On July 6, 1798, the Cabildo [city council] of the city of Lima discussed the potential of having a portrait of the viceroy of Peru hang in its sala capitular [meeting chambers]:

En este Cavildo se trato de que era preciso hacer una demostracion que acredite su reconocimiento a los beneficios recibidos por esta ciudad y por todo el Reyno de mano del Exmo. Senor Virrey y en virtud de sus prudentes, y acertadas providencias que justamente le han grangeado el amor general, como ya se ha hecho presente a Su Ex.a en los otros casos que constande las respectivas actas, en las cuales no se trajo a consideraron la grande obre del nuevo Camino del Callao, que en las ventajas que propona, hara un continuo recuerdo de su respetable Autor: por todo lo que, se acordo, y delibero, que se costeare un Retrato de Su Ex.a y se colocare en esta Sala Capitular, haciendolo antes presente a su Ex.a para que se sirva franquear el permiso, que sirviendo de aprobacion de esta deliberacion, autorize el gasto. (AML, Actas del Cabildo, Libro 39, 126)

[The discussion of this city council was the precise staging of a demonstration that to acquire a good reputation it recognize the benefits this city and viceroyalty have received at the hand of His Excellency the Viceroy and in virtue of his prudent and wise judgments that have justly earned him the love of the general population, as already has been presented to His Excellency as in the other cases that verify the respective actions, in those which did not bring to be considered the great accomplishment of the new road to Callao, whose advantages we promote, will be a lasting memory of its honorable author, for that which, we remember and deliberate, that this city council will pay for a portrait of His Excellency and will hang it in this meeting chamber, making it present before His Excellency to help clear the permission, that being used for approval of this deliberation, to authorize the expense.]

1 Translations are my own unless indicated. I would like to thank Jeanette Peterson, Cecilia Méndez, Ann Jensen Adams, and the anonymous readers at Dieciocho for their valuable feedback on this text. Also, many thanks to Enid Valle, for inviting me to participate on her panel “Performing the Ibero-American Enlightenment” at ASECS in 2008 where I presented an earlier version of this argument, and to David
The council members concluded that they would commission and display a portrait of the viceroy in their chambers in recognition of the benefits the city of Lima, and the viceroyalty as a whole, received under his governance. They also noted that the portrait would represent “his cautious and wise providences through which he had justly earned the love of the general public.” The portrait became an official commemoration of the Cabildo’s approval of the viceroy’s judicious governance, at the same time it spoke on behalf of the public at large.

The city council’s decision did not refer to the actions or persona of any specific viceroy, but to the office itself. Past viceroys had worked for the good of the city of Lima, providing it with benefits such as new roads. Large-scale public works were especially significant because they presented a constant and graphic visual reminder of the advantages fostered by the viceroy. It was through these acts of good will, tempered by viceregal wisdom and prudence that won the viceroys the love of the people of Lima, and by extension, Peru. Unlike the king, who received the unconditional and abstract love of his distant subjects, the viceroy had to earn the approval of the people he governed in the name of the king. Límeños required that the viceroy demonstrate his commitment to the people in a tangible way not expected of other royal bureaucrats.

In the only viceregal portrait dated to 1789, Pedro Díaz (a. 1770-1819) completed the full-length portrait of Viceroy Ambrosio O’Higgins, who served from 1796 until his death in 1801 (fig. 1). The painting depicts the

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2 In the mid-eighteenth century, the repartamiento, forced sale of goods by corregidores, was abolished throughout the Viceroyalty of Peru, in part because impoverished rural citizens were weary of economic exploitation by regional officials. Rather than expecting the corregidores to engage in benevolent works, the population merely sought fair treatment and freedom from oppressive policies.

3 Although the Cabildo records do not specifically record which viceroy was to be painted in observance of their 1798 decision, the Pinacoteca of the Municipalidad de Lima contained only one viceregal portrait dated to that year. The inventory of the Pinacoteca Municipal was published in El Comercio (Lima) January 4, 1893 and is also reproduced as an appendix ("Catálogo de la Galería Municipal de Pinturas (1893)" in Municipalidad Metropolitana de Lima 2005, 330-332. The painting of O’Higgins is number 41 in the latter inventory. An Irishman by birth, O’Higgins was given the title of Marqués de Osorno in 1796. Little is known about the artist Pedro Díaz. He was active in Lima at the end of the eighteenth century, and his primary patron was the Cabildo of that city. Several religious paintings in the sala capitular of La Merced dated to the 1770s are signed by Díaz.
viceroy wearing his civil uniform, a navy blue jacket and breeches with gold-braided embroidery borders, a vivid red vest and waistcoat with the same gold adornment, and a white shirt with a frilled collar and cuffs. Notably, O’Higgins does not wear any medals or awards on his uniform, despite several military and diplomatic successes which earned him significant promotions within the Latin American bureaucracy. He is surrounded by a large column pillar to his left, as well as a double-arched opening with carved figures and an embellished pediment. A brilliant red curtain is draped at the upper right of the canvas and his coat-of-arms floats on top of it, recalling the early seventeenth-century composition of the portraits of Felipe II produced in Peru.

The portraits of the king, viceroy, and even elite individuals were intimately bound up in a complex network of relationships. Two-dimensional images depicting politically powerful individuals acquired effective cultural value and shaped societal expectations of the represented leaders. The patronage, production, and reception of official portraits established boundaries between monarchical authority and powerful colonial bureaucrats. At the same time, public reception of the images supported a network of loyalties among members of a diverse audience.

Royal portraits operated as embodiments of monarchical authority alongside the viceroy as regional governor. Authority across late-colonial South America was considered by the officials who most often possessed it to be constructed, negotiated, and dependent upon physical, visual, and textual representation for its efficacy. The concepts which imbued royal portraiture with the power of absent governance gave the viceroy the ability to rule in a semi-autonomous manner; however, because royal portraits effectively satisfied that function, the viceroy could not simply “re-present” the king. Rather than supporting the imperial agenda, viceregal portraiture in South America was exploited by creole and peninsular bureaucrats essentially in control of Lima, Buenos Aires, and other cities such as Santa Fe de Bogotá. They used these images to negotiate political relationships, garner public support, and demonstrate personal financial wealth and cultural acuity. Official portraits honored the local viceroyal government, which the creole elites, who controlled the city councils and other local offices, relied upon for sustaining their own political power within the

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4 See Martínez Compañón (1936, 13r, 20r, and 23r) for illustrations of a similar uniform, wig, and pose described as “Uniformes civiles y militares”.

5 O’Higgins was promoted to Brigadier General in 1783 and achieved peace with the Araucanians. (Fisher 2003, 156-157). Viceroy Avilés (r. 1801-1806) is the only other Bourbon viceroy whose painting does not include medals and honors on his uniform.
existing hierarchy. The commissioning of viceregal portraiture provided the basis for the systematic collection and display of art in the Cabildos of Lima and Buenos Aires. The Cabildo of Buenos Aires, for example, sought out the best local artists to paint the viceroys for its collection of these portraits, among the first instances of civic patronage of the arts in South American capitals.

As the Spanish monarchy began experimenting with new forms of governance in South America, local aldermen turned to the visual arts to sustain their authority by aligning their corporate body with the viceroys through the patronage of portrait paintings. Viceregal authority was diluted and contested with the introduction of new political offices such as the intendentes [intendants], regentes [regents] of the Real Audiencia [high court], and the visitadores-generales [visiting royal inspectors]. After centuries of viceregal dominance across South America, the hierarchy of power among Spanish bureaucrats was significantly altered with the Bourbon introduction of the intendant system. Governmental innovation, and later instability with the arrival of Napoleon Bonaparte in Spain (1808), weakened monarchical authority and created the opportunity for American creoles to reconfigure the balance of power in practice, as well as to reevaluate its loyalties. This article explores how viceregal portraiture became a necessary component in the reconfiguration of power between rulers and ruled in the South American viceregal capitals of Lima and Buenos Aires.

