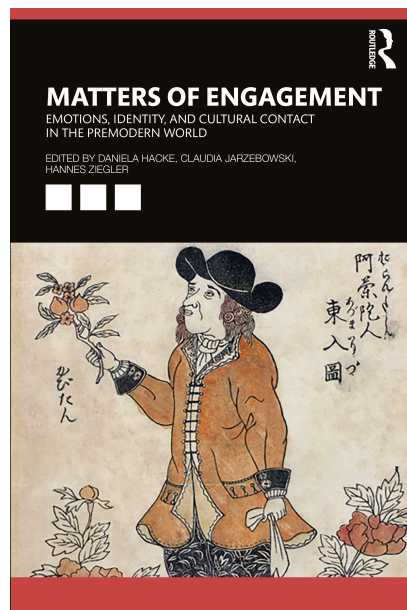


Santiago Matamoros/Mataindios: Adopting an Old World Battlefield Apparition as a New World Representation of Triumph

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This draft features images from my presentation **Putting on a brave face: adopting Old World battlefield apparitions as New World representations of triumph** given at *Emotions: Movement, Cultural Contact and Exchange, 1100-1800* (2016, ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions & Freie Universität Berlin) & *Recycling the Past: Narratives, Objects, Emotions* (2018, ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions & University of Melbourne). See the published chapter for selected images of a much higher resolution.

Santiago Matamoros/Mataindios: Adopting an Old World Battlefield Apparition as a New World Representation of Triumph

This chapter evolved from my research on how Northern European merchants experienced the Inquisition in Spain's first settlements in America.¹ As I was looking through the work of indigenous artists for their reactions to the Inquisition, and the spectacle of the Auto Fe, I noted in particular the evolving reception and interpretation of Christian images, especially that of Santiago Matamoros - St James the Greater, slayer of Moors. While in Northern Europe images of Saint James the Greater depict the saint as a pilgrim with staff, prayer book and brimmed hat decorated with a scallop shell, on the Iberian Peninsula the saint is often portrayed wielding a sword and astride a rearing white steed trampling cowering Moors underfoot. The source of this image is from a battle said to have occurred between Christians and Muslims at Clavijo in 834. Saint James miraculously appeared above the battlefield, galloping ahead and leading the outnumbered Christians to victory. This violent image became seared into the national psyche with the *Reconquista* and conquest of the Americas and Philippines, and it still has a strong resonance on the Iberian Peninsula and in the Philippines as well as in America. Within years of the first American conquests, the Moor under the hooves of the triumphant Saint James was often portrayed as an Indigenous American. Although it is often assumed that these depictions represent an unfeeling celebration of Iberian victory, the reality is more complex.

Although Santiago Matamoros (Saint James slayer of Moors) and Santiago Mataindios (Saint James slayer of Indians) have been the focus of several studies, these have tended to focus on a specific era or locality.² My aim is to look at Santiago Matamoros through a wider lens; to understand how emotional practices creating, recreating, perpetuating and reacting to the image have ensured the survival of an early medieval Iberian battlefield apparition as a potent

symbol in emphasising difference and maintaining fury. Amy Buono points out that we need to go beyond considering cultural exchange in terms of 'things - in - motion' to look more closely at 'the very nature of the objects' and 'their perceptual environments'. Considering the colonial Americas in particular, she asks 'how do we contend with things that were produced and used in cultures that did not necessarily valorize the same visual and material phenomena as did early-modern Europeans?'³ In the case of images of Santiago, I aim to understand how cultural exchange and evolving emotional responses to conversion and colonization led to reinventions of the warlike saint. Firstly I look at how Santiago Matamoros was created, evolved and celebrated in medieval Spain. Secondly, I explore how the saint was transported to the New World and how those the Spanish considered to be outsiders responded to this hero of the Reconquista. I am particularly interested in how both Iberian and indigenous artists drew, painted or quite literally carved victory out of defeat when it came to creating images, eventually making Santiago Mataindios their own. Thirdly, I return to the present, to look at the consequences of Iberia's attachment to martial myths and current and future transformations and evocations of Santiago Matamoros into the 21st century.

Saint James the Apostle in medieval Spain

Saint James the Greater, known in the Spanish-speaking world as *Santiago*, was fishing in the Sea of Gallilea with his brother John, and friends Peter and Andrew, when the four were called to be apostles. The brothers James and John, sons of Zebedee, are referred to in the Gospel of Mark as '*boanerges*' or 'sons of thunder' because of their zeal.⁴ There are two versions of the story of how James came to be connected to Spain. One is that his zeal meant brought him as far west as Spain where he evangelised the people before returning to the Holy Land. There, he became the first apostle to be martyred after Herod ordered his decapitation. James' body was then returned to Spain by his disciples in a rudderless boat that left the sea at Finisterre and finally docked in a little inland port now known as Padrón, downriver from what was to become Compostela. The other version relates how James, post martyrdom, was miraculously transported to Spain by angels where he proceeded to evangelise the Spanish people. In both versions, the body of James disappeared for eight hundred years until 813 when Pelayo, a hermit, was guided to his tomb by a bright star shining above what is now Santiago de Compostela in Galicia, in what is now northwestern Spain. The name Compostela means 'field of the star' (*campo de la estrella*).⁵ At this time on the Iberian Peninsula, Santiago was Santiago Peregrino - celebrated as the ultimate pilgrim, with staff, prayer book and brimmed hat.



Book of Hours, 1500, South Netherlandish
 Tempera, ink and shell gold on parchment
 The **Friedsam Collection** (32.100.475d)



Gil de Siloé, Saint James the Greater
 1489-93, Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY

However, he was soon to be portrayed as a warrior saint. The inspiration behind this change in image was an apparition. In 834, twenty years after James' body was rediscovered, the saint appeared to King Ramirez of León in the thick of a battle between Christians and the Muslim Umayyads at Clavijo. Although it is now accepted that a battle never took place, and that aspects of the 859 Battle of Monte Laturce were incorporated into the legend, it endured. While Alfonso II had a small chapel built over the site where Santiago's body was found, it was Alfonso III who gifted gold and land and built the twenty-four meter basilica at Santiago de Compostela. Alfonso was attempting to build up a cult around Santiago that would unite the emerging and divided Christian north - and he succeeded.⁶ The basilica became a major pilgrim destination and the Camiño de Santiago became a major pilgrim road. Vikings, known locally as *Lordomanes*, were enough of a threat along the nearby coastline for fortifications to be built on the Ría de Arousa to prevent raids on Santiago de Compostella, the remains of which are now known as the Towers of Catoira.⁷ However, despite this very real threat from the north, it was the threat from the south that galvanized the followers of the saint. Although the Moors never exerted any real control over Galicia, Santiago's miraculous appearance, galloping ahead and encouraging the outnumbered Christians to victory against the infidel became seared into the Iberian psyche with the *Reconquista*. The *Reconquista*, or reconquest, refers to the series of campaigns, which took place between 718 and 1492, in which the Christian kingdoms gradually conquered more and more of the Muslim Moorish

states of Al-Andalus until Granada fell on 2 January 1492. As the Catholic Monarchs entered Granada, the herald declared:

*'Santiago, Santiago, Santiago, Castile, Castile, Castile, Grenada, Grenada, Grenada, for those very exalted and powerful lords Don Ferdinand and Doña Isabel, king and queen of Spain, who have won from the infidel Moors this city of Granada and all its realm, with the aid of God and of the glorious Virgin, his mother, and of the blessed apostle Santiago, and with the aid of the most holy pope.'*⁸

The earliest artistic representation of Santiago on horseback that has survived is the Tympanum of Clavijo, circa 1238-1266, located on the western wall of the south transept of the Cathedral of Compostela.⁹



The relief in the stone semi-circular decoration above the doorway portrays the saint as a bareheaded horseman wielding a sword and a banner. To the front and rear of his horse are six praying men. Above are ten angels in a semicircle below a border of shells. Although this Santiago is portrayed as an inspirational leader of warriors, he is not involved in the violence of battle - he is above it with the angels as he was in the reported apparition. However, on a pendant made in 1501 (nine years after the fall of Granada) in Zamoranos, about 76 kilometres from Córdoba, the sword-wielding saint is down on the battlefield, galloping over the severed head and hand of a Moor. On what is known as the Pendón delos Zamorano, the shells are still there, gesturing towards pilgrimage, but the emphasis is on Santiago the warrior, slayer of Moors: Santiago Matamoros.



