Astrid Windus, Eberhard Crailsheim (eds.)

Image—Object—Performance

Mediality and Communication in Cultural Contact Zones of Colonial Latin America and the Philippines
This series seeks to stimulate fresh and critical perspectives on the interpretation of phenomena of cultural contact in both transhistorical and transdisciplinary ways. It brings together the research results of the graduate school „Cultural Encounters and the Discourses of Scholarship,” located at Rostock University and sponsored by the German Research Foundation (DFG). One of the concerns of the volumes published in this series is to test and explore contemporary theoretical concepts and analytical tools used for the study of intercultural relations, from antiquity to the present. Aware of significant recent changes in the ways in which other cultures are represented, and „culture“ as such is defined and described, the series seeks to promote a dialogical over a monological theoretical paradigm and advocates approaches to the study of cultural alterity that are conscious of the representational character of our knowledge about other cultures. It wants to strengthen a recognition of the interdependencies between the production of knowledge about unfamiliar peoples and societies in various scholarly disciplines and ideologies of nationality, empire, and globalization. In critically investigating the analytical potential of postcolonial key terms such as „hybridity,“ „contact zone,“ and „transculturation,“ the series contributes to international scholarly debates in various fields oriented at finding more balanced and reciprocal ways of studying and writing about intercultural relations both past and present.
Astrid Windus
Eberhard Crailsheim (eds.)

Image—Object—Performance
Mediality and Communication in Cultural Contact Zones of Colonial Latin America and the Philippines

Waxmann 2013
Münster / New York / München / Berlin
Contents

Editor’s Preface
GESA MACKENTHUN ................................................................. 7

Preface
HORST PIETSCHEMMAN .......................................................... 9

Introduction
ASTRID WINDUS AND EBERHARD CRAILSHEIM ......................... 11

PART I: INTRODUCTORY ESSAYS

CHAPTER ONE
Transfer, Circulation, and Visual Systems in Latin America: The Example of Colonial Brazil
JENS BAUMGARTEN .............................................................. 23

CHAPTER TWO
One Text Many Narratives: The Commentarios Reales of Inca Garciloso de la Vega
ULRICH MÜCKE .................................................................. 45

PART II: THE PERFORMATIVE PRODUCTION OF MEANING

CHAPTER THREE
Performances of the Dead: Public Rituals Involving Deceased Rulers in Late Inca and Early Colonial Peru (ca. 1450–1550)
OTTO DANWERTH .............................................................. 65

CHAPTER FOUR
The Baptism of Sultan Azim ud-Din of Sulu: Festivities for the Consolidation of Spanish Power in the Philippines in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century
EBERHARD CRAILSHEIM ...................................................... 93

CHAPTER FIVE
Orality and Scripture: Sermons as a Means of Communication in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries
ANA MARÍA MARTÍNEZ DE SÁNCHEZ .................................... 121

CHAPTER FIVE
Acoustic Systems in the Cathedral of La Plata:
An Approach from the Consueta
Andrés Eichmann Oehrli ............................................................... 141

PART III: VISUALITY, VISUAL SYSTEMS, AND IMAGES OF THE OTHER

CHAPTER SIX
The Seeming and the Real: Problems in the Interpretation of Images
on Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Silverworks from Bolivia
Andrea Nicklisch ............................................................... 155

CHAPTER SEVEN
Depicting Netherworlds, or the Treatment of the Afterlife
in a Colonial Contact Zone: The Paete Case
Imke Rath ........................................................................... 173

CHAPTER EIGHT
China, Spain, and the Philippines in the Nineteenth Century:
Images and Representations
María Dolores Elizalde ............................................................... 197

PART VI: MATERIALITY AND MATERIAL CULTURES

CHAPTER NINE
The Cross Surmounts the Dragon—Or Does the Cross Emanate
from the Dragon? A Cautious Look at Islamic Designs
on Catholic Church Bells in the Philippines
Regalado Trota Jose ............................................................... 215

CHAPTER TEN
Sociocultural Consequences of Aztec Imperialism
in the Huaxtec Region of Mesoamerica
Peter C. Kroefges and Niklas Schulze ............................................................... 225

CHAPTER ELEVEN
Putting Things in Order: Material Culture and Religious
Communication in the Seventeenth Century Bolivian Altiplano
Astrid Windus ........................................................................... 241

CONTRIBUTORS ........................................................................... 263
Preface

GESA MACKENTHUN

The present volume is the first in this series not generated within the framework of the Rostock DFG-Graduiertenkolleg (graduate school) “Cultural Encounters and the Discourses of Scholarship.” Among the common concerns it shares with the research conducted at the Rostock symposia is a profound attempt to prove the applicability of critical terms like “contact zone” and its empirically sustained critique of Western periodization in the historical sciences. Exploring fascinating examples of intercultural communication in the luso- and hispanophone Western Hemisphere in the early modern period and the nineteenth century, the contributions heighten our understanding of the communicative dynamics and the media used in cross-cultural encounters. Though mostly available to us today in textual form, colonial encounters took many different forms, each of which requires its own specific method of deciphering. Moreover, non-textual artifacts greatly complicate our knowledge of the forms and functions of human knowledge transformation in situations where different orders of knowledge become entangled with one another. Attention to the intermedial migrations of knowledge in cultural contact zones triggers methodical reflections on how to “read” these sources, how to reconstruct the past on the basis of an often very fragmentary and asymmetrical record. The volume in addition offers an important impetus for future research in problematizing the criteria which determine our understanding of the geographical and chronological ordering of the world—e.g., in discussing the semantic ambivalence of the colonial and scholarly discourse about the Philippines and in suggesting concepts of “dynamic time” in analyzing the artifacts and documents of transitional historical periods. Largely limited to case studies from the Spanish colonial empire, the findings presented here gesture way beyond their discrete chronotopes towards a global transcultural historiography.

