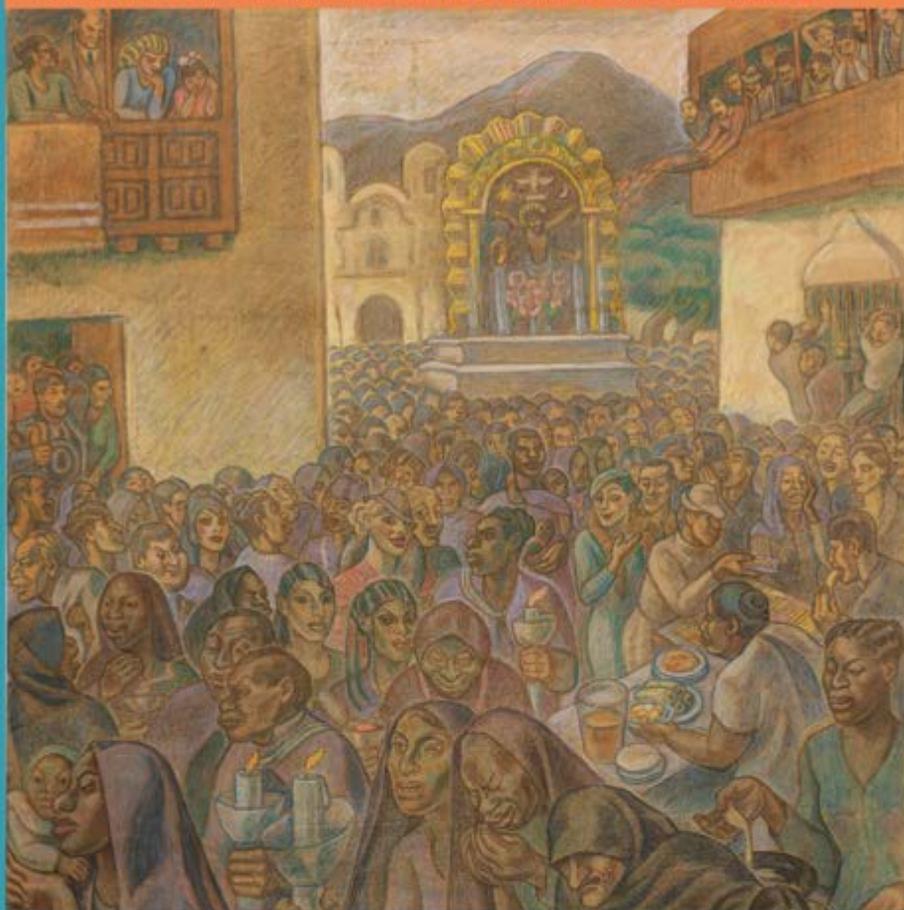


CONNECTED HISTORIES IN THE EARLY MODERN WORLD



Edited by Javiera Jaque Hidalgo and Miguel A. Valerio

Indigenous and Black Confraternities in Colonial Latin America

Negotiating Status through Religious Practices

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Indigenous and Black Confraternities in Colonial Latin America:
Negotiating Status through Religious Practices



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Connected Histories in the Early Modern World

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Introduction

Negotiating Status through Confraternal Practices

Javiera Jaque Hidalgo
Miguel A. Valerio

Confraternities (lay Catholic brotherhoods or sodalities) emerged in medieval Europe's urban centers, especially among migrant groups, as sites of popular devotion, kinship, and mutual aid.¹ Modeled on the Roman collegium, burying the dead was one of their main functions.² They first appeared in Rome around 1267 under the pontificate of Clement IV; there is record of the first institution of pious people whose function was to free captive Christians from the Saracens.³ Depending on their geographical location, and the social and ethno-racial origins of their members, brotherhoods were dedicated to different devotions, namely Christ, the Virgin, or a patron saint, which could be venerated in different locations – such as convent and parish churches. One of the primary functions of indigenous and black confraternities was to provide burial for members and individuals who would otherwise not receive proper funeral rites nor have places to be buried because of their ethno-racial backgrounds. Confraternities organized devotional processions celebrating their patron saints, a festive aspect that defined them. The penitent character of many of the ceremonies that linked them to mendicant orders may be both related to the pious example

1 See Catherine Vincent, *Les confréries médiévales dans le royaume de France: XIII^e-XV^e siècle* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1994). In the scholarship about sodalities in Spanish America the term confraternity is more common, while brotherhood is more common in the literature about Brazil, but these terms are used here and elsewhere interchangeably.

2 Roman collegia were either civic or religious societies. Burial collegia were very prevalent: see Jonathan S. Perry, *The Roman Collegia: The Modern Evolution of an Ancient Concept* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

3 See Marcial Sánchez Gaete, "Desde el Mundo Hispano al Cono Sur americano: una mirada a las Cofradías desde la historiografía en los últimos 50 años," *Revista de Historia y Geografía* no. 28 (2013): 59-80.

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of the Passion of Christ as well as a validation of practices employed by marginalized subjects looking for a way of becoming visibly legitimized by the dominant culture, as Nicole von Germeten analyzes in her book on Afro-Mexican confraternities.⁴ The mendicant orders often supported the efforts of confraternities, seeing in them the opportunity to teach Catholic doctrine to the poor and promote their particular devotions.⁵ So, upon arrival in the Americas, the mendicant orders promoted confraternities among the indigenous and black populations. The Jesuits, a new order founded in 1540, joined these efforts. Religious orders saw confraternities as useful sites for evangelizing what they considered reluctant neophytes. But indigenous and black *cofrades* and *irmãos* (or confraternity members) had active roles in their confraternities from the beginning, using them to mitigate some of the worst indignities of life under colonialism through mutual aid and redefine their status in colonial society. The chapters in this volume explore the varied strategies indigenous and black *cofradías* and *irmandades* (or brotherhoods) employed to achieve these ends.

Employing a transregional and interdisciplinary approach, this volume explores indigenous and black confraternities founded in colonial Spanish America and Brazil between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. It presents varied cases of religious confraternities founded by subaltern subjects in rural and urban spaces to understand the dynamics and relations between the peripheral and central areas of colonial society, underlying the ways in which colonial subjects navigated the colonial domain with forms of social organization and cultural and religious practices. The volume analyzes indigenous and black confraternal cultural practices as forms of negotiation and resistance shaped by local devotional identities that also transgressed imperial, religious and ethno-racial hierarchies.⁶ The analysis of these practices probes the intersections of ethno-racial identity and ritual devotion, as well as how the establishment of black and indigenous religious confraternities carried the potential to subvert colonial discourse.

Many of the confraternities discussed in this volume were multiethnic, or better, panethnic, that is, encompassing men and women from different

4 See Nicole von Germeten, *Black Blood Brothers: Confraternities and Social Mobility for Afro-Mexicans* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), 17.

5 See Elizabeth W. Kiddy, "Congados, Calunga, Cadombe: Our Lady of the Rosary in Minas Gerais, Brazil," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 37, no. 1 (2000): 47-61.