Pendónelos Zamorano, 1501, Córdoba, Spain

From the beginning of the 16th century, when the Pendónelos Zamorano was made, depictions of Santiago steadily became more graphically violent. Paintings, carvings and statues of Santiago Matamoros were a familiar sight in churches across Spain. For example: the altarpiece panel by Paolo da San Leocadio in the Iglesia Arcipestal de San Jaime Vila-Real, painted between 1513 and 1519, depicts Santiago Matamoros with a shell badge pinned to his black felt pilgrim's hat, galloping through a sea of dead and dying Moors with his sharpened pike raised; and the brightly painted statue of Santiago Matamoros in San Giacomo Maggiore, Burgos, wears a plumed pilgrim's hat featuring two pilgrims badges, yet the armour under his cloak, his raised sword, and the three felled Moors raising their arms against both blade and horses hooves, gesture towards the evolution of the saint from pilgrim to inspirational warrior to conquistador.



Paolo da San Leocadio
Santiago Matamoros
1513-1519

Altarpiece panel, Iglesia
Arcipestal de San Jaime
Vila-Real, Spain

The placement of a statue of Santiago Matamoros in the Catedral de Nuestra Señora de la Asunción in Córdoba is particularly confronting. Construction of the building, commonly referred to as the Mesquita-Catedral, or Mosque-Cathedral, began in 784, resulting in what is considered to be one of the most beautiful and accomplished examples of Moorish architecture. After Córdoba returned to Christian rule in 1236, the Great Mosque, which was still being added to, was converted to a Christian church. A cathedral nave was planted right in the middle what was and still is architecturally a mosque on the orders of Charles V. The statue of Santiago to the side of the altar is barefoot and wears his pilgrim hat, yet his raised sword and the fact that his steed's front hoofs are crushing the skull of a dying Moor symbolise the violent defeat and humiliation of invasion.



Statue of Santiago Matamoros, Catedral de Nuestra Señora de la Asunción, Córdoba, Spain, photograph, 2016 (© Heather Dalton).

This combination of the wandering pilgrim and Muslim- slaying warrior may seem contradictory today, but it fitted perfectly with the rhetoric of the Crusades and thus on into

the Reconquista in Spain.¹¹ The Order of Santiago had been founded in the 12th century, probably by the Augustinian canons regular, and its initial objective was to protect the pilgrims walking the Camino de Santiago (Path of St James) and to defend Christendom. The Order's insignia was and is a red cross resembling a sword, with arms and hilt ending in *fleurs de lys* or forked *cross moline*, as illustrated on the outside wall of Church of Santiago Apóstol in Malaga (figure 2). The Church of Santiago Apóstol is the oldest Christian building in Málaga. It was built in 1490 on the ruins of an old mosque and so dedicating it to Santiago Matamoros was very much a symbolic act of triumph. A plaque featuring Santiago's sword, flanked by scallop shells was inserted on the mosque's surviving wall above the original Mudéjar style central door, which is now blocked.



Cross of the Order of Santiago with scallop shells, Santiago Apóstol, Malaga, Spain, photograph, 2016 (© Heather Dalton).

In 1493 the Catholic Monarchs incorporated the Order of Santiago into the Spanish Crown. The knights of the Order of Santiago wore the cross on the royal standard and white cape, which can be seen on the effigy of Don García de Osorio (figure 3). Don García, a knight of the Order of Santiago, was buried alongside his wife in the Church of San Pedro in Toledo. His effigy, produced between 1499 and 1505, is dressed as a knight, with his chain mail showing around his neck and a sword clasped to his chest. Yet, he wears the pilgrim's hat with the scallop shell badge pinned to the front - thus demonstrating the dual nature of the order.¹² In 1523 Pope Adrian VI united the office of Grandmaster of Santiago to the Monarchy. In the Real Armería in Madrid is a breastplate made for Charles V by Desiderius Helmschmid of Augsburg (1513 -1579). The breastplate is engraved with a large image of Santiago Matamoros on horseback trampling a Moor. In an allegorical portrait celebrating Charles V's victory over Barbarossa at Tunis 1535, Charles V is portrayed on horseback, forcing the capitulation of an elderly bearded Muslim man.¹³ The painting, in the Worcester Art Museum in Massachusetts, is catalogued under the title 'King Sapor' and is similar in composition to Durer's 1513 'Knight and the Devil'. The image mimics representations of Santiago Matamoros: the king wears armour, striking a pose typical of Santiago as the elderly man cowers beneath the hooves of his white steed. Charles V was not the only figure to undergo what Lauren Beck calls the 'Matamoros Effect'. In 1512 El Cid, a legendary character loosely based on the conquistador Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar (1043-1099) was portrayed in an edition of *Crónica* 'within the same narrative frame that readers would quickly identify as belonging to Santiago de Matamoros'.¹⁴



Effigy, alabaster, of Don García de Osorio, in the tradition of the work of Gil de Siloe, Spanish (Castilian), perhaps Toledo, ca. 1499-1505. V&A, London (Photo Heather Dalton).

Santiago Matamoros in the Americas

The Crown of Castile regarded the conquest of the Americas as a continuation of the Reconquest of Spain from the Moors. Indeed, Hieronymite friars regularly referred to the indigenous inhabitants of Hispaniola as 'Moors'.¹⁵ In the first letter Cortez sent to Charles V from Mexico, he referred to the temples he saw in Veracruz as 'mosques'. Later, on entering Tenochtitlán - the great Aztec city that was to become Mexico City, he referred to the largest Aztec temple as the 'great mosque'.¹⁶ Within a short time of the conquests, images of Santiago Matamoros appeared in the Americas. In 1506, a year after the colony of Havana was founded, Cuba was granted a coat of arms as a result of a request of Don Pánfilo de Narváez to the Royal Council of Castilla. The arms included: the Virgin Mary ascending to heaven on a cloud (aided by four cherubs); Santiago galloping through the sky with his raised sword and flag (featuring his cross); and the emblem of the Order of the Fleece pending from a ribbon. Santiago also featured in the first arms granted to Antigua Guatemala. The capital was founded on the site of a Kakchikel-Maya city, now called Iximche, on 25 July 1524, the feast day of Saint James, and thus named 'Ciudad de Santiago de los Caballeros de Goathemalan'. These arms depicted Santiago holding a flag and sword, galloping towards the cringing enemy, surrounded by scallop shells and above three volcanoes. One of these is erupting, gesturing towards the unpredictability of the region. Santiago continued to gallop across the arms of the capital of Guatemala until 1773 when the city was largely destroyed by an earthquake.¹⁷

Santiago may have resonated across the Iberian colonies, but it was in Mexico and Peru that he achieved the most traction. As well as the aforementioned coats of arms, the first depictions of Santiago to arrive in the Americas would have been paintings, small carvings and folding altarpieces - brought from places like Seville by Christian missionaries, led by the Franciscan who arrived in Mexico in 1522. Depictions of Santiago de Matamoros also occurred in books, for Juan Cromberger (the son of the Seville-based publisher, Jacome Cromberger) used an ornamental title band featuring Santiago. The saint is easily identifiable with a scallop shell on his hat, a sword in his hand and trampled foes beneath his horse's hooves. This ornamental band was used in the frontispieces of several books, including Quinto Curcio's *De los hechos del Magno Alexandre* (Seville 1534), Alonso de Palencia's translation of Flavius Josephus' *De Bello Judaico* (Seville 1536) and Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo's *Historia General de Indias* (Seville, 1535). In 1540 Juan Cromberger became the first publisher of books in the New World after he was invited to open a press in Mexico City. The *Historia*, with the ornamental band at the top of the frontispiece (figure 4) was a

