



THE COLONIAL ANDES

Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

The Colonial Andes



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Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530–1830

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WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY

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The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Yale University Press, New Haven and London

This volume has been published in conjunction with the exhibition "The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530–1830," held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, September 29–December 12, 2004.

The exhibition is made possible by Univision Communications Inc., Univision 41, TeleFutura 68 and WCAA 105.9FM, WZAA 92.7FM, WADO 1280AM.



Additional support has been provided by The Reed Foundation.

The exhibition catalogue is made possible by the Chartwell Charitable Foundation as a tribute to Univision Communications Inc. for their sponsorship of the exhibition.

Published by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

John P. O'Neill, Editor in Chief

Dale Tucker, Editor

Bruce Campbell, Designer

Peter Antony and Douglas J. Malicki, Production

Jane S. Tai, Publication Project Coordinator

Robert Weisberg, Desktop Publishing

Jean Wagner, Bibliographer

Translations from the Spanish by Margaret Peden; Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt; and David Auerbach, Trudy Balch, and Eileen Brockbank for Eriksen Translations, Inc.

Maps by Anandaroop Roy

Typeset in Centaur

Printed on 130 gsm Lumisilk

Separations by Professional Graphics, Inc., Rockford, Illinois

Printed and bound by CS Graphics PTE Ltd., Singapore

Jacket/cover illustrations: front, detail of tapestry with scrolls and hunters (cat. no. 124), late 17th–early 18th century(?); back, front view of tabernacle (cat. no. 119), ca. 1780
Frontispiece: detail of *Portrait of a Niusta* (cat. no. 21), ca. 1730–50

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Phipps, Elena.

The colonial Andes : tapestries and silverwork, 1530–1830 / Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht, and Cristina Esteras Martín ; with contributions by Luisa Elena Alcalá ... [et al.].
p. cm.

"Published in conjunction with the exhibition 'The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530–1830,' held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, September 29–December 12, 2004"—Verso t.p.

Some contributions translated from Spanish.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 1-58839-131-0 (hardcover) — ISBN 1-58839-132-9 (pbk.) — ISBN 0-300-10491-X (Yale University Press)

1. Indian silverwork—Peru (Viceroyalty)—History—Exhibitions. 2. Indian textile fabrics—Peru (Viceroyalty)—History—Exhibitions. 3. Silverwork—Spain—History—Exhibitions. 4. Tapestry—Spain—History—Exhibitions. 5. Peru (Viceroyalty)—History—Exhibitions. 6. Peru (Viceroyalty)—Antiquities—Exhibitions. 7. Peru—History—Conquest, 1522–1548—Exhibitions. 8. Spain—Colonies—America—History—Exhibitions. I. Hecht, Johanna. II. Esteras Martín, Cristina. III. Alcalá, Luisa Elena. IV. Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, N.Y.) V. Title.

F3429.3.S54P524 2004

985'.02'0747471—dc22

2004016119

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Director's Foreword

As the Age of Exploration reached a crescendo in the sixteenth century, a remarkable exchange of cultures took place that truly transformed the world. In a process that we today might look upon as a foretaste of “globalization,” an intercontinental trade in goods, services, and ideas brought Europe and the New World together in a series of dramatic encounters. This exhibition examines the astounding material culture that grew out of the encounter between two of the era’s dominant powers: the Spanish and Inca empires. In particular, we see how two media that had been crucial to Andean civilizations prior to their contact with the Spanish—tapestry weaving and silverwork—continued to flourish in many fascinating and novel ways within the complex social milieu of colonial Peru. “The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530–1830” brings together key works in these two media, many for the first time, along with important related objects such as paintings and illustrated manuscripts, revealing how the arts of the viceregal period preserve an unspoken dialogue between the Andean and the European modes of expression.

When the Spanish arrived on the northern coast of what is now Peru in 1532, they encountered a vast empire with deeply rooted artistic traditions. Inca master weavers and metalsmiths, building on thousands of years of Andean artisanal mastery, had created a spectacular, consistent body of imperial art and architecture whose bold, mostly geometric motifs were primary expressions of Inca power and sovereignty. Within one generation that culture was forever transformed by the establishment of the Viceroyalty of Peru. To be sure, the realities of life in colonial society were an often onerous burden for native populations. After the discovery of vast deposits of silver in the mountains rising above the town of Potosí, in modern Bolivia, the Spanish adapted the Inca’s essentially voluntary system of cyclical labor tributes to their own notoriously inhumane system of forced labor to mine this mineral wealth. And yet in the midst of this tumult an intricately ordered, unique society emerged. Many Andean artists, highly trained under the Inca imperial system, were given new voices, new aesthetic criteria, and new design sources. The refined tapestry weaving that the

Inca had reserved for royal garments flourished anew under colonial patronage, as master weavers crafted all manner of textile goods to suit the tastes and demands of both Spanish and native elites. Silverwork, too, was transformed, as both native metalworkers and an influx of European immigrant silversmiths strove to keep pace with escalating demand. Of the many changes wrought by the establishment of the new colonial order, however, perhaps none had as profound or lasting an impact on the Andean landscape as the introduction of Christianity. The patronage of the Roman Catholic Church, one of the most powerful forces in viceregal society, is still evident not only in the majestic cathedrals of major cities such as Lima, Arequipa, and Cuzco, whose treasuries still abound with beautifully worked liturgical vessels and implements, but also in the convents and small churches that dot the Peruvian and Bolivian countryside.

The genesis of this remarkable exhibition and its accompanying catalogue was the successful merger of the complementary energies and enthusiasms of two curators at the Metropolitan Museum: Johanna Hecht, Associate Curator, European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, and Elena Phipps, Conservator, Department of Textile Conservation. We thank them both for their dedication and years of research and hard work. We would also like to express our gratitude to Dra. Cristina Esteras Martín, Profesor Titular at the Universidad Complutense, Madrid, and a pioneering scholar in the field of colonial silver, who served as consulting curator. The reexamination of the Viceroyalty of Peru is a timely concern in the burgeoning field of colonial art history, and this exhibition and catalogue benefited from the scholarship and expertise of a host of distinguished scholars, who are recognized individually in the acknowledgments and list of contributors that follow.

The international scope of the exhibition would not have been possible without the cooperation of numerous governments and ecclesiastical institutions and agencies in South America. Our sincere gratitude is extended to President Nestor Carlos Kirchner and Mrs. Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner, Argentina; President Carlos Mesa, Bolivia; President Ricardo

Lagos, Chile; President Alvaro Uribe, Colombia; and President Alejandro Toledo and Mrs. Eliane Karp de Toledo, Peru. For their critical assistance and for facilitating many aspects of the exhibition we would like to thank the Ministries of Culture and Ministries of Foreign Affairs in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, and Peru, and their embassies in Washington, D.C., as well as the United States embassies in all of these countries. In Peru, we are particularly grateful to Monseñor Juan Antonio Ugarte Pérez, Archbishop of Cuzco, for his extraordinary efforts on our behalf and for his crucial support, and to Ambassador Gilbert Chauny de Porturas-Hoyle, Undersecretary for Cultural Affairs, whose grace, tact, and enthusiastic embrace of this project has made the seemingly impossible a reality. Special thanks are owed to

Ambassador Juan Carlos Vignaud, Mission of Argentina to the United Nations, for his intervention at a critical juncture. We are also indebted to Juan Luís Cardinal Cipriani Thorne, Archbishop of Lima and Primate of Peru, and Luís Guillermo Lumbreras Salcedo, Director, Instituto Nacional de Cultura, who graciously supported this endeavor.

The Metropolitan Museum is profoundly grateful to Univision Communications Inc. for its vision and its generous support toward the realization of this exhibition. The Museum is also indebted to the Chartwell Charitable Foundation for its exceptional support of the exhibition catalogue. In addition, we would like to acknowledge The Reed Foundation for its contribution toward this project.

Philippe de Montebello

Director

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Acknowledgments

Our thanks must first go to the more than seventy institutional, church, and private lenders whose generosity has made “The Colonial Andes” the first exhibition of its kind, surveying the art of viceregal South America with unique depth and focus, to be mounted in this country. The lenders are listed on pages *xi-xiii*, and we list below the many individuals and institutions who provided us with information, support, and encouragement over more than ten years of research, planning, and organization. We are exceedingly grateful to them all, and we wish to thank especially the many governmental agencies in South America, the United States, and Europe who provided their support and cooperation and who facilitated the complex processes entailed in the temporary export of public and privately owned national patrimony.

In Argentina, in Buenos Aires, we thank Jorge Luís Cometti, Director, Museo de Arte Hispanoamericano Isaac Fernández Blanco; José Antonio Pérez Gollán, Director, Museo Etnográfico J. B. Ambrosetti, Universidad de Buenos Aires; Jorge Otamendi, President, and Jorge Echezarreta, Manager, Círculo de Armas; Andrés M. von Buch; Jaime Eguiguren Molina; Javier Eguiguren Molina; José Eguiguren Molina; Patricia Lissa; Elena de Olazabal de Hirsch; Héctor Schenone; Gustavo Sosa Pinillo. In Luján: Roberto Grin, Director, and Carlos Alberto Scannapieco, former Director, Museo Colonial e Histórico, Complejo Museográfico Enrique Udaondo. In Salta: Juan Carlos Romero, Governor; Eleonora Ferrer, Secretary of Culture; José Fernández, Minister of Education; and Roberto A. Ibareguren, Secretary of State, Ministry of Exterior Relations, International Trade, and Culture from the Province of Salta; Constanza Ceruti.

In Bolivia, in La Paz: María Isabel Alvarez Plata, Vice Minister of Culture, Gilbert R. Callaway and Fabiola Ibarregaray S., United States Embassy; Alberto K. Bailey G., Executive Secretary, Fundación Cultural del Banco Central de Bolivia; Elisabeth Torres, Director, and Freddy Taboada, Conservator, Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore; Pedro Susz K., Oficial Mayor de Culturas, Gastón Araoz, Director de Patrimonio, and Ligia Fátima Olivares R., Jefa de Unidad, Sistema de Museos Municipales, Gobierno Municipal de La Paz; Jaime Quispe, Director, Museo de la Casa de Murillo; Augusto Dreyer; José de Mesa; Teresa Gisbert de Mesa. In Sucre: Verónica Cereceda, Director, Museo Textil Etnográfico-Antropólogos del Sur Andino; Ana María Tamez, Museo Charcas; Blanca Torres. In Potosí: Edgar Valda M., Director, and Wilson Mendieta Pacheco, former Director, Museo de la Casa de Moneda. In Tarata: Eulalia Gonzalez and Felipe Galvez.

In Chile, in Santiago: Milan Ivelic, Director, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes de Chile; Pilar Allende, Conservator, Museo Chileno

de Arte Precolombino; Ricardo Claro Valdez; Carlos Alberto Cruz; Jaime Gandarillas Infante; the late Joaquín Gandarillas Infante.

In Colombia, in Bogotá: María Consuelo Araújo Castro, Minister of Culture; Adriana Mejía Hernández, Vice Minister of Culture; Monseñor Juan Miguel Huertas, Catedral Primada de Colombia, Santafé de Bogotá; María Claudia Gómez Ayala and María Claudia López, Coordinators, Campaña Contra Tráfico Ilícito de Bienes Culturales.

In Peru, in Arequipa: Monseñor José Paulino Rios Reynoso, Archbishop, and Monseñor José Rivera Martínez, Dean, Catedral de Arequipa; José Antonio Eguilior, Superior, Iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús; Pablo De La Vera Cruz Chávez, Director, Museo de la Universidad Nacional de San Agustín; Rolando Cornejo Cuervo, Rector, Universidad Nacional de San Agustín; Luís Sardón Cánepa, Director, Cultural Property of the Arzobispado de Arequipa, and Director, Oficina Regional del Instituto Nacional de Cultura; Madre Superiora, Convento de Santa Catalina. In Cuzco: Monseñor Juan Antonio Ugarte Pérez, Archbishop of Cuzco; Aquiles Barrionuevo Dolmos, Director, Museo del Palacio Arzobispal de Arte Religioso; Jorge Flores Ochoa, Curatorial Director, and Antonia Miranda, Director of Administration, Museo Inka, Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad del Cusco; Artemio Ollvares Escobar, Rector, and Dante Astete Canal, Vice Rector Académico, Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad del Cusco; Eduardo Villafuerte, Director, and David Ugarte Vega Centeno, Regional Director for Culture, Instituto Nacional de Cultura; Lisy Kuon Arce; José Ignacio Lambarri Orihuela. In Lambayeque: Bernarda Delgado Elías, Director, Museo de Sitio Túcume. In Lima: Juan Luís Cardinal Cipriani Thorne, Archbishop of Lima and Primate of Peru; Luís Guillermo Lumbreras Salcedo, Director, Bertha Vargas, Head of the Office of Regional Coordination, and Jaime Mariazza Foy, Director, National Register of Patrimony, Instituto Nacional de Cultura; Reverenda Madre María Jenny Bulnes Arévalo, Monasterio de Nuestra Señora del Prado; Reverendo Padre Juan Sokolich and Padre Jorge Cuadros Pastor, Convento de Santo Domingo; Enrique Gonzales Carré, Director, Carmen Thays, Textile Curator, and Elba Enrique and Maribel Medina, Textile Conservators, Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú; Pedro Gjurinovic Canevaro, Director, Diego de Osma, and Felipe de Osma Berckemeyer, Museo Pedro de Osma; Luís Nieri, President, and Alvaro Carulla M., General Manager of Public and Institutional Relations, Banco de Crédito del Perú; Roque Benavides Ganoza, President, José Torres della Pinna, Director, and Patricia Carrasco Sánchez, Assistant Director, Patronato Plata del Perú; Alvaro

Roca-Rey, Director, Museo de la Nación; Lynn Roche, Sol Toledo, Christopher Teal, and Vanessa Wagner de Reyna, United States Embassy; Andrés Álvarez-Calderón; José Roberto Barrionuevo Fernández; Luís Castañeda Luna; Luís Castañeda Tirado; Nagib Ciurlizza; John Alfredo Davies; José Carlos Delgado; Daniel Giannoni; Isabel Larco de Álvarez-Calderón; Nancy Leigh; Jaime and Vivian Liébana; Ramón Mujica Pinillo; Juan M. Ossio; María Luisa Palacios de Ferrand; Mercedes Pastor Belaunde; Gloria Soyer; Carlos Rodríguez Saavedra; Napoleón Valdez; Yutaka Yoshi. In Pachacamac: Luisa Díaz Arriola, Director, and Giancarlo Marcone Flores, former Director, Museo de Sitio Arqueológico.

In the Czech Republic, in Liberec: Alois Cvancara, Director, Oldrich Palata, Curator, and especially Monika Abbott (in New York), Severočeské Muzeum.

In Denmark, in Copenhagen: Ivan Boserup, Keeper of Manuscripts and Rare Books, Kongelige Bibliotek.

In Germany, in Munich: Helmut Schindler and Ines de Castro, Curators, and Regina Stumbaum and Beate Kränzle, Conservators, Staatliche Museum für Völkerkunde. In Berlin: Maria Gaida and Manuela Fischer, Curators, and Lena Bjerregaard, Textile Conservator, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ethnologisches Museum. In Siegen: Annegret Dahm Mayr and Stefan Koenig, Pastors, Evangelische Nikolaikirche and the Presbyterium of the Evangelische Nikolai-Kirchengemeinde.

In Spain, in Bilbao: Juan Manuel González Cembellín, Director, Museo Diocesano de Arte Sacro; Julia Viciola Eguiguren. In Ezcaray: Reverendo Padre José Luís García Martínez, Parroquia de Santa María la Mayor. In Guadalajara: Reverendo Padre Luís Mayor, Iglesia de Santa María la Mayor. In Madrid: Leticia Arbeteta Mira, Director, Museo Fundación Lázaro Galdiano; Alberto Bartolomé Arraiza, Director, Museo Nacional de Artes Decorativas; Paz Cabello Carro, Director, Concepción García Saiz, and María Jesús Jiménez, Museo de América; Santiago Saavedra, Ediciones El Viso; Julián Hernández Miranda, BBVA; Emilio Cassinello Aubán; Manuel García Martínez; José Hernández Mora; José Luís Várez Fisa. In Seville: Magdalena Canellas Anoz, Archivo General de Indias. In Zaragoza: Antero Hombria, Museo Capitular de la Catedral.

In the United Kingdom, in London: Hugh Roberts, Director, Caroline de Guitaut, Assistant to the Director and Loans Officer, Matthew Winterbottom, Research Assistant, and Kathryn Jones, Royal Collection; Colin McEwan and Helen Wolf, Curators, British Museum; Jennifer Wearden, Textile Curator, Victoria and Albert Museum; Christopher Hartop; Lucy Morton.

In the United States, in Arizona: Ronald and Maxine Linde; Bentley Dillard. In California: Thomas Kren, Curator of Manuscripts, and Nancy Turner, Paper Conservator, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles; Barbara Anderson, J. Paul Getty Research Program; Joan Weinstein, Associate Director, J. Paul Getty Grants Program; Kay Spilker, Associate Curator, Textile Department, Los Angeles County Museum of Art; Diane Mott, Curator, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco. In Colorado: Lewis Sharp, Director, and Donna Pierce, Curator, Denver Art Museum. In Connecticut: Adolph S. Cavallo; Mr. and Mrs. Perry J. Lewis. In Florida: Madeleine H. Burnside, Executive Director, Mel Fisher Maritime Heritage Society and Museum, Key West; Dolores Fisher; Kim Fisher; Armand Rivard.

In Illinois: Christa C. Mayer Thurman, Curator of Textiles, and Lorna Fillipini, Textile Conservator, Art Institute of Chicago. In Massachusetts: Meredith Montague, Textile Conservator, and Ann Coleman, former Curator, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. In New Jersey: Joerg Haeberli. In New York: Rolando Ruiz Rosas Cateriano, Mission of Peru to the United Nations; Craig Morris, Senior Vice President, Dean of Science, and Curator, and Vuka Roussakis, Textile Conservator, American Museum of Natural History; Nancy Rossoff, Curator, Ken Moser, Chief Conservator, and Georgia de Havenon, Research Associate, Brooklyn Museum; Lucy Commoner and Sandra Sarjono, Textile Conservators, Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum, Smithsonian Institution; Jonathan Brown, Professor, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University; David Bernstein; Michael Cohen; Margarita Gutmann; Nobuko Kajitani; Elaine Koss; Jane Gregory Rubin. In Washington, D.C.: Geoffrey Quilter, Director of Pre-Columbian Studies and Curator, Pre-Columbian Collection, Dumbarton Oaks; Susan Heald, Senior Textile Conservator, Ramiro Matos, Curator, and Carmen Arellano, Assistant Curator, National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution; Ursula McCracken, former Director, Ann Rowe, Curator, Western Hemisphere Collection, and Ester Methe and Anne Ennes, Textile Conservators, Textile Museum; His Excellency and Mrs. Eduardo Ferrero Costa and Eloy Alfaro, Minister Counselor, Embassy of Peru; Roberto Dañino, Senior Vice President and General Counsel, World Bank; Johan Reinhard.

For their encouragement, friendship, and enlightened guidance long antedating the inception of this project and at every step along the way, we would like to offer special thanks to Thomas B. F. Cummins, Acting Director, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University; Isabel Iriarte, Curator, Museo Etnográfico J. B. Ambrosetti, Universidad de Buenos Aires; and Natalia Majluf, Director, Museo de Arte de Lima. For their invaluable collaboration and scholarly contributions to the catalogue, we are indebted to Cristina Esteras Martín, Thomas B. F. Cummins, Sabine MacCormack, and Frank Salomon, who wrote essays, and Luisa Elena Alcalá, Sophie Desrosiers, Teresa Gisbert, Isabel Iriarte, José de Mesa, Juan M. Ossio, Kenneth Mills, Luís Eduardo Wuffarden, Joyce Denney, and Heidi King, who wrote additional entries. In her role as consulting curator, Dra. Esteras also took the lead in the selection of colonial silver, bringing to the exhibition the fruit of her many years of research and connoisseurship.

Original research for this exhibition was funded by numerous individuals and institutions. In particular we would like to thank Georgia and Michael de Havenon for their support of special initiatives for the exhibition preparation. The National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship for Independent Scholars Program, the J. Paul Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities Museum Guest Scholars Program, and the American Philosophical Society, as well as the Metropolitan Museum staff travel program, supported critical components of the textile research. The Americas Society, New York, which conceived the idea of an exhibition of Peruvian silver, generously funded important initial research in that medium and opened many doors along the way.

Many people were of particular help with the research on the textiles, and we thank in particular Diana Fane, whose intellectual

generosity nurtured so many aspects of the project. Thomas B. F. Cummins, whose unabashed enthusiasm and support was enormously helpful and encouraging, and who also generously shared research on unpublished textile materials, and Isabel Iriarte and Sophie Desrosiers were all invaluable colleagues and friends. Julie Jones, Curator in Charge, Department of the Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas, Metropolitan Museum, provided a home for the textile research project; our special thanks to her for her support, and also to her department, especially Alisa LaGamma, Curator. Scientific analysis was conducted for several research projects, including studies of fibers, pigments and dyes, and related metals, and we thank Nobuko Shibayama, Tony Frantz, and Mark Wypyski of the Science Group and Florica Zaharia and Emelia Cortes, Textile Conservation, Metropolitan Museum; Jan Wouters and Ina Vanden Berghe at the Royal Institute for Cultural Patrimony, Brussels; and Nancy Turner at the J. Paul Getty Museum. The Thomas J. Watson and Robert Goldwater libraries augmented their holdings on behalf of the new area of research instilled by this exhibition, and we are most grateful. Thanks are due to the conservators at the lender institutions and here at the Metropolitan, especially Florica Zaharia and Cristine Giuntini, who were responsible for the preparation and installation of the textiles for exhibition. Thanks is also due to the entire staff of the Textile Conservation Department for their help and support during a difficult and complex time, as well as to Amelia Peck and Nonnie Freylinghuysen, Department of American Decorative Arts, for their support.

At the Metropolitan, Philippe de Montebello, Director, graciously and courageously supported this joint endeavor, and we are most grateful to him. Mahrukh Tarapor, Vice Director for International Affairs, believed in the project from the beginning and helped shepherd it to completion, and Ian Wardropper, Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Curator in Charge, Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, gave this hybrid effort a home. We also thank Emily K. Rafferty, Senior Vice President for External Affairs, and the consummate professionals in the Development Department without whose persistence this project would never have reached fruition, including Nina McN. Diefenbach, Andrea Kann, Kerstin Larsen, Christine Scornavacca, Claire Gylphé, Justine Cherry-Macklin, and Eti Bonn-Muller. In the Communications Department, thanks are owed to Harold Holzer, Elyse Topalian, and Sabina Potaczek.

The enormous effort required to bring the exhibition to New York, including the arduous process of planning, loans, catalogue writing, exhibition design, installation, conservation, shipping, packing, and all aspects of installation, deinstallation, and the return of works to lenders, is made possible by the dedicated work of many individuals in the Metropolitan Museum. In particular, the tireless staff of the exhibition project, Jaime López-Pestaña and Vanessa Davidson, are thanked for their tremendous efforts and logistical finesse. Julia Hertz, Research Assistant, and Interns Linsley Boyer and Isabel Campana were also of great help to the process, as was Cybèle Gontar, Data Entry Assistant, European Sculpture and Decorative Arts. Jessie McNab, Associate Curator, European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, advised us on questions of heraldry,

and we are very grateful for her precision and clarity on the subject. For their help with the legal negotiations that such an international undertaking entails, we thank Sharon H. Cott, Vice President, Secretary and General Counsel, and Rebecca Noonan, Counsel; Herb Moskowitz, Chief Registrar, who oversaw the complex loan process; and Martha Deese, Senior Assistant for Exhibitions, who helped at every stage. We are grateful to the many conservators from the various Museum departments who helped advise, conserve, and prepare the multimedia works for the exhibition, especially Florica Zaharia, Acting Conservator in Charge, Textile Conservation; Christine Giuntini, Textile Conservator, Department of the Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas; Larry Becker, Conservator in Charge, Ellen Howe, Conservator, and Sandy Wallcott, Manager of Installations, Objects Conservation; George Bisacca and Charlotte Hale, Conservators, Paintings Conservation; and Margaret Lawson, Associate Conservator, Paper Conservation. For the beautifully designed exhibition and its installation, we thank the talented staff of the Design Department, especially Dan Kershaw, Exhibition Designer, and Connie Norkin, Graphic Designer, for the refined aesthetic sensitivity they brought to the work. Linda M. Sylling, Manager for Special Exhibitions, and Taylor Miller, Assistant Building Manager, coordinated all aspects of the physical realization of the exhibition, and we are also grateful to the skilled staff of the Buildings Department Shops, especially the Carpentry Shop, Plexi Shop, and Machine Shop, and to the departmental technicians and riggers.

The exhibition catalogue was the result of much labor within the Editorial Department, for which we are profoundly grateful. John P. O'Neill, Editor in Chief and General Manager of Publications, inspired and maintained the highest standards for the publication; Peter Antony, Chief Production Manager, Douglas J. Malicki, Production Manager, and Jane Tai, Publication Project Coordinator, are responsible for the volume's masterful production; the elegant design is the handiwork of Bruce Campbell. We extend our thanks to all of the photographers who contributed to the catalogue; those at the Metropolitan include Joseph Coscia, Jr., Associate Chief Photographer in Charge of Collections Photography, Oi-Cheong Lee, Associate Chief Photographer in Charge of Publication Photography, and Bruce Schwarz and Juan Trujillo, Senior Photographers; we also thank Barbara Bridgers, General Manager for Imaging and Photography. Our sincere thanks are given to the many photographers from all of the lending institutions and to those who worked in South America, especially Daniel Giannoni, Peter Hochhäusler, and Gustavo Sosa Pinilla. Finally, we are most grateful to our editor, Dale Tucker, whose tireless alchemy brought this complex, multilingual endeavor to its beautiful final form, and we thank him for his enormous contribution, endurance, and patience. He was assisted at critical points by a number of invaluable colleagues, among them Sue Potter, Carol Fuerstein, Kathleen Howard, Jennifer Bernstein, and Jean Wagner, who prepared the bibliography.

To our friends and families, for their cheerful acceptance of our extended absences from home, and for their patience during the long working hours when we were home in name only: thank you.

Johanna Hecht and Elena Phipps

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Sponsor's Statement

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The Metropolitan's exhibition features outstanding examples of centuries-old Inca and colonial garments, tapestries, and ritual and domestic silverworks.

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We are proud to continue our support of the arts and to celebrate this unique presentation of the arts of the Andes.

Mr. Robert V. Cahill
Vice Chairman
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INCA HERITAGE



Silver Threads and Golden Needles: The Inca, the Spanish, and the Sacred World of Humanity

Tom Cummins

In all its magnificent beauty and staggering range of materials, styles, and forms, Andean colonial art is bewilderingly, perhaps almost overwhelmingly multifaceted to a modern viewer. Yet if one sees and understands this work from the numerous aesthetic positions that underlay its creation, one can come to appreciate this diversity as something arising out of a complex history of cultural destruction and re-creation. Textiles, gold, and silver had long been worked in the Andes as part of a Precolumbian tradition of superb craftsmanship and innovative technological knowledge that turned these raw materials toward maximum artistic expression. As objects of great value and beauty, textiles and precious metals were understood to complement and complete one another as precious gifts to the gods as well as to esteemed individuals. This association continued well into the colonial era, as Andean and European interests and aesthetics melded into the rich and essentially new cultural life of viceregal Peru.

Beginning in 1532 with the arrival of Francisco Pizarro (ca. 1475–1541) and his small contingent of conquistadors, the Andean world began to change dramatically. The wealth of the Inca Empire was turned over to the Spanish almost immediately in the form of a ransom paid to secure the release of the captured Inca king, Atahualpa. This offer proved to be in vain, however, as the Inca lord, divine in the eyes of his people, was garroted, and a puppet ruler was installed in his place. The ransom was collected nonetheless, and the room in which the Atahualpa was imprisoned was filled with gold and silver objects piled to the height of a standing man's reach. Some of these Inca things were melted down immediately,

some were sent back to the court of Charles V (1500–1558), the Holy Roman Emperor and, as Charles I, the king of Spain (r. 1516–56). Various shipping manifests dating between 1534 and 1538 detail the king's share being hauled back to the mother country, including not only ingots of gold and silver but a cargo of Inca jars, cups, and wondrous sculptures of plants, animals, men, and women, some almost lifesize.¹ One such sculpture—a lifesize, articulated ear of corn made of silver (fig. 2)—provides a glimpse of the extraordinary beauty and artisanal care invested in these metal sculptures. But even as the first conquistadors disembarked in Spain with news of Peru and their booty of Inca objects, Charles V had begun to muster yet another army in Barcelona to invade Tunis and face the Turkish forces of Süleyman the Great, an army paid for, in great part, by the fortune in ransom exacted by Pizarro.

We can make too much or too little of Atahualpa's ransom, depending on how one views this first clash of civilizations. In the minds of the Spanish, Peru became a place to flock to, a place full of riches. One's fortune could be made there, and to this day we have the Spanish expression *vale un Perú*, meaning "to hit the jackpot."² In 1545 the richest silver mine of all time was discovered in Potosí, a town in what is now southern Bolivia. Spaniards became even more passionate believers in what seemed like Peru's inexhaustible wealth. But Peru's riches were not to be had so easily, as if by cashing a lottery ticket. The city of Potosí was at an altitude of 13,415 feet, and one had to ascend the slopes of the mountain, sometimes another 2,000 feet, to enter the vast network of mining shafts that riddled the surface of the Cerro Rico, or "rich mountain," as it came to be known. So while Spaniards soon swelled the city with men trying to earn a quick fortune, Indians had to be organized to go there and to work the mines. Transportation

Opposite: Fig. 1. Silver plate with *mascaypacha* in central escutcheon (detail, cat. no. 20), before 1622

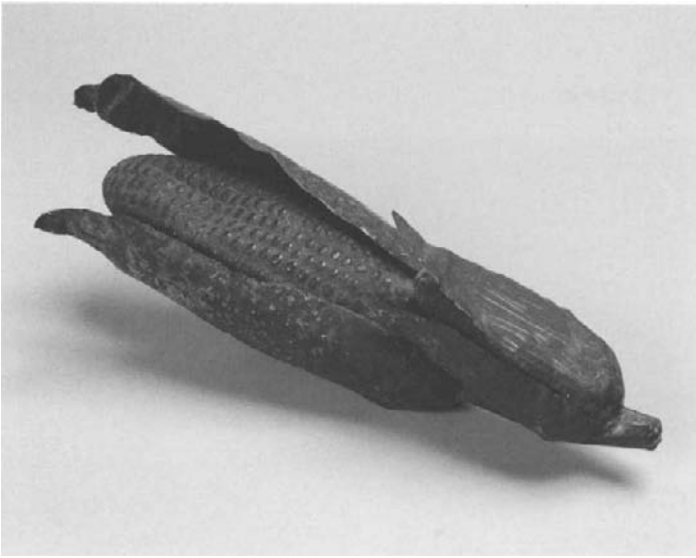


Fig. 2. Silver ear of corn, Inca. Private collection

needed to be arranged in order to get the silver to the coast, where it could begin a long and arduous journey to Spain. The city itself, which by 1600 had mushroomed to a size of some 160,000 souls, also needed to be supplied—from a distance—with almost all its material needs. Mule trains constantly traversed the high mountain roads bringing in not only corn, potatoes, and meat, but also luxury items such as porcelain ware and silks from China, the first edition of *Don Quixote* from Spain, linen from Portugal, paper from Genoa, diamonds from Ceylon, carpets from Persia and Turkey, paintings and prints from Rome, crystal from Venice, precious stones from India, pearls from Panama, swords from Germany, lace from Brussels, and so on.³ Potosí, in other words, as one of wealthiest cities in the world, began to consume the finest things the new global market had to offer.

Even more challenging than geography and the transport of mineral wealth was the political difficulty that faced the colonial administrators of what was now called the Viceroyalty of Peru. At first there was near chaos, with civil wars fought among Spaniards and rebellions by the Inca in Cuzco leading to a “neo-Inca” state in the eastern foothills of the Andes that endured until 1571. Only after this date, when Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1515–1558; r. 1569–81) began a systematic reorganization of Peru, did the viceroyalty begin to achieve real stability. An important part of this consolidation involved the integration of the Andean form of labor recruitment, called *mita*, which was based on traditional community obligations, into the Spanish administrative system in order to work the great mine of Potosí.⁴ Originally *mita* was labor done in “turns” to satisfy a community’s needs, such as the plowing or repair of a field. In the colonial period it evolved into a requisition of Indian labor to accomplish tasks demanded by the state. The Spanish were able to make this new form of *mita* work in part because they astutely decided to recognize the authority of the *curacas*, local hereditary leaders of Andean communities. Many *curacas* claimed descent from an Inca king, and the Spanish monarch duly recognized them as nobles, granting them coats of arms and other privileges. In exchange, *curacas* continued to govern and to organize their communities to provide labor to the crown according to Andean tradition.

In light of the early logistical and political difficulties within the viceroyalty, it is not surprising that few examples of early colonial Andean art have survived. Yet we know that the Spaniards brought with them European art works—paintings, prints, drawings, and sculptures—that were quickly replicated

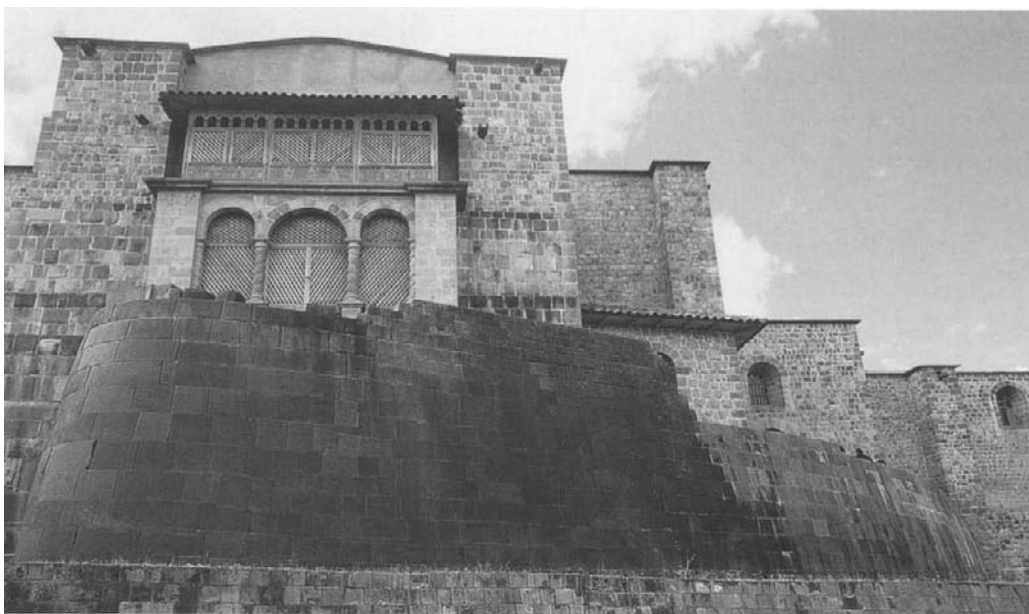


Fig. 3. Extant Inca stone foundation of the Coricancha beneath the Church of Santo Domingo, Cuzco

and reformulated by Andeans in diverse ways. At the same time, as Spaniards began to accommodate themselves to the forms and media of Andean art, they endeavored to retrain the skilled Inca craftsman to produce new objects of great beauty that conformed to a European aesthetic.

For both cultures, most artistic production revolved around religious practices and political necessities, and the former soon brought them into overt conflict. The Spanish regarded the Inca as idolaters and the Inca images as idols that must be destroyed.⁵ The Spanish thus erected crosses where idols had once been, and they built or rebuilt sanctuaries where the Christian Mass could be said. In some cases the gold or silver Andean “idol” was melted down only to be recast as a Christian image. On a much larger scale, Inca religious buildings were transformed; most notably the Coricancha, the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco, became Santo Domingo, one of the first churches in Peru (fig. 3). Coricancha translates from the Quechua as “golden enclosure,” a reference to the type of building and to the running band of gold that was affixed to the wall just above the height of the doorway. The finely worked, curved stonework that was part of the foundation of this most holy of Inca buildings thus became the base of the apse of a single-aisle church wherein was placed a silver altar. The patron saint of Spain, known as Santiago Matamoros, or Saint James the Moorkiller, for his miraculous aid in the Christian conquest of Al-Andalus, became in Peru Saint James the Indiankiller for his equally miraculous intervention against Inca armies.

The reworking of holy spaces and liturgical decorations in the New World clearly had antecedents in the Christian and Moorish struggles in Spain, where mosques were converted into churches and vice versa. In fact, anyone departing for the New World from Seville would have seen as a last glimpse of the city the great belltower of the cathedral, known as the Giralda, which in another era was the minaret of Seville’s mosque. What they would encounter in the Andes was something altogether different, even if it superficially reminded them of familiar things and experiences.

A PLACE OF FOUR PARTS

Before there was the Viceroyalty of Peru—the name the Spanish gave to the newest part of their ever-expanding world of conquest—there was Tahuantinsuyu, the name given by the Inca to their own realm of culture and control. Just as Peru constituted a part of the Spanish Empire, Tahuantin-

suyu was what we might call an Inca Empire, a vast geographic area stretching along the Andes from central Chile to southern Colombia that was controlled by the Inca. But it was also much more than that. The very word Tahuantinsuyu gives us some idea of the complexity of how this “empire” was imagined. Translated in the early Spanish dictionaries of Quechua, the language of the Inca, as “all the four provinces,” Tahuantinsuyu was a place far greater than the sum of its parts.⁶ It was an ordered universe of sacred dimensions, whose rich artistic traditions were carried to the farthest reaches of the Andes. Textiles and gold and silverwork, the ultimate expressions of these traditions, were imbued with a sacred aura. Indeed, the landscape of Tahuantinsuyu was dotted with manifestations of the sacred, which the Inca called *huacas*. *Huacas* could be a natural feature in the countryside, or they could be a building, textile, silver sculpture, or the body of a revered ancestor. In a world charged with the sacred, the precious metals of gold and silver were, respectively, the sweat of the sun and the tears of the moon (fig. 4).⁷ That is to say, in their liquid states they were the secretions of Andean deities that when worked in solid form manifested the presence of the sacred. In this way, textiles, too, played multiple roles in almost all aspects of Inca society. Not only were garments woven as precious gifts for the nobility and the gods, knotted cords of cotton and wool (*quipus*) were the mnemonic means by which the Inca kept faithful record of administrative accounts as well as complicated imperial and religious history (fig. 5).

Many of these artistic traditions passed into the colonial culture of Peru, but in order to understand the place of textiles and silver in viceregal society, it is important to comprehend their place in Tahuantinsuyu as interrelated parts of a complex system of meanings and values. Tahuantinsuyu was the overarching political and cultural power, a realm of great spiritual dimensions in which the king was the son of the Sun and was also semidivine. Tahuantinsuyu was therefore respected not only as a state of military power but also as the perfect realization of Andean social and cultural concepts, which were shared by most communities throughout the area regardless of their social complexity or size (and that still govern many indigenous communities in the southern Andes of Peru and Bolivia).

As complex agricultural societies spread across the region’s radically different ecological zones—from the dry coastal areas to the pastoral lands of the Highlands to the warm and humid tropical foothills—Andean communities had



Fig. 4. Silver llama or alpaca, Inca. American Museum of Natural History, New York (B/1619)

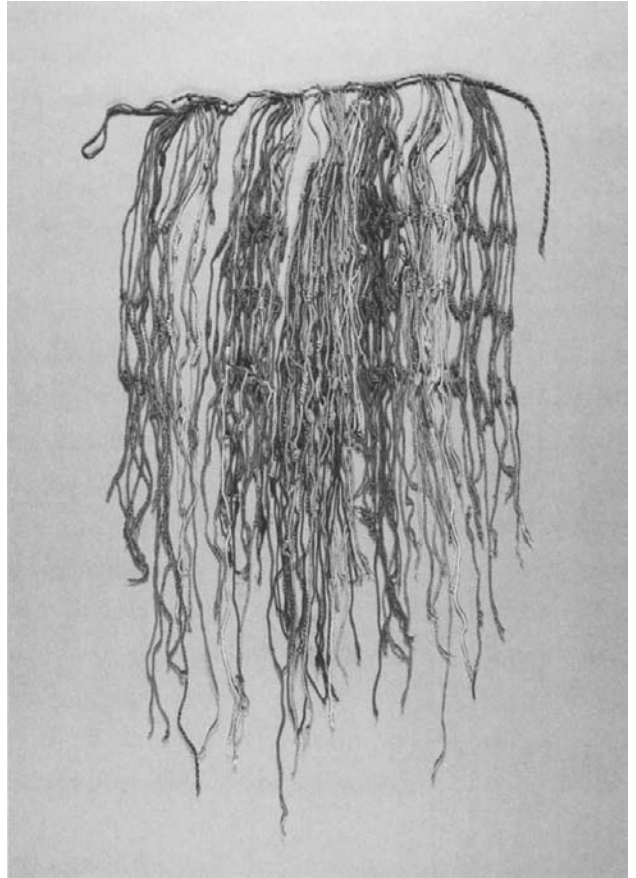


Fig. 5. *Quipu*, Inca. American Museum of Natural History, New York (41.2/7678)

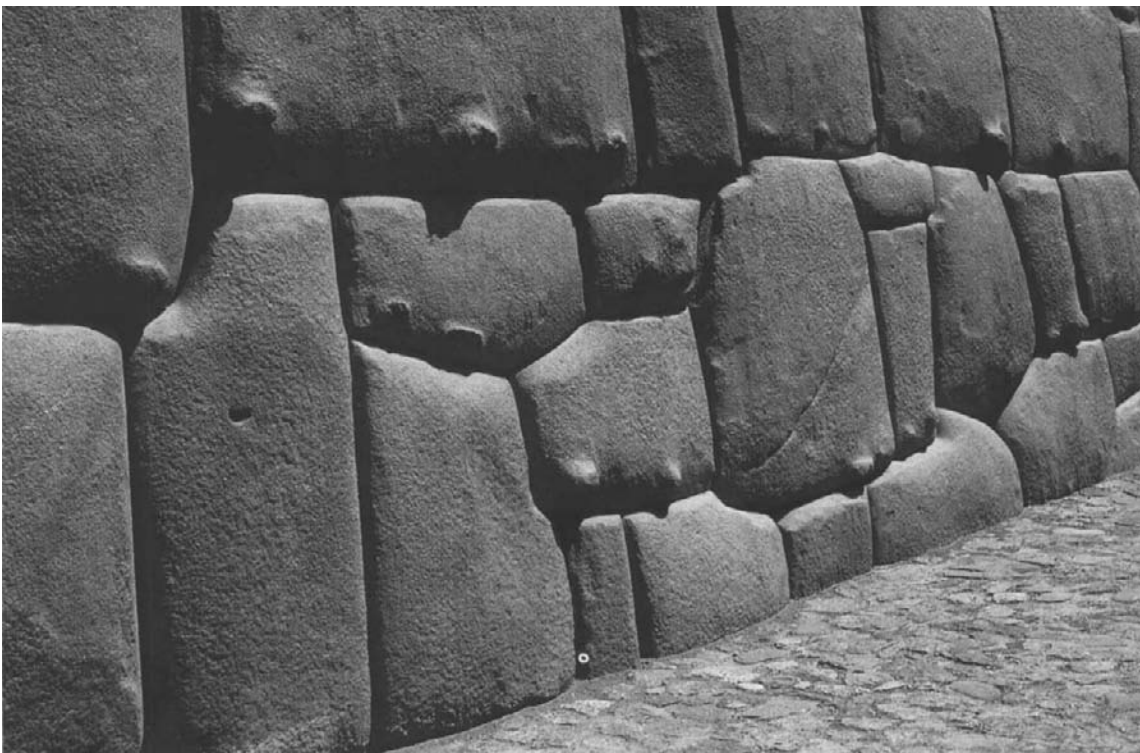
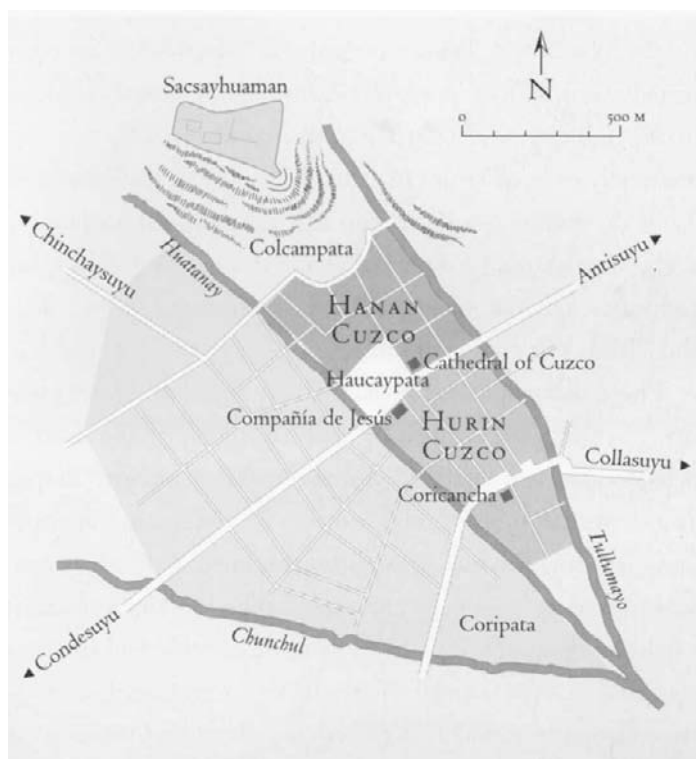


Fig. 6. Inca stonework wall, Cuzco

organized themselves so that all could have access to the various products of these vast areas. Extended kin relations were maintained through which mutual obligations, not markets, helped to distribute goods and services. The communities, in turn, shared a common set of social and cultural concepts in order to maintain relations, and it was this structure that the Inca had used to unite the diverse areas under their leadership. When Tahuantinsuyu was conquered by the Spanish, many of its underlying concepts were converted into the fundamental structures of the Viceroyalty of Peru.

At the center of Tahuantinsuyu was the great city of Cuzco, the Inca capital. The city was built within a sacred space demarcated by the Tulumayu and Huatanay rivers, which join together to form the town's lower limits. Between the banks of the rivers the Inca built their great palaces and temples, whose fine stone walls were made of regular or irregular blocks cut so perfectly that each individual stone fit with those adjoining it without any mortar binding them (fig. 6). Traces of the Inca capital can still be seen in the walls that form the foundations of many of Cuzco's colonial buildings. The surfaces of these walls were unadorned and unpainted. One was expected instead to appreciate the texture of the wall, particularly the play of light and shadow on the closely fitted stone components, an effect intensified by beveled joints that created patterns of stunning, abstract beauty. Each cut stone could be enjoyed individually, but, like Tahuantinsuyu, they added up to a much greater whole.



Geometric abstraction was, in fact, a hallmark of Inca art. It also characterized important, interrelated Inca concepts of urban space and imperial organization. Cuzco, like all communities in the Andes, was conceptually divided into two parts that together created the whole of the city (fig. 7). The two parts were not marked physically in any visible way, but they were nonetheless very real, and everyone understood that the division occurred in the city's central plaza. The region to the north of the plaza was known as Hanan, and the region to the south was known as Hurin. All residents in Cuzco identified themselves as members of either Hanan or Hurin, as explained by the legend of the founding of Cuzco. The northern, or Hanan, part of Cuzco, so it goes, was founded by the first Inca leader, Manco Capac, and his followers; the southern, or Hurin, part was founded by Manco Capac's wife and sister, Mama Huaco Coya, and her followers. There are two critical issues to understand about this organization. First, the relationship between the members of Hanan and Hurin created a sense of social obligation and reciprocity: each half could depend on the other, and together they formed the whole of the community. On a more abstract level, the binary nature of Hanan and Hurin created a sense of both opposition and complementarity through which labor tasks, rituals, and artistic production were organized. The concepts of opposition and complementarity were expressed in what at first glance seems a bewildering set of binary metaphors (or properties) taken from nature, such as right/left, male/female, and high/low, all associated with Hanan/Hurin. Right is the opposite of left, but without left there is no right, and so they require one another and together they make up the unity of each part in relation to the other. An Andean community such as Cuzco could not exist as Hanan or Hurin alone; it must comprise both parts of the city.

The coming together of two parts or paired things to make a whole is both a social principal and an aesthetic ideal in the Andes. In an early Spanish dictionary of Quechua, this concept is explained to an unfamiliar audience as being something akin to a pair of shoes. Important ritual objects, for example, such as drinking vessels—called *aquillas* when made in gold or silver and *queros* when made in wood—were always made in pairs from the same metal or block of wood. As such they embodied the concepts of opposition and complementarity in the way they were made and used in ritual; one vessel was

Fig. 7. Cuzco, showing Hanan/Hurin divisions and the four *suyus* of the Inca Empire. After map in D'Altroy 2002, fig. 6.2, p. 112



Fig. 8. Altars prepared for a festival by the Hanan and Hurin sectors of the community of Paucartambo, Peru

understood to be Hanan and the other was Hurin, and they were exchanged in festivals so as to affirm the solidarity of the two. These vessels continued to be made and used throughout the colonial period, and indeed they are still used today in traditional villages in much the same way the Inca used them—villages that are still divided into Hanan and Hurin.

As an aesthetic ideal, opposition/complementarity continues to structure even Andean Christian rituals in terms of both space and liturgical practices. For example, one of the most important Christian festivals in the colonial town of Paucartambo, near Cuzco, is the celebration of the Nativity of the Virgin in early September. At that time the surrounding small villages bring the statues of their patron saints into town in a solemn procession. The statues are received into the church, where they spend the night. On the day of the celebration they are carried out into the plaza below, where two large altars of wood and mirrors are built and into which devotional images are placed. The procession stops at the first altar, as prayers are said in honor of the Virgin and the saints, and then proceeds to the next altar, where the prayers of devotion are repeated (fig. 8). Although it is not unusual to have multiple altars constructed for a liturgical procession, the two altars in Paucartambo are built not by religious confraternities or the like—as they were and still are in colonial and present-day Cuzco or Seville—but by the two halves of the village. In other words, the two altars embody Hanan and Hurin, but within a Christian context, one in which they con-

tinue to employ the same aesthetic concepts that structured Inca Cuzco and the rituals that took place in its plaza.

Not only was Cuzco, as the Inca capital, divided conceptually into two parts, it was the center of the empire from which the divisions of Tahuantinsuyu emanated. This division into four provinces, or *suyus*, was real, in that each province was administered as a political area of different geographic dimensions, resources, and inhabitants. Accordingly, the division of the four parts of the empire was marked by four roads that radiated out from (or converged in) the central plaza of Cuzco. At the same time, Tahuantinsuyu was imagined as an equal distribution of four parts in relation to the center. In other words, Tahuantinsuyu itself was conceived formally as a geometrically ordered entity of equal parts; the geopolitical reality of the empire was understood abstractly as parts related to a whole, an abstract conceptualization that seems to find visual equivalence in the many geometric designs woven into Inca and “Inca-style” colonial textiles.

These designs, called *tocapu*, are composed as discrete motifs. Each *tocapu* is defined by a nearly square frame inside a field divided and subdivided into various geometric shapes. *Tocapu* were combined in various ways, either as repetitive units forming a band (*chumpi*) on the lower part of a man’s tunic (*uncu*), or as a single unit repeated continuously to create a field of design (fig. 9). In some instances the field of *tocapu* comprises a large number of motifs that reveal no discernible system of arrangement. It can be suggested that this type of



Fig. 9. Detail of *tocapu* on man's tunic (cat. no. 18), with center top unit depicting a checkerboard tunic

tunic was a conceptual “map” of the different territories and peoples who composed the four *suyus* of Tahuantinsuyu, an interpretation based, ironically, on the inventory of the personal possessions of King Philip II drawn up after his death in 1599. Among the items listed as having been in the monastery of San Lorenzo del Escorial are Inca objects found under the category of *cosas extraordinarias* (extraordinary things). Although each entry is brief, many of them offer a remarkable volume of historical detail. Item 4.767, for example, lists “another shirt [*uncu*] of the Indians, that they [the Inca] call *cumbi*, [that is] woven of diverse colors and figures, of which the figures are signs [*señales*] of the coats-of-arms of the provinces that the Inca possessed, by which he knew them.”⁸ Unfortunately the *uncu* is also described as moth-eaten and has not survived. The description, nonetheless, is clear enough. The *uncu* had a series of woven designs, like coats of arms, that represented the empire in terms of its constituent parts and through which the Sapa Inca (supreme Inca king) recognized them within an organized field of *tocapu*.⁹ Although the term *tocapu* is not used in the document, it would seem that they were, in fact, what the inventory taker described as *señales de armas de provincias*. Thus there seems to have been some commensurability between the conceptual geometry that structured the Inca imagination of their world and the geometric designs of the *tocapu*.

Inca concepts and images found new expression in the colonial world, and at many levels. One illuminating example is a late-sixteenth-century watercolor representation of Tahuantinsuyu painted for a manuscript that chronicles the history of the Inca (fig. 10).¹⁰ The illustration was created by the indigenous artist Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, who later composed his own thousand-page history filled with more than four hundred pen-and-ink drawings. Here, his composition conflates two representational systems—one European and the other Andean—to convey to the intended viewer, Philip II, the topography of Andean mountains and valleys and the Andean concept of Tahuantinsuyu. Guaman Poma first painted a landscape following European conventions, giving us a kind of chorographic map of the Inca Empire. One looks down from an oblique perspective, or a bird’s-eye view, onto a flat terrain schematically rendered by washes of green and brown. A range of mountains is seen in the background, which by its size suggests a receding perspective. Superimposed upon this recognizable landscape are five towns depicted,



Fig. 10. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. Map of Tahuantinsuyu, from Martín de Murúa’s *Origen y genealogía Real de los Reyes Incas del Perú* (Galvin Manuscript), 1590–1600. Private collection

more or less, at the same oblique angle as the landscape. The representation of the towns is also rather schematic, with a series of buildings drawn in outline and arranged around a central plaza. These conventions follow the traditions of mapping that would have been employed in the late sixteenth century to render the New World visible to Philip II.¹¹ The four outlying cities do not represent actual cities, however; they convey the concept of the four *suyus*, and each is identified by one of the names of the four: *ande suyu* (Antisuyu), *colla suyu* (Collasuyu), *conde suyu* (Condesuyu), and *chincha suyu* (Chinchaysuyu). Cuzco, larger than the surrounding four, is placed at the center, but the disposition of the cities in the landscape has no relation to actual distance or topography. Rather, Guaman Poma arranged them in the form of a quincunx, a five-piece abstract geometric design that was itself derived from abstract Inca motifs, as seen woven in textiles or within individual *tocapu*. The image of Tahuantinsuyu presented to Philip II was thus ordered as an Inca conceptual space and rendered according to Inca conventions, as it might have been in a *tocapu* on an Inca textile, but it was also overlaid onto a European ground reflecting colonial topographical conventions. This map of Tahuantinsuyu, a deceptively simple image, thus conveys some of the dueling complexities that belie Andean colonial art in all its wondrous manifestations.

WALKING LIKE AN INCA ON STREETS OF SILVER

The Spaniards set to work to make something new out of Tahuantinsuyu. Some cities were fabricated wholesale, others were built over old sites. Inca Cuzco, for example, arose like a phoenix to become colonial Cuzco, while Potosí emerged as one of the major cities of the world, fueling global inflation with the silver extracted from its veins. Coastal Lima became the capital of the viceroyalty, and the seat of the viceroy's power, although seldom did any viceroy venture farther inland—into the Andes, Peru's heartland, whence much of Spain's colonial wealth originated. The communities in the southern Highlands, which maintained a certain degree of autonomy as they also provided the necessary labor to extract Peru's wealth, were thus more linked to the Andean past than those on the coast.

Andean silversmiths continued to ply their trade, even as some were trained in European techniques and styles by newly arrived European artists. Now, however, in addition to objects such as silver *aquillas*, which they made in much the same way they had done before the arrival of the Spanish, they turned

their artistry to producing beautiful Spanish-style plates with repoussé scenes of Andean life. They also crafted elaborate silver altar frontals to embellish the great churches of Lima, Potosí, and Cuzco, and even the more humble parish churches of newly established native towns (*reducciones*). Their labor was also organized according to European traditions. A master silversmith, usually a Spaniard, would set up shop and take on boys or young men as apprentices, and their works were either commissioned by patrons or sold on the open market. In 1571 Viceroy Toledo organized the Indian silversmiths in Cuzco and mandated that a price list, signed by the local corregidor, be posted at the door of each house in which they worked. The basic price depended on the size and weight of the object, but the price could go up if the piece were worked. Within this context of prices and craftsmanship, Toledo noted that that Indian silversmiths often “painted their idols” (*pintan sus ídolos*) on some pieces. He warned the Spanish overseer to be on guard against this practice, but he did not prohibit it altogether. Rather, he stipulated that this type of decoration was only permissible if it were expressly requested by the client.¹² Evidently there were such Spanish clients, as attested by several silver objects found in the wreckage of the galleon *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*, which sank in a hurricane near Havana in 1622 while carrying passengers and silver to Spain. Although the ship's list of passengers reveals no native Andeans on board, many of the silver treasures recovered from the *Atocha* are nevertheless embellished with Andean motifs.

Indian painters also quickly learned European techniques and, like the silversmiths, were organized into guilds. The painters (again like the silversmiths) eventually formed local schools with distinct styles and favored themes. Such native artists were sufficiently advanced that in 1571 Viceroy Toledo commissioned several Andean painters to paint the portraits of the Inca kings, their history, and the history of the Conquest, which he planned to send to Philip II in Madrid. The viceroy hoped that they could eventually be taken to Flanders to be made into tapestries, just as the paintings of the Conquest of Tunis by Jan Cornelis Vermeyen (ca. 1500–ca. 1559) had been made into tapestries by Willem de Pannemaker (active 1535–78) for Charles V. The Inca paintings never left Madrid, however; they were hung in the fifth room of the treasury in the Alcazar along with the two most important paintings in the royal collection: Titian's portraits of Philip II and of Charles V, to commemorate the latter's victory at Mühlberg in 1547 against the Protestant princes. In 1599 the Inca series was valued and described by Juan Pantoja de la

Cruz (ca. 1553–1608), a court painter best known for his portraits, in language similar to that typically reserved for the Titian masterpieces.¹³ In fact, he valued the four large canvases as equal to that of Titian's portrait of Charles V.

In addition to paintings of the Inca kings and of Spain's triumph over them, Philip II also had possession of their physical symbols of power: a red fringe, called a *mascaypacha*, that hung down over the Inca king's forehead and marked both his sovereignty and divinity. This emblem of authority, perhaps peculiar to unfamiliar eyes, reflects the extraordinary esteem that Andeans held for textiles in all forms. The Spanish, for their part, recognized the *mascaypacha*'s symbolic value, and Philip II had the crowns of the last two Inca kings, Huayna Capac and Atahualpa, taken for his collection at the Escorial.¹⁴ One could argue that it was not only through the silver and gold of Atahualpa's ransom but also through the textiles held at the Escorial—the *mascaypacha* as the royal crown, and the *tocapu*-filled *uncu* as a map of Tahuantinsuyu—that the Spanish monarchy took symbolic dominion over the Inca and their empire. Perhaps without realizing it, the Spanish crown had brought together the very objects used by the Inca themselves when they conquered a new territory.

The *mascaypacha*, once the crown of the Inca monarch, evolved into a general sign of Andean nobility and Christian divinity in the colonial period. It was worn in ritual processions, placed on religious statues, depicted in paintings (fig. 11), incorporated into Spanish coats of arms, and engraved on colonial Inca silver plates. One such Inca-style plate, made of silver and likely crafted in Potosí, was found among the treasures of the *Atocha*. In its shallow center is an engraved image of a *mascaypacha* flanked by two heraldic condors, all framed within a European-style escutcheon (fig. 1). Descendants of Inca nobility wore the *mascaypacha* in Lima as they marched into the *plaza mayor* to celebrate the ascension of a new Spanish king. Similarly, whenever a new viceroy arrived in Peru he was received in Lima by a “stand-in” Inca king and his queen (Andean nobles) who symbolically surrendered the city to him. In Cuzco, where the line of Inca descent was even more direct, the lords of that city wore the *mascaypacha* as a charged component of their archaic dress as they, too, processed in various ceremonies.

Parades of Andeans impersonating old Incas kings took place throughout the cities of the viceroyalty, from Potosí to Lima. Beyond the pageantry of Inca heritage, these celebrations served to display the silver, gold, and textile wealth of Peru. In 1648, ephemeral arches were erected in Lima to greet



Fig. 11. *Portrait of a Cacique*, 18th century. Oil on canvas. Museo Inka, Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad del Cusco

an arriving viceroy, and on the street of Mercaderes the area around the arch was “paved with ingots of silver . . . almost 300 bars.”¹⁵ Again in 1674 the new viceroy, the conde de Lemos, was received by the citizens of Lima, who “threw a quantity of silver at the feet of the horse on which his Excellency rode.” The area of the Mercaderes decorative arch was “paved with bars of silver, the majority of which were more than two hundred marks [one hundred pounds], which pleased His Excellency upon seeing them,” and the arches themselves were covered with paintings, fine cloth, and silver. The viceroy's entourage included twenty-four mules, each covered with silk clothes bearing the viceroy's coat of arms. The mules were led by silk ropes and halters, and they carried silver baskets loaded with pastries. Each one also wore three

large silver escutcheons with the viceregal arms, one on the forehead and two hanging from the ears.¹⁶

One decorative arch built in 1667 for the arrival of a viceroy is described as having been “top to bottom, inside and out . . . filled with platters, vessels, and trays all in white and gilded silver, which were artful, costly and interesting. All the hollows of the arch were laid with more than five hundred fifty bars of silver; each bar weighing more than two hundred marks (about one hundred pounds).”¹⁷ The walls of street-fronting buildings were also draped with textiles and hung with paintings. Andean cities, in other words, were transformed on such occasions through splendid decoration much like the Baroque cities of Europe would have been, but with two important differences. First, nowhere else was silver in such spectacular abundance, and second, mingled among the representatives of Spanish kings and Catholic popes in this theater at the top of the world were the proxies of Inca nobility.

In the 1680s a series of sixteen paintings were made of Cuzco’s Corpus Christi ceremony and procession that provide us with a unique glimpse into this opulent pageantry (see cat. nos. 116a–d). The paintings not only commemorate the celebration of one of the most important Catholic festivals—Corpus Christi is a feast day that observes the founding of the Eucharistic sacrament—they also depict the festivals as reorganized by the new Spanish bishop, Manuel Mollinedo y Angulo (d. 1699). Almost immediately after his arrival in Cuzco in 1673 Mollinedo had restricted Corpus Christi processions to Cuzco because in the countryside exuberant native participation in the festivities often led to irreverent drunkenness or other “sacrilegious” behavior.¹⁸ Painted under Mollinedo’s auspices, the first painting in the series depicts the bishop and his entourage, all richly dressed, as they exit the cathedral. Mollinedo himself holds a magnificent gold monstrance in the shape of the Sun. The flamboyant style of the monstrance, which is rich in repoussé designs, is reminiscent of the work of the master silversmith Luis de Lezana (active 1665–1713), whose work Mollinedo actively patronized. Other canvases depicted the Inca descendants, who as the leaders of the Indian parishes of Cuzco walked before the carriages transporting the parish’s devotional images. These local *curacas* wear *uncus* with *tocapu* designs on a white ground and European lace affixed at the sleeves and hem. All of them either wear or have carried before them by a page a *mascaypacha* with an elaborate superstructure emblematic of the city of Cuzco. They also have gold lion heads on their shoulders and attached to their sandals, and around their necks they carry a gold Sun medal-

lion. In addition to these sumptuously dressed Andean nobles, we can see temporary altars constructed of wood, paint, and silver, covered with gilt-framed mirrors and paintings, with bright textiles of red and green hanging from balconies and windows being caught by the wind and tossed upward. The audience lining the pathway of the procession in the fore- and background can be seen to represent in their diversity the composite nature of this Highland city’s citizenry. The whole of the Corpus Christi series is replete with imagery that, as part of a carefully staged spectacle, was meant to celebrate the Eucharist—as displayed in the Baroque monstrance carried by the bishop—and to show off the city to best effect as a newly reorganized space populated by a heterogenous society.

In addition to curbing native “overindulgence,” part of Bishop Mollinedo’s impetus for reorganizing the Corpus Christi ceremony in Cuzco was to stamp out an Andean Catholic devotional practice he found difficult to reconcile with orthodox representations of the Christ and the Virgin. Throughout the region, statues of the Christ Child would often be dressed in Inca symbols of majesty and authority, like the *mascaypacha*. Mollinedo, of course, tried to put an end to this practice—in 1687, for example, he ordered that a *mascaypacha* surmounting a statue of Niño Jesús be replaced with



Fig. 12. *Niño Jesús*, 18th century. Oil on canvas. Private collection

rays of silver or an imperial crown¹⁹—but it had deep roots in the artistic and devotional traditions of the Andes. The Inca had filled the plaza of Cuzco with sand as part of a sacred commemoration, and when the sand was removed in the mid-sixteenth-century, to be used in cement for the new cathedral, dressed Inca gold and silver figurines were uncovered.²⁰ These “idols” were quickly destroyed, but many more *huacas* were scattered throughout the Andes, many of them accompanying the burials of children sacrificed as part of the sacred *capacocha* ritual. Like the children, the figurines were dressed in rich Inca textiles, albeit in miniature. In Mollinedo’s eyes the dressing of a statue of the Christ Child drew too close a parallel with these pre-Hispanic practices.

One of the earliest records of such a statue dates to 1610, the year the founder of the Jesuits, Ignacio de Loyola, was beatified. The Jesuits in Cuzco organized a grand celebration in which all of the Indian parishes of the city participated. Many of the elite descendants of the Inca kings dressed in the clothing of their ancestors, including the *mascaypacha*, and paraded into the plaza, where they paid homage to the Jesuits and to their beatified founder by singing ancient songs of Inca triumphs, now dedicated to Loyola. Members of the parish of the Hospital de los Naturales entered the plaza singing a song from the time of the Inca king Huayna Capac. They were greeted by the confraternity of el Niño Jesús, a lay group attached to the Jesuit church, who brought out a statue of the Christ Child dressed in Inca imperial clothes: an *uncu*, a *mascaypacha*, perhaps a cloak around his shoulders, and sandals with the heads of pumas or lions, made of gold.²¹

In Potosí, as in Cuzco, the confraternity of el Niño Jesús was founded in the Jesuit church. Here, however, membership in the confraternity was restricted to the richest and most noble Indian women, and as a result that confraternity was one of the wealthiest. On Easter Sunday, these noblewomen exited the Jesuit church and processed around the plaza dressed in beautiful clothes bedecked with silver. They carried silver standards and candlesticks and bore a statue of the Christ Child, dressed as an Inca, on a litter. We have a very good idea of what these statues must have looked like from an eighteenth-century painting that shows the Christ Child as the Savior of the World, standing with the globe in his left hand and raising his right hand in a sign of benediction (fig. 12). He wears a white colonial Inca *uncu* with lace at the hem and sleeves, a *mascaypacha* with its surmounting superstructure, and sandals with lion heads. His cloak is gilded with gold leaf. Several small tunics and one cloak likely used

to clothe statues of Jesus have survived (fig. 13). Some of these tunics, which in many ways are identical to their Inca antecedents, include Christian iconography, such as the sacred name of Jesus or the orb. The cloak differs significantly, however; it is cut down from a larger Inca *uncu* that had a waistband (*chumpi*) of a common, diamond-shaped *tocapu* pattern. The waistband, normally horizontal, has been cut into three pieces and stitched together in three vertical rows to form the cloak, which is bordered with some type of fur.

Although statues of the infant Jesus are no longer dressed in imperial Inca regalia, dressed statues are still a common element of Andean devotional worship. Each statue has its own set of vestments that are changed according to the liturgical calendar. In this sense the *mascaypacha* and the *uncu* have become attributes of the transcendent power of Jesus, a policy advocated by the Jesuits. Still, many of these manifestations of Inca dress were, in the colonial era, fairly ambiguous in terms of proper Christian devotion. At the very least the reuse of a partial Inca garment as a cloak for a Christian statue approaches dangerously close to what would have been considered idolatry. Many extirpation texts written by priests—



Fig. 13. Miniature cape made for a religious statue (cut down from an Inca tunic), 16th century. Tapestry weave, probably cotton warp and camelid weft, with camelid-hair “fur.” Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge (T4679)

which identified pagan practices for their more unsuspecting brethren—describe how the Andeans would use Inca textiles as a means to remember and to sing about their Precolumbian history and religion. To Bishop Mollinedo, dressing the Christ Child as an Inca royal was unquestionably inappropriate, and he prohibited it.²² Moreover, as the driving force of Cuzqueño artistic patronage in the latter half of the seventeenth century, he certainly would have realized the full implications of the practice, and the inherent conflict of dressing Christ in the same imperial outfit worn by the Inca descendants in Corpus Christi ceremonies and other pageants.²³

The visual environments in which many Andeans would have prayed, watched over by the Niño Jesús in his majestic *mascaypacha* and *uncu*, were unparalleled displays of wealth and luxury. Church interiors were often gilded in gold and paintings were framed with silver, as can still be seen today in the nave of a church in Andahuaylillas, just south of Cuzco. We can appreciate the full extent of this decoration and astounding richness through a 1689 inventory taken of all the churches in the diocese of Cuzco, to which parish priests responded with detailed descriptions of their churches and their contents. The Church of San Pedro de Quijijana, south of Cuzco, considered one of the most beautiful in Peru, was furnished with gilded frames and escutcheons that ran from the main altar all the way to the entrance. These gilded walls encased even more lavish silver objects, including a large silver altar frontal, lamps, candlesticks, crosses, and even silver litters to carry the devotional images.²⁴ Not all churches were quite so enriched, but many were. In fact, there are numerous contracts between *curacas* and silversmiths for the latter to provide silver and silver-gilt ornaments for community churches. Much of this material is now gone—having been either sold off or stolen—but large silver-plated litters are still kept in the churches of Urcos and Huaró, both south of Cuzco.

Silver, gold, and precious stones sometimes transcended the merely decorative to become, like the Inca costumes, parts of the devotional statues they adorned. Thus sculpted images of Jesus, the Virgin Mary, and the saints wore silver crowns, halos, and wings (cat. nos. 85, 87, 91). Some “miraculous” paintings (works through which miracles were said to occur) were so bejeweled they became, in a sense, part sculpture and part painting. The Virgin of Guadalupe painted by Diego de Ocaña in the early seventeenth century, for example, became miraculous and received such devotion from the peoples of the Andes that what one sees now of the painting are only the face and hands of the Virgin and the face of the Christ Child.



Fig. 14. Diego de Ocaña. *Virgin of Copacabana: Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*, 1601. Oil on cloth with added silver. Cathedral of Sucre, Bolivia

The rest of the image—her dress, staff, and crown—is covered with silver and studded with gems (fig. 14).

Exquisite works of silver and textiles were not, of course, produced only in service of the Catholic cult. Wealthy Spaniards, mestizos, and Andeans alike had rich collections for their personal use, as reflected in the diversity of items salvaged from the *Atocha*. Among the wreckage were *aquillas* found stacked one inside the other, still maintaining their Andean conceptual relationship, some with Inca designs and others with European motifs. Silver-gilt plates were recovered that are embossed with scenes from classical mythology (such as Phaeton and his Sun chariot spilling from the sky) set against an Arcadian backdrop peppered with grazing llamas. That many of these “transition” objects did not belong just to Spaniards is made clear in the writings of the Spanish chroni-

clers of Andean history. They reveal that Andean elites still greeted travelers (now Spaniards) who arrived in their communities with silver *aquillas*, toasting them just as the Inca would have done in Tahuantinsuyu. The great chronicler of Potosí, Bartolomé de Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, enumerated some of the possessions of a native elite, including the silver plates, frames, and braziers in his own house. At times wealthy Spanish, meztiza, and native women all wore necklaces of gold,

sandals studded with pearls, and textiles with silver and golden threads.²⁵ To be sure, not all Andeans, not even all Spaniards, were that wealthy, but much of what was owned by those individuals who were wealthy was put on display in civic and religious celebrations. The phenomenal production in paintings, silverwork, and textiles that characterizes much of the art of the viceregal period was all part of that dazzling display that can perhaps best be described as Baroque public theater.

1. See Lothrop 1938.
2. “. . . ay mucha cantidad de Oro y Plata, y otros Metales ricos, de cuya abundancia nació el refran que para dezir, que un hombre es rico dizen posee el Peru” (there is a great quantity of gold and silver and other precious metals out of whose abundance was born the refrain to say that [if] a man is rich, he possess Peru); Blas Valera as cited by Garcilaso de la Vega 1772, p. 7.
3. Hanke 1954, pp. 55–56.
4. Levillier 1935.
5. MacCormack 1991.
6. González Holguín ([1608] 1989, p. 333.
7. This oft-repeated metaphor comes not from a colonial source but from Philip Means, who, when inquiring about the “garden” of gold that the Inca kept in Cuzco, asked an old *curaca* at Sicuani in 1914 why none of it was ever stolen. The *curaca* responded that “when Inti the sun and Mama Quilla the moon were making the earth they worked very hard and both perspired profusely. The sweat ran from their brows to the ground where it hardened and the sun’s sweat became gold and the moon’s silver.” Pizarro 1921, p. 520, n. 97.
8. “Otra camisa de yndios que dicen de cumbi [*sic*] texida de diversos colores y figuras, las quales son señales de armas de provincias que el ynga poseya, por donde las conocía, está apolillada y agugredada y no es de valor”; Sánchez Cantón 1956–59, vol. 1, p. 334.
9. Based on other evidence, David Rojas y Silvá (1981) has suggested that *tocapu* functioned as a kind of coat of arms.
10. Murúa 1590.
11. Mundy 1996, pp. 11–27.
12. Toledo 1986, pp. 205–7.
13. Cummins 2004.
14. “Dos borlas de lana, la una encarnada y la otra amarilla, que le embió el dicho Vi-Rey don Francisco de Toeldo, que dize que era la ynsignia con que se coronaban los yngas y la una es la con que se coronó Guaynacac y la otra Atagualpa; metida en una cestilla de paja y lana; no son de valor” (Two tassels of wool, the one reddish and the other yellow, that the said viceroy Sir Francisco de Toledo sent, that are said to be the insignia with which the Incas were crowned and the one is that with which Gaunacar [*sic*] was crowned and the other Atahualpa; placed in a basket of straw and wool); Sánchez Cantón 1956–59, vol. 1, p. 333. The “borla,” or *mascaypacha*, of Atahualpa was seized by Miguel de Este, one of the conquistadors with Pizarro at Cajamarca, so how it came into Toledo’s possession, and thus could be sent to the royal collection along with that of Huayna Capac, is unclear. It is possible there were several sets of *mascaypacha*, some of which were kept in Cuzco and never worn. González Holguín ([1608] 1989, p. 232) gives two definitions for *mascaypacha*: “borla que era insignia Real, o corona de Rey” (tassel that was a royal sign, or crown of the king).
15. Mugaburu and Mugaburu (1640–97) 1975, p. 22.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 215.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
18. Mollinedo describes this action in a 1685 letter to the king; Archivo General de las Indias, Seville, Lima 306. That restriction is why the festival celebrations of Cuzco are the only ones ever represented in the various series of Corpus Christi paintings.
19. Marzal 1988, p. 364.
20. Cummins 1996, pp. 157–70.
21. Anonymous (1610) 1923, pp. 447–57.
22. Mujica Pinilla et al. 2002, p. 57, n. 14.
23. Mollinedo may have had other reasons to ban the practice, which was closely allied to the Jesuit order. At the time the cathedral had a long-standing set of grievances against the Jesuits in Cuzco, and Mollinedo, as its titular head, may have been trying to limit their influence.
24. Villanueva Urteaga 1982, p. 163.
25. Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela (ca. 1700–1736) 1965, vol. 2, pp. 118–19, 139.



Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes

Elena Phipps

*Looking at that shawl of yours,
Gazing at that dress of yours,
Though the world no longer enters evening, . . .
The world even no longer dawns,
You, you are still Coya.*

—Inca festival song, transcribed by
Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1608¹

Even in a world so transformed that the heavens no longer follow their prescribed paths, the woman in this festival narrative, steadfast in her shoulder mantle and wrapped dress, poignantly evokes the endurance of Andean culture.² For thousands of years before the Spanish arrived, garments had constituted a primary mode of expression in Andean civilization, becoming powerful emblems of culture and identity. After the Spanish invasion, such textiles persevered as potent symbols of Inca heritage within the colonial milieu. Moreover, when woven of *cumbi* cloth—the Inca term for the finest weaving—they represented some of the highest achievements in colonial Andean culture as they also reawakened visions of an idealized, precolonial glory (fig. 15).

Because Inca culture had no written language, our knowledge of their traditions is limited, coming to us primarily from descriptions by Spanish chroniclers and extant archaeological remains.³ Textiles, and more specifically garments, are all the more valuable to us as “documents” of Inca aesthetic, religious, and social values because all of these elements were inherent in a garment’s makeup: from its conceptual organization, design, and construction to its material and technical components. Garments from the Inca and early colonial

periods that have been preserved thus provide unique insights into the mind-set of the Andean peoples and their indigenous traditions.⁴

Any discussion of colonial Andean tapestry traditions begins with garments because, in the Andes, tapestry weaving developed, first and foremost, as a garment-making tradition. While tapestry weaving predates the Inca era, the Inca raised native Andean weaving methods, especially tapestry weave, to levels of perfection that were never again equaled, even in the post-Conquest world. Charged with this heritage, tapestry garments embodied the Inca aesthetic as a political and cultural force. In the colonial period, these Inca attributes were transformed and adapted in new directions: some self-referential, overt expressions of rebellion against colonial viceregal rule, others more acquiescent to the new social order. At times these essential Inca attributes seem to have disappeared completely as colonial-era garments were infused with foreign design vocabularies and meanings. On closer examination of the garments, however—especially of their material and technical components—we discover in many of them a latent continuity of Inca traditions, like a spring that emerges, unexpectedly, in the middle of a desert.⁵

Opposite: Fig. 15. Martín de Murúa. *Coya Mamabuaco*, from *Historia general del Perú* (cat. no. 36), ca. 1611



Fig. 16. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. *The first age of the Indians, Vari Vira Cocha Runa*, from *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 1615. Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen (p. 48)



Fig. 17. *Mama Ocllo*, 18th century. Oil on canvas. Private collection

MYTHOLOGICAL ORIGINS

Indigenous myths recorded by Spanish chroniclers in the sixteenth century describe how the Andean world before the Inca was populated by people who were naked, or who wore only leaves or skins (fig. 16).⁶ According to these legends, the Andean people learned how to dress, spin, weave, and make clothing from Mama Ocllo, the first Inca queen (fig. 17).⁷ In fact, Andean civilizations had begun to develop weaving as early as about 4500 B.C.E. Nevertheless, the salient idea recorded in these legends—that weaving and clothing began with the Inca—is a fundamental expression of the Inca's equation of dress with culture.

In his 1557 *Suma y narración de los Yngas* (Narrative of the Incas), which compiled information from native informants and eyewitness accounts, Juan de Betanzos, a Spanish interpreter who chronicled Inca history, describes how the Inca conceived of their primogenitors as four men and four women who emerged from the opening of a cave at a place called Pacarictambo:

The men came out dressed in garments of fine wool woven with gold. On their necks, they brought out some bags, also

of elaborately woven wool. . . . The women also came out dressed very richly in cloaks [dresses] and sashes that they called *chumbis*, well woven with gold and with fine gold fasteners, large pins about two palms long, which they call *topos*.⁸

Here, then, at the mythological beginning of time, we can already see the ancestors of Inca society fully dressed in the standard garment ensemble. For men, this meant a tunic made of various types of cloth, a mantle tied at the shoulders, and a bag, typically small, striped, and with a shoulder strap, which was used to hold coca leaves. Women's garment ensembles included a wraparound dress, a shoulder mantle, and a belt worn around the waist.

Prior to the arrival of the Spanish, garments in the Andes were, with few exceptions, composed of complete webs of cloth taken uncut from the loom; no further modifications were made to the woven shape. These cloth units were made with all four selvages—the woven edges of the cloth—intact. In most other cultures around the world, cloth is cut from the loom. Andean weavers, therefore, had to conceptualize every aspect of a garment—from size, shape, and proportion, to design, composition, and layout—before they began to



Fig. 18. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. *The first Inca, Manco Capac Inca*, from *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 1615. Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen (p. 86)

weave, and they made each garment specifically for a predetermined function.

The design and layout of Andean textiles—the horizontal and vertical registers of stripes and bands, aspects of order, symmetry, and color—followed traditional formats that were, in effect, recognizable systems of meaning within Andean culture.⁹ Every aspect reflected broader Andean concepts of beauty and aesthetics. For example, a primary objective of the weaver was to make a beautiful object; conversely, an object was considered beautiful (*wairuru*) when it was well made.¹⁰ At the same time, garments incorporated attributes of individual identity and cultural origins. In his early-seventeenth-century chronicle of Inca history, Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui recounts how Manco Capac, the legendary founder of the Inca royal dynasty (fig. 18), ordered the clothing and speech of each of his subject regions to be different so that a person's place of origin could be easily identified.¹¹ By the early sixteenth century each local area did, in fact, have its own manner of dress, part of a codified system of cultural communication to indicate ethnicity and place, a tradition that persists among rural Highland communities to this day.¹²

The simplicity of Andean garments, which are basically rectangular pieces of cloth, can, in the absence of other criteria, pose a challenge to modern observers trying to identify their precise function. As we will see, however, sometimes subtle and abstract traits provide us with quite specific information about a garment's owner, including gender, marital status, region, village, and even clan (*ayllu*).¹³

MEN'S GARMENT TYPES

The pan-Andean men's garment was the *uncu*: at its simplest, a knee-length sleeveless tunic made from uncut lengths of cloth, either a single length or multiple lengths sewn together. Those constructed from two lengths were stitched together down the center; of the two types, this was the easier to fashion into a garment, as the neck and arm holes could simply be left open. When constructing an *uncu* out of a single web of cloth, weavers were confronted with the challenge of creating arm and neck openings during the weaving process. This required the weaver to plan the garment in advance: to allow for the openings while laying out the warp (the first set of yarns put onto the loom). Using a special scaffolding element (either a stick or heavy yarn) as an anchor to reverse the warp yarns at the neck position, Andean weavers were able to fashion a fully finished neck opening without cutting any threads. We can see the "scaffolding" weft holding the neck opening in place in several unfinished Inca tunics now in the Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.¹⁴

Fray Bernabé Cobo, a Jesuit priest who wrote a history of Inca culture in Cuzco about 1610, left us this description of the *uncu* and its construction:

a short garment without sleeves or collar which they call *uncu* and which we call *camiseta*, because it has the form of our *camisas* [shirts]. Each one is woven separately, for they are not accustomed to making long bolts of cloth as we do and cutting them to make garments. The piece of cloth of which they make this tunic is like a strip of ticking; it is three-and-a-half *palmos* wide and two *varas* long [approx. 20 × 64 in.]. They leave the neck open on the loom itself, so that there is nothing to cut; when it is taken off the loom, no further craftwork is necessary, but to fold it and sew up the sides with the same threads with which it was woven, as one sews up a sack, leaving unsewn in the upper part of each side enough space to put the arms through. It ordinarily reaches to their knees or three or four fingers further up.¹⁵

As Fray Cobo described, after weaving was complete the fabric would be turned ninety degrees, folded at the shoulder line, and stitched together down the sides. The edges and seams would then be meticulously covered with embroidery. Even though Cobo dismissed the process of sewing up the sides as requiring “no further craftwork,” extant examples of Inca tunics all have extremely fine finishing stitching that completely covers the edges of the cloth underneath.¹⁶ The result is a virtually seamless garment in which front and back, and inside and outside, are identical and complete. No loose threads were left visible to indicate the hand of an artisan or the process by which the garment was made.

Inca-period *uncus* were constructed according to several standard design formats distinguished by treatment of the neck yoke, waistband, and body.¹⁷ The primary formats include the “checkerboard” tunic, featuring alternating black and white squares with a red neck yoke (cat. nos. 11, 12); the “Inca key” tunic, which has a repeating geometric pattern of diagonal bars and squares in the upper section and horizontal bands along the lower section; waistband tunics, including those with stepped diamonds (cat. no. 9); and tunics with small square geometric patterns called *tocapu*, an elite rank insignia of the Inca (cat. no. 18).¹⁸

Over the *uncu*, men wore a large rectangular mantle (*yacolla* in Quechua, *llacota* in Aymara), which they draped about the shoulders and under one arm and, sometimes, tied in a knot at the chest. According to Cobo, “The cape is less complicated; it is made of two pieces sewn up the middle. . . . The result is that it has four corners like a blanket or bedspread, and for that reason we call it a ‘manta’ while the name the Indians give it is *yacolla*.”¹⁹ Few complete Inca men’s mantles are known. A plain, solid-color mantle was found on the remains of a young boy—who was apparently sacrificed in the sacred Inca *capacocha* ritual—buried in the high peaks of Copiapó, a volcano in the southern Andes.²⁰ Alongside his body were miniature male figurines each dressed in proportionally sized garments, including mantles (see the “Sacred Garments” section in this essay). Both the garments on the figurines and on the boy were held in place by two corners tied in a knot. This is the same fastening technique depicted by Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, whose drawings are considered by scholars to be accurate renderings of many aspects of Andean life in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The only embellishment apparent on these garments is embroidery along the edges. As textile scholar Ann Rowe has observed, men’s mantles, for the most part, do not appear to have been made of tapestry weave, were generally undecorated, and were not as finely woven as women’s mantles.²¹

The dress worn by Andean women was sometimes known as an *acsu* in the Quechua-speaking Cuzco region and as an *urcu* in the Aymara-speaking Collao region or southern Altiplano.²² Fray Cobo referred to it as an *anacu*:

They wear [the dress] like a sleeve-less soutane or tunic the same width at the top as at the bottom; it covers them from the neck to the feet. No hole is made for their head to fit through. They put it on the following way. They wind it around the body under the arms, and pulling the edges over the shoulders, they bring them together and fasten them with their pins. . . . This dress or soutane is called *anacu*.²³

The *anacu* was indeed a large, untailed rectangular cloth worn wrapped around the body. Where the top edges met at the shoulders they were fastened with metal pins (*tupus* in Quechua, *phitus* in Aymara), leaving the rest to drape. A wide decorated belt (*chumpi*) was tied around the waist.

Few examples of Inca-period women’s garments have been preserved.²⁴ In the 1980s the discovery of surprisingly well-preserved ritual burials of young women and girls provided us with some evidence of how women’s garments were constructed and worn. Like the young boy found on Copiapó, these burials, found frozen in high-altitude mountaintop shrines, were associated with the *capacocha* ritual.²⁵ Many of these burials also contained identically dressed miniature figurines (cat. nos. 1, 2).

Before these relatively recent discoveries, our primary source of knowledge about Inca-period women’s garments was the archaeological site of Pachacamac, the great pilgrimage center in the coastal valley of Lurín, about seventeen miles south of present-day Lima. The great temple complex there, which overlooked the desert coast, housed a famous oracle whose power held sway over much of the southern coast before and during the Inca Empire. Pachacamac was also a home to the *acclacuna*, the “chosen” women of the Inca, who were selected at a very young age (about ten years old) from across the empire and cloistered in service to the king and to the Sun cult, spinning, weaving, and making *chicha*, the maize beer drunk on all ritual occasions.²⁶ Hundreds of female burials have been found at the site, and with them a multitude of garments, including fragments of mantles, dresses, and belts.

Only a handful of full-size Inca *anacus* have been preserved intact.²⁷ Extant examples have a consistent layout and are

constructed of three panels seamed together: a broad, plain central section bordered by two outer panels with mirror-image designs of stripes and other patterns. They appear to have been worn folded in half, or nearly in half, with the stripes oriented horizontally. This orientation was a uniquely female design concept and one that can still be observed today in Highland communities where traditional dress continues to be worn.²⁸

The shoulder mantle worn by an Andean woman over her basic garment is known as a *lliclla*. This mantle was the hallmark of an Inca woman's identity; its color, design, and patterning spoke to her position in society, including place of origin, region, clan (*ayllu*), and marital status.²⁹ According to Fray Cobo, "The other blanket [that women wear] is called *lliclla*. They put it over their shoulders, and bringing the corners together over the chest, they fasten it with a pin. These are their cloaks or mantles which come halfway down the leg."³⁰ As in Cobo's description, the *lliclla* was worn across the back and draped over the shoulders to the front of the body, where a pin called the *ttipqui* (Quechua) or *phicchi* (Aymara) was inserted horizontally across the two overlapping corners or edges of the mantle to hold it together.³¹ Although the *lliclla* pins are often of the same general shape as the *tupus* used to fasten *anacus*, proportionally the *ttipqui* shaft is shorter than that of the larger *tupus*.

The design and construction of the *lliclla* employed concepts unique to Andean weaving. Generally, *llicllas* are rectangular and have a tripartite design counterposing patterned and solid-color areas. The woven designs are contained within demarcated bands, or registers, that follow consistent, traditional systems of symmetry and order.³² There seem to have been two basic sizes for *llicllas*: long ones, meant to be folded in half, and shorter ones that were worn unfolded. The longer ones draped to midcalf; the smaller ones would have fallen just below the waist.³³ Either size was worn so that the bands of the design lay horizontally across the back, again, a concept specific to women's garments.³⁴

Although few complete *anacu* and *lliclla* ensembles have been preserved, we know from *capacocha* sites that when intended to be worn as ritual garments, they were made in matching colors and patterns. The ensemble might also have included a smaller cloth head-covering similar in design to the *lliclla* called a *nañaca*, which was worn folded on the head.³⁵ It is possible men and women wore matching sets of garments, at least in terms of color, while they were engaged in certain rituals or ceremonial activities.

The Inca domain, known as Tahuantinsuyu, extended across all cultural and environmental boundaries of the Andes. Among their many notable achievements were the introduction of an imperial language (Quechua) on the polyglot Andean peoples; a labor tribute system that enabled the construction of large-scale public works projects, such as an imperial roads system connecting the far reaches of the empire; and a religion focused on the worship of a Sun god. They also used textiles as a primary means of setting themselves apart from other indigenous Andean cultures.³⁶

During the Inca period, a class of garments intended specifically for use during ritual and state occasions was manufactured under royal administration. These special garments—worn by the royal family or other nobility, by religious officials, or by those awarded the privilege by the king—were distinctive in their designs and physical qualities.³⁷ Most notably, they were made of a high-quality cloth referred to as *cumbi*.³⁸ Although we do not understand the precise significance of the word *cumbi* for the Inca, we can observe that the selectivity of *cumbi* materials, the fineness of *cumbi* weaving, and the specifications of *cumbi* designs all conformed to the highest standards and aesthetic interests of the empire-conscious Inca administrators. Investigating the term and its meaning within Inca society has thus been the subject of study since the sixteenth century. Recent scholarship has considered, without firm conclusion, the meaning of the term: whether it designated merely a very high quality of cloth, or a cloth made using a specific weaving technique (e.g., tapestry weave). For the present, we can say that while *cumbi* might not refer to tapestry weave exclusively, the especially fine tapestry weave produced by the Inca was, without doubt, *cumbi*.³⁹

Part of the confusion surrounding *cumbi* derives from the intricate technical nature of the weaving that evolved over centuries in the Andean Highlands, where, out of necessity, clothing had to be warm, and thus densely woven. Using native camelid fibers instead of cotton (the primary fiber in the warmer coastal regions), Highland weavers developed a method concentrating on closely set, warp-faced cloth. Patterning with the warp yarns relied, for the most part, on the agility of the weaver and on inherited knowledge (or memory systems).⁴⁰

The looms on which these warp-faced, warp-patterned garments were woven were designed specifically to hold the numerous warp yarns together with the appropriate tension (fig. 21). The tapestry weaving championed by the Inca was,



Fig. 19. Detail of woman's mantle, weft-faced plain weave and weft-float patterning, early 16th century. Cotton warp and camelid weft. Textile Museum, Washington, D.C. (91.366)



Fig. 20. Detail of woman's dress, warp-faced plain weave with warp-float patterning (cat. no. 3), Inca

in contrast, weft faced, which requires different materials, looms (fig. 22), and patterning techniques. These two traditions—warp patterning and tapestry weave—thus represent two distinct arenas of textile work. However, skilled weavers could create identical patterning using either method, and Inca master weavers did produce textiles in both systems. The finest examples of these can be indistinguishable without microscopic examination of the edges of the cloth (figs. 19, 20).

Cumbi was integral to Inca social and political life and spurred the development of a specialized production system, including the selective breeding of animals as sources of luxury fibers (fig. 23), the concentrated processing of particular dyes, and the meticulous refinement of weaving and needlework techniques by master artisans.⁴¹ Weavers and other technicians were gathered from around the empire to produce these special garments, part of an Inca labor-distribution system (*mitmaq*) in which specialized workers were moved from



Fig. 21. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. *The first age group of women, Avacoc Varmi* (showing a woman weaving on a backstrap loom), from *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 1615. Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen (p. 217 [KB p. 219])



Fig. 22. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. *Mercedarian Friar Murúa* (showing weaver working at an upright tapestry loom and being abused by Martín de Murúa), from *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 1615. Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen (p. 661 [KB p. 675])

region to region as necessary. Royal garments made of *cumbi* were distributed solely by prerogative of the king and were steeped in an intricate system of political diplomacy established around a broader concept of reciprocity: in this case, garments in exchange for fealty.

As early as the late sixteenth century, the Spanish, in accounting for textiles exacted as tribute requirements from local populations, had come to recognize and differentiate two main Inca categories of cloth: *abuasca* (or *abasca*, as it is sometimes spelled), and *cumbi*. Both terms were used locally well into the seventeenth century. In 1653 Fray Cobo, among his observations of Andean flora, fauna, and other aspects of Inca natural and cultural life, recorded five types of cloth used in the Andes: “*abuasca* (coarse and thick); *cunbi* [*sic*] (fine and precious); *cumbi* woven with colored feathers; *chaquira* (embroidered cloth of silver and gold); and *chusi* (crude cloth used for carpets, blankets, and covers).”⁴² *Abuasca* was generally considered to be plain, undecorated cloth; *cumbi*, defined simply, was a cloth of high quality, described in the sixteenth century as cloth *de dos haces*, or “of two faces”: “They work two faces all

of the work they want, so that you do not see a thread nor an end of it in the entire piece.”⁴³

Andean weaving, for much of its long history, had created textiles that were the same on both sides. This was a quality uncommon in European textiles, especially tapestries, which



Fig. 23. Alpacas at Santa Rosa, Puno, Peru, 1928. Photograph by Martín Chambi, courtesy Allain Chambi Productions

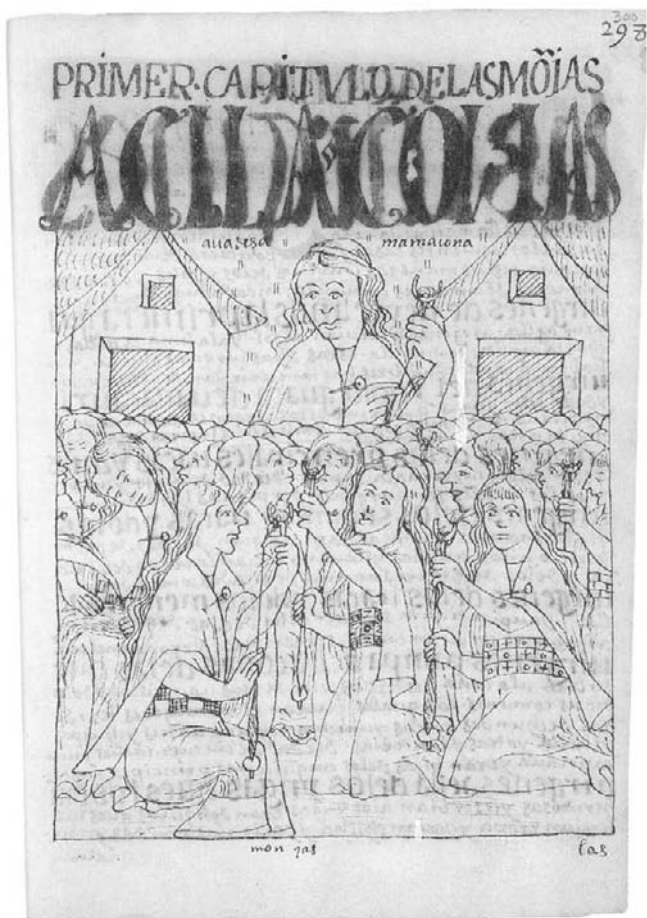


Fig. 24. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. *Acclacuna*, from *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 1615. Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen (p. 300 [KB p. 302])

were always woven with one right face and a wrong face where the tails and ends of the multicolored yarns were left hanging.⁴⁴ Inca master weavers always ensured a complete, finished surface on both sides of their tapestry garments; even the embroidery stitches used to cover the seams and edges of garments woven of *cumbi* were double-sided, so that inside and outside, front and back, were identical surfaces of a complete, “unblemished” object. In this way *cumbi* garments were conceptually similar to the children chosen for the *capacocha* ritual, who were described in early colonial-period literature as being *sin mancha*: without “stains” or faults.

The fineness of *cumbi* textiles—especially their surface density and uniformity—is comparable perhaps only to the *kesi* tapestry of China, with its finely reeled silk filaments, or to the work of the Fatimid *tiraz* workshops of thirteenth-century Islamic Egypt. (It should be noted that these other traditions did not emphasize a perfect finish on both sides of a textile, and that they are both examples of weaving silk, by nature a finer fiber than Andean camelid-hair wools). Even the great sixteenth-century weavers of Northern Europe, who made some

of the world’s most famous examples of the form, achieved warp and weft counts only one-quarter of that found in Inca *cumbi* weaving, which generally has about 30–35 warps and more than 200 wefts per inch. For example, *The Start of the Hunt*, the first in the Metropolitan Museum’s famous Hunt of the Unicorn series, has 16–18 warps and 60–96 wool wefts per inch.⁴⁵

Cumbi cloth was woven by specialists who were cloistered at a young age in weaving centers located throughout the empire. The men were known as *cumbicamayos*; the women numbered among the *acclacuna*, the Inca “chosen women” (fig. 24). Knowledge of weaving systems and patterns involved rigorous training and was passed down from master to pupil (and parent to child). Each aspect of the weaving process, including fiber preparation, spinning, gathering of colorants and other raw materials, and dyeing, was a specialized practice and was also learned from a young age.⁴⁶ The Inca rulers differentiated between areas of specialization and gave the practitioners specific titles, such as *llano paucar camayo* (officials who make first-quality cloth) or *tanti camayo* (Indians who make colors from plants, or dyers).⁴⁷ Although we know that men and women worked together in the weaving centers, we do not clearly understand the division of labor. Some *acclacuna* were responsible for producing yarns and cloth for religious use, such as for offerings to particular *huacas* (sacred objects) or to the Sun cult; others spun yarn and wove cloth solely for the king. Their yarns were made of animal hair culled from their particular patron’s herds. The herd belonging to the Sun cult, for example, is estimated to have comprised more than a million animals.⁴⁸ In other words, not only was the *cumbi*-weaving method unique compared with more common fabrics, but the entire production process was specialized and geared toward the textile’s specific purpose and patron.

Fray Cobo described the *cumbicamayos* as “not ordinary craftsmen” who worked “only in the service of the Inca and the great lords.”⁴⁹ Indeed, the title *cumbicamayo* was a recognition by Inca society of their knowledge and their lifetime dedication to their craft. Frank Salomon and George Urioste translate the Quechua “*cumbi camayo*” not as the usual “master weaver” but as “possessor of a specific force or energy (*camay*).”⁵⁰ In other contexts, they translate *camay* as “to charge,” “to charge with being,” “to make,” “to give form and force,” or “to animate.”⁵¹ These definitions cogently reflect the Inca conception of the *cumbi* weaver as one who could vivify the *cumbi* textile or imbue it with animated properties.⁵²

Hundreds, possibly thousands of weavers and craftspeople contributed to the production of *cumbi* cloth.⁵³ Among the

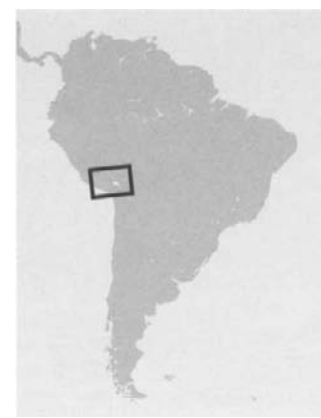
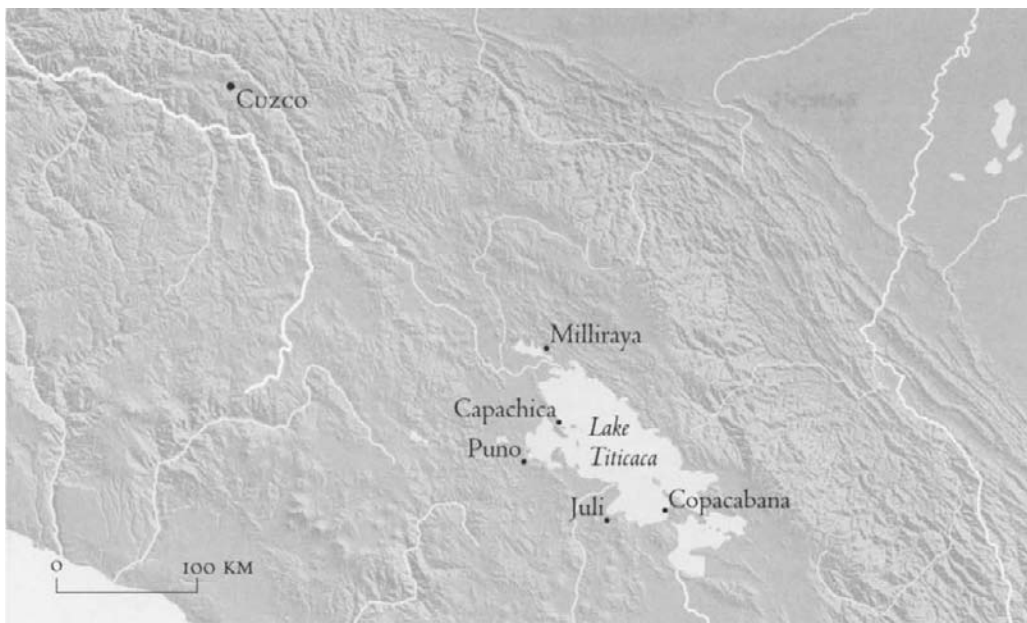


Fig. 25. Inca weaving centers near Lake Titicaca

five or so great weaving centers of the Inca period known to us, those most lauded by Spanish chroniclers were in the Lupaca region, around Lake Titicaca, an area still known for its fine weaving (fig. 25). Spanish chronicler José de Acosta notes that “the Inca, king of Peru, had great maestros working this cloth of *cumbi* and the principals in the *repartimiento* [colonial division] of Capachica, next to the great lake of Titicaca.”⁵⁴ Milliraya, a large weaving complex along the shores of Lake Titicaca, was established during the reign of Huayna Capac, one of the last Inca kings, and reportedly supported a thousand *cumbi* weavers and feather-cloth workers.⁵⁵

WEAVING IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD

Shortly after the fall of Cuzco to the Spanish in 1533, news of the defeat was dispatched to outposts and weaving centers throughout the Inca Empire. *Cumbi* weavers in Huánuco kept producing cloth until at least 1549, roughly fifteen years after the Conquest.⁵⁶ Milliraya continued to make *cumbi* until 1553, when Cari, the governor of the Lupaca region, told the weavers that “the time of the Inca was over, and they should each go home.”⁵⁷ An early census of Juli, an active colonial town along the southern shore of Lake Titicaca, indicates that *cumbicamayos* were still working in the region about 1567.⁵⁸

In the 1570s, the Spanish viceregal administration sought to address a drastic decline in the number and quality of textiles collected in their tribute payments. Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (r. 1569–81) formalized a census-taking system known as *visitas*, whereby Spanish clerics (*visitadores*) traveled the countryside, village to village, conducting interviews to document

tribute requirements and household inventories. The administration was eager to secure a wide array of tribute items, but Toledo instructed his *visitadores* to focus particularly on locating the *cumbi* weavers, “if in the time of the Inca and after [that time] they had worked clothing of *cumbi*; and for whom, and if they paid them; and if *cumbicamayos* are in each *repartimiento* and how many were [there] in the time of the Inca.”⁵⁹

After the *cumbi*-weaving centers disbanded, many weavers had, apparently, returned to their home regions; still others remained on the move. Archival documents indicate that some *cumbi* weavers became itinerant craftsmen, traveling the countryside and setting up shop in the homes of wealthy landowners. Traveler Antonio Vásquez de Espinosa commented on seeing Indians weaving in the house of the corregidor, or local administrator, of the town of Cajamarca:

It was [in] the house of the corregidor where they had many Indians working to make cloth of *cumbi*, very special with finely drawn hunting scenes and other curious and valuable things, made of the wool of the vicuña and the other sheep [llamas] of the land.⁶⁰

These *cumbi* weavers, trained according to strict Inca weaving standards, continued to work after the defeat of the empire, but they quickly began to modify (out of necessity) their extraordinarily refined methods in reaction to the collapse of the Inca weaving infrastructure. They also relaxed some of the meticulous techniques imposed on them by the *cumbicamayos* system, as oversight of the weaving process ceased. In the 1570s Fray Cobo lamented the lack of fineness in colonial weaving compared with that of Inca times. Indeed, when we



Fig. 26. Front of woman's mantle with *tocapu*, showing silk and metallic threads (detail, cat. no. 39), 17th century

compare the textile output of both eras, the quality of colonial spinning and weaving, with some exceptions, declines noticeably. Assessment of quality can be difficult, of course, but, as a matter of perception, some of these changes can be quantified, such as relative compactness of weaving. For example, where the typical weft count in an Inca-period tunic numbers more than 200 yarns per inch, in a colonial version it averages less than 150 yarns per inch.

While it is true that most colonial-period garments were less finely executed, some held to the highest Inca weaving standards. Examples of these, such as the tunics collected by Adolph Bandelier in the 1890s, now in the American Museum of Natural History, New York (see cat. nos. 19, 45), were certainly woven by master weavers trained under Inca administration. As a result, they can be dated to within the lifetime of the first post-Conquest generation of weavers. It is possible that these tunics, purportedly found on the Isla del Sol (Island of the Sun) in Lake Titicaca, represent the fine craftsmanship of the renowned *cumbi* weavers from Milliraya or Capachica.⁶¹ Overall, however, what we see in colonial garments is a rapid shift away from the strictly enforced *cumbi*-weaving mandates, resulting in modifications to both technical and design elements.

Other important changes in terms of textile production resulted from the introduction by the Spanish of non-native weaving materials, tools, and equipment, and a new organization of the artisanal workforce. The Spanish crown, eager to stanch competition with the Spanish textile industry and to promote exports to the New World, discouraged the production of lux-

ury textiles in the colonies. Soon after they arrived, the Spanish had established their own textile workshops, or *obrajes*. The cloth made in the *obrajes* was low quality, intended primarily for garments given in lieu of payment to tributary and forced laborers in the silver mines. Master weavers arriving from Spain brought with them the tools of their trade, such as looms with treadles and reeds,⁶² and trained new generations of Andean workers to produce a completely different type of textile, one with utterly foreign attributes. In contrast to the single webs of cloth woven by Inca-period weavers, for example, Spanish looms produced long lengths that had to be cut from the bolt and made into garments, which were then tailored to European designs.

The Spanish also brought Old World sheep to the Andes—including the fine merino breed, whose wool formed the basis of their textile industry—to graze among the native camelids. Sheep's wool was used mostly for the lower-quality *obraje* textiles, however, and seems not to have penetrated the remaining *cumbi*-weaving activity, which continued, for the most part (particularly in the southern Highlands), to use native camelid fibers for yarns, especially to make Inca-style garments such as the woman's *lliclla* and man's *uncu*. The importation of certain specialty yarns—silk from China and metallic threads from Spain (generally composed of silver sheet wound around linen or sometimes silk cores)—had a greater impact on native weavers, particularly those working in the *cumbi* tradition, offering them, among other things, a new degree of luxury (fig. 26). In addition to its high luster and soft hand, silk was highly desirable because it easily absorbed the brilliantly colored native dyes

(a factor of its pliable chemical structure). Silk was brought to the New World in the form of yarn as well as fabrics, which would sometimes then be unraveled for their yarns, already dyed with exotic Asian colors.⁶³

INCA-STYLE GARMENTS IN THE COLONIAL ERA

Just as the garments made and worn by the Inca during their imperial reign had been part of a political strategy involving the public demonstration of identity, loyalty, and status, Inca-style garments made and worn in the Viceroyalty of Peru were also public displays of political allegiance and identity, although for a different audience and in a radically different social context. In 1575 Viceroy Toledo, by authority of King Philip II of Spain, enacted an ordinance that prohibited the wearing of Inca-style garments. Portraits of the Inca rulers as well as certain types of marine-shell trumpets traditionally used in public ceremonies—whose “mournful” sound, it was feared, could recall the “pain and lamentable memory” of Inca antiquity—were also banned.⁶⁴ Native Andeans were further encouraged to “accommodate themselves to our clothing,” meaning they were to wear Spanish-style garments: shirts and pants for men, skirts and blouses for women.

During this time certain aspects of native Andean dress became subject to sumptuary laws that originated in Spain and were enforced in the Andes by the viceregal government. (In Spain laws had long governed the wearing of luxury fabrics, codifying which social classes could wear what, and when.)⁶⁵ In the viceroyalty, similar laws regulated dress according to social hierarchies as well as racial distinctions. For example, the amount of silk a native woman could wear was restricted, as was the number of pieces of lace that could be added to her mantle. In 1571 women of mixed descent were completely prohibited from wearing silk mantles, gold, or pearls.⁶⁶

In the drawings of Guaman Poma, we can see that while men he identifies as being of native or mixed birth and nobility adopted the Spanish style of wearing pants (a practice governed by several legal edicts), they rejected the *camiseta* (shirt) and continued to wear the Andean *uncu*. Guaman Poma depicts himself in such a mixture of native and Spanish dress. Interestingly, his description of what a native leader, or *curaca*, should wear is quite direct: “He should wear clothes in the Spanish Style. He should wear vest, collar band, shirt, cape and hat. Be booted and wear sword or halberd.”⁶⁷ However, the sons of elite Cuzco families who attended the Jesuit Colegio de Cacicques de San Borja were permitted to don

tunic and pants.⁶⁸ An Inca noblewoman (*coya*), Guaman Poma tells us, if widowed or married to a Spaniard, “gives up the right to the special style of [Andean] dress.”⁶⁹ The “special style” is a pointed reference to the *llilca* and the *anacu*, whose evocative power is praised in the festival song quoted at the beginning of this essay.

In the eighteenth century, displeasure grew among viceregal authorities over what they perceived as an excess of luxury in the garments worn by native Andeans. Local peoples, as a result, were then “prohibited from dressing themselves like us.”⁷⁰ At the same time, concern grew among administrators that Inca-style garments were becoming increasingly visible and politicized, especially in the context of the Túpac Amaru rebellions in the southern Peruvian Highlands. (The founder of this native resurgency, José Gabriel Condorcanqi [1742–1781], had taken the name of the last Inca king and was known as Túpac Amaru II.) In 1781 Inca-style garments were thus outlawed again, as recommended by Visitador don José Antonio de Areche in a dispatch to King Charles III: “The use of national garments, that could bring to their minds, the ancient Incaic memories, should be prohibited.”⁷¹ The “ancient Incaic memories” to which Areche refers speaks to the garments’ profound, lasting significance in Andean culture and their ability to evoke an idealized vision, however archaic, of the former Inca rulers.

Between these two critical periods of Andean colonial history—the 1570s era of Viceroy Toledo’s reforms and the Túpac Amaru rebellions of the 1780s—Inca-style garments, along with other Inca-derived accoutrements and symbols of power, were incorporated into colonial public displays. During festivals and other celebratory events—such as arrival ceremonies for important administrators or festivities marking the weddings or deaths of Spanish monarchs—such garments were worn as part of a “theater” of Inca heritage. They were a highly charged, and popularly understood, reinforcement of Inca identity within the limits of colonial rule.

