
The Image of the Infant Jesus of Prague at the Andahuayllas Church outside of Cusco: Unveiling its Ancient Worship through Materiality and Art History



By Diana Castillo Cerf
Centro de Investigación y Conservación del Patrimonio, UTEC



The study of this image arises within the research of Cusqueñan viceregal sculpture that I have been conducting, with which I seek to present a new interest in the sculpture that is made using the flower stalk of the maguey plant, whose materiality needs to be investigated in depth in order to expand the corpus of reference. This type of effigy, which currently is abundant in the temples in the region of Cusco and the Sacred Valley, was modified in technique and material, adapting to the formal needs and devotional practices in the Andes throughout the viceregal period.

In this context, the sculpture of the Infant Jesus from the temple of San Pedro Apóstol de Andahuayllas serves as a clear example of the maguey plant technique that characterized the first sculptures made with this material. At the same time, this figure allows us to reflect on how its materiality served to perfectly embody a particular devotion that spread beginning in the late sixteenth century throughout the region, which is referred to as to the cult of the *Niño Jesús Inca*, or Inca Christ Child. This essay will verify that in reality, many similar images that are technically and formally similar to this one were not deliberately conceived as representations of the Inca Christ Child, but were intentionally dressed with the pre-Hispanic adornments of Indigenous nobility.



Figure 1. Unidentified artist, *Christ Child*, ca. 1600, carved in maguey, 35 x 18.1 x 10.2 in. (89 x 46 x 26 cm). Templo San Pedro Apóstol de Andahuayllas, Cusco, Peru (photograph by the author)

This essay also addresses important concepts about the capacity of images to resignify themselves as an object of transformation according to the social context of each historical moment.

This effigy of the Christ Child has received the title of the Infant Jesus of Prague, as is the case with almost all Cusqueñan viceregal images that represent the Christ Child standing (fig. 1). During its restoration, it was possible to verify the materiality and technique of its workmanship, which combined with formal and historical studies, revealed that the image dates to the late



Figure 2. Unidentified artist, *Detail of the head of the Christ Child*, c.1600, carved in maguey. Templo San Pedro Apóstol de Andahuayllas, Cusco, Peru (photograph by the author)

sixteenth century and it belonged to the Confraternity of the Brotherhood of the Sweet Name of Jesus.

From a first impression, the sculpture's particular composition of the face stands out. His slight matte flesh contrasts with the polished finish of the accompanying images, as well as the rosy outlines drawn in the corners of the nose, lips, and eyes. Likewise, his golden hair captures the eye, symmetrically split into five tight ringlets that spread out from the middle section of the forehead to cover the ears and frame the outline of the face, which is reminiscent of Flemish sculpture and even late Gothic European styles (fig. 2).

The statue's skin tone has clearly been repainted in some areas, particularly on the limbs due to a loss of polychromy in isolated locations and along the back. There is fire damage at the bottom of the cloak, and alterations have been made to the chest, ankles, shoulders and arms. The alterations led to the restoration, which in some parts involved the structure of the image itself. The restoration provided new details about how this sculpture was made and allowed for comparisons with the other studies on Cusqueñan viceregal sculptures that I have been conducting. In that respect, the material and techniques used coincide with the characteristics of the first phase of sculpture making in Cusco, where the flower stem of the maguey plant was used as if it were wood, and it is important to be aware of its unique physical characteristics. The maguey flower stalk is light, difficult to cut and requires time to dry, qualities that are described in the chronicles that refer to this plant.¹ This technique, also seen in altarpieces and relief work done in the late sixteenth century in the Andean region,

involves constructing a base using several maguey stalks that are previously cut and dried, with the bark removed. The stalks, which are the maguey's flower stem, are joined using animal-based glue and plugs made from the stalks.

In the case of this image of the Christ Child in Andahuayllas, the torso and the head were made by joining several maguey stalks, while the limbs only required one stalk. After obtaining the required width, the image was carved in detail and then covered with a finely woven linen cloth to strengthen the joints, as was done in polychromatic sculpture. Some parts of the statue, such as the face, hair and waist, were finished by applying a paste made from maguey shavings, plaster, and glue. Once the image was carved, the artist applied polychromy and gold leaf following the Spanish sculpture parameters specific to that time in history.