Portraits and Viceregal Authority

Portraiture in early modern Spain effectively represented people who could not otherwise be visually experienced; the genre also preserved the image of an individual for posterity. Among the elites who turned to the genre to capture their likenesses, the Spanish monarchs embraced portraiture from the earliest consolidation of their power on the Iberian Peninsula. During the eighteenth century, the Bourbon monarchs brought French royal portrait traditions (such as costume, more elaborate decorative motifs, and complex design) to Habsburg Spain. Most portraits created in Spain were hung in palaces, government buildings, and other official settings, as well as eagerly collected by a variety of subjects, particularly those positioned at court. 6

Although portraits were more common in early modern Europe, the genre did not acquire cultural relevance in South America until the end of the eighteenth century. At this time, the city councils of Lima and Buenos Aires established collections of viceroy portraits by contemporary portrait painters, such as that of Viceroy O’Higgins highlighted above. When scholars describe official portraits produced in the viceregal capitals, they

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6 On portraiture in Spain see Glendinning (2005) and Brown (1998), among others.
frequently relegate the viceroy to the position of royal pawn and conclude that the artworks buttressed the Spanish imperial agenda. For example, Elisa Vargaslugo suggests that the style of viceregal portraiture in Mexico was imported from Spain, a formulaic style “devoid of expressive freedom.” (1) In her discussion of eighteenth-century viceregal portraits, Clara García Ayluardo describes changes to the royal definition of the viceregal office under the Bourbon reform program, framing the viceroys and their portraits in imperial terms without consideration for the actual circumstances of production. In the context of seventeenth-century Mexico City, Michael Schreffler also explores the role of works of art in imperial administration. Schreffler’s description of official portraiture and elite consumption of artworks draws attention to the important role of works of art in the negotiation of political relationships. Miguel Bretos also observes that viceregal portraits reaffirmed the status and social position of colonial elites. Previous commentary on official portraits in viceregal contexts has assumed that the portraits of white peninsular officials (individuals born in Spain or Europe) unilaterally buttressed Spanish imperial goals like their Spanish counterparts. However, the process of producing and viewing portraits in South America was not simply imported from Europe; it was shaped by the colonial occupation of South America, where official imagery manipulated realism in works of art.

Viceroy portraits are a uniquely non-European sub-genre of portraiture and among the first painted portraits in the capitals of South America at Lima and Buenos Aires. American city councils in Lima, Buenos Aires, Mexico City, and Bogotá commissioned vicerey portrait series throughout the viceregal period. The precise origin of the viceregal painting tradition in Lima remains unknown and was not documented in the records of the city council as it was in Buenos Aires in 1777. Buenos Aires did not develop a coherent model for its vicerey portraits; however, today in Lima, there are portraits of all the viceroys of Peru and some of their interim counterparts.

Changes to viceregal bureaucracy influenced the ability of portraits to mitigate political strategy locally. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, viceroy was the highest bureaucratic office in the Viceroyalty of Peru; as the leading political official in South America, he held many positions simultaneously, including acting as president of the regional high court. In the eighteenth century, royal policy directed by the monarchs in concert with the Council of the Indies simultaneously began reasserting royal power and diminishing the role of the viceroy in South America. The Spanish Bourbons acknowledged that despite the professed oath of loyalty, in practice most viceroys worked as free agents. The royal strategy was to parse former viceregal responsibilities to a variety of new administrative positions, held by a variety of peninsular Spaniards under the assumption that this bureaucratic contingent would collectively retain primary loyalty to the goals of the monarchy. When the Viceroyalties of New Granada (1735)
Engel, "Official Portraiture in Late-Colonial Lima and Buenos Aires"

and Rio de la Plata (1776) were separated from the Viceroyalty of Peru, three men shared the privilege of viceregal office on the continent; however, in 1776, observing jurisdictional conflict between the viceroy and the Real Audiencia, the crown created a new position of authority, the regente. The regent was, like the viceroy, appointed by the king, and served as the presiding official of the Real Audiencia. He was responsible for defining and enforcing the limits of the authority between the viceroy and the Audiencia in relation to each other; as a result, the regent did not win favor with either entity.

In spite of the newly appointed regent, the balance of power within the viceroyalties remained unstable. In the eighteenth century, the office of viceroy failed to continue to be effective as the bureaucratic and symbolic representation of the king in his South American possessions. The first Bourbon monarch, Felipe V observed the problem across his entire kingdom upon taking the throne in the early-eighteenth century. In 1718 and again later in 1749, the monarchy adopted a system of government by intendants in Spain; later in the 1780s the system was integrated into South American colonial bureaucracy. At its most basic a redistricting program, the system of intendants reasserted royal authority, augmented colonial bureaucracy, and established a uniform manner of governing at a fundamentally local level. The intendants became responsible for the administration of justice and of the royal finances across the South American continent. The first intendant was installed in Buenos Aires in 1782 and later in Lima in 1784.

Rather than eliminate the rank of viceroy, the crown appointed the intendant to more rigorously implement the law and maintain the treasury,

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7 *Instrucción* June 20, 1776. As cited in Moore (15).

8 The viceroy served as the president of the Real Audiencia; however, the members of the Audiencia remained in office over time, while the viceroy were temporary leaders.

9 *Juicios de residencia*, or official investigations which summarized viceregal tenure, were required before a viceroy could leave office. These documents are located in the Archivo General de la Nación in Madrid and most can be accessed online.

10 The Bourbons borrowed from the seventeenth-century French system of governing through a network of intendants. For more information see Fisher (1970) and Lynch (1958).

11 Intendants were installed in other South American cities, including Cusco, where the office addressed social instability resulting from the threatening rebellions orchestrated by Tupac Amaru II and others.
allowing room for the viceroy to distance himself from these enforcement tasks, acting benevolently in the name of the king. The intendants of Lima and Buenos Aires were to absorb several minor viceregal responsibilities in order to allow the viceroy more time to focus on the most pressing issues facing the viceroyalty; however, the intendants threatened viceregal primacy and authority. Before appointing the first intendants in the Americas, the crown realized the potential for conflict between the parallel positions. In their instructions, the king and the Council of the Indies cautiously advised the intendants to bring royal government into the American provinces, while maintaining suitable relations with the viceroy and other officials.\(^{12}\) With the arrival of the first intendants to Lima, the relationship between the viceroy, the *Cabildo*, and the new bureaucrat had to be negotiated. The viceroy could not retain his existing power over the *Cabildo*, because then the intendant would have no clout, as the intendants were to oversee city council affairs. (*Ordenanza* 1803, article 67, 53) In contrast, if the intendant was given too much rank and power, the viceroy’s magnificence in public ritual would be diminished. The intendant represented the centralization of government and the unilateral reassertion of royal authority, specifically in city councils across the continent (Moore 45).

With the founding of the first city councils in South America, a guide for municipal governance was released in Spain, *Política para corregidores* (1597). This text described the legal role of the *Cabildo* as, “only to give its advice to those who have the supreme authority, and it has neither power nor competence to order or determine or put into execution its opinion or deliberations, but has to refer all these to the corregidor [local-level official]” (Lynch, "Intendants" 141). As advisors, the South American *Cabildos* were to be the loyal servants of the monarchy at the local level throughout the viceroyalty of Peru. Over two hundred years of Spanish rule, the *Cabildos* of cities across Latin America had become ruthlessly corrupt and primarily representative of the individual interests of their membership. During meetings, business often came to a standstill in power struggles (Moore 50 and Lynch, "Intendants" 139-141). In addition, the abuse of indigenous populations at the hands of *corregidores* had reached all-encompassing proportions.

The oligarchic *Cabildos* of Lima and Buenos Aires were composed of upper-class citizens of the respective cities. Unlike the *Real Audiencia*, which had several members who had recently arrived from Spain, members of the *Cabildo* were from prominent, powerful creole families.\(^{13}\) The crown hoped

\(^{12}\) The instructions were published in *Ordenanza* (1803).

\(^{13}\) The Cabildo of Lima was founded on January 18, 1535 by Francisco Pizarro; in Buenos Aires, the city council’s origins are traced to the 1580s, because the city was re-founded after being abandoned in 1541.
the new intendants would combat the proliferation of social problems and the degradation of local authority from the bottom up; however, the intendants and the Cabildos of Lima and Buenos Aires, in particular, developed a convivial working relationship. At the end of the eighteenth century, these urban city councils collaborated with their intendants to achieve effective taxation and administration with unprecedented success; however, between 1800 and 1810 the relationship between the Cabildo of Buenos Aires and royal authorities degenerated into conflict. John Lynch suggests that the emerging self-confidence of the Buenos Aires Cabildo can be traced to its earlier relationship with the intendants, whose policies empowered the city council by increasing its revenues and ability to govern effectively (Lynch, "Intendants" 141-145).