Gesa Mackenthun
Series Editor “Cultural Encounters and the Discourses of Scholarship”
Preface

HORST PIETSCHMANN

Latin America can be examined in many different ways today: through its art, history, literature, music, and visual representations. Regardless of the way we choose to look at Latin America, one important fact stands out. The region is largely a product of the twentieth century, or, following the late Eric Hobsbawm, of an “age of extremes.” Most of that century was dominated by often violent ideological debates among intellectuals examining various aspects of the region in their different fields. Particularly contentious discussions took place concerning the use of such concepts as “Hispanoamérica,” “América Latina,” and “Indo-América.”

General Franco’s victory in the Spanish Civil War, the rise of Nazi Germany, and the fallout from the Second World War were catalysts for forced relocations not only to the US but also to Latin America. This migration brought many European intellectuals to Portuguese- and Spanish-speaking American countries. As intellectuals migrated to the Americas and participated in the establishment of international organizations, including the United Nations, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and the Organization of American States (OAS), these debates metamorphosed. This was in no small part due to research that was founded and encouraged in multiple fields, and the resulting academic publications describing these investigations. The end result was that the historiographical “production of meaning” shifted to more empirically-based discourses. From the 1950s on, this historiographical development increasingly transcended the national and even nationalist views that had been imposed by governing elites across the region.

At the same time, the colonial period, as it was played out in Latin America, became a central field of study. The situation of indigenous inhabitants and European immigrants was examined in order to arrive at a better understanding of how José Vasconcelos’ so-called “cosmic race” had been forged in the Americas. The Mexican Revolution—another historical phenomenon—led to divided opinions, perspectives, meanings, and images for many decades thereafter. Some of the founders of Latin American historiography (to name a few), Rafael Altamira y Crevea, Germán Arciniegas, José Argüedas, Woodrow Borah, Germán Carrera Damas, Juan Friede, Lewis Hanke, Ricardo Levene, Guillermo Lohmann Villena, Salvador de Madariaga, Gerhard Masur, Rolando Mellafé, José Miranda, Edmundo O’Gorman, Juan Ortega y Medina, Emilio Ravignani, José Honório
Rodrigues, Jorge Ignacio Rubio Mañé, and Silvio Zavala contributed perspectives from their respective regions on the American side of what later would also be referred to as Atlantic history (although initially this excluded Africa). During this same period, their European contemporaries, such as Harold Blakemore, Pierre Chaunu, Alfonso García-Gallo, Robert Humphreys, Richard Konetzke, Manfred Kossok, Frédéric Mauro, Magnus Mörner, Francisco Morales Padrón, Demetrio Ramos, Charles Verlinden, and others also took part in this dialogue.

Of course this is not a discussion of Latin American historiography. And while many of the names cited here may not be well-known to students who are new to the field, it is still worthwhile mentioning them. These scholars represent the impact that the humanities have made on the study of a continent that houses an enormous quantity of sources, many of which are now accessible through the Internet.

Actual inquiries into the processes of the production of meaning, either from within the region or from Europe, no longer focus on the concept of Latin America. They are products of the information revolution, of the physical and virtual exchanges of people, ideas, artifacts, and the expanded networks of communication that have evolved since the 1950s, when a handwritten letter crossing the Atlantic might easily take a month or two before reaching its destination.

Therefore, a study of the production of meaning must now also become a study of the different layers of time in which historiography occurs, including the present. This new way of looking at things transcends the borders of academic disciplines, cuts across generations, and broadens the research and media generated particularly today, but in the past as well. The outcome is that we have been presented with a tremendous new challenge for exploration in the field of Latin American Historiography, both for the concepts that must be used in the conversation and for the scholar’s own understanding of what should be studied. Speaking for myself, it is an honor both to have personally lived through the era of the founders of this historiography, and to have had the opportunity to moderate discussions during the conference out of which this anthology is the result. Many references to the methodological problems discussed are presented in the following pages. Younger experts in the field have contributed to this knowledge, thereby also furthering my own education as a senior scholar.
Introduction

ASTRID WINDUS AND EBERHARD CRAILSHEIM*

Human coexistence and the production of meaning have always and everywhere been organized by complex structures of communication and specific uses of media. These media, or “carriers of information,” range from texts and written documentation to nontextual sources like eco- and artifacts, images, performances, sonorities, topographies, and human bodies. Undoubtedly, written materials still represent the most important category of historical sources for our understanding of the past. However, the research on nontextual artifacts and phenomena as means of communication has grown considerably within the last decades due to the methodological and theoretical transformations (“turns”) within the discipline of Cultural Studies. The changing perspectives, focuses, and research interests generated by the “postcolonial,” “performative,” “iconic,” and, more recently, the “material turn,” led to a critique of European/North American-centered master narratives of culture, modernity, and progress that is almost exclusively based on written sources.2

