PerspectivasAfro
REVISTA DE INVESTIGACIONES EN ESTUDIOS AFROLATINOAMERICANOS Y AFROCARIBEÑOS

DOSSIER

Creating Vecindad: Confraternities, Burials, and the Future in Colonial Peru[1]

Creando Vecindad: Cofradias, entierros, y el futuro en Perú colonial

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ACCESO ABIERTO

Para citaciones: O'Toole, Rachel. "Creating Vecindad: Confraternities, Burials, and the Future in Colonial Peru". *PerspectivasAfro* 4/2 (2025): 199-216. https://doi.org/10.32997/pa-2025-5115

Recibido: 30 de septiembre de 2024

Aprobado: 2 de enero de 2025

Editora: Silvia Valero. Universidad de Cartagena-Colombia.

ABSTRACT
This article employs fragmented archival evidence from notarial and judicial records from Trujillo on the northern Peruvian coast, to painstakingly reconstruct how Juan Dávila, a freed man of color, served as a leader and member of seventeenth-century confraternities and thus secured his status as a *vecino*, or municipal subject. To secure an honorable reputation, Dávila served as a long-standing *mayordomo* and proved his financial literacy, a critical component to claiming public legitimacy, by managing the wealth of his brotherhood, Nuestra Señora del Rosario. Confraternity leaders like Dávila, likewise, scheduled funeral processions according to their own timetables, thus providing a means for free people to present, display, and secure their municipal subjecthood, or *vecindad*. Within and through confraternities, freed people engaged in Afrofuturistic plans. By constructing a confraternity altarpiece and family tomb, the storekeeper produced the alternative history of the past in which the Dávilas became enshrined in one of the foundational churches like any city founder.

Keywords: Peru; confraternities; colonial; free people of color; subjecthood.

RESUMEN
Este artículo emplea evidencia fragmentarias de archivos notariales y judiciales de Trujillo, en la costa norte de Perú, para reconstruir minuciosamente cómo Juan Dávila, un hombre de color libre, ejerció de líder y miembro de las cofradías del siglo XVII y se aseguró así su condición de vecino. Para asegurarse una reputación honorable, Dávila ejerció como mayordomo durante mucho tiempo y demostró sus conocimientos financieros, un componente crítico para reclamar legitimidad pública, administrando la riqueza de su cofradía, Nuestra Señora del Rosario. Líderes de cofradías como Dávila, asimismo, programaban los cortejos fúnebres según sus propios horarios, proporcionando así un medio para que la gente libre presentara, exhibiera y asegurara su vecindad. En el seno de las cofradías y a través de ellas, los libertos llevaron a cabo planes afrofuturistas. Al construir un retablo de la cofradía y una tumba familiar, el pulpero produjo la historia alternativa del pasado en la que los Dávila se consagraron en una de las iglesias fundacionales como cualquier fundador de ciudad.

Palabras clave: Perú; cofradías; colonial; gente libre; vecindad.

Universidad Editorial Universitaria de Cartagena

[1] I thank Jafet Rodríguez Yak for his research assistance funded by a 2024 award from the University of California's MRPI Routes of Enslavement in the Americas. I thank the writing structure provided by the U See I Write Retreats organized by Dr. Ilona Yim and Dr. Olga Razorenova and the Friday Writing Retreats organized by Dr. Judy Wu, Director of the Humanities Center, at the University of California, Irvine.
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The son of a freed storekeeper Andrés de la Cruz and María Terranova (enslaved from today's southeastern Nigerian coast) (Sierra Silva 45), Juan Dávila purchased his freedom in 1664, married, had children, and built a prosperous trans-Pacific trading business.[3] In the city of Trujillo on the northern Peruvian coast, the *pulpero* turned merchant understood that his legal manumission did not secure the privileges of a freed man in early modern Iberian America (Johnson 131; Walker 94*;* Will iams 54) Dávila would never achieve the honorific title of *don*, serve on the city's municipal council, secure an ecclesiastical post, or otherwise be elevated to the positions that required proof of his *limpieza de sangre*, or his Christian Iberian origins and white descent (Graubart, *Republics of Difference* 12; Martínez 159). Like many people of color, the wealthy merchant sought to build a reputation of his freed status, or secure what Danielle Terrazas Williams has conceptualized as the cultural capital of social legitimacy, achievable through financial success and religious acculturation (Williams 10, 61, 69). He married Juana Graciana de Ybañes, a *mestiza* highland woman, whose ties to textile factories and herding communities as well as business experience would expand the family enterprise from the Andes to the Caribbean.[4] A decade later, Dávila purchased for the high sum of three thousand *pesos* a mercantile or general store and amassed enough credit to engage in the trans-Pacific trade of enslaved captives as well as luxury goods including silverware, furniture, and textiles.[5] Now a married homeowner with legitimate children as his heirs and enslaved domestic servants attending to his family, Dávila engaged in loan arrangements with the city's white elite including the regional magistrate and its sole convent.[6] His propertied wealth, economic activity, and familial status allowed Dávila to move beyond the mere recognition of his legal manumitted freed status and claim the position of *vecino*.

Confraternities proved critical to how Juan Dávila and other freed men demonstrated their leadership responsibilities and secured *vecino* status. Confraternities lent or gifted funds to pay for members' legal manumission or dowries and therefore facilitated the freedom as well as family stability of *cofrades*, or the brothers and sisters of the brotherhood.[7] With these acts of patronage, protection, and reciprocity confraternity leaders, in effect, acted as community creditors. The confraternity leadership—founding members, the elected *cabildo,* stewards, treasurers as well as kings and queens—represented members as a unified, corporate community to the city's municipal council and other colonial authorities (von Germeten, "Afterword: Indigenous" 360*).*[8] In the first section, I explore how Juan Dávila employed his confraternity leadership to prove his *vecindad* status. Bound by their own written constitutions, confraternities exhibited their literacy, their abilities to adhere to recorded laws, and therefore be governed in the colonial Iberian lettered city.[9] Confraternities presented as corporate groups through their participation in regular Catholic and municipal that, as explained by Karen