6 Our understanding of race is aligned with María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza De Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), Rachel Sarah O'Toole, *Bound Lives: Africans, Indians and the Making of Race in Peru* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), and others from this camp.



geocultural backgrounds. This underscores the group dynamics that characterized the formation of these corporate bodies where the desire to achieve common aims overcame geocultural differences among indigenous and African groups that found themselves colonized in new or even their own ancestral spaces. Few however were multiracial. Farman Sweda's case study here focuses on one exception.

We hope that the united efforts of drawing a representative map of the social and religious practices, as well as the diversity of identities linked to religious confraternities in the region that were constituted or founded by Afrodescendants and Indigenous people, can contribute to previous academic efforts, which though they provide crucial insights on local and ethnic-specific dynamics, have not drawn yet a regional overview. Our desire is to shed light on a broader panorama that incorporates representative cases of cultural and religious practices associated with religious confraternities.

The aim in compiling this volume is to present a long-overdue regional map of the religious and cultural practices associated with indigenous confraternities, as well as those of African or Afrodescendants, from early to late colonial times featuring the work of scholars from varied fields and regions. The chapters in this volume display a variety of cases studied from rural, semi-urban, as well as urban spaces of colonial Latin America. The main goal of this collected volume is to generate a compendium that we hope will contribute to better understanding of the ways in which colonized subjects navigated the colonial domain by appropriating – in an empowering fashion – European practices and institutions, transforming and creating their own identities. By adopting and adapting European religious and cultural practices, indigenous and African-descent people were able to challenge imposed devotional identities by contesting oppressive imperial, religious and racial norms, creating room for their own devotional, ritual, and cultural expression.

It is our hope that this volume will move the study of black and indigenous brotherhoods forward, bringing to the fore of several fields of studies (history, sociology, literature, art history, etc.) how subaltern subjects in colonial Latin America used these institutions to define and constantly redefine their position in local communities. At the same time, we wish to highlight how both black and indigenous actors responded in similar ways to the new world Europeans brought Africans to and brought to Indigenous people, but also how each drew on their own cultural repertoires to creolize these institutions as they developed new cultural phenomena and contributed to the broader cultural becoming taking place at the



regional level. The chapters that make up this volume give priority to black and indigenous *cofrades'* and *irmãos'* vocality and offer new ways to account for the formation of black and indigenous Catholic subjectivities in colonial Latin America. We hope that new research will add greater depth and breadth to this undertaking.

General Structure of Confraternities

While not identical throughout the Iberian Atlantic, confraternities had a generally uniform governing structure. Members normally elected twelve (and in some places twenty-four) brothers and sisters annually to a governing board led by a *mayordomo* (steward), or sometimes two *mayordomos*, who were also elected, by either all the members or the board. In Brazil the members of the board were called *juizes* (judges) while in Spanish America they were called *los doce* (twelve) or *los veinticuatro* (twenty-four). Among the members of the board there was a secretary, who communicated information to the board and the members, a treasurer who managed the brotherhood's finances, and a scribe, who kept record of the confraternity's activities. Members of host religious orders or parishes would act as spiritual directors. Due to high levels of illiteracy among Afrodescendants and Amerindians, for most of the sixteenth century and part of the seventeenth the scribe was a lettered white member or spiritual director. The board, especially the *mayordomo/s*, was responsible for seeing to it that the brotherhood's statutes (which were set down in writing for easy reference) were observed (Figure I.1).

The statutes, called by various names in Spanish, such as *reglas* (rules), *constituciones* (constitutions), *fundación* (charter), or *ordenanzas* (ordinances), and *compromisso* (promise) in Portuguese, were the guiding principles of every confraternity. It is thus remarkable that a largely illiterate people became so reliant on the written word many from its fold could not read. Statutes ranged from ten to twenty stipulations, which can be divided into three sets. The first set of rules normally governed membership. The next set of rules concerned devotion. As we discuss above, many confraternities were dedicated to the Virgin and/or a saint. Membership required engaging in certain devotional practices, such as praying the Rosary, on a regular basis, maintaining the patron's altar or shrine, and celebrating their feast day with solemn mass, procession, and other displays of religious piety. The final set of rules set out the confraternities' care for infirm and deceased members. These normally involved caring for sick members, attending the





Figure 1.1. Anonymous, Fontispiece of *Compromisso da irmandade de S. Benedito*, Salvador, Brazil, 1684. Arquivo Estadual da Bahia. Photograph by Miguel A. Valerio, June 2016.

funerals of deceased members, attending the annual masses for their souls, and remembering them when praying the Rosary, for example. Members were normally buried in the brotherhood's church, whether its own or a host parish or monastery.

Brotherhoods financed their activities with membership fees, alms members collected in the streets – sometimes for a particular purpose, such as a sick member, a funeral, or their feast – and, especially in the case

of Brazil, revenue from loans and real estate.⁷ Besides the activities listed above, brotherhoods also built or maintained altars or shrines for their patrons, and in Brazil, constructed their own ornate baroque churches.⁸ Afro-Brazilian *irmãos*, many of whom were architects, artists, and artisans, gave these sanctuaries Afro-centric iconographies, especially in the black saints with which they filled them.⁹ Like their feast day celebrations, these temples constituted powerful public statements through which the brotherhoods expressed their corporate and ethnic identities, devotion, and, more poignantly, asserted their humanity in an anti-BIPOC¹⁰ world. These activities underscore the kind of power brotherhoods wielded in colonial Latin America. In order to recognize the differences between indigenous and black sodalities writ large, in what follows we focus on each set individually, before summarizing the chapters that make up this volume.

Indigenous Confraternities

Confraternities and brotherhoods in colonial Latin America generated a space for association for marginalized groups within the colonial structure allowing, in a new community of subjects uprooted from their origin, new forms of association, validation, mutual aid, and cultural agency. Indigenous confraternities fulfilled a central social role that went beyond religious aspects: members were able to navigate the segregated urban fabric, be part of a community on which to count in instances of need, as well as to access spaces and social statuses reserved for hegemonic subjects in the colonial society, as many of the chapters in this volume contend. Maria Candela de Luca argues in Chapter 9 that in the context of disaggregated societies, such as Andean communities, Marian devotion created a sense of community between groups previously under conflict, functioning then as a socially cohesive instrument.

7 For a case study of Afro-Brazilian brotherhoods' finances, see Patricia Ann Mulvey, "Slave Confraternities in Brazil: Their Role in Colonial Society," *The Americas* 39, no. 1 (1982): 39-68.

8 See Miguel A. Valerio, "Architects of Their Own Humanity: Race, Devotion, and Artistic Agency in Afro-Brazilian Confraternal Churches in Eighteenth-Century Salvador and Ouro Preto," *Colonial Latin American Review* 30, no. 2 (2021): 238-271.

