

REVIEWS

The Andean Hybrid Baroque: Convergent Cultures in the Churches of Colonial Peru. By Gauvin Alexander Bailey. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010. Pp. xix, 808. Figures. Appendices. Notes. Bibliography. Index.

In this ambitious and lavishly illustrated volume Gauvin Alexander Bailey reconsiders the imagery carved on the stone facades and portals of a group of colonial churches in present-day southern Peru and northern Bolivia. More than 170 color photographs display the visual opulence and lush variety of the ornamentation. Extensive appendices containing more than 200 transcriptions of archival documents, many published for the first time, will be of great service to scholars in the field. Bailey's approach—both novel and traditional—to the complex issue of Andean contributions to colonial architecture will also be of interest to scholars; indeed, the book seems largely intended for specialists and as a reference work. Bailey takes on the formidable task of tracing the chronology, authorship, diffusion, and interpretation of the complex imagery of 50 colonial churches that share decorative features.

The book opens with a thorough historiographical introduction, and a final chapter offers novel interpretations of selected Andean motifs and designs that bring to bear a range of sources, from extirpation documents to anthropological literature. The eight intervening chapters are organized as a traditional regional survey in which Bailey combines new archival documentation and the collective research of earlier scholars with detailed descriptions of the carved ornamentation. He approaches the churches and their decoration in a holistic fashion, considering the construction history, patronage, and regional context of each building; establishing updated chronologies; and tracing the authorship and diffusion of the carved ornamentation from the late seventeenth through the early nineteenth century, this in an area the size of Iberia and France combined. Readers unfamiliar with this Andean region therefore will lament the lack of even a single map that might provide a sense of the geographical relationships and extent of the style.

Bailey's principal goal is to answer what he calls "one of the most vexing questions in the field: What does Andean Hybrid Baroque sculptural ornament mean?" (p. 7). To this end, the author parses the "European" and the "Andean" elements in an attempt to identify the specifically native flora and fauna that constitute his definition of the style. *Arte mestizo*, *arte indocristiano*, *tequitqui*, *criollo*, *ibero-indígena*, *orden indoespañol Americano*—these are a sampling of the nomenclatures employed by earlier art

and architectural historians to describe the visual mixes of indigenous and European forms and motifs that characterize the sculptural ornament of colonial churches in Peru and elsewhere in the Americas. To this list Bailey proposes to add a new term, “Andean Hybrid Baroque,” which is intended to replace earlier racially biased and unwieldy nomenclature and to apply specifically to the region in question. However, his proposed terminology may seem to some a perpetuation of biological considerations and Eurocentric perspectives, even if that is not the author’s intent. The ways in which Bailey employs and pursues the term “hybridity” in this book constitutes a form of racial profiling, as it is dependent upon correlating indigenous craftsmanship with the visual identification of Andean motifs carved on churches. His approach presumes that works made by Andeans will bear the visible marks of their ethnicity. When Andean master builders and sculptors in this region or elsewhere in the viceroyalty did not incorporate visually identifiable Andean motifs or techniques, do the works they created belong to another category? Although Bailey seems unaware of Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn’s seminal 2003 study, “Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Latin America” (it is not cited in his bibliography), their consideration of the political implications of the term might have proved particularly useful to the author. Naming is not a disinterested endeavor and “seeing hybridity” is perforce an act of discrimination. Bailey remarks that “white clerics, architects and artists frequently did not—or would not—see the hybridity in Andean Hybrid Baroque” (p. 304), implying that only Andeans “saw” it. Yet it may be that such mixes were staple, and in fact unremarkable, fare in many forms of colonial Andean visual culture by the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The European stylistic category “Baroque” is equally fraught with political implications, and Bailey employs it “because it relates more specifically to how this [Andean] culture fits into an international stylistic movement.” (p. 2). In other words, via the “Baroque,” Andean motifs, craftsmanship, and labor become naturalized within a global expansionist context as one more manifestation of a European category. This choice seems all the more curious when the author acknowledges that virtually none of the buildings have “Baroque” architectural features and moreover that “most individual motifs in the Andean Hybrid Baroque are not even ‘Baroque,’ except in the flair and creativity with which they are transformed and integrated into the ornamentation” (p. 305). One wonders then how useful or appropriate this term might be. Perhaps a more straightforward term such as “South Andean colonial,” which gives primacy to the people and geographical region while acknowledging the historical context of foreign occupation, might better characterize these buildings. Bailey’s subtitle “Convergent Cultures in the Churches of Colonial Peru” is also a bit misleading, since he focuses on a narrowly circumscribed region of the viceroyalty. Yet the author does not fully address the question of why the style arose and flourished in this particular zone and not in others, for example the northern regions (although Peruvian scholars have identified the “mestizo style” in Cajamarca and elsewhere).