[3] ARRL. Protocolos. López Bigne. Leg. 168, #73, "Libertad," (1664), 124.
[4] ARRL. Protocolos. Cortijo Quero. Leg. 100, #123, "Testamento de Juan Dávila," (1700), 270. For Juan Dávila's trading enterprise, see O'Toole, "Securing Subjecthood," 160-161.
[5] ARRL. Protocolos. Rentero. Leg. 207, #93, "Testamento de Juan de Avila, criollo moreno libre," (1678), 175. For evidence of Juan Dávila as an enslaver see ARRL. Protocolos. Ortiz de Peralta. Leg. 192, #143, "Venta," (1668), 666v; ARRL. Protocolos. Ortiz de Peralta. Leg. 196, #89, "Venta de negra," (1672), 115v; ARRL. Protocolos. Álvarez. Leg. 90, #136, "Venta de esclavo," (1675), 285v; ARRL. Protocolos. Rentero. Leg. 207, #21, "Venta de esclavo," (1677), 30v. For evidence of Juan Dávila as a trader see ARRL. Co. Ords. Leg. 201. Exp. 1393. Autos executivos seguidos por Juan Criollo (1674), 3.
[6] Juan Dávila's credit and loan network included the Spanish bishop of Cordoba. ARRL. Protocolos. Salinas. Leg. 233, #450, "Testamento de alferez Juan de Perea y Rueda," (1674), 713.
[7] For evidence of how African and African-descent confraternities assisted enslaved people in purchasing their freedom or providing dowries, see Blumenthal 233; Mulvey, "Slave Confraternities" 50; Rowe 57, 87.
[8] For evidence of African and African-descent confraternity leadership, see Blumenthal 231; Graubart, *Republics of Difference* 187; Jaque Hidalgo and Valerio 12; Lohse 340; Masferrer León 73; Mena García 154; Rowe 87.
[9] For evidence of African and African-descent confraternity's constitutions, see Jaque Hidalgo and Valerio 12; Lévano Medina 267; Rowe, 58.

Graubart and Erin Rowe, allowed Africans and their descendants to assert inclusion and integration into Iberian cities (Blumenthal 231; Graubart, *Republics of Difference* 187, 189; Rowe, *Black Saints* 59, 87; von Germeten, *Black Blood* 20). Funeral corteges, on the other hand, were scheduled by confraternity leaders, and allowed the corporate body to occupy public and civic spaces such as streets, plazas, and churches as municipal citizens according to their own timetables. As discussed in the second section, thus, African-descent confraternities and their leaders employed their authority to move into municipal spaces and provided a means for free people to present, display, and secure their municipal subjecthood, or *vecindad*.

Within and through confraternities and their activities, freed people engaged in Afrofuturistic plans towards the futures of their families. In the last section, I consider how, in constructing his confraternity's altar, Juan Dávila created a family tomb for himself and his descendants. Dávila, like many freed people, was denied any claim to an official honorable reputation due to his and his family's inability to trace their origins to an Old Christian lineage (Martínez 167, 169. The sepulcher, on one hand, produced the alternative Afrofuturistic history of the past in which the Dávilas became enshrined in one of the foundational churches like any city founder (Keeling 63). Confraternal monuments, in effect, engaged in the Afrofuturistic practice of transformation (Jennings and Fluker 70). In one sense, confraternities, as explained by Miguel Valerio "articulated their corporate identity and devotion" through the purchase or construction of meeting houses, chapels, or churches that likewise would have been encouraged and built by neighboring Indigenous and Spanish confraternities (Valerio, "Architects of the own Humanity" 241).[10] Altarpieces, after all, were allowed, and even encouraged by church authorities. For freed people, thought, these ecclesiastical monuments established what Miguel Valerio defines as "sovereign spaces" created by mutual aid, Black political leadership, and discourses of self-fashioning, that, I would suggest communicated a parity with Spanish and Indigenous municipal subjects (Valerio, *Sovereign Joy* 11, 54). Furthermore, the altarpiece-tomb constructed in Trujillo's Dominican church projected a time when the Dávila family would be honored, respected, and memorialized, thus deliberately imagining a future that would be, as explained by Tina Campt, imperative, strategic, and engaged with the "must be" (Campt 17; Howard 128). Confraternities, therefore, provided a means for free people of color to leverage their municipal citizenship into their vision of political, social, financial, and cultural futures for themselves, their families, and their communities.

Confraternity Leadership

African and African-descent men employed their confraternity leadership positions to generate and defend their freed status and reputations.[11] Confraternity leaders including elected *mayordomos* or stewards, secretaries, treasurers, and scribes who organized the main activities of brotherhoods including the celebration of devotional saint (Jaque Hidalgo and Valerio 12) With a responsible *mayordomo*, a confraternity maintained their niche, altar, chapel, or church where their members would be guaranteed burial. Conscientious treasurers wisely invested dues and donations into real estate or loans that, in turn, provided rents, interest, and income for the confraternity (Lohse 346; Russell-Wood 583). The positions were coveted among Africans and their descendants who were not afforded many public titles. In effect, confraternity leaders were property-holders,

[10] For evidence of African and African-descent confraternities purchasing or building their own chapels and churches, see Blumenthal 231; Jaque Hidalgo and Valerio 14; Mulvey, "Black Brothers," 254.
[11] There is exciting and exceptional scholarship regarding women leaders of confraternities including Hayes and Walker, "The Queen of *los Congos*".

entrepreneurs, and artisans who constituted a leadership class of African-descent communities or family dynasties who inherited leadership positions, and were known to discipline members as well as issue political directives (Kiddy 128; Lohse 347; Sweda 108, 109; von Germeten, "Afterword: Indigenous," 360, 363; von Germeten, *Black Blood,* 139, 144, 145). Confraternity leaders were recognized for their authority and prestige, buried closer to their church's or chapel's altar or the brotherhood's saintly image, and dressed in full regalia during public processions (Lohse 340; Maia Borges 314). From their leadership positions within confraternities, *mayordomos*, in turn, secured, displayed, and generated their freed reputations within and beyond the brotherhood's boundaries.

Aware of the benefits of confraternity leadership, Juan Dávila invested in the Trujillo brotherhood that best reflected his position as a freed man. Unlike Spanish, creole, and reputationally white men, he could not join the city council, take vows in a monastery, or become licensed as a legal or medical professional (Mirow 26). Likewise, in contrast to Indigenous elites of the Peruvian northern coast, Dávila could not join an artisanal guild, a muleteer organization, or be elected to Indigenous *reducción* or assume parish leadership (Poloni-Simard 226). Instead, Dávila served the city's *pardo* militia and claimed what Krystle Farman Sweda has described as the "institutionalized space" of the confraternity where elected officers "exercised a formal, officially recognized form of spiritual authority" over their predominately Black membership of neighbors, kin, and friends (Borucki 85; Sweda 285). Three years following his legal manumission, the freed shopkeeper proudly named himself in his testament as the *mayordomo* or the steward of Trujillo's *moreno* confraternity, Nuestra Señora del Rosario, a vibrant congregation of free shopkeepers, *chicheras* (makers of Indigenous corn beer), artisans, and homeowners.[12] As the steward or *mayordomo* of Nuestra Señora del Rosario confraternity, Dávila organized elections, ensured adherence to the constitution, held meetings to address internal affairs, and even disciplined members (Maia Borges 304; Sweda 94, 108; von Germeten, "Afterword: Indigenous" 360). Through their confraternity leadership, freed men such as Dávila promoted their own public reputation while developing publicly recognized institutions for their communities.