9 See José Roberto Teixeira Leite, "Negros, pardos e mulatos na pintura e na escultura brasileira do século XVIII," in *A mão afro-brasileira: significado da contribuição artística e histórica*, ed. Emanuel Araújo (Sao Paulo: Técnica Nacional de Engenharia, 1988), 13-54.

10 Acronym for black, indigenous, and people of color.



In the context of Spanish America, indigenous confraternities were first founded by mendicant friars in the sixteenth century, right after the fall of Tenochtitlan. As indicated by Laura Dierksmeier, Franciscan friars played a key role in the evangelization process in Mexico and were responsible for the foundation of the earliest and largest number of confraternities.¹¹ Archival records indicate that the Franciscans established the first indigenous confraternity as early as 1527, before the diocese of Mexico City was founded in 1529. In this manner, as studied in the latest book on indigenous confraternities in the context of New Spain by Dierksmeier, indigenous confraternities “fulfilled a wide range of charitable functions, including the administration of hospitals, giving food to the needy, providing small banking services, raising funds to release debt prisoners, and burying the dead.”¹² Due to the great decline in the indigenous populations during these years, indigenous sodalities assumed the responsibility not only of taking care of the sick, but also burying the bodies of indigenous people that otherwise would have been abandoned on the outskirts of the new colonial city. This Mexican model was followed as the Spanish empire expanded to South America.

In urban and semi-urban colonial contexts, indigenous people negotiated their place in society through various tactics, such as learning trades that would allow them to integrate into the urban economy: they worked as cobblers, tailors, metalsmiths, or carpenters. Groups of indigenous people of different ethnic groups settled in specific neighborhoods, in the case of Santiago de Chile, for example, la Chimba neighborhood, on the northwest side of the Mapocho River (*mapocho*, “on the other side,” in Quechua). From there they built social and commercial networks and became owners of *solares* (city lots), livestock, and various goods, listed in detail in their testaments.¹³ Migrant indigenous people formed “confraternities of a mixed and plural nature, where members of different origins and condition coexisted and practiced their religiosity, thus responding to the complex multiethnic realities that were articulated in Spanish American cities and, at the same

11 See Laura Dierksmeier, *Charity for and by the Poor: Franciscan-Indigenous Confraternities in Mexico, 1527-1700* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2020), 1. As stated in the Introduction, “According to the Third Mexican Council, more than 300 indigenous confraternities operated in Mexico City a few decades after the conquest [...] Indigenous confraternities operated in nearly every village in colonial Mexico, with up to hundreds of members in each city”: 11-12.

12 *Ibid.*, 1.

13 See Julio Retamal, *Testamentos de “Indios” en Chile colonial: 1564-1801* (Santiago: RIL Editores, 2000). In this volume Retamal compiles more than a hundred wills and associated legal documents of indigenous people of diverse origins dictated in the city of Santiago.

time, to the demographically smaller dimensions of cities such as Santiago.¹⁴ Notarial documentation is a prime source to analyze social mobility and the ways in which both indigenous and black people inhabited the social map, in material and symbolic terms, as well as how they participated in corporate religious forms such as confraternities. From them we can learn about the various ritual aspects associated with the festivals and festive practices in which confraternities occupied a pivotal role, as well as the production of testaments, and the funeral rituals, in which many times confraternities were in charge by request of the indigenous man or woman who dictated the will.

Testaments are a record of the ways in which indigenous migrants from different regions and ethnic groups navigated the colonial city. Their production resignified the European legal discourse in which they were framed and transformed. They also underscore indigenous identity formation in the processes of adaptation and survival to the challenges of forced or free displacement from their places of origin to the colonial city, with confraternities being a central player in the relocation processes.¹⁵ However, the notarial archive to which the wills belong is, as Valenzuela reminds us elsewhere, fragmentary in nature, since it allows us to know the testimony of those indigenous people who achieved a certain material autonomy by serving as artisans and, in some cases, owning land on the margins of the city. Thus, “it is a group that represents the indigenous people most integrated into colonial society and its administrative practices, to the point that they resort to the western mechanism of the will to leave written testimony – with legal validity – of their wishes and inheritances, material and immaterial.”¹⁶

Indigenous people who migrated to the colonial urban centers – such as the Mapuche people, who migrated from different regions of Chile and Argentina, as well as the so-called “Cuzco Indians” studied by Valenzuela in this volume – learned very early as we see it exemplified in documentation from the second half of the sixteenth century, mechanisms of adaptation to

14 Jaime Valenzuela Márquez, “Devociones de inmigrantes. Indígenas andinos y pluriethnicidad urbana en la conformación de cofradías coloniales (Santiago de Chile, siglo XVII),” *Historia* 1, no. 43 (2010): 204. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are ours.

15 Hugo Contreras analyzes the forced and free migrations that took place at the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the seventeenth century in south central Chile due to the founding of the city of Concepción in 1550 by Pedro de Valdivia: “Indios de Tierra adentro en Chile central. Las modalidades de la migración forzosa y el desarraigo (fines del siglo XVI y comienzo del siglo XVII),” in *América en diásporas: esclavitudes y migraciones forzadas en Chile y otras regiones americanas (siglos XVI-XIX)*, ed. Jaime Valenzuela (Santiago: RIL editores, 2017), 161-196.

16 Valenzuela Márquez, “Devociones de inmigrantes,” 216-217.



the colonial system either through the use of legal discourses such as wills, or by association with secular religious groups, such as confraternities. In their contribution Enrique Cruz and Grit Kirstin Koeltzsch point out that the rural indigenous population that migrated to the cities of Charcas and Santiago de Chile in the seventeenth century formed urban indigenous confraternities to maintain community ties and family relationships.¹⁷ In both forms of appropriation, we find the result of a syncretic cultural practice and religious production.

We can also find in indigenous testaments a record of the permanence of pre-Hispanic modes of social organization within the limits defined by both the European legal discourse and institutions that, in turn, were adapted to colonial contingencies. Notarial documents produced by Indigenous people in the seventeenth century reveal the importance that religious confraternities had in the lives of the testators. Indigenous religious affiliations are also clearly reflected through the places where they indicate they want to be buried. In this way, we can see a large number of examples in notarial documents in which testators expressly declare their desire to make donations in favor of specific confraternities to which they belonged and that were, as well, associated with those religious orders.¹⁸ Through the study of these legal documents, it is possible to know the dynamics of social organization. Works such as that of Joanne Rappaport, Tom Cummins, Mathew Restall, Karen Vieira-Powers, and Susan Kellogg, among others, argue that the texts produced by indigenous people are key to understanding their participation in the social formation of colonial Latin America.¹⁹ In the study of indigenous confraternities, the use of notarial records becomes necessary because there are so few archives that present thematic catalogs dedicated to confraternities.²⁰ The researcher's work then becomes focused on collecting fragments, documenting objects and practices with the aim of

17 See Enrique Cruz, "‘Esclavos españoles, indios y negros’: notas para el estudio de las relaciones interétnicas en las cofradías religiosas del norte del Virreinato del Río de la Plata," *Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi. Ciências Humanas* 8, no. 2 (2013): 454.