Following this critical approach, this publication offers a more holistic understanding of human communication in historical transcultural contexts, including a thorough revision and extension of “media” concepts from different methodological and cultural perspectives. The contributions in this anthology come from the fields of history, visual studies, and archaeology and focus on case studies of early modern Latin American and Philippine contact zones. They discuss the possibilities and challenges of the inclusion of visuality, materiality, and performance as categories of historical analysis. With Mary Louise Pratt, we understand these contact zones to be “social spaces, where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination.”3

* Our thanks go to Paula Ross for her excellent work as copy-editor of this volume. Special thanks also go to Anna Langheinrich who did the formatting and helped with the proofreading.
1 Following Rudolf Schlögl, we define communication as a process of continuous production of meaning by all the individuals involved in the process. Cf. “Perspektiven kommunikationsgeschichtlicher Forschung. Ein E-Mail-Interview mit Prof. Dr. Rudolf Schlögl, Konstanz,” in: sehepunkte 4 (2004), Nr. 9.
All social interaction between individuals and collectives is based on communication, and therefore, a contact zone can be understood as a special *space of communication*. Because of the contacts between the different cultural actors and systems, these transcultural communicative spaces are particularly equipped to identify differences in medial structures as well as in systems of perception and representation, which are far from universal and are always culturally bound. As some of the case studies show, European (and especially Christian) concepts of “staging,” “seeing,” “listening,” and “understanding” were transferred to non-European, non-Christian contexts. While their implementation was attempted in these new environments—with varying degrees of success, depending on local power relations between the ethnic groups as well as on demographic, social, economic, and topographic circumstances—these notions were always modified. Frequently, the intercultural dynamics of the contact zones led to new configurations of communicative systems and the invention and utilization of new media. Whether these changes, transformations, and inventions were intended or contingent phenomena, or somewhere in-between, remains an open question.

Another fundamental phenomenon in this anthology—not only characteristic for contact zones, but for all communicative systems—is intermediality, by which is meant the entanglement of different media like text and speech, text and music, image and text, object and performance, image and body, and so on. One could even state that self-referential media do not exist because representations of any kind always have to be staged, decoded, multiplied, explained, or used. These processes change representations as well as perceptions because the person or group that decodes, multiplies, and explains leaves its traces on the things as well as on the ideas of these things in the heads of those who perceive them. It may seem too obvious and banal to stress these intermedial relations and their effects, but in the historiographical practice of analyzing texts, pictures, or artifacts, they are often overlooked.

In this regard, one has to recognize two essential points. First, texts are not the “independent” sources we like to think them to be. They are, in fact, equally subject to transformational processes of decoding, reading, explaining, etc. And second, the scrutiny of nontextual sources for historical studies has to be done either via texts or at least through the parallel “reading” of texts. Even if it cannot be denied that nontextual materials open up new perspectives on the role of non-Europeans as historical actors, such resources also present a series of methodo-

---

4 Following Irina O. Rajewsky, “intermediality” is understood as a hyperonym for all phenomena that take place between at least two different kinds of media. These phenomena transgress the limits of the respective media involved. Intermediality serves as a term to describe relations between different forms of medial expression. Cf. Irina O. Rajewski, *Intermedialität*, Tübingen and Basel 2002, pp. 12–14.


6 To a certain degree, archaeology escapes these problems because the archaeological method allows, but does not always requires the collection of additional historical data to complete the evidence provided by objects and eco-facts found in the strata of archaeological sites.
logical problems. Hence, it is necessary to consider the phenomenon of intermediality not only in the analysis of the media employed by the historical actors, but to examine how it comes into play at an earlier stage of research, namely in the systematization of the data.

This will be illustrated by two examples from our own contributions to this collection. The first refers to an object, more precisely to the chalice used for communion in Catholic churches.\(^7\) A chalice that appears as part of a church inventory had a different function than one that might have been displayed as an instructive religious image. While the former represents an object used in the Christian ritual of communion, and—in addition to its symbolic function—fulfills the necessary requirements to serve as a container for liquids, the latter is of a purely symbolic and didactic nature. In the first instance, the chalice must be conceptualized as a ritual object that can be used and touched, while in the second, it is visually displayed as a symbol for something.

The second case refers to performances that took place in the context of the baptism of a Muslim sultan in the Philippines of the eighteenth century.\(^8\) While the performances themselves fulfilled certain functions for the immediate audience in Manila, the textual narration of the event that was published afterwards served other purposes and reached a very different audience. Both the performances themselves and the text reporting on them are valuable sources for the study of power structures in the islands, but they each disclose different information. These divergent levels of representation have to be carefully identified before we can make any assumption about questions of representation and perception in the specific historical contexts.

Despite these methodological issues, the analytical reference to different types of historical media is fundamental for a better understanding of what Walter D. Mignolo called the “diversity of semiotic interactions in colonial situations in the New World experience.”\(^9\) It is also essential for the further development of a transcultural historiography which expands its view “beyond the range of alphabetical written documents.”\(^10\) Obviously, such a claim requires the accumulation of specialized bodies of knowledge within interdisciplinary contexts to stimulate the formulation of innovative research questions and the acquisition of new methods. Moreover, the comparative perspective on different cultural contexts like Latin America and Asia helps us to challenge established interpretations and historiographical traditions from one’s own area, opens the “academic mind” for new approaches, and enables the discussion of theoretical and meth-

\(^7\) In this volume: Astrid Windus, “Putting Things in Order. Material Culture and Religious Communication in the Bolivian Altiplano (Seventeenth Century).”