For a freed entrepreneur (Williams 90) such as Juan Dávila, confraternities provided a critical means to deepen business relationships. To bolster his connections with Indigenous traders and their networks, Dávila publicly supported Indigenous institutions especially those dedicated to the city's migrant communities specializing in regional commerce. Within years of his legal manumission, in his 1678 testament, Dávila named himself as a member of the Santo Christo brotherhood located in Huamán, an Indigenous town on the city outskirts.[13] A municipality of muleteers, Dávila may have joined the Huamán confraternity to further his associations with the Indigenous, mestizo, and African-descent residents who transported the goods that stocked his new *pulperia* or store (O'Toole "Mobilizing Muleteer" 110). Likewise, he declared his membership in the Santo Christo confraternity located in the Indigenous hospital (and parish) of San Sebastían, another neighborhood of migrant Indigenous laborers who worked the mule trains as well as the ports and ships of the Pacific maritime trade routes that delivered the textiles and other luxury goods that Dávila would also purchase.[14] Dávila had much to offer. Though he was alphabetically illiterate, as a storekeeper Dávila had developed considerable

[12] ARRL. Protocolos. Alvarez. Leg. 91, #131 (1652), 231, 231v; ARRL. Protocolos. Rosales Hoyos. Leg. 211, #131, "Testamento de Agustín Fernandez," (1655), 231v; ARRL. Protocolos. Álvarez. Leg. 84, #192 "Testamento de Juana Pardo," (1677), 329; ARRL. Protocolos. San Roman. Leg. 212, #4 (1696), 6, 7v, 8v.
[13] ARRL. Protocolos. Rentero. Leg. 207, #93, "Testamento de Juan de Avila," (1678), 174v.
[14] Ibid. For more on the parish and hospital of San Sebastian, see ARRL. Protocolos. Suarez del Corral. Leg. 242, #20, "Testamento de Ysabel de Felisses," (1660), 137v; ARRL. Ca. Ords. Leg. 21. Exp. 466. "Expediente seguido por don Matheo Villalobos" (1663), 2v.

financial literacy as well as fluency in notarial and account records.[15] As a confraternity member, the emerging merchant would have had an opportunity to demonstrate his impeccable financial reputation by regularly paying his dues and prove his reliability as a *cofrade* by always attending burial events. The confraternity, therefore, served as a way for Dávila and other freed men to broadcast their public reputations to Indigenous urban partners.

Juan Dávila sought to communicate his willingness to work with Indigenous municipal *vecinos.* He was not a donating or paternalistic patron of Indigenous confraternities like Trujillo's European-descended inhabitants including a minor cleric, the Inquisition's local representative, and a Spanish widow who displayed their devotion to Huamán's Santo Christo with gifts including an enslaved boy and funds to regild the brotherhood's altar.[16] Trujillo's racial elite including the municipal council, a former bishop, and a Portuguese *hacendado* displayed their largesse but also marked their social distance with donations to the city's Indigenous hospital, including gifts of enslaved laborers (Centurion Vallejo 5).[17] Instead, Juan Dávila, as a dues-paying member of the Indigenous confraternities, devoted to these saintly images, put himself under authority of the Indigenous leadership. As a brother of Huamán's Santo Christo, Dávila would have participated in "a host of communal activities" with the mobile and prosperous Indigenous muleteers, artisans, and wholesalers (Sweda 105). If a gift allowed a donor to exercise power over the recipient (Mauss 30), membership meant identification as Dávila would have solemnly display the insignia or carried the standard of the San Sebastián hospital confraternity as he marched alongside his Indigenous brothers and sisters in funeral processions through Trujillo's streets (Bazarte Martínez 74, 83; Rosas Navarro 94, 99). As a *cofrade,* Dávila reverently watched over deceased bodies in the Santo Christo confraternity chapel before their burial thus equating himself with fellow members who included other free people of African descent.[18] In the processions and burial rituals, everyday accounting, and regular meetings of both confraternities, Dávila had ample opportunities to prove his dependability, honesty, and other qualities that publicized his reputation among the city's local and migrant Indigenous communities.

Juan Dávila consciously created ties of solidarity with, including bestowing patronage on, Africans in Trujillo. The increasingly wealthy storekeeper was an active member of the Archangel San Miguel brotherhood. Founded by the Jesuits in the early 1660s with the purpose to missionizing enslaved criollo men and women, Dávila joined perhaps to expand his public notoriety as a generous supporter.[19] Dávila's affiliation would have been well-known. The Jesuit church was located on Trujillo's main plaza mayor, housed a school for boys, and provided an excellent venue for middling city figures to display their status with gifts and charity such as a city

[15] Dávila engaged in pawning, barter, and multiple forms of sales supported by his stored receipts, coins, and other currency he recorded as held in the collection drawer of his *pulpería*. In his testaments, the storekeeper listed his executors who owed debts to him, noted that Indigenous muleteers recorded their *obligaciones* in notarial *legajos*, and commented that city officials noted larger debts in their private account books.

[16] ARRL. Protocolos. Espino de Alvarado. Leg. 149, #24, "Testamento de Juan Galindo," (1684), 40; ARRL. Protocolos. Cortijo Quero. Leg. 109, #148, "Testamento de doctor don Agustín Fernandez Velasquez," (1699), 237v; ARRL. Protocolos. Cortijo Quero. Leg. 117, #250, "Testamento de doña Beatris María Gonzales de Nadales," (1707), 458.

[17] A notary and current bishop provided funds to purchase beds, mattresses, and bedding in service of the sick and the poor. ARRL. Protocolos. Álvarez. Leg. 80, #192, "Donación," (1675), 386; ARRL. Protocolos. Cortijo Quero. Leg. 100, #23, "Testamento de Pedro Francisco," (1680), 43-43v; ARRL. Protocolos. Espino Alvarado. Leg. 148, #332, "Testamento de Lic. Don Joseph Ladron de Segama," (1682), 523; ARRL. Protocolos. Cortijo Quero. Leg. 104, #328, "Testamento de dor don Francisco de Borja," (1687), 563v.

[18] ARRL. Protocolos. Cortijo Quero. Leg. 98, #9, "Testamento de Francisco Hernandez Guijon," (1677), 370; ARRL. Protocolos. Cortijo Quero. Leg. 99, #24, "Fé de muerte," (1678), 39, 40, 45.

[19] ARSI. Peruano Litterae Annuae. Vol. 16. "Letras Annuas de la Provincia de el Peru de los años de 1664, 1665, 1666," 129v.

notary who purchased a Panamanian cedar altarpiece of the confraternity's saint San Miguel.[20] With his membership, Dávila would have made regular contributions and served as a model of Catholic devotion as well as project his status as a responsible patriarch, but also would have deepened his commitment to enslaved Africans and their descendants. Afterall, as Dávila aged, he became more public, and demonstrative, about his African origins. By the time of his death, in 1700, Dávila's wealth had earned him such an impeccable reputation in the city that, unlike his previous testaments, he proudly declared his legitimate birth from his deceased parents; Andrés de la Cruz (perhaps a freed *pulpero*) and María Terranova, whose surname suggested her origins in what is today southeastern Nigeria.[21] His written recognition of descent from possibly a mother who spoke Ijaw, Igbo, Ibibio, or Efik (Sierra Silva 45) mother suggests that Juan Dávila was proud of his descent and sought to build a record of his African family lineage.