Royal attempts at the reconfiguration of local power hierarchies across Spain's American territories had little impact on the actual processes of government; the new colonial officials who were thought by the crown to be more dedicated to supporting the royal agenda were not able to corral the viceroyos, Cabildos, or Audiencias. Ironically, by expanding and complicating the existing bureaucracy, the crown undermined its ability to project an image of continuity and strength to its distant 'vassals' across South America. In addition, the partnership between Cabildos and intendants revived political consciousness and increased revenues in the councils (Lynch, "Intendants" 159). In the end, the office of the viceroy proved to be more durable than the Bourbon reforms to a proliferating bureaucracy, as the viceroy usurped the office of intendant. Interestingly, portraits of the individuals appointed to the posts of the expanded viceregal bureaucracy were not painted or collected. However, the portraits of the viceroyos of Peru and the Rio de la Plata were systematically collected by the Cabildos in Lima and Buenos Aires, reiterating the deep-seated local configuration of colonial power. As this essay demonstrates, the viceroyos and the urban Cabildos emerged as the brokers of power and loyalty at the turn of the nineteenth century.

**Visualizing Power in Tradition and Protocol**

Because the balance of power required frequent reinforcement, many protocols can be observed in ritual contexts where the viceroy appeared publicly, often with municipal officials. The viceregal entry ceremony ritualized the social contract between the viceroy and the local government,

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14 Only one portrait of an intendant survives to the present day, Don Francisco de Paula Sanz, who served as Superintendent of Buenos Aires; the portrait was painted in Potosí, Bolivia before 1810. Also, no archival references to portraits of individuals appointed to the other posts have been located by the author to date.
a process that continued with the later commissioning of viceregal portraiture. During the ceremony (in an ephemeral visual display), the viceroy swore to govern well and accepted the qualifications of the ideal governor put forth by the local authorities and intellectuals; however, the portraits of the viceroys on display in *sala capitular* were a more permanent visual demarcation of local authority. I contend that the act of posing for a portrait painting, requested by the *Cabildos* and undertaken by the viceroys in Lima and Buenos Aires, was an important diplomatic formality which became an established tradition, as well as a synthesis of the processes that made etiquette an effective component of governance.

Among the accoutrements of power, the *palio* [ceremonial canopy] cannot be separated from the ritual context where it was displayed; the use of *palios* in religious and official processions can be traced back to a variety of Western European historical contexts (Bertelli 1-4). For centuries, viceregal entries in the Americas were modeled after royal entries. The Spanish court and its colonial satellites developed an elaborate, distinctive ritual culture over the course of Habsburg domination. As Linda Curcio-Nagy demonstrates in her analysis of political theater in Mexico City, one of the most important Habsburg rituals in the Americas was the viceregal entry ceremony, during which the in-coming viceroy was publicly accepted by the existing colonial bureaucracy. Curcio-Nagy observes a shift in official ritual protocol with the onset of Bourbon rule. She suggests that the viceregal entry became secondary to the ceremonial *jura,* or oath of loyalty, to the king (68). This change in official practice was directed by the court at Madrid and put into practice by the city council of Mexico City. Bourbon ritual and etiquette, along with the reform agenda and other official projects, was dedicated to augmenting the absolutist image of the monarchy; however, official protocol was not exempt from the influence of the *regidores* [city councilmen] of Lima and Buenos Aires.

Unlike the situation in New Spain described by Curcio-Nagy, in South America (Lima in particular) the viceregal entry retained its ceremonial prestige. In the eighteenth century, viceregal entries across South America became elaborate ceremonies with a complex cast of characters, choreography, ephemeral architecture, an assortment of props, public festivities, music, and dance. The ritual was a costly event occurring with the arrival of each new viceroy. The entry of the interim viceroy Diego Morcillo Rubio de Auñón in Potosí on April 25, 1716 is exquisitely represented in a monumental work of art by Melchor Pérez de Holguín painted in 1718 (fig. 2). An elaborate *palio* is depicted covering Viceroy

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15 At the Museo de America, Madrid, Inventory number 87. Holguín was born in Cochabamba (contemporary Bolivia) around 1660 and died after 1724. Working primarily in the wealthy highland city of Potosí, Holguín was a prolific artist of religious icons and devotional paintings. He and his extensive workshop fulfilled
Morcillo who is shown riding on horseback in front of the city’s cathedral at the right side of the canvas. The *palio* used in viceregal entries, like the one illustrated in Holguín’s painting, was a richly brocaded, vividly colored textile eighteen feet long by fourteen feet wide and supported by four twelve-foot high gilded poles. Four *regidores* processed with the viceroy carrying the *palio* overhead, while an extensive procession surrounded them. This painting by Holguín visually encapsulates all three protocols which were employed in defining municipal-viceregal relations: the *palio*, the procession, and the viceregal portrait. These protocols were visually fundamental components to achieving the socio-political goals of the viceregal entry for a variety of bureaucrats.

**Palio as Protocol**

For generations in Europe and the New World, the *palio* had been a symbol of royalty. The use of the *palio* in public and private was reserved for the members of the royal family, the Holy Eucharist, and exceptional Catholic icons. In Lima and Buenos Aires, the portraits of the king and queen which hung in the viceregal palaces and the *Cabildos* were topped by *palios*, demarcating a unique and powerful space (Juan and Ulloa 45). Covered platforms often honored religious icons throughout South America, such as Our Lady of Cocharcas, whose unique iconographic representation always shows the Virgin on a covered altar. In 1800, Firmin Cueva painted and adorned the *palio* platform of the *sala capitular* of the *Cabildo* of Lima (Harth-terré 115). The *Cabildo* of Buenos Aires installed a red velvet *palio* over its portraits of the king and queen when displayed in public. Use of the *palio* honored the person covered by it, indicating the socio-cultural significance of the individual beneath it.

In the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, viceregal entries were modeled on royal entries, which presented the viceroy riding horseback under a *palio* in public displays of loyalty orchestrated by the cities hosting the events. The public image presented by an individual or corporate body, in this case the viceroy with a *palio* overhead, was understood to inspire loyalty in those who visually experienced it. As illustrated in the Holguín painting, the *palio* served not only to cover the person beneath it, but it visually highlighted that individual. Even at a great distance, the *palio* focused attention on the viceroy as the most significant actor among an extensive cast. The curtain drawn behind the viceroys in most of the Lima commissions from several religious patrons, in particular from the Franciscan and Dominican orders.

16 A colonial-era *palio* is currently displayed in the Buenos Aires Cabildo museum with a painting of the royal coat-of-arms beneath it.
viceroy portraits serves to simultaneously reveal and conceal the presence of the figure in its physical space (see fig. 1 for example). Like the curtain, which ambiguously invites the viewer into the private space of the royal authority, while at the same time encloses the viceroy in an environment distinctly separate from the colony which he was attempting to govern, the palio textile enveloped the body of the viceroy calling visual attention to the honor bestowed upon him by the king (and the Council of the Indies) and the colonial Cabildo hosting the entry ceremony.

The ritual application and its conceptual connotations were not solely the province of the viceroy; the Real Audiencia and the Cabildo, as well as other participants in the procession, brought interpretations to bear on the display they experienced. Alejandro Cañeque has argued that symbols of power in seventeenth-century Mexico City, such as the palio, were not merely representative of viceregal power, but constitutive of it; the palio emphasized the viceroy’s position as “surrogate monarch” (Cañeque 125). Cañeque states that the viceroys had, “attempted to emphasize their power symbolically, conscious as they were that their power could be seriously compromised if their public image as the supreme authority of the viceroyalty was not clearly transmitted to the populace” (Cañeque 128). He contends that viceregal authority was created by and maintained with the use of palio and other ritual devices associated with the possession of authority and loyalty within the colonies. By the end of the eighteenth century, publicly highlighting the viceroy as the most important actor in the ceremony and casting the members of the Cabildo as his servants carrying the palio over his head assumed a local significance separate from the official monarchical agenda developed in Spain. The ritual use of the palio in official processions undermined the authority of the Cabildos of Lima and Buenos Aires, which they themselves were attempting to reinforce in a variety of ways, including through the commissioning of viceregal portraits for display in their chambers.

The Cabildo of Lima vehemently argued to the crown that the palio should be reserved for individuals of royal background, eliminating its use in viceregal contexts (except with the portraits of the king and queen). Viceroy Gil de Taboada did not use the palio in his entry ceremony in 1790; however, his successor, O’Higgins, reinstated its use in 1796 (Moore 94-17). In fact, a law prohibiting viceregal use of the palio had been in place since 1573, when Felipe II eliminated its use and limited the cost of viceregal entries in Peru to 12,000 pesos (Recopilacion 1943, Libro III, Titulo III, Ley xviii, folio 549).