Regarding the polychromy of the Christ Child of Andahuayllas, it is noticeable that the base layer is very thin, only about one millimeter thick. To make the incarnations, a primer of *albayalde* (white lead paint) was used, together with several coats of glaze, obtaining a pale pink and polished tone. The contours of the eyes and nostrils were delineated in red, a common characteristic of Renaissance sculpture. The tunic and the hair were done with a thick layer of Armenian bole, showing off golden highlights on both. The motifs that adorn the cloak are models that were popular during the second half of the sixteenth century. The lines etched into the rose color reveal a golden underlay that simulates a brocade of stylized fallen leaves that end in hooks, with curved, thin stems, and small circles resembling berries (fig. 3). The bottom part includes black trimming that uses the etching technique to simulate a semicircular radial lace, like a *reticella*. The special feature of this *estofado* lies in the utilization of a layer of white lead between the gold leafing and the black tempera in the lower trimming of the tunic, accentuating the simulated texture of the lace and brightening the colors in this

1 Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *Primera parte de los comentarios Reales que tratan del Origen de los Yncas, Reyes que fueron del Peru, de su idolatría, leyes y gobierno en paz y en guerra: de sus vidas y conquistas, y de todo lo que fue aquel Imperio y su República, antes que los Españoles passaran a el* (Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeeck, 1609), I: 281-282. Bernabé Cobo y Peralta, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, [1653] (Seville: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Andaluces, 1890), I: 462-463.



Figure 3. Detail of the ornamental design of the tunic of the Christ Child, c. 1600, cracked estofado on pink and lower border type “reticella” on black. Templo San Pedro Apóstol de Andahuayllillas, Cusco, Peru (drawing by the author)

sculpture.² In conclusion, materially and technically, this image adheres to the way in which Cusqueñan sculptures in maguey were made at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. It is also pertinent to bring this piece into an art historical study to analyze it from a formal and historic perspective.

The formal composition of the Christ Child of Andahuayllillas, which evidently goes beyond the ordinary Andalusian models, can be traced to other representations of the Christ Child found in towns located around the city of Cusco (fig. 4). Among these pieces, the sculpture located in the church of la Virgen Purificada in Saylla,³ is very similar with respect to proportions, the estofado technique used in the cloak, the face, and without a doubt, the hair despite the fact that this one is longer and wider than the piece found in Andahuayllillas (fig. 5).⁴ In another piece found in the church of Santiago Apóstol in Lamay,⁵ despite the evident historic alterations and the repainting done during unfortunate restoration efforts, the shape of the face, including the hair, corresponds to the same model (fig. 6).⁶ Citing another example of this pattern, the Cusco

2 Concerning the use of *albayalde* when applying the *estofado* technique, Pacheco says: "... colors must be mixed with this tempera to create an estofado on polished gold, priming with albayalde everything that must be coated with color, or colorful bulky clothing, because the outlines of the strokes are found on this surface, and the colors will fit in a neat manner." Francisco Pacheco, *El Arte de la Pintura* (Mexico: Cátedra, 1990), 463.

3 The Saylla district is located 14 kilometers southeast of the city of Cusco. Its church was built in the early seventeenth century and belonged to the San Jerónimo parish. During the viceregal period it had an exclusively indigenous population.

4 The photographs of the sculpture of the Infant Jesus of the Saylla Church were obtained from the *Centro de Restauración de Obras de Arte de Tipón*. The image has the code CROA: 05-11, and its measurements are: height of 87 cm, width of 46 cm, and length of 23 cm.

5 The district of Lamay is part of the province of Calca and is located 45 kilometers from the city of Cusco. Its church was built in the last third of the sixteenth century.

6 The significant intervention sustained by this image forces us to focus our attention on its proportions, face and elements that are similar



Figure 4. Unidentified artist, *Christ Child* (after restoration), c. 1600, carved in maguey 35 x 18.1 x 10.2 in. (89 x 46 x 26 cm). Templo San Pedro Apóstol de Andahuayllillas, Cusco, Peru (photograph by the author)



Figure 5. Unidentified artist, *Infant Jesus of Prague*, c. 1600, carved in maguey, 34.2 x 17.7 x 9 in. (87 x 45 x 23 cm). Templo Virgen Purificada de Saylla, Cusco, Peru (reproduction from the restoration report by the author)