18 See Julio Retamal, *Testamentos de “Indios” en Chile colonial: 1564-1801* (Santiago: RIL Editores, 2000), 49.

19 See Joanne Rappaport and Tom Cummins, *Beyond the Lettered City: Indigenous Literacies in the Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012); Susan Kellogg and Matthew Restall, eds., *Dead Giveaways: Indigenous Testaments of Colonial Mesoamerica and the Andes* (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 1998), 1-11; Karen Vieira-Powers, *Andean Journeys: Migration, Ethnogenesis, and the State in Colonial Quito* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995).

20 A notable exception is F. Javier Campos y Fernández de Sevilla, *Catálogo de cofradías del Archivo del Arzobispado de Lima* (Lima: IEIH, 2014).



giving a full image as possible that is representative of the dynamics associated with indigenous confraternities. Through the analysis of confraternal constitutions, testaments dictated or written by their members, registries of donations, and expenses for the ceremonies and festivities we can learn from the circumstances that enabled the creation of these organizations, as well as from daily practices, which can be read from the perspective of material culture studies. Legal complaints presented by indigenous people to defend their right, for example, to the use of spaces designated for devout practices and rituals associated with religious confraternities to which they belonged also provide us with representative examples on how indigenous people navigated legal procedures as a strategy of resistance against colonial rule.²¹

Confraternities' ways of grouping, on the other hand, responded to social, ethnic and professional factors. However, while belonging to a confraternity often represented a form of social validation, membership did not always embrace belonging to a certain group. Confraternities, frequently, were multiethnic, formed by people from different social strata and *calidades*, such as Spaniards, mestizos, Indians, and blacks, as well as their membership in certain artisans' guilds:

Being a member of a confraternity, especially for people from discriminated, undervalued, and uprooted groups – in the case of geographically displaced individuals or groups – not only implies closer proximity to the possibility of *post mortem* salvation, but also a specific form of integration, community regeneration, social mobility and recognition [...] acting as an additional source of socio-religious positioning.²²

In many cases these confraternities were founded by indigenous people themselves and represented an instance of community and solidarity among the most marginalized members of colonial society. On the other hand, the instances of corporate organization around confraternities allowed greater agency for indigenous women – as well as for Afro-Mexican women, as von Germeten indicates in her study of black brotherhoods in Mexico, and Gómez and Walker show in their contributions to this volume – who

21 For a case study of indigenous complaints presented before ecclesiastical justice, see Macarena Cordero Fernández, "La cofradía de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. Querellas y defensas indígenas ante la justicia eclesiástica. Colina, Chile, siglo XVII-XVIII. Un estudio de caso," *Revista de Humanidades*, no. 33 (2016): 79-104.

22 Valenzuela made a comprehensive literature review regarding the brotherhoods as spaces for social and ethnic integration: Valenzuela, "Devociones de inmigrantes," 209.

not only participated actively as members and benefactors, but were also founders of confraternities.²³ A similar case of agency that challenged the patriarchal structure of Hispanic culture can be seen in the confraternity of Our Lady of Copacabana at the Church of San Francisco in Santiago de Chile founded by Ana Vebún, a Mapuche woman from the island of Chiloé.²⁴ Similarly, in Cruz and Koeltzsch's contribution to this volume we see another example of indigenous empowerment in the viceroyalty of Peru. The authors argue that the festive culture connected to religious confraternities helped legitimize the indigenous governors' authority as well as popularize indulgence in drinking and feasting.

The practices as well as the objects associated with indigenous confraternities presented above are analyzed in the chapters compiled in four parts in which this volume is organized. Through them we can learn about the different nature of varied indigenous confraternities in urban and rural contexts across colonial Spanish America. Despite traditional monoethnic depictions of indigenous communities, confraternities were pluri-ethnic spaces where migrant and displaced subjects were able to seek aid and to form communities. Being part of these lay religious corporations, as well as participating in the festive culture linked to them, was a conducive way to display their cultural practices as well as their syncretic religious beliefs and identities. Confraternal cultural and religious practices, from the proliferation of devotional images to religious festivals, helped consolidate a space for indigenous people trying to navigate, resist, and survive colonial rule.

Black Confraternities

The first black *cofradía* was founded in Seville toward the end of the fourteenth century by that city's archbishop, Gonzalo Mena Roelas (r. 1393-1401), for infirm blacks.²⁵ As Karen B. Graubart has suggested, these Afrodescendants may have been West Africans enslaved into the Iberian Peninsula through the Trans-Saharan slave trade (eighth-fifteenth centuries).²⁶

23 See von Germeten, *Black Blood Brothers*, 11.

24 To see an annotated transcription of her testament, see Retamal, *Testamentos de "Indios"*, 55.

25 Carmen Fracchia, *Black but Human?: Slavery and the Visual Arts in Hapsburg Spain, 1480-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 48-55; Isidro Moreno, *La antigua hermandad de los negros de Sevilla: etnicidad, poder y sociedad en 600 años de historia* (Seville: University of Seville, 1997), 23-56.

26 Karen B. Graubart, "So color de una cofradía: Catholic Confraternities and the Development of Afro-Peruvian Ethnicities in Early Colonial Peru," *Slavery and Abolition* 33, no. 1 (2012): 43-64.

However, Afro-Sevillanos – the Iberian-born descendants of these West Africans – would eventually take control of the confraternity and make it their own. In fifteenth-century Barcelona and Valencia, Afro-Iberians would establish confraternities of their own accord.²⁷ The Dominicans also founded two black *cofradías* in Seville. In Lisbon, blacks were admitted to Portuguese Rosary brotherhoods starting in the mid-fifteenth century.²⁸

The Afro-Iberians that accompanied the first Spanish-American colonizers may have been *cofrades* in Europe or the Caribbean who brought the practice to the Americas, for black brotherhoods already appear in the colonial archive in 1549.²⁹ That year, Lima's *cabildo* (city council) complained that the blacks were having drunken *fiestas* and engaging in robberies “so color de una cofradía” [under the guise of a confraternity].³⁰ A similar complain was made in Mexico City in 1598.³¹ These complaints demonstrated that while religious orders relied on confraternities to minister to indigenous and black populations, secular officials were suspicious of their motives. Diocesan officials also believed that blacks used confraternities to perform non-Catholic rituals.³²

As documented by von Germeten, New Spain (or colonial Mexico, 1521-1821) had the second largest number of black *cofradías*: fifty-nine.³³ In a recent article, Valerio reperiodized Afro-Mexican confraternities to show that they were active earlier than had been claimed.³⁴ There he posits that like the first blacks in Lima, “black conquistadors” in Mexico City may have joined the city's first confraternities in the 1530s. He also demonstrates that Afro-Mexican brotherhoods began to appear in the archive in the 1560s,

27 Iván Armenteros Martínez, “De hermandades y procesiones: la cofradía de esclavos y libertos negros de Sant Jaume de Barcelona y la asimilación de la negritud en la Europa premoderna (siglos XV-XVI),” *Clio: Revista de Pesquisa Histórica* 29, no. 2 (2011): <http://www.revista.ufpe.br/revistaclio/index.php/revista/article/viewFile/234/130>; Debra Blumenthal, “La Casa dels Negres: Black African Solidarity in Late Medieval Valencia,” in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, edited by Thomas F. Earle and Kate J. P. Lowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 225-246.