Viceroy O’Higgins supported the iconography of royal domination in Lima, while his son, Bernardo O’Higgins went on to lead the Chilean revolution for independence only a few years later. On O’Higgins’ entry see AML, Actas del Cabildo Libro, Libro 39, 90, “... y empezo el paseo publico que con rino con todo el acompanamento conduciendo el cavildo secular el Palio...” and began the public
95). In fact, the act of declining the *palio* in viceregal entry procession was praised by Manuel Hurtado y Arizaga in his history of the viceroyes of Lima dedicated to Viceroy Gil. On January 22, 1805, the *Cabildo* of Lima suspended the use of the *palio* and donated it to the Church of Jesus Maria. It declared the *palio* and associated pomp during viceregal entries to be superfluous:

> Todo esto que en los primitivos tiempos de conquista podia haver sido combeniente para imprimir en el Publico la lata idea del empleo de virrey, y mucho mas de la Persona del Rey que representava, parese muy obvio en el dia, y muy ageno de circumspeccion o impropio de una capital del Peru, tan culto y civilizada, que no nesecita ceremonia y exterioridades de tal claro. (AML, Actas del Cabildo, Libro 40, 190-193)

[All of this which in early days of the conquest might have been suitable to impress upon the public the lofty idea of the position of the viceroy, and even more of the person of the king whom he represented, appears detestable today, and foreign to circumspection, or inappropriate to a capital of Peru, so cultured and civilized, that it does not require a ceremony and formalities of such kind.]

This statement reveals the revision of past public sentiment which considered the viceroy to be the representative of the king, stating that during the conquest of South America, the *palio* served as an effective symbol to indoctrinate the public into comprehending the exalted position of the viceroy. However, in early-nineteenth century “civilized” Lima, symbols and public demonstrations of royal authority and stature were considered to be indecorous. It was obvious to the city council that after two centuries of Spanish domination its citizenry had been effectively educated about the power of the king. At the same time, the authority of the viceroy had been diluted to the point where emphasizing it in public ritual via the *palio* was unacceptable to the city council, because focus on the viceroy directed attention away from the locally dominant position of the *Cabildo*.

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On the same day in 1805, the Lima Cabildo declared that local officials would preside over public entertainment (including Plazas de Gallos [cockfighting], Toros [bullfighting], and Caballos [rodeo], as well as the Coliseo de Comedias [comedic performances]) associated with the viceregal entries and other events, as was customary practice in Spanish towns. According to the minutes, the city council sought proper respect for their representatives in public ceremonies. As the authority of the viceroy was diminished and the power of the king was assumed, the Cabildo of Lima sought to focus the attention of its acculturated citizenry on the visual display of its own power. By advertising its public works, such as the funding of public entertainment, the Cabildo of Lima endeavored to secure the loyalty of the city and therefore to augment its own authority.

By supplanting the distinguished position of the viceroy during his official entry into the city, the city council asserted the prominence of its local municipal authority; the colonists politely, yet forthrightly, requested that the king do as they asked. As historian Victor Peralta tells us, at the end of the eighteenth century the Cabildo of Lima began to express discontentment with its level of social prestige and political authority. The Cabildo contacted the crown requesting complete administration of propios y arbitrios [tax revenues] without the supervision of the intendant, as well as the elimination of the office of teniente de policía [official responsible for taxation of bodegaje, or sundries]. In 1802, the crown granted the requests and many more in the following years. The Cabildo of Lima ultimately succeeded in convincing royal authorities to eliminate the use of the palio in the viceregal entry procession resulting in a royal order dated March 3, 1806. (Viceroy Joaquín de la Pezuela and José de La Serna obeyed the order in their entries in 1816 and 1821, respectively.) According to Peralta, the Cabildo of Lima regained its sense of autonomous power in the early nineteenth-century, in part through donations to the crown by both the corporate body and its individual members which characterized royal authority as blatantly dependent upon South American support for the first time in the Spanish occupation of the continent. In return, the alcaldes [mayors] and regidores of the council ceremoniously expressed their loyalty to the monarchy (Peralta Ruiz 106-110). However, conflict between the Cabildo and the viceroys regarding protocol and the definition of authority continued to manifest itself in the public sphere. The absence of the palio represented the diminished nature of viceregal authority, and more importantly, of the loyalty of the city council and the populace at large. Without the visual distinction achieved by the palio, the viceroy was no longer visibly honored as the center of power. The significance of the palio

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20 In the past, royal officials had orchestrated these events in cooperation with the Cabildo committee (AML, Actas del Cabildo, Libro 40, 190-193).
as a visual indication of authority for the Cabildo continued into the nineteenth century. As the following two examples indicate, the Cabildos of Lima and Buenos Aires sought to define the boundaries of their own authority through organized cultural expression.

**Procession as Protocol**

Holguín’s painting illustrates another important protocol associated with the political potency of the viceregal entry: the order of participants in the public procession (fig. 2). The protocol of the viceregal entry *paseo* [parade] is indicative of the corporeal nature of power and, at the same time, of the allocation of authority to Spanish bureaucrats by local officials. In the Holguín painting, three distinct groups process through the streets of Potosí: the newly appointed viceroy with his entourage; the judges, city councilmen, professors, and religious leaders of the region; and a group of soldiers. Viceroy Diego Morcillo Rubio de Auñón is pictured on the right of the main image, near the end of the procession. Below the viceroy is a textual inscription with two sections, one on the left discussing the viceroy and his honors, the other describing the Cabildo of Potosí and its role in the viceregal entry portrayed in the painting. The viceroy’s horse is led by two alcaldes ordinarios [regular council members] (Don Francisco Gabarte and Don Pedro Navarro), and a group of red-clad men carries the palio over his head. Four male figures on horseback follow behind him; they have been identified by José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert as the judges Don Gregorio Núñez, Don Baltasar de Lerma, Don Francisco de Sagartía, and Don Juan Bravo (Mesa and Gisbert 187). These four men also flank the viceroy on the balcony overlooking the main plaza in one of the auxiliary scenes at the top of the canvas: an evening staging of a masque performed by a group of indigenous miners from the area. Núñez, Lerma, Sagartía, and Bravo served as the local emissaries, guiding the viceroy, monitoring his experience and interaction with potosinos, and emphasizing the loyalty of the magnificent city to the monarchy. In addition to the judges of the Real Audiencia, members of the Cabildo of Potosí occupied a culminating position in the public procession of the new viceroy.

The Cabildo, as the “benign father and prudent head of the republic,” sponsored and organized the event at a cost of over 150,000 pesos (Arzáns 46-53). While the viceroy served as the subject of the procession, the Cabildo of Potosí hosted the celebrations, which included the construction of twelve ephemeral arches (one is shown in the far right of the main image of the Holguín painting), bullfights, fireworks, and theatrical performances (Kagan 191-192). Richard Kagan interprets this painting as meant to “create an image of Potosí as a festive community whose loyalty to the monarchy superseded the factional divisions to which it was ordinarily subject” (192).

However, it is important to recognize that the viceroy, not the Cabildo, likely had this painting commissioned. While the newly-appointed, visiting
viceroy may have interpreted the entry procession, associated ceremonies, and subsequent celebrations as carried out in his, and by extension the king’s, honor, the Cabildo of Potosí utilized a traditional protocol to strengthen the local power hierarchy and to secure a place at its pinnacle. Seizing the opportunity to stage a pseudo-viceregal entry because Viceroy Morcillo happened to be stationed in the city at the time of his appointment as interim-viceroy, the Cabildo of Potosí asserted a position of authority in the Viceroyalty of Peru customarily reserved for the Cabildo of Lima.