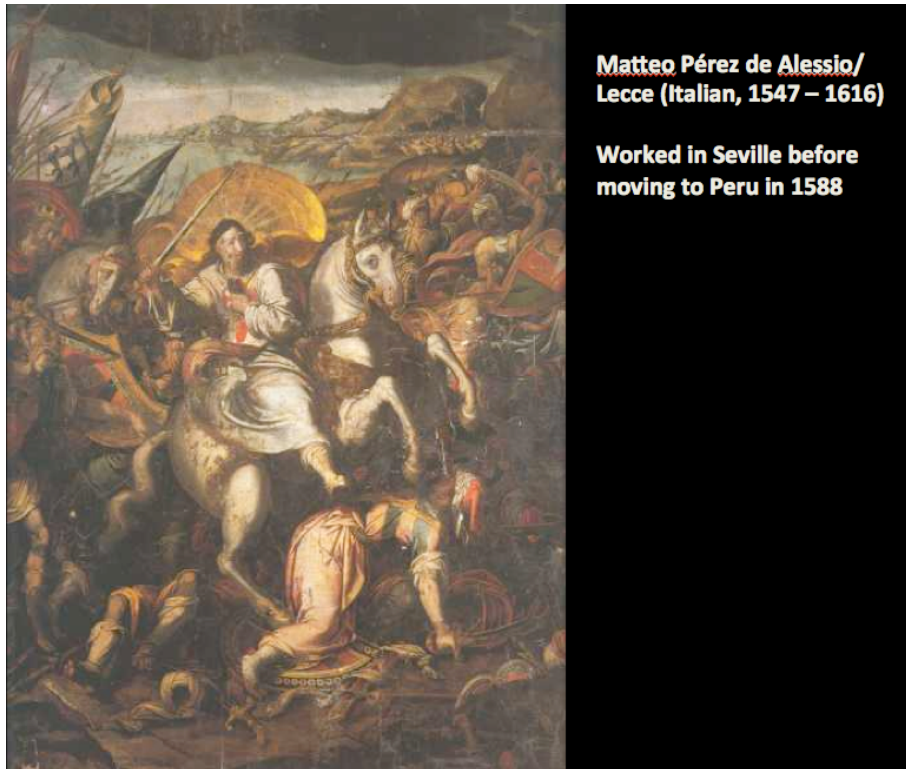
particularly apt vehicle for the image of Santiago Matamoros leading the Spanish in their conquest of the New World.



Upper title band, Monogramist S.M.D., woodcut, 1534. For complete frontispiece published by Juan Cromberger, Seville, Spain, 1535, see published book.

At the beginning of the next century, the ornamental band was used to illustrate Jerónimo Valera's *Comentarii ac quaestiones in universam Aristotelis*, published by Francisco del Canto in Lima in 1610.¹⁸ Valera was a Franciscan and this book was the first philosophical work printed in South America.¹⁹

Artists and craftsmen followed the Franciscan, moving to both Mexico and then to Peru. For example, Simón Pereyng, who was born in Flanders around 1530, sailed to New Spain with the viceroy Gastón de Peralta in 1566 after practicing his craft in Italy, Portugal and Madrid. As a painter condemned by the Inquisition, he redeemed himself by producing a number of large artworks including *Virgen del Perdón* for the cathedral of Mexico City and a series of ten paintings for one of the two sixteenth century altarpieces to survive in Mexico - the altar of the Franciscan church of Huejotzingo (1584-86). His 'mannerist' style was to influence religious art in Mexico for over a century.²⁰ Another influential artist in Spain's American colonies was Matteo Pérez de Alessio (1547-1616/28), an Italian who worked in Seville before moving to Peru in 1588. Alessio's Santiago Matamoros at Clavijo in the Iglesia de Santiago in Seville is dressed like an apostle - bareheaded and in a billowing white gown featuring a large red cross.²¹ However, he is behaving like a warrior, his sword aloft and his steed's hooves trampling the enemy into the soil. Although there are no surviving images of Santiago by Alessio in churches in Lima, he worked there for over thirty years and, like Pereyng in Mexico, had a strong influence on emerging New World artists.



**Matteo Pérez de Alessio/
Lecce (Italian, 1547 – 1616)**

**Worked in Seville before
moving to Peru in 1588**

By the end of the 16th century, paintings and statues of Christian saints populated Mexican and Andean churches. Local craftsmen began to copy these and produce paintings too.²² Between 1604-10 an Mexican indigenous artist, Miguel Mauricio, working under the guidance of the Franciscan, Fray Juan de Torquemada, carved the richly gilded central panel for the altar of a church built from the stone of Aztec temples destroyed in 1521 by Cortez. Santiago Tlatelolco, still stands surrounded by the ruins of Aztec temples and Mauricio's panel is the only surviving piece of the altarpiece.²³ It is carved in high relief and heavilgilded, featuring swathes of fabric, curling masses of human and horsehair, and dismembered limbs.



↑
**Santiago Tlatelolco
Mexico City**

→
**Altarpiece →
Miguel Mauricio, *Santiago Mataindios*.
Circa 1604-10**



Mauricio's gilded Santiago is very different from the images found in Spain. He wears an outfit, which is half Spanish conquistador and half Roman general and, rather than slashing at the fallen beneath the feet of his horse, he is simply pointing down at them. The badge on the saint's plumed hat features a sun motif with a face rather than a shell. However the greatest difference is that the dismembered men under the hooves of his horse are Aztecs - Jaguar warriors to be precise - rather than Moors. This is not Santiago Matamoros, this is Santiago Mataindios (Saint James, slayer of Indians). This image was intended to have a very brutal message: we have won and Our God is victorious. This message is emphasised by the fact that the Jaguar warrior falling under the front hooves of Santiago's horse wears a feathered helmet in the shape of a bird's head, thus symbolising the defeat of the Aztec eagle. The gilded scrolls above the saint symbolise rolling clouds of thunder.



In the Spanish Philippines, Santiago was only ever portrayed as a slayer of Moors, yet in the Americas he was portrayed as both Matamoros and Mataindios.²⁴ The rolling clouds in the aforementioned altarpiece provide a key, for while James and his brother are referred to in the Gospel of Mark as '*boanerges*' (sons of thunder), in the Americas, Santiago was associated with the pre-Columbian divinity of thunder, and lightning who served the Sun God.²⁵ This association can be linked to sightings of the warrior saint at crucial points in the Spanish colonisation of the Americas, especially in Mexico and Peru. At this point it should be pointed out that the Spanish used the term 'conquest' and terms like 'colonial Mexico' or 'colonial Peru' early on in their campaigns when the conquest was far from complete. In reality, the Crown of Castile and then the Hapsburgs conquered only certain regions. For example, when the Hapsburgs established a government in Mexico City, it linked in only with certain urban areas associated generally with mining or seafaring. Beyond these areas and their outlying military forts, vast regions continued to be ruled to varying degrees by local

indigenous elites.²⁶ This meant that in the period of flux and adaptation after those first early battles between the Spanish and local indigenous groups, stories evolved that responded to and made sense of the conflict and subsequent defeat. For example, Bernal Díaz del Catillo, who claimed to be fighting with Cortés when the Spanish and their allies were driven out of Tenochtitlan on 8 July 1520, reported that the Virgin Mary appeared. When compiling his *True History of the Conquest of New Spain* at least forty years later, he reported that Mary had aided the Spanish by casting sand or earth into the eyes of the pursuing Aztecs. According to Oviedo, Díaz, Gómara and Salazar, men who also wrote about the battle decades after it occurred, Santiago was at the Virgin's side; his sword, horse's hooves and mouth inflicting as much damage as the flung sand. The flinging of sand was significant because the Aztecs raked sand out in patterns before their temples. Until the late sixteenth century, a painting of Santiago and the Virgin coming to the conquistadors' aid hung in the same church as the aforementioned altarpiece panel - the Iglesia de Santiago at Tlatelolco.²⁷

Between 1584 and 1615, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, an indigenous Quechua nobleman in Peru, produced a 1200-page manuscript with 400 illustrations known as 'The Nueva cronica y buen gobierno' (The new chronicle and good government). This work is, in effect, a letter to Spain's Hapsburg king, Philip III, denouncing the Spanish conquest of Peru and proposing the reorganization of colonial society in the Andes.²⁸ Many of the images make pointed observation about the brutal behavior of the Spanish towards their West African slaves and Peruvians, especially those related to the conquest itself.