Regional History Museum once housed an image that piques interest because of its mysterious origin.⁷ Compared to the previous examples, it is a somewhat smaller format, and the face is rounder, the eyelids are slightly closed, and the forehead is wider (fig. 7). The position of the hands and feet, and the unique representation of the hair covering the ears, however, are very similar. Another unique element is the series of monograms of the Divino Nombre JHS (Divine Name IHS) engraved on the cloak.

to the Andahuayllas Christ Child version. Despite the fact that the hair is black, the same strokes stand out and some golden spots suggest it was repainted. The images corresponding to this sculpture were obtained from CROA with the code 39-09. Its measurements are: height (85 cm), width (36 cm), and length (33 cm).

⁷ In the archives of the CROA Restoration Center it is referred as a piece belonging to the Cusco Regional History Museum with the code 124-08 and the following measurements: height (74 cm), width (30 cm), and length (27 cm). Unfortunately, the piece is no longer part of the museum. Apparently, it was not returned after it was restored because there is a final annotation next to the registration code, indicating that it is missing. This unfortunate circumstance prevents a more detailed study to determine its possible origin.



Figure 6. Unidentified artist, *Infant Jesus of Prague*, seventeenth century, maguey and glued fabric, 33.4 x 16.9 x 11.8 in. (85 x 43 x 30 cm). Templo Santiago Apóstol de Lamay, Cusco, Peru (reproduction from the restoration report by the author)

Looking at these examples that are still displayed in churches in Andean villages, it is possible to suggest that they represent a model introduced to the Andean region around the city of Cusco during the viceregal period. If we look for influences of the model outside of the Peruvian viceroyalty, they can be found throughout the sixteenth century in Europe. An early one is an engraving by Albrecht Dürer, dated between 1503 and 1528, which depicts the image of the Christ Child under the iconography of *Salvator Mundi* (fig. 8).⁸ On the other hand, a series of engravings by Hieronymus Wierix in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, is closer to the Andean model because they share characteristics, such as facial features, hair, age of the infant, and attire. In the illustration *Earthly and Heavenly Trinity*, the shape of the hair of the Christ Child and the curly tips surrounding the face, from the forehead to the base of the neck, stand out. The same occurs in the *Adoration of the Infant by Martyrs* and in the *Adoration of the Infant Jesus by Applicants*.

⁸ This is also seen in the Andahuayllas sculpture, whose left shoulder is slightly lower to compensate for the opposition of the right leg.



Figure 7. Unidentified artist, *Infant Jesus of Prague*, c. 1600, carved in maguey, 29.1 x 11.8 x 10.6 in. (74 x 30 x 27 cm). Museo Historico Regional del Cusco (extinct), Cusco, Peru (reprographic of the restoration report by the author)

But perhaps the most relevant example related to Andean images, given that it is the explicit representation of the *Adoration to the Name of Jesus*, is another loose engraving by Wierix (fig. 9).⁹ This print synthesizes in a way the devotion to the Name of Jesus because it contains, on one hand, the hymn of Saint Bernard that reasserts an intimate reflexive worship, and on the other, the Jesuit link that used the image of the Savior's name to identify its religious order. On this issue, Michele

9 The central image here corresponds to the gleaming JHS monogram. The Christ Child is featured standing on the letter H with his head turned to the left and resting on the high cross he holds on this same side with his hand, while rising and flexing his right hand in a blessing gesture. Likewise, his left leg is slightly flexed and covers the Cross vertical pole. He is dressed with a tunic tied with a sash on the right side, and has a cloak held with a couple of clasps over his shoulders. The whole image is surrounded by rays and circled by an oval frame on which there is an inscription in Latin: *O Jesu mi dulcisime, spes suspiratis anima, te quarunt pie lacrima, te clamor mentis intime* (Oh my sweetest Jesus, hope of the yearning soul, devout tears look for you, the intimate mind clamors for you), corresponding to a paragraph in the hymn *Jesu, Dulcis Memoria*, attributed to St. Bernard (1090-1153). In the corners of the image are portrait busts corresponding to four Jesuits: St. Ignatius of Loyola (upper left), St. Francis Xavier (upper right), St. Aloysius Gonzaga (lower left) and St. Stanislaus Kostka (lower right).

