were supplied from Inca state storehouses and passed through an elaborate sequence of rituals of purification and confession before being allowed to proceed to the island.21

The arrival of the Spanish in the region in 1534 ended the formal cult of the Sun. The Inca storehouses were looted, many of the mitimaes living in Copacabana went home, and people who had been employed in the cult of the Sun on the islands dispersed. The region became enveloped in the conflict not only between Spaniards and Incas but also, internally, among members of the Inca ruling lineages. Manco and Paullu Inca, sons of Guayna Capac who was the last Inca to rule before the Spanish invasion, took opposing sides in the wars of conquest, with Paullu supporting the Spanish, while Manco Inca opposed them. Both brothers asserted their authority in Copacabana.22 When a certain Apuchalco Yupanqui, the son of the lord whom the Inca Tupac Yupanqui had installed there sided with the Spanish, Manco arranged for him to be killed.23 Paullu in his turn ordered the assassination of the lord of nearby Pomata, who had hesitated in demonstrating appropriate deference to him on the ground that the Spanish were now in

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charge. Paullu also visited the Island of the Sun and abducted as his wife the principal aclla who was still living there, a daughter of Guayna Capac. In 1545, the emperor Charles V legitimated the children of this union and granted to them and their father a coat of arms displaying a black eagle flanked by palm trees in a field of gold, with a crowned tiger between crowned serpents in a blue field, the whole surrounded by eight stars and the words AVE MARIA, Paullu having by this time become a Christian. One of Paullu’s grandchildren, Doña Maria Pilcosisa, was still living in Copacabana in the early seventeenth century, and at the time when the image of Mary was received, Don Alfonso and Don Pablo Inca, sons of the Apuchalco Yupanqui whose death had been brought about by Manco Inca, ruled over the Andean people of the place.

After the upheavals of invasion, conquest, and civil war, peace of a kind had come to Copacabana, and to Peru at large. At Guarina, a settlement situated on the Inca road that passed the northeast side of Lake Titicaca, where in 1547 “the demon of the Andes,” Francisco Carvajal, had defeated Diego Centeno, the chapel that had been built to remember the hundreds who had fallen and had been buried in a mass grave, stood in lonesome disrepair. Did Andean passersby perhaps see the unquiet souls of those alien dead men, creatures of a former generation, gliding across the fields eager to seize one of the living? At any rate, people did still travel on this Inca road. Many others used the Inca road that skirted the southwestern lake shore and led from Cuzco into Upper Peru, but it was with different errands than formerly. Whereas under the Inca, artisans and craftspeople had been sent to Cuzco, among them Lupaqa stonemasons who helped erect the city’s buildings, the Spanish required laborers, mitayoq, to take their annual turn at working in the silver mines of Potosí. Copacabana consisted of more than 800 households, and was obliged to send, every Advent season, 162 mitayoq, who made the long journey accompanied by family members and small caravans of llamas to carry supplies sufficient for some portion at least of their time away from home.

Most of those who stayed behind tilled the fields and herded livestock, and it was these people who were faced with starvation when, in February 1582, as so often in other years, frost threatened to destroy the harvest. Copacabana’s patroness was Santa Ana, but in this emergency, the upper moiety, Anansaya, which included the Incas, wanted to found a confraternity to honor Santa Ana’s more powerful daughter, the Virgin Mary. At this very time, Don Francisco Titu Yupanqui, a kinsman of Don Alfonso and Don Pablo, was studying the art of image-making in Potosí so as to create an image of “la Candelaria,” the Virgin of the Purification, whose feast was the second day of February. Everything therefore seemed to fall into place perfectly in terms of inaugurating the cult of Mary as Copacabana’s new...
patroness. But things did not go as planned. The bishop of Charcas flatly refused to give Don Francisco the necessary ecclesiastical license to make sacred images and contemptuously dismissed him as qualified only to “paint the monkey with her tail.” In addition, in Copacabana itself, Anansaya’s project reawakened old rivalries. Anansaya was the moiety of the Incas and of other powerful newcomers who had settled in Copacabana when the cult of the Sun on the island was organized, while the lower moiety of Urinsaya comprised the original population. These people were unwilling to fall in with Anansaya’s initiative and insisted that if a confraternity for a new patron were to be founded, it should be to honor Saint Sebastian, whose specialized expertise in rescuing victims of plague seemed more appropriate for the occasion.

Don Francisco persevered in his image-making, however, overcoming practical as well as aesthetic obstacles. Repeatedly, his image developed cracks, forcing him, each time, to begin anew. But in the end, with the help of a Spanish dorador, a specialist in polishing and painting religious images, he finished his work. It even seemed that, although he never obtained an episcopal license, the Virgin herself was on his side, since at night a supernatural luminosity began to emanate from her portrait, as though she herself had chosen it as her dwelling place. Meanwhile, Don Alfonso gained the bishop’s permission to found a confraternity of Our Lady in Copacabana, in the face of which ongoing contradiction by Urinsaya was useless. Everything was thus ready for the reception of the Virgin on that early morning of February 2, 1583. The story did not end there, for the Virgin rewarded her supporters: she sent much needed rain to fall on a field that Anansaya had set aside to provide revenue for her cult, and, in due course, despite Urinsaya’s continuing hostility, she rained on their fields as well, thereby transforming them from enemies into devotees. This reconciliation between the two moieties was instrumental in bringing about the institutionalization of the cult and contributed to the Virgin’s growing fame.

II

The Spanish, on their side, despite the bishop’s refusal to grant Don Francisco an image-maker’s license, eventually recognized the Virgin as one of their own. Indeed, the president of the audiencia, the court of appeals in La Plata, honored Don Francisco by inviting him to be seated in his presence. In addition, trials and tribulations analogous to the ones that had accompanied the emergence of the Virgin of Copacabana were familiar from elsewhere, and they helped to authenticate and promote the power of the image in question: whether this was the Virgin of Monserrat in
Catalonia; the Virgin of the Pillar in Zaragoza; the Virgin titled “La Antigua” in Seville; the Virgins of Guadalupe in Extremadura, Spain, and Mexico, not to mention other Virgins in Peru. Miraculously discovered or rediscovered, created by the hands of angels or saints, or simply by the hands of an ordinary human being, religious images required a process of collective authentication, and preferably a miracle as well, to initiate a cult. At Copacabana, the first miracle was that of an Andean sculptor who had surmounted many obstacles in order to create a form that captured divine beauty; as one Spanish Peruvian wrote, just as formerly God had chosen David, the youngest son of Jesse, to combat Goliath, so here he chose not a Spaniard but the Andean neophyte Francisco Titu Yupanqui to create the likeness of Mary. The obstacles were human, and the power that overcame them was divine; salvation, as in the case of Urinsaya, might be involuntary, but that made it all the more compelling.

Before long, the Virgin’s reputation spread beyond the community that had welcomed her. A good many of the Andean people, Spaniards, Creoles, and African slaves who were traveling on the ancient route from Cuzco along the southern lake shore to Potosí and beyond, took the short detour on the old pilgrimage road to Copacabana that had formerly given access to a very different deity. Others came specifically as pilgrims, often from far away. They implored the Virgin’s aid, and, when help came, they expressed their gratitude. Take the Spaniard Escoto, whose flock of sheep was being swallowed up in a river torrent: in desperation he invoked the Virgin of Copacabana, promising her a share of all future income, and she saved the sheep. Escoto began his offering of thanks with a sanctuary lamp of one hundred silver marks, and, since he continued to prosper, he increased his gift to an enormous lamp of fifteen hundred marks of silver, which, encircled by 365 candleholders, was far too large to be hung and therefore stood in the church on pillars. “In its kind,” an observer felt, “it is the first marvel of the world.” Not a trace remains of this marvel, but in its day Escoto’s sanctuary lamp, by its sheer size, was an eloquent expression of Spanish devotion to the Virgin and her church.