Christian festivals, notably the annual Corpus Christi processions—widely observed celebrations of the founding of the Eucharistic sacrament—were some of the most important colonial events for which the wearing of Inca garments was sanctioned. In Cuzco, the former Inca capital, Corpus Christi processions were accompanied by a grand pageant that is depicted in a series of paintings commissioned by Bishop Manuel de Mollinedo y Angula for the Church of Santa Ana (cat. nos. 116a–d). As part of the pageantry, each year a man was selected by a council of Andean elite to represent the Inca nobility in the procession and to act as a royal standard-bearer,



Fig. 27. Detail of man's tunic with stylized jaguar pelt design (cat. no. 19), mid- to late 16th century



Fig. 28. Man's tunic with jaguar pelt design, Inca. Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft. Private collection

or *alférez real*.⁷² Garbed in classic Inca symbols of authority—including a *cumbi* tunic, the *mascaypacha* (royal fringe), *llantu* (woven headband), and *suntur pawqar* (a headdress replete with Inca emblems of power)—the *alférez real* would lead a procession of carts, each representing a parish of Cuzco, as they paraded along ritual pathways through the city.

In the early eighteenth century, Bartolomé de Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, a Spanish writer in Bolivia, described elaborate Corpus Christi processions in Potosí, the richest silver-mining source in the New World, including groups of native Andeans dressed in luxurious Inca-style garments theatrically reenacting the history of the Incas. He described one celebration from 1555 that lasted for several days and incorporated a spectacular progression of native men dressed as Inca kings—from Manco Capac, the first mythical Inca king, to Sayri Túpac, the last Inca to rule under Spanish authority—each wearing his particular insignia and “excellent suit.”⁷³ It is likely that many colonial tunics preserved today were made specifically for this type of public procession.

Although extant examples of early colonial *uncus* and *llicllas* are structurally almost indistinguishable from their pre-

Conquest counterparts, they do evidence a quick absorption of many Spanish decorative elements, not only imported silk and silver threads but motifs from a decidedly European design vocabulary, including crowned lions, Hapsburg double-headed eagles, and interlinked floral scrolls and strapwork. One particularly dramatic innovation in men's *uncus* was a stark contrast that emerged between the front and back of the garment, which in Inca times had been identical. The front of a tunic now in the American Museum of Natural History, New York, for example, is covered with Inca-style geometric motifs, whereas the back has a strikingly stylized jaguar-pelt design (fig. 27). One possible precedent for this remarkable colonial rendition is an extremely fine Inca-period *cumbi*-weave tunic, now in a private collection, with a jaguar-pelt patterned front and back (fig. 28). One could argue that the differentiation in the colonial garment served to accentuate its “theatrical” effect in public processions.

The jaguar (*Panthera onca peruviana*), or *otorongo* in Quechua, had long been a symbol of power and authority in the Andes. The puma (*Felis concolor bangsi*), the native Andean mountain lion, was also revered, and before the Conquest the pelts of

both powerful felines had been worn by Highland religious leaders during certain ceremonies. In the colonial era, a number of tunics were made with felines placed at the base of the *abuaqui*, a traditional Inca stepped design along the neck yoke. What we see in later colonial tunics is the replacement or conflation of the Inca jaguar or puma with the Spanish heraldic rampant lion (fig. 29), a significant colonial transformation of a deeply rooted Andean tradition.

Another aesthetic shift attributable to Spanish influence, albeit more subtle, can be seen in the intriguing group of colonial tunics with feline motifs that also have a purple ground color. As a color per se, purple was rarely used by the Inca.⁷⁴ The hue of purple that we see on most of these tunics is actually an Andean version of a special type of luxury silk called *tornesol*, which was produced in Europe and worn by the Spanish upper classes. Although monochrome in appearance, fabrics made of *tornesol*—literally “turns to the sun”—are composed of two distinct colors, one used in the warp, the other in the weft, that when woven together create a vibrant, shimmering effect.⁷⁵ The purple hue in one early colonial tunic reflects the *tornesol* influence in that the color was achieved by using weft yarns comprising separately dyed red and blue fibers spun together to render a mottled purple, a method rarely seen in the Andes. The only known example of a true *tornesol* effect in tapestry weave in the Andes, and the earliest of all Andean *tornesol*-influenced textiles, is an *uncu* woven for a religious statue (cat. no. 89). The color eventually became associated with garments worn by native local authorities, an influence, no doubt, of purple’s royal connotations in Europe.

A number of Inca status symbols—including *tocapu* (the Inca rank insignia), shields, helmets, the cantuta flower (the “*flor del Inca*,” *Cantua buxifolia* Jussieu ex Lamarck) and the ñucchu flower (*salvia*), insects, and, as we have seen, feline imagery—proliferated in colonial Inca-style garments, a dramatic contrast with the geometric motifs of the restricted Inca design vocabulary. Although we recognize these as “Inca” motifs—as seen in other media, such as ceramics—few, if any, Inca-period garments exist that might have served as models for these colonial garments. This is a complex issue in the study of colonial garments. The lack of Inca precedents seems to raise the question of whether the “Inca” template colonial weavers were embellishing upon was real or invented.

Of all the Inca symbols transformed in colonial garments, *tocapu* were perhaps the most prominently used, or even exploited.⁷⁶ These variable geometric patterns are typically seen inscribed in rectangular or square units forming rows, or *betas*

(according to Guaman Poma), sequenced in what often appears to be a random order. (The term *tocapu* can refer to a single unit, a group of units, or, more generally, the graphic device: in other words, it is both singular and plural.) Padre Ludovico Bertonio, in his Aymara dictionary of 1612, defined the term *tocapu isi* as “garment or clothing of the Inca made with a thousand marvels.”⁷⁷ In Diego Gonzáles Holguín’s sixteenth-century Quechua dictionary, *tocapu* is defined as “clothing of precious/valuable work or worked woven panels.”⁷⁸ Although the term is specifically garment related in both early definitions, it is interesting to note that *tocapu* embellished various types of objects, notably *queros*, the Inca ritual drinking vessels.

In the absence of any documentary or historical evidence, the derivation and meaning of *tocapu* remains unclear. We know that during the Inca period only persons affiliated with the Inca administration were allowed to wear garments with *tocapu* designs (see cat. no. 18).⁷⁹ *Tocapu* were also associated with high social status and, perhaps, with place of origin. Some scholars have proposed that *tocapu* was a symbolic visual language in a culture that otherwise had no written forms.⁸⁰

After the defeat of the Inca, *tocapu* continued to be incorporated in garments as special indications of high status and affiliation with the Inca past. Once the use of *tocapu* was no longer governed by strictly enforced Inca statutes, people with genuine as well as spurious claims to Andean nobility began to incorporate them in their formal native garments. Legal disputes over the right to wear such garments can be found in archival documents from the period.⁸¹ The processional



Fig. 29. Back of tunic made for a boy or a statue, with spotted crowned lion and *tocapu* edge embroidery (detail, cat. no. 88), 17th century

garments worn by Andean nobility during the Corpus Christi festivals perfectly exemplify this eager embrace of Inca descent, as seen in the rows of *tocapu* along the waistband of the tunic worn by the *alférez real* as well as his *mascaypacha* fringe, once worn only by the Inca king and in the colonial period a privilege protected by social oversight.⁸²

The profusion of *tocapu* seen in colonial tapestry garments would have been unknown in Inca times. Embroidered *tocapu*—a purely colonial invention—can also be found on the edges of some tunics and women’s mantles (see fig. 29). Multiple rows of *tocapu* were sometimes combined with European motifs such as figures of Spanish soldiers or of Adam and Eve (cat. no. 38). However, this proliferation of *tocapu* on colonial Inca-style garments contrasts with their rare occurrence on tapestry hangings produced under colonial supervision.



Fig. 30. *Portrait of a Ñusta*, 18th century. Oil on canvas. Museo Inka, Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad del Cusco

In one eighteenth-century portrait of an Inca *ñusta* (princess), the subject wears a somewhat Europeanized *anacu* with a matching *tocapu*-design *llilla* (fig. 30; see also cat. no. 21). In good Inca tradition, she is accompanied by her *q'uimillo*, a hunch-backed dwarf companion, and a parrot; in her right hand she holds cantuta flowers, and in her left a spindle and whorl, all traditional Inca symbols of the female domain. Indeed, native noblewomen were conventionally depicted in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century colonial portraiture as wearing Inca-style, or modified Inca-style, dress: statements of both their high social standing and Inca ancestry. Early-seventeenth-century books by native and Spanish authors—notably Guaman Poma (1615), Fray Martín de Murúa (1611), and Diego de Ocaña (1601)—contain numerous illustrations of the attire worn by elite Andean women in the colonial period.

Early viceregal administrators worried over what they perceived as the “indecent” manner of native Andean women’s dress, since the loosely wrapped *anacu* had the potential to expose the women’s legs as they walked.⁸³ Also, Andean women nursed their babies by discreetly slipping the infant to the breast through the openings of their dress. Laws prohibiting this practice, and requiring that dresses be sewn up, were among the “reforms” enacted under Viceroy Toledo in the 1570s. A petticoat was introduced that was sometimes worn under the native-style *anacu*. Often trimmed with lace, this “underskirt” affected how the traditional full-body *anacu* could be worn, turning it into more of an apronlike frontal garment: an “overskirt.” Contemporary ethnographic cultures in the Peruvian Highlands still use the term *media acsu*, or “half” *acsu*, to refer to this style of overskirt.⁸⁴ In the well-known painting of the marriage of the Inca princess Beatriz to Martín García de Loyola, the governor of Chile and a nephew of Ignatius of Loyola, we see Beatriz wearing a lace-trimmed underskirt beneath her wrapped dress (fig. 31).⁸⁵ The lace, which can just be made out between the open edges of her tapestry-woven *anacu*, affords Beatriz the modesty and courtliness that the Spanish required of Inca noblewomen.

Only one tapestry-woven (*cumbi*) colonial *anacu* has been preserved; it is now in the collection of the Brooklyn Museum, New York (cat. no. 22). More examples of colonial *llillas* woven in the Inca *cumbi* technique are known, although these, too, were rare in the colonial era, restricted, no doubt, to women with claims to nobility and Inca lineage. As is the case today in the region, *llillas* were most frequently woven using warp-patterned weaving.⁸⁶ Although tapestry weave and warp patterning differ in many respects, both result in textiles of



Fig. 31. Marriage of Don Martín de Loyola to Doña Beatriz Ñusta, late 17th century. Oil on canvas. Compañía de Jesús, Cuzco

great beauty. However, because tapestry weave was inextricably linked to the high-status traditions of the Inca, it continued to exude an aura of luxury within colonial society, one that could not be achieved by warp patterning, no matter how beautifully the textile was worked.

Warp-patterned *llicllas* were constructed from two panels or *callu*, indicating half of something, or one of two pieces. Each *callu* was woven in distinct sections, including undecorated areas (*pampas*) that contrasted with small stripes containing groups of regularly organized patterns (*pallai*). Each *callu* was a complete four-selvaged unit, and each was intended to be seamed together with an identically woven *callu* to form the *lliclla*.⁸⁷

Tapestry *llicllas*, in contrast, were constructed as single panels of four-selvaged cloth. Nevertheless, the central line of a tapestry *lliclla* was usually indicated either with a tapestry rendition of a stitched seam (see, for example, cat. no. 4) or another motif indicating a center section. Even in some Inca-period tapestry *llicllas* an actual false seam was stitched onto the surface of the panel to mimic the joining of the two *callu* in a warp-patterned mantle.⁸⁸ Indeed, the conceptual layout of tapestry *llicllas* was based on the warp-patterning traditions of the Andean Highlands (fig. 32). Each section of a tapestry-woven garment thus had a counterpart in a warp-patterned one (fig. 33), a correlation that would seem to suggest (along

with other technical features) that the “imperial” or officially sanctioned Inca tapestry weaving developed out of local weaving traditions. Echoes of this can be seen in the *pallai*, the small striped sections of the *llicllas*,⁸⁹ which in warp-patterned *llicllas* are three-dimensional woven structures. In tapestry *llicllas* the *pallai* are rendered as two-dimensional, tapestry-woven designs. Like the false central seams, what were woven structures in warp patterning became, in the tapestry version, design motifs.

About forty complete or partially preserved *cumbi llicllas* are known to us among extant colonial tapestry garments.⁹⁰ Wills record that many were kept as heirlooms, passed on for generations.⁹¹ There are two basic, consistent types. Examples of the first type probably date to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. These exhibit the aesthetic and fundamental layout of warp-patterned *llicllas*: three bands of pattern (*pallai*), juxtaposed with two fields (*pampas*) and a single outer band (*cantu*) along the top and bottom edges. The most formal of them, and the earliest, incorporate *tocapu* as part of the *pallai* stripes (see fig. 34). The *pampas* are generally filled with small-scale depictions of Andean flora and fauna, although colonial images do find their way in, from Christian crosses and orbs and references to Adam and Eve to swashbuckling swordsmen in European garb. European-style vases of cut flowers likewise



Fig. 32. Woman's mantle, warp-faced plain weave with warp-float patterning (annotated with Andean conceptual design sections), Bolivia, 18th century. Camelid, silk, and metallic warp and silk weft. Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore, La Paz (3029/1702 "A" 0001)

Fig. 33. Woman's mantle, tapestry weave (annotated with Andean conceptual design sections), 17th century. Cotton warp and camelid weft. Abegg-Stiftung, Riggisberg, Switzerland (416)



sometimes share space with the Inca cantuta flower. These *llicllas* were most likely made as wedding mantles, and some even depict couples (fig. 34). In one such example a Spanish gentleman is shown respectfully holding the hand of an Andean woman and, in a perhaps more gallant gesture, bowing and tipping his hat to her.

The second group shares the familiar tripartite, horizontal layout of the first, but here the primary motifs within the registers are generally urns with flowers and double-headed Hapsburg eagles. Additionally, a woven depiction of a scalloped fringe with small tassels (referred to as ball fringe) commonly demarcates the horizontal registers separating the *pampas* and *pallai*. It should be noted that depictions of lace designs also occur in the first group of *llicllas*, as lace was a popular luxury import in viceregal Peru. Weavers no doubt drew their inspiration for the ball-fringe motif, also found frequently in tapestry hangings and bedcovers of the period, from observations of actual three-dimensional fringes and trimmings arriving on furnishing fabrics from Spain. In contrast to lace-inspired designs, which were fundamentally European in origin, another common motif in this second group of *llicllas* was adapted from Andean history: the sideways S design, which appears repeatedly in Inca-period textiles and persists in Highland weaving to this day. This motif has been interpreted ethnographically as a representation of a tool used in cultivation called *kuti* and is associated with agriculture, water, and fertility.⁹²



Fig. 34. Detail of woman's wedding mantle (fig. 33), showing marriage couple

The second group of colonial *llicllas* is less finely woven than the first (compare cat. nos. 38–42 with cat. nos. 150, 151). These *llicllas* also share one distinguishing technical feature: although each was woven as a single piece of cloth, they have pronounced, regular sections indicated by vertical ribs. It is not known where this group was produced, but many have woolen warp yarns, possibly a regional characteristic that might eventually help to identify their origins.⁹³ They also share these technical and design features with a series of larger tapestry hangings (see fig. 95), which might indicate they were all made in the same region, if not in the same workshop.

SACRED GARMENTS

As part of native Andean religious practice, special *cumbi* garments were woven to clothe sacred objects and shrines (*huacas*) as well as the mummy bundles of former Inca kings (*mallquis*). These important royal ancestors—representing the founders of the thirteen lineages of Cuzco Inca society—were clothed in the finest garments and maintained clandestinely, even through the early years of the colonial period, by a “corporation” of family members, replete with retainers who ceremonially fed and clothed them and who carried them out when

ritual practice required their presence.⁹⁴ They were discovered, with much astonishment and dismay, by Spanish lawyer Juan Polo de Ondegardo in the middle of the sixteenth century, and several were brought to Lima at the behest of Viceroy Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, marqués de Cañete (1500–1561) some time before his death.⁹⁵

The *huacas*, which included stones or outcroppings in the landscape, were conceptually organized as a series of hundreds of shrines throughout the Cuzco region, positioned along lines (*ceques*) that radiated out from the center of Cuzco, beginning at the Coricancha, the Temple of the Sun. Like the *mallquis*, *huacas* were given offerings and, sometimes, clothed in traditional Andean garments made especially for them.

Both Inca *mallquis* and *huacas* were sought out and destroyed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by zealous Catholic priests attempting to eliminate “idolatrous” Inca religious practices. As part of their extirpation campaign, Spanish priests documented the locations and forms of *huacas* in the Cuzco region. In order to facilitate their destruction, Cristóbal de Albornoz (ca. 1530–1583), a particularly obsessed cleric, systematically listed and described the *huacas* in the Cuzco area, section by section, following along the pathways of the *ceque* lines: “Capa is a large tree and they dress it and they give it many offerings”; “Uscovilca is the *huaca* of the Ananchancas Indians. It is a stone dressed in the manner of an Indian.”⁹⁶ Fray Cobo, in his *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (History of the New World) of 1653, also enumerated *huacas*: “The sixth was called Mantocallas [*sic*], which was a hill held in great veneration on which, at the time of shelling maize, they made certain sacrifices. For these, they placed on the said hill many bundles of carved firewood dressed as men and women.”⁹⁷ The “dressed” carved firewood possibly refers to offerings waiting to be burned. He continues:

Fine clothing was just as common as that of the most frequent offerings. It was a part of nearly every major sacrifice. Clothing was made for this purpose with certain ceremonies and in different ways. Part of it was men's garments and part of it was women's; some of the garments were large, some small. They dressed the idols and dead bodies of the lords in this clothing, and put alongside them folded garments. Thus, not counting the garment that each idol already had, they put another folded garment next to it. However, the amount of clothing that was burned was so much greater that there was no comparison. . . . Sometimes they burned clothing alone, and other times they set fire to statues of men and women made of carved wood, dressed in this clothing, and in this way they burned them.⁹⁸



Fig. 35. Sacred ceremony in which a stone, representing the divinity of a quarry or mountain, is dressed in a *ponchito* (small poncho) and coca bags and given ceremonial staffs and offerings, Colquencha, Bolivia, 1988. Photograph by Johan Reinhard

Huacas could take the form of many different types of objects and were given offerings and garments appropriate for that specific form (fig. 35). For example, if the *huaca* was associated with a female entity, the garments made for it and offered to it would be in the shape of women's garments. Polo de Ondegardo recorded one harvest ritual that involved the selection of a well-formed corncob to become the Zaramama, or "mother of the maize." It was ceremoniously placed in a small container and wrapped in a *lliella*. Another kind of Zaramama was made of cornstalks and dressed in a skirt, complete with a *lliella* and *tupus*.⁹⁹ Certain vessels were also considered *huacas*, such as a "small, well-fashioned pitcher . . . dressed like a

queen with a shawl of precious *cumbe* [*sic*] and intricate pins" that was encountered by Jesuits in the remote village in Cajatambo in the mid-1660s.¹⁰⁰

The garments that clothed these sacred, inanimate objects of worship also served to humanize them. *Huaca* garments would have reproduced the striping and patterning common to a particular region, making the sacred object a miniature representation of the worshipers themselves, albeit clad in the most precious of materials reserved exclusively for such uses. Martín de Murúa described "a quantity of clothing for men and women, fine and very small, made to conform to the size of the idols."¹⁰¹ These miniature garments were not

merely cut down from larger pieces of cloth; like all traditional Andean garments, they were woven as one unit of cloth for their intended purpose, were woven to the same exacting specifications of larger garments, and, no doubt, required an extraordinary level of technical ability and effort. They help to underscore the Andean conceptual system in which the process of making an object contributes to its value and meaning.

Weaving clothing for *huaca* stones, pitchers, and corncobs was the job of a group of specialized artisans who prepared the *cumbi* cloth for ceremonial sacrifice. One such specialist, the *pilco llama camayo*, made textiles for llamas selected to be sacrificed by the Inca king (an unusual practice that is not well documented).¹⁰² Whether worn by children, adults, or llamas—or used in and of themselves, as we will see—these garments symbolized the time and effort of labor for the gods. In Inca times, an entire class of *acclacuna*, the cloistered Inca women, wove textiles exclusively for the Sun god and the Inca king. Spun from the hair of a flock of white llamas kept especially for this purpose, these garments, we can speculate, were made to the highest *cumbi* standards and were burned as offerings after the sacrifice of the animals. Spanish administrator Agustín de Zárate described this practice in his 1555 *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Perú* (History of the Discovery and Conquest of Peru):

Besides the temples of the *huacas* there were also, all over Peru, houses or nunneries inhabited by women sacred to the sun, who never left them but spun and wove cotton and wool, and made very fine cloths. But once the cloths were finished they burnt them with the bones of white sheep and threw the ashes into the wind, in the direction of the sun.¹⁰³

Another class of sacred garments relates to the *capacocha* sacrifices of young children. Not only were the children dressed in the finest *cumbi* garments, the gold, silver, and shell figurines that were used as offerings and that accompanied the children to the grave were also dressed in the finest *cumbi* textiles, identical to those worn by the children. These miniature dressed figures, presented by the priests who performed the sacrifices, were buried in various contexts, including in the sacred sand at the center of Cuzco.¹⁰⁴ Such ritual practices continued in the first decades after the Conquest, no doubt to the great consternation of the Spanish priests determined to convert the Andeans to Christianity.

The tradition of clothing sacred objects led to a unique innovation in Christian worship as practiced in the colonial

Andes: native garments woven for Christian statues (fig. 36). In a letter to Juan Manuel, the bishop of Cuzco, Visitador Areche lamented this development:

What pains my heart most is having seen, in my visit of last year, the way they introduce these vain observances into the Sanctuary, clothing the image of the Christ Child in an *uncu* and the other insignia I have mentioned. I have noted similar images in certain paintings, [made] to persuade us that they adore none but the true God when they see him in the garments of their *Yncas*, whom they regarded as Gods, as when they mix the most religious of ceremonies with outside superstitions.¹⁰⁵

Not only were the statues of the infant Jesus (*Niño Jesús*) frequently garbed in an *uncu*, typically San Isidro Labrador—the saint incorporated into Andean Christian lore as the patron saint of farmers—was provided with an Andean poncho. This tradition can still be seen today in many small churches scattered about the Peruvian Highlands.

Some miniature garments not associated with any particular figurine were woven and offered to both Christian and Andean



Fig. 36. *Niño Jesús de Huanca*, 18th century. Oil on canvas. Formerly in Argentina, present whereabouts unknown



Fig. 37. Peruvian women in church, Cuzco region, 1930s. Photograph by Martín Chambi. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Arthur M. Bullowa Bequest, 2003 (2003.33)

shrines throughout the Highlands. This is still practiced during annual celebrations for the Virgin of Snow in the Cuzco region and for the Virgin of Fátima at the festival of Qoyllor Rit'i, where the Virgin is believed to be embodied by a sacred rock.¹⁰⁶ "As the Virgin of Snow teaches *mestiza* seamstresses to sew," writes scholar Karen Michelsen, "indigenous weavers believe that the Virgin Mary, or 'la Mamacha,' teaches them to weave. The rock beneath the small altar housing the Virgin of Fátima is a repository for the weaver's [miniature] offerings."¹⁰⁷

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Pablo Joseph de Arriaga, a zealous priest involved in the extirpation of Andean idolatry, noted that while the Spanish were destroying the *huacas* and other idols, they for some reason ignored the *cumbi* garments that, in and of themselves, were imbued with meaning: "Furthermore, up to now no notice has been taken of their ancient shirts of *cumbi*, which they offer to their *huacas* and with which they dress up their *mallquis*, or which they put on at festival time or during the sacrifices to the *huacas*."¹⁰⁸ Arriaga qualified his remarks, however:

This does not mean that all their shirts of *cumbi* must be taken away from them with the excuse that they belong to the *huacas*, but only those which have been worn by their

mallquis or *huacas* and which were used solely for this ministry. It would be preferable to burn the last mentioned and not keep them, for the Indians cannot understand being deprived of these things and then seeing them preserved.¹⁰⁹

Remnants of sacred garments that were either overlooked or left untouched by Spanish extirpators have been preserved in remote Highland villages throughout the Andes. The village of Coroma, in the southwest region of Bolivia, maintains bundles of sacred textiles called *q'epi*.¹¹⁰ These bundles consist of garments, primarily *uncus*, communally owned and maintained and brought out once a year for the Corpus Christi festival. Absent their mummies, the garments of the ancestors are, by themselves, considered sacred, and they are celebrated with ritual offerings of *chicha* and other foodstuffs as well as llama sacrifices. These textiles—some of them hundreds of years old, others dating to the recent past—are legacies of Precolumbian belief systems in which they helped maintain the well-being of the community. They are a compelling demonstration of how garments—as physical objects imbued with hundreds of years of tradition and cultural meaning—continue to play an active role in Andean culture (fig. 37), retaining the memory of the past while helping to safeguard the future.

1. Translated by Bruce Mannheim (1991, p. 133). Mannheim translates the Quechua word *acsokitas* as “skirt,” not “dress.” In sixteenth-century Cuzco, however, *acso* or *acsu* meant a woman’s dress; only later in the colonial period did the term begin to be used to refer to a skirt, after the Spanish modified the style of women’s garments by decree. (The matter is further confused by the fact that the present-day Quechua word *acsu* refers to a skirt.) Mannheim agrees that perhaps “dress” would be a better translation. Personal communication with the author, July 2002.
2. This poem is part of a song that comes from a native festival narrative cycle called *Waricza arawi*, which Guaman Poma included as part of his “festival of the Inca” (Guaman Poma 1615, p. 319 [KB, p. 321]). Mannheim 1986, pp. 41–67. See also MacCormack (1991, p. 175), who discusses the poem in terms of the cataclysmic cycles in Andean religious thought.
3. For the archaeology of Inca culture, see J. Rowe 1946, pp. 183–330; Morris and Von Hagen 1993; Bauer 1998; and D’Altroy 2002.
4. The cultural and technical aspects of Inca textiles have been examined extensively. See, for example, Gayton 1961, pp. 111–18; Murra 1962, pp. 710–28; A. Rowe 1978, pp. 5–28; J. Rowe (1973) 1979, pp. 239–64; Zuidema 1991b, pp. 151–202; and A. Rowe 1997, pp. 5–54.
5. For an in-depth examination of the design organization of Andean textiles, especially the underlying cultural significance of aesthetic choices, see Cereceda 1978, pp. 1017–35, and Desrosiers 1997, pp. 325–50.
6. For this and other Andean legends, see Betanzos (1557) 1996.
7. Garcilaso de la Vega (1609–17) 1966, p. 45.
8. Betanzos (1557) 1996, pp. 13–14. Although Roland Hamilton and Dana Buchanan (in *ibid.*) translate *anacu* as “cloak,” it should be “dress.” I thank Sophie Desrosiers for pointing this out.
9. See Cereceda 1978, pp. 1017–35, and Zorn (1984) 1986.
10. See Cereceda 1986, pp. 133–231.
11. Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui (ca. 1615–20) 1993, pp. 9–126; Mannheim 1991, p. 50.
12. See Desrosiers 1997, pp. 325–50. See also Los Angeles 1978–79; Adelson and Tracht 1983; Silverman (1987) 1994; and Meisch 1997.
13. See, for example, Cereceda 1978.
14. See A. Rowe 1978, p. 11, fig. 9.
15. Cobo (1653, book 14, chap. 2) 1890–95, vol. 4, p. 160. A *vara* is a Spanish measurement equivalent to approximately 32–34 inches. A *palm* is equivalent to the “distance from the tip of the outstretched thumb to the tip of the little finger, about 8 inches.” Hamilton and Buchanan, introduction to Betanzos (1557) 1996, p. xviv.
16. Typically the lower edge of a tunic was embellished with double-sided zigzag embroidery in three differently colored yarns. A group of women’s mantle panels found in a cache from an Inca site along the southern coast of Peru were discovered folded into their paired components but unstitched, an indication that weaving and stitching were probably done by separate craftsmen. See Katterman and Riddell 1994, pp. 141–68, cited in A. Rowe 1997, pp. 14, 40, n. 42.
17. See J. Rowe (1973) 1979.
18. See *ibid.*, p. 251, and A. Rowe 1978, pp. 5–28.
19. Cobo (1653, book 14, chap. 2) 1990, pp. 186–87.
20. Few burials of Inca men dressed in their mantles have been found intact to indicate how these garments were worn. For a fragment of a man’s mantle found in the burial of a child at Ancón, see A. Rowe 1997, p. 26, fig. 42.
21. See *ibid.*, p. 26. One enigmatic tapestry-woven men’s mantle is known, from the southern coast of Peru. It is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1998.325). See Niles 1992, pp. 51–65.
22. For various dictionary spellings and usages from the period, see A. Rowe 1997, p. 6, n. 35. The term *anacu* is also found in colonial-era tribute lists, as an *anacu* was one of the clothing items required as payment from every village. See Ortiz de Zúñiga 1967; Phipps in Brooklyn–Phoenix 1996–97, pp. 187–88; and Julien 1999b.
23. Cobo (1653, book 14, chap. 2) 1990, pp. 187–88.
24. For a brief description of women’s garments, see J. Rowe 1946, p. 235. See also Montell 1929. More recent scholarship focusing on women’s garments includes Desrosiers 1992 and A. Rowe 1997.
25. *Capacocha* offering sites have been subject to recent scholarly excavations and study. See especially Millán de Palavecino 1966, pp. 81–100; Beorchia Nigris 1987; Schobinger 1998; and Reinhard and Ceruti 2000. For colonial-period references to the ritual, see Duviols 1976, pp. 11–57, and Cobo (1653, book 13, chap. 21) 1990, pp. 111–12.
26. Max Uhle, with his excavation at Pachacamac, was one of the few archaeologists to identify women’s garments as such. See Uhle 1903 and J. Rowe 1946, p. 235.
27. These include catalogue number 3; an unpublished, similar example, now in the Museo Inka, Cuzco, which has burial stains (examined by the author, 1996); several examples found in high-altitude *capacocha* contexts; and a related type composed of natural-colored yarns, with white, brown, and black stripes, now in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.2003.78). See A. Rowe 1997; Roussakis and Salazar 1999; and the “Vendor List” from the *Tribal Arts Fair*, Seventh Regiment Armory, New York, 2002, Colon Siegal Galleries photograph.
28. See Desrosiers 1988, pp. 31–56, and Desrosiers 1992, pp. 7–46. See also Washington, D.C., 2002, p. 48, figs. 5.12, 5.15.
29. The term *lliclla* conveys such specific, quintessentially Andean qualities that it appears in both of the earliest sixteenth-century Quechua and Aymara dictionaries, even though the Aymara term for the garment was actually *phullu*. Used extensively in colonial tribute lists, the term was adopted by the Spanish and eventually spread throughout the Andes.
30. Cobo (1653, book 14, chap. 2) 1990, p. 188.
31. For early references to these pins, see Gonzáles Holguín (1608) 1952, p. 343 (*ttipqui*); Murúa (ca. 1611) 1946, chap. 38, p. 144 (*qipqui*); and Bertonio (1612) 1984, p. 268 (*phicchi*). In the colonial period, *ttipqui* came to be worn horizontally and were crafted with certain decorations (hanging beads, for example) that make this orientation obvious.
32. See E. Franquemont (1984) 1986.
33. All miniature *llicllas* seem to have been folded (see the section “Sacred Garments” in this essay). One *lliclla* now in the Textile Museum, Washington, D.C. (91.366), is so large it must have been folded when worn; today the *lliclla* is smaller and therefore usually unfolded.
34. See Desrosiers 1992, pp. 7–46.
35. See A. Rowe 1997.
36. For more about Inca imperial systems, see Morris and Thompson 1985 and D’Altroy 2002.
37. See Murra 1962, pp. 710–28, and J. Rowe (1973) 1979, pp. 239–64.

38. The word *cumbi* is found in early-seventeenth-century dictionaries of both the Aymara and Quechua languages, probably a vestige of the linguistic interchange resulting from the expansion of the Inca Empire. See Mannheim 1991. Bertonio's 1612 Aymara dictionary (1984, p. 51, part 2) includes the following references to *cumbi*:

comphitha: labrar paños de corte con varias figuras y labores o fin ellos (to work cloth for the royal court with various figures and work or without them; if *fin* is instead *sin*, however, the phrase would mean "the fine ones")

compita isi: ropa labrada afsi (clothing worked like this)

compi: official desta ropa (official of this clothing)

See also Gonzáles Holguín's 1608 Quechua dictionary (1989, p. 67):

ccumpiscca, o *ccumpi* o *ccumpi pachha*: ropa fina texida de cumpi (fine clothing woven of *cumbi*)

39. Although historical documents refer to textiles woven in a variety of fabric structures as *cumbi*, I agree with John Rowe in his conclusion that it is "almost unavoidable that the cloth called [*abuasca*] by the Inca was warp-faced plain cloth with pattern in the warp, and that [*cumbi*] was tapestry-weave material." See J. Rowe 1946, p. 242. Ann Rowe (1997, p. 11) suggests that *abuasca* and *cumbi* "might correspond roughly to the distinction between Inca warp-faced and weft-faced textiles." Interestingly, the term *abua* (the root of *abuasca*) is also defined in Gonzáles Holguín's 1608 Quechua dictionary (1989, p. 17) as both "twin" and "the warp or warp-faced fabric." As the weaving of a warp-faced fabric involves the sequential use of paired warps (especially in warp-patterned fabrics), it is logical to assume an association between the concept of "twin" and warp-faced fabric.

40. See Desrosiers (1984) 1986.

41. See Murra 1962, pp. 710–28.

42. Cobo (1653, book 14, chap. 11) 1890–95, vol. 2, pp. 44–45. To translate *chaquirá* as "embroidered" is a misrepresentation. The term really refers to items to which silver beads or bangles were attached or applied: small silver or gold squares or circles that have been found on tunics, for example, as opposed to fabrics embroidered with silver threads, which was a colonial process, not an Inca tradition.

43. Acosta (1590, book 4, chap. 42) 1979, p. 210: "Labran a dos haces todas las labores que quieren, sin que se vea hilo ni cabo de el en toda una pieza."

44. Finely brocaded or figured Spanish silk weaves may also have had two faces.

45. I thank Florica Zaharia, acting conservator-in-charge, Department of Textile Conservation, Metropolitan Museum, for these yarn counts.

46. See Medlin (1984) 1986, pp. 275–87.

47. Rostworowski de Diez Canseco (1977, pp. 248–50) published the categories of Inca weavers as described by Francisco Falcón in 1571. See also the comparison of Falcón's and Martín de Murúa's lists in Spurling 1991, p. 217, table 5.1: "Specialists Involved in Textile Production Listed by Murúa and Falcón."

48. Román y Zamora 1897, p. 122, cited in D'Altroy 2002, p. 279.

49. Cobo (1653, book 14, chap. 15) 1990, pp. 239–40.

50. *Huarochiri Manuscript* 1991, p. 45, n. 33.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 45, n. 31.

52. The "animation" of textiles by *cumbicamayos* was one aspect of the Andean system of cultural values that recognized and assigned

value to the way an object was made. The choice of materials, too, contributed to its meaning. When conducting fieldwork in 1988, Sophie Desrosiers came across one weaver from the Potosí region who spoke of a textile as if it were a living being. Desrosiers 1997, pp. 342–43. For the naming of textile parts with human anatomical references—body, mouth, heart, etc.—see Cereceda 1978. See also Lechtman 1984 and 1996 on metallurgy techniques and their meaning in Andean society.

53. See, for example, the excavation of a large weaving workshop at Huánuco Pampa in Morris and Thompson 1985, esp. pp. 70, 91. Other excavations in the central Andes also revealed large numbers of weavers. See Matos González 2002. Acosta (1590, book 5, chap. 41) 1954, p. 136, says that notable numbers of "qompi" weavers were in Capachica and that about four hundred of the taxpayers in Chupachu, near the town of Huánuco—about one in ten people—were "*qompi kamayoks*" (*cumbicamayos*).

54. Acosta (1590, book 4, chap. 42) 1979, p. 210.

55. See Spurling 1991. In one colonial legal document, a lord of the Wanka region claimed that one of his ancestors had presided over five hundred weavers in Lamay, north of Cuzco in the Yucca Valley, where Huayna Capac had an estate. For this and other colonial references to *cumbicamayos*, see D'Altroy 2002, pp. 296–97.

56. Mori and Malpartida (1549) 1967; Spurling 1991, p. 207, n. 30.

57. Spurling 1991, p. 197. This account of the disbanding of Milliraya comes from the testimony of don Pedro Condor, part of litigation between 1583 and 1611 over land rights to the former weaving center (ANB EC 1611 No. 2, fols. 34, 34v). A 1583 census of Milliraya documents a thousand weavers in the area, but it is also possible this refers to the number of weavers that had been there in Inca times. Spurling 1991, p. 74, table 2.3.

58. *Cumbicamayos* are mentioned specifically in the 1567 *visita* from Juli. Diez de San Miguel (1567) 1964, pp. 116, 117; Spurling 1991, p. 235, n. 40.

59. "Instrucciones por los visitadores, 1569–1579, Ciudad de los Reyes": "Item os informareis en cada repartimiento si en tiempo del Inga [*sic*] y despues ac se ha labrado ropa de cumbi; y para quien, y si se lo pagaban; y que cumbicamayos hay en cada repartimiento, y cu ntos haja en tiempo del Inga"; Toledo 1986, p. 24.

60. Vásquez de Espinosa 1948, pp. 374–75, as cited in Silva Santisteban 1964, p. 116.

61. Other examples of great colonial weavings from the north were described by Spanish chronicler Pedro Cieza de León in 1553, who praised tapestries from Chachapoyas: "hazían rica y preciada ropa para los Ingas, y oy día la hazen muy prima, y tapecería tan fina y vistosa, que es de tener en mucho por su primor" (They made rich and precious clothing for the Inca and today they make it extremely well, and tapestries very fine and grand, that should be valued for their beauty); Cieza de León (1553, chap. 78) 1986, p. 229, as cited by Schjellerup 1997, p. 198.

62. Silva Santisteban 1964, p. 19.

63. Unraveled silk was more commonly seen in Mexican embroidery. See Solórzano y Pereira 1972 and Schurz 1939.

64. Zavala 1978–80, vol. 3, p. 199.

65. The Spanish were partial to silk, which they had cultivated as a luxury fiber since the twelfth century and which they also imported from France and Italy. Luxury silks included shimmering *tornesol*

- fabrics as well as plain and patterned silks, damasks, and metallic brocades. See May 1957. Sumptuary laws regulated the minutia of social distinctions, including which categories of social classes were allowed to wear which particular items or types of cloth. See Lynch 1981, vol. 2, and Domínguez Ortiz 1964–70.
66. *Recopilación de leyes* 1791, p. 369: “11 February 1571, D. Felipe II. Madrid: That the free Negroes and Mulattos [female] do not wear gold, silk mantles, nor pearls.” See also Phipps 1996, p. 152.
 67. Guaman Poma (1615, p. 724 [KB p. 738]).
 68. See Cummins 2002, p. 278.
 69. Dean 1999, p. 112; Guaman Poma (1615, p. 758 [KB p. 772]).
 70. Royal Cedula 43, *Recopilación de leyes* 1791, p. 403.
 71. Visitador [General] don José Antonio Areche, Cuzco, May 1, 1781, to Charles III, king of Spain. The letter is in the National Archives of Seville, Legajo 1085, AGI Cuzco 29.
 72. See Dean 1999, p. 100: “24 electors, two were chosen from each of the lineages of the 12 pre-Hispanic rulers.”
 73. Arzáns de Orsuá y Vela 1965, vol. 1, pp. 98–99.
 74. The Inca did, however, use a very dark, saturated shade of purple to simulate black. See Phipps (2000) 2003.
 75. See Phipps (2000) 2001, pp. 221–30.
 76. According to Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, Viracocha, the Inca creator deity, gave *tocapu* its name; see Varcárcel 1964, p. 28.
 77. Bertonio (1612) 1984, p. 357: “Tocapu isi: Vestido, o ropa del Inga hecha a las mil merauilla y afsi llaman agora al terciopelo, Telas y Brocados&c quando quieren alabarlos” (Garment or clothing of the Inca made with a thousand marvels and here called now as velvet, cloth and brocaded etc. when they want to praise them).
 78. Gonzáles Holguín (1608) 1989, p. 344.
 79. See Murra 1962.
 80. See Jara 1964; Barthel 1971, pp. 63–124; and Rowe and Rowe 1996, pp. 453–65.
 81. See Dean 1999, pp. 103–4.
 82. See *ibid.* for a full description of Corpus Christi celebrations and related Inca dress.
 83. Cobo (1653, book 13, chap. 2), 1990, p. 188.
 84. In a postcolonial adaptation, women began to wear blouses and skirts, often made of industrially produced cloth. The *media acsu*, by that time a locally woven garment, would be worn over the skirt to finish the garment.
 85. Other versions of the painting are located in the Compañía, Arequipa; the convent of Copacabana, Lima; and the Museo Pedro de Osmá, Lima.
 86. In 1965 Andrea Aranow noted the making and wearing of tapestry mantles in the town of Huaynas Pampas. Aranow, personal communication with the author, 1986. Today tapestry mantles are still woven, albeit rarely, in the central Andean Highlands.
 87. The significance of the number three in the female domain, as well as the juxtaposition of two-into-three and three-into-five—the most commonly encountered sectional divisions in *llullas*—is a separate study. See Zorn (1984) 1986, pp. 289–307, and Cereceda 1978, pp. 1017–35.
 88. Several mantles from Pachacamac now in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology are interesting examples of this concept. See also VanStan 1967.
 89. Like *tocapu*, the term *pallai* can be either singular or plural. The relationship between *tocapu* and *pallai* is an interesting subject being explored by present-day textile scholars. See Silverman 1994; Desrosiers 1997, pp. 325–50; and Phipps (2003) n.d.
 90. Examples can be found in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Cooper-Hewitt, National Museum of Design, Smithsonian Institution, New York; National Museum of the American Indian, New York; Abegg-Stiftung, Riggisberg, Switzerland; and the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich.
 91. See, for example, Salomon 1988, pp. 334–35.
 92. See, for example, Solari 1983; Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías 1987; and Silverman 1994. See also cat. no. T67.
 93. Some in this style also have cotton warps.
 94. For an explanation of the term “corporation,” used by John Rowe in 1967, see MacCormack 2001, p. 351, n. 8. According to Falcón (cited in Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1977, p. 250), “these retainers were called *Capac bocha camayoc*, *Intic camayo*, and *Chuncanti capac*, and were given in service to the bodies of the dead kings.”
 95. See Hampe-Martínez 1982, pp. 405–18.
 96. Albornoz 1582, in Duviols 1967, p. 26, 28.
 97. See Cobo (1653, book 13, chap. 14, An-3;6) 1990, p. 65. Cobo’s list of *huacas* can be found in *ibid.*, chaps. 13–16. See also Cobo 1979b, pp. 2–80. For a discussion of the sources of Cobo’s information on the Cuzco *ceques* system and shrines, see Bauer 1998, p. 13.
 98. Cobo (1653, book 13, chap. 22) 1990, p. 117.
 99. MacCormack 1991, p. 179.
 100. ARSI, cartas anuas de 1664,5,6, Peru 16, vol. 5, fol. 109, cited in Mills 1997, p. 79.
 101. Murúa (ca. 1611) 1987, p. 420: “y cantidad de ropa de hombre y mujer, finísima y muy pequeña, heche conforme la medida de los ídolos.”
 102. Murúa describes a wedding of an Inca king to which people brought “dressed animals, for sacrifice, those that they call *pilco llama*, that they hold in great esteem”; *ibid.*, p. 385.
 103. Zárate (1555) 1968, p. 51.
 104. See MacCormack 2001a, p. 342, n. 83: “countless small statuettes of llamas and people [were] deposited as offerings in the sand of the square of Haucaypata.”
 105. Antonio de Areche, letter to Bishop Juan Manuel, April 13, 1781, fols. 4v, 5r, Legajo 1085, Archivo de las Indias, Seville.
 106. See Karen Michelsen’s very interesting essay “Syncretic Cloth, Virgins and Colonialization in the Peruvian Andes,” (1996) 1997, pp. 121–30.
 107. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
 108. Arriaga (1621) 1968, p. 68.
 109. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
 110. See Bubba Zamora 1997, pp. 377–400. See also Adelson and Tracht 1983, p. 59.

VICEROYALTY OF PERU



The Past Is Present: Transformation and Persistence of Imported Ornament in Viceregal Peru

Johanna Hecht

. . . and as the aforementioned Indians also worship certain types of birds and animals and to this end they paint and work them in the wooden mates that they make for drinking [as well as those made] in silver, and on the doors of their houses, and also weave them in the frontals and canopies of the altars, and paint them on the walls of churches. I [therefore] order and require that those who find them have them scraped off and remove them from the doors where they were and that they also be prohibited from weaving them in the garments they wear.

—Viceroy Francisco de Toledo, Chuquisaca, 1574¹

Once the Spanish domination of Peru had been consolidated and the initial campaigns to “extirpate idolatry” had been concluded, the arena in which the Andean visual imagination flourished most robustly was the decorative arts. Although regularly scrutinized by Spanish authorities for evidence of Inca belief systems, the ornamental arts, unlike the content-laden representational media of religious sculpture and painting, seem to have offered an avenue for artistic invention less restricted by the dictates of the Catholic church. Ironically, in the colonial era this imaginative impulse operated within the framework of a European-inspired vocabulary that was itself derived from pagan antiquity, a vocabulary redolent with Old World versions of the very creatures Viceroy Toledo execrated. There are true Christian themes present, but Andean decorative artists were relatively unfettered in their use of neutral European motifs, whose meanings for the indigenous peoples of that era are, in many cases, still poorly understood.² In this essay I touch on some of these often multivalent meanings, as I also examine how Andean artists transformed the ornamental style they

adopted from the Europeans after the suppression of their native forms.

The architecture and decorative arts of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Hispanic America came to display a lavish elaboration unknown within the Anglo-colonial world, evident both in interior spaces (fig. 38) and the outdoor built environment. The reasons for this essential difference reach beyond the obvious distinctions, both cultural and chronological, between the era’s two dominant imperial mother cultures: in other words, between sixteenth-century Catholic Spain and seventeenth-century Protestant England. Indeed, the fundamental dissimilarity between the two colonial decorative programs has as much to do with the nature of the specific encounters and the vital role played by the indigenous populations, even up to the present day.

The Spanish found two existing imperial civilizations in the New World, the Aztec Empire in what is now Mexico and the Inca Empire in Peru, both dependent on vast, organized workforces harnessed to contribute to the maintenance of their highly complex states. Although the general population from which the workforces were drawn was decimated within a century after the Conquest, it was not the intention of the invaders to do this. Seeking fortune for themselves and their monarchs, the conquistadors, and the colonizers who followed

Opposite: Fig. 38. Designs of *mujeres follajes* (demifigures with leafy skirts) supporting baskets of fruit, detail of ceiling, Church of Colquepata, Paucartambo, District of Cuzco, 17th century. Tempera on wood, reeds, and vegetable fiber bound with clay.

in their wake, had every reason to maintain the ready-made New World labor battalions allocated to them under the system of *encomienda*, the self-serving bargain through which the church and crown enabled Spanish settlers to draw on native labor in exchange for bringing native souls into the arms of the Catholic church. Much of this Andean labor was conscripted on the basis of the preexisting Inca *mita* system. Under the Spanish version of this labor “draft,” each year one-seventh of the adult male population was commandeered for a variety of purposes. The discovery of silver meant that a full third of this corvée was directed to the silver mines of Potosí, where they suffered and often died under lethally brutal and onerous conditions. Additionally, however, they were put to work following more traditional, local patterns of communal employment. In this respect they were enlisted to remake the visual landscape, obliterating signs of the old “demonic” religion and creating a new environment that would reinforce the Christian faith, much as the Romans had built temples to their gods over Mithraic shrines in outposts of their own empire. Still, for all the Spaniards’ compulsion to tear down the Inca shrines and palaces, there was a keen recognition of the enormous technical brilliance behind their creation.

The skilled workforce the Spanish discovered in Peru was already engaged in a variety of recognizable artistic activities, albeit in the service of “idolatrous” beliefs. The first order of business, then, was the religious conversion of the Indians—the extirpation of those beliefs and of the material culture related to them. Not surprisingly, the idolatrous artists were seen as ripe for aesthetic conversion as well (fig. 39). One of the most notable of indigenous art forms, recognized by Toledo as a carrier of idolatrous imagery, was the weaving of cloth made from the native camelid wool, an activity around which the local culture was centered. Another form, and one even more obviously linked to the old religious system and to the Inca power structure (at least in Spanish eyes), was the working of precious metals. Both aroused the suspicions of the extirpators, especially in their animal motifs that the Spanish apprehended as representations of native deities. The technological changes provoked by the Conquest turned out to be most profound for the silversmiths, but the two activities can be said to have maintained a symbiotic relationship well into the following centuries.

The large-scale working of silver in the southern Andes only evolved after the Inca brought in skilled artisans from the North Coast Chimú area in the late fifteenth century, but even



Fig. 39. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. *Native artisans create images to serve God and the Church*, from *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 1615. Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen (p. 673 [KB p. 687])

then the scale of Inca silver-mining activity never approached the level reached under the Spanish.³ Under the Inca system the state controlled both the mining and working of precious metals,⁴ which were used for a variety of imperial purposes: as offerings to the Inca rulers and their gods as well as to furnish the royal palaces, temples, and the *acclabuasi*, the house of the Inca “chosen women” (*acclacuna*). Many descriptions have come down to us evoking the riches of Coricancha, the “golden enclosure” of the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco, and its garden of gold and silver that left the Spanish awestruck. The Spanish functionary Agustín de Zárate provided a description of the treasures of the Inca rulers that he suggested would “disprove the theory held in Spain . . . that the natives set no store by gold and did not know its value. . . . They also had many barns and storehouses full of silver and gold, and large models of men, women and sheep and other animals, and of all the kinds of grasses that grew in that land, with their ears and shoots and nodes copied from nature.”⁵

Years after the Conquest, the mestizo historian Garcilaso de la Vega also recounted palaces filled with “large and small animals, . . . rabbits, mice, lizards, snakes, butterflies, . . . deer and stags, lions, [and] tigers,” all of gold and silver and “fields of maize, . . . the beard of the maize husk, . . . done in gold and the rest in silver, the two being soldered together” (see fig. 2).⁶ According to his account, “the silversmith assigned to the service of the Sun did nothing else but make these figures, together with quantities of plate—the silver pots, jars, vases, and vats used in the temple. In short, there was no implement that was not made of gold and silver, even the spades and hoes for weeding the garden.”⁷

The means by which these marvels were produced were also described by Garcilaso, who considered the Inca craftsmen’s skills admirable, if somewhat limited by the simplicity of their technique and their lack of steel or iron tools.⁸ In fact, most Precolumbian silver was made of sheet metal obtained through a relatively sophisticated variety of hammering and then worked with techniques that included piercing, repoussé, embossing, chasing, and incising. Despite the unavailability of ferrous-metal implements, native smiths achieved spectacular effects employing a wide range of tools made of stone, wood, ceramic, and nonferrous metals.

Soon after the Conquest the essential infrastructures of native textile production and silversmithing were both irrevocably altered. But whereas the traditional techniques of wool-gathering and weaving remained relatively stable, the industry of mining and the art of silversmithing were soon changed dramatically by the discovery of unimaginably vast deposits of silver in the Cerro Rico (“rich mountain”) of Potosí in Alto Perú (now Bolivia). Moreover, this geological discovery, in conjunction with the revolutionary invention of the mercury-amalgamation refining process, had consequences that reverberated far beyond the former Inca Empire. The eventual flood of silver from Potosí spread around the world, provoking an array of vivid imagery just to describe the sheer amount of metal mined. According to Bartolomé de Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, for example, by 1657 enough silver had been extracted from Potosí to have built the walls and roofs of all twenty-eight churches of that city, leaving aside any amount used for coinage.⁹ Numerous contemporary accounts of viceregal Peru and Bolivia describe streets literally paved with silver for festivals and state visits,¹⁰ as well as the remarkable facture *in silver* of utilitarian objects. As described by the Frenchman Alexandre Oexmelin when he was traveling in Peru in 1742, “the abundance of this rich metal renders it so common in this country that most of the things that

we make in France in steel, copper or iron, they make with silver.”¹¹ Although the actual quantity of silver mined—and, more specifically, how much was exported to Europe and Asia and how much stayed in Peru—has not been definitively established,¹² certainly a huge amount did remain in the viceroyalty, including a not-insignificant portion that was retained by indigenous miners and other locals for their own use. In addition to the lavish appointments of church interiors, vast sums were regularly spent throughout the colonial period by both “Spanish” and “indio” parishes, guilds, and confraternities on ephemeral celebrations. Amazed viewers counted as many as fifteen to twenty triumphal arches, temporary altars, and floats in a single procession—all faced with silver—and remarked on the equally opulent display of textile hangings along the processional route.

Silver in colonial Peru was worked by artists and craftsmen from many different levels of society. The crown lifted its initial ban on the practice of working silver in 1533,¹³ and eventually European silversmiths flocked to take advantage of the Peruvian bonanza, coming not only from Spain but from other parts of the Hapsburg realm.¹⁴ Once there they soon began to produce the kinds of works that would suit the tastes of their transplanted European patrons. Demand on the part of the Spanish, and indigenous consumers as well, eventually outstripped what European silversmiths could supply, especially as the use of silver was no longer limited, as it had been under the Inca, to the ruling elite. But under Spanish rule silver also continued to be used much as it had been in Inca times: as a show of generosity (both religious and secular), to honor or to obtain favor from divine or worldly powers, or as a sign of status, and so on. These needs, as well as the sheer profusion of raw material, meant not only that Spanish immigrants found their services in great demand but also that indigenous silversmiths also continued to ply their trade under the new rulers, producing works commissioned by Europeans as well as indigenous elites. No longer governed by the Inca sumptuary laws and strict oversight of their trade, skilled indigenous metalworkers were first allowed to work in Spanish workshops and eventually, with the publication of Toledo’s *Ordenanzas* in the early 1570s, in their own workplaces, under the general supervision of a *veedor*, or overseer.

In the early days of the viceroyalty the output of native smiths was seen as an arena of potential spiritual error, and regulations were instituted to stamp out any “stray” or suspect idolatry. The fact that these silversmiths were, nevertheless, quite active, especially in Cuzco, can be inferred from the

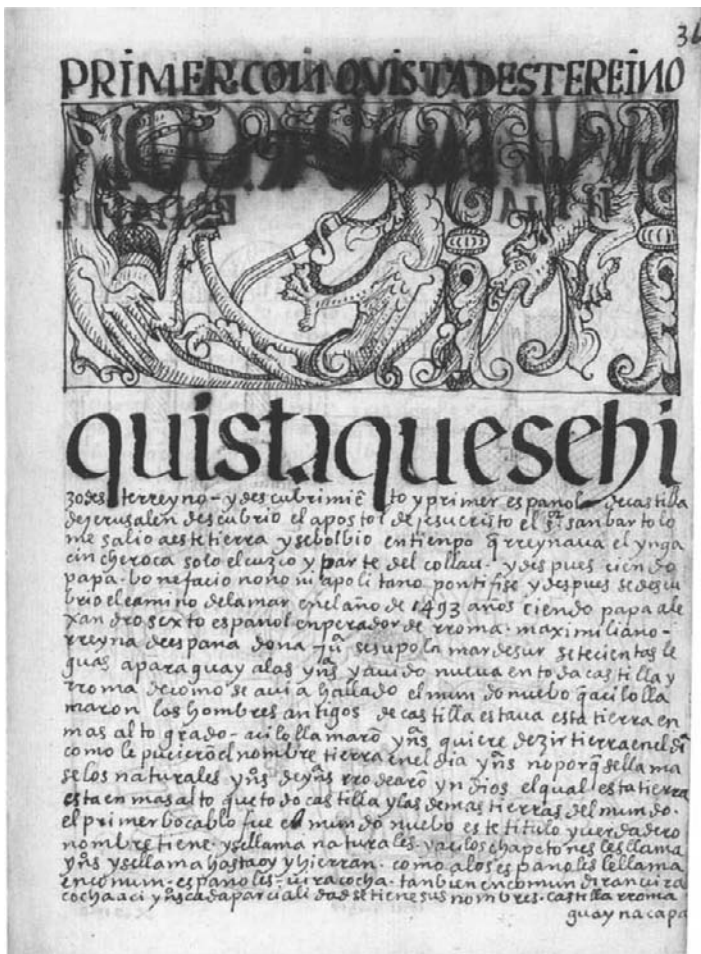


Fig. 40. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. *First Conquest of this Kingdom: How the Indies of Peru were discovered*, from *El primer nueva coronica y buen gobierno*, 1615 (scrolling grotesque rinceau used to spell out first three letters of “Conquista”). Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen (p. 368 [KB p. 370])

numerous attempts to regulate their activities recorded in Viceroy Toledo’s *Ordenanzas*.¹⁵ In 1572 Toledo, observing the city’s “large number of Indian silversmiths,” put in place a series of conditions designed to protect them from exploitation by Spanish silversmiths and to ensure that they abided by the crown’s rules regarding silverwork production. He went on to specify, however, that since “in much of the work they

do, they depict their idols, I order and require that the *veedor* take special care that in their work of gold and silver they do not do this unless they are are commissioned.”¹⁶

The same fears were at work in Bolivia, where two years later Toledo decreed that as “the said Indian silversmiths make vessels and other things . . . which they work with figures and Idols, each one intentionally, and all are harmful and pernicious and notably impede their conversion. . . . I [therefore] order and require that said Indians be gathered and brought from the houses of the Spanish and the [Indian] compounds to this city and put in a place to be designated by me for them to carry on their trade.”¹⁷

The essential ornamental features from which the distinctive Andean colonial style developed (in tapestry and silverwork alike) were laid down at a time when the classical revival of the Renaissance was in full flower in Europe. European prints of the period, especially those conveying the ornament of the “grotesque,” are often cited as primary vectors of transmission of the style.¹⁸ It is perhaps more clarifying, however, to think of Late Renaissance European design sources as discrete, contemporary categories that were often employed by Andean decorative artists more or less simultaneously.¹⁹ These categories include: (a) the rinceaux (or foliate scrolls), traditionally organized in friezelike horizontal spaces, which must have held particular appeal for Andean silversmiths, echoing as they do the scrolling borders of Chimú silverwork, and which often incorporated fantastic creatures called “grotesques”; (b) the true grotesque, based on more vertically oriented, free-floating Roman wall decorations dominated by unnatural forms, which adapted in the Andes took on lives of their own; (c) arabesque ornament (or Moorish tracery) derived from nonrepresentational Islamic art; and (d) Flemish strapwork. All were circulated within Europe and to America via prints and the migration of artists as well as through three-dimensional exemplars. In the Andes they were absorbed



Fig. 41. Side of casket embossed with scrolling rinceau incorporating dragons (detail, cat. no. 47), 1572



Fig. 42. Tapestry border with scrolling rinceau (detail, cat. no. 72), 17th century

much as they were in Europe, but the structures of the designs, as well as their individual components, were combined and transformed in different, often unexpected ways that coalesced into a recognizably new aesthetic (figs. 40–42).

Thanks to the discovery in recent years of numerous, datable “transition-era” silver pieces, the process of artistic transculturation has been considerably elucidated, and we are arriving at a clearer understanding of how such European ideas were received by Andean artists: not only the forms in which they were transmitted but the process of their reception. These objects, many brought up from the 1622 wreck of the Spanish galleon *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*, have provided singularly revealing evidence of the diverse works produced by indigenous silversmiths during the early decades of the viceroyalty as well as the models that may have inspired them. The *Atocha* silverwork, as well as other civil and liturgical items datable to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, demonstrates not only the gradual absorption of European aesthetic ideas

(paralleled in the working of textiles), but also that in neither medium did principles of composition and individual motifs evolve consistently. Rather, it is becoming increasingly clear that there were differing patterns of adaptation as some more acculturated artists swallowed these new models in their entirety and others digested them piecemeal.

BORROWED MOTIFS

One of the earliest motifs to appear within the vocabulary of post-Conquest Andean silversmiths and tapestry weavers illustrates these varying patterns of accommodation: a squared-off quatrefoil rosette resembling the Roman *patera*, but with scrolling or frondlike extensions. The indigenous application of the rosette exemplifies how colonial artists found novel ways to employ new motifs: some as part of a borrowed European design framework, and others as isolated emblems. The rosette motif appears throughout the art and architecture of



Fig. 43. View of quatrefoil rosette mural decoration on arches and ceiling of lower choir, Church of Oropesa, Quispicanchi, District of Cuzco, 17th century. Tempera on brick and wood

Fig. 44. Textile pattern with rosettes and interlace from robe of the Virgin of Guápulo (detail, cat. no. 82), ca. 1680



the southern Andes from at least the early seventeenth century well into the eighteenth. It was most typically employed, in the manner of the patera, on the arches or vaults of church transepts, as seen in the *Compañía* in Cuzco and in many outlying parishes (fig. 43). It was also carved on church facades and door-flanking pilasters along with sirens, puma heads, and other indigenous colonial motifs,²⁰ and it was sometimes painted on interior walls. The incorporation of the rosette into the decoration of a set of silver boxes recovered from the *Atocha* (cat. no. 44a–e), where it alternates with harpies, ducks(?), viscachas, vases, and the Augustinian emblem, is one indication of the very early date of its appearance.²¹ Another is its use in a “transition” mantle (cat. no. 46) that combines European patterns with Inca *tocapu* borders. In this unique piece the rosette is interspersed with birds on a central open field and, in variant forms, set within the cells of curvilinear latticework.²²

The rosette motif was early, then, and it was also persistent. As a textile pattern it continued to be depicted through the eighteenth century in numerous devotional paintings in

which hieratic figures of the Virgin are shown clad in pyramid-shaped garments overlaid with this motif, most strikingly in such compositions as the *Virgin of the Rosary of Guápulo* (fig. 44).²³ The rosette, which can be seen on the Virgin’s robe and on that of the Infant Jesus she holds, appears within the aforementioned curved lattice matrix, but painters also sometimes used it to decorate their subjects’ garments in freer arrangements. Cuzco school painters employed it in their characteristic gold overlays,²⁴ while in Alto Perú painters rendered it more realistically as a brocade pattern, such as in the cloak of an eighteenth-century Guardian Angel (Museo de Bellas Artes, La Paz) or of San Fernando Rey of the same period (Museo del Convento de Santa Teresa, Potosí). A design with no precise ancestry in Inca or European design, the rosette thus seems to have been plucked out of whatever European context it arrived in and converted into its unique colonial Andean avatar. Diffused throughout the art of colonial Peru, it may have come to mean something that far exceeded the architectural param-



Fig. 45. Silver-gilt ewer with winged quadrupeds tethered to an escutcheon (detail, cat. no. 60), ca. 1621–65



Fig. 46. Bookplate with device of tethered dragons, title page from Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, *Brevisima relación ...* (Seville, 1553)

ters of its original mode, but what that meaning was has yet to be deciphered.²⁵

Our understanding of the encoded iconography of the colonial era, which has coevolved with the ongoing decipherment of colonial *quero* decoration, suggests that double meanings may adhere to many seemingly neutral designs of European origin: covert substitutions for the “pernicious” imagery discouraged by vigilant extirpators. A good example of this possible displacement of meaning is the viscacha, also found on the *Atocha* nested boxes. Often cited as a distinctive Andean motif, it is unclear to what extent this native rodent may be distinguished from the rabbits that recur in European print sources.²⁶ Is it a simple decorative borrowing? On the contrary, the purposive display of the creature in numerous tapestry and silver objects well into the eighteenth century, often with a prominence rarely accorded any humble European animal motif, suggests the sort of significance attached to the viscacha in Andean culture: as an intermediary between humans and the gods.²⁷

Many borrowings of individual motifs in transitional objects are purely graphic in conception, however, even in a three-dimensional medium like metalwork, and there is no reason to believe that they derive from anything other than European print sources: the scrolling foliage of the Roman rinceau frieze laced with hybrid animal-vegetal creatures, or other, more isolated motifs. But while these designs were indeed organized in friezelike bands when engraved on silver or polychromed on wood *queros*, many objects evidence a fragmented implementation of them that does not adhere to the classical European conception of the scrolling rinceau frieze, but rather from sources in which the designs were already discrete and emblemized. One important example is an early-seventeenth-century Potosí ewer (fig. 45) that features the conventional heraldic format of a cartouche flanked by fantastical beasts, a rendering that could conceivably have been inspired by a bookplate or other singular printed source (fig. 46) but that already reflects the more abstract style of Flemish strapwork cartouches that succeeded



Fig. 47. Silver *aquilla* with a winged, fire-breathing quadruped (detail, cat. no. 33), ca. 1600

the naturalistic Renaissance foliate scroll. It could well have been intended to represent a coat of arms granted to an Inca nobleman, but its blazon has been obliterated by the hallmark (one of the rare instances of a mark on Peruvian silver). The flanking winged beasts, which have a doglike stance, have been described as basilisks, but they scarcely resemble the serpent/dragon creatures of that name that appear in European sources. These square-muzzled guardians tethered²⁸ to each side of the central escutcheon do, however, resemble the four-legged, fire-breathing feline on the frieze of a pair of biconical *aquillas* (fig. 47). In both cases their presence indicates a more than decorative significance and suggests an identification with the mythical beast *amaru* subdued by the Inca Mayta Capac Amaro when he conquered the Antisuyu, the “savage” forested eastern slope of the Andes.²⁹

Although some accounts of this historic conquest describe the *amaru* as a beast with four legs,³⁰ the Jesuit chronicler Giovanni Anello Oliva (1572–1664) writes about what does seem like a basilisk-type creature:

a serpent so ferocious and fearsome . . . as large as the biggest animal on earth, with wings like a bat, short and very thick arms with large nails . . . eyes polluted with fire and blood, the tongue quivering . . . covered with hard scales . . . and from this stupendous animal the Inca took the sobriquet Amaro, as such were these serpents called.³¹

“Amaru/amaro” was generally equated with a serpent or dragon in colonial accounts, and Anello Oliva’s description meshes in general with the iconography Andean artists even-

tually settled on to represent the monstrous beast, a character whose importance in the vocabulary of Andean decorative arts cannot be overstated.³² But one must wonder, then, whether the Andeans also drew on the European iconography of the basilisk or devil to portray the legendary monster, or whether the surviving descriptions were themselves influenced by the introduced European iconography.

As Teresa Gisbert and others have thoroughly documented, the winged serpent/dragon is depicted on innumerable *queros*, silver vessels, and textiles, a few dating as early as the sixteenth century (fig. 48). The European origin of the colonial-era image can be seen in silver examples, such as the 1572 casket now in Guadalajara (cat. no. 47), on which dragons appear in fully articulated Renaissance friezes. In other, virtually contemporary examples, though, it is handled in seeming isolation. This is the case with catalogue number 31, an *aquilla* embellished with a fish-tailed, fire-breathing dragon—*amaru*?—that is clearly drawn from the repertoire of Renaissance design but not placed in the classic Renaissance frieze, unified by foliate scrolls. Rather, it functions as an isolated emblem, in this case embedded in a sequence of rectangular *tocapu*-like blocks (fig. 49). Clearly Andean artists recognized the decorative potential of these motifs as both singular images and as part



Fig. 48. Coffin decorated in *quero* technique, with a bat-winged, serpent-tailed dragon, or *amaru* (detail, cat. no. 34), late 16th century



Fig. 49. Silver *aquilla* with a winged, fire-breathing dragon with fish tail (detail, cat. no. 31), ca. 1600



Fig. 50. Silver-gilt dish recovered from the galleon *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*, with a siren visible within the rinceau (detail, cat. no. 50), late 16th century



Fig. 51. Silver basin with rinceau containing a dragon (detail, cat. no. 49), ca. 1575

of a broader program of pattern, and they continued to employ both strategies in tapestries and silverwork alike.

VECTORS OF TRANSMISSION

Although isolated incised designs may have been extracted from graphic sources, such as imported prints and books—a printed pattern, for example, might have been the source for the elegant border of a tapestry now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (cat. no. 52)—physical objects, including textiles and silver, had been imported or created in Peru by European craftsmen virtually from the first moment of Spanish rule, and these, too, must have served as models for native-born artists. The Flemish and Spanish silversmiths who began to arrive in Peru soon after the Conquest would have produced work identical to that which they were trained to make in Europe: that is to say, vessels and liturgical silver in the High Renaissance style that then prevailed in their native lands.³³ In addition, immigrant Europeans brought to Peru luxurious

housewares that would have served as models for both Spanish-born and indigenous craftsmen. No graphic source can explain the assuredly Europeanized workmanship and the extraordinary elegance of the silver-gilt dish found in the wreck of the *Atocha*, with its scrolling foliate sirens, laurel wreaths, framed busts, and elegant gadrooning (fig. 50). This or a similar object, not a print, would certainly have been the prototype for three vessels of a more “Peruanized” style (the Siegen and Zaragoza basins and the other fragmentary dish from the *Atocha*) in the current exhibition (fig. 51; see cat. nos. 49–51). Whether the simplified narrative style of the latter can be explained as Peruanization, or if there is another factor at work, is still to be resolved. The rim of that piece, as well as that on another bowl from the *Atocha* whose location is now sadly unknown, display a paradelike sequence closer to the narrative friezes on plates of Portuguese workmanship (fig. 52), again suggesting that Spain was not the only culture whose aesthetic ideas were absorbed and interpreted by Andean silversmiths.³⁴

But in Peru, as in Europe, the permutations and combinations of the Renaissance foliate scroll/grotesque provided the richest and deepest source of inspiration. On silver altar frontals, in particular, and on the painted walls of church interiors, chimerical creatures multiplied endlessly, limited only by the imaginations of their creators. Human identities were crossed with every sort of animal, vegetable, or purely abstract form, all often integrated into foliate scrolls. Eventually,



Fig. 52. Silver-gilt dish with narrative frieze, Portugal, 1537. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.321)



Fig. 53. Simon de Asto. Siren playing a guitar with quatrefoil rosettes, detail of facade, Cathedral of Puno, 1737

as seen in the early transition-style pieces, discrete elements absorbed from Renaissance designs maintained their emphatic new Andean identities.

RECONSTRUCTION AND DECONSTRUCTION OF PATTERN AND MOTIFS

Among the most significant motifs to escape the elaborate framework of the grotesque ornament style was the multivalent figure of the siren, the fishtailed woman familiar to readers of classical literature as the temptress of the seas. Its prevalence in the Puno region led Gisbert to identify it with the legendary fishwoman of Lake Titicaca, the temptress of the god Tunupa. In that respect, a straightforward equivalent to the contemporary European sense of the siren's meaning, as explicated in the emblem books of Andrea Alciati³⁵ and Juan de Horozco,³⁶ would be as symbols of sensuality and sin.³⁷ However, less pejorative implications seem to predominate, for in Peru (again as in Europe) many emblems were adopted to serve a proud heraldic function, and the siren would have been no exception. She arrived in the viceroyalty through various media, including printed materials and textiles. Double-tailed or single-tailed, sometimes winged, and often holding musical instruments or bearing baskets of fruit, sirens were incorporated into exterior and interior decorative schemes (fig. 53), on *queros*, and as a motif in tapestry work (cat. no. 40). They are less frequently encountered in silverwork, though, in either liturgical or profane pieces. One striking exception is a silver coffer in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, with sirens and other creatures and a lock-plate form of the Augustinian emblem very much like those on the *Atocha* pieces (fig. 54).³⁸ The broad category

of late-colonial and postcolonial garment pins, which were often ornamented with siren motifs, constitutes another exception to this rule of thumb.

A common variant of the siren which did proliferate in silverwork is a human (a man or a woman) whose nether portions have been converted from fishtails to vegetation. Known in Spanish as *hombre* or *mujer follaje* (foliate man or woman), it was similarly taken from the repertoire of the Renaissance grotesque. Its origins may be traced to rinceaux whose foliate scrolls morphed into animal forms along the length of the containing frieze, or to those sirens whose transition from human to fish was camouflaged by a leafy skirt. As the *hombre follaje* attained an independent status it was frequently portrayed as a canephorus figure carrying a basket on its head. Because of its architectural (or vertical) aspect, the motif lent itself to a variety of special uses and particularly flourished on the painted walls of southern Andean churches (fig. 55).

Much silverwork, like architecture, is unidirectional in its orientation. In general objects are meant to stand upright, and in the Western tradition they are designed to support that vertical function. Most colonial tapestries, whose compositions essentially follow the form of Old World floor or table covers, even when intended as wall hangings, did not follow that vertical imperative. Oftentimes the orientation of isolated animal motifs or central armorial designs may determine the overall orientation of the woven cloth, while concentric bands of foliate scrolls or elaborate interlace surround the central field. In the seventeenth century, however, silverwork as well as tapestry design took inspiration from stylistic developments that pushed both art forms in an anti-architectural direction, drawing the patterning and conception of the two media ever closer together.



Fig. 54. Silver casket with sirens and escutcheon in the form of the Augustinian emblem, Peru(?), 17th century. The Victoria and Albert Museum, London (275–1879)

The Renaissance, originally inspired by the architecture of ancient Rome, was followed by a turn toward Mannerist abstraction. The rolled strapwork style of such artists as Hans Vredeman de Vries (1527–probably 1606) flowed from Hapsburg-ruled Flanders and took on its own characteristic form in Spain, where it infused the design of silverwork for more than half a century.³⁹ It reached Peru not only through

the work of Spanish silversmiths but in emblem and pattern books and leatherwork, where it was particularly influential (fig. 56).⁴⁰ A related ornamental mode, the so-called arabesque, embellished leather bookcovers as well as actual printed matter. The plain-faced scrolling and interlaced bands of Flemish strapwork were particularly suited to the weaver’s art, and they were employed with endless variety and on many different scales.



Fig. 55. Winged *bombre follaje* (demifigure with leafy skirt and double tail) bearing a basket of fruit and flanked by quatrefoil rosettes, detail of nave frieze, Church of Andahualillas, Quispicanchi, District of Cuzco, late 16th century. Paint on adobe



Fig. 56. Emblem framed in strapwork cartouche from first Spanish-authored emblem book, by Juan de Borja, *Empresas morales* (Prague, 1581)



Fig. 57. Detail of silver altar frontal, Cuzco, ca. 1675–85

The purity of this “severe style” was not long lasting. Tapestry weavers and silverworkers evidently insisted on incorporating the natural (or unnatural) world into their works, combining foliate scrolls with looping strapwork bands and interspersing individual motifs—sirens, lions, or birds—among them as isolated motifs. Often the same natural figures can be seen sprouting like buds from what are only vestigially vegetal forms. This mixture of modes eventually emerged as the full Andean Baroque, whose ebullient foliation and resplendent, idiosyncratic compositions came to be seen as the essence of colonial Peru.

In terms of object types, the sine qua non of the Andean Baroque was the monumental altar frontal (fig. 57). These fabulous structures, which graced even the humblest Indian parish churches, were where Andean silversmiths—Spanish, mestizo, and Indian—all carried out their wildest feats of imagination. In particular frontals are commonly structured around a network of winding, leathery ribbons whose curving and recurving patterns obey no natural laws of gravity or organic life. Like tapestries, they mesh complex foliate scrolls with inorganic webs of pattern, contrasting flat bands with the increasingly blowsy greenery of the dizzying Baroque style, often to the point where all sense of structure is lost. And, also like tapestry, many familiar characters survive within that ornamental fray, although in silver there is a noticeably heavier component of traditional Christian motifs—angels, cherubs, and self-sacrificing pelicans—sharing space with voracious foliate “masks,” harpies, griffons, dragons, and other winged creatures, all elaborated and Andeanized from the original grotesque. Birds, so beloved by the Cuzco artist, can be glimpsed perching on scrolling branches, adding a touch of nature (ratified by their Christian symbolism).

The one form in which the elaboration of the Andean Baroque proceeded differently from the lush exuberance of altar frontals and other highly embossed sheet silver was the monstrance, the complex stand used to display the consecrated Host and the preeminent symbol of the Catholic faith. Here the original severe structure of early-seventeenth-century Spain—a tower of piled-up cast geometric forms—was given an air of Baroque complexity, as the artist assimilated ever greater numbers of Mannerist flourishes, including beaded C scrolls and cast grotesques, and sometimes embellished them with appliqués or lacy borders around the enamel base.⁴¹ The *sol* itself, the circular capsule that contains the Host, achieved its own form of lacy Baroque excess (fig. 58), but only on the feet of the monstrance bases do we spy the chimerical, composite beings that appear in so many other liturgical silver objects.

Foliate C scrolls and lacy edges were devices favored by tapestry weavers (fig. 59) as well as silversmiths. Although artists in both fields long continued to employ some version of the classical rinceau to create borders and edging, later-arriving Mannerist motifs were also taken up with great enthusiasm to serve that function, as they had been in Europe. In Peru, these motifs of linked C scrolls and/or repeated palmettes are most frequently encountered in the borders of late-seventeenth- to early-eighteenth-century decorative arts and in the murals of the Cuzco and Lake Titicaca regions. Artists in all media continued to combine them with the ever-useful foliate scroll. For the weaver this edging was most likely intended to represent lace, a luxury of which Peruvians were notoriously fond.⁴² The pattern evokes a specific type of Spanish lace called *punto al aire*,



Fig. 58. Monstrance “sol” (detail, cat. no. 114), 1685



Fig. 59. Detail of lace-pattern tapestry border, mid-18th century or later. Camelid hair. Denman Waldo Ross Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (04.1619)

which edged the ruffs of many a sitter in late-sixteenth-century portraiture. Another type of lace, the wheel pattern, found its way onto walls (fig. 60) and into some large tapestries, and it was even more widely adopted in women’s mantles. The design of choice for silversmiths, however, was the linked C scroll, which was most frequently used to edge the *bandeja*, a basket or tray with rectangular compositions of concentric foliate bands. Some of these so closely mimic tapestry designs—on both large hangings and on smaller pieces believed to be seat covers—that they often appear to be luxurious miniature versions of them. Here, too, this edging was probably meant to represent lace.

It is apparent that imported models, once received, whether on paper or otherwise, inspired successive generations of Andean artists in a process of quasi-hermetic evolution. Even though refreshed by periodic grafts of new ideas from abroad, the underlying aesthetic of these models was one that evolved on its own, or local, terms. This distinctive style survived only sporadically after the repression of the rebellion of Túpac Amaru II at the end of the eighteenth century and the subsequent disenfranchisement of the native elite. The practice of tapestry weaving, with its enormous potential for complex curving patterns, came to an end, and makers of high-style silver soon adopted the cool manner of Neoclassicism, with clear, empty spaces displacing the horror vacui of the Andean Baroque. Only in the silver of the marginalized *indios* did the style linger on; for example, *tupus* and *ttipquis*, the garment pins

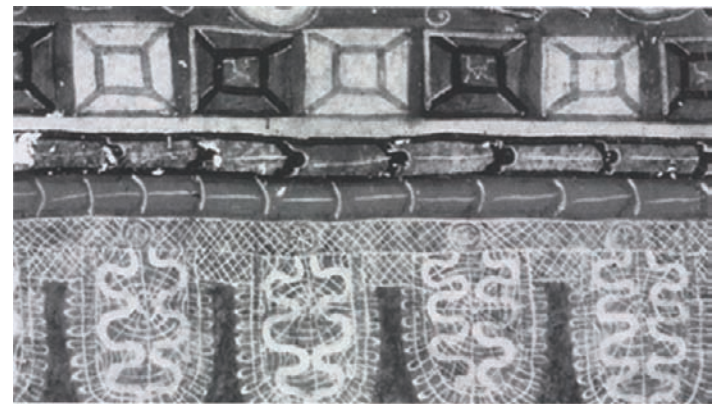


Fig. 60. Frieze with “wheel-pattern” lace border, detail of wall in upper choir, Church of Cay-Cay, Paucartambo, District of Cuzco, 17th century. Tempera on adobe

used by native women to fasten their shawls, retained some of the fantasy of the former age. And in one glorious type of object—the silver-bedecked dance costumes of Alto Perú (cat. no. 158a,b)—the sinuous vines that had marked the silver and tapestry produced in the old viceroyalty for more than three-hundred years of colonial life continued to flourish. In the indigenous communities between Sucre and Potosí, silversmiths still turned to the lavishly roiling, space-filling designs of the Andean Baroque to embellish these costumes, through which they asserted their native identities long after the fall of the Spanish Empire, and well into the new, Republican age.

1. “y por quanto dichos naturales también adoran algún género de aves y animales, y para dicho efecto los pintan e labran en los mates que hacen para beber de palo y de plata, y en las puertas de sus casas, y los tejen en los frontales, doseles de los altares, e los pintan en las paredes de las iglesias. Ordeno y mando que los que hallaren los hagáis raer y quitareis de las puertas donde los tuvieron y prohibiréis que tampoco los tejan en la ropa que visten.” Francisco de Toledo, *Ordenanzas, 1574 ANB E.C. 1765 No 131*, Archivo Nacional de Bolivia, Sucre, cited in Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías 1987, pp. 10–11.
2. No discussion of the underlying meanings of images in colonial Andean art is possible without acknowledging the lifelong work of Teresa Gisbert, on whose shoulders we all stand as we continue the pursuit of uncovering the unspoken significance of these images within the indigenous imagination.
3. King in New York 2000–2001, p. 14, and Lechtman 1977, 1984, and 1988.
4. Pedro de Cieza de León describing the gold and silver treasure accumulated by the Inca in Cuzco’s Temple of the Sun, notes that no gold or silver in it could be removed on pain of death, and that a large number of silversmiths were in the service of the Inca rulers; Cieza de León (1553, chap. 92, fol. 118v) 1984, p. 258.
5. Zárate (1555) 1968, p. 58.
6. Garcilaso de la Vega (1609–17) 1966, p. 315.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 188.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 130–31.
9. Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela (ca. 1700–1736) 1965, vol. 2, p. 324.
10. French traveler Amédée François Frézier described ingots lining the streets for the visit of the duc de Palata; Frézier (1716) 1995, p. 217. See other examples in Muthmann 1950, pp. 17, 97, nn. 11, 12.
11. Alexandre Olivier Oexmelin, cited in Muthmann 1950, pp. 17, 97, n. 10.
12. It is estimated that as much as a third of American silver was traded to Asia in exchange for silk, porcelain, ivory, etc. Enormous quantities were also siphoned away from official channels of control to avoid the mandatory payment of the “royal fifth,” the twenty-percent share set aside for the Spanish crown.
13. Torre Revello 1945, pp. 45–46.
14. Flemish silversmiths began to arrive in Lima by 1555; among them the best known were, as they were called in Spanish, Juan de Bruxelles, Elvin de Alberes, and Juan Le Renero. Notable German silversmiths included Hernán de Colonia (active by 1586), Theodor Gerardo, and Pedro Rudolf. See Busto Duthurburu 1996 and Torre Revello 1932, pp. vii–ix.
15. “Provisiones dadas por el virrey Francisco de Toledo en el cuzco, ordenando que los indios plateros ejerzan su industria todos juntos en el galpón que se manda construir para ello y encargando a Luis de Carrizales que dé cumplimiento de lo que se indica, 8 de septiembre de 1571”; ms., cited in Torre Revello 1945, pp. 54–55.
16. Toledo (1569–74) 1986, vol. 1, pp. 205–9.
17. “Además los dichos indios plateros labran vasos y otras cosas . . . y labran en ellos figuras, e Idolos cada uno según su propósito, todo perjudicial y pernicioso y que es notable impedimento de su conversión. . . . Ordeno y mando que así de las casas de los españoles como de los repartimientos los dichos indios sean recogidos y traídos a esta ciudad y puestos en parte y lugar que por mí será señalada para que vivan de sus oficios”; Francisco de Toledo, “Ordenanzas de 1574,” EC año 1765 N. 131, Archivo Nacional de Bolivia, Sucre, quoted in Gisbert 1999, pp. 86, 96 n. 7.
18. One of the most wide-ranging discussions of the sources of colonial Andean ornament can be found in Muthmann 1950, pp. 43–55 and *passim*.
19. For an enlightening analysis of these themes, see, for example, Gruber 1994.
20. The sirens, pumas, etc., are classified by Gisbert as “mestizo symbols,” but the rosette seems to have escaped notice in this context, perhaps because of its “purely decorative” nature. See, for example, Gisbert 1980, figs. 52, 53, 179, 199, 200, 210.
21. Many of the *Atocha* pieces bear this emblem, which may reflect the close association between silversmiths and the Augustinians resulting from the establishment of the silversmith’s confraternity of Saint Éloi in the convent of San Agustín, Lima.
22. An Old World textile pattern of an ancient mixed pedigree, it could well have reached Peru in the form of imported carpets or cloth, yet another vector of transmission.
23. An association with the rosary is also indicated in a painting of another statue of this advocacy (private collection) in which the rosette pattern prominently fills the textile—apparently quite similar to the mantle described above—that lies below the Virgin’s feet. See “Arte y identidad,” in Mujica Pinilla 2002, p. 21, fig. 15.
24. See, for example, the robe of Cristo Nazareno and the crescent moon that supports him in a painting now in Lima; Córdoba 1999, p. 283.
25. The squareness of the form relates it conceptually to certain *tocapu*. Gisbert (1986, pp. 302–3) has noted the *tocapu*-like aspect of a related motif in the context of a tapestry in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (04.123). One could speculate that it manifested some allusion to the quadripartite division of Tahauntinsuyu, the Inca’s name for their empire, and that concomitant worldview. See “Silver Threads and Golden Needles,” by Tom Cummins, in this catalogue.
26. See the printer’s mark of Juan Joffré de Valence, 1522; Muthmann 1950 p. 47.
27. See “Acculturation and Innovation in Peruvian Viceregal Silverwork,” by Cristina Esteras Martín, in this catalogue.
28. Giovanni Anello Oliva recounts the hunting excursions of Mayta Capac, from which he returned in triumph with various collared beasts; Anello Oliva (ca. 1630) 1998, fols. 55v, 56r. See also the collared lions on catalogue number 132.
29. Federico Kauffmann Doig (“La pluma en el antiguo Perú,” in Lima 1993) has considered that the dragon also represents the flying feline god of water; cited in Flores Ochoa, Kuon Arce, and Samanez Argumedo 1998, p. 295, n. 7.
30. Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui (ca. 1615–20) 1992, p. 225.
31. “. . . una serpiente tan fiera y terrible, que lo causó temor; porque era tan grande como el mayor animal de la tierra; tenía unas alas a manera de las del murcielago; los brazos cortos, y muy gruesos con grandes uña, la cual viendo el Inca se levantó en el ayre inficionados de fuego y sangre los ojos, bibrando la lengua, de buelo quiso arrebatarle con las uñas . . . deste animal tan estupendo tomó el Inca el sobre nombre de Amaro, po que así se llaman estas serpientes”; Anello Oliva (ca. 1630) 1998, fols. 55v, 56r.
32. Diego González Holguín’s Aymara dictionary ([1608] 1952) defines *amaru* as a being synonymous with a dragon or serpent, but again its actual significance is ambivalent. According to Garcilaso, the

- Antis, the savage inhabitants of the Antisuyu, worshiped large snakes by that name. An account attributed to the mestizo Jesuit Blas Valera notes how the Inca temple where the Compañía now stands was dedicated to amaru and contained an idol in the form of a serpent. In his depiction of the oppressors of the Indians, Guaman Poma equated the corregidor with a dragon figure (amaru) that is simply captioned “sierpe.”
33. Hernmarck 1977, vol. 2, no. 636, pls. on pp. 238–39; Cruz Valdovinos 1992a, pp. 48–49, no. 29; Esteras Martín 2000b, pp. 76–78, no. 26.
 34. This raises the possibility that some of the silverwork that served as models for Andean silversmiths may have been brought by Portuguese conversos (former Jews) who were present in significant numbers in Peru until the auto-da-fé of 1639.
 35. Alciati 1549.
 36. Horozco y Covarrúbias 1589.
 37. Gisbert 1980, pp. 46–51. Gisbert also points out that some Andean applications of the siren indicate a familiarity with the neoplatonic belief that their music moved the heavenly spheres.
 38. Bearing a Toledo hallmark, but with no resemblance to any other silver of Toledo origin, this casket was thought by Charles Oman (1968, no. 169) to have been influenced by South Indian design.
 39. See, for example, a late-sixteenth-century Spanish ewer and basin (ibid., nos. 129, 129a, pl. 144, fig. 225).
 40. Francisco Stastny (in Carcedo et al. 1997, p. 178) describes a 1604 document requiring a donated monstrance to be displayed in the Church of Santo Domingo, Lima. That monstrance is described as having two flanking *guadamacies* (embossed leather armorials).
 41. Heredia Moreno 1985.
 42. Ulloa (1748) 1964, p. 196.



Acculturation and Innovation in Peruvian Viceregal Silverwork

Cristina Esteras Martín

From its very beginnings in 1492, the Encounter between old Europe and the New World initiated a cultural interaction that flowed in both directions. Spain, as the active protagonist, sought to impose its identity on an indigenous culture, attempting in the process to generate a homogeneous whole—to reduce its diversity to a “unity” following its own historical experience of cultural consolidation. The “transference” of Spanish precepts was not always direct or precise, however; many were either reinterpreted or rejected by the “new” indigenous society that evolved in the wake of the Conquest, a society that was the sum of Indian and European pasts. Viceregal culture thus became as pluralistic as Spain’s at the time of the Encounter, having devolved from multiple Precolumbian traditions, levels of development, and regional variables: in the case of Peru, coast, mountain, jungle, and the Altiplano.

The formation of this new Hispano-American culture was a laborious process. What is clear is that whereas uniformity (at least in terms of the culture in general) came from the outside (Spain), diversity was generated from within (America). For that reason it is not possible to consider the art of viceregal America as either homogeneous or as a simple consequence of Spanish influence. It is, instead, something more complex, something genuine and original, and thus also brilliant: the fruit of a synthesis between the aesthetics of a ruling Spanish culture and that of a subject indigenous world. American silverwork is neither European nor Spanish, it is simply American. In its various artistic manifestations, colo-

rial silverwork displays both this quality of being “different,” and of being a showcase for extraordinary cultural characteristics. It is an art that clearly mirrors and fully responds to the mentality, interests, and modes of the new society, a practical as well as a decorative art.

The history of silverwork in the Viceroyalty of Peru, which can be traced to about the middle of the sixteenth century, varies, naturally, from artistic center to artistic center, but the early genesis of this tradition and the force with which the art form developed were undoubtedly the result of the solid background of the indigenous peoples in working with gold and silver. As Spanish chronicler Pedro Cieza de León noted in 1553, “The native Indians of this reign were great masters of silver making and other crafts.” This preexisting mastery, along with an abundance of precious metals obtained from local mines, explains why silversmithing was the art that came to establish Peru’s identity in the eyes of Europe, and why it is one of the most helpful arts in studying the stages of colonial cultural synthesis. Moreover, it points to why the most distinguishing elements of colonial art were contributed by the Indian population, through its many diverse cultural traditions.¹

Although Peruvian society attempted to emulate the customs and tastes of Spain—and indeed many modes of Peninsular life were imported and reproduced—the degree to which Spanish practices and aesthetics were faithfully “implanted” varied depending on several factors: whether the centers into which they were introduced were central or peripheral (e.g., Lima or Pomata); whether a Spanish Creole, mestizo, or Indian population predominated there; and which of these heterogeneous segments was thus in a position to accept, reelaborate, or reject the Spanish model.

Opposite: Fig. 61. Detail of altar frontal (cat. no. 92), Chapel of the Holy Family, Cathedral of Cuzco, ca. 1745



Fig. 62. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. *The rich imperial city of Potosí*, from *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 1615. Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen (p. 1057 [KB p. 1065])

It is clear that the aesthetic currents that appeared, successively, in Spain—Renaissance, Mannerism, Baroque, Neoclassicism—were transferred to America as part of this transculturation. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that these diverse currents developed in the same way or followed the same chronology as they did on the Peninsula. In that context, then, we must resist analyzing these trends from a Eurocentric point of view and realize that neither the tastes nor the times were the same, for the American reality was very different from the Spanish. As an “atemporal” reality it should not be condemned as anachronistic, however, for American art had no interest in fitting into European time: American art was the logical answer to its own needs and specific interests.

When we speak of Peruvian viceregal silverwork, we are alluding to the artistic crafting of silver and gold that occurred across a vast territory that included (at least until 1739) nearly the entire South American continent with the

exception of Brazil.² Within that framework, this essay examines Andean silver—identifying, analyzing, and emphasizing its typological, technical, and particularly its decorative peculiarities—because we are more interested in differences than in similarities: in other words, the introduction of Andean originality. I will not, therefore, describe stylistic categories or approach them from a Spanish perspective. Our focus is the Andean region that today comprises Peru and Bolivia (Cuzco, Arequipa, Puno, Lake Titicaca, La Paz, and Potosí) because that was the area with the greatest artistic character and also because it was the most consistently unified area of the period. As a result, it was also the locus of the most coherent formal and decorative expression. This does not imply that we will overlook related areas, such as Quito or the Jesuit missions of Moxos and Chiquitos, in eastern Bolivia, or other Andean centers such as Santafé de Bogotá, Santiago de Chile, and Calera de Tango. Lima, as the capital and heart of the viceroyalty, is, of course, obligatory as Limeño fashions and modes affected customs and art throughout the Andean region. Conversely, Lima absorbed influences from the Andean and other Peruvian zones. The city enthusiastically adopted some of the most characteristic customs to emerge from the provinces—such as chewing coca (Alto Perú) and brewing infusions of yerba maté (forested eastern slope and lowlands). As a result, precious silver maté gourds and straws were crafted to meet the demand of Lima’s citizens, as documented by the French engineer and traveler Amédée François Frézier in his 1716 *Relation du voyage de la mer du Sud* (A Voyage to the South Sea).³

Before analyzing how Andean (Peruvian-Bolivian) silver-smithing developed, it seems appropriate to clarify what is meant by the terms Altiplano and Alto Perú, since the reader may be confused with regard to geographical divisions. By Altiplano I mean specifically the region delimited by the mesa of Collao (Puno) and part of Bolivia (Lake Titicaca and La Paz).⁴ Reference to Alto Perú revives a broader geopolitical term from the first years of the nineteenth century used to identify an area that combines the lands of the Altiplano with those of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Cochabamba, Oruro, Sucre (previously called Chuquisaca, Charcas, or La Plata) and Potosí: in other words, the area that since 1830 has constituted Bolivia.⁵

The skill of native silversmiths certainly contributed to the successful florescence of crafted silver in the viceroyalty from the sixteenth century on, but the almost unimaginable fecundity and productivity of Andean silver and gold mines was also a significant factor. The discovery of the Cerro Rico, the “rich mountain,” in 1545—the richest source of silver ore in the

Western Hemisphere—marked the true zenith of mining activity in the Andes (fig. 62). It was described in the early eighteenth century by Bartolomé Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, a chronicler from Potosí, as a “monster of riches, trumpet sounding ’round the orb, ornament of sacred temples, magnet of wishes, and coin with which to purchase heaven.”⁶ In addition, the “serendipitous” discovery in 1566 of mercury in Huancavelica—a critical element from 1580 on in the efficient refining of mined silver ore—inevitably and irrevocably bound that city to the Cerro in a symbiotic relationship described by Viceroy Pedro de Toledo y Leiva, marqués de Mancera (r. 1639–48), as “like the grandest marriage in the world,” constituting “the axes upon which the wheels of this entire Kingdom and Your Majesty’s fortunes turn.”

Crafted silver was not in demand in Peru until after the Conquest was complete and the pacification of the territory achieved in 1570, and therefore it had little impact until after that time. Gradually, important silver workshops were established in Lima, Cuzco, Arequipa, and Potosí, later joined by those in Trujillo, Huánuco, Huancavelica, Puno, Oruro, Chuquisaca, and the missions of Moxos and Chiquitos. The sense that silver was “a kind of River upon which all useful and necessary things sailed and were transported,” to quote Arzáns, was eventually born out in every church, home, and city street. Nearly every aspect of viceregal society, both ecclesiastical and civil, was rich with silver. Crafted pieces numbered among personal attire and accessories and were used for practical as well as ornamental purposes.

The church had always sought to demonstrate the majesty of its physical presence and the grandeur of divine worship through the use of space and fittings, but never more so than

in the second half of the seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth century. Church interiors were opulently adorned with silver altar frontals (figs. 61, 63), decorated *gradillas* (small stepped platforms stretching across the back of the altar), sacralia, tabernacles, votive lamps, *mayas* (ornamental plaques embossed with floral designs), candelabra, missal stands or lecterns, and many other pieces for worship and decoration, all of which undoubtedly evoked the emotion and persuasion of the faithful at the same time that it lent to the sacred sphere the obligatory level of ostentation and luxury (fig. 64). Travelers, chroniclers, and historians were all dumbfounded when they beheld the interior of Peruvian churches, and testimonies, such as that written by Fray Juan Meléndez in his *Tesoros verdaderos de las Indias* (1681–82), make it easy to imagine how opulent the cathedral in Lima was at the time. Arzáns, for example, informs us that in 1685 the adornment of the *iglesia mayor* of Potosí was much to be admired, richly ornamented with fine silver pieces for the worship service. Most interesting, perhaps, is his description of the seductive atmosphere within the church, where all was transformed “into a blooming jungle, with a great number of braziers of the purest Cerro silver, amber from Florida, precious aromas from Araby, silver pomanders filled with simmering fragrances activated by dancing flames, and countless blazing lights fanned by the devotion of the parishioners.”

The profane world—that is to say, the world outside of the church—was not to be outdone in terms of grandeur, as both domestic and public spaces were converted into venues for exhibiting silver, some with considerable pomp and ostentation. In many ways these displays bespeak a culture in which excess would eventually reach an extreme: silver-bedecked



Fig. 63. Pedro Quintanilla. Silver altar frontal commissioned by Jesuit Father Francisco Mercier y Guzman, Peru, 1763. Private collection

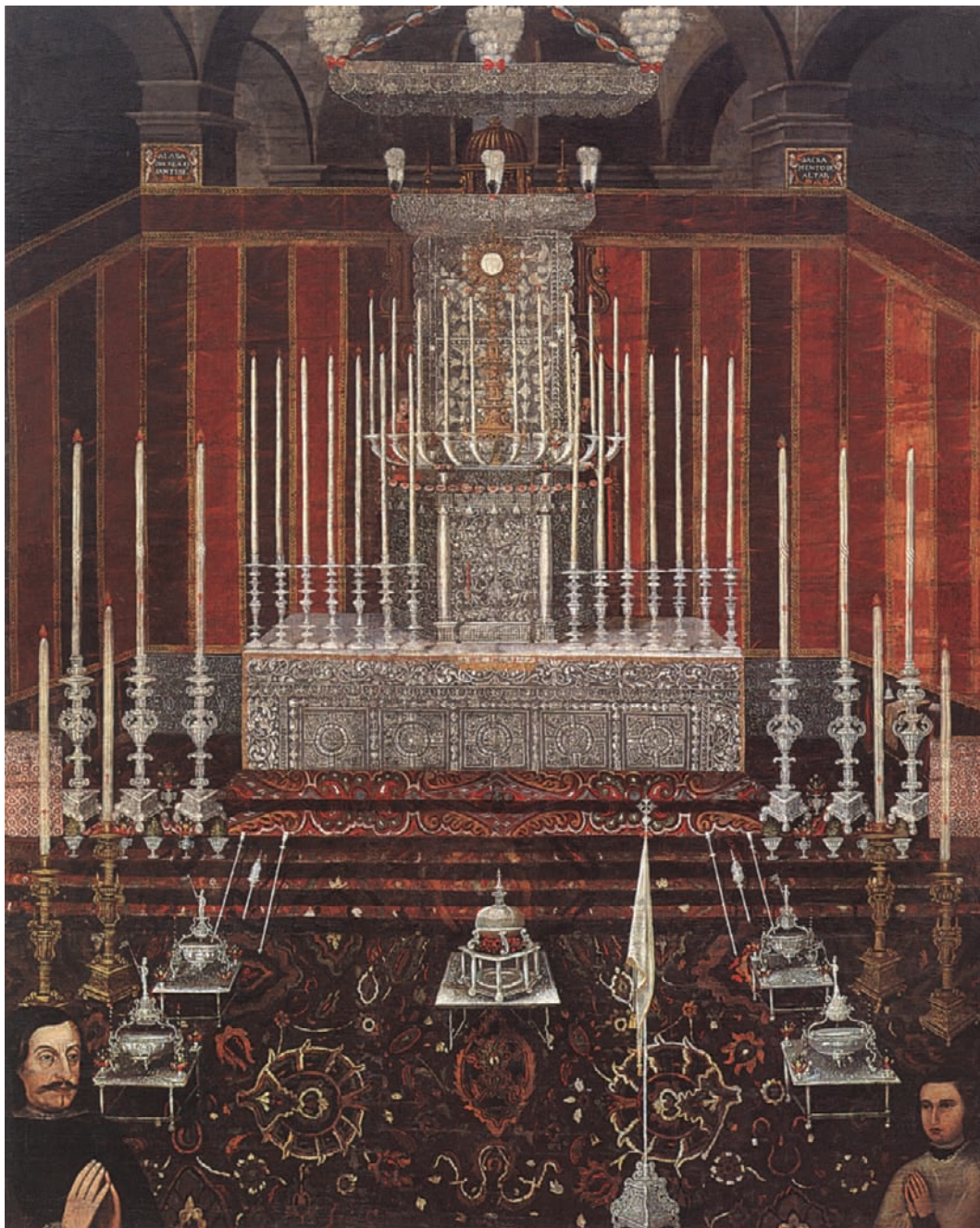


Fig. 64. View of the High Altar of Cuzco Cathedral, second half of the 18th century. Oil on canvas. In the lower corners are portraits of the indigenous donors who paid for the ensemble of silver displayed within the painting, much of it still in the treasury of the cathedral. Private collection

horses, streets beautified with silver arches, and imposing silver altars constructed for major festivals, even streets paved with bars of silver to welcome a viceroy to Lima or, as in Potosí at the end of the seventeenth century, to celebrate the marriage of the daughter of a wealthy mercury miner, don Antonio López de Quiroga. A home would be furnished not only with what was needed for the table—plates, platters, saltcellars, silverware, candelabra, and beautiful pieces for serving drinks, such as the curved-rim *bernegales*—but also silver items for the personal toilet, such as shaving basins, spittoons, and chamber pots. Silver was even used to make furniture. In 1702, the wife of the conde de la Laguna in Cuzco owned two tables and a number of writing desks made of silver. In the colder regions of the Andes and Alto Perú, to counter the rig-

ors of the climate, silver braziers were used to warm the dwellings of the upper and well-to-do classes.⁷ Similarly, pomanders, censers, perfume holders, and incense burners were crafted to combat what even in the most privileged surroundings were often offensive odors. In 1691, for example, doña Clara Cabanillas de la Rúa, of Potosí, ordered that “in her entryway and chambers scented waters be simmered in silver pomanders and braziers of the same metal.”⁸

In addition to being excellent artists, pre-Hispanic silversmiths were also masters of the often arcane techniques for working precious metals, from spinning, rolling, and casting (including the lost-wax method) to repoussé, chasing, and filigree. Not surprisingly, then, after the Spanish arrived and provided them with suitable iron tools, native silversmiths

soon established their mastery of European methods, combining their own knowledge with that of the silversmiths constantly flowing into the colony. The result was silver crafted using both indigenous and European techniques. While indigenous smiths did continue to work silver in traditional ways, they were now influenced by a different aesthetic (the European) as imposed through Spain's role as the dominant cultural voice.

In viceregal Peru there was no tradition in silversmithing (or at least none we know of) that used materials other than silver and gold. (Sometimes costly pieces were also enhanced with enamel, primarily using the *champlevé* method, and precious stones, especially emeralds taken from the rich mines of Colombia.) One of the few colonial Peruvian innovations in terms of materials was the use of maguey paste—the fibers of this agave mixed with stucco—which was employed in conjunction with silver, a practice that originated in the Alto Perú region (Bolivia). There are very few extant examples of this work owing to the fragility of the maguey, which shatters easily from changes in temperature or from being roughly handled. Among the various original maguey-silver pieces were portable triptychs (*capillitas*) in which the case would be constructed in silver and the interior worked in polychrome maguey paste, suggesting an Andean retable. These were usually dedicated to the Virgin of Copacabana (cat. no. 81).

It is interesting to compare this singular innovation in Peru to developments in New Spain, the other major viceroyalty, and especially in the sixteenth century, the gestation period of the “new” society and artistic culture there. In New Spain an assortment of complementary materials was introduced, from boxwood, amber, and rock crystal to tortoiseshell and featherwork. What we see, then, is that Hispano-American silversmithing was far from homogeneous; in fact, it varied significantly between different zones and cultures.

The featherwork-silver of New Spain represents not only a novel material and technique (that of the *amantea* class of artisans who worked in feathers), but, notably, something more profound and syncretic: a symbol associated with the sacred in Mexica culture. Indigenous artistic-symbolic expressions clearly did not die out following the Conquest. Indeed, evidence in both viceroyalties—although with greater intensity in New Spain—of pre-Hispanic signs and symbols can be found throughout colonial art. Moreover, an understanding between Indians and Spanish was facilitated through these signs; the more complex the message, the more frequently such symbols were utilized. In Peru, this symbolic communication is most clearly perceptible in works from the Andean region

that extends from Cuzco to Potosí. There, for example, the presence of *tocapu*, the Inca rank insignia, on ritual drinking vessels (*queros* and *aquillas*) confirms the centrality and persistence of this “dialogue of memory” between Indians and Spanish during the colonial period.⁹ The ongoing creation and use of pieces such as staffs for ritual dances, staffs of authority (*varayoc*), and garment pins (*tupus* and *tipquis*) confirms that these objects represented a tradition so deeply rooted in indigenous culture that they survived throughout the colonial period and up until the present day.

Given that Catholic religion and rites, at least initially, were the same in the Andes as they were on the Peninsula, it is logical that silversmiths working in the Andes turned to Spanish models for “implanted” religious pieces. After all, a frontal, chalice, processional cross, missal stand, or monstrance would have served the same function as it had in Spain. So, with just a few variables in iconography, ornamentation, and structure, silversmiths for the most part reproduced Spanish models for those items they needed to furnish the church. This should not be construed to mean that Peruvian work lacked originality; in fact, quite the opposite is true. If we examine monstrances, for example—which are used to display the consecrated Host and are incontrovertibly the most significant pieces in the repertoire of liturgical objects—we see that a portable *solar*-type monstrance, whether made in Lima, Cuzco, Arequipa, Potosí, or anywhere else in the viceroyalty, is composed of the same three basic components found in monstrances from Spain: *sol* (the “sunburst” at the top through which the Host is viewed; fig. 65), stem, and foot. A “difference”—or uniqueness—arises from how the Spanish model was transformed and adapted to meet colonial criteria. The resulting works resonate with the tastes of a given period and different artistic centers. For example, embellished cast handles, both C- and S-shaped, which create an intricate, more baroque silhouette, reflect the colonial penchant for the highly ornate. Also, certain pieces of Peruvian viceregal religious silver appear nowhere else in the Hispanic world in the same numbers, nor can they be found fashioned with quite the same brio. Eucharistic vessels in the form of a pelican feeding its young reflect this considerable artistic verve (fig. 66), as do *mayas*, the ornamental plaques that turned the altar into a wonder of gleaming light.

Although silversmiths making secular objects were bound to Spanish formal modes for certain works because of the prevailing wish to reproduce Spanish customs, they enjoyed considerable latitude when it came to pieces relating to Andean culture, such as boxes for coca leaves and Paraguayan yerba



Fig. 65. Luis de Lezana the Younger. Monstrance, ca. 1675–1700. Silver gilt with enamel. Private collection



Fig. 66. Attributed to Marcos del Carpio. Eucharistic vessel in the form of a pelican, Arequipa, ca. 1750. Silver. Private collection(?)

maté, portable kettle-type water heaters known as *pavas con bornillo* in which water was warmed or kept for brewing maté, and incense burners in the form of animals. These novelties had their niche in the “new” colonial society, but they also demonstrated, as early as the sixteenth century, the process of cultural synthesis whereby dominant European models and adornments were augmented by autochthonous elements.

In this regard, the Potosí basin from Siegen, Germany (fig. 67), is an eloquent example.¹⁰ In terms of its structure, order, and some decorative elements, it can be seen as a reflection of Spanish Renaissance prototypes, or even Peruvian ones, such as the basin from the Cathedral of Zaragoza (cat. no. 49). However, the net effect in the Potosí basin is not the same, as the decorative sequence along the border features clearly indigenous themes that are the fruit of cultural fusion. Thus, along with imported European paradigms—tondos with Italianate busts, grotesques, and large urns, to name a few—we find a cupid that has been “Indianized” by a feather bound with a ribbon of hair: a *llautu*. Similarly, among the

repertoire of animals we find the rabbitlike viscacha, the guemal, and a pair of llamas, all native to the Andean and Alto Perú region. One of the llamas is carrying a burden secured in Andean fashion, quite distinct from the European method of strapping bundles to mules. In addition, among the effigies represented are an Indian man and two Indian women in traditional dress, one of whom carries a typical striped bundle and the other wears her *acsu* (skirt) bound by a *chumpi* (sash). This synthetic process can be recognized in the seventeenth century, too, in the mestizo ornamentation on a ewer from the Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid (cat. no. 61), another ewer now in a private collection (cat. no. 60), and a casket in the Apelles collection, Santiago, Chile (cat. no. 67).

Parallel to the phenomenon of “Indianization” was what can be deemed “Peruanization,” a process in which silversmiths and artists from Spain who settled in the viceroyalty discarded the aesthetics and tastes they had known in their home centers and, after exposure to the American milieu, adopted its modes. Their output was often transformed to such



Fig. 67. Rim of silver basin decorated with scenes of Andean life (detail, cat. no. 51), ca. 1586

a degree that if one did not know beforehand that a smith was from Spain and not from, say, Lima, Cuzco, or Potosí, it would be difficult to detect his origin through his art. A good example is the work of Francisco de Soria Hurtado (1651–1692), a native of Granada who crafted a monstrance (cat. no. 114) that might well have come from Cuzco. Certainly there is no difference at all between how he approached this work and how Luis de Lezana (active 1665–1713), an Indian from Cuzco, conceived the Gordejuela monstrance (cat. no. 115). This phenomenon was not exclusive to Peru, it should be noted; we have ample evidence of similar influences in Mexico, including a revealing monstrance by the Seville artist Francisco de Peña Roja (1730–1766).¹¹

Native modalities became more abundant and meaningful after the second half of the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century, when Andean silver workshops, in the full swing of the Baroque, reached the fruition of their expressive potential. In most instances there is a commonality of style, albeit with small shades of difference. One possible reason for this “uniformity” is the mobility of the smiths, which favored transmission of tastes and tendencies from one center to another.¹² The “homogenization” that resulted often causes difficulty in classifying works, as pieces from Puno, Arequipa, Potosí, La Paz, or Cuzco can be very similar. Often a detailed analysis of ornamental characteristics (that is to say, of motifs) rather than formal characteristics (structure, as opposed to decoration) is required to resolve this complicated matter. Let us look, then, at what was happening in terms of theme in the colonial period, particularly those imported European motifs that most influenced the colonial decorative vocabulary, and which of these became most significant in the Andean world from the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century.

From the earliest days of the Encounter, engravings, prints, and book frontispieces were principal vehicles for images and decorative themes coming from Spain to America. They, in

turn, were inspired by Italian grotesques from the early sixteenth century, such as the work of Agostino Musi (il Veneziano) (fig. 68), and later by other Flemish Mannerist engravers such as Frans Floris or Cornelis Bos. Peruvian artists, who were both informed and inspired through these sources, in some instances replicated forms almost literally. In others, slight transformations and adaptations were made to accommodate period taste or idiosyncrasies of place. So it was that from the second half of the sixteenth through part of the seventeenth century, ornamentation avidly followed the theme of the grotesque. Some of the resulting motifs remained in vogue until the eighteenth century, hallowed in that period as among the most familiar in the Peruvian and Andean Baroque. Numbers of basins, for example, were embellished with figures after sources such as an engraving by Daniel Hopfer for the printer Sylvan Othmar (Augsburg, 1516), a 1520 panel by Agostino Musi, the grotesques of Marco Dente da Ravenna (1520), the grotesques of the Italian master identified as Perino del Vaga (1532), and an engraving by the Flemish master identified only as J.W. (1530–40).