28 Jorge Fonseca, *Religião e liberdade: os negros nas irmandades e confrarias portuguesas (séculos XV à XIX)* (Lisbon: Humus, 2016), 23-37.

29 Matthew Restall, “Black Conquistadors: Armed Africans in Early Spanish America,” *The Americas* 57, no. 2 (2000): 171-205; Graubart, “So color de una cofradía,”; Miguel A. Valerio, “That there be no black brotherhood: The Failed Suppression of Afro-Mexican Confraternities, 1568-1612,” *Slavery and Abolition* 42, no. 2 (2021): 293-314.

30 Graubart, “So color de una cofradía.”

31 See Valerio, “That there be no black brotherhood!”

32 Ibid.

33 von Germeten, *Black Blood Brothers*, Appendix.

34 Valerio, “That there be no black brotherhood!”

when it had been previously claimed that they were founded in the late 1590s or early 1600s. Most Afro-Mexican confraternities were attached to monasteries or parishes run by the orders that protected them. Colonial Peru, by contrast, had fifteen black *cofradías*.³⁵ Brazil, one of the few places where black *irmandades* are still active and remain a central part of some Afro-Brazilian communities, had 165 confraternities in the eighteenth century.³⁶ Three have been documented in the Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata. Work remains to be done on Colombia, Chile, Central America, and the Caribbean.

Afrodescendants' main aim in founding or joining confraternities was to form community in the diaspora, pool their meager resources to care for each other in times of need, and express their Afro-Catholic identity through devotional and festive practices.³⁷ Indeed, caring for ill members and poor blacks was a major tenet of black sodalities. This principle can be seen in the oldest surviving constitution of a black *cofradía*, that of Barcelona (1455): "It shall be a statute of this confraternity that if any member falls into poverty through illness or loss of goods or any other manner, the board shall provide for their sustenance, medicine, or any other need."³⁸ To this end, black brotherhoods founded, sought to establish, or worked at health care institutions. For example, in 1568, a mulatto brotherhood in Mexico City petitioned Philip II of Spain (r. 1556-1598) for land to build a "hospital," because "the ones in the city only care for Spaniards and Indians."³⁹ Although the king initially granted the mulatto *cofradía's* petition, they were ultimately unsuccessful because the viceroy, Enríquez de Almanza (r. 1568-1680), asked the monarch to reverse his decision because he didn't want to allow "black gatherings for this or any other purpose."⁴⁰ Notwithstanding, Afro-Mexican confraternities were able to care for their infirm *cofrades* and poor blacks in at least two of the city's hospitals: Our Lady of the Conception founded

35 Frederick P. Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 247-249.

36 Mulvey, "The Black Lay Brotherhoods of Colonial Brazil: A History," (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1976), 304.

37 See von Germeten, *Black Blood Brothers*, 1-10; Elizabeth W. Kiddy, *Blacks of the Rosary: Memory and History in Minas Gerais, Brazil* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 15-38; Mulvey, "The Black Lay Brotherhoods of Colonial Brazil," 1-37.

38 Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón, 3298, Ordenanzas de la cofradía de los cristianos negros de Barcelona, (March 20, 1455).

39 Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI), México 98, Ynformaçion recibida en la Audiencia Real de la Nueva España a pedimiento de çiertos mulatos para ocurrir con ella ante su magestad (1568).

40 AGI, México 19:82, Carta del virrey Martín Enríquez, f. 1v. (April 28, 1572).



by Harnán Cortés for the native population; and Our Lady of the Helpless (Nuestra Señora de los Desamparados), established in 1582 by the Spaniard Pedro López, who was the doctor of the Dominicans, for “three groups [*géneros de gente*] that no hospital wanted to cure, which are mestizos, mulattos, and blacks, free or slave.”⁴¹

While Afro-Mexican confraternities were not allowed to establish their own health care institutions, Afro-Peruvians, by comparison, were in fact forced to do so. And whereas in Mexico City blacks were allowed to minister to infirm blacks in the city’s hospital for the indigenous population – which was run by a religious order – and later in the hospital for blacks, mulattos, and mestizos – which was administered by the Dominicans – in Lima, blacks were excluded from the city’s health care institutions for Spaniards and the indigenous population.⁴² In Lima, two “hospitals” located outside the city walls were dedicated to the care of infirm blacks: San Lázaro, for enslaved Africans, and San Bartolomé, initially established for free Afro-Limeños but eventually available to all Afro-Limeños.⁴³ These hospitals were founded and staffed by members of the city’s black confraternities, especially their female members.⁴⁴ As von Germeten has noted, in Afro-Mexican confraternities, women too were principally responsible for Afro-Mexicans’ “medical” care.⁴⁵

Another pivotal activity of black confraternities was the burial of members and poor blacks. In a world that disposed of deceased slaves’ bodies in “dung heaps or open fields” – as Dom Manuel I of Portugal (r. 1469-1521) put it 1515 – this confraternal function was so important to Afrodescendants, for whom proper burial was crucial, that in the 1970s Patricia A. Mulvey argued that black brotherhoods emerged as a “form of death insurance.”⁴⁶

41 Agustín Dávila y Padilla, *Historia de la fundación y discurso de la provincia de Santiago de México de los Predicadores* (Brussels: Ivan de Meerbeque, 1625), 446; Ignacio Bejarano, editor, *Actas del cabildo de la Ciudad de México*, vol. 14 (Mexico City: Aguilar e Hijos, 1889-1911), 7:548, 7:572; Archivo General de la Nación (Mexico), Tierras, 3556: 4, Testamento del fundador Dr. Pedro López, f. 38r. See Luis Martínez Ferrer, “Pedro López y los negros y mulatos de la ciudad de México (1582-1597),” in *Socialización y religiosidad del médico Pedro López (1527-1597): de Dueñas (Castilla) a la ciudad de México*, edited by Martínez Ferrer and María Luisa Rodríguez-Sala (Mexico City: UNAM, 2013), 179-216; Lourdes Mondragón Barrios, *Esclavos africanos en la Ciudad de México: el servicio doméstico durante el siglo XVI* (Mexico City: Euram, 1999), 57.

42 Jouve Martín, *The Black Doctors of Colonial Lima: Science, Race, and Writing in Colonial and Early Republican Peru* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2014), 10-11.

43 *Ibid.*, 13-14; Nancy E. van Deusen, “The ‘Alienated’ Body: Slaves and Castas in the Hospital de San Bartolomé in Lima, 1680 to 1700,” *The Americas* 56, no. 1 (1999): 1-30.