In 1589, six years after the induction of the Virgin’s image into Copacabana, the Order of Saint Augustine assumed management of the shrine by virtue of a royal decree. Three Augustinian friars took solemn possession of the doctrina, established a monastery, and henceforth acted as custodians of the image. They kept a formal record of the Virgin’s miracles, and they also handled her correspondence: for, not infrequently, those who could not come in person wrote to the Virgin requesting her aid. For example, an orphan girl who wanted to become a nun but lacked the required dowry to be accepted into a convent wrote from Cuzco:
To my Lady and Most Sovereign Queen Mary of Copacabana, Mother of God and of orphans like myself. My Queen and Lady, in your hands I place my remedy, and so please favor this your orphan and smallest slave María Magdalena, since I have no other succor or to whom to raise my eyes except you. Ask your son that he give me the estate in which I can serve him. From this Convent of my mother Saint Clare in Cuzco.44

The dowry was procured and the girl entered the convent as a professed nun. But not all the Virgin’s clients were so submissive. Indeed, some of them had to be firmly controlled, as when the representative of the governor of Copacabana angrily beleaguered the prior because he would not allow the Virgin’s image to be processed round the town merely to enhance profits at the local fair.45 By this time, in 1652, the Virgin of Copacabana attracted pilgrims from great distances, and her festivals had become not just religious but also secular occasions.

Yet Copacabana’s pre-Christian past was not easily forgotten—as the Augustinian friar Alonso Ramos Gavilán wrote in 1621 in his History of Our Lady of Copacabana, Andean people would remember the temple on the Island of the Sun “as long as they continue to remember their origins.”46 Aware of this reality, the friars shortly after they arrived resettled people who were still living on the Island of the Sun in the town of Copacabana, hoping thereby to discourage ongoing clandestine worship at the ancient holy site. An earlier attempt at resettlement had been made by the parish priest Monteoro.47 Even so, the island continued to be inhabited at least seasonally, and throughout the Andes mountains, lakes, and islands spoke in the voices of the huacas, the indigenous gods. For some Andean people, this immanence of the huacas in the land generated a veritable inner combat in which the huacas fought against the Christian god for possession of the worshiper’s heart. Sometimes such battles were resolved when a person took refuge in the shadow of the Virgin by visiting her in pilgrimage. At other times, missionary clergy diagnosed the phenomenon as possession by a huaca, which was analogous to possession by demons and unclean spirits as described in the New Testament, an affliction that Jesus and the apostles had cured by exorcism. Even so, the verbal battles between Christian priest and Andean deity—or demon—that were formalized in liturgical exorcism did not always achieve the desired result of silencing the latter.48 Instead, by describing the huacas as demons, missionaries endowed them with a new mode of existence because demons were understood to possess real power. It was, however, the wrong kind of power. Why and how the power was wrong, or negative, could only be comprehended by entering into and appropriating as one’s own the monotheistic, Christian cognitive system within which such definitions were meaningful.
This was why, periodically, missionaries found argument, including rituals of exorcism, to be an ineffective means of persuasion and why, as a result, the systematic destruction of Andean holy sites and *huacas* in campaigns described as extirpation of idolatries was chosen as a supplementary remedy. Members of the Order of Saint Augustine were as busy as others in these efforts, but at the same time they were groping for ways of conceptualizing and achieving the Christianization of people and places in terms of a metamorphosis that was not primarily conflictual and destructive. Raised on Augustine’s scriptural exegesis, the Augustinian friars were fond of allegories and metaphors and extended them from the exegesis of scripture to their missionary work in the Andes. Allegorizing the names of Andean places of worship and of Andean deities, the friars imposed new Christian meanings on ancient sacred sites and on the myths and histories told about them, thereby concealing or overruling the original significance of both. The process was not dissimilar to that of combating Andean deities in the guise of demons. On the one hand, allegorization substituted the new for the old, but on the other, the very existence of the new was predicated on the old, which was thereby endowed with a continuing, now subaltern, validity.

In this vein, Ramos Gavilán liked reflecting on scriptural and European antecedents of the transformation of Copacabana from an Inca into a Christian holy place. An idol, or *huaca*, named Copacabana had been discovered at Yunguyo, where in Inca times the pilgrimage to the Island of the Sun used to begin in earnest. For it was here that the pilgrims made their first confession of sins and performed their first rituals of purification, both of which they reiterated several times before coming face to face with the temple and the sacred rock on the island. The *huaca* named Copacabana was a face carved in bluish stone, which had looked out toward the island, pointing out the pilgrims’ route. Ramos Gavilán felt that this solar orientation of the Andean sacred stone expressed a certain truth, for even in their error, Andean worshippers of the sun in the sky had prophetically pointed to Jesus the Sun of Justice. Formerly the landscape had told a pagan truth, but henceforth it would tell a Christian one. For just as, according to Christian legend, the idols of Egypt had fallen down when Mary, Jesus, and Joseph passed by on their flight from King Herod, so now the Andean idols were falling before Mary, who was described in one of her litanies as the “radiant gate of light” through which the light of Christ was shining into the world. Local toponyms seemed to support such interpretations. Copacabana, so Ramos Gavilán was told, meant “the place where the precious stone is to be seen.” Initially, he believed, this was the idol, but really the name referred to the stone of which a prophet had said, “I shall give a stone for the sanctuary,” an expression referring to the Virgin Mary, by whose agency the sanctuary of the church was augmented. The idol Copacabana looked out toward the
Sun of the Incas, whereas Mary, the true precious stone, never removed her eyes from the Sun of Justice, or, in the words of the Song of Songs, "I am my beloved's, and his desire is toward me."\textsuperscript{54}

Ramos Gavilán was not alone in seeing the love story of the Song of Songs, which had long been allegorized into stories about the love between Christ and the church, and between Mary and her devotees, played out anew around the shores of Lake Titicaca. As another Augustinian friar, the poet Fernando de Valverde, expressed it, “The divinity is manifest in the place.”\textsuperscript{55} Valverde made the pilgrimage to Copacabana in 1636 and five years later published a very long poem, a tapestry of allegories derived from the Song of Songs, the Eclogues and Aeneid of Vergil, and Dante’s Commedia by way of remembering and explaining his experience. The Virgin is present in the poem as the Shulamite of the Song of Songs, who in Valverde’s opinion was a shepherdess, which is why he also names her Amaryllis, after Amaryllis the beloved of Tityrus in Vergil’s first Eclogue.\textsuperscript{56} Elsewhere in the poem, Mary’s ordaining of the religious and political destinies of Peru and Spain is modeled on the action of Vergil’s Jupiter, the sovereign deity who in the Aeneid ordains the destiny of Rome.\textsuperscript{57} Valverde’s poem as a whole describes the journey of the shepherd Graciano, a child of God’s grace, to the sanctuary of his beloved Amaryllis, the Virgin of Copacabana, where he arrives in the company of other personages whom he has saved from the baneful influence of Lucifer, from the now darkened Sun of the Incas and from a fury who is modeled on Vergil’s Alecto.\textsuperscript{58} Lake Titicaca thus becomes the setting into which the journey of Aeneas from Troy to Italy, and to a certain extent also Dante’s journey into hell, through purgatory, and into paradise are relocated.\textsuperscript{59} This literary conceit is underpinned by the notion, much discussed by missionaries in Spanish America, that the ancient conflict between God—or here, the Virgin Mary as God’s agent—and the demonic power of idolatry that formerly raged in Europe was now being battled out in the New World. Periodically, Copacabana surfaces in the thoughts and before the eyes of the participants in this drama until, marked overhead in the sky by a circle of twelve stars, it becomes manifest to them as their ultimate terrestrial and celestial goal:

Her foundation is in the holy mountains.
The Lord loveth the gates of Zion more than all the dwellings of Jacob.
Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God.\textsuperscript{60}

For many Peruvians and for the friars of Saint Augustine who looked after her shrine, the Virgin of Copacabana was a transforming presence, the means whereby the drama of salvation was enacted for them not in distant Europe but in their own land. The City of God was indeed a metaphysical and ubiquitous reality, but it also materialized at Copacabana in a unique, tangible way by means of Mary’s portrait. Here, Nature and Grace had
cooperated by guiding the hand of Francisco Titu Yupanqui so that he created a form in which the Virgin Mary was present and active: a focal point of hope, prayer, and love. The image and the pilgrim traffic it generated Christianized the Titicaca landscape, and, at the same time, it endowed biblical and classical literature with a Peruvian hue: “Sustain me with flowers, comfort me with apples, for I am sick with love,” the beloved had said in the Song of Songs, and the Augustinian friars hoped that in order to comfort the beloved they might create at Copacabana “a peacable meadow which by its beauty invites refreshment,” or, as scripture had it, “Your plants are a paradise.” Who exactly was to be refreshed, and who were lover and beloved, was often left unspoken in these Augustinian allegories, which helps to explain how the Virgin of Copacabana could become the focus of such a polyphony of devotions, the recipient of votive gifts of every kind from rich and poor alike, the dedicatee of numerous books and the catalyst of emotional experiences both real and imagined.