The most successful motif in the Andean silverwork visual vocabulary, the *hombre follaje*, or “foliate man,” was a product of these and other, unidentified sources. He is always represented with a human head and body but with lower extremities that have been transformed into leafy growth (fig. 69). This vegetation, in turn, often takes on the form of a large double or single tail, which transmogrifies this monstrous being into a “green siren” with a naked torso and prominent breasts. In addition, there are numerous manifestations of both the foliate man and the green siren in decorative compositions, from telamones or hermae-canephores to figures labeled *indiátides* by scholar Angel Guido, a curious conflation of the Greek caryatids with the indigenous *mitayos*, or forced laborers, although there is no basis for this sociopolitical reading.¹³ Sometimes these green sirens are given wings, turning them

into “angel-sirens,” an ambiguous motif invariably found on monstrances as a figurative element on the small cast handles that embellish their profiles. Another grotesque motif derived from the foliate man is the “green mask,” found widely in Andean Baroque ornamentation (fig. 70).

Among the most popular creatures of the Andean Mannerist period was the winged dragon, or basilisk, which was frequently represented on *queros* and *aquillas* but can also be found on other Andean pieces, such as ewers (cat. no. 60), caskets (cat. no. 133), and on objects like the basin in the museum of the Cathedral of Zaragoza (cat. no. 49). Because of the basilisk's Christian connotations—it was associated with the devil, idolatry, and the Antichrist, and it was also believed to cause the death of any who looked upon it—the indigenous world incorporated it into their iconography and identified it with the mythical serpent *amaru* that supposedly inhabited the Antisuyu region.¹⁴ The colonial image of the *amaru*, then, coalesced with the Western figure of the dragon and survived until the eighteenth century. Dragons or basilisks in Andean decoration thus do not allude to, or take their meaning from, classical and medieval literature, which associated them with the idea of evil, sin, or the devil—they simply reflect the Indians' beliefs that serpents had wings. At times, however, owing to religious syncretism, the dragon-*amaru* was associated with the “devil,” that is to say, with evil, and it is in this guise that it appears on the famous painted coffer from the Callahuaya region (cat. no. 34).

Many other viceregal Peruvian motifs derive from European themes, including urns, horns of plenty, festooned cloths, garlands, and similar naturalistic elements. Peruvian silversmiths were especially fond of scrolling stems or stalks termi-



Fig. 68. Agostino Musi (il Veneziano). Grotesque, Venice, ca. 1520

nating in monstrous creatures, such as those seen on the casket in the Church of Santa María la Mayor in Guadalajara (cat. no. 47) or on the gold *bernegal* in the Mel Fisher Maritime Museum, Key West (fig. 71), which are worked in an Italianate manner after engravings by Nicoletto da Modena (Rosex), Zoan Andrea, and the workshop of Perugino. The Andean Baroque also produced its own stalk or stem imagery along these lines.



Fig. 69. Missal stand with *bombre follaje* (detail, cat. no. 103), ca. 1740–50



Fig. 70. Detail of altar frontal (fig. 61), showing grotesque mask



Fig. 71. Two-handled gold cup (*bernegal*) with scrolling foliage, dragons, and viscachas (detail, cat. no. 48), before 1622



Fig. 72. Silver-gilt ewer with incised grotesque motifs (detail, cat. no. 61), ca. 1625–50

Numerous European animals—dogs, foxes, rabbits, boars, snails, lions (in contradistinction to the Andean puma or jaguar), birds, owls, and eagles—were successfully “transplanted” into Andean silverwork, but whether these zoomorphic elements represent neutral, purely ornamental images or whether they conveyed specific symbolic connotations is unknown. The eagle, especially in its Hapsburg double-headed manifestation, was favored in colonial art to the point of being one of the most common themes, suggesting that, as a symbol, it perhaps represented the survival of the House of Austria. Its meaning varies according to when and where it was reproduced, however, and actually it most often alludes to the Eucharist, particularly in monstrances. The lion is perhaps the most prevalent animal representation in both textiles and silver. Most often lions are distributed among other motifs in the composition and given no greater prominence than the rest of the ornamental vocabulary. Some play a central, dominant role in the composition, however, while others are crowned in accordance with their heraldic significance, perhaps in response to the notion of the imperial lion of Spain. In many textiles, *queros*, and *aquillas*, rampant lions are depicted with provocatively protruding tongues (fig. 72).

Creatures from Greek mythology were often “Indianized” in works from the regions of Lake Titicaca and Collao. Centaurs with crests of feather plumes decorate the sides of a casket now in the Apelles collection (cat. no. 67). This process of adapting figures to the local world is also found in representations of other animals, such as the lion; for example, on one alms plate now in a private collection (see fig. 75), the lion’s heraldic crown has been replaced by a feathery headdress. We find this “indigenous treatment” in the cupid adorning the Siegen basin (cat. no. 51); on the “Atlases” that serve as the feet for a chrisatory now in a private collection; in the pair of angels on the Metropolitan’s monstrance (cat. no. 113); and in the foliate men on the Quito missal stand (cat. no. 104). What

is clear is that fantasy, too, played a decisive role in these transformations, which are characterized by ambiguous and monstrous hybrid forms, always in perpetual metamorphosis. In the end, the ideal (or really oneiric) representations of monstrous creatures conjoining the bestial and the human worlds are a reflection of an idealist culture that took pleasure in escaping its reality.

In the mid-seventeenth century, the proliferation of decorative elements in silver ornamentation based on American flora and fauna is often seen to reflect a “pure” love of nature. In fact, it is very possible that the tendency to incorporate Andean animal and vegetal motifs was partly a reaction to the Hispano-American Baroque. Although the Baroque period in America was itself driven by a deeply Christian sentiment, it coincided with a general resurgence and self-awareness of indigenous culture, particularly in Peru. In addition to the armadillo (cat. no. 154) and the guemal, the viscacha is notable for its frequency in silver ornamentation (as well as in murals and textiles). Viscachas are rodents, slightly larger than rabbits, who live at high altitudes, ordinarily some thirteen thousand feet above sea level. In the mythology of the Andean *puna*, or high mountain region, they serve the *apus*, the divinities of high peaks, and it is their responsibility to keep the gods in touch with humanity. In other words, viscachas are the intermediaries of the gods, their messengers. If we extricate this motif from its ornamental context, it is merely one among many other indigenous motifs taken from the surrounding natural world. When viscachas appear on religious works, however, especially in church murals, they can be seen to assume added significance as the creatures responsible for communication between humans and God. In this context they seem to fulfill the same function in the colonial setting as the transplanted European angels. It should be pointed out that in silverwork viscachas are most often seen on secular pieces, although they are also found on pieces of ambiguous



Fig. 73. Silver ornamental plaque with birds pecking at fruit (detail, cat. no. 98), ca. 1750

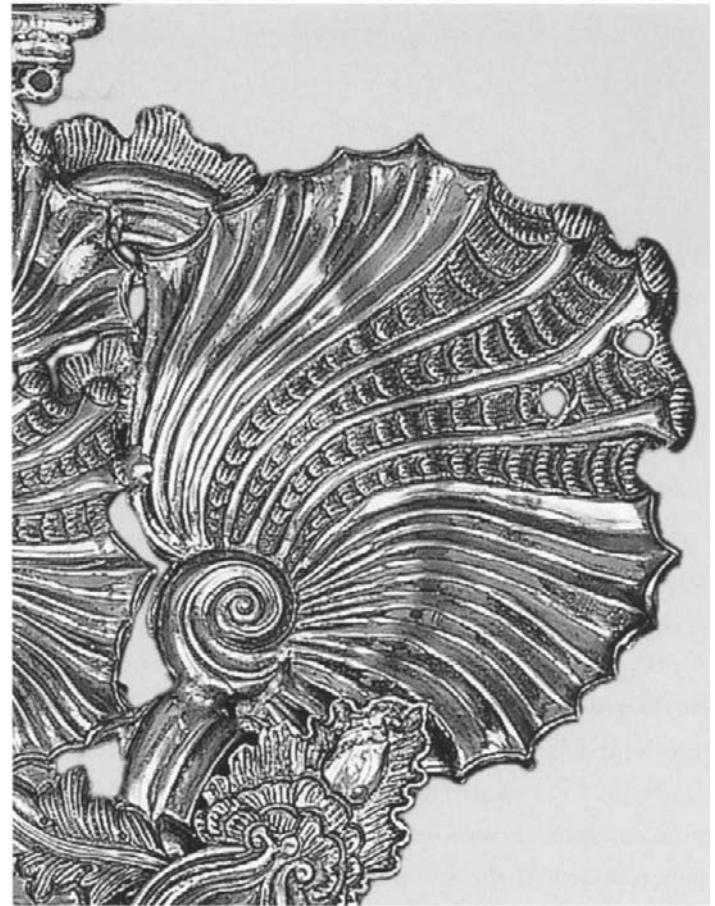


Fig. 74. Silver frame with distinctive Alto Perú rocaille motifs (detail, cat. no. 149), ca. 1780–90

use, meaning either religious or civil, in which case it is more difficult to support the aforementioned symbolism.

Avian motifs abound in Andean silver, either in isolation or pecking at grapes, flowers, and fruit, such as the pomegranate (fig. 73). Without question birds can be seen as inspired directly by nature, and that helps to explain the frequency of avian motifs in Baroque ornamentation. Nevertheless, a broader, more profound rationale behind avian imagery relates to the complex conceptual world in which Christian evangelizers communicated their faith to Andean peoples. In that context, Heaven was equated with Eden, or Paradise, and the birds found there were comparable to angels and were considered bearers of the voice of God. Therefore, when birds are represented feeding on grapes or pomegranates, they symbolize the “Eucharistic tree”—the sacrament in which the Host is miraculously transformed into the Body and Blood of Christ—that sustains the soul. These birds take many forms—eagles, herons, parakeets, cockatoos, and parrots (cat. no. 125)—some from the European tradition and others native to the jungles of South America. The curious juxtaposi-

tion of jungle birds, monkeys, and tropical fruit with motifs of the Altiplano suggests that they are not coincidental or merely appreciations of the autochthonous, but rather that the inhabitants of the arid and cold Andean plateau (the Collasuyu of the Inca Empire) dreamed of the warm, fruitful lands of the east (the Antisuyu) and identified the easier life of this region with Paradise. They thus re-created that felicitous world through oneiric compositions of verdant trees laden with fruit and branches filled with birds.¹⁵

Many motifs in colonial silverwork that have no symbolic content interest us because they reveal which artistic center produced them. One example is the use of leaves or flowers rolled in the manner of a shell, called a *pututu*, which are found on pieces that I suspect originated in workshops in La Paz. A second example is an adaptation of the rocaille motif familiar from the European Rococo into a kind of insect or butterfly. Many of the works that incorporate this motif, conventionally deemed “butterfly rocaille” (fig. 74) give it great prominence among the other decorative elements, which leads us to the city of the Cerro Rico, that is, to Potosí and its area of

Fig. 75. Silver alms plate with God the Father, crowned lions evidencing Asian influence, and a female donor dressed in indigenous garments, Arequipa, 1773(?). Private collection



artistic influence, including La Plata (Sucre) and Pasco. This is true of the maté cup and frame in the Museo de Arte Hispanoamericano Isaac Fernández Blanco, Buenos Aires (cat. nos. 144, 149), a chrismatory now in a private collection, and an altar shrine also in a private collection (cat. no. 111).

To this point we have considered the extraordinary aspects of aesthetic interchange between the two basic cultures in Peru, Spanish and indigenous Peruvian. We must not, however, overlook how Hispano-Peruvian artistic culture was influenced by other external factors and cultural components, particularly immigration and commerce, which introduced new tastes and

channeled an even more active exchange. One notable influence was Asia, specifically India and China, both of which were significant trading partners via Pacific shipping, such as the Manila galleon. Since the Philippines were under Spanish control at the time, the New World enjoyed close commercial contacts with them, and, consequently, goods were routed through America. In fact, Asian influences were felt there before they became apparent in Spain. Oriental merchandise such as porcelains, sculptures, textiles, and embroideries sparked an interest in fresh motifs and aesthetic directions that culminated in the eighteenth century, when these forms and decorations were incorporated into local crafts to forge new ornamental and plastic concepts. Lima, both as a coastal city and as the capital of the viceroyalty, was particularly open to new ideas. Appreciation of all things Asian was not limited to Lima, however; these trends also reached more distant and marginal centers, such as the Jesuit missions of Moxos and Chiquitos, where the modeling and motifs of some ornamental plaques, the *mayas*, reflect an Asian character (cat. no. 74). We also see the imprint of Asia in the iconography of the lions on the alms plate crafted in Arequipa (fig. 75), in the lions and Mercury figures on the Potosí casket (cat. no. 67), and in the sculpted forms of a water heater and incense burner, both now in private collections (cat. nos. 140, 78), on which the figures are clearly Asian. These paradigms are visible not only in silver but in many varieties of works and materials, especially in textiles and in the alabaster sculptures from Huamanga.

One peculiarity of Peruvian silver that we have not yet touched upon is the nearly systematic lack of hallmarks, which creates problems in terms of authenticating provenance and classifying individual pieces. The use of silver and gold was closely supervised in Spain (after 1435 under Juan II, and particularly under Isabel and Ferdinand after 1476) and later in America, where by law pieces in the royal coffers had to be marked so that viceregal authorities could maintain strict fiscal records. However, in the Viceroyalty of Peru, unlike in New Spain and the Kingdom of Guatemala, marking was systematically avoided, I believe, in order to evade payment of taxes to the royal treasury (*cajas reales*), benefiting both the person who commissioned the work and the smith who created it.

There were four regulatory marks: that of the author (who was the first to stamp the piece); that of the locality where the piece was stamped or created; the mark of the treasury, known

as the *quinto real*, or “royal fifth,” because it represented the payment of twenty percent of the value of the piece to the crown; and the personal imprint of the assayer who authenticated the earlier marks and guaranteed that the piece met the legal standard, that is, that it contained the required percentage of pure silver in the alloy. What mattered most to viceregal authorities was not that the piece bear the four obligatory marks that assured its quality, but that the *quinto* be paid to swell the royal coffers.

Subsequently, the few marks we find on pieces of South American origin are nearly always those that correspond to collection of the *quinto*, most often (from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century) seen with a royal crown (open or closed, with varying morphology). Less often a coin-type imprint was employed that, in my judgment, originated in sites such as the *casa de moneda* (mint) in Lima or Potosí (pieces I have analyzed suggest the latter), and persisted from 1572 until at least the era of the reign of Charles II (1665–1700). In at least two examples this coin mark is also accompanied by other marks with dates (cat. nos. 47, 51).

On very rare occasions the mark of a locale appears, such as that of Potosí (cat. no. 58) and Santafé de Bogotá (cat. no. 57); the imprinted marks of other cities, including Lima, Cuzco, Arequipa, and Buenos Aires, can also be found on pieces from the end of the eighteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹⁶ There are a small number of pieces stamped with the author’s punch. These marks tend to appear alone—in other words, no other marks are present—and the actual names of the smiths remain, for the most part, unknown.

Silver and gold crowned the life of Peru and Spain for nearly four centuries, but these precious metals, beyond their financial value, became primary vehicles for the artistic expression of Peruvian culture. After Peru achieved its independence in 1825, the silver crafts, for all intents and purposes, faded into oblivion except in those regions with very strong cultural traditions, such as the Andean and Alto Perú zones. There, Indian and mestizo smiths kept—and continue to keep—silversmithing alive as a vital and valued craft, one with deep roots in the pre-Hispanic world. There, the “tears of the Moon,” which after a great argument with the Sun blazed so hot they turned into silver, are still transformed into *tupus*, *ttipquis*, *queros*, *aquillas*, *varayoc*, and other pieces that contain both memories of the past and hopes for the future.

1. The Indian was key to building the new social and artistic order, for in most cases it was the Indian who created the work and, at the same time, it was the Indian for whom the work, or the content of that work, was intended.
2. The geopolitical borders of this territory were stable during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but in the eighteenth century important changes took place, as borders were dissolved and two new viceroyalties were formed: Nueva Granada, in 1739, and Río de la Plata, in 1776.
3. Frézier 1716.
4. Beginning in 1542 the Altiplano was part of the Viceroyalty of Peru, but from 1787 to 1796, the Intendencia de Puno (Chucuito, Paucarcolla, Lampa, Azángaro, and Asillo) was part of the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata. On January 1, 1796, it was reintegrated with Peru. Although Puno was not Peruvian for those years, its artistic output was always tied to the aesthetics of the Altiplano of Collao. Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Cochabamba, and Sucre, which are inter-Andean valleys, were not included in those geographical divisions, nor was Potosí.
5. From 1776 until the Battle of Ayacucho in 1824, which marked the end of the Spanish presence, this entire zone was part of the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata.
6. Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela (ca. 1700–1736) 1965, book 1, chap. 1.
7. Some very beautiful braziers, which were used in homes as well as in churches, are conserved in private collections today. A very old one recovered from the galleon *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*, which sank in 1622, is now in the Museo de América, Madrid. Judging from its description, the “brazier with latticed lid” that the marqués de Cañete brought from Peru on his return to Madrid in 1596 must have been very similar. Lohmann Villena 1960–61, p. 466.
8. Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela (ca. 1700–1736) 1965, book 2, p. 361.
9. *Tocapu* are square, abstract geometric designs that transcended the decorative by acting as a mnemonic device, or “graphemes of Inca writing,” during the time of the empire. They continued to be used throughout the colonial period on Andean textiles and *queros*.
10. There are also illustrative pieces among those items rescued from the *Atocha*, including two now in the Mel Fisher Maritime Museum, Key West: a basin, approximately 22.5 cm in diameter, that is very similar to catalogue number 51 in form and ornamental concept and a plate or bowl decorated with Inca symbols and two condors and framed in a strapwork medallion.
11. This beautiful monstrosity is in the Museo Franz Mayer, Mexico City; see Esteras Martín 1992c, pp. 199–201.
12. Pedro Nolasco Tecserupay, although a native of Cuzco in 1707, crafted several pieces for the Church of Jesús de Machaca in the La Paz diocese; Luis Niño did the same in Potosí and La Plata (Sucre) about 1737. The famous Juan de Dios Ribera (son of Concha Tupac Amaru), a citizen of Cuzco at the turn of the nineteenth century, set up residence in Potosí and later died in Buenos Aires.
13. Like the virgins of ancient Greece who carried offerings on their heads (canephores), Indian women, too, brought tributes to the church. These were known as *camarico* (from the Quechua *camari*), or non-monetary tributes, and consisted of the fruits of the earth, which they presented to the parish priest in baskets they bore on their heads.
14. The Antisuyu was one of the four quarters of Tahuantinsuyu, the Inca name for their empire. It was the eastern quarter, which produced medicinal herbs, including the coca leaf: a warm land with lush vegetation and plentiful rivers, inhabited by the Chunchus.
15. See Gisbert 1999, p. 151.
16. For American and Peruvian hallmarks, see Esteras Martín 1992b.



Cumbi to Tapestry: Collection, Innovation, and Transformation of the Colonial Andean Tapestry Tradition

By Elena Phipps

The convergence of Andean and Spanish textile traditions in the early viceregal period resulted in a new art form for the region: pictorial and armorial tapestries. Although Inca master weavers (*cumbicamayos*) had produced some of the finest tapestry-woven cloth in the world (*cumbi*), they used the technique of tapestry weaving primarily to produce royal garments, with standardized sets of abstract and geometric designs imbued with cultural and political significance. After the Conquest, imperial Inca control of tapestry production was almost immediately replaced by Spanish patronage, and Andean tapestry traditions were dramatically transformed during the course of the sixteenth century. The human scale of the *cumbi* garments, with their evocation of personal authority and identity, gave way to large-scale wall hangings that drew on European decorative and narrative styles. Colonial weavers did not simply copy foreign models and European design directives, however, they creatively combined traditional techniques, materials, and patterns with European forms and motifs to produce a corpus of tapestries that are a unique expression of colonial aesthetic values.

Exactly how European aesthetic interests interacted with the methods and conceptual frameworks of the Andean weavers is still poorly understood. Although the end result—the physical tapestry, with a densely woven pictorial surface—was essentially the same, sixteenth-century Andean and European tapestry weaving differed in terms of technical detail. For example, the Inca *cumbicamayos*, who wove in an upright, vertical

position, painstakingly interlocked each color change along the horizontal passes of the weft yarns. European weavers, challenged by having to construct a design oriented horizontally on the loom—a method developed to enable them to produce design features more easily and in extremely large sizes—generally used the faster methods of dovetailing and slit-tapestry joining (and sporadically other types). From concept to realization, the design processes were also dissimilar. Many European weavers worked from cartoons, or fully executed drawings, as templates to create their complex narratives. Andean weavers were not accustomed to such aids; traditionally they relied on intrinsic, culturally generated memory techniques to construct their woven designs. An example of this method was recorded in an early-seventeenth-century manuscript of the Mercedarian friar Martín de Murúa, which describes how a special belt worn for the Inca ritual Corn Festival was “transcribed” into a notational form; in other words, the design of the textile was “read” and recorded, thread by thread and row by row, a method used to this day by Andean weavers to reconstruct and remember patterns.¹ How Andean weavers adapted their work methods and visual memory systems to incorporate new ways of formulating and constructing the large-scale designs of tapestries is also not clearly understood. Nevertheless, these different approaches to weaving reflect cultural attitudes and traditions that were manifested physically—in the actual tapestries—as well as in the cultural attitudes that surrounded their function and use in colonial society.

This essay explores the development and production of tapestries in the colonial Andes and examines the artistic

Opposite: Fig. 76. *Original Sin*, 17th century. Tapestry, cotton warp and camelid weft. Private collection

contribution of indigenous weavers to that process. Many questions remain as to when and where colonial tapestries were made, for whom and by whom, and where some are located at present. The number of known examples of colonial tapestries is relatively low in comparison to the tens of thousands of Precolumbian textiles that have been preserved. In 1943 the noted colonial tapestry scholar Natalie Zimmern had found fifty-seven examples.² By 1967 Adolph Cavallo could cite more than a hundred,³ and still others have come to light since then. This study is based on extensive research whose goal, in part, has been to locate existing works and to identify the corpus of extant tapestries, which after more than ten years of examining colonial textiles in American, South American, and European collection I can say with confidence exceeds three hundred examples. I have also examined material and technical characteristics as well as designs and styles in an attempt to define the extent and range of tapestry manufacture in the colonial era and to answer questions regarding their history and production. I thus rely on an in-depth analysis of technical features and weaving methodology to identify an assemblage of characteristics that in turn leads to a better understanding of the chronology and provenance of these tapestries, as it also broadens our knowledge of the community of colonial Andean weavers and their creative contributions.⁴

COLLECTION AND STUDY

The outsider's fascination with Andean textiles began as soon as the Spanish landed in Peru. Historical documents recounting the Conquest and its aftermath of radical cultural upheaval described, among other things, the rich varieties of cloth made by the indigenous peoples, "the work and excellence of it, so much that one judges it to be silk rather than wool, skillfully worked and decorated."⁵ From the very beginning, the conquistadors and early chroniclers alike were fascinated by Peruvian cultural artifacts, even as the Spanish, as zealous advocates of Christianity, sought to rid the viceroyalty of "idolatrous" religious practices. In the process, they excavated and desecrated sacred burial grounds, ancient religious temples, and ruins in search of treasure.⁶

The Spanish were most interested in silver and gold, of course, which they amassed from the spoils of war and taxation; most important was the collection of the "royal fifth," the official portion owed to the king of Spain. Textiles, as well as feathers, ceramics, paintings, and other examples of Andean artistry, were also sent back to Spain (usually for the king), but most of these items were collected and preserved as works

having intrinsic rather than monetary value. In Europe the period from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century was the age of the *Wunderkammer*, or wonder cabinet, and many such objects entered the Spanish royal collections as "curiosities" (quite a few were lost in a series of devastating fires in the seventeenth century).⁷

Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (r. 1569–81) amassed a collection of Andean "artifacts" for his own personal use and as examples of Andean cultural achievement to send back to the king. Inventories of the viceroy's estate in 1582 list a number of textile objects, including tunics, mantles, carpets, and bedcovers of "*cunbi*." Among the textiles were "seven pieces of *cunbi* entirely white, and two table covers and a bedcover of *cunbi*" he bequeathed to one doña Ana de Aguilar.⁸ Andean bedcovers were particularly popular with the Spanish nobility, as described by Garcilaso de la Vega in 1616:

Similarly they always had a great stock of new robes and bed linen, for the Inca never wore a garment twice, but presented it to his kinsmen after use. The bed linen consisted of blankets and *pelisses* made from vicuña wool, which is so soft and fine that bedclothes made of it have been brought, together with other precious wares from Peru for the bed of King Philip II. These blankets were used to lie on and as coverings.⁹

The Royal Cabinet of Natural History in Madrid, established by Charles III in 1771, included more than 250 items from the Americas, among them gold and silver vessels and coveted bezoar stones (calcified minerals found in the digestive systems of certain animals, including camelids, that were believed to be antidotes to poison and harbingers of general good luck).¹⁰ An inventory of the collection lists a "magnificent cloth of vicuña a wool from Peru, with a wide lace of gold and silver and a figure dressed in the fashion of the country in each corner,"¹¹ almost a perfect description of an eighteenth-century poncho now in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (cat. no. 134). These early royal inventories also comment on the condition of textiles—including observations such as "some are broken and eaten by moths, others are clean"¹²—offering clues as to why so few colonial textiles have been preserved, and how, once collected and readied for shipment back to Europe, improper storage and adverse long-term environmental conditions led to their rapid deterioration, which began as early as the sixteenth century.

Colonial tapestries, and particularly tapestry-woven garments, were often preserved as family heirlooms. Wills and testaments of Andean peoples—especially, but not exclusively,

the native nobility—relate how garments and other household items were passed down from one generation to the next. The 1582 will of don Garcia Pilco Guaman, *curaca* of Moro-Chepen, in the Jequetepeque Valley, mentions several trunks of Spanish and Andean garments, including twenty-nine sets of clothing, among them eight new tapestry *uncus* with waistbands.¹³ The will of Juan Quispe, notarized on August 3, 1584, included “the waistcoats [*jubon*], some white petticoats of cotton with four edgings [*ribetes*] mantles, and the colored *camiseta* [shirt] of *cumbi*.” Women, too, prepared wills detailing their personal holdings; one “Maria Pizarro, *india* 1630,” left to posterity “one *liquilla* [*lliella*] of black velvet with its gilt silver broaches [*tupus*].”¹⁴ Some of these items were destined for family members, others were donated to the church.

Families of Spanish origin, for their part, also bequeathed Andean weavings in their testaments. Pedro de Cieza de León, a Spanish chronicler who lived in the Andes and died in Seville in 1554, left curtains and table covers to be dispersed to his heirs. Even the viceroy, as noted above, willed Andean *cumbi* textiles from his collection.¹⁵

Other types of legal documents provide interesting references to *cumbi* and other household textiles (fig. 77). One details the arrest and detention in 1644 of Rodrigo Flores Caja Mallqui, who subsequently had his possessions embargoed, among them textiles (such as a green tablecover with yellow silk fringes and a set of old cotton napkins) and garments (including gloves with Brussels lace and a mantle of *tornesol*).¹⁶

Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón y Bujanda (1735–1797), the bishop of Trujillo, was one well-known eighteenth-century collector of Andean textiles.¹⁷ In 1780 Compañón organized the production of multiple volumes of watercolors documenting the flora and fauna of the North Coast region of Peru, volumes that also depicted scenes of daily life, including cloth weaving and dyeing. He also illustrated some of the unearthings of Precolumbian burials and collected some of their textile contents (along with other artifacts), which were eventually sent back to Spain.¹⁸

International appreciation for the exquisite craftsmanship of Precolumbian textile artists did not fully blossom until the end of the nineteenth century. Colonial items, in the meantime, were considered comparative novelties, admired more for their “charming” character and brilliant colors than for their true artistic and historical richness.¹⁹ Moreover, because most scholars were generally unfamiliar with their hybrid traits, colonial Andean tapestries were often erroneously attributed to Portugal, Persia, Goa, or the Near East, and some were included in publications on, say, Spanish carpets or Indian and Islamic rugs.²⁰



Fig. 77. Guaman Malque. Drawing from the Prado Tello dossier, pertaining to legal actions over land titles in the Chupas Valley, near Huamanga, Peru, ca. 1560–1640. Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen

Despite this confusion, colonial tapestries were widely sought after, and a long history of foreign collection ensued.²¹ European institutions, particularly in Great Britain and Germany, were in the forefront of the vogue for collecting colonial works of art between the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. The collections of the venerable state ethnographic museums in Berlin and Munich reflect the comprehensive archaeological and academic traditions of that country and contain unique colonial tapestries and garments that came to the museum during this time. The British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum also acquired colonial Andean tapestries about the turn of the twentieth century, and, perhaps as important, British scholars T. A. Joyce and A. F. Kendrick clarified that these works were colonial Andean in seminal early publications on the topic.²² As a point of interest in the history of collecting, one beautiful tapestry, published in 1908 and now in the North Bohemia Museum Liberec, Czech Republic, establishes the known eastern boundary (to date) of the widespread interest in colonial Andean tapestries before World War I (cat. no. 124).

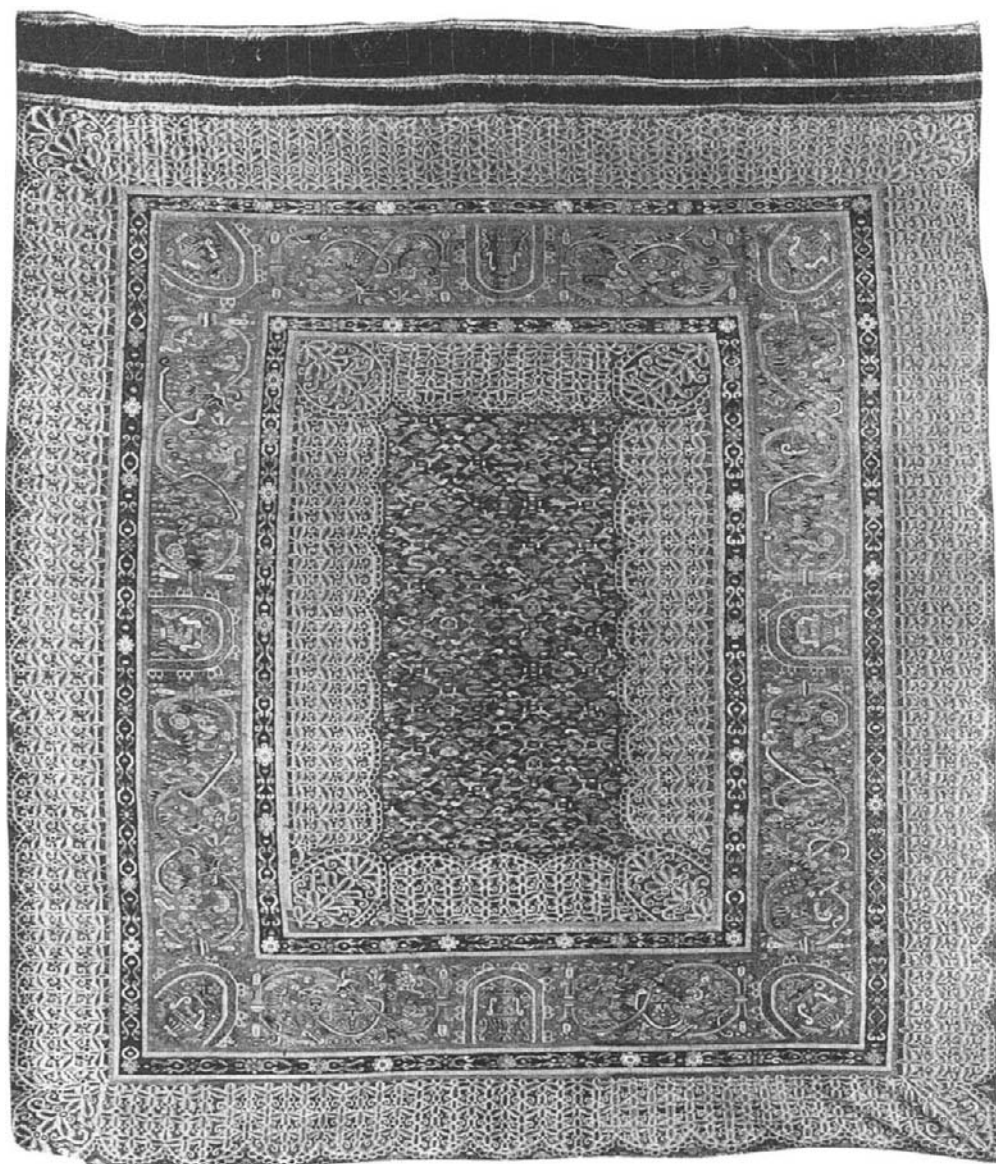


Fig. 78. Tapestry. Formerly collection of Count Welczik, present whereabouts unknown. Reproduced from *Sociedad Española de Amigos del Arte* (Madrid, 1930), pl. 26

Unfortunately, some tapestries were lost amid the havoc and destruction of the twentieth century's two world wars, including one with elaborate lace designs published in Madrid in the 1930s, whose whereabouts are now unknown. At the time of publication it belonged to Count Welczik, the Third Reich's ambassador to Spain (fig. 78).²³

Today important examples of colonial textiles remain in South America, where they are sources of pride, appreciated for their beauty and cherished for their historical significance by the local museums and communities that still retain custody of them. Since many colonial art works were originally made for the church, it is possible that undocumented treasures are still housed in little-known parish churches and convents throughout the region. Some of the great late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Andean collectors placed their tapestries and *cumbi* garments in local institutions. The beautiful colonial *uncus* belonging to the famed Cuzco collector Dr. José Lucas Caparó Muñiz became part of the collection

of the museum of the Universidad de San Antonio Abad del Cusco (now the Museo Inka). Many other works collected in Peru and Bolivia at the end of the nineteenth century by foreign archaeologists and other enthusiasts were acquired from local collectors, like the *uncus* from the Lake Titicaca region once in the well-known collection of Miguel Garcés, and some of which are now in the American Museum of Natural History, New York (cat. nos. 19, 45), or the now internationally dispersed Macedo collection from Ancón, Peru, which included catalogue number 24, one of the few colonial *uncus* associated with an archaeological burial.

Museum collections in the United States include some of the finest known colonial tapestries.²⁴ The Metropolitan Museum first acquired one, a woman's tapestry mantle (cat. no. 46), in 1908. It was catalogued as Mexican until the 1940s, when it was reattributed to Peru by noted scholar Herbert J. Spinden. During this period many colonial Andean works came to be recognized and appreciated on their own terms, especially

with the substantial contribution of scholars such as Natalie Zimmern of the Brooklyn Museum.²⁵ In fact, the collections in three American museums—the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (beginning in the 1890s with the collection of Denman Waldo Ross), the Brooklyn Museum (specifically in the 1930s with the acquisitions of Herbert J. Spinden), and the Textile Museum, Washington, D.C. (with the stewardship of Alan Sawyer and Pál Keleman in the 1960s)—together comprise the largest corpus of important colonial tapestries anywhere in the world, including South America.²⁶

In the last fifty years, several important exhibitions in the United States have stimulated greater interest in colonial art: “Peruvian Spanish-Colonial Textiles” (1961), organized by Alan Sawyer and Pál Keleman at the Textile Museum, and “Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America” (1996) curated by Diana Fane at the Brooklyn Museum of Art, both reconsidered Spanish colonial art within a new and dynamic context. These exhibitions focused primarily on the collections in those institutions, however, and many important works of colonial art have never been seen together. The unique opportunity afforded by the Metropolitan’s exhibition is the chance to examine these works side by side, and, with hope, to generate new avenues of exploration and comparative study.

FORMS AND FUNCTIONS

Spanish chroniclers remarked that the Inca did not use cloth or hangings in the interiors of their homes, as was the custom in Europe: “The rooms were grand and spacious, worked with marvelous artifice, because within them they do not use curtains nor the tapestries that [we do] in our Europe.”²⁷ The Inca did, however, hang cloth outdoors as part of special celebratory festivities. Juan de Betanzos and other Spanish writers describe processions held to celebrate the wedding of the Inca king and other political and religious occasions for which streets and rooftops were adorned with cloth and feathers, meant to augment the joyful festivities in a display of prestige and luxury.²⁸

This Andean tradition continued in the colonial period, when it coincided with long-standing Spanish customs that similarly incorporated exterior, public decoration with cloth, especially tapestries, although as used by the Spanish they obviously heralded an altogether different set of religious and political events.²⁹ Colored and decorated cloth called *paños de lipi* (a reference to high-quality, bright, and shining fabrics, possibly made of vicuña or silk),³⁰ as well as tapestries, mantles, and woven covers were sometimes draped from balconies and

windows during colonial celebrations and religious processions, notably those for Corpus Christi but also for other important secular and political occasions, a tradition well established in Europe by the sixteenth century.³¹ These displays are depicted in a famous series of paintings of a Corpus Christi procession originally made for the Church of Santa Ana in Cuzco (cat. nos. 116a–e), in which festoons of cloth (but not tapestries), most of them red, can be seen hanging from windows.

During this period bright red cloth would most likely have been dyed with cochineal, an insect dyestuff called *grana* or *magno* in Peru (the dye is made from the dried bodies of the cochineal insect). The color red was prized by the Spanish, and cochineal was subsequently imported to Europe in great quantities, generating enormous profits for the Spanish textile industry.³² Whether the red cloths visible in the Corpus Christi paintings were significant to the festivities, perhaps as a signal of opulence and extravagant luxury, is uncertain, but overall the series uses a generous amount of red color. In the eighteenth-century Bolivian painting *The Entrance of the Virrey Archbishop Morcillo to Potosí* (Museo de América, Madrid), various types of cloth are also depicted dangling from balconies and parapets, including striped *llicllas* (with their characteristic horizontal design registers), which apparently belong to the women shown viewing the procession from their rooftops, as well as what appear to be tapestry-woven covers or small hangings, as indicated by their border-and-field layouts.

A more ephemeral use of cloth for processions—perhaps a holdover from when the Inca decorated with feathers and other temporary adornments—is described by Bartolomé de Arzans de Orsúa y Vela in his account of a procession in honor of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception that took place in Potosí in April 1555:

The whole part of the floor where the procession was going to pass was covered with rich woolen and cotton mantles that the Indians gave affectionately, and from more than 30 and 40 leagues they brought, in their devotion, in a few days, an infinite variety of fragrant flowers and herbs to cover these carpets so that the natural beauty of the fields substitute for the defects of their hand-made works.³³

The comment on the “defects” aside, floral “carpets” such as these continue to be made today for religious processions. Arranged in situ along the route of the procession (fig. 79), they include decorative borders and edges much like actual carpets.³⁴ Although not woven, they are yet another testament to the centrality of textiles in Andean celebrations.



Fig. 79. Carpet of flowers made for Corpus Christi celebrations on June 2, 2002, at Abacay, Peru

Another type of elaborate procession was staged to celebrate the arrival of high-ranking Spanish colonial administrators and other important visitors, or to mark state occasions. These festivities sometimes included the erection of triumphal arches and the hanging of a *repostero*, an armorial banner with the coat of arms of the visiting official, from the balcony of a public building to announce their presence in office (fig. 80).³⁵ Some *reposteros* were commissioned by Spaniards to be sent to Madrid; others were kept as part of family estates or within palatial homes, where a few remain today. Among his various textile possessions Viceroy Toledo, for example, counted “Three cloths of *cumbi* black and yellow with coats of arms.”³⁶

Armorial hangings are a distinct category among colonial tapestries. Within viceregal society these arms, granted by order of the king of Spain, functioned as insignia of noble heritage or high social status, either real or invented. Woven as tapestries, and thus presumably intended to be hung on a wall, they also served as portable documents of prestige and position. (Some were even made in smaller sizes.) Coats of

arms, either as a central design or as a secondary motif, were also incorporated into tapestries made for native Andean patrons, who were themselves seeking to establish their place in colonial society through petition to the king (cat. no. 64). Conversely, some armorial tapestries incorporate Andean elements among their more traditional design features (like the escutcheons and arms), including *tocapu* or literal depictions of Inca nobility (cat. no. 155). Their presence may be interpreted as armorial signals: visual links to the Inca royal lineage and its associated privileges within colonial society.

On the domestic side, among the imported furnishings and various decorative arts brought over on the Spanish fleets were Flemish tapestries and Spanish carpets that eventually served as models for Andean artisans, who subsequently crafted Andean versions of them embellished with Andean designs.³⁷ Large hangings, following the European tradition, were produced in a variety of formats, each suited to a given architectural space, whether church, convent, administrative public building, or private home. The prolific Andean weavers applied



Fig. 80. Standard of Francisco Pizarro, 16th century. Applied silk. Museo del Ejercito, Madrid



Fig. 81. Valence made from a colonial Andean tapestry (with same border design as on fig. 82), 17th–18th century. Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (786.1901)



Fig. 82. Fragment of a tapestry with roses, 17th–18th century(?). Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft. Denman Waldo Ross Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (07.844)

their remarkable skills and penchant for innovation to other woven formats as well, creating tapestry-woven rugs and covers for floors, tables, chairs, and beds. The adaptation of tapestry-weaving techniques to the production of highly valued furnishing proliferated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as evidenced by the many examples that have been preserved. Some textiles woven initially as rectangular hangings or table covers were later modified to fit on European-style furniture, emulating the Continental taste for upholstery. One tapestry now preserved in the Musée des Tissus, Lyon (27683), has had its corners cut away, probably to accommodate the contours of a four-poster canopy or bed. Similarly, a valance in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, likely part of a set of bed hangings, is a modified tapestry fragment, cut and shaped to its present form (fig. 81). We do not know when these modifications were made, but because of the good condition of the textiles we can speculate that it was likely close to the time of manufacture. An altogether different type of tapestry, possibly a mantle made for a statue of the Virgin Mary (fig. 82), has an identical border design.

Another type of furnishing introduced from Spain was the carpet, both tapestry-woven and pile-woven. Following a Moorish custom, these were sometimes installed on raised

platforms, or *estrados*, in the absence of large quantities of furniture. Amédée F. Frézier, a Frenchman traveling in South America in 1712, noted that Peruvian women were accustomed to leaning on pillows in their homes, “particularly carpets, like those of Turkey, to spread on the *estrados* or places where the women sit on cushions.”³⁸ Personal-size carpets were also used in churches. The 1762 inventory of one European private collection included the notation that “Spanish women have these tapestries carried to the church to sit upon; for the women of the pueblos, they use a mat for the same purpose.”³⁹ One eighteenth-century painting (Museo Soumaya, Mexico City) depicts a woman carrying just such a mat (or carpet) to church.⁴⁰ Frézier also commented that “in Creole households there are no hangings, but an abundance of ‘scurvy pictures’ made by the Indians of Cuzco,” no doubt referring to the portraits of the Inca and other paintings of Andean life that today are cherished treasures of colonial art.⁴¹

ROOTS AND ROUTES OF DESIGN

The new design vocabulary incorporated by the colonial Andean weaver arrived in the New World in a variety of ways. Although European weavers did travel to Peru, most were



Fig. 83. Chinese embroidered silk cover made for export, 17th–18th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Bequest of Catherine D. Wentworth, 1948 (48.187.615)

engaged to establish or oversee work in the *obrajes* (Spanish textile workshops). One case is documented, however, of specialized European tapestry weavers traveling to the Andes to ply their trade. Philip Ossemayr and Thomas Semiller were tapestry weavers (presumably Flemish) who were brought to Chile (along with Bavarian clockmakers, Italian painters and sculptors, and other documented artists and craftsmen) in the eighteenth century by German missionaries to establish workshops at a large Jesuit arts-and-crafts academy at the Calera de Tango estate, outside of Santiago.⁴² Although documentation for similar tapestry-weaving workshops has yet to come to light, the general influence of a Northern European aesthetic can clearly be seen in some of the products of Andean looms. We know of at least one group whose technical approach and design are based on distinctly Flemish models, and we assume that there was European oversight of the design and weaving process (cat. no. 69).

For the most part, however, European themes and motifs were transmitted to Andean artists in the form of books, drawings, prints, paintings, household objects, and other ma-

terial possessions brought or imported by the Spanish. The aesthetic vocabulary embraced by colonial artisans developed in tandem with that of their colonial patrons, who strove to keep up with Peninsular fashions and tastes. Indeed, the adaptation of European motifs and customs was surprisingly quick; many fashions (as well as items such as popular literature) were exported to Peru as soon as they were produced in Spain. It has been noted, for example, that copies of the first edition of Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, published in Spain in 1605, were included in the shipments of the *flotas*—the annual fleet of Spanish ships bringing goods and passengers to Mexico and Peru—that same year.⁴³

The fifteenth through the seventeenth century witnessed the flourishing of the silk industry in Spanish cities such as Salamanca, Toledo, Valencia, and Seville. The weavers there produced complex, woven luxury fabrics—silks, velvets and brocades—whose physical components (colors and materials, including types and quantities of silver and silk yarns, fabric widths and quality) as well as distribution and price were strictly controlled by the Cortes through sumptuary laws that



Fig. 84. Colonial Andean tapestry with Asian designs late 17th–early 18th century. Tapestry weave, cotton warp and silk and camelid weft, Denman Waldo Ross Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (11.1264)

regulated the production and use of luxury goods in Spain (and eventually the colonies, too).⁴⁴ The Cortes aimed to safeguard the Spanish national silk textile industry by forbidding the manufacture of luxury fabrics in colonies under Spanish control. As a result, luxurious brocades, velvets, and other silk fabrics were accessible only directly from Spain, and silks of all kinds were shipped in quantity from Cádiz, on the southwestern tip of Spain, to Callao, the port of Lima. These monochrome satins and silver and gold brocades were embellished with motifs of interlacing scrollwork, floral vases, artichokes, pomegranates, and other designs that spoke to the Spanish love of large-scale pattern, and all eventually made their way into the Andean tapestry-design vocabulary (fig. 85; see also cat. nos. 52, 53). Along with some of these design motifs came the material objects themselves, such as exotic fruits and vegetables (grapes, pomegranates, artichokes, and olives) depicted in the patterned silks. A few transcended the mere graphic to become symbols charged with some kind of heightened religious or secular meaning, although it is not always apparent what, exactly, they stood for. For example, we

know from Garcilaso de la Vega, writing in 1609, that “in Lima, as soon as pomegranates were produced, one was carried in the litter with the Holy Sacrament in the procession for Corpus Christi and it was so large that all who saw it were amazed.”⁴⁵

Spanish ships also plied the seas between its colonies and other foreign lands during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as Spain championed the global search for new wealth and prosperity and sought riches to maintain both its independence as well as its global hegemony. A cross-fertilization of cultural influences ensued, providing Andean weavers with a wide variety of international design sources beyond those of Spain, or even Europe. Callao served as the gateway to South America for silks and other trade goods coming from the Far East. The Manila galleons, the fleet of Spanish vessels that yearly sailed a trade route primarily between Acapulco and Manila, periodically harbored in Callao (when not prohibited by law), and beginning in 1572 Asian textiles were imported as silken cargo packed in trunks among the ballast.⁴⁶ These included fragments of discarded Chinese garments and



Fig. 85. Spanish woven silk with ogival interlace pattern, late 16th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1940 (40.134.7)

furnishings, woven and embroidered with the iconography and rank insignia of the near-defunct Ming dynasty (1368–1644; see cat. no. 77), as well as products made especially for export (figs. 83, 84). With their mythological animals and stylized landscapes, all radically unfamiliar to the American colonies, in both embroidered and tapestry-woven forms, these exotically designed, luxurious textiles no doubt stoked the imaginations of Andean artisans. Moreover, the fine, easily dyed silk yarns that accompanied them obviously appealed to the weavers, who almost immediately incorporated them into a select group of colonial tapestries and garments, raising the already high standards of these works to new pinnacles of luxury. The galleons also brought Chinese-made table covers and hangings made for export in an “international colonial” style and Philippines-style silk-embroidered shawls covered with Asian flora and fauna, all of which would have been sold by the forty silk merchants of the Calle de Mercaderes in Lima.⁴⁷ In 1602 it was reported in Lima that “the silks of China are much used in the churches of the Indian, which are thus adorned and made decent; while before, because of the inability to buy silks from Spain, the churches were very bare.”⁴⁸

Pile-woven carpets were another notable influence on Andean weavers in terms of both design and technique. In Spain, the Hispano-Moresque tradition of knotted pile carpet making, a technique unknown in the Andes, prospered in weaving centers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (fig. 86).⁴⁹



Fig. 86. Spanish knotted pile carpet with skulls, 17th century. Wool. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (250-1906)

Distinctive pile carpets were also produced abundantly in the Near East, of course, and these were actively traded on the international market. Spanish and Near Eastern carpets came to Peru directly from Spain as well as circuitously from Persia, India, and Turkey via trade routes through the Philippines. Pile carpets subsequently produced in the Andes maintained the Spanish methodology, however; they were constructed with a symmetrical pile structure referred to as the Spanish knot, as opposed to the asymmetrical Persian knot used in the Middle East.⁵⁰

Not only were Spanish rug-making techniques transferred directly to weaving workshops in the Andes, specific layouts and motifs were also taken up by viceregal tapestry weavers. One style of imported carpet with distinctive geometric designs—originally made in Anatolia (Turkey) in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—inspired the Italian Renaissance artist Lorenzo Lotto, who included them prominently in his paintings (hence the moniker “Lotto-style” carpets), as well as Spanish rug weavers, who produced their own versions of them in weaving centers such as Alcaraz and Cuenca. Alcaraz wreath carpets from the sixteenth century, well known today for their bold, uniquely stylized designs, and other styles were presumably included in the *flotas*, as we can see direct translations of these design patterns (in various combinations) in colonial-period tapestries and other art media. A late-sixteenth-century Peruvian polychrome sculpture in the Cathedral of Lima depicts the Holy Family in a scene that includes a painted version of such a “Lotto-style” carpet, confirming that the style, or its Spanish avatar, was known in the Andes by that time (fig. 87).

The Catholic church, whose global missionary network stretched throughout the New World and beyond, was, through both its doctrine and practices, a major influence on colonial Andean textile design and production. Christian missionaries engaged in a theological discourse in which humanity’s lost tribes, they believed, had been discovered in the New World. Charged with the conversion of Andean peoples to Christianity, these missionaries brought with them religious texts, new sets of symbolic images, and, ultimately, new aesthetic ideals. While painters and sculptors of the period were creating sacred images of the Virgin and saints under church patronage, Andean weavers adapted Bible stories into didactic images intended to adorn the walls of parish churches, cathedrals, and houses of religious communities. Among the most engaging examples of the genre that have been preserved are tapestries depicting scenes from the Garden of Eden (fig. 76) and the Creation of Eve (cat. no. 93; see also cat. no. 94 from the same series), which number among the

most eloquent expressions of the artistic interchange between Andean weavers and the culture of Christianity.⁵¹

On a less grand scale, but equally poignant, native weavers sometimes miniaturized and incorporated Christian iconography into their garments. These personal professions of faith also evidence the widespread absorption of the Christian visual vocabulary in the Andes. Preserved on one colonial woman’s mantle, in a background scattered with Andean flora and fauna, is a vignette depicting the Creation of Eve (see cat. no. 38). Tapestry garments made specifically to dress church statues (cat. nos. 89, 90), especially those of the Christ Child, echo older Andean traditions of clothing sacred statues and objects, but they were also an outgrowth of heartfelt devotion. Depictions of monkeys in miters, also tucked in among the flora and fauna of tapestries and garments, express an altogether different feeling for the Catholic hierarchy.

Various travelers from the sixteenth through the nineteenth century compiled accounts of Andean domestic customs, but apart from comments on the “excessive” use of luxury silks and lace by men and women in Peru, as noted above, observations about household furnishings—especially tapestry-woven wall hangings—in either Andean or mestizo homes are rare.⁵² Once Spanish hegemony of the seas was broken in the eighteenth century, trade routes and opportunities opened up for the French, British, and other interested parties. Colonial tapestries, in turn, reflected the new trade in Indian as well as Portuguese-style printed cottons (cat. no. 148) from English and French sources, which had theretofore been prohibited. In Frézier’s account of his voyage along the coast of Peru from 1712 to 1714, he noted that Callao was closed to ships trading from the Far East (he



Fig. 87. Attributed to Juan García Salguero. Detail of sculpture of the Holy Family with “Lotto-style” carpet design, from *Scenes from the Life of the Virgin* (originally from high altar of the monastery of the Conception, Lima), 16th century. Polychromed wood. Cathedral of Lima



Fig. 88. Detail of wall painting, Church of Quiquijana, District of Cuzco, 17th century

described restrictions there as “very severe”), but that several leagues south, at Pisco, warehouses were awaiting shipments of silks and exotic goods not only from the Far East but from Mexico and Guatemala. He added that “both men and women are equally inclined to be costly in their Dress. The women, not satisfy’d with the Expense of the richest silk, adorn them after their manner with a prodigious quantity of Lace.”⁵³

Piety and excessive luxury can thus be said to represent two poles of eighteenth-century Andean colonial society. A 1725 decree from the viceroy declared the need to “moderate the scandalous excesses of the garments that is seen on the negroes, mulatos, indians and mestizos of both sexes,”⁵⁴ but his disapproval apparently did little to curb the appetite of the colonists for luxury silks from Europe. In 1771 twenty-nine pieces of Valencian silk shipped from Cádiz to Peru by the *Compañía de Arte Mayor* (a trading company) were valued at 49,061 reales of silver.⁵⁵ Lace and silk trimmings from France, Belgium, and Spain were imported in prodigious quantities and were widely used to embellish garments, triggering outrage among Spanish administrators, who subsequently regulated imports of luxury textiles and their use within colonial society. Perhaps as a result, actual lace borders were transmuted into woven images: “motifs” in the mantles of native women who were otherwise forbidden to attach more than a specified quantity to their gar-

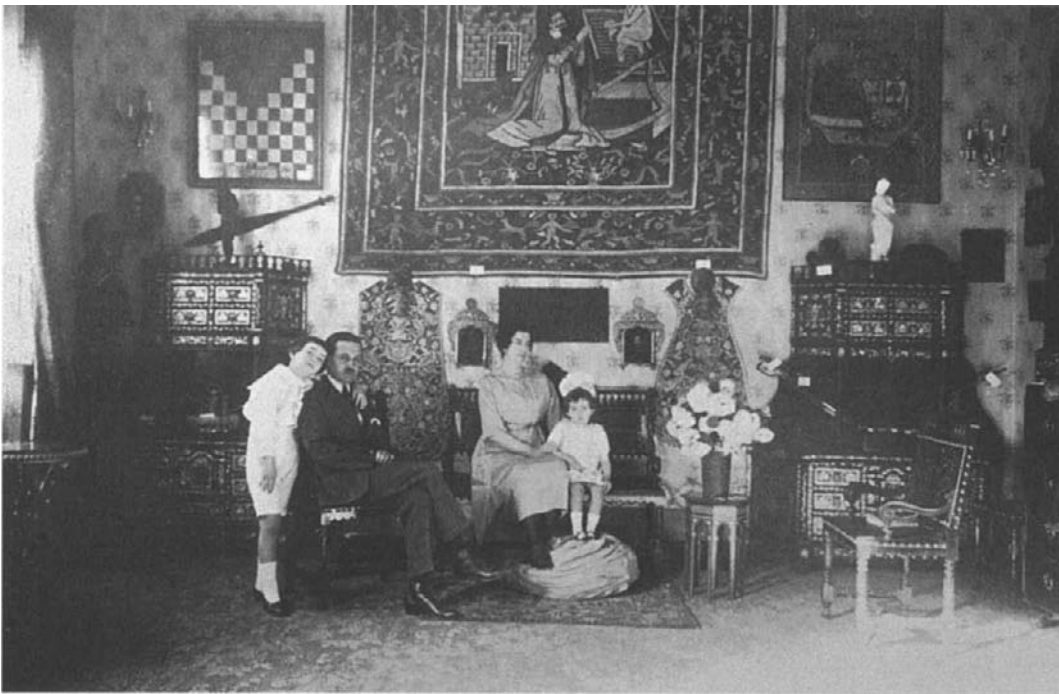
ments (cat. no. 40). Broad bands of woven lace patterns, articulated and studied designs, were incorporated as the borders of several large tapestries, too (see fig. 78), and were employed in mural paintings (fig. 88).

CHRONOLOGY OF COLONIAL TAPESTRIES

In any examination of the corpus of extant Andean tapestries a chronology is difficult to establish. Andean tapestries, like early examples of medieval European tapestries, were created anonymously, and there are rarely names or dates, and very few places, associated with their manufacture. Criteria that sometimes facilitate the dating of Renaissance and later European tapestries—dates literally woven into the textile; known or identifiable signatures or weavers’ marks indicating the master-guild workshops or individual artists; or identified and dated design sources or cartoons executed by known or historically documented artists (e.g., Raphael)—are absent from the Andean corpus.⁵⁶ (One important exception was noted by Gisela Zwick in her study of a tapestry now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston [04.1619], whose central figures she identified as after an etching by Jacques Callot, originally published by 1622. Mid-eighteenth-century editions of Callot’s etching likely served as the model for that work.)⁵⁷

One might expect that the study of archaeologically excavated materials could provide a context for relative dating, but excavations of colonial sites are rare compared to those of the Precolumbian era.⁵⁸ Additionally, unlike their counterparts in the dry, coastal desert regions, excavations conducted in the relatively moist Andean Highlands—the former Inca heartland and the major center of colonial activity—do not often yield textiles or other organic materials, which are vulnerable to biodeterioration caused by wet conditions. The technique of carbon 14 dating, a scientific method that typically yields absolute dates, would normally be an option for organic materials such as textiles; unfortunately the period of colonial Andean tapestry manufacture that is the focus of our study—the end of the sixteenth through the end of the eighteenth century—falls into a time frame when the carbon 14 method is least reliable because of prevailing environmental conditions that interfere with the process. A test that would typically yield a date with a margin of error of ± 25 years may yield, in the case of a colonial tapestry, a span of about 150–300 years. Given our interest in pinpointing an assessed date with a high degree of confidence, this relatively expansive range negates the purpose of the test.⁵⁹

Fig. 89. Private museum in Sucre, Bolivia, ca. 1920



The investigation of the chronology of the colonial textiles, therefore, requires an examination of the historical rather than the archaeological record. But there are problems with this approach, too. Most colonial Andean tapestries now in museums and private collections have retained traces of their history—as they were passed down as family heirlooms, from generation to generation, or kept in churches and cloistered communities until being sold into the art market—but many are far removed from their original contexts (fig. 89). Because of these various physical and historical factors, then, the dating of colonial Andean tapestries has traditionally been based on style.

Style questions follow two primary sets of criteria: one is in relation to Andean stylistic elements, the other to European elements. The assessment of the age of a tapestry based on its “proximity” to Inca style follows the assumption that a continuity of Inca aesthetics would indicate a degree of closeness to the pre-Conquest era. This method can be flawed, as archaic designs, especially those related to Inca heritage, resurfaced cyclically in colonial society for a variety of political and social reasons. Dates based on stylistic comparisons with contemporary fashions in Europe are also problematic. Despite the relatively rapid incorporation of European artistic ideas in the Andean cultural centers, the visual translation of those ideas by colonial artists took on a life of their own, and the pace of their absorption in the artistic vocabulary, and their persistence, as they “migrated” from regional centers to outlying peripheries, was out of sync with European developments.

Assigning dates to colonial tapestries necessarily involves a variety of factors and remains, to a certain extent, a subjective practice.⁶⁰ Scholars thus typically give these works a broad range of dates, often spanning multiple centuries.

And yet there is another, perhaps more valuable avenue of inquiry to consider. The extraordinary skills and weaving techniques that were part of Andean tradition—particularly those perfected in the Inca period immediately preceding the Conquest—were exceedingly strong and resilient. If we include a detailed technical examination of tapestries as one among several criteria, then our assessment becomes far more substantial.

CHANGES IN WEAVING TECHNOLOGY AND METHODOLOGY

The strict weaving standards imposed and sustained by the Inca *cumbicamayos* is evident in the uniform craftsmanship of the exquisite tapestry-woven garments produced in the royal Inca workshops. These standards might have been upheld by the generation of weavers active at the time of the Conquest, who dispersed when the Inca weaving centers were disbanded at the beginning of the colonial era, but probably not much longer after them.⁶¹ In the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when weavers trained under Inca *cumbicamayos* tutelage may still have been active, the average life span in the Andes was about forty years.⁶² It might be reasonable to assume the methods these weavers were taught, which exceeded the norms

of common weaving practice throughout the many regions within the Inca-controlled domain, were retained by them throughout their lives and possibly passed on to one, but probably not more than one, generation. Following this logic, we can estimate that by the turn of the seventeenth century there were no weavers left who had been trained within the Inca system, and very few from the first generation of weavers after the Inca.

Traditional Andean preferences for local, indigenous materials, including fibers and dyes, and particular color combinations and design templates, endured in native textile production after the Conquest, and evidence of these preferences can still be seen today in remote regions of the Andes. Certain technical features of the tapestry-weaving process, however—including the selection of fibers, the methods of spinning and weaving, and the finishing of woven fabrics—even though generally consistent with Precolumbian practice, underwent subtle but permanent changes after the arrival of the Spanish.

Aside from immediate shifts in design attributes, one of the first technical changes to take place was the manner of finishing the lower and upper edges—the warp selvages—of the cloth. Traditionally the warp yarns, which are the first set placed on the loom, were not cut by Inca weavers; they were prepared as one continuous measured length, wound back and forth, and then attached to the loom bars in preparation for weaving. The Inca weavers also left the warp loops intact when they separated the completed tapestry cloth from the loom, chaining the loops together to form the two finished edges, a signature of *cumbi* weaving.⁶³ This methodology, developed by the Inca, had technical implications for the weaver, adding levels of complexity in calculating dimensions and design features in advance of production. Even the great tapestry weavers of the Tiahuanaco era (200–ca. 1000), whose methods were the immediate antecedents to the Inca *cumbi* tradition, did not take this extreme an approach. Colonial weavers were quick to modify this process, and to choose an easier technical route, and they did so if not immediately then certainly by the second generation after the Conquest. They continued to maintain the lower edge warp loops, but they cut the upper part off the loom. The act of cutting the warp (unusual even today for most Andean weavers using traditional looms) was an occasion to perform an offering of *chicha*, the ritual drink: a pious act that marked not only the end of the weaving process but acknowledged what was conceptualized as an “act against nature.” In an analogous practice, Andean weavers would typically offer up a prayer before piercing the earth with a stake to hold the loom.⁶⁴

After the cut was made the warp yarns were sequentially reinserted diagonally (back into themselves) to form a finished “plaited” edge. Chain looping only one edge no doubt spared the colonial weaver significant labor, but it nevertheless allowed for extraordinarily fine weaving with two finished warp selvages. This seemingly small modification, undertaken in the absence of *cumbicamay* oversight, had an enormous impact on the weaving process. For one, it allowed the weaver to forgo inserting the weft yarns with needles to complete the final few inches of a tapestry, as had formerly (and laboriously) been the case. The change also provided “breathing space,” a margin for error in, say, the calculations of the dimensions of the finished piece or their associated design layout.

Colonial weavers also gradually changed their technique for joining color areas from single-interlocking to dovetailing. The meticulous single-interlocking join necessitated an exchange of yarns at every color change, along each pass of the weft, requiring the weaver to build up design areas uniformly across the entire width of the tapestry rather than area by area. Dovetailing joins enabled the weaver to work simultaneously on different sections of design, and thus to build up the pictorial surface in a more natural way. The technique also facilitated curvilinear movement of the yarns in order to emphasize design elements. Perhaps most important, weaving could proceed more quickly, with multiple weavers working together on a single tapestry.⁶⁵ This innovation would have significantly altered the organization of the weaving process to accommodate groups: common practice in European tapestry workshops, but not (with few exceptions) in the Andes until the colonial period.

Although quite fine in its own right, colonial tapestry weavers rarely equaled Inca *cumbi* tapestry-woven garments.⁶⁶ This is because the quality of colonial weaving was predicated on the fineness and material character of the spun yarns and other component elements. The Inca infrastructure of textile production that supported the processing and empire-wide distribution of yarns was maintained, for a while, by Spanish administrators, who insisted in exacting tribute requirements in the form of woven garments. When that infrastructure collapsed after the Spanish restructured tribute and labor systems, colonial weavers were left to reconstruct trade and distribution networks in order to obtain what fibers, dyes, and related materials were still available (some were not). New materials were introduced, such as European sheep’s wool—whose shorter, curlier fibers, when spun, make for a fuzzy yarn very different from that of the silky, long-fibered alpaca

yarns favored by native weavers—but sheep’s wool was generally not used for colonial tapestries. (It was used extensively for the simpler, treadle-loom woven cloth made in the Spanish *obrajes*.)⁶⁷ Whether this loyalty to camelid fibers reflects the preferences of the Andean weaver or of the client, or whether it was an issue of availability of materials or other economic realities, we do not fully understand, but we can speculate that the superiority of the native Andean fibers was evident to all concerned. Also, while local weavers continued to spin yarns on hand spindles for their own household goods, the introduction of the Spanish mechanized spinning wheel resulted in yarns that were regularly twisted but also less flexible and variable. Andean dyers, for their part, continued to use native dyes, whose vibrant hues so impressed the Spanish. At the same time, the hemisphere-wide trade in dyestuffs—notably Guatemalan indigo and possibly Mexican cochineal, among others—fortified the already vivid Andean palette with a dynamic new range of colors.⁶⁸

What we see is that in spite of the many changes to the production and distribution of the raw materials of tapestry weaving, colonial tapestry weavers, for the most part, continued to use traditional materials, or at least the best-quality materials available to them. Their wool came from Highland-grazing camelid herds (rather than sheep), and their dyes, generally speaking, were the same ones their ancestors had used to create a variety of brilliant colors (some, in fact, may have been more readily available as a result of expanded intra-continental trade). Concurrently, there was also an influx of introduced materials—notably imported silk and silver and gold threads—that captured the imagination of the Andean weavers, who quickly incorporated them into their designs. It is plain to see why silk, which was imported from China in both yarn and woven forms, was easily adopted by indigenous weavers. Beyond its luxurious look and feel, it readily absorbed the brilliant local dyes. Similarly, metallic yarns from Spain—made of solid-cut sheets of Andean silver wound around silk, linen, or cotton core yarns—were enthusiastically but sparingly incorporated by native weavers, who would sometimes alternate rows of yellow or white yarns with them to maximize the visual impact of the precious metals.

COLONIAL TAPESTRY WORKSHOPS

Whereas the Inca had established weaving centers to produce high-quality tapestry cloth, beginning in 1545 the Spanish built textile workshops, or *obrajes*, dedicated to the production

of simple, lesser-quality fabrics.⁶⁹ These workshops were established in accordance with edicts from Spain that forbade the production of high-quality goods in Peru. While it is generally understood that the *obrajes* were not sites of colonial tapestry production, it is important to consider the extent of textile-production organization under colonial Spanish administration.⁷⁰ The *obrajes* incorporated new weaving technology: they produced loom-patterned textiles woven on European-style treadle looms,⁷¹ and they made use of both foot-powered and water-powered spinning wheels.⁷² The large quantity of textiles they churned out required a new organization of the weaving workforce, and special buildings were designed and constructed to accommodate spinning, weaving, and dyeing on a large scale. Their production increased substantially over time, and by the eighteenth century they were weaving a variety of cloth types that, initially used locally, were exported to adjacent regions within the viceroyalty and even beyond.⁷³ There are many archival documents regarding the organization of the *obrajes* and the types of textiles produced in them, but rarely do these mention tapestry. One shipping document from 1790 indicates that one hundred “*cumbes*” were exported from Cuzco workshops to Chile and Buenos Aires, an indication that fine cloth in some form—possibly tapestry, and, if so, referred to even at that late date by its Inca name—was still being produced in Cuzco.⁷⁴ Moreover, it was being produced in sufficient quantities to export, although one hundred pieces would have constituted only a small fraction of the total cloth exports from Cuzco to surrounding areas.⁷⁵

The *obrajes*, which at times employed hundreds of weavers and other specialized textile workers, were notorious for their poor working conditions (fig. 90). Laws originating in Spain repeatedly decreed that weavers and spinners should not be locked in their workrooms and forced to work (suggesting that the practice was fairly widespread). From time to time viceregal administrators were chastised for their brutal treatment of the weavers.⁷⁶ By the end of the sixteenth century it was even forbidden to use Indian workers, partly the result of a region-wide shortage of skilled labor, but they were duly replaced with slaves from Africa.⁷⁷

Where do the master *cumbi* weavers fit into this picture? After the Conquest, many of the *cumbicamayos*, who had been displaced from their homelands by the Inca and trained to make royal garments, disbursed across the former empire. Some returned to their home villages, others remained for some time in old Inca weaving centers, for example, in the Lake Titicaca regions.⁷⁸ References in some Spanish chronicles

Fig. 90. *Obraje* (workshop) in Impabura, Ecuador, ca. 1890



indicate that itinerant *cumbi* weavers worked periodically in the haciendas of landowners, setting up their looms and weaving on site.⁷⁹ We know that during the colonial period some specialized craftsmen worked together in guilds, following the Spanish model, which were governed by the *Gremios*, the Spanish guild regulations of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁸⁰ These primarily governed the silver, painting, and

sculpture workshops of Spanish craftsmen, however; native tapestry weavers were not, apparently, part of the system.⁸¹

Neither the guild structure nor the Spanish *obraje* system directly governed the work of colonial tapestry weavers, then, but we can assume—judging from evidence that indicates that multiple weavers worked on a single tapestry (see cat. no. 72) and that multiple sets were sometimes produced—at



Fig. 91. Tapestry weavers Eulalia Gonzales and Felipe Galvez with their loom in Tarata, Bolivia, 1998

least some weavers were organized in a system that exceeded simple household-based production. Weavers also had specialized requirements, such as the very size of the tapestries and the space requirements for their production, that would seem to provide us with some insight into this question. After all, the transition from Inca *cumbi* garment weaving to colonial tapestry weaving was fueled by the Spanish interest in large wall hangings and floor coverings. Compared to garments, which required relatively small, low, and wide looms, colonial tapestries had to be woven on large, sometimes oversize looms.

Traditionally, Andean weavers constructed their looms to match the size of the textile they wished to make, whether a miniature garment for a religious offering or a normal one for everyday wear. (This was true regardless of the type of loom used, whether it be a tapestry loom or another type more commonly used in the Highlands for local textile production, such as the backstrap [see fig. 21] and the four-stake ground looms.) Colonial tapestries were generally woven as one single piece of cloth, and thus the maximum size of the loom would determine the maximum size of the potential tapestry.⁸² Wood crossbeam loom bars were assembled for the weaving and then dismantled each time the process was completed. Considering that some colonial tapestries are more than ten feet high, and, for the most part, were woven with their warp yarns outstretched, not rolled up, the respective looms must have been enormous.⁸³ These large looms would not have been so easily disassembled and transported, and this would have influenced how and where weavers could work. Weavers would likely have been more sedentary, established artisans rather than itinerants, as noted in some of the early chronicles. Moreover, such large looms would probably have remained in place, sheltered from the elements in buildings specially constructed for them, much as they are today.

Colonial tapestries were generally woven with the design oriented vertically, and the weaver worked from the bottom up. As the tapestries were large, and usually worked with the entire warp length outstretched, completing the top areas was difficult. In some cases a bench that could be raised may have been fitted to the loom to help the weaver reach the upper areas, but for much of the process the weaver probably stood. Garcilaso, writing in 1609, tells us specifically that the fine tapestry cloth used for Inca military garments was woven by men, for it had to be done standing up (the presumption being that it was a physically grueling task), but we know from other sources that women, too, wove *cumbi* in various forms.⁸⁴ In the colonial period these divisions of labor, estab-

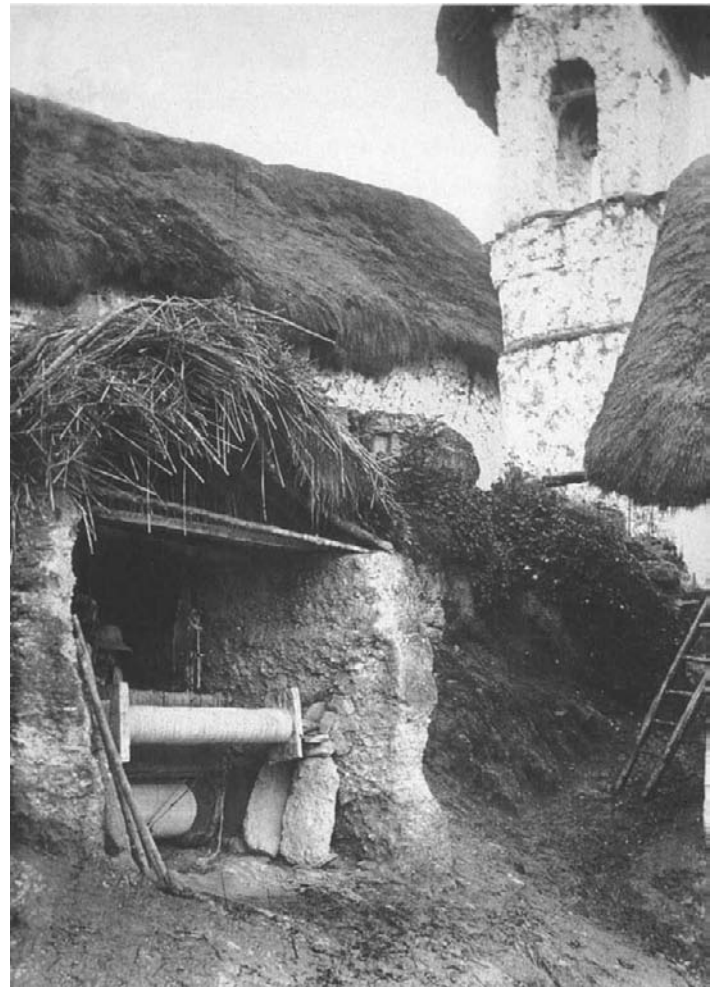


Fig. 92. Weaving shelter in the Peruvian Highlands, 19th century. Photographic Archive Department, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge (30-1)

lished by the Inca, may have persisted. The spinning of yarns, for example, had been and remained, for the most part, the domain of women, and it is possible that specific types of tapestries—perhaps those worked on the large, oversize upright looms—were still woven by men. It is also likely that the women who trained as *acclacuna* by the Inca continued to work and produce *cumbi*. Perhaps it was they who made the wedding *llicllas* and tunics intended for religious contexts, such as the miniature *uncus* used to dress church statues. Today in rural Bolivia both men and women actively participate in weaving processes of all types, but typically it is the men who weave the heavy-weight tapestries and carpets while women weave garments and smaller tapestries.

Although direct analogies cannot necessarily be drawn between the organization of tapestry weavers in colonial and contemporary Andean society, traces of the colonial working process can still be seen in the rural Andes. In remote areas of

western Bolivia and southern Peru, entire villages apparently specialize in one craft or another. For example, in the towns of Tarata and Villa Ribero, families of weavers living in close proximity to one another produce large tapestries and carpets on huge, upright wood looms sheltered within their living compounds in separate structures (figs. 91, 92). This may be a legacy of the specialized crafts communities in the Highlands that date back to the time of the Inca. It was also an organizational system that was promoted by the Spanish administrators, who created artificial communities by encouraging native peoples from the countryside to populate towns and urban centers constructed according to Spanish town-planning ideas. As part of this process, artisans of similar crafts and trades, often part of family establishments, were grouped together in trade-specific streets, or *calles*.⁸⁵

PATRONAGE

In Europe tapestries were largely created at the request of a paying patron, whether church or state, king or nobleman. A tapestry was a costly undertaking, requiring the expertise of skilled artists, weavers, dyers, and designers, and entailed extensive negotiations over content and price, as detailed in various archival records.⁸⁶ The artists who painted the model, the seamstresses who stitched the canvas “sheets” for the full-size cartoon (later worked on heavy paper or *cartone* rather than cloth), and the draftsman who transferred the image from the painting to the cartoon were often paid in both coin and wine, not to mention expenses for dyed yarns and other weaving materials. Preserved documents such as the 1483 Troyes Manuscript detail patrons’ intentions or desires for specific scenery, facial expressions, clothing, and storylines. No such directives have emerged for Andean tapestries, but the objects themselves, along with a few clues relating to their possible design sources and technical traditions, have survived.

Beginning shortly after the Conquest, Spanish administrators established a system called *encomienda*, whereby colonists were granted rights to native labor and tribute in exchange for their “responsibility and favor.” Most of these laborers were engaged in agricultural and hacienda work, or, after the discovery of rich silver veins in the mountains of Potosí, in mining. Whether or not the services of specialized artisans, and specifically skilled weavers, were included among the *encomienda* grants is unclear, but itinerant craftsmen, including *cumbi* weavers, are documented as having been seen working in the houses of corregidores in the sixteenth century.⁸⁷

By the seventeenth century, and especially after the devastating 1650 earthquake in Cuzco, when efforts to rebuild the city accelerated the need for artists and craftsmen to build, furnish, and embellish the infrastructure (especially the churches), the Spanish contracted artisans for their work. Some of these contracts have been preserved, such as those for gilding the retablo for the Church of San Francisco in 1657, or for embroidering a garment for a statue of Saint Roque in the parish of Belén (near Cuzco).⁸⁸ It is not known if written contracts were drafted for tapestry weavers, following European practice, but it is probably safe to assume that the design would have been negotiated at some point in one form or another.

Churches throughout the viceroyalty were important patrons for tapestry weaving, from altarcloths, carpets (both tapestry-woven and pile-woven), *cumbi* seat covers, and large wall hangings to various furnishings commissioned for religious buildings and communities, many of which remain to this day. An inventory in 1689 of the town pueblos from the province of Quispicanchi, near Cuzco, included the following items: “Crowns of the Virgin, vestments, frontals, things of silk, mantles, things of cotton, things of wool, including colored floorcover, things of wood and metal, and a chair of ‘*cumbe*.’”⁸⁹ The Jesuits in particular were known for their sponsorship of art commissions, and they sometimes allocated workshops for native craftsmen in the architectural plans of their missions. The Jesuits also oversaw some of the largest *obrajes*, for example, in San Ildefonso, Ecuador (which in the eighteenth century had more than three hundred weavers), which produced loom-patterned cloth for garments, especially the so-called Jesuit-style ponchos. As we have already seen, they even established a tapestry workshop in Chile under the direction of Flemish weavers.⁹⁰

Some extant colonial tapestries were no doubt produced for elite native patrons, possibly local leaders and provincial governors (*caciques* or *curacas*) and other members of the former Inca nobility, who were afforded special privileges in colonial society and wielded considerable influence over local affairs.⁹¹ Initially the Spanish colonial administrators relied on such existing native hierarchies to organize local governance and statewide labor. Indigenous leaders thus accumulated or maintained wealth and property, as evidenced by many wills and testaments documenting their personal holdings.⁹² *Caciques* were required to have had prior leadership experience and to prove their “Inca” heritage (whether real or not) in legal proceedings, which they did in a variety of ways, including by virtue of possessing Inca garments and, in later times, drawings of relatives wearing Inca garments.⁹³

Tapestries that make clear references to Inca symbols and design systems—such as *tocapu* or retrospective images of Inca kings and *coyas* (queens) in characteristic scenes (dressed in native garments, in supplicant gestures, offering or toasting with *queros* cups)—are assumed to have been produced for a native patron (see, for example, cat. no. 155). These Inca motifs were multivalent symbols in the context of colonial Andean society, and even when used out of context they harbored the potential for controversy. Catalogue number 71, for example, with its European-style layout and proliferation of European-based motifs (like the central artichoke-and-wreath design) is bordered by a prominent band of *tocapu* on all four edges. Although rendered individually in characteristic Inca geometric sequences, here the *tocapu* are applied, in a decidedly non-Inca manner, as a framing device. Despite this “misuse,” they retained real significance as emblems of Andean political history embedded within the rich matrix of the colonial visual vocabulary. The inclusion of Inca elements in a work of “mixed” character (a European form with Andean motifs) would have been particularly meaningful to the native patron who presumably commissioned it, reinforcing his or her claims to social position and status.⁹⁴

The leader of the “neo-Inca” rebellion in 1780, José Gabriel Condorcanqui, or Túpac Amaru II (1742–1781), the son of a village leader and a *curaca* himself, was known for his costly

and elegant dress and is one notable example of a native patron.⁹⁵ On the occasion of his wedding to Micaela Bastidas on May 25, 1760, in the Church of Nuestra Señora de la Purificación, Surimana (near Pampamarca, in the Cuzco region), the town of his birth, he reportedly commissioned two large tapestries (fig. 93).⁹⁶ According to Peruvian scholar Busto Duthurburu, who visited Surimana in 1981 and photographed both of them, the tapestries had been preserved in the storehouse of the church.⁹⁷ Judging from their size, Duthurburu comments, the tapestries would not have fit in any home and were most likely made to be used in the church. Each exhibits a different style (one has large-scale floral designs with double-headed crowned eagles, the other has a figurative border that includes several musicians dressed in European-style garments⁹⁸), and they are possibly from slightly different time periods, but both reflect the admixture of influences typical of the viceroyalty in the eighteenth century.

Individual and community sponsorship of public works was integral to Andean society. According to Inca tradition, collective participation in community tasks, such as the sweeping of public spaces and the tending of shared lands, was the responsibility of the *allyu* (clan), the loose equivalent of a “neighborhood.”⁹⁹ In the colonial era such sponsorship took a variety of forms, among them the donations of works



Fig. 93. Tapestry said to have been made for the wedding of Túpac Amaru II in 1760. Tapestry weave, probably cotton warp and camelid weft. Surimana, Peru

of art to the church. The donors of paintings were often acknowledged in perpetuity by having their likenesses included in the works they donated. Tapestries that might have been commissioned for particular community celebrations or as church donations have, for the most part, been separated from tangible evidence linking them to their specific sponsor. This compounds the difficulty of attribution and provenance, as it also reinforces the importance of documents and oral tradition in identifying their origins. The history of the two tapestries repositied in the Church of Surimana, for example, was preserved in the local collective memory in much the same way that Andean history had long been recalled through *quipu*, the knotted records from the Inca period that relied on the memory of the “reader” to associate the series of knots on the long cords with the events to which they corresponded.¹⁰⁰ Embraced and treasured by the community because of their celebrated association with Túpac Amaru II (without verification of these facts), these tapestries served, and continue to serve, as a physical link between the people and the history of the region in the same way that church registers record births, deaths, weddings, and other fundamental events of life.¹⁰¹

Patronage of colonial tapestries thus involved the public, private, and religious spheres of colonial life. Whether for individuals or the community—for native elite, Spanish colonist, or religious cleric—patrons supported and encouraged the production of tapestries for a variety of purposes. Tapestry production coevolved with colonial society at large, whose economy and development was intricately bound not only to the enormous wealth generated from the plentiful natural resources of the Andes (primarily silver) but also to the cultural richness of its peoples who sustained their heritage even while helping to transform the world around them.

IDENTIFICATION OF WORKSHOPS AND CATEGORIZATION OF COLONIAL TAPESTRY PRODUCTION

The inherently conservative nature of local Andean weaving traditions, which were passed on generationally, from mother to daughter, or master to apprentice, resulted in design and patterning conventions as well as technical features that persisted for long periods of time with only minor variations. Close examination of the corpus of colonial tapestries reveals stylistic traditions and technical attributes that appeared, in

contrast, during a relatively short period of time. The consistency of these various traditions and attributes allows us to categorize some of the tapestries into groups or types, but it can be difficult to account for the differences among them. Some might be the result of regional preferences (for example, the use of wool warp yarns rather than cotton), while others might reflect shifts in the tastes of colonial patrons or other economic, social, or cultural forces (the inclusion of a crowned double-headed Hapsburg eagle or Bourbon fleur-de-lis, for example, depending on the emblem of the reigning house of Spain). Based on the assumption that shared “signature” elements, or sets of similar elements, might signify that groups of tapestries are related—representing works made by a single workshop or in a particular geographic region, for example—then we can begin to reconstruct (or at least conjecture) which tapestries might have common origins. In the absence of archival documents, such a reconstruction necessitates both a stylistic analysis of design motifs and layouts and a physical examination of the technical features of the tapestries.

From a design perspective, the singular treatment of borders, central fields, or individual motifs may be considered an indicator of specific workshops or artisans. Larry Salmon, for example, in his research on the colonial collection at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, discussed two tapestries (1975.334 and 04.1619) of a relatively dissimilar design that nevertheless share the same elaborate border of distinctive scalloped edges and fantastic flowers.¹⁰² This would seem to suggest that both works might have been woven by artisans who shared a template. The inclusion of groups of related figures or overall stylistic similarities, however, does not always point toward an individual hand or workshop style. As with the practice of assigning dates to colonial tapestries, more tangible proof is often gained by examining weaving techniques and materials in addition to a stylistic analysis: Are the warp yarns cotton or wool? Three-strand or two-strand construction? Were they spun by hand (with a traditional drop spindle) or with the aid of a wheel? Do they vary in type, color, or spin? How close together (or far apart) are the warp yarns set? How densely packed are the weft yarns? How well is the surface covered (indicating tension on the loom)? The presence (or absence) of consistent technical details such as these within a series of tapestries is often a leading indicator of their possible origins and association.

Although colonial tapestries rarely bear inscriptions or marks associated with weavers’ names, they do retain physical

evidence of their weaver's training, skills, and preferences, such as advanced workmanship, complex mixtures of colors and patterning, drafting skill as applied to woven construction, and overall completeness and clarity of image.¹⁰³ It is sometimes possible to isolate individual weavers' hands within tapestries woven by multiple weavers working side by side—by characteristic usages of particular shading techniques, for example, or drawing styles, or even relative degrees of compactness of weaving from one area to another.

The issue of multiple weavers working on a single textile has been examined in Precolumbian contexts.¹⁰⁴ To do so in a colonial context is more complex, in part because colonial artisans were executing what were essentially foreign designs. As a result, their facility with motifs that were not part of the Andean visual lexicon, such as scrolling vines with acanthus leaves or depictions of classical heroes, often varies considerably (compare cat. no. 65 with cat. no. 123). It is unclear whether this was a factor of evolving tastes or improving skills. The difficulty in determining relationships is exacerbated by the number and variety of styles within the relatively small corpus of extant pieces, so that comparisons among the groups are not always possible. With that said, one surprising result of the present study was the number of pairs or multiples that have been preserved.

Some tapestries were clearly commissioned as part of a series or suite, probably by a family or estate, and as such were likely produced by a single weaver or workshop. One such set is an early (probably late-sixteenth-century) pair of armorial tapestries with a ground design of yellow and red vair (Escheresque, contoured mounds that visually switch from foreground to background) in the central field (cat. no. 65). Although there are slight variations in minor technical details, such as the weft counts and the precise shades of yellow, the two are otherwise remarkably similar and certainly represent the output of one workshop. Moreover, because of their precise execution and shared materials, they were probably made either in sequence, by the same weaver(s), or concurrently, with a shared design template. Interestingly, the production of multiple tapestries at this early date in the colonial era indicates that some Andean weavers were sufficiently organized to replicate their refined workmanship upon request, and on a large scale.

Another group of tapestries features large urns and lions covered by an arched, vine-covered pergola (cat. no. 69). Six examples of this type are known, five with double arches and one with just a single arch. The discrepancy between the

number of arches recalls the European practice of tailoring suites of tapestries to fit specific rooms and architectural features, such as doorways, that require modifications from standard sizes.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, it appears that these tapestries were woven in half units (half the width of the full template) and were then joined either on the loom or off.¹⁰⁶ The materials and methods, including technical weaving elements, are relatively similar throughout the set—in fact, it is difficult to differentiate among them because of their near uniformity in design and color. Slit joining and hatching (a method of blending color areas to reduce visibility of color changes), two techniques more common in European weaving, predominate in all of these works, indicating (together with the “unit”-width template-based construction) that these tapestries were likely produced in a workshop overseen by European weavers. The chain-looped warp selvage treatment, however, confirms their Andean origin.

Technical features such as the distinctive Andean selvage treatment are often crucial to the process of identifying a tapestry's origins. This is the case for a group of finely woven, primarily silk tapestries with Asian designs (cat. nos. 75, 76). There are very few extant examples of this type of Andean tapestry, which were evidently inspired by a common source, and they form a distinct subset of colonial production. They are unique not only for the novelty of their elaborately articulated and embellished Asian motifs, but also for their high-quality workmanship and materials. They can safely be considered to represent the work of one group of weavers or a single workshop.¹⁰⁷ Not all tapestries with Asian motifs came from this or any one workshop, however; several other examples, with Asian-inspired designs but radically different materials and technical features, have also been preserved.¹⁰⁸ The considerable breadth of international inspiration evident in colonial tapestries—Asia being one among many other sources—and the fact that such works were produced by several workshops in a variety of styles, signals that tapestry fashions were subject to fluctuating popularity.

Together design and technique can be helpful markers for determining differences as well as similarities among works, as we see in two Franciscan tapestry altar frontals (or pall covers) that both bear the same series of escutcheons, alternately filled with the skull and crossbones (a Christian symbol) and the bleeding Five Wounds of Christ, graphically rendered in beautiful crimson cochineal dye (cat. no. 66). Despite the similarity of their iconography and their identical (or nearly identical) design template, they were woven in completely



Fig. 94. Small armorial cover, 17th century(?). Tapestry weave, probably cotton warp and camelid weft. Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (1961. Dt. 10)

different (that is to say, opposite) manners: the warp direction of one is oriented sideways and the other is upright, a fundamental variation in technique. It must be concluded that they were made on different looms, and most likely in different regions—one possibly from the Arequipa area and the other, supposedly, from Cuzco—but for the same (or related) patron. Differences in the drawing style and in the technical realization of the skull motifs reflect the individuality of the weavers who made these two examples.

One known series, represented by three examples that may have been part of a larger set, illustrates Old Testament characters and scenes: the Creation of Eve (cat. no. 93), Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden with the Serpent (fig. 76), and King David (cat. no. 94).¹⁰⁹ Tapestries made for the church served a dual function as both architectural embellishment and propaganda, some more successfully than others. This important group was clearly intended to convey church teachings through depictions of Christian narratives. No contract or other documents related to them exist, but we assume, judging from their overall stylistic approaches, shared design features (such as the borders), and technical similarities (warp and weft components, etc.), that they were made as part of a didactic series by a single workshop.¹¹⁰

One well-known small armorial hanging in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (60.794), and another, previously unpub-

lished tapestry in the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (fig. 94) constitute a pair made in the same workshop, and possibly by the same weaver, but, as their different coats of arms reveal, they were evidently intended for decidedly different clients. We can guess that the weaver created a standard template for the layout—which has one main escutcheon in the center with four minor escutcheons in each corner—and then filled in the heraldic details according to each patron's request.

The most common “type” within the corpus of colonial tapestries are those woven with a pink ground color, filled with small-scale animals and flowers, and bordered by a series of concentric patterns with a fringe design around the outer edges. The fringe edge that is the key characteristic of this group is called a “ball fringe,” a popular three-dimensional trimming composed of knotted lacelike fringes with small round pom-poms. More than twenty examples of the type (referred to generally as ball-fringe tapestries) are known (fig. 95). Although as a genre they are similar in style and composition, there are significant differences among them in terms of motifs and border designs, materials, and in the overall quality of the weaving. These variations suggest that



Fig. 95. Tapestry poncho with ball-fringe design, late 17th–early 18th century. Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft. Museo Inka, Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad del Cuzco (720)



Fig. 96. Couch, 19th century, upholstered with 18th-century colonial Andean tapestry. Convent of Santa Catalina, Arequipa

the group represents the production of several weaving communities, each with its own aesthetic preferences, rather than the production of a single workshop. (A similar situation—of variations within a type—can be seen today in the Highland artisanal workshops of southern Peru and Bolivia.)

Differences between specific examples of the ball-fringe style may also have chronological significance, as the style seems to have been in fashion for a long period of time. Some examples, such as those with borders based on designs from the Renaissance grotesque (linear and floral motifs) may date as early as the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.¹¹¹ Others were produced toward the end of the eighteenth century, and possibly as late as the nineteenth century.¹¹² The tapestries were durable, in any case, and were sometimes cut down and reused. A nineteenth-century couch in the convent of Santa Catalina in Arequipa, for example, is upholstered with a section of an eighteenth-century ball-fringe tapestry (fig. 96).

In terms of the history of *cumbi* in the Andes, and its transformation during the colonial period, it is significant that garments, including ponchos for men and *llicllas* for women, as well as hangings and covers (tapestries with designs oriented in all four directions, suitable for use on a table or bed) were made in the same style. For example, the designs on some ponchos—large rectangular men’s overgarments associated with the horse-riding culture, especially in the eighteenth century—are almost identical to the ball-fringe patterns on the hangings. In some cases it is only through close technical

observation (such as the presence of a woven-in neck slit), that we can differentiate between a garment and a tapestry.

Women’s mantles, too, were made in the ball-fringe style, but the design was subsumed into the traditional horizontal registers demarcating the traditional *pampa* and *pallai* sections. Within this recognizable format were also representations of double-headed eagles, vases and urns, and other elements common to tapestries and ponchos. These same *llicllas* also contain horizontal bands of geometric motifs, such as zigzags or small S designs, that were drawn from the Andean warp-pattern weavers’ vocabulary and that retained cultural significance related to cultivation and fertility.

Warp-patterned weaving, which had developed parallel to *cumbi* weaving during the Inca period, flourished in the background throughout the colonial era. Andean weavers had continued to cultivate this indigenous art form, which shared with *cumbi* weaving an emphasis on high-quality workmanship and materials, including imported silk and silver threads. Some of the last great tapestry weavings in the *cumbi* tradition that have been preserved—dating to the end of the eighteenth century, or almost the end of the colonial era—return to warp-patterning as a design source. Unlike earlier tapestries that had emulated European concepts and motifs (such as the vases and double-headed eagles we see in the ball-fringe *llicllas*), what we see in this group of men’s and women’s garments is an articulation of traditional warp-patterned weaving designs, but now rendered in tapestry



Fig. 97. Detail of tapestry-weave poncho with designs (potato flower and vine) normally seen in warp-patterned weaving, southern Andes, 18th–19th century. Tapestry weave, camelid warp and weft. Private collection

weave (fig. 97). A curious interplay arose between the two traditions. *Tocapu* and other small-scale geometric elements were woven in both methods, while figurative elements and, occasionally, alphabetic writing found their way into the warp-patterned weaving lexicon. The weft-faced patterns of these late tapestries were thus predicated on warp-faced models (fig. 98).

Warp-patterning eventually outlasted the imperial *cumbi* tradition. Modulated and transformed in the colonial era to encompass a wide array of forms, warp-patterning was integrated into the everyday life of the Highlands. There weavers created—and some still create—textiles of refined beauty, imbued with intrinsic value and cultural meaning. In this way textiles remain essential manifestations and expressions of the ever-evolving identities and traditions of the Andean peoples.



Fig. 98. Warp-faced, warp-patterned woman's mantle with potato flower and vine designs, Apurímac Valley, Peru, 19th century(?). Wool or camelid warp and weft with metallic additions. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco (1992.107.87)

1. See Desrosiers (1984) 1986, pp. 219–41. See also C. Franquemont (1984) 1986, pp. 331–38, and Cereceda 1978, pp. 1017–35.
2. Zimmern 1943–44, pp. 27–52.
3. Cavallo 1967, vol. 1, p. 181.
4. Crucial research for this study was supported by the J. Paul Getty Museum Visiting Scholars Program, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Philosophical Society travel fund, and the Metropolitan Museum staff travel fund.
5. “Y los envió las . . . ropas de lana de la tierra que de Caxas trujeron (que es cosa de ver en España la obra y primeza della, que más se juzagara ser seda que de lana, con muchas labores y figuras . . .)”; Xerez (1553) 1985, p. 89.
6. In 1550 gold and silver were discovered by a cacique in a mound called Lomayahuan in the vicinity of Chan Chan, the ancient capital of the Chimú Empire. For a description of the looting of a *huaca* at Chan Chan, see Ramírez 1996a, pp. 142–43. Bernabé Cobo also describes how the Spanish dug around the ruins of Tiahuanaco, the ancient stone temple on the shore of the Lake Titicaca, searching for gold; see Lothrop 1938, p. 65.
7. Inventories of the royal collections list Andean tapestries and “bedcovers” as well as archaeological items, such as those collected by Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón y Bujanda in the 1780s on Peru’s North Coast. For an inventory of Martínez Compañón y Bujanda’s collection, see the appendix in Cabello Carro 1989.
8. Julien 1999a, p. 85.
9. Garcilaso de la Vega (1609–17, book 6, chap. 2) 1966, p. 314.
10. Cabello Carro 1989, p. 30. See Frank Salomon, “Andean Opulence,” in this volume.
11. Cabello Carro 1989, p. 55.
12. “Deotra rrotas y comidas de polilla algunas y otras sanas”; Julien 1999a, p. 86.
13. For the will of the curaca of Moro-Chepen, see Cock 1986, p. 176.
14. Zevallos Quiñones 1973, p. 126.
15. His last will and testament is published as an appendix to Cieza de León (1553), 1959, pp. 358–70.
16. “Goods & Properties of don Rodrigo Flores Cajamallqui embargoed 30 April, 1644,” Archivo Archobispado: Capítulos, Leg. 11, Exp. I. Gorgor, 1642. I thank Karen Spalding for supplying me with her unpublished notes on this document.
17. Facsimiles of Martínez Compañón y Bujanda’s compilation were published in 1936, 1978, and 1997. See also note 7, above.
18. See the appendix of Cabello Carro 1989 for an inventory of Martínez Compañón y Bujanda’s collection.
19. For an essay on the state of the study of colonial art, see Kelemen 1979.
20. For example, Guiffrey and Migeon 1908 and Sarre and Martin 1912.
21. See J. Rowe (1973) 1979, pp. 243–44.
22. See Joyce 1913 and Kendrick 1925, among other early works.
23. Madrid 1930, no. 139. I have tried to locate this tapestry for many years and have only recently discovered the history of the owner, who died in Majorca in the 1970s. It was likely the product of the same workshop that made the Dominican tapestry now in the Brooklyn Museum (cat. no. 99), although the lace edgings in that example are less fully articulated; it may also be related to another elaborate lace-bordered tapestry in a private collection in London.
24. A number of masterpieces currently in American and European museums, including a colonial mantle and a tapestry in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (08.108.10, 56.163) and a mantle in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, came from the 1924 Benguiat sales at the auction house of the American Association of Art.
25. Zimmern 1943–44, pp. 27–52.
26. In fact, after more than fifteen years of travel and research I have come to the conclusion that the majority of the highest-quality colonial pieces are now in public museum collections in the United States and Europe; few remain in their respective countries of origin. Denman Ross stipulated that objects he collected for the Museum of Fine Arts could not leave the premises, and so unfortunately they could not be loaned for this exhibition.
27. Murúa (ca. 1611) 1986, p. 347 (book 2, chap. 2, “Del Palacio Real y de sus vestidos e insignias”), describing the palace of the Inca king.
28. The practice of covering roofs with feathers is mentioned repeatedly by Murúa and other chroniclers. For a Precolumbian example of featherwork from the region of Tiahuanaco, see Jones 1995, p. 75. For references to feather rugs, see Molina 1959, p. 41.
29. Murúa ([ca. 1611] 1987, p. 453) also discusses how Corpus Christi processions are akin to the Inca festival of Yturaimi. See also Standen 1981, pp. 16–19.
30. For period definitions of the term, and possible interpretations, see Desrosiers (1984) 1986, pp. 229–30, nn. 1, 2.
31. *Paños de lipi* also implies high quality, as cloth with color was considered precious. Gonzáles Holguín’s dictionary ([1608] 1952, p. 214) defines the term (*llipiyak*) as a “new thing, or that which has luster, . . . things of silk or that have lusters.”
32. See Lee 1951, pp. 205–24.
33. Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela ([ca. 1700–1736], vol. 1, book 4, chap. 1) 1965, p. 96 (translation by Jaime Lopez).
34. Murúa ([ca. 1611] 1987, p. 451) also notes that many flowers were used in the roads during the festival of Yturaimi.
35. For other descriptions of *reposteros* in Toledo’s inventories, see Julien 1999a, p. 15.
36. Julien 1999a, p. 86. For Toledo’s inventories and those of the royal collections, see also Jimenez de la Espada 1923 and Cabello Carro 1989.
37. Acosta (1590) 1979, p. 210.
38. Frézier (1717, pp. 200, 255, 261) also refers to the use of carpets as tablecovers. See also Cavallo 1967, p. 187.
39. Annotated inventory entry for a tapestry of “wool from Chile” in the collection of Pedro Franco Dávila of Paris, in Cabello Carro 1989, p. 55.
40. See Ramsey 1954, pp. 162–67.
41. Frézier 1717, p. 262.
42. Bailey 1999, p. 49, n.192.
43. Leonard 1949, p. 270.
44. See May 1957.
45. Garcilaso de la Vega (1609–17) 1966, p. 600.
46. Shipping in Lima was open from 1581–82, but it was later restricted by royal decree. In 1591 laws were enacted forbidding traffic between Peru, Terra Firme (including Chile and Patagonia), Guatemala, and China or the Philippines, prohibitions that were repeated in 1593, 1595, and 1604. See Schurz 1939, p. 366. Royal Cédulas of 1596, 1600, and 1620 also prohibited the use and imports of all *ropa de China* (clothing); Solórzano y Pereira (1606, book 6, chap. 10) 1972, p. 27. The salient theme here is that the colonial appetite for Chinese goods was enormous, and traffic in Chinese imports persisted despite Spanish attempts at intervention.

47. Schurz 1939, p. 365.
48. Blair and Robertson 1903–9, vol. 12, p. 64, quoted in Cammann 1964, p. 28, n. 48.
49. A similar “pile” effect was produced by Precolumbian specialists who constructed hats using short pile yarns attached to a looped ground structure. See Frame in New York 1990.
50. See, for example, the discussion of the colonial carpets now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, in Kendrick 1943, pp. 40–44.
51. In 1925 British scholar A. F. Kendrick (1925, p. 297) mentions the sale of *The Temptation in the Garden of Eden* as having taken place “some time previously.”
52. See especially Diego de Ocaña 1969 and Frézier 1717, p. 179. See also Matraya y Ricci 1978.
53. Frézier 1717, p. 218.
54. Matraya y Ricci (1819) 1978: “Modera el escandaloso exceso de los trages que visten los negros, mulatos, indios y mestizo de ambos sexos.”
55. Ribes Iborra 1985, pp. 82–87. He also recorded the value of silk shipments in other years: 12,835 reales in 1779; 4,804 reales in 1780; 4,111 reales in 1781; 12,792 reales in 1782; 14,346 reales in 1783; and 1,075 reales in 1784. Interestingly, in the two years of the Túpac Amaru rebellion (1780–81), shipments of luxury goods diminished appreciably.
56. See Cavallo 1967 and Standen 1985.
57. See Zick 1976, pp. 72–86; see also Salmon 1976, pp. 87–93, and Stone-Miller in Boston 1992, pp. 193–94, no. 51.
58. Catalogue number 24, reportedly from a coastal burial in Ancón, is an exception. See also Schaedel 1992, pp. 217–42.
59. See “Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit: Information on Radiocarbon, Typical Calibrated Results” at the website for the Oxford University Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art (http://www.rlaha.ox.ac.uk/orau/typical_cal.html).
60. See “Problems of Dating” in Cavallo 1967, pp. 185–86, which summarizes various aspects of the issue.
61. See Elena Phipps, “Garments and Identity,” in this catalogue, and T. D’Altroy 2002, pp. 296–97.
62. D’Altroy, personal communication with the author, 2003. See also Cook 1981.
63. As this technique was unknown in Europe, Spanish patrons were not in a position to insist that native weavers retain it.
64. In 1986 Sophie Desrosiers filmed a tapestry weaver in Villa Ribero, Bolivia, who, before cutting the warp, took a drink of chicha and then poured some onto the ground in silent prayer, as a pious act; video in the collection of Sophie Desrosiers. See also Zorn (1984) 1986, pp. 289–307.
65. For an Inca textile woven by multiple weavers, see Niles 1992, pp. 50–65.
66. This change in quality, as noted in the 1570s by Fray Bernabé Cobo, can be quantified, especially in terms of actual warp and weft counts. Inca counts range as high as 46 warp yarns per inch by 250–300 weft yarns per inch, whereas the warp counts of colonial tapestries average 20 per inch, and their weft counts about 100–125 per inch. (These still far exceed their European counterparts.)
67. For the use of sheep’s wool in the *obrajes* of Cuzco, see Escandell-Tur 1997, p. 31.
68. Neus Escandell-Tur (*ibid.*, pp. 194–200) found that between 1778–79 “Anil” (indigo) used in the *obrajes* in Cuzco came primarily from Lima, and that a lesser-quality indigo came from Arequipa. She indicates that by 1786–87 most of the indigo was imported. In the taxation registers of the *alcabalas* (visiting merchants) they mention indigo as product of Guatemala (*ibid.*, p. 196).
69. Cloth from the *obrajes* was initially used to make garments for miners and other laborers, which they received as payment-in-kind for work organized under the *mita* system of forced labor (an Inca system adapted by the Spanish to garner the relentless number of workers required by the silver mines). By the seventeenth century the practice of paying for services with garments was widespread. It secured contractual relationships between various patrons and specialized craftsmen and artisans, such as the silverworker in Cuzco in 1645 whose payment for one year’s apprenticeship consisted of a hat, stockings, a waistcoat of special material, and daily meals. See Cornejo Bouruncle 1960 (esp. p. 145), for numerous examples of these contracts.
70. The 1548 Cortes of Valladolid prohibited the fabrication of fine cloth in the colonies; Silva Santisteban 1964, p. 19. For recent, in-depth studies of *obrajes*, see Money de Álvarez 1983, Escandell-Tur 1997, and Salas de Coloma 1998.
71. The first *obraje* was established in 1545 in Jauja, on Peru’s North Coast, by permission of the king of Spain. It was accompanied by a royal decree that flax and hemp be cultivated. In 1559 Ines Muñoz, owner of one of the first *obrajes*, contracted various master weavers from Spain, who brought with them *tornos* (spinning wheels) and looms, if not an entire weaving apparatus. He then customized parts, notably reeds and lises, to adapt them to looms constructed in Peru. Silva Santisteban 1964, p. 19.
72. Zavala 1978–80, vol. 3, p. 88: “The cotton is . . . purchased . . . by the Indians, who spin [it], some with the *pusca* [whorl], which in Spanish is called *buso* [spindle], and other with a *tornito* [wheel], composed of spoons, which is struck by the water in the margins of the river [and] turns, and with skill [can be made to] spin a half *media* per day, which later are wound into balls (*ovillos*).”
73. Documents of exports from lower Peru to Chile and Buenos Aires in 1790 list *ropa de obraje y chorrillos* (clothing from the textile workshops) valued at 419,662 pesos, including 5,400 *vara of paño de Quito* and 1,280 *frazadas de Alpaca* (Alpaca blankets); Moscoso 1965, p. 85, citing Romero 1949.
74. Moscoso 1965, p. 85.
75. Fewer than one hundred out of approximately 1,500 pieces of exported cloth were *cumbi*; *ibid.*
76. L. Herrera 1918, p. 24. Real Cedula, Don Carlos V, Valladolid 9 Oct. and 9 Nov. 1549: “Que los indias no sean encerradas para que hilen y tejan lo que han de disbutar sus mandas, en ningun caso y tengen libertad para hacer eso en sus casa, do modo que no se les haga ni reciben agravos” (That the Indians are not to be sealed in to spin and weave . . . in no case, and they have liberty to make these in their house, in a manner that they do not give or receive aggravations).
77. Silva Santisteban 1964, p. 25.
78. See D’Altroy 2002 and Elena Phipps, “Garments and Identity,” in this catalogue.
79. Silva Santisteban 1964, p. 19.
80. See, for example, Quiroz Chueca and Quiroz Chueca 1986; see also Gutiérrez 1995, pp. 24–50 (“Los gremios y academias en la producción del arte colonial”).
81. As part of her research into archival documentation of tapestry pro-

- duction in the colonial era, Teresa Gisbert notes the term *pabellones* as a possible reference to tapestry weavers working in Cuzco to make *cumbi*; Gisbert et al. 1994, p. 287, citing Moscoso 1965. However, Moscoso (1965, p. 85, citing Romero 1949) includes the term *pabellones* in a list of types of exported textiles. In that context, the term may refer to a “canopy,” such as a baldachin. An alternate spelling, *pabilón*, refers to a “bunch of silk or wool on a distaff.” As Moscoso’s list of exports also includes raw wool and cotton, the term may have referred to silk hanks, perhaps ready for spinning or already spun. Either of the latter interpretations may be more appropriate than considering *pabellones* as a reference to *cumbi* weaving per se.
82. The largest Precolumbian textiles produced in Peru were the simple, plainwoven cotton cloths used to wrap mummies. These could extend to great lengths; an enormous cloth discovered in a burial trench in the ceremonial site of Cahuachi, on Peru’s South Coast, extended to 150 feet (and was 18 feet wide); see Phipps (1996) 1997, pp. 111–20.
 83. Because substantial tension on the warps was required in order to densely pack the fine tapestry wefts, the looms most likely held the warp in a stationary position and was not rolled. This can be seen today where tapestry weaving still is practiced. For extremely large warps, however, it is likely that the warp yarns may have been rolled onto a beam.
 84. Garcilaso de la Vega (1609–17) 1966, pp. 250–51: “The finer sort was woven by men, for the work is done standing.”
 85. Gutiérrez 1995, pp. 24–50. Moscoso (1965, p. 76) also refers to the incorporation of *allyus*—the traditional native “clan” social organization—as well as particular neighborhoods or barrios within Cuzco, as part of the structuring of the *obrajes*.
 86. The Troyes Manuscript includes excerpts from a rare fifteenth-century ledger that provides a partial list of payments to participants working on a tapestry for the basilica of Saint Urban, Troyes, France, in 1483. There is no reason to doubt that these arrangements were not typical. See Kane 1999, pp. 130–39.
 87. Silva Santisteban 1964, p. 116.
 88. “Andrés Gómez, indio principal of the parroquia of Belén and Mayodomo of the Cofradía of San Roque, with Bartolomé de Cisneros, master embroiderer, to embroider a garment for the said saint”; Cornejo Bouroncle 1960, p. 113. Contracts with embroiderers for the decoration of ecclesiastical garments in Cuzco are also known; see *ibid.*, p. 258. Cornejo Bouroncle (*ibid.*, p. 54) also cites a 1656 contract between Juan Canto Durán, a master rugmaker, and Pedro Carrasco to make rugs in the workshop (*obraje*) of Pichuichuro.
 89. Villanueva Urteaga 1982, p. 142.
 90. Large Jesuit-administered *obrajes* included Chillo, outside of Quito, and San Ildefonso, Ecuador, which in the eighteenth century had three hundred workers weaving and dyeing *pañó azul*; Cushner 1980, p. 172. See also Bailey 1999.
 91. The *curaca* was not an inherited position, but one derived from a community process of ritual selection. See Pease 1992, p. 21. See also Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1977.
 92. See Spalding 1982; Pease 1992; and Ramírez 1996b.
 93. See the fascinating document: *Expediente Prado Tello: Legal Actions Regarding Land Titles in the Valley of Chupas near Huamanga, Peru (ca 1560–1640)*, Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, website: <http://www.kb.dk/elib/mss/poma/docs/tello/index.htm>.
 94. See Cummins 1991.
 95. He had been the *curaca* of Surimana, was the son of a long line of local leaders, and was reportedly the great-grandson of Túpac Amaru, the last of the Inca kings. He took his name from the latter, a rebellious leader who was beheaded by the Spanish in Cuzco’s central plaza in 1572; see Stastny 1993, p. 139, n. 8.
 96. Busto Duthurburu 1981, p. 55.
 97. Jennifer Durkin (1998, pp. 150–51) considered whether a tapestry now in the British Museum (cat. no. 155) was also made for the wedding of Túpac Amaru II.
 98. See Busto Duthurburu 1981, unnumbered figures between pp. 88–89 and 104–5.
 99. See, for example, Urton 1987.
 100. See Salomon 1997, pp. 241–58.
 101. In 2003 one of the tapestries may have been illicitly removed from the community and was apparently being offered for sale on the private art market, a disturbing event to say the least.
 102. Salmon 1976, pp. 87–93.
 103. Four tapestries do contain woven text; two include mottos as part of a coat of arms, and two contain references to biblical scenes. See cat. nos. 72, 88.
 104. See Paul and Niles 1985, pp. 5–15, and Niles 1992, pp. 50–66.
 105. See Standen 1985 and New York 2002a.
 106. Several of the double-arched tapestries have in fact either been cut down the center or appear to have been cut. See cat. no. 69 for further discussion.
 107. See Cammann 1964, pp. 21–34.
 108. Examples of other tapestries with Asian motifs include one in the National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, D.C. (16/324), and a fragment of a poncho in the Textile Museum, Washington, D.C. (91.565).
 109. See *Huaro-chiri Manuscript (1608?)* 1991, p. 2, regarding the influence of the Hebrew Bible (or the Old Testament) in Peru, and specifically in relation to the conceptualization of the *Huaro-chiri Manuscript*.
 110. This was first proposed by Isabel Iriarte (1992). We subsequently had an opportunity in 1998 to examine together two of the three, and we both agree that the quality of the spinning and dyeing, the color choices, and the other weaving features all point toward a common source.
 111. For possibly the earliest example, see Madrid 1999, p. 103.
 112. For a discussion of this group, see Cavallo 1967, pp. 202–3.