Juan Dávila also developed into a leader of Trujillo's freed urban traders. Like many other propertied, upwardly mobile African-descent confraternity leaders, Dávila consciously invested in patron-client networks by lending small amounts of money to enslaved women and men (von Germeten, *Black Blood* 139).[22] He also aided his peers by loaning funds to other Trujillo *vecinos*, financing fellow *pulperos,* and helping artisans purchase enslaved laborers.[23] As he transitioned from a reliable storekeeper to a wealthy merchant, Dávila acquired public legitimacy from his ability to engage in financial transactions, including his skills to return the correct sum of a debt or hold on to a pawned object (Williams 146). Along with his developing social legitimacy and accumulating of material wealth, Dávila was repeatedly elected as the *mayordomo* of Nuestra Señora del Rosario. Thus, he was continually chosen by his peers including the master carpenter Agustín Fernández who described himself as "of *pardo* color," a native of Lima, married, and a father of two daughters as well as Ana Juana Pardo, a *chichera, beata* (lay spiritual woman), and homeowner who described herself as a free *parda mulata* and native of Cochabamba.[24] The confraternity certainly welcomed Indigenous, Spanish, and *mestizo* artisans, venders, and muleteers, indicating how its members sought networks with others engaged in the dynamic trading economy of the coastal city (Lohse 346).[25] Still, a freed man led the confraternity known for its *moreno* membership of free people of color (Anómino 95) and advanced his public reputation.

Juan Dávila was not alone among the freed men of Trujillo who through confraternity leadership performed freed status and developed a public reputation of financial literacy. In 1637, Trujillo's San Nicolás de Tolentino confraternity (founded in the Augustinian monastery) was led by the *mayordomo* Pedro Bran and the *procurador*, or the legal solicitor, Antón Folupo.[26] These two men, like many confraternity leaders, collected alms, rents, debts, and dues of their organization as well as inventoried the brotherhood's property and kept the account books (Bazarte Martínez 61; Kiddy 80, 81; von Germeten, *Black Blood* 53, 109). As leaders of the confraternity, the Senegambian men sold a piece of *solar* (city lot) in the city *traza* (outside the city walls)

[20] ADL. Protocolos. Cortijo Quero. Leg. 112, #38, "Declaración de cuentos," (1702), 99.
[21] ARRL. Protocolos. Cortijo Quero. Leg. 110, "Testamento de Juan Davila," (1700), 268.
[22] ARRL. Protocolos. Pacheco de Guevara. Leg. 197, #165, "Testamento de Juan de Avila" (1667), 220.
[23] ARRL. Protocolos. Cortijo Quero. Leg. 101, #188, "Testamento de Juan del Castillo," (1682), 338; ARRL. Protocolos. Cortijo Quero. Leg. 102, #478, "Carta de obligación," (1686), 816v.
[24] ARRL. Protocolos. Rosales Hoyos. Leg. 211, #131, "Testamento de Agustín Fernández" (1655), 231, 233; ARRL. Protocolos. Álvarez. Leg. 84, #192, "Testamento de Juana Pardo" (1677), 329.
[25] Juan Barta was a member of the Nuestra Señora del Rosario confraternity and identified himself as a *ladino* Indian native of the highland town of Simbal whose first marriage was to a Saña (located in the northern coastal valleys) *mestiza.* Barta's debts and goods suggest that he was a coastal muleteer. ARRL. Protocolos. Viera Gutierrez. Leg. 253, #257, "Testamento de Juan Barta," (1645), 371v.
[26] ARRL. Protocolos. Paz. Leg. 202, #84, "Venta de solar," (1637), 117v.

belonging to the brotherhood for twenty-six *pesos,* thereby generating revenue for their organization. Additionally, the confraternity leaders also astutely assisted the buyer—a free *pulpero* and militiaman—to develop his family's generational wealth. The purchaser, Alonso de Madrid identified as "of *pardo* color," a Trujillo *vecino*, and a native of Madrid (Spain), and would increase his freed reputation gradually throughout the seventeenth century by marrying, establishing a family house, ascending the militia hierarchy, and purchasing his own *pulperia*.[27] Pedro Bran and Antón Folupo demonstrated their expert managerial skills as well as earnest attention to the financial wellbeing of their confraternity while advancing the economic position of an African-descent man.

Pedro Bran and Antón Folupo also secured their own status. The surnames of the two men point to their origins in Senegambia where they were likely captured and sold into the transatlantic and Pacific slave trades. Pedro Bran and Antón Folupo, however, were not recorded in the notarial sale as freed leading me to suspect that the two confraternity leaders were legally enslaved.[28] Yet, by declaring themselves only according to their confraternity titles the two Senegambian men created a written record that erased a description of enslavement while associating themselves with activities practiced by enslaved people but associated with those who were freed. For instance, in the buying and selling of property, the confraternity leaders engaged in an action allowed to enslaved people, but one not often publicly practiced by those legally categorized as property. Furthermore, Pedro Bran and Antón Folupo clearly identified their abilities as legal managers of their confraternity who could litigate "to defend their organization's rights" (Sweda 108). Certainly, enslaved people participated in Trujillo's secular and ecclesiastical courts as the accused and witnesses as well as litigants, but to appear as legal representatives of a corporate organization was more unusual. The two Senegamabia men demonstrated their devoted leadership while advancing their reputations as financially responsible and legally astute men in the process of proving their freed status.

From their service, confraternity leaders generated respect and reputation that was critical to their freed status. In 1696, Juan de Dios refused orders by a Trujillo *vecino* and Santa Catalina *hacendado* to clean an estate's irrigation canals unless he was paid, a critical indicator of his free position.[29] While accused of threatening a Spanish-descent *vecino* and *hacendado* with insults and a knife as well as sexual assaulting Indigenous women, Juan de Dios rejected customary labor demands usually made of Indigenous forced laborers and enslaved people. As a result, Trujillo's magistrate arrested de Dios, charged the freed farmer with attempted murder, and confiscated the corn from his irrigated fields along with valuable baize textiles and silk ribbons as well as the collection he was holding for the Archangel of San Miguel confraternity.[30] Seeking to undermine the free man's reputation and force de Dios into working as a common peon, witnesses for the prosecution declared that the married farmer had a "bad nature" and a "bad character" in addition to being "badly raised."[31] Yet, de Dios urged his legal representative to fight the charges including accusing the prosecution's witnesses of being intoxicated Indians and clients of his accuser.[32] As a reliable estate manager, married to an Indigenous woman, María

[27] ARRL. Protocolos. Espino de Alvarado. Leg. 148, #137, "Testamento de Alonso de Madrid," (1681), 232, 232v.
[28] Confraternity leaders generally were required to be free in Brazil. See Kiddy 157.
[29] ARRL. Co. Cr. Leg. 249. Exp. 2682, "Expediente seguido por el Theniente don Joseph Gonzáles de Bohorquez…contra un sambo libre nombrado Juan de Dios," (1696), 6.
[30] Ibid, 8v, 40v.
[31] Ibid, 1.
[32] Ibid, 20-20v.