The Virgin of Copacabana thus became famous. The image maker Francisco Titu Yupanqui himself was requested to make a copy of the original image for the church of Pucarani near Copacabana, and he did so. In Lima, the Virgin of Copacabana possessed a well-endowed and much frequented chapel with its own confraternity in the cathedral, as well as a church of her own. In Potosí one of the parish churches was dedicated to her, and elsewhere in the Andes she was honored by confraternities and in private devotions, not to mention those of the many pilgrims who visited her sanctuary on Lake Titicaca every year. Spanish and Creole Peruvians adorned the Virgin of Copacabana with scriptural imagery, especially images derived from the Song of Songs, as the supernatural presence through whom the indigenous people around Lake Titicaca were becoming Christians, and as the divine energy that was transforming the pagan and idolatrous topographies of Lake Titicaca into Christian ones, into Peru’s own City of God. The men who propagated such ideas, for the most part Augustinian friars, had all visited or lived in Copacabana and in their different ways identified with its history and loved the place.

When in due course the Virgin’s fame spread from the Andes to Europe, such locally rooted perceptions and affections mattered hardly at all. Instead, seen from the Old World, Peru was the grand theater of the combined triumph of Spanish arms and the Christian faith, and the Virgin of Copacabana enhanced this achievement. In 1655, a portrait of her statue painted on canvas was installed in the church of the Order of Saint Augustine in Rome, and the occasion was marked by an eight-day festival. By way of acknowledging the political as well as religious significance of the event, and by way of acknowledging Spain’s once again rising reputation in the Holy City, the papal nuncio to the Spanish court Cardinal Julio Rospigliosi preached...
the sermon, and soon this image, like its prototype, began performing miracles. In 1662, another copy of the image of Copacabana was placed in the convent of the discalced Augustinians in Madrid, and further copies were to be found in the Augustinian college of Doña Maria de Aragón and the hospice of Saint Ildefonso in that city. The Duque de Sermoneta had an image of the Virgin of Copacabana in his private chapel, and a further one was in the Augustinian college in Alcalá de Henares. Whereas in the Andes the Virgin of Copacabana was addressed as kindly protector and heavenly friend, steward of divine grace for all who took refuge with her, in Europe her cult—albeit not lacking in miracles—was more formal and perhaps more political. She was addressed as “guide and protector of the empire of Peru” and in this capacity helped to put Peru and Lake Titicaca on the map for Europeans. They were thus able to incorporate the Virgin of Copacabana, Peru’s own special patroness, among other national Virgins of European countries: the favor bestowed by the divine Virgin of Halle on the Belgians, by the Virgin of Guadalupe on the Spanish, by the Virgin of Le Puy-en-Velay on the French, by the Virgin of Claramonte on Poles and by the Virgin of Loreto on Italians [corresponds to] the favor bestowed by the divine Virgin of Copacabana on those who live in the Indies.

Published in 1672, Pedro Calderón de la Barca’s play entitled *Dawn in Copacabana*, which appears to have been performed in Madrid during the preceding year, spelled out this European message. The play wraps into one single story the invasion and conquest of the Inca empire and the emergence of the Virgin of Copacabana. Hence, the sculptor Titu Yupanqui is first seen—quite inaccurately—as a nobleman at the Inca court and lover of the lady Guacolda, an aclla destined to be sacrificed to the Sun so as to save the Incas from their Spanish enemies. What the play’s viewers know, but the *dramatis personae* do not, is that the recipient of the sacrifice would not be the Sun, but the potent figure of Idolatry, who is represented as a female personification. The conquest completed, Guacolda and Titu Yupanqui live as a loving Christian couple in Copacabana, where Titu Yupanqui, in accord with the familiar story, is laboring to sculpt the image of the Virgin, only to find his work destroyed by a vindictive Idolatry. Finally, with Idolatry ousted and the Virgin supreme, the play ends with the celebration of the advent of a new Dawn, that is, the Virgin Mary, who, as Peruvian Augustinian friars had already speculated, inaugurates the dominion of a better Sun, who is Christ the Sun of Justice.

While human agents struggle toward perceiving this better Sun, supernatural agents, that is, Idolatry and the Virgin Mary, incorporate human action into a cosmic battle between evil and good that continues until good prevails. It is a story of evangelization as seen from Europe, its message clear...
and unproblematic, as when in the concluding act of the play Titu Yupanqui, formerly an Inca nobleman, appears, according to the stage directions, “in humble Spanish dress, with workshop, tools, and other implements of a sculptor, working on a rough wooden image.” Given its imperfections, the image is finished by angels, in accordance with the precedent of the image of the Virgin of the Kings in the cathedral of Seville. This latter image, crafted by angels, had helped Fernando III in the conquest of that city in 1248. It was perhaps in further accord with this peninsular precedent that Calderón explicitly identified the Virgin of Copacabana with the Virgin who, according to several historians, had helped the Spanish during the long and costly siege of Cuzco.

III

Such European triumphalist interpretations of the histories of Peru and the Virgin of Copacabana were utterly removed from the experience of the Andean people among whom she had emerged and from the geographical environment, the landscape in which they lived. People who had never so much as seen this landscape could not fathom its eloquence in the minds of the Andean people who lived in it. In the course of the sixteenth century, this eloquence was attenuated by the imposition of Christianity and an alien economic and political system on the indigenous population. With the Incas gone, the distinction between Umasuyu and Urququy that constituted the enclave of Copacabana lost much of its public and political importance, but it appears to have reemerged in one respect, in that Umasuyu also acquired its Christian symbol and holy place. For in the later sixteenth century, across the lake from Copacabana in the village of Carabuco, formerly a way station, a tambo on the Inca road of Umasuyu, a cross emerged in the course of a dispute between Urinsaya and Anansaya, that is, in circumstances not entirely dissimilar from those that in Copacabana led up to the entry of the Virgin into the area. It happened that one year the feast of Corpus Christi fell on the same date as the Andean celebration of the winter solstice, which some of the people of Carabuco were still observing in the traditional way with ritual drinking, in the course of which a quarrel erupted. The indigenous Urinsayas reviled the Anansayas as carpetbagging newcomers who had to be supported by charity. Anansaya in return accused Urinsaya of sorcery, asserting that Urinsaya’s ancestors had in former times murdered a saint called Tunupa: Urinsaya . . . said as an affront to Anansaya that they were strangers and newcomers, people without fields and a home of their own, who were being supported by charity on the fields of Urinsaya. Anansaya retorted that they had come to the region sent by the Inca. For the Inca, knowing Urinsaya to be wicked and disloyal to their
natural lord, ordered them to be subject, and let them know that they were idolatrous of evil inclination and sorcerers, and that it was their forebears who had stoned a saint to death, and had tried to burn the cross which he had in his possession. And this cross they had hidden, not wanting to reveal where it was.

Before long, the local parish priest heard about the cross, insisted that it be produced, and placed it in the local church. Shortly thereafter, three copper nails also showed up, and “they were of the same workmanship and form as the ones which they paint of Christ Our Lord.” People began visiting the cross and chipping pieces from it until the bishop of Charcas had it removed to a more protected location. In 1598, befitting its sanctity, the cross was installed on the high altar.

But who was the saint? In a number of places, ranging from Huarochirí in the foothills of the Andes near Lima, to Cacha in the valley of Cuzco, to Lake Titicaca and Paraguay, people knew about a venerable stranger, a deity in disguise who had arrived asking for hospitality, had been mocked or turned away, and according to some accounts had avenged himself by visiting misfortune on his detractors. In the Titicaca region, the stranger was known as Tunupa and was thought to have visited Carabuco, the Island of the Sun, Tiquina, Tiahuanaco, and other places. Memories about him were everywhere. The Jesuit lexicographer Ludovico Bertonio learned from his informants in Juli that Tunupa was the principal deity of the Aymara and had combated local deities, among them a mountain named Aahuacasa. Bertonio considered such stories to be “unworthy not only of God but of any reasonable person” but also heard other accounts of Tunupa that “somewhat resemble the mysteries of our holy faith.” These were the aspects of Tunupa that Anansaya in Carabuco highlighted in order to incriminate their opponents. The stranger, they asserted, had performed “great miracles and marvels, which is why . . . they called him Tunupa, which means to say, great wise man and lord. This glorious saint, because of his preaching, was persecuted, and finally martyred.”