\(^8\) In this volume: Eberhard Crailsheim, “The Baptism of Sultan Azim ud-Din of Sulu. Festivities for the Consolidation of Spanish Power in the Philippines in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century.”


\(^10\) Ibid.
odological questions from a wider empirical base. This becomes particularly evident in the comparison between Latin America and the Philippines—the latter a region mostly forgotten by Latin Americanists because of its geographical and cultural location in Southeast Asia, and scarcely attended to by Asianists because of its Spanish colonial history. While the Atlantic as a historical space of interaction between its adjacent regions has become a canonical concept of transnational and especially Latin American history, there has been little attention paid to the transcultural dynamics between the Atlantic and the Pacific in early modern Times.

Against this background, this volume provides arguments and new data to close the gap between the two macro regions and strengthen the concept of an “entangled history” as a complex network of “shared histories.” In relation to our topic, the terms “entanglement” and “network” become operative in two ways: First, the mutual penetration and influence of different bodies of knowledge, and second, the complex relations between the different types of media where meaning is produced on the one hand, and the procedures of human perception on the other.

The articles in this collection are arranged around the categories of “performance,” “visuality,” and “materiality.” They conceptualize questions of transcultural communication and intermediality in disparate ways, referring to multiple types of sources. Because of their special approaches to the key concepts of this anthology, the papers of Jens Baumgarten and Ulrich Mücke precede the thematic sections. In “Transfer, Circulation and Visual Systems in Latin America: The Example of Colonial Brazil,” Jens Baumgarten reflects on a possible transcultural “history of imaging” to explain the dynamics of transfer, circulation, and appropriation of styles, iconographic models, and visual concepts and the creation of new visual systems in early modern contact zones. In his case studies on Brazil, he conceptualizes religious images as “agents” of cultural transformation


12 Exceptions can be found, for example, in Carlos Martinez-Shaw and Marina Alfonso Mola (eds.), La ruta española a China, Madrid 2007; Dennis Owen Flynn et al. (eds.), European Entry into the Pacific. Spain and the Acapulco-Manila Galleons, Aldershot 2001; and most recently Christina H. Lee (ed.), Western Visions of the Far East in a Transpacific Age, 1522-1657, Aldershot 2012.


14 It is difficult, if not impossible to denominate the different configurations of knowledge of the involved cultures, actors, and institutions without falling back into holistic categorizations like “European,” “indigenous,” “Chinese,” “Christian,” or “Islamic,” all of which can easily be deconstructed. We have therefore avoided any labeling and leave the topic to the imagination of our readers.
which have always been part of political, social, and cultural systems and regimes of power and representation. They constitute one element of what Baumgarten denominates “visual systems”—a dynamic structure of relations between historical subjects, objects, media, and concepts of representation and reception (both historical and contemporaneous).

In his paper on “One Text Many Narratives. The Comentarios Reales of Inca Garcilaso de la Vega,” Ulrich Mücke considers the complex reference structures between text, image, and performance. In doing so, he raises the issue of texts as the almost exclusive sources of images, objects, and performances. In a reverse view, he alludes to the fact that texts always include such non-texts as pictures and performances, and they thereby produce mental images. This is why historical analysis always needs a multiperspectival and contextual approach. Mücke exemplifies this through his reading of the Comentarios Reales by Garcilaso de la Vega. He strenuously questions older interpretations of the text and proposes a multilayered reading of the Comentarios. Scrutinizing several of Garcilaso’s stories, taking as examples his statements about Inca architecture, quipus (Inca recording system), oxen, and wheat, Mücke demonstrates the weakness of monolayered interpretations.

The Performative Production of Meaning

Part I of this volume is dedicated to the performative production of meaning, which has a key function in human interaction. Both the production and the reception of images, objects, and texts are performative acts, which themselves create spaces of communication. The meanings ascribed to them depend on the cultural contexts and the specific time during which these performative acts took place.

The article “Performances for the Dead: Public Rituals Involving Deceased Rulers in Late Inca and Early Colonial Peru (ca. 1450–1550)” by Otto Danwerth analyzes a period of overlap between the pre-Hispanic and the colonial era. That specific temporal setting underlines the trend away from the master narrative of a clear cut periodization toward a more open understanding of dynamic times as “gray areas” of changes and cultural dynamics, especially in cultural contact zones. The rudimentary differentiation between pre-Hispanic and colonial times simply does not comply with his analytic approach. Focusing on cultural continuities, Danwerth scrutinizes textual and visual sources to shed light on the complexity of public performances in colonial Peru. He outlines the important role played by the mummies of deceased rulers in Inca state rituals, a role that contributed to maintaining the political hegemony of Cuzco over the provincial elites. Taking the example of the controversial Inca ruler Paullu Inca, Danwerth shows that such pre-Hispanic rituals as the apotheosis of deceased Inca rulers (purucaya) were still accepted by the colonial authorities and publicly performed in Cuzco in
the early colonial period. The fact that Spanish authorities tolerated these rituals evinces the critical function in the negotiation of religious and political orders in a colonial contact zone like the central Andes over a long period of time. Furthermore, the article makes it clear that for an understanding of the complex communicative functions of this performance, it is important to consider microhistorical changes in power relations at different instants and in different places and cultural environments within the contact zone.