44 *Ibid.*

45 von Germeten, *Black Blood Brothers*, 41-70.

46 Mulvey, “The Black Lay Brotherhoods of Colonial Brazil,” 15. On the importance of proper burial to Afrodescendants, see Kiddy, *Blacks of the Rosary*; José João Reis, *Death is a Festival:*

This claim is borne out by the fact that from the medieval period to the early nineteenth century, confraternities were the sole providers of burial services for Afrodescendants.⁴⁷ Thus, membership in confraternities was a way for Afrodescendants to finance dignified burial through installments in advance. Members were normally buried in the habit and church of the religious order that hosted the brotherhood.⁴⁸ Black confraternities also buried poor blacks who were not members.

As stated above and as explored by Lucilene Reginaldo, Célia Borges, and Marina de Mello e Souza in their chapters, black brotherhoods also expressed their devotion through festive practices. One specific performance, festive kings and queens, which have been traced back to Africa, became particularly associated with black brotherhoods.⁴⁹ Black confraternities' festive practices were also the most problematic aspect for colonial officials and their white neighbors alike. In fact, black *cofradías* entered the colonial archive for the first time through an accusation: in 1549, Lima's *cabildo*

Funeral Rites and Rebellion in Nineteenth-Century Brazil, trans. H. Sabrina Glehill (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003). For another example of Europeans' neglect of deceased slaves' bodies, see Alonso de Sandoval, *Treatise on Slavery*, trans. Nicole von Germeten (1627; Indianapolis: Hackett, 2008); 70-71.

47 See Reis, *Death is a Festival*.

48 See Archivo Arzobispal de Lima, Tribunal de Bienes de Difuntos, vol. 31, exp. 39, Testamento de Juana Barba, *morena libre*, (Lima, 1651), translated by Jouve Martín in "Death, Gender, and Writing: Testaments of Women of African Origin in Seventeenth-Century Lima, 1651-1666," in *Afro-Latino Voices: Narratives from the Early Modern Ibero-Atlantic World, 1550-1812*, ed. Kathryn Joy McKnight and Leo J. Garofolo (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2009), 105-125; Archivo General de la Nación (Mexico, hereafter AGN), Bienes Nacionales, 1175: 11 Testamento de Juan Roque, negro libre (1623), translated by von Germeten in "Juan Roque's Donation of a House to the *Zape* Confraternity, Mexico City, 1623," in *Afro-Latino Voices*, 83-103.

49 Kiddy, *Blacks of the Rosary*; Marina de Mello e Souza, *Reis negros no Brasil escravista: História da festa de coroação de Rei Congo* (Belo Horizonte: Editora da Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, 2002); Tamara J. Walker, "The Queen of *los Congos*: Slavery, Gender, and Confraternity Life in Late-Colonial Lima, Peru," *Journal of Family History* 40, no. 3 (2015): 305-322; Jeroen Dewulf, *From the Kingdom of Kongo to Congo Square: Kongo Dances and the Origins of the Mardi Gras Indians* (Lafayette: University of Louisiana at Lafayette Press, 2017); Patricia Fogelman and Marta Goldberg, "El rey de los congos: The Clandestine Coronation of Pedro Duarte in Buenos Aires, 1787," in *Afro-Latino Voices*, 155-173; Cécile Fromont, "Dancing for the King of Congo from Early Modern Central Africa to Slavery-Era Brazil," *Colonial Latin American Review* 22, no. 2 (2013): 184-208; Miguel Valerio, "Black Confraternity Members Performing Afro-Christian Identity in a Renaissance Festival in Mexico City in 1539," *Confraternitas* 29, no. 1 (2018): 31-54; "A Mexican *Sangamento*?: The First Afro-Christian Performance in the Americas," in *Afro-Catholic Festivals in the Americas: Performance, Representation, and the Making of Black Atlantic Tradition*, edited by Cécile Fromont (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019), 59-74; "The Queen of Sheba's Manifold Body: Creole Black Women Performing Sexuality, Cultural Identity, and Power in Seventeenth-Century Mexico City," *Afro-Hispanic Review* 35, no. 2 (2016): 79-98.



complained that the blacks of the city met “so color de una cofradía” [under the guise of a confraternity] to engage in drunkenness and non-Catholic rituals.⁵⁰ A similar complaint was made in Mexico City, in 1598, by the city’s chief prosecutor, Guillén Brondat:

The black residents of this city meet under the guise of confraternities [*so color de cofradía*] in the monasteries of Santo Domingo and San Agustín, and hospitals of Our Lady of Conception, and the Helpless. And for this they have a box, which they call the treasury, with three keys, and their treasurer, majordomo, secretary, and prior. In this box they gather great sums of gold pesos stolen from their masters and other residents of this city.⁵¹

Brondat’s complaint exemplifies the anxiety felt by some colonial authorities, who expressed doubt that these black brotherhoods were earnest expressions of Catholic belief and functioned instead as fronts for more pernicious activities. Brondat’s inclusion of the stolen gold pesos also gives testimony to the common association between blackness and criminality in colonial Latin America – a stain not even confraternity membership could remove – and suggests that such groups could only sustain themselves through illicit means. In his 1609 report, Viceroy Luis Velasco the Younger made the same claim: that any money Afro-Mexicans had “de fuerça seria hurtado” [was necessarily stolen].⁵² In the end though, as the main hosts of Afro-Latin American festive practices, confraternities were the birthplace of modern Latin American music and dance.⁵³

In Mexico and other parts of the Americas, black *cofrades* were charged, arrested, tortured, and sometimes hanged and quartered for the confraternal custom of electing and crowning a royal court. Less than a year before Holy Christ of the Expiration appeared with their king in Mexico City’s celebration of the beatification of Ignatius of Loyola, Afro-Mexicans were accused of electing and crowning a king, queen, “y otros muchos oficios [que hay] en la casa real” [and many other titles of a royal court] on Christmas Eve 1608, as part of a plot to overthrow Spanish rule and replace it with an African

50 *Libros de cabildo de Lima*, ed. Bertram T. Lee and Juan Bromley, vol. 4 (1534-1637, first printed edition: Lima: Impresores San Martín, 1935-1948), 55-56. See Graubart, “So color de una cofradía.”

51 *Actas del cabildo*, 115.