Religion and Society in Inca and Spanish Peru

Sabine MacCormack

The Inca Empire was a conglomerate of different polities, each with its own language, style of dress, and religious traditions, many of which had deep roots in the long-distant Andean past. The more recent cults of the Inca state—that of the Sun, whom the Inca ruler claimed as his ancestor, and those of earlier Inca rulers—were added to regional and local religious traditions wherever Inca conquests reached.¹ As a result, religious practice before the Spanish Conquest varied enormously in different parts of the Andes.

The Spanish invaders brought with them a Christian religion that seemed, at least on the surface, to be the same wherever it was observed, because it was built on the written and hence unchanging corpus of sacred texts contained in the Bible and on liturgies that likewise had been fixed in writing. Furthermore, whereas the custodians of Andean religions came from the communities they served—and were supported by, and were in some sense accountable to those communities—Catholic Christianity was taught and administered by a centrally organized clergy that was controlled, ultimately, by the pope and the king of Spain, and by members of religious orders whose leaders resided in Europe. Although this control was more often than not indirect, the structure of authority it exemplified pointed to distant Europe, not to the Andes, as the ultimate locus of truth and power.

Despite these differences of outlook between the Andean majority and the Spanish invaders and their Creole successors, most people living in the lands that had formerly been ruled by the Inca agreed on one thing: that a person's acts of worship and beliefs about the gods (and God) were inseparable from engagement with family, kin group, neighbors, and society at large. Being born into a specific society amounted to

being born into its religious traditions. Neither the society nor the traditions were a matter of free choice.

This is the background against which we should seek to understand what was at issue when Andean people became Christians. Viewed from the Spanish end of things, evangelization was a twofold necessity. The king of Spain claimed sovereignty over the Americas in order to convert indigenous peoples to Christianity: the task was to save their souls. This theological project was inseparable from the practical one of organizing Andean labor so as to sustain the new social order of colonial Peru. As Christians, so the reasoning went, Andean people would no longer be drawn back to the world of the Inca and their gods and would more readily acquiesce in the new power structure. Political and religious identity were thus two faces of the same coin.²

In itself, this way of living was nothing new in the Andean world, for in Inca times, too, people who were absorbed into the empire were obliged to participate in the empire's cults and to contribute resources to their maintenance. But where Inca cults were simply added to already existing ones, Christianity required of its adherents the renunciation of all other religious allegiances: in short, it required conversion. The convert was obliged to learn new modes of religious expression and to undergo a profound transformation of thought, feeling, and action, all of which amounted to acquiring a different identity. Specifically, to acknowledge the claims of Christian society, in which power was exercised by invaders and newcomers, entailed an acknowledgment of defeat, a realization that the Inca armies and the Andean supernatural world of deities and revered ancestors had fallen prey to the Spaniards and their God. In such a context, Andean individual and collective identities and aspirations had to be reformulated from the bottom up, which is why resistance against the Spanish was

Opposite: Fig. 99. Triptych retable or altarpiece depicting the Virgin of Copacabana (detail, cat. no. 81), 1675–1700

so often expressed in personal and religious as much as in military terms.

“IN THE ANCIENT TIMES” AND “IN THE TIME OF THE INCA”

Despite the multiplicity of myths about gods and origins, of beliefs and cultic practices that the people who lived under the Inca inherited from their forebears, certain themes do recur.³ In many communities people thought that the world and human society came into existence in stages. Throughout the Andes, human beings took their turn, or *mita*, at working for their communities and for the Inca, and, similarly, the gods took turns in the business of creating and sustaining the world. Creation was a process, a matter of divine and human trial and error, and as such very different from the unique act of divine creation that is familiar from the Judeo-Christian tradition.

Take, for example, creation myths involving the prophetic god Pachacamac, the “Maker of the World” and the owner of the great temple pyramid on the Pacific coast near Lima. The first people to live on the coast, so the story went, had been brought into existence by the deity Con, a son of the Sun, who supplied them with herbs and wild fruits for their sustenance. But when they offended him, he turned the coast into the sandy desert that it is now and was never seen again. Pachacamac, another son of the Sun, transformed those early people into birds, monkeys, cats, and other animals, and brought into existence a new generation of people to whom he taught the arts of agriculture. This second creation was an improvement on, and an advance from, Con’s earlier one, since human beings were now able to take care of their own survival. In short, Pachacamac brought into existence the world familiar to the worshipers who erected his temple pyramid. Here the god spoke to his people, through oracles, and here their lords were buried in order to remain forever close to their god.⁴

In the region of Huarochirí in the Andean foothills, not far from Pachacamac’s pyramid, people spoke of a flawed first dispensation in which the dead came back to life five days after their demise, so that there was not enough food to feed everyone. It was only during a subsequent epoch, and with other deities, that the properly ordered society of the here and now came into existence.⁵ Similarly, in the Andean Highlands an earlier, flawed creation was thought to have preceded the present one. Here Viracocha Pachayachachi, the “Creator of All Things,” having brought the world into existence, first

thought of populating it with giants, but, disliking their size, he instead made human beings “as they are now.” The celestial bodies did not yet exist, so those humans lived in darkness. Because they offended Viracocha, he turned some of them into rocks and engulfed others in a flood. He then caused the Sun, Moon, and stars to rise from the island Titicaca in the lake of that name. Next, with two helpers, he sculpted and sketched all the nations who were to live in the Andes, and he called out to them to come forth from the lakes and springs, the valleys, caves, rocks, and mountains of those far-flung lands.⁶

The transformation of people into rocks is a recurring theme in Andean accounts of origins, including the origin myth of the Inca. The latter is a tale both of human beginnings and of the development of society and its institutions, the prelude to a historical narrative about the Inca Empire. According to one version of the oft-told story, the ancestors of the Inca, three or four pairs of brothers and sisters, along with the ancestors of two other nations, came forth from a rock in a village called Pacarictambo, “the Inn of the Dawn” near Cuzco.⁷ On their way to Cuzco, and while they were searching for arable land, the Inca ancestors came to a rock called Guanacauri, where one of the brothers was transformed into stone. In the network of shrines and holy places that surrounded Inca Cuzco, Guanacauri was thus one of the most revered. It was here that during their initiation into adulthood young Inca men offered a llama sacrifice and addressed the rock as their father and the father of the Inca ruler.⁸

Once settled in Cuzco the Inca ancestors gradually gained control of the surrounding region. Manco Capac, the oldest of the brothers from Pacarictambo, was their first king and was succeeded by his son and subsequent descendants. The principal sanctuary of the Inca Empire, known as Coricancha, or “golden enclosure,” was erected on the site where, according to legend, Manco Capac built his house. Coricancha was dedicated to the Sun as the divine ancestor of the Inca royal lineage, and, again according to legend, when Manco Capac died he became a stone that was revered in this holy place along with the mummified bodies of his successors.⁹

Andean myths and stories of origins focused on the land and its past as they sought to explain cultic actions, patterns of descent, and social relations. Natural formations in the landscape—such as rocks that represented notable figures from the past or ancestors of kin groups—were known as *huacas*, and they possessed life and personality (fig. 100). Being ancestors, they stood in the fields that were cultivated by their kin group, or *ayllu*. This was why the work and acts of worship of

ayllu members also did duty as a claim to property, reiterated season by season and year by year. Thus, when villagers in Cajatambo took possession of the fields of an *ayllu* that had died out, they first removed the rock who was that *ayllu*'s first progenitor. Other rocks made oracular statements. As Andean peoples expressed it, they "talked" and "answered questions": about health and sickness, good or bad harvests, and the collective well-being of communities.

Among the greatest of Andean deities were mountains, including Pariacaca, to whom the people of Huarochirí made an annual pilgrimage as they would to a father, to bring him offerings and to see how he was disposed toward them.¹⁰ In some sense, the mountain itself was the god, which was why the Inca ordered offerings to be hurled with slings to those mountains that could not be scaled.¹¹ But the mountains could also be represented in human form, for example, the prophetic Catequil in Huamachuco, in northern Peru, whose priest mediated the god's answers to pilgrims who came from far and wide to consult him. Catequil was represented both as a mountain with a triple peak and as a stone figure in the shape of a man. He was believed to have emerged at the end of a protracted sequence of divine and human genesis, and the people of Huamachuco regarded themselves as the descendants of the human beings whom he had brought into existence.¹² The prophetic creator Pachacamac, also known as the "Earth Shaker" for bringing on earthquakes, was likewise represented by a human artifact. This was a Janus-faced wood pole that was housed in a small room atop Pachacamac's adobe pyramid. His worshipers came from long distances and included the Inca, who erected another, larger pyramid dedicated to their own deity, the Sun, next to his. It is uncertain whether this latter pyramid also housed a representation of its owner, but within Cuzco's Coricancha was an image of a small boy made of solid gold who represented the Sun and received an elaborate cult.¹³

Wherever their power reached, the Inca installed their own deity, the Sun, and set aside lands, herds, and people to perform and administer his cult. The cult of the Sun was empire-wide and ubiquitous, but it did not eliminate the many regional and local cults of the polities and nations whom the Inca had incorporated into their empire. Quite the opposite, the Inca themselves participated in these local and regional cults and sent periodic offerings in order to assure themselves of the goodwill of the multifarious deities who inhabited their empire. In Cuzco *quipu* experts represented each of these deities, keeping account of exactly what ought to be and what actually had been offered to each of them, however small.¹⁴

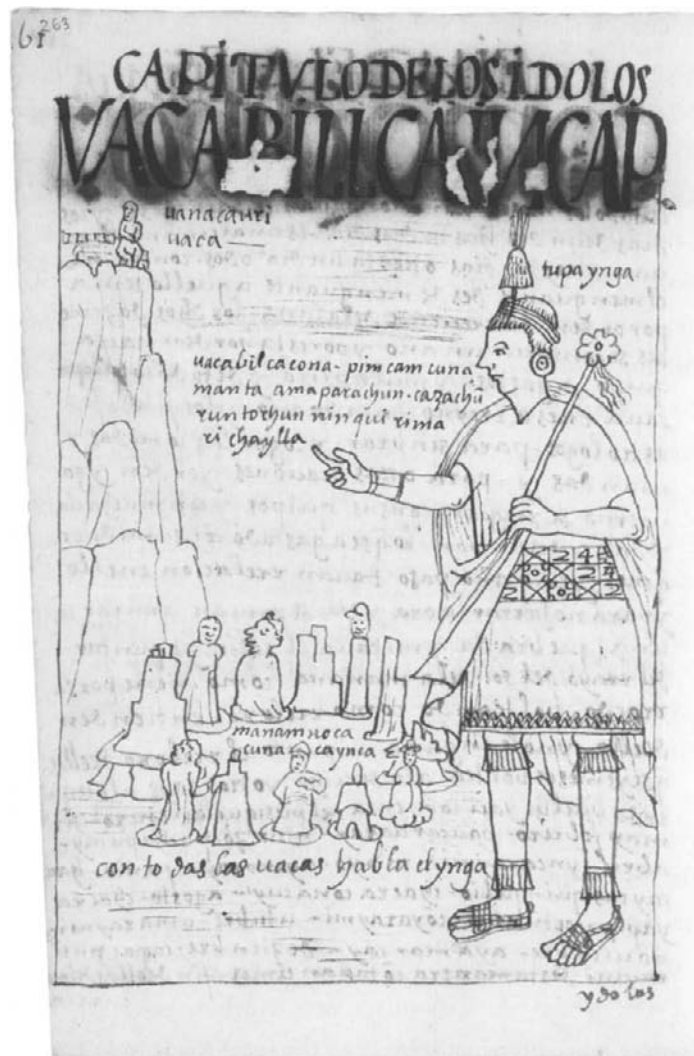


Fig. 100. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. *Divinities of the Inca*, from *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 1615, Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen (p. 261 [KB p. 263])

Religion as practiced in the Inca Empire can thus be conceptualized in terms of local, regional, and imperial layers of cults that converged or functioned alongside each other. This did not mean that deities were always friendly to all comers: Catequil was one of several gods to express sharp criticism of Inca warfare and its toll of human lives.¹⁵ Elsewhere prophetic *huacas* expressed the hope that the reigning Inca, however assiduously he was sending offerings and sacrifices, would soon die.¹⁶ Nonetheless, the different Andean gods, cults, and myths were not inherently incompatible. Rather, they expressed theological, social, and political ideas about divine and human harmony and conflict that, after millennia of coexistence, were shared among the people of the many polities that made up the Inca Empire.

What were these common ideas? Throughout the Andes, people spoke of an original creator who had been active during some primordial time but who then disappeared. This was

the case of Viracocha Pachayachachi, who disappeared over the sea, and also of the creator Atagaju, who resided distantly in the sky while his descendant Catequil engaged in human affairs. Many people believed that their first ancestors had emerged from the land when the creator Viracocha called them forth. Concurrently, the notion that these progenitors had become rocks when they died—that is to say, that they had rejoined the land whence they originated—was ubiquitous. Also ubiquitous was the idea that death is not an absolute rupture in human existence. Not only were the mummified bodies of deceased members of family and kin group not removed from sight by burial in the ground, they were kept visible above ground in accessible places, where they received periodic sacrifices while also being remembered in mythic, legendary, and historical narratives. Just as the priest of the Sun in Coricancha spoke to the Inca on behalf of his “father the Sun” and the priests of Catequil and Pachacamac delivered prophetic responses to worshipers, so elsewhere in the Andes did priests and other religious specialists speak to the living on behalf of, and in the voice of, their forebears. The subjects of these conversations were rooted in the here and now. The Inca prayed to the Creator, to the Sun his father, and to the *huacas* in dignified and poetic terms for victory, peace, and well-being.¹⁷ Among village people, whose needs of daily life were more pressing, prayers to the local *huacas* were simple and concise: for the fields, for rain, to get rid of illness, and that herds and people would multiply.¹⁸

As the divine world was thought to have unfolded in epochs, so, too, the world of human beings. In Lambayeque, on the northern coast of Peru, people recalled the advent, in former times, of a certain Naimlap, who had come with a splendid retinue and had built a palace to house both the green stone figure of his deity, Yampallec, and in due course his own body, although he himself was thought to have vanished from there on wings. Naimlap was succeeded by his son and by ten further descendants, the last of whom was thrown into the sea by his people for an offence he committed. Next came the Chimú, who were eventually displaced by the Inca.¹⁹ The Inca themselves had arrived after the peoples who had created the imperial polities of Wari and Tiahuanaco,²⁰ whose artifacts were traded and imitated throughout much of southern Peru. At some time the story of this historical succession of empires was transformed into myth by people who thought that it had been at Tiahuanaco that the creator Viracocha had sent the Sun, Moon, and stars into the sky. In the early seventeenth century, the people of what was by then only the

village of Tiahuanaco told Spanish travelers that the ancient gateways and monumental stone figures of the place had been created by giants. But they also said that the Inca had positioned themselves as the successors to Tiahuanaco by celebrating a festival on the site and erecting a structure that was designed to mark the center of their empire.²¹

EVANGELIZATION AND CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY

If so many peoples had come and gone in the Andes, why should not the Spanish, having come, also go? This question occupied many Andean people in the 1560s, and some thought that the great *huacas* of the Andes—Titicaca, Pachacamac, and the volcano Chimborazo, near Quito—would unite and throw the Spanish into the sea.²² Preparations for an armed uprising accompanied these expectations, but the Spanish responded ferociously before any concrete action could be taken. Nonetheless, hopes that the Spanish *mita*, or “turn,” would eventually end lived on and helped to inspire Andean rebellions until the later eighteenth century and beyond. People hoped not merely that the Spanish would disappear before long, but also that the Inca would return.²³

There was both an ancient Andean and a new, perhaps Christian dimension to this expectation. As we have seen, subdividing time into successions of divine and human epochs had long been customary in the Andes: different generations of gods and humans followed one another, each with its own distinct characteristics. What was novel about the idea of the return of the Inca was that it would be the restoration of a former epoch, not the emergence of a new and different one. Such notions of restoration, while not current in the Andes, proliferated in Europe, where both the return of a Golden Age, familiar from Greek and Latin poetry, and the return of Christ at the end of time, familiar from the Christian Scripture, preoccupied many people during the sixteenth century.

The Spanish attempted to convince Andean peoples of the Christian truth from the very beginning, but they soon recognized that little could be achieved without speaking at least one Andean language. Their language of choice was Quechua, formerly the lingua franca of the Inca Empire. Beyond choosing the “language of the Inca” as their preferred means of communication, the missionaries realized that conveying ideas about religious truths required more than linguistically correct translation. Just as Andean myths and histories followed a narrative structure—a sequence that had become meaningful

not only because of its reasoning, but also from long usage—so, too, did the Christian story, as told in Scripture, creeds, sermons, and catechisms. This Christian sequence narrated in chronological order the Creation, Expulsion from Paradise, Flood and human restoration, followed by the history of Israel down to the time of Christ. Next came Christ's birth, life, redemptive death, and Resurrection, followed by the coming of the Holy Spirit, history of the early church, the Last Judgment, and heaven and hell at the end of time. There were also subsidiary narratives about the lives of saints—chief among them the Virgin Mary—about the liturgical calendar commemorating events in the life of Christ and points of Christian doctrine, and, finally, about the Christian life and the sacraments that mark the stages of such a life.²⁴

Put differently, the narrative structure of Andean myths and histories reflected certain beliefs about the nature of the gods and *huacas*, about their immanence in life and landscape, that could be neither represented nor simply replaced by a Christian alternative. The Christian story, in turn, implied a correlation between eternal and temporal or earthly truths, between life and life eternal, that did not fit readily into Quechua discourse.

Missionaries, accordingly, quickly realized that their story could not be communicated outside the cultural framework in which it had developed if they did not first clarify some “presuppositions.” The first to tackle this issue was the friar Domingo de Santo Tomás, who concluded his Quechua grammar, the earliest to be written, with a small sermon whose didactic aim was twofold.²⁵ The first was for Spaniards, who were to learn how to apply in actual discourse the grammatical points contained within the book. The second was for Andean peoples. Unlike the Christian Scripture, which begin with the Creation, and unlike the Christian creed, which begins with belief in one God, Domingo de Santo Tomás (followed by others) began by explaining that the souls of human beings were immortal. Next, he stated that heaven and hell were the ultimate destination for the good and the wicked, and only then did he mention the Creation. Or rather, he said that “of old, at the very beginning,” there was one single God who by “his wishing” created first the angels to be his helpers, then the Earth and all things on it, and then Adam and Eve, the progenitors of human beings in the Andes, Spain, and everywhere else (fig. 101). Finally, without telling the story of the Temptation in the Garden, he said that Adam and Eve had angered God and that regret for wrongdoing could lead human beings to everlasting life. The

complexities of Christ's Incarnation and act of redemption were left for a future occasion.

The sermon speaks volumes about the cultural distance separating Spain from the Andes, how it might in some sense be bridged, and also about which Andean beliefs might emerge as compatible with Christian ones and which ones would not. In the presence of Andean creator deities who shaped the world in phases without bringing it into existence, Fray Domingo, like generations of missionaries after him, stressed the uniqueness of one act of creation by one all-powerful God. At the same time, when Andean peoples heard about the angels as god's “helpers,” they could visualize the helpers of Viracocha, and those of Atagujú, the divine forebear of Catequil, and the helpers of other Andean creator gods. Multiple creations, in contrast, along with multiple generations of people who emerged from different places of origin, were abrogated in Christianity. But here, as elsewhere, something of the old belief system could perhaps enter into the new one. For when Fray Domingo spoke about the creation “at the very beginning,” he expressed this phrase as “*pacaricipi*,” literally



Fig. 101. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. *God creates the world and gives it to Adam and Eve*, from *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 1615. Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen (p. 12)



Fig. 102. Attributed to Tadeo Escalante. *Posrimerías: Hell*, wall painting, Church of Huaró, Quispicanchi, District of Cuzco, end of 18th–early 19th century

“at the dawn,” or “at the birth.” The term invited Andean peoples to think about the many *pacarinas*, or the places whence their forebears had emerged, like the Inca from Pacaritambo, the “Inn of the Dawn.”

When it came to Adam and Eve’s culturally enigmatic offense, it was possible for Andeans to think about the various offenses with which their own forefathers had angered the Andean Creator, with disastrous results: in this way, an approach could be made toward explaining repentance, resurrection, and the everlasting blessedness in heaven that was the goal of Christian living. All this was intended to take Andean worshippers away from their many worldly concerns about harvests and the weather, sickness and health, that in their prayers they were bringing before the Sun, the Creator, and the *huacas*. For generations to follow, missionaries accordingly

expended much effort on communicating the very different Christian rationale of devotions that focused on sin, repentance, and eternal blessedness. It is perhaps a measure of just how hard it was to convey this message that much preaching focused less on heaven than on the everlasting pains of hell for the wicked. Fear of hell, it appears, was thought to be a more powerful motivation than hope of heaven (fig. 102).²⁶

It is one thing to communicate, in however abstract and abbreviated a fashion, an alien system of concepts and accompanying stories illustrating them, but it is much harder to integrate such a system into a preexisting social and political order. This is where the missionaries experienced their greatest difficulties and reverses. For it seemed initially that Andean people were willing to become Christians. But in the end, many were not willing to renounce their older beliefs and observances

altogether—or, in many instances, even in part. This was because what had been thought and done for centuries not only made more sense, but also because religious specialists were resident in every Andean town, village, and settlement. Their expertise did not become irrelevant merely because an alternative doctrine was being advocated by strangers, many of whom were, in any case, poor linguists.

In addition, it proved impossible to separate matters of ritual and belief from the experience of daily life. The plowing and planting of fields, the crucial negotiations of water distribution among competing communities, the labor of maintaining irrigation canals, the collection and storage of the harvest: all were tasks associated with rituals of communal eating and drinking that linked each Andean community to its traditions and to the ancestral *buacas* who regulated the flow of water and were to be found in every field and household. Missionaries often subsumed these seasonal and agricultural celebrations under the term *borrachera*, “drunken celebration” (fig. 103). Drinking was indeed a key component of almost every Andean social, political, or religious transaction. The great seasonal

celebrations of the Inca state, when nobles from all parts of the empire came to Cuzco, involved extensive drinking, which served to ratify whatever had been agreed upon: whether a building project, a military campaign, or a legislative or administrative undertaking. In addition, to “drink with the Inca” was an indicator of status, and those who were excluded were likely to rebel. In all this, the gods were participants. In the words of the Andean historian Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, during the celebration of the winter solstice, the Inca “drinks with the Sun.”²⁷ The same logic held at every other level of society. Hence, although the great ceremonies of the Inca state ceased with the destruction of that state, people continued drinking together in order to ratify agreements and celebrate festivals, just as they had done long before the rise of the Inca.

In the eyes of missionaries *borracheras* combined in one single transaction the interdependent evils of idolatry and moral corruption. Many assumed that these evils would cease if the *buacas* and the bodies of revered ancestors were systematically destroyed, if the fields that were tilled and herds that were pastured to cover the cost of worship and celebration were confiscated, and if religious specialists were forced into silence or removed from their communities. This outlook resulted in the campaigns to extirpate idolatry that swept through the Andes during much of the seventeenth century.²⁸ In some respects these campaigns were successful. The link between the living and the dead that during the pre-Hispanic and early colonial periods was manifest in so many aspects of myth and cult was broken definitively. Corpses came to be buried in the ground and, having formerly constituted part of society, were now shunned.²⁹ Concurrently, the Catholic cult of relics, the mortal remains of saints, which at the time still played an important role in Europe, was and remains to this day notably absent in the Andes. Also, sculpted figures of Andean deities and the uncut rocks that represented deities or mythic ancestors and were recipients of worship disappeared from the landscape, unless they were so large that they could not be removed or hacked to pieces. Hence many of the myths and stories that had once been told about the ancestors and gods fell into oblivion.

CHRISTIANITY IN THE ANDES AND ANDEAN CHRISTIANITY

Spaniards and Creoles in Peru, meanwhile, practiced their Christian religion much as they would have done in the Peninsula.



Fig. 103. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. *La borrachera* (drunkenness), from *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 1615. Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen (p. 876 [KB p. 890])

The Christian calendar, although seasonal in origin, had become immutable, so that no adjustments could be made for those following it in the Southern Hemisphere. However, some of its original meanings were reversed. For example, in Europe, the celebration of the birth of Christ, the “Sun of Justice,” coincided with the winter solstice, when the days became longer, whereas in Peru it coincided with the summer solstice and the shortening days that followed. Perhaps this is the reason why, in the Andes, of the several manifestations of Christ it is the dead Christ who is most often depicted and attracts the most profound devotion. For in the Andes, the time of his birth in December is when the sun begins its annual decline. Similarly, Easter, the festival of Christ’s Resurrection from the dead, was celebrated in Europe near the spring equinox, a time of new life and new growth. In the Andes, in contrast, the time of the European spring equinox, March, coincided with the Southern Hemisphere’s autumnal equinox, the season of bringing in and storing the harvest, which endowed the Resurrection with a very different meaning. These shifts in the seasonal significance of Christian festivals affected Andean Christians living in the countryside, who continued to order their lives according to the seasons and the agricultural calendar, more than it did Spaniards and Creoles in Peru, most of whom lived in cities and did not work the land.

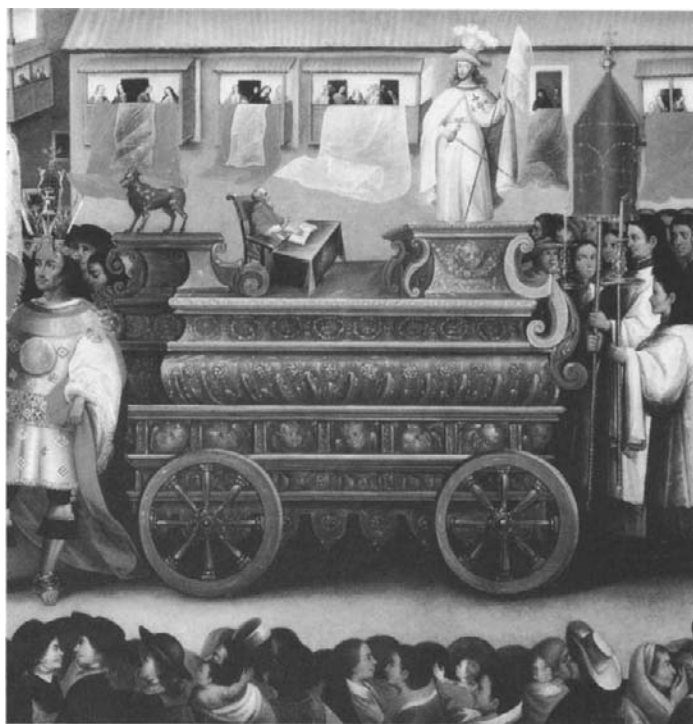


Fig. 104. Detail of *Carriage of Saint James*, from the series of Corpus Christi paintings made for the Church of Santa Ana, Cuzco, 17th century. Oil on canvas. Museo Arzobispal, Cuzco

Cities played a vital role in the self-perception of Spaniards living in Peru and of Creoles. The founding of cities, each with its own largely autonomous government, had gone hand in hand with the invasion and conquest of the Inca Empire, and throughout the colonial period cities formed the nuclei of Creole culture. Economically dependent on the surrounding countryside, each city nevertheless exercised jurisdiction over its region and controlled a large share of its resources. From the beginning urban populations were mixed, consisting not just of Spaniards and Creoles but increasingly of Africans and, of course, Andean peoples. Still, decision-making powers were in the hands of those who could claim the status of *vecinos*, residents and property owners, all of whom were Spaniards or Creoles, although with time intermarriage modified this picture.³⁰

The Inca capital of Cuzco, for example, was founded, or rather refounded, in 1534 as a Christian and Spanish city in the name of Emperor Charles V and under the protection of the Trinity. This event initiated the process of reformulating Cuzco’s religious and political topography, even before a single stone had been moved for new construction. The dwellings of Inca rulers that ringed Cuzco’s main square, where at the time the original inhabitants were still gathering to celebrate at least some of the festivals of the Inca sacred calendar, were redistributed to the invaders, who thereby acquired the status of *vecinos*. At the head of the list of appropriations stood a building that was designated to become the city’s cathedral; next came “a large hall” nearby, which was assigned to the city council; and then the dwellings of Francisco Pizarro, the leader of the invasion, and of a number of his followers. Coricancha, the Temple of the Sun that was situated at a small distance southeast of the square, became the home of the Dominican order, and the other religious orders received accommodation elsewhere in the city. The wording of the act of foundation reads as though the Inca had never been.³¹

Most of the other cities that the Spanish founded in Peru were not superimposed on an existing settlement, as Cuzco had been. The new capital of Lima, for example, was founded in 1535 on land that had been appropriated from a local Andean lord and was laid out according to the chessboard plan favored by urban planners throughout Spanish Peru. On the main square a large site was assigned to the cathedral, with the archbishop’s palace next to it. Also on the square stood the town hall and the palace of the viceroy, which was erected on the site that had originally been assigned to Francisco Pizarro. *Vecinos* and religious orders received land



Fig. 105. Detail of *End of the Procession*, from the series of Corpus Christi paintings made for the Church of Santa Ana, Cuzco, 17th century. Oil on canvas. Museo Arzobispal, Cuzco

nearby, all this being the stage, as it were, on which the elaborate ritual and religious life of the city evolved.³²

In 1556 Charles V was succeeded as king of Spain by his son, Philip II, which gave rise to an elaborate ceremony that was performed in Lima's main square in the presence of the viceroy and the archbishop.³³ The celebration illustrates perfectly the symbiosis and interdependence of civic and ecclesiastical authorities, and, hence, of the civic and religious identities of individuals. Secular personages, headed by the

Viceroy Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, appeared on horseback and were dressed in their finest robes, while the clergy, led by Jerónimo de Loayza, archbishop of Lima, were all dressed in solemn black and mounted on mules. After the news of Philip II's accession had been proclaimed, the viceroy raised the royal banner, the oath of loyalty was administered, and viceroy and archbishop together distributed silver coins—the first to be minted in Peru—with the royal portrait and the arms of Castile and León on the obverse and reverse. This

Fig. 106. Cuzco school.
Our Lady of Cocharcas under the Baldachin, 1765. Oil on canvas.
 Brooklyn Museum; Bequest
 of Mary T. Cockcroft
 (57.144)



was followed by a procession through the city and a High Mass, during which the royal banner and the banner of Lima were placed next to the altar. Similar ceremonies, albeit in less elaborate versions, were celebrated in Cuzco and throughout Peru. Architecturally, not much had changed yet in the city of the Inca, but in ceremonial and religious terms it had become a very different place. Inca and Andean peoples were not represented at all in the proclamation of the accession of

Philip II, which instead was celebrated by Cuzco's *vecinos* and their civic and religious authorities.³⁴

In Lima, and on the Pacific coast in general, Andean peoples were able to participate in urban religious life only to a limited degree, but in the Highlands of Peru, a rather different picture gradually emerged. Here, once the long years of invasion and conquest had passed, the Andean majority helped to shape expressions of personal piety and public ritual that

were specific to the region. Three factors helped to bring about this change. First, Andean aristocracies proved to be indispensable partners to Creoles and Spaniards in the tasks of government. The silver mines of Potosí, for example, could not be worked without the cooperation of Andean lords, who organized the labor of Andean miners.³⁵ This administrative and economic reality found vivid expression in Potosí's public ritual. Thus in 1555 a grand procession designed to honor the Virgin Mary and Spain's patron saint, Santiago (Saint James), foregrounded Andean alongside Spanish dignitaries, included Andean dancers and musicians, and also contained a tableau of the twelve Inca rulers (fig. 104). All this was followed by a public performance of four plays that described the history of the Inca Empire from its origins to the Spanish Conquest.³⁶ In Cuzco, similarly, the descendants of the Inca who survived the invasion ended up wielding a certain degree of power, intermarried with Creoles, and played a central part in religious and ceremonial life.³⁷

Second, clerical zeal for intensive evangelization and the extirpation of idolatry waned over time. Missionaries continued to pillory *borracheras* and the cult of *huacas*, urged Andean people not to listen to the prophetic statements of their deities, and argued that the representations of these deities were idols, in no way comparable to the statues of the saints that stood in every church. But this, precisely, was the difficulty: many Andean people could see no difference between the *huacas* and the statues of saints. In effect, they considered these statues to be the *huacas* of Spaniards. To each his own, so ran their thinking. In the face of this dilemma, missionaries and other Spanish authorities came to believe that a certain residual idolatry in Andean villages was unavoidable. They still pursued the extirpation of *huacas*, but more intermittently. Andean people, meanwhile, became accustomed to the images of the saints, to statues and religious paintings. Indeed, a good many religious statues and paintings were created by Andean artists.

Third, however centralized and European an organization the Catholic church in Peru might have been in theory, in actual practice there was much room for the expression of local and Andean concerns. These were articulated primarily through the cult of saints. Each town and village, however small, had its patron, whose statue stood over the main altar of the local church. Theologically speaking, in the words of a model sermon that was published in Lima in 1585 for the use of missionaries, "Christians do not adore or kiss the images for what they are, they do not adore that wood or metal or canvas, but they adore Jesus Christ in the image of the cruci-

fix, and the mother of God, Our Lady the Virgin Mary in her image, and the saints also in their images."³⁸ As for these personages themselves, they were in heaven. If, on the one hand, this theological point was hard for Andeans to grasp, on the other hand, liturgy and ceremony were susceptible to multiple readings, or actualized for different observers varying beliefs that operated in different registers. During festivals, images of saints were paraded on floats through streets decorated with ceremonial draperies and flowers, and these same honors were bestowed on human dignitaries: bishops, viceroys, governors (fig. 105). Images of saints would visit each other as though they were human beings, and during processions, those same images would bow before the image of that saint in whose honor the festival was being celebrated.³⁹ This impersonation pervaded every aspect of public life. For example, in Cuzco, during the proclamation of Philip II as king of Spain, he was present in the form of his portrait, which was displayed on a podium so as to take possession of the city. Andean people observing or participating in such transactions were free to interpret them in their own terms.⁴⁰

The king was far away in Europe. The saints were in heaven. But ritual transformed their painted and sculpted representations into real presences in the Andean here and now. This was especially true of the Virgin Mary. In her diverse advocations—as the Virgin of the Rosary, as the Virgin of the Purification (known in the Spanish-speaking world as La Candelaria), the protectress of the souls in purgatory, and as the patron of several much-frequented pilgrimage sanctuaries—she was the focus of intense devotion largely because she was human, a woman, and therefore much more approachable than the divine persons of the Trinity. She had given birth, had been a mother, and had seen her son die; she could therefore be trusted to look upon human pain and failure and the dilemmas of daily life with sympathetic and benevolent eyes. As in Spain, so in the Andes, the cult of Mary was ubiquitous, and devotions to her were celebrated with passionate fervor (fig. 106). In the later sixteenth century, at Pacasmayo in northern Peru, an image of the Virgin Mary that was housed in a church near an ancient *huaca* attracted many devotees, spoke to them as the *huacas* had done, and cured their diseases.⁴¹ The same thing happened at Copacabana on Lake Titicaca, which in Inca times had been the last stop on the pilgrimage route to the sacred Isla del Sol, where the Sun rose at the creation. Pilgrims from across Peru visited the Virgin of Copacabana, and for those who could not make the journey—and for worshipers in Lima, in the mining center of Potosí, and elsewhere—copies of her

image dispersed and projected her favors far away from the sacred center (fig. 99).⁴²

Theologians explained these phenomena by recourse to a platonist reasoning about the nexus between images and their prototypes. Although Andean people were uninterested in such arguments, over time they did make friends with the ever-present images of saints that stood over every altar in every local church. These images, accordingly, having inaugurated their careers as the *huacas* of Spaniards, were gradually accepted as real presences, even though they were never in any precise sense the *huacas* of Andeans. Very different offerings were brought before *huacas* and Christian images. *Huacas* had received, inter alia, textiles and miniature gold and silver figurines of llamas and human beings, as well as sacrifices of llamas and *cuy*, guinea pigs. Christian images, in contrast, liked to be given silver crowns, lecterns for liturgical books, candles, candlesticks and sanctuary lamps, and oil to burn in the lamps. There was also, however, a certain continuity in offerings, such as tapestry hangings and other textiles for liturgical use that were woven in traditional Andean techniques.

The discontinuities in offerings betokened religious as well as economic, artistic, and technological changes in early colonial society. This is especially striking in metalwork, where European designs and technologies for working silver quickly replaced Andean ones. Objects such as crowns and sanctuary lamps brought to the Andes European shapes and designs the likes of which had never been seen before, and with the crafting of these shapes and designs came new methods of working metal—an important point considering that the miniature figurines of gold, silver, and spondylus shell that were so popular as gifts to *huacas* were quite unacceptable as gifts to saints, since these figurines themselves were also *huacas*. Similarly, textiles for use in churches, even if the techniques for weaving them initially remained stable,⁴³ incorporated European designs—flowers, animals, armorial devices, and Christian symbols—into more abstract Andean frameworks. The messages these textiles communicated were, accordingly,

quite new. The new art forms spoke not just of new means of worship but also of a changing society.

Looked at in this way, *huacas* and saints are worlds apart. The *huacas* were embedded in the land and helped their worshipers to confront the dilemmas and hardships of the present life. The saints did this too, but their home was in heaven, and their primary task was to help their devotees to follow them there. Such, at any rate, was the theory. In practice, as patrons of churches the saints became as rooted in the land as the *huacas* had been. Spaniards and Creoles found this phenomenon unsurprising because in Spain, as elsewhere in Europe, the saints were at home in specific churches and recognizable by their dress and appearance.⁴⁴ What was different in the Andes was the prehistory of this phenomenon, which led to uniquely Andean forms of Christian belief and expression.

Missionaries and other Spaniards frequently complained that Andean people simply did not understand Christianity. In a sense, this was perfectly true. The centralized Christian doctrine, formulated immutably in creeds and catechisms, and the centralized foreign hierarchy of members of religious orders, priests, and bishops, very few of whom came from among the people to whom they ministered, made little sense in Andean societies. Despite all that, Andean people became participants in the new worship that the foreigners brought with them. In the course of this participation, they changed the worship, if not always in form, then in content. The saints were canonized in Rome by a hierarchy whose workings, as viewed from the Andes, were impenetrable.⁴⁵ But the presence of the saints in Andean towns and villages led to their acceptance and, hence, to their reCanonization in their new homes, where they became local presences, dealt with local concerns, and received their Andean due in the time-honored *borracheras*. In short, Catholic Christianity became a local religion, and in this respect, evangelization never accomplished all of its intended goals. The outcome is a testimony to the flexibility of Christian traditions, and to the resilience, the spiritual energy, of Andean people.

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3. Urton 1999.
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6. Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572) 1999, chaps. 6–7.
7. Domingo de Santo Tomás (1560) 1994, fols. 56–57.
8. Molina in Molina and Albornoz 1989, p. 101.
9. Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572) 1999, chap. 14.
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13. MacCormack 2001b, pp. 31–70.
14. Molina in Molina and Albornoz 1989, pp. 122–23.
15. Betanzos (1557, part 2, chap. 16) 1996, pp. 231–34.
16. MacCormack 2000, pp. 1–31.
17. Molina in Molina and Albornoz 1989, pp. 81ff.
18. Duviols 1986, pp. 525ff.
19. Cabello Valboa 1951, part 3, chap. 17.
20. See Covey 2004.
21. CACH, Ms. 1608.1101, Archivo Nacional de Bolivia, Sucre; Stanish 2003.
22. Millones 1990.
23. López-Baralt 1989.
24. For issues of translation in religious discourse, see MacCormack 2003, pp. 217–49.
25. Domingo de Santo Tomás (1560) 1994, fol. 86v.
26. See Thieulin-Pardo (1994) 1996.
27. Guaman Poma (1615) 1987, p. 246.
28. Mills 1997.
29. Gose 1994; Allen 1988.
30. Morse 1972.
31. *Fundación española del Cusco* 1926, pp. 31ff.
32. Cobo (1639) 1964; see also Ulloa (1748) 1990, part 2, book 1, chap. 3.
33. Fernández del Pulgar n.d., fols. 213ff.
34. Esquivel y Navia 1980, vol. 1, pp. 185ff.
35. MacCormack 2002, pp. 69–99.
36. Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela (ca. 1700–1736) 1965, book 4, chap. 1.
37. Dean 1999.
38. *Doctrina christiana* (1584–85) 1985–86, sermon 19.
39. Frézier 1717; Diego de Ocaña 1969.
40. Esquivel y Navia 1980, vol. 1, p. 186.
41. Calancha (1639) 1974–82, book 3 (1977), chaps. 2–14.
42. Ramos Gavilán (1621) 1988.
43. Desrosiers (1984) 1986, pp. 219–41.
44. Pacheco (1638) 1956, book 3, chap. 14.
45. Dandeleit 2001, pp. 170–87.



Andean Opulence: Indigenous Ideas about Wealth in Colonial Peru

Frank Salomon

In 1608 Diego Gonzáles Holguín published a dictionary of Quechua, the language of the Inca. This dictionary, one of the great early examples of its kind, included terms for many of the materials that made up Peru's already legendary wealth, but in the vast Quechua vocabulary Gonzáles Holguín could not find any single word equivalent to the Spanish term for treasure, *tesoro*. Instead, he resorted to a curious Quechua circumlocution: "Treasure. *ylla* gold or silver, and something made *ylla*; and to treasure something [is] *yllaycuni*."¹

And what was *ylla*? It was not a synonym for silver, gold, emeralds, or the other fabled treasures of the Indies. No, to the great lexicographer *ylla* meant "the big or notable bezoar stone, like an egg, or bigger, which Andeans used to carry with them believing that it served to make them rich and lucky."² Bezoar stones are calculi that ruminants, including alpacas and llamas, occasionally regurgitated (fig. 108). As it happens, Europeans, too, valued bezoars as antidotes to poison.³ In 1572 an Inca sovereign's own personal bezoar—"a large [one], ornamented by four golden stripes and little handles"—was sent to Spain as a gift literally fit for a king, Philip II.⁴ Why should a ball from an alpaca's belly figure so centrally in the Andean rhetoric of wealth? By approaching the answer, we also approach core Andean concepts of value.

Gonzáles Holguín was actually using the bezoar as an example par excellence of a much larger class of objects considered in the Andes to have the property called *ylla*. "Treasure" was not just silver or gold, but metal that "has" or "is" *ylla*.

Anything partaking of *ylla* was itself *ylla*, the treasure of its kind. The concept *ylla*, today spelled *illa*, lives on in rural Andean culture, and so ethnography can provide us with clues as to what this quality actually signified. To this day Andean herders keep their bezoars and other things called *illa*—notably old, even pre-Hispanic animal figurines (fig. 109)—in treasure bundles called *señalu q'epi*. The wrapper that forms the bundle is a luxurious textile whose edges are made, respectively, from left-spun and right-spun wool, with a brightly colored center line that acts as a symbolic "center" of the world. At a ritual in honor of the flocks, alpaca herders open onto this center many smaller, inner bundles that protect bezoars and other *illas*.⁵ All are said to contain a metaphysical substance—*illa* itself—that infuses the herd with essential strength, health, and fertility, and the ability to grow rich wool. Their *illa*, as it were, is the productive essence of "alpaca-ness."⁶

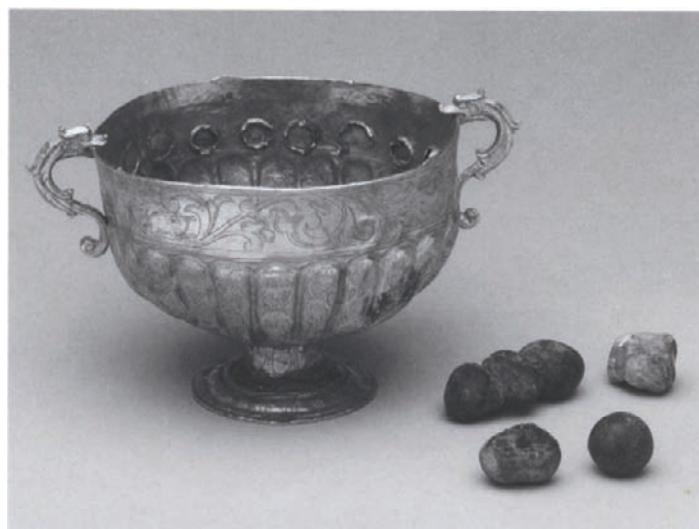


Fig. 108. "Poison cup" (drinking vessel) recovered from the wreck of the galleon *Nuestra Señora de Atocha* (cat. no. 48) with bezoar stones. Mel Fisher Maritime Museum, Key West, Florida

Opposite: Fig. 107. Processional *paso* (float) covered with silver, pumpkins, chili peppers, and flowers, in Yanque, Colca Valley, Peru. Reproduced from Mauricio de Romaña, Jaime Blassi, and Jordi Blassi, *Descubriendo el Valle de Colca*, 2d ed. (Barcelona, 1988), p. 153



Fig. 109a–e. Ritual *canopas* in the form of camelids, Inca. Stone. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; (left to right) a, b, d: Bequest of Arthur M. Bullowa, 1993 (1994.35.759, 761, 758); c: Gift of William Kelly Simpson in memory of the Honorable Nelson A. Rockefeller, 1984 (1984.524.1); e: Bequest of Jane Costello Goldberg, from the collection of Arnold I. Goldberg, 1986 (1987.394.690)

The only traditionally legitimate way to get *illas* for livestock is to find them. *Illas* are said to appear around the springs where animals, and ancestral humans, too, emerged from the body of the mountain. To find an *illa* means that ancient beings want you to find it. *Illas*, then, are “signs” from the superhuman “owners” of all living animals and peoples. *Illas* transmit a message that is at once an inheritance of power and a destiny of fertility.

Treasure bundles are the property of lineages, not individuals. As *illas* are both a herd’s means and its mandate to live and thrive, so, too, are other patrimonial wealth objects believed to be a divine endowment and a directive for a group to live beyond the life of any one member. It is this quality, not resale value, that made Andean peoples treasure their *illa*.⁷ Today, *illa*, when applied to silver, often signifies heirloom coins of high purity.⁸ Like any other *illa*, they are treasured because they are believed to foster growth—in this case, the growth of cash savings. Colonial Andean silver miners (and some Europeans, for that matter) thought that silver grew underground, like tuber crops. It makes sense, then, that even today miners perform ceremonial honors for amulets of silver “fertility” the same way they do for herd or crop amulets.⁹

A final component of the Andean concept of preciousness is reciprocity. *Illa* objects lose their force if humans do not “feed” or repay them with libations and gifts, for example, of fat and coca. If unappreciated, they may desert their hosts by letting themselves be stolen. If they are “lost,” it is because they are dissatisfied and want to go back into the earth. The design and craftsmanship lavished on *illa* things—for example,

the gold bands on the Inca king’s bezoar—were homages of reciprocity honoring their essential value.

These four semantic components—message or sign; sacred productive essence; inheritance for continuity; and reciprocity—add up to a summary of what Andean cultures traditionally treasured. It is not enough to say that Andean treasures are signs of identity, for Andean herders feel that the theft of bundles damages their real, practical relation with nature as much as it insults their identity. It was partly for this reason that the Bolivian village of Coroma so heroically pursued and finally obtained the return of bundles stolen for the international art market.¹⁰

If bezoars were the *illa* of animals, what were the *illa* of people? Long before the Inca, Andean societies believed that each group’s fecundity or productive essence inhered through its mummified ancestors (fig. 110). In principle, a mummy was seen as an everlasting person. The most ancient mummies, in their cave shrines, mausoleums, or burial towers, were felt to be originators who had emerged from the earth itself. Through their intervention people could petition still more remote and exalted kin: the superhuman beings of earth, water, and sky.



Fig. 110. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. *Burials of the Inca: Inca Illapa, aya, the deceased Inca, his corpse*, from *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 1615. Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen (p. 289 [KB p. 291])

What Spaniards saw as Inca “treasure” was often the textile and metal wealth used as part of acts of homage and reciprocity with these mummies, these human *illas*. For example, royal Inca mummies had “brothers”: container-effigies made of precious metal that held the hair and nails of the dead. “Brothers” headed influential commemorative corporations of the former ruler’s descendants, and both the mummies and the “brothers” were, so to speak, the *illa* of society itself.¹¹ Since the desiccated body of an ancestor signified the endurance of a lineage, the ongoing ritual of clothing him or her in glorious clothes, feathers, and jewelry elicited the gift of sacred vital force for the sake of the community’s future.

Silver and gold treasures from the sacred Inca capital, Cuzco, and other centers dazzled the metal-obsessed Spaniards so deeply as to form a leitmotif of most chronicles.¹² The soldier-chronicler Pedro Cieza de León, who traversed the Inca domains just a decade after European invasion, and who was relatively skeptical, estimated that “there must have been years when [the Inca] took out over fifty thousand *arrobas* of silver . . . for their own use.”¹³ This amount equals about 575,000 kilograms, or 1.25 million pounds. Could there have been so much? We may never know, but armlets and earspools, stickpins, semicircular knives, human and animal figurines for offerings, beakers, mirrors, and plaques were certainly abundant. The bodies of the privileged, the walls of temples, and the chambers of burials literally glittered with silver.¹⁴

Although Spaniards associated silver with the Inca, Inca lords drew heavily on the more ancient metallurgical art of

Peruvian North Coast cultures such as Moche (ca. 200 B.C.–A.D. 600) and its successors, including Sicán and Chimú in the five hundred years preceding Inca imperialism.¹⁵ Some of the silversmiths who made Inca treasures were state-sponsored “transplants” (*mitmaq*) from the North Coast. But conversely Inca treasures were also highly regarded by many ethnic groups because the sovereign, or Sapa Inca, figured as the human-divine apex of a web of reciprocity spanning the known world. In an empire-wide sacrificial cycle called the *qhapaq hucha* (*capacocha*, or opulent redistribution), this web was mobilized in its totality. Gifts from every sacred shrine were brought together, recorded by Inca *khipu* (*quipu*) masters, and dispatched in consecrated caravans to the ends of Tahuantinsuyu, the “fourfold domain” that was the Inca Empire. Every local shrine received something; shrines that received human sacrifices also received silver figurines with rich, miniature textiles and feather crowns (fig. 111). Goods that had passed through royal hands transferred *illa*, so to speak. The movement of such treasure throughout all inhabited lands and into myriad sanctuaries made the empire, for its subjects, a real instead of an imagined whole.

No wonder, then, that during the first hundred years after the Spanish invasion the *curacas* (ethnic lords) of native groups that had lived under Inca rule counted Inca objects among their noblest belongings. Before 1600, native lords such as Alonso Maldonado of what is now Otavalo, Ecuador, and García Mamani of Tapacari, Bolivia, mentioned in their wills Inca legacies such as shell beads, gear for the royal hunt, known as *chaqu* (a great surround in which hundreds of beaters captured



Fig. 111. Cache of Inca offerings, including small ceramic dishes, gold and silver dressed male figurines, a spondylus shell necklace, and spondylus shell llamas, found at the *capacocha* burial site on the volcano of Lullailaco, Argentina. Provincial Government of Salta, Argentina



Fig. 112. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. *Powerful lords*, from *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 1615. Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen (p. 741 [KB p. 755])



Fig. 113. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. *Wives of powerful lords*, from *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 1615. Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen (p. 757 [KB p. 771])

wild vicuña to shear their precious fleece), diadems, and chest medallions.¹⁶ In 1574 don Diego Farquep, a nobleman on Peru's North Coast, left to his heirs a rich miscellany of noble metals, including, notably, gold and silver drinking cups known in Hispano-Quechua jargon as *aquillas*, pitchers, plates, and bowls, silver dancing crowns, rings, and a big nugget as well as two hundred silver pesos. Evidently the European idea of silver as liquid cash existed among natives at this time, but it still faced competition. Farquep also trusted in a pre-Hispanic form of liquid wealth, namely, beads (referred to as *chaquira* of shell or metal), and bequeathed six hundred strings of them.

When Farquep made his will, the colonial era was already four decades old. As it proceeded, concepts of treasure apparently broadened to include wealth as capital and wealth as merchandise, alongside *illa* wealth. Eight years after Farquep's will, don Diego Pilco Guaman's will emphasized his textile wealth, which included some Spanish-style gear (boots, gloves) but also feathers and a "new set of painted clothes," perhaps in the distinctive Chimú style. When don Diego Collín wrote

his will in what is now Ecuador, he included feather crowns and weapons and drums from Amazonia as well as Inca silver insignia. Yet within the same generation—meaning among those who had lived through the invasion (perhaps as children)—one finds native women of Quito building up their children's futures with eminently mercantile legacies of coinage and credit.

Heirlooms from ancestors might have survived the Conquest, but the wealth-giving ancestors themselves—that is, their mummies—proved hard to defend. Spanish law gave "pagan" treasure the same status as natural silver and gold, allowing looting of tombs as long as the "royal fifth" was paid.¹⁷ Even before the archbishopric of Lima proclaimed it a Christian duty to wreck pre-Christian monuments, Spanish looters had already emptied many a tomb of its tenants, along with their jewelry.¹⁸ About 1590 Reginaldo de Lizárraga knew from watching looting on the North Coast near Trujillo that "the [pre-Hispanic Chimú] put a great quantity of gold and silver [into tombs] but silver was in greatest quantities. There were jars and other containers and cups for drinking popularly known as *cocos*."¹⁹

The pillaging of “Indian mines,” as tombs were called, made some fortunes before 1600 and even occasioned prosecutions for tax evasion. The proceeds were usually melted down.

In the old indigenous order, amassing metal had mattered only insofar as it led to influence over people (for example, by cultivating their ancestors). As the historian Susan Ramírez comments, the transformation from “wealth in people to wealth in things” was gradual. Before 1600 great lords sometimes died poor enough to leave Spaniards “puzzled at the general lack of acquisitiveness.”²⁰ The reason was that such lords had tended to invest precious things in ritual gifts that brought returns in the form of labor and loyal obligation, which they sometimes treated as an inheritable good, assigning retainers to their heirs.

It was in the domain of personal property that Andean peoples found the most opportunity to conflate indigenous with transatlantic types of wealth. When Inca sumptuary controls loosened after the Conquest (only to be replaced, eventually, by Spanish regulations), formerly restricted royal insignia such as the *chipana*, a large silver bracelet, became more common. Colonial silversmithing, a highly regulated, even scientific, craft, with strict rules governing training and documentation, absorbed some “Indians” as full guild members.²¹ Embroiderers, too, paraded with regalia reflecting the pride of their guilds. Guild production, in turn, effected new cultural fusions. By 1600, as wills from the archives of Quito tell us, some daughters of both Inca and aboriginal lords had become fashion plates of an eclectic style that combined basic Andean garment design—the classic ensemble of a wraparound dress, or *anaku* (*anacu*), *tuqapu* (*tocapu*) belt, and large *lliclla* (*lliclla*) mantle²²—with milk glass and millefiori from Italy, velvets from France, lace from Spain and the Low Countries, and Chinese silks arriving via the Philippines. María de Amores, an indigenous Quiteña who had twice married in the mid-sixteenth century, each time to a Spaniard, left, among other fashionable treasures, two silver *tupus*, or Andean stickpins with chains, and a remarkable collection of wraparound dresses and wide mantles of silk, damask, cotton, linen, taffeta, and various indigenous fabrics. Pearls, corals, small bells, and shell beads encrusted her earrings and necklaces.²³

Similarly, we see in Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala’s drawings of Andean lords and ladies eclectic luxury clothes that represent an idealized dress code in which higher social rank correlated with Hispanicization (figs. 112, 113).²⁴ These sources suggest that only one generation after the Spanish invasion indigenous high fashion combined products from many parts

and peoples of the former Inca Empire as well as luxuries from other continents. This flamboyant, far-reaching amalgam of treasures, rather than any perfectable in-group ethnic style, seems to have been the preferred glory of the colonial “Indian” upper crust.

In silverwork, as in clothing, some of the finest luxury goods combined Andean functional concepts (e.g., paired vessels for reciprocal drinking) with European-influenced adornment. Splendid examples were found in the wreck of the galleon *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*, which sank near Havana in 1622.²⁵ Among the goods recovered from the *Atocha* are six pairs of *aquillas* whose dates could be substantially older than 1622 but that nevertheless are eminently colonial. One bears an Inca concentric rectangle motif interspersed with European rampant lions that could have jumped off a coat of arms of Castile and León (fig. 114).²⁶ The designs on the bowls, plates, and beakers recovered from the *Atocha* likewise seem to bend Inca precedents toward the various stages of sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century European styles.

In terms of personal wealth, symbols of Inca legacy long remained permissible and, at least in private, even glamorous. Where public and sacred wealth was concerned, however, Conquest and Christendom narrowed the options and increased the dangers of persecution well before 1600. As the colonial church became conscious of the persistence of pre-Hispanic cults and priesthoods, it tried to snuff out the sacred, or “idolatrous,” aura illuminating deified snowcaps, lakes, and caves and their enshrined treasures.²⁷ In Peru, as in New Spain, the clergy provided alternative objects of veneration: images of the Trinity, the Virgin, and the saints. After Spaniards destroyed



Fig. 114. European-style rampant lions on one of a pair of *aquillas* recovered from the wreckage of the galleon *Nuestra Señora de Atocha* (detail, cat. no. 28), before 1622. Mel Fisher Maritime Museum, Key West, Florida

the major shrines and pilgrimages they deemed glaringly “pagan,” which had formed the apex of the older Andean religious hierarchy, “rich indians” (a Spanish phrase), often in close alliance with Spanish *encomenderos* and clergy, filled the void by encouraging pilgrimages and dance performances to celebrate Catholic feasts and by patronizing local Catholic devotions.²⁸ These Andean Christian veneration occasionally projected “echoes” of Andean ideas, such as the habit of analyzing the aspects of divinity as siblings (like mummy “brothers”) rather than as the metaphysically unfamiliar and puzzling Trinity.²⁹ Meanwhile, in the countryside, Spanish campaigns of “extirpation of idolatry” inflicted whippings, arson, and prison on anyone who attempted, however innocently, to try to fuse the two symbolic cultures. Those who cared for Andean deities protected them by developing a code of clandestinity and separateness. They avoided offending the old gods by hammering Christian icons—icons of persecution—off silver coins before offering them up.³⁰ One religiously conflicted man, involved with both “idols” and Marianism, gave a remarkable testimony about how he battled an “evil ancient demon” in a nightmare. The symbol that may have touched off his nightmare was a Spanish silver coin. He panicked when he dropped it—accidentally?—in the presence of a non-Christian deity.³¹

Despite the burning of thousands of mummies, some Andeans went on believing far into the later colonial period that exchanging wealth with everlasting ancestors was the key to prosperity. Devotion to *illa* humans was perhaps the most deeply clandestine part of the new religious order. In the mountains near Arequipa, from 1748 to 1754, colonial civil authorities broke up a clandestine cult that sold permission to worship famous and generous mummies. The persecutors marveled at the lifelike tableaux of clothing and furnishings the worshipers had maintained.³² One dimension of this practice that the clergy failed to understand was that Andean worshipers thought they could solve religious conflicts by Christianizing mummies, even converting their dead. In Chachapoyas and in the Tarapacá desert of Chile, for example, mummies in their caves bore crucifixes or bulls of the crusade.³³

What we think of as elite colonial Andean styles are thus of double origin. They reflect a visual language of indigenous power and rank negotiated between Inca and Spanish societies, and an originally coerced, but eventually internalized, Andean Catholicism. Politics had everything to do with fusion. The long-lived tradition of colonial Inca portraiture, for example, an important source of information about colonial wealth, may have originated when Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (r. 1569–81)

himself reworked an originally quite unportrait-like Inca graphic symbology of royal descent into “family trees” and royal images compatible with the official Spanish version of Inca history.³⁴

Cloth and precious metals, too, became Janus-faced symbols of wealth. Whatever “Indians” thought about silver, Charles V and Philip II saw Peruvian silver chiefly as the means to pay for overextended wars against Protestant “heresy” and the Ottoman Empire. Peru’s silver wealth in mines and tombs struck Spaniard imperialists as a divine promise of solvency and religious victory. In 1572 Toledo sent Philip II various “idols,” including one that may have resembled, or even been, the Inca holy of holies, the solar or “day” (*p’unchaw*) image from the Qurikancha (Coricancha), Cuzco’s Temple of the Sun: “it is made of cast gold with a heart of paste inside the body of the idol and the paste, now dust, is from the hearts of past Inca kings.”³⁵ Another “idol” sent back to Spain, a six-inch-tall silver figurine, was accompanied by a cup, silver-headed maces, and other objects of lesser wealth. The Hapsburg lords of the Indies did, to some extent, recognize Andean aesthetic values, often incorporating pre-Hispanic artifacts into their *Wunderkammern* (cabinets of wonder). They also valued colonial artistic production, such as the set of Inca portraits Toledo had commissioned and sent to Philip II, suggesting they might serve “as cartoons for tapestries,” the most costly and precious of all European pictorial media.³⁶

Although Spaniards began ransacking burials for Precolumbian sacred wealth at the very beginning of the Conquest in 1532, it was in Toledo’s time that the state began to actively promote the assault on the dead. Motives included haste to destroy rival foci of allegiance and, with increasing urgency after Toledo’s years, a zeal to extirpate idolatry. The sleuthing lawyer Polo de Ondegardo thus tracked down and helped destroy the actual mummies of the Incas, while the “brothers” containing royal exuviae were likewise hunted down as even more treasure was seized. The last resisting Inca king, Túpac Amaru, was eventually captured and ordered executed in 1571.

Of course the consecrated treasures of tombs and temples made up only a small fraction of colonial metal output compared to the enormous production that Spain wrenched from the Andes using a mercury-based technology unknown to the Inca. Nobles throughout the viceroyalty had to comply with Spanish demands for forced labor gangs (*mitas*) to dig ever more silver from the bowels of the Cerro Rico, the “rich mountain” of Potosí.³⁷ Mining the icy heights in turn created huge demand for cheap woolens, and these, too, were extracted as tribute. The shady practices by which native nobles met these

demands tended to eat away at their legitimacy. Spanish-style village councils (*cabildos*), originally set up as artificial counterweights to deep-rooted indigenous dynasties, threatened nobles by becoming genuine, rival poles of leadership. Could *mita*-enforcing, horse-riding, wine-drinking, hosiery-wearing *curacas* still be the vehicles of productive Andean essences?

Astute native nobles as early as 1600–1610 responded by positioning themselves as channels to other sacred powers and as secular protectors. They became patrons of indigenous Catholic religious brotherhoods, for one, which served their devotees in many ways, including through networks of godparenthood and political protection, funeral benefits, occasional credit, and masses for souls in purgatory. Great native lords also lavished their patronage on paintings, embroidered altar cloths, and silver liturgical gear for their chapels.³⁸ Today rural churches in parts of the Andes still contain bells, altar-pieces, paintings, sculptures of saints, and chapels with inscriptions attesting such donations.

Sometimes Andean and Catholic sources of sacredness came to be experienced as complementary. As early as 1610, when some of the last people born before the Conquest perhaps still lived, Inca descendents had already begun reconstructing the dynasty's symbolic eminence as part of Christendom by parading for the annual Corpus Christi festival in costumes that impersonated the pre-Hispanic Inca kings. This was perhaps a covert gesture toward ancestor worship, which was otherwise no longer permitted. Even outside Cuzco, ethnic lords of rural communities contracted with painters (also usually "Indian"), gilders, architects, cabinet-makers, and masons to fill rural as well as urban churches with devotional art.

Many of these contracts survive, testaments to the indigenous largesse and skill that brought the arts of silversmithing, painting, and embroidery to their American apex:

February 21, 1703 . . . The master embroiderer Lázaro Pérez, a native of the town of Anta, subject to don Lorenzo Puma Inga, his *cacique* (native lord), contracted in the presence of the Protector of Natives and the translator, with don Asencio Uscamaita and don Juan Pichuhualpa, major-domos of the Brotherhood of Saint Christopher in the church of the same name, to embroider Saint Christopher's cloak and tunic. . . .³⁹

March 15, 1707 . . . Don Felipe Tito, a native of the Parish of San Cristóbal, contracts with the master painter don Juan Maras Mayta, for [the latter] to teach [the former's] son Diego Tito, for a period of four years. . . .⁴⁰

April 4, 1711 . . . Don Juan Cusirimachi, master silversmith, an Indian native of the Parish of Santiago, contracts with don Juan Fernández de Cabrera, also a master silversmith, from whom he receives all the silver stones of the niche of Our Lady of Solitude, of the church of La Merced; the said pieces being the forged plaques, the relief work with columns, cartouches, and other attachments, fitting the shape of the altar and in accord with the drawing which he has made. The work will be turned in with full perfection, in the term of four and a half months of the date; with 220 regular pesos being paid him.⁴¹

Carolyn Dean and Teresa Gisbert have studied the climax of Cuzco's colonial Baroque florescence under the patronage of Bishop Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo (r. 1673–99).⁴² Mollinedo envisioned Cuzco as an allegorical city, as had the Inca, albeit in a different way. He arranged its institutions to fill the streets with a wealth of pageantry: "the sons of the *caciques*" enrolled as students of Latin and Spanish in a special school, "dress themselves all in green, and carry the King's arms suspended on their chests in silver."⁴³ "Guilds competed to see which could construct the most elegant and unique temporary altar or triumphal arch [for Corpus Christi]. . . . Competition between native parishes was perhaps the most intense. . . . The *andas* [processional litter] as well as the statue and its dress represented a significant investment of money."⁴⁴ The indigenous Cuzqueños, already paying an inhuman levy by supplying mine laborers who returned poisoned and debilitated, if they returned at all, also laid out vast sums for the symbolic capital. In 1690 the priest of San Blas parish, which served 250 Spanish and 618 indigenous residents, reported that, despite the parish's having little income other than burial fees, he had installed during twelve years liturgical ornaments worth more than 27,200 pesos.⁴⁵ The creators hardly got rich on this; in 1693 Andrés Quispe and Pedro Gutiérrez were contracted at 20 pesos per large canvas to execute "twelve canvases of the life of the Mother of God . . . in the parish church of Santa Ana."⁴⁶

Such works relocated some Inca images and symbols into Christian metaphysics of power and wealth. Among the most striking surviving examples from Mollinedo's project is the famous series of Corpus Christi paintings idealizing the cult of the Host and its eponymous festival (see cat. nos. 116a–e). The identities of the painters are disputed, but probably all were indigenous.⁴⁷ The paintings feature five richly decorated, imaginary allegorical carts. Alongside these juggernauts replete with Christian saints and symbols appear local *curacas* wearing what seem to be reconstructions of pre-Christian

Inca costume (fig. 115). By Mollinedo's time (mid-colonial period), Inca royal lineages—but not all of the myriad noble lines of the many ethnic groups—had recovered great prestige as embodying glory and wealth. This mid-colonial Inca royalty was rigidly institutionalized: twenty-four Cuzqueños of royal descent, known as “electors of the royal standard,” chose those who would march in the Corpus Christi procession wearing the *mascaypacha*, the scarlet fringe (or frontlet) of the solar emperor, the Inca king. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, the elected “were regarded as the Andean equivalent of a European knightly order.”⁴⁸

This elite was particularly fond of portraiture, which now affords a clear image of how the Andean idea of wealth as sign, essence, gift, and legacy was reinscribed within Baroque Christendom. Colonial Inca *ñustas* (princesses) wore ermine-like shawls with *tocapu* borders, and they walked under the Inca royal parasol. Colonial Inca men wore the royal fringe, but no longer as divine kings. Rather, such insignia dubbed them allegorical figures of an ethnic nobility in fealty to king and pope. Portraits and images of the canonical dynastic succession of Inca kings made from the 1570s through the eighteenth century depict a regalia combining pre-Hispanic elements (the tunic, the pectoral solar pendant of gleaming gold or silver, golden earspools, the royal fringe, and the headdress adorned with metal) with some colonial inventions (sun medallions and maskettes on shoulders and feet).⁴⁹ Colonial Inca-style diadems likewise were topped by miniature silver or gold rainbows, flags, weapons, animals, and castellations and bore garlands of flowers and feathers.⁵⁰ *Queros*, resin-inlaid wood beakers, were another Inca art that retained glamour through colonial times.⁵¹ In Inca times these had been made in pairs, for reciprocal drinking with deities or venerated mummies. Late-colonial artisans still decorated them with motifs of Andean royalty amid flowers, parrots, and festive arms. As John H. Rowe has remarked, icons of Inca splendor enjoyed a strikingly durable mystique.⁵² They remained convincingly majestic more than a century-and-a-half after the imperial lineage had been reduced to “servant-princes” of the crown of Spain.

But outside this charmed circle of royalty, ideas of wealth were changing. The concept of *illa* seems to have lived on vibrantly in peasant ideas about wealth in the forms of crops, herds, and metals, but it was diluted or even separated from the concept of moneyed wealth in the mentality of native “social climbers” (as Karen Spalding has called them). As commoners became ever more bound into the transatlantic mercantile system, silver coins became part and parcel of



Fig. 115. Detail of *Carriage of Saint Christopher* (cat. no. 116b), showing the *alférez real* wearing a *tocapu* tunic, 1675–85. Arzobispado del Cusco

household economy. Modern Quechua retains such colonial currency terms as *real*, which has long since been replaced in official Spanish. Commoners collected silver goods both for show and as stable savings. Gourd maté cups with silver mounts and *tupus*, women's dress pins (which occasionally doubled as weapons against sexual harassment) were favorites. Many households owned silver or gold *tembladeras*, or “tremblers,” “a vase . . . whose paper-thin sides could be sliced or clipped to get a bit of metal to buy goods or pay debts.”⁵³ Francisco Guzmango, a seemingly humble “*indio*” who was a shoemaker's helper, died leaving “4 [silver] spoons, 1 saltcellar, [and] 8 silver bowls.”⁵⁴

There was one special locus where the economy and the mystique of silver reached a surreal extreme, namely Peru's mining capital Potosí, a royal boom town like none before or since. Exploding into sickly opulence at the end of the sixteenth century, Potosí had become the epitome of colonial splendor and corruption, teeming with *mita* laborers, mine entrepreneurs, traders, thieves, prostitutes, coca dealers, soldiers

of fortune, African slaves, food and wine merchants, and tax-delinquent natives on the run. In 1611 Potosí was the largest city in the New World, with 160,000 inhabitants of whom about 76,000 were “Indians.”⁵⁵ Bartolomé de Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela and the pseudonymous satirist-traveler Concolorcorvo, both eighteenth-century witnesses, saw Potosí as a caricature of Peru.⁵⁶ To them Potosí stood for grotesquely deformed wealth, where a Spanish bride might bring a dowry of 2.3 million pesos while her mine-owning father half-choked in his sleep from unventilated hearths. Careless in handling human life, Potosí was extravagant in displaying sacred imagery. A typical memento of its style, in the form of “a representation of the Mountain of Potosí in silver,” which was probably made for a silver-decked parade float like the ones Arzáns described, has been preserved in Spain (cat. no. 79).⁵⁷ Some Andean lords also grew rich on Potosí, and like Spaniards, they patronized its pomp.⁵⁸ To Andean laborers, however, a turn of *mita* in Potosí might well be a death sentence. Mining has a sinister place in the early phase of Peru’s “demographic collapse,” as Noble David Cook calls the terrifying depopulation of native communities in the early colonial era from epidemics, abuse, and migration.⁵⁹ It is easy to see why, even today, the half-devilish deities said to “own” underground metal are rich, but also chaotic and bloodthirsty.⁶⁰

For late-colonial second-echelon native nobles all over the Viceroyalty of Peru, pageantry continued to work as an investment in prestige. Pageantry, however, is not always a good index to politics. As the colonial era wore on, and especially in the century from 1680 to the neo-Inca rebellion of 1780, *curacas*, with their ever-accumulating portrait paintings, costly Spanish clothes, hats and swords, rugs with monkeys and parrots nested in European curlicues, and all their rich gear of jewelry, fine riding tack, coats of arms, and dishes of gold or silver, became less and less convincing as signs of legitimate leadership. The reason was not chiefly the fact that these objects’ designs often imitated Europe—colonial “Indian” aesthetics were nothing if not eclectic—it was that such ostentation reminded peasants of the nobility’s role in a life-wasting regimen of tribute, forced labor, forced sales, and corrupt legalism.⁶¹ Some *curacas* grew rich amid a pauperized Andean peasantry by operating primitive textile factories (*obrajes*). These existed ostensibly to pay communal tributes, but they also offered a way to tap public labor for private gain. Meanwhile, most *curacas* took less part in the unofficial, but genuinely popular, ceremonial order that conflated grassroots Christianity with Andean cults rooted in concepts of *illa*.

The same age that witnessed revolutions in France and North America also saw violent ferment in the Andes. In the eyes of many Andean people, Bourbon Spanish reforms (intended to modernize taxation) tore up the social contract that had created a colonial *modus vivendi*. Inca imagery and wealth played an ambivalent role in this upheaval. In southern Peru, Cuzco’s traditional royal pageantry, amplified by widespread reading of Garcilaso de la Vega’s *Royal Commentaries* (1609–17), with its eloquent reminiscences of an Inca golden age, still fostered the mystique of native glory. Even though Cuzco’s colonial royalty seems to have been mostly conservative, the Inca mystique could go hand in hand with antiestablishment anger. In 1666, for example, in far-off Ecuador, descendents of people who had bloodied Inca armies before 1532 rose up in joy when a half-Inca Limeño happened to be appointed to office in their region. His painted “family trees” were taken to prove kinship between local families and the divine kings of old.⁶²

By the middle of the eighteenth century, outright revolutionary upstarts were appropriating Inca titles and symbols. Meanwhile, many members of the genealogically genuine native aristocracy fell into the same disrepute as predatory “intruder *caciques*.”⁶³ But the greatest of the rebel leaders, Túpac Amaru II, did indeed have some genealogical connection to the royal house. For almost a decade starting in 1780, a revolutionary wave surged across the south-Andean Altiplano of Peru and Bolivia. For a time, followers of the new “Inca” sovereign, whose native and mestizo followers imagined a future Peru as a freestanding nation in voluntary submission to the Spanish crown, came close to dislodging the hated Peninsulars. But after years of warfare Bourbon troops, taking advantage of factional splits, captured and killed the main leaders.

In the aftermath of the “neo-Inca” rebellion, the display of Inca insignia, paintings, plays, and poems—virtually the whole material culture related to Inca identity—was declared contraband. In the four decades between the death of Túpac Amaru II and Peru’s independence, the modern equation of indigenous culture with political disenfranchisement and racial stigma began to take shape. From this narrow political viewpoint Inca history seemed to have come to an end; the idea of *illa* was at last severed from that of sovereignty. But since Spanish, and later Creole, supremacy was rooted primarily in cities, nothing, not even centuries of endemic poverty, has erased the Andean countryside’s stewardship of a peculiarly noble and intriguing idea about what wealth really is.

1. Gonzáles Holguín (1608) 1952, p. 679: "Tesoro. Ylla curi o collque, y yllasca, y atesorar, yllaycuni."
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 366, 661.
3. Lisbon 2001–2, fig. 1.5.
4. Julien 1999a, p. 74.
5. This ritual, a joint human-animal party, is commonly known as *señalakuy*. After the roundup, herds join in human sociability (by drinking corn beer) and herders join in animal sociability (by wearing harnesses, pretending to mount each other, etc.).
6. Taylor 1974–76.
7. Neither ethnohistorians nor ethnographers mention any legitimate sale of *illa*. If stolen, however, they are said to retain their power.
8. Lira (1941) 1982, p. 92; Harris 2000, pp. 72–73.
9. Harris 2000, p. 65.
10. Bubba Zamora 1996.
11. These corporations, or *panakas* (*panacas*), functioned in Inca society not only as custodians of certain rituals but also as political factions.
12. Carcedo de Mufarech and Vetter Parodi 1999.
13. Cieza de León (1553) 1959, p. 163.
14. Morris and Von Hagen 1993, pp. 225–29.
15. Bruhns 1994, pp. 175–80.
16. Abercrombie 1998b; Caillavet 2000b, pp. 445–52.
17. The "royal fifth," or *quinto*, was a 20% tax on newly extracted metals.
18. Salomon 1987a; Del Río 1990, pp. 107–13; Abercrombie 1998a, pp. 267, 269; Saignes 1999, p. 73.
19. Castañeda Murga 2002, p. 86.
20. Ramírez 1998, pp. 226, 228, 236.
21. Castañeda Murga 2002, p. 92.
22. Meisch and Rowe 1998.
23. Caillavet 2000a, p. 468; Salomon 1988, pp. 335–66.
24. Guaman Poma (1615) 1980, pp. 689–765.
25. Cummins 2002, pp. 178–88.
26. *Ibid.*, fig. 8.10a.
27. Duviols 1972; Mills 1997.
28. An *encomendero* was a Spaniard favored with a grant to extract tribute from native populations in return for implanting Christianity and stopping warfare.
29. MacCormack 1991, pp. 271–76; Gisbert 1980, pls. 85–87.
30. Arriaga (1621) 1968, p. 43; Harris 2000, p. 70.
31. *Huarochari Manuscript* (1608?) 1991, pp. 101–10.
32. Salomon 1987a.
33. Saignes 1999, p. 59; Urton 2001. As a fund-raising device, the church authorized clergy to sell bulls of spiritual benefit to buyers. Sometimes such sales were forced.
34. Julien 2000, pp. 57–58.
35. Julien 1999a, p. 75.
36. A small portion of the shipment was counted as treasure for the *Kunstammer*. See Cummins 2002, p. 4, and Cummins 2004.
37. Spalding 1984, pp. 129–35; Cole 1985.
38. Cornejo Bouroncle 1960.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 258.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 260.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 265.
42. Dean 1999; Gisbert 1962.
43. Mogrovejo de la Cerda (1690) 1983, p. 170.
44. Dean 1999, p. 93.
45. Villanueva Urteaga 1982, p. 235.
46. Cornejo Bouroncle 1960, p. 89. The work was to be completed between September 23 and the end of the year, that is, in about seventy-eight workable days, or approximately a week per painting. At that rate, the commission would have yielded, roughly, a little more than three pesos per day: probably a "rush" job. There may well have been an assumption that the master painter would employ helpers so the paintings could progress simultaneously. As for the silversmith, he would get something like two pesos a day. These estimates assume six-day workweeks and do not take festival days into account.
47. Juan Zapaca Inga, Diego Quispe Tito, and Basilio de Santa Cruz Pumacallao are strong possibilities. Both Cuzco and Quito housed important studios for Baroque sculpture and painting.
48. Dean 1999, p. 103.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 123–24.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 129–39.
51. See Cummins 2002.
52. J. Rowe 1951, p. 261.
53. Spalding 1984, p. 280.
54. Castañeda Murga 2002, p. 62.
55. Padden 1975, p. xxiv.
56. Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela (ca. 1700–1736) 1975; Concolorcorvo (1775–76) 1965, pp. 165–74.
57. Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela (ca. 1700–1736) 1975, p. 172; *Iglesia en América* 1992, pp. 316–17, no. 242: "Maqueta del Cerro de Potosí utilizada como Peana," 1719.
58. Murra 1978.
59. Cook 1981, pp. 163, 199, 208.
60. Harris 2000, p. 64.
61. Saignes 1999, p. 85.
62. Klumpp 1976.
63. Powers 1990.

CATALOGUE

Inca Antecedents

Inca art was an art of empire. Through conquest and alliance the Inca had expanded their realm, Tahuantinsuyu, north to present-day Colombia and south to central Chile. Within this vast region they introduced a homogeneous style of architecture, ceramics, weaving, and metalworking that was immediately recognizable to local peoples as *Inca*. Rarely was this imperial style intended to replace local traditions; rather, the Inca sought a distinct body of forms and images that expressed Inca sovereignty and ideals. Given the vast geographic area, rugged terrain, and cultural diversity within Tahuantinsuyu, the consistency and coherence of these motifs, techniques, and forms are all the more remarkable. What is equally noteworthy is that Inca imperial art was not concerned with pictorial expressions of greatness and power: images of kings and armies, vengeful or beneficent gods. Indeed, one cannot piece together Inca histories or myths by the images and objects they left behind. Instead, the Inca drew upon a select graphic vocabulary of mostly nonfigurative forms and motifs to craft a visual world of outstanding beauty that succinctly communicated complex social, religious, political, and aesthetic concepts to a broad audience.

To create and maintain their imperial culture the Inca built a series of large ceremonial or administrative centers and smaller way stations (*tambos*) that were connected by a vast network of roads traversing the empire, from the rugged Andes to the parched, sandy coast. Inca architecture was austere, defined by stark planar walls and carefully wrought masonry: stone blocks in the mountains, adobe bricks in the lowlands. Architectural elements such as trapezoidal doorways and niches were used throughout Tahuantinsuyu, signature features that instantly conveyed Inca power and control as one traveled the highways of the empire.

Even when built within or immediately adjacent to local communities and preexisting sites, such as at the ancient pilgrimage center of Pachacamac on Peru's southern coast, Inca centers were understood to be cultural spaces set apart from older traditions. Many early Spanish chroniclers describe how these centers would periodically be filled for ritual feasts, when local peoples and the Inca rulers could meet face-to-face. During these important occasions all aspects of Inca art were brought together, and the austerity of Inca architecture was offset by brightly colored textiles, shining works of gold and silver, and music. The Inca elite appeared before their guests dressed in their most luxurious garments and holding gold and silver objects, as they offered similar fine textiles and metal pieces as gifts to the local nobility (*curacas*).

As in their architecture, the Inca developed a distinctive style in textiles and metalwork. Textiles were (and still are) a primary expressive medium in the Andes, and Inca textiles manifest the imperial penchant for bold, abstract geometry. For the most part Inca ceramics, stone, and wood carvings were also abstract (we have some examples of stone animal figurines). Only in metal—gold and silver—did Inca artists tend to create images of things from the known world: men, women, animals, and plants. Spanish chroniclers marveled at a “golden garden” in Cuzco's Temple of the Sun that contained lifesize figures of llamas, cornstalks, and other plants and animals as well as gold sculptures of men and women. Smaller versions of these sculptures, dressed in miniature woven garments, were also interred alongside sacrificial victims in high-altitude ritual burials. Metal, itself a gift of the gods, was it seems reserved for representations of the Inca deities and the sacrifices made to them.

TC

1. *Dressed miniature figurine*

Inca, late 15th–early 16th century
Soldered silver sheet (figurine); tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid hair weft (garments); feathers and camelid hair (headdress); camelid hair (belt); camelid hair, bast fiber, and spondylus shell (necklace); silver (*tupus*)
H. 9 in. (23 cm)
Provenance: Llullaillaco, Argentina
Gobierno de la Provincia de Salta, Argentina (N-24)

REFERENCES: Reinhard 1999, pp. 40–54;
Reinhard and Ceruti 2000.

2. *Dressed miniature figurine*

Inca, late 15th–early 16th century
Soldered silver sheet (figurine);¹ tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid hair weft (garments); feathers and camelid hair (headdress); camelid hair (belt); camelid hair, bast fiber, and spondylus shell (necklace); silver (*tupus*)
H. 6¾ (17 cm)
Provenance: Templo de la Piedra Segrada (Temple of the Sacred Stone), Túcume, Peru
Museo de Sitio Túcume, Peru (R HL TPS 195)

REFERENCES: Heyerdahl, Sandweiss, and Narváez 1995, p. 109, figs. 81, 82; Finistère 1999, p. 66.

EXHIBITION: Finistère 1999, no. 70.

C*apacocha*, the Inca child-sacrifice ritual, was practiced only on the most solemn occasions and was dedicated to maintaining sovereignty, securing the forces of nature, celebrating particularly auspicious events, such as the birth of a king, and warding off sickness or other threats. We know that these rituals, recorded in minute detail by Spanish chroniclers, conformed to strictly orchestrated auguries and procedures.² The children selected to be sacrificed were considered the most beautiful and perfect manifestations of Inca society as well as its most precious gift: a member of the future generation. They were buried, along with other sacred offerings, in the frozen landscape atop the highest Andean peaks, which preserved them in astonishingly pristine condition.

Recent archaeological expeditions have unearthed remarkable material confirmation of *capacocha* rituals.³ Catalogue number 1, a silver female figurine dressed in ritual Inca garments, was found on Llullaillaco, a snow-capped volcano in the southern reaches of the Andes in what is now Argentina. At 6,729 meters above sea level, it is the highest and most recent site where *capacocha* offerings have been found.⁴ The figurine accompanied the burial of a young girl, who was also dressed in fine Inca garments.⁵ Several other miniature female figurines in gold, silver, and spondylus shell were found among the offerings, as were various miniature plates, vessels, and *arybollas* (Inca jars). A young boy was found nearby buried with similar generous offerings, among them a series of dressed male figurines, a feathered pouch with coca leaves, miniature vessels and plates, including a pair of wood *queros*, the Inca ritual drinking vessels, and small alpaca figurines made of silver and spondylus shell.⁶

Scholars and collectors have long been aware of these gold and silver figurines, many of which can be seen in museums around the world. Most of them have no secure archaeological context, and most are missing their garments. At the same time, sets of miniature garments without figurines have also been preserved in numerous collections.⁷ It has generally been unclear if these garments originally clothed a figurine and somehow became separated from them, or if they were made as separate items and were intended to be used without them. Conversely we have not, until recently, known whether most *capacocha* figurines originally had garments that were lost or discarded.

The recent excavations have demonstrated that, at least in ritual contexts, the figurines were, in fact, always clothed. Indeed, when intact these figures are now our primary resource for understanding how the Inca dressed. A study of their components has helped us to fill gaps in our knowledge, especially about how certain accessories were worn, including the *llautu*, or male head cord, the cords for women's *tupus*, and the feathered headdresses described by the Spanish chroniclers but rarely preserved from ordinary burials.

The figurine from Llullaillaco is dressed in a complete set of woman's garments: a

dress (*anacu*) held together by two silver dress pins (*tupus*); a woven belt (*chumpi*); a shoulder mantle (*lliella*) with its own silver pin (*ttipqui*); and a white feather headdress.⁸ Attached to the *tupus* is a braided and decorated cord with hanging pieces of spondylus shell (the Quechua names of the cord and the pendants are unknown).⁹ Each miniature item follows the design, patterning, and technique of a full-size item, and every detail is complete, including the complex looped *tupus* cord, with its diamond designs, and the characteristic chain-looped striped embroidery, in matching colors, along the edges of the mantle. The figurine's feathered headdress is formally identical to those (both miniature and full-size) found on *capacocha* offerings from other sites, such as Ampato, in southern Peru. The garments are composed of fine alpaca fibers and were constructed in miniature to the exact size of the figurine. Like the full-size garments worn by the young girl, they were woven in tapestry weave with bands of float patterns. They are also predominantly red and white, the most sacred Inca color combination. Red and white garments called *uncallu* were worn in a ceremonial context by the *acllacuna*, the chosen women of the Inca, as recounted by Spanish chronicler Cristóbal de Molina:

The Priest of the Sun, whose duty it was to give these dresses in the name of the Sun, caused all the maidens to be brought before him, and to each he gave a dress, which was red and white, and called *uncallu*; the *lliella* being the same.¹⁰

Like their human counterparts, these flawless figurines were given symbolically to the deities of the Sun and sky, including Illyapa (lightning) and Pachamama (Earth Mother). The recent discovery of identical figurines within the temple burials on Peru's North Coast—a region that was under Inca control but to date not an area associated with the use of figurines—underscores the importance and seeming ubiquity of these objects. Catalogue number 2 was found in the 1980s in the excavations of the Templo de la Piedra Sagrada de Túcume. Dressed in a red feather headdress and red and yellow *cumbi* garments, this female figurine was associated in an offering with a similar figurine made of



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spondylus shell and wearing a white feather headdress. They were found in a human burial adjacent to the door of the temple. As at Llullaillaco, two male figurines, also associated with a human burial, were found nearby.¹¹

It now appears that as the religion, language (Quechua), and other cultural manifestations of the Inca spread with their expanding empire, so, too, did their ritual objects. In the case of these examples we do not know exactly where the garments were made, but no doubt they were woven in one of the *acclacuna* and *cumbicamay* workshops organized by the Inca specifically to produce ritual textiles, and perhaps in one of the storied Highland weaving centers. They would have been brought from the Highlands, the Inca heartland, to the coast via

the long-distance networks that traversed the empire. The spondylus shell, which was a component of many Highland ritual objects, came from the waters off Ecuador. What is clear is that these figurines represented the finest available materials and craftsmanship and were integral to the complex and expansive social, political, and religious networks of Inca culture.

EP

1. Per Alfredo Narváez, in Heyerdahl, Sandweiss, and Narváez 1995, p. 231, n. 27.
2. See Duviols 1976, pp. 11–58.
3. See Heyerdahl, Sandweiss, and Narváez 1995; Reinhard 1999, pp. 40–54; and Reinhard and Ceruti 2000. For further reference, see n. 27, “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes,” by Elena Phipps, in this catalogue.

4. The excavation was carried out in 1999 by Johan Reinhard and Constanza Ceruti; see Reinhard and Ceruti 2000, pp. 96–99.
5. See *ibid.*, p. 177, photo. 23. Interestingly, the mummified girl had a folded boy’s Inca tunic with the “Inca key” design covering her shoulder.
6. Spondylus, a species of mollusk, was considered to be the favorite food of the gods. The shell was used to make both male and female figurines for religious offerings, which would have had their own sets of garments, as well as silhouetted alpaca shapes.
7. See, for example, the sets of miniature textiles now in the Brooklyn Museum, New York; the Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.; and the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología, e Historia del Perú, Lima.
8. See Lechtman, Parsons, and Young 1975, for a detailed explanation of how these figurines were made. See also Lechtman 1996.

9. Ann Rowe (1997, p. 23, n. 83) notes that early authors referred to shell pendants as *piñi*. She adds that Gonzáles Holguín and Guaman Poma both used the term; see Gonzáles Holguín (1608) 1989, p. 286: “piñi: Digas de indias que cuelgan en el pecho o joyas.”
10. Molina (1573) 1873, p. 40. The black stripes might indicate that the figurine represents a woman from the *wairuru* group of *acclacuna*, one of several such specialized divisions. See cat. nos. 3 and 4.
11. See Heyerdahl, Sandweiss, and Narváez 1995, especially pp. 108–9.

3. *Woman's dress (anacu)*

Inca, late 15th–early 16th century
 Warp-faced plain weave with warp-float
 patterning, camelid warp and weft
 Garment: 85 × 62½ in. (215.9 × 158.8 cm)
 Woven dimensions, three panels: 62½ ×
 29⅞ in. (158.8 × 75.9 cm); 62½ × 25 in.
 (158.8 × 63.5 cm), 62½ × 29¾ in. (158.8 ×
 75.6 cm)
 Provenance: Old Temple (Templo
 Viejo), Pachacamac, Peru
 Museo de Sitio Arqueológico, Pachacamac,
 Peru (MSPACH 595)

REFERENCES: Paredes Botoni 1987–88,
 pp. 25–27; A. Rowe (1995–96) 1997, p. 13 (no
 photo.); Roussakis and Salazar 1999, pp. 269–
 304, ill. on p. 287.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: composed of
 three panels seamed together. **Outer panels**
 (striped and patterned): warp-faced plain
 weave with three-span warp-float patterning.
Warp: camelid \wedge 104–28 per in. (yellow,
 purple, red, and green). **Weft:** camelid \wedge
 15–18 per in. (brown). **Center panel** (solid
 color): warp-faced plain weave. **Warp:** camelid
 \wedge 120 per in. (yellow). **Weft:** camelid \wedge 20
 per in. (brown). **Embroidery:** chain-looped
 and overcasting along edges; seaming with
 figure-eight stitching across panels.
Condition: excellent, with some broken and
 repaired warps (knotted during weaving)
 visible; fold lines visible. Wefts return in areas
 between plain and patterned sections for
 adjustment of tension.

This monumental *anacu*, or woman's dress, with its broad strokes of color, intricate patterning, and understated virtuosity, typifies the ceremonial garment worn by the *acclacuna*, the Inca “chosen women” who lived a cloistered existence spinning, weaving, and making *chicha*, the ritual drink. The *acclacuna* were grouped into four categories according to status, age, and beauty, and each category was associated with particular colors.¹ The predominant colors of this garment—red, yellow, and black (actually a dark purple)—indicate it belonged to one of the *wairuru*, an *accla* intended for and dedicated to the Inca king. *Wairuru* was a term used in the Andes to convey the concept of relative beauty; it is also the name of a red and black seed of the plant *Ormosia amazonica* Ducke, which is native to the Amazon region.² Padre Ludovico Bertonio's 1612 Aymara dictionary defines it as “cosa muy hermosa” (a very beautiful thing).³

This garment comes from the site of Pachacamac, the important oracle and pilgrimage center on Peru's southern coast that predates the ascent of the Inca.⁴ During their occupation of the site, the Inca built a Temple of the Sun to honor their own religious cults, which were distinct from the ancient oracle of earlier times. Hundreds of *acclacuna* lived in a convent, or *acclahuasi*, adjacent to the temple.⁵ Along the temple's southeast terrace was the “cemetery of the sacrificed women,” so named by excavator Max Uhle in his 1903 report because he found only female burials there.⁶ The site yielded many women's garments, among them red and white and red and yellow *llicllas* made of *cumbi* tapestry weave.⁷

This *anacu*, found on top of the Old Temple during excavations in the 1980s, is in much better condition than the garments found by Uhle.⁸ Its archaeological context has yet to be fully published, but preliminary information indicates that macaw and robin feathers were found within its folds.⁹ As a dress, it would have been worn with the patterned area oriented horizontally. The top, approximately one half to one third of the panel, would have been folded over the top, and the cloth then wrapped around the body and pinned at

the shoulders. Fold lines are still visible today, but they delineate a pattern different from what would normally be expected of a dress that had been worn. These folds, as well as the garment's near pristine state, seem to indicate that it was preserved as an offering—not as a burial garment—and was thus folded and refolded, according to Inca custom, into at least eighths, and possibly sixteenths, a practice evidenced in other Inca garments, notably men's tunics (see cat. no. 9, fig. 116).¹⁰

Although it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between dresses and mantles because of the lack of tailoring, several clues tell us this garment is a dress: the large size, for one; the inclusion of two sets of pattern bands on either side of the garment, arranged in overall mirror symmetry, with an asymmetrical disposition of the individual components of those bands; the position of the solid color band in the center and at the edges; the monochrome embroidery stitches around all four edges; and the construction of the garment out of three separately woven panels. These are all features associated with *anacus*, not *llicllas*.¹¹ Several very similar, complete dresses have been preserved, including ones found on the mummies of young girls sacrificed in the high-altitude *capacocha* ritual, such as the well-publicized “Juanita” from Ampato and one from Lullailloco that was accompanied by a miniature figurine in an identical dress (see cat. no. 1).¹²

Inca formats for women's garments have only recently been recognized, as so few examples have been preserved or identified. This large dress has tripartite division, with a large swath of solid yellow bracketed between two patterned areas with red backgrounds. Narrow bands within the red areas contain repeating “classic” Inca motifs: zig-zags and circles inscribed within rectangular units and constructed with float weave. Two sets of these bands are in each red-ground area, separated by solid-color bands. The two outer panels containing the design have a band of yellow along their inner edge that matches that of the central panel. When the garment is opened up, the design bands appear in mirror image; when the garment is viewed as it was meant to be worn, the two patterned areas and the bands fall into



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a rhythmic repetition. (It is possible to fold this garment in this way only because the textile is double-sided.)

The garment is constructed of three panels seamed together. Oddly, the panels are joined not at the edge of a color change, which could have helped hide the seaming, but are stitched within the yellow monochrome section. This may have reflected the restrictions imposed on the

width of the loom used to weave the panels; also, to make such a large garment on a single fabric web in tapestry weave would not have followed standard Inca practice. Exactly how they were woven is difficult to discern; it requires close examination, especially of the woven edges—the only true way to differentiate warp from weft.¹³ The panels here were woven in warp-faced weaving. One clue to this identification is that

the weavers, in order to adjust the differential tension between the solid-color and patterned areas, turned the wefts back shortly after interlacing the pattern areas; this could not have been done with warp yarns.¹⁴ One can see small V shapes where this occurs. It should be said that we know the Inca, in most circumstances, preferred royal and ceremonial garments to be woven of tapestry weave (that is, weft-faced

weaving), but nevertheless there are examples of garments that appear to have been woven in one method when, in fact, they are woven in the other (this is often seen, albeit on a smaller scale, in coca bags; see, for example, cat. no. 25). The only other *anacu* of similar size is also composed of three warp-faced weaving panels, but it lacks design bands.¹⁵ This dress may have served as a model for other garments, such as the tapestry-woven version of the mantle that would have matched the dress.

The difficulty of differentiating between weft-faced tapestry weave and warp-faced weaving methods is a reflection of the meticulousness of Inca *cumbi*-weaving techniques. In this example, hundreds of finely spun alpaca warp yarns are tightly packed together, with a density of almost two hundred yarns per inch. When the Inca made special garments for royal and religious purposes, both methods resulted in a similar appearance. (In textiles of more localized production, the differences are generally very clear.) The interchange between these two weaving methods, in which the design vocabulary of one technique is rendered using the techniques of another, is characteristically Andean, but only the Inca weavers perfected both methods to such an extent that the two are virtually indistinguishable. This dress, which is rightly considered a *cumbi* textile in all its complexity and splendor, is also evidence that the term *cumbi*, generally interpreted by scholars to mean tapestry cloth, was no doubt applied to other types of fine weaving as long as surfaces were perfect and finishing meticulous.¹⁶

EP

1. According to Santa Cruz Pachachuti Yamqui (in *Tres relaciones de antigüedades peruanas* 1879, p. 253; as quoted in Uhle and Shimada [1903] 1991, p. 93), the Inca king "had houses built for the four classes, *Yuraj ajlla*, *Wairuru ajlla*, *P'ago ajlla* and *Yana ajlla*. The first of these he destined for the Creator Pachacyachachij, the *Wairuru ajlla* for himself, the *P'ago ajlla* for the chieftains (the *apukurakas*) and the *Yana ajllas* for the common Indians." The *yuraj accla* was associated with white; the *wairuru* with yellow; *p'ago* with warm brown, the color of the alpaca; and *yana* with black, the color of the "common people." See also Cereceda 1986, pp. 133–231; Zuidema 1990, pp. 51–60; and Dransart 1995, pp. 14–15.
2. See Cereceda 1986, pp. 133–231.

3. Bertonio (1612) 1984, p. 157.
4. See Uhle and Shimada (1903) 1991.
5. An interesting note from the excavator indicated that the walls and floors of the Old Temple had been painted various colors throughout its history. In the late phase of the temple (A.D. 600–700), however, the walls were polychrome red, black, yellow, and white; Paredes Botoni 1987–88, p. 27.
6. See Uhle and Shimada (1903) 1991, p. 85; see also *ibid.*, chaps. 20–22, pp. 84–101.
7. Mantles from Uhle's 1896 excavations (published in 1903 and reprinted in Uhle and Shimada 1991) from the cemetery of sacrificed women now in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, were completely analyzed and presented by Ina VanStan in 1967. The majority of these mantles were deteriorated and had probably been worn as a single layer, unfolded across the shoulders over a dress, and pinned at the breast.
8. Paredes Botoni 1987–88, pp. 25–27.
9. Gallery label, installation at Museo de Sitio Pachacamac, 2000.
10. Ann Rowe (1978, pp. 5–28) was the first to publish this observation.
11. See A. Rowe (1995–96) 1997, for a convincing set of criteria for differentiating between mantles and dresses.
12. See Reinhard 1996 and Reinhard and Ceruti 2000.
13. This difficulty has occasionally stumped even the most expert of textile specialists. Even Ann Rowe, perhaps the person with the most experience in examining Inca materials, initially published a large rectangular mantle woven in the weft-faced tapestry method (Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.) as a warp-patterned piece, most likely because of its patterning (A. Rowe 1977). She corrects herself in 1997 (A. Rowe [1995–96] 1997, fig. 27).
14. My examination of the piece in March 2004 confirmed this.
15. Ann Rowe published another large garment (Los Angeles County Museum of Art [M.2003.78]) composed of three panels and made of warp-faced weaving; see A. Rowe (1995–96) 1997, p. 15, fig. 16. This dress is made of plain, striped panels with a solid-color center panel and was subsequently published in color in New York 2002b. I had a limited opportunity to examine it in the gallery of the Tribal Arts Fair, but I was able to confirm that all three sections were woven in warp-faced weave.
16. Sophie Desrosiers ([1984] 1986) has argued that *cumbi* weave encompassed warp-patterned weaving, particularly special ceremonial belts.

4. Young woman's or girl's mantle (*lliclla*)

Inca, early 16th century

Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft

Garment (folded): approx. 24 × 27½ in. (61 × 69.9 cm)

Woven dimensions: 43¾ × 27½ in. (111.1 × 69.9 cm)

Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd Cotsen

REFERENCE: A. Rowe (1995–96) 1997, p. 21, fig. 29.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: weft-faced plain weave with weft-float patterning. Chain-looped and simple embroidery along edges.

Warp: cotton 3-ply // / 30 per in. (white).

Weft: camelid / 140 per in. (red ["purple"], yellow, and brown). **Selvages:** warp selvages have chain loops on each side; weft selvages present. Simulated center seam. **Condition:** excellent.

This shoulder mantle (*lliclla*) was no doubt part of a set of ceremonial clothes—including a matching dress (*anacu*), belt (*chumpi*), and feather head covering—worn by a girl or a young woman from one of the special groups of Inca *acclacuna* cloistered in service to the Inca king. With its broad stripes of red and yellow containing two narrow bands of patterning, it is similar to the large dress from Pachacamac (cat. no. 3) and was probably associated with activities relating to the cult of the Sun or, possibly, with Illyapa, the lightning deity.

Although there is no associated archaeological context for this garment, its size, design format, and polychrome edge embroidery indicate it was probably a mantle intended to be worn by a young girl. Smaller versions of this mantle, similarly proportioned and patterned, have also been found on miniature female figurines associated with *capacocha* rituals. This garment—really not much more than a small rectangular cloth—has the tripartite divisions typical of women's mantles. It would have been folded along the center of the yellow section and placed across the back and shoulders, with the folded edges pulled to the front and pinned with a single mantle pin (*ttipqui*) across the breast. The pattern bands would have been oriented

horizontally, following the Inca custom for women's garments.

In the Andean Highlands, *lliellas* were traditionally worn as a single layer, unfolded and pinned together. It appears that the ceremonial garments worn by the participants of the *capacocha* rituals—the child sacrifice rites carried out at high-altitude shrines—were larger than those used for daily wear and were worn folded in half or nearly in half, as we see here. From archaeological evidence we know that this was the case for the mantles worn by the sacrificed girls as well as those put on the miniature figurines. We can only speculate that this was either a factor of the ice-covered *capacocha* mountain-top sites—double layers of densely woven alpaca cloth would surely have provided warmth to the young women on their sacred trek—or perhaps that the quantity of cloth was a sign of opulence which was itself part of the ceremonial formula.

Technical examination of this small mantle confirms it is made of tapestry weave and is composed of a single web of cloth. Moreover, the high thread counts and the fineness of the materials qualify the garment as *cumbi*. Narrow bands of weft-float patterning, positioned at one-third intervals along the garment's width, form the Inca zigzag-with-dot design that is found on other mantles of this type as well as on wood *queros* and silver and gold *aquillas*, the Inca ritual drinking cups. The finely woven cloth is finished with edge embroidery in red, yellow, green, and black stripes, the same colors found in the garment, and the same as those associated with the *wairuru* class of *acclacuna* (see cat. no. 3). Juxtaposed to the monochrome embroidery along the central sections of each side, the polychrome embroidery deliberately emphasized the corners of the cloth, an effect typical of these mantles. We do not understand the reason for this articulated corner, but we know that it followed an ancient Andean tradition that can be seen on garments dating as far back as the Paracas culture, almost a thousand years before the Inca.

The row of stitches down the vertical center, which appears to be a central seam, is a visual ruse, a false seam. Instead of joining two pieces of cloth together, the stitches “float” along the center of the single web, indicating that the design concept of this



4

tapestry mantle (and others like it) was modeled on Highland warp-patterned mantles that were always composed of two units of cloth seamed together down the garment's center.¹ The high degree of similarity among garments associated with *capacocha* burials—including their materials, colors, and methods of construction—underscores what must have been the exacting, sacred nature of the ceremonies and, therefore, the considerable importance of these precisely controlled details for the

successful completion of the ritual event. The “false” seam also speaks to the origin of the weaving tradition, which may have derived from more local artisanal foundations that were either suppressed or subsumed by the dominant Inca culture.

EP

1. Other mantles excavated at Pachacamac at the turn of the twentieth century and now at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, also have this false seam; see VanStan 1967.



5a, b

5a, b. *Pair of women's dress pins (tupus)*

Inca, southern Highlands, mid 15th–early 16th century
Silver, hammered
L. 6½ in. (16.5 cm) each
Private collection

REFERENCE: King in New York 2000–2001, p. 56, no. 28, ill.

EXHIBITION: New York 2000–2001, no. 79.

By the time the Inca had established their extensive empire along the Pacific coast of South America in the late fifteenth century, metals had been worked in the area for about three thousand years. Early Peruvian cultures, such as the Chavín (ca. 800–200 B.C.) and Moche (ca. A.D. 50–800), used metals primarily for the manufacture of personal ornaments for the elite, including elaborate nose and ear ornaments, spectacular headdresses, and grand pectorals. Most of these ornaments were embellished with a complex religious iconography in repoussé and cutout depicting a multitude of human and animal figures as well as fantastic composite beings.

The Inca also produced large quantities of impressive works in gold and silver, but most of their precious metal objects were made for use at sacred shrines and in royal palaces both in the imperial capital, Cuzco, and elsewhere throughout the empire. Only a few of them survive today, as most were melted down by the Spanish at the time of the Conquest. The Spaniards described seeing goblets, pots, tubs, and every other kind of vessel, as well as lifesize corn plants, sheep, and shepherds in the royal gardens, all of them made in precious metals.¹ The conquistadors also reported that Inca men and women of royal descent wore modest amounts of simple jewelry.² The only ornaments of precious metal worn by noblewomen were garment pins, made variously of gold, silver, copper, or bronze. There were two types of these pins: one was called *tupu* in Quechua, the language spoken by the Inca, and was made in pairs. *Tupus* most commonly have partial or full disks at the heads, as on these examples, and are up to eleven inches long. They held the dress typically worn by Andean women, called an *anacu*, together at the shoulders. A well-known drawing by the early-seventeenth-century chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala³ shows how two

tupus—joined by a cord that was pulled through the holes near where the shafts join the pin heads (now missing on most examples)—were inserted vertically through the fabric, with the pointed ends facing up. They were secured by wrapping the ends of the cord around the entry and exit points of the pins. The second type of garment pin, called the *tipqui*, was used to secure the woman's *lliella*, or mantle, draped about her shoulders. *Tipquis*, which were used individually, are usually shorter than *tupus* and were inserted horizontally.

Pairs of large *tupus* like these are rare. Since the woman in Guaman Poma's drawing is a *coya* (a wife of the Inca monarch), it is possible that such large dress pins were only worn by royal Inca women.

HK

1. Cieza de León (1553) 1959, pp. 144–47.
2. Cobo (1653) 1990, pp. 185–89.
3. Guaman Poma 1615, p. 120.

6. *Aquilla*

Inca, ca. 1500
Silver
H. 5⅞ (13 cm), Diam. 4⅛ in. (12.7 cm)
Private collection

REFERENCES: Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, pp. 80–81; Madrid 1999, p. 48; Cummins 2002, fig. 4.7a.

EXHIBITIONS: Madrid 1997, no. 1; Madrid 1999.



6



7a–e

7a–e. Five queros

Inca, ca. 1500

a. Wood (*Prosopis*)

H. 7½ in. (19.1 cm)

Provenance: Chile

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1996 (1996.225)

EX COLL.: Lil Garcia Benitez, Buenos Aires, 1967

REFERENCE: Burger in New Haven and other cities 2003–4.

EXHIBITION: New Haven and other cities 2003–4.

b. Wood (*Prosopis*?)

H. 5¾ in. (14.6 cm)

c. Wood (*Prosopis*?)

H. 3⅞ in. (8.6 cm)

d. Wood

H. 2⅞ in. (6 cm)

e. Wood (*Escallonia*?)

H. 2⅙ in. (5.4 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Bequest of Arthur M. Bullowa, 1993 (1994.35.8–11)

EX COLL.: Arthur M. Bullowa

REFERENCE (7b, c, and e): Burger in New Haven and other cities 2003–4.

EXHIBITION (7b, c, and e): New Haven and other cities 2003–4.

Tumbler-shaped drinking vessels like these—called *queros* when made of wood and *aquillas* when made of gold and silver—were a major artistic expression of Andean sociability and Inca political power. Always made in pairs, they were typically used in ritual celebrations to offer toasts of corn beer (*aqha* in Quechua). Both vessels in a pair had the same shape, decorative program, and size, and together they perfectly embodied the Inca social concept of Hanan and Hurin (two reciprocally linked parts) and the aesthetic principle of *yanatin*, in which completeness and totality is achieved through the mirroring of one thing in another.

The Inca gave pairs of *queros* and *aquillas*, together with fine tapestry-woven textiles, as gifts to *curacas* (local leaders) on various ceremonial occasions to acknowledge the relationship between local communities and Tahuantinsuyu (the Inca Empire). The

material (either wood, silver, or gold) reflected the status of the recipient within the socioreligious hierarchy of the Inca. Like most art works of Inca facture, they exhibit a unified and distinct visual expression, with a limited number of decorative, abstract geometric designs.

Queros were generally embellished with finely incised straight lines joined at angles to form sharp, rectilinear shapes. These patterns were typically arranged in two to four horizontal registers. *Aquillas* were either incised on the exterior surface or decorated using a repoussé technique, and many bear the same designs found on *queros*. The most common motif among them is a series of four to five concentric rectangles (cat. nos. 7a–c) that creates a dazzling, almost pulsating surface appearance. Catalogue number 7a also has a silhouetted animal, perhaps a fox, running around the vessel in a narrow band separating two larger registers of concentric rectangles. This animated animal motif is unique among extant Inca *queros* and *aquillas* and may have been made in a remote area of the empire, or perhaps in the colonial period.

All but catalogue number 7a have the same motif around the lip: a loosely representational design that has been given the unfortunate name of the “Inca key.” The pattern is the only representational motif consistently used by the Inca on this type of object. Even though the pattern echoes the traditional Inca linear, geometric style, one can decipher a series of characteristics in the lines that add up to heads and arms rhythmically repeating around the circumference of the vessel. Reduced to the most minimal, recognizable features, the diamonds or squares form the eyes and the wide rectangle forms an open mouth, which displays square upper and lower teeth. The triangular “head” structure is defined by diagonal lines that also form the outline of the arms. This last form is also commonly seen in Inca tunics.

The human features of the so-called key motif is actually a rather macabre element, as it recalls the punishment of the *curacas* who refused the offer of the Inca to become a part of Tahauntinsuyu: an offer initiated by gifts of *queros* and textiles. If the Inca gift was not accepted, the Inca attacked, and if successful they decapitated

the *curacas* and made their heads into drinking vessels and used their arms to beat drums made from their skin. The many vessels decorated with this motif—which ranges stylistically from the schematic to the comparatively representational—thus convey both the promise of Inca peace and the threat of imperial devastation. As symbolic objects used throughout the Andes and among all levels of social and political organization, these vessels were powerful, tangible expressions of the relationships among members of a community and between the community and its deities.

TC

8. *Llama figurine*

Inca, ca. 1500

Silver, cinnabar, and gold inlay

H. 9 in. (22.9 cm)

Provenance: collected by Adolph Bandelier on the Island of the Sun, Lake Titicaca, early 20th century

American Museum of Natural History, New York (B/1618)

REFERENCES: Bandelier 1910, pl. 58, between pp. 238 and 239, fig. 2; Washington, D.C., 1991–92, p. 597; Morris and Von Hagen 1993, ill. p. 181, fig. 168; King in New York 2000–2001, p. 55, no. 27, ill.