The issue of the accessibility of information concerning historical performances is even more pronounced in the article “The Baptism of Sultan Azim ud-Din of Sulu. Festivities for the Consolidation of the Spanish Power in the Philippines in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century” by Eberhard Crailsheim. The number of visual sources that is available in that remote colony of the Spanish Empire is much smaller than those that can be found in colonial America. Therefore, the identification of the performative productions of meaning is even more dependent on the conscientious reading of textual sources. Crailsheim refers to an account from the year 1750 that recounts a moment in the history of Spanish colonial Philippines when the Muslim Sultan, Azim ud-Din of Sulu, was baptized in Manila. Even though the basis for the analysis is just one text, intermediality is still central in his approach. On the one hand, the text represents the vision of the supposed author, his ideas about reality, and his intentional display of the events related to the baptism. On the other hand, reading between the lines and considering the political, social, and cultural background provides an additional perspective on the Philippine reality. The baptism was performed during a time of extreme conflict between the Spanish and Muslim groups and afforded the governor-general a chance to exploit this more celebratory event. He used the opportunity to stage the sultan and all he represented symbolically (especially as an object of fear and hope) to unify his province and to gain political advantages. Moreover, the inclusion of certain elite groups in the celebrations and the exclusion of others demonstrated the relevance of these performances within Spanish colonial society. Furthermore, the social system of the Philippines has to be analyzed very carefully due to its high degree of ethnic heterogeneity. And it must once more be stressed that European value systems cannot be assumed to be universal. While the baptism and the respective celebrations and rituals bore much symbolical meaning for the Catholic inhabitants of Manila and the Philippines, their value for others, like the Muslims, seems to have been minor. The “translational” process of the performances, therefore, has to be understood rather as a multitude of processes, whereby many different versions of listening, seeing, and understanding were applied by the different ethnic groups of this Spanish contact zone in the Pacific Ocean.

The next two contributions address a very specific type of performance, which can be classified as sonorous systems. The acoustic world of the past has been one of the almost forgotten or ignored fields in the history of communication, and
only recently have researchers developed an “appetite” for that type of media.\(^{15}\) Especially during early modern times, the production of sounds required performative actions, which could range from simple uttering of words to a spectacular form of theatricality. The combination of the listening and seeing of the audience, the staging and the rhetoric/music of the speaker/performer, and an emotional dimension’s potential density, makes it clear that sonorous systems are linked to very intense forms of intermediality. The “translational” processes taking place in the perception of sounds seem to be enormously diverse, and the researcher faced with that kind of communication needs a certain type of knowledge in order to penetrate that world of music and sounds.

The intriguing entanglement of oral and textual forms of communication is exemplified in “Orality and Scripture: Sermons as a Means of Communication (Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries)” by Ana María Martínez de Sánchez, who analyzes sermons from Córdoba (Argentina). She points to the function of sermons as a worldwide medium of communication for the Catholic Church, and one whose characteristics have varied over time. Since the mid-eighteenth century, the different types of sermons had been structured in a neoclassical style, but in the beginning of the following century, they took the form of religious discourses in which pulpits became platforms for the public presentation of the new ideas with which society was teeming. Her analysis of marks (corrections, substitutions, and visual aids) in sermon manuscripts unveils the close relationship between the spoken and the written word. These marks offer a unique chance to view the intermedial references between a written text and spoken words since they indicate the preacher’s intended rhetorical strategies. It is the specific value of these sermon manuscripts as sources that allows us to draw direct conclusions concerning the performance of the speech as a form of communication. Compared to purely normative sources on rhetoric so often consulted by historians, these manuscripts furnish an occasion to bridge the gap between norms and their concrete practice. Martínez’s take on the “transfer” of rhetoric rules to effective rhetorical work shows the adaptations that occurred in the daily practice of the historical actors. Moreover, she underscores the essential role of the preacher (concionador) as an author and speaker of these pieces of oratory. The power of the words spoken from the pulpit reinforced the authority of the Church and its capacity to influence the society of which it was a part.

Another segment of sonorous systems deals with the phenomenon of music that links the indigenous with the European cosmos, perhaps even more so than visual communication. The performative production of music, as well as its perception, might seem very “natural” compared to speeches or sermons, yet it also

discloses different ways of staging, listening, and understanding, according to which cultural settings of the contact zones they occupy. In his paper “Acoustic Systems in the Cathedral of La Plata: An Approach from the Consueta,” Andrés Eichmann Oehrli investigates the acoustic systems of the cathedral of La Plata, (in present day Sucre, Bolivia), and the rules governing them. These prescriptions are particularly well documented in the consueta, which regulates worship on the cathedral grounds. Among the cathedral’s sound systems, Eichmann focuses on three: the bell tower, the high choir, and especially the low choir. In addition to the consueta, he ponders ritual elements that are not covered by the written norms. The low choir basically consisted of the eighteen prebendaries who formed the cathedral chapter. They were required to assist during the many instances when the low choir had to perform the plainchant, such as the conventual mass and particularly the Divine Office (a set of daily prayers offered at certain canonical hours). The presence and participation of high dignitaries in these musical performances lent them additional symbolical and social value, especially the Divine Office, which represents one of the essential axes of the Catholic cult. The acoustic involvement of prominent dignitaries of the church in religious events, or at least those with some religious significance, indicates the effective overlap of the religious with the political cult within an urban society.