Dolz states that the devotion to the Christ Child began to develop in the 12twelfth century and was spiritually popularized by Saint Bernard through the Cistercian Order as an emotional devotion highlighting the innocence of children. Dolz also refers to the important role played by the founder of the Jesuit order, Saint Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556), in this devotion because he included several days dedicated to the contemplation of the mystery of Jesus' childhood as part of his *Spiritual Exercises*. The popularity of these exercises was fostered by the Society of Jesus, ultimately laying the foundation for the widespread dissemination of devotion to the Christ Child since the late sixteenth century.¹⁰

Indeed, when examining the Jesuit connection in a Cusqueñan context, we learn from research done by Ramón Mujica that years after the arrival of the Jesuit order to Peru, they promoted worship to the Divine Infant in Cusco in the version of the Christ Child dressed

10 Michele Dolz, "Aportes para una historia de la devoción al Niño Jesús en los siglos XVI y XVII," in *Actas del Coloquio Internacional: El Niño Jesús y La Infancia en las Artes Plásticas. Siglos XV al XVII*, ed. Rafael Ramos Sosa (Seville: Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento del Sagrario de la Catedral de Sevilla, 2010), 105-109.



Figure 8. Albrecht Dürer, *Christ Child as Salvator Mundi*, 1506-1538, engraving, Rijks Museum (copyright public domain)

in Inca attire.¹¹ In the *Historia General de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Perú*, an anonymous chronicle from 1600, there is a reference to a chapel adjacent to the church built on top of the old palace of the Inca Huayna Cápac in Cusco, where a brotherhood of indigenous Peruvians were active and devoted to the Name of Jesus. The brotherhood was founded by the Rev. Jerónimo de Portillo, S. J. (1592), the first Jesuit Provincial in the viceroyalty, who established the church of the Society of Jesus in Cusco in 1571.

The same chronicle states that the Rev. Gregorio Cisneros, S.J. was in charge of promoting the brotherhood and the devotion to the Name of Jesus in more than 100 indigenous villages around the city of Cusco.¹²

11 Ramón Mujica Pinilla, *La Imagen Transgredida: Estudios de iconografía peruana y sus políticas de representación simbólica* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2016), 63-64.

12 Francisco Mateos, ed., *Historia General de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Perú. Crónica anónima de 1600 que trata del establecimiento y misiones de la Compañía de Jesús en los países de habla española de la América Meridional* (Madrid: Instituto Fernández



Figure 9. Hieronymus Wierix, *The Adoration of the Name of Jesus*, 1563- before 1619, engraving, Rijks Museum (copyright public domain)

This is relevant information, because it could explain the existence of sculptures of the Infant Jesus with characteristics and aesthetics similar to the sixteenth-century models in churches around the city, including Andahuayillas. While it is impossible to know the exact date in which the statues of the Christ Child began being dressed in Inca attire, Mujica's research revealed that during the celebration for the beatification of Saint Ignatius of Loyola in 1610, which lasted 25 days in Cusco, the brotherhood of the Name of Jesus carried in procession the image of the Christ Child "dressed in Inca attire, with bright ornaments and many lights."¹³

It would appear that dressing the image of the Christ Child in Inca attire was a strategy used by the

de Oviedo, 1944) 2: 35-38. Cited by Ramón Mujica Pinilla, *La Imagen Transgredida*, 64.

13 "Relación de las fiestas que en la Ciudad de Cuzco se hicieron por la beatificación del bienaventurado Padre Ignacio de Loyola, fundador de la Compañía de Jesús, a pedimento de Don Fernando de Vera y Padiña" (Lima, en casa de Francisco del Canto, 1610), 4. Cited by Ramón Mujica Pinilla, *La Imagen Transgredida*, 64.