Bernarda, with an established home (albeit made of cane on a rented plot), de Dios described himself as the *mayordomo* of San Miguel Archangel confraternity whose charitable donations he guarded. His use of institutional and public reputation worked. A year later, de Dios leveraged his connections with other landholders to secure his release from the city jail.[33] As a leader of the brotherhood, de Dios would not be intimated by the powerful regional landholder.

African and African-descent men employed confraternity leadership to secure and to expand free reputations. Entrusted with handling brotherhoods' financial affairs, freed confraternity leaders generated reputations as responsible property-holders and astute managers. Further, confraternity leaders were successful artisans, entrepreneurs, and upwardly mobile families of color who expertly represented members before Trujillo's ecclesiastic authorities, the city council, and the magistrate, and in effect served as the voice of the city's African-descent community.[34] In turn, the orthodoxy, policing, and morality of the confraternity provided a platform for freed men to prove their patriarchal positions as an honorable fathers, wealthy *vecinos,* and reputable creditors (Sweda 97, 109). Confraternity leadership, therefore, provided a means for the reputationally free, as well as freed and free men to generate public knowledge of their status.

Burial Processions

Along with generating freed reputations, confraternity members employed burial processions to engender public knowledge of their *vecindad,* or municipal subjecthood. The most critical function of colonial confraternities was the arrangement, assurance, and funding of funerals and burials (Jaque Hidalgo and Valerio 9; Mena García 158). For enslaved people, the service was essential, and often allowed the means to revive, recreate, and reestablish kinship and communities in diaspora (Jaque Hidalgo and Valerio 22). Free people, in turn, employed the publicity of funeral processions to claim public and sacred space. By holding public mourning events in neighborhoods, processing to churches, and directing funeral services, free people of confraternities took up municipal space in an orderly manner, but under their own direction and according to their own timetable.

Confraternity members transformed a dead body into a deceased subject. A potent transitional period, the family and community transferred the deceased into another realm while saying their last goodbyes during the household bereavement. Confraternity leaders and members arrived almost immediately and accompanied kin and neighbors during their in-house vigil or *luto* that could include drinking, eating, and the recitation of special prayers (Rosas Navarro 84-85). Primarily women, including specialists from the confraternity, stripped and washed the body (Warren 116). The brotherhood also provided essential equipment—the shroud—that wrapped the deceased in what could be read as a humble garment for its public procession to the church and the tomb. The unique garment was guarded, reused, and provided to members by the confraternity, thus changing the deceased into the recognizable Christian dead. Regardless of the enslaved, migrant, or questionable status of the deceased, by preparing their members for burial, confraternities created a Catholic municipal subject who moved from the home into the public realm.

[33] ARRL. Protocolos. Cortijo Quero. Leg. 107, #87, "Fianza de carcel," (1697), 140.
[34] For the political authority of confraternity leaders see Blumenthal 231 and Graubart, *Republics of Difference* 213. In the early 1700s, the leadership of Nossa Senhora do Rosário de São Salvador petitioned the Portuguese king in the name of their members. See Marquez 101.

Confraternity leaders then led *cofrades*, family, and community members into the city streets carrying the shrouded deceased. Black brotherhoods had long faced opposition to their use of public spaces. Iberian, Mexican, and Peruvian colonial officials objected to the autonomy of confraternities suspecting that members engaged in "non-spiritual practices," and sought to control brotherhoods' "freedom of movement" (Graubart, "'Of Greater Dignity'" 142; Masferrer León 64; Valerio, "'That there be no,'" 301). During annual devotions of patron saints and civic festivities, ecclesiastical and municipal authorities consigned African-descent confraternities to the end of processions and forbid Black dances or music (Borges 312; Estenssoro Fuchs 42). Nonetheless, along with other brotherhoods and guilds, Afro-Peruvian confraternities processed in city streets and plazas during Catholic holidays (Blumenthal 231; Jaque Hidalgo and Valerio 9). Confraternity leaders organized funeral processions according to their own sense of order, aesthetics, and outcome. Dressed in capes or hoods, brotherhoods conveyed the deceased on a coffin accessorized with a pillow and cloth covering or in Trujillo, members of Nuestra Señora del Rosario elevated the body wrapped in black baize shroud maintained by the confraternity's leading women.[35] Confraternity leaders chose the time and the routes of funeral processions, thus directing the cortege towards desired audiences and coveted spaces. Elected *mayordomos* also directed burial processions, carried the confraternity's insignias and luxuriously adorned their saints in fashions and styles prohibited to their own membership (Gómez 127). As Ximena Gómez explains, confraternities intentionally curated their religious objects, including Trujillo's Nuestra Señora del Rosario that employed "a black banner without a cross" mostly likely during its funerals.[36] Using orthodox Catholic practices and community sartorial choices, African and African-descent confraternities emphasized publicly that a confraternal member but also a member of the municipal community had passed.[37] Through their funeral procession, Afro-Peruvian confraternities affirmed their collective spiritual authority by transforming the deceased into pious Catholic subjects in and through the public municipal space.

In impressive nighttime displays that communicated the confraternity's adherence to Catholic doctrine but also claim to municipal space, members processed the deceased through streets and plazas. As a 1662 Afro-Panamanian constitution clearly dictated, the confraternity had the "obligation to bury their brothers" in a dignified manner that was paid for and coordinated by its members.[38] The solemn nature of well-organized funeral processions countered elite and official assumptions "that Blacks could not manage their own affairs" as funerary corteges projected an impressive sight in the seventeenth century (Graubart, "'Of Greater Dignity'" 144). Funerary processions could take over parts or the whole of a city, with the sounds of members singing or chanting along with the sight of well-dressed *cofrades* (Maia Borges 314). To light the funeral procession in an early modern city lacking streetlights, confraternities provided members with candles as well as torches and directed the cortege to stop at religious locations such as churches, hermitages, and neighborhood shrines (Reginaldo 341). Thus, the funeral procession marked the city with its own version of what constituted the sacred and proved that the brotherhood had the ability to organize and finance its own religious event. As a result, in