EXHIBITION: Washington, D.C., 1991–92, no. 455.



Before the Conquest Inca metalsmiths regularly produced many types of gold and silver sculptures, including three almost lifesize gold llamas sent to King Charles V by Pizarro in 1538. Today only a few smaller silver and gold pieces remain, such as this llama with a representation of a red cloth on its back. The hollow silver body is constructed in a rigid, hieratic pose: the convention for all Inca figural sculptures, whether of humans or animals. The sharp, angular shifts from vertical to horizontal—from muzzle to neck to torso, for example—reveal an almost geometric abstraction that creates a somewhat iconic representation of the llama. The sculpture thus serves not as a depiction of a particular beast but as a representation of a category of object, one with critical religious and economic value in the Andes.

Probably a dedicatory offering, the llama was found by Adolph Bandelier on the Island of Sun in Lake Titicaca, near a sacred rock that was said to have been the place where the Sun first arose. The blanket is a relatively unusual embellishment. When found the original red cinnabar was lost, and before the color was restored it was revealed that the gold diamond patterns are actually studs placed into the recessed surface of the llama, which was then filled by the red cinnabar.¹ The concept of a recessed surface filled with color can be seen in other media, such as colonial wood drinking vessels (*queros*), and reflects an Andean aesthetic in which a flat surface of color was embedded in an object, not thinly painted on the surface. The red was not solely decorative, then, but a signal of the llama's symbolic importance.

Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, who wrote a history of the Inca in 1572 based on indigenous sources, recorded that Manco Capac, legendary founder of the Inca Empire, was said to have referred to a llama called *napa* as “the principal ensign of our (Inca) sovereignty. The *napa* is a sheep of the country (llama), the color white, with a red body cloth, and gold earrings.”² Whenever the Inca sovereign left his house he was preceded by the *napa*. Another chronicler, Martín de Murúa, added that there were special weavers who made cloth for llamas that were intended to be sacrificed.³ Llamas were valued for both their wool and meat,

and the llama herds of the Andes, especially in the region around Lake Titicaca, constituted a great part of the local wealth. Many small llama sculptures similar to this one were found buried in the central plaza of Cuzco, and other llama figurines made of gold, silver, and spondylus shell have been associated with mountaintop *capacocha* burials. This example is the only known llama sculpture with its blanket intact. Much like the sacrifice of a real llama, this sculpture underscored the critical importance of this native camelid to the Inca and their empire.

TC

1. Bandelier illustrated the llama as it was found, without its red component. According to Judith Levenson, conservator, American Museum of Natural History, restoration of the red section was completed at the museum in the 1960s by Robert Sonin, who discovered traces of existing cinnabar. See Levenson in Washington, D.C., 1991–92, p. 597, no. 455.
2. Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572) 1999, p. 49.
3. For a list of specialist weavers, see Murúa (1611) 2002, p. 402.

9. Man's tunic (*uncu*)

Inca, late 15th–early 16th century
Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft
Garment: 35 × 29¼ in. (88.9 × 74.3 cm)
Woven dimensions: 29¾ × 70 in. (74.3 × 177.8 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1982 (1982.365)

REFERENCE: *Precolumbian Art*, sale cat., Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, November 23, 1982, lot 54.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with single-interlocking joins (no eccentric wefts), double-running stitch, overcast stitching, and cross-looped embroidery. **Warp:** cotton //∧ 40 per in. (white), horizontal as garment is worn; folded at shoulder line. **Weft:** camelid ∧ 144–200 per in. (white, yellow, red, green, and purple [black]). **Selvages:** chain-looped warp selvages on both sides; loops on one side doubled and chained. **Embroidery:** camelid ∧ (white, red, yellow, purple, and gold). **Condition:** neckline enlarged and mended in antiquity.

This Inca tunic, with its classic white ground and stepped diamond-and-cross waistband, was woven with the most luxurious materials available and represents the high-quality work of the *cumbicamayos*, the royal Inca weavers. In terms of design and material construction, tunics such as these retained special meaning for the Inca as one of the supreme achievements of their society. Woven in double-sided tapestry weave and embellished with double-sided embroidery stitching, the garment is identical front to back and inside and out and embodies all the characteristics of *cumbi*, prized by Inca nobility as a cloth “of two faces.”

Judging from groups of preserved Inca tunics with similar designs, we know that certain types were made with consistent layouts. Here we see a solid-color garment with designs along the waist forming a band, hence the term “waistband” tunic. These tunic types were culturally significant, and some of what we understand of their meaning comes from the drawings of Guaman Poma, whose systematic depictions of Inca nobility and colonial society are considered an important and accurate source on the social context of Inca garment design.¹ Interestingly, although Guaman Poma shows the Inca kings, other nobility, chiefs, captains, and *curacas* all wearing tunics unique to their social and political station, among his more than four hundred drawings of Andean life no one is seen wearing a tunic with a diamond waistband. These tunics have, however, been found in important ritual contexts, such as the high-altitude *capacocha* burials and at the sacred oracle temple of Pachacamac, so we know that they have religious associations, possibly with the Inca Sun cult.² Whether Guaman Poma intentionally omitted this type of garment—perhaps he was reluctant to depict them out of respect for their sacredness—or whether he was unfamiliar with the type—perhaps it was not used in the Cuzco region in his lifetime—is unclear.

In his seminal essay “Standardization of Inca Tapestry Tunics,” John Rowe notes that the diamond-waistband design is usually found on tunics with a white ground, most of which were made of cotton. In the coastal region cotton would have been a

commonly used material, as it grows naturally in that area's dry heat. It is difficult to say if the use of cotton in the majority of tunics with this design indicates that this type originally came from the southern coast instead of the Highland Cuzco area. It may be that the ritual for which these special garments were used originated with the Inca, notably their Sun cult, which they imposed on their subject territories, including the coastal regions, and that these regions proceeded to produce their own ritual garments with local materials.

The white ground of this example is composed of white camelid hair.³ Camelids are variously colored, and white was a rare variety treasured by the Inca. Creation myths recorded in the sixteenth century tell how the primogenitor of Inca civilization was accompanied by a white animal referred to as the *napa* llama, and white llamas were associated with the Inca king. Herds of white llamas were maintained by members of the royal household whose sole occupation was their upkeep. Yarns made from their fleece were spun and woven into garments worn by the king and given as sacred offerings to the Sun deity. White llamas were also sacrificed at specific ritual ceremonies, and according to sixteenth-century sources, "officiating priests also wore white garment[s]."⁴

The waistband of this tunic has a yellow cross with concentric stepped rings of red, yellow, green, and purple repeated across the band. Most other known examples of this type have a quartered diamond as their central motif, perhaps as a representation of Tahuantisuyu, the four-quartered Inca Empire. Although the yellow cross seen here is unusual, it is not unprecedented. In his sixteenth-century *Fabulas de los Incas* (Myths of the Inca), Cristóbal de Molina, a native cleric of Cuzco who gathered information on Inca religion, refers to a tunic called *uanaclla* that was black and yellow with a red cross.⁵ He describes another tunic called *nanaclla* that was worn by youths who had recently undergone ceremonial initiation into manhood in Cuzco. After they bathed in a fountain outside of town, they changed into this special garment, which, like the *uanaclla*, was black and yellow with a red cross in the center.⁶ We do not know exactly what these tunics may

have looked like, but their color and design schemes appear related.

Red, yellow, and deep purple (or black) were colors associated with sacrifice and ritual ceremonies. In the Inca color palette, purple often substitutes for what was intended as black, and often the color black (as seen in the black and white checkerboard tunics) is rendered in either a dark purple or dark blue (see cat. nos. 11, 12). Max Uhle interpreted the sequence of red, yellow, and black in women's garments as representing the *wairuru* category of *acclacuna*, the Inca "chosen women."⁷ Here these three colors are joined by a pale green, a combination identical to that of a large Inca dress found at Pachacamac (cat. no. 3) as well as a dress now in the Museo Inka, Cuzco (725). There are indications that the colors of garments were coordinated for particular rituals or ceremonial events. Since the *wairuru* colors in this tunic match those in the dress, it suggests that they were intended to be worn at the same ceremony or ritual affiliation in which women and men—*acclacuna* and priests alike—participated, all wearing their appropriately matching colored garments.

The technical features of this tunic evidence the extremely finessed, but almost excessive weaving and finishing techniques associated with the Inca *cumbi* standards, including tapestry weave with single-interlocking wefts adjoining each color change along the rows, numbering more than 150 wefts per inch. The zigzag embroidery along the bottom edge, formed of double-running stitches, and the chain-looped embroidery along the lower and side

seam edges are all double-faced. The neck opening was formed on the loom, with no cut threads. The tunic was made from a single loomed fabric that was folded at the shoulder line.

Fold lines visible within the body of this tunic indicate that at one time, and probably for a long period, it was folded multiple times into sixteenths to form a small square (fig. 116). Similar folding has been observed on other Inca tunics and would seem to indicate an ancient storage method.⁸ Many tunics were stored in *tambos*, the waystations maintained by the Inca, but we do not know if this diamond-band tunic was of a type that would have been so warehoused. Other tunics that are well preserved today must have been kept in cool, dry places—perhaps buried inside the stone boxes known to have been used in the Highlands—and that could be the case with this example. Few tunics or other organic materials from the Highlands survive from the Inca period because of wet environmental conditions there. Those we know of have been found mostly in burials or associated caches in Inca outposts along the southern coast, where the desert climate is conducive to such preservation. The Metropolitan's tunic does not appear to have been used in a burial, but it does have some yellowish staining that may be spilled ritual libations.⁹

EP

1. See, for example, Zuidema 1991b, pp. 151–202.
2. Johan Reinhard found an extremely rare related tunic type—a blue-ground waistband tunic with triangles rather than diamonds—frozen in a high-altitude burial on Sara Sara, a snow-



Fig. 116. Cat. no. 9, folded into sixteenths according to extant fold lines



9

capped peak in the Department of Arequipa, Peru. He presented photographs of it at the Dumbarton Oaks conference on the Inka, 1999. For fragments of diamond-waistband tunics from Pachacamac, see Uhle and Shimada (1903) 1991, p. 7 (photo.), fig. 20 a,b.

3. The Textile Museum has one complete diamond-waistband tunic with all camelid hair wefts and fragments of the waistband from two other tunics that are also camelid, not cotton.

4. Uhle (in Uhle and Shimada [1903] 1991, p. 93), quoting an anonymous writer of "Relacion de las costumbres antiguas de los naturales del Pirú" from *Tres relaciones de antigüedades peruanas* (Anonymous 1879, p. 184).

5. Molina in Molina and Albornoz 1989, p. 59.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 45. See Zuidema 1991b, n. 58. There is also a reference in the inventories of King Charles V to a textile with black and yellow crosses. See Cabello Carro 1989.

7. The *waiuru* classification, which comprised fifteen- to twenty-year-old women, was one of several categories maintained by the Inca.

8. See A. Rowe 1978, fig. 24.

9. The tunic was sold at auction in 1982. At that time the tunic had been folded inside out.

10. *Quero*

Southern Andes, mid- to late 16th century
Wood and pigmented resin inlay
H. 7¾ in. (19.7 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Bequest of Arthur M. Bullowa, 1993 (1994.35.12)

EX COLL.: Arthur M. Bullowa

Polychrome designs began appearing on Inca *queros* either just before or shortly after the Spanish Conquest. This is an example from early in the transitional period to polychromatic decoration. The overall design is divided into four horizontal registers, each with incised geometric patterns of concentric squares and rhomboids that repeat around the vessel. These are identical to motifs on Inca *queros* found in archaeological contexts. In addition to the incised patterns, however, larger areas of the surface have been excavated and filled with a substance called *mopa-mopa*, made from a resinlike exudate of a tropical plant mixed with pigment (see also cat. nos. 35a–d).¹ Essentially flat, solid geometric shapes,

these colored areas create a wholly different visual effect from the incised decoration.

In the top register the colored fields form the solid interiors of the incised, concentric diamond shapes, and they have a single orientation (horizontal). This kind of integration—color areas at the center of an incised linear pattern—is common in early colonial polychromatic *queros*. The bottom three registers are unique among known *queros*, and when viewed together suggest the implicit relationship between textiles and *queros* as understood by Andeans, who saw them as two parts of a single gift. Each contains the same motifs: solid-color geometric forms composed of two vertically oriented diamonds and three pairs of circular forms placed in the interstices. A “frame” in a different color outlines each solid form. The abstract composition can be read vertically, as a series of rows of circles and diamonds, but because each register is framed by thick, latitudinal yellow bands one also tends to read the composition horizontally, as if it were a rectilinear form composed of circles and diamonds. Furthermore, the placement of the color motifs in each register is rotated in relation

to the adjacent registers, so that one can read the registers together and discern a larger diamond pattern of color motifs framing the incised concentric rectangles in the central register. This multiplicity arises out of an extremely complicated design concept that calls upon the viewer to simultaneously recognize various interrelated parts and their place within the whole composition. The only parallel to this kind of intricate visual play is the use of *tocapu* in Inca textiles, for example, on the Dumbarton Oaks *uncu* (cat. no. 18) or the “waistband” *tocapu* on colonial *uncus* (see cat. no. 27). Indeed, there is no doubt that these complicated textile design concepts, whose meanings remain somewhat enigmatic, have been transferred onto this *quero*.

TC

1. For a technical description of *mopa-mopa*, see Howe et al. 1999, pp. 30–38.

11. *Man's tunic (uncu) with checkerboard design*

Inca, late 15th–early 16th century
Tapestry weave, camelid warp and weft
Garment: 33½ × 30¾ in. (85.1 × 78.1 cm)
Woven dimensions: 30¾ × 67 in. (78.1 × 170.2 cm)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; William Francis Warden Fund (47.1097)

REFERENCES: Cavallo 1960, cover ill.; J. Rowe (1973) 1979, p. 246, fig. 1; Stone-Miller in Boston 1992, pp. 172–73, pl. 63.

EXHIBITION: Boston 1992, no. 250.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with single-interlocking joins; chain-looped embroidery along side and lower edge, with double-sided running stitch in zigzag along lower edge above embroidered edge. **Warp:** camelid hair //∧ 30 per in. (natural “chocolate” brown);¹ horizontal as garment is worn. **Weft:** camelid hair ∧ 120–160 per in. (red, purple [black], and white). **Embroidery:** camelid hair ∧ (red, yellow, purple, and green). **Selvages:** chain-looped warp selvages on top and bottom edges; chain-looped selvage at neck opening; two weft selvage cords //∧ along lower edge of garment; three or four shots of balanced plain weave as heading. **Condition:** generally good, but fragile; burial stains evident; reinforced embroidery at base of neck opening and at end of arm opening.





11

12. *Miniature tunic (uncu) with checkerboard design*

Inca, 16th century
 Tapestry weave, camelid warp and weft
 Garment: 10¾ × 8 in. (27.3 × 20.3 cm)
 Woven dimensions: 8 × 22 in. (20.3 × 55.9 cm)
 Private collection

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with single-interlocking joins; chain-looped embroidery, with double-sided running stitch; overcast stitches along neck opening.
Warp: camelid hair \wedge 22–23 per in. (brown); horizontal as garment is worn. **Weft:** camelid hair \wedge 80 per in. (white, dark purple-blue [black], and red). **Embroidery:** camelid hair \wedge (red, yellow, purple, and gold). **Selvages:**

presumed present but presently fully covered by embroidery. **Condition:** severe fading on one side, presumably from exposure to sunlight; as a result, dark purple-black color has faded in this area to a brownish hue, a reaction associated with logwood dye.²

A Spanish eyewitness account of the capture of the Inca king Atahualpa in 1536—a signal event of the Spanish Conquest—describes the advance of the Inca army through the central plaza of Cajamarca, in northern Peru, all of the soldiers wearing their “livery in the color and manner of chessboards.”³ Among all of the Inca material artifacts that have been preserved, these “checkerboard” tunics perfectly manifest the conceptual principles of



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Fig. 117. Guaman Malque. Drawing from the Prado Tello dossier, pertaining to legal actions over land titles in the Chupas Valley near Huamanga, Peru, ca. 1560–1640. Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen

the Inca aesthetic: superb craftsmanship, strict geometric design, an identical front and back (and inside and outside), and meticulous finishing embroidery on all edges. The flanks of soldiers wearing them—part of an army that conquered more than four thousand kilometers of territory prior to the Spanish arrival—no doubt made a considerable impression on the waiting Spanish troops.

The Quechua term for these special tunics, *collcapata*, is glossed as “terraced hill with storehouses,” the same name given to the hill adjacent to the city of Cuzco where the monumental site of Sacsayhuaman is located. This fortresslike construction comprises a series of zigzag walls made of square-cut stones.⁴ The term *collica* also refers to the Inca administrative storehouses: stone constructions filled with reserves of checkerboard tunics, potatoes and other foods, and tools that were strategically placed along the network of highways spanning the length and breadth of the Inca domain.⁵ Scholars from the sixteenth century to the present have compared the checkerboard tunics, with their repetitive pattern of alternating color blocks, to architectural features of the storehouses (specifically their arrangement in rows) and

of Sacsayhuaman (with its walls of cut stone) and perceived a symbolic link among these various elements of the Inca state administration.

Unlike the military khaki used to make modern-day army uniforms, checkerboard tunics were woven of *cumbi*, the finest Inca weaving, and with the highest-quality materials available. A number of these tunics have been preserved—some bearing archaeological burial stains, as we see in catalogue number 11—and all are seemingly based on the same template: black and white alternating squares (in a checkerboard arrangement); a red, stepped neck yoke; and identical fronts and backs.⁶ The squares are generally aligned in ten blocks across (nine complete ones with an additional half square flanking each edge). The number of horizontal rows can vary, but typically between nine and eleven are present.⁷

Although checkerboard tunics are invariably described as being “black and white,” technically this is not the case, for rarely is the black of the tunics composed of a truly black yarn.⁸ Black was, perhaps, the intended hue, but black, for Inca purposes, was actually a very dark, saturated purple or blue made by expert dyers. The Inca specialist dyers, the *tulpucamayos*, were no doubt highly revered, elite craftsmen whose knowledge would have been passed down from generation to generation. Catalogue numbers 11 and 12 both have dark purple, not a true “black,” in the checkerboard. Because checkerboard tunics appear identical in design, to most observers they seem uniform in color as well. On close inspection, however, one can differentiate between the various tunics, in part because of how the “black-looking” color was created. The yarns used to weave these tunics are made of camelid hair from the alpaca and the llama, which sometimes are naturally black themselves. However, yarns tended to be dyed regardless of natural color because even dark natural fibers eventually fade. For the dyer, true black was generally achieved through a dyeing sequence in which the dyebath contained various types of plant materials, providing a source of tannin, combined with metallic salts, including iron. Chemical interactions in the dyebath, combined with the material components of the fiber, tended to weaken

the fiber and, over a long period time, cause it to disintegrate.⁹ This is why so many Precolumbian textiles (and others from around the world) that originally had brown or black in them are deteriorated.

The Inca, whose ancestor-worshipping cults preserved the mummies of their patri-mony, maintained their mummy bundles (*fardos*) wrapped in layers of clothing. Unlike other cultures that created mummies, wrapped them in textiles, and then entombed them, the Inca periodically renewed these garments for feasts and other ritual occasions. This occasional public display of the mummies, many of them generations old, could have provided their descendents with the possibility to observe the behavior of the various organic components of the garments over time and, in turn, inspired their replacement. In other words, the Inca must have gained some broader insight into the long-term preservation of these materials. Perhaps this enabled craftsmen to formulate alternative methods of color achievement to prevent this disintegration. This might explain, for example, why Inca garments are generally not dyed with Brazilin or other redwood or logwood dyes, which are unstable and fade rapidly.¹⁰

As symbols of the Inca administration, checkerboard tunics were distributed by the king to select subjects and represented a physical manifestation of fealty and loyalty to the sovereign. They were also made in miniature sizes to adorn figurines buried as ritual offerings alongside *capacocha* burials. Others were also buried en masse in ceremonial representations of the ancient lineages of the Inca:

In the middle of the square of Cuzco . . . they buried some small gold statues, each one about the length and thickness of one finger. . . . They made as many small squadrons as lineages of the city of Cuzco. Each statuette represented the most important lord of each of those lineages. After these squadrons were set up and put in order, all were buried under the earth by the wall. . . . Putting these statues around the font that way was an offering which they made to the Sun of the generation of the people of Cuzco and the lineages from the time

Manco Capac had founded it up to the lineages of that time.¹¹

A less common middle size of tunic has also been preserved that is too small to fit a young child but too large for a miniature figurine (cat. no. 12). It is possible that this size was intended to accommodate another kind of statue. Numerous reports by Spanish chroniclers describe sacred Andean shrines and stones (*huacas*) dressed in *cumbi* shirts. Juan de Betanzos, describes a gold statue the size and shape of a one-year-old boy that was given by the king, Inca Yupanqui, to the caretaker of the Sun, who dressed it in a tunic, placed it on a litter, and made offerings to it of food and *chicha* (maize beer).¹² We do not know if the tunic in Betanzos's account was a checkerboard one, but perhaps it would have been the same size of this small *uncu*.

It is possible that catalogue number 11, with its prominent burial stains, was originally intended to be worn, as evidenced by patterns of wear along the neck and arm openings, but was eventually used as a burial shroud for a mummy bundle.¹³ Although not related directly in provenance, catalogue number 12, if not made for a *huaca*, might have served as a covering for a companion to a mummy: the "brother," or ritual receptacle, that traditionally held the organic remnants (hair and nail clippings) of the ancestor when it was brought out on festive occasions. Both tunics are woven on brown camelid hair warp yarns. This might indicate that the weaving took place outside of the Cuzco area, where, traditionally, cotton warps were used for *cumbi* cloth. As the Inca tribute systems incorporated garments woven from a variety of regions, the use of wool rather than cotton might also reflect a contribution from an outlying region.

EP

1. Rebecca Stone-Miller (in Boston 1992) indicates the warp is 2-ply. According to my observations in 1998, the warp is 3-ply.
2. Several loose warp threads are present on the inside of the tunic, which indicates the outside was intended to be the finished side. The tunic has creases down the center and across the center, so that, if folded, it would

be square; this could have been its preserved state. The tunic has a join at the shoulder area; whether it was once composed of two units joined together, or if this was done as a reinforcement, we cannot say.

3. Xerez (1534) 1985, p. 110; see also Julie Jones in New York 1963–64, p. 7.
4. Zuidema 1991b, p. 166.
5. The Inca roads system crisscrossed the empire, enabling communication, via runners, from the coast to the Highlands in a matter of days. See Hyslop 1984.
6. The high quality of the weaving and materials, along with the strict adherence to this format, all conform to what we now understand as Inca standards. See John Rowe's pioneering essay on this topic ([1973] 1979), where he cites seven examples. Several more have come to light since that publication.
7. Stone-Miller ([1999] n.d.) has hypothesized that the lengths of checkerboard tunics were tailored to the persons wearing them. Those with extra rows of squares might have been given to taller soldiers, so that, when the soldiers were standing together in ranks, their garments would have formed a continuous line.
8. Truly black camelid hair has been used in some checkerboard tunics. These appear to constitute a related group of extremely finely woven, high-quality tunics that, in my opinion, came from Bolivia, possibly close to the time of the Conquest or even slightly after, and possibly made more as heirlooms than as actual garments. All of the tunics in this group that I have seen, which tend to be slightly smaller in size than other, clearly archaeological examples, are in excellent condition; one is now in the Dallas Museum of Art and several others are in private collections in the United States.
9. The affinity of the iron and tannin to bond with the fiber causes the fiber to become brittle and disintegrate, especially in combination with atmospheric oxygen; see Phipps (2000) 2003.
10. For this reason, it is of interest that the catalogue number 12 has, in fact, faded. It would be most interesting to conduct dye analysis on these Inca garments; see *ibid.*
11. Betanzos (1557) 1996, pp. 48–49.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
13. A mummy bundle in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, has such a checkerboard tunic as an outer wrapping (26626).

13. Man's tunic (*uncu*) with checkerboard design and butterflies

Inca (Bolivia?), early 16th century
Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft
Garment: 36 × 29 in. (91.4 × 73.7 cm)
Woven dimensions: 29 × 72 in. (73.7 × 182.9 cm)
Provenance: said to be from the Island of the Sun, Lake Titicaca¹
Private collection

REFERENCES: Gisbert, Arze, and Cajfas 1987, fig. between pp. 60 and 61; J. Rowe 1999, pp. 580–81, pls. 9, 10; Cummins 2002, fig. 7.4.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with single-interlocking joins; some curvilinear wefts and dovetailing joins. Edge embroidery with figure-eight, chain-looped, and double-sided running stitch. **Warp:** cotton / 32 per in. (white, not possible to determine if 2- or 3-ply); horizontal as garment is worn. **Weft:** camelid hair / loosely plied 160–200 per in. (white, brown-black [natural], red [cochineal pink], yellow, pale green-gray). **Embroidery:** camelid / (red, yellow, green, brown, and white). **Selvages:** warp selvage chained-looped on both ends; weft selvage has two cords at edge (two / plied \). **Condition:** excellent, with excellent color preservation; neck area recently restored.

14. Bowl with handles

16th century(?)
Wood (*Escallonia?*) and tin and pigmented resin inlay
H. 4⁵/₈ in. (11.7 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Bequest of Arthur M. Bullowa, 1993 (1994.35.28)
EX COLL.: Arthur M. Bullowa

The tunic (cat. no. 13) combines two iconic Inca motifs: the checkerboard, known in Quechua as *collocapata*, and the butterfly, or *taparacu*.² Black and white checkerboard tunics with red neck yokes are commonly associated with Inca army campaigns, but here, coupled with the butterfly—a creature related in Andean mythology to life, death, and transformation—the military significance of the garment is altered. Although it did



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maintain a protective and royal association, this checkboard tunic may have been worn in service not to the Inca king but to his queen.

In his 1615 manuscript Guaman Poma depicts two participants in the Coya Raimi, one of three Inca ritual festivals held throughout the year to herald important phases of the agricultural cycle. One

is a nobleman wearing a garment with butterflies, and beside him stands a captain wearing his checkerboard tunic. The association of these two icons is rare. Scholar Tom Zuidema interprets such a confluence as significant in terms of the ritual context surrounding the Coya Raimi,³ which was held in September, during the planting

season, as a celebration of fertility and growth. Coya Raimi means “festival of the queen,” and as the name implies it was held to honor “female” elements of Andean society, including the Moon and its lunar cycles, which were associated with the female domain (cycles of fertility, birth, and rebirth).⁴ In other drawings, Guaman



14, detail of handle



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Poma depicts butterfly motifs on both the dresses and mantles of Inca queens and on women shown in wedding scenes. Although there are several drawings and even some colonial paintings that show women wearing garments with butterfly designs, few actual examples, either from the Inca or colonial periods, have been preserved. (A fragment of what may have been a dress with butterflies is preserved in the Krefeld Gewebesammlung, Germany.)⁵ However, numerous butterfly-shaped *tupus*, the pins used to hold together women's wrapped garments, are known (cat. nos. 16a–c).

Although it is rare to see any naturalistic imagery in Inca objects, butterflies and other insects such as dragonflies and flies are occasionally found on items such as wood *queros* and ceramics dishes employed in ritual contexts.⁶ Tom Cummins, in his discussion of insects on Inca ceramics, has interpreted them as symbols of death and the soul.⁷ In fact, some Andean beliefs included an idea that the soul of the dead takes the form of a fly or butterfly, and particularly the black fly or night moth, which were often observed in the vicinity of dead bodies. The night moth, notably, with its lunar flight, would also have been associated with the Moon. That may provide a further association to the female domain, as underscored by Zuidema.

Only a few Inca men's garments with butterfly designs are known—all are tunics.⁸ One, in the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, is a small checkerboard example probably intended for a child (3397);

like this one, it has butterflies in a red neck yoke but the checks are brown and white rather than the more traditional black and white.⁹ Another example (Museum für Volkerkunde, Hamburg [52.57.340]) has a yellow neck yoke (an uncommon color, associated with the royal Inca successor prior to his accession) and black lower sections with butterflies inscribed in the squares of the *abuaqui*, the band ringing the neck yoke.¹⁰ A third, unpublished piece, in the Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin (VA 53037), is a beautiful fragment from the neck area of a finely woven tunic with remarkable butterflies.

This example embodies the finest royal Inca *cumbi* tapestry weaving: tightly spun and intensely dyed silky camelid fibers, exquisitely woven with the best Inca craftsmanship. On both front and back it has a red, stepped neck yoke with ten butterflies organized in four rows. The checkerboard includes nine squares across (with two half squares on either edge) and ten squares down. The four complete white squares along the lower edge of the tunic also have butterflies in them. All of the butterflies have a spotted thorax, curled antennae, and head extensions that lend a note of realism to an otherwise stylized design. There are three main variations on wing markings: linear motifs, circles, and a self-referential stepped and checkerboard pattern.

The *uncu* is composed of a single rectangular web of cloth, turned and folded at the shoulder, with the warp direction oriented horizontally across the chest, follow-

ing Inca tradition. The tapestry weave is double-sided, so that the garment appears the same inside and out; the front and back are also identical. Zigzag rows in double-faced running stitch are embroidered along the lower edge, an Inca convention seen on most of the tunics produced for royal manufacture, and the side seams are covered and joined with figure-eight embroidery in red, green, brown, and yellow.¹¹ The bright shade of the neck yoke is somewhat unusual for an Inca garment, in which red hues tend to be more orangish or blood-red.¹² It was achieved using the dye made from the cochineal insect (*Dactylopius coccus* O. Costa), which thrives in the warm, dry cactus-growing regions of the Altiplano.

Although there is no archaeological provenance for this tunic, heresay from the former owners suggests it came from the Isla de Sol, the Island of the Sun, in Lake Titicaca.¹³ Its physical characteristics are consistent with other high-quality *cumbi* garments produced by the expert weavers of this area, and the fineness of the weaving and the designs contribute to our assessment that this tunic is of Bolivian manufacture.¹⁴ It may have been produced at one of the renowned weaving workshops there, such as Capachica, which are mentioned in the Spanish chronicles as producing very fine checkerboard tunics. Many of the early Spanish chroniclers commented on the intense ritual activity on this and nearby islands involving ceremonies for the Sun and the Moon, and it is reasonable to

assume that this tunic was somehow used in them. The abrasion marks along the neck, which have been recently restored, indicate that the tunic was probably worn repeatedly. In fact, it is likely that this special tunic was worn annually on certain ceremonial occasions, like the Coya Raimi, and it might have been altered again and again to fit the person intended to wear it. How it was preserved—whether passed down as an heirloom or stored in a sealed stone container (similar to one in which archaeologist Adolph Bandelier discovered another important tunic from the Island of the Sun [cat. no. 19])—is unknown. Regardless, its pristine condition, especially that of the colors, certainly implies that the garment was maintained under optimal conditions (away from sunlight) for a long period of time, preserved for a future engagement when it would ensure and protect the fertility, life, and rebirth of generations to come.

Black and yellow butterfly motifs are inlaid into the handles of this wood ritual vessel. The handles are shaped like feline paws, and the butterflies are centered in the pads of each paw. The butterfly (*pillpinto*) and the powerful felines of South America were all creatures associated with myth and power in Inca tradition, and it is possible that this combination of imagery connoted power and transformation in the context of the particular ceremony during which this vessel, and whatever liquid it held, was used. A related piece in the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago (212001), has similar paw-shaped handles with butterflies, but it is also embellished with inlaid resin depictions of warriors, some of whom wear *uncus* with *otorongo* (jaguar) spotted pelt designs. Here the paw handle itself is “spotted” with small tin pins, a decoration that seems almost certainly associated with the jaguar.

EP

1. The tunic had formerly been owned by a Bolivian family since at least the early 1900s. It was first published by Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías 1987 as coming from the Island of the Sun and in the original photograph has what appears to be a silver head ornament within the framed textile mount, perhaps indicating that the two items had been recovered together.

2. See Bertonio (1612) 1984, p. 309: “*taparaco*: Mariposa mayor envas alas lon como de pellejo” (large butterfly with wings like an animal pelt). This provides an interesting association with the *otorongo*, or jaguar, whose pelt is also depicted on Inca and colonial garments. See also González Holguín (1608) 1989, p. 583, where *taparacu* is defined as “a large *mariposa*.” The Aymara term for a small butterfly is *callampatu* (*pillpinto* in Quechua).
3. In his analysis of the depiction of these tunics in Guaman Poma’s drawings, Zuidema (1991) demonstrates that the illustrations convey an immense symbolic significance and can be used to interpret the subtext of the iconography in Inca garments.
4. See *ibid.*, p. 188.
5. See catalogue number 15 for a discussion of this fragment (inv. no. 11115).
6. Insects continued to be used in the colonial period, especially on tunics with feline motifs at the neck. See cat. nos. 26, 27.
7. Cummins (1992) 1998, pp. 91–148.
8. This is relative to the more “common” types of Inca tunics, such as the plain black and white checkerboard tunic with the same red, stepped neck yoke and the so-called Inca key tunics; see J. Rowe (1973) 1979.
9. See Cummins 1988 and Pillsbury 2002, p. 83, fig. 16.
10. I am grateful to Tom Cummins for bringing the Hamburg tunic to my attention in 1994. Yellow was the color of the *mascaypacha*, the “royal fringe” that symbolized kingship and was worn, along with a royal red fringe, by the ruler-in-waiting. See Cabello Carro 1989 and Julien 1999a.
11. The zigzag embroidery rows have been preserved only on one side.
12. See Phipps (2000) 2003, p. 54, for a discussion of shades of red colors in Inca garments and their dye sources.
13. See Bandelier 1910.
14. The black color in this checkerboard field is a true black, from a naturally black camelid fiber, and not a dyed black color composed of an intensely dark blue or purple. This quality is associated with other Bolivian checkerboard garments.

15. Coca bag (*ch’uspa*) with butterflies

Inca, early 16th century
Tapestry weave, camelid fiber
Bag: 8 × 9 in. (20.3 × 22.9 cm)
Strap: 19 × 1½ in. (48.3 × 3.8 cm), with an additional fragment, L. 7 in. (17.8 cm)
Woven dimensions: 9 × 16 in. (22.9 × 40.6 cm)
Provenance: Pachacamac, Peru
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ethnologisches Museum (VA 53035 [bag], VA 53036 [strap fragment])
EX COLL.: Gretze Collection, 1907

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: **Bag:** tapestry weave with weft-float patterning (over three warps); single-interlocking joins. **Warp:** camelid (*vicuña*?) \wedge 38 per in. (chocolate brown); horizontal as bag is worn. **Weft:** \wedge 192 per in. (red, purple, yellow, gray, black, and brown). **Selvages:** three-cord selvage at top of bag. **Strap:** four-color triple cloth, plain weave, integrated (brown/beige; *vicuña* brown/white; red/red). Edge binding: tubular, needle-looped embroidery along sides and small portion of lower edge; overcast embroidery on top edge.

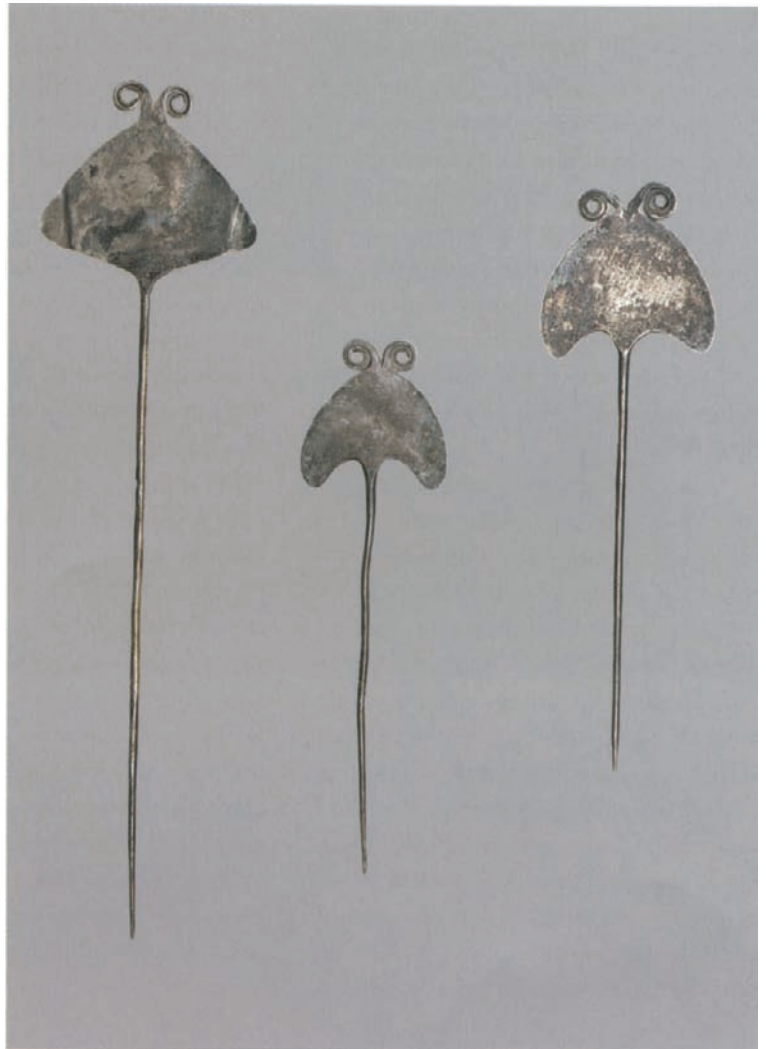
16a–c. Dress pins (*tupus*)

Inca, Chuquitanta, late 15th–early 16th century
Silver
a. 11 × 3¼ in. (28 × 8 cm)
b. 7¼ × 2 in. (18 × 5 cm)
c. 7½ × 2¾ in. (19 × 7 cm)
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ethnologisches Museum (63989, 1899.25951, 1899.25952)
EX COLL.: Baessler Collection, until 1899 (25951, 25952); Volker Collection, until the 1950s (63989)

For the Inca, butterflies, night moths, and other flying insects were liminal creatures associated with rebirth and the release of the soul after death. They were also associated with marriage and ritual celebrations revolving around the solstice. This coca bag, with butterfly designs woven into its pouch and strap, was a component of a ritual garment ensemble. It was used to hold coca leaves that were either chewed by the holder or given as offerings to the gods during times of prayer. Perhaps as a result of this ceremonial function, the bag is larger than the



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16a-c

standard, everyday coca bag, which men in the Andean Highlands carried with them to hold dried coca leaves. When chewed, the leaves stimulate the heart and thin the blood, compensating for the lack of oxygen in the high altitudes. Coca leaves and bits of spondylus shell—considered to be the favorite food of the gods, who were said to enjoy champing on the shell and making a “cap cap” sound¹—and *chicha* (maize beer) were part of every Andean ritual occasion. As offerings to the *huacas* and sacred shrines, they would often be placed on a special cloth or *mesa* (table), a practice that continues today in the Highlands, especially in rural herding communities that still hold celebrations and make offerings to ensure the fertility of their animals.

Records indicate that this unique bag, with twelve stylized butterfly designs on each side, came from Pachacamac, the great pilgrimage center on Peru’s south-central coast, near present-day Lima. We can conjecture that the bag would have been worn in ceremonies at the site by a man (but possibly by a woman)² wearing other butterfly garments that we know were worn during the Coya Raimi—the Queen’s Festival of the Moon, which celebrated the June solstice and heralded the planting season—and other annual events.³ As a metaphoric and symbolic image, the butterfly decorated special ritual garments as well as painted ceramic plates and vessels used during feasts and as religious offerings (see cat. nos. 13 and 14).⁴ Several men’s *uncus* as well as a fragment of a woman’s dress with butterfly designs have been preserved, confirming this usage.⁵

Coca bags were woven using a variety of techniques. This bag is *cumbi* weave, the finest of Inca tapestry cloth. The butterflies—with their antennae, heads, thoraces, and wings articulated and decorated—are aligned in rows, each set against a white ground, flanked by stripes, and divided by a row of zigzag-and-circle motifs, an iconic Inca design. Alongside their heads the butterflies have an enigmatic motif of squares with central dots on either side. The meaning of this design, which appears to be very specific, is somewhat obscure. We know of a Spanish term—*ojos*, or eyes—that refers to a small circle-with-dots motif that may

be related to the markings of the butterflies.⁶ The markings on the wings are complex but consistent among the twenty-four butterflies on the bag.

The strap (with sixteen extant butterflies) is composed of triple cloth, a complex weave structure.⁷ The unusual combination of a bag and strap with identical designs but constructed from two very different, equally fine weaving methods is an example of the virtuosity of Inca weavers. The two methods seen here were even woven on different loom types and, possibly, by different weavers. Nevertheless, both represent the finest Highland weaving. The bag was superbly completed by folding the tapestry-woven rectangular fabric in half and then stitching up the sides. The side edges were then covered with a complex, tubular needle-worked finishing technique and decorated with zigzags and O designs, mimicking the pattern in the bag itself. Following an ancient Andean textile tradition, the edging turns the corner but is absent along the bag’s folded bottom edge.

These *tupus*, made of silver and with stylized butterfly-head designs, are unusual compared to other, more abundant examples of Inca-period silver *tupus*, which have round or half-round ends.⁸ Little has been documented about them, but as we know that Inca ritual garments were often worn in sets, it would seem likely that they would have been used by women wearing garments with butterfly designs. All of these examples were hammered to shape.⁹ Each has a small hole at the base of the butterfly; a cord was tied through this hole and wrapped around the shaft, holding it in place and joining it with its mate. Typically the heads of the *tupus* would be placed in the downward position, so that the cord secured them, an important function considering they were the only things holding the dress together. The shorter of the pins could be a *ttipqui*, a type of garment pin worn horizontally to hold a shoulder mantle (*lliclla*) together at the breast. One can imagine the magnificent ensemble of a woman wearing her shoulder mantle and wrapped dress, held together by these beautiful pins, forming a unified image for the celebration of an important ritual occasion, or perhaps her marriage.

EP

1. *Huarochiri Manuscript* [1608?] 1991, p. 86 (par. 101).
2. Although it was uncommon for women to carry coca bags, Guaman Poma does depict several women carrying them. See, for example, Guaman Poma 1615, p. 175 (KB p. 173).
3. See Zuidema 1991.
4. See Bandelier 1910, p. 223 (ill.), pl. 54.
5. A small fragment of what I believe might have been a female garment with butterflies and insects has been preserved in the Krefeld Gewebesammlung, Germany (11115). I thank Sophie Desrosiers for indicating the presence of colonial tapestries in this collection, and Petra Brachwitz, conservator, for supplying photographs and catalogue information.
6. *Ojos* show up on Andean textiles in many forms. Ethnographically speaking, various patterns are today referred to with this term. See, for example, Silverman 1995.
7. The strap has deteriorated and is now in three pieces.
8. Besides this group, several other butterfly *tupus* are known. The Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología, e Historia del Perú, Lima, has several, as does the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge. I thank Heidi King, senior research associate, Metropolitan Museum, for pointing out the Peabody pieces to me.
9. The Ethnologisches Museum has several other butterfly-shaped *tupus* that are not in the present exhibition (including o662T and VA 448).

New Identities

On November 16, 1532, Atahualpa, the Inca king, met face-to-face with Francisco Pizarro, conquistador and representative of Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Spain. Although the Spanish captured, ransomed, and later executed Atahualpa, that alone did not establish Spanish control over his former empire. Many years of war ensued, with Spaniards fighting an indigenous resistance, as well as each other, for control of the Inca domain. Only in 1571, when the last independent Inca king, Túpac Amaru, was captured and executed in Cuzco, the empire's ancient capital, did Viceroy Francisco de Toledo set about organizing the new political entity called the Viceroyalty of Peru. As part of this transformation, Andeans were made to live in newly established towns so that they might be instructed in Christianity and Spanish mores and customs. These towns and devotional practices were quickly modified, however, to express not only Spanish but Andean concerns.

Viceregal governance incorporated existing indigenous hierarchies, particularly the native local leadership (*curacas*), who were critical to the organization and collection of tribute and labor. Being able to trace your heritage to noble Inca bloodlines afforded many privileges in colonial society, as recognized by Spain through petitions and legal offices. Since land ownership followed matrilineal descent, alliances arose between Spanish settlers and Inca noblewomen that helped legitimize Spanish control over a vast majority of the productive land and engendered a complex matrix of Andean mestizo and Creole society. An important early-seventeenth-century illustrated manuscript by Andean scholar Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala addressed the ills of this contemporary colonial situation as it also provided a detailed history of the Inca and the Spanish Conquest. Guaman Poma's drawings have provided a crucial Andean perspective on the era's cultural, political, and religious spheres, underscoring the complexity of the colonial Andean experience. Religious spaces and images were the greatest point of conflict and transformation, as evangelical missionaries attempted to turn native peoples away from "idolatrous practices." Inca statues of gold Suns and silver Moons as well as the mummified bodies of their revered ancestors were thus seized and either destroyed or sent to Spain. Christian images, many brought from Spain, the Low Countries, and Mexico, were then set up in their place. Soon highly skilled

Andean artists were trained to paint, sculpt, and build according to European norms.

Painting was largely a new type of artistic practice in the Andes, where there had been no sustained narrative pictorial tradition, and most work in this medium was directed toward fulfilling Spanish religious needs. Andeans, for their part, adapted these European-style pictorial images and strategies on objects that were of significance to them. For example, they began to decorate *queros* (traditional wood drinking vessels) so that they appeared to be painted in a European style, even though the technique was completely different and was derived from native traditions.

It is in weaving and metallurgy, however, that one sees some of the earliest and most imaginative reworkings and blendings of European and Andean artistic traditions. Long the most dominant expressive media of the Andes, weaving and metallurgy were also important to the Spanish, so it is no coincidence that one sees in them the most creative melding of the two cultures in terms of forms, styles, and techniques. Colonial weaving quickly integrated European motifs into traditional forms, such as men's tunics (*uncus*), combining the abstract geometric designs known as *tocapu* with European-style heraldic lions and eagles. Silver objects, too, combined Inca and Spanish motifs within traditional Inca forms. Such works were made for both Andean and Spanish consumption, and it is not always easy to determine the identity of a patron based on the cultural traditions from which a particular object derived. Inca-style silver vessels were made for Spaniards, as were fine tapestry weaves (*cumbi*) that combined Inca and Spanish motifs. Viceroy Toledo even commissioned Andean weavers to make several tapestries with his own coat of arms. Native Andeans with claims to Inca nobility also commissioned traditional Inca-style garments to emphasize their heritage, even if they were wearing them in the context of Christian celebrations and processions. Spaniards continued to scrutinize Andean workmanship for signs of adherence to native religious beliefs, but they quickly came to appreciate the artistic skills of Andean weavers and metalsmiths and to recognize the value of Andean forms. These early interactions in the sixteenth century evolved in the following centuries into a tremendous artistic verve that was directed toward various, and sometimes opposing, expressions and creations.

TC

17. *Miraculous Apparition of the Virgin in Cuzco*

Cuzco school

Cuzco, late 17th–mid-18th century

Oil on canvas

111.2 × 91 in. (282.5 × 231.2 cm)

Inscribed at base of painting: *Hallándose los conquistadores deste Reyno acosados de una multitud de yndios ynfielos y rredu[cidos a las pare]des de un galpón en donde su fiereza ynhumana le pego fuego por todas partes para acabar las Reliquias que los pocos Españoles cuando se dejó ver en el ayre MARIA S.S.N. como Divina Aurora esparciendo de su Glorioso Manto un copioso rrocio con que apagó la voracidad del fuego librando a los que se juzgaban miserable despoxo de sus llamas mostrándose flamante sol que a ynfluxos de sus Divinos Rayos deslumbró a los ydolatras de su cruel yntento despertándolos a las Primeras luzes de la fe tomando desde entonces esta Gran Señora con sus Divinas Plantas Posesión deste dichoso sitio consagrándole en cielo a su grandeza a cuiá Memoria y R[ecuerdo] erigió la piedad española este Magnífico templo. Sucedió este Mara[vi]lloso milagro el año de mil [y qui]nientos [treinta] y [cinco]. En [conmemoraci]ón de tal Patr[on]a. Acabose esta obra en [la muy] Ylustre Ciudad del Cuzco [el . . . de] Maio [. . .]; at lower right corner: *Introibimus in tabernaculum eius, adorabimus in loco ubisteterunt pedes eius. Psl. 131* (Psalm 131)*

Complejo Museográfico Enrique Udaondo, Luján, Argentina

REFERENCES: Ambrosetti 1910; Antwerp 1992, p. 275; Seville 1992, p. 243; Iriarte 1993, pp. 53–86; Burucua, Jáuregui, and Schenone 1994, pp. 319–25; Alcalá 1999, pp. 107–25; Alcalá in Madrid 1999–2000, pp. 179–80.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1999–2000, no. 15.

Miraculous apparitions, especially of the Virgin Mary and of Saint James the Moorkiller (Santiago Matamoros), were a staple of Conquest history throughout Hispanic America. One of those miracles, an apparition story of the Virgin in Cuzco, is the subject of this monumental painting, the largest and most ambitious composition on the theme that survives. After conquering Cuzco, Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro set out in 1535 to explore new territories, leaving Cuzco under the puppet government of Manco Capac II. Several months later, Manco II fled from the city and organized a massive Indian rebellion that resulted in a famous eight-month-long siege of Cuzco that extended well into 1536. The Inca set fire to

the Spaniards' dwellings, forcing them into the central square, where they crowded into a structure they had adopted as a rudimentary chapel. At that crucial moment the Virgin is supposed to have appeared, frightening the Indians with her brilliant splendor and blinding them with a shower of dust or hail (depending on the chronicler), which also served to extinguish the fire. Her miraculous appearance was a decisive factor in the battle, as the Spaniards were quickly able to reverse their fortune and reconquer the city while Manco II fled. Saint James was also said to have appeared during the siege in the fortress of Sacsayhuaman. Both Cuzco apparitions are included in numerous colonial sources, although, as scholar Pierre Duviols demonstrated years ago, the nature of the story evolved from an account of Spanish valor and resistance in the earliest chronicles to the miraculous narrative it is now.¹ The histories of José de Acosta (1590) and especially Garcilaso de la Vega (1609) were extremely influential in the evolution of the story, and it is likely that the latter's account, a "best seller" of its day, was the textual source that inspired this painting.

Although the story of the apparition of the Virgin became a staple episode in subsequent written sources, visual representations are few. Most—two small eighteenth-century paintings (Barbosa-Stern and Lechuga collections, Peru), a sculpted low relief in the convent of Santa Clara in Cuzco, and a larger painting in the parish church of Pujiura, also in Cuzco—are reductive in their compositional elements compared to the Luján painting, suggesting to various historians (but specifically José Emilio Burucua, Andrea Jáuregui, and Héctor Schenone) that perhaps they all derive from the latter. While the other works focus on the central theme of the apparition, the composition we see here includes an array of secondary scenes stashed into the broad landscape and cityscape that frame the miracle. Although the painting in the Lechuga collection contains some of these complementary scenes, they have been greatly simplified and schematized. More recently, another painting of the miracle has surfaced (private collection) that is remarkably similar to, if slightly smaller than, this version, raising important questions about

replication processes in Cuzqueño artistic production that are still in need of further research.² It also suggests that there were probably more works on this theme that have not survived. Their "disappearance" is perhaps explained by the fact that during the Independence period, many works representing the Conquest as divine providence were destroyed because the subject was considered uncomfortable and inappropriate.

On the right side of our painting, in what appears to be a place outside the city, Inca troops loosely gather, a possible reference to the organization of the rebellion, or conversely to Manco's subsequent retreat. At the upper left corner the fortress of Sacsayhuaman is represented in a schematic way. Below it, we see several houses connected by a winding path dotted with Inca figures. Although it is unclear what these "street scenes" are meant to represent, compositionally they function as a bridge between the site of the miracle, in the central square, and Sacsayhuaman on its outer edge. As they were the two sites of the miraculous apparitions, their joint presence is fundamental to the message of the painting. Although traditionally the apparition of Saint James was the one most visibly commemorated in Cuzco—Garcilaso mentions a mural with this theme on the exterior of the cathedral as early as 1560—we know of two examples in which the apparition of the Virgin was paired with that of Saint James in pendant canvases: in the parish church of Pujiura, and, according to the 1834–35 travel diary of priest José María Blanco, in the Cathedral of Cuzco, where they hung behind the choir until they were removed in 1825.³

Compositionally, this work exemplifies the problems presented by New World subjects, and the consequent originality of local pictorial processes. As it was a new theme, there was no exact print to copy, so the artist had to borrow elements, poses, and figures from a variety of sources to construct a new type of image. We know from the study by Burucua, Jáuregui, and Schenone that several poses of the tumbling Inca soldiers in the foreground relate to the work of Mateo Pérez de Alesio, an Italian painter who was active in Peru between 1588 and 1616. As they point out, it is possible that this relationship attests

to his role in introducing a large corpus of useful European print sources (Dürer, Michelangelo, etc.) in Peru. In other words, our artist is probably not copying a painting by Pérez de Alesio, but rather using a similar print source. Other aspects of the painting have entirely different sources, however. The overall compositional arrangement, with the Virgin as a centralized dominating figure and a group of figures reacting with surprise to her apparition in the lower portion, recalls conventional scenes of the Transfiguration of Christ or the Ascension of the Virgin. For the pose of the Virgin herself, our artist used the standard image of the Virgin of Mercy, who opens her mantle in a protective gesture. At the same time, other figures clearly respond to Inca pictorial iconography that was alive and well during the colonial period: several hunchback dwarfs in the painting recall *queros* imagery as well as the servants that appear in eighteenth-century portraits of Inca noblewomen (*ñustas*). The treatment of the native costume, with the rich *uncus* embellished with elaborate *tocapu* patterns, makes this one of the most valuable surviving colonial paintings for studying the history of Inca textiles.

The most problematic aspect of the work is its date. It was discovered in 1910 by the anthropologist J. B. Ambrosetti in an Argentinian convent of undisclosed location, but it was first studied by art historians (Burucua, Jáuregui, and Schenone) only in 1994. The latter have proposed a date in the first half of the seventeenth century and speculate that it probably hung in the old cathedral site, where the miracle was said to have taken place. Such an early date for any work in Cuzqueño art is questionable, however; the earthquake of 1650 destroyed much of what was there, and subsequent redecorating campaigns refurbished that which had not been destroyed, so it is extremely rare to find or to be able to securely date any Cuzco painting to that period. Endemic conservation problems in the area (recurrent earthquakes are just one among many factors) and occasional poor restorations further impede the use of stylistic analysis for dating purposes. It should be noted that all of the other surviving images on this theme have been dated to the eighteenth century or, at the earliest,

to the late seventeenth century.⁴ Stylistically it is difficult to find an early- to mid-seventeenth-century painting with which to compare this work, but it does seem to conform to some of the general characteristics of early- to mid-eighteenth-century Cuzco painting, especially in such details as the treatment of the anatomy of the two angels that hold the Virgin's mantle and the Virgin type herself. On the other hand, the apparently softer handling of color and line in this work may suggest that it belongs to a slightly earlier period, although, once again, such an impression may be faulty, as the surface is abraded and the work has undergone restoration.

Beyond a stylistic analysis, the information in the inscription and its original location may help to establish a firmer date. The inscription indicates that through her apparition, the Virgin took "possession of this chosen site" and that in her memory, "the Spaniards built this Magnificent church," suggesting that the painting commemorates the very spot where the miracle occurred. Despite some confusion as to whether she appeared in a place or tower-like structure called *Sunturhuasi* in the central square, Emilio Harth-Terré has clarified that the miracle occurred instead in Viracocha's palace, and that this corresponds with the old cathedral site.⁵ For Burucua, Jáuregui and Schenone, who rightly noted the importance of the inscription, this meant that it hung in the old cathedral itself, confirming their pre-1654 date. If we accept a later date, however, then it would have hung in what became the Chapel of the Triunfo, because in 1654 the new cathedral was completed on an adjacent lot and the old cathedral site was used for that chapel, which in 1664 took the form of an open chapel dedicated to a sculpture of the Virgin. It was rebuilt as the fully enclosed Church of the Triunfo that stands today only in 1730–32, when it seems more likely that a painting of the miracle would have hung there. About the middle of the eighteenth century, however, new paintings were added to the vaults, including one of the apparition, showing the Virgin descending on the rudimentary church surrounded by Inca *caciques* in elegant dress, but with neither soldiers (Spanish or Inca) nor any indication of a battle. As art histo-

rian Luis Eduardo Wuffarden has suggested to me, the Luján painting, a more combative image, may have been moved to the cathedral when these paintings were installed, and the version noted there by Father Blanco in the 1830s may even have been this one.⁶ In any case, that it belonged either to the cathedral or the chapel/church of the Triunfo complex seems quite certain given the subject and its relationship to the site, its ambitious artistic and compositional qualities compared to the other surviving versions, and the presence of its inscription, which is found in none of the other versions.

LEA

1. Duviols 1962, pp. 5–12.
2. Published in Mujica Pinilla 2002, p. 49. This painting is published with the date 1751, which appears on the canvas; however, according to Mujica Pinilla (personal communication) recent restoration suggests that this is a later addition to the canvas.
3. Blanco (1834–35) 1974–75, vol. 1. I owe this reference to Luis Eduardo Wuffarden. It is also mentioned in Vargas Ugarte 1956, vol. 2, p. 239, n. 176.
4. The Pujjura paintings were thus dated by Teresa Gisbert, for example; see Gisbert 1980, pp. 195–97, figs. 221–23, and Mesa and Gisbert 1982, vol. 1, pp. 50, 212, vol. 2, figs. 508, 509.
5. Harth-Terré 1949, pp. 29–70.
6. See note 3, above.

18. *Man's tunic (uncu)*

Inca, early to mid-16th century

Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft
30 × 36 in. (76.2 × 91.4 cm)

Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (B-518)

EX COLL.: acquired by Robert Bliss prior to
1954

REFERENCES: Bliss 1957, no. 373; Horkheimer
and Kauffmann Doig 1965, p. 141; Barthel 1971;
Disselhoff 1972, p. 181; Lubell 1976, p. 306;
J. Rowe (1973) 1979, pp. 257–59; Liebscher
1986, pp. 81–88; Levenson in Washington,
D.C., 1991–92, no. 451; Rowe and Rowe 1996,
pp. 457–65, no. 133.

EXHIBITIONS: San Francisco 1954;
Washington, D.C., 1961; Paris 1977; Washington,
D.C., 1991–92, no. 451.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave
with single-interlocking joins; some dove-
tailing and non-horizontal wefts. Edge
embroidery; chain-looped, figure-eight, and
overcast stitching. Missing double-sided
running stitch along lower edge. **Warp:** cotton
//\ 15–19 per cm. **Weft:** camelid ^ 98–108
per cm (purple, red, light and dark yellow,
gold, beige, green, and brown along edge).
Embroidery: camelid ^ (green, white, red,
and brown). **Selvages:** chain-looped warp
selvages on each side and on neck opening;
one side has a single chain loop, the other has
a chain loop composed of 2 warp loops.¹
Weft selvages are presumed present but are
completely covered with embroidery; 5 cords
at edges. Narrow brown section of weft at
beginning, ending and neck opening.
Condition: excellent state of color preservation;
some old repairs, torn areas.²

If the ancestors of the people called
Indians had known writing in earlier
times, then the lives they lived would not
have faded from view until now.”³ This
wistful reflection, from the preface to the
only known colonial manuscript on native
Andean religion written in an indigenous
language, is underscored when one is con-
fronted with this masterpiece of Inca
design: a tunic completely covered with the
graphically brilliant yet cryptic *tocapu*
designs. *Tocapu* were the geometric motifs
that the Inca incorporated into ceremonial
textiles and other ritual items, such as their
paired drinking vessels. (As a term, *tocapu*
refers to both the individual inscribed
designs as well as a group of them in gen-
eral—in other words, it is both singular

and plural.) Rigidly precise in form and
apparently symbolic, they have been con-
sidered by some scholars to constitute a
kind of graphic language, much like the
quipu, the system of knotted cords used by
the Inca to record administrative accounts
and histories. If not a “language” of signs,
then it is possible *tocapu* served as a similar
mnemonic device, requiring the “reader” to
fully understand the message they convey.
Today, though, *tocapu* remain frustratingly
enigmatic.⁴

In the histories of Inca culture recorded
in colonial chronicles, the origin of the
tocapu is attributed to Viracocha, the eighth
Inca king.⁵ In Guaman Poma’s 1615 draw-
ings of the dynastic series of twelve Inca
kings, all of the garments worn by the
rulers bear *tocapu* designs, but most of the
royal tunics have waistbands with two or
three rows (referred to as *betas*) of *tocapu*. In
Guaman Poma’s initial presentation of the
kings, only two—Viracocha and Topa
Inca Yupanqui, the tenth monarch—wear
tunics completely covered with *tocapu* (an
allover pattern). Both leaders are credited
with great feats of conquest that con-
tributed to the rapid expansion of the vast
Inca Empire and with the introduction of
“civilized” manners to Inca society. Farther
on in the manuscript, several other kings,
when presenting their deeds, also wear
the allover patterned tunics to mark
major moments of conquest and defeat.
Considering this, some scholars have con-
cluded that the individual *tocapu*, as worn by
leading empire builders, might have repre-
sented some regional association, possibly
as specific as clans, villages, or areas of dis-
tinct ethnicity within the empire.⁶ The
garment, then, could be interpreted as rep-
resenting a symbolic inclusion of the vast
array of peoples who were brought “into
the fold” of Tahuantinsuyu, the Inca name
for their empire. Like war trophies, these
symbols could have conferred to the per-
son wearing them authority over the
domains or lineages they represented.

This spectacular tunic is the finest of
all known Inca royal garments, and the only
Inca tunic with allover *tocapu* that has been
preserved. (Tunics with *tocapu* waistbands,
and fragments of them, are comparatively
more abundant.)⁷ There are 312 individual
squares that are organized on each side of

the tunic into twelve vertical columns and
thirteen rows. Among them are approxi-
mately twenty-four unique designs, with
each *tocapu* distinctly and precisely rendered
in fine tapestry weave. The individual
motifs are arranged with no obvious pat-
tern of repetition or sequence: a kind of
chaos contained within a rigid grid struc-
ture. A few of the designs and color com-
binations do repeat, and in others the
designs repeat but different color combina-
tions are used. Within the square units are
geometric motifs composed of lines, dots,
and zigzags, with some curvilinear ele-
ments.⁸ The units are sometimes divided
into three, four, five, or six parts; the
majority of them are quartered.

The individual motifs found through-
out Inca tunics constitute a kind of *tocapu*
design vocabulary that has become familiar
from examination of other Inca materials
that also contain *tocapu*, but only a few
specific motifs from this tunic are easily
recognized. One design here—the *tocapu*
with small, stand-alone squares in diago-
nally opposite corners and with squares in
the two other corners linked by a linear
element—is particularly significant. This is
the “Inca key” design, so-named by John
Rowe in reference to the “Greek key,” a
dominant motif found in many Inca tunics
and one of the standard “types” he dis-
cerned.⁹ This design is also found on *queros*,
where at times it appears as animated
hands and mouths (cat. nos. 6, 7d, e).

A unique feature of this tunic is the
tocapu depicting a black and white checker-
board tunic in miniature, replete with rep-
resentations of all the expected details of
the lifesize version, including edge embroi-
dery (see cat. no. 11).¹⁰ Checkerboard tunics
were provided by the Inca king himself to
elite soldiers; they were woven by royal
weavers and were kept in storehouses (*coll-
cas*) dispersed across the empire. They were
also made in miniature to clothe sacred rit-
ual offerings, such as the small gold, silver,
and spondylus-shell figurines used in the
capacocha ceremonies.

Many scholars have tried to map and
interpret the sequence and pattern of *tocapu*
motifs as they occur within this tunic.¹¹ All
concur that it is not possible to detect a
logical, arithmetical, or otherwise patterned
sequence. Considering that Inca culture



18, front

rigidly controlled the use of garments and garment design, and that diversity and randomness was the prerogative of the sovereign, R. Stone-Miller has concluded that this random order was itself the primary objective of the garment.¹² In my opinion the more important consideration is that the randomness of the design is countered by the rigidity of the columnar ordering system, creating a duality that is analogous to the Inca conceptualization of the social order imposed on the natural world by their empire. If, in fact, *tocapu* represent lineage groups, or members of regional hierarchies, then here we have a visual statement

of how the random “human components” of the landscape have been contained and structured within an Inca ordering system.

This *tunic* represents an exquisite example of the finest Inca *cumbi* weaving.¹³ With its finely spun and densely dyed polychrome yarns, woven in excruciatingly dense weaving, the tunic is unique among all extant Inca examples. True to Inca standards, it is composed of a single unit of cloth, woven sideways as the tunic is worn.¹⁴ The embroidery stitches along the side seams, neck edges, and lower edges incorporate the stripes and banding typical of Inca tunics, although like the rest of the tunic it is



18, detail of *tocapu* with checkerboard tunic motif



18, back

finer, denser, and tighter than other known examples.

Because of the uncharacteristically self-referential checkerboard tunic *tocapu* and the seemingly exaggerated use of *tocapu* overall—the “most Inca of Inca” designs—one could question whether this tunic represents the perspective of a colonial weaver trying to create the “ultimate” Inca tunic. All of the garment’s technical features, nonetheless—for example, the selvage treatment, fineness of weaving, and high-quality materials—point to an Inca origin.¹⁵ Lacking the key to decode the precise meaning of *tocapu*, we can only infer that,

for the Inca, this *tocapu* tunic was a physical manifestation of power and authority. It opens a window onto the self-conscious actions of Inca rulers, whose authority structures incorporated textiles and garments as a primary mode of political expression. Replete with emblems of sovereignty and power, this *uncu* truly manifests the Inca term *capac uncu*, or “rich and powerful shirt.”¹⁶

EP

1. I believe this is the finishing end, as it is also the section where the design motifs have been condensed as the weaver ran out of room.
2. See A. Rowe in Rowe and Rowe 1996, pp. 464–65, for a complete condition description.

3. *Huarochiri Manuscript* 1991, p. 41, translation by Urioste.

4. For various scholarly interpretations of *tocapu*, see: Barthel 1971; Jara 1964; as well as J. Rowe (1973) 1979. In Rowe and Rowe 1996 (especially pp. 463–64), John Rowe disputes the idea of *tocapu* as a form of writing, viewing them instead as a sign of rank. For the origin of *tocapu* from a textile perspective, see Solari 1983; Silverman 1994; and Desrosiers 1997. A 2003 conference at Harvard, organized by Mary Frame, Tom Cummins, and Gary Urton, examined *tocapu* in depth and from various perspectives.

5. Ann Rowe (in Rowe and Rowe 1996, p. 457) notes that Viracocha Inca was considered the inventor of “fancy textile patterns.” Sarmiento

- de Gamboa (1907, chap. 26, p. 59) said that these elaborate patterns were “called in their language Viracocha tocapo”; Duviols 1977, pp. 61–62; see also Dransart 1995a, p. 159.
6. John Rowe (in Rowe and Rowe 1996, p. 464) does give credence to the interpretation of *tocapu* as possible heraldic or lineage symbols.
 7. For an assessment of the layout of the *tocapu* and their repetition, see J. Rowe (1973) 1979 and A. Rowe 1978.
 8. See Rowe and Rowe 1996, pp. 460–61.
 9. J. Rowe (1973) 1979.
 10. Here, as is true for many Inca tunics, the color black is actually composed of a purple hue. The neck edge is woven as green.
 11. See Zuidema 1991; Rowe and Rowe 1996, pp. 457–65; and, most recently, Stone-Miller (1999) n.d.
 12. Stone-Miller (1999) n.d., forthcoming in the publication of papers delivered at the Dumbarton Oaks conference on the Inca, manuscript courtesy of the author.
 13. We can speculate that this tunic, because of its technical virtuosity, was woven in one of the famous Lake Titicaca weaving centers, such as Capachica, known from colonial sources to have produced the finest weaving. Because of the high-quality material and the high thread counts, I assume it was produced in the Bolivian Altiplano.
 14. See A. Rowe’s detailed technical analysis in Rowe and Rowe 1996, pp. 464–65, where she describes interesting aspects of the interlocking and dovetailing tapestry weave.
 15. The plain dark band along the bottom is unusual. We can speculate that it was left unpatterned and was intended to receive the typical zigzag stitching found on almost all other Inca tunics. No embroidery stitches remain there now, but there are small breaks in the area in a pattern that might suggest embroidery was once there.
 16. *Capac uncu* is a term used by Martín de Murúa (1611) 1987, p. 225.

19. *Man’s tunic (uncu) with tocapu and feline pelt design*

Lake Titicaca, mid- to late 16th century
Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid, silk, and metallic weft

Garment: 38½ × 30¾ in. (97.8 × 78.1 cm)

Woven dimensions: 30¾ × 77 in. (78.1 × 195.6 cm)

Provenance: said to have been found on the Island of Titicaca; purchased by Adolph Bandelier, 1895¹
American Museum of Natural History, New York (B1500)

REFERENCES: Bandelier 1910 (no photo); Crawford 1916, fig. 8; Lothrop 1972, p. 223; López-Baralt 1992, pl. 1; Cummins 2002, figs. 10.10a, 10.10b; Pillsbury 2002, p. 84, fig. 18.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with single-interlocking and slit joins; multiple horizontal slits as several rows of *tocapu* panels are stitched together, not interlocked.² At the shoulder line wefts are grouped and joined with a common warp. Chain-looped edge embroidery. Front and back joined together at shoulder; wefts grouped and joined with a common warp.³
Warp: cotton // 24 per in. (white [tightly spun]); horizontal as garment is worn. **Weft:** camelid / 128–144 per in. (red, purple, pink, green, yellow, white-orange, black, and green [in some areas only 96 per in.]); silver strip wound on white silk core \ ; silver or gold strip wound on yellow silk core \ ; old repair with silk. **Selvages:** all four preserved; warp selvage chain-looped at each edge; weft selvage composed of two pairs of warp cords at each edge; brown and black stripes along warp-selvage edges. **Condition:** very good; neck area shows signs of wear.

Tocapu, the enigmatic geometric designs of the Inca, constituted a cultural code in the visual language of Andean textiles. Covering the front of this tunic, they proclaimed the noble lineage and high authoritative position of the wearer. Whether mnemonic devices or symbolic references to status, geographic regions, or, possibly, ethnic affiliation, their presence on this colonial-period tunic is a testament to their sustained power to communicate concepts of Inca kingship and identity even after these concepts had been transformed (if not negated) by the Conquest.

Unlike most other Inca-style garments with a presumed colonial date, we can,

without hesitation, declare this garment to be of colonial manufacture because of the presence of the silver threads along the lower design band.⁴ Composed of flat strips of finely cut solid silver sheet wound around a silk-thread core, these were imported into the New World only after the Conquest. Ironically, it is possible that the silver they are composed of originally came from Andean silver mines, was sent to Spain to be worked into thread, and was then brought back to the Andes to be used in this new form. Although the combination of silver and textiles was used for centuries in the Andean region—specifically, the method of appliquéing silver plaques onto the surface of garments—wound silver threads woven into cloth was unknown prior to the Spanish arrival.

At the same time, the garment retains certain Inca features. The front of the tunic bears two characteristic Inca elements: a stepped red neck yoke and the *tocapu*. The red neck yoke is seen in many Inca-period garments, especially the black and white “checkerboard” *colcapata* tunics worn by elite Inca soldiers and others with *tocapu* designs in the waistband. The *tocapu* here evidence elaborate and unusual geometric patterning, some appear to be variations on a theme, composed of repeated small-scale designs inscribed within a square format in about thirteen basic templates. The only familiar *tocapu* is the “Inca key,” which is found at least once in every row. In the top row, at the shoulder, the final *tocapu* has been squeezed into place, distorting the otherwise geometric regularity of the composition.

Tunics with allover *tocapu* are rare. Only one complete Inca-period example has been preserved (cat. no. 18), and it counts among the finest of all known Inca garments. That tunic is covered completely, front and back, with *tocapu*, a design reserved for the most revered Inca sovereigns. This tunic, in contrast, manifests a dramatic differentiation between front and back, a distinctly colonial feature. While the *tocapu* designs cover the body of the tunic on the front, a spotted, jaguar-pelt pattern covers the back. The jaguar (*otorongo*) and the puma, the powerful native felines of the Andes, were particularly venerated animals in Andean culture, and their pelts were worn in rituals and ceremonies, many of which



19, front

were described by Spanish chroniclers.⁵ Feline attributes were also ascribed to rulers and religious leaders and assimilated into the cultural vocabulary. The sixteenth-century dictionary of Diego Gonzáles Holguín, for example, translates the Quechua term *otorongo bina runa* as “strong, robust man,” but it can be literally transcribed as “jaguarlike man.” In combination—especially when worn on

a tunic in a ceremonial context—the *tocapu*, an insignia of rank, and the jaguar-pelt design, a symbol of natural strength and power, create a masterful visual impact.

The lower border, running around the edge of the tunic, has an entirely different character. Composed of two bands of repeating rectangular units, it contains a series of naturalistic figures distinct from

the overwhelmingly geometric *tocapu* above. The majority of the figures are warriors holding weapons and shields. Each is shown wearing a distinctive tunic and headgear and in a stance of either submission or aggression.⁶ One can “read” the designs, which have a somewhat narrative character, as images of victory and defeat alongside triumph and celebration.



19, back

Scattered among the series are vignettes with felines and arrow-pierced hearts.⁷ Among the felines there is an interesting contrast between two different depictions: the European-style rampant lion and the spotted feline, probably an Andean jaguar, depicted in a splayed position, with its four paws outstretched.⁸ The rampant lions, with their curled tongues extended, share

space either with the Andean warriors or with the pierced-heart motif, a pairing that repeats several times. Most of the paired warriors, in contrast, do not repeat, although some can be found individually in different scenes and in different combinations.

Among the forty-four sets of images sequenced around the front and back of the tunic are approximately eighteen

different warrior groups, each with variations in their tunics, headgear, and weapons.⁹ The tunics include a variety of designs and colors, some recognizable from extant Inca examples, such as the black and white checkerboard tunics with the V-neck yoke design. This same tunic is depicted as a *tocapu* motif in catalogue number 18. The warrior wearing a feathered *borla*



19, detail of lower border

(wrapped head cord) and black and white checkerboard tunic is found in various configurations: in one unit as a pair, and in another with the pierced heart, and yet another being captured by the bow-and-arrow-wielding warrior with a horizontally shaped hat.

Although the narrative quality of the figurative lower border may be considered a European influence (there are no such Inca representations), the pairing of figures, and their sequential but nonrepeating, almost iconic presentation within regular, rectangular enclosures, like the *tocapu*, is distinctly Andean. The images themselves include only Andean-type warriors (not Spanish conquistadors), although the European-style heraldic lion has a strong presence. (This narrative quality is also found on colonial-era *queros*, which, like textiles, shift after the Conquest from primarily geometric designs to populated, narrative scenes [see cat. nos. 35a–d].)¹⁰ It is here, in this border, that we find the silver threads. The decoding of the lower bands might actually assist in an understanding of the purpose for which this unique garment was made. Perhaps the reading of these designs as a series of vignettes was akin to the reading of the *quipu*, the knotted cords used by the Inca as a mnemonic device to recount the deeds and history of conquest and victory. This is only speculation, though; the original owner, don Miguel Garcés,

thought that it had been made as a wedding tunic.¹¹

Adolph Bandelier purchased this tunic for the American Museum of Natural History in 1895, along with the stone box in which it had supposedly been preserved. He considered this tunic, along with five others he acquired at that time, as incomparable examples of the form. In a letter to the museum's director when the tunics were acquired, assistant curator M. H. Saville judged them "the most important feature of the collection . . . which cannot be adequately described and must be seen to be appreciated."¹² In Quechua this tunic might well be described as a *capac uncu*, a "rich and powerful shirt," such as the one Martín de Murúa said was given as a special welcoming gift to Pizarro by the Inca king Atahualpa prior to his capture at Cajamarca.¹³

EP

1. Bandelier (1910, p. 221) said the tunic was found "on the southern slope of Muro-kato, near 'Chucaripu-pata.' A few inches below the surface was found a stone chest, now at the Museum, which contained a most remarkably beautiful poncho." Chucaripupata lies at the northwest end of the Island of Titicaca. The museum's inventory of July 29, 1896, indicates that the "poncho" to be numbered B1500 was "found in 1501 [the stone chest] Island of Titicaca (near sacred rock)." The stone container is also in the museum's collection (B-

1501). See J. Rowe (1973) 1979, p. 243, for further comments.

2. These slits are very uncommon for this type of tapestry weaving.
3. Although the shoulder join clearly shows the grouping of wefts from front and back, it appears that the two sides may have been woven separately and then joined together. It is likely, however, that the two panels were made at the same time; the join is visible because it is not interlocked, and because of the radical color differences between front and back.
4. Judging from technical features, including the use of chained warps at the beginning and ending of the weave, I would postulate that it was made close to the time of the Conquest.
5. See Zuidema 1983, pp. 39–100.
6. Weapons include long staffs (with or without decorative fringes) with blades (*bacha* or *conga cuchunga*) and pointed or macelike ends (*guaman chambi*), as well as bows and arrows. Several warriors hold shields (*ualcanca*) in their hands, all composed of generic, small rectangles with no clearly defined iconography.
7. The hearts would generally be considered Christian symbols, but here, in the graphic depiction of the wound with its weapon, it appears more as a battle reference.
8. See Zuidema 1985, pp. 183–250, especially pp. 228–35.
9. The headgear variants include tall, pointed hats, rounded hats with bands wrapped around them and a pronounced protrusion above the ears, and square hats with or without two or three feathers on the top.
10. See Cummins 2002.
11. AMNH registrar inventory, dated Lima, Peru, June 11, 1896. I thank Vuka Roussakis for providing a copy of this document.
12. M. H. Saville, assistant curator, Anthropology Department, August 31, 1896, to Morris Jesup, president, American Museum of Natural History, archives, American Museum of Natural History.
13. Murúa (1611) 1987, p. 225.



20

20. Plate

Potosí, before 1622

Silver, incised

Diam. approx. 8 in. (20.3 cm)

Provenance: salvaged from the wreck of the galleon *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*, 1985
Mel Fisher Maritime Museum, Key West, Florida (A85-210)

REFERENCE: Cummins 1998, pp. 91–148.

Several Inca vessel forms continued to be used well into the colonial period, but this silver dish, recovered from the 1622 shipwreck of the galleon *Nuestra Señora de Atocha* off Key West, Florida, is unique. The form of the dish derives from a more commonly known, shallow round ceramic food plate (or dish) found throughout the archaeological sites of the Inca Empire. There were presumably Inca plates made of silver and gold, but no Inca example of this size has survived.

Inca ceramic plates often have a stripe, or band, painted along the diameter in the interior, running from a small handle on one side to another handle on the other. The *Atocha* plate follows this format—with

a central band composed of two registers of loosely formed *tocapu*—but the band does not reach across the entire circumference. There is a large, European-style strapwork escutcheon or cartouche in the center, a heraldic device that frames the central motif: two profile, flanking condors holding with their beaks and claws a *mascaypacha*, the red tasseled fringe traditionally worn by the Inca king over the forehead as a sign of sovereignty. The *mascaypacha*, of singular importance as an Inca symbol, here is contained within a European-style heraldic context. The condors are similar to the “supporting” figures, such as rampant lions, used in European heraldry, and the isolated image of the *mascaypacha* as a “pure” symbol of Inca royalty echoes some European coats of arms. Although the overall design has been incised in the surface of the plate according to a European figural style, the heraldic image of the condors and the *mascaypacha* is not centered within the escutcheon, so that formally the entire composition seems somewhat awkward: as if the silversmiths were assembling disparate elements into one piece. The Inca form of the plate follows the broad con-

ventions of Inca decoration, and yet the style of the decoration and motifs is a fusion of Andean and European conventions. Like the other material from the *Atocha*, this plate appears to have been made in Potosí and was being taken to Spain by one of the passengers. As such, it is one of the few examples of purely Andean workmanship exported to Europe during this period to have survived.

TC

21. Portrait of a Ñusta

Cuzco, ca. 1730–50

Oil on canvas, 80³/₄ × 48⁷/₈ in. (205 × 124 cm)

Arms: per fess azure and argent, a fess gules between in chief a condor volant sable, in base the royal Inca fringe (*mascaypacha*) gules and or, between two pallets gules, within a bordure gules.

Museo Inka, Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad del Cusco

REFERENCES: J. Rowe 1951, p. 260, fig. 4; Gisbert 1980, pp. 150–53; Cummins 1991, pp. 203–32, fig. 4; Gisbert in Antwerp 1992, pp. 152–53, fig. 102; Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, p. 44; Dean 1999, pp. 105–6, fig. 27, pl. 6; Dean 2002, p. 105, fig. 27.

Portraits commissioned by the indigenous Andean aristocracy were often genealogical in nature, and there are just as many paintings of *ñustas* (Andean noblewomen) and *coyas* (Inca queens) as there are of *curacas* (Andean lords) and Inca monarchs. This portrait of an unidentified noblewoman in *ñusta* attire was surely part of larger set of paintings, and it was almost certainly paired with a portrait of a major *curaca*. Scholar Carolyn Dean has suggested that the work might have come from the Marcos Chiguan Topa family collection, but any family relationship is indirect given the considerable differences between the Chiguan Topa heraldic emblem and the coat of arms seen in this work.¹

This woman wears the neo-Inca attire customarily donned by the Cuzco elite as a display of their imperial heritage. Like her parents and husband, who would have paraded in Inca dress during the principal



festive occasions, she no doubt played the role of a “princess” as part of the complex ceremonial language that highlighted the privileged status of such families within the Andean colonial social hierarchy. *Ñusta* portraits were one way of perpetuating these social roles, and the iconographic conventions governing them were firmly established by the time this work was executed. Unlike representations of *coyas*, who were customarily set in idyllic landscapes or in front of imaginary castles, thus alluding to a mythic Inca past, colonial *ñustas* were generally placed in sumptuous courtly interiors similar to the backgrounds found in *curaca* portraiture. Here the subject is seen standing beside a table, an unequivocal reference to her dignity and power. Similarly, the heavy red drapery firmly establishes a sense of aristocratic distance from the viewer, an effect reinforced by the inclusion of noble arms. Colonial *ñustas* were also shown disporting with an uncovered head, which distinguished them from the Inca *coyas*, who wore the traditional *nañaca*, or woven headdress.

All of these formulaic elements, appropriated from Spanish court painting, contrast markedly with the woman’s exotic attire, evidently inspired by pre-Hispanic dress. Her apparel is characterized by layers of *cumbi*, an extremely fine cloth reserved for the highest nobility. The *tocapu* embellishing both her *anacu* and *lliella* display a varied repertoire of emblems relating to her family heraldry.² The rest of the woman’s attire is decorated with stylized variants of the *ñucchu* (*salvia*) or *cantuta*, both symbolic flowers for the Inca.

The most obvious signs of the subject’s status surround her: the attendant holding a parasol at her side, and the headdress bearing the imperial *mascaypacha* (royal fringe). Both motifs have strong Andean precedents, but they also provide a convenient link to various European formulas for establishing royal authority. The hunchback dwarf servant, for example, who is a courtly personage in the ancient Quechua tradition, can be compared to one of the “different” characters—dwarfs, buffoons, and jesters—often juxtaposed with monarchs in Spanish portraiture. The woman’s plumed parasol, which was described by the first historians of South America, can similarly be linked to European counter-

parts and to the commonly held view among Europeans associating the exoticism of the Americas with certain feminine attributes.³ The *mascaypacha* is placed on the table like a crown, with the *ñusta* resting her right hand on it, thereby proclaiming her legitimate hereditary right, even though, as a woman, she would not have been allowed to wear this imperial symbol on her head.⁴

In contrast to the very specific details of the *ñusta*’s clothing, her facial features are somewhat stereotypical and do not seem to correspond to any real person, indicating that the portrait might have been executed posthumously. In the absence of specific visual information, the painter typically would have rendered a generic image using the face of some other prestigious image as a model. The model for this *ñusta* was, in fact, the image of Beatriz Clara Coya (Ñusta Beatriz) in the famous allegorical painting of her marriage to Martín García de Loyola, commissioned by the Jesuits for their church in Cuzco during the last third of the seventeenth century (fig. 31). In the decades after its completion this canvas was tremendously influential in viceregal art, as reflected not only in the significant number of copies of it commissioned by the city’s indigenous nobility but also by the curious anecdotes written about the work. One, penned by chronicler Diego de Esquivel y Navia in 1741, describes how a tableau vivant of the wedding was performed that year at the Jesuit church during the feast of San Francisco de Borja. The daughter of a *curaca* was chosen to play the part of Beatriz in a performance that Esquivel disparaged as “childish.”⁵ The Jesuit authorities, for their part, were more interested in reaffirming the paradigmatic value that the image of Beatriz’s wedding had attained among the indigenous elite.

Later portraits of Beatriz Clara Coya (and of her mother and daughter, both of whom are also depicted in the marriage painting) by local artists are often diluted reflections of those prestigious archetypes. Nevertheless, the same source material sometimes led to dramatically different results. We need only compare this portrait, for example, to one of Manuela Túpac Amaru (Lima, private collection).⁶ Manuela’s indigenous features, which appear to have been drawn from life, are

respectably vigorous beside the saccharine, conventional visage of this unknown *ñusta*, copied directly from the prototype. Where this portrait does betray telling differences from the model, however, is in the imagery surrounding the *ñusta*, such as her jewelry, insignia, and details of her clothing. One of the most glaring departures is the absence of the hispanicized black cap worn by Beatriz Clara Coya in the wedding portrait, which was included to convey a visual parallel between the Inca royal lineage and the patriarchy of the Jesuit church. Also, the more emphatic position of the *ñusta*’s right hand on the *mascaypacha* would have proclaimed her elevated rank in the “indigenous republic.” The position of her left hand, in contrast, with its extended index finger, is a stock detail repeated literally from the marriage painting in almost all of the portraits of *ñustas*, including the above-mentioned painting of Manuela Túpac Amaru.

As recent studies have pointed out, the ancestral rights of the Andean colonial nobility often fell to women, which led to conflicts over the exercise of local power.⁷ Although some lesser aristocrats used these circumstances to achieve the rank of *cacique* (and to gain other privileges) through marriage, there were also exceptional cases in which women themselves were able to assume positions of authority.⁸ The paradigm, however, remained that of Inca imperial descent. This is what the Jesuits were attempting to “co-opt” in the painting of the marriage of Beatriz to Martín García de Loyola: the symbolic linking of the legitimate Inca lineage to that of European patriarchal nobility and to the founders of the Jesuit church (the bridegroom was, of course, the nephew of Saint Ignatius of Loyola). In this context we can appreciate today the importance of such portraits in colonial society, particularly as they evidence the enormous cultural influence that inhered to matrilineal lines of descent and succession even after the Conquest. The artist’s choice of Beatriz Clara Coya as his model, furthermore, underscores the vital role played by the Jesuits in the formulation of the visual vocabulary of the “Inca Renaissance” during the colonial period.

LEW

1. Dean 2002, pp. 105, 112. The emblems associated with this *ñusta* include an eagle with extended wings in the upper section of the symbol and a turret in the lower section. It does not match any of the indigenous military emblems known today.
2. Dean (*ibid.*, p. 138) has noted that these *tocapu*, which include various figurative representations such as a “rising moon, a golden orb, and two black birds supporting a *waraka* [an Andean vessel];” are distinct from their invariably abstract pre-Hispanic counterparts.
3. As discussed by Carolyn Dean (*ibid.*, pp. 150–54), who cites various related examples of eighteenth-century European views of the New World.
4. Regarding the iconography of this colonial headdress, Dean (*ibid.*, p. 123) points out a stylized miniature image of an Inca as well as other symbolic elements that are clearly different from the heraldry worn by the Chiguan Topas. This iconographic convention was frequently used in official portraits throughout Spain and Hispanic America. For example, images of bishops would often include a miter placed on a table as an indication of episcopal authority. There is only one known image of a man (a *curaca*) with a headdress on an adjacent table and not on his head (Museo Inka, Cuzco).
5. Esquivel y Navia (1741) 1980, vol. 2, p. 434. Esquivel’s criticism echoed the view of the majority of Cuzco residents of European descent.
6. This painting was first brought to light by Francisco Stastny (1982, p. 43).
7. See Garrett 2003, pp. 9–51.
8. David T. Garrett (*ibid.*, pp. 30–33) analyzes some specific cases.

2.2. *Woman’s dress (anacu)*

Cuzco, late 16th century
 Weft-faced plain weave with tapestry weave,
 cotton warp and camelid weft
 56 × 67½ in. (142.2 × 171.5 cm)
 Brooklyn Museum, New York (36.760)

REFERENCES: Zimmern 1943–44, pl. 9;
 Phipps and Fane in Brooklyn–Phoenix
 1996–97, pp. 187–89.

EXHIBITION: Brooklyn–Phoenix 1996–97.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: weft-faced plain weave with bands of finely woven tapestry weave with interlocking weft and dovetailing joins. Weft-faced plain weave center and outer sections have diagonal lazy lines throughout. **Warp:** cotton /∧ 22 per in. **Weft:** camelid ∧ (loosely plied) 128 per in. (natural brown, natural white, cochineal red, indigo blue, yellow, green, golden yellow, and purple). **Selvages:** warp selvages have beginning looped warp ends chained at lower edge and cut-and-entered warp ends at the top finishing end. Weft selvages have two doubled warps at each edge. **Condition:** many signs of wear; holes may be the result of insect activity. Central brown area has large holes, as do the decorated tapestry bands. Both weft selvege edges have some sections missing, particularly along the tapestry areas, with broken warps; top and bottom edges have numerous broken threads and missing weft areas. Edges are fraying. Central holes have some native restoration; reweaving.

This rectangular panel is the only known example of a colonial tapestry-woven woman’s dress (*anacu* or *acsu*).¹ Its features, which are consistent with women’s dresses from the Inca period as well as from more recent times, include an asymmetrical layout with different design registers on top and bottom. (Women’s dresses are the only asymmetrical Andean textiles.) The two registers are each oriented toward the center of the textile. When worn, one band is aligned horizontally with its motifs in the proper orientation; the other is often folded down (or over). Because the dress was woven as a double-sided tapestry, both sides are equally finished, and thus the side folded over can also be viewed in the correct orientation. Today in the Highlands of the southern Andes, where in certain regions this traditional garment is still worn, women use this to their advantage; one side might be worn for everyday use,

while for festivals and special occasions it can be turned upside down to show the designs on the other edge.

The *anacu* is worn wrapped around the body and pinned to the shoulder with two large silver pins, or *tupus*. Traditionally (including in Inca times), two belts would be worn, one called the *mama chumpi* (mother belt) and a smaller one underneath called the *wawa chumpi* (baby belt). The belt is an integral part of wearing the dress, as the weight of the densely woven material composing the garment would be too much to be held together by the shoulder pins alone.²

Today, women wearing an *anacu* use the loose, upper part above the belt as a purse to carry a variety of things, such as money or other necessities. In the sixteenth century women also cradled babies within the confines of the dress, a convenient way of breastfeeding. Viceroy Francisco de Toledo banned the practice as being indecent, however, and he also decreed that women should sew up their dresses to prevent them from exposing their legs as they walked.³ Early on in the colonial period, women thus modified their dress in accordance with Spanish taste, wearing an underskirt, a shirt, or even a complete “underdress” (*amillia*). As a result the *anacu* became smaller and would be worn more for festival occasions than for everyday life.

This example is complete, with all four edges intact. It has several holes that may indicate it was once worn with *tupus*. There are also signs of wear around the center, possibly from the friction of the belt when it was worn. Two design registers extend across the garment, each with very different motifs and layouts. In one, double-headed birds, parrots, pairs of goats, butterflies, and other animals float freely against a red ground, amid staffs of grains or trees that form crosses. In the other register, the center is filled with motifs of mermaids and *coyas* (Inca queens), individually inscribed in squares, alternating with highly stylized and geometrized feline creatures; the top and bottom of the register are demarcated by a twisted or braided design. Between the central motifs and the outer braid are single rows of Inca *tocapu* designs aligned in non-repeating sequences. Examples of tapestry *anacus* with *tocapu* designs can be seen in



portraits of colonial women of high status, referred to as *nustas* (see cat. no. 21, fig. 30). As such garments were always worn with a shoulder mantle (*lliella*), which would have covered most of the upper register, the lower register would have been more prominently displayed. Unfortunately, the whereabouts of the *lliella* worn with this garment is unknown.

The warp selvage treatments—chained warps at the bottom and cut-and-entered warps at the top—indicate that the register with the geometric *tocapu* designs is the bottom, at least in terms of how the garment was originally woven. Typical Andean custom dictates that women's tapestry garments were worn directionally as they were woven; the bottom (or beginning) weaving edge is thereby considered the bottom of the garment.

According to Padre Ludovico Bertonio, during Andean rites of passage—marked for both boys and girls by the first haircutting—boys were given tunics (*uncus*) with vertical stripes, and girls were given *anacus* with horizontal designs.⁴ These associations—vertical with male, horizontal with female—are evident in both Inca-period tapestry garments and their colonial followers, including those in this exhibition. Men's *uncus* are woven with the threads forming the design—or the weft—in a vertical presentation, while the same threads in women's *lliellas* and *anacus* are horizontal. This opposition can also be observed in garments woven in the warp-patterning weaving tradition, indicating that these concepts, which persist to this day, date to the Precolumbian period and represent significant Andean cultural atti-

tudes manifested in the details of everyday life.

SD and EP

1. The Quechua terms *anacu* and *acsu* are somewhat interchangeable in the literature. Early dictionaries and other colonial references use the term *anacu* for the dress (González Holguín [1608] 1989, p. 691). In later sources, *acsu* is used when the garment is more in the form of a skirt, without its upper section. The evolution of the form itself is quite interesting and requires further research.
2. The University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology has many examples of Inca women's belts from Max Uhle's excavation of Pachacamac; see Uhle (1903) 1991.
3. See Cobo (1653, book 14, chap. 2) 1990, p. 188.
4. Bertonio 1612 (1984), part 2, p. 323.

23. Túpac Amaru I

Ca. 1850–70

Oil on canvas

32 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 22 in. (83 × 56 cm)

Inscription: *El Gran Señor Rey Inca del Peru Hijo del Príncipe Mango Inca Yupanqui hijo segundo del Soberano Guayna Capac Don Felipe Tupac Amaro I casado con Doña Juana Quispe Sisa a quienes N. Sr. los haya.*

Arms: azure two temples(?) proper between two bars gemelles or, a sun in splendor above, and two pyramids(?) sable to dexter and in base or three piles gules, within a bordure or. Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima

REFERENCES: Loosdorf–Essen–Schaffhausen 1983–84, pp. 96, 408; Tauro del Pino 2001, vol. 16, p. 2614.

EXHIBITION: Loosdorf–Essen–Schaffhausen 1983–84, no. 15.4.

This portrait of the Inca king Túpac Amaru, a representative Republican-period depiction of a late Inca, departs noticeably from earlier colonial iconographic traditions.¹ Compared to older images of the Inca, for example, which were generally subject to stereotypes and were conceived as a genealogical “set,” the expressions of character here are individualized. Far from the archaic spirit and the clear tonalities that had characterized Peruvian painting with Inca themes throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, this work positions itself as “realistic” representation, with a much more somber palette reflecting the impact of European academicism on Peruvian art at mid-century.² The portrait should also be situated in the context of the tensions that arose from 1863 to 1866 between Peru and three other South American republics (Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador) and Spain over the latter’s interventionist claims in the region. This would explain the implicitly nationalistic tone of the painting and, perhaps, its latent anti-Hispanic content.³

Many of these shifts in tone and content were in keeping with the evolving perception of Peru’s history at that time, particularly as influenced by liberal ideology. The choice of characters is one significant example. Túpac Amaru, the son of Manco Inca and the last king in the Vilcabamba dynasty, ascended to the throne in 1571



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after his brothers, Sayri Túpac and Titu Cusi Yupanqui, both died under mysterious circumstances. When Túpac Amaru later rebelled against Spanish authorities, he was beheaded—despite the supplication of the Jesuits and many Cuzqueños—by order of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo. The execution of the monarch in August 1572, after he was baptized with the Christian name Felipe, the name of the Spanish king,

marked the end of Inca resistance: a tragic episode that remained fixed in the collective Andean memory.⁴

The death of Túpac Amaru I and the emotions surrounding it meant that pictorial representations of him were systematically avoided during the viceregal period. The only colonial image of the king that has reached us casts him as an inoffensive character attending the wedding of his

niece, Ñusta Beatriz, to Spanish captain Martín García de Loyola, in a scattered allegorical composition contrived by the Jesuits (fig. 31). Through a re-creation of Andean history as both providential and utopian, the painting tries to erase all violent memories of the fall of Tahuantinsuyu, the Inca Empire, by symbolizing the Conquest in the form of a harmonious marriage between conquerors and conquered. Seated beside his brother Sayri Túpac, Túpac Amaru is shown dressed in the neo-Inca garb promoted by the Jesuits, including the mestizo headdress adopted by the *caciques* (local leaders) as an evocation of the imperial *mascaypacha*. The headdress clearly marks him as a subjected Inca incorporated into the colonial system.

That iconographic strategy was abandoned in this portrait.⁵ In place of the co-opted leader, we see an indigenous governor manifestly opposed to the colonial order, and one more realistic from both an ethnic and historical point of view. To construct the image, the painter must have borrowed and combined elements from various colonial sources. Certainly one of these was the series of Corpus Christi paintings the Church of Santa Ana in Cuzco. Several details in Túpac Amaru's attire, for example, recall that of the indigenous *alférez real* (royal standard-bearer) depicted in the portraits among the works in that series. His *uncu* (tunic) recalls the pompous version typically worn by the indigenous authorities, and it is indeed possible that the *alférez real* don Carlos Guaynacápac Inca portrayed in the Santa Ana series was chosen as the primary model because he belonged to the same *panaca* (Inca clan) as Túpac Amaru. The plumed collar, the *tocapu* tunic, and the lace garlands on the sleeves and borders of the garment are all fairly similar in both works, although here the artists have added the ñucchu (*salvia*) and cantuta, sacred Inca flowers that here serve some heraldic purpose.⁶ Other accessories seen in the Corpus Christi set, such as the epaulets and kneepads in the form of lion or puma heads, were likely omitted because of their European associations.

The most compelling differences between this portrait and the representations of *curacas* in works such as the Santa Ana Corpus Christi series are found in the

headdress, an element that has proved useful in calculating the chronological distance between this type of painting and its colonial precursors. Like most of his contemporaries, this painter chose to represent the *mascaypacha* in the form of a truncated, inverted cone with rings that gradually decrease in width, a design derived from the genealogical engravings made in Lima about 1725 under the auspices of the priest Alonso de la Cueva, which envisioned the Spanish monarchs as the rightful successors to the Inca kings. Although colonial ateliers customarily eschewed this visual formula when they painted headdresses, believing it to be inauthentic,⁷ during the early decades of the Republic all sets of Inca portraits from the workshops in Cuzco essentially maintained Cueva's scheme, eliminating, of course, all references to the kings of Spain. It was at this time that representations of Inca figures began to recover the type of headdress portrayed in Cueva's original illustration. This was partly a reaction against colonial custom, to be sure, but also because the inverted cone model was, at the time, considered more "authentic."

The characterization of Túpac Amaru assumed even greater importance in the late colonial–early Republican period, when nationalist enthusiasm and rhetorical idealization of the Inca Empire was on the rise. In stark contrast to the passive, courtly monarch invented by the Jesuits, he stands here gazing out toward the viewer with an air of dignity and prudence. His halberd, no longer a theatrical prop, has become a warlike symbol of power, along with his escutcheon, crowned by a radiant Sun.⁸ The backdrop of dark tones, moreover, is a far cry from the heavenly woodlands or other neutral spaces typically occupied by Inca kings in colonial painting. Here they seem to herald the dawn, with sinuous lines that could allude to the iconic stone walls of the great Inca defensive fortresses. All of these details reinforce Túpac Amaru's military role as the last emperor at Tahuantinsuyu, ready to lead his troops against the Spanish.

LEW

Austria, Germany, and Switzerland in 1983–84, it was dated between the eighteenth and the nineteenth century.

2. Ignacio Merino (1817–1876) and Francisco Laso (1823–1868) led the first generation of Peruvian academic painters. They were trained in ateliers in Italy and France and made their international debut at the 1855 Exposition Universelle in Paris. Five years later, the first Exposición Nacional in Lima displayed a significant set of academic art works.
3. The Inca iconography generated by these events has not yet been studied. One important episode took place in Lima in October 1864, when an American photographer, Villroy L. Richardson, sold a set of *cartes de visite* in the local market reproducing engraved portraits of the old Inca monarchs taken from a book by the priest Justo Apu Sahuaraura, *Recuerdos de la monarquía peruana* (Recollections of the Peruvian Monarchy, Paris, 1850). See Majluf and Wuffarden in Lima 2001–2, pp. 53–55.
4. Two centuries later a distant descendent of the deposed king, José Gabriel Condorcanqui, became Túpac Amaru II, the leader of the great indigenous rebellion of 1780.
5. The strategy dates to at least 1850, when Sahuaraura published his book in Paris. In it all of the pre-Hispanic monarchs, from Manco Capac to Atahualpa, are depicted wearing the headdress adopted by the republican painters, whereas the Inca kings of the Vilcabamba dynasty wear a type of "crown" with a mixture of indigenous and European emblems.
6. In the colonial pictorial tradition ñucchu flowers were used almost exclusively on the garments (such as the *anacu* and *lliclla*) of Andean noblewomen.
7. See Gisbert 1980, pp. 128–35, and Buntinx and Wuffarden 1991, pp. 151–210.
8. The design and decoration of the escutcheon nonetheless preserve many of the visual elements—such as the succession of triangular forms—that appear in the engravings published by Sahuaraura.

1. At times it has been considered a work of the colonial period. In the catalogue of the exhibition "Peru durch die Jahrtausende," held in



24. front

24. *Man's tunic (uncu)*

Southern Andes, probably late 16th century

Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft

Garment: 32½ in. × 28¾ in. (82.6 × 73 cm)

Woven dimensions: 28¾ × 65 in. (73 cm × 165.1 cm)

Provenance: said to have been found in Ancón, Peru

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ethnologisches Museum (VA 4577)

EX COLL.: Macedo Collection, 1884

LITERATURE: Tax and Bennett (1949) 1951; Disselhoff and Linné 1961, p. 225; Pillsbury 2002, p. 90, fig. 26.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with single-interlocking joins, some dovetailing. Embroidery. **Warp:** cotton ^ 29 per in. (white); horizontal as tunic is worn. **Weft:** camelid ^ 120 per in. (red, yellow, white, blue, gray, gold, and purple); cotton (white) heading section.

Embroidery: silk ^ (yellow and green); wool; silver strip \ on linen core. **Selvages:** chain-looped on one edge, cut-and-entered on other edge; front and back joined at neck with grouped weft threads (3 × 3).¹

Condition: generally good, with signs of preburial wear, especially at neck opening;

silk areas badly deteriorated; missing embroidery; colors somewhat faded.

Tunics composed of red and blue held special meaning in the Andes. The colors were associated with Inca nobility, and Fernando de Montesinos, in his sixteenth-century history of the Inca (written at the behest of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo) refers to blue and red garments as representing Inca government.² They continued to evoke an aura of authority in the colonial era. Red and blue were so intricately associated that we find names for specific clothing items composed of these two colors in several dictionaries of the period. Padre



24, back

Ludovico Bertonio, in his Aymara dictionary of 1612, refers to a tunic that was “blue to the knees with red above” called *harputac cabua*.³ This example, made for an adult male, perfectly fits that description—at least on one side. The other side reverses the positions of the colors, a colonial feature not found on Inca-period garments.

This tunic is replete with symbols of Inca kingship, in particular the stepped neck yoke ringed by four series of squares (the *abuaqui*) and the waistband filled with rows of *tocapu*. In the field of the garment we can see geometric designs representing Inca shields, although some of them have features of *tocapu*. The numbers of design elements in the field and in the *tocapu* waist-

band vary slightly on each side of the tunic.⁴ Scattered among the Inca symbols of status and kingship are birds and insects, motifs identified with Inca ritual beliefs.

Although closely modeled on Inca-period garments, tunics made in the colonial era have a distinctive presence. The reversal of colors in this tunic, for example, creates a dramatic effect, underscoring the “theatrical” context—the processions and other festivities—in which most of these garments were worn (see cat. no. 19). Sometimes it is difficult to differentiate between garments made before the Conquest and those made after, as colonial versions of Inca-style royal tunics are, in many ways, more “Inca” than the Inca gar-

ments themselves. Our assessment of this tunic as colonial rather than Inca is based on the presence of the color reversals and certain technical details, such as the cut warps, which are never found on *cumbi* royal tunics. Moreover, the small areas of silk embroidery found in the field and along the lower edge could only have been made after the Conquest, as embroidery with imported metallic thread, although used sparingly here, is a definitively colonial feature. It is likely, however, that it was a later addition, added well after the tunic had been made. (The latter would seem to be supported by the fact that the execution of the embroidery does not reflect the same high-quality craftsmanship found in the

rest of the tunic.) The position of the waistband at some distance from the side edge of the garment also does not follow Inca tradition, and it is, in fact, a feature associated with colonial tunics.

Although these elements are consistent with what we have come to understand as “colonial,” the Inca aesthetic tradition is expressed very strongly in this garment. Unlike most colonial *cumbi* garments, which generally lack provenance, we know that this tunic was said to have been found in a coastal burial site in the valley of Ancón, near Lima (no doubt a colonial-period burial).⁵ The worn neckline—including an enlargement of the original woven opening—and the small tears at the arm holes confirm that it was worn extensively in the period of its manufacture. This wear, combined with the fact that the embroidery randomly dispersed within the body of the tunic appears to be almost an afterthought, suggests that the tunic might have been kept over a long period of time and used repeatedly for ceremonial occasions. At some later time, but prior to its burial, it was then embellished with silk embroidery.

EP

25. Coca bag (*ch'uspa*)

Southern Andes, mid-16th to early 17th century
Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft
7⁷/₈ × 7¹/₄ in. (20 × 18.5 cm)
Art Institute of Chicago; The Kate S.
Buckingham Endowment (1955.1830)

EX COLL.: Hans Gaffron

REFERENCE: Lehmann and Doering 1924,
p. 110.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with single-interlocking and group joins; weft-float patterning; chain-loop embroidery. **Warp:** cotton //∧ 28 per in. (white); horizontal as bag is worn. **Weft:** camelid ∧ 120 per in. (dark brown, light brown, purple, red, and yellow). **Embroidery:** camelid ∧ (white, red, yellow, and dark blue). **Selvages:** chain-looped on one edge, cut-and-entered on other. Heavy cord at weft selvages. **Condition:** excellent.

This extraordinary *ch'uspa*, or coca bag, has stripes and geometric patterning that exemplify the work of the Inca-trained weavers who, even after the Conquest, continued to create *cumbi* textiles of the highest quality. The silklike alpaca fibers and the

fineness of the weaving indicate that this *ch'uspa* was made for a native Andean of high status.

On one side of the bag, a series of colored stripes encloses narrow, zigzag patterns that end abruptly in a V-shaped area adjoining a series of wider stripes. The opposite side continues the narrow striped design. These simple stripes and patterning are familiar forms from the Andean textile vocabulary, here beautifully and unusually rendered in finely executed tapestry weave. They reflect an interplay between long-established Andean weaving methods—warp-faced, warp-patterned weaving—and the refined tapestry weave of the Inca *cumbi* tradition.

Coca bags were generally made of one woven web of fabric that was folded and stitched up the sides. Unlike European pouches they traditionally did not have an overflap with a clasp to close up the bag. In this example we have an Andean weaver's rendition of a European-style pouch, with a curious trompe l'oeil overflap. By precisely juxtaposing the patterns between the upper and lower sections, the weaver skillfully created the optical illusion of a three-

1. The join at the shoulder could have been the result of two separate woven webs of cloth joined together or it may have been done on the loom itself.
2. Montesinos (1644) 1920, chap. 17.
3. Bertonio (1612) 1984, part 1, p. 113, part 2, p. 123.
4. On the blue side, the neck yoke has nine shield and *tocapu* designs organized symmetrically, with fifteen in the upper section and fourteen in the lower section. The *tocapu* waistband on this side has three *betas* (rows) with eighteen *tocapu* designs each. On the red side, the neck yoke has nine designs. In the field there are nine shield designs, six insect or bird designs in the upper part, and fourteen shield and *tocapu* designs in the lower part. The *tocapu* waistband here also has three *betas*, with eighteen-and-a-half *tocapu* designs across the belt. The last set of *tocapu* are very skinny, placed more as space fillers to complete the band.
5. We have no information regarding its excavation or any associated materials. It came into the collection of what was then the Museum für Volkerkunde in 1884 through the Macedo collection (archive no. 498/84).



dimensional flap, which one might almost expect to see secured with a metal clasp.

The V-shaped design is also reminiscent of the *abuaqui* neck yokes of men's tunics. The designs on other coca bags also follow the schematic layout of Inca tunics, such as an example in the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología, e Historia del Perú, Lima, which has a red V-shaped upper section with a black and white checkerboard pattern below: the tunic design associated with Inca soldiers.¹ Guaman Poma's drawings depict *caciques* (local native leaders), the *alcalde* (mayor), an *astrologo* (astrologist), and others carrying similar striped coca bags with V-shaped designs.²

The inherent beauty of this small, jewel-like bag derives from a combination of vibrant design and refined execution. The stripe patterning is constructed in tightly packed tapestry-weave (weft-faced) that mimics the effects of warp-faced weaves. The small zigzag patterns are familiar from other textiles, such as women's and men's mantles, and are constructed with float yarns. In contemporary Quechua communities, this design is associated with cultivation, earth, and fertility.³

A precise date for the bag cannot be established, but from its physical attributes we estimate it was made during the early colonial period, from the mid-sixteenth to the early seventeenth century. The dextrous execution and the high quality of materials are both evidence that the bag was made by artisans working in the tradition of the Inca *cumbi* weavers. This is confirmed by specific details in its construction, such as the treatment of the warps and wefts, the orientation of the weaving direction (with the warps running sideways as we view the bag, a typical Inca trait that was applied to tunics as well), and the tightly needleworked edges around the lower corners and sides, remnants of the meticulous practices of specialized Inca embroiderers.

EP

1. MNAA 3586, an Inca coca bag with a black and white checkerboard pattern and a red V-shaped yoke.
2. Guaman Poma 1615, pp. 804 (RL 818), 883 (RL 897). Guaman Poma also shows two Inca *coyas* carrying coca bags that have a stepped yoke-type design; *ibid.*, pp. 136, 138.
3. See, for example, Silverman 1994.

26. *Man's tunic (uncu) with felines and tocapu waistband*

Cuzco, mid- to late 16th century
Cotton warp and camelid weft
38 × 29 in. (96.5 × 73.7 cm)
Museo Inka, Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad del Cusco (729)

EX COLL.: Dr. José Lucas Caparó Muñiz, until the 1920s¹

REFERENCES: Cossio del Pomar 1949, pl. 40 between pp. 176–77; Horkheimer and Kauffmann Doig 1965, p. 45 (colorpl.); Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías 1987, fig. 15; Chartres 1992, pp. 230–31 (color photo); Pillsbury 2002, p. 89, fig. 24.

EXHIBITION: Chartres 1992, no. 201.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with single-interlocking joins; some lazy lines. **Warp:** cotton / 30 per in. (white). **Weft:** camelid / 176 per in. (purple, red, white, yellow, blue, and gold). **Selvages:** chain-looped warp selvages on both edges; weft selvage present (fragmentary). Neck opening has been torn; original selvages have not been preserved. **Condition:** excellent color preservation; torn at neck and armholes. The tunic has been separated from its back at the shoulder line.

Tunics like this example—with purple ground colors, confronting felines on a red neck yoke surrounded by polychrome squares (*abuaqui*), and rows of *tocapu* on the waistbands—constitute a classic historical representation of Inca power and authority, and yet the genre seems to be a colonial invention. We have no evidence that such tunics were made or used in the Inca period, but the design vocabulary on which they draw derives directly from Inca antecedents. This visual language would have been understood by the vast majority of Andean peoples within the former Inca Empire. Indeed, in the colonial period many Inca visual metaphors were adapted and reused on garments, self-consciously and deliberately, to project an association with Inca nobility and its former glory.