The story, along with the entire series of Andean accounts about the mysterious stranger, converged with speculations by certain missionaries who thought that one of Christ’s original apostles must have reached the Americas. For to these men it seemed inconceivable that God would have left an entire continent in spiritual darkness for so many centuries. Tunupa therefore became one of the apostles, and the god’s teachings and battles with other deities were transformed into the teachings and spiritual battles of the Apostle of the Andes. This superimposition of a Christian figure onto a pre-Christian deity and the subsequent re-imposition of a remembered pagan past onto a now Christian matrix had age-old European antecedents. Early Christian images of Christ hark back to ideal and divine personages of the Greeks and Romans, and in early Germanic Europe the crucified Christ’s victory...
over death became the victory of a warrior king. Space also was Christianized in light of what had gone before. This could be in actual fact, as when Pope Gregory the Great recommended that missionaries in Anglo Saxon England make use of existing sacred buildings by reconsecrating them and installing Christian altars—an episode that was remembered by missionaries in the Andes. Elsewhere, Christian monuments acquired a legendary pagan past retroactively. Medieval Romans, for example, thought that the church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli on the Capitoline Hill in Rome had been erected on the site where the emperor Augustus heard the Tiburtine Sibyl’s prophecy of the coming of Christ. The issue here is not that paganism “survived” in Christian guise, or that pagan and Christian elements mingled in some kind of “syncretism.” Instead, in Europe as in the Andes, those living in any given present sought out their own “usable pasts.”

In the Andes, not long after the emergence of the Cross of Carabuco, relics and traces of the Apostle, including his footprints, were discovered in various places. The Old World also had such footprints, like the ones left by Christ on the ground of the temple in Jerusalem that were observed by pilgrims. But the Andean footprints of the Apostle have their own Andean characteristics. In addition, these footprints reactivated ancient memories. Before the coming of the Spanish, the travels of Tunupa, the venerable stranger, had produced their own sacred topography because the stranger’s presence was recalled not just in general terms, but in specific places. The same occurred in the case of the Apostle. One of his footprints was discovered, not surprisingly, on the Island of the Sun. Another appeared near Calango off the Pacific coast some fifteen leagues south of Lima on a bluish-white rock that gleamed like silver when the light of the sun or moon shone on it and was known as Coyllur Sayana, the “place where the star rested.” Missionaries who investigated this huaca, this rock, were told that the star had fallen from heaven to punish two lovers who, in contempt of the traces of the Apostle, had met on this holy spot. However, since other Andean holy places in the region had also been marked by meetings of lovers, it would seem that the lovers and the star were of pre-Columbian origin, and the Apostle’s footprint was a Christian afterthought, even though accounts of lovers, star, and footprint mutated so as to make sense in relation to each other in the context of evangelization. Other apostolic footprints were in Lampas in Caxatambo, in the village of Colina in Chachapoyas, in the vicinity of Piura in northern Peru, and in Loxa in what is now Ecuador. In addition, after the eruption of the volcano near Arequipa in 1600, a finely woven golden yellow tunic and two shoes were found near Quilca on the Pacific coast, and at the same time a sandal appeared near La Guarca, in the vicinity of Arequipa. All these items possessed miraculous properties and were thought to have belonged to the Apostle. Thus, before the coming of
the Spanish, the venerable stranger sanctified the places he visited, imbuing them with his remembered presence, whereas in Christian times the Apostle reactivated those older memories even while reformulating them.

Spanish and Creole authors who wrote about the traces left by the Apostle used them to map his itinerary and to list the places he visited; regularly, local mythology confirmed these speculations and archaeological investigations. Pre-Christian and Christian legends thus intertwined and brought into existence a new corpus of legend, much as had often happened in Europe. But there was also a more specifically Andean, that is, pre-Hispanic dimension to these legends and material remains, for, apart from marking the Apostle’s itinerary, they reflect not only the earlier itineraries of Andean gods but also the colonial itineraries of the many Andean people who passed through Carabuco and Copacabana and who carried news of the Apostle and the Virgin back to their homes. The creation of usable pasts was thus embedded in ongoing reformulations of the meaning conveyed by the landscape, by sacred and natural geography.

The circulation of information about the Virgin and the Apostle radiating from Lake Titicaca was in the first instance a product of the old Inca road system, with the road of Umasuyu passing near Carabuco, and that of Urququyu passing near Copacabana. It was on this latter road that in 1590 three women, mother, daughter, and granddaughter, were traveling from Cuzco to Potosí when the little girl fell mortally ill. The two older women offered her up to the Virgin of Copacabana, and, in her delirium the girl saw the Mother of God between two angels, urging that they all come to her shrine. Arrived there, the girl, having recovered, recognized the angels and image of the Virgin over the altar as being the same personages she had seen in her illness. A good many other pilgrims and visitors who came to Copacabana were from Cuzco, Canas and Chanchas, and Potosí: the shrine was situated near the route that linked these places, and news of it therefore spread to travelers. Also, not surprisingly, many pilgrims came from Huancahuana, Tiquina, Yunguyu, Ilavi, Juli, Pomata, Chucuito, and other towns and villages around the lake, including Copacabana itself. Others, from Tiahuanaco, La Paz, and Larecaja, were living in a not so distant vicinity. These movements of people and religious traditions reached far back to the Andean past, as when the Creator Ticci Viracocha, followed by the first Incas, traveled from Tiahuanaco, or from Titicaca to Cuzco. Other ancient cultural and political links extended from Titicaca to Arequipa, Moquegua, and Azapa near and on the Pacific coast, this being the region where the Apostle’s footprint, tunic, and shoes had been scattered.

Alongside traces of the Apostle, souvenirs of the Virgin also circulated. In 1618 she brought back from the dead an Andean man from Arequipa because he was wearing her \textit{medida}, a scapular bearing her portrait, on his
body. Such tokens of the miracle-working power of sacred images were produ-
ced and sold in Andean pilgrimage sanctuaries and circulated widely, as is
still the case.99 In thanksgiving for the Virgin’s favor, the man made the pil-
grimage to Copacabana, traveling on the Inca road to get there.100 In Inca
times, this road would have been frequented by people who lived in that
region and beyond, in communities on the Pacific coast that were subject to
the Lupaqa nation of Chucuito.101 Even before the Incas, the Titicaca region
and the Pacific coast were linked through political, economic, and cultural
exchanges that reach back to the late first millennium BC and can be docu-
mented in ceramic and textile styles and techniques.102 In such a context,
the medida from Copacabana that helped our pilgrim recover his life, and
likewise the traces of the Apostle, stand in a long tradition of different kinds
of expertise emanating from Titicaca and the Altiplano toward the Pacific
coast. Other traces of the Apostle were seen in regions such as Chachapoyas
that in Inca times had sent state settlers to Copacabana.

IV

The Apostle’s Cross of Carabuco and the Virgin of Copacabana
emerged almost simultaneously, and news of both spread on the basis of old
established Andean patterns of cultural and political exchange between Tit-
icaca and the Pacific coast region that were reshaped in Spanish times, as
new routes of trade and wayfaring came into existence to supply the needs
of the ever-growing population of the mining center of Potosí.103 News of
the Apostle, the Cross of Carabuco, the Virgin of Copacabana, and her mir-
acles was also spread by the Jesuits at Juli.104 For although the Jesuits took
the story about the Apostle with a grain of salt, since the early histories of
the church provided no information about him, they were prepared to
agree that a disciple of the apostles did appear to have come to Brazil and
thence to Paraguay. Indeed, Jesuit missionaries in Paraguay were told about
a divine figure whom some of them identified with such a disciple. From
Paraguay, the disciple had journeyed to the Titicaca region, taking the
route on which the Incas had traveled in the opposite direction when trying
to stabilize the frontier between themselves and the Chiriguana nations of
Paraguay.105 Critical though the Jesuits were of some of the more fanciful
exegetical leaps taken by the friars of Saint Augustine, the two orders were
at one in their readiness to acknowledge the workings of God’s providence
in the histories of the Cross of Carabuco, the Virgin of Copacabana espe-
sially, and the history of Peru more broadly.