[35] ARRL. Protocolos. Rentero. Leg. 207, #93, "Testamento de Juan de Avila," (1678), 177v; Hosselkus, "Terminal Harmony," 181; Maia Borges, "Black Brotherhoods," 313. ARRL. Protocolos. Rentero. Leg. 207, #93, "Testamento de Juan de Avila," (1678), 177v. In his 1678 will, Juan Dávila expounded how his wife—Juana Graciana de Ibañes Uceda—kept the confraternity's burial shroud.
[36] In contrast, the "banner of pink wool trimmed with tips of silver" and a silver cross also listed was surely designated for saint festivities. ARRL. Protocolos. Rentero. Leg. 207, #93, "Testamento de Juan de Avila," (1678), 177v; Gómez, "Confraternal 'Collections,'" 120.
[37] I am using sartorial as does Tamara J. Walker. See Walker, *Exquisite Slaves,* 44.
[38] AGI. Panama. Leg. 239. Libro 18, "Real Cédula a Fernando de la Riva Agüero," (1662), 223; Jaque Hidalgo and Valerio 23.

an early modern world where visual effects, fashion, and performance communicated hierarchy, prestige, and wealth, funerary corteges broadcasted the confraternity's financial acumen and inscribed confraternal brothers and sisters into a resistant municipal geography (Camp 7; McKittrick 43). Leaders and members of African and African-descent confraternities employed funeral processions to communicate how brotherhoods and the deceased occupied the city and thus claimed their *vecindad.*

Once the procession reached the dark church, the skills of confraternity women were critical. Black confraternity leaders, most often described as men in colonial records, oversaw and guarded locked cupboards, closets, and annexes within the church where saint apparel and transportation devices as well as banners, frontals, and funerary equipment were stored. At the same time, we can envision that confraternity women leaders processed in funeral corteges and attended burials dressed richly in black ritual garb that, in some cases, suggested royalty and may have been called by members with honorific titles as *mayordomas, mayorales, priostas*, *capitana, ayudanta*, or *Mama* (Lévano Medina 265; Valerio, "The Queen Sheba's" 82, 83; von Germeten, *Black Blood* 50; Walker, "The Queen of *los Congos*," 313, 314). These free women leaders and members of confraternities specialized in the maintenance of images and managed the inventory of the organization's sacred spaces. In addition to decorating the altar, chapel, or church for holy days and maintaining the procession banners, confraternity women were active in local and regional markets, and therefore responsible for the "buying, selling, and organizing the decorative aspects of confraternal life" (von Germeten, *Black Blood* 50, 64). Throughout the Americas, confraternity women were valued for their financial acumen and generous donations like Juana Graciana de Ybañes whose husband, Juan Dávila, declared that she would hand over the confraternity's "collection of October alms" suggesting her position as the organization's treasurer (Lévano Medina 265; von Germeten, *Black Blood* 61).[39] With these funds, confraternity women leaders procured wax and fat that was required constantly to make candles for processions, funerals, and burials such as freed *parda vecina* María de Herrera who explained in her will that she was the guardian of her confraternity's copper cauldron used to melt wax.[40] With the financial astuteness of confraternity women, members were able to watch over the deceased as candles flickered and then place the departed in a designated tomb.

By orchestrating the domestic mourning, the public funeral procession, and the church burial, confraternities inserted members, alive and deceased, into the municipal space of the colonial city. By occupying the city streets and the Catholic churches, African and African-descent confraternities insisted on their Catholic expertise. Afterall, confraternity leaders arranged for clerics to provide last sacraments, attend burials with the Cathedral's high or low cross, and to say mass for members (Bazarte Martínez 74; Lévano Medina 262) [41] At the same time, confraternity leaders and members employed their authority as the religious organization that ensured Christian burials for their deceased members. Through these mandatory Catholic rituals, confraternities inserted their members, including the deceased, into municipal membership. Shrouded and dignified, the deceased, ushered by their stately *cofrades*, sought a good Catholic death like any other member of the *vecindad,* yet according to their own practices.

[39] ARRL. Protocolos. Rentero. Leg. 207, #93, "Testamento de Juan de Avila," (1678), 177v; ARRL. Protocolos. Cortijo Quero. Leg. 114, #114, "Testamento de Juana Grasiana de Ybanes," (1704), 223v-229.
[40] ARRL. Protocolos. San Roman. Leg. 222, #167, "Testamento en virtud de poder de Maria de Herrera," (1716), 333
[41] ARRL. Protocolos. Pacheco de Guevara. Leg. 197, #165, "Testamento de Juan de Avila," (1667), 219; ARRL. Protocolos. Rentero. Leg. 207, #93, "Testamento de Juan de Avila," (1678), 174.

Tombs and Altars

Members of Black confraternities sought to transform annual processions and burial rituals into more permanent markers of their municipal status and family lineage. Black confraternities were responsible for maintaining chapels as well as altars dedicated to their patron saints and brotherhoods led, sponsored, and supported by propertied Black elite, built their own churches (Maia Borges 301; Mello e Souza 321; Mulvey, "Black Brothers" 255). As Miguel Valerio explains pointedly, confraternal sanctuaries then emerged "as a form of public speech" where members as designers, executors, and sponsors "articulated their corporate identity and devotion, displayed their socioeconomic status, and engaged with and challenged colonial norms and expectations" ("Architects of their Own" 241). Seventeenth-century African and African-descent leaders and members of Trujillo's confraternities therefore constructed and maintained altars as well as tombs to establish a record of their family lineage. Using burials to enter the architectural footprint, Black confraternal members expanded their positions as respected municipal subjects by and through making a lasting record of their families as stable *vecinos*, descended from Christian families, and born from married parents.

By the late 1680s, Juan Dávila, like many confraternity leaders, had established his reputation as a trustworthy storekeeper and merchant. As *mayordomo* of Nuestra Señora del Rosario in Trujillo's Dominican church, Dávila regularly collected dues, and then invest these funds by purchasing, improving, and renting property as well as making strategic loans (Valerio, "Architects of their own Humanity" 246). The resulting profits would, of course, finance the confraternity's religious activities, but also expand their collective reputation and municipal architectural presence as confraternities worked to purchase their own meeting houses, build their own chapels and even churches (Blumenthal 231; Kiddy 84; Lohse 352; Mello e Souza 323; Valerio, "Architects of their own Humanity" 248). The confraternity's goals were realized when the Dominicans granted Nuestra Señora del Rosario a significant location within their church—halfway towards the altar and bordering the Indigenous confraternity's chapel—suggesting a parity of Afro-Trujillanos with those of the Indian Republic.[42]

Married with legitimate children and a household staffed with enslaved servants, Dávila was at the pinnacle of his social and economic reputational power. Dávila's repeated election as *mayordomo* accompanied his increasing success as *pulpero* where he engaged in a well-known and trusted pawn trade even with the city's notaries.[43] Naming himself a Trujillo *vecino,* the freed merchant increasingly lent large sums of money to Spanish or Spanish-descent *vecinos* and *hacendados*.[44] He served as the legal representative of these municipal elites and by the 1680s accrued even larger debts (thousands of pesos) to expand his business in imported and local textiles, fabrics, and clothing signifying his impeccable reputation and singular ability to secure credit.[45] According to the notarial record, the Dominican friars nominated Dávila to construct a chapel with an altar to house the