52 AGI, México R. 17, N. 63, Carta del virrey Luis de Velasco, el joven, f. 3r (February 13, 1609).

53 See John Charles Chasteen, *National Rhythms, African Roots: The Deep History of Latin American Popular Dance* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 165-188.

kingdom.⁵⁴ This accusation had been made the first time in 1537 and would be made again in 1612.⁵⁵ In Buenos Aires, in 1787, Pedro Duarte, the *mayordomo* of the city's black confraternity of St. Balthazar, was tried for the same reason.⁵⁶ Like Mexico's 1608 coronation, St. Balthazar's coronation of Duarte had also taken place on Christmas Eve, the beginning of the Catholic holiday that would culminate on the Epiphany, the brotherhood's feast day. Yet black confraternities managed to survive these dangerous misunderstandings of their festive practices, no doubt with the help of the religious orders, as a 1702 Mexican Inquisition case shows.⁵⁷ In that case, the city's oldest black confraternity, St. Nicholas of Mount Calvary (or Tolentino), was accused by a white neighbor of processing through the streets without ecclesiastical permission. This brotherhood had been accused of the same offense in 1600.⁵⁸ In 1600, the diocesan prosecutor recommended excommunication and corporal punishment to the penitents. In 1702, however, the inquisitor found that their practices "no resulta cosa de heregia, ni sabor de ella, y que solo parece haver sido una devoçion yndiscreta" [it is not nor does it look heretical, but only seems to have been an indiscreet devotion], and they constituted "cosa mui corriente y husada en esta ciudad" [a very common and habitual thing in this city].⁵⁹ The fact that the inquisitor was a member of the Dominican order may have made the difference here.

As outlined above, Africans and their descendants availed themselves of confraternities to form community through brotherhood, support each other through mutual aid, express their Afro-Catholic and creole

54 AGI, Mexico 73, R.1, N.4, Carta de López de Azoca, alcalde del crimen de la Audiencia de México, ff. 1r, 2r. (February 8, 1609).

55 AGI, Patronato 184, R. 27, Informe del virrey Antonio de Mendoza, s.f. (December 10, 1537); Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 2010, Relacion del alçamiento que negros y mulatos libres y cautivos de la Ciudad de Mexico de la Nueva España pretendieron hazer contras los españoles por Quaresma del año de 1612, y del castigo que se hizo de los caveças y culpados, in Papeles varios de Perú y México, ff. 158-164 (1612).

56 Escribanía Mayor de Gobierno, Buenos Aires, Sala IX, 36:4:3, leg. 75, exp. 10, Información hecha para esclarecer lo que expone Farías en su memorial contra Pablo Agüero, ambos negros (January 23, 1787). See Fogelman and Goldberg, "El rey de los congos".

57 Huntington Library (hereafter HL), Mexican Inquisition Papers, Series II, Box 6, HM35169, Autos contra diferentes personas que formavan nueba religion de san Agustin (1702). See Farman Sweda, "Black Catholicism"; Joan Cameron Bristol, "Afro-Mexican Sainly Devotion in a Mexico City Alley," in *Africans to Spanish America: Expanding the Diaspora*, ed. Sherwin K. Bryant, Rachel S. O'Toole, and Ben Vinson III (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 114-135.

58 AGN, BN, vol. 810, exp. 28, Contra algunos mulatos que han fundado cofradia y salido en procesion sin licencia, f. 1r (1600).

59 HL, Mexican Inquisition Papers, Series II, Box 6, HM35168, Autos contra diferentes personas que formavan nueba religion de san Agustin, sf (1702).

identities, and redress their colonial status through festive performances. The chapters in Part II of this volume explore the varied strategies from art collecting to festive performances that black *cofrades* and *irmãos* used to (re)negotiate their colonial condition through confraternal life. They show that confraternities were (and in some cases remain) a central part of Afrodescendant social life. While these chapters elucidate a great deal about black brotherhoods, they are also an invitation for further research, especially in the areas that have received less attention, such as Chile, Argentina, and Panama.

Chapter Summaries

The volume is organized geographically, with sections corresponding to Mexico, the Andean region, Chile, and Brazil. In Chapter 1, “Religious Autonomy and Local Religion among Indigenous Confraternities in Colonial Mexico, Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries,” Laura Dierksmeier analyzes why confraternities were indispensable charitable institutions for Amerindians in colonial Mexico. Not only did missionaries see the potential of confraternities as a vehicle for evangelization, but also indigenous people themselves used Christianity as a tool for their protection and survival. Whether it be in their hospital work or in economic transactions, indigenous people ultimately became advocates of their own Christianity to advance their social status and power, and to negotiate their community positions. Indigenous customs were by no means eradicated within the new colonial society, and evidence of hybrid practices and local religion can be seen in the activities of confraternity members. By drawing on indigenous symbols and styles and fusing Christian saints with ancestral deities, indigenous people formed a Christianity of their own that was neither fully “orthodox” nor wholly “unorthodox.” Between these two extremes, confraternal life fluctuated dynamically. What emerges from confraternity records, often written in Nahuatl with finances recorded in Aztec currencies, can aptly be called “Nahua Christianity,” a combination of pre- and post-conquest religiosity.

In Chapter 2, “Confraternities of People of African Descent in Seventeenth-Century Mexico City,” Cristina Verónica Masferrer León discusses black confraternities in colonial Mexico City, their form of organization, their beliefs and practices, as well as their connection to specific instances of resistance. This analysis shows that confraternities were communal spaces that allowed Afro-Mexicans to develop social relations that in turn allowed



them to recreate and preserve certain elements of their identity, while also allowing them to interact with members of other ethnic groups. This chapter also underscores that while confraternities allowed Afro-Mexicans to integrate into colonial society, they were nevertheless seen as a threat to the established order, precisely due to the cohesiveness of their social relations.

Krystle Farman Sweda's contribution, Chapter 3, "Of All Type of *Calidad* or Color': Black Confraternities in a Multiethnic Mexican Parish, 1640-1750," moves beyond the traditional depiction of black confraternities as sites of distinct cultural community formation separate from Spanish, indigenous, or mixed sacred organizations to argue that the complex social relationships forged by persons of African descent within a multiethnic colonial parish formed the foundation of their religious communities. In the daily social interactions that occurred in the sacred and secular spaces of the parish, black parishioners discussed their conceptions of communal behavior with individuals of "all types of color or *calidad*" – as the document studied in this chapter put it – fostering a sense of Christian unity that emerged in the formation of confraternal orders. Based on a shared spirituality framed by black expertise in Christian practices, sacred communities functioned within the dynamic cultural and social milieu of the colony, not as a distinct social organization, a recognition that ultimately places black Catholics as the center of local expressions of the Catholic faith.

Sweda's case study is unique as many of the sodalities discussed in the other chapters are multiethnic, but not multiracial, as we noted above. Chapter 4 also crosses the racial line to compare the artistic practices of black and indigenous confraternities. Taking advantage of Lima's rich documentary record, Ximena Gómez's chapter, "Confraternal 'Collections': Black and Indigenous *Cofradías* and the Curation of Religious Life in Colonial Lima," begins the process of recovering the images, material culture, and devotional interactions of black and indigenous confraternities that have been erased by colonialism. Gómez proposes that if we consider each confraternity as a "collection," we can situate their documented sacred images and possession as "inventory items" that were actively collected and thoughtfully displayed, rather than objects that were passively owned. She argues that black and indigenous confraternities curated their religious and social experiences and, thereby, came to visually define the artistic religious landscape of Lima in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Karen Graubart's Chapter 5, "Of Greater Dignity than the *Negros*": Language and In-Group Distinctions within Early Afro-Peruvian *Cofradías*," looks at how enslaved and free men and women of African origins in Lima

joined Catholic *cofradías* in order to form community. She examines earliest records of Lima's African-descent *cofradías*, which reveal some of the ways that members found community, as well as dealt with growing schisms and fissures due to the Atlantic slave trade and local racialized hierarchies. Graubart highlights how Peruvians of African descent drew upon their contemporary experiences, adapting the European rhetoric of "difference" deployed against them, to identify and police their own divisions during the first century of the institutionalization of African slavery in Spanish America. The documents she analyzes also provide us with an early history of how African *naciones*, often misdiagnosed as ethnicities, came to be central to diasporic identities.