Figura 10. Unidentified artist, *Inca Christ Child*, 1680 – 1720, oil on canvas. Private collection, Lima, Peru (photograph by the author)

Jesuits to strengthen ties with the local population. In this context, Thomas B.F. Cummins suggests that this devotional practice turned the *uncu* and the *mascayapacha*, which were elements of social differentiation used by Inca nobility, into “attributes of the transcendental power of Jesus,” a policy that forged an alliance with the native elite whose members were educated by this religious order from a very young age.¹⁴

This devotion fostered by the Jesuits would be widely disseminated during the first third of the seven-

¹⁴ In that respect, he attests that this became evident during the celebrations that took place in 1610: “when the Inca descendants passed by the Jesuit church and pledged allegiance to the Order, not to the King or the Bishop.” Thomas B.F. Cummins, “Argumentos milagrosos: pintura y política cultural tras el terremoto de 1650,” in *Pintura Cuzqueña*, ed. Ricardo Kusunoki and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden (Lima: Asociación Museo de Arte de Lima-MALI, 2016), 84.

teenth century and would reach other locations in the viceroyalty, such as Potosí, Arequipa, Quito, and even the capital of the viceroyalty. Indeed, Vargas Ugarte included documentation referring to a celebration that took place in September 1613 in the Villa Imperial de Potosí. The celebration, which included placing reliques belonging to Saint Ignatius of Loyola in the local church, brought together “more than one thousand native members of the Brotherhood of the Name of Jesus, who carried a processional litter made of solid silver with an image of the Christ Child, bejeweled and dressed in Inca attire.”¹⁵ An important point to consider is that each reference mentions the Christ Child “dressed” in Inca attire, bejeweled and ornate, which

¹⁵ Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Los Jesuitas del Perú y el Arte* (Lima: Lib. imp. Gil, 1963), 95-96.

leads to the conclusion that this is an image belonging to the Brotherhood of the Sweet Name of Jesus that was dressed in Inca attire, not an image built as an Inca Infant Jesus.

In his studies on this issue, however, Mujica states that during his first trip to Cusco in 1583, the Italian artist Bernardo Bitti crafted a sculpture of the Inca Christ Child that was worshiped in the chapel of la Compañía in Cusco.¹⁶ Unfortunately, Mujica does not cite the source for this information. It would be important to have access to the original Cusqueñan piece that was so popular and successfully dressed in attire corresponding to the Inca nobility to compare it to the image of Andahuaylillas and the other images found in towns around the ancient capital of the Incas.¹⁷ In light of these absences, it is important to refer to the paintings of this devotion that are still preserved in the form of *vera effigies* of the sculptures.

One example is a painting by an anonymous artist in Cusco painted between 1680 and 1720 that is currently held in a private collection in Lima (fig. 10). This painting contains a series of elements that are conventionally used in portraits, such as curtains that are held open on both sides, an altar on which the pedestal for the image is placed, and corresponding vases filled with flowers, which in this case are crystal amphorae. With respect to the Christ Child, it is very similar to the Andahuaylillas statue and the other related pieces. The image appears in a frontal and standing position, with the right leg flexed and slightly forward, along with the right hand in a gesture of blessing and the left one holding a globus cruciger. The Infant wears a white tunic studded with geometrical and floral motifs, and the neck and sleeves are rimmed with lace which is also visible under the tunic. Also protruding is a semicircular lace fringe, similar to the statue in Andahuaylillas. The figure is draped by a cloak embroidered with golden fallen leaves and uses sandals with puma heads. Another important element is the headdress, or *mascaypacha*, characteristic of the Inca nobility, which is similar to those worn by native nobility portrayed in paintings of the Corpus Christi processions during the last third of the seventeenth century.

Despite not having the original sculpture corresponding to this devotion, it is still possible to establish very close connections between the image of Andahuay-

lillas and this painting, including the position of the body, clothing, face, and even the characteristic feature of the curly hair covering the ears that can be seen under the *mascaypacha*, which is reminiscent of the object of this research and other images to which it has been compared. Likewise, the presence of the headdress represented in the painting is another element linking the devotion to the Inca Infant Jesus to the sculpture from Andahuaylillas. Thanks to the references to pastoral visits by Bishop Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo to different towns under his purview, we know that during the second visit to the church in Andahuaylillas in 1687, he ordered “the removal of the *mascaypacha* from the Infant Jesus on the altar, replacing it with a crown of rays or an imperial crown.”¹⁸ As a result of this visit, we also know that there were seven brotherhoods in this village at the time, including the one devoted to the Sweet Name of Jesus, who commissioned images with iconographic representations that in the late sixteenth century, adopted elements used by the Inca nobility.¹⁹ Therefore, it is possible to consider that the current image from Andahuaylillas could have been worshiped in the procession of the Confraternity of the Sweet Name of Jesus, according to the formal elements of the Inca Infant Jesus and the symbiotic relationship that existed between the two.