For example, drawing 157 (page 394) shows the conquistador 'capitán Ávalos de Ayala' riding his horse over the prone Inca general 'Quizu Yupanqui', while stabbing him in the heart with his spear.²⁹ Drawing 163 (page 406) appears to show a similar battle scene with a conquistador holding his sword and banner aloft while riding his horse over a dead or dying Inca. However, this image is not concerned with the brutality of a particular conquistador for the text reads: 'A Conquest: Miracle of St James the Great, Apostle of Christ, at Cuzco'.³⁰



This image is not simply an adaption of Santiago in action at Clavijo, it records another miraculous sighting in the New World when Santiago and the Virgin also interceded in 1536 during the siege of Cuzco. From May 1536 to March 1537 Manco Inca Yupanqui besieged the garrison of Spanish conquistadors and Indigenous auxiliaries at Cuzco in the Peruvian Andes. Cuzco had been the capital of the Inca Empire until Francisco Pizarro took control in 1533. The aim of Manco Inca Yupanqui, leader of the Sapa Inca, was to restore the Inca Empire. Depending on the source, he had between 100,000 to 400,000 Incas under his command, outnumbering the 200 Spaniards and the unknown number of Inca deserters as well as ethnic groups, such as the Cañari and Chachapoyas, who supported them.³¹ Poma's image of Santiago appearing at Cuzco is based on accounts written twenty years after the siege. According to these, apparitions of both Santiago and the Virgin Mary appeared at critical points. Santiago appeared during the day on the battleground, throwing thunderbolts at the enemies of Spain, while the Virgin appeared holding the baby Jesus, and flinging sand, as the Spanish made their final assault as night fell. Poma's drawing 162 (page 404) shows this - the miracle of Santa María de Peña de Francia - with the Virgin Mary standing on a winged

angel's head, surrounded by storm clouds, scattering sand into the eyes of the cringing Inca soldiers. The fact that Poma's avenging Virgin is not carrying Jesus is testament to the fact that no sightings of Santiago or the Virgin were recorded in the first twenty years after the battle. Once descriptions began to be recorded, the details varied depending on the identity of the commentator. For example, some commentators reported that it was the spirit of Francisco Pizarro who accompanied the Virgin, for Pizarro was ensconced in the relative safety of Lima at the time. The spirit of Pizarro's horse is described as kicking up so much dust that he blinds the Inca warriors allowing the Spanish to gain victory.³² Flinging or kicking up of sand or dust resonated with the Incas, just as it had for the Aztecs in Tenochtitlan, for the central sacred plaza of Cuzco was covered with sand transported overland from the sea to this high city.³³

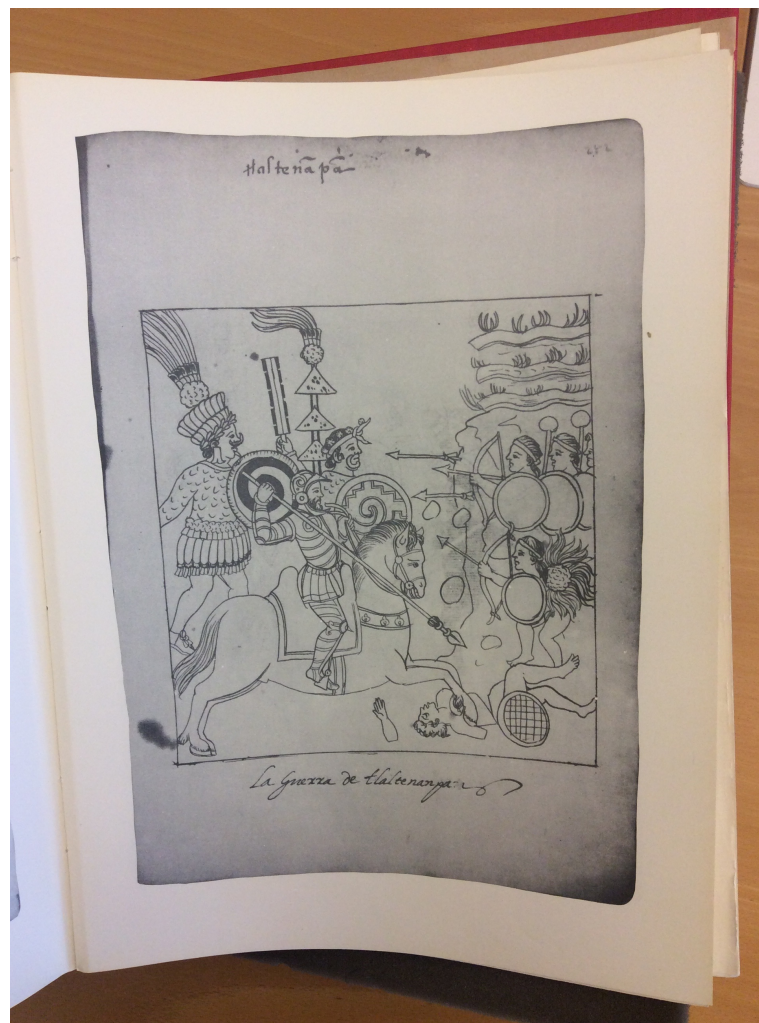
Although these apparitions may have been initially described by the Spanish, scholars have pointed out that the fact that they attributed victory to a religious intervention, rather the skill and/or bravery of the Spanish, meant they were palatable to all - the conquistadors, the Indigenous peoples and the Spanish authorities. Other scholars disagree, suggesting that such stories were used and manipulated by the clergy to appeal to indigenous understandings of magic at the same time as promoting the idea of a medieval crusade across the Atlantic and into the future.³⁷ Amnon Nir considers that both are true in that 'such miraculous phenomena are characteristic of Iberian medieval culture as well as of Indigenous Andean culture'.³⁸ The Virgin is identified with the spirit of the mountains and Mother Earth and Santiago is linked with the God of Thunder.³⁹ *Illapa* was the pre-Columbian divinity of thunder and lightning who served the Sun God. It appears that because the brothers James and John are referred to in the Gospel as '*boanerges*' or 'sons of thunder', James in his guise as Santiago Matandios was increasingly identified with *Illapa*.⁴⁰ In drawing 131 (page 335), Poma depicts the eleventh Inca, Guayna Capac, standing on his litter and swinging a sling to throw gold projectiles - representing the lightning bolts of the Lord of Thunder. It was such rituals rather than military hardware and battlefield prowess that were thought to matter.⁴¹ Amnon Nir explains that although stories of military miracles at Cuzco included European symbols such as halos and red crosses on chests and white horses, 'the logic which gave meaning to the images and their function in the story is entirely Andean, and foreign to Spanish thought'.⁴² This is backed up by the mestizo chronicler Inca Garcilaso who spent the first twenty years of his life in Cuzco before emigrating to Spain in 1560. He reported 'the Indians were terrified at the sight of this new knight,' asking 'who is the Viracocha with the *illapa* in his hand?' Garcilaso related this story as proof that his fellow Incas were open to receiving such

Christian revelations because of their understanding of natural law. He described Francisco Pizarro, the leader of the Spanish, as a man consumed by pride who was far from an exemplary Christian. Garcilaso saw the interventions of Santiago and the Virgin Mary on behalf of the Spanish as evidence of God's mercy towards them.⁴³ Poma appears to have considered the Spanish as similarly flawed and seen Christian apparitions in a comparable light. He makes it very clear that the Incas were defeated not because of the skill or bravery of the Spanish, but because of the intervention of both the Virgin Mary and Santiago.⁴⁴ In the text, Poma likens St James to the pre-Columbian divinity, Illapa.