African-descent women played essential roles in confraternity life in colonial Latin America. From New Spain to Peru, Brazil, and other parts of the region, in contexts both rural and urban, they collected alms, cared for sick members, and were front and center in ceremonies, festivals, and public performances (as well as behind the scenes preparing for and cleaning up after them). These roles provided enslaved and free women alike opportunities to preserve ties to their communities and ancestors, wield autonomy and social influence, and to shape narratives about their histories and cultural identities. At the same time, however, confraternities often imposed strictures on African-descent women by tying their place within organizational hierarchies to their legal condition, marital status, and ancestral makeup. In Chapter 6, "African-Descent Women and the Limits of Confraternal Devotion in Colonial Lima, Peru," Tamara J. Walker examines a selection of eighteenth-century records from Lima's national archive that feature inventories of material possessions belonging to free women of African descent, especially religious paraphernalia, including rosaries, statuary, plaques of the Virgin Mary, and depictions of Marian apparitions. Taken together, within and across each inventory, these diverse devotional items provide an opportunity to think about African-descent women's extra-confraternal devotional practices in colonial Lima, that is, how Afro-Peruvian *cofradas* overcame the limits imposed upon by colonial society and their own male *cofrades*. Like Gómez's chapter, Walker shows how Afro-Peruvian *cofradas* redefined their colonial condition through the collection of sacred objects.

In Chapter 7, "Glaciers, the Colonial Archive and the Brotherhood of the Lord of Quyllur Rit'i," Angélica Serna analyzes the role of dance performances representing Amazonian identities in the annual Andean pilgrimage of Quyllur Rit'i, the most important annual religious pilgrimage in the southern Andes that involves devotional activities including dancing, singing, and

dramatized life cycle events centered around both glaciers and a Catholic shrine to a miraculous image. Serna argues that these performances allow for the interaction of territorial and ritual practices. Her analysis of the history and context of these dances during the pilgrimage brings into discussion how ethnic identities emerge in relation to places such as glaciers and changes in climate across both time and space.

In “Immigrants’ Devotions: The Incorporation of Andean Amerindians in Santiago de Chile’s Confraternities in the Seventeenth Century,” Chapter 8, Jaime Valenzuela Márquez discusses the main confraternities founded in colonial Santiago de Chile by indigenous immigrants from the Andes. These individuals formed social networks and relations, settled in the periphery of the city, and performed artisan labor. This chapter seeks to connect religious practices, social networks, and labor spaces through an analysis of the religious corporations that linked these loci of agency to one another. The ninth chapter of this volume, Maria Candela de Luca’s “The Marian Cult as Resistance Strategy: The Territorialized Construction of Devotion in the Province of Potosí, Charcas in the Eighteenth Century,” studies indigenous confraternities’ Marian devotion in eighteenth-century Potosí, Bolivia. This period saw an explosion in Marian devotion, manifested through a proliferation of images, particularly paintings and statues, articulated through numerous confraternities. This chapter proposes to draw a devotional map, highlighting the mechanism of devotion around these images and their relation to various churches in Potosí and indigenous confraternities. This analysis underscores the tensions among the different social groups in this space and their competition for sacred space, as well as points out how these transformations were projected onto the political and religious belief system. De Luca argues that, in the context of disaggregated societies such as the Andean, Marian devotion creates a sense of community affecting groups previously under conflict, functioning then as a socially cohesive instrument.

Chapter 10, Enrique Normando Cruz and Grit Kirstin Koeltzsch’s contribution, “Between Excess and Pleasure: The Religious Festivals of the Indigenous People of Jujuy, Seventeenth-Nineteenth Centuries,” explores the religious festivals staged by the indigenous confraternities of colonial Jujuy, in the viceroyalty of Peru. They argue that these festivals helped consolidate Spanish rule over these individuals, sustaining that festival culture helped legitimize the indigenous governors’ authority and popularized a penchant for the excess of food and drink.

Célia Borges’s chapter, “Black Brotherhoods in Colonial Brazil: Devotion and Solidarity,” Chapter 11, explores solidarity among Afro-Brazilian



irmandades. There were innumerable black brotherhoods in colonial Brazil. With the objective of promoting devotional practices, brotherhoods had a central role in fostering solidarity among the members. Afro-Brazilians and enslaved Africans made up the black Rosary brotherhoods of colonial Brazil. Endorsed by the Church and Crown, these institutions constituted Afro-Brazilians' sole means of social association. This chapter studies the meaning of membership in Afro-Brazilian brotherhoods and emphasizes the centrality of rituals in the formation of new social identities. Chapter 12, Marina de Mello e Souza's "Cultural Resistance and Afro-Catholicism in Colonial Brazil," adds to Borges' argument. Lay brotherhoods were a major form of social organization in colonial Brazil. These brotherhoods were dedicated to mutual aid and devotion to the Virgin Mary and certain saints. There were white, mestizo, black, rich, mid-income and poor brotherhoods. Black brotherhoods elected a king among their charges. His authority was recognized by the community he represented, and he was a respected mediator with slave-owners, priests, and colonial authorities. Brotherhoods offered Afro-Brazilians possibilities for affirming their identity and a social space. Afro-Brazilian brotherhoods show that Afro-Brazilians did not only achieve their own space through revolt and resistance, but also through negotiation and the adoption of European institutions.

Lucilene Reginaldo's Chapter 13, "Much to See and Admire': Festival, Parade, and Royal Pageantry among Afro-Bahian Brotherhoods in the Eighteenth Century," studies Afro-Brazilian *irmandades*' festive practices in Brazil's colonial capital until 1763. Brotherhoods' patron feasts were their main devotional and social activity. Celebrated annually, the feast was the moment of the greatest public visibility for members. The celebration could bring a great deal of prestige to the governing board and the whole brotherhood, attracting new members. Beyond this, the feast was an opportunity for the brotherhood to show its capacity to organize funerals, along with burial at a holy place, which constituted a key source of income and a major attraction for potential members. This was also another aspect of the celebrations: they functioned as a space for dancing, music, and the consumption of food and alcoholic beverages. The election and coronation of kings and queens was a unique part of this aspect of the celebration. This chapter analyzes the festivities organized by black brotherhoods in eighteenth-century Salvador, Brazil, underscoring various aspects of their confraternal life and the economic and political activity (within and without the brotherhood) undertaken to stage these festivities.



About the authors

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