[42] ARRL. Protocolos. Espino de Alvarado. Leg. 150, #121, "Escritura de donación," (1689), 173.
[43]ARRL. Protocolos. Cortijo Quero. Leg. 99, #187, "Carta de fiansa," (1679), 295v; ARRL. Protocolos. Cortijo Quero. Leg. 99, #245, "Testamento de Bernabe Rentero Servano," (1679), 404.
[44] ARRL. Protocolos. Rentero. Leg. 207, #230, "Obligación," (1678), 436; ARRL. Protocolos. Rentero. Leg. 207, #297, "Obligación," (1678), 540; ARRL. Protocolos. Rentero. Leg. 208, #161, "Obligación," (1679), 246v; ARRL. Protocolos. Cortijo Quero. Leg. 100, #72, "Carta de deudo," (1680), 133; ARRL. Protocolos. Espino de Alvarado. Leg. 149, #15, "Carta de deudo," (1685), 24.
[45] ARRL. Protocolos. Rentero. Leg. 207, #322, "Testamento de Andrés Péres de Vilaboa," (1678), 574v; ARRL. Protocolos. Espino de Alvarado. Leg. 149, #85, "Carta de poder," (1685), 122; ARRL. Protocolos. Cortijo Quero. Leg. 102, #131, "Carta de fiansa," (1685), 242; ARRL. Protocolos. Espino de Alvarado. Leg. 149, #170, "Carta de deudo," (1685), 262v; ARRL. Protocolos. Cortijo Quero. Leg. 102, #116, "Carta de deudo," (1686), 732.

brotherhood's saint.[46] Yet, it was probably the brotherhood who had put forward its most pious, wealthy, and honorable *vecino* to negotiate this offer.

The construction of the altarpiece would prove the confraternity's religious competency, a critical component of their municipal belonging. Certainly, Trujillo's Dominicans gained from the sponsorship of their church's ornamentation and even mandated that the confraternity's *mayordomo* build the new chapel according to the model set by the existing Santo Christo confraternity. Still, employing their extensive "artistic literacy" in Catholic iconography, the confraternity membership must have directed the imagery of their altar (Valerio, "Architects of their Own Humanity" 244, 253). Dávila hired a master joiner to make a cedar *retablo* and then a *mestizo* man of highland Cajabamba who, in turn, relied on the enslaved labor of Pedro Congo, himself a recognized skilled craftsman.[47] Dávila surely drew on his and the confraternity's knowledge of the city's skilled artisans including brotherhood members such as the master carpenter and *pulpero* Agustín Fernández who described himself of *pardo* color and a native *limeño*. A particularly religiously devoted craftsman, Fernández was familiar with the construction of altarpieces and imagery including Nuestra Señora del Rosario, and would have had many opinions, ideas, and comments regarding his confraternity's altarpiece (Gómez 123). With their altarpiece, Nuestra Señora del Rosario brotherhood and its leaders, including Dávila, must have articulated their own visión of Catholic piety.

Confraternity members also gained a foothold in the city through the burial within the designated altar. At a very basic level, the Dominican donation to the Nuestra Señora del Rosario brotherhood guaranteed in writing that members would be buried within the church with their confraternity members (Mello e Souza 321; Rosal 610). A clear designated burial location provided members a perpetual place to gather in memory of their deceased community members and display their municipal belonging (Mello e Souza 324; Valerio, *Sovereign Joy* 54; von Germeten, *Black Blood* 97). Members of the Nuestra Señora del Rosario protected this burial right in the notarized donation document where Dávila and the Dominicans agreed that confraternity members would be buried for free, while anyone else who would have to pay.[48] Wisely, the confraternity therefore guaranteed a stable income from these burial fees, but also the opportunity to construct a community monument with inscriptions, images, and other messaging under their own control (Jaque Hidalgo and Valerio 14). Additionally, the confraternity was creating an ancestral site that, as a diasporic people, they could point to as an origin location, a homeland, and a place where antecedents were clearly cared for, attended, and named (Kiddy 100). Denied subjecthood because of an assumed lack of birthright by Spanish colonial officials, African-descent confraternities such as Nuestra Señora del Rosario made an eternal religious and municipal location from their community's deceased, but also for their own futures.

For Juan Dávila, the altarpiece was intertwined with how he continually worked on ways to tell his own family story. In his 1667 will, the unmarried shopkeeper asked to be buried in his confraternity's chapel while he recognized María de la Cruz as his eight-month-old daughter. An emerging trader, Dávila was cognizant of how to achieve a public honorable masculine reputation in the future. Dávila chose to secure certain care provisions for his illegitimate daughter. He elevated the baby girl to a superior racial term of *mulatilla* and described her

[46] ARRL. Protocolos. Espino de Alvarado. Leg. 150, #121, "Escritura de donación," (1689), 173-173v. Unsurprisingly, the confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary was housed within the Dominican monastery. Kiddy, 32.
[47] ARRL. Protocolos. Cortijo Quero. Leg. 105, #120, "Carta de retablo," (1691), 201; ARRL. Protocolos. Cortijo Quero. Leg. 111, #76, "Testamento de don Joseph Mendoza," (1701), 161.
[48] ARRL. Protocolos. Espino de Alvarado. Leg. 150, #121, "Escritura de donación," (1689), 173v; (Kiddy 99).

with an endearing suffix. Unlike most patriarchs with property, he named her mother, Barbola, who he described with the favorable term free *morena* to ensure that his daughter was legally documented as free. Furthermore, by recording María de la Cruz as his *hija natural*, Dávila made sure that she would be cared for and inherit from his estate (Gonzalbo 74). In effect, Dávila countered the racial and sexual suspicion he faced as a Black adult man who colonial officials and city elites presumed was likely to father of a child outside of orthodox Catholic marriage (Broussard 134). Dávila would never mention María de la Cruz or Barbola again in subsequent wills especially as he improved his status with a Catholic marriage and legitimate children.