The persistence (or not) of Andean forms and motifs in colonial Peruvian art and architecture was the subject of heated scholarly debate throughout much of the twentieth

century, yet as the author acknowledges, there was general recognition by the 1980s of the immense Andean contributions to the creation and diffusion of what was then generally called the “mestizo style” (p. 2). Bailey effectively revives the debate with new nomenclature and his identification and interpretation of the motifs carved on these colonial Peruvian churches. In each of 50 churches, Bailey identifies the specifically Andean and European motifs that characterize this “hybrid” style. Despite condemning the taxonomic approach of past scholars (p. 7), the author follows squarely in their footsteps and even extends the terrain. Some of Bailey’s taxonomic identifications of flora and fauna may seem overly ambitious, as when he provides the scientific name of a bird or plant that appears to bear little such specificity to the reader. Wishful thinking characterizes other identifications, as in the designation of a rather generic-looking bird as a “Chiguanco thrush” (*Turdus chiguanco*) because that bird fits the author’s anthropological data regarding Andean agricultural ceremonies (p. 184), or the identification of “Andean” figures wearing the Inca *mascaypacha*, though they do not bear the distinctive central fringe overhanging the forehead (pp. 94–95, 230). Far from taxonomic specificity, many images may appear to the reader as “bilingual,” for example, the Amazonian “pygmy marmoset (*Titi pigmeo*)” (p. 184) and the European rampant lion, or the bicephalous “Andean condor (*Vultur gryphus*)” (pp. 279, 325–26) and the Habsburg eagle. To make a convincing case for taxonomic identifications, photographs of actual flora and fauna might have helped support Bailey’s claims, and they would have aided readers unfamiliar with the appearance of a *vizcacha* or an Arequipa papaya. The complete absence of such canonical Andean flora and fauna as potatoes, coca, guinea pigs, and camelids (save one possibility) is briefly acknowledged, ascribed in part to the extirpation threat and written off as a conundrum (p. 331). However, perhaps the point is not that Andean sculptors were intent on carving flora and fauna with scientific precision, but that generalized European and Andean fruits, flowers, and animals may have been recognized and understood as the latter by Andean carvers and audiences.

The issue of audience reception is addressed to some extent in the final chapter. Here, Bailey’s interpretations of motifs and designs are innovative, intriguing, sometimes far-fetched, and not always entirely satisfying, but his analyses go farther than perhaps any other attempt to date. The most novel and perhaps most problematic argument is that the overall patterning of the carved ornamentation derives from specifically Inca concepts of spatial organization. Bailey links the spatial patterns of the carved facades to the design of wide and narrow bands of ornament on colonial women’s *llicllas* (mantles) without clarifying why this particular female garment would play such a key role. He might have undertaken a broader consideration of colonial tapestries, for many suggest rich relationships with their patterning and motifs of the carved imagery, including rampant lions, birds, and llamas entwined in lush vegetation interspersed with Asian-inspired chrysanthemums and a variety of fruits and flowers. Such examples affirm that the imagery on these church facades was largely staple fare, yet the reader may wonder why the author does not dig more deeply into the reasons that these particular forms arose when and where they did (and not elsewhere), and why they persisted after the native rebellions of the 1780s and into the nineteenth century.

Despite some shortcomings, this is nonetheless an impressive and in many ways important book in which Bailey tackles a formidable task with admirable skill and tenacity. His research demonstrates that the notion of “hybridity” in colonial Latin American visual culture is still very much an issue in scholarship today.

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AFRICANA, SLAVERY & DIASPORA STUDIES

Forging Diaspora: Afro-Cubans and African Americans in a World of Empire and Jim Crow. By Frank Andre Guridy. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010. Pp. xiv, 270. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index.

Frank Andre Guridy’s careful examination of the interactions between blacks in the United States and Cuba illustrates precisely how a diaspora comes to be. In this book, he argues that “material incentives, performance and embodiment, cultural production and its reception, [and] tourism” are what fundamentally drive diasporic movements and linkages. Guridy asks the questions: “Why did Afro-Cubans and African Americans seek out each others’ communities during the first half of the twentieth century? How does the concept of diaspora enhance our understanding of these initiatives?” (p. 4). The connections between African Americans and Afro-Cubans developed as a result of a common striving to combat racism locally as well as globally. As Guridy asserts, although the historical actors highlighted in his study did not use the term “diaspora,” their actions provide evidence of the formation of a diasporic community through social, political, intellectual and cultural exchanges. Guridy advances the idea that “Afro-diasporic linkages were made in practice” (p. 5), the product of the material needs of both communities within their respective nations as much as their historical sense of belonging to an international diaspora of African-descendant peoples.

What is most striking about *Forging Diaspora* is the detailed attention Guridy gives to archival materials from both countries—numerous letters, school records, newspapers, memoirs, public records, and other materials—exemplifying the hard transnational work it takes to produce an intricate comparative history of diaspora peoples. The book accomplishes what scholars such as Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1994) has argued is the necessary shattering of the silences or the “process of fact retrieval” that takes place in the archives themselves. Guridy listened to the people he interviewed during the past decade, but he also listened to the sources that retrieve the past on how the political project of forging a diaspora community actually works. The very theoretical questions Guridy asks about diaspora formation allow him to see how the structures of imperialism and racial domination in Cuba and the United States operate simultaneously. In essence, Guridy’s theoretical preoccupation with the historiography of the black diaspora and the general silencing of cross-national political commonalities and connections is deeply tied to the complexity and vast scope of his research methodology. While