*Lord Santiago descended with a very loud thunder, like lightning he fell from the sky on the Inca's fortress called Sacsu Guaman, which is the stronghold of the Incas above San Cristobal. And when he fell on the ground the Indians were frightened and said that illap'a had fallen, thunder and lightning from the sky, q'accha of the Christians, Christian's grace. And this is how Lord Santiago descended to defend the Christians [...] the Indians were frightened from the great noise which the saint caused.*⁴⁵

If Poma had not labeled drawing 163 as Santiago, many would have assumed that it featured Pizarro. Indeed, in Poma's image Pizarro and Santiago have become one.⁴⁶ This is because Poma not only mimics the iconography of *Santiago Matamoros*, he depicts him as a conquistador.⁴⁷ This cross-referencing of images occurred across the Americas as Indigenous images makers began to record the ongoing conquest. A depiction of Cortés from the Mexican codex *Historia de Tlaxcala*, produced in 1585 by the *mestizo* Diego Muñoz Camargo, titled 'Alegoria de Cortez conquistador' illustrates this for Cortés could be Santiago.⁴⁸





Of course, as the conquest of the Americas was seen as a continuation of the *Reconquista* it can also be argued that both Pizarro and Cortés saw themselves as an extension of *Santiago* and fashioned themselves as such. Inga Clendinnen has suggested that there was such a huge admiration for the courage of horses in Mexico that this may have added to the awe in which Mesoamericans held Santiago.⁴⁹ The *Historia de Tlaxcala* deals with the social, political, military, religious and cultural history of the Province of Tlaxcala.⁵⁰ Many of the folios depict battle scenes. As the Tlaxcaltecas were enemies of the Aztecs, and subsequently became loyal allies of the Spanish, these scenes rarely simply show Spaniards against Mesoamericans, but Spaniards and Tlaxcaltecas against Aztecs and the allies of Aztecs. Yet, in the majority of these images a single conquistador on a light coloured horse takes centre stage, raising his sword or lance as his steed tramples dismembered bodies. In some, such as the image of the battle of Nochtian on folio 316r, the conquistador is in a plumed hat and doublet; while in others, such as the the one on folio 282, he is fully armoured. Folio 291 (figure 7) shows Pedro de Alvarado, with sword aloft, riding down Indigenous warriors in Guatemala - an area of Mexico now known as Chimaltenango.

While in the Philippines, Christian apparitions, including the Virgin Mary and Santiago, did manifest, they were never reported as physically interceding, as they did in Mexico and Peru. While the Spanish may have first alluded to battlefield apparitions in the New World in order to reinforce their own power and that of Santiago Matamoros, the stories obviously resonated with indigenous Mexicans and Peruvians. This may have been because the Spanish deliberately linked these apparitions to local belief systems.⁵¹ However, even if this was so, local people developed and adapted the idea of Santiago, eventually making him theirs in countless small acts of adaptation and resistance.

From the early 17th century onwards, depictions of *Santiago* in both Mexico and Peru embraced both *Santiago Matamoros* and *Satniago Mataindios*.⁵² Although other saints were portrayed trampling devils and Moors in the Americas, Santiago was very much the saint of choice when it came to such depictions of triumph.⁵³ He continued to be depicted as Santiago Matamoros. For example: in the mid 1600s, Simón de Barrientos carved an image of Santiago Matamoros on the lateral portal at the Church of La Compania in Arequipa, Peru.⁵⁴





Around this time, from the mid seventeenth century, folk artists who had begun to see themselves as Peruvian, Mexican or Columbian - rather than Spanish, Inca, Aztec or any other group - began to create colourful, highly decorated images of Santiago Matamoros and sometimes Santiago Matamoros. The most spectacular of these images, generally referred to as folk or naive art, are the paintings created in Peru. In these, Santiago is generally dressed in colourful, richly embroidered flowing clothes and a plumed hat. With his sword held aloft, he gallops against a piercingly blue sky on his white charger. Sometimes there are rolling thunderclouds in the distance, alluding to Illapa, the God of Thunder. A single Amerindian or Moor lies prone beneath Santiago's horse, showing no obvious signs of injury.



There are no piles of bodies or dismembered limbs, and nature in all its beauty has entered the equation. Colourful birds and/or butterflies fly around the saint, the verdant flowers and the framing trees. Images like these hung in small churches across the Andes - and in some homes too for, although *Santiago* remained a religious symbol, by this time he had taken on the trappings of a Hispanic/Amerindian folk hero.

At the same time as these highly decorative folk images were produced, other artists continued to produce images of Santiago Matamoros that reinforced a way of remembering history in a particular region. Just as the artists of the sixteenth century *Historia de Tlaxcala* did not reflect the binary of Spaniards against Mesoamericans, later artists, who identified with the Tlaxcaltecas, continued to emphasise that Santiago was on their side. A pair of 18th century paintings hangs in the Museo de las Culturas de Oaxaca in Mexico, titled 'Spaniards and Mesoamericans with Santiago Matamoros presiding'. While one scene shows Santiago Matamoros in action at Clavijo, trampling dead and dying Moors beneath his horse, the other, unusually, shows a still Santiago seated on his horse, standing with the Tlaxcaltecas and the Spanish, in a show of strength against the Aztecs and their supporters.



Mexico, 18th century

Spaniards and Mesoamericans with Santiago Matamoros presiding
Museo de las Culturas de Oaxaca

In the Viceroyalty of Peru, where Santiago was associated with the God of Thunder, Spanish authorities became increasingly concerned that Indigenous children were not only calling the saint 'Illapa', but were calling on him to make them stronger so they could beat the Spanish when they grew up. In 1649 the archbishop of Lima denounced this adaptation of the saint, ruling that the only diminutive the saint could be known by was 'Diego'.⁵⁵ It was a losing

battle. In Cuzco, the eve and saint's day of St James - 25th July - became infused with multiple meanings and an increasingly important event for the remnants of the city's Inca nobility. Religious festivals, such as this and the Corpus Christi Procession, in which the Christian saint or symbol was associated with a pre-Columbian divinity, were opportunities to come together and celebrate both their Christian and, perhaps more importantly, their ethnic identities.⁵⁶

From the 1760s the Indigenous nobility's group identity was increasingly under threat under the impact of the Bourbon reforms. For the first time since the conquest, many noble Inca families found themselves subject to tribute payments and legally liable for forced labour service.⁵⁷ This was an assault upon their honour as well as their status and they turned to their saint - Santiago - to lead them in their fight to retain their livelihoods and their ethnic identity. When the Peruvians rose up against the Spanish in the 19th century they formally transformed the saint that had become an established part of their religious culture into Santiago 'Mataespañol' - *Santiago - Slayer of Spaniards*. Cuzco, considered by Crown officials and policy-makers to be the military and political key to the whole of Spanish South America, became the nucleus of subversive politics in the last half-century of colonial rule (from around 1770 to 1825). A silver statuette in the Museum of Pilgrimages, Santiago de Compostela, depicts Santiago, sword in hand, galloping after a fleeing Spaniard.⁵⁸



Today, across South and Central America, Santiago represents both the 'sagrado y profano' (sacred and profane) - on the one hand a Christian saint, and on the other a pagan symbol. In the Andes the saint is called upon to intervene when it comes to the wellbeing of pets and livestock, regulation of the weather and even to promote fertility. As the centre of festivities, he often embodies a playful ritual, subverting his original role. There are agricultural festivals with their roots in rural areas prior to the arrival of Europeans, which have recently been adopted by those living in urban areas, including in Lima. In this setting they may have become increasingly commercialised but the dances celebrating Santiago continue to bind.⁵⁹ In Mexico, Santiago Matamoros became a particularly significant figure in the Bajo Bravo area, especially for the *rancheros* responsible for defending isolated frontier settlements.⁶⁰ This is reflected in the names of towns, such as Heroica Matamoros in the north east of Mexico (in Tamaulipas), which was fortified during the Texan Revolution. Today, festivals celebrating Santiago take place across Mexico on 25 July. In the mountain town of Concepción de Buenas Aires in the state of Jalisco in central western Mexico, a statue of Santiago Matamoros, brandishing a sword and wearing a cowboy hat, is carried through the streets on a palanquin. The bearers are dressed as monsters, symbolizing the defeat of the indigenous warriors of Tonalá, who were transformed into hideous monsters in 1530 for opposing the Conquistador Nuño de Guzman.