Whether this type of tunic represents Inca or colonial manufacture has been a matter of speculation and debate.² It is, by far, the type most frequently depicted in colonial paintings,³ and although many elements are indeed “Inca,” there are, with

one exception (fig. 28) no extant Inca models with depictions of felines or with scattered small designs in the body. On the other hand, the fine, dense tapestry weave and other finessed aspects of this garment's technical manufacture indicate that, if not of Inca origin, it was certainly woven in the first generation after the Conquest by weavers trained under the tutelage of the *cumbicamayos*, the Inca master weavers.

The layout is typical of a classic Inca *uncu*, with a neck yoke, a middle waistband, and edges and seams secured and delineated by embroidery. The stepped outline of the neck yoke is composed of four staggered rows of polychrome squares—yellow, red, blue, and purple—that form a ring called the *abuaqui*, which, according to Guaman Poma, was a feathered collar worn during certain Inca festivals and was represented symbolically on colonial tunics by these colored squares. The upper portion of the body has insects and *ñucchu* flowers (small, red, and budlike) organized in loose columns.⁴ The waistband comprises four rows, or *betas*, of square *tocapu*, twenty-two in each row. Below the *tocapu* waistband are insects, Inca-style shields, and another flower design, most likely the *cantuta*, the “flower of the Inca.” The lower border has standing sprigs of flowers, a colonial feature not found in Inca prototypes. The felines depicted in the tunic seem to be jaguars, with their signature large heads and spotted pelts.

26, detail of neck yoke





26

The jaguar, or *otorongo* in Quechua, was revered for its power and speed. Its Andean habitat lay in the tropical Antisuyu, one of the four *suyus*, or territories, of the Inca Empire. Jaguar pelts were worn on ritual occasions throughout the Andean Highlands, and particularly in Cuzco, as a symbol of authority. Sometimes the beauty and power of the animal were celebrated by abstracting its pelt into a woven design, as

we see in the colonial *tocapu*-covered tunic from the American Museum of Natural History, New York (cat. no. 19). The jaguars depicted here at the neck are outlined in blue with white paws and tails, their mouths open and tongues extended, and appear friendly, almost as if they are smiling. In contrast to the rampant lions in catalogue number 27, these felines are poised in a somewhat submissive, horizon-

tal stance.⁵ Similar representations of *otorongos* can be found on another tunic half now in a private collection, which was possibly made either using this tunic as a model or, more probably, in the same weaver's workshop.⁶

The complexity of the *tocapu* in this tunic—there are few repeats and all are randomly placed along the *betas*⁷—is an indicator of an Inca or near-Inca (early

colonial) date. In most colonial garments *tocapu* bands are simplified and generally repeat in regular intervals, often in a diagonal alignment. However, the edge of this waistband is positioned slightly inside the outer edge of the body of the garment: a colonial feature. On Inca tunics the waistbands extend almost to the edges, a hairbreadth inside the side-seam stitching. I believe the waistband position seen here relates to a misunderstanding by colonial weavers. All Inca *cumbi* weaving begins and ends with a very narrow band, generally of plain weave (sometimes only two weft yarn shots), followed by a narrow section, often in a different color, of tapestry. This band was then covered by embroidery, and the edges became the side seams of the garment. During the colonial period weavers continued to make the narrow bands, but they extended them, anywhere from half an inch to several inches, before beginning the outline design of the waistband. These wider bands are too large to be covered with embroidery and, as a result, the *tocapu* waistbands “float” away from the edges.

The bottom of the tunic has floral motifs woven-in along the edge, an unusual feature; later versions of this type of garment have embroidered flowers (see, for example, cat. no. 88). The characteristic Inca edge embroidery is modified here from the traditional zigzag to create a stepped design that we find on other, unquestionably colonial tunics, such as catalogue number 45.

This tunic fragment is half of the original; the other half, according to some scholars, is now in the Cleveland Museum of Art (51.393).⁸ The Cleveland fragment once had felines in the neck yoke, but these have deteriorated and are no longer visible except for a void that bears their outline, along with small parts of their feet. The ground color is deep blue, with designs of insects, shields, and ñucchu flowers identical to those on this fragment; their layout and a few critical technical features vary slightly, however, possibly enough to call into question whether the Cleveland fragment and the Museo Inka fragment were once part of the same garment. The warp selvages of the Cleveland tunic, for example, are chain-looped on one side and cut-and-woven on the other.⁹ This feature conflicts

with my analysis of the edges on this fragment and would seem to indicate that the Cleveland piece is not its counterpart. Unless the two halves were originally woven on separate looms, it is not possible that the warp selvages on one piece could be uncut (Cuzco), while the upper warp selvege of the second piece would have been cut from the loom (Cleveland). Other minor differences include the number of *tocapu* across the waistbands (the Cleveland tunic has twenty-one, the Cuzco tunic has twenty-two) and the field designs (those on the Cleveland tunic are aligned in straight rows, those on the Cuzco tunic are staggered).

All of the tunics in this group maintain the aura of the royal Inca *uncus*. The model certainly derives from Inca tradition, and this garment’s material quality indicates that its weavers had access to the high-quality materials of the royal Inca storehouses and upheld the strictest Inca weaving method. The felines at the neckline are among the most carefully drawn and meticulously depicted among all other related garments. In feline tunics from later periods, these big cats devolve almost into caricature and lose their ability to convey any sense of majesty.¹⁰ Regardless of the Inca versus colonial question, this tunic remains one of the earliest and finest *tocapu* waistband *uncus* with felines to have been preserved.

EP

1. J. Rowe (1973) 1979, p. 244, citing Giesecke 1948.
2. The Museo Inka classifies the garment as Inca, and it is dated as fifteenth-century in Chartres 1992, pp. 230–31 (color photo). John Rowe ([1973] 1979) was the first person to speculate that these tunics were colonial, and I agree with him. However, it is very close to what I would consider Inca quality, and it displays certain technical features—namely, chained warp loops on the top and bottom edges—that are primarily associated with Inca tunics and found on only the earliest of colonial tunics.
3. See Iriarte 1993, pp. 53–86.
4. Some species of ñucchu (*Salvia oppositifolia* Ruiz et Pav.) have hallucinogenic properties. It is unknown if the significance of this flower derives from visionary rituals. In Andean folklore, it is associated with Christian offerings to the Christ of the Earthquakes.
5. See Zuidema 1985.
6. That example has a purple ground, but the purple yarn is actually composed of blue and

red fibers spun together, a colonial adaptation of the *tornesol* tradition in Spanish silks.

7. *Beta* literally means thread or band. The term points to the possible origin of these rows in the narrow woven bands or belts of warp-patterned weaving.
8. John Rowe ([1973] 1979, p. 244) said that the Cleveland fragment had been kept by the owner of the Cuzco tunic, Caparó Muñiz.
9. According to preliminary examination by Margaret Young-Sanchez, former associate curator, letter to author, March 23, 1998. This was confirmed in May 2002 by Susan Bergh, associate curator, and Robin Hansen, textile conservator.
10. See, for example, the felines on the famous “Poli” tunic, where the animals are almost cartoonlike sketches with large eyes and grins. See Cummins (1992) 1998, p. 122, fig. 20.

27. Man’s tunic (*uncu*) with lions and double-headed crowned eagles

Southern Andes (Bolivia), 17th century¹
 Cotton warp and camelid weft
 Garment: 35 × 29¾ in. (88.9 × 75.6 cm)
 Woven dimensions: 29¾ × 70 in. (75.6 × 177.8 cm)
 Private collection

REFERENCES: Chicago–Houston–Los Angeles 1992–93, p. 20, fig. 6; Cummins (1992) 1998, figs. 15, 16; Pillsbury 2002, p. 82, figs. 14, 15; Burger in New Haven and other cities 2003–4.

EXHIBITIONS: Chicago–Houston–Los Angeles 1992–93, no. 87; New Haven and other cities 2003–4.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with single-interlocking joins and dovetailed wefts, some 2 × 2; lazy lines. Double-sided running stitch embroidery and decorative overcast embroidery along side seams. **Warp:** cotton //∧ 24 per in. (white); horizontal as garment is worn. **Weft:** camelid ∧ 72 per in. (purple, cochineal pink, yellow, gold, turquoise blue, dark blue, and black). Small section (approx. ¼ in.) of plain weave with white cotton along edge. **Selvages:** chain-looped warps on both sides. One doubled selvege cord at each edge. Composed of a single web of cloth folded at shoulders and stitched up sides with open slits along lower side (approx. 10½ in.). Neck opening now cut, missing embroidery.



27, front

Like catalogue number 26, this Inca-style *cumbi*-weave tunic belongs to an important subset of colonial men's *uncus* that have horizontal bands of *tocapu* across the waistband, a red, V-shaped neck yoke reaching from shoulder to midchest that is framed by a series of polychrome squares (the *abuauqui*), and a purple ground with felines at the base of the neck yoke.² Here some of these "classic" elements are modified, however. On what is presumably the front of garment, the native Andean puma (*Puma concolor*), which has no mane, has been replaced by heraldic, addorsed

European-style rampant lions. A pair of double-headed, double-crowned eagles graces the back side. Guaman Poma employs a similar eagle-and-lion pairing on the frontispiece of his manuscript *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (The First New Chronicle and Good Government) as a heraldic pictograph of his own name: in Quechua "eagle" would be transcribed as *guaman* and "lion" as *poma*.³ He also uses them in his depiction of the shield of the twelfth Inca captain, Capac Apo Guaman Chaua, who he says conquered "all of the province of Quito." Together on this gar-

ment, these iconic images, along with the *tocapu* waistband and royal Inca helmets positioned around the center, contribute to an impression of power and authority as expressed in the convergent language of the colonial Andes.

In the colonial period old Inca symbols remained affiliated with the concept of "Inca-ness," and therefore power and kingship, but their proliferation in this *uncu* somewhat marginalizes them in terms of their original meaning and visual impact. In their Inca context, these designs were meant to embody nobility, and it is true



27, back

that some of this meaning inhered to them in colonial times and thereby transferred these traits and rights to the wearer of the tunic. In case that message was not clear enough, additional “icons” of nobility have been added here, such as the royal helmets (*uma chuco*), which alternate above the *tocapu* waistband with an additional motif that is apparently a conflated helmet and shield, yet another royal symbol. This particular type of helmet, with long tabs that fall behind the ears, is depicted by Guaman Poma and in colonial paintings of the Inca kings. In later colonial paintings, it is sometimes shown with a *mascaypacha*, the

royal fringe, attached on the outside (a wholly colonial configuration). Of the twelve Inca kings depicted by Guaman Poma, this type of helmet is worn only by the later rulers (those who may have been closest to the time of the Conquest). The helmet is always accompanied by three feathers, a symbol represented on the tunic by the blue woven design atop the helmet motifs.

The placement and arrangement of the *tocapu* on this tunic also evidence significant colonial innovations. First, the individual *tocapu* within the four *betas*, or rows, that form the waistband (each with twenty-four individual squares) are aligned diagonally;

second, the squares of the *abuauqui* neckband, which in this example contain *tocapu*, were plain polychrome squares in Inca times; and third, the side seams and lower edge have all been embellished with *tocapu*. In addition, the haphazard organization of the *nucchu* flowers in the upper half of the tunic, coupled with the alternating yet regular arrangement of three different flower-bearing stems on the lower half, diverges from the strict geometric consistency of the Inca aesthetic.

Purple, as a color, was not, generally speaking, associated with royal Inca tunics.⁴ Among the garments Guaman

Poma attributes to the twelve Inca kings, only one, worn by Lloque Yupanqui, the third monarch, contains purple. Purple was, however, associated with Old World nobility. One notable characteristic of the purple color used in colonial tunics is that the color is often mottled, an effect sometimes described as *abrash*, meaning intentionally uneven coloring.⁵ Sometimes this effect was achieved by mixing previously dyed red and blue fibers and spinning them into a single yarn, and at other times it was made through manipulating the dyeing process. I believe the origin of this lively, mottled purple can be found in the luxurious, reflective silk fabrics known in Europe as *tornesol*, literally “turns to the sun.” *Tornesol* (or *tornasol* in some early spellings) is a type of fabric in which the warp and weft are composed of contrasting colors. Depending on the direction of light as it hits the fabric, the reflectance, especially when the textile is folded, accentuates different hues. The term is found in Spain beginning about the fourteenth century, and the fabric later became the luxury textile of choice for Spanish nobility, as depicted in mid-seventeenth-century portraits by Velázquez and Zurbarán.⁶

These fashionable, changeable colored silks had a notable impact on the Andean aesthetic sensibility. The fact that the term appears in Padre Ludovico Bertonio’s 1612 Aymara dictionary, already with several variants, indicates its dispersion into the native vocabulary by that time.⁷ Guaman Poma goes so far as to claim that several Inca kings wore garments of *tornesol*,⁸ which, although clearly an anachronism, underscores its proliferation by the end of the sixteenth century, when he was writing his manuscript.⁹ Shimmering *tornesol*-type fabrics were eventually produced by Highland Andean weavers and were some of the finest, most subtle textiles to emerge from the colonial Andes. Native Andean weavers adapted their traditional high-quality camelid fibers, lustrous in their own right, to make black fabrics with hints of pink, green, or blue wefts emerging from the dark warps when the fabric was folded or draped (such as in a pleated garment) and hit by sunlight. Such textiles are now referred to as *pechua de paloma*, or dove’s breast.¹⁰

The extensive embroidery at the joins of the side seams, along the lower edge, and around the neck and armhole openings is unusual for a tapestry-woven garment. Floral stems are embroidered as a secondary feature along the lower edge, and it appears that a fabric band, now missing, was perhaps originally appliquéd on top of the lower edge. *Tocapu*-embroidered seams and lower edges, as we see here, occur on only a few other examples of colonial tapestry-woven garments (see cat. nos. 42, 88). Embroidered *tocapu* are seen on tunics made in other weaving traditions, however, such as the warp-faced black tunics with *lloque* designs (narrow stripes formed from the use of alternating yarns spun in opposite directions) that were worn during Corpus Christi processions and which can be seen on several of the participants in the famed series of paintings from the Church of Santa Ana in Cuzco (see cat. nos. 116a–d).¹¹

The edges of the open slits on the lower quarter of each side are finished in embroidered side bands. Most other Inca-style garments do not have slits; evidently these were intentionally added here and were embroidered both to finish the opening and to form the actual slit. Slits or gussets were added to facilitate movement, and they were a common feature of Spanish-style coats or tunics. Their presence confirms that this tunic was probably worn in processional or festive activities along with Spanish-style pants, which would have required that the tunic have the slits so that it could fit over the balloonlike cut of the *pantelon*, as was fashionable in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The chained warp selvages on each end, rare among colonial garments, indicates the weavers were following true Inca *cumbi* standards and suggests an early date for the tunic, probably within the first half of the seventeenth century.

EP

1. Tom Cummins ([1992] 1998, p. 118) posits a Bolivian origin for the tunic, noting that heraldic representation on the coat of arms of Potosí also contains a pair of standing lions (although they are not facing one another) and a double-headed eagle. I consider this likely, but we would need to know the specifics of weaving standards from the area of Potosí to place it directly.

2. For various definitions of the *abuaqui* neckband, see J. Rowe (1973) 1979, p. 257, and Zuidema 1991b, p. 165 and nn. 30–33.
3. Cummins (1992) 1998, p. 118.
4. The one exception was the use of a deeply dyed purple as a variation on the color black. See cat. no. 3.
5. *Abrash* is primarily used to describe textiles and carpets of Islamic origin that have a variability of color due, in part, to the use of same-colored yarns from various dyelots. The intentional application of this variation became a “fashion” in many forms, from delicate silk fabrics to woolen pile carpets.
6. Carmen Martínez Meléndez, a scholar of medieval Spanish textile terminology, notes a 1374 inventory from Aragon that refers to mantles and headcloths made of *taffetan de tornasol*; see Martínez Meléndez 1989, pp. 516–17.
7. Bertonio ([1612] 1984) defines the Aymara term *huateca isi* as “*tornasol*, silk that when turned in one way appears as one color, and in another way, as another color.” Whether this “silk” refers to a fabric of European or Andean origin is unknown.
8. He uses the term “*torne azul*,” which I interpret to be a blue version of the fabric; see Phipps (2000) 2001.
9. According to Guaman Poma (1615, p. 110), for example, Topa Inca Yupanqui, the tenth Inca king, wore a special uncu with overall *tocapu* and a mantle that was “*torne azul*.” See also *ibid.*, p. 125. Martín de Murúa, a contemporary of Guaman Poma, also depicted Topa Inca Yupanqui wearing a blue mantle, and he illustrated the iridescent pink accents characteristic of the *tornesol* effect. See cat. no. 36.
10. See Phipps (2000) 2001.
11. See, for example, the monochrome black or brown warp-faced plain weave tunics, whose primary decoration is embroidery, that are now in the Inka Museum, Cuzco (nos. 714, 715), and the Ericson tunic in Brooklyn–Phoenix 1996–97, pp. 184–85, no. 52.

28a, b. *Pair of aquillas*

Before 1622

Silver, repoussé

H. 5 in. (12.7 cm), max. Diam. 4½ in. (11.4 cm)

Provenance: salvaged from the wreck of the galleon *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*, 1985

Mel Fisher Maritime Museum, Key West, Florida; Gift of Dolores E. Fisher, 2004 (A85-4311)



28a, b

29. *Quero*

17th century

Wood (*Prosopis?*) and tin inlay

H. 10⅞ in. (27.6 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Bequest of Arthur M. Bullowa, 1993 (1994.35.20)

EX COLL.: Arthur M. Bullowa

REFERENCE: Burger in New Haven and other cities 2003–4.

EXHIBITION: New Haven and other cities 2003–4.

Six pairs of silver *aquillas* have been recovered from the 1622 wreckage of the galleon *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*. Despite having sat on the ocean bottom for almost four hundred years, each pair is still intact, having been shipped with one vessel placed inside the other to maintain the Andean aesthetic of their unity and completeness. Although the pairs are decorated in different styles and with different motifs, two of them bear depictions of the great silver mine of Potosí, replete with miners ascending to the shafts in the Cerro Rico, suggesting that perhaps all of the *aquillas* found in the *Atocha* came from that city or the surrounding region.

This pair does not have so literal a set of images; instead, the decorative program on the vessels conflates Inca and European motifs, which appear in bands just below the lips (the lips are now detached at the point where they once joined the main body of the vessels). Within the bands are two large horizontal fields containing thirty-two small concentric squares, recalling the motifs used on Inca *queros*. This Inca motif is combined with two rampant European lions with thick, luxuriant manes. Each lion has one paw resting on what looks like a stump (or a rock) and the other paw seemingly clawing the top of tree.



29

These isolated, somewhat emblematic animals may derive from a set of arms or another such heraldic device, but the specific reference made by them is at best enigmatic. There are *queros* from the southern Andes, such as catalogue number 29, that include a feline figure, carved partially in the round, crawling up the vessel in order to “peer” over the lip. This type of *quero*, referred to as a *katari quero* in an early-seventeenth-century Aymara-Spanish dictionary, is defined as “a cup that has a lion as a handle.”¹ Of course lions per se did not exist in the Americas, but the word “lion” was sometimes used to designate the big American cats, jaguars and pumas. The sculpted image of the animal on these vessels seems to be more of a composite than a representation of a particular animal. A dictionary of Quechua, the language of the Inca, translates *katari* as “basilisk,” a reference to an imaginary animal from European mythology composed of different parts of various real animals that is often seen on colonial polychrome *queros* and *aquillas* (see cat. no. 31). Like the European lion, which was associated with the courage and power of kings, the *katari* was associated with the power of the Inca. Inca *katari aquillas* made in gold and silver have been found

as far north as Ecuador.² It is possible, therefore, that these two very different representations of animals may refer to the same concept.

This *quero* and pair of *aquillas* are embellished with motifs that seem purely decorative. On the *aquillas*, a scroll-like design, similar to motifs seen on Spanish textiles, appears just below the main field. It rhythmically loops around the vessel, as if it were a lace fringe. The surface of the *katari quero* is enhanced by small tin nails (both tin and silver were used to decorate this type of *quero*) that were inserted so as to create an interlacing, zigzag pattern around the vessel and an outline around the *katari* figure. Decoration with nails, which is unknown on pre-Hispanic *queros*, seems to be a colonial innovation much like the complex, polychrome figural compositions on other examples of colonial *queros*.

TC

1. J. Rowe 1961.
2. Cummins 2002, fig. 4.11.

30. *Aquilla*

Ca. 1600
Silver, probably incised
H. 4½ in. (11.4 cm), Diam. of lip 4¾ in. (12.1 cm), Diam. of base 2¹¹/₁₆ in. (7 cm)
Collection of Fernando and Josefina Larraín

31. *Aquilla*

Ca. 1600
Silver, probably incised and stippled
H. 4½ in. (11.4 cm), Diam. of lip 4¾ in. (12.1 cm), Diam. of base 2¹¹/₁₆ in. (7 cm)
Collection of Fernando and Josefina Larraín

REFERENCES: Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997; Madrid 1999; Cummins 2002.

Travelers to Potosí in the sixteenth century tell of stopping in Indian towns along the way and being greeted by the local nobility, who offered them toasts of corn beer in silver beakers (*aquillas*). Some of these *aquillas* were old, having been passed down from generation to generation as heirlooms, and could be dated to when they were first presented to the local rulers by the Inca monarchs. Others, like the two seen here, were newly made. These colonial



aquillas maintained the form of their Inca predecessors, but there are differences in facture and decorative designs.

The lip of catalogue number 30, for example, is made of a separate piece that has been annealed to the rim; Inca *aquillas* were normally made from a single sheet of silver or gold, so that the lip was an integral part of the vessel. In addition, the lip of this *aquilla* is much thicker, and extends farther out, than on Inca examples. The concentric rectangles beneath the rim are a common motif on Inca wood *queros*, but it is rarely found on Inca *aquillas*, which are made of silver or gold. Below the register of rectangles is a thin band, or border, below which is an intermittent series of shields, similar to those depicted along with images of the Inca on polychrome *queros*. The motifs are incised rather than repoussé, the technique normally used to create designs on Inca *aquillas*. Both the technique and design suggest that a colonial-era silversmith who had seen many more Inca wood vessels than silver ones created this *aquilla*. These differences would also suggest a date of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, because by then many of the Inca *aquillas* had been melted down for their silver content and wood *queros* were a more likely visual source. Moreover, direct apprenticeship at the feet of a master Inca silversmith would have been highly unlikely. In fact, a similar pair of *aquillas*, found among the wreckage of the galleon *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*, suggests that this style of *aquilla* was in circulation as late as 1622, and probably well beyond.

Catalogue number 31 is similar in form to catalogue number 30, but it more clearly reveals its colonial manufacture. There are two marks of a royal crown impressed into the lip, which, as Cristina Esteras Martín has noted,¹ means that a royal official registered this object. The motifs in the horizontal band below the rim also clearly reflect a colonial origin. The band is divided into discrete compartments, each framed by two vertical bands and containing a single figure in profile. In one vignette, a man dressed in Spanish clothes plays a bugle; in another we see the basilisk, a fantastic beast from European mythology. The basilisk seen here has a serpent's tail, a feline head, and the wings and talons of a

bird. Both the bugler and the basilisk resonate with aspects of Andean mythology and ritual: the basilisk replaces the katari, an imaginary Andean composite being, and musicians, like the katari, were associated with the roles of the Inca rulers in obligatory feasting and drinking. As such, these two European figures are surrogate expressions of properties associated with the Inca, and they relate directly to how the *aquilla* was imagined by the Inca.

A rampant, European-style lion appears in a third compartment, and in the fourth are two facing birds, with either song scrolls or serpents' tongues emanating from their beaks. The iconographic program and the pictorial style of these compartments are both entirely novel for an *aquilla*. There is a clear figure-ground relationship, in which the figures are delineated by a curvilinear outline and a few cursory details, with the background rendered in a kind of stippling. This is a very different conceptual handling of the surface than that seen in Inca examples, and it also diverges noticeably from later *aquillas*. Nevertheless, a similar *aquilla* was recovered from the *Atocha*, which would seem to indicate that the two styles were coeval rather than evolutionary.

TC

1. Esteras Martín 1982.

32a, b. *Pair of queros*

Southern Andes (Potosí?), ca. 1600
Wood and tin inlay
H. 8½ in. (21.6 cm) each
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Bequest of Arthur M. Bullowa, 1993
(1994-35-18, 19)

33a, b. *Pair of aquillas*

Southern Andes (Potosí?), ca. 1600
Silver
H. 10 in. (25.4 cm) each
Museo Arqueológico José María Morante de la Universidad Nacional de San Agustín de Arequipa

These two pairs of *aquillas* and *queros*, which date to the early seventeenth

century, demonstrate how the formal correspondence between pre-Hispanic wood and metal vessels and their viceregal counterparts continued well into the colonial period. These ritual vessels all have the same hourglass shape, with a raised pair of central bands that wrap around the waist, appearing almost like cords binding the upper and lower halves together. The vessel type comes from the southern reaches of the Andes, most of which is in present-day Bolivia, and is related in terms of use and form to the more common, tumbler-shaped *queros* found throughout the colonial Andes, from Ecuador to Chile.

The natural brownish color of the wood the *queros* are made of was stained a much darker, almost ebony color, creating a dark field against which the inlaid tin nails stand out markedly. The nails were driven into the surfaces of the vessels in linear crisscrossing or zigzagging patterns that are stippled, not solid or continuous. As a result, the surface is animated with an almost kinetic movement of pattern and line. Although catalogue numbers 32a and 32b seem to be a pair, the designs around the rim are different; one is crisscrossed, the other is zigzagged. Normally the vessels in a *queros* pair are identical, and what this difference here may mean is not clear, if, indeed, they are truly an original pair. Catalogue number 29, a katari *quero* with a figure in relief "peering" over the lip, is also decorated with inlaid nails. Both types of colonial *queros* came from the same region, and both are mentioned in Padre Ludovico Bertonio's 1612 Aymara dictionary.¹ It is likely, then, that one can consider this method a regional style within the broader category of colonial *queros*.

This regionalist approach holds for *aquillas* as well, although apparently there were fewer colonial *aquillas* produced, or at least fewer that have survived. That catalogue numbers 33a and 33b are nearly identical to the *queros* pair suggests that these *aquillas* also came from the southern Andes, and yet the manner in which they are decorated implies that even within regions there were particular styles and formats. These examples are decorated with a series of figures, just below the lip, whose technical and figural style is almost identical to that seen on the nested boxes and several other



32a, b



33a, b

aquillas recovered from the 1622 wreck of *Nuestra Señora de Atocha* (cat. nos. 44a–e). An active, curving line defines the broad outline of the figures, in which a few schematic, incised lines mark only the most critical details. The unworked surface of the body is set off by the stippled background, as it is in the *Atocha* pieces and other silver vessels from the period. The iconography, too, is similar to that on the *Atocha* pieces. Here a figure wearing Spanish-style clothes—a jacket, flared below the waist and tight

above, and a rather jaunty feathered cap—marches clockwise around the band. A feline or perhaps canine creature walks in the same direction, but turns his head and seems to breath fire. A similar set of figures appears on the tumbler-shaped *aquilla* (cat. no. 31) as well as on *aquillas* from the *Atocha*. The *Atocha aquillas* also have a lion that turns his head backward as well as images of the mining city of Potosí.² This would seem to suggest, by extension, that all these *aquillas* are from the area around Potosí, where there

might have been homogeneity with regard to iconography but heterogeneity in terms of vessel form. Stylistic heterogeneity is a common effect of the colonization process, in which new and newly developed forms are introduced and created simultaneously alongside traditional forms.

TC

1. Bertonio (1612) 1879.

2. For the *Atocha aquillas*, see Cummins 2002, figs. 8.8a–8.12b.



34, front

34. *Coffer decorated in quero technique*

Callahuaya (region of La Paz), late 16th century

Polychromed wood with wrought iron
9⁷/₁₆ × 18¹/₂ × 8¹/₈ in. (24 × 47 × 20.5 cm)

Provenance: probably Charazani, Bolivia
Museos Municipales, Casa de Murillo, La Paz
(MM MUE 058)

EX COLL.: acquired by Edgar Obillas Poblete; donated by him in the 1960s to the Casa de Murillo, Museos Municipales de La Paz, under the jurisdiction of Alcaldía de La Paz, Bolivia

REFERENCES: Mesa and Gisbert 1977; Mesa and Gisbert in Zuidema 1990; Antwerp 1992, p. 442; Anello Oliva 1998; Flores Ochoa, Kuon Arce, and Samanez Argumedo 1998; Gisbert 1999; Cummins 2002.

EXHIBITION: Antwerp 1992, no. 256.

Whereas most viceregal painting was conceived to promote church doctrine or extoll the feats of the conquistadors, the artists who decorated *queros*—the traditional paired wood drinking vessels of the Inca—were freer to incorporate indigenous subject matter, often in the guise of European motifs. *Queros* were mainly produced in Cuzco, but they were also made in Chuquisaca (now Sucre) in present-day Bolivia, a city that had a considerable Inca population. Bolivian *queros* have been found on the Isla del Sol (Island of the Sun) in Lake Titicaca. We may deduce that some were also carved in the area of Callahuaya, as suggested by a caption on one of a series of paintings now in the Museo Soumaya, Mexico City. The caption describes a couple from the town of Charazani, near Callahuaya, as workers who “carve mortars and maté cups with burins.”¹

This wood coffer, made with a technique emulating that typically used to craft

queros, was found in Charazani, the very town cited in the Museo Soumaya painting. Its date can be deduced from the sixteenth-century attire of the three Spanish hunters depicted on the front. The overall decorative scheme relates thematically to the Inca conquest of the Antisuyu, the tropical quarter of the old empire. The lid is embellished with tropical birds and flowers, and there is also a dragon at either end. The front panel depicts a scene in which a member of Inca royalty receives a local Indian, dressed in red, carrying a spear and net. Behind the Indian is a woman in Inca-style dress. The Inca nobleman, who wears a tunic with *tocapu* (Inca geometric motifs), does not appear to be the actual monarch of Cuzco, but rather the heir to the throne, since he wears the *mascaypacha* (royal fringe) not on his brow but on one side of his chest. Much of the scene repeats on the back of the box, but here two dragons are present, and the Indian man has given his



34, back

spear to the Inca ruler in exchange for an Inca royal tunic (*uncu*). Both vignettes are meant to depict how the king bestowed authority to his subjects through garments, invested with royal power, in return for their loyalty.

The overall iconographic program can be associated with the Antisuyu because of the dragons, which here are representations of the mythological serpent amaru that was believed to inhabit that tropical region. Garcilaso de la Vega describes how the local peoples “commonly worshipped tigers and large snakes as gods, which they called Amaru.”² (In fact, the Inca dedicated a temple in Cuzco to this serpent, the Amaru Cancha, the site where the Jesuits later built their church.) In his account of the Inca conquest of the Antisuyu, the Jesuit friar Giovanni Anello Oliva (1572–1664) wrote how the Inca encountered there “a serpent so fierce and terrible that it made him afraid, because it was as big

as the largest land animal; it had wings like a bat, and short, very thick arms with huge claws.”³

The conquest of the Antisuyu, a key event in Inca imperial history, took place during the reigns of Pachacuti and Topa Inca Yupanqui, respectively the ninth and tenth Inca monarchs. According to Franklin Pease, the Inca Amaro Topa Yupanqui (their son and brother, respectively), who never reigned, also participated in the conquest of the Antisuyu. We believe that the serpent amaru identifies the ruler on the coffer as the Inca Amaro, a noted warrior and a “second,” or surrogate ruler, for both his father and brother. The accompanying indigenous figure is a local chief, perhaps the Callahuaya lord Are Capaquiqui, who is known to have maintained contact with the Inca.

This coffer is evidence of how the history of the Inca persisted in the *queros* and associated Inca-style objects that Andeans

used to relate myths and historical exploits otherwise absent in viceregal art. Although the historic episode depicted here was obviously made by someone cognizant of European representational conventions—the amaru has been given the form of a European-style dragon—this work was otherwise crafted without Spanish involvement.

TG and JDM

1. In fact, we believe that these carved maté cups were actually derived from *queros* because in some documents *queros* are referred to as *mate de palo*, or matés made of wood.
2. Garcilaso de la Vega (1617) 1963.
3. Anello Oliva 1998.



35a–c

35a–d. *Four queros*

a. Late 16th century
Wood (*Escallonia?*) and pigmented resin inlay
H. 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (21.9 cm)

b. Early to mid-17th century
Wood (*Escallonia*) and pigmented resin inlay
H. 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (20 cm)

c. Early to mid-18th century
Wood (*Escallonia?*) and pigmented resin inlay
H. 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (13.3 cm)

d. Late 17th century
Wood (*Escallonia*) and pigmented resin inlay
H. 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ (21.9 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Bequest of Arthur M. Bullowa, 1993
(1994-35-14, 13, 24, 26)

EX COLL.: Arthur M. Bullowa

Like textiles, drinking vessels were both utilitarian and symbolic objects in every Andean household. As access to silver and gold *aquillas* decreased in the colonial period, the wood *queros* experienced a comparative florescence. Thousands of polychrome *queros* were made during the colonial period, with many examples now in museum and private collections around the world. The Republican era in the Andes was even ushered in by a traditional toast with paired *queros*. When Simon

Bolívar visited Lake Titicaca in 1825, he was greeted by the *curaca* Choquehuanca, who toasted him with a pair of *queros*; Bolívar kept one, and the other remained with Choquehuanca.¹

Wood *queros* were always made in pairs, probably from the same block, and there is great uniformity among them in terms of size, form, and decoration, suggesting that there were a few centralized places of production. Most colonial examples follow the traditional Inca tumbler-shaped design.² What changed in the colonial period was that many *queros* began to be inlaid with a colored substance called *mopa-mopa*, an exudate of the tropical plant *Elaeagia pastoensis* Mora. The surfaces of the *queros* were first prepared by excavating the shape of a figure. The *mopa-mopa* was then mixed with different pigments, heated, cut into any desired shape, and placed into the excavated areas so that it was flush with the surface of the vessel.³ Details—some so minute that only magnification reveals how they were inlaid—were added the same way, simply by laying them onto the solid fields of color.

A recent joint research project has revealed that this inlay process was used for the earliest known polychrome *queros* and continued to be used throughout the colo-

nial period.⁴ The first Spanish mention of the technique comes from the area of Pasto, in southern Colombia, where it was referred to as *barniz de Pasto*. Artisans there continue to use *mopa-mopa* to decorate all kinds of objects. Surprisingly, there is no record of *mopa-mopa* being used by Inca artisans to decorate their *queros* or any other objects, even though the northernmost reach of the empire was just south of Pasto. Regardless, *mopa-mopa* inlay became the polychromatic technique of choice in the colonial period and was used throughout the Andes to embellish *queros* with a rich, colorful iconography. Although the technique is completely different from painting, the finished result makes the images appear, at least to the untrained eye, as if they are painted. In fact, Andean artists using the inlay technique seem to have been trying to emulate the appearance of European images in order to depict their own past, and their own rituals, on these important, traditional objects, but they used Andean techniques to do it.

Catalogue number 35a is perhaps the earliest of these *queros*. It is divided into five registers, with the upper, central, and lower ones decorated with jaguars, parrots, and flowers. The middle register maintains a classic Inca decorative pattern of concen-



35d



35d, detail of back

tric diamond shapes, rendered in crisp, thinly incised lines. In their earliest descriptions of polychrome *queros*, the Spanish chroniclers specifically mention seeing the kind of animals that appear on these examples, creatures that were eventually prohibited by Viceroy Toledo in the 1570s as elements of Inca “idolatry.” Nonetheless, they continued to be made well into the mid-seventeenth century, as we know from allusions to them in sermons published in 1648 by Francisco de Avila.⁵

Catalogue number 35b is close in date to catalogue number 35a, as it, too, combines the incised geometric patterns of Inca *queros* with a polychromatic figural design. Cantutu flowers (*Cantua buxifolia*), the royal flower of the Inca, and shields alternate with geometric motifs in the central register. In the upper register an Inca king and his queen (*coya*) are placed together, a familiar motif on *queros* that can also be seen on catalogue number 35c, which amplifies the theme by placing each figure under a rainbow. The two amorphous animals that form the handles may be related to the *katari* figure seen on catalogue number 29. In all of these examples there is a strong iconographic reference to the Antisuyu, the tropical, jungle-covered eastern slope of the Andes whence came both

the wood used to make the *queros* as well as the *mopa-mopa*.⁶ This jungle motif is most emphatically represented in the anthropomorphic form of catalogue number 35d, which was carved in the shape of a human head. The vessel is painted in bands of green, yellow, and red, a reference to how the warriors from the Antisuyu region decorated their faces. The back of the head can thus be seen as a kind of “template,” a painting of a typical ritual procession with dancers, musicians, and Andeans dressed as jungle warriors. All of these polychromatic pictorial scenes refer, in one way or another, to the agricultural and other kinds of rituals in which these vessels were used and in which such dances would have taken place. Such vessels were still being used in festivals at the beginning of the twentieth century, having been handed down from generation to generation. In fact, these cups are still used in a few remote Andean villages, where they are beloved, tangible links to ancestors.

TC

1. Altuve Carrillo 1991.
2. See Cummins 2002.
3. Howe et al. 1999, pp. 30–38.
4. Ibid. Research was sponsored by the Mellon Foundation and was conducted by conservators from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the

Brooklyn Museum, the American Museum of Natural History, and the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution.

5. See Cummins 2002, p. 175.

6. Howe et al. (1999, p. 32) identify two primary wood sources for eight of the *queros* they tested; most were from the genus *Escallonia* and several were from *Alnus*.

36. *Historia general del Perú*

Martín de Murúa (ca. 1525/35–1618)

Southern Andes, 1590–1613

Handmade laid rag paper with pigments and ink

12 × 8 in. (30.5 × 20.3 cm)

406 pages; 38 drawings in color

Watermark: 176 folios have Latin cross with ovate surround¹

J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (83Mp159 [former MS Ludwig XIII])

REFERENCES: Murúa 1911; Murúa 1922–25; Bayle 1946; Murúa 1946; Murúa 1946a; Ballesteros Gaibrois 1952, pp. 239–42; Ballesteros Gaibrois 1962; Murúa 1962–64; Mendizábal Losak 1963, pp. 153–85; Ballesteros Gaibrois 1978; Euw and Plotzek 1979–85, vol. 3, pp. 309–13, MS Ludwig XIII 6; Ossio 1980; Ballesteros Gaibrois 1981; Ossio 1985; Murúa 1987; Ossio 2001a; Ossio 2001b.

Unlike Mexico, which has numerous illustrated manuscripts recounting its pre-Hispanic past, Peru has only four of any length. The most elaborately illustrated is *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (The First New Chronicle and Good Government) by Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. Second in terms of the number of illustrations is a manuscript by the Mercedarian friar Martín de Murúa, which exists in two forms, a draft and a final version. There is also a fourth, the *relación* (written account) of indigenous writer Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui, but that has only a handful of illustrations.

All of these works were written during the same period—the late sixteenth to the early seventeenth century—by writers who were either themselves indigenous or who worked closely with members of local ethnic groups. The latter is the case with Murúa, who apparently received help from Guaman Poma or from indigenous informants who participated in a workshop presumably organized by Guaman Poma. Although the extent of the relationship between Guaman Poma (or his group) and Murúa has yet to be clarified, it is certain that they knew one another, and we can evaluate their manuscripts in light of possible reciprocities. For example, even though Guaman Poma's illustrations are in black and white and Murúa's are in color, the

compositions of their scenes are nearly identical, and there are considerable formal similarities between their texts.

Prior to the second half of the twentieth century our only knowledge of Murúa was derived from a copy of his original manuscript preserved at the Jesuit College in Loyola, Spain. This copy served as the basis for various subsequent editions, the most complete of which was prepared by Fray Constantino Bayle in 1946, entitled *Historia del origen y genealogía real de los Reyes Incas del Perú* (History of the Origin and Royal Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru). In 1951 Spanish historian Manuel Ballesteros revealed a new version of Murúa's manuscript at a congress of scholars of Peruvian history held in Lima. This original manuscript, which we now refer to as the Wellington manuscript (after the Duke of Wellington, a previous owner), appears to be the final version of the history of the Inca that Murúa intended to publish. Ballesteros published it in two volumes, in 1962 and 1964, as *Historia general del Perú* (General History of Peru), Murúa's new title. Ballesteros's discovery was met with great excitement in academic circles, as it provided scholars with an original document containing twice the number of pages as the Loyola copy and thirty-seven illustrations.

A second Murúa manuscript of the *Origen y genealogía* came to light in 1996.² This version, in a private collection in Ireland, was the one that had served as the basis for the Loyola copy. Although the text of this new Murúa manuscript, now known as the Galvin manuscript, is not unique (in fact it is almost a duplicate of the Loyola text), it is remarkable nonetheless for having 112 color illustrations. Most of these evidence a style quite similar to that seen in Guaman Poma's drawings, and they are slightly different from those in the Wellington. However, the greatest merit of the Galvin manuscript lies in the fact that it is earlier than the Wellington manuscript and includes a number of insertions that were put in place over a period of about ten years (1590–1600) as Murúa revised his work. These insertions are characteristic of a document that had been considered a final version but that became, in effect, a redraft. This aspect makes both of these manuscripts, as well as the textual portion

of Guaman Poma, given their inherent similarities, invaluable works for understanding the processes related to the creation of these chronicles in the colonial era, particularly how the accounts of indigenous sources came to be represented by the historiographic and pictorial canons of European culture.

The Galvin manuscript is similar to Guaman Poma's *Nueva corónica* not only in terms of drawing style but also in how it structures information about the pre-Hispanic period. Both works, for instance, are divided into books and sections (or chapters), seemingly arranged, as Emilio Mendizábal pointed out some time ago, like *quipus*, the knotted cords with which the Inca had kept records. In both works the first book provides a description of the Inca rulers followed by a rendering of their wives, the *coyas*. Persons described as “captains” (military leaders) are described in the second book; the third book is devoted to the customs and laws of the Inca; and the fourth concerns their cities. Although the order of chapters in the second, third, and fourth books of the Galvin manuscript does not correspond exactly to that of the *Nueva corónica*, the way in which each narrative is preceded by a drawing is highly analogous.

The Wellington manuscript (Murúa's later version) evidences an organizational



36, fol. 30v



36, fol. 79r

format more in keeping with European historiographical traditions at the time. Although similarly structured in book and chapter format, there are three books, not four, and each description of an Inca ruler is followed by a consecutive chapter about his respective *coya*. Furthermore, the mystical tone of the narrative has been tem-

pered, particularly concerning later historical figures. Murúa apparently lifted many descriptive elements, especially on the deeds of the Inca rulers following Topa Inca Yupanqui, from unknown but ostensibly plausible historical sources (the same ones employed by the chronicler Miguel Cabello de Balboa) in an attempt to pro-

vide a more “realistic” portrayal of these figures. In the process he reduced the section on the military leaders to a mere chapter and relegated the description of Inca customs to one book, whose chapters are half the length of the earlier version. As he “demythologized” his original manuscript Murúa did not completely discard

the earlier work; indeed, a great deal of it was retained in the later version. So much information was added, however, that the first book alone (on the Inca kings) takes up almost half of all the pages in the final product. What had been an account closely linked to the narratives of indigenous informants was thus transformed into a narrative dominated by the historical and pictorial canons of European culture.

Aside from making use of the text in the Galvin manuscript, the Wellington version also seems to have recycled some of its illustrations. Of five drawings that appear to have been affixed into the Wellington manuscript, two were evidently torn out from the previous version, as they bear text on the verso that appears nowhere in the later manuscript. One of these (the page seen here) is a rendering of Rahua Ocllo, wife of the Inca king Huayna Capac, and the other is of Chuquillanto, wife of the Inca king Huascar. The back of the first illustration bears a reference to chapter 25, book I; the second contains a notation of chapter 9, book III. Both *coyas* are portrayed in a similar pictorial style that is less Europeanized than that of the other *coyas* in the Wellington manuscript. The drawing of Rahua Ocllo is very much in keeping with the renderings of the Inca wives preserved in the Galvin manuscript, while that of Chuquillanto, who is shown preceded by two guards—each representing one of the mythical halves into which the city of Cuzco was divided (Hanan and Hurin)—evidences a style quite similar to that of Guaman Poma's drawings.

Like all of the *coyas* represented in the Galvin manuscript, the Rahua Ocllo seen here is shown standing in an open field, with a European-style crown on her head. The colors of her dress partly reflect those provided by Guaman Poma in his written description of her: the *lliclla* (shoulder mantle) is blue and the *acsu* (or *anacu*, dress) is purple, but the *chumpi* (sash) is green, not red, as in Guaman Poma. There is also no evidence of the orange tones mentioned in Guaman Poma except along the border of the *lliclla*, which also contains some reddish motifs. That is where the similarities end, though, for the Rahua Ocllo in Guaman Poma's text, who is shown washing her hair

in the presence of two servants, is much less static overall.

It is interesting to speculate how Murúa would have rendered this *coya* in his final version had he not lifted an earlier drawing. He likely would have employed the more Europeanized style we see throughout the Wellington manuscript, depicting her standing, maybe with a flower in her hand, in the interior of a tiled courtyard, and he would probably have used different colors from those he used in his earlier versions: in other words, he would have depicted a more stereotyped and delicate *coya*, one following European academic conventions. We can also assume that there would have been less correspondence between the text and the drawing, at least compared to Guaman Poma's masterful integration of image and written description.

JMO

1. Phipps and Turner 2002.
2. After searching for this document for nearly twenty-five years, I finally came upon it in 1996 thanks to the generosity of its owner, Mr. Sean Galvin. A complete report of this adventure can be read in "Tras la huella de Fray Martin Murua" (Ossio 2001b). See also the Guaman Poma Web page: <http://www.kb.dk/elib/mss/poma/index-en.htm>.

37. Mantle pin (*ttipqui*)

Peru, late 16th century (?)
Silver, hammered
L. 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (20 cm)
Private collection

REFERENCE: King in New York 2000–2001, p. 57, fig. 21.

EXHIBITION: New York 2000–2001, no. 84.

Garment pins were an essential part of a woman's costume during Inca times. In addition to being decorative, with their well-finished, shiny surfaces in gold, silver, or copper, pins functioned to secure the untailored wrapped dresses and shoulder cloths worn by Andean women. The simple shapes of Inca pins—they usually have circular or crescent heads and plain, undecorated surfaces—reflect Inca aesthetics, which emphasized clarity of form, balanced proportions, and clean outlines.

During the colonial era many Indian and mestiza women continued to wear traditional dress despite the dramatic changes in their lives brought about by the Conquest, and the pins made at this time reflect new, European-inspired forms and decoration, either engraved or in repoussé. Those from the first decades after the Conquest, when local traditions were still going strong, typically combine indigenous features with those of Spanish culture, as seen on this example. Although the shape of the pin is quintessentially Inca, the traced foliage



design on the crescent is derived from European motifs of the period. The geometric decoration on the flattened shaft, near the join with the crescent, is also a European introduction, because the shafts of Inca pins were generally undecorated.

HK

38. *Woman's wedding mantle (lliclla) with tocapu and Adam and Eve*

Lake Titicaca, late 16th–early 17th century
Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid and metallic weft
38 × 45½ in. (96.5 × 113 cm)
Provenance: Island of Koati, Lake Titicaca, 1904¹
Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich (34-41-3)

REFERENCES: Means 1932, fig. 84;
Posnansky 1933, pl. 2; J. Rowe 1946, pl. 92;
Steward 1946–59, vol. 2, pl. 92, before p. 83;
Willey 1974, pl. 57; Muthmann 1977, pp. 25–37, n. 58, pl. 7, fig. 9.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with single-interlocking and dovetail joins; some weft float patterning. **Warp:** cotton //∧ 30 per in. (white). **Weft:** camelid ∧ 130 per in. (red, yellow, blue, white, and purple); metallic weft \ on linen core; cotton ∧ (white) header at top (3 cm). **Selvages:** warp selvage chain-looped on lower edge, on cut-and-entered upper edge. Weft selvage has two warp cords on each edge. **Condition:** damaged areas present at time of excavation; otherwise excellent color preservation.

Wedding mantles woven in the Inca *cumbi* tradition were the epitome of elegance and refinement. As they manifest the memory of the Inca past, they also remind us of the prominent role played by Andean women of noble descent in the transformation of colonial culture. Five early *cumbi* wedding mantles have been preserved (see also cat. nos. 39–42). All are similarly sized, have comparable layouts, and exhibit the same high-quality materials and construction techniques.² Both their origins and their dates of production are obscure, and the difficulty in determining their precise ages is compounded by a general lack of understanding of their context

and when they might have been used. To weave one was certainly a costly undertaking. We can probably safely presume from their expert execution and high-quality materials that they were woven by the best artisans trained under Inca master weavers, the *cumbicamayos* and *acclacuna*.

When the Spanish arrived in the Andes, they encountered a hierarchical society of empire builders, one in which lines of matrilineal descent paralleled patrilineal ones.³ As the Spanish began to organize a colonial administrative system, they retained certain Inca political structures, such as the *caciques*, the local lords. They also sought social legitimacy in order to claim land rights that inhered to the female line. Propitious political alliances thus arose between Andean noblewomen and high-ranking Spanish men, such as the celebrated marriage between Ñusta Beatriz (daughter of Sayri Túpac, the last of the Inca kings) and Martín García de Loyola (a nephew of Saint Ignatius of Loyola and a captain of the guards under Viceroy Francisco de Toledo). In a letter to the king of Spain about the pending wedding, Viceroy Toledo noted the “sacrifice” Loyola was making for the king by marrying a native woman “in spite of her way of dressing.”⁴ Toledo’s disdain is an indicator of the degree to which the meaning of dress permeated both the manners and customs of Iberian society, a trait it shared, actually, with Inca culture. Both societies viewed clothing, and particularly formal dress, as a mark of gentility and social position.

The chronicler Martín de Murúa devoted several chapters to descriptions of Inca weddings, which typically involved days of festivities and multiple changes of clothing.⁵ Little is known about how women participated in colonial public ceremonies; apart from weddings, other formal occasions when Andean women would have worn their finest garments might have included solstitial- and fertility-related ceremonies and ritual gatherings. In Christian processions, however, such as Corpus Christi, only male parishioners paraded the streets carrying the ritual floats and wearing their Inca-style dress.⁶

In paintings depicting the wedding of Ñusta Beatriz, we can see that she wears not only her *tocapu* mantle but also an over-

mantle that falls below her knees. The designs in the field are all oriented in a single direction, indicating that the garment was intended to be worn in a long single layer, not folded. As the average height of an Andean woman was at most about five feet, a garment of this dimension would have fallen at least to midcalf, if not below.⁷

This mantle, like the four following examples, exhibits the classic horizontal layout associated with Andean women’s garments, including a series of horizontal registers whose functions and locations can be identified by names used even to this day.⁸ Because this *lliclla* is woven in tapestry weave and not warp-patterned weave (as are the majority of garments made in the Peruvian Highlands), the weaving direction and design direction are the same. The registers are laid out in mirror image, pivoting at the center in an a-b-c-b-d-b-c-b-a pattern. The two outermost registers, at top and bottom, are called the *cantu* (a); in this mantle (and in some other examples), it has a yellow ground color and is embellished with images of birds and baskets of fruit. Section (b), called the *pallai*, comprises a series of narrow bands with geometrical motifs, including rows of *tocapu*.⁹ Additional small geometrical bands referred to as the *uña pallai*, or “baby” *pallai*, “guard” the *tocapu* rows. These include a braidlike design band on top and bottom and a band containing an S-like design flanking the central *tocapu* band. The latter is referred to in contemporary Highland Quechua as the *kutij* (also the name of an agricultural tool) and may be associated with land cultivation and fertility. The broad (c) bands, the *pampas*, are filled with small-scale images of flora and fauna as well as vignettes, some of which are biblical, such as the Birth of Eve and the Tree of Knowledge with a serpent, and others that are cognizant of Andean ritual functions, such as *coyas* (Inca queens) wearing traditional attire (*llicllas* and *anacus*) and offering *queros* with *chicha*. Each *pampa* (there are two in this mantle) is flanked by *pallai* sections, with a central section (d) that here has a blue ground with monkeys and birds facing baskets of flowers.

Three *betas* (a Spanish term for belt used to describe the rows of *tocapu*) occur in each of the four *pallai* sections of these



38

wedding garments. There are on average fifty *tocapu* designs per row, with little or no sequential repetition. Among all the *tocapu* motifs used in the garment there are only eight or nine primary designs, along with several anomalies. Each has color variations that modify the visual impact of the overall design and allow for the appearance of a random, nonrepeating order.

In most Andean mantles, the areas designated as the *pampas* are generally plain and wide, clear contrasts to the minutely patterned areas. We know from ethnographic documentation that mantles with designs in the *pampas* were usually reserved for use in festivals and for ceremonial purposes.¹⁰ The visual tension between the orderly *tocapu* designs of the *pallai* and the scattered chaos of the *pampas* reflects an archaic Inca

conceptual duality between chaos and order that permeated the Inca aesthetic and social worldview.

The color scheme of this example, which is shared by the others in the group, is predominated by red, blue, yellow, and purple. Generally the outer *cantu* have a yellow ground, the *pallai* have a cochineal red ground, and the *pampas* are either red or purple (actually an over dyeing of indigo blue and cochineal red). There are some exceptions, but the strong presence of red and yellow and the consistency of their use appear to reflect a deliberate cultural choice, reminiscent of the red and yellow ritual garments of the Inca *acclacuna* (see cat. nos. 3, 4).

This example is probably the earliest of the preserved wedding mantles, an assessment based on the formality of the *tocapu*

designs, the remarkable abundance of finely articulated small-scale motifs in the *pampas*, the expertly spun yarns, the somewhat somber appearance of the dyed colors, and the densely packed, single-interlocked double-sided tapestry weave. Found on the island of Koati (also referred to as the Isla de la Luna, or Island of the Moon), and supposedly in a burial context with other Precolumbian artifacts,¹¹ this mantle may have been used in other ceremonial contexts celebrating women's contributions to Andean society.

EP

1. See Posnansky 1933.

2. The other two early examples (in addition to those in this exhibition) are in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (94.448), and the



38, detail of Adam and Eve and *tocapu*

Abegg-Stiftung, Riggisberg, Switzerland (416). The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., also has another half of an early *llulla* (91.432).

3. See Zuidema 1990.
4. See Cúneo Vidal 1925, pp. 214–15. I thank Isabel Iriarte for bringing this letter to my attention.
5. Wellington manuscript of Martín de Murúa, Getty Museum (cat. no. 36). See especially chaps. 16 and 19 and fols. 254r–257r.
6. In 1986 I observed a religious festival in Huaró (outside Cuzco) in which all of the saints from the church were carried on *pasos* around the four corners of the central square; one of the statues was carried by a group of women. Whether particular statues were carried by women in earlier times has not been documented.
7. In the 1570s Viceroy Toledo enacted a series of *ordinanzas* that prescribed, among other things, that native women sew up their dresses to avoid exposing their legs. Later laws prohibited Indian women and those of “mixed blood” from wearing long mantles (they had to wear waist-length mantles instead). See *Recopilación de leyes 1791*, book 7, título 5, law 27 (1791 Madrid: 369). For Toledo’s ordinances, see Zavala 1978–80, vol. 1, p. 144.
8. See Zorn (1984) 1986, pp. 289–307.
9. The term *pallai*, translated as “pickup,” refers to the warp-patterned weaving technique in which the weaver literally picks up the colored threads to create a small design. As a term *pallai* is confusing because it refers both to the individual pattern bands as well as to the group of bands, which collectively are also referred to as the *pallai*. See C. Franquemont (1984) 1986, pp. 331–38.
10. See Adelson and Tracht 1983 and Wasserman and Hill 1981 for examples.
11. Posnansky 1933.



Fig. 118. Viscacha



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39. Woman's wedding mantle (*lliclla*) with *tocapu*

Southern Andes, 17th century

Tapestry weave, cotton warp and silk and metallic on linen weft

36¼ × 50 in. (92.1 × 127 cm)

Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum, Smithsonian Institution, New York; Gift of John Pierpont Morgan (1902-1-782)

REFERENCE: Kajitani 1982, p. 84, fig. 125.

EX COLL.: purchased by John Pierpont Morgan from the Antonio Vives Collection.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with single-interlocking joins and eccentric wefts; some weft-float patterning. In areas where silver yarn is used, it is bound in 3/3 twill. **Warp:** cotton //^ 38 per in. (white) **Weft:** silk /\ 150 (rusty orange [brazilwood?], cochineal pink, yellow, blue, green, beige, dark gray simulating silver; mixed: green and

yellow; blue and pink); silver, flat sheet wound \ on linen core. **Selvages:** warp selvage chain-looped on lower edge (three loops together forming the chain); upper edge cut-and-entered; weft selvages composed of three selvage cords at each edge. **Condition:** excellent, with some faded colors and stains.

This elegant *lliclla*, in shades of pastel orange, yellow, and blue, is one of the few colonial tapestry-woven silk garments to have been preserved. It is exceptional in terms of the quality of the weaving, materials, and the precise geometry of its composition. The effusive patterning, although somewhat chaotic in detail, is, taken as a whole, visually harmonious. The inclusion of Inca designs (notably *tocapu*) indicates that the garment was worn by a woman who took pride in her Andean heritage, whereas the sumptuous materials suggest that she could also afford luxuries available

only to persons in the upper echelons of colonial society. The strict adherence to a traditional *lliclla* layout, if not a traditional design, communicates a respect for community standards, but the unmistakably high-status materials (particularly the silk) stand out.

Spanish trading ships had begun to import silk from China to Lima via the Manila galleons as early as 1534.¹ To guard against excessive luxury, and to protect their domestic silk trade, the Spanish controlled the flow of silk from Asia to the New World and at various times prohibited its sale.² Although available in the Highlands, legally or illegally, silk, in the colonial period, was an expensive and highly desired luxury material.

Although the silk and other fine materials found in this *lliclla* would only have been available to a select set of women, the over-

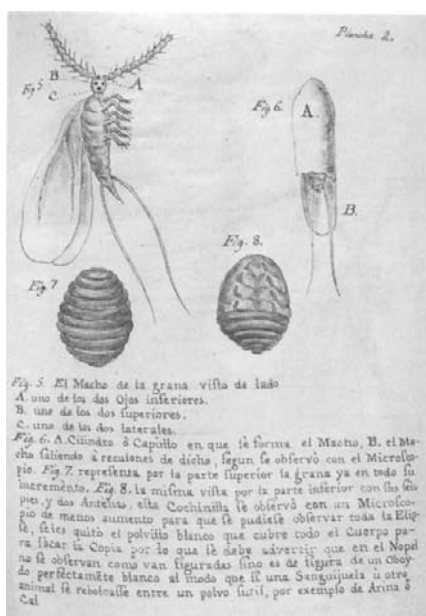


Fig. 119. *Cochineal insect in stages of life cycle*, from José Antonio de Alzate y Ramírez, *Memoria sobre la naturaleza, cultivo y benéfico de la grana*, 1777. Ayer MS 1031, Special Collections, Newberry Library, Chicago

all composition follows the conventional layout for even the most humble of mantles from the Andean Highlands: two *callu*, or halves, each with multiple bands of *pallai* flanking a central field (*pampa*); a center, or *chaupi* (indicated by the color division between red and yellow); and two outer bands on the extreme edges, the *cantu*. The *pallai* are filled with sequences of rectangular *tocapu*. Unlike on Inca-period garments, in which there is no obvious repeating sequence, here the *tocapu* repeat along a diagonal alignment.

In between the *pallai* are the broader *pampas*, filled with vibrant images of Andean flora and fauna—baskets of grape clusters, birds, owls, fish, viscachas, and monkeys—set against an orange ground. European-derived motifs are also present, such as flower-filled urns, lions with curled tongues, mermaids, and even the serpent from the Garden of Eden (but without Adam and Eve).

The narrow pattern bands separating the wider, patterned *pallai* sections are the *uña pallai*, or “baby” *pallai*, here designed as pairs of intertwined threads. This design is a weaver’s device, a kind of “play on words” in the craftsman’s technical vocabulary,³ in which a woven image constructed in

tapestry weave simulates the appearance of an actual woven structure. Another example of this is the narrow, twill-woven float bands of silver threads that form a fine detail across the width of the mantle and that flank the intertwined thread pair to create the appearance of yet another twisting strand.

The *cantu* bands at the extreme edges of the mantle have their own internal design logic. Sets of squares inscribing a pair of birds or fish are flanked by different sets of birds, fish, leafy branches, and insects, all on a yellow ground. These motifs seem to repeat in mirror symmetry from the center out and are identical along top and bottom.

The muted colors in this mantle are unusual for the Andean palette. The rusty orange ground color has faded uniformly over time, a possible indication of the dyestuff used to create it. The palette generally corresponds to that of the fine taffeta silk and metallic brocades popular in Europe in the eighteenth century and may be a reflection of colonial taste during that period. The mantle is considered to have been made earlier than that, however (probably in the early seventeenth century), so perhaps there is another explanation.

Some silk from China arrived already dyed, and the “non-Andean” colors in this mantle may reflect the importation of foreign-dyed yarns that were then used by Andean weavers to create this masterpiece. The dyestuff used in Asia to achieve a bright pinkish-red or orange-red was generally safflower (*Carthamus tinctorius*). The dye is highly sensitive, however, both chemically and photochemically. Silks that became wet or contacted harmful materials while being shipped on the galleons, or that were exposed to sunlight, would have faded easily to a yellowish or beige hue. Some silk was also shipped through Mexico, where it may have been treated and dyed as well.

It seems that the silk in this mantle, and particularly the orange color, was not achieved with safflower dye, as had been originally thought, but rather was most likely dyed by either Andean or Mexican dyers with a local dyestuff, possibly a redwood dye, such as brazilwood.⁴ Other colors in the mantle were also likely to have been dyed locally. The blues, for example,

would have been made of indigo, and the deep reds used for small color accents, which have not faded, were likely made with cochineal. Cochineal is a dye made from the dried bodies of the scale insect (fig. 119), which flourished in Peru and Mexico. After silver, cochineal was the most important export from the Spanish colonies.⁵ Considering the abundance of cochineal in the Andes and the familiar, bright pink cochineal hue that predominates on so many colonial garments and tapestry hangings, the light orange and pale greens and yellows of this exquisite mantle are all the more surprising, even exotic touches.

EP

1. The Manila galleons stopped first in Acapulco and then made their way to Callao, the port of Lima. These shipments included silk cloth as well as yarns, used in bulk as packing materials. Trade from Callao to colonial cities in the Highlands followed both land and sea routes. See Schurz 1939. Beginning in the sixteenth century, silkworms were also raised in Mexico, and “Misteca” silk was produced there. Laws were enacted to ensure that the Mexican silk (considered inferior) was not mixed with the Chinese silk; see Quiroz Chueca and Quiroz Chueca 1986, p. 19.
2. Legislation in 1591 prohibited trade between China and Peru; similar prohibitions were also enacted in 1593, 1595, and 1604; Schurz 1939, p. 365.
3. This type of visual reference has a long history in the Andes. See Frame (1984) 1986, pp. 47–80, for the Precolumbian context of this discussion.
4. My first impression of the faded orange color was that it had been dyed with safflower, but examination under ultraviolet light in the conservation lab at the Cooper-Hewitt (performed by conservator Lucy Commoner) could not confirm this. Safflower dye has a high fluorescence under ultraviolet light, and the orange color of the mantle did not react as one would expect of safflower-dyed material. The dull absorption of the ultraviolet light waves combined with the obvious poor lightfastness of the original dyestuff leads me to hypothesize that the silk was probably dyed with brazilwood or a related redwood dyestuff. Further chemical testing is required to confirm this.
5. The redwood dyes, cochineal, and indigo would have been available in both Mexico and Peru at that time. For the export of cochineal, see Lee 1951, pp. 205–24.



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40. *Woman's wedding mantle (lliclla) with mermaids and Spanish figures*

Lake Titicaca, 16th or 17th century(?)
 Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid and metallic and possibly viscacha hair weft
 43³/₈ × 46³/₄ in. (110.2 × 118.7 cm)
 Provenance: possibly Island of Koati, Lake Titicaca
 National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (5/3773)
 Ex COLL.: Eduardo del Valle, La Paz (obtained from original excavator); purchased

by Louis Chable, 1893; purchased by James Ford, 1916, and presented to the Smithsonian in that year

REFERENCES: Zimmern 1943–44, p. 44 n. 13, p. 46 n. 108; Muthmann 1977, pp. 20–25, pl. 6; Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías 1987, fig. 53.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with single-interlocking joins; weft-float patterning.¹ **Warp:** cotton //∧ 36 per in. (white). **Weft:** camelid ∧ 160 per in. (purple, pink, yellow, white, light blue, and green-gray); silk ∧ (identified under 400x mag.) (green, yellow, pink, and salmon); special fibers (vicuña? [brown]; viscacha [gray]); blended white and gray composed of one silk and one camelid yarn, plied; metallic yarn:

silver sheet \ wound on silk core ∧ (core yarn identified under 400x mag.). Cotton weft yarn ∧ used as heading for weaving at beginning and end (four shots). **Selvages:** warp selvages chain-looped at lower end (loop lengths equal to six warps), cut-and-entered at top; side selvages have two doubled warps at each edge; plain weave heading with cotton wefts. **Condition:** excellent state of physical and color preservation.

The reputation of the great Inca master weavers (*cumbicamayos*) of the Lake Titicaca region was well documented by Spanish chroniclers in the sixteenth century. This exquisite, double-sided tapestry-weave

mantle (*lliclla*), reportedly from the Temple of the Sun on Koati, an island in the lake, is the product of their expert work.² If the Koati provenance is true, this could mean the mantle was made by weavers from the renowned weaving center of Capachica, established by Huayna Capac, the eleventh Inca king, or by weavers from other nearby workshops that continued to weave for as long as twenty to forty years after the Conquest. Beautifully detailed, expertly dyed, and made with the finest of materials, including exotic native fibers such as alpaca and viscacha and imported silk and silver threads, this mantle is surely one of the best documents of Andean weaving expertise preserved from the colonial period.

The design was conceived as a sequence of horizontally aligned sections indicative of all Andean women's attire. The seemingly chaotic arrangement of motifs—abundant small-scale figures and geometric designs in brilliant colors cover virtually the entire surface of the garment—belies the rigid conventions dictating the types, positions, and sequences of designs and the color schemes of *llicllas*. Each section has its own specific set of motifs and patterns that hew to an internal organizational logic.

The two outermost bands, the *cantu*, have a yellow ground color, a common

feature of colonial mantles like this one (see also cat. no. 38). These bands, which bracket the garment, contain images of running animals all facing one direction and spaced relatively far apart; most are Andean, including the monkey, with its curled tail, and the viscacha, a rabbitlike rodent. These moving beasts alternate with stationary baskets and flower-filled urns. Interspersed throughout are smaller motifs of native fruits, vegetables, and flowers.

There are four sections of *pallai*, each containing five narrow bands of three different sets of designs, all set on a red ground. The three design sets include a band of *tocapu*; a band of geometric motifs; and a band with floral and faunal imagery. The three band types alternate in mirror symmetry (a-b-c-b-a). Within the *tocapu* bands there are thirty-seven different *tocapu* designs that seem to be randomly sequenced. Interspersed between them are the thin, narrow bands of the *uña pallai*, or “baby” *pallai*, which contain metallic threads woven to simulate the appearance of a twisted strand. The strands that separate the larger bands were created using a float weave—which skips over warp yarns—rather than interlacing with them one by one, like the tapestry weave used to make the rest of the garment. The entire *pallai* section—and all of its internal sequences of bands, strands, and patterns—is repeated four times on the mantle: once on either edge and twice in the middle, the latter being separated by a unique central band.

The two *pampas*, demarcated by bands with woven depictions of lace lappets, are the broadest sections of the garment and are filled with myriad small-scale designs, most of them oriented in a single direction: leopards, llamas, running guanacos (a wild camelid), parrots, monkeys, butterflies, flowers, birds, and fish, as well as baskets of fruit, double-headed eagles, kneeling soldiers brandishing swords, and guitar-playing mermaids, among many others. The ground color is purple, but the space is so thoroughly covered with design that very little of it is actually visible.

The center band, or *chaupi*, is flanked by *pallai* that make it difficult to distinguish this unique section from those around it. On close examination, however, one can discern that it is a discrete band of free-

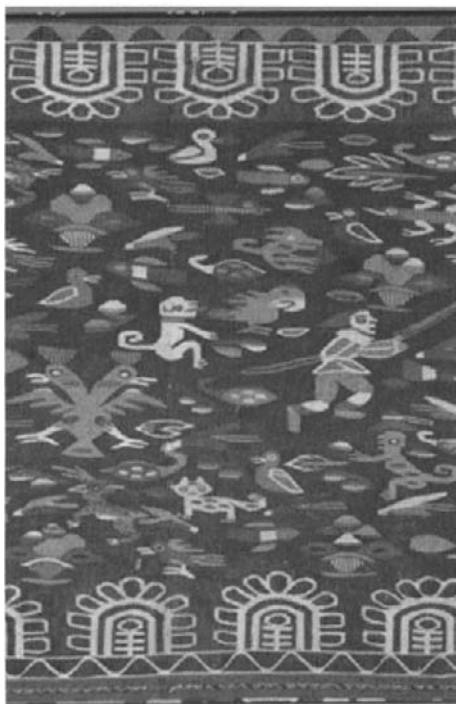
floating animals and flowers set against a yellow ground. White and blue viscachas appear to be seated and eating something, while scattered images of cantuta flowers and other vegetal forms alternate with birds and lizards with striped bodies. Some of the animals change direction in the center of the band.

The composition of this tapestry mantle is based on the layout of a warp-patterned mantle, which would have been made from two separate panels seamed together along the center. The sequencing and repetition of the motifs and their positions on the mantle follow time-honored Andean practice, which can be compared with similar ethnic traditions still practiced in the Highlands.³

The lappet-patterned lace designs incorporated into the *pallai* clearly indicate this garment was made for a native woman of nobility and high social standing, lace being a widespread preoccupation in colonial Andean society. Sumptuary laws were eventually enacted that regulated the number and types of edging tapes certain women could wear on their mantles.⁴ That the owner of this *lliclla* also claimed Inca heritage is reflected in the traditional layout, typical of Highland weaving, and the *tocapu*, the Inca rank insignia. However, by incorporating the image of Spanish lace within Andean patterning, the owner was also keeping up with the fashions of the colonial social milieu. Also, scattered among the various lively figures are several subversive images, such as a monkey wearing a bishop's hat and two condors flanking the *mascaypacha*, the Inca royal fringe that was worn solely by the king, a symbol of Inca sovereignty. It hovers within the field of the garment much like the Hapsburg double-headed eagle, and it assumes an equal compositional weight.

This *lliclla* belongs to a group of three examples possibly made in the same workshop (see also cat. no. 38).⁵ Although not identical in terms of design, all three share the same high-quality weaving, palette, motifs, and patterning. Two have pattern areas clearly demarcated by woven designs representing lace; all three have *tocapu* designs in the *pallai* and lively, design-filled *pampas* sections. Many of the same *tocapu* designs are common to them all.⁶

40, detail of lace motif border



Woven to highest Inca quality standards, this superb garment would have been worn for ceremonial purposes, most likely for a wedding. Although some of its motifs display Spanish influences, overall it is overwhelmingly Andean in its conceptualization and viewpoint. It is possible that viscacha hair yarn was used in the weft, which would be a particularly Andean touch. The viscacha (see fig. 118), a rodent native to the Andes and a member of the chinchilla family, has long, fine, silky gray or tan hairs. Using gray viscacha yarn to weave an actual image of a gray viscacha would have been a subtle means of validating the garment's authenticity as the embodiment of Andean ideals.

EP

1. Several weaving errors are present in which the warps have been left behind, exposed at the back. Because of the extremely dense packing of the wefts and the closeness of the warps, the weaver most likely skipped them inadvertently.
2. Zimmern indicated that it had been purchased in La Paz. See Zimmern 1943–44, p. 44 n. 13, and also p. 46, n. 108.
3. See Phipps 1996, pp. 144–56.
4. These sumptuary laws were proclaimed from Madrid, evidence of Spain's control (or attempt to gain control) over even the most minor details of colonial life. See *Recopilación de leyes 1791*, book 7, título 5, law 27 (1791, Madrid: 369).
5. The third is in the Abegg-Stiftung, Riggisberg, Switzerland (416); see Muthmann 1977.
6. A number of the shared *tocapu* are designs familiar from Inca production, including one forming the image of an X, a four-part diamond, and the so-called Inca key; see Phipps (2003) n.d.

41. *Partial woman's wedding mantle (lliclla) with Sun faces and serpents*

Southern Andes, 17th century(?)

Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid and metallic weft on linen core
 30¾ × 20 in. (78.1 × 50.8 cm)
 Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.; Gift of Mrs. G. V. Hook, from the Estate of Gustave Pabst (1968.35.1)

REFERENCE: Muthmann 1977, fig. 16, p. 32.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with single-interlocking joins and dovetail and

curvilinear wefts; some weft-float patterning. **Warp:** cotton ///∧ 30 per in. (white). **Weft:** camelid ∧ 132 per in. (light and dark cochineal red, yellow, blue, purple-blue, and white); metallic silver sheet \ on /∧ linen core; loosely wrapped metal. **Selvages:** warp selvage chain-looped on lower edge; cut-and-entered upper edge. One side of weft selvage is preserved, the other is cut. **Condition:** incomplete, otherwise excellent physical and color preservation.

Even incomplete (see fig. 120), this half *lliclla*, with its fine tapestry weave, brilliant colors, and wildly animated designs, is a tribute to the imagination and artistry of the Andean weaver. One can imagine that when mated with its other half and still in pristine condition, replete with silver threads and silky alpaca yarns, this jewel-like garment would have shimmered in the Cuzco sunlight, elegantly draped around a *ñusta*, an Inca princess.¹ Following the conventional layout of women's mantles, it has sequential registers of narrow, patterned bands (*pallai*) juxtaposed against broad sections (*pampas*) filled with free-floating floral and faunal imagery from the Altiplano. The centers of the *pallai* bands are regularly spaced and geometrically variable *tocapu*, arranged according to Inca custom in what appears to be a random sequence in rows, or *betas*. Because the width of the *tocapu* in each row varies, the vertical alignment is not exact, but it is nearly exact, perhaps reflecting the difficulty the weaver faced while trying not to repeat designs.

We see a pattern established in this fragment that is echoed in later *llicllas*. Whereas in this example the border designs demarcating the two *pampas* sections are Andean in origin (a polychrome stepped mound motif), in later *llicllas* this same area—the border between the *pallai* and the *pampa*—is often articulated with a European-derived image of lace or fringe. The small bands on either side of the *tocapu* rows—with repeating motifs of concentric circles and bars—are mimicking in tapestry weave a pattern commonly found on warp-patterned women's garments, where they are used as an edge finishing called *nawi awapa*.² Flanking these bands are tiny weft-float designs (the *uña pallai*, or “baby” *pallai*) that reproduce the image of a twisted braid. Both of these rows—the

nawi awapa and the *uña pallai*—are “translations” from one design vocabulary and technique (warp patterning) into another (tapestry weave), and as such they would have been familiar visual references for the Andean observer.

Like a *lliclla* now in the British Museum (cat. no. 42), this example appears to have three *pampas*, but close examination of the central band reveals that it is differentiated from the outer two by its design and border motifs. All three sections incorporate a dizzying array of creatures and plants, but there are distinct subsets of images in each. In the center register, among the lively flocks of birds, monkeys, and rodents lurk mermaids, sea monsters, a dark and frightening mythological animal, and a pelican feeding her young with blood drawn from her breast. The outer registers, which include silver Suns with faces, vases of flowers, and running animals and birds, are flanked by a stepped motif reminiscent of the lace bands seen on other *llicllas* (see cat. nos. 38, 39). The Sun face motif is an ancient Andean image and appears in only a few colonial tapestry garments, hangings, and carpets. In a colonial context it could be interpreted as a reference to the Inca cult of the Sun. Here the motif is constructed of precious silver threads and is animated with large eyes and an open



Fig. 120. Other half of cat. no. 41. 21½ × 30¾ in. (53.5 × 78 cm). Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim, Germany (V.9000)



mouth that beckons the creatures of the land and sky.

Many of these potent images might seem somewhat intimidating for a garment meant to be worn in “polite” colonial society, as a *lliclla* of this quality almost certainly was (in fact, it was likely a wedding mantle). Wearing these designs must have constituted a subtle subversive act, a sly protest against the suppression of native Andean religion that was vehemently carried out by Spanish priests in the early seventeenth century. During these “extirpation” campaigns, anything resembling or harking back to the Andean *huacas* or other Inca sacred objects or places was collected and often burned. Although Christian motifs such as the pelican are also present, she practically rests on the back of a large dragonlike serpent. The large, dark animal-human creature may have had a biblical association and could be interpreted as the devil incarnate. The Sun face, too, could be constructed as the solar representation of Christ, as made visible in the silver and gold monstrosities used to celebrate the Eucharist.

More than many other examples, this garment evidences the innovation of native weavers for integrating the inherent contradictions and dualities of the colonial world. It exuberantly celebrates Inca emblems even as it incorporates silver thread—introduced by the Spanish—to embellish Sun motifs and *tocapu*—the most sacred, highly charged, and politically powerful Inca symbols—as well as scattered Christian icons. With its impeccable weaving and dyeing, both quintessential Andean achievements, and its unsettling combination of subject matter, it contextualizes the hybrid nature of a culture in transition, mediating between a haunting evocation of the past and the realities of the present.

EP

1. See Brussels 1990, vol. 2, p. 197, no. 248.

2. E. Franquemont 1986, pp. 309–30, especially p. 319 (citing Cahlander, Franquemont, and Bergman 1981).

42. *Woman's wedding mantle (lliclla) with embroidered tocapu edges*

Southern Andes, 17th century

Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid, metallic on silk, and possibly viscacha weft; camelid embroidery

36 × 38 in. (91.4 × 96.5 cm)

British Museum, London (1891.7-22.2)

EX COLL.: possibly acquired on coast of Peru by Captain Shirreff; donated to British Museum by Emily A. E. Shirreff, 1891¹

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with single-interlocking and dovetail joins; some wedge weave and eccentric wefts, and some weft-float patterning. Edge embroidery; couching, chain-stitch, and overcasting. **Warp:** cotton //^ 24 per in. (white). **Weft:** camelid ^ 104–160 per in. (cochineal pink, green, orange, purple, blue, brown, and yellow); unknown hair, possibly viscacha (brownish-grayish-yellow); silk ^ (blue, yellow, white, green, and pink (light yellow, possibly safflower dye); metallic threads (silver sheet wound \ on silk core / [white]); **Embroidery:** camelid ^ (pink, blue, white, brown; plied red and blue; red and white). **Selvages:** warp selvages chain-looped on lower end, cut-and-entered on upper end; weft selvages preserved. **Condition:** excellent.

With its orderly rows of *tocapu* alternating with small-scale motifs that proliferate across the surface, this mantle undoubtedly clothed an Andean woman of the highest social status in colonial society. It is woven of *cumbi* tapestry weave, the cloth greatly admired by the Spanish, which utilized only the best of materials: in this example, not only fine camelid-hair yarns but also imported silk and metallic threads. This *lliclla* may also include the highly prized soft and silky hairs of the viscacha, a member of the chinchilla family native to the Andes.²

Following the traditional layout of Andean women's mantles, this colonial *lliclla* is organized in horizontal registers. There are three wide sections (two *pampas* and a center); four sets of *pallai*, the groups of narrow patterned bands; and two *cantu*, the bands on either outer horizontal edge. Each of these areas has its own visual rhythm, sequencing, and color patterning,

resulting in a complex, richly syncopated design. The imagery includes a plethora of Andean flora and fauna as well as the methodically ordered *tocapu*, all confined to their proper registers according to long-standing Andean convention.

The two *pampas* contain animal and flower motifs loosely organized around and inside of an undulating, double-twisting strand that rhythmically crosses and recrosses itself, transversing the width of the garment. Unlike a rigid European gridwork pattern, here this diamond network appears to be constructed of quatrefoils and scrolls.³

The traditional Andean woman's mantle includes two wide *pampas* and a narrow, central band. Here, because the three registers containing the flora and fauna are of more or less equal height, they appear as three *pampas*. The ground color of the two outer *pampas* is red, while that of the center is blue. The coloration and design of the center band are also slightly different, including motifs not found in the other two bands, such as the crowned double-headed eagle. The center band contains images of running and profiled animals similar to ones found in the flanking *pampas*, but they are organized along a clearly articulated, superimposed diagonal grid of quatrefoils and S designs.⁴ The outer red-ground *pampas* are constructed with so many colors, which change several times across the width of the mantle, that the gridwork pattern is less visible as an organizational device.

The *pallai* are filled with basically Inca-style *tocapu*, although some, including the motif of a flower sprig, diverge from the purely geometrical and as such represent a colonial innovation.⁵ Of the 133 individual *tocapu* rectangles in this garment, there are approximately thirty designs rendered in several color variations. Although the designs repeat, the sequence of *tocapu*, as a result of the color variations, remarkably appears not to repeat either horizontally or vertically. The *cantu* contain a repeating rosette motif that has four volutes extending from the center, a somewhat enigmatic but widely used emblem in the colonial design vocabulary.

The edges of the mantle are elaborately embroidered with unusually complex



42

designs, including various *tocapu* and *tocapu*-like motifs inscribed in rectangular formats. The embroidered *tocapu* subtly reinforce the social import of the garment, already made clear by the presence of woven *tocapu*. This detail is found in only a few colonial garments, including a series of embroidered men's ceremonial tunics from the Highlands.⁶ The method of embroidery closely resembles that seen in the edges of the small "Diego Dias" tunic (cat. no. 88) in the Museo Inka, Cuzco, which also shares individual *tocapu* motifs with this *lliclla*, such as the depiction of a spotted jaguar. It is possible that these garments were made, or at least embroidered, by the same hand. Although all Inca-period mantles had either simple striped or solid-color edge embroidery, almost no colonial mantles have any embroidery at all, let alone this elaborate.⁷ The location of the embroidery sections—decorative and polychrome embroidery along the corners and shorter

sides, with simple monochrome embroidery along the upper and lower horizontal edges—follows Andean conventions that date far back into the Precolumbian era.

The artistic tension manifested in this mantle arises between two very different design archetypes. The almost frantic array of flora and fauna juxtaposed to the orderly, geometric *tocapu*, and the underlying conventional structure of the garment itself, reiterate and reflect an old Inca duality, a philosophical perception of how the chaos of the natural world has order and discipline imposed upon it by the empire. Colonial elements certainly modulate that outlook, but they also compound that Inca vision in novel contrapuntal and synchronic ways.

EP

1. I thank Helen Wolf for providing this information.
2. Microscopic identification was not conducted; the presence of viscacha hair in this mantle is based on my visual examination, July 2003.

3. The weaving of images that were originally textile structures—literally, a double-twisting strand—reflects the conceptual thinking of the weaver and is a cultural trait found in many Andean textiles. See, for example, Frame (1984) 1986, pp. 47–80.
4. In contemporary ethnographic examples, this S design is sometimes called *kutij* and refers to an instrument used for cultivation. See, for example, Silverman (1987) 1994, p. 160; see also Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías 1987.
5. Some of the *tocapu* appear to have been intentionally designed as compound images, conjoining two separate motifs into one elongated *tocapu*.
6. See, for example, tunics in the Brooklyn Museum (86.224.51) and the Museo Inka, Cuzco (nos. 714 and 715), and a tapestry in the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich (cat. no. 38).
7. The edges of some colonial garments seem to have been covered at some time with silk ribbons. There is little evidence indicating that this was done at the time of manufacture. See, for example, catalogue number 90, which also had a silk ribbon and silk flowers (now removed) attached to the neck opening.

Inspirations and Transformations

Within a few years of the Conquest the Spanish had largely tapped out the hoards of Inca silver and gold. Conquistadors had sent back to Spain the captured treasure of ransom and loot, some in their original wondrous forms, but many melted down into ingots. In 1545, however, the Andean world was once again turned upside down by the discovery in mountainous Bolivia of the Cerro Rico, or “rich mountain,” the most concentrated deposit of silver ever found. Mining the Cerro Rico, which rises high above the town of Potosí (itself 13,415 feet above sea level), demanded vast numbers of indigenous laborers. Sent into the maw of the mountain to work extensive networks of shafts, their toil helped fuel the economy of the Spanish Empire for decades to come. Much of the wealth generated by the mountain stayed in viceregal Peru, enriching Spanish and indigenous elite alike. It also drew a new kind of European population to Peru: settlers and artists who came to take advantage of the opportunities viceregal society had to offer, and who thus further altered the balance of life in the region.

Andean artists were quickly trained in the comparatively alien European arts of painting and polychromed, figurative sculpture. They were apprenticed to individual Spanish masters, and workshops were established in the monasteries of the viceroyalty’s largest cities, such as in the convent of San Francisco in Quito, at the northern extent of the old Inca Empire, where the Flemish monks Jodoco Ricke and Pedro Gocial trained natives to paint in a Northern Renaissance style. Farther south, in the Arequipa and Puno regions, the Italian Jesuit Bernardo Bitti brought yet another European mode to the Andes. Although much painting and sculpture was directed toward communicating Christian beliefs or embellishing the religious environment, portraiture, too, eventually became an important genre, especially for Andeans who had claims to noble Inca descent and who understood the prestige conferred by this form of self-presentation.

But even in the art forms that had strong traditional Andean foundations, such as weaving and metalworking, Spanish tastes prevailed. The new immigrants brought with them the latest styles in dress and household furnishings popular in mid-sixteenth-century Spain, and these served to inspire the works produced in Peru. The European tradition of furnishing interior spaces with

large hanging tapestries motivated the highly skilled Andean weavers to create large, innovative works that conflated a vast array of design references. Using yarns made from the extremely fine, silky hairs of their native camelid herds and brilliant dyes made from local, natural sources, Andean weavers drew on their own traditional knowledge of how to produce densely woven, double-sided tapestry cloth to make European-style “tapestries” with unique qualities, from armorial *reposterios* for the viceroy to hangings and covers for elite Spanish and Andean society. The tapestries of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries thus manifest the cross-cultural convergence of Spanish and Inca traditions.

Viceregal silverwork was heavily influenced by silversmiths from the Low Countries, the Rhineland, and the Iberian Peninsula, who were drawn to Peru by the ready availability of silver and the expectation of a wealthy civil and ecclesiastical clientele. This burgeoning market, which included Europeans as well as wealthy Indians, in turn created new opportunities for Andean silversmiths, whose “primitive” methods had yielded the gold and silver treasures that so astounded the conquistadors. Already masters of such silverworking techniques as lost-wax casting, repoussé, chasing, and filigree, they rapidly assimilated European methods, motifs, and styles. Iron tools introduced by European metalworkers quickly enabled Andean silversmiths to move away from the essentially geometric ornamentation of the Inca style to the more subtly varied surface effects and delicate naturalistic patterns that marked sixteenth-century silver products brought over from Europe.

The imported design that had the greatest impact on the decorative arts of viceregal Peru was a kind of leafy scroll that incorporated a wide variety of real and fabulously hybrid animal and human forms. Whereas the depictions of animalistic images with overtones of Andean nature worship was of persistent concern to vigilant viceregal authorities, European versions of these creatures—basilisks, birds, dragons, lions, and mermaids—seemed to have passed muster. Either contained within the leafy scrolls, such as in the borders of tapestries or the friezes of silver vessels, or extracted from them in creative ways and incorporated into more traditional Andean forms, these lively characters became integral parts of the Andean design vocabulary.

TC, JH, and EP

43. Marcos Chiguan Topa

Cuzco, ca. 1740–45

Oil on canvas, 78³/₈ × 51¹/₈ in. (199 × 130 cm)

Inscribed in cartouche: *Don Marcos Chiguan*

Thopa Coronilla Inga, Caballero Católico por la gracia

de Dios, Alférez Real de su Majestad y vno de los 24

Electos diputados de los Yngas Nobles de las 8

Parroquias desta gran Ciudad del Cuzco Desendiente de

Sangre Real de Cápac Lloque Yupangui Inga, 3. Rey que

fue de estos Reynos: (. . .) Casique Principal y

Gouernador de la Villa de Gu ayllabamba Marquesado

de Oropesa (. . .) y por el año de 1720 fue Alférez Real

en dicho Marquesado Y el año de 1720 saco la Real

Bandera en esta (. . .).

Arms: per fess or and azure, in chief a double-headed eagle displayed—between two palm(?) trees proper, in base on a mound vert two serpents erect crowned respecting each other, at the fess point overall the royal Inca fringe (*mascaypacha*) gules, within a bordure gules, charged with eight crosses formy alternating with eight letters, R, L or I, A, ?, ?, M, W or; crest(?): a man's head.

Museo Inka, Universidad Nacional San

Antonio Abad del Cusco

REFERENCES: Castelnu 1854, pl. 59; J. Rowe 1951, pp. 260, 263–67, fig. 1; Gisbert 1980, p. 149, fig. 156; J. Rowe 1984, pp. 109–28, fig. 1; Milla Batres 1986, vol. 3, pp. 135–37; Cummins 1991, pp. 203–32, fig. 2; Dean 1999, pp. 115–17, fig. 28, pl. 7; Cummins in Madrid 1999–2000, pp. 188–91; Dean 2002, p. 112, fig. 28.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1999–2000, no. 20.

The subject of this portrait, Marcos Chiguan Topa, was a rich *curaca* (Inca noble) of eighteenth-century Cuzco. He is shown surrounded by a combination of carefully arranged emblems evocative of both indigenous and Hispanic power. This symbolic duality proved an indispensable tool for the native aristocracy as they assimilated European concepts of nobility and dignity and, in so doing, constructed their complex, if sometimes artificial, colonial public image. A controversial, somewhat irascible character, Chiguan Topa knew how to capitalize on imagery to tell a story in the Andean world, and he made astute use of it here to affirm his often questioned local authority, although this intentionality also explains the somewhat artificial aspect of the figure.

Like other *curacas* of his time, Chiguan Topa commissioned this portrait as part of a much larger series that included images

of all his direct ancestors. Through such a “genealogical” sequence of canvases, which were hung visibly in their homes, Chiguan Topa and the other Inca leaders evoked their indigenous imperial past as they also reaffirmed their ancestral loyalty to the Spanish crown. Marcos himself was the head of a family said to be descendents of Inca Lloque Yupanqui—considered a legendary figure—but he also claimed as ancestors some of the first converts to Christianity, who were strategically allied with the Spanish at the time of the Conquest.

In this work Chiguan Topa decided to have himself portrayed in the role of the *alférez real*, or royal standard-bearer, an honorific position vigorously contested by the indigenous noblemen of Cuzco. Every year for the Feast of Saint John the Apostle, the electors of the Inca *panacas* (clans) corresponding to the eight indigenous parishes of Cuzco would appoint one person among them to carry the royal standard during the celebrations.¹ As the inscription on this painting informs us, Chiguan Topa was chosen for this responsibility in 1720.² He also wears the medallion of the Immaculate Conception—a Marian cult promoted by the Jesuits and explicitly linked to the Spanish monarchy—to commemorate his appointment in 1730 as the *mayordomo* (director) of the confraternity of the Immaculate Conception in the town of Huayllabamba, a fact that is omitted from the inscription.⁴ Both events predate the execution of the portrait, which John Rowe has dated to about 1740–45 based on the latest events listed in the cartouche.³

The subject's attire is not the dress customarily worn by Inca nobles in the mid-eighteenth century, a period of growing regionalist sympathies. Whereas almost all other extant paintings of an indigenous *alférez real* show men dressed like “Incas,” here Chiguan Topa presents himself in dark clothing echoing the courtly style of Charles II (r. 1665–1700). A double gold chain is slung across one shoulder, and on his chest we see some of the heavy jewelry customarily worn by the “great nobles of Spain” in their own portraits. A second chain serves as a necklace for the aforementioned medallion of the Immaculate Conception and draws a pretentious paral-

lel to the Order of the Golden Fleece seen on the Spanish royal standard next to him. In a further aggrandizement of the image, Chiguan Topa's own coat of arms is larger than that of Castile and León.⁶ The gilding or “brocading,” by then common practice in Cuzqueño religious painting, communicates an air of courtly luxury. At the same time, the “native” identification of the subject is never left open to question, especially through the inclusion of the colonial Inca-style headdress, which combines European heraldic emblems with the *mascaypacha*, the royal fringe once worn only by the Inca supreme monarch.⁷

Part of the *raison d'être* of this portrait—and its résumé of honors and distinctions—was no doubt to refute challenges to Chiguan Topa's *cacique* authority brought by his patron, Pascual Enríquez de Cabrera, the fourth marqués de Oropesa, on behalf of Chiguan Topa's indigenous subjects, who had complained of “extortion, violence and tyranny as well as [Chiguan Topa] branding them on their behinds like mules.”⁸ (Local authority in the Huayllabamba district was dependent on the marqués, who lived in Spain but appointed the *cacique* through Jesuit superiors in the viceroyalty.) The marqués died in 1739, however, and after his sister followed him to the grave in 1741 the title, which followed a legitimate line of Inca imperial descent, was left vacant. The succession was widely disputed by prominent families in the indigenous aristocracy during the following decades.⁹

In perhaps his most audacious gesture—and one unremarked by modern commentators until now—Chiguan Topa decided to cast himself in this portrait in the likeness of the original marqués de Oropesa. To do so he had the painter appropriate the image of an imaginary figure that nevertheless would have had great symbolic value and was familiar to all audiences in Cuzco: that of Juan Enríquez de Borja, who appears in the famous painting of the wedding of Ñusta Beatriz and Martín García de Loyola in the entrance to the Jesuit church in Cuzco (fig. 31). In that painting Enríquez marries Ana María Clara Coya, the as-yet-to-be-born daughter of the *ñusta* and her conquistador husband, in a fictional union that made him the first marqués de Santiago de Oropesa.¹⁰

Although the wedding image of the marqués was undoubtedly the primary model for this portrait, it is possible that the painter also had at hand one of the numerous copies or derivative works that were commissioned by many indigenous nobles linked to the Jesuits. It is likely, in fact, that Chiguan Topa, himself a former student of the Jesuits, had one of these paintings in his house. Of all the versions to reach us, the example closest to this portrait dates to 1718 and is now in the Museo Pedro de Osma, Lima. That work evidences an unquestionable formal and stylistic relationship to this portrait—in particular, both have a fine “brocading” of gold that was used to create the complicated floral designs in the lace on the sleeves—introducing the possibility that they were made by the same atelier or circle of artists.

We are led to wonder, then, whether the garments worn here by Chiguan Topa actually existed or whether they were part of a copied pictorial fiction. The attire and the stance of the characters are almost the same, but minor, crucial modifications were made to provide “local color,” bring the character up to date historically, and further Chiguan Topa’s ambitious iconographic scheme. For example, a change in the position of the hands allows the *cacique* to bear the standard, and the marqués’s pleated ruff collar, from the reign of Philip II, has been replaced by the *valona*, a type of collar favored during the reign of the last Hapsburg, Charles II, and one that remained in vogue in the Andes until the early eighteenth century. The Saint James scallop shell worn by the marqués is here replaced by the medallion of the confraternity of the Immaculate Conception of Huayllabamba. The riding boots and spurs, unusual items for such a nobleman, were included to emphasize that Chiguan Topa had been extended the privileges of a “Catholic gentleman.” Within this dense, contrived setting, Chiguan Topa’s face, with marked indigenous features and dark skin, emerges like a vibrant, realistic fragment that would have been immediately recognizable by his contemporaries. To them, this portrait—which effectively transfigured Chiguan Topa for posterity as the local avatar of the marqués de Oropesa—would have read as a subtle defiance of the constant scrutiny



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to which he had been subject throughout his life.

LEW

1. On this history of the *alferazgo* (position of the royal standard bearer), see Amado 2002, pp. 221–49.
2. In 1720 the “great epidemic” (diphtheria) struck Cuzco and the surrounding area, decimating the indigenous population. Amid the prevailing

confusion, Chiguan Topa likely took advantage of the fact that some *panacas* had no leader to force his election. See *ibid.*, p. 233.

3. The transcription of the cartouche used here appears in J. Rowe 1951, p. 266.
4. See Garrett 2002, p. 298.
5. J. Rowe 1951, p. 259.
6. This is the same set of arms granted to Paullu Inca by Charles V in 1545, which the Chiguan Topa family, along with many other ranking

members of the Inca aristocracy, assumed as their own.

7. As Carolyn Dean (2002, p. 127) has pointed out, the headdress is the same as the one worn by his ancestor, Alonso Chiguan Inga (cat. no. 118).
8. Cited by J. Rowe 1951, app. D, pp. 267–68.
9. This long-running legal dispute was to some degree a prelude to the great rebellion of 1780, which was headed by one of the contenders, José Gabriel Condorcanqui. See the recent studies by David Garrett (2003, pp. 9–51) and David Cahill (2003, pp. 9–35).
10. In the marriage painting, the characters are erroneously identified as Juan de Borja and Lorenza Inga de Loyola. For a discussion of their actual names, see García Sáiz 2002, pp. 201–17.

44a–e. Nesting Boxes

Before 1622

Silver

Largest (outer) box: H. 2¼ in. (5.7 cm),

L. 4½ in. (11.4 cm)

Provenance: salvaged from the wreck of the galleon *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*, 1986

Private collection

Six silver oval boxes, each one “nested” inside the next largest, were recovered from the 1622 wreck of the Spanish galleon *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*. Because they were nested, all but the outer box have remained in remarkably good condition. Each has a slightly different set of decorative motifs that nevertheless harkens to the others, as if the silversmith had intended them as variations on a theme. Interlaced quatrefoil and crisscrossing shapes predominate in the decorative bands that wrap around the sides of the boxes. Interspersed among these are floral vases similar to those seen woven in many colonial Andean textiles. The lids all have the same basic design: two profile, bilaterally symmetrical birds facing a floral vase. The manner in which the figures are outlined in a curvilinear style, set off by a stippled background (the technique is reversed in the second-largest of the five surviving examples), is very similar to the decoration around the rim of catalogue number 31, a colonial *aquilla*, suggesting that the nesting boxes were made by an Andean, not a Spanish, silversmith. What these boxes were intended for is unclear; however, there are clues in

their iconography as to whom they might have belonged.

In the center of the lid belonging to the largest surviving box is an escutcheon that is crowned by the Hapsburg double-headed eagle. The band around the box displays four more escutcheons, each containing a pierced, flaming heart turned upside down, and in between these are alternating series of viscachas and owls. The iconographic source for the heart is certainly the flaming heart at the center of the Augustinian crest; the arrow piercing the heart thus represents divine love, and the flame is humanity’s fierce ardor for the divine. One might think that this heart, being turned upside down, does not make such a direct reference, but several other objects from the *Atocha*—including an engraved cross, a spoon, and a *tupu* (a stickpin used to hold together a woman’s *lliella*)¹—have this very same motif. Another piece among the *Atocha* wreckage with this disintinctive flaming heart was an ivory box of mostly Moorsque design, an item that was clearly made in Spain and was being taken back there.

That so many disparate items from the *Atocha* have this emblem is certainly not



coincidental; in fact, it suggests that they all belonged to Fray Pedro de Madriz, the Augustinian *visitador* to Peru, who was making his return trip to Spain aboard the *Atocha*, along with his entourage. It might seem incongruous that the heart is upside down on the box, but we can guess that the boxes were made by an Andean silversmith, or by someone else who was unfamiliar with Augustinian symbols. Perhaps they were intended as exotic curiosities, or as gifts from the Andes: things to be displayed to the brethren at home. This possibility seems all the more likely since at least one object, the woman's stickpin, would have presumably had no meaningful use for a member of the Augustinian order.

TC

1. Mel Fisher Maritime Museum, Key West, Florida (A82-3978, A86-06, and A83-106).

45. Man's tunic (*uncu*) with butterflies

Lake Titicaca, late 16th–early 17th century
Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid and silk weft

Garment: 39 × 33½ in. (99.1 × 85.1 cm)

Woven dimensions: 33½ × 78 in. (85.1 × 198.1 cm)

Provenance: Island of Koati

American Museum of Natural History, New York (B1502)

EX COLL.: purchased by Adolph Bandelier, 1896;¹ Garcés Collection, Puno

LITERATURE: Bandelier 1910, p. 232 (no photo); Zimmern 1943–44: pl. 91; Kelemen 1945–46, pl. 192b; Kubler 1947, pl. 91; Pillsbury 2002, p. 83, fig. 18.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with single-interlocking and dovetailing joins. Some decorative elements woven in 2 × 2 weft floats. Double-faced embroidery at edges; figure-eight embroidery along sides. **Warp:** cotton //∧ 22 per in. **Weft:** camelid ∧ 80 per in. (red, yellow, gold, brown, and white; two yarns used together in areas); possibly silk (yellow/beige), extremely fine. **Embroidery:** camelid ∧ (red, yellow, and blue); double-running stitch, figure-eight, and other free-hand stitching. Turned lower edge hem with embroidery along edge. **Selvages:** warp selvage chain-looped at each end (⅜ in. loops on one side, ¼ in. loops on other side); one heavy cord at weft selvage edge.



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Tunics with butterflies constitute a distinctive group of Inca ritual garments. In this colonial example, the butterflies in the neck yoke share space with European-inspired cartouches with scrolls, reflecting the balanced aesthetic interplay of the Andes in the early seventeenth century. Collected by nineteenth-century archaeologist Adolph Bandelier, this tunic is one of six that are collectively referred to as the “Bandelier tunics.” As a group they are renowned for their extraordinary beauty and extremely high-quality weaving. When judged in terms of yarn count—even at 80 yarns per inch—this is the least fine of the lot, although its unique design features set it apart from all other colonial examples. The white background is a signal of the garment’s special character, as the color white, for the Inca, retained religious and symbolic meaning (see cat. no. 9). In the

colonial era, white tunics were worn during Christian celebrations, too. The naturalistically depicted motifs within the Inca-style neck yoke include colonial quatrefoil scrolls emerging from a central, jewel-like medallion, alternating with gold, white, and brown butterflies, all set against a red ground. (The red ground color of the neck yoke draws on another Inca tradition; see cat. no. 11.) The jeweled scroll is a typical colonial motif. In Guaman Poma’s drawing of the Inca December solstice celebration in honor of the Sun, a similar scrolled design can be seen in the upper and lower portions of the *tocapu* tunic worn by the Inca king during this most important of Inca yearly festivals.²

The butterfly was associated symbolically with another important Inca festival, the *Coya Raimi*, or the Queen’s Festival of the Moon (see cat. no. 13), and ethnographically with cycles of death and rebirth. Here it

contributes to the clustering of symbolic ritual imagery, which includes patterned columns of stylized, repeating seedpod motifs. Articulated with stems and flowers, these may refer to the rows of earth plowed to receive the seeds for planting. This would indicate that the garment might have been worn at the celebration held at the commencement of the sewing of the seeds—which coincided with the Coya Raimi—as a symbol of fertility and future growth.

The overall design layout of the *uncu* follows Inca traditions. The red triangular neck yoke is outlined by four rows of colored squares (black, yellow, red, white) forming a stepped checkered collar called the *abuaqui*, named after its original feather prototype. The lower edge has elaborate embroidery stepped mounds beneath floral and vegetal imagery that have now deteriorated, leaving only remnants of the design. The tunic comprises one long four-selvaged panel of cloth, folded at the shoulders (with the warp oriented horizontally when worn) and sewn up the sides. Following Inca *cumbi*-weaving tradition, the warp ends are looped and chained at both ends. This is rarely seen in colonial tunics and indicates that the weaver was probably a first-generation, post-Conquest weaver who held to the ancient methods. The neck edge, now worn from use, was no doubt uncut—in other words woven intentionally on the loom and not cut as an afterthought—following Andean weaving tradition, maintaining the conceptual integrity of the garment as a whole, complete work of art.

EP

1. See catalogue number 19 and Bandelier 1910.
2. See Zuidema 1991b.

46. *Woman's wedding mantle (lliclla) with interlace and tocapu*

Southern Andes, late 16th–early 17th century
Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft
45½ × 49⅞ in. (115.6 × 126.1 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1908 (08.108.10)

EX COLL.: Vitale Benguiat, 1908

REFERENCES: American Art Association 1908, lot 570; Zimmern 1943–44, p. 43 n. 9.

EXHIBITIONS: Renwick Gallery, Washington, D.C., 1976–77; New York Center for Inter-American Relations 1977.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with single-interlocking joins; some dovetailing; eccentric wefts; lazy lines. **Warp:** cotton //∧ 25 per in. (white). **Weft:** camelid ∧ 124 per in. (blue, dark and light cochineal red, dark and light yellow, white, and black).¹ **Selvages:** both warp selvages present; lower one is chain-looped, upper one is cut-and-entered. Two shots of cotton weft along beginning of weaving edge. Weft selvages present on both sides. **Selvage cords:** three heavy warps used at each edge (∧∧∧). **Condition:** very good, with some areas of pre-1960s restoration (e.g., turquoise blue yarn that is especially noticeable).

This colonial woman's shoulder mantle (*lliclla*) exhibits a quintessentially European design of interlaced lattices with rosettes, but the composition is laid out within an Andean conceptual template and surrounded by Inca motifs. Among the earliest acquisitions in the Metropolitan Museum's Andean collection, it was purchased in 1908 and classified (until the 1940s) as a nineteenth-century Mexican cover.² We now know that not only is this undoubtedly an Andean garment, its tripartite registers and horizontal orientation follow the classic layout of an Andean woman's mantle.

Although a number of women's tapestry mantles have been preserved from the colonial period, this one is unique in its European-derived field pattern. The interlaced lattice motif, which here fills two of the three main registers, was a favorite in European figured damasks and velvets from the fifteenth through the sixteenth century.

These complexly woven silks, generally produced on drawlooms, often incorporated flowers, crowns, and double-headed eagles among the designs within the interstitial spaces of the lattice.³ In this Andean version the simple patterns cross and recross in a somewhat irregular rhythm, no doubt because they, unlike their European counterparts, were constructed manually in tapestry weave, design by design, across the fabric's width. Without the drawloom mechanism to promote exact repetition, the rhythm of the undulation and alignment was left to the hands and eyes of the Andean weaver.

In his 1615 drawings of Andean life, Guaman Poma depicts several individuals wearing a mixture of Spanish- and Andean-style garments with scrollwork designs similar to those seen here, confirming that this type of European fabric must have been present in the Andes at the time. The scrollwork appears in only a few of his more than four hundred illustrated pages, however, and was evidently reserved for important individuals. One of these was a cope worn by Pope Leo XI (r. 1605); another scrollwork garment is worn by the author himself.⁴ Judging from these associations and the presence of *tocapu*, we can hypothesize that the Metropolitan's *lliclla* was a special garment that was worn by an Andean woman who claimed descent from Inca nobility as well as an association with important European bloodlines. Perhaps she was a second-generation Cuzco noblewoman, the daughter of a *ñusta* mother and a Spanish father. In terms of style, with the *tocapu* bands outlining the perimeter of the mantle, the garment is not unlike that worn by the mother of Ñusta Beatriz in the famous painting of her daughter's marriage to Martín García de Loyola (fig. 31). As such it would have represented the "older" style of the mother's generation.

During the Inca period the placement of *tocapu* on mantles and tunics was generally confined to bands along specific locations (particularly at the waists of tunics). Here the *tocapu* bands reach around all four edges of the garment, delineating the conventional tripartite layout of women's *llicllas* and replacing the *pallai*, the narrow pattern bands traditionally used in the Highlands to demarcate garment sections. The use of

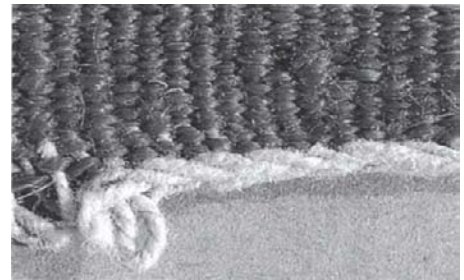


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tocapu as a border device in this way was a strictly colonial innovation. The inclusion of *tocapu* in the European scrollwork, moreover, heightens this amalgamated, quintessentially “colonial” effect.

The *tocapu* along the horizontal bands of the mantle are rectangular; those in the vertical bands are square. There are thirty-two individual square *tocapu* on the left side but only twenty-seven on the right, apparently random amounts that are partly the result of the weaver (or weavers) creating different sizes on either side. The rectangular format has an “archaizing” effect; Inca *tocapu* were generally in this shape, but the square format was more common in colonial times.⁵ Although some of the individual motifs repeat, there is a notable absence of any orderly sequence in the repetition. This contrasts starkly with the regularity of the lattice sections, with their horizontal and vertical axial repetition and strong diagonals.

The broad undecorated bands within a traditional Andean *lliclla* were generally referred to as the *pampa*. Here the *pampa* is differentiated from its flanking sections by a contrasting ground color, and, far from undecorated, it is peppered with birds, flowers, and other colonial-era symbols, such as the articulated quatrefoil with scrolls. The birds alternate with the floral designs and face opposite directions from row to row. The *pampa* contrapuntally matches the regular repetition, but irregular construction, of the exterior latticework. The wide red band around all four edges, which may originally have been conceived to hold embroidery, shows no signs of the embellishment commonly found in Inca-period mantles.⁶ What had traditionally been a guide for the embroiderer has here become a wider, more “visual” element never intended to be covered with fine stitchwork. It conforms to a more European



46, detail of chain-looped selvage

concept of borders and edges as a framing device, offsetting the *tocapu* frame.

The technical elements of this garment, including the finely spun camelid-hair yarns used in the polychrome weft, the double-sided tapestry weave with single-interlocking joins at every color change, and the characteristic treatment of the warp ends, such as chained warp loops at the lower end with the “cut-and-entered” warp finishing at the upper end, confirm

the textile's Andean origin. The silkiness of the high-quality camelid hair (probably alpaca, and in some areas possibly vicuña, especially the chocolate brown), the density of the tightly packed yarns on the impeccably smooth surface, and the good color preservation of its bright natural dyes (from cochineal, indigo, and several other dye plant sources) all contribute to its brilliance and luxurious appearance.

EP

1. Dye analysis conducted in the Metropolitan's Textile Conservation department confirms the red colors as cochineal dye and the blue as indigo. HPLC testing performed by Nobuko Shibayama.
2. American Art Association 1908, lot 570. The Metropolitan Museum catalogue card notes that in 1942, Dr. Herbert Spinden, a curator at the Brooklyn Museum responsible for bringing a large collection of Andean colonial tapestries to that institution, identified the piece as seventeenth-century Peruvian. Zimmern (1943–44, p. 43, n. 9) refers to it as unquestionably Peruvian, but as Spinden and Zimmern worked together on the Brooklyn pieces it is not clear to whom this attribution should be credited.
3. For information on drawloom weaving mechanisms, see Weibel 1952.
4. Guaman Poma 1615, pp. 39, 961 (RL975). Ecclesiastical garments in Spain and other parts of Europe would have been made of such a fabric.
5. See J. Rowe (1973) 1979, pp. 239–64.
6. In the finest Inca weaving, the weaver left approximately 1 cm of plain-woven cloth to be covered by embroidery stitches.

47. Casket

Potosí(?), 1572

Silver, partially gilt, repoussé, chased, and cast, with burnished punchwork

11 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 20 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 11 in. (30 x 51 x 28 cm)

Marks: royal crown/1586 (four times on interior of lid and on interior and exterior of base), [HISPANIARVM ET I]NDIAR[VM REX] (twice on interior of lid and exterior of base)

Inscribed on lid: 1572

Church of Santa María la Mayor, Guadalajara, Spain

REFERENCES: Cruz Valdovinos 1992, p. 16; Esteras Martín 2000a, pp. 31, 34, 36, 39, pl. 5, figs. 1, 2.

This casket (*arqueta*), which was originally intended for domestic use, even-



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tually became part of the furnishings of the Church of Santa María la Mayor. Given its size and structure (rectangular, with a flat-topped, truncated pyramidal lid), it was probably employed to hold the Eucharist for Holy Thursday and alludes symbolically to the sepulchre of Christ. (Widespread use of such “Eucharistic chests” did not occur until the seventeenth century, in response to the decrees arising from the Council of Trent [1545–63].)