The Lima Cabildo carefully guarded its position by policing public processional protocols. The entry of Viceroy Guirior recorded in the city council meeting minutes from 1776 provides an example:

In the very Noble and Loyal City of Kings of Peru, on the 3rd day of December, 1776, was celebrated the public entry of His Excellency Sr. Manuel de Guirior, … His Excellency having gone in his coach by out of the waystreets to that place. There on a little table serving as an altar with a figure of Christ and four candles, and the Holy Apostles, he took the customary oath to be loyal to Our Sovereign and to the rights and privileges of this city before the secular Cabildo, which awaited him there, with the secretary of the Cabildo Andres de Sandoval y Davalos giving the oath. Accompanied by the two alcaldes ordinarios Joseph de Ugarte, to whom belongs this right, handed him the keys. This ceremony completed, His Excellency, followed by the secular Cabildo, proceeded to the Church of Our Lady of Montserrat, where the ecclesiastical Cabildo with the prior was waiting for him, to hear the benediction and listen to the Te Deum; afterwards His Excellency mounted his horse and began the public paseo, the secular Cabildo behind him, with the canopy and the two alcaldes ordinarios holding cords attached to the reins of His Excellency’s horse and the mayordomo of the city in the rear with the council secretary… (AML, Actas del Cabildo, Libro 36; translation from Moore 96)

As in Potosí with the arrival of interim-viceroy Morcillo, the Cabildo of Lima followed behind the viceroy during the entry procession or paseo, as it is called in this account. This prestigious position in the processional order replicated the hierarchy of power acted out earlier during the jura, the profession of oath of loyalty and service, a ceremony enacted at the entrance to the city. The viceroy professed his loyalty not only to the monarch, but to the rights and privileges of the city of Lima. The secretary of the Cabildo, not a royal official, administered the oath, while the alcaldes ordinarios presented the viceroy with the keys to the city. From the first

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21 The president of the Real Audiencia and the departing viceroy were often included in the ceremony if they were present at the time. When part of the procession, the out-going viceroy was granted the most prestigious position in the processional order, the last person to come into public view (Moore 95).
moments in his capacity as the highest-ranking regional official, the viceroy was ceremonially made aware of how protocol determined the distribution of power.

As elsewhere in the Americas, the paseo during the viceregal jura publicly juxtaposed royal, bureaucratic, and military power. The viceroy led on his horse by two alcaldes ordinarios was publicly presented as dependent upon the local authorities for his physical and moral leadership. The description of the procession in late eighteenth-century Lima also demonstrates the central role played by the Cabildo of that city in the acceptance of the new viceroy into the government of the Viceroyalty of Perú. The Cabildo of Lima continued to display its dominant place in the local power hierarchy by sponsoring a private banquet at the Casa de Ayuntamiento [meeting hall of the city council] (which included all the members of the Cabildo and their wives) and public entertainments including bullfights (Moore 96-98). The paseo, jura, and related events did not unilaterally impose the agenda of the Spanish royal government on the people of Lima and their representatives, including the new viceroy. This public protocol offered the concurrent opportunity for the Lima Cabildo to demonstrate the order and rationality of Spanish American socio-political colonial hierarchies.22

Curcio-Nagy states that the organizers of the festivals of colonial Mexico City not only outlined the principles of political leadership, but “envisioned the desired relationship between the ruler and the ruled” (6). The South American Cabildos did rely upon the abstract authority of the distant monarch for its own authority among the residents of the viceregal capital; however, as the examples from Lima and Potosí show, the members of the city council used the processional order of the viceregal entry to educate the viceroy on the relationships among the ‘rulers’ of the city. By

22 In 1787, former visitador-general Jorge Escobedo drafted new protocol for the viceregal entry designed to downplay the role of the Cabildo, traditionally interpreted as the subordination of localism to absolutism (a major goal of the Bourbon reform project.) (Moore 98-102) Escobedo had served in Lima as visitador-general from 1781 until 1787 when he drew up his recommendations for changes to be made across South America; he was well acquainted with the ritual culture of late-colonial South America when he made his recommendations to the crown. Under the new etiquette the retiring viceroy was to meet his newly appointed counterpart at Callao, where he would bestow upon him the staff of office. The following day the new viceroy would publicly enter the viceregal palace and receive the oath of office from the escribiano de cámara [a royal official] before the Real Audiencia. It was noted that due to the change in protocol, the Cabildo would have increased access to the viceroy and the king in order to assure proper retention of its authority. However, the viceregal entries in Lima continued to follow the same format until the final two in 1816 and 1821 (AML, Actas del Cabildo, Libro 41, 40).
the end of the eighteenth century, the political system in the Spanish Americas was based not on traditional monarchical values nor narrowly focused on the viceroy, but primarily functioned as a showcase for the local leadership. The Cabildo gained significant political and cultural prestige in the staging of the event.

Both Curcio-Nagy and Cañeque suggest that the viceregal entry and other colonial rituals were used to solidify and exhibit the harmonious nature of the political hierarchy in colonial Mexico City. The order of the public procession also demonstrated the dependence of royal control in the overseas American territories on the resident colonial population which consistently represented itself as the actual leadership of the region and maintained the balance of power through the frequent turnover of Spanish officials. The authority of the distant monarch was not sufficiently potent to retain the loyalty and obedience of its vast viceregal constituency. At the end of the colonial period, the Spanish crown began to set limits on the amount of money to be allocated toward the viceregal entry ceremony, citing the Cabildo’s excessive spending in the past.\(^{23}\)

If the viceregal entry was primarily the instrument of royal power, then the king, not the Cabildo, would have sought to increase the extravagance of the event. As Curcio-Nagy states, “clearly the entry celebration was central to the city council’s conception of the image of the state”\(^{24}\) (Curcio-Nagy 35-37).

The stability of colonial governance acted out in the entry paso depended upon the constant acquiescence of the population at large. The public display of power fostered the approval of the viewing, governed public. Holguín observed the effects of the spectacle on the general public in his painting as well. In the immediate foreground, Holguín depicts three figural groups. The first (directly to the left of the text describing the viceroy and the Cabildo) involves three male figures shown watching the procession pass by and talking to each other. To their left, an elderly couple discusses the festivities in detail. Holguín writes out their conversation in banderole in their mouths and wrapping around their bodies.

\(^{23}\) The Actas del Cabildo quoted above describes the jura of Viceroy Guirior as taking place before the Cabildo, administered by its secretary. Soon after, the intendant attempted to limit the expense of the viceregal entries on behalf of the royal coffers; while at the same time, the city council members in Lima sought to decrease the prominence bestowed upon the viceroy during the public ritual in his honor and to maintain its own authority (AML, Actas del Cabildo de Lima, Libro 38, 97-100).

\(^{24}\) Curcio-Nagy explains that a city councilman in Mexico City advocated disregarding the royal ban on the viceregal entry at the end of the eighteenth-century because the king did not understand the importance of the event to the city.
The man asks the woman, “Hey lady, when’s the last time you saw such a marvel? [Hija, tilong has visto esta maravilla?]” She responds, “I swear I have not seen anything so extravagant for over 100 years. [Alucho en ciento y tantos anos no e bisto grandeza tamana.]” Slightly above the observant couple, Holguín inserts his own self-portrait, near a table and drummer. Holguín represents three types of observers, respectively: silent, critical, and interpretive. The old man and woman do not merely describe the procession passing in front of them; they compare it with previous celebrations, declaring it to be the most impressive held in more than a century (perhaps more impressive than those held in Lima). It can be assumed that they were not the only members of the audience to make such an observation.

After centuries of royal precedent, the South American Cabildos were well aware of the importance of public image in cultivating loyalty among their residents. The audience of the procession did not passively view the display of power of the Cabildo or the viceroy in the viceregal entry; rather, by watching the procession, the viewers accepted the leadership of the city council and viceroy. The idealization of the political hierarchy in both Lima and Potosí during the viceregal entry encouraged obedience and loyalty in the viewing public at the same time that it emphasized the viewer’s role in the socio-political dynamics which governed their lives. Peace and stability were not imposed on the Viceroyalty of Peru via absent kingship from Madrid, but were the result of an internal balance of power, negotiated in public spectacle and governance.

Holguín inserts himself as an observer of the paseo in Potosí with the inclusion of his self-portrait (directly to the left of the elderly couple described above). Holguín, like any artist, did not purely record the official events taking place around him. He was also a participant in the procession, as a member of the viewing audience (notice the drummer painted closely behind Holguín). His monumental painting creates an idealized image of the city of Potosí, as Kagan argues; however, it also portrays an idyllic portrait of the balance of power as negotiated between the local nobility, clergy, ecclesiastical and secular cabildos, royal officials and bureaucrats, and the viceroy. The architectural representation of the city was altered by the vision of the artist, as were the relations of power among the regional authorities portrayed in a moment of staged harmony. In depicting himself as an artist with palette and brush in hand, he identifies himself as an active humanist, one who participates in the intellectual life of the region (Wuffarden 146-148). As an intellectual, Holguín did not abstractly record the events; rather he focused on the most prominent aspects of the entry, specifically those associated with physical activity and corporeal performance (the masque and the procession, respectively) which established authority among viewers and active participants. Moreover, Holguín commented on the power of the protocol of the processional
order by outlining the participants in a horizontal manner which allowed all groups, and on occasion individuals, to be represented in their appropriate stations.