According to Cummins, the policies embraced by Bishop Mollinedo were opposed to Jesuit practices aimed at strengthening ties with the indigenous elites. Mollinedo tried to extol the sacred history of Spain, the defense against infidels, and to expand his imperial authority throughout Cusco that also corresponded to the figure of the King.²⁰ The eradication of idolatries played a crucial role, even more so if linked to the Society of Jesus, within his policies. On this matter, Luis Eduardo Wuffarden maintains that Mollinedo was following the guidelines recommended by Pedro de Reyna y Maldonado.²¹

18 Visita del Obispo Mollinedo [1678], Lima 306, Archivo General de Indias, Seville; Cited in Ramón Gutiérrez and Graciela Viñuales, *Historia de los pueblos de indios de Cusco y Apurímac* (Lima: Universidad de Lima, 2014), 45.

19 Pedro Guibovich Pérez and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, *Sociedad y Gobierno Episcopal: Las visitas de Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo 1674-1686* (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, Instituto Riva-Agüero, 2008), 146.

20 Cummins, “Argumentos milagrosos: pintura y política cultural tras el terremoto de 1650,” 91.

21 To remove from the churches of God all things that can be cause or opportunity to abandon devotion, or unseemly objects that might lead other people to err, such as improper paintings and indecent images; such excesses tend to be found in churches built for the indoctrination of Indians, as well as in the works for altarpieces such as sculptures and ornaments. [...] This consideration must also be observed regarding the sculptures, both the ones kept in altars and those that are taken in processions, to have them dressed properly and with decent attires, and not with strange clothing. Pedro de Reyna y Maldonado, *Norte claro del*

16 Ramón Mujica Pinilla, *La Imagen Transgredida*, 65.

17 Regarding the version about an alleged attribution to Bitti as author of the piece, we must remember that this painter worked side by side with the Spanish sculptor Vargas, who mastered the technique to work with maguey, as shown in the five relief works attributed to him. This raises the question about the image of Infant Jesus that is missing from the Cusco Regional History Museum: Is it the one made by Bitti and Vargas for the indigenous confraternities at the church of la Compañía? This is a pending question for future researchers.

As a result, it is not unusual that the bishop would demand removal of the *mascaypacha* from images he came across in other towns, because devotion to the images was widespread at the time. During a visit to a church in the San Jerónimo parish, for example, he ordered: “Remove the *mascaypacha* and the sun from the chest of the Infant Jesus that is on the altar in the center of the church, and leave only the crown of rays on the head [of the image].”²² Today, that church is home to a statue of the Christ Child made from maguey, which despite the interventions, bears a clear resemblance to the sculpture in Andahuayllas. It is quite possible that it is the same statue referred to by Mollinedo. Likewise, in the village of Caycay, the bishop Mollinedo gave the following order: “Remove the *mascaypacha* from the Infant Jesus placed in the church, and replace it with a crown of rays or the imperial crown.”²³ Unfortunately, this church is closed and the existence of the statue is unknown. It would almost certainly confirm an image of the Christ Child with the same features.

Cummins once again provides the pertinent information taken from a letter sent by Mollinedo to the king. “One of the first things he did upon arrival in Cusco was the reorganization of the Corpus Christi celebration, which he described as chaotic and sacrilegious.”²⁴ Therefore, consistent with his policies and decisions handed down during his visits, it is not strange that in the series of paintings of the Corpus Christi he commissioned from Basilio Santa Cruz Pumacallao, the image of the Christ Child no longer wears the symbol of indigenous nobility but the imperial crown. It is worth mentioning, however, that the brotherhood continued to be run by the indigenous leaders, and the processional litter was carried in front of the church of la Compañía, where Jesuit brothers were participating in the festival.

Returning to the image of the Christ Child in Andahuayllas, the attributes popularized by Andalusian artists from the early seventeenth century, which were so critical for Latin American art in the Peruvian viceroyalty and especially in Lima, are missing or do not have an important weight in the Sacred Valley. In conclusion, and from within this context, I argue that this image dates to the late sixteenth century,²⁵ and

prefecto prelado en su pastoral gobierno (Madrid: Melchor Sanchez, 1653) 2: 216. Cited by Guibovich and Wuffarden, *Sociedad y Gobierno Episcopal*, 62.