Most of the decorative elements, notably confronted or opposed grotesques or grotesques terminating sections of foliate scrollwork, drapery swags, military trophies, baskets of fruit, or flower vases, relate to customary themes of the early Renaissance in Spain. However, the prominent foliate cartouches on the sides and the rows of raised geometric shapes on the lid reveal an openness to the decorative vocabulary of the Spanish Late Renaissance style. The cast lions that serve as base supports are rendered in a rearing position, in the heraldic tradition.

These grotesques, and particularly their setting within the scrolling floral stems, are linked to Italian ornamental prints based on the work of Nicoletto Rossetti da Modena and Zoan Andrea. But similarities to other Italian decorative drawings, such as those executed in the workshop of Perugino, can also be seen. The two monsters—the winged dragon on the front and the smaller

one on the back of the piece—for example, evidence an Italian influence very much in line with etchings by Agostino Musi (*il Veneziano*), which also inspired the decoration on a basin in the Cathedral of Toledo (now at the Museo de Santa Cruz de Toledo). Although provisionally attributed to the workshops of Alcalá de Henares in Guadalajara, Spain, that basin may have been produced in the Americas.

The casket is exceptional in that it is hallmarked not once but several times, so that the morphology of the marking can be deciphered by combining evidence from the distinct sets of impressions. One mark (royal crown set above the year) establishes the date as 1586. The other, a “monetary” mark (on which the left edge of the Spanish coat of arms can barely be made out, along with a fragment of the surrounding Latin legend set between two dotted borders), alludes to a half-*real* die that could only have come from Potosí.¹ In fact, by 1586 the only mint operating regularly in the Viceroyalty of Peru was the one in Potosí, established in late 1573 or early 1574. The mint in Lima endured prolonged shut-downs and interruptions from 1571 onward, and the mint in Sucre, known as the Casa de Moneda de La Plata, was almost entirely inactive during this period. Without entirely ruling out Lima, then, we can identify this casket as the product of silversmiths working in Potosí. Its stylistic attributes indicate

it was probably manufactured not in 1586, the date it bears in four places, but in 1572, the date engraved once on the lid. The fourteen-year difference is possibly explained by the fact that, after the piece was made, and quite possibly at the time of its departure from South America, it passed through the office of the royal treasury in order to pay the obligatory tax on silver imposed by the crown (the “royal fifth”), a process that left us the evidence of its marks; the later dates marked on the piece attest to this use.

This chest is the oldest dated piece among the works known to have been produced by Potosí silversmiths, a distinction that, along with its secular origins and the rarity of its markings, makes it especially interesting and valuable. Unfortunately, the original clasp is lost; the one seen here is a later addition. There is no evidence in the design of any indigenous influence, of the sort found on later works. Analysis of its formal and decorative elements reveals that the chest was clearly inspired by aesthetic forms and tastes passed along from Spain,

an understandable trait in silverwork executed in America during the formative phase of the new colonial society.

CEM

1. For a detailed study on this type of mark, see Esteras Martín 2000a, pp. 29–43.

48. *Drinking vessel (bernegal)*

Gold, cast, molded, and chased, with burnished punchwork

3½ x 7 in. (8.8 x 17.7 cm)

Marks: royal crown (repeated three times)

Provenance: salvaged from the galleon

Nuestra Señora de Atocha, 1985

Mel Fisher Maritime Museum, Key West, Florida (86.08.0008)

REFERENCES: Schneider in Flushing 1981, pp. 34–35; Hartop 1990, fig. 2; Esteras Martín 1998, p. 114, fig. 102.

EXHIBITION: Flushing 1981, no. 88.

Most *bernegales* were worked in silver, although sometimes in response to

the opulence of Spanish American society they were made of gold—especially in centers such as New Granada and Alto Perú (now Colombia and Bolivia)—where this precious metal was in supply. Most of the *bernegales* made in the seventeenth century were in the *bocado* style (characterized by an undulating body divided into vertical lobes), but this piece is different. The body of the vessel is low and circular, with a foot and handles. The profile is sinuous, and two-thirds of the cup’s height is covered by emphatic gadroons topped by a slightly concave border rimmed by moldings. This border is decorated with birds and vegetal motifs, among the most distinctive of which is a rolled floral stem ending in a grotesque head, while the gadroons bear leaves, undulating stems, and climbing plants. The two serpent-shaped handles describe an S.

The piece was salvaged in 1985 from the galleon *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*, the flagship of the Spanish flotilla that set out from Havana to Spain but sank near the Florida





48, view of interior with bezoar stone holder

Keys in a powerful hurricane. This allows us to fix the date of the *bernegal* to before 1622, the date of the shipwreck. Exactly how many years before is impossible to ascertain, as the use of the formal structure of this piece was contemporaneous with, or at least extended into, the period dominated by the *bocado* style. Proof that the style of the present piece was in use at this time is offered by Francisco de Zurbarán's painting *San Luis Beltrán* (ca. 1636–38) in the Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville. The *bernegal* the saint is shown holding is analogous to this piece; moreover, it contains a bezoar stone, which would supposedly warn the saint that he is being poisoned (here symbolized by the little dragon that attracts the saint's attention and enables him to escape unscathed). The contemporaneity of the present model and the one painted by Zurbarán is proved as well by the fact that a silver-gilt *bernegal* in the *bocado* style (cat. no. 57) and marked in Santafé de Bogotá was also salvaged from the *Atocha*.

The *Atocha* carried passengers from various regions within the Viceroyalty of Peru (Potosí, Cuzco, Arica, Callao, Bogotá), and the pieces salvaged from it that bore local marks—such as the *bernegal* marked in Santafé de Bogotá that is mentioned above—can be easily classified. Many others, however, bear only marks signifying that the required tax, the *quinto*, had been paid. They are difficult to classify, because these marks, which are of various types and dates and do not indicate which *caja real* (royal treasury) used them, have yet to be catalogued. One such example is the present *bernegal*, which is marked three times (once near the edge of the rim and twice

on opposite sides inside the foot) with the same punch bearing a royal crown with five fleurs-de-lis, open and with a hoop, within a circular, corded frame. This mark can be analyzed and compared to marks of similar appearance and size on other pieces from the *Atocha*, such as a beaked ewer (cat. no. 59) and a small salver¹ that were acquired by the Museo de América, Madrid; the precious inkwell in the shape of a turret, today in a private collection; and an incense burner and a piece of an oil lamp auctioned at Christie's.² The similarity of these marks may indicate that all of the pieces came from the same place or that they were from different places and were marked by the same *caja real* when they left the territory. Thus, the marks clarify nothing. Nevertheless, for the moment, and with serious doubts, I will place the origin of the present piece in Lima.

This *bernegal* is extraordinarily important because it is a singular example, the only piece of its type to have survived as a tangible testament to the variety of forms designed by Hispanic silversmiths during the seventeenth century. Its design perhaps served as the antecedent for cups (*tachuelas*) made in Guatemala that were so popular during the second half of the eighteenth century. It is also important on account of the grotesque heads, which persist as quintessential motifs in the Baroque silverwork of Alto Perú.

CEM

1. Christie's 1988, lot 62.

2. *Ibid.*, lots 57, 28.

49. Basin

Lima or Potosí(?), ca. 1575

Silver, molded, chased, and engraved

Diam. 22 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (57.5 cm)

Mark: [PHILIPV]S+D.G.+RE[X]

(underside of rim)

Arms: scroll above the cross of Saint James; escutcheon above the sign of the Knightly Order of Saint John of Jerusalem; six billets (tree, battlement turret, martens, three sashes, checkered design, and band accompanied by two tau crosses)

Cabildo Metropolitano de Zaragoza, Spain

REFERENCES: Esteras Martín 1995b,

pp. 102–3; Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997,

pp. 43, 86–87; Esteras Martín 2000a, pp. 32,

39, 43, pl. 1, fig. 3.

EXHIBITIONS: Saragossa 1995, no. 13; Madrid 1997, no. 4.

Except for the curved wall, which is free of decoration, this large, heavy, circular basin is profusely embellished with symmetrically ordered grotesques, conveying the artist's horror vacui. The outer rim has four round medallions wreathed in laurel and displaying busts of Spanish noblemen and ladies evenly spaced between four intricately decorated vases; between these elements are winged dragons and foliate scrolls that terminate in monstrous heads. The border of the basin's body contains four imposing vases distributed among four "wild" boys, each fending off an attack by two winged serpents. The center shows four small animal figures, two of which are grotesques, around a small shield with an engraved heraldic escutcheon.

Despite their relative scarcity today, basins with the kinds of structural and decorative elements seen here would surely have been abundant in the sixteenth century Hispanic world. Because of this general rarity the present work is all the more significant for having been produced not in Spain but in the Viceroyalty of Peru. The Peruvian origin of this piece, it should be noted, is ascertained neither from the ornamental motifs, which are Italianate, nor from the composition, which is rather typical of the early Spanish Renaissance, but from the markings.

A rather large but incompletely stamped mark ($\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{3}{8}$ in. [2 × 1 cm]) appears on the smooth, obverse side of the rim, with part of its Latin legend set between two lined borders that also encircle the arms. Although the legend does not contain the ordinal monarchic number, there is no doubt that it refers to Philip II, as this formula was used only on coins minted during his reign. The marking can thus be dated between 1571–72, when "Carlos y Juana" currency was replaced by that of Philip II, and 1598, the year he died.

The morphology of the mark establishes it as a "monetary" type, valued during the reign of Philip II at two Lima *reals*, which leads us to assume that it was produced by the Lima mint. The basin itself can thus be attributed to a Lima silversmith workshop



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about 1575, when the Lima mint became operative again after its closing in 1574. Many questions remain, however, concerning the precise classification of this piece, among them whether it is contemporaneous with the affixed mark. Like the Guadalajara casket (cat. no. 47), it may have been subject to a tributary tax (the *quinto*, or royal fifth)¹ and engraved with its monetary mark some time after it was produced, even though the basin's style does not appear to be that of a much later period. It is also an open question whether the piece originated in Lima or Potosí (where there was also an operative mint at the time we believe the basin was made). For now, given the morphology of the mark and the piece's ornamental elements—it lacks the free-style figuration found on Altiplano works of the period, which would have placed it in Potosí—it can be assigned, with some reservations, to Lima.

Although heraldry was often added to basins at some point after their manufacture—the reason a central space was left free of ornamentation—it might seem possible to ascertain the origins of this piece by analyzing the escutcheon. Unfortunately we have not been able to identify it correctly; we know only that it belonged to a nobleman of the Military Orders of Saint James and Saint John of Jerusalem.

CEM

1. This was a tax paid to the king, according to his right to one-fifth of the piece's total value.

50. Dish

Before 1622
Silver, embossed
Diam. approx. 9 in. (22.9 cm)
Mel Fisher Maritime Museum, Key West,
Florida (A85-3297)

REFERENCES: Cummins 1998; Lyon 1989;
Cummins 2002.

Silver was abundant in colonial Peru. When the galleon *Nuestra Señora de Atocha* went down in a hurricane off the coast of Florida in 1622, it was carrying 901 silver ingots, weighing about 65 pounds each, and 255,000 silver coins, most of it from the mines of Potosí—and the *Atocha* was one ship in a fleet of twenty-eight. Much of this booty was destined for the royal coffers of Spain, but an equally prodigious amount represented individual wealth. Lorenzo de Arriola, for example, a Potosí merchant, carried sixty such silver bars, as well as four loads of personal belongings.¹ Perhaps this dish was among his effects.

The dish is in the Spanish style, with a gadrooned bowl. In the center is an escutcheon containing either an eagle or a



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condor with outstretched wings. The mestizo historian Garcilaso de la Vega describes an Inca rock painting near Cuzco that had a similar image on it, explaining that it symbolized the defense of the Inca city of Cuzco against the Inca's ancient enemy, the Chanca. The image may also be mimicking the Hapsburg double-headed eagle, even though it clearly has only one head. The motif is framed by a circular, raised garland.

Although similar vessels were being made in Potosí as early as 1585, they typically had Spanish Renaissance motifs embossed on the lip. The scenes on the lip of this example are clearly Andean. The use of local motifs has a parallel in the Siegen basin (cat. no. 51), but unlike that example this piece does not mix European and Andean themes. One sees a series of figures dressed in Andean clothes, situated within a landscape of Andean buildings (including a church), animals, and trees. All are oriented to the same groundline, and there is little sense of scale. The human figures

are larger than some of the big animals (llamas), but smaller than some of the small animals (owls). The people are depicted in various interrelated daily and ritual activities; for example, a figure in profile leads a llama loaded with a pack, while a man and a woman stand facing the viewer. The man holds a *quero* or *aguilla* in one hand as he holds the raised arm of his partner in the other, as if in dance. Another man holds a *chakitacla* (foot plow) and stands beside a church, with its tower and atrium, and a woman seated on the ground weaves on her backstrap loom, which is tethered to a tree. The scene represents a rather tranquil snapshot of Andean domestic life, one set conceptually within a fully Christianized landscape, as represented by the presence of the church.

Despite the plate's Spanish model, the iconography as well as the figural style strongly suggest that it was produced by an Andean silversmith. The activities of the figures capture the major economic activities

of an Andean village—agriculture, weaving, and transport (perhaps supplies being carried to Potosí)—and the handling of the figures (which are depicted only in profile or frontally) and the lack of realistic scale is something that one sees in the drawings of the great Andean chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, who was making his drawings at the same time. In fact, many of Guaman Poma's drawings share an iconographic scheme with the composition on this vessel.

TC

i. Lyon 1989, p. 53.

51. Basin

Potosí, ca. 1586

Silver gilt and silver (exterior) molded, chased, and engraved

Diam. 21¼ in. (54 cm), H. 4½ in. (11.5 cm)

Marks on front: royal crown/[1]586 (three times), +PHI[LIPVS]

Marks on base: crowned eagle, HGB* (on cross), and burin incision

Inscribed: *MUNUS HOC/IOH MAURITIUS PRINCEPS/NASSAVIAE/CUM BRASILIAE IMPERARET/AB AFROUM IN CONGO REGE OBLATUM/AD SACRI BAPTISMATIS USUM/ ECCLESIAE REFORMAT*

SIGENENSI/ CONSECRAT/ MDCLVIII

Arms: quartered escutcheon (1st quarter, rearing lion on field of billets; 2nd quarter, rearing lion passant; 3rd quarter, coat of arms of Austria; 4th quarter, two leopards displayed on mast); quartered by cross of the Knightly Order of Saint John of Jerusalem (Bailiwick of Brandenburg), bordered by sash of the Order of the Elephant; in the crest, a crown of the prince, and at the edge a cartouche with the inscription *IOH.MUR.NASS.PRINCEPS*
Evangelische Nikolaikirche, Siegen, Germany

REFERENCES: Driesen 1849, p. 122;

Achenbach 1894, vol. 2, p. 21; Rieverts 1937, pp. 103–10; Muthmann 1956, pp. 9–87; Luks 1973, fig. 67a; Lücks 1979, pp. 71–80; Molen 1979, pp. 249–64; Cummins 1995, pp. 152, 155; Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, p. 86; Stastny 1997, p. 172; Esteras Martín 2000a, p. 30; Cummins 2002, fig. 8.19.

EXHIBITIONS: Siegen 1930, p. 21; Kleve 1979, no. B14; Munich 1981, no. 1; Krefeld–Oranienburg–Apeldoorn 1999–2000, no. 7/8.

This deep basin has a well surrounded by a series of plain moldings enclosed in a wreath of laurel leaves, a gadrooned

body, and a broad rim with a corded edge. The rim is decorated with motifs of fauna, flora—some of it indigenous, some European—and figuration, all symmetrically distributed among four medallions with portraits and four flower vases. The gilt base, which is molded and bell-shaped, was added in Frankfurt in 1658, when the basin was adapted for use as a baptismal font. Also at that time the Latin inscription and the base escutcheon were added and the piece was gilded except on the exterior.

The history of this basin, gleaned from various documents, is undoubtedly among the most outlandish and fantastic of any relating to a piece in South American silverwork. The core narrative—consolidated and accepted on the basis of widespread belief—holds that the basin was used as payment for African slaves taken to Brazil

and Peru to work on sugar plantations and in the mines. The fact that the inscription indicates that the basin was presented by the so-called king of the Congo to Prince Johan Maurits of Nassau-Siegen (1604–1679) when the latter served as governor of the Dutch West India Company in Brazil (1637–44) undoubtedly contributed to the piece's story, portions of which are now discounted. According to the legend (as told by Friedrich Muthmann [1956]), the basin crossed the Atlantic no fewer than three times: first at an unknown date and—from an unidentified location in Peru, via Potosí, to Tucumán, Córdoba, and the estuary Río de la Plata (Argentina), and from there to Africa (Luanda and the Congo); then, in 1643, from Africa to Recife, Brazil (or Mauritsstad, as it was known under Dutch rule), carried by

African ambassadors; and again in 1644, when it was transported by Johan Maurits to The Hague, and then, finally, to Siegen. The last leg of the journey is not in doubt, since we have documentary evidence and markings on the piece that support both the itinerary and the date at which the basin was transformed into a baptismal font by the silversmith Hans Georg Bauch in Frankfurt, when Maurits was crowned a prince of the Holy Roman Empire by Emperor Ferdinand III in 1658.

The conjecture surrounding the first voyage is based on the assumption that the basin must have traveled on an illegal overland route from the Peruvian Altiplano to the Plate estuary, which at the end of the sixteenth century was used to bring in African slaves and for the clandestine export of silver from Potosí. This hypothesis,



unsupported by any solid evidence, led to the association of the piece with the disputatious and controversial figure Francisco de Vitoria, who served as the first bishop of Tucumán (1582–90). It was he who decided to open this illegal route, perhaps motivated by the poverty of his diocese and the strategic location of Tucumán between Potosí and Brazil.¹ In so doing, he embarked upon a series of questionable trading activities, as merchant, arms trader, exporter of silver, and buyer of African slaves and Brazilian sugar. The theory that there was a second transatlantic voyage seems less convincing. It assumes that the basin remained in the Congo (in Luanda, present-day Angola) until 1642, when Dom Garcia I, self-proclaimed king of the Congo by dint of divine intervention (in actuality a slave trader who did business with the Dutch in Recife), wrote a letter to Maurits² promising slaves and the basin, among other things, in return for his help in fighting a Portuguese fleet.³ In my opinion, however, the basin never made a round-trip to Africa but, in fact, remained in South America until it was transported to Holland in 1658. The source of suspicion is Dom Garcia's letter itself, which bears the name San Salvador Metropoli (Bahia), the city in which the "king" might very well have purchased the piece from Brazilian traders. The fact that the "king" of the Congo presented it as a gift to Maurits does not necessarily mean that he brought it from Africa.

Although this part of the basin's history is questionable, there is no doubt that Prince Maurits played an important role as the owner of this remarkable object, a fact confirmed by the presence on its well of the heraldic coats of arms of Nassau, Katzenlenbogen, Vianden, and Dietz. The prince, apparently inspired by the piece, had it sent to Siegen, where it remains to this day. On the basis of ornamentation and markings, we can construct an accurate artistic classification for the work, which in the end is far more important than the history of its peregrinations. The decorative elements that appear on the sides of the font set against a backdrop of civic buildings, a church, and a naturalistic landscape include grotesque creatures (winged serpents, harpies, and dragons), busts in the Italo-European tradition, animals common to both the Old

and New Worlds (horses, dogs, lions, roosters, lizards, owls, and birds) as well as animals exclusive to the Peruvian Andes and Altiplano regions (guemals, tarucas, chinillas, viscachas, and llamas), and three indigenous figures.

The identification of these elements is so obvious that other attributions seem entirely untenable. However, Ludwig Driesen (1849) considered the piece to be Italian; Adolf Achenbach (1894) deemed it an Italian work made for export to Africa; and a catalogue commemorating the Reformation in the province of Siegen (1930) referred to the basin as African in origin, "one of the rarest pieces from the Benin culture." Recently (1997), Francisco Stastny, while acknowledging that the basin is Peruvian, attributed it to one of the silversmiths working in Lima during the seventeenth century—namely, Theodor Gerardo, Hernan de Colonia, or Miguel Obermolen—and stated that the "naturalistic landscape was the work of a Flemish or Nordic draftsman." The writer who most accurately classified the work was Muthmann, insofar as he assigned it definitively to the Cuzco region, or more specifically perhaps the city of Cuzco, and dated it to 1586 or soon thereafter, which he ascertained from a mark bearing this date.⁴

Of the two markings, one is chronological: the royal crown over the number 586, whose missing first digit we assume would represent one thousand. The second mark, whose imprint is much less complete (+PHI), extends from a small fragment along the perimeter fringe of the coat of arms of Spain, which is barely visible on the left side. In date, size (one-half *real*), and morphological elements, both marks are identical to those on the casket in the Church of Santa María la Mayor in Guadalajara (cat. no. 47). This clearly validates a Potosí origin, especially given that the ornamentation includes local elements such as llamas, tarucas, and indigenous figures, which would have been unfamiliar to the silversmiths of Lima. Moreover, the facts that this last mark is monetary in nature and that in 1586 Potosí was the only city in the viceroyalty other than Lima with a functioning mint lend further credence to the identification of Potosí as the source of the basin. Regrettably, the artist responsible for the work remains unknown.

The basin cannot have been made later than 1586, but it could very well have been created some years earlier, just as the Guadalajara casket antedates the year marked on it. Most pieces with the type of markings seen on this dish were created outside the Andes, and, moreover, none made within the area displays them. Thus, it seems reasonable to assume that the markings on the present dish could only have been added to it if, for some reason, it had left the territory. The mark may betoken the payment of the *quinto*, the duty levied by the royal treasury.

Stylistically the work reflects mid-sixteenth-century Hispanic Renaissance tastes, especially in the use and composition of ornamental motifs. It shows formal parallels with other basins of Peruvian origins (from Lima and Potosí), such as examples in the cathedrals of Zaragoza (cat. no. 49) and Málaga, and with a fragment retrieved from the galleon *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*. The indigenous decorative elements relate to the painted *queros* and to the metal *aquillas* of the Inca colonial period, particularly to a silver plate discovered on the *Atocha* (cat. no. 50).

The features of the half-figures represented in the medallions—a knight equipped with a helmet, sword, and cuirass; a hunter with a bird perched on his shoulder; and two ladies—might refer to the donor's iconography. The use of matching basins and ewers (*aquamaniles*) for the washing of hands was quite common at princely and noble tables, and any Spanish lord, nobleman, or aristocrat worthy of his title would have owned a set for his table service, the base of which would have been engraved, like this dish, with a heraldic crest.

CEM

1. For his biography, see Muñoz Moraleda 1998.
2. In 1640 Portugal separated from Spain, creating instability in the West African colonies. Maurits took advantage of the situation by sending troops from Brazil to seize control of the capital of the Congo, thereby securing control of the slave trade.
3. According to the original German text, "wahrscheinlich aus dem Gebiet von Cuzco, wenn nicht aus Cuzco selbst ist"; Muthmann 1956, p. 65. However, Tom Cummins (2002, p. 184, n. 20) writes that Muthmann, in this same work, suggests that the piece was produced in Potosí, although I cannot find this reference.



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52. Tapestry with interlace designs

Late 16th–early 17th century¹

Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft
93½ × 84½ in. (237.5 × 214.6 cm)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Charles Potter
Kling Fund (67.25)

Ex COLL.: Benguiat Collection; Heye
Foundation

REFERENCES: Zimmern 1943–44, pp. 26, 43,
n. 10; Sawyer in Washington, D.C., 1961, no.
22; Cavallo 1967, pp. 194–95, no. 60; Stone-
Miller in Boston 1992, p. 256, pl. 73.

EXHIBITIONS: Washington, D.C., 1961,
no. 22 (listed as then Museum of American
Indian 16/325, see below); Boston 1992, no. 293.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave,
reversible, with single-interlocking joins,
wedge weave, and eccentric wefts. **Warp:**
cotton \wedge 20 per in. (white-beige), fiber
identified at 400× mag. **Weft:** camelid hair \wedge
124 per in. (deep cochineal [maroon] red, very

tightly plied, gold, white [very loosely plied],
greenish yellow, and brown); red and white
 $\wedge\wedge$ (one yarn of each color used together in
same shed); red and yellow $\wedge\wedge\wedge$ (one yarn of
each color, slightly plied). **Selvages:** top and
bottom not preserved (cut); side selvages are
present. **Heading:** beginning weaving edge has
approx. ¼ in. stripe across width, followed by
sections, left to right: 13 in.; 10½ in.; 10 in.;
10¾ in.; 10 in.; 10¾ in.; 8 in.; 11½ in. One section
jogs across warp yarns and moves across several
inches. **Condition:** excellent; very good color
preservation. Weaving is very tightly packed;
embroidery along the edge is not original.

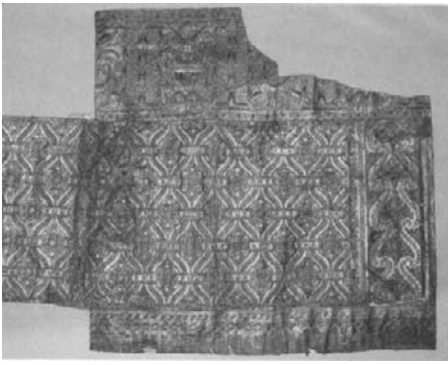


Fig. 121. Tooled and painted leather (detail), Italy or Spain, 17th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.2435)

The proliferation of latticework (or strapwork) patterns in viceregal dress fabrics, furnishing textiles, and carpets from the sixteenth to the early eighteenth century reflects the European taste for such works. These designs, first found in luxurious Spanish velvets and brocaded and figured silks, eventually appeared in carpets as well as in polychrome and tooled leather wall coverings (fig. 121). They also echo the elaborate ironwork that graced architecture throughout Europe, but especially Spain, at that time. In this tapestry the series of interlacements composing the latticework field has a formal, rigid quality more reminiscent of metalwork than the typically fluid, flexible rhythms of textiles. In contrast, the designs in the figurative border are wildly articulated, no doubt drawn from some late-sixteenth-century print source that has yet to be identified.

The primary border, with its exaggerated, precise drawing, follows the style of the European grotesque. Vignettes of animals are silhouetted within oval cartouches, surrounded by large, floppy scrolling acanthus leaves (sometimes described as “husks,” as they resemble dried corn husks) that alternate with metalwork urns on stands, all set against a stark white ground. The urns are depicted either with or without elaborate bases containing standing birds. The oval cartouches in the upper and lower borders contain long-necked birds (possibly herons), which stand on one leg and hold writhing snakes in their beaks, the same image found in the Munich wreath tapestry (cat. no. 71). The cartouches in the side borders contain

standing, regardant lions in profile, with their front paws raised and their tongues extended. Within the border, the designs are based on the conventions of Renaissance prints, especially the ornamental headpieces used by printers such as William Stansby (1572–1638). Oval cartouches are also part of the decorative vocabulary of contemporary Andean silverwork, but in the silver they typically contain human, not animal, figures (see cat. nos. 49, 51).

This piece numbers among a small group of colonial tapestries that share very particular physical features, such as high yarn counts, superb spinning, and luxurious materials. The group includes a pair of armorial tapestries with vair designs in the Brooklyn Museum (1992.152, 1963.38.1a), catalogue number 65, in the Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., and another work in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, that has blue rodents in the border (04.123). All of them evidence the skills and training developed by the Inca *cumbi* masterweavers, leading me to conclude that this group must have been made by weavers trained under the Inca traditions, that is, by the first generation of weavers after the Conquest. Moreover, these similarities, combined with a common saturated color palette, could indicate that they were woven in the same workshop. Both Boston tapestries have the same small, floral leaf designs, which we see here in the interstitial spaces; in the other Boston tapestry (with blue rodents) it appears without the leaf component in the background, an otherwise mysterious motif that repeats across the field.

There has been a certain amount of confusion regarding this tapestry: whether it was once part of a pair, its location, and previous ownership. In fact it was sold at auction in the famous 1924 Benguiat collection sale (lot number 626) to an unknown owner.² Catalogued at the time as Spanish, it was only recognized as an Andean work in the 1940s, by Natalie Zimmern, who further noted that the 1924 auction catalogue description of it seemed to conform to that of a tapestry then in the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation), now the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.³ Adolph Cavallo, in his 1967 catalogue of the Museum of Fine Arts’ colonial

tapestry collection, also refers to the example in the Museum of the American Indian.⁴ There is actually only one such tapestry, this piece, which was “exchanged” from the Heye Foundation (16/325) to the Museum of Fine Arts in 1967.⁵

EP

1. The date of this tapestry has been considered by various scholars to range from the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth century. Based on his assessment of the relationship between the border designs and those of sixteenth-century Spanish carpets and embroideries (and the latticework pattern in the field as it relates to carpets from Alcaraz, Valencia, and Cuenca), Cavallo proposed that the tapestry is late sixteenth or seventeenth century. See Cavallo 1967, p. 194. Zimmern (1943–44, p. 43, n. 10) considered it eighteenth century. I agree with this early date, which accords with the basis of the design and the quality of the weaving.
2. American Art Association, 1924, 2d text for lot 626 (per Cavallo 1967, p. 194).
3. Zimmern 1943–44, n. 10; also, Cavallo 1967, p. 194.
4. He cites Alan Sawyer’s checklist for his 1961 exhibition of Spanish colonial tapestries at the Textile Museum, Washington, D.C. (no. 23, no image).
5. As late as the 1970s the National Museum of the American Indian provided a photograph of the tapestry, which was still thought to remain in their collection (neg. no. 10688). Recent correspondence (December 1999) with their registrar clarified that this object was no longer in that collection.

53. *Tapestry with interlace designs and viscachas*

Late 16th–early 17th century(?)

Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid and silk weft

112 × 84½ in. (284.5 × 214.6 cm)

Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.; Acquired by George Hewitt Myers in 1951 (91.505)

REFERENCES: Zimmern 1943–44, n. 10; Kelemen 1961; Sawyer in Washington, D.C., 1961, no. 21; Cavallo 1967, pp. 194–95.

EXHIBITION: Washington, D.C., 1961, no. 21.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave, reversible, with single-interlocking and dovetail joins; lazy lines and curvilinear wefts.

Warp: cotton \wedge 28 per in. (beige; handspun and uneven). **Weft:** camelid \wedge 160–180 per in. (cochineal pink, blue, white-yellow, black [natural], and brown [dyed]; red and blue



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^/^, and blue and yellow ^/^ yarns (one of each) used together. **Heading weft:** silk ^/^ (white) at beginning edge of weaving. **Selvages:** beginning weaving edge of warp selvage is cut or frayed; upper edge cut-and-entered. Both sides of weft selvages preserved; two warp cords ^/^ / each edge. Weaving sections (left to right): 19 in.; 20 in.; 13 in.; 10 in.; 17½ in. **Condition:** excellent color preservation; some restoration. Outer border has been cut around all four sides and rejoined. A few stains and minor insect holes.

This tapestry, like catalogue number 52, is a rare example of a *cumbi*-quality textile made to suit colonial tastes.¹ This and three other such tapestries constitute a group that is notable for its high technical

quality, including small-diameter alpaca yarns and intensely saturated dyed colors, particularly a deep maroon cochineal red. Whether the group represents the output of a single workshop is unknown, but they certainly reflect a common standard of craftsmanship highly unusual in the extant corpus of colonial tapestries.

The small white-footed, blue animals visible in the borders are viscachas (figs. 118, 122); large, native Andean rodents (in the chinchilla family) whose silky fibers were highly prized in the Andes for use in special luxury garments. As described by Spanish chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega, they have “a long tail like a cat’s. They breed in desert places where there is snow. . . . In the times

of the Inca kings and for long afterwards (for I have seen this myself) the hair of the viscacha was used and spun so as to vary the colors of the fine textiles they made. Its color is a light ashy-gray, and it is soft and smooth in texture. It was very much esteemed by the Indians and only used for the clothes of the nobles.”² Here pairs of viscachas stand discretely among the leaves and scrolling vines on opposite sides of the central, tall-necked urns in the main border. Viscachas also appear prominently in one other tapestry in the *cumbi*-quality group, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (04.123). They also crop up in the *pampas* sections of many *llicllas* (see, for example, cat. no. 40).

It is believed that viscachas served a mythological role in the Andes as intermediaries between humans and the gods. There are two species of viscacha; one inhabits the high plains (the *pampas*), and the other the mountains. The mountain viscacha (*Langidium viscacia*) has a brownish, tawny color similar to that of the vicuña, while the plains viscacha (*Lagostomus maximus*) is shorter, with a squat body and gray hairs. Both, however, are prized for their amazingly plush coats, which help them to live in extreme ecological zones. (The viscacha is the only mammal found in the

Fig. 122. *Viscacha*, from Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón y Bujanda, *Trujillo del Perú*, vol. 6, no. 6 (1782–88). Biblioteca del Palacio Real, Madrid



salinars, or salt plains, of Chile.) Perhaps it is this ability to thrive in these barren, inhospitable regions that prompted Andean peoples to imbue them with preternatural powers. It is possible they play a protective role when they appear on tapestries and garments, especially in women's *llicllas* (see cat. nos. 38, 39). Here they seem almost out of place among the various European design conventions, raising the question of what, exactly, was their significance in this context. Are they a subtle manifestation of the weaver's Andean voice? Since they are placed on all four borders we can assume they were not haphazard additions, but rather carefully planned constituents of the overall scheme. The color blue may be significant in this regard. Blue, which as a color was associated with Inca royalty and special sacred rituals, is relatively rare in Inca-period garments. One extraordinary blue tunic was recently found in association with a frozen *capacocho* burial site on the high mountain of Ampato, confirming its ritual associations. The animals in catalogue number 52 are also all in blue.³

Historically Andean weavers were fond of rendering woven fabric structures (such as elaborately interlaced plaitings) as design elements. We see this in Precolumbian textiles as early as the Chavin era (ca. 850 B.C.). In the colonial period this tradition coincided with the Spanish taste for the latticework form (see fig. 121). Here the predominant design on the center field is just such an interlaced lattice, whose undulations follow a clear pattern of split pairs that meander to and from adjacent pairs. A square motif marks the junction of each meeting of the original pair, and these squares align in vertical columns. The meeting points of the alternate pairs are marked by rectangular features that also align in columns.

Although the overall pattern is Spanish in inspiration, it is rendered with the severity and regularity of an Inca *cumbi* tunic. The central squares that connect the latticework, which mimic a kind of fretwork join, have their own internal concentric patterns that evoke the rigid geometry of Inca *tocapu* designs. The limited color palette, which comprises red, blue, yellow, white, and black, was cleverly augmented by the weavers, who plyed yarns together in

combinations of two (red and blue, blue and yellow) to create two-tone yarns. What severity remains is countered by the weavers' humor, as seen in the depictions of the birds eating the fruit off the vines in the lower border and the "friendly" blue viscachas protecting the edges.

EP

1. This tapestry may be the one referred to by Zimmern (1943–44, p. 43, n. 10), who describes it as "now in the Dikran Kelekian collection, that may have been item 634 in the Benguiat sale 1924." See catalogue number 52 for further discussion.
2. Garcilaso de la Vega (1609–17) 1966, pp. 517–18.
3. Found by Johan Reinhard in the 1990s and now part of the collection of the university in Arequipa.

54. *Chalice*

Lima or Potosí(?), ca. 1575–1600
Silver gilt, repoussé, chased, engraved, and cast, with burnished punchwork
11³/₈ x 3⁷/₈ in. (29 x 10 cm); base 7⁷/₈ x 7⁷/₈ in. (20 x 20 cm)

Mark, repeated four times: PHI[LIPVS], with exterior dotted border and interior continuous circular line
Catedral Primada de Colombia, Santafé de Bogotá (05.1.156)

REFERENCES: Huertas 1995, fig. 50; Esteras Martín 1999, p. 404; Esteras Martín 2000a, pp. 32, 36, 40, fig. 6.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1999, no. 217.



This chalice, which has no known formal precursors in South American silverwork, is exceptional for its unusually ample proportions as well as its varied and original decoration. It is also noteworthy for its excellent craftsmanship, as evidenced by the use of multiple techniques to achieve luminous contrasts. The cup is conical in shape, and the cup base is adorned with four putti heads interspersed with pairs of heavy gadroons. The stem is interesting for its cylindrical pedestal and its very large knob, or *pomellum*, conceived here as a temple-shaped ornament with four buttressed lobes, decorated with fruit and putti set into scrolls. The convex inner portion of the foot is adorned with four scrolls, with a lozenge centered between four elongated gadroons. Around it, the base is square with semicircular projections decorated with concave scalloping; the angular spaces are adorned with vases.

There is no known documentation, either in the Cathedral of Santafé or elsewhere, attesting to the origin of this piece. Not until 1999, on the basis of the markings, was it possible to classify the chalice as having originated in Lima or Potosí. It is marked four times along the edge of the base with a “monetary” punch mold, but, as usual, this marking is incomplete, here because there is not enough space for it. Three letters, PHI, can be discerned in the Latin inscription encircling the Spanish coat of arms; however, there are no monarchical ordinal numbers to associate these letters with either Philip II or Philip III, which makes dating the piece properly almost impossible. Because the mint mark is recognizable, we do have some indication of place, which must have been Lima or Potosí, the only cities with functioning mints from the last quarter of the sixteenth century to the early seventeenth century. (There was no mint established in Bogotá until 1623–24, and although we cannot date the piece precisely, on the basis of style it can be assigned without doubt to a period prior to this time.)

The chalice’s dimensions, amply developed base, and generous cup suggest that a monstrance might originally have been affixed to it (the firm base would have been needed to support the additional weight). This type of monstrance-chalice is Spanish

in origin, but the form was adopted by Spanish-American silver workshops, reaching its apogee in the Viceroyalty of New Spain. The style of this piece can be defined as Mannerist because of its structure, in particular the ample knob and flat base, as well as its ornamentation, which includes typically Mannerist geometric motifs such as raised elliptical and rectangular elements, gadroons, and scrollwork. The vases, scalloping, fruit, and putti, however, are in keeping with Renaissance imagery.

CEM

55. Footed salver

Potosí(?), before 1622

Gold, cast, molded, chased, and engraved, with burnished punchwork

3 1/8 x 8 7/8 in. (8 x 22.5 cm)

Marks: IS and II

Provenance: salvaged from the wreck of the galleon *Santa Margarita*, 1980

Mel Fisher Maritime Museum, Key West, Florida (86.08.0002)

REFERENCES: Mathewson 1986, pl. C-12;

Christie’s 1988, fig. 29; Kelly 1992, p. 28;

Esteras Martín 2000a, pp. 41–42, pl. 11.

Salvers were very common in the homes of Spaniards and Spanish Americans during the seventeenth century. As a complement to cups and glasses, salvers were an integral part of a table service and were made in a variety of sizes. They are composed of a flat plate that is either round, oval, star-shaped, or octagonal, and a low

foot that is soldered or screwed to the plate. The name “salver” comes from *bacer la salva*, a rite of tasting food and drink for the king or overlord to keep him, “salvo de toda traición y engaño” (safe from all treachery and deceit) that is, to protect him from poisoning. In the Middle Ages liquid from the cup was poured into the plate, which was then deeper than that of later times, and tasted by the head server before the lord drank it. This ceremony came to be extended to all titled aristocracy and later to the middle class. Its function changed over time, however, to involve only a simple presentation of the drinking vessel, or *bernegal*.

In the Viceroyalty of Peru salvers were made of either silver or gold, both abundant in the territory, especially in the Altiplano. The form of this salver is typical of pieces made in the first quarter of the seventeenth century: a fairly shallow plate with a wide, flat rim, a molded border, a circular foot that has a convex profile, and molding where the neck meets the bottom of the plate. The piece is extraordinary, however, by virtue of the decoration and its masterly handling. Foliate ornaments have been interpreted geometrically as four Cs resembling large blossoms and ordered in the hollow of the plate in a cruciform composition. In the angles between these motifs garlands with little flowers and fruits dangle and intersect. On the rim garlands take the form of a cartouche with interlaced Cs, interrupted by four geometric elements placed along the axes that mark the central cross. All of these motifs are in relief executed by an artist who



Fig. 123. Juan Bautista Espinosa (ca. 1590–1641). *Still Life with Silver Objects*, 1624. Oil on canvas. Masaveu Collection, Oviedo, Spain



55



55, side view

wielded his chisel with a steady hand and considerable dexterity. This expert shading of the surfaces created strong contrasts between the polished motifs and the matte background, making the decoration stand out from the ground.

This salver is notable not only for its fine execution and Moresque decoration, but also for its historic value, as it came from one of the most famous shipwrecks in the Americas, that of the galleon *Santa Margarita*. The ship was part of the armada of the marqués de Cadereyta, a flotilla of thirty ships that set sail from Havana to

Spain on September 4, 1622. Taken by surprise by a powerful hurricane, the *Santa Margarita* and the *Nuestra Señora de Atocha* (which carried most of the treasure) were diverted from their course and sank near the Florida Keys. The *Santa Margarita* was found in 1980, and the salvage of its treasure began soon thereafter. Among the finds was this salver, discovered by the undersea archaeologist Dick Klautt. The date the ship sank gives us a terminus ante quem of 1622 for the piece, but it is very difficult to determine exactly when it was made. The style suggests a date in the period of the

late sixteenth century through the first twenty-two years of the seventeenth century, that is during the reign of King Philip III (1598–1621). The two marks on the piece, which are of the monetary type and are very incomplete and problematic to read, offer little help.

Both marks are imprinted on the foot of the salver. One, which can be read as IS (from HISPANIARUM), appears between two continuous circular lines next to a rampant lion (one-fourth of the escutcheon of Spain). In the other one, which is blurred and more incomplete, the letters IP or II can be made out. These may repeat part of a legend on the perimeter (PHILIPVS) or the ordinal following the king's name [PHILIPVS] III, with the final digit missing.

I have generally found this kind of mark to be part of the formula stamped on precious metals to indicate that the required tax (the *quinto*) had been paid. The mark on this salver takes the form of a coin with the shield of Spain (two castles and two lions) surrounded by a legend alluding to the monarch and placed within borders of various designs. This morphology is found only on pieces from the Viceroyalty of Peru; within this huge territory, I believe it was used only in centers where there was a mint that is, in Lima, Potosí, and Bogotá. This salver, then, must have come from Potosí, because during the period in which it must have been made, the mint in that city was the only one functioning.

This is an exceptional piece on account of its fine execution; the exquisite selection of ornament; and the skill with which the motifs are contrived and interlaced. Moreover, it is unique of its kind because it is made of gold—the only other objects bearing similar ornamentation are silver basins from the court in Madrid or those in still life paintings, such as the 1624 *Still Life with Silver Objects* (fig. 123) by Juan Bautista Espinosa. That salver was found in a famous shipwreck and in such an excellent state of preservation only adds to its allure.

CEM

56. *Basin*

Potosí(?), first quarter of 17th century

Silver, partially gilt, molded, chased, repoussé, and engraved, with burnished punchwork

Diam. 18½ in. (47 cm)

Marks: [P]HILIP[VS] between interior and exterior dotted border circling the coat of arms of Spain, of which only the outlines of one of the four quarters can be discerned (repeated four times on the reverse of the rim); heraldic lion on the left bordered by a circle of pearls and TA/PIA (with a dot over the P, all within a squared border with a roundel on either side)

Inscribed on rim: Da. CATALINA DIE GR/OSICO and YH

Arms: quartered escutcheon (first quarter, three checkered bands; second quarter, bridge over waves topped by a tower with a border of eight round pieces, possibly roundels or bezants; third quarter, rearing goat with a border of pieces; fourth quarter, six enamel and six gold pieces); a helmet is on the crest.

Museo Nacional de Artes Decorativas, Madrid (1266)

EXHIBITION: Mexico City 2000–2001, no. 29.

Deep circular basins were used to catch water poured from aquamaniles (ewers) during the traditional “handwashing” ceremony. This example, which has the pronounced base characteristic of such pieces, was designed with a raised rim and a decorative scheme organized around four elliptical lunettes with landscapes (showing a bird on a branch) that alternate with trapezoidal ones, which have an oval engraved in the interior. Vegetal Cs and Ss are interwoven among the various motifs. The base bears a variety of molding; on the convex side of the rim there are small, contoured radial gadroons, and in the center there is an applied plaque engraved with the owner’s coat of arms.

The piece is marked four times with a monetary stamp, so named because it presents the image of the back of a coin. All four imprints are incomplete, however, so that even with four stamps we are able to decipher only the letters HILIP, from the name of King Philip, and two dotted borders that circle the perimeter. This type of monetary mark was used in the viceroyalty from at least 1586 through the reign of Charles II (1665–1700) and is believed to have been the sign of the *quinto*, the tax stamp indicating payment of duties to the royal treasury. If the inscription included the king’s numeral we

could determine the precise period of the dish’s execution, but without it we can only approximate a date based on style.

Under the escutcheoned plaque there are other markings indicative of a locality and an engraver, accompanied by the burin mark (proof of assay). These markings hail from the city of Córdoba, Spain, and their presence on this piece may well be related to the escutcheoned plaque that now hides them. The engraver’s sign corresponds to the workshop of Simón Pérez de Tapia, who worked during the third quarter of the seventeenth century (there is a lamp, dated 1670, attributed to his workshop at the Hispanic Society, New York). These markings thus date to that period, even though the dish, judging from its formal and decorative features, appears to date to the reign of Philip III (1598–1621). If that chronology is correct, then it must have been made in one of the silver workshops of Potosí, since at the time Potosí was the only city in the Viceroyalty of Peru with a fully operational mint.

Inscribed on the rim are the roman numerals XVII, inside of which is engraved

the name doña Catalina Díez Grosico, who was very likely the piece’s first owner because the initials IH (in English lettering), found just below, can be dated to the nineteenth century. In interpreting the arms on the escutcheon, I have concluded only that the second quarter relates to the Cabrerías family, the fourth quarter to the Velascos family, and the first quarter possibly to the Saavedras family. In any event, none of them corresponds to the inscriptions. As often happened with this type of piece, it likely passed through various hands and had several owners.

The ornamentation on this dish is curiously distinct from that found on other, perhaps more well-known and more widely studied examples of works marked with “mint dies,” such as those in the cathedrals of Zaragoza and Siegen, which clearly originated in viceregal Peru. Here, the decoration is closer to that found on Spanish pieces. The bird motif engraved on the lunette is not customary on Spanish silverwork, however, and it does appear commonly on Peruvian pieces, leaving no question as to its place of origin.

CEM



57. Drinking vessel (*bernegal*)

Santafé de Bogotá, before 1622

Silver gilt, cast, molded, and chased

Diam. 6 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (16.9 cm)

Mark: pomegranate under a crown within a circular frame rimmed with beads

Provenance: salvaged from the wreck of the galleon *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*

Private collection

REFERENCES: Christie's 1988, lot 72; Esteras Martín 1998, p. 114; Christie's, New York, 16 April 1999, lot 161.

The *bernegal* (or drinking vessel) was part of a wine service. According to the 1611 Spanish dictionary by Sebastián de Covarrubias Horozco, a *bernegal* is a "wide tumbler for drinking water," and the term was particularly prevalent in Toledo.¹ They were made mostly in earthenware and ceramic, but some were produced in crystal and precious metals, namely, gold and silver. At least during the seventeenth century, they were paired with a salver for presentation. The *bernegal* assumes different forms (round, oval, boat-shaped, and so on) according to period, but an undulating type called *bocado* was the most common. All have a foot and two little handles next to the edge of the rim. This foot and the vessel itself vary in height according to the date of production. In many examples the bottom of the vessel was designed to hold a bezoar stone, which, it was believed, could detect arsenic or other poisons mixed in water or wine.

This example has ten "bites" (*bocados*), or gadroons, each with a deep profile that contrasts with the polished surface of the vessel. In the bottom of the bowl is a round "teat" (*téton*) with thin, geometrically disposed walls in the shape of a flower that originally enclosed *champlevé* enamel. The vessel rests on a low, circular foot that has a cylindrical neck crowned with a prominent plate. Two C-shaped handles are attached to the mouth of the vessel and rise above it.

If this piece lacked marks, as South American silver often does, it would be very difficult to determine its origin because it follows a model made in both Spain and the Americas and thus could be from Spain, Mexico, or anywhere else in the Hispanic world. However, it does bear a mark, a crowned pomegranate, stamped twice on



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57, view of interior

the vessel. This is the emblem of Santafé de Bogotá, capital of the Kingdom of New Granada, and its presence allows us to identify the *bernegal* as the work of the silver workshops of this city. A Spanish *bernegal* is shown in Juan Bautista Espinosa's 1624 painting *Still Life with Silver Objects* (fig. 123). Another, now in the Apelles collection in Santiago de Chile, came from the galleon *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción*, part of the flotilla of New Spain (Mexico) that sank in 1641.

Although it was underwater for nearly four centuries, the state of preservation of this piece is good, thanks to the coating of gold that protected it from the corrosion of salt. Sadly, it has lost the enamel that once decorated the interior and perhaps served as a substitute for the much-desired bezoar stone. In its use of *champlevé* enamel this *bernegal* is not unique among Mexican and Peruvian examples.

CEM

1. Covarrubias Horozco (1611) 1943, s.v. "bernegal!"

58. Ewer

Potosí, ca. 1600

Silver, partially gilt, molded, cast, chased, and engraved, with burnished punchwork

H. 6¼ in. (15.5 cm), max. W. 7½ in. (19 cm),

Diam. of base 3 in. (7.7 cm)

Marks: mountain beneath crown and letter P with vestiges of encircling inscription (repeated four times next to the rim of the mouth)

Apelles Collection, Chile

REFERENCES: Esteras Martín 1992b, p. xxxvi, fig. 23, no. 336; Esteras Martín 1995a, fig. 373; Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, pp. 32, 35, 40, pl. 3, fig. 7; Esteras Martín 2004, no. 19.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1997, no. 6.

Pieces of this type, called *jarros de pico* (beaked ewers), had a strictly secular function, which was to serve water at the tables of rich men. When accompanied by a basin, the beaked ewer often became an aquamanile for the washing of hands. This vessel is similar in type to Castilian Mannerist ewers, such as those from Valladolid,¹ in which the receptacle is cylindrical and adorned with a high-relief motif set between raised bands and rests on a low, circular base, with a very short neck. The distinguishing element of this ewer is the handle, which has not been rendered in the traditional 7 form but rather in a freer, undulating shape that unites its initial concave element with an intermediate section and ends in an outward curve, like a volute. This form, which is quite distant from orthodox Castilian prototypes, confirms the ewer's Spanish-American origin.

This provenance is also supported by the markings. South American silverwork produced during the colonial period usually was not marked. When marks are present, they indicate that the piece was subject to taxation. It is exceptional for a taxation mark to bear an imprint that indicates the place of a piece's origin; the mark is as a rule a royal crown rather than a monetary mark. The morphology of the mark on this piece apparently corresponds to that of the mark on an undated half-*real* issued by the Potosí mint during the reign of either Philip II or Philip III. Because the imprint here is incomplete, it cannot be properly deciphered; we can, however, say

it seems to include a P from the initials (PHLVS) at the center, with II+—perhaps a portion of the monarch's ordinal—barely discernible at the perimeter. This mark clearly suggests that the work was produced in Potosí, where mint stamps were used on silver pieces from the reign of Philip II until that of Charles II to indicate tax control. Noteworthy and unusual is the appearance of another mark, showing a mountain under a crown of foliage, which reinforces a Potosí origin. This motif, which is included on Potosí's heraldic escutcheon, can be identified with the famous Cerro Ricci, the "rich mountain" that led to the establishment of this mining city.

Based on its stylistic components the present ewer could be attributed to the late sixteenth century. However, because we have no knowledge of the artist, or the training he might have received, it is more prudent

to date it to about 1600, although it is certainly possible that it was produced earlier. During the period 1599 to 1609 fierce battles took place between the Spanish and the Araucanian Indians at Angola de los Confines (now Ercilla, Chile), where the ewer was excavated in the 1960s. This leads us to surmise that the piece must have been produced prior to this period of conflict.

The artistic qualities of this Mannerist ewer, like those of most Spanish-American pieces, arise out of an impulse to reduce the variety of Spanish aesthetic and culture into a single unified vision. The ewer does not precisely replicate any one Spanish model; instead, the receptacle and base follow in the Valladolid tradition, while the decoration of the spout, which bears the face of a bearded old man with an open mouth, is inspired by the style of Seville. The peculiar resolution of the handle is a





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purely colonial accent and as such exemplifies the ongoing synthesis of Hispanic and indigenous cultures carried out in such works.

CEM

1. For example no. 29 in the Várez Fisa collection, Madrid, Esteras Martín 2000b, pp. 83–86.

59. *Ewer*

Lima(?), before 1622
 Silver, turned, cast, and chased
 H. 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (16.2 cm), max. W. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (17 cm),
 Diam. of base 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (6.8 cm)
 Mark: open royal crown with circular cord
 border (repeated twice on receptacle)
 Provenance: salvaged from the wreck of
 the galleon *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*, 1985
 Museo de América, Madrid (88-6-2)

REFERENCES: Christie's 1988, lot 50; Esteras
 Martín 1992b, fig. 27, no. 375; Esteras Martín
 in Madrid 1997, p. 43; Esteras Martín 1999,
 p. 411; Cruz Valdovinos, "Jarros de pico en

la platería hispanica (y II)," *Antiquaria*, XIV,
 no. 137, pp. 46–47

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1999, no. 226.

This ewer was retrieved from the ocean floor in 1985, part of the treasure aboard the Spanish galleon *Nuestra Señora de Atocha* when it sank off the coast of Florida in 1622. In 1988 it was acquired by the Spanish government for the Museo de América, Madrid. The ewer has a cylindrical receptacle with a hemispherical bottom. Four ribs extend from the base onto the receptacle, which has a frieze between two bands of double molding, the lower of which is decorated with concave ovals. The affixed spout, which projects horizontally, displays a design of molded vertical drapery embellished by a small masked visage. The handle rises above the receptacle rim and comprises three segments: an elaborately developed convex section, a straight middle section, and a concave lower element.

The receptacle bears two *quinto real* ("royal fifth") stamps showing an open crown with five fleurs-de-lis points set in a circular border with molding that appears to be corded. The morphology and size of this mark are the same as those of marks on at least four other pieces retrieved from the *Atocha* (Christie's, lot nos. 28, 41, 62, 66) as well as on a cup now in a private collection in Argentina. All of these pieces passed through the same tax control for the *caja real* (royal treasury), where they were marked with the identical stamp. Since the passengers embarked on the *Atocha* from different points in South America (for example, Bogotá, Callao, Arica, Cuzco, and Potosí), it is difficult to determine exactly where the objects were stamped. Nevertheless, in 1992 I proposed that this piece originated in Lima, an opinion that I continue to maintain despite persistent doubts. My conclusion was based on analysis of many other tax marks used during the period. The mark on the present ewer differs from those on pieces of known origin (those from Bogotá or Potosí) recovered from both the *Atocha* and the *Santa Margarita*, another galleon that sank in the same year and belonged to the same fleet as the *Atocha*. Thus Bogotá and Potosí can be ruled out as the site of this ewer's execution, leaving Lima as the possible point of origin.



59, detail of mark

p. 402; Esteras Martín 2000a, pp. 37, 41, pl. 7, figs. 12, 13; Esteras Martín 2000c, pp. 124–25.

EXHIBITIONS: Madrid 1997, no. 9; Madrid 1999, no. 216.

This ewer is made up of a somewhat truncated cylindrical body with a hemispherical bottom. A corolla of twelve applied ribs extends up from the smooth circular base, which has a short neck that can be unscrewed. Ringing the cup is a frieze with molded borders between which is a row of elliptical bosses with linked ogival frames. Below this, on the lower part of each side of the cup, are three applied shields, two small ones flanking a larger one, all with raised nailhead motifs. They

are framed by a frieze of strapwork lightly incised on the body of the ewer behind them. The upper part of the cup, near the rim, bears an engraved scene dominated by two dragons flanking a cartouche. The spout projects horizontally at the level of the lip; descending along its ridge is a molding that terminates in a double volute, decorated with a rosary of pearls under the mouth and a burnished lozenge in the middle section. The C-form handle rises up slightly above the lip and is decorated with raised oval lozenges and a foliate motif that echoes the handle's curving silhouette.

The marking and ornamental motifs led to my initial assessment, in 1997, that it originated in Potosí. Now that more

The ewer was clearly made prior to 1622, when the wreck of the *Atocha* took place. The date is supported by the fact that the ewer exhibits the formal stylistic elements of pieces produced by the court silversmiths in Madrid during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. However, there is one purely American feature: the hooked, G-shaped handle, as distinct from the C-shaped model employed by the Madrid silversmiths, the 7 shape common in Valladolid, and the 5 shape generally used in Seville. The design is not unique to this piece. It appears on a ewer in the Museo Histórico de Tucumán, Argentina, that was also produced in the Viceroyalty of Peru. However, the markings on that piece, which are different from those seen here, indicate that the Tucumán ewer almost undoubtedly originated in Potosí.

CEM

60. Ewer

Potosí, ca. 1621–65

Silver gilt, turned, cast, engraved, and chased

H. 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (17.3), max. W. 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (18 cm),

Diam. of base 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (8 cm)

Marks: lion and castle with inscription

[HISPAN]IA+P[HILIPVS], lion and castle with inscription +PH[ILIPVS] (repeated twice)

Private collection

REFERENCES: Esteras Martín in Madrid

1997, pp. 47, 55, 96–97; Esteras Martín 1999,



information about Peruvian silverwork is available, the attribution of the ewer to that mining city, based on its markings and unusual decorative elements, can be considered fairly conclusive. The piece has two *macuquina*, so-called cob monetary stamps, in which a lion and a castle can be discerned within the quartered coat of arms of Spain, in addition to a fragment of an inscription that originally encircled it, set between two circular rims of continuous lines. In one impression the letters +PH are visible, and in the other we can see IA+P, corresponding to the two final letters of the first word and the two initial letters of the second word in the inscription HISPANIA+PHILIPVS. Since the monarch's ordinal is absent, we are unable to determine which coin this refers to, although it is likely a two-*real* piece. For the same reason we are also unable to establish exactly when it was stamped. The style of the ewer, however—especially the formal structure of the receptacle, the C-shaped handle, and the absence of a grotesque visage on the spout—suggests a date during the reign of Philip IV (1621–65). The essentially geometric nature of its decoration—consisting of lozenges, strapwork cartouches, and nailhead designs—also supports this date. Because the Lima mint was closed from 1589 to 1659/60, a good portion of the period in which we believe this piece to have been made, we have good reason to consider Potosí as the place of this ewer's origin. The argument is especially compelling in view of the fact that the main motif the upper border of the receptacle, the winged dragon, is typical of the ornamental imagery used in *queros* and *aquillas* in the colonial period in Potosí.

The winged dragon motif was not exclusive to the Andes. Beginning in the Middle Ages it appeared frequently in Europe, where the dragon, or basilisk, was associated with evil, sin, or the devil. For Andean peoples, the winged dragon was a monster that brought death to those who looked upon it. And in the Antisuyu, the tropical eastern sector of the Inca Empire, it was identified with the *amaru*, a mythical serpent that inhabited this land. During the colonial period the imagery of the *amaru* was altered so that it more closely resembled the Western conception of the

dragon. Nevertheless, and despite the negative view they shared of the dragon, the Spanish and Andean cultures represented the monster in different manners. The placement of the two pairs of dragons within escutcheons seen here follows the European heraldic style. Andean features include their location within a band abutting the rim, (as in *queros* and *aquillas*) as well as the peculiar design of the wings, whose rigid and schematic rendering recalls depictions of the *amaru*. Similarly, the placement and form of the vegetal motif at the end of the dragon's tail is a decorative solution common in the viceregal period, especially on ceremonial *aquillas* of the so-called freestyle type. This Potosí example thus conflates a form primarily associated with seventeenth-century Seville and a decorative program whose origins are both European and indigenous. The latter aspect displays a syncretism that embodies George Kübler's notion of the explant process, whereby many pre-Hispanic motifs survived within the colonial context while following the artistic models of the dominant Spanish culture.

CEM

61. Ewer

Alto Perú, ca. 1625–50
Silver gilt, turned, cast, embossed, and engraved, with burnished punchwork
H. 7 in. (17.7 cm), max. W. 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (22.5 cm),
Diam. of base 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (8.8 cm)
Marks: quartered escutcheon beneath crown with castles and lions, BERCIAL/1806, YZ/QVERD (with a point over the second stroke of the V) (repeated twice)
Museo Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid (2471)

REFERENCES: Sanz Serrano 1975, pp. 153–54; Cruz Valdovinos 1986, p. 38; Cruz Valdovinos 2000, pp. 194–97.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 2002–3, pp. 208–9.

If this ewer lacked any ornamentation, it might well have been classified, on the basis of its structure, as the product of the silverworks of Madrid, since it perfectly matches the model developed at the court of Philip III. Nonetheless, certain distinctive details point to an American origin, for

example, the separation between the receptacle and the handle in the latter's rectilinear section, and the flat, extruding lip.

The hemispherical bottom of the ewer is adorned with four pairs of ribs that extend from the short neck of the flat, circular base. The spout affixed to the receptacle rises slightly above the edge of the vessel's rim and is decorated with a grotesque of an old bearded man and, set into the lower section, another, smaller face, with its tongue sticking out. The G-shaped handle is reminiscent of Mannerist serpentine handles. It is engraved with scales that have been etched into the flat sides and is finished off with the head of a bird-serpent.

The most distinctive characteristic of the ewer is the technique used to execute the decoration. The decorative elements cover the entire surface, in two horizontal bands above and below a molded relief and in the spaces between the ribs. The principal motifs are engraved, while the secondary ones are rendered with stippling. The imagery includes flora and fauna, such as dogs, rabbits, foxes, butterflies, and birds that are clearly European. Except in the area of the molded frieze and on the flat surface at the edge of the rim, these are employed as filler motifs; the most prominent images, in terms of their size in relation to the overall composition, are the grotesque lions and a mask adorned with a feather headdress.

The monstrous or fantastic grotesques and the filling in of the entire surface—out of an apparent horror vacui—are both characteristic of the Peruvian Andean and Altiplano aesthetic. I disagree with María Jesús Sanz Serrano's suggestion that the ewer is Mexican in origin and concur with José Manuel Cruz Valdovinos, who proposes that it was produced within the Viceroyalty of Peru. I would add, however, an attribution to the vast area that lies within what is now Bolivia. This hypothesis is reinforced by the fact that some of the rabbit images are represented as *viscachas*, rodents native to the Altiplano region; that the iconography of the lions with extended tongues reproduces forms found on painted *queros*; and that the griffinlike creatures with interlaced heads and tails are winged dragons, or the Andean *amaru*, which was believed to inhabit the Antisuyu quarter of the old



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Inca Empire.¹ Their presence alone is more than sufficient reason to locate the work's origin in one of the silver workshops in the Bolivian region. The question of whether its maker was of Spanish origin or mixed-race descent is another matter. The high quality of the ewer does not necessarily mean that the artist was a Spaniard, since many Creoles and indigenous silversmiths were capable of producing works of great merit in the Spanish taste.

The ewer's high silver content also buttresses the argument for a Peruvian-Bolivian origin. Its total weight in silver, 6 marks

(1,310 grams), is well above the customary range of Spanish ewers, which is between 3 and 4 marks (690–920 grams). The same generosity is evident in the distribution of the gold wash, which covers not only the exterior of the piece but the interior as well. Gold was not commonly applied in this manner among similar Spanish pieces, as such lavish use would have considerably increased the price of the work. Such an application would have been feasible only in a place where this metal was found in abundance.

The presence of the masked visage with a feather headdress, in contrast, interpreted

by Sanz and Cruz as an irrefutable indication of the ewer's American origin, to me is no such proof, as this type of iconography was common in Europe after Frans Floris showed plumed adornments in his engravings of 1548. It was, for example, adopted by Cornelis Bos in his various panels of grotesques of 1554. (Europeans had seen objects of this kind as early as 1520, when Montezuma's treasure was exhibited in Brussels.) The representation of indigenous facial features on the mask would firmly establish an American origin, but as none appear here this argument for

the ewer's American provenance is not incontrovertible.

The marks, stamped twice on the piece's base and once on the edge of its rim, likewise fail to clarify the piece's origin, since they are Spanish remarkings imprinted in Valladolid in 1806. Not only do they fail to shed any light on the piece, they actually create further confusion. Along with the stamp of the assay master, Hipólito Bercial (which bears the date 1806), there appears the stamp of Gregorio Izquierdo, presumably the artist. These stamps would seem to indicate that the piece was modified in 1806, but there is nothing about the object that suggests intervention. It is possible, as Cruz indicated, that both silversmiths acted as assay masters, but this would have been somewhat unusual.

CEM

1. A similar animal appears on a seventeenth-century *quero* in the Museo Inka, Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad del Cusco; Flores Ochoa, Kuon Arce, and Samanez Argumedo 1998, p. 259.

62. *Holy-water stoup*

Cuzco(?), ca. 1625–50
Silver, molded, cast, and repoussé
H. 15¼ in. (38.7 cm), max. W. 8⅞ in.
(20.5 cm)
Private collection

NOT IN EXHIBITION

REFERENCE: Esteras Martín in Madrid
1997, pp. 94–95.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1997, no. 8.

Stoups containing holy water were used for self-benediction. They were often placed at the bedside in conventional sleeping areas, so that upon rising one could moisten the fingertips with a small amount of water and cross oneself. This stoup comprises two parts, a vertical back and a concave basin, the customary construction for this type of piece. The back is oblong with sinuous contours culminating in a cross. The frame displays C-shaped vegetal-motif adornments forming scrolled molding that is punctuated by rectangular



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lozenges of varying dimensions. The center consists of an ovoid medal bearing the effigy of Saint Anthony of Padua atop a gadrooned pedestal. The basin is deep and circular, with a hemispherical bottom adorned with a spheroid protuberance and vegetal ribbing ending in female busts.

In its structure and ornamental imagery, the stoup can be classified as Mannerist in style. But the undulating contours, the vegetal ribbing, and the vinelike (pyramidal) finishes with spherical pearls indicate an attempt by its creator to achieve greater flexibility in silhouette than is seen in most Mannerist works. This flexibility leads me to date it to the second quarter of the seventeenth century, but no later than this, given the use of repoussé with very little volume in the ornamentation.

Although the stoup was found in Cuzco, this does not necessarily mean that it was produced there, as such pieces are easily portable. However, the details and excellent quality of this piece lead me to conclude that it was indeed manufactured by Cuzco silversmiths. If this attribution is accurate, this stoup would represent a paradigmatic

example of Peruvian silverwork, notable in more than one respect: it would be the oldest of its kind known to have been produced in the viceroyalty, and it survived the earthquake of 1650 that devastated and utterly transformed the city of Cuzco.

CEM

63a, b. *Candlesticks*

Cuzco, ca. 1600–1650
Silver, cast and chased
H. 61⅜ in. (156 cm), Diam. 23¼ in.
(59 cm) each
Arzobispado del Cusco

This pair of candlesticks (*candeleros* or *blandones*) is part of a set of six, the standard number in such sets, which are found only in cathedrals. There are a few sets of twelve, however, such as in the Cathedral of Seville. Meant to illuminate the altar, they support thick, tall wax candles and are placed at the foot of the altar or on various steps. They are conventionally described as being about as tall as a person. These examples have triangular, tall bases with curved sides supported by three claw-and-ball feet that extend upward into palmettes, which hew to the curvature of the base. The stem is also tall and comprises five parts, each one set on top of the next. Most notable is the lowest section, which is cylindrical; the central section is in the form of a vase; and the neck is conical. The head consists of a spheroid piece topped by another conical piece crowned by a drip pan that is prominent and flat. The only decorations on the piece are appliquéd gadroons, elongated lozenges, and nail-heads, geometric motifs linked to the Late Renaissance and maintained into the Mannerist period.

As is customary in silverwork from Cuzco, the candlesticks are not marked, and they lack documentary support. Thus, there is no way to classify them other than by typology and ornamentation in the context of other Cuzco pieces. In terms of structure, they can be dated to the first half of the seventeenth century, although it is possible to propose the first quarter of that century based on their formal features,

such as the stem elements, which fail to achieve an organizational cohesion, but also on the use of the abstract decorative scheme. In this regard the long, narrow shape of the lunettes leads me to compare them with those of a chalice in the same

cathedral. They should also be compared with the chalice-monstrance in the church at Cabanaconde (in the Colca Valley), which dates to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century and was donated by doña Juana Pizarro (born ca. 1560), daugh-

ter of one of the founders of Arequipa. However, given the lack of other candlesticks of similar size and features, and the fact that the artist is unknown, it is impossible to be certain of a precise date.

CEM



63a, b

64. Coat of arms of the descendants of the Inca Topa Yupanqui

Ca. 1600(?)

Gold leaf and pigment on parchment
13¾ × 17 in. (34.8 × 43.3 cm)

Arms: quarterly, 1, or a helm azure, plumed azure and gules, 2, argent, the royal Inca fringe (*mascaypacha*) proper between two serpents erect azure, crowned or respecting each other, 3, or, a tower triple-turreted azure, 4, argent, an eagle displayed sable between in chief a rainbow azure and two lions (jaguars?) rampant regardant tenné, in base, overall on a bar azure the legend ABE (*sic*) MARIA or
Inscribed: *El gran Topa Inga Yupanqui*
Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain
(Legajo, Mexico, 2346 MP—Escudos y Arboles Genealógicas, 78)

REFERENCES: Querejazu Escobari 1983, pp. 162–66; Gisbert 1994, pp. 115–46; Archivo de las Indias 1997, p. 68; Rafael Ramos Suza in Madrid 1999–2000, pp. 216–17; Cummins 2002.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1999–2000.

Descendants of Inca royal families as well as local *curacas* throughout the viceroyalty were granted rights and privileges as nobles by the Spanish kings Charles V and Philip II. Just as for Spanish noble families, these privileges were recognized through a document, issued in Spain, known as a *carta ejecutoria de hidalguía*, or “patent of nobility.” The most luxurious examples, like this one, were accompanied by elaborate illuminations of the coat of arms as well as portraits of ancestors, devotional saints, or the individual to whom the *carta* was issued. This *carta* recognizes the arms granted to the descendants of the Inca ruler Topa Yupanqui by Charles V in 1545.

The right half of the *carta* depicts the arms: an elaborate shield that juxtaposes elements of Spanish and Inca nobility. In the two quadrants of the shield’s proper right half are a helmet (top) and a castle on a field of gold (bottom), both Spanish heraldic emblems. On the left half are two Inca signs of royalty. On the top quadrant we see the red, royal fringe of the Inca (*mascaypacha*) flanked on either side by a crowned serpent known as the amaru:



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altogether a common Inca royal epithet. In the bottom quadrant is a rainbow, sustained by two jaguars, and below them a condor with opened wings.

The facing page depicts the founder of the lineage, Topa Yupanqui, standing in a country landscape and flanked by two smaller figures, probably servants or aids. The contrapposto Inca is a common colonial Andean type that began about 1570. The figure here was clearly taken from any one of a number of possible sources painted in and around Cuzco and then sent on to Spain. Topa Yupanqui is dressed in his royal insignia, with large gold earrings, gold felines’ heads on his knees and feet, the *mascaypacha*, and a tunic (*uncu*) that has a checkerboard design at the hem. He also holds a halberd, attached to which is his coat of arms. Similar adornments are worn by his noble descendants in the Santa Ana Corpus Christi paintings (cat. nos. 116a–e). Here the figure of the Inca monarch is identified by the gold-leaf

inscription at his feet, “El gran Topa Inga Yupanqui.”

This *carta* was submitted as “evidence” in a law case filed in 1718 in Lima, which in turn formed part of a petition by doña María Joaquina Inca, a resident of Mexico, in 1796. Such *cartas* were often used in law cases to demonstrate proof of privileges that had been granted during the early stages of the colonial period, and they were carefully guarded by the descendants of the grantees. The pictorial contents of the arms, however, were more commonly visible, because the *cartas*, in the process of granting the arms, conceded that such arms could be displayed by the grantee’s descendants in the lintels of their doorways. Thus even though many of the *cartas* were burned either by Viceroy Toledo in 1570 or Visitador Areche after the great rebellion in 1780, the houses of the lords of the Andes still bear such images on their lintels, where they can be seen today.

TC

65. Tapestry with coat of arms and vair pattern

Late 16th century

Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft
84 × 108 in. (213.4 × 274.3 cm)

Arms: azure(?), a tower proper(?), in chief five fleurs-de-lis or (or argent); above, a helm close in profile to sinister garnished and plumed gules, vert, and or

Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.; Museum Purchase (1963.38.1A)

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave, reversible, with single-interlocking and dovetail joins (some grouped); lazy lines, curvilinear wefts. Embroidery along top and bottom edges. **Warp:** cotton // ^ 31 per in. (brownish white). **Weft:** camelid ^ 136–60 per in. (light and dark red, gold, white, black, purple, green, and pink). **Embroidery:** camelid ^ (red). **Selvages:** warp selvage chain-looped

on lower edge, cut-and-entered plaited upper edge. **Condition:** complete, generally good for age; extremely fine spinning and weaving.

This pristine armorial tapestry is one of two extant examples from what was originally a set of *reposterios*, or wall hangings with coats of arms. The other example is now in the Brooklyn Museum, New York (1992.152).¹ Both are woven in the finest *cumbi* weave and have a large central coat of arms set against an all-over pattern in red and gold that is possibly derived from a color variant of the heraldic fur “vair,” which is normally silver and blue.² The arms, emblazoned with an escutcheon containing a castle and fleurs-de-lis, is said to be that of the de la Torre family.³ The outline of the escutcheon is broad and articulated with three-dimensional embellishments,

which the Andean weaver stylized and topped with a feathered helmet. The predominant red and gold color combination is referred to in heraldic nomenclature as *gules d’or* (red and gold). This same combination also had meaning in Inca times, when it was associated with ceremonial activities related to the lightning divinity, Illyapa (see cat. no. 4). The pure white ground of the center rectangular panel bearing the escutcheon is similarly evocative of Inca color hierarchies, which privileged white as a precious color reserved for the king. The border, flanked by guard stripes, contains a meandering vine that meets up with its counterpart to form a “tie” between the sections. The overall design is somewhat simplified, with no “filler” motifs, and the palette is restricted to the white design outlined in red against a green ground.



Both this tapestry and the Brooklyn example have identical weaving and technical features, indicating that they were woven in the same workshop, and probably by the same weavers. This is not the case for other known “sets” of Andean tapestries, which often seem to have been made as copies, one after the other, and evidence both a deterioration and some alterations in drawing and weaving in each successive generation.⁴ Here the top-quality *cumbi* weaving, high thread counts, fine spinning, and professional dyeing are matched in both works to an extent that we can speculate they were made concurrently or consecutively by the same set of hands.

We know from early inventories and accounts of Spanish chroniclers that *repositeros* were being commissioned in Peru by Spaniards early in the sixteenth century.⁵ This *cumbi* example was clearly made by weavers trained under Inca tutelage, and by artisans who still had access to fine fibers once reserved for the Inca monarch. Although the overall format is basically the product of a European aesthetic, the remnants of the chain-looped selvage along the lower edge—a signature of Peruvian tapestry weavers—dispel any lingering doubts that these tapestries were made in the Andes, and likely before the end of the sixteenth century, judging from their material quality, construction, and design.

To produce their traditional *cumbi* tapestry-woven garments, Andean weavers used low, wide looms. Like those garments, this armorial hanging is wider than it is high. Since it is also a relatively early piece and is significantly larger than a garment, we can speculate that a transitional type of loom might have been used to make it, although its size could also be merely a reflection of the particular loom available to the weaver. In every sense it is a quintessential expression of an awkward kind of colonial beauty, one in which lingering Inca aesthetic impulses—especially the limited color palette, the austere, geometric simplicity, and meticulous fabrication—embellish the heraldic arms of the presumably Spanish patrons who commissioned the set.

EP

1. The Textile Museum also owns fragments from a third tapestry that until recently were considered

to be fragments from the Brooklyn hanging. The two fragments (1963.38.1b,c) are small sections of the vair design. During conservation work conducted in conjunction with the 1996 exhibition “Converging Cultures” at the Brooklyn Museum, it was concluded, not without some surprise, that the fragments are not, in fact, from the Brooklyn tapestry. This conclusion was based on differences in warp counts as well as on differences in shape and overall surface appearance; moreover, the Textile Museum fragments were found to be too large to fit into the appropriate areas of the Brooklyn piece. Both the fragments and catalogue number 65, the complete hanging, did, however, appear to have undergone similar restorations in the past, and the restoration materials—particularly the silk used for the missing camelid wefts and the cotton lining (now removed from both works)—were close enough that I concluded they were most likely all part of the same collection at some time in the past.

2. The tapestry was purchased in 1963. I am grateful to Ann Rowe for informing me about it in 1986, when it was as yet unpublished.
3. Catalogue records of the Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.
4. This phenomenon can be seen, for example, in three tapestries from a set with the arms of the Cabrera y Bobadilla family (the conde de Chinchón), which has an elaborate monochrome patterned ground. Pieces in that set include one in the Hearst Castle, San Simeon, California; one in the Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, M. H. de Young Memorial Museum (1975.4.1); and one in a private collection. All were made from the same template but have notable differences. Published variously. See Gjurinovic Canevaro 1999, pp. 712–13, pl. 24; Hearst Castle 529-9-6550 and 529-9-655, published in *Furniture and Works of Art of the Residence of the Late Helen Hay Whitney*, Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, sale, February 6–7, 1946, lots 418, 419. Another example published in *Hali Magazine* (cat. no. 90) may be the piece in a private collection or a related work.
5. Inventories of the estate of Viceroy Toledo (who died in 1584) listed several types of embroidered and woven coats of arms made in Peru; see Julien 1995a, pp. 61–89. Also, Fray Bernabé Cobo describes in the 1650s *cumbi* cloth that is woven to make “hangings of the same material with the coats of arms that are ordered”; Cobo (1653) 1990, p. 225.

66. Tapestry with skulls and the Five Wounds of Christ

Southern Andes, late 16th–17th century
Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft
44½ × 67 in. (113 × 170.2 cm)
Collection of Bentley Dillard

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with single-interlocking, dovetailed, and some “stitched” joins. Embroidery along edge.
Warp: 3-ply cotton //∧ 22 per in. (white); vertical as tapestry is viewed. **Weft:** camelid ∧ 116 per in., 128 per in. along lower edge (natural brown, natural black, white, red, green [mottled blue-green], and yellow). **Selvages:** warp selvage is chain-looped on lower edge, cut-and-entered on upper edge; weft selvage has three warps of two yarns together (warp yarns at selvage are plied brown and white cotton yarns). Remnants of embroidery along top edge: brown camelid ∧ overcasting stitch.

The escutcheons within this tapestry-woven cloth contain emblematic designs of skulls and crossbones alternating with the Five Wounds of Christ (*cinco llagas*). Graphically woven in scarlet cochineal-dyed yarns, the bleeding Five Wounds were symbolic of the stigmata of Saint Francis and were associated with the Franciscan order. The size and proportions of the cloth, which was probably made by Andean weavers under the auspices of Franciscan friars, would seem appropriate for an altar or pulpit cover (also called an antependium), but the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum*—a compilation of the rites and ceremonies of the Catholic church compiled in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—specifically forbade the use of skulls and crossbones on antependiums.¹ Since there is no doubt the cloth was somehow associated with a funerary service, it may have been used as a pall cover or as a hanging for a catafalque, an ornamental construction sometimes built as part of a funeral mass for an important person.

The cloth is one of two known examples that share this powerful design program, which we can guess originated from a common graphic image that was supplied to the weavers as a model (fig. 124). This example is said to have come from Cuzco, and the other one from Arequipa; each reflects regional weaving styles, providing



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Fig. 124. Tapestry with skulls and the Five Wounds of Christ, late 16th–17th century. Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft. Private collection

an interesting contrast of technical and aesthetic approaches.² A fragment of a third tapestry with similar escutcheons, flanked by angels, now in the Franciscan church in Lari, a town in Peru's southern

Colca Valley, appears related to this group; however, that piece has been published with an annotation that indicates it was used during Holy Week.³ Apart from its iconography, the fact that the piece remains

in a Franciscan church would seem to confirm the association between these motifs and the Franciscans.

The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., has in its collection a related type of textile that is supposedly from Juli (near Lake Titicaca, in the Puno region of Peru). That work (91.412) contains images of two skeletons, one wearing a royal crown and the other a papal tiara. Scholar Pál Keleman has interpreted that textile as an item made to commemorate the death of a king and a pope in a single year, which he proposed was either 1621, when King Philip III of Spain and Pope Paul V died, or 1724, when Louis I of Spain and Pope Innocent XIII died.⁴ The two tapestries with the Five Wounds are (relatively speaking) more versatile objects that could have been used in a number of possible ceremonial situations.

All four of this tapestry's selvages are intact, and it was woven with the warp direction running from bottom to top (as the tapestry is viewed). The precise rendering of the scrolling acanthus leaves and the

ornamental columns evidences the obvious skill of the weaver. The Arequipa skull-and-crossbones tapestry was woven with the design oriented sideways, following the warp direction. It is possible the former was woven on a traditional upright *cumbi* loom, from Inca tradition, and the latter on a back-strap or staked-out ground loom, which would account for its narrower width, but this is uncertain. Each retains characteristic physical traits as well as slightly different design elements, especially in the treatment of the details of the cranium. The European scrolled ornamentation in this example is sharp compared to the relaxed work in the Arequipa tapestry, which reflects a bolder, more “Andean” hand. Although the Arequipa piece is slightly more disheveled in appearance, it is in its own way a tour de force of weaving dexterity, as the weaver creatively executed foreign designs while working sideways.

The preservation of the colors in this example is astonishing, particularly the yellow and green (made with a sequential dye bath of blue and yellow), since yellow tends to be fugitive to light.⁵ Here these hues offer us a rare glimpse of how bright these tapestries once were.

EP

1. *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* I, xii, 11 (Catholic Encyclopedia, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01353b.htm> and [03133a.htm](http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03133a.htm)).
2. The Arequipa tapestry (fig. 124) is 36 × 62 in. (91.4 × 157.5 cm) as viewed; as woven (warp × weft), it is 62 × 26 in. (157.5 × 66 cm). It, too, is made in tapestry weave with single-interlocking joins; there are barely any eccentric wefts, even where the designs curve, which is why it is so rectilinear in style. **Warp:** cotton //^ 16–18 per in. (2- or 3-ply?) (white). **Weft:** alpaca 72 per in. (red, white, yellow, blue, black/brown [natural]), 52 in yellow area where yarn is thick (^). It has one preserved chain-looped edge, with restoration on the other side.
3. Romaña, Blassi, and Blassi 1987, fig. 1, p. 180. The Colca Valley, a region of lush fertile soil, was a vibrant center of colonial culture because of its proximity to silver mines.
4. Kelemen 1977, p. 44, figs. 2.3, 2.4.
5. In 2003 the yellow color was analyzed by Nobuko Shibayama, associate research chemist, Metropolitan Museum, using High-Performance Liquid Chromatography (HPLC), which suggested the dye could be quercetin; see Phipps, Zaharia, and Shibayama 2004.

67. *Casket*

Potosí, ca. 1665–1700
Silver, repoussé, chased, and engraved, with burnished punchwork, and cast
8½ × 9¾ × 5½ in. (21.5 × 25 × 14 cm)
Mark: crown / [C]AR°[?]LVS
Inscriptions: 10/m/O and 57.400
Apelles Collection, Chile

REFERENCES: Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, pp. 106–9; Esteras Martín 2000a, p. 38, pl. 8, fig. 14; Esteras Martín 2004, no. 26.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1997, no. 14.

This casket (*arqueta*), which is rectangular in shape and made of solid silver, is adorned with a curved lid and supported by four legs in the form of eagles. It has two side handles and a top handle, each in the form of two serpents in combat. The decoration on the lid is divided into six spaces, three on each side; the main motifs in these sections are a ewer flanked by rearing lions (center) and birds (side). The front surface is decorated with naturalistic motifs, which are disposed symmetrically on either side of a central axis marked by the escutcheoned clasp and, below it, a masked visage.¹ This decoration is dominated by figures of animals—lions, birds, viscachas, tarucas, dogs, foxes, and snails—although there are also abundant floral garlands and horns of plenty that fill the surface. Along the central axis is a vase of flowers and floral motifs. This imagery expands along the side panels, where centaurs with plumed tufts are introduced.² The borders of the side panels display a rich array of tree foliage and floral motifs as well as dogs and grotesque birds, always paired to maintain a rigorous symmetry.

The casket was made for secular use, and its structure echoes the shape of a small trunk, a common form for such objects in Spain as well as in its overseas territories. My initial conjecture, made in 1997, that this piece is of Peruvian origin was therefore based not on its shape but on its ornamental vocabulary and the way the motifs are represented, in addition to its marking.³

The decoration represents a mixture of European motifs, some hardly varying from their Continental predecessors (ewers, garlands, horns of plenty, and masked

visages, all of which are based on engravings). Others have been reworked (centaurs in an indigenous style). Still others are images of fauna exclusive to Peru (for example, tarucas and viscachas). Viscachas are of particular symbolic value since they were considered to be intermediaries between the *apus*, the divinities of mountain peaks, and humans. Their presence here attests to the piece's origin in the Highland region, while the syntax of the ornamental vocabulary—especially the overloading of the composition out of a horror vacui—clearly expresses the baroque aesthetic of the Altiplano. In addition, the depiction of lions or birds with rigid crests reflects the particular sensibility of the silversmiths who worked in this region of colonial Peru.

The origin of the casket is limited further to the Potosí region by the marks imprinted on the interior of the base. In their morphology the marks correspond to those on a monetary stamp that, given its date, could only have been produced by the Potosí mint. The initials that can be deciphered and their placement under a crown surrounded by a border of dots correspond to the markings on a Potosí half-*real* minted between 1667 and 1701, dating the piece to the reign of Charles II (1665–1700). Sometime after this casket was produced—possibly between 1728 and 1750—an assay of its weight and value was performed. A burin engraving on the base indicates that its weight was 10 marks and its price was 57,400 *maravedis*.

CEM

1. This is reminiscent of the image rendered on the wall border in the chancel of the Church of the Ascension in Juli, a village near Puno, on the shores of Lake Titicaca.
2. A *quero* from the Lake Titicaca region displays centaur imagery, and this mythological beast also appears in a sacred poem about Copacabana that the Augustinian friar Fernando Valverde composed near Lake Titicaca in about 1657.
3. See Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, no. 14.





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68. *Basin*

Altiplano (La Paz?), late 17th century
 Silver, partially gilt, molded and repoussé,
 with burnished punchwork
 Diam. 18½ in. (47 cm)
 Mark: vegetal crown with five points
 (repeated four times)
 Arms: shield, halved and divided (eagle
 looking to left, (1) two poles, and (2) crescent
 surmounted by six-pointed star, terrasado tree

with two eagles on either side of trunk);
 border with eight crosses; united by a cross
 of Saint James of Jerusalem
 Várez Fisa Collection, Madrid

REFERENCES: Esteras Martín 1992b, p. xli,
 figs. 33, 34; Esteras Martín in Madrid 1999,
 p. 140; Esteras Martín 2000b, pp. 160–61.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1999, no. 224.

This round basin has a wide rim deco-
 rated with sinuous vegetal imagery

bordered by a piped edge. The convex
 center of the tray shows the repoussé
 escutcheon of the owner topped with a hel-
 met with beautiful foliate lambrequins. In
 the deeper part of the basin are six urns
 with flowers and birds, all distributed in
 a circle and alternating with pedestals in
 the forms of Solomonian columns turned
 with grape vines, with urns from which
 branches emerge bearing bunches of
 grapes with tendrils.

69. *Tapestry with urns and lions*

Typologically the piece follows the model of basins made in Spain for washing the hands (*fuentes de aguamanil*); particularly close to the Spanish prototypes is the round section where the base of the ewer (now lost) fit and was held in place by the circle formed by the bases of the pedestals and urns. This structure itself differs from that of related Spanish pieces and is original to the Andes, as is the modeling of the heraldic shield. On Spanish basins the heraldry of the owner is usually engraved on the circular boss; here it is raised and takes up the entire surface of this circular area. Thus the shield was planned in advance and incorporated in the basin when it was made, not added later, as is the case with innumerable other examples. This rather exceptional circumstance ought to enable us eventually to identify the arms and thus discover the identity of the original owner of the piece.

It is uncommon for a South American piece to be marked as this basin is, four times on different parts of the border with the stamp of the *quinto*. The presence of these marks tells us that the basin went through the requisite legal process and the appropriate tax (a fifth of its value) was paid. The mark is a vegetal crown with five points that also appears on some pieces made in Lima. This would seem to indicate that the basin was made in the capital city of the viceroyalty at the end of the seventeenth century. Yet the basin is more akin to the work of Highland silversmiths in the plastic treatment of the surface, the creator's apparent horror vacui, and the types of birds and flowers on the vases. For that reason I have considered that it is possible that the piece was the product of silversmithing in the Altiplano. Indeed, the decoration of the basin, especially the rim, perfectly matches that on a pair of missal stands that the bishop of La Paz, don Juan Queipo de Llano (served 1682–94), gave to the Sanctuary of Peñas, which is on the road from La Paz to Huarina, on Lake Titicaca. Thus I am cautiously amending my earlier classification of the piece, dating it to the end of the seventeenth century and assigning it to the silver workshops in La Paz, or at least in the region of Collao (Altiplano).

CEM

Southern Andes, late 17th–18th century(?)
Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft
132½ × 122 in. (336.6 × 309.9 cm)
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Lionel Derteano

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with single-interlocking and dovetail joins; slit joins and eccentric wefts. Color variations created through hatching (alternating yarn colors). Woven joins in monochrome areas used to create design effects (e.g., facial features of the lion).

Warp: cotton / 17 per in. (white), some doubled. **Weft:** wool / 88 per in. (yellow [gold and light beige], white, blue [indigo in light, dark, and medium shades], cochineal red, and medium and dark brown). **Selvages:** lower edge of warp selvage chain-looped (presently folded). Weft selvage present on one side. **Condition:** in two sections rejoined at the center, with many restorations; brown yarns are deteriorated.

This tapestry was inspired, in part, by the international aesthetic program of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, which at the time the piece was made was newly introduced to the Andes. The dominant theme—large-scale urns beneath vine-covered arcades—is a Renaissance motif no doubt copied from an imported model that was in turn based on a well-known group of European tapestries with related scenes of gardens and pergolas. That group includes the Vertumnus series produced in Belgium (and in other Northern European weaving centers) as well as slightly later tapestries with simplified renditions of floral urns and arcades favored by the Spanish court beginning in the seventeenth century.¹ The Andean version we see here, with its fluted columns, decorated arches, articulated ribbons, and scrolling vines, is filled with an effusive display of small-scale designs characteristic of the European grotesque. In fact, a distinctly European subject matter and design program so permeate this tapestry that at times its Andean origin has been questioned. Despite a number of stylistic issues that might lead one to question its “Andeanness,” telltale technical features, such as the uncut chain-looped warps, securely locate its place of manufacture as the Andes.

Instead of being supported by native Andean felines, the large urns are supported by European-style rampant lions, with shaggy manes and extended red tongues that curl at the tips. The urns rest on elaborately articulated bases and are contoured with three-dimensional shadows achieved with careful shading in a deep indigo that swirls as it traverses the rounded forms. A fretwork of abstracted floral branches spans the bases of the urns and provides footholds for the lions and perches for the birds. A profusion of flowering branches pop up out the tops of the urns. The arches are decorated with crenellations. Some of the architectural structures appear to be composed of segmented bundles of branches, probably a confused interpretation of the original design model, which would have depicted a garden pergola with intertwining vines. Here swirling ribbons snake around and between the components of the arch, resulting in a blurred line between architecture and fantasy.

Several armorial elements are hinted at within the architectural motifs. Escutcheon-shaped spaces formed by the ribbons hang from the arches and are somewhat obscured by the abundance of scrolling lines and flowers. Instead of arms they contain split-stemmed pairs of flowers that appear to be crowning an elaborate headdress. This is possibly a reference to the *suntur pawqar*, the headdress originally worn only by the Inca king, which was reworked in the colonial period into an altogether more fantastic construction worn by Andean elites during Corpus Christi festivals.² A similarly mysterious, armorial-like feature can be made out in the upper and lower borders. Again, rather than a true coat of arms what we see is only the outline of an escutcheon and its peripheral armorial flourishes, such as a feathered helmet and shield-shaped form, which serves as an intersection point for the scrolling vines. The outer border, marked by guard stripes, is filled with the volutes of the linked scrolling lattice, with branches of flowers and birds set among the interconnected, metalwork-like display.

The predominantly blue and yellow color scheme, popular in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was associated primarily with the French court.³ This work was produced as one of a set or suite



69

of tapestries that included at least six other known examples based on the same design: five with double arches and vases, like this one, and another, approximately half the size of the others, that has only one arch and a single vase.⁴ The individual tapestries within the set are nearly identical in terms of their composition, with some minor variations in detail, such as the spaces between the lion heads and the downturned handles of the urns. They are also quite similar in terms of weaving technique; all have multiple areas of slit tapestry joins as well as the more traditionally Andean single-interlocked color changes. The subtle shifts in colors within the drawn areas of the tapestries were created with hatching, a method of interweaving various colored yarns in order to reduce the demarcations between different color areas. This technique, particularly evident here around the three-dimensional features of the urns and around the architectural elements, was a European tapestry-weaver's effect and is not commonly found in Andean textiles.

The fact that these tapestries were clearly made as a set, although possibly over a long period of time, raises the question as to whether one template was used to weave all of them. European tapestry weavers were accustomed to working from full-scale cartoons, but traditional Andean weavers were not; they generally relied on highly developed memory techniques and visual recall to re-create designs and patterns. Here, however, we can assume from the complex drawings and abundant details reproduced in each piece of the set that the weavers must have used some sort of visual aid or followed a model. Whatever system they did use it was probably not a full-scale, detailed cartoon, because if it had been, we would likely not see the minor variations in design from tapestry to tapestry.

All of the works in the set share one curious feature: at some point they all seem to have been cut down the center and later rejoined. We do not know if this was part of the weaving process, for example, as an aid in the design production, or whether they were cut down to fit a particular location. They could have been made intentionally in sections that were supposed to be joined together later, as were some

Belgian tapestries at the Spanish court.⁵ From the way the motifs and borders are divided among the various pieces we can conclude that the smallest section of the original template must have contained the central urn, with half a column on either side. Borders are present on three sides of each work (top and bottom and either left or right). Thus two halves joined together at the half columns would contain two urns, a whole column, and a complete outer border: in other words, a complete tapestry. This systematic approach may have been the result of adapting narrow looms to larger, European designs, or it could reflect the use of separate templates or models for each of the design components.

Although this tapestry was without question made in the Andes, the technical attributes that we would normally associate with European weavers provoke questions that are pervasive in the study of colonial tapestries: namely, who organized the design process, and where these works may have been produced. Moreover, unique attributes of this series, including the open slits in monochrome areas and the hatching of colors in bicolor areas, raise additional questions as to the exact nature of its cross-cultural manufacture. We know, for example, that the Jesuits brought in Flemish tapestry weavers to their arts and crafts academy outside of Santiago, Chile, in order to establish a workshop there in the eighteenth century.⁶ Whether this unusual tapestry series was a product of that particular Jesuit workshop, or of another workshop with a resident Flemish weaver, is uncertain, but the design and execution of the series certainly bespeak the direction of a European artistic authority.

EP

1. More than twenty-two tapestries based on the Vertumnus theme, from various sets, were inventoried in the Spanish court. See "Vertumnus and Pomona," in New York 1991–92, pp. 89–94, and, for example, no. 11, *Vertumnus as a Haymaker*, Brussels, ca. 1560. There is also some relation between these works and the Italian Pergola series, popular in the same period; see, for example, *Pergola Tapestry*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in Cavallo 1967, no. 33. See also, Göbel 1923, vol. 2, figs. 156, 168, 274; and Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986.
2. See Dean 1999, pp. 131–40.

3. An unusual variation in the use of colors occurs among the individual tapestries from the series. The majority has a color scheme that includes bright red (presumably from cochineal dye), yellow and golds (from unknown plant sources), and various shades of blue. In some of the tapestries the blue has faded to a light gray, and in others it appears as a shade of turquoise. Some, like this example, use a standard indigo blue, a well-known dyestuff that had been used in the Andes for centuries. The Spanish imported cakes of indigo dyestuff from Guatemala, where it was produced in larger quantities, for use in the *obrajes*. Indigo is a very stable dye, and among all the natural dyes it is relatively light-fast. That the blue in some of the tapestries apparently contains an unstable dye suggests a possible deviation from normal Andean dyeing practices. The unstable colorant could be Prussian blue, one of the earliest manufactured dyes, which was discovered in 1704 and available as a pigment by 1724. Further investigation of this phenomenon, including chemical analysis of the blue colors, would certainly yield interesting results and may lead to a reevaluation of the date for the series, or at least of those examples that have the unstable blue dye.
4. Of the five in the set with double arches, three are in private collections in Peru: this example, and two in the Enrico Poli collection, Lima; see Gjurinovic Canevaro 1999, p. 723, pl. 29. The other two are presently in Europe; one is in a private collection in Spain, and the other, formerly in the collection of Alex Vervoort, was offered at auction at *Fine French and Continental Furniture*, . . . Christie's, New York, April 30, 1986, lot 242. The single-arch tapestry was published in 1933 as belonging to a private collection (Mrs. Holbrook Walker) in New York, and its current whereabouts are unknown; Ackerman 1933, p. 258, pl. 42 (cited in Cavallo 1967, p. 187). Nathalie Zimmern (1943–44, n. 135) also mentions "a large 16th c. 11'x 12' tapestry woven in 2 parts with two vases of flowers flanked by lions, parrot and other birds. Gold, blue and red, all greatly shaded on white background" that at the time belonged to K. M. Jamgotchian, New York, and may be the one presently in Spain.
5. See Carrertero 2002.
6. See Bailey 1999, p. 49, and n. 192. The two tapestry weavers were Philip Ossemayr and Thomas Semiller. Bailey does not provide the date of this reference, but he lists them alongside the names of other eighteenth-century craftsmen.

70. Tapestry carpet with wreaths

Southern Andes, late 16th–17th century
Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft
167 × 281 in. (424.2 × 713.7 cm)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Charles Potter
Kling Fund (1970.502)

REFERENCES: Salmon 1972, pp. 142–43;
Stone-Miller in Boston 1992, p. 257, pl. 76.

EXHIBITION: Boston 1992, no. 301.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry-weave with single-interlocking joins and “wedge weave” (grouped wefts). **Warp:** cotton \wedge 15 per in. **Weft:** camelid \wedge 68 per in. (light and dark cochineal red, sky blue, dark purple, yellow [// \wedge], green, orange, and white). **Embroidery:** chain-looped along edges, camelid (yellow, blue, dark red, and purple). **Selvages:** three weft selvage cords. Warp selvages chain-looped on one side, cut-and-entered on other side (with occasional uncut loops). During warping process, multiple strands were warped together. There is a right and wrong side of this carpet; weft ends were left slightly long during weaving as color changes were made. Carpet composed of one single loomed width and height; there are no seams. **Condition:** small repairs, but overall very good.

This tapestry-woven carpet is a magnificent hybrid, with motifs derived from Anatolian (Turkish) knotted pile carpet designs modified through the Spanish aesthetic and rug-manufacturing process, and additionally filtered through the imagination of the Andean weaver.¹ The intricately patterned ground design and large, stylized wreaths encircling vases of flowers are interpretations of a particular type of Spanish “wreath” carpet that was made in Alcaraz and which was popular during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.² These Spanish carpets were, in turn, based on an Anatolian prototype, but the colonial version here translates the design directly from the European model (see fig. 86).

Unlike European wreaths, those in this carpet are depicted as living, flowering masses, with small rosebudlike sprigs emanating from their outer rims. True to the wreath’s Renaissance sources, however, the stylized versions are tied at the four cardinal points, here rendered by the Andean weavers as flat ovals rather than as the more traditional three-dimensional ribbons.

Each of the two outer wreaths surrounds a vase of flowers. The vases stand on bases and are flanked by rampant lions; birds perch on tendrils that emanate from the floral cluster. The central wreath contains an oddly shaped object, most likely an escutcheon for a coat of arms, that is flanked by griffins. The inclusion of vases of flowers within

the wreaths is an Andean innovation, as the Spanish wreath-carpet prototypes were filled with delicate scrolling designs or, sometimes, coats of arms. Flemish tapestries from the same period, such as one example in the Metropolitan Museum (59.33)³ also bear wreath designs, many of which incorporate





coats of arms on a millefleur field. In all of these examples the orientation of the designs within the wreaths serves to orient the carpet horizontally.

The other major design component of this carpet is the geometric latticework pattern formed by a repeated motif of intricately interlaced yellow tendrils. The

original design source for this motif comes from the group of “Lotto” carpets from western Anatolia, so named because carpets with this design were incorporated in paintings by the Italian Renaissance artist Lorenzo Lotto (ca. 1480–1556).⁴ Lotto-style designs fill the ground of the field in several extant Alcazar wreath carpets, and

these were probably the more immediate and likely source for the Andean weavers. A seventeenth-century Peruvian rendition of a Lotto carpet can be seen in a set of polychrome sculptures in the Cathedral of Lima (1635) that depicts the Holy Family kneeling in front of an altar that is covered with the carpet (see fig. 87).

The Andean version of the Lotto design here softens the fronds of the rigid, geometric palmette form, creating an almost whimsical effect while also animating the more stylized features with embellishments and anthropomorphic turns. Some palmettes are filled with a stepped-cross motif, reminiscent of Inca *tocapu* patterns, and other Precolumbian designs. Their somewhat random placement throughout the enormous field eases the tedium of the repetition. This repetition, which on the whole is regular, belies the otherwise asymmetrical design composition of the ground.

European designs were disseminated to Andean artisans through a variety of sources, including printed materials, books, and other references. The details incorporated by the weavers into this carpet, however, must have come from direct observation of an actual carpet, no doubt an Alcaraz Lotto-style carpet with wreaths (or one very similar to it) that was perhaps brought over from Spain among household furnishings of a wealthy Spanish administrator. Larry Salmon, formerly a curator at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, thus dates this carpet to the late sixteenth to seventeenth century because this is the most likely period when the weavers would have had an actual Spanish Alcaraz carpet to examine.⁵

The carpet is woven in tapestry, not the knotted pile of both its Spanish and Anatolian antecedents. Its enormous size and heft suggest that it would have been used on the floor rather than as a hanging, which is why we refer to it as a carpet rather than a tapestry. It is composed of a single woven width and length, so the loom on which it was woven must also have been tremendous. The weavers would have sat along the shorter side of the loom and, beginning at the lower end, woven upward. Therefore, the main designs, such as the urns, would have been woven sideways to the weavers' view. Andean weavers using these oversize, upright looms did not normally roll the warp as the weaving proceeded. It is unlikely, however, that a carpet of this size could have been made without somehow shifting the warp; otherwise it would have required the loom itself to be more than twenty-five feet high. We can assume, then, that the weavers did roll up the completed area as they progressed, and this

could account for the irregular placement of the wreaths, of which only two are actually centered on the central axis of the carpet. However the carpet was woven, we do not know the identity of whom it was woven for, but certainly this is a piece that was destined to adorn a great hall in a palace, cathedral, or other large and prominent architectural space.

EP

1. Larry Salmon (1972, p. 142) noted that the design motifs from the carpet derive from "Peruvian, Spanish and Turkish sources."
2. The origin of wreath carpets can be traced to the great octagonal and star carpets of the Islamic rug makers from the Mamluk era (14th–15th century) in Anatolia. In the sixteenth-century Spanish style, the silhouetted images of the wreaths contrast starkly with the ground color (see fig. 86). That carpet also has a central medallion containing the Jesuit inscription IHS.
3. Standen 1985, pp. 180–84, ills.
4. For example, *Alfombras Espanolas* (Madrid 1933, nos. 34, 36, 42, 52, 56) and *Alfombras Albacete* (Sánchez Ferrer 1986, pp. 448–49, 458–59, 474–75); see also Erdmann 1970 and Ellis 1998.
5. Salmon 1972, pp. 142–43.

71. Tapestry with wreath and *tocapu*

Southern Andes, late 16th–early 17th century
Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid and silk weft
95¼ × 81½ in. (242 × 207 cm)
Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde,
Munich (55-14-1)

EX COLL.: Gwendoline von Müller,
Grafrath, Germany

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with single-interlocking and dovetailed joins; lazy lines. **Warp:** cotton //^ 30 per in. **Weft:** camelid ^ 120 per in. (pink [cochineal], yellow, blue, purple, white, and brown); silk ^ (purple, white, gray, light blue, green, and yellow); heading: three plain-weave cotton weft shots ^ at top, two shots at bottom. **Selvages:** warp selvages chain-looped at top and bottom (long loops at top edge); weft selvage has two 3-ply cords doubled. **Condition:** excellent.

Like a fine Persian carpet, this little-known colonial Andean tapestry is filled with fantastic flowers and scrolling

vines in a rich, vibrant display of virtuoso execution and a polyglot design vocabulary.¹ The integration of an extraordinarily diverse range of sources from around the world with indigenous motifs such as *tocapu*, the Inca emblems of rank and status, creates a cacophony of voices that speaks to the cross-cultural influences on colonial Andean weaving. The overall design follows orderly principles: a central field surrounded by concentric borders. The regularity of the layout belies an almost chaotic proliferation of designs within demarcated areas, however. Every square inch of this splendid work is covered with animals, flowers, and vines. Each motif is richly articulated; every scroll, flower, feather, and vase is multicolored and detailed, compounded with pattern upon pattern.

Against a bright cochineal red ground, polychrome colored yarns made of fine camelid hair are mixed with sections woven in silk. Following Inca weaving conventions—rarely seen in colonial times—the warp selvages of this tapestry are uncut and chain-looped, the trademark finishing technique of the *cumbicamayos*, the Inca master weavers. This special technical feature, along with the fineness of the weave, the variety of polychrome dyed yarns, and the use of *tocapu* designs around the border, distinguishes this example and supports a sixteenth-century date, or relatively



71, detail



soon after the dismantling of the Inca weaving infrastructure.

In the center of the tapestry is a stylized wreath motif modeled, in part, on Spanish carpets made in Alcaraz during the sixteenth century and also seen in European armorial tapestries of the period. Composed of leaves strung together to form a modified diamond shape, the wreath has contours that depart from the typical round shapes found in other colonial Andean examples, such as the large Boston wreath carpet (cat. no. 70), as well as in their European counterparts. The wreath surrounds an artichoke, a symbol of fertility and prosperity that was introduced to the Andes (as both a vegetable and a decorative motif) from Spain.²

The central field is filled with two types of ornate vases and urns containing scrolling, foliated vines and flowering branches heavily laden with fruits and flowers. The vases, round and spotted, sprout long tendrils and white and yellow scrolling foliates that stand out among the many smaller-scale designs and exaggerated flowers filling the remaining spaces. The urns, some of whose structures resemble incense burners, rest on stands that themselves sprout flowering roots. The vases and urns are oriented facing toward the center line of the tapestry. Articulated pendants, reminiscent of designs from illuminated manuscripts (for example, a 1613 manuscript in Quito by Fray Pedro Bedón)³ drop from the central wreath in four directions, creating a somewhat confusing directional interplay between motifs and orientations.

A narrow border filled with scrolling vines, flowers, and grape clusters flanks the main border. This band, demarcated by triple guard stripes on either side, offsets the main border from the adjacent outer bands. The main border is a broad section that contains its own set of elaborate, larger-scale motifs that are themselves primary subjects of the tapestry. These include rounded vases with handles and articulated ribs, floral stands on rectangular bases, and large birds. The vases are positioned diagonally at each corner and at the cardinal points. The central vase along each side of the tapestry is covered by a double arch reminiscent of a double rainbow, a significant motif from Inca times.⁴ The flowers

in the vases, with flowing vines and buds, almost appear to be growing as we observe them. They range from the European rose to the cantuta, the flower of the Inca. Other Andean motifs, such as monkeys, parrots (the traditional companion to the *coya*), white snakes, viscachas, and various running, animated four-legged creatures, are interspersed among the band's main design elements.

Each of the large, confronting long-tailed birds that flank the central vases stands majestically on one leg and holds a white snake with the other. The bird, with its peacocklike tail and wings and pointed, flamelike feathers, is the legendary phoenix, here living up to its "firebird" moniker. Each spine of the feathers, and all of their detailed markings, are rendered in spots and curves shaded and outlined by skilled weavers' hands. (A similar bird, with a snake in its mouth and standing on one leg, appears in a cartouche in catalogue number 52.)

Supplicant *coyas*, Inca noblewomen, can be found on either side of the rainbow-arch vases along the two shorter sides of the tapestry. Unlike the rest of the border motifs, which follow the orientation around the edge of the tapestry, the *coyas* were all woven to be viewed from one direction; in other words, the pairs on both ends have the same top-to-bottom orientation, the only motifs on the tapestry thus aligned. They stand in profile, offering baskets of fruits and flowers, and they wear their traditional Inca-style garments, including wrapped dresses (*anacus*), shoulder mantles (*llicllas*), and folded headcoverings (*nañacas*).

An outer guard band with narrow borders repeats the designs from the inner guard band and is filled with scrolling flowers and vines. A wide, solid stripe at the outer edge of the triple guard stripes (reminiscent of a type of edging found on European tapestries) offsets the outermost band from the single row of Inca-style geometric *tocapu*, elaborately articulated and nonrepeating. Although there are examples of colonial garments with embroidered *tocapu* (see cat. no. 42), and certain tapestries also have embroidered *tocapu* along the edges, this is the only colonial tapestry that has a woven *tocapu* border.

Tocapu retained some historical association with Inca nobility in the colonial period,

and their presence on a European-style Andean tapestry raises questions as to their context and meaning. When applied to native-style garments and other indigenous objects, *tocapu* were generally confined to rows or horizontal registers (*betas*). Their location here around the edges of the tapestry, as a framing device, could be interpreted as the transformation of what had been potent symbols into mere design motifs. I believe, however, that it is not possible to dismiss their deeply ingrained cultural significance, even in this nontraditional use. Indeed, their incorporation suggests that this tapestry might have been produced for a native patron for whom the *tocapu* would have held some residual meaning. Other attributes of the design, such as the energy and brio animating each animal, flower, and vine as well as the supplicant posture of the *coyas* and the artichoke bursting with seeds, could lead one to speculate that the decorative nature of the subjects did have subtle significance for an Andean viewer. Perhaps this tapestry can be interpreted as a physical representation of an offering to Pachamama, the earth goddess of fertility and life, and if so, it was woven to celebrate a special occasion, such as a marriage, in which abundance, prosperity, and fertility play a dynamic symbolic role.

EP

1. I am grateful to Tom Cummins, who in 1984 showed me a photograph of this previously unpublished piece.
2. The artichoke was brought to Peru in the sixteenth century along with other Old World fruits and vegetables, such as grapes and pomegranates. See Acosta (1590, chap. 3) 1979, pp. 194–95. The image is of an artichoke, but the design details could be confused with those that would be used to depict a pomegranate. The segments in the center, for example, appear more like seeds than the leaves of the choke.
3. Published by Cummins 1992, pl. 3.
4. The rainbow was highly symbolic for the Inca and can be found on *queros*, especially those from the colonial era. The rainbow is often flanked by *coyas* with offerings. See Cummins 2002.



72, detail of lettering and border

72. Tapestry with figurative scenes

17th century

Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft
89½ × 70 in. (227.3 × 177.8 cm)

Inscription: MOUSSOM [N]ESSEPT (second *E* is backward)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Morris Loeb Bequest, 1956 (56.163)

EX COLL.: sold in 1924 from American Art Galleries 1924, lot 629 (described as “Kelim cover, Goan, XVII century”); purchased by the Museum from Guillermo Schmidt y Pizarro, 1956

REFERENCES: Weibel 1939, pp. 197–206; Zimmern 1943–44, pp. 33–34, pls. 1A, B, 2; *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, n.s., 16 (October 1957), p. 61, ill.; Phipps, Zaharia, and Shibayama 2004, figs. 1–7.

EXHIBITIONS: on loan to the Brooklyn Museum; Hartford–Baltimore 1951, no. 179.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with single-interlocking and dovetail joins, eccentric wefts, and lazy lines. Some small areas with complementary weft-float patterning. **Warp:** cotton //∧ 26–28 per in. (white).

Weft: camelid ∧ 124–48 per in. (white, light and dark cochineal red, light and dark indigo blue, reddish and blueish purple, reddish brown).¹ **Selvages:** warp selvages chain-looped at beginning edge, only small portion preserved; cut-and-entered upper edge. Weft selvages present; no selvage cords. Tapestry has six work sections, each with a combination of dovetailed and interlocked joins (left to right): 14 in.; 13¾ in.; 14½ in.; 14½ in.; 13½ in.; 13 in. Not all sections follow along a single warp yarn. Location of two outer joins splits the outer central border design; it does not fall at the solid color band as is often the case. Mixed colors occur in weaving; two wefts of one color, then two wefts of another color.