Holguín portrays himself as the observer, recorder, and interpreter of the location of viceregal authority in the local power hierarchy, just as the artists of the portraits of the viceroys in Lima and Buenos Aires. By commissioning the two-dimensional rendering of the protocols of the entry procession (processional order and *palo*), Viceroy Morcillo and Holguín emphasize the importance of visual display to the possession of power. Power depends upon a tacit support of the viewing subjects in the audience, either of the procession or the painting. By accepting Holguín’s finished painting, Viceroy Morcillo also consented to the power structure offered to him by the *Cabildo*. This painting, like the portraits of the viceroys commissioned by the *Cabildos* of Lima and Buenos Aires, is evidence of the important role of painting to sustaining the viceregal political hierarchy.

**Posing as Protocol**

The city councils of Lima and Buenos Aires created the innovative protocol of the viceregal portrait, not based on Spanish tradition or royal mandate, but to serve specifically local political needs. With the onslaught of the Bourbon reform agenda, the population of the South American continent faced increased demands from its royal overlords. Where imperial bureaucracy expanded and became more complicated, viceregal authority gradually diminished. The local government of the viceregal capitals remained steady in the wake of political, social, and economic instability. The *Cabildos* used the protocol of posing for a portrait to develop governing partnerships with the viceroys. In the process, the corporate bodies revealed their cooperation with Spanish imperialism for their own political control and their desire to retain order in the colonial capitals which sustained their position at the pinnacle of the social hierarchy.

Beginning in the eighteenth century, the *Cabildos* of Lima and Buenos Aires commissioned local artists of good repute to paint viceregal portraits unlike their equivalent in Mexico City whose patronage of viceroy portraits dates to the seventeenth century or earlier (see Rodríguez Moya). Once the artist was selected, the *Cabildo* then invited the viceroy to sit for the artist. It is likely that the artist observed the viceroy in the private spaces of the viceregal palace. The artist may have taken portrait sketches back to his

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25 To date, the author has found no reference to official orders from Spain establishing the patronage of viceregal portraits in any American context.

26 No reference by any viceroy with regard to his experience posing has been located by the author in any archival documents to date. The possibility exists that
Engel, "Official Portraiture in Late-Colonial Lima and Buenos Aires"

studio in order to complete a painting, only to deliver the final product to the Cabildo in a timely manner. After hanging the portrait in its chambers, the portrait became part of the backdrop for the official meetings of the Cabildo. It is important to note that the Cabildo initiated viceregal portrait commissions and, it developed the protocol for that process, which became a formal performance of the relationship between the Cabildo and the viceroy, or more broadly between colony and empire. Rather than official etiquette which was promulgated from Spain, this protocol was developed by local officials, outlining and enforcing their sense of the political hierarchy within the Viceroyalties of Peru and Rio de la Plata because the Cabildos recognized the corporeal nature of power and the potential of its visible display.

Upon the arrival of the first viceroy to the capital of the newly created Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata, the Cabildo of Buenos Aires commissioned his portrait. On December 22, 1777, the Cabildo voted to hire one of the best painters in the city to portray Don Pedro de Cevallos:

Se propuso por el Senor Alcalde de Primer voto … se sacase un retrato de cuerpo entero de la persona de dicho Excelentisimo Senor, poniendole al pie una relacion suinta y elocuente de todas sus victories y triunfos reportados sobre los enemigos del estado y, en su inteligencia, todos los senores habiendo conferido sobre esta proposicion, de unanime consentimiento, acordaron se hiciese dicho retrato, solicitando el mayor pintor que hubiese en esta ciudad, y para cuya obra se diputaron a los Senores Regidores don Pedro Diaz de Vivar y don Francisco Antonio de Escalada, extendiendose la determinacion de sacar los retratos a todos los demas senores sucesores que haya en adelante, para que por su orden se pongan en esta sala capitular.27 (Buenos Aires, Archivo General de la Nacion, Acuerdos, Serie III, t. 6, 158-9)

[The city council suggested to the Senior Mayor with First Voting Privilege … that it make a full-length portrait of the person of His Excellency, putting at the base of it a short and eloquent description of all his victories and reported triumphs over enemies of the state and, in its intelligence, all the members having conferred about this proposition, with unanimous consent, agreed to commission said portrait, hiring the best painter that there is in the city, and for this work the council appointed members Mr. Pedro Diaz de Vivar and Mr. Francisco Antonio]

several of the viceroy portraits were not painted from life given European precedents for the practice.

27 The proposal was approved by Marcos Jose de Riglos (alcalde del primer voto), and he designated regidores Diaz de Vivar and Francisco Antonio de Escalada to oversee the project.
de Escalada, extending the determination to make the portraits of all the succeeding viceroys that will be in the future, that which by its order put in this meeting chamber.

The renowned painter Miguel Aucell was selected to render the portrait of Viceroy Cevallos. A year later, Vivar and Escalada reported to the Cabildo that the painting had not yet been completed because Viceroy Cevallos could not tolerate posing “for 2 hours over the course of three or four days [por espacio de tres o quatro dias, 2 horas]” which meant that Aucell could not finish the painting (Buenos Aires, Archivo General de la Nacion, Acuerdos, Serie III, t. 6, 308). The painting may never have been completed; today, no portrait of Cevallos is known to exist in any American or Spanish art collection.

In this particular case, the Cabildo of Buenos Aires initiated the portrait of Viceroy Cevallos to adorn the walls of its meeting room. The viceroy himself was so disinterested in the project that he could not bring himself to pose for the painting for even a short period of time on one or two occasions. The Cabildo of Buenos Aires chose the full-length portrait format with a separate text panel at the base of the canvas describing the honors and successes won by the viceroy prior to his appointment in the city. It is likely that the Cevallos portrait visually resembled that of O’Higgins described above with a dominant male figure wearing military dress placed at the center of the canvas (fig. 1). Unlike its more complicated relations with future viceroys, the Cabildo of Buenos Aires and Cevallos worked together to implement new policies and expand trade (Lynch, "Intendants" 145-146). When Cevallos’ term in office as viceroy ended in April 1778, the Cabildo lamented the loss of a collaborative, able partner in local government. It petitioned the crown to allow Cevallos to remain in office until his successor arrived in the city (Buenos Aires, Archivo General de la Nacion, Acuerdos, Serie III, t. 6, 204-5). The Buenos Aires Cabildo did not limit itself to commissioning one viceregal portrait, commemorating the foundation of the office of the viceroy in the city. Instead, the first discussion of viceregal portraits (discussed above) conclusion that the Cabildo would commission the portraits of Cevallos’ successors, creating a gallery of viceregal portraits in the sala capitular, like the one that already hung in the Lima Cabildo.29

28 Aucell was born in Valenciano, Spain and arrived in Buenos Aires in 1754. The Cabildo was also spending a significant amount of money on the project, which is indicative of its importance.

29 Ribera’s exhaustive review of portraiture from the city of Buenos Aires confirms the absence of a portrait of Cevallos (Ribera 1982, 56-57).

30 There is limited evidence that the city of Buenos Aires communicated with that of Lima after the foundation of the Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata. Indeed, the
The portrait of Viceroy O’Higgins presented in the introduction to this essay underscores the particular relationship between the Cabrildo of Lima and the viceregal portraits it sponsored. This painting was not commissioned to commemorate the beginning or the end of his tenure as viceroy in Peru. Rather, it marked the completion of the new road to the port of Callao. The road was an important economic artery between the city of Lima and its port at Callao that, when improved, facilitated more efficient transportation of larger quantities of goods. In the painting, a distant landscape appears through a round arch in the background, likely illustrating the city of Lima with a backdrop of San Cristóbal hill in the distance, emphasizing the local landscape in relation to the viceroy. The royal instructions to Viceroy Croix when he was appointed to Peru a decade earlier in 1783 stated that one of three viceregal responsibilities to the city of Lima was to ensure the construction of highways and other public works, as well as to maintain the hospitals. It is clear that this responsibility was assumed later by his successor, O’Higgins, who in constructing the road between Callao and Lima, was following royal orders.

O’Higgins is known for having increased government revenues and implemented policies to curb contraband trade off the coast of Peru. At the same time, because he did not limit the participation of authorities in commerce, he was able to maintain balanced relations with local elites. O’Higgins had successfully split his loyalties. As the Lima Cabrildo commission of his portrait indicates, O’Higgins did not receive awards from the king for his obedience, loyalty, and economic policies; instead, he was recognized by the local authorities who benefited socially from O’Higgins’ approach to governance and financially from his economic practices.