22 Guibovich and Wuffarden, *Sociedad y Gobierno Episcopal*, 142.

23 Guibovich and Wuffarden, *Sociedad y Gobierno Episcopal*, 150.

24 Visit of Archbishop Mollinedo in 1678, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Lima 306; Cited by Cummins, “Argumentos milagrosos: pintura y política cultural tras el terremoto de 1650,” 86.

25 Brotherhoods of the Sweet Name of Jesus multiplied during this period and Andahuayllas was not outside of this trend. Information about it is recorded during the visits of Bishop Mollinedo. Guibovich and Wuffarden, *Sociedad y Gobierno Episcopal*, 146.

that it is more aligned with the Flemish models from earlier in that century, particularly in the treatment of the hair.²⁶ This sculpture is also simultaneously inspired by various local influences, which likely include the image missing from the church of la Compañía that was carried in procession in 1610, given that the model was reproduced in different churches in indigenous villages around the city of Cusco. At the same time, this was not a statue deliberately made following the iconography of the Inca Christ Child. Document references and portrait paintings from *vera effigies* match sculptures of the Christ Child in a position of blessing while holding the globe, which were then dressed as Inca nobility. This is confirmed in the documents concerning the visits Bishop Mollinedo made to different Cusqueña villages where he ordered the removal of Inca attire, an act similar to the orders he gave with regards to the Christ Child from Andahuayllas.²⁷ Consequently, I propose that this is the maguey image worshiped by the Brotherhood of the Sweet Name of Jesus, which during the first half of the seventeenth century, was dressed with noble Inca attire.²⁸ With this, we can confirm how the endemic materiality is adapted to solve the formal needs of the configuration of the image. While the objects that cover it acquire iconographic meaning for its re-signification in an attempt to transform the image in its localized context, further analysis of this regional art is still pending to understand the devotional meanings of the Infant Jesus of Prague.²⁹

26 A Flemish-style Infant Jesus, standing 34 cm. in height, found in the Convent of San José del Carmen in Seville. Michele Dolz, “Aportes para una historia de la devoción al Niño Jesús en los siglos XVI y XVII,” 107.

27 We do not know for sure if the Infant Jesus wore a tunic and sandals but the most representative aspect of its iconography, the *mascaypacha*, is confirmed by Bishop Mollinedo’s order to have it removed during his second visit to the church in Andahuayllas in 1687. Visita del Obispo Mollinedo [1678], Lima 306, Archivo General de Indias, Seville; Cited in Gutiérrez and Viñuales, *Historia de los pueblos de indios de Cusco y Apurímac*, 45.

28 It might be worth considering that during the restoration of the Infant Jesus of Andahuayllas, the image is presented with different colors used for the hair because of friction, which was more pronounced in the contour of the head, at the level of the middle of the forehead, as well as in the protruding frontal ringlets. This could be the result of the probable use of an added element, perhaps a *mascaypacha*.

29 It is important to point out that despite their many differences, almost all sculptural representations of the Christ Child, including the one from Andahuayllas, have survived until today under the name of the Infant Jesus of Prague, leaving their old denomination behind. This is probably because of the popularity of this devotion starting in the nineteenth century as a result of the publication of a book about St. Stephen by Father Emerich, published in German in 1736 and in Czech in 1749, which made the Infant Jesus of Prague famous around Europe. The image arrived and spread throughout South America by the nineteenth century, and its fame lasted until the modern period. Michele Dolz, *El Niño Jesús* (Spain: Editorial Almuzara, 2010), 15.

About the Author

Diana Castillo Cerf

(Centro de Investigación y Conservación del Patrimonio, UTEC, Lima)

Diana Castillo Cerf is a doctoral research fellow in Art History from the Facultad de Filosofía y Letras of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. She is currently a postdoctoral researcher for Heritage Research and Conservation at the Universidad de Ingeniería y Tecnología del Perú. She is an architect by profession and has a master's degree in architecture with a specialization in Conservation of Monuments and Historic Centers. Her main lines of research revolve around the Andean Baroque Route, the architecture of the doctrine temples, the viceroyalty sculpture of Cusco and the materiality of art. She is currently participating in a project financed by the World Bank and FONDECYT - CONCYTEC for the historical-artistic and technical-material study of the viceregal altarpieces of Cusco.