Narrative scenes are exceedingly rare in colonial-era tapestries. In this lively, enigmatic work we see a variety of discrete narrative components evidently drawn from different sources, each rich in action and drama. Although we cannot yet glean a coherent narrative from the tapestry, the active arrangement of the figures suggests that some central organizing principle was at work. This piece is also one of the very few colonial tapestries with an inscription; the words “Moussom Nessept,” presumably a name of some kind, is woven at the side border.²

The central roundel, with amorphous forms containing winged faces (perhaps cherubs) has also proved difficult to decipher. Adele Weibel, who wrote extensively on the iconography of the piece, considered the central medallion to represent a Chinese cloud motif known as *qi*, while Natalie



72

Zimmern and Schuyler Cammann both speculated that the roundel is instead an adaptation of a Chinese paired phoenix symbol (*fenghuang*).³ Whatever the original sources, the artists who wove the tapestry used traditional Andean techniques and colors to fold these diverse elements into a classic colonial cacophony of style and imagery.

At the corners of the central field's lower edge sit a crowned king and queen,

enthroned and surrounded by animals. A horned cow with a calf is at the base of the king, while goats and an elephant are practically sitting on the queen's lap.⁴ Adjacent to the king is a shield with a dark animal head, appearing rather like a stylized coat of arms.⁵ We can tell from their dress and the way they were rendered that these royal figures were not meant to be Andean. The shading of the drapery of their garments,

which emphasizes their *zaftig* royal bellies, as well as the architectural motifs of the throne canopy above their heads, suggests, in fact, they were perhaps drawn from design sources referencing classical antiquity.

A figure stands in each corner of the upper central field. One, in European-style dress, appears to be a courtier, with a reposed lion at his feet. This person is counterpoised with a curious "native" figure wearing a

lapped skirt, carrying a bow slung diagonally across his chest, and holding an object (presumably a weapon) he could have used to hunt the blue deer that may have been his quarry: the standard European interpretation of an American “Indian.” We see this kind of imagery—a romanticized notion of the “native,” who is typically depicted in a leaf or feather skirt—in the prints of Netherlandish artist Theodor de Bry (1528–1598) and in other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century drawings and prints.⁶ In fact, the figure is so far from the Andean reality that it is likely the native weaver who rendered it, undoubtedly drawing on an imported European pictorial source, was unaware that he or she was making an image of a supposed Andean “savage.”⁷

The wide middle border contains a confusion of narrative vignettes: Andromeda tied to a tree instead of rocks;⁸ three kings on horseback; courting scenes, with guitar-playing suitors and women in various types of peasant garb (most, in their sleeved upper garments and flared skirts and belts, are not particularly Andean); a man wearing a lion skin and battling a dragon (identified by Weibel as Hercules and the Hydra); hunting scenes with men in European dress; forest landscapes with people, animals, and trees; a knight in a medieval castle; and, in three of the four corners, naked figures riding griffins and simurghs (creatures that

are part bird, part lion). There appears to be no defined sequence to these scenes, but they are visually linked together by the scrolling vines, leaves, and flowers that interweave among them. In the lower central section, one very peculiar image stands out: a blue rock with a face appearing in it as a disembodied spirit. This may be an Andean *huaca*, but it could also be an odd representation of the Hebrew God in the Burning Bush or, alternately, a body of water with an inhabiting water spirit. The fact that the face is red and yellow gives credence to an Andean association, since these colors were sometimes used, as in the Huarochiri manuscript, to describe the wrath of gods, such as the red and yellow hail sent down by Pariacaca, the Creator.⁹

The relatively narrow inner and outer borders, set on dark blue grounds, contain scrolling and interlaced vines, acanthus leaves, and exotic flowers. The corners of the inner border terminate in Renaissance-style masks, some with benign smiles and others with lion faces. The corners of the outer border, in contrast, have half-man-half-flower figures that are variations on the winged and acanthus terminals. One of these outer figures appears to wear the same necklace and leaf skirt girding the “Indian” in the central field. The termination of some of the leaves into animal mouths or parts of animals is a convention

borrowed from European Renaissance sources. Similarly, the scrolling vines, executed in white with thin outlines of either red or blue, are rendered as a conflation of naturalistic undulations and conventional Renaissance rectilinear strapwork. This characteristic use of thin white lines is found in only a few other colonial textiles, such as the strapwork tapestry in the Museum of Fine Art, Boston (cat. no. 52) and a pair of small covers in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich, whose white scrolling lines interlock with those of another color (cat. nos. 131a, b). Whether this feature is indicative of a particular workshop or if it is, rather, a general style of the period is still unknown.

The challenge of rendering perspective was evidently met by the weavers with considerable skill and good humor, with sometimes awkward but nonetheless captivating results. In the scene with the three horsemen, two are shown in profile, whereas the middle rider is depicted frontally. Houses in the landscape are shown in three-quarter view, a somewhat simplistic alignment that only adds to their charm. A vaguely medieval-looking castle—which reads more like the fabled abode of the Old Lady Who Lived in a Shoe—is also rendered in a slight three-quarter perspective. There was an obvious attention to detail, as multiple colors and shadings were applied to every figure and scrolling vine. Working within the limited Andean palette, the weavers mixed yarns and relied on weaving “tricks”—such as combining yarns of different thicknesses for texture and inserting wefts in nonlinear sequences to suggest movement within monochrome areas—to build up a vibrant woven surface. The versatile weavers also added designs to compensate for the lack of symmetry in the placement of the central roundel.

Vertical sections, spaced approximately every thirteen inches, are visible within the tapestry. These are too narrow to be demarcations of areas where individual weavers worked, if seated side by side, but they are part of a sectional approach to the weaving process that we do not fully understand. (Similar sections are found in many other colonial tapestries.)¹⁰ Small variations from area to area—such as unevenly packed weft yarns, and the delicacy of the



72, detail of border with weft-float patterning



72, detail of border with *hombre follaje*

drawing in the faces and figures, particularly compared to other design elements—leave little doubt that several weavers worked together to create this tapestry. This is clearly visible across the width of the piece, where one side is more decisively and intricately woven. Additionally, when we compare the lower to the upper areas we see that the figures in the upper section appear to be somewhat simplified, perhaps wanting attention to detail. This is partly a factor of how the weavers had to create the top figures upside down on the loom as they wove from the bottom to the top.¹¹ The hands of different weavers can also be discerned through the extent of the eccentric wefts used to form some of the curvilinear lines; the plying of multiple colored yarns; the use of alternating yarn colors to create textural effects, such as in the lion's mane; and the small designs in the women's dresses that mimic those found in full-size

dresses. These small nuances were all personal touches of the individual weavers.¹²

EP

1. The colors in the tapestry were analyzed in 2003 by Nobuko Shibayama, associate research scientist, Metropolitan Museum. Using methods that include High-Performance Liquid Chromatography (HPLC) with a photodiode array (PDA) detector, the dyes have been identified as cochineal (carminic acid) for the reds, indigo (indigotin) for the blue, and a flavinoid (rutin) for one of the yellows. See Phipps, Zaharia, and Shibayama 2004.
2. Jennifer Durkin (1998) proposes that the inscription is garbled French for *nous sommes sept* (we are seven), referring to insurgents in the Túpac Amaru II rebellion. There is another tapestry with an inscription in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1975,334); it is perhaps a slightly later piece, but it too contains Old Testament references. See Salmon 1976, pp. 86–93, no. 370, and Stone-Miller in Boston 1992, pp. 204–5. Catalogue number 88 also has

the name of an owner or donor woven into one side of the tapestry (“Diego Dias”). For the only painted *quero* with an inscription, see Cummins 1994, pp. 188–219.

3. Weibel 1939, p. 198; Zimmern 1943–44; Cammann 1964.
4. Adele Weibel (1939, p. 199) refers to the woman as a “goddess of the wild beasts” and her companion as a deity of “tame” beasts.
5. Ibid.
6. See for example, Oviedo 1986 and Duchet 1987.
7. It should be noted that the Inca represented peoples from the eastern slope of the Andes, the tropical forest, as wearing feathers.
8. Weibel 1939, p. 205.
9. *Huarochari Manuscript* (1608?) 1991.
10. See Cavallo 1967, pp. 182–84.
11. The loom would have been upright, with the warp in a fixed position, so the upper section would have been woven, from the weaver's perspective, upside-down. The location of the central roundel, which is positioned below the actual center, was either the result of a less-than-attentive weaver or a factor of the loom mechanism, which might have required the upper section of the warp to be rolled up and thereby caused the weaver to misjudge the center position.
12. See Phipps, Zaharia, and Shibayama 2004, pp. 1–7.



72, detail of weaving sections (warp shown vertically)



72, detail of single-interlocking join

Asian Allusions

The late sixteenth century witnessed the expansion of the Spanish Empire to the Far East, resulting in a global trade between Asia, the Americas, and Spain. Rare and exotic goods such as Chinese silks and fine porcelain were thus exchanged for American products, primarily silver. Some estimates suggest that fully a third of the silver mined in the New World was sent to China, where Spanish coinage served as currency. The locus of this international commerce was Manila, where large Spanish galleons docked on what became, after 1565, an annual voyage—hence the fleet’s name, the Manila galleons. The primary trade route took the galleons from Manila to Acapulco, New Spain (Mexico), but in the last quarter of the sixteenth century several direct voyages to the Viceroyalty of Peru occurred, at least until such commerce was banned by the Spanish king, Philip II. Despite the crown’s interdiction, ships traveled between Lima’s port of Callao and Acapulco to bring south goods from Mexico, which eventually

found their way to the Andes. Although these exchanges, too, were banned by Philip II as “excessive,” trade in contraband flourished.

As the capital of the viceroyalty, Lima, the “city of the kings,” was the main port for the trade in silver with both Spain and the Far East. The city burgeoned with merchants and traders buying and selling enormous quantities of local and exotic goods. Organized in a series of *calles*, or streets, these specialists in silks, woolens, spices, tailoring, hats, and many other goods and services filled the inner city, which became the regional hub of commercial activity. The extensive trade in woven and embroidered Chinese silks, printed Indian cottons, and elaborately patterned Ming and Qing dynasty porcelains brought new, fascinating aesthetic ideas and models to the Americas. Andean artisans readily incorporated them into their design vocabulary, and traces of this influence can be seen in both the tapestries and silverwork of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

JH and EP

73. *Virgin of the Assumption*

Attributed to the Collao school (Alto Perú),
ca. 1750(?)
Oil and gilding on canvas
48 × 42½ in. (122 × 108 cm)
Collection of Elizabeth K. Fonseca

REFERENCE: Teresa Gisbert in New York–
Austin–Miami 1985–86, pp. 12, 57, 93.

EXHIBITION: New York–Austin–Miami
1985–86, no. 37.

The crowned Virgin is shown here with her eyes cast upward and her arms outstretched, and she is supported by a cloud enclosing three cherub heads. Her long hair is sprinkled with blossoms and she is surrounded by a golden radiance marked by rays of light and thirteen winged cherub heads. (More cherub heads, or images of the Trinity, probably appeared in the now missing upper portion of the painting.)

Pairs of praying angels can be seen in the upper corners, and two larger ones emerge from clouds at the Virgin's sides. The larger angel on the left holds sprays of flowers and the one to the right holds a small temple and more flowers. A still larger angel at the lower left corner holds a palm branch and a heart. In the right-hand corner, obscurely painted, is a long-haired bearded donor figure with his hands held together; behind them is what appears to be the hilt of a sword.¹

Unlike many Andean paintings of the Virgin, this image does not depict a particular popular advocacy or a dressed statue (see cat. no. 83). Identified as the Assumption of the Virgin, the painting appears to incorporate several others aspects of Marian iconography, fusing elements of traditional depictions of the Immaculate Conception or Apocalyptic Virgin (the three cherubs beneath her feet) and the *Tota Pulchra* (the small temple).

Scholar Teresa Gisbert has identified the painter as a member of the Collao school, "more specifically, the remote region of Lampa where Tupac Amaru II's uprising of 1780 began," and she also saw an Asian cast in the faces of the figures.²

The painting is clearly the product of an artist working in a peripheral area, away from the workshops of Cuzco, Lima, or Potosí. Although the figural style is as stiff and hieratic as any dressed statue painting, the Virgin's garments display a distinctive handling. The cut of her tightly belted gown and open cloak comes closest to the image of the Virgin of Mercy, or even the Virgin of *Sunturhuasi*, but what is most remarkable is the patterning of these robes, which even more than the facial cast seems to display the influence, albeit inexact, of imported Asian textiles (see cat. no. 74).³

Enormous attention has been paid to the robe itself, reflecting the culture's continuing reverence for precious cloth. The artist employed one of the traditional forms of the *brocateado* technique in which woven designs and lace edging are imitated with gilt striations delineating both figure and ground. But scattered among the conventional vining foliage that covers the robe and cloak is a flock of lively, golden long-tailed birds, much like those that enrich the silver repoussé plaques made to adorn church altars and that were themselves quite possibly influenced by Asian design (see cat. no. 74). The informal disposition and free attitudes of the birds provide a striking contrast to the rigidity of the "human" figures that form the primary subject of the picture.

JH

1. The lone donor is a mysterious presence, as he would normally be paired with another human or a specific saint. The heavy beard would seem to indicate that he is of European rather than indigenous origin.
2. Gisbert in New York–Austin–Miami 1985–86, pp. 12, 57, 93, no. 37.
3. This may also be true of the jet-beaded tassels that weigh down the long ends of the Virgin's sash.



74. Ornamental plaque (*maya*)

Alto Perú (Potosí?), ca. 1750
Silver, repoussé and chased, with burnished
punchwork
23⁵/₈ × 16 in. (60 × 40,5 cm)
Collection of Nelly de Arrieta Blaquier and
Carlos Pedro Blaquier

EX COLL.: Antonio Muñoz-Barreto

EXHIBITION: Munich 1981, no. 78.

Essentially an almond-shaped sheet of repoussé silver, this ornamental plaque (*maya*) would have originally been backed by a wood armature to strengthen it. Like all such plaques, it was placed on the altar as decoration and to act as a mirror to reflect and intensify candlelight. The inward-curving lower part gives a sense of movement to the silhouette, which is outlined with a cord design. The composition of the decoration is symmetrical, organized around a central axis. Here the relief is more volumetric than in other pieces of the kind, not only by virtue of the bold forms of the sunflowers but also because the smaller motifs have a plasticity resembling that of exquisite, Asian-influenced embroidery. Stylistically, the plaque can be related to the work of the Jesuit embroiderers of Calera de Tango, Chile, especially to a particularly precious, Asian-style dalmatic (ca. 1750) attributed to Benito Garnier in the Museo de la Catedral de Santiago de Chile, where some of the property of the Jesuits was taken when they were expelled in 1767.

We do not have enough data to determine exactly which artistic center produced this beautiful plaque. It might seem to come from Alto Perú, but a comparison with similarly decorated plaques in the collection of Antonio Viaña in La Paz, which are thought to have been made in Potosí, shows similarities that lead me to propose, cautiously, that it might have been made in that mining city. Formerly one of a pair exhibited in Munich in 1981, it may also be linked, in terms of its facture and thematic content, with other similar examples, such as a pair now in the Hirsch collection, Buenos Aires, two formerly in the collection of Gustavo Muñoz-Barreto, also of Buenos



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Aires, as well as others that have appeared on the international art market. The existence of multiple examples reveals that the plaque was not an isolated piece but rather the result of a specific fashion that arose in a specific cen-

ter (Potosí?) and was influenced at a particular moment by Asian styles. These Asian styles in large part arrived in the Viceroyalty of Peru through ceramics and textiles.

CEM

75. Tapestry with pelican

Late 17th–early 18th century

Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid and silk weft

69 × 65 in. (175.3 × 165.1 cm)

Textile Museum, Washington, D.C. (91.504)

EX COLL.: Kelekian Collection, Paris, 1908

REFERENCES: Migeon 1908, vol. 1, pl. 14; Sarre and Martin 1912, pl. 223; Kendrick 1925, pp. 292–97; Kelemen 1961, pp. 1–4, fig. 2; Sawyer in Washington, D.C., 1961, pp. 1–4; Cammann 1964, pp. 21–34, fig. 2 and cover ill.

EXHIBITIONS: “Meisterwerke Muhammed-anischer Kunst,” Munich, 1910; Washington, D.C., 1961, no. 25.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave, reversible, with single-interlocking and dovetail joins; lazy lines. **Warp:** cotton //∧ 36–40 per in. (beige). **Weft:** camelid hair ∧ 222 per in. (dark and light cochineal red, white, gold, and purple; mixed red and gold composed of red // and gold ∧ used together). Silk ∧ (light blue, yellow, brown, green/yellow, gold, and a gray yarn of unusual texture; mixed yellow and blue //∧ and brown and white //∧).

Selvages: chain-looped lower edge, cut-and-entered upper edge; weft selvages present (1 cm edge). Heading composed of six shots of plainweave weft at beginning edge.

Condition: some restoration, especially around horse; unicorn is completely rejoined.¹ Extremely fine, surface very even; some “thick” warps. White yarn used in body of unicorn is unusual, possibly not camelid.

The wholesale adaptation of Asian motifs visible in this astonishing tapestry reflects the enormous impact on the Andean visual imagination made by the trade between the Viceroyalty of Peru and the Far East.² This cultural dialogue, which flourished from the last quarter of the sixteenth century through the eighteenth century, brought fleets of cargo ships to the New World as they plied the sea trade route from China through the Philippines and Acapulco, Mexico. In spite of repeated prohibitions and restrictions on the import of silk and other Asian luxury items to the New World, Chinese and Spanish traders managed to exchange their goods, primarily silks and porcelain, for silver mined in the Spanish colonies.³ This exotic cargo found its way to Highland Andean villages and towns, where this global interchange was

manifested in a group of magnificent tapestries based primarily on designs and materials adapted from Asian counterparts.

This complete tapestry is one of only a few of its type to have been preserved (see also cat. no. 76).⁴ Its designs are based, in part, on woven and embroidered silk rank insignia worn in the seventeenth century by officials of the Ming court in China (see cat. no. 77).⁵ When the Ming dynasty was replaced by a new regime in 1644, these insignia—woven or embroidered square silk cloths—became obsolete, and many were sold, along with other types of silk textiles, as artifacts to fill the cargo holds of ships bound for the New World.⁶ They typically depict individual animals and mythological symbols signifying position within the Chinese court.

Another possible Asian textile design source was the baldachin, a type of woven or embroidered cover or canopy made specifically for export by weavers and embroiderers in western China (see fig. 106).⁷ These canopies, of which several extant examples have been preserved, are the closest known models for the lively, highly original overall layout evident in the hanging. Like the baldachin donated to the Church of San Giovanni Battista a Chiavari, Italy, in 1651 by Achille Costaguta, this refined Peruvian textile may have shaded a statue of the Virgin Mary as she was carried through the streets in a religious procession. Or perhaps it shielded a bishop or other church notable as he took part in, say, a Corpus Christi celebration.⁸ However, the orientation of the animals in the hanging, which is decidedly unidirectional, makes it more likely that this tapestry was used as the back curtain for a wall or processional construction.

Standing amid the gorgeous cacophony of Asian design elements is one of the colonial missionary’s leitmotifs, the Pelican in Her Piety. This conventional Christian symbol of Christ’s sacrifice—a mother pelican piercing her breast to feed her young on her own blood—was a familiar image used by proselytizing missionaries in both Asia and the New World. Here the stark juxtaposition of the magnificent white bird against the bright, cochineal-red ground helps convey the symbolic association of sacrifice and sanctity. The Jesuit

priest Schall von Bell, who died in Beijing in 1666, has been recorded as having worn a scapular embroidered with this image at the emperor’s court.⁹ Silver Eucharistic vessels in the form of a pelican are also found in many of the churches and cathedrals of Peru (see cat. no. 120). Although the pelican in this tapestry is iconographically consistent with Christian tradition, it reads more like a phoenix, with a short beak, outstretched wings, and a long tail. However, the white color, which connoted Christian purity, also conforms to the species of pelican native to Peru.

Among the Asian flora and fauna surrounding the pelican are the Chinese tree peony (*fugui hua*), a flower cultivated since ancient times and revered for its beauty and healing properties, and the xiezhai, a mythological animal, part dragon, part lion, that was thought to bring good luck, goring the wicked but sparing the just. Like the pelican, the xiezhai was conventionally rendered as a white animal. It has a single horn, large eyes, an articulated chest, and a lion’s paws. Completing what seems to be a conceptual “cross” of white animals are collared dogs on either side of the pelican. All of the white animals are composed of silk. Other animals are organized in pairs on either side of the central axis, standing in either confronting or rear-regardant positions. These include a phoenixlike bird with outspread wings (smaller than the central pelican image) and various renditions of the Asian spotted deer (*lu*). A single unicorn, with its head bent and horn pointing to the ground, and a pair of crowned lions are the only non-Asian images.¹⁰ None of the familiar Andean plants or creatures are present, but the somewhat random, almost chaotic design scheme bears some similarities to other Andean tapestries of the period, perhaps reflecting the Andean penchant for design multiplicity. The articulation of each feather in the outstretched wings of the bird, for example, dazzles the eye with pattern upon pattern.

Although scholars recognized early on that this tapestry was the work of Andean weavers, the Asian influence is so predominant that a technical assessment of the piece’s materials and physical construction is warranted, especially in relation to its



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possible origins.¹¹ The piece is very finely woven tapestry, with single-interlocking joins, a three-ply cotton warp, and a signature chain-looped selvage treatment that confirm that it is, in fact, Andean. (Asian examples generally have slit joins for color changes and warps that are at most two-ply, never three-ply.) The polychrome weft yarns are made of silk (primarily the yel-

low, green, blue, and purple yarns) and camelid hair (in particular, the brilliant cochineal red in the background and the chocolate-brown color in the crowned lion, a color characteristic of vicuña or the finest guanaco hair). The quantity of silk in this tapestry is itself remarkable, indicating that silk was readily available at the time in the form of both spun and plied yarns.

The perfection of Asian woven silk tapestry, or *kesi*, surely impressed even the most skilled Andean weavers. These shiny and soft silks, with deeply dyed, brilliant colors, must have been a pleasure to handle, even though working with them likely posed considerable technical challenges. Andean master weavers were accustomed to luxurious vicuña and guanaco fibers as

well as the chinchilla-like fur of the vis-cacha, but superfine silk filaments, either spun or unspun, would have been difficult to handle in the packed, dirt-floor Andean weaving workshops, and the flossy threads would probably have caught in the callouses of rough hands. Beyond the sheer dexterity required to work with silk, there was also the added aesthetic task of using it to craft what were essentially foreign designs. Whether the Manila ships also brought skilled Asian weavers to train Andean artisans is not known, but what is certain is that the Andean weavers exhibited considerable creativity as they met the challenges of working with this novel material.

EP

1. It seems to be made of a different wool, outlined in dark blue.
2. The piece came into the collection of the Textile Museum in 1959 along with a small, exquisite fragment of a related piece that has crowned lions (91.405a).
3. The trade items included raw goods, such as silk threads and skeins, as well as woven lengths. Cammann 1964, p. 24, citing Blair and Robertson 1903–9, vol. 44, p. 255, and Schurz 1939, p. 257.
4. Other examples in this group include the other fragment in the Textile Museum (91.405a) and one in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (11.1264). The Boston fragment and cat. no. 76 are associated with smaller fragments. Other Andean tapestries with Asian-influenced designs can be found in the Textile Museum and the National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, D.C.
5. See Cammann 1964, pp. 25–28. He refers to decrees from the Manchu court for a new type of dress for all nobility and officials.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 24, citing Schurz 1939, p. 257.
7. Adolph Cavallo (1967, p. 197) notes that Jean Mailey, former curator of the Textile Study Room at the Metropolitan Museum, had previously commented on the relationship of these Peruvian weavings to Chinese export hangings, and I agree with this observation.
8. Lucidi in Rome 1994, p. 277, no. 156, fig. on p. 287.
9. Rowland (1999) 2000, p. 4.
10. See Cavallo 1967, pp. 197–98.
11. Kendrick 1925, pp. 292–97.

76. *Tapestry with mermaids and a unicorn*

Late 17th–early 18th century

Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid, silk, and metallic weft

68½ × 35½ in. (174.0 × 90.2 cm)

Victoria and Albert Museum, London (933.1901)

REFERENCES: Kendrick 1925, pp. 292–97, ill. p. 293; Cammann 1964, pp. 21–34, fig. 1.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave, reversible, with single-interlocking and dovetail joins; “wedge weave.” **Warp:** cotton \wedge and $\text{///}\wedge$ 32 per in. (white and light brown), both 2- and 3-ply. **Weft:** camelid \wedge 108 per in. (cochineal red, brown, yellow, purple, blue, and white; plied blue and white, red and white, and yellow and brown); silk \wedge (green, yellow, purple, light blue, black, and white [some white yarns are very thick, unspun]); silver sheet strip \backslash on white silk core \wedge .

Selvages: none preserved (cut on all four edges). **Condition:** generally good, colors well preserved. Some staining along lower end; a few insect holes.

This large fragment of what was originally a wall hanging or curtain is one of three examples of Andean tapestries that are predominantly silk with Asian-derived motifs; all are considered to have been produced in the same workshop (see cat. no. 75). The design program of this long panel is distinct from the other two examples, which have large peonies in the corners and a central image surrounded by smaller motifs. It does share several other images, though, such as the Chinese mythological xiezhai, a phoenix, and a European-style crowned lion. The mermaid playing a stringed instrument, a decidedly un-Andean motif, is unique to this work. All of the motifs are unidirectional (vertical) in orientation and are scattered throughout the panel, so it is difficult to conceptualize how the composition was laid out: whether there was a focal point, or perhaps outer borders demarcating the perimeter of the work. Although we can never know this piece’s original function or size, we can appreciate the beauty of its eccentric designs and its high-quality woven construction.

The primary features and details of the animals—the bird feathers, the fish-scaled tails of the mermaids, the crowns of the

lions—are constructed out of yellow, green, blue, and purple silk yarns. Except for the unicorn, which was woven in a particularly fuzzy woolen yarn, all of the white animals are rendered in silk. Almost all of the camelid yarns present are dyed with a brilliant colonial Andean palette, including (like cat. no. 75) the deep cochineal reds of the ground. The chocolate-brown lions are an exception; their undyed wools are still the natural color of the fiber, most likely luxurious vicuña or guanaco hair.

Cochineal red dye was abundant in the Americas (it was found in both Mexico and Peru), and the finely spun red yarns were certainly dyed in the Andes. Many of the silks, on the other hand, which arrived on the Manila galleons, were likely “improved” in Mexico before being sent south. Whether the yellow and blue yarns in this tapestry were dyed in Asia prior to shipping or were dyed in the Americas after they arrived can be determined only through scientific analysis.¹ Many plant species yield yellow dyes, and indigo is found in both Asia and the Americas.

Silk yarns used in Andean tapestries were generally spun and plied, unlike first-quality Chinese silks, which were used unspun. (Part of the art of Chinese silk cultivation was to harvest the silk from the silkworm cocoon before the worm hatched, thus destroying the long, continuous filament that makes up the cocoon. Chinese silk was spun only if the fibers were damaged or broken in this way, in which case the shorter filaments were spun into yarns.) All of the silk yarns used in these colonial tapestries were spun in the same direction and plied into yarns that have a diameter similar to that of the fine vicuña yarns Andean spinners were accustomed to producing. We assume that these silk yarns were spun this way because an Andean weaver preferred to work with familiar materials, which an Asian silk weaver would have regarded as “second-rate.”

The silver metallic yarns in this example are unique to the group of Asian-inspired textiles. It is possible that the weavers’ limited supply of these precious materials was exhausted in this particular tapestry, as a weaver’s trick was relied on to extend the visual impact of what silver is present. Interlaced in alternate weaving sheds with



the metallic yarns are “filler” yarns of yellow silk. The yellow color augments the appearance of the metal yarns, which originally may have been silver gilt, like the leaves behind the small blue animal underneath the tail of the phoenix. Some areas of the design, such as the three dots above the lion’s crown and the crown’s base, are made of metallic yarns with a white core, indicating that the material used there is pure silver. If these metallic yarns had been, like the silk, of Asian origin, they would have been made of gold leaf on a paper substrate. Those here are composed of solid cut sheet metal wound around the core thread and, as such, are definitely European in origin, no doubt imported from Spain but, ironically, composed of silver mined in the Americas.²

The mythological phoenix, another Asian export seen here in the center of the panel, is a creature whose size and visual magnificence likely resonated in the minds of Andean weavers with the native condor, a large, powerful bird that played an important role in the ritual and ceremonial life of local communities. The somewhat eccentric features of this phoenix—its plumage conflates the tail of a peacock with the head and comb of a pheasant—could be the result of a confusion with the condor, whose distinctive beak and wide wingspan (sometimes more than 10 feet wide) were frequently depicted in Andean art. The Andean condor’s characteristic eye, however, is not found here.

The rest of the odd compendium of mythological animals and creatures, including the one-horned xiezhai (from Chinese



76, detail of phoenix’s tail

mythology) and the unicorn, have no mythological parallels in the Andes. (For the likely derivation of the xiezhai motif, see cat. no. 75.) The mermaids, too, are distinctively Asian in terms of their facial features and other aspects, but there is no exact Chinese model for them, nor do we find such a model in other representations of mermaids in Andean art.³ These curved-tail sirens play an Asiatic lute, whereas Peruvian mermaids and mermen tend to pluck the Spanish guitar or a four-stringed *cuatro*. The most Andean characteristic of the mermaids is the parrots—the familiar avian companions to *coyas* (Inca queens)—seen above their heads.

Although much of this iconography seems random or out of place, what is not out of place in this tapestry (as in the other two examples in the Asian-influenced group) is the exquisite weaving and creative design. Each motif is fully articulated, and each visual component is embellished with multiple decorative elements. The wings of the birds, for example, are composed of polychrome feathers, with each spine and articulated part woven in a different color or a different pattern. Even when composed of only one or two warps, all of the outlines have interlocking color changes, a signature of the meticulous and virtuosic Andean master weavers.

EP

1. See Phipps (2000) 2003.

2. Metallic threads have core yarns made of silk, linen, or cotton; those that have a linen or silk core thread undoubtedly came from Europe. Although there is no evidence that metallic threads were ever made in the Andes—the cotton core is a traditional trait of Spanish metallic yarns—it could be that the cotton, which was abundant in Peru, signals another possible origin for these yarns.

3. See “Sirenas” in Gisbert 1994.

77. Rank insignia

China, Ming dynasty (1368–1644), 16th–early 17th century

Tapestry-woven (*kesi*) silk and metallic thread
13¾ × 14½ in. (34.9 × 36.8 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Fletcher Fund, 1936 (36.65.29)

REFERENCES: Priest 1936, pp. 130–31, ill. p. 131; Cammann 1942, pp. 4, 9, fig. 3; Cammann 1944–45, p. 108, figs. 4a; Hartford–Baltimore 1951–52, pl. 17; Cammann 1964, p. 27.

EXHIBITION: Hartford–Baltimore 1951–52, no. 136.

In 1391 the Chinese adopted a system in which insignia—birds or animals representing civil or military rank—were incorporated into the garments of government officials. The mythological animal seen here, the xiezhai, was credited with the ability to distinguish the virtuous from evildoers. The xiezhai was thus used as the insignia for the censorate, the office charged with overseeing the efficacy and honesty of the imperial government, as well as for judges and other officials connected with the legal bureaucracy.

Shown here with flames shooting from its body that reveal its supernatural status, the xiezhai is conventionally depicted with sharp teeth and a single horn, its most important attribute. Both teeth and horn figure in the first known written reference to the xiezhai, which appears in a brief, unillustrated miscellanea of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220):

In the northeastern wilds, there is a beast called a xiezhai. It has one horn. . . . When it sees people fighting, it gores those who are not righteous. When it hears people fighting, it bites those who are not righteous.¹

Another early text, also not illustrated, associates the xiezhai with official clothing, noting that the creature had inspired a type of hat worn by officials in law enforcement.² An illustration of a xiezhai rank insignia can be found in a section on official dress in a Ming-dynasty encyclopedia.³ There the animal resembles a Chinese version of a lion but with a sparser mane and the addition of the horn.

In this insignia (as in others), the xiezhai has been given a white body.⁴ Slit joins of



the tapestry weave are cleverly used to render details, including the delineation of each toe of the creature's feet. The xiezhai is pictured seated in a setting that includes the essentials of Chinese landscape: rock, waves, and clouds.⁵ He is surrounded by flowers against a background of glittering gold and rich blue. The plants include (clockwise from top) peonies, *lingzhi* fungus, lotus, and camellias, and the flowers are shown with their appropriate leaves. Together the plants can be said to represent the four seasons of the year.

The insignia was woven in silk tapestry weave, known in Chinese as *kesi*. Although the technique of *kesi* did not come into widespread use in China until the Song dynasty (960–1279), silk tapestries became some of the most treasured of all Chinese textiles.⁶ *Kesi* of this period can be divided into two types. One involves the careful rendering of pictorial works—usually bird-and-flower paintings and calligraphy—into tapestry form. This rank insignia is an example of the second type, which is more decorative and encompasses numerous hangings, furnishing fabrics, and articles of clothing.

JD



1. *Yi wu zhi*, in *Cong shu ji cheng chu bian* 1985, p. 5.

The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Jenny C. H. Liu and Yangming Chu in the preparation of this catalogue entry.

2. *Jinshu* 25:15, in *Er shi si shi* 1974, pp. 768–69. The *Jinshu* is the history of the Jin dynasty (265–419). As is common in Chinese writings, the paragraph on the xiezhai hat quotes an earlier text, the Han miscellanea cited in note 1, above. However, the quote adds a line not found in that version, stating that the king of Chu had the xiezhai illustrated in order to make garments and headgear. Elsewhere in the passage in the *Jinshu*, the xiezhai is termed a “divine ram,” perhaps because of its horn.

3. *Sancai tubui* 1988, p. 1529.

4. The Philadelphia Museum of Art has a Ming-dynasty xiezhai rank badge in *kesi* that is illustrated in Cammann 1964, p. 26, fig. 5. An embroidered badge from a private collection is illustrated in Garrett 1994, pl. 9.

5. All other Ming xiezhai rank badges known to the author show a seated animal, as does the illustration in the *Sancai tubui* cited in note 3, above. However, a Qianlong era (1736–1795) edition of the encyclopedia illustrates a running xiezhai. Interestingly, this later illustration, lacking in detail and almost naively rendered, coincides much more closely to the version of the xiezhai seen in Peruvian tapestries.

78

6. For a concise essay on the origin and early development of *kesi*, see Watt and Wardwell 1997, pp. 53–63.

78. Incense burner (*sabumador*)

Lima, late 18th century(?)

Silver, cast, chased, and pierced, with burnished punchwork

7½ × 10⅝ in. (19 × 27 cm)

Collection of Bernardo Rehder Remy

REFERENCES: Esteras Martín 1980, fig. 395;

Esteras Martín 1992b, fig. 21; Esteras Martín

1997b, fig. 38b; Esteras Martín in Madrid

1997, p. 244; Stastny 1997, fig. II-138.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1997, no. 80.

Domestic incense burners—worked in metal (usually silver or bronze) and intended to burn aromatic and purifying substances that perfumed the air of the

home—were used in both Spanish America and Spain. They have different names—for example, *braserillos de mesa* (braziers) or *pebeteros* (censers)—depending on their place of origin. In the Viceroyalty of Peru they were mostly called *sabumadores* (incense burners). The burners took a variety of more or less complex forms, but those from Peru were the most original and the most varied and included inventive shapes unknown elsewhere in the Hispanic world. The Peruvian examples range from simple closed vessels in a variety of abstract forms, to others made in imitation of nature. The latter were crafted in the shapes of fruits and animals, both imported and native, such as pomegranates, pineapples, llamas, tarucas (Andean deer), turkeys, bulls, and lions. The burners are often accompanied by salvers, which protected the surfaces on which they were placed by catching ash from spent coals. Handles were usually provided because the metal became quite hot.

This piece is in the form of a crowned lion demonstrating his fierceness by opening his mouth to reveal sharp fangs. He sits erect, with his powerful mane rendered in twisted skeins, and the thick fur on his body is embellished with light stippling. The serpentine tail is curiously curled up to rest on the body, below the opening over the shoulders in which the scented substance was placed. The spaces between the decorative gadroons and the back-to-back Cs on the lid of the opening let in air, and open-

ings pierced in the mane allowed the smoke to escape. The liveliness conveyed by the pose of the animal is underscored by his expressive visage and the green stones embedded in his eyes, which add to the effect of realism.

Other examples of leonine incense burners are known, but they are smaller and include presentation salvers. This piece seems to be anomalous because it lacks both a tray and a handle. Given its generous dimensions and weight, it may have

been fixed in place. The iconography is not that of a simple lion, for the animal is crowned and thus represents the imperial lion of Spain, which during the viceregal period was identified with the colonial mother country. This piece probably can be dated to the closing years of the eighteenth century on the basis of its geometric ornament (the gadroons and Cs on the lid). The formal and plastic qualities are those of the silver workshops of Lima.

CEM

Andean Christianity and Its Cults

In 1582 Francisco Tito Yupanqui, a native of the town of Copacabana on the southeastern shore of Lake Titicaca, apprenticed himself to a Spanish master sculptor named Diego de Ortiz in order to undertake the carving of a statue of the Virgin. Rejected at the time of its creation, the statue was to become the most famous miraculous image of Peru.

Official teachings certainly kindled native worship of Christian saints in the Andes, but a predisposition toward saints' cults might be traced to the frequently ancestral beings the Andeans called *huacas*. Indeed, veneration of patron saints and *huacas* eventually began to merge, and stories of the origins and miraculous power of both saints and the reconfigured *huacas* were elaborated over time. Some of the most fervent cults evolved on the site of pre-Hispanic devotions. The shape of the pyramidal gown of the Virgin of Copacabana, for example, often traced the mountain shape of the Earth Mother worshiped as Pachamama. Such "syncretism" and religious "mixture" was a persistent source of concern to church authorities, and church records document their many investigations into native religious "errors."

Numerous advocations of the Virgin took hold throughout the Andes, and shrines were built to house figures reputed to incarnate particularly miraculous powers. Each figure had a generic iconography imported from the Old World as well as a specific set of qualities that linked her to Andean sites. The Virgin of the Candelaria, the Virgin of Belén (Bethlehem), and the Virgin of the Rosary all achieved notable status at a variety of locales. Much as in Spain, paintings of these figures proliferated, spreading the fame of a variety of localized cults, often across the length of the viceroyalty. Often commissioned by donors whose images appeared in the corners of the canvases, the paintings depicted with great specificity the dressed statue on its altar, and they assumed much of the glamour of the originals.

Indigenous Christians set up tables on the town squares to collect alms to make new vestments for beloved images, and they undertook long pilgrimages to the shrines of the new divine

forces who now animated their devotional landscape. Their offerings conformed to a long Andean tradition of propitiating deities or rendering them gratitude. Panoplies of precious gems covered the Virgin's fine silk garments, and a silver-gilt crown reflected and augmented the glow of candlelight on her altar. During festival processions, which attracted especially intense fervor in the major cities of Cuzco, Ayacucho (Huamanga), and Potosí, the venerated statues were carried through the streets on crushingly heavy silver-covered platforms shielded by arches lined with mirrors or reflective silver panels.

Images of Christ at stages of the Passion or as a child also achieved wonder-working status and were honored with precious donations of both fine metal and cloth. The garments made for the Christ of the Passion were generally plain silk robes or lace loincloths, and he was adorned with three silver rays called *tres potencias* or an intricately worked silver or gold crown of thorns. The cult of the beloved Niño elicited more elaborate accoutrements. In paintings the Child is represented in a variety of guises, often as a pilgrim or with iconography prefiguring the Passion. Statues of him tend to follow the formula of the composition popularized by the Andalusian sculptor Juan Martínez Montañés, in which the nude Child stands with one hand reaching out to hold the orb of majesty and the other pointing upward. Numerous polychrome wood or lead variants of this figure were exported to the New World. In churches and in private homes, or in the shrines of confraternities, devotees dressed the Child in garments as precious as those of the Virgin. Often the garments were made in the European style in embroidered silk, but sometimes, in defiance of ecclesiastical and civil authorities, the statue was garbed in a tapestry-woven *uncu*, emblem of Inca preeminence, and some paintings of the Niño go even further and show him wearing the *mascaypacha*, the royal red fringe worn only by Inca kings. The Niño Jesús de Huanca carved by the famed Bernardo Bitti that was kept in the Compañía de Jesús in Cuzco (and is now lost) was one such image, dressed and adorned as an Inca.

JH and EP

79. Pedestal for a statue of the Virgin of Charity (model of the Cerro Rico of Potosí)

Potosí or La Plata(?), 1719

Silver, repoussé and chased

H. 13 in. (33 cm), W. of base 18 1/8 in. (46 cm)

Inscribed: *BERDADERA COPYA O RETRATO DEL CERRO RYCO DE POTOSY QUE MANDO HACER EL YLUSTRYSIMO D. DYEGO RUBIO MORCYLLO DE AVÑON DYGNISYMO ARÇOBISPO DE LA PLATA / PEANA DE N. S. DE LA CARIDAD DE BILLARROBLEDO EN 20 DE HENERO DE 1719 A.*

Sanctuary of the Virgin of Charity, Villarrobledo, Spain

NOT IN EXHIBITION

REFERENCES: García-Saúco 1992, pp. 316–17; Sánchez Ferrer 2000, pp. 908–9; García-Saúco 2001, pp. 297–99.

EXHIBITIONS: Madrid 1983, no. 168; Seville 1992, no. 242; Albacete 2000–2001, no. 168.



79, front view

This silver maquette of the famous Cerro Rico of Potosí was sent as a gift to the Virgin of Charity of Villarrobledo, Spain, by the illustrious don Diego Morcillo Rubio de Auñón, a native of that city who was named bishop of Nicaragua in 1704. Morcillo was later appointed bishop of La Paz (1708), and he eventually acceded to the archbishopric of Charcas (1713) and Lima (1723). In 1716 King Philip V (r. 1700–1746) designated him acting viceroy of Peru, and his entrance into Potosí was immortalized on canvas by the painter Melchor Pérez de Holguín (Museo de América, Madrid). Although his term lasted only five months, in 1720 he was again named “viceroy in property” (*virrey de propiedad*) until 1724, and as such he assumed both loci of viceregal power: civil authority, as a representative of the monarchy, and religious dominion, as archbishop.

The inscription that encircles the border of the model’s base tells us outright that the work was commissioned by the archbishop to serve as a pedestal for the Virgin of Charity, and not, as has been suggested, that it was given as a gift to don Diego during the time he lived in Potosí. The inscription also mentions that the model is a “true copy or portrait” of the

Cerro, hence the relative realism with which the mountain is represented. To accomplish this the piece imitates the actual topography of the mountain of Potosí (*cerro principal*) and the “small hill” (*el cerro chico*) in front of the main mountain. The model is conical, but in reality the mountain is contoured somewhat like a large, irregularly shaped variety of potato known locally as *llallagua*. In pre-Hispanic times the mountain was considered not only a sacred place but one with defined ritual components and spaces.

Most of the model’s motifs are attempts at re-creating scenes of daily life on the mountain, particularly the teeming hordes occupied with various silver-mining activities. In order to extract and maximize the value of the mountain’s nearly incalculable riches, numerous shafts were dug into the mountain, and artificial aqueducts, lagoons, and refineries were built for the processing of ore. All of this necessitated a structure of pathways (mapped on the model by floral stems that score the uneven terrain), hamlets, pit heads, and trains of mules and llamas transporting materials, along with myriad other small details. Different types of people can be seen descending and

ascending the heights (Indians can be distinguished by their indigenous garments), underscoring the bustling pace of life in the mountain’s shadow. All of these motifs are faithful copies except for the vegetal envelope about the mountain, which at more than 13,450 feet above sea level does not support an abundant flora. This curious bit of artistic license is typical of the prevailing Baroque aesthetic in 1719, when the



79, side view

piece was made, but it also echoes a traditional Andean longing for a hot, fecund place—a place quite unlike frigid Potosí, barren except in terms of silver mining.

The archbishop's shield, with his coat of arms, stands out in front of the *cerro chico*, assuring (along with the inscriptions) the perpetual remembrance of his donation. But why did he commission a model of the Cerro as a pedestal for the Virgin of his home village, and where did he get the idea for it? Was he inspired by the mountain's local importance? Understanding his motivation three centuries after the work was commissioned is difficult at best, but we may discern a number of intersecting factors. Among them is the power of the mountain itself, whose image was emblematic of the city and thus would have been the most vivid memento of his stay there. Two other, more powerful motives also had to have been at work: one was that the Cerro was associated with the Virgin Mary as a benefactress of humanity, and another was that its representation in silver had served as just such a pedestal for her statue during the celebration of Potosí's patron saints. This tradition was documented as early as 1555 by the chronicler Bartolomé de Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, who narrates that there was "a triumphal golden carriage and atop this the Cerro of Potosí [made] of fine silver, on whose crest [rested] the image of a beautiful Immaculate Virgin of the same metal."¹ There is also the association of the image of the Virgin with the Inca Pachamama (Earth Mother), a somewhat unorthodox understanding that was tolerated in Potosí and that gave rise to a syncretic iconography in which the Cerro itself was transformed into Mary's body (see cat. no. 80). Given these parallels, commissioning a literal model of the Cerro to serve as a pedestal for her statue seems an entirely apt proposition.

Nothing is known of the artist who made the Cerro model, but it is logical to suppose that Morcillo would have had it made either in Potosí proper, where many talented silversmiths thrived amid the city's wealth and opulent lifestyle, or in the neighboring city of La Plata (present-day Sucre), where he was archbishop the year the piece was commissioned (1719) and where there is also evidence of master

silversmiths at work. Whether the artist was a native of one or the other city is also unknown, but what is certain is that the model—which merited such eloquent qualifiers as "a singular work of the power of God, the single miracle of nature, happiness of mortals, emperor of mountains, attraction of men"²—was the work of an indigenous smith. We know this not only from the highly original "fusion" of a transculturated European aesthetic but also from the very specific manner in which American reality is portrayed. There is perhaps reason to consider an artist like Luis Niño as its creator.³ Niño was a *ladino* Indian (one who speaks Spanish and is fluent in Spanish culture and Christian beliefs) who worked as a painter, sculptor, and silversmith in both Potosí and La Plata. An ornate monstrance (1731–42) commissioned by Archbishop Alonso del Pozo y Silva (1669–1745) is attributed to him.⁴

CEM

1. Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela (ca. 1700–1736) 1965, vol. 1, p. 97.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
3. He was very much praised by Arzáns, who relates that "many works of his hand in silver, wood, and canvas have been taken to Europe, Lima, and Buenos Aires with widespread approval" (*ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 430).
4. Cited by Chacón Torres 1973, p. 300.

80. *The Virgin of the Mountain*

Bolivia, 18th century

Oil on canvas

68 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 53 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (175 × 135 cm)

Inscribed at bottom: *S. S. AID. [?] Qto. REY XV DEL CATHOLICO Y E. MAXIMO DEL AÑO DE 1520 . . . AL DE SU REYNADO EN ESPAÑA ENTRO CON . . .*

Casa de Moneda de Potosí, Fundación Cultural Banco Central de Bolivia (CM 024-300-000325)

REFERENCES: Gisbert 1980; Gisbert 1992, p. 145; Wilson Mendieta in Antwerp 1992, p. 365, fig. 96; Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997; Kagan and Marías 2000.

EXHIBITION: Antwerp 1992, no. 157.

In viceregal painting the Virgin Mary is often represented as the Pachamama, or Earth Mother. This work, one of the most famous examples of the genre, iconographically conflates the Virgin and the Cerro de Potosí (Potosí Mountain), also known as the Cerro Rico, or Rich Mountain. At the foot of the Cerro we see Pope Paul III (r. 1534–49), a cardinal, and a bishop, and on the opposite side stands Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (r. 1519–56) and an unidentified character wearing the Cross of Alcántara, a chivalric insignia related to the Christian reconquest of Spain. All are identified in the inscription. An Inca king, Maita Capac—who according to Garcilaso de la Vega's popular but imprecise account visited this famous site—can be seen walking along the paths that crisscross the mountain. Five other compositions similar to this one are known, indicating this was a widely established iconography. In a 1720 canvas with the same composition (Museo de Arte, La Paz), the figures in the foreground have been updated for the time: the monarch is Philip V of Spain (r. 1700–1746) and the pontiff is Innocent XIII (r. 1721–24). On either side of the La Paz painting are the Sun and Moon, both frequently represented in the architecture of Potosí. Here they are ambivalent symbols, ones that commemorate pre-Hispanic gods but also conform to aspects of Christian iconography.

The cultural association of the Virgin with the mountain is based on the theological meditations of the Augustinian friars Alonso Ramos Gavilán and Antonio de la



Calancha, both chroniclers at the Santuario de Copacabana who were active in Potosí.¹ Voicing viceregal society's boundless enthusiasm for literary allegory, Ramos Gavilán explained that Christ "is a rock without feet, taken from the divine mountain that is Mary."² Christ was thus conceptualized as a victim, someone who is prevented from fleeing or defending himself. He is also seen metaphorically as a rock, or, more precisely, a precious stone, whose splendor has been made manifest in the womb of his mother, herself a mountain made of precious stones or metals: in other words, the Cerro de Potosí, the richest source of silver in the Western Hemisphere.

Documents from the early seventeenth century reveal that the Cerro de Potosí was,

in fact, worshiped by the indigenous people under the name of *coya*, or queen. All of the paintings on this theme thus depict the Coronation of the Virgin, showing us that the figure we are seeing is Mary the Queen. In a letter dated Lima 1599 the Jesuit friar Pablo Joseph de Arriaga relates his perception of how the Indians worshiped the Cerro, which was made up of two mountains, one larger than the other: "I will say only this, . . . On the royal road, there are two mountains toward which the Indians, from time immemorial, have had a strange devotion, visiting them to make their offerings and sacrifices, seeking advice from the devil, . . . so that, in so doing, the Indians fall into much idolatry."³ To prevent this "idolatry" Arriaga built a chapel

in front of the main mountain, which ironically led to the visualization of an image of Mary superimposed on the Cerro and facilitated the cultural identification of the mountain with the Virgin.

This practice eventually spread from Potosí to Lake Titicaca, leaving in its wake a number of images of the Virgin associated with various other mountains. Mary came to assume a role analogous to that of the *apus*, or mountain spirits, worshiped in pre-Hispanic times. Indeed, she eventually replaced the mountain spirits in this respect, becoming one with the earth, the very material of which the mountains are made. This union occurred more easily in Copacabana, where worship of Pachamama was already well established. In another text, Ramos Gavilán elaborates on this identification: "God [is] the father who creates life, [and] because no good can reach the earth without intervention of the Virgin, in her he places the rays of his power so that later, as Mother, she can pass them on to the earth."⁴ While Mary was identified with the Pachamama, it was her image, not the Pachamama's, that replaced the idols worshiped at Copacabana. Interestingly, whereas the *apus* (also called *achachilas*) were local, masculine divinities, Pachamama was a universal, feminine divinity, an ancient distinction that was abandoned as local religious practice was transformed into Christianity.

In addition to the Virgin of the Cerro and the Virgin of Copacabana, another important devotion was the Virgin of Pucarani, whom the Augustinians enthroned in order to stamp out idolatrous worship, particularly exaltation of the mountain. Antonio de Alcedo wrote how in Pucarani they worshiped a mountain "called Cacaaca, which was always covered with snow, where they had a stone figure of an Indian, one-half yard tall, and they sacrificed animals to placate him."⁵ That mountain, near the city of La Paz, is now known as the Huayna Potosí. Another mountain, Sabaya, actually an extinct volcano in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia, was similarly worshiped. There the Augustinians installed the Virgin of the Candelaria to co-opt worship of the volcano. In this way the religious orders replaced indigenous worship of the Pachamama, and of volcanoes and silver-rich mountains, with worship of the

Virgin Mary, a conceptual parallel that was readily accepted by the heterogenous society that constituted the colonial Andean milieu.

TG

1. See Ramos Gavilán (1621) 1988 and Calancha 1972.
2. Ramos Gavilán (1621) 1988.
3. Pablo Joseph de Arriaga, letter, Lima, 1599, quoted in Anonymous 1944.
4. Ramos Gavilán (1621) 1988.
5. Alcedo (1786–89) 1967.

81. *Portable retablo*

Altiplano, ca. 1675–1700

Gesso, maguey, and silver, cast and repoussé, with burnished punchwork

14 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (36 × 20 × 6.5 cm) closed
Museo de Arte de Lima

EX COLL.: Lámbarri Collection, Cuzco;
Luisa Alvaréz Calderón Collection, Lima

REFERENCES: *Platería Virreyrial* 1974, p. 122;
Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, pp. 114–15;
Stastny 1997, figs. II-191, II-193.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1997, no. 18.

This retablo consists of a vertical, rectangular silver casing topped by an elliptical arch with tracery crownwork; it converts into a triptych when the two side panels are opened. The reliefs modeled on the interior, executed in gesso and maguey, represent an adaptation of the imagery typical of small Andean altarpieces used to venerate the Virgin of Copacabana. The exterior of the box bears lightly embossed silver emblems relating to Mary and Jesus (the anagrams MAR and IHS), the crown of the Virgin above the rebus “es-clavo” (the S and a nail), a monstrance (signifying the Eucharist), and a cross (symbolizing the Passion). These motifs are distributed among raised panels that contrast with the stippled background.

In 1996 I proposed that this type of work originated in the Altiplano region surrounding Lake Titicaca, where the Virgin of Copacabana is worshiped in a sanctuary bearing her name. I noted, however, that it is of course possible that it was produced in some other area of the Peruvian Highlands to which this form of

worship extends.¹ These portable retables were never made more than one meter (*vara*) high, so that they remained easy to move. The most exceptional examples are very close to this height: these include one donated in 1751 by don José Antonio Manso de Velasco, conde de Superunda (and viceroy, 1745–61) to the nuns of the Order of Saint Clare in Nájera (La Rioja, Spain) and one still in the possession of the viceroy’s heirs. Most other surviving pieces, in Peru, Colombia, and Spain, are smaller, ranging from 22 to 40 centimeters in height.

The Virgin of Copacabana, also known as the Virgin of the Lake, is a variant of Our Lady of Candlemas (La Candelaria). The standard iconography shows her wearing a bejeweled robe (in the present example she is also adorned with splendid necklaces), a candle in her right hand, and the Christ Child in her left. She and the child both wear elaborate crowns. Customarily the rebus “es-clavo” appears in the center of the back of the case. This emblem was popular in Baroque devotional art and alluded to the sense of slavery felt by the Virgin’s devotees and members of the con-

fraternities dedicated to her service.

Indeed, the “silver urn . . . consisting of a *retablo* with various small effigies”—as Viceroy Superunda described the similar retablo he sent his nephew in Spain—was in fact a devotional piece that belonged to the brothers of a confraternity dedicated to Our Lady of Copacabana.² We do not know precisely for which of these confraternities this piece was produced, or where it was located, but the use of gesso mixed with maguey that is then polychromed to construct miniature altars decorated with tiny mirrors is typical of the work of the Peruvian Altiplano in the vicinity of Lake Titicaca, suggesting the pieces originated somewhere in that region. In view of the level of naturalism in the decoration on the retablo casing and the silver crownwork, I continue to maintain that the piece was created during the last decade of the seventeenth century, not in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, as Francisco Stastny has suggested: at this later date the ornamentation on crownwork was far more voluptuous and the adornments of the figures were even more frankly naturalistic



than the comparable elements in this piece, which are still rooted in the style of the Late Renaissance.

This type of retablo was revered throughout the Viceroyalty of Peru and even in Spain. In fact, we know that the renowned Spanish dramatist Calderón de la Barca (1600–1681) had just such a retablo among his possessions. That Viceroy Superunda made sure to include in his entailed estate the imposing “urn” he sent from Lima in 1749 is also evidence of the esteem such works commanded.

CEM

1. Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, p. 122.
2. Viceroy Superunda, letter to his nephew, Félix Manso de Velasco, 1764, in which he explains that in 1749 he sent an “urn” from Lima, along with other ornaments, to Velasco’s house in Torrecilla de los Cameros, La Rioja, Spain; see Esteras Martín in Madrid 1986, p. 56.

82. *Virgin of the Rosary of Guápulo*

Cuzco, ca. 1680
Oil on canvas
67¼ × 43½ in. (170.8 × 110.5 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Loretta Hines Howard, 1964 (64.164.385)

REFERENCES: Duncan 1986, pp. 50, 90; Damian 1995, pp. 68, 70, fig. 34; Webster 2002, p. 74.

EXHIBITION: New York–Austin–Miami 1985–86, no. 17.

The veneration of miracle-working representations of the Virgin Mary was a practice carried over from Peninsular Spain to the New World. In both New Spain and the viceroyalties of South America, old advocations (the Virgin of the Rosary, the Candelaria, Belén, the Immaculate Conception, and so on) inspired the creation of new devotional figures, which in turn attracted new devotees and inspired new cults. To help in their missionary activities, the Catholic clergy sometimes sought out syncretic phenomena, or similarities between Catholicism and indigenous cults. In Peru they found a potent symbol in the Earth Mother goddess, Pachamama, whom

Peruvians could identify with the Virgin Mary. Missionaries sometimes tacitly accepted the synthesis of the two, and in any case images of the Virgin, both sculptural and painted, became an important part of Andean religiosity, often taking on the pyramidal shape of the mountain representing Pachamama (see cat. no. 80).

The most renowned of these images was the Virgin of Copacabana, an Andeanized version of the Virgin of the Candelaria, with particularly syncretic overtones (see cat. no. 81). Her shrine, on the site of a sacred pre-Hispanic precinct, displays one aspect of the Spanish tradition that resonated with particular force in the Andes as an echo of pre-Hispanic custom: the offering of precious cloth and metalwork to the cult figure as a form of veneration or as a gift in hope of an answered prayer.

This tradition is lavishly documented in another traditional religious art form transferred from Spain, the “dressed statue painting.”¹ This type of pictorial representation disseminated the cults of the most ardently venerated advocations of the Virgin. Typically these paintings portray the original, three-dimensional polychromed wood statue concealed behind the array of jewels

and gorgeous robes that constituted her “trousseau,” the whole realistically displayed in its church altar. They eventually took on rigid formulas of their own and were accorded the aura and miraculous efficacy of the original statues. This image of the Virgin of the Rosary is unusual among the myriad Cuzqueño depictions of regionally venerated figures (e.g., the Virgin of Cocharcas, the Virgin of Pomata, and the Virgin of Copacabana), in that it is meant to represent a statue originally venerated in Quito, about 1,250 miles to the north. The unsolved mystery here is how and why the cult traveled so far when so many local advocations were available to the Andean worshiper.

The cult of the Virgin of the Rosary was brought to the Americas very early on by the missionaries of the Dominican order. It was established in Guápulo, then a native hamlet a short distance from the center of Quito, about 1580–81, when an indigenous branch of the confraternity dedicated to that avocation was founded there.² The following year the members commissioned the immigrant Spanish sculptor Diego de Robles to produce for them a copy of the famed sculpture of the



Fig. 125. Ecuadoran school, *Virgin of Guápulo*, 17th century(?). Oil on wood. Museo Nacional del Banco Central del Ecuador, Quito





Fig. 126. Cross, probably Colombia or Ecuador, before 1622. Gold with emeralds and traces of enamel. Mel Fisher Maritime Museum, Key West, Florida (86.08.0005)

Virgin of the Rosary venerated as the Virgin of Guadalupe in Extremadura (Spain).³ The statue Robles carved for the Guápulo *cofradía* (completed 1586) soon attained cult status,⁴ and the church that was quickly built to house it became a mandatory stop on pilgrimages through the Audiencia of Quito. In 1644 Philip IV pronounced the Virgin of Guápulo “Patroness of the King and His Armed Forces,” an event celebrated by a triumphal march in which the statue was paraded through the city. The numerous natural disasters that continually afflicted the region prompted similar processions which, like more personal appeals, apparently evoked miraculous responses.

Many of these miracles are portrayed in a series of paintings (1699–1706) by the mestizo artist Miguel de Santiago (1626–1706) that depict the appearance of the dressed statue in small detailed areas of each canvas. Another painting of the Virgin by a painter of the Ecuadoran school represents the dressed statue in greater detail. But in none of these portrayals is the body of the sculpture itself visible. Rather, what we see is the hieratic, pyramidally robed image of the Virgin, with a scepter and rosary in her right hand and holding up the similarly robed Infant with her left. The Child is portrayed like the Infant of Prague, for example, with his right hand

raised in benediction and a cross-topped orb in his left. The Virgin’s face is framed in a swelling white veil in the style of Spanish portraits of the late fifteenth to early sixteenth century. The anonymous Ecuadoran painter also shows the precious ornament that traditionally bedecked such statues, the costs of which were often borne by the confraternity devoted to the cult image’s maintenance. In addition to the gilded imperial crown that almost invariably forms the core of the Virgin’s “trousseau” and the scepter that characteristically accompanies the rosary (which here is apparently composed of emeralds), the Virgin of Guápulo wears a gold and emerald cross and other imposing jewels presumably also furnished by the members of the *cofradía*.⁵

The fame of the Guápulo Virgin spread far beyond the borders of Quito. Numerous examples of the type represented by the Metropolitan Museum’s picture in Peruvian and Bolivian collections are traditionally considered to represent this advocacy.⁶ All of these pictures of southern Andean provenance, considered the work of the Cuzco school, follow the same model, which differs somewhat from the Quiteño model, presumably the avatar of the cult image. Unlike the Ecuadoran school painting (fig. 125), in which the red robes are covered with a baroque pattern traced in gold paint—very much in the style of the polychromy on the Ecuadoran sculpture—the Cuzco examples all show the Virgin and Child in robes patterned with versions of one of the most popular of southern Andean designs, the quatrefoil rosette, set into the same curving, European-inspired lattice that indigenous tapestry weavers employed as a framework for that pattern (see cat no. 46, fig. 43).

To date no print has been identified as a source for this particular south Andean spin on the model, and one must wonder what supports its link to the Quiteño cult. It is tempting to imagine that the fame of the image outpaced any knowledge of its appearance, at least none beyond the idea that it represented the Virgin of the Rosary. Perhaps an association was made between the Guápulo cult and the particular riches of the northern Andean region, such as the emeralds produced in the fabled mines of Muzo. Indeed, in addition to the ropes

of emeralds hanging across the gowns of Virgin and Child in this painting are pendant crucifixes and other lavish jewels, and each rosette in the lattice cells of their garments is centered with an emerald dress ornament. The green gems were apparently prized by the Inca, at least according to the chroniclers’ accounts of their presence in Inca temples and treasure houses, undoubtedly tribute from the northern reaches of Tahuantinsuyu. Their continuing role as tribute items to divinities is evidenced by contemporary accounts of emeralds used in Andean celebrations⁷ and by paintings of the Virgin of Guápulo like this one, whose emerald crucifix, we can imagine, originally looked very much like those among the cargo of treasure recovered from the wreck of the galleon *Nuestra Señora de Atocha* (fig. 126).

JH

1. See Duncan 1986.
2. The role of native confraternities as extensions of the *allyu* (the indigenous communal subgroups that were the building blocks of pre-Hispanic social organization in the Andes) has been explored by Susan Webster (2002; see especially n. 47), among others.
3. The rosarian iconography of the Extremaduran cult was lost in translation when its name became attached to the Mexican cult image that portrayed an Immaculate Conception. The fame of the Tepeyac Virgin has supplanted that of the original, which like the Guadalupana of Mexico was dark-skinned.
4. Robles’s image was lost to a fire in 1830, but its basic form—a sculpture following the Gothic style of the Spanish original—is known through another copy he made for the indigenous parish of Quinche that was subsequently brought to Guápulo as a replacement. See Palmer 1987, pp. 21–24.
5. See Webster 2002a, p. 72, n. 47.
6. For example, in the Museo Pedro de Osma, Lima; see Damian 1995, pl. 35.
7. Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela (ca. 1700–1736) 1965, vol. 1, p. 240.

83. *Painting of a Statue of the Virgin of Candlemas*

Cuzco school, early to mid-18th century
Oil on canvas
60 × 30 in. (152.4 × 76.2 cm)
Private collection

Images of dressed statues of the Virgin Mary were a common type of devotional painting in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century viceregal Peru.¹ Each statue belonged to a particular church, where it was attended to by a confraternity organized around its devotion. Certain sculptures gained greater fame through the intensity of this devotion—and occasionally through belief in their miraculous powers—and paintings such as this one helped to spread their cult beyond local worship.

This painting depicts a statue of the Virgin of Candlemas, who is celebrated in the feasts of Christ's Presentation in the Temple and the Purification of the Virgin. During the feast and its procession, which are held on February 2, a blessing is offered for the candles in the church in recognition of Simeon's description of Christ as a "light for revelation to the Gentiles." Accordingly, the Virgin of Candlemas is depicted holding a candlestick in her right hand and the Christ Child in her left. In Cuzco the most important sculpture of this Virgin was placed in the Church of San Pedro in the Indian parish of the Hospital de los Naturales (a hospital founded in 1556 to attend to native inhabitants of Cuzco; San Pedro is next to it). The sculpture was (and still is) processed on a beautiful silver litter in all the the major celebrations of Cuzco, and she can be seen in one of the Corpus Christi paintings from the Church of Santa Ana (see cat. nos. 116a–e), in which she is carried aloft on a large carriage. In the Corpus Christi painting the carriage is preceded by the *cacique principal*, or indigenous leader, of the parish, who is dressed like an Inca in an *uncu* (white tunic) with *tocapu*, billowing lace sleeves, and an elaborate crown with the *mascaypacha* (royal fringe).²

This eighteenth-century painting of the statue evidences the continued devotion of the colonial Inca nobility to her cult. The statue, whose hands and feet are quite life-



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like, is depicted on a pedestal set on an altar within an architectural niche. Two donors, presumably husband and wife, appear on either side of the altar and turn so as to look out toward the viewer. The man is dressed in a combination of Spanish and indigenous clothes, including a Spanish-style cape and puffy laced sleeves like those worn by the *cacique* in the Corpus Christi painting. He also wears a brown *uncu* with a neck opening decorated with *tocapu*. A similar *uncu* is depicted in a full-length

eighteenth-century portrait of a *curaca* or *cacique* who resembles the donor figure in this painting (Museo Inka, Cuzco).³ His wife is also dressed in traditional Andean clothes, including a dark *lliclla* (mantle) with a white collar fastened by a silver *tupu* (pin). Both donors hold rosaries in their hands, which are clasped in prayer.

Several of these devotional paintings depict indigenous nobles as donors. What is particularly notable about this painting is the Inca crown, the *mascaypacha*, placed on

a silver platter laid on the altar at the feet of the Virgin and Christ Child, thereby explicitly recognizing both the intensity of the donors' devotion and divine sovereignty over the descendants of the Inca. The composition of the painting is typical of the genre; there is an overall flatness because the figures are pressed so closely to the foreground and scale is used as a hieratic convention, with the Virgin dominating the picture plane. Great attention was also paid to the Virgin in terms of both iconography and painting. The luxurious details of her dress, as well as the gold and silver, brought these earthly materials into the context of a sacred experience, further vivifying the spiritual world of the Andes and amplifying the Andean cult of images. More important, perhaps, such paintings served to associate the indigenous elite and the members of the religious confraternities with the awe of Christian images.

TC

1. See Mesa and Gisbert 1982 and Duncan 1986.
2. Dean 1999.
3. O'Phelan Godoy 2003, p. 127, fig. 31.

84. *Virgin of the Rosary of Pomata*

Cuzco, ca. 1700–1730
Oil on canvas
80¾ × 54 in. (205 × 137 cm)
Museo Pedro de Osma, Lima

REFERENCE: Ugarte Eléspuru and Sarmiento 1973, p. 151.

EXHIBITIONS: Caracas 1992–93, no. 21; Córdoba 1999, p. 275.

During the last quarter of the seventeenth century the devotees of the Virgin of the Rosary of Pomata commissioned so many “true portraits” of her (copies after an original believed to share the same miraculous powers) from artists in Cuzco and Alto Perú that she became one of the most frequently depicted of all the Andean Virgins.¹ The renown of this particular advocation had grown steadily since 1597, when Dominican doctrinal teachers were thought to have brought the original image to the village of Pomata,

on the shores of Lake Titicaca. Pomata was also in the middle of the “silver road” from Potosí to Cuzco, a location that surely contributed to what became a constant influx of miners and merchants to the region. Indeed, as a place of pilgrimage Pomata eventually grew to rival the neighboring sanctuary of the Virgin of Copacabana.

This magnificent version of the Virgin, which dates to the beginning of the eighteenth century, is in the style of the great indigenous painters of the school of

Cuzco. The quality and care evident in its craftsmanship, however, set it apart from the mass-produced paintings that began to appear about that time. The long plumes on the crowns of the Virgin and Christ Child make it easy to distinguish this devotional image from other, similar ones. The crowns—which according to convention were either royal or imperial in style—here take the form of papal tiaras, perhaps to cement the identification of Mary with the church. The colors of the plumes (white, green, and red) have a sym-



bolic relationship with the three theological virtues: faith, hope, and charity.

Although all of these symbols conform to traditional Christian iconography, they also inevitably recall pre-Hispanic feather art, and modern art historiography recognizes them as clear attempts to combine indigenous attributes with images of Mary.² The harquebusier archangels, with their helmets and plumed hats, are typical of Cuzco art and appear in many such works, partly because they are a convenient iconographic overlap between Baroque taste and older Andean artistic traditions involving feathers. It was for that very reason, perhaps, that Andean theologians tended to promote the identification of these symbols with Mary. As Ramón Mujica has pointed out, such comparisons were cultivated by the great ecclesiastical orators of Baroque-era Cuzco, perhaps appealing to their audience's age-old fascination with birds and feathers.³ In his 1695 book of sermons *La Novena Maravilla* (The Ninth Miracle), the celebrated Cuzco homilist Juan de Espinoza Medrano specifically mentions ostrich plumes as a symbol of Mary, based on the belief that ostriches do not use their feathers to keep their eggs warm but instead distance themselves in order to hatch the eggs with only the warmth of their gaze. In the culmination of the sermon, Espinoza constructs a curious metaphor between Mary and the ostrich: "She [Mary] seems more like the ostrich in the development of her womb most pure . . . because her womb was all blessed understanding."⁴

The inherent duality of this type of imagery was part of the reason the Marian cult of Pomata combined harmoniously with local religious practices, and paintings in the style of the Virgin of the Rosary of Pomata contributed to this sense of harmony. In them the figures are generally possessed of a stereotypical beauty, a hieratic aspect, and a horror vacui typical of the Cuzco style in its prime. The unknown painter of this image, likely indigenous or mestizo, did not have to seek out the original in the Highlands, given that this particular Virgin's iconography had been fully established in engravings. In fact, countless prints with her image had circulated throughout the region for years. According

to the contemporary writings of Friar Juan Meléndez, these printed copies brought about many of the Virgin's innumerable miracles.⁵ The similarities between this portrait and another in the monastery of Santa Catalina in Cuzco no doubt arise from a shared printed source such as these cards.⁶

To emphasize the miraculous powers attributed to the Virgin of Pomata, the painting constructs a curious tension between the "veristic" demands of the genre, which require that the Virgin be represented in garments characteristic of a clothed, sculpted image, and the more "divine," abstract space it occupies. Her face emerges from a long, pyramid-shaped cloak embellished with rows of pearls, rosettes, and detailed giltwork, forming a complex, meticulous brocade that enhances her loose-fitting red dress and even extends out toward the painting's flowered border. Like other Virgins of the Andes region, the Virgin of the Rosary of Pomata was heavily bejeweled with rings, dangling earrings, and other accessories very similar to the jewelry worn at the time by the noblewomen of the viceroyalty. In her right hand she clutches a bunch of lilies (covered with gold), while in her left hand she holds her son and the rosary that identifies the advocacy. Yet despite these "documentary" details, the painter has not placed the sacred figure within the environment of an altarpiece or a processional platform, as was customary. Rather, he has placed her in a celestial setting in which she is surrounded by a halo of light whose rays end in winged cherub heads. All of these elements combine to portray the venerated sculpture of the Virgin of Pomata—familiar to whoever commissioned the portrait—as a miraculous apparition.

LEW

1. The oldest known version dates from 1675 (Brooklyn Museum, New York). See Brooklyn-Phoenix 1996–97, pp. 218–19, no. 80. Nearly all extant versions are anonymous, though one is signed by Pablo Chillí Tupa (Museo Histórico Regional del Cusco). There is also documentary evidence (a will) that Lorenzo Pérez Loman, a mestizo from Chuquisaca, painted this theme in 1677. See Mesa and Gisbert 1977, pp. 71–72.
2. Gisbert 1994, p. 83. There is documentary evidence that most devotees of the Virgin of the

Rosary of Pomata were indigenous people or mestizos. The 1734 will of the *cacique* of Machaca, José Fernández Guarache, mentions representations of both the Virgin of Copacabana and the Virgin of Pomata, in addition to Inca genealogies and portraits of Inca monarchs and *royas*. See Gisbert 2003, p. 86.

3. Mujica Pinilla in Lima 1993, pp. 53–57.

4. Espinoza Medrano 1695, p. 65.

5. Meléndez 1681–82, vol. 1, p. 620.

6. This work has been widely reproduced. See, for example, Mesa and Gisbert 1982.

85. Crown for a statue of the Virgin Mary

Arequipa, late 17th century
Silver gilt, cast, repoussé, and chased, with emeralds, garnets, other precious stones, and pearls
11 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (30 × 27 cm), Diam. of base 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (14.5 cm)
Arzobispado de Arequipa

REFERENCE: Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, pp. 136–37.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1997, no. 28.

This imperial crown has four vertical bands gathered at the top and surmounted by a sphere, representing the world, capped by a cross with rhomboidal arms. The sphere form is decorated with four pairs of emeralds and four handle-like projections in the form of angel-sirens. The cylindrical base is decorated with a row of inlaid stones of different colors and another eight that are on raised mounts. The graceful, sinuous body of the crown is designed as openwork foliage, with animated leaves and flowers forming cartouches around four centrally placed stones. Each of the four vertical bands, which are also foliate in design, is disposed around an oblong vertical medallion that is traversed by a horizontal stem with a bud on either end.

In 1997 I noted the great similarity between this crown and one made for the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception in the Cathedral of Arequipa and maintained that the two crowns share the same origins and author.¹ This example was given to the confraternity of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception in the Arequipa cathedral by Bishop don Antonio de León.



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As the bishop governed between 1679 and 1708, the crown must date to that period. I originally proposed that the crown was made in 1708 because the gift was recorded in the brotherhood's inventory of that year. However, previously unpublished data obtained from the cathedral archives tell us that in 1689 the confraternity paid "seventy pesos to the goldsmith for the crown."² This information leads to the conclusion that the crown dates to about 1689. It could have been made before or after 1689, however, since it is likely that the commission for one crown would lead to a commission to copy the one already completed. The question, then, is which of the two crowns was made first? Even if we had the answer, we would have to know something about the artist and his career to determine precisely the date of the crown's manufacture. What this piece does clearly tell us is that by the seventeenth century the Baroque was in full flower in Arequipa, and the taste for naturalistic

decoration shaped the ornamental vocabulary of the silversmiths working there.

It is entirely possible that this crown belonged to the image of the Virgin of Loreto that was venerated in her chapel in the Jesuit church in Arequipa; it is also possible that it was part of the "surplus" silver sent to this formerly Jesuit convent to compensate it for goods confiscated from the order after its expulsion in 1767.

CEM

1. See Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, no. 28.

2. "Al platero de oro setenta pesos por la corona"; *Libro de cuentas de la Cofradía de Na Sa de la Concepción*, vol. 1 (1709), from 1 October 1689 to 31 December 1689, fol. 74, Archivo de la Catedral, Arequipa.

86. *Saint Éloi in His Workshop*

Cuzco school, first half of the 18th century
Oil on canvas
35⁷/₁₆ × 27¹⁵/₁₆ in. (90 × 71 cm)
Private collection

REFERENCES: Sanz Serrano 1996, p. 314, fig. 10; Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, ill. p. 51.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1999, no. 209.

In this rare painting of Saint Éloi (or Saint Eligius, ca. 590–660), bishop of Noyon-Tournai, France, and patron saint of silversmiths, he is shown sitting at a table as he puts the finishing touches on the nimbus of a monstrance. He wears a white alb under an ornate cope, and a pectoral cross hangs on his chest. In the upper part of the painting two cherubs hold the bishop-saint's miter and crosier. Behind him, on a *bargueño* chest, sits the base of the piece on which he is working. At his right an angel carries the gems he will use to decorate the monstrance, and at his left another angel works the bellows. At the bottom a third angel holds a booklike object before a small table. A diverse array of tools lies at the saint's feet, including a hammer and tongs, his traditional attributes. The figures of God the Father and the Holy Ghost crown the composition. Hovering between the space of the workshop and the celestial sphere are three gilded chairs, an allusion to the Trinity as well as an evocation of the miracle of the multiplication of the thrones that is attributed to Saint Éloi.¹

Although this painting has frequently been associated with the Quito school, it is more likely that it originated in the southern Andes region and, more specifically, in Cuzco. The style of the painting as well as of the silver objects exhibited in the workshop would appear to indicate a date in the first half of the eighteenth century.² The guild of Saint Éloi included goldsmiths, silversmiths, *batibojas* (craftsmen who laminated gold and silver into sheets), gilders, and embroiderers working in metal. Although the guilds of Lima and Quito have been comprehensively studied, there is little published on those in Arequipa, Cuzco, and other major Andean cities.³



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As one of the richest groups of artisans in colonial society, silversmiths held great power and prestige. The cult of their patron saint, however, was generally restricted to the members of confraternities or guilds.⁴ The eighteenth-century Quiteño silversmith José Albán y Palis stated that apart from specialized craftsmen, “the rest of the people of this republic scarcely know that there is such a saint in Heaven.”⁵ The guild’s exclusivity, then, may explain the scarcity of representations of Saint Éloi in the visual arts.

Devotional images of the saint are more frequent in the southern Andes, perhaps because of the abundance of silver there and the resulting importance of the craft in the local economy. Most of the known paintings of Saint Éloi associated with the

Cuzco school show him as an artisan in his workshop, an iconographic tradition that became rare in Europe after the sixteenth century.⁶ Although it is likely that this painting was based on a European popular print,⁷ the painter here describes elements that are clearly related to colonial society, such as the *bargueño* chest and the inlaid table typical of Cuzco production. In any case this painting, like other such representations, affords us a rare glimpse into the interior of an Andean silversmith’s workshop.⁸

NM

1. Schenone 1992, vol. 1, pp. 295–96.

2. An earlier date for the painting is given by Cristina Esteras Martín in Madrid 1999, no. 209.

3. For the Lima guilds, see Heredia Moreno 1991, pp. 489–501; Paniagua Pérez 1995, pp. 13–35; and Paniagua Pérez and Garzón Montenegro 2000. Beginning in 1801 the Cuzco guild met in the sacristy of the convent of San Francisco, but the most important pictorial series of the life of Éloi is housed in a retable in the Church of Belén. See Schenone 1992, vol. 1, p. 296. According to Stastny (1999, p. 135), the silversmiths of Cuzco were under the patronage of Saint Blaise, but documentation dating to the late eighteenth century demonstrates that Éloi was claimed as their patron saint. See Gutiérrez 1987, pp. 62–63.

4. Stastny 1999, pp. 134–35.

5. Cited in Paniagua Pérez and Garzón Montenegro 2000, p. 96: “la demás gente desta república casi no conocen ni saben si hay tal santo en el Cielo.”

6. Sanz Serrano 1996, pp. 32–35. Even in the Andes the saint is often represented as a bishop.

See the painting by Gregorio Vázquez de Arce y Ceballos (1638–1711) in the Church of Nuestra Señora de las Nieves, Bogotá, or the 1775 painting by Bernardo Rodríguez (active 1775–1803) in the Museo del Banco Central del Ecuador, Quito. For a similar representation in Cuzco, see *ibid.*, p. 40, fig. 14. See also Paniagua Pérez and Garzón Montenegro 2000, p. 97.

7. María Jesús Sanz Serrano (1996, p. 35, fig. 9) proposes a drawing by José Carpio of 1687 (possibly later used to make a print) as a source for this painting, but the source was probably a more popular image.
8. See, for example, a slightly later painting in the Museo Histórico Regional, Cuzco, reproduced in Madrid 1997, p. 42, and the popular painting of Saint Lawrence and Saint Éloi in the Museo de Arte de Lima.

87. Halo

Southern Andes or Alto Perú, ca. 1750–60
Silver, repoussé, chased, and engraved
Diam. 12¼ in. (31 cm)
Collection of Fernando and Josefina Larraín

Polychromed wood sculptures of individuals venerated by the Catholic church are often shown with halos framing their heads. Representations of the luminous radiance appropriate to the sanctity of these individuals, these halos are sometimes made of gilded wood; however, the richest examples are crafted in gold or, most frequently, silver. Their shapes vary, but the most common are circles or disks.

This halo is circular, in imitation of a solar nimbus. Although the rays are so small that they are barely noticeable amid the halo's thicket of ornamentation, they are set off from the dense repoussé by their smooth surfaces and flamelike forms. Heads of cherubim appear beneath the rays, alternating with eight foliate men (*hombres follajes*) posed like caryatids. Each foliate man holds up a foliate crest whose points alternate with the points of the rays and with those of a corolla of flower buds arranged around the twisted cord molding that outlines the central circle. An elegant bird resting on intertwined branches of leaves is engraved on the surface of the central circle.

The technical execution and artistic conception of this work are brilliant.



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Despite the typical *horror vacui* exhibited, it is a work of extraordinary plasticity. The foliate man is perhaps the most significant decorative element. A grotesque motif common to Andean design, he is seen here in a variation with flattened, pendulous breasts, with his leafy short skirt transformed into a cartouche enclosing an oval boss, and with his hands raised to support a crest. His iconographic roots are in engravings of sixteenth-century Italian ornamentation and grotesques, which were disseminated in the Andes through the frontispieces of books. These figures are characterized by abundant locks of hair formed of segments of concentric circles that give the appearance of puffy curls. The volume of the buds and the twisting of the leaves in the foliate ornament that lowers the level of the relief lead me to date this work about 1750–60.

It is more difficult to determine exactly where the piece was made, for we do not

know similar works that can be used as references. The halo is a characteristic form of silverwork from the Andes or Alto Perú. Although there is a correlation, in terms of both composition and individual ornamental motifs, between this example and the silver-gilt halo set with precious stones in the Cathedral of Arequipa, the two pieces are not exactly similar, if certainly close in spirit. Therefore, we can situate this halo in a very general way as the output of the silver workshops of the southern Andes. At the same time, because the little angel heads here are similar to those of the cherubs decorating the wings of a *sacrarium* attributed to Potosí (cat. no. 111), we are led to Potosí. Even so, caution obliges us to place this work only within the region of the southern Andes, perhaps as far south as Potosí—that is to say, in the very large area between Arequipa and the southern portion of Alto Perú.

CEM

88. *Tunic (uncu) for a child or a statue*

Cuzco, 17th century

Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft

Garment: 21¾ × 17½ in. (55.2 × 44.5 cm)

Woven dimensions: 35 × 21¾ in. (88.9 × 55.2 cm)

Inscribed: *DIEGO DIAS* (backward as garment is used)

Museo Inka, Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad del Cusco (Tex-108, Ant. 729)

EX COLL.: Dr. José Lucas Caparó Muñiz, Cuzco¹

REFERENCES: J. Rowe 1974, fig. 435; Cummins (1992) 1998, p. 138, fig. 36; Pillsbury 2002, p. 92, fig. 30.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave, reversible, with single-interlocking joins; weft-float patterning; beginning edge has plain weave 2 × 2 (underneath embroidery); chain-stitched embroidery at edges and decorated span-stitched embroidery along lower edges and sides. **Warp:** cotton //∧ 30 per in. (white); vertical as garment is worn. **Weft:** camelid approximately 160 per in. (pink, purple, red, blue, green, plied red and white, yellow, and gold). Elaborate double-sided embroidery stitches. **Embroidery yarns:** camelid ∧ (white, red, yellow, and blue).

Selvages: two shots of cotton weft heading; one side completely open (side stitching present) and one shoulder section cut.²

Condition: excellent; some old repairs; very good color preservation.

This small, Inca-style tunic, woven of the finest *cumbi* tapestry weave, was intended either to be worn by a child or to clothe a statue of the infant Jesus in a religious setting. It is filled with highly charged Christian symbols—such as the cross and orb and the votive heart, emblems of Christ and salvation—but it also draws on Andean tradition for its form and in



88, front



88, back

the Inca-style patterned bands of *pallai* and *tocapu* designs. As such, it is a unique example of composite colonial attributes. This tunic is inscribed *Diego Dias*, most likely the name of the donor who sponsored the creation of the garment rather than that of its wearer. As the garment is now constructed, the name reads backward. When originally woven the textile itself was completely reversible, but the embroidery, particularly the elaborate *tocapu* bands along the side seams, was not. The fact that the embroidery was applied with the letters

reading incorrectly thus suggests that the embroiderer did not (or could not) read the letters as she formed the garment with her final stitching.

Like other processional tunics from the period, this one has distinctive color and design treatments that vary from front to back. The presence of embroidery along the side seams and edges follows Inca tradition, but the form it takes—elaborately stitched *tocapu* designs—is found only in colonial-period garments (see also cat. no. 42). The front of the tunic, which bears

the inscription, has a light red neck yoke and purple ground color in the body. Just above the lower band, lions with oversize heads, large manes, and exaggerated crowns sit on their haunches, face to face. These are somewhat “European-style” lions, poised in an upright semirampant position, with their long tails switching, tongues extended and curled, and front paws elevated. Oddly, they are spotted, like the native Andean jaguar. The orb-and-cross, a symbol of Christianity surmounting the world, is located between them. The front is laid out

more or less symmetrically along a central axis demarcated by the branch of a stylized flowering tree. The color combination of the red neck yoke and purple ground and the presence of the feline motifs link this garment to a group of colonial tunics with similar design schemes (cat. nos. 26, 27). However, in these other garments the felines are typically placed at the neck yoke. Here, flanked by votive hearts, the “lions” are instead central design elements prominently placed on either side of the lower portion of the garment. They appear as guardians, in a protective stance, somewhat like the pair of stone lions that sit on either side of the high altar in the Church of the Virgin of Belén in Cuzco.³

The back of the tunic has a blue neck yoke with a red (cochineal pink) ground color in the body of the garment. The combination of red and blue is particularly cogent, for this special, small tunic is reminiscent of the *sucullo* garments that were worn during Andean rituals to celebrate the dressing of a child in his first clothes.⁴ Red and blue were also the colors of Inca nobility. Moreover, both can be interpreted in a Christian context: red as a symbol of the Passion and blue as a color associated with the Virgin. The yellow of the pendant heart is an unusual choice and could be associated with an Inca tradition in which yellow was worn by the successor to the throne. Perhaps the two sides of this tunic symbolize a transformation from childhood to kingship or some other position of authority.

The orb-and-cross on the back of the garment is bespeckled with small fleurs-de-lis—the French symbol of the Bourbon dynasty—that almost mimic the feline pelts of the more “Andean” animals that appear to pace across the back. The large votive heart at the base of the neck yoke, with its hanging chain and ribbon, has red spots, and the hearts within the yoke at the shoulders also have spots. It is as if the weaver, by adding spots to these objects, sought to imbue them with symbolic weight, or at least to equal the symbolism of the felines. The chaotic, scattered nature of the background flowers and leaves (minus their branches) contributes to another level of “spottedness” in the design. This contrasts markedly with the orderly placement of *tocapu*, regular and rectangular, outlining

the yoke and aligned in rows across the bottom bands. A comparable interplay between order and chaos can also be seen in the designs of women’s *llillas*, particularly in the contrast between conceptual sections of *pampa* and *pallai*.

Like almost all the Inca- and colonial-period tunics in this style, this example was composed as a single woven unit of cloth, folded at the shoulder and stitched up the sides. What is unusual here is that the warp direction of the finished piece follows the vertical line of the tunic. (In Inca models, the warp, although vertical during weaving, runs horizontally when the garment is worn.) This retention of the weaver’s orientation in the finished garment is similar to what is seen in women’s tapestry mantles. Another modification of Inca male garment convention is the placement of the rows of *tocapu* designs on the lower third of the tunic rather than at the waistband; this, too, is a feature of women’s mantles. The intricacy and manner of weaving set this small *uncu* even farther apart from other known garments, and its function—no doubt centered around an intersection of Christian and Andean rituals and beliefs—might account for this divergence from tradition.

EP

1. J. Rowe ([1973] 1979, p. 244, citing Giesecke 1948) indicates that the tunic came from Muñiz, a collector from Cuzco, who sold it in the 1920s to the Universidad Nacional del Cusco for its museum.
2. Why the garment is open on one side and when this opening was created are unclear. Isabel Iriarte (personal communication, February 2004) feels that this is an indication that the *uncu* had been put on a statue, as the opening would facilitate the dressing and undressing of an immobile figure—a child could struggle into it, but a statue could not. Close examination of the tunic in the Museo Inka gallery in 2004 revealed that the embroidery along these open edges is, in fact, generally uncut and therefore could have been made intentionally to be open. Several yarns were present that had been frayed, though, and further examination is warranted.
3. Iriarte, personal communication, February 2004.
4. See Bertonio (1612) 1984, part 1, p. 113, and part 2, p. 323. Also cat. no. 24.

89. Tunic for a statue of the Christ Child (*uncu santo*)

Lake Titicaca region (Alto Perú), possibly Pacajes, late 16th–17th century
Tapestry weave, cotton or camelid warp and camelid, silk, and metallic weft
Garment: 16 × 14¹³/₁₆ in. (40.2 × 37.7 cm)
Woven dimensions: 14¹³/₁₆ × 31¹¹/₁₆ in. (37.7 × 80.5 cm)
Inscription: *SI*H; AM* (superimposed)
Patrimonio Cultural de Bolivia en custodia del Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore, La Paz (316)

REFERENCE: *Revista cultural* 2003, cover ill.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave, reversible, with single-interlocking and dovetailing joins; some lazy lines; chain-looped and overcast embroidery along edges. **Warp:** probably camelid \wedge (white, red, and blue in sections); horizontal as garment is worn. **Weft:** camelid \wedge (red, blue, yellow, and green); metallic yarn silver strip wound on core yarn; silk \wedge (light orange, light greenish blue, and white?). **Condition:** excellent; old repairs at neck. Completely open, not stitched at the sides. Evidence of small tears at each side may indicate that ties were once present at the waist to join front to back.¹

This tunic is thought to have originated in the region of Pacajes, near Lake Titicaca in modern-day Bolivia, where today local peoples still remember the tradition of making *ponchitos*, or little *uncus*, for religious statues.² Called either *uncu santo* (tunic for a saint) or *uncu santuario* (tunic for a sanctuary), these small garments were once lovingly woven in tender acts of religious devotion. This example, made with precious materials and filled with gentle images of sacred and symbolic meaning, including anagrams of the names of the Virgin Mary and Jesus, was no doubt made to be worn by a statue of the standing Christ Child. How better to worship the Niño Jesús, as he was known locally, than to affectionately dress him in one’s own image, which in the case of an Andean devotee would take the form of an *uncu*, the traditional Andean tunic. Replete with *tocapu*, butterflies and insects, and shields, this tunic is a miniature version of a garment that in Inca times would have been reserved for the highest nobility.

The dressing of statues of Christ in native garments was initially permitted by



89, front

the Catholic church, and particularly by the Jesuits. In the seventeenth century the *Compañía*, the Jesuit church in Cuzco, was said to have had a sculpture of the Niño Jesús de Huanca by Bernardo Bitti (1548–1610), one of the best-known artists of the period, that is described as having been dressed on occasions like an Inca.³ Paintings of the period also show statues of Christ dressed in *uncus* (see fig. 12), but few of these images, not to mention the actual garments, have survived (see cat. nos. 88, 90).

A printed source from 1610 describing the celebration in Cuzco of the beatification of Ignacio de Loyola, founder of the Jesuit order, noted that one native parish took

out “their *niño* Jesús in clothing of the Inca.”⁴ The practice eventually fell out of favor with some church officials, however. By the 1780s don José de Areche, visitador of Peru—who oversaw the arrest and execution of Túpac Amaru II, the leader of the “neo-Inca” rebellion—proposed that the use of Inca-style tunics be banned altogether because of its “subversive” nature, and he related specifically in a letter to the archbishop of Cuzco his anguish at seeing a statue of Christ adorned with an *uncu*.⁵

This small tunic is red on one side and blue on the other. The lettering, and specifically the use of anagrams, is typical of the cultic nature of Andean Catholic

worship, especially in the seventeenth century. Similar letters and anagrams can be seen on works in various media, including the splendid mural paintings in the churches around Cuzco.⁶ On the red side is *SI*H*, a puzzling variation on the conventional *IHS*, the letters used to represent the name of Jesus and a symbol of the Jesuit order. This arrangement may have been intended as an anagram for a phrase such as *Salvator Iesus Hominum* (Jesus, the Savior of Man), or perhaps it is a result of a misunderstanding by the weaver or a misreading of a printed reference source. The blue side has an *A* superimposed over an *M*, which stands for *Ave Maria*. All of the letters are woven in



89, back

silk with metallic threads and are embellished with small designs. They are rendered visually on the garment as if they were actually on a scapular, a devotional patch worn by religious orders such as the Carmelites, which was generally made of embroidered or printed cloth. Scapulars were made in pairs joined by long tapes or string and were designed to be worn around the neck, with one patch hanging on the front and the other on the back. The “scapulars” in this tunic are obviously woven renditions literally integrated into the fabric of the garment.

The style of this *uncu santo* is essentially Andean: it is rectangular, folded at the

shoulder, with an opening left for the head. It is also not closed at the sides, as is the case with the other two known examples of garments made for statues. However, this example, like the “Diego Dias” *uncu* (cat. no. 88), does not strictly follow the traditional Inca-style format, particularly in the placement of the *tocapu* bands, which here are at the lower edge, not at the conventional “waistband” level.⁷ In general, this *uncu santo* is more freely designed than the standard Inca version, with somewhat randomly placed motifs that perhaps reflect the weaver’s personal inspiration. The insects, birds, and butterflies are, in fact, the same designs described by Martín de Murúa as

decorating the wedding garments of the *coyas*, the Inca queens.⁸ While this *uncu* is clearly a male garment, the designs and overall sensibility of the work do retain what would generally be considered female characteristics, such as the random juxtaposition of small-scale flora and fauna with *tocapu*. Most of the small-scale designs, and notably the parrots and birds, are oriented from the weaver’s perspective, which is why they appear to be walking sideways when the garment is viewed as it would have been worn.

The minor repairs to the neckline indicate that the tunic was used and reused multiple times. Perhaps this special garment was reserved for the most sacred

occasions and was kept in a cool, dark place, which would account for its excellent state of preservation. The green silk ground of the central monogram, also found within some of the small-scale designs, is reminiscent of the fine silk used in the Cooper-Hewitt *lliclla* (cat. no. 39), the only other known tapestry-woven garment with this distinct color of silk. The other silk colors, especially the pale green and orange (now beige), are atypical of the Andean color palette; it is possible that these are imported threads that were dyed before arriving in Peru.⁹

The red and blue colors are highly significant visual links to the special garments worn by Inca children when they were welcomed into the community in an investiture ceremony called Paucary Uaray. In his Aymara dictionary of 1612 Padre Ludovico Bertonio says that the ceremony involved the sacrifice of a number of vicuña, the most precious of camelids, and that as part of the festivities all of the children who had come of age that year were dressed in their first garments.¹⁰ These ritual first garments—tunics for boys and dresses for girls—were called *sucullu*, and they were either red or blue or had some combination of red and blue elements.¹¹

Today some communities in the Pacajes region are still known to prefer red and blue garments. In fact, a few extant examples of small warp-faced ponchos from Colquencha have black and blue warps with red wefts finely interwoven in the tradition of *tornesol*, originally a type of sumptuous silk worn by Spanish colonists.¹² European *tornesol* textiles, which have a unique luminous quality achieved through the use of contrasting warp and weft colors, inspired Andean weavers to create their own versions of these luxurious textiles. Normally, these were woven in a solid-color warp-faced weave, such as black or dark brown, with a contrasting silk weft dyed perhaps a brilliant cochineal pink or striking indigo. The colorful, contrasting weft yarns peeking out between the tightly packed warp yarns shimmered depending on how light struck the fabric, and the weave quickly earned the name *pechua de paloma*, or dove's breast. Our little *uncu santo*, with blue warps on the red side and red warps on the blue side, is a remarkable

example of that tradition; indeed small, almost iridescent flecks of color are visible from beneath the surface. Not only is this tunic one of the earliest known examples of Andean *tornesol*, it is the first and only known example of the technique used in a weft-faced tapestry weave (all others are woven in warp-faced weave).¹³ This most precious of garments, woven in the name of the most holy, with coveted silk and silver threads, is thus all the more unusual and remarkable as a manifestation and symbol of devotion.

EP and II

1. The authors have not had the opportunity to examine the textile. We thank Freddy Taboada and Elizabeth Torres, Museo de Etnología y Folklore, La Paz (MUSEF), for providing us with materials information and photography that enabled us to identify certain key technical features.
2. Elizabeth Torres, director of MUSEF, indicated to the authors in April 2004 that it was her assessment that the tunic came from the region of Pacajes. This textile, now in the custody of MUSEF, was part of a lot of 482 cultural items identified as belonging to Bolivian national patrimony that were repatriated from Truro, Canada, on November 29, 2002. Seven items from this group had a provenance of the community of Coroma, but this tunic is unrelated to that community.
3. See Schenone 1998, pp. 117–19.
4. Romero 1923, p. 449, cited by MacCormack 1991: “la Parochia del Hopital, de los naturales . . . sacando su niño Jesús en habito de Inga.”
5. Visitador General Don Josef [sic] Antonio de Areche to Juan Manuel, Obispo de Cuzco, April 13, 1781, fols. 4v–5r; AGI Cuzco 29 (Carta de Areche, sobre que los recuerdos de los Yncas alucinan a los indios del Cuzco, 1 de mayo de 1781. Otra sobre lo mismo de 13 de abril 1781). Reference from Jorge Hidalgo, Archivo Nacional, Santiago de Chile, September 8, 1993.
6. See Flores Ochoa, Kuon Arce, and Samanez Argumedo 1993.
7. The confused lettering seen here is also present on the “Diego Dias” tunic, which has that name woven in reverse.
8. Murúa (ca. 1611) 1987, pp. 384–85: “los acsos y llicllas labrados de deversidad de pajaros y mariposas de mucha curiosidad” (the *acsos* and *llicllas* worked of diversity with birds and butterflies of much curiosity).
9. The different colors of the warps have been confirmed by MUSEF; we again thank Freddy Taboada and Elizabeth Torres. As for the colors of the silk, we know that the silk that

arrived on the Manila galleons was sometimes already dyed. The silk could also have been dyed in Mexico. See Solórzano y Pereira (1606) 1972, book 6, chap. 10, p. 31.

10. Bertonio (1612, part 1) 1984, p. 113. For further description of the ceremony that used these garments, see Guaman Poma (1615) 1980, vol. 2, p. 213.
11. Bertonio (1612, part 1) 1984, p. 113.
12. Gisbert, Arze, and Cajas 1987, p. 62.
13. See Phipps (2000) 2001.

90. *Miniature tunic (uncu)*

17th–18th century

Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid, silk, and metallic weft

Garment: 14½ × 11 in. (36.8 × 27.9 cm)

Woven dimensions: 11 × 29 in. (27.9 × 73.7 cm)

Collection of Penny Righthand and Richard Levine

EX COLL.: *Important Pre-Columbian Art*, sale, Sotheby's, New York, May 12–13, 1983, lot 318.

REFERENCE: *Hali Magazine*, no. 46 (August 1989), p. 26.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave, reversible, with dovetail and single-locking joins (sometimes grouped 3/3); lazy lines. Chain-stitch and double-running-stitch embroidery along lower edge. **Warp:** cotton / spun, 24 per in. (white); horizontal as garment is worn. **Weft:** camelid \wedge 144 per in. (purple, red, blue, and green); silk \wedge (yellow); metallic foil (silver) \setminus wound on linen core \wedge . **Embroidery:** camelid hair, silk, and metallic on linen. **Selvages:** warp selvages present on both sides; beginning edge is chain-looped, finishing edge is cut-and-entered. Silk ribbon formerly along neck edge and probably along lower edges.

Miniature *uncus* have been made in the Andes for thousands of years and continue to be made today.¹ In Inca times they were given as ritual offerings to the gods, and sometimes they were made specially to be burned in ceremonies or buried along with children or llamas as treasures sacrificed for the good of the community. At other times miniature *uncus* were used to dress various *huacas* and other sacred statues and shrines, including those occurring naturally, such as particular stones or tree branches, as well as those constructed of wood, wax, gold, silver, and other materials.² With the advent of Christianity after

the Conquest, the practice of making miniature versions of native garments continued, but in an altogether new context, as statues of the Christ Child, San Isidro Labrador (the patron saint of farmers), and the Virgin Mary, among others, were sometimes clad in Andean garb.³

In the Spanish tradition, clothing the images of saints and statues of the Christ Child was a joyous confirmation of faith and an act of communal participation in the celebration of the church and its doctrines. As practiced in the Andes, however, this tradition—at least from the perspective of viceregal and church administrators—was controversial. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Spanish clerics debated whether the practice “corrupted” Christian meaning and incorporated aspects of the ancient, and “idolatrous,” Andean belief systems. While some clerics viewed it as part of an affectionate adaptation to Christian beliefs—the Jesuits in particular encouraged the practice with their cult of Niño Jesús de Huanca—others were less tolerant

and considered it a stubborn incorporation of idolatrous ways.⁴ Ironically, the extirpation campaigns of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that sought to destroy the *huacas* often ignored the garments used to dress them.

This miniature *uncu* is woven of *cumbi* tapestry weave, the weaving method associated with Inca nobility. It is a four-selvaged cloth, woven intentionally to a miniature scale and shape; the neck opening was made during the weaving process. Although some technical elements of this garment divert from the strict *cumbi* methods, the weaving and the materials equal those found in some of the finest Inca weaving. Following Inca tradition (and unlike cat. no. 88, another Inca-style miniature *uncu*), the warp direction is horizontal as the garment is worn.

The two *betas* (rows) that form the “waistband” of the tunic each contain nine square-format, simplified *tocapu*. The tricolor neck band, or *abuaqui*, is composed of a series of stepped squares aligned in a

triangular shape around the neck opening, an Inca format modified here by a colonial addition: the flowers inscribed within each square. Despite the conventional Inca format and symbols, the decorative program in the field and neck opening, along with the imported silk and silver threads, identifies this piece as a product of a colonial aesthetic. The abundance of floral motifs and the bright colors evoke a festive mood, and it is possible that the tunic was made as part of a spring or harvest-season church ritual. The color purple is especially significant. In the Catholic church purple was associated liturgically with Easter celebrations and with Corpus Christi festivities, when statues from a church, dressed in their finest, would often be brought outside to receive and to give respect to other statues as they were all carried on a specific religious circuit around town. Here the purple color of the field, when combined with Inca elements intended to convey the concept of royalty or monarchy (the *abuaqui* and *tocapu*, for example), left no question that this tunic, with its miniature size and outstanding physical traits, was a garment fit for an infant king.⁵

EP



1. Some of the earliest known miniature garments have been found in Peru's Paracas Peninsula, including embroidered mantles dating to between 500 B.C. and A.D. 300. See, for example, Brommer 1988, p. 43, fig. 5. Many miniature garments from various cultures are presently in the collection of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología, e Historia del Perú, Lima. In the Qoyllor Rit'i ceremony outside of Cuzco, celebrated every year in June, miniature garments are still made and offered to the Virgin Mary. See Michelsen (1996) 1997, pp. 121–30.
2. For a discussion of statues of *chancas* (lineage gods) and *conopas* (personal gods of fecundity) that were dressed and maintained, see Mills 1997, p. 75. See also MacCormack 1991.
3. See Decoster 1997 and Silverblatt 1988; see also Michelsen (1996) 1997.
4. See Schenone 1998, pp. 117–19, and Mujica Pinilla et al. 2003.
5. These traits also link this *uncu* to a group of royal Inca-style colonial tunics with similar attributes (see cat. nos. 26, 27).



91

91. *Crown of thorns*

Attributed to Marcos del Carpio (active 1741–57)

Arequipa, ca. 1760

Gold, emeralds, topazes, and other precious, semiprecious and imitation stones

3½ x 4¾ in. (9 x 12 cm)

Arzobispado de Arequipa

REFERENCES: Esteras Martín 1993, no. 30;

Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, pp. 192–93.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1997, no. 54.

In Peru, especially in the Highlands and the Altiplano, religious sculptures were often highly dramatic, displaying signs of blood and pain. Crowns of thorns for figures of Christ Crucified and the *Ecce Homo* were often made not from the same materials as the sculpture but rather of silver or gold, depending on the importance of the image. Always, however, there was an attempt to heighten the realism of the crown by endowing it with long, sharp thorns that would visually underscore the suffering of Jesus in the Passion. The famous Christ of the Earthquakes in the Cathedral of Cuzco had two magnificent crowns of

thorns. One was a gift from Viceroy Príncipe de Esquilache (stolen some years ago) and the other, made about 1745 by the Cuzco silversmith Gregorio Gallegos, was enriched with tiny diamonds.

This crown of thorns, from the Cathedral of Arequipa, follows the traditional model in its circular form and use of thorns. It is, however, unusual in that the crown is conceived as a braid composed of twisted cords joined side by side in closed circles. Florets between the volutes and small flaming leaves in the exterior angles of the festoons add a decorative note, as do the stones, some precious and semiprecious, some imitations replacing missing originals, mounted in various places within the cords.

In the 1817 inventory of the goods of the cathedral, there is a precise description of this crown and the precious stones that adorned it along with a statement that it belonged to the venerated image of the Christ of Charity. The document makes no note of the artist responsible for the crown, but I have concluded that it may have been the famous Arequipa silversmith Marcos del Carpio.¹ My assumption is based on the fact that this outstanding master produced important pieces in both

silver and gold, signifying that he was permitted to work in both metals and thus was a silversmith who had passed the guild examinations in both. This conjecture is supported by the record of the many commissions Carpio received from the cathedral, among them orders for such notable pieces as a gold crown for the Virgin of the Assumption and a lamp for the Christ of Charity (which has disappeared). Since he was charged with executing the latter figure, we can presume that he also received the commission for its crown. Moreover, Carpio made important pieces for the convent of La Merced in Arequipa, which houses a silver crown of thorns that is similar to the present one except for its medium.

I once dated this work to 1760–70 based on the style of the vegetal ornament, which has a rococo fluidity. However, if Carpio is the artist responsible, it would date before 1757, the year he wrote his will and after which time little is heard of him. Because of the doubts surrounding the crown's authorship, however, I would date it a little later, to about 1760.

CEM

1. For a biography and catalogue of his work, see Esteras Martín 1993.

Embellishing the Andean Church

By the turn of the seventeenth century local Catholic Christianities had become a vibrant component of life across much of the Andean region. In as highly interactive a colonial heartland as the Andes, what was foreign was not necessarily worthless or feared, and many aspects of Christianity appealed to Indians because of their *unfamiliarity*, their perceived ability to summon powers from “outside.” Christian devotion had been incorporated into the daily lives of many native communities. As scholar Peter Brown has noted, in early colonial times the churches themselves, the physical buildings, were for many the triumphant “arguments in stone” of a new apostolic age. Yet the earliest church structures, as well as their more permanent successors, were often built by indigenous hands and decorated in the distinctive style that evolved in the region. Many more “arguments” await within the portals of Andean churches. As much as any symbolically placed building or imposing facade, a soaring gilt altarpiece decked with liturgical silver, or a lavishly robed Marian image, is the visual expression of a strict and approved devotion. And however European in form and function they may first appear, these altars and their embellishments are in many cases also products of the indigenous hand and imagination, produced at the behest of native communities. The indigenous hand can be seen as well in the woven furnishings of the Andean church, from the tapestry carpet on the floor of the altar to the cloths used in the service. Inventories of native churches throughout the region, particularly those conducted after the devastating earthquake of Cuzco in 1650, include an astonishing array, given the poverty of the communities, of objects in gold and silver, tapestry, and gilt wood that were kept safeguarded in the anterooms of the church when not in use.

Silver was used profusely to furnish cathedrals and conventual churches in major cities and also in small Altiplano *doctrinas* where natives were brought together to be indoctrinated into the Roman Catholic faith and where they gathered in lay religious associations devoted to sacred images. Massive processional paraphernalia were made of silver, as were traditional Spanish-style liturgical objects such as the chalices and monstrances used to offer the

mass. The precious metal’s plenitude also sparked the development of forms that went far beyond the traditions of Europe. Throughout the viceroyalty, altars beneath elaborate ceiling-high gilt wood retables were adorned with intricately embossed silver frontals and silver trappings. As richly ornamented in native parishes as in cathedrals, the frontals are emblematic of the colonial style, embossed with webs of strapwork and foliage that shelter a virtual bestiary of real and fantastic creatures much like those in the tapestry weavings of the region. Also among the most distinctive in the colonial repertoire are the dense designs on the silver lecterns, plaques, and tabernacles that played a role in the mass and on other, merely decorative accoutrements like the *mayas*, or floral plaques, mounted at the rear of the altar. Reflecting the golden light of myriad candles, the silver created in church interiors a luminous aura reminiscent of the gold-sheathed Temple of the Sun described by the early chroniclers. The embossed images of lush flora and exotic birds conjure up semitropical regions far from the Highlands where so many of the churches stood.

Uneven evangelizing and sporadic campaigns of extirpation rarely managed to unseat the many less-monitored forms of Andean Christian devotion. The continuous juxtaposition of visible authority and more clandestine local initiative is best described as a creative tension. “Conversion” and “spiritual conquest of Indians” are thus inadequate summaries of the processes by which local Christianities emerged in the Andes. Even if a singular Spanish Catholic faith with definable precepts and practices could have been transplanted from the Iberian Peninsula to the southernmost viceroyalty of the Indies, control of that hypothetical faith’s dimensions would have been quite another matter. What did occur was more fissiparous still. An unstable set of Catholic beliefs was loosed gradually among diverse peoples who received certain aspects readily, remade many more, and resisted what did not fit or appeal. The development of Andean Christianities is not one story but several, told or more often lived by people who frequented places as different as a convent church in Jauja and a parish on the skirts of the rich silver-laden mountain of Potosí.

KM

92. *Altar frontal*

Cuzco, before 1736

Silver on wood armature, partially gilt, repoussé and chased, with burnished punchwork

H. 41 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (105 cm), L. 110 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (280 cm)

Arzobispado de Cuzco

REFERENCES: Tord 1977, p. 38; Esquivel y Navia 1980, vol. 2, p. 257; Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, p. 123.

Beginning in the seventeenth century, altar frontals, among all the various ecclesiastical furnishings, began to play an increasingly important role in the Catholic liturgy, especially in cathedrals. This prominence was the fruit of the Counter-Reformation, which after the Council of Trent (1545–63) sought liturgical renewal and greater worship of the Eucharist and the altar. The latter eventually became the interior focal point of the church; the sacrarium (the vessel containing the sacred Host) was the “protagonist,” but it was surrounded by spectacular silver side pieces. In the Andean region, such altar frontals never failed to “dress up” and dignify the altar table where the priest said mass.

In the city of Cuzco and the surrounding region silver altarpieces were essential in all churches regardless of size or relative importance. Many were constructed after the terrible earthquake that devastated the city in 1650, particularly under the patronage of Bishop Mollinedo (r. 1673–1699), who erected numerous churches and provided them with magnificent silver pieces and many other works of art. During Mollinedo’s tenure silverwork flourished in Cuzco, laying the aesthetic foundations of the craft for the entire Baroque period.

The formal structure of this altar frontal is a typical Cuzco model: an inverted U without a socle. Its exterior and interior borders are marked by convex molding, customary on all Baroque altar frontals from Cuzco to La Paz. In the center of the main, rectangular panel is a heart-shaped cartouche with a crown that serves as a frame for appliquéd figures of the Holy Family. Along