In the painting, Viceroy O’Higgins does not merely perform his official duty as ordered by the king, that is, to be the physical representation of royal authority in the distant South American territories. Rather, in the very act of posing for the painting, O’Higgins interprets the Bourbon governmental reforms in light of the precarious nature of his power on the

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32 After construction costs of 350,000 pesos, the road to Callao was opened in 1798. Originally traveling to Buenos Aires to engage in commerce in the mid-eighteenth century, O’Higgins himself continued to pursue economic endeavors throughout his tenure as a Spanish bureaucrat in South America (Lynch "Intendants" 156-157).
ground in Lima. At the same time, he acknowledges the divided sources of his power, thereby cautiously and wisely aligning himself with the local government. Ironically, while the viceroy and the Lima city council were fortifying their relationship, the viceroy's power was being diluted by the implementation of one of the most consequential Bourbon reforms, the system of intendants. In an attempt to maintain the local balance of power in the face of royally mandated bureaucratic complication, the Cabildos of Lima and Buenos Aires asserted their own agendas over those of the crown by underscoring viceregal power in officially commissioned and displayed portrait paintings. They utilized the genre of portraiture to educate the newly appointed viceroy about his rank in the local power hierarchy, which was dominated by the regidores of the Cabildo. Concomitantly, the Cabildos also benefited from visually demonstrating their ties to a viceregal genealogy.

The Art of Government

Drawing on traditional forms of etiquette, such as the use of the palio and processional order, the Cabildos of Lima and Buenos Aires created a new protocol with its patronage of viceregal portraiture. The protocol of portraiture governed the regulation and formalization of interpersonal relations and reveals the Cabildo's role as the enforcer of personal comportment. Viceregal portraits displayed in the salas capitulares synthesized diplomatic formality, tradition, and negotiation of authority, making etiquette an integral part of governance. In acting out the protocols of portraiture, the viceroys and Cabildos acknowledged the importance of demarcating physical boundaries in the negotiation of power. As protocols, the entry and the portraits did not simply focus on the viceroys; they were the means by which the city councilmen highlighted their leading role in municipal politics (Curcio-Nagy 2004, 148).

In the act of hosting the viceroy during the entry ceremony, the Cabildos of Lima and Buenos Aires delineated the boundaries of their local authority, which was visually manifest in the procession and subsequent celebratory events. Tracy McNulty describes hospitality as “an act that constitutes identity of both the host and the culture/nation in whose name he/she act; the home and homeland constitute itself by addressing that which is outside” (McNulty viii). The Cabildos of Lima and Buenos Aires created occasions throughout each viceroy’s tenure during which they could attend to their relationship with the Spanish official. By circumscribing the viceroy within the local power hierarchy, the Cabildos engendered themselves as host to the royal governance of the city. Since reciprocity and personal identity form the basis for the concept of hospitality, McNulty argues that the identity of a place or person can be challenged by “the introduction of something foreign that threatens to contaminate or dissolve its identity” (McNulty viii). With the arrival of a new viceroy, and later with the regents
and intendants, the *Cabildos* of Lima and Buenos Aires recognized the possibility of contamination in the power hierarchy that they depended upon for their control of civic politics.

The *Cabildos* relied upon the regulation of behavior through the prescriptions of protocols and etiquette. In the introduction to their collection of essays on contemporary etiquette, Ron Scapp and Brian Seitz reflect upon the traditional distinction between ethics and etiquette. They suggest that a correlation can be observed between living ethically and living gracefully. They state that “the practice of etiquette is not about mere compliance to external rules or static imperatives … Etiquette duly acknowledges the existence and necessity of boundaries while negotiating, respectfully traversing, and even transforming the conditions that allow one to become presentable, and thus allow one to extend oneself to the world” (Scapp and Seitz 5). As members of colonial South American societies, the city council members had to delineate their authority and jurisdiction within the complex bureaucracy which contained several other corporate governing bodies, including the Inquisition and the *Real Audiencia*. Their development and enforcement of local official etiquette for the viceroy made him visible to the colonial community on their terms.

The portraits of the Lima viceroys elegantly described the honors and achievements of the viceroy depicted in the image with a text panel at the base of each canvas. For example, the inscription at the base of the portrait of Viceroy O’Higgins reads:

> El exmo senr Don Ambrosio O. Higgins de Ballenár Barón de Ballenari, Marques de Osorno, Teniente Gral de los Reals Exercitos Superintendente gral de Real Hacienda: Paso de Presidente del Reyno de Chile a este Virreynto del Peru: Entro en Lima el 6 de Junio de 1796 y Murió en esta capital el 18 de Marzo de 1801 con universal sentimiento del Pueblo.

> [His Excellency Mr. Ambrosio O’Higgins de Ballenár Barón de Ballenari, Marques de Osorno, Lieutenant General of the Royal Army, Superintendent General of the Royal Exchequer: Promoted from President of the Kingdom of Chile to this Viceroyalty of Peru: Entered into Lima on the 6 of June in 1796 and Died in this capital on the 18 of March in 1801 with the universal support of the City.]

Furthermore, in nine of the portraits, the viceroys hold in hand or have placed upon a table before them documents which legibly display official linguistic etiquette, such as the portrait of Viceroy Guiror by Francisco Clapera (fig. 3).33 Written Spanish colonial etiquette also flourished in

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33 Francisco Clapera (or Caplera) was born in Barcelona in 1746 and died in Mexico in 1810. Before completing the Guiror portrait, Clapera was a successful artist in
personal and official correspondence. Elaborately gratuitous, laudatory language opened and closed many letters. Fernando Carlos Urquiza has argued that the Cabildo of Buenos Aires and other elites in the viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata borrowed forms of etiquette from the nobility of the Spanish court. Conflict over invitation to events and other forms of etiquette often escalated to public retaliation between the viceroy and the archbishop, as well as between the secular and ecclesiastical Cabildos (Urquiza 55-100).

The protocols of late-colonial South America were not implemented without alterations by officials and participants. Cañeque has suggested that Spaniards in seventeenth-century Mexico sought to create a ritual culture that was as close as possible to that of public and monarchical practice in Spain, placing increased importance on the physical presence of power (119-155). Building on two hundred years of metropolitan and colonial traditions, the Cabildos of Lima and Buenos Aires relied on the innovative artistic display of the corporeal nature of power to define their own local authority, manifesting power in civic politics. Political portraiture became a central arena for the negotiation of power relations. The act of commissioning, posing for, and hanging a painting became constitutive components of the political process, as royal authority was metaphorically limited during the act of painting the portrait of his representative, the viceroy. The painted boundaries of the figure of the viceroy, contained within a rigid frame and exhibited in the space of the sala capitular, became the actual boundaries lived between Spanish colonial subjects and distant royal authorities in Spain. By the early-nineteenth century, the dependence of authority on the actual presence of power in the physical body became so robust that the tradition of absent monarchical governance weakened. The physical presence of the king’s representative had become circumscribed within the boundaries of the local political hierarchy.

As we have seen, the Cabildos of the capitals of the South American viceroyalties were active art collectors and represent the origins of civic patronage of the arts on the continent. The Cabildos of Lima and Buenos Aires not only commissioned viceregal portraits, but they also collected and

34 Mexico and served as an assistant director of painting in the Royal Academy of San Carlos there.

While portraits of the king’s representatives are traditionally interpreted from the point of view of the monarchy as being representations of absolute authority, it is important to remember that at this time the monarchy itself had lost faith in the ability of its viceroyos to govern solely in the best interests of the Crown. As discussed above, this led to the appointment of additional bureaucratic figures such as the intendant and visitador-general. I would like to thank Swati Chattopadhyay for discussing the subversive nature of viceregal portraiture with me.
displayed the portraits of the Spanish monarchs (AML, Actas del Cabildo, Libro 38, 306). Once the portraits of the viceroys were completed and hung in the sala capitular in Lima and Buenos Aires, the paintings offered the city council a visual reminder of the political, territorial, and corporeal boundaries which had been, and continued to be, negotiated. Members of the city council interacted with the images when in session, discussing the official business of the city. Beginning with the commissioning of the viceroy portraits in the mid-eighteenth century and expanding in the nineteenth century with the construction of public monuments, works of art became a part of the social identities of the cities of Lima and Buenos Aires.