Visuality, Visual Systems, and Images of the Other

Questions of visuality and the construction and reception of images are the focus of Part II of this volume. Images played a key role in the conversion of the indigenous population in the Spanish colonies because of their didactical use for the translation of Christian concepts. They also represented a source of permanent conflicts and misunderstandings between natives and Europeans due to different systems of perception. Another dimension of visuality relies on a typical result of cultural contact: the construction of mental images from the “other” that were transferred to texts and visual representations (e.g., indigenous, Chinese, or European).

In her contribution, “The Seeming and the Real: Problems in the Interpretation of Images on Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Silverworks from Bolivia,” Andrea Nicklisch centers on an element which, despite its overwhelming presence in Latin American churches, has scarcely been considered an important medium for religious communication. In her programmatic text about indigenous elements in the silver altar of the Virgin of Guadalupe (Cathedral of Sucre, Bolivia), Nicklisch discusses and exemplifies some of the central methodological questions which, according to Dana Leibsohn and Carolyn Dean (2003), frequently arise while working with and interpreting visual sources: How can we see, read, and identify visual representations of cultural transfer? Are they always visible to us? Were they visible to the contemporaneous audience? Of what importance
are the authorship and the ethnicity of the producer? And how do we deal with transcultural materialities? Against this background, Nicklisch interprets a representation of Adam and Eve on one of the silver plaques of the altar of the Virgin, and describes the complex iconographic and narrative interweaving between indigenous mythology and that of Western antiquity, Christian and non-Christian symbolism, and the (trans-)cultural significances of silver as a material. The altar, hence, became a cultural contact zone in which different systems of knowledge and visuality mutually influenced and pervaded each other.

Using a representation of the Last Judgment from the church of Paete (Island of Luzon, Philippines) as a point of departure, Imke Rath explains in “Depicting Netherworlds, or the Treatment of the Afterlife in a Colonial Contact Zone: The Paete Case,” the complex processes of transfer and translation of some Christian concepts to the Philippine people. The analysis of chronicles and other texts from Catholic missionaries reveals that the Christian concept of “hell” was extraordinarily difficult to explain due to the lack of similar concepts in the religious beliefs of the indigenous population. The Christian “purgatory” seemed to be better suited for translation into a cultural context where the separation between the earthly sphere and the hereafter was permeable and where people incarnated and venerated the spirits of their ancestors. The missionaries’ texts show that there were no standard or obligatory translations of these notions, but that the Catholic priests elucidated Christian concepts according to their own understandings of the indigenous religion, or they may simply have passed down interpretations that they copied from each other. One of the main strategies of conversion was to find analogies between the two systems, based on the knowledge of the friars, which could be drawn on in order to fashion narratives comprehensible to the indigenous audiences. This scheme produced a certain degree of nonconformity regarding central concepts like hell and purgatory. As the article suggests, these deviations find their visual representations in the few existing depictions of Christian purgatory and representations of hell, which were almost nonexistent prior to the nineteenth century. In the case of the Paete church, purgatory replaces hell in the portrayal of the Last Judgement. Rath’s article, therefore, shows that the parallel analysis of textual and visual sources has the potential to create a type of synergy that can lead to a deeper understanding of the complexity of transcultural communication processes and their medial representations.

In contrast to the contributions outlined above, María Dolores Elizalde’s text, “China, Spain and the Philippines in the Nineteenth Century: Images and Representations,” refers not to questions of visuality, but to images of the “other,” in this case Spanish images and perceptions of China and the Chinese living in the Philippine archipelago. Using texts and images from the nineteenth century, she explains how these perceptions, which can be understood as one aspect of transcultural interactions, evolved according to the roles the Chinese played on the islands. Among the mental images of China that were evoked were those of a great empire with a refined culture and an enormous pool of potential converts.
The Chinese in the Philippines, on the other hand, were associated with hard work and the trans-Pacific galleon trade, while many Chinese-Filipino mestizos were engaged in the area’s production of arts and crafts. Another issue included in the subsequent discussion is the one of fear and mistrust, as the large number of Chinese in Manila, starting with their rebellion in 1603, struck terror in the colonial rulers, who were vastly outnumbered.

Materiality and Material Cultures

The study of the materiality of objects and of material culture in general is the subject of Part III. It constitutes a fundamental step in the understanding of how people organized their social, economic, and religious lives in the past and how they thought about themselves and the cosmic order in which they were living. This is of particular importance in the study of colonial contact zones, where different cultural systems met and influenced each other.