This theological attitude arose in significant part out of the political con-
victions of many members of these two orders. The Jesuit Diego de Torres,
who in 1583 joined in the celebration of the inauguration of the Virgin’s
image in Copacabana; the Augustinian friar Alonso Ramos Gavilán, who wrote the history of the Virgin of Copacabana; and the historian of the order, Fray Antonio de la Calancha, were equally convinced that the harsh lot endured by the majority of Andean people under Spanish rule required intervention by the crown. To make their cases, these religious men affirmed the particularity and validity of Christian experience among Andean people. As emerges when we compare the distinct histories of the Cross of Carabuco and the Virgin of Copacabana, the outcomes could be more than merely theoretical. The image of the Virgin was backed by the prestige and resources of a major religious order. This helps to explain why her cult spread throughout the Andes and even in Europe, and why it endures to this day, while the Cross of Carabuco remained a more local and ephemeral phenomenon. Along with the fame of the Virgin spread that of the sculptor Francisco Titu Yupanqui. For Ramos Gavilán’s numerous readers found in his Historia a detailed account of the genesis of the image written not by Ramos Gavilán, but by the sculptor himself in his own very Andean Spanish. In reproducing this account, Ramos Gavilán contradicted the authorities of the Catholic Church: the bishop of Charcas who had derided Francisco Titu Yupanqui’s work and also the local priest who had found fault with the image because the Christ child was not sitting on his mother’s arm in an appropriate fashion. Concurrently, the story Ramos Gavilán told affirmed the religious and artistic authority of an Andean artist. It also affirmed, as we have seen, the voice of Andean people and of the Incas who had shaped the religious landscape of Lake Titicaca. They were in error, as the Greeks and Romans had been, but their error pointed to and contained the truth.

The Virgin of Copacabana, adopted though she was by many different people, was thus an Andean Virgin, and this reality speaks most explicitly in her miracles, the majority of which were performed for Andean suppliants. One of the earliest miracles occurred when a lame Uru man dragged himself to the sanctuary on all fours and stayed there, facing the altar, for an entire week, at the end of which he walked away cured. During the nights, the Virgin appeared to him and taught him, in his own language, a hymn about the passion of Christ that from then onwards people in Juli and Copacabana used to sing in church. Many other lame and paralyzed people were healed, among them a certain Don Sebastian “of the royal Inca lineage” of Copacabana, who was being cared for in the hospital. One day, during his siesta, he recounted,

I commended myself to the Virgin Our Mother with many tears, asking for health so I could serve her. I fell asleep . . . and there appeared to me a most beautiful lady and said, “Get up!” I replied that I was not able so much as to turn over. So the lovely lady gave me her hand, and at that moment I felt that my shriveled
limbs were loosened and I felt movement in them, and without her letting go my hand, myself holding on to hers, I rose to my feet healthy and well as you see me here.109

Other miracles involved the mitayoq who were sent every year to work in the silver mines of Potosí. On one occasion, the Virgin revived the llama belonging to a couple from Copacabana that had died on the journey to Potosí, on another she prevented a miner from being crushed by machinery, and frequently she saved the lives of miners who were caught in shafts that flooded or collapsed.110 In 1653, five miners and a little boy were caught in this way, the Spanish mine owner having escaped and given them all up for dead. But they survived, and the little boy told the story:

All six of us were ready to die of hunger and thirst, but all of a sudden we saw a light brighter than the sun and we were not afraid, hungry, and anxious any longer. I roused myself to see what it was, and saw a lady with such a lovely face that no one in town has a more beautiful one. Such a light came from her face, and from all her dress, that I saw her cloak was green, and in an instant we reached the place where we are now, and we did not see the lady any more.

Later, the boy recognized the lady from the image in her church, and it seemed that her cloak was covered in dust from the silver ore of the mine, as though the Mother of God had just returned from her life-giving errand.111

By this time, seventy years after the Virgin had taken possession of her shrine in Copacabana, and more than a century after the Spanish invasion, the sacred topography of the Titicaca region, of Upper Peru and the Andean world at large had changed profoundly, and so had the supernatural forces and presences that were revealed there. But the changes were not the same for Andean people as they were for Spaniards and Creoles. Spaniards and Creoles visiting Copacabana encountered an image that in outward appearance closely resembled numerous peninsular counterparts, and they could and did now think of the landscape in which the Virgin dwelt as having been Christianized, as being their own landscape, the location of their homes. Andean people, however Christian many of them might have become, lived in another kind of world. The errands that brought them to Copacabana, or to one of its several subsidiary shrines, resulted from occupations—agriculture, herding, mining, the transportation of goods—that set them apart from their Spanish and Creole contemporaries. The Virgin talked to them in Quechua or in one of the other Andean languages, not in Spanish, and the land, contested though it became in colonial times, had been theirs ever since the Creator Ticci Viracocha placed their ancestors in it. Also, the Virgin of Spaniards and Creoles, recipient of sumptuous sanctuary lamps, votive crowns, necklaces, and jeweled crosses, was a very different personage from the Virgin who fed
miners trapped in collapsed mine shafts with maize cobs, brought them water, and sustained them with hope for days on end—the Virgin who stood over the altar in her parish church in Potosí covered in dust of silver ore, just as the miners were who sought her protection.112

Some four hundred fifty years after the induction of the Virgin’s image into Copacabana, the pilgrims are still coming. The Inca cults of the place were destroyed once and for all when the Spanish arrived in Copacabana. But some families from among the contemporary inhabitants of Copacabana claim to be descended from Inca lineages, and the surrounding countryside abounds in traces of recent offerings for the *huacas*. The crag overlooking the town of Copacabana with its pilgrimage sanctuary is covered in small stone niches containing offerings for Mother Earth, *Pachamama*. Leading to the top of this crag is a rocky path with many steps that is lined by the Stations of the Cross and by markers for the Seven Sorrows of Mary. During the season of the pilgrimage, indigenous pilgrims come here for rituals of divination and to make libations of beer and *chicha*, which they fling into the air straight from the bottle or drinking cup in the old-fashioned Andean way. These rituals accompany one form of divination. Another form of divination occurs when the statue of the Virgin is carried in procession round the square in front of the sanctuary, when some of these same pilgrims will study her face with the utmost attention to see whether she smiles, promising good times and good harvests, or whether she looks sad or weeps, her sadness and tears being predictions of coming hardships. In the contemporary practice of the Virgin’s Andean devotees, these two forms of divination—one predicated on the ancient sacrality that they find to be immanent in the landscape surrounding Copacabana, and the other incorporated into those rituals of the pilgrimage that are ultimately controlled by Catholic clergy and other persons generally unlikely to identify themselves as indigenous—are resorted to side by side, each form of divination being located in its appropriate space. Put differently, these rituals, like the cult of the Virgin of Copacabana during the century or so after the creation of her image that has formed the subject of this article, are the product of historical processes of political, cultural, and demographic change that have not resulted in a hybrid religious culture. The early modern pilgrimage of Copacabana, like its contemporary instantiation, exemplifies the tenacity with which Andean communities have maintained their own distinct modes of cognition and communication. As a result, these communities continue to be able to differentiate themselves from Creoles and have successfully preserved a certain autonomy and distance from the viceregal and republican state. At issue is not an unchanging, primordial—be it Andean—understanding of religion or cult, but a dynamic adaptive accommodation of practice and belief to religious, political, and social change.113
Notes

I would like to thank the readers who commented on the earlier version of this article that I submitted to Representations for their very helpful comments. Clifford Ando also read that version, and made—as so often—suggestions that led me to think and read some more. To all, my most heartfelt thanks, and apologies for not being able to do all that was suggested.

1. The image was placed on the left, the Epistle side of the sanctuary, see Reginaldo Lizarraga, Descripción del Perú, Tucumán, Río de la Plata y Chile, ed. I. Ballesteros (Madrid, 1987), 1.86. In 1614, it was moved to “una capilla mayor”; see Antonio de la Calancha and Bernardo de Torres, Crónicas Agustinianas del Perú, ed. Manuel Merino (Madrid, 1972), 1:1.33.5, 478; 1:1.33.12–14, 489–491. This volume contains the text of Antonio de la Calancha, Corónica moralizada de la provinicia del Peru del orden se San Agustin nuestro padre. Tomo Segundo (Lima, 1653).