After the abdication of Fernando VII, the first vestiges of independence began to emerge across South America. In 1810, at the same time the Cabildo of Lima continued to hang the portrait of the viceroy in its meeting chambers, the Cabildo of Buenos Aires displayed the flag of a group of successful highland rebels in its sala capitular \(^{35}\) (MHN, no. 505). The loyalty of the city council of the most important city in the Viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata was clearly no longer directed toward the Spanish monarchy. Buenos Aires adopted the abstract collective symbol of the flag of the regional rebels, replacing the figurative individual portrait of the viceroy. Earlier that year in its first cabildo abierto [open city council meeting], a group of citizens, including the members of the city council, declared that in the absence of the king viceregal administration was to be replaced by a creole junta [governing board]. In addition, the aristocracy of the city of Buenos Aires did not depend as heavily on the titles of nobility granted by the crown for its power and authority unlike the aristocrats of Lima (Socolow 5). The switch visibly demonstrates how the identity of the corporate government of the city was defined by way of the collection and display of artworks. \(^{36}\) The Cabildo of Buenos Aires indicated its shift in political loyalty away from Spain toward South American rebels (not elites), while retaining its municipal authority under an emerging system of government.

The Cabildo of Lima also made a change to its iconographic program with the commissioning of a pair of images of Santa Rosa de Lima and San Francisco Solano (figs. 5-6). In 1810, the Cabildo of Lima hired Pedro Diaz to create the paintings. Diaz, who also painted the portraits of Viceroys O’Higgins (1798) and Aviles (1804), borrowed the composition and iconographic elements from the earlier viceregal portraits for the paintings

\(^{35}\) The author cannot confirm the exact geographic location of the insurgent group whose flag was displayed; although it is likely that the group was one of many fighting in Alto Peru at the time.

\(^{36}\) On the visual arts and nationalism see Anderson, Ortenberg, Majluf, and Earle.
of both saints (figs. 1 and 4). Santa Rosa and San Francisco are depicted solemnly in full-length, gazing absently into the space of the viewer. Santa Rosa is depicted in an interior space with two classical columns at the left, a checkered-floor, and a red velvet curtain draped over the space to the right tucked behind a table with an open book placed upon it. The portraits of O’Higgins and Aviles incorporate the same elements, most notably the classical architecture, checkered floor tiles, and brilliant red curtain. By contrast, San Francisco Solano is shown standing outdoors in a barren landscape with a group of architectural structures in the left middle-ground, which may represent buildings from the cityscape of Lima (fig. 6). He is accompanied by a feather-bedecked Indian kneeling in prayer at his right. A violin lays haphazardly to the left of his feet. All of the portraits contain a text panel in the lower portion of the canvas; where they are signed by Díaz, the artist’s signature appears with an account of the important events and accomplishments of the depicted individual.

Santa Rosa de Lima was the first saint from the Western hemisphere canonized by the Catholic Church in 1671. Living her entire life in Lima (1586–1617), her father was a creole who was born in Puerto Rico, while her mother was of Inka and Spanish heritage. Santa Rosa became an important symbol and patroness of the city of Lima, Peru, and ultimately, the Americas (see Mujica). San Francisco Solano was also a major local religious figure. He traveled to Peru in 1589 to work as a Franciscan missionary, spearheading the evangelistic efforts in Tucuman and Paraguay. Known for his linguistic and musical talents, he became the guardian of the Franciscan convent in Lima, where he died in 1610. San Francisco Solano was canonized much later than Santa Rosa, in 1726. The visual representations of both Santa Rosa and San Francisco Solano connoted their power as sanctified local individuals who had served the community of Lima, and at the same time, had deep-rooted connections to the elites of the city.

Santa Rosa and San Francisco Solano, in addition to several other local Christian saints and advocations, became symbols of creole pride soon after their canonization37 (Brading). Luis Eduardo Wuffarden has fittingly characterized the paintings of the two saints as incarnations of Lima’s past as part of a “localist discourse” wielded by the Cabildo in defense of creole society (Municipalidad Metropolitana de Lima 16). The Cabildo of Lima, like that of Buenos Aires returned to the visual arts when exploring its place in the political environment emerging as a result of dramatic changes to the Spanish monarchy with the Napoleonic invasions. In a less severe shift when compared to the display of the rebel flag in the Cabildo of Buenos

37 Also see Brading’s (2001) reference to similar practices in Mexico City with imagery of Our Lady of Guadalupe.
Aires, the Cabildo of Lima did not explicitly replace its paintings of the viceroy with the symbols of agents of political change. Instead, it emphasized the spiritual victories of important limeños in works of art which were not overtly political though clearly integral to local community identity. At the turn of the nineteenth century, the Cabildos of Lima and Buenos Aires looked toward their own local histories (religious beatification, military victories, etc.) as they began to modify their corporate and individual identities. Civic authority rested more profoundly on local history, geography, politics, and individuals of note depicted in portraits.

As royal bureaucratic control disintegrated, the Cabildo of Lima began to commission portraits of the military leaders spreading their influence across South America. When Viceroy La Serna retreated from Lima to Cusco and General San Martín took control of the city, the Cabildo commissioned a painting of San Martín as protector general of the city. Mariano Carrillo completed the portrait, which likely hung in the sala capitular and is now lost.\textsuperscript{38} Three years later in 1825, Pablo Rojas painted a portrait of General Simón Bolívar to hang in the chambers of the city council (no image available).\textsuperscript{39} With the budding independence of Peru, the Cabildo of Lima continued to construct its own identity and authority in part through the commissioning and display of official portraits; now through juxtaposition of its long-standing local authority with the new agents of sweeping political change. The Cabildo also instructed the current military leadership about the traditional methods of asserting and displaying authority in the city, including the order of civic and religious processions and the act of posing for portraits. Independence leaders obliged the Cabildo by participating in the performance in exchange for compliance and support. At the same time, they positioned themselves within the boundaries of the established hierarchy of power as orchestrated by the city council. The configuration of power between rulers and ruled continued to be negotiated via the patronage and display of portraiture.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, local and regional political agents reestablished boundaries among themselves based on American experiences; however, ritualized etiquette in both public and private settings located the current leadership in the local political hierarchy, which it was assumed would continue to govern as it had traditionally. With the commissioning of official viceroy portraits, South American Cabildos added a new dimension to traditional viceregal protocols that retained political

\textsuperscript{38} Carrillo was a mulatto who worked in Lima at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries in one of the few colonial workshops in the city.

\textsuperscript{39} Rojas was born in Lambayeque (in northern Peru) and died in Lima in 1839; he worked with Marcelo Cabello, another artist in Lima.
potency into the independence movements; the protocol of portrait painting metaphorically captured the officials and placed them within the city council’s domain. Ritual and artistic protocols legitimized the hierarchical nature of government, historicized the relational nature of power, and influenced the political agendas of officials in liminal positions, such as the viceroys and independence heroes, as well as city council members. Art becomes a part of civic identity when it is intertwined with municipal politics just as it was in the eighteenth century with the city council’s patronage of viceregal portraits and other works of art.

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AGN Archivo General de la Nacion in Madrid, Spain
AGI Archivo General de las Indias in Seville, Spain
MHN Museo Historico Nacional in Buenos Aires, Argentina

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1. Pedro Díaz. Viceroy Ambrosio O’Higgins. 1798, oil on canvas, 86.6 x 53.5 in. (2.20 x 1.36 m). Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología, e Historia, Lima.

Figure 2. Melchor Pérez Holguín, Entrada del Virrey Arzobispo Morillo, 1718, oil on canvas, dimensions unavailable. Museo de America, Madrid, Acc. No. 87.
Figure 5. Francisco Clapera. *Viceroy Manuel de Guirre*. Eighteenth century, oil on canvas, 84.6 x 51.2 in. (2.15 x 1.31 m). Museo Nacional de Arqueologia, Antropologia, e Historia, Lima.
Figure 6. Pedro Diaz. Viceroy Gabriel de Aviles. 1804, oil on canvas, 86.6 x 47.2 in. (2.20 x 1.20 m). Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología, e Historia, Lima.
Figure 7. Pedro Diaz. *Santa Rosa de Lima*. Early-nineteenth century, oil on canvas, 53.9 x 76.8 in. (1.37 x 1.95 m). Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología, e Historia, Lima.
Figure 8. Pedro Diaz. *San Francisco Solano*. Early-nineteenth century, oil on canvas, 77.1 x 52.8 in. (1.96 x 1.34 m). Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología, e Historia, Lima.