Catholic church bells are the nucleus of Regalado Trota Jose’s contribution, “The Cross Surmounts the Dragon—Or Does the Cross Emanate From the Dragon? A Cautious Look at Islamic Designs on Catholic Church Bells in the Philippines.” The article, part of an ongoing research project, deals with the question of transcultural iconographies in the Philippines. Jose reconstructs the origins of a visual tradition—a specific blending of Christian, Islamic, and Hindu motifs in the marks inscribed on Christian church bells of the nineteenth century. He describes the interreligious migration and fusion of objects and designs from different religious spheres of the Philippine archipelago to Manila and Spain, and in a very concrete sense illustrates the processes through which symbols and iconographies are transmitted. Cultural contact becomes visible in objects and material items—in this regard the text marks the interface between the fields of visuality and material culture. Unlike Latin America, the Philippines were an area with manifold pre-Hispanic influences from other cultures and religions, especially from Islam, Buddhism, and Hinduism. This is why it is so interesting to compare this region with Latin America, where cultural contacts before the Spanish conquest took place between different indigenous groups, but not between indigenous and nonindigenous actors. Studying the Philippines helps us to deconstruct homogeneous models of cultural transfer and to more finely differentiate our ideas about colonial rule, Christianization, and transculturality within the Spanish Empire.

Returning to the interactions between different indigenous groups mentioned earlier, Peter Kröfges and Niklas Schulzes’ study, “Sociocultural Consequences of Aztec Imperialism in the Huaxtec Region of Mesoamerica,” deals with an aspect of pre-Hispanic cultural contact between the Aztec Empire and the Huaxteca, a region located in the northern area of Mesoamerica. It transfers the topic to a
time and a space where written sources are scarce and mostly not contemporaneous, but of colonial origin. The only discipline able to deal with pre-Hispanic perspectives of cultural contact, mediality, and communication is archaeology, because of its reliance on material evidence, which can, but does not necessarily have to be complemented by written sources. Kröfges and Schulze demonstrate the different approaches through which archaeology is able to provide information about this pre-European contact zone: first, through the analysis of settlement structures and other material evidence (e.g., pottery, lithic tools, stone sculptures) and, second, through ethnohistorical sources (like the Mesoamerican codices) that provide information about tributes the Huaxtec had to pay to the Aztecs, and about Aztec mental images of the “other” (in this case the Huaxtec people). The methodological focus of the article is of particular importance for this volume because it establishes categories and provides a terminology through which material culture as a primary source can be analyzed, that is, by its composition, morphological execution, and surface decoration styles. In combination with ethnohistorical sources, these data serve to draw a picture of cultural contacts that illuminates the “hard facts” of transculturality: the extensions of “cultural units,” interregional exchanges, and changes brought about over time through trade, alliances, migration, and warfare.

Astrid Windus offers another approach to the reliance on elements of material culture as historical sources. “Putting Things in Order: Material Culture and Religious Communication in the Seventeenth Century Bolivian Altiplano” describes the uses and representations of sacred objects in churches of the Charcas province (in today’s Bolivia), especially in the highland town of Carabuco. Religious objects such as holy vessels, vestments, and crosses represent essential elements of religious communication. They are ascribed a symbolic and/or practical function in rituals like the mass, the sacraments, and funerals. Yet, they are also depicted in images or staged on altars, where they become symbols void of any practical use as things. Independent from their “morphological execution” (to use an archaeological term), the sacred objects found in the inventories and visitation records of the altiplano churches represent elements of the “Catholic order of things.” They were part of the material frame within which conversion took place. Due to their worldwide “universal” usage and application in Christian religion, liturgical objects are often overlooked as important carriers of meaning and subjects of cultural analysis; they seem to be part of an unchanging canonical order. But, as this article substantiates, some of these objects were also reused by natives for their own ritual purposes, thereby assuming a transcultural character.

Picking up the central questions and methodological procedures delineated by the articles in this volume, one term has proven to be crucial on all levels of the performative, visual, and material production of meaning, and, as a consequence, for communication in general: representation. The connection between representa-
tion and communication is vital, as already pointed out by W.J.T. Mitchell.\textsuperscript{16} Representations always establish relations between the representation and the object to be represented, and this relation is always communicated \textit{from someone for someone}. Consequently, there are manifold possibilities for misunderstanding, or, in other words, there is space for negotiation, adaptation, reuse, and transformation. Representation is the term that ties together the different contributions in this volume because it points to the constant struggle for the “right” relationship between the signifier and the signified and the multilayered panorama of transcultural communication.

Transfer, Circulation, and Visual Systems in Latin America: The Example of Colonial Brazil*

JENS BAUMGARTEN

The three key concepts of transfer, circulation, and visual systems are to be understood as epistemological guiding principles used to approach the issue of a Latin American or Brazilian art history within the context of current discussions of a new “world art history,” which explores the questions raised by the post-colonial debates of recent years. Accordingly, these themes also played a role in and were thus discussed at the 2011 international congress in Mexico under the title of “Continuity/Discontinuity: The Dilemma of Art History in Latin America.” This article intends to approach these issues by means of examples from the colonial period of Brazil and to transfer its findings to general theoretical aspects that can be extrapolated to Latin America as a whole.

I would like to present these reflections upon a (possible) visual (iconological) history of Brazil in two steps: 1. the images themselves and 2. the theories/historiographies. In this sense—where images are understood in terms of active agents in transformation processes, in transcultural spaces of negotiation—the images (primarily religious in content) are to be approached in the course of four interpretaments. These are: (1) Form and Style: Transformations and Transfers; (2) Iconographies: Superimpositions; (3) Modified Concepts and Concepts that Modify; (4) Imported Artifacts or Global Cycles. There will be a particular focus upon the last point. In the second part of the essay, the historiographical and political aspects of colonial art will be synthetically analyzed. The complex relationships between different visual materials as well as between theoretical approaches in the context of scholarly and political debates regarding the relationship between Europe and Latin America are to be emphasized—to the extent that we are dealing with a pre- or early modern globalization with its network of interconnections, which imply a global art and also art history and thus make traditional theoretical discussions appear arbitrary.