The Franciscans built the stone church of San Bartolomé Apóstol in Cocucho in the state of Michoacán in the late 1500s. Today, the spectacular mural on the underchoir attracts a constant stream of tourists. It was painted circa 1760 when the church was remodelled. The large central panel features Santiago trampling Moors, surrounded by Spanish soldiers praying or firing muskets. Above the saint is a depiction of God the Father, with the Virgin Mary on his right and Christ on his left. All the figures are dressed in 18th century Spanish Mexican fashions.⁶¹ Images of Santiago Matamoros appear in many of the mission churches in this state.⁶² It has been suggested that the fact that missions and monasteries continued to be built in a fortress-like style long after the threat of Indigenous rebellion in New Spain subsided, reflects the fact that Islam, chiefly characterised by the Ottoman Other, continued to be perceived as a threat to Europe into the eighteenth century. Indeed, guidelines were put in place for seeking out Moslem heretics across the New World, although they were rarely utilised.⁶³ As in Spain, many of the fortress-like religious institutions housing images of Santiago Matamoros also feature *mudéjar*-inspired decorative elements, attesting to the process of transculturation occurring within the Iberian Peninsula and beyond to the Americas.⁶⁴

Today, the saint's day is celebrated by processions and 'a dance in two parts': the first part acting out the encounter of Muslims and Christians and the defeat of the Moors; and the second, the conversion of the Moors. Today, generally only the second half is celebrated. Both men and women dress as Moors in colourful costumes and fantastical headdresses.⁶⁵ In an influential essay published in 1984, Richard Trexler explained that these rituals, and the mock battles in particular, constituted a 'military theatre of humiliation'.⁶⁶ While Trexler saw the indigenous performers as taking on the identity of the Moors and thus 'exhibiting their own defeat', others – this author included - see the situation as more complex - a joyous subversion of defeat.



Consequences of Spain's attachment to a warlike and racist Santiago

While in Peru and Mexico, Santiago - as the focus of an emotional journey - can be seen as epitomising religious, cultural and even racial interaction and exchange, in El Salvador and Spain in the 1930s he became an anti-communist figurehead. In Tepecoya, 'San Estaban' appeared on a huge white horse and halted the insurrectionary forces. In Nahuilingo a similar apparition appeared which many assumed was Santiago. The saint's appearances meant that in March 1932 the archbishop of San Salvador named the warrior on a white horse as a defender against communism.⁶⁷ In Spain, Franco not only associated Santiago with the

expulsion of The Other – in this case, the communists - but also with the idea of racial purity and supreme masculinity. Since 1627, Teresa of Avila had been celebrated in Madrid as co-patron saint of Spain, alongside *Santiago*. This had caused dissent, especially in Castile, and so after the Civil War, Franco reinstated Santiago as Spain's only patron saint. He focused on Santiago Matamoros, as embodying both the religious and masculine attributes that personified *Hispanidad* or Spanish selfhood.⁶⁸



This painting, with Santiago flying over Franco's head, hangs in the Military Archives in Madrid

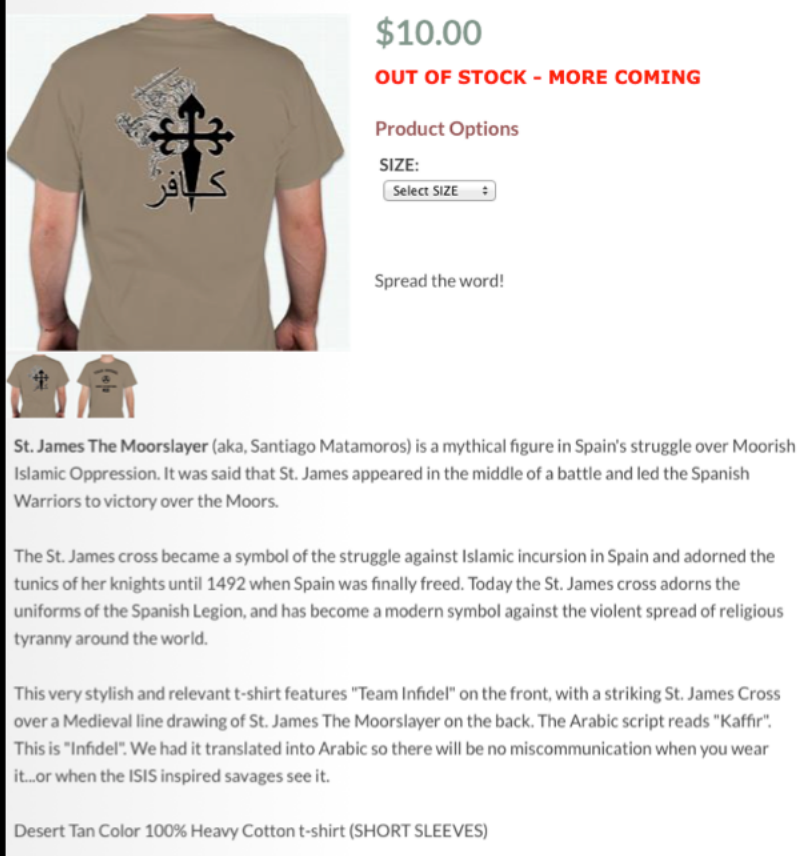
In 1954 Franco visited Santiago Compostela, lauding Spain's 'great crusading spirit on behalf of the Church in the great days of her Empire and in the recent Civil War'. Later, when he sent his only Moroccan general, Mohamed ben Miziam, there to make the offering on 25 July, officials covered the base of José Gambino's particularly bloodthirsty 18th century statue with cloth to hide the decapitated heads and dismembered bodies. In the 1990s some Spaniards refused to walk the Camino de Santiago, considering that Franco had effectively transformed it into a fascist route. This put the spotlight on Santiago Matamoros, encouraging a national discussion on this image of the saint.⁶⁹ However, in 2004, in the wake of the Madrid train bombings, furious public reaction forced officials of the Cathedral of Santiago Compostela to abort their plans to replace Gambino's statue of Santiago Matamoros with one of Santiago Peregrino.⁷⁰ This shows that, as the patron saint of the Spanish people and their symbolic defender against the infidel, Santiago Matamoros still evokes strong loyalties. While

articles in newspapers and blogspots, such as Luís Afonso Assumpção's 'Swimming Against the Red Tide', have reacted with anger to recent attempts at making the statue less offensive by covering Santiago's victims with flowers, others don't think the flowers go far enough in mitigating the statue's horror.⁷¹ For example, a journalist for *The Irish Times* was emotional in her description of 'this portrait of a murder' 'hidden behind a joyless arrangement of plastic white daisies, the sculptured head of a man stares back, open mouthed in pain, blood flowing from his neck, his eyes seemingly resigned to death'.⁷²