Juan Dávila understood that burials intertwined the past, the present, and the future. Eleven years after 1667, in his 1678 will, Dávila changed his burial location. He wished to be buried in the Trujillo monastery of La Merced.[49] With this request, Dávila projected his deceased body into the sacred space of other Trujillo *vecinos* and enslavers who shared his middling status and entrepreneurial ambitions including a rural illiterate *labrador* (a rural landholder), a master tailor with an established store, and a widow *beata*.[50] The burial request suggested how Dávila sought associations with urban business people who certainly were entangled with Trujillo's African-descent community such as a *mestizo* father who recognized and freed his African-descent son.[51] Yet, La Merced affiliates clearly distinguished themselves as superior to Africans and their descendants and included wealthy hacienda owners, descendants of Spanish colonizers as well as city officials who had already laid claim to the confraternity's chapels and tombs.[52] La Merced, therefore, was known as Spanish space in the municipal landscape. People of color were present but mostly as laborers, traders, and servants. At best, throughout the seventeenth century, free people rented the monastery's shops while Indigenous men served as the church's sacristans.[53] Undoubtedly, Juan Dávila was ahead of his time with his request for entry into the most sacred sites of La Merced. Yet, there was more to come. By the early eighteenth century, free *vecinos* and militiamen founded the confraternity of San Juan Bautista and built its chapel in La Merced church. As *mayordomos* collected rent from their urban properties, members requested burial in the confraternity's chapel to expand the claim of entitled African descendants to the sacred and civic space of La Merced.[54] Until then, Juan Dávila would find little place for himself in the monastery's church, but perhaps he had predicted a prosperous future for Afro-Trujillanos in the same location.

By 1689, Juan Dávila returned to the Dominican church to create his future legacy. Again, he changed his burial location. According to the notarized donation agreement with the Dominicans, the wealthy merchant was to pay for the entire cost of the altar, and in exchange was allowed to build the public and sacred marker according "to his schedule."[55] The contract detailed that Juan Dávila's objective was to establish the altar as a family sepulcher where he as well as "his wife, sons, and descendants can be buried." Certainly, it was common

[49] ARRL. Protocolos. Rentero. Leg. 207, #93, "Testamento de Juan de Avila," (1678), 174.
[50] ARRL. Co. Ords. Leg. 181. Exp. 963, "Expediente seguido por Ysabel Angola," (1633), 7, 7v; ARRL. Protocolos. Viera Gutierrez. Leg. 259, #72, "Testamento de María de Escobar," (1656), 117v, 119.
[51] ARRL. Protocolos. Viera Gutierrez. Leg. 258, #365, "Testamento de Diego de Cuebas," (1655), 552v.
[52] ARRL. Protocolos. García. Leg. 164, #2, "Testamento de doña María de Arebalo," (1658), 10, 13v; ARRL. Protocolos. Salinas Leg .235, #31, "Testamento del Maestro de Campo don Juan de Herrera Salazar," (1677), 225, 225v.
[53] ARRL. Co. Ords. Leg. 204. Exp. 1455, "Expediente seguido por fray Pedro Galindo," (1682), 1. For Indigenous sacristans, see ARRL Protocolos. Ortiz de Peralta. Leg. 192, #3, "Venta de casa," (1668), 3; ARRL. Protocolos. Alvarez. Leg. 89, #43, "Obligación," (1673), 119; ARRL. Protocolos. Cortijo Quero. Leg. 99, #27, "Donación de solar," (1678), 52v.
[54] ARRL. Protocolos. San Roman. Leg. 217, #298, "Carta de arrendamiento," (1709), 403; ARRL. Protocolos. Espino de Alvarado. Leg. 161, #511, "Poder para testar," (1707), 669v.
[55] ARRL. Protocolos. Espino de Alvarado. Leg. 150, #121, "Escritura de donación," (1689), 173v.

practice for family members to request internment next to each other including husbands asking to be buried next to wives and daughters requesting burial alongside parents.[56] Dávila requested that his family tomb be separated from those of the confraternity and the public. Distinct yet associated, the altar with the tombs would represent the Dávila family's piety and provide a lasting reminder – a monument – to the prestige of the merchant's kinship network (Kelley 89, 93).

Lastly, Juan Dávila sought additional insurance that his family would be united in the sepulcher. Accompanying the notarized donation were detailed "treaties" explaining that none of his family members would pay a burial fee when the altar was re-opened for their subsequent burials. In effect, the powerful Pacific merchant employed his leadership position within the confraternity to build himself and his family into the sacred space of Trujillo's Dominican church (Rowe 87). More, Dávila projected a new narrative of his family into the future that the confraternity, the Dominicans, and the inhabitants of Trujillo would be required to recognized. Buried together, in the heart of the colonial city, the Dávila family were well-known as freed people and would become memorialized reputational *vecinos* rooted in the cityscape. Hardly an enslaved outsider, Juan Dávila and his descendants were firmly constructed in wood and stone, inscribed in words and illuminated with images as pious municipal members.

Conclusions

Colonial city structures and municipal public events marked who belonged and who was an outsider. In the early modern era, processions with solemn penitents, officials mounted on spirited horses, and guild members dressed in velvet communicated not only imperial events and pivotal moments of the ecclesiastical calendar, but political and racial hierarchies (Donahue-Wallace 98). Some parishes were designated for migrants while the *traza* and the city walls were to separate "civilized" city inhabitants from "uncultured" rural people (Fraser 41). Pointedly, the city architecture advertised class structures: Municipal elites lived in upper residences, patronized designated churches, and associated on the promenades their own neighborhoods while fountains for laundresses to wash clothes, unsanitary slaughterhouses, and open market plazas outlined the places of labor. Yet, urban laborers including Indigenous migrants, the enslaved, non-Christian mariners, and free people of color were excluded from legal and customary claims to *vecindad,* or municipal subjecthood.

Free people employed public spaces, especially those offered by their Catholic burial practices, to claim their positions as municipal subjects. As a long-standing leader of Nuestra Señora del Rosario confraternity, the wealthy Pacific merchant Juan Dávila participated in funeral processions, burials, and negotiated the construction of a chapel, altar, and tomb in Trujillo's Dominican church. Freed people of color face dismissal from ecclesiastical, governmental, and artisanal leadership due to their inability to prove Christian, local, or European origin (Graubart, *Republics of Difference* 6, 16). Yet, by ensuring a church burial for its members, confraternities provided one means for *cofrades* to build memorials to their own deceased kin and thus build future honorable reputations. Dávila also constructed the future of his own lineage by designing a family tomb, in effect creating a memory of himself as founding father. His plans for creating a family tomb worked. Dávila's widow, Juana

[56] ARRL. Protocolos. García. Leg. 163, #33, "Codicilio de Gaspar Simon Muñoz," (1658), 79. Melchora de los Reyes, a free *morena* from Panama who traded in clothing as well as textiles and asked to be buried in the San Nicolás chapel next to her deceased parents, Juan Biafra and Lucia Conga. ARRL. Protocolos. Viera Gutierrez. Leg. 259, #116, "Testamento de Melchora de los Reyes," (1656), 182v.

Graciana de Ybañes, requested burial in the Dominican chapel "where my husband and I are assigned and indicated and where my husband is buried."[57] With a monumental sepulcher, the wealthy merchant built a physical legacy and an undisputable remembrance of his descendants within the Catholic church, a Spanish city, and as a legitimate family: all signifiers of municipal citizenship or *vecindad*.

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