In this article, I would like to treat both levels of the analysis—the images as well as the theories and historiographies—as points of departure for the purpose of presenting a narrative of the visual/iconological history of colonial Brazil by

* Translation by Michael Wetzel, kunstuebersetzer.de.
way of a metatheory that I refer to as “visual systems.” This proposal entails the further development of a metatheoretical and relational understanding—an epistemology, in the broadest sense of the term—that encompasses both the analysis of the objects and artifacts as well as different concepts. This process is to be illustrated by means of a systematic structure or thick description that comprises various theories and methodologies without descending into an arbitrary eclecticism.

1. The Images

An analysis of visual production in colonial Brazil finds itself confronted with a highly diversified material, which I would like to present in an exemplary manner in the course of the four interpretaments mentioned above. In doing so, I do not want to give the appearance that I wish to narrate an “histoire totale” of Portuguese America or of colonial Latin America.

1.1 Form and Style: Transformations and Transfers

Questions of style represent one of art history’s most traditional subject areas; for decades, in the context of Latin America, this topic was considered to be of secondary importance, unproductive, and derivative. The illusionistic decorative programs of the churches in Salvador, Recife, and Rio de Janeiro represent a group of examples among those most often examined—and thus also known outside of Brazil.

The following observations regarding José Joaquim Rocha’s (1737–1807) paintings in the church Nossa Senhora de Conceição in the lower town of Salvador serve as an introduction. The perspective ceiling painting (Fig. 1) of the nave relates to European models that reached Brazil by way of Portugal—however, we know from letters sent by the Archbishop of Salvador to the King of Portugal that the Salvadoran clergy was already interested in this new painting technique even before it had established itself at the center of the Portuguese Imperium. The composition can be divided into three different sections along its longitudinal axis. In the central space, the heavens open to reveal the patron saint of the church, Nossa Senhora de Conceição (Imaculata), surrounded by saints. In stylistic terms, it is to be pointed out that this is not an example of “pure” quadratura painting, with a central vanishing point and in the sense of Pozzo; instead, different European traditions (Bolognese School and Andrea Pozzo) have been mixed together. In this case, the concepts of syncretism or hybridity also seem to lend themselves to the complex of questions related to style (I will go into greater detail regarding this point later). Starting out from the entrance, viewers wander from one viewpoint to the next: their different perspectives coalesce into a sequence and demand that viewers moving within the interior of the church pro-
gress toward the triumphal arch in *di sotto in su* (from below to above) perspective. Because the question of style and form cannot be pursued any further at this point, it should at least be emphasized that even problems of form are already inseparably linked to questions of vision, as demonstrated by the approaches of Baxandall and Alpers and their history of vision.¹ Perspective ceiling paintings make it possible to simultaneously perceive the architectural representation as a scenographic space that is populated by virtual and real figures and as adhering to a “hybrid” superimposition.

1.2 Iconographies: Superimpositions

The second step in my argumentation is represented by the reception of different iconographical models in the colonial context. Regarding the theme of “superimpositions,” I would like to discuss an example of Franciscan iconographies: a sculpture of Saint Francis from São Paulo (Fig. 2), most likely to be dated to the first decades of the eighteenth century. The sculpture *São Francisco das Chagas* (Saint Francis with stigmata) was made from fired clay and painted in polychromy; it is 99 cm in height and 56 cm in width. The sculpture was originally commissioned for the Capela de Nossa Senhora dos Aflitos,² which was located

---


in the church São Francisco in São Paulo. Saint Francis is depicted with the stigmata and in a trance; Christ, also identified by the stigmata, has descended from the cross and embraces the saint with both arms and with his large seraph wings. At least in comparison to preserved European examples, the iconography can be considered surprising, because it does not correspond to traditional rules.

At this point, I would like to present just a very few aspects of the global circulation of iconographical models. The model here is related to well-known Italian examples of the apparition of the seraph on the cross. Giotto’s fresco in the Upper Church of San Francesco in Assisi (Fig. 3) represents an important mile-

3 On the special situation within the art historical context of São Paulo, cf. Carlos A. Lemos, A Imaginária Paulista (exhibition catalogue Pinacoteca do Estado), São Paulo 1999; Eduardo Etzel, O Barroco no Brasil. Psicologia – Remanescentes em São Paulo, Goiás, Mato Grosso, Paraná, Santa Catarina, Rio Grande do Sul, São Paulo 1974; and Aracy A. Amaral, “As artes plásticas na Cidade de São Paulo,” in: Paula Porta (ed.), História da Cidade de São Paulo. A Cidade Colonial, São Paulo 2004, pp. 427–488; on the historical context in general, cf. Paula Porta (ed.), História da Cidade de São Paulo – A Cidade Colonial, São Paulo 2004. According to information provided by the museum, the sculpture is from the second half of the seventeenth century; in contrast, following discussions with Claudia Valladão de Mattos, Luciano Migliaccio, Luiz Marques, Marcos Tognon, and Bruno Klein, it seems more likely that a later point in time should be assumed, probably the first half of the eighteenth century. However, this later dating has no bearing upon the interpretation presented here.