In his 2008 article, '*James the Greater: Interpreting the Interstices of Santiago as Peregrino and Matamoros*,' John Moore states that while the pilgrim saint challenges hierarchy as a democratic symbol of Everyman's travails, the image of *Matamoros* promotes a rigid social structure as an icon of rank and violence and of the Church's prominence in the re-conquest enterprise'. Although this statement does not sum up the situation in South America where *Santiago's* multi-layered adaptations are embedded in folklore and still evolving in carnival rituals - it is still relevant to Spain. When Spanish troops were sent to Iraq in July 2003, the red cross of *Santiago Matamoros* adorned the soldiers' uniforms.⁷³ The Order of Santiago remains under the protection of the Spanish crown. As of 2014, there were 35 knights and 30

novices in the Spanish Order of Santiago, which is only open to practicing Catholics who can prove legitimacy going back 4 generations, 200 years of confirmed nobility and that their lineage is free from non-Christian contamination. And they must pledge to defend the Immaculate Conception of Mary.⁷⁴ In the wake of 9/11, further terrorist attacks (real and imagined), and the influx of refugees from the Middle East, a growing number of European and North American right wing and Islamophobic groups, such as 'The White Knights', are resurrecting the iconography of *Santiago Matamoros*.⁷⁵ One group sells T-shirts online featuring the Cross of St James, a sketch of *Santiago Matamoros*, and 'Kaffir' in Arabic script. The garment description explains that 'Infidel' is translated into the Arabic "Kaffir" so there 'will be no miscommunication when you wear it ... or when the IS inspired savages see it'.⁷⁶ Suarez International, an organisation hosting 'warriortalk' forums, selling firearms and running courses in using them, sells the 'Saint James Crusader Logo Shirt' for US\$17.99. This is a black T-shirt featuring the cross of Santiago superimposed over a line drawing of St James on his horse, above the words: 'Protecting Christendom Since 842 A.D'.⁷⁷



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St. James The Moorlayer (aka, Santiago Matamoros) is a mythical figure in Spain's struggle over Moorish Islamic Oppression. It was said that St. James appeared in the middle of a battle and led the Spanish Warriors to victory over the Moors.

The St. James cross became a symbol of the struggle against Islamic incursion in Spain and adorned the tunics of her knights until 1492 when Spain was finally freed. Today the St. James cross adorns the uniforms of the Spanish Legion, and has become a modern symbol against the violent spread of religious tyranny around the world.

This very stylish and relevant t-shirt features "Team Infidel" on the front, with a striking St. James Cross over a Medieval line drawing of St. James The Moorlayer on the back. The Arabic script reads "Kaffir". This is "Infidel". We had it translated into Arabic so there will be no miscommunication when you wear it...or when the ISIS inspired savages see it.

Desert Tan Color 100% Heavy Cotton t-shirt (SHORT SLEEVES)

On 6 September 2017 the Basque newspaper Deia (The Call) published an article in which they suggested that those who slandered ETA in the press were also guilty of stirring up hatred against Muslims: 'Islamofobia y Santiago Matamoros'. The author points out that in the

demonstrations on the streets of Barcelona on 26 August 2017, the majority of placards declared 'no' to the arms trade, the next highest number declared 'no' to Islamophobia and then came the placards supporting Catalanian independence. The author points out that today's Islamic fanaticism is a reflection of the Christian fanaticism of previous centuries and that 'históricamente los musulmanes fueron mucho más tolerantes con las ideas y las prácticas religiosas que los cristianos' (historically, Muslims were much more tolerant of religious ideas and practices than Christians). After pointing out that the state has never really apologised to the Muslims and Jews for the expulsions and ill-treatment of the past, the author declares that as long as Santiago is the patron saint and images of him on his white horse remain, then the will of the majority - that Islamophobia will be erased - will never come about. While the focus of this article is on supporting 'la gran nación europea que es Catalunya' (the great European nation that is Catalonia), Santiago is evoked to make the point that not only does he still exist in image and form in countless locations, but that since September 11 Spanish politicians intent on suppressing regional aspirations are often those who evoke him and take advantage of Islamophobia to further their ends - 'Al vent del último franquismo' (the last vent of Francoism).⁷⁸

Conclusion

Depictions of Saint James the Greater are some of the most diversified in Christian iconography. In Spain, James, the martyred apostle, was transformed by the communication of a powerful myth from peregrinating pilgrim saint to ultimate warrior saint – Santiago Matamoros. Unlike Saint George, his foe was not a single mythical beast but a group of people – Muslim Umayyads. Despite the fact that the apparition of the saint appeared to King Ramirez of León during a ninth century battle that never took place, the legend endured, fuelled by the *Reconquista* between 718 and 1492. Taken to America by the Spanish, Santiago Matamoros came to stand for very different things as Amerindians responded to and interpreted images of the saint as not only the slayer of Muslims, but also as Santiago Mataindios, their conqueror. While the emotional impact of Santiago Mataindios as a symbol of conquest must have initially evoked horror and fear, this martial image was, over time, appropriated, inverted and made theirs. As Monique Scheer has pointed out, 'Emotions change over time not only because norms, expectations, words, and concepts that shape experience are modified, but also because the practices in which they are embodied, and bodies themselves, undergo transformation'.⁷⁹ Although in Spain Santiago Matamoros maintains his association with the idea of pure blood and is still a potent rallying symbol for opposing 'The Other', in South and Central America Santiago the folk hero stands as the

poster boy of the polyglot – a symbol of putting on a brave face and carving a strong community out of defeat.

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This draft features images from my presentation **Putting on a brave face: adopting Old World battlefield apparitions as New World representations of triumph** given at *Emotions: Movement, Cultural Contact and Exchange, 1100-1800* (2016, ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions & Freie Universität Berlin) & *Recycling the Past: Narratives, Objects, Emotions* (2018, ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions & University of Melbourne). See the published chapter for selected images of a much higher resolution.

¹ Heather Dalton, "'Suffering rewarded': An English merchant, marriage and The Inquisition in the post-reformation Iberian Atlantic," in *Keeping Family in an Age of Long Distance Trade, Imperial Expansion and*

² For example: Nicolás Cabrilla Ciézar, *Santiago Matamoros: historia e imagen* (Málaga: Servicio de Publicaciones, Diputación de Málaga, 1999); Craig H. Roell, *Matamoros and the Texas Revolution* (Denton: Texas State Historical Association, 2013); Anna Sulai Capponi, "El culto de Santiago entre las comunidades indígenas de Hispanoamérica: símbolo de comprensión, reinterpretación compenetración de una nuevarealidad espiritual," *Imaginário* 12, no. 13 (2006): 249-77; Javier D. García, "Santiago Mataindios: la continuación de un discurso medieval en la Nueva España," *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 54, no. 1 (2006): 33-56; Max Harris, *Aztecs, Moors and Christians: Festivals of Reconquest in Mexico and Spain* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000); David Cahill, *The Inca and Corpus Christi: The feast of Santiago in Colonial Cuzco* (Amsterdam: CEDLA, 1999).

³ Amy Buono, "Early Modern 'Non-Objects'," in *Reframing the Renaissance for the 21st Century. An RSA Roundtable Commemorating the 20th Anniversary of Reframing the Renaissance*, ed. Claire Farago (Boston, April 2, 2016). Although Buono focuses on the cultural traditions and artistic practices of Pre-Columbian and colonial Brazil, her question is valid across the board.

⁴ (Mark 3:17), from Galilean dialectal corruption of Hebrew bene reghesh (sons of rage), interpreted in Greek as 'sons of thunder'.

⁵ See, for example: Richard A. Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); Sophia Deboick, "The enigma of Saint James," *Guardian*, July 24, 2010.

⁶ Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, 70-72, 176.

⁷ See Ann Christys, *Vikings in the South: Voyages to Iberia and the Mediterranean* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015).

⁸ Amy G. Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora: The Virgin Mary at War and Peace in the Old and New Worlds* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 89.

⁹ John K. Moore, Jr., "James the Greater: Interpreting the Interstices of Santiago as Peregrino and Matamoros," *La corónica*, 36, no. 2 (2008): 313-44.

¹¹ Moore, "James the Greater," 315; Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, 297-99; Stephen B. Raulston, "The Harmony of Staff and Sword: How Medieval Thinkers Saw Santiago Peregrino and Matamoros," *La Corónica: A Journal of Medieval Hispanic Languages, Literatures, and Cultures* 36, no. 2 (2008): 358.

¹² Peter Linehan, *Spain: A Partible Inheritance, 1157-1300* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2011), 10.

¹³ Netherlandish, 1525-35. See: Jan van Herwaarden, "The Emperor Charles V as Santiago Matamoros," *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art & Architecture* 3, no. 3 (2012): 83-106.