2. Alonso Ramos Gavilán, Historia de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana (Lima, 1621). The contemporary edition is Historia del celebre Santuario de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana, ed. Ignacio Prado Pastor (Lima, 1988). Book 2, chap. 5, describes the advent of the image in Copacabana; see further book 2, chap. 6, containing the account of the same events and more by the Andean sculptor of the image, Don Francisco Titu Yupanqui.


4. Francisco López de Gómara, Historia general de las Indias y vida de Hernán Cortés, ed. Jorge Gurria Lacroix (Caracas, 1979), preface to Charles V, 8: “Quiso Dios descubrir las Indias en vuestro tiempo y a vuestros vasallos, para que las convirtiése a su santa ley.” The Historia general (without life of Cortés) was first published in Zaragoza in 1552. Similar statements occur elsewhere, e.g., Pedro Cieza de León, Primera Parte de la Crónica del Peru (Seville, 1553); the contemporary edition is Crónica del Perú. Primera Parte, ed. Franklin Pease (Lima, 1986), 1.25. Juan de Solórzano y Pereira, Política Indiana (Madrid, 1648), the contemporary edition is Juan de Solórzano y Pereira, Política Indiana, ed. Miguel Angel Ochoa Brun (Madrid, 1972), 1.3, discussing the treaty of Tordesillas.

5. Encomienda grants were royal concessions to individuals of the right to raise revenue from the indigenous population. A study of the encomiendas in the audiencia of Lima is José de la Puente Brunke, Encomienda y encomenderos en el Perú. Estudio social y político de una institución colonial (Seville, 1992); on the impact of encomienda on indigenous people, see 169–224. For Upper Peru, see Tristan Platt, Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne, and Olivia Harris, Quaraquara-Charka. Mallku, Inka y Rey en la provincia de Charcas (siglos XV– XVII) (Lima, 2006); see also Ana María Presta, Los Encomenderos de La Plata, 1550–1600. Encomienda, familia y negocios en Charcas colonial (Lima, 2000).


8. Garcilaso de la Vega el Inca, Historia general del Perú (Cordoba, 1617); the contemporary edition is Garcilaso de la Vega el Inca, Historia general del Perú, ed. Carmelo Sáenz de Santa María (Madrid, 1960–1965), “Prólogo a los Indios, mestizos y criollos,” celebrating Peru as “patria” of all three; Garcilaso seems however to prefer using the term “peruano” to describe Incas and indigenous people; Antonio de la Calancha, Corónica moralizada del orden de San Agustín en el Perú (Barcelona, 1638); the contemporary edition is Antonio de la Calancha, Corónica moralizada del orden de San Agustín en el Perú, ed. Ignacio Prado Pastor, 6 vols. (Lima, 1974–1981), 1.10, 157–64 celebrates Peru as patria primarily of Creoles, but also includes all others. See Ramón Mujica Pinilla, “Arte e identidad: las raíces culturales del barroco peruano,” in El Barroco Peruano (Lima, 2002), 1–57.

9. In the record of the Virgin’s miracles, Africans appear on only the rarest occasions, e.g., Calancha, Corónica Tomo Segundo, 1.38.5,552f.; 39.2, 559f.


11. Cieza de León, Primera Parte, chap. 105. Calancha, Corónica, ed. Prado Pastor, 1.14, 204; 209–11 (mentioning the work of Juan de Betanzos); 2.4, 760–61, mentioning that he was in Carabuco in 1598; cf. note 81.


13. Cieza de León, Primera Parte, chap. 105, 284, “Yo pregunté a los naturales . . . si estos edificios se avían hecho en tiempo de los Ingas: y riéronse de esta pregunta, afirmando . . . que antes que ellos reynassen estavan hechos: más que ellos no podían dezir ni afirmar quíen los hizo: más de que oyeron a sus passados que en una noche remaneció hecho lo que allí se veía.” Cieza goes on to say that he saw on the site “los aposentos de los Ingas, y la casa donde nasció Mango Inga hijo de Guaynacapa.”


16. Ibid., 14 (map), and Luis Capoche, Relación general de la villa imperial de Potosí, ed. L. Hanke (Madrid, 1959), 138 (misnumbered as 136), listing villages supplying mita workers for Potosí: Under Don Pedro Cutipa of Pomata, mita captain of the Lupaqa nation of Urquisuyu, are listed Chucuito; Acora; Hilavi; Juli; Pomata; Yunaguuyu; Zepita; Copacabana. See also, Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne, La Identidad aymara. Aproximación histórica (Siglo XV, Siglo XVI) (La Paz, 1987). But some writers
considered Copacabana to be in Umasuyu, see Ramos Gavilán, Historia, 1.1, 25: “asiento de Copacabana, ultimo pueblo de la juridicion de Omasuyo.”

17. Capoche, Relación, 140. The Inca roads skirting the northeastern and southwestern shores of the lake gave further expression to the distinction and relation between the two regions and their inhabitants. On the roads, Lizarraga, Descripción, 1.84ff, passim; 89.


19. See Bauer and Stanish, Ritual and Pilgrimage, chaps. 5–7. Also MacCormack, “From the Sun of the Incas.”

20. Ramos Gavilán, Historia, book 1, chap. 5, 45, who also says the coca would not grow. The trees, ibid., 1.13, 91; but cf. Cieza, Primera Parte, chap. 104, 282 (writing about the lords of Chucuito): “En las yslas y en otras partes tienen puestos Mitimaes para sembrar su Coca y mayz.”


23. Ramos Gavilán, Historia, 1.12, 85–86.

24. Ibid., 1.31, 188–89.

25. Ibid., 1.31, 185–88; 1.12, 86.

26. But the peace of the colonial period was often interrupted by Andean uprisings; for one of these in our region, see Calancha, Corónica Tomo Segundo, 1.17, 293ff.; 1.34.7, 504f.; also Ramos Gavilán, Historia, 1.11, 82f., which probably is Calancha’s source for this last detail.

27. The chapel: Lizarraga, Descripción, chap. 89. Unquiet souls: Catherine J. Allen, The Hold Life Has: Coca and Cultural Identity in an Andean Community (Washington, D.C., 1988), 54–63, pointing out that in Inca times, bodies of the dead were cared for and visited, whereas now, once buried, they are often abandoned; 54–57, on machukuna, a previous displaced race prone to visit misfortune on the living, but also to making potatoes grow. Peter Gose, Deathly Waters and Hungry Mountains: Agrarian Ritual and Class Formation in an Andean Town (Toronto, 1994), 114–23. For calling on the wandering souls (alma) of sick people, see 116. See Juan de Betanzos, Suma y narración, 1.31, 145, on calling on the soul of the deceased Inca Pachacuti.


29. The figure of 800 households in Copacabana is mentioned by Calancha, Corónica Tomo Segundo, 1.1.10, 115—at the time here referred to, more than fifty years.
before Calancha was writing, there were probably more. For, as Calancha here notes: “Fuera grandioso el pueblo si las minas de Potosí no fueran encierro de sus naturales. For the number of mitayoq sent to Potosí, see Capoche, Relación, 138 (erroneously paginated as 136).