¹⁴ Lauren Beck, "Visualising the Cid and his Enemies in Print: The Matamoros Effect," *Image & Narrative* 17, no. 1 (2016): 8.

¹⁵ The island in the Antilles now divided into Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

¹⁶ Luis Weckham, *The Medieval Heritage of Mexico*, trans. Francis M. Lopez-Morillas (New York: Fordham University Press, 1992), 182.

- ¹⁷ For examples of the coats of arms of Antigua Guatemala and the city of Cuba see woodcuts by Gil González Dávila in *Teatro eclesiastico de la primitiva iglesia de las Indias occidentales*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Diego de la Carrera, 1649).
- ¹⁸ See “Cromberger, Juan, d. 1540,” *Primeros Libros de las Américas*, accessed December 2, 2018, http://primeroslibros.org/about_printers.html?lang=en&by=cromberger and <https://dl.wdl.org/13745/service/13745.pdf>. Accessed 2 December 2018
- ¹⁹ For further information see Roberto Hofmeister Pich, “The Account of Transcendental Concepts by Jerónimo Valera (1568-1625) in His *Summulae dialecticae* (1610),” *Quaestio: Journal of the History of Metaphysics* 14 (2014): 299-314.
- ²⁰ Clara Bargellini, “The Renaissance at Huejotzingo,” in *Reframing the Renaissance for the 21st Century. An RSA Roundtable Commemorating the 20th Anniversary of Reframing the Renaissance*, ed. Claire Farago (Boston, April 2, 2016).
- ²¹ Also known as Matteo da Lecce, *Santiago matamoros en la Batalla de Clavijo*.
- ²² Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, *Object and Apparition: Envisioning the Christian Divine in the Colonial Andes* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2013), 29; Claudia Brosseder, *The Power of Huacas: Change and Resistance in the Andean World of Colonial Peru* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014), 258.
- ²³ Donna Pierce, “At the Crossroads: Cultural Confluence and Daily Life in Mexico, 1521-1821,” in *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life, 1521-1821*, eds. Donna Pierce, Rogelio Ruiz Gomar and Clara Bargellini (Colorado: Denver Art Museum, 2004), 30; José Guadalupe Victoria, “Noticias sobre la destrucción del retablo del Tlatelolco,” *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 16, no. 61 (1990): 73-80.
- ²⁴ Ethan P. Hawkey, “Reviving the Reconquista in Southeast Asia: Moros and the Making of the Philippines, 1565–1662,” *Journal of World History* 25, no. 2-3 (2014): 285-310; Christina H. Lee, “The Chinese Problem in the Early Modern Missionary Project of the Spanish Philippines,” *Laberinto* 9 (2016): 5. In the Philippines the Archangel Michael had the role of suppressing the Chinese devil. For representation of St Michael in the Americas, see Escardiel González Estévez, “La iconografía de los Siete Arcángeles en el retablo hispanoamericano. Heterodoxia, censura y devoción pública,” in *O Retábulo no Espaço Ibero-Americano: Forma, função e iconografia*, ed. Ana Celeste Glória (Lisboa: Instituto de História da Arte da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas / NOVA, 2013), 79-90.
- ²⁵ (Mark 3:17), from Galilean dialectal corruption of Hebrew *bene reghesh* (sons of rage), interpreted in Greek as ‘sons of thunder’.
- ²⁶ Tatiana Seijas, “Social Order and Mobility in 16th- and 17th-Century Central Mexico” in *The Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History* (Oxford University Press USA, 2016), Available at latinamericanhistory.oxfordre.com (OUP-USA Mirror, 31 August 2018).
- ²⁷ Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora*, 297-99.
- ²⁸ Julio Ortega, “Representation and Appropriation in Guamán Poma de Ayala,” trans. Philip Debenshire, *Journal of Global Initiatives* 7, no. 2 Peruvian Trajectories of Sociocultural Transformation (2012): 15.
- ²⁹ Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615), drawing 157: Captain Luis de Ávalos de Ayala kills Quizo Yupanqui Inka in the conquest of Lima. Det Kongelige Bibliotek, accessed November 4, 2019, <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/394/en/text/?open=idp363664>.
- ³⁰ Poma, *Nueva corónica*, drawing 163: 'A Conquest: Miracle of St James the Great, Apostle of Christ, at Cuzco. The entire manuscript is available on The Royal Danish Library website at: Det Kongelige Bibliotek, accessed November 4, 2019, <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/info/en/frontpage.htm>.
- ³¹ Amnon Nir, “The “Military Miracles” in the 1536 Siege of Cuzco,” in *Unlocking the Doors to the Worlds of Guaman Poma and His Nueva Corónica*, ed. Rolena Adorno and Ivan Boserup (Copenhagen: Royal Library, Museum Tusulanum Press, 2015), 286.
- ³² Nir, “Military Miracles,” 273-75.
- ³³ Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora*, 299.
- ³⁷ Stanfield-Mazzi, *Object and Apparition*, 29; Sabine MacCormack, “History, Historical Record, and Ceremonial Action: Incas and Spaniards in Cuzco,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 43, no. 2 (2001): 329–63; Nir, “Military Miracles,” 270.
- ³⁷ Nir, “Military Miracles,” 272-75; Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora*, 269-290, at 269.
- ³⁸ Nir, “Military Miracles,” 270.
- ³⁹ Nir, “Military Miracles,” 272-75; Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora*, 299.
- ⁴⁰ Walter Starkie, *The Road to Santiago: Pilgrims of St. James* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965), 13; Ortega, “Representation and Appropriation,” 11-21.
- ⁴¹ Nir, “Military Miracles,” 275.
- ⁴² Nir, “Military Miracles,” 280.
- ⁴³ Garcilaso de la Vega “1966/2, book 1, chapt. 1, 634 and book 2, chapt. 24, 802,” in *Garcilaso Inca de la Vega: An American Humanist, A Tribute to José Durand*, ed. José Anadón (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998); Garcilaso de la Vega 2009 [1617]/2, book 2, chapt. 25, 178 in Nir, “Military Miracles,” 286-7.

- ⁴⁴ Poma, *Nueva corónica*, drawing 163. Captain Luis de Ávalos de Ayala kills Quizo Yupanqui Inka in the conquest of Lima. GKS 2232 4°. The miracle of Santa María de Peña de Francia: Inka soldiers are frightened in battle by the miraculous apparition and flee. Det Kongelige Bibliotek, accessed November 4, 2019, <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/404/en/image/> and Det Kongelige Bibliotek, accessed November 4, 2019, <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/406/en/text/>.
- ⁴⁵ Translation of page 407 in Nir, "Military Miracles," 285.
- ⁴⁶ Nir, "Military Miracles," 284.
- ⁴⁷ Stanfield-Mazzi, *Object and Apparition*, 29.
- ⁴⁸ Diego Muñoz Camargo, *Historia de Tlaxcala* (Mexico, 1585), University of Glasgow Library, MS Hunter 242 (U.3.15). eleanor.lib.gla.ac.uk/record=b1160328. Also see: Frederico Navarrete, "Beheadings and massacres: Andean and Mesoamerican representations of the Spanish conquest," *Anthropology and Aesthetics* 53, no. 54 (2008): 64.
- ⁴⁹ Inga Clendinnen, *Aztecs: An Interpretation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 82-83.
- ⁵⁰ For *The Historia de Tlaxcala* see: Glasgow University Library, accessed November 4, 2019, <http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/exhibns/month/jan2003.html>.
- ⁵¹ Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora*, 299.
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This draft features images from my presentation **Putting on a brave face: adopting Old World battlefield apparitions as New World representations of triumph** given at *Emotions: Movement, Cultural Contact and Exchange, 1100-1800* (2016, ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions & [Freie Universität Berlin](http://www.freie-universitaet-berlin.de)) & *Recycling the Past: Narratives, Objects, Emotions* (2018, ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions & University of Melbourne). See the published chapter for selected images of a much higher resolution.