31. Ibid., 2.2, 216; 2.3, 218f.
32. Ibid., 2.6, 236, “la mona con so mico.” It is tempting to see in this phrase a derogatory reference to indigenous iconography as seen most especially in textiles.
34. Ramos Gavilán, Historia, 2.3, 222; 2.4, 226ff.
35. Ibid., 2.4, 225.
36. Ibid., 2.9, 245ff. An earlier and more concise account of these same events is by Lizarraga, Descripción, 1.86.
37. For Don Francisco with the president of the audiencia, see note 107. La Antigua is an unusual miraculous image, since it is a painting, not a statue. The painting, of supposedly late antique origin, having been miraculously preserved during the centuries of Muslim domination, was thought to have been rediscovered when Fernando III captured Seville, in the principal mosque that in Visigothic times had been a church (on the site of the present cathedral), see Diego Ortíz de Zúñiga, Anales eclesiásticos y seculares de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla, ed. Antonio María Espinosa y Carzel (1667) (Madrid, 1795), 1:28–29. David Freedberg, The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response (Chicago, 1989), 99–135, on images attracting pilgrimages.
39. Ramos Gavilán, Historia, 2.8, 242, on David, also making the comparison with other images of Mary.
41. Ramos Gavilán, Historia, 2.42, 420, also comments on the exceptional quality of this gift and supplies an account of the Virgin of Copacabana’s beneficent intervention in Escoto’s business affairs.
42. Ibid., 2.14, 273.
43. Ibid., 2.14, 273f. In effect, there was a monastery there already, since the Dominicans had controlled all the doctrinas surrounding Lake Titicaca; see Lizarraga (who was a Dominican friar), Descripción, 1.86, 189, about Copacabana: “La iglesia es buena, licieronla religiosos nuestros.” During the general visita of the viceroyalty by the viceroy Toledo, the Dominicans running doctrinas around the lake were censured for abuses, which will have helped the Order of Saint Augustine to succeed them in Copacabana, see Franklin Pease, “Notas sobre visitadores de Chucuito en 1572,” Historia y Cultura. Organo del Museo Nacional de Historia 4 (1970): 71–75, at 73.
44. Calancha, Corónica Tomo Segundo, 1.37.3, 535–36: “A mi Señora la Reina soberanísima María de Copacavana, madre de Dios y de las Huérfanos como yo . . . Reina y señora mia, en tus manos pongo mi remedio, y asi favorece a esta tu
huerfana y minima esclava Maria Magdalena, que no tengo otro amparo ni a quien alzar mis ojos si no es a ti; pidele a tu Hijo me de estado con que le sirva. De este Convento de mi madre Santa Clara del Cuzco." La respuesta de esta carta fue disponerle el estado y llenarlo de consuelo, quedando en su servicio y profesando en su casa, reconociendo ser la dote negociacion de su lenencia." Before recounting this story, Calancha mentions the custom of writing letters to the Virgin as being widespread. See further, Calancha, Corónica Tomo Segundo, 1.41.1, a letter from Mexico, and 1.41.3, another from Madrid. Another letter is mentioned in Ramos Gavilán, Historia, 2.28, 353.  

45. Calancha, Corónica Tomo Segundo, 1.44.2, 622–24; the year is 1651.  

46. Ramos Gavilán was the kinsman of an influential conquistador who had settled in Guamanga; see Waldemar Espinoza Sorián, "Alonso Ramos Gavilán. Vida y obra del cronista de Copacabana," Historia y Cultura. Organo del Museo Nacional de Historia 6 (1972): 121–94, at 122f.; for the ancestor Diego Gavilán, who was at Cajamarca when the Inca Atahuallpa was taken prisoner, see Steve J. Stern, Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest (Madison, 1982), 100. Ramos Gavilán, Historia, 1.1, 25: "aquel famoso adoratorio y Templo del Sol, cuya memoria durará quanto durare la que estos Naturales tienen de su principio."  

47. Montoro’s resettlement, Lizarraga, Descripción, 1.86; resettlement by the friars, Ramos Gavilán, Historia, 1.33, 199: The friars left some thirty houses standing on the island, “donde se recogen los Indios en tiempo de sus sementeras . . . donde tienen una capilla dedicada al glorioso Santiago.” It was an apt choice for the patron of this ancient holy site, given that Santiago was the patron of the Spanish conquest of the Incas. But in time, Santiago "with colonial irony became the protector of the Indios he was commissioned to conquer"; see Irene Silverblatt, "Political Memories and Colonizing Symbols: Santiago and the Mountain Gods of Colonial Peru," in Jonathan Hall, ed., Rethinking History and Myth: Indigenous South American Perspectives on the Past (Urbana, IL, 1988), 174–94, at 175.  

48. Lizarraga, Descripción, 1.86, 188, a priest fails to deal with a demon called Titićaca; Ramos Gavilán, Historia, 2.10, 252–56, two exorcisms; the parallel between these exorcisms and those of the New Testament is drawn by Ramos Gavilán himself, see 253, citing Mark 1:24, where the demon says, “Quid nobis et tibi Iesu Nazarene: venisti perdere nos?” See also Ramos Gavilán, Historia, 1.6, 51, exorcism of a demon who claims (but does not get) a boy as a human sacrifice. Pilgrimage and confession as a cure for blindness and living "poco honestamente," Ramos Gavilán, Historia, 2.26, 343. Calancha, Corónica, ed. Prado Pastor, 3.4, 1262, exorcizing a demon in Pacasmayo; the Huarochiri Manuscript, Runa Yndio nisapa Machoncuna ñaupa pacha . . . (c. 1608), published by Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste, eds., as The Huarochiri Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion (Austin, 1991), chap. 21, defeat of the demon Lloqllay Huancupa.  


50. See Ramos Gavilán, Historia, 2.23, 319, quoting Augustine, De civitate Dei, 15.27, regarding historical and figural meanings to be derived from the story of the Flood and Noah’s Ark.

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51. Note a revealing episode in Martín de Murúa, *Historia del origen y Genealogía Real de los Reyes incas del Pirú*. . . 1590 (Códice Galvín), facsimile, with introduction and transcription by Juan Ossio (Madrid, 2004), fols. 144r–146r, on the *huaca* Pitusiray in the Yucay Valley near Cuzco: as a missionary, Murúa was committed to destroying the cult of *huacas*. But here he told the myth of this *huaca* and also noted its continuing existence.


53. Ibid.

54. Ibid., 1.32, 194–95, quoting *Song of Songs* 7, 10; for Mary as *piedra preciosa*, see also the poem concluding Ramos Gavilán’s book 1, 200. Another set of reflections on Mary as *piedra preciosa* was contributed to Ramos Gavilán’s volume by the licenciado Francisco Fernandez de Cordova, governor (corregidor) of the author’s hometown of Guamanga, see 21. Ramos Gavilán had been Fernandez de Cordoba’s teacher in rhetoric.


56. Ibid., prologue.


59. See ibid., silva 13, summary: Graciano finds himself reposing and discovers at his side “su Pensamiento en forma de un joven hermosissimo” and a “Ninfa de incomparable belleza” who fends off “Cuidado.” This dreamlike experience is an “encanto,” at the end of which Graciano finds himself back on his journey to Copacabana, accompanied by the Ninfa who turns out to be an emissary of the Virgin sent to assist him in his “dichosa romeria” (fol. 213).

60. Ibid., silva 16, paraphrasing and allegorizing Psalm 86. As interpreted by Valverde, the psalm is about “Ciudad de Dios, y de Maria” (fol. 248A), which at the end of silva 16 emerges as Copacabana. The English in the text is from the King James Bible, adjusted for Valverde’s interpretation.

61. Ibid., silva 17, fol. 263F. See also the summary of silva 7, where Graciano corrects Adamio’s idea that Mary “en Copacabana vivia en carne mortal.”


63. Note Antonio de la Calancha’s dedications of the two volumes of his *Corónica moralizada del Orden de San Agustín en el Perú*, the first volume is dedicated to Nuestra Señora de la Gracia, and *Corónica Tomo Segundo* is dedicated to the Virgin of Copacabana. Garcilaso de la Vega the Inca dedicated the second part of his *Comentarios reales* (also known as *Historia general*) to “la gloriosísima Virgen María, Nuestra Señora, hija, madre y esposa virginal de su Criador, suprema princesa de las criaturas.”

64. Calancha, *Corónica Tomo Segundo*, 1.9, 1.10, 215, asserting also that it was the Virgin herself who taught Don Francisco his art.

65. Bartolomé Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí*, 1.5.21 (MS dated 1736), ed. Lewis Hanke and Gunnar Mendoza, 3 vols. (Providence,
1965), 1:213. In Arequipa, an image of the Virgin of Copacabana was taken out in procession during the volcanic eruption of 1600. The image, “retratada lo mas natural que se pudo y del mismo tamaño y medidas,” like that at Copacabana, was procured by a Jesuit brother; see Monumenta Peruana VII, document 3 (anonymous writer), 13; also F. Mateos, ed., Historia general de la Compañía de jesus en la provincia del Perú. Crónica Anonima de 1600 (Madrid, 1944), 2:207f.


67. Pedro Calderón de la Barca, La aurora en Copacabana, ed. Ezra Engling (London, 1994) is one among numerous other plays that culminate with the epiphany of a miracle-working image of the Virgin. What distinguishes this play from other examples of its genre is the picturesque backdrop of Lake Titicaca with Copacabana and the exotic dramatis personae.


70. Marraccius’ De diva Virgine . . . contains an engraved portrait of the Virgin of Copacabana with the title “Retrato de N.S. de Copacavana, i guia Protectora del Imperio del Perú.” The frontispiece of Valverde’s Santuario shows the Virgin above a map of South America with Peru marked on it.


en cuya eminente cumbre
el Sol una aurora bella
amaneció para darnos
a su hijo . . .

with, at the conclusion, Calderón, Aurora, lines 4248–49:

oy nace con mejor sol
la aurora en Copacabana.

73. Calderón, La Aurora, opening of act 3, “véase a Iupangui en traje humilde de español, con taller, herramientas y demás instrumentos de escultor, como labrando una estatua tosca de madera.” That an Inca noble should appear in humble attire, pauperized in his own land, was one of the many social and political problems of early colonial Peru; cf. S. MacCormack, “Social Conscience and Social Practice: Poverty and Vagrancy in Spain and Early Colonial Peru,” in Nicholas Howe, ed., Home and Homlessness in the Medieval and Renaissance World (Notre Dame, 2004), 91–123.

75. Among the several historians reporting the events is Garcilaso de la Vega, the Inca, *Historia general del Perú*, 2.25, 125–28.


77. Ramos Gavilán, *Historia*, 1.8, 67—he does not say the Andean festival was for the winter solstice, but I am inferring this from parallel observances in Cuzco.

78. Ramos Gavilán, *Historia*, 1.8, 67–68, “Los Urinsaya que son los Indios naturales de la Provinica, deºan por baldón á los anansayas, que eran forasteros y advenedizos, gente sin tierra ni propia patria, mantenidos por piedad en la suya. Los Anansayas respondieron que ellos habían venido, emiβados por el Inga a aquella región; porque conociéndolos por malos y poco fieles a su señor natural, gustava estuviesen sujetos, dándoles tambiβn a entender que eran mal inclinados idólatras y echizeros y que sus antepassados avían sido los que avían apedreado a un santo, pretendiendo quemar una cruz que consigo traya; y que ésta la tenían escondida, gustando de no manifestarla.”

79. Ibid., 1.9, 69, “son de la misma hechura, y forma que pintan los de Christo Señor nuestro.”

80. Ibid., 1.9, 68.

81. Antonio de la Calancha, *Corónica Tomo Segundo*, chap. 4, 761—Calancha was there to witness the event.

82. See Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti, *Relación de Antigüedades de este Reino del Perú*, ed. Carlos Araníbar (Mexico, 1995), fols. 4rff., listing Collasuyo, Yamquesupa, Cacha, Quenamaris, Carabaya, Carabuco, Peñá Titicaca, Tiquina, Chacamarca, Tiahuanaco, rio de Chacamarca, and then the sea. See also the sources listed in the index, s.v. “Tonapa.”

83. Ludovico Bertonio, *Vocabulario de la lengua Aymara* (1612) (La Paz, 1984), part 1, 191f, s.v., “Dios”; “Tunupa de quien cuentan infinitas cosas: Dellas muy indignas no solo de Dios, sino de qualquiera hombre de razon, otras que tiran algo a los misterios de nuestra santa fe”; part 2, 5, s.v., “Aahuacasa”; “nombre de un cerro o Guaca que se concertó de soplar viento quatro dias c on sus noches contra Tunipi segun las fabulas de los Indios,” 99 s.v., “Ecaco.”


89. I take the phrase from William Bouwsma, A Usable Past: Essays in European Cultural History (Berkeley, 1990).

90. Petri Diaconi liber de locis sanctis, in Itineraria et alia geographica (Turnhout, 1965), 1:95, line 29ff.

91. Ramos Gavilán, Historia, 1.8, 63; for another pair of footprints near Copacabana, see Diego de Esquivel y Navía, Noticias cronológicas de la gran ciudad del Cuzco, ed. Felix Denegri Luna and Horacio Villanueva Urteaga (Lima, 1980), 2:58, about footprints at a place called San Antonio near Copacabana, where in 1619 Lorenzo Pérez de Grado as bishop of Cuzco ordered a chapel to be built.

92. E.g., Runa Yndio niscap Machoncuna ñapu pacha . . . , 6.82–90. Calancha, Corónica, ed. Prado Pastor, 2.3, 739–43, sketch of the rock, 742. The rock is also mentioned by Ramos Gavilán, Historia, 1.10, 75.

93. Ramos Gavilán, Historia, 1.8, 73f., Chachapoyas; cf. 75, the Apostle goes from Paraguay to Chachapoyas, Trujillo, and Cañete; Calancha, Corónica, ed. Prado Pastor, 2.3, 743, Lampa; 744 Chachapoyas; 745, Piura and Loxa.

94. Calancha, Corónica, ed. Prado Pastor, 2.3, 763, the sandal in La Guarca; 737, the shoes and tunic in Quilca. It is tempting to think that this latter item was an Inca tunic of cumbi that was lost by someone in the chaos following the volcanic eruption. Calancha took the information about the tunic and shoes from Ramos Gavilán, Historia, 1.10, 71f. where it is described in a little more detail.

95. An account of the Apostle’s route is in Ramos Gavilán, Historia, 1.10, 75.

96. Ibid., 2.18, 295.

97. Ibid., 2.30, 361.

98. Ibid., 2.35, 389, Baltasar Chacolli.


100. Ramos Gavilán, Historia, 2.40, 422; for the road, cf. John Hyslop, The Inca Road System (Orlando, FL, 1984), chap. 8, describing that part of the road that runs along Lake Titicaca.


and Culture Change: A Bioarchaeological Search for Pre-Inka Altiplano Colonies in the Coastal Valleys of Moquegua, Peru, and Azapa, Chile,” *Latin American Antiquity* 11, no. 1 (2000): 43–70. I thank Kenneth Sims for discussing these issues with me, and for drawing my attention to the archaeological literature.


104. A detailed account of the discovery of the Cross of Carabuco, the earliest that is extant, is in *Monumenta Peruana VII*, document 6, 94–99, Rodrigo de Cabredo writing to Claudio Aquaviva, describing a Jesuit mission to Carabuco in 1600. *Monumenta Peruana IV*, document 60 (Anua for 1587), 256, the Virgin heals a blind Indian and teaches him a hymn in Aymara about the passion and resurrection of Christ; see also Ramos Gavilán, *Historia*, I.30, 363; *Monumenta Peruana V*, document 13, (Anua for 1595), the Jesuit provincial Atienza’s letter to Aquaviva about the Virgin of Copacabana in El Cercado being transferred to the Cathedral of Lima. *Monumenta Peruana VII*, 451f., document 63, Rodrigo de Cabredo to Aquaviva, 30 April 1601, about the virtuous conduct of a young Andean woman from Juli who had visited the Virgin; 775f., document 112, written from Juli, 1 March 1602, about an Andean woman whom the Virgin of Copacabana had sent to make her confession in Juli.


107. Ramos Gavilán, *Historia*, 2.8, 243; Lizarraga, *Descripción*, 1.86, 189, mentions the Christ child in the Virgin’s arms without the alteration in his position. In the same chapter (191) Lizarraga refers to the Virgin of Pucarani, a copy of that of Copacabana, claiming that President Cepeda of the audiencia (court of appeal) of La Plata was so impressed with this image that he invited the Indian sculptor (meaning, presumably, Francisco Titu Yupanqui) to be seated in his presence. This story does not appear in the accounts of the two Augustinians Ramos Gavilán and Calancha.


109. Calancha, *Corónica Tomo Segundo*, 1.40, 569–70, “Me encomendé con muchas lágrimas a la Virgen Nuestra Madre, pidiéndole salud para servirla. Dormíe, y estando durmiendo se me apareció una Señora hermosísima y me dijo: ‘Levantate,’ y respondí que no podí ni revolverme. Entonces la linda Señora me dio la mano y al momento sentí que se me habían soltado los encogidos miembros y agilidad en ellos, y sin dejarme de la mano, asido a ella me puso en pie sano y bueno como aquí me ven.”

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111. Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí*, 1.9.5 (2:146): “Estando todos seis ya para morir de hambre y sed, vimos de repente una luz más que la del sol, con que se nos quitó el miedo, el hambre y la pena que teníamos. Yo me alenté a ver lo que era, y vi una señora de tan linda cara que ninguna tiene como la suya en el pueblo. Salía tan grande luz no sólo de su cara, más bien de todo su vestido, y vi que era verde su manto, por en un instante llagamos donde nos veis ahora y no vimos más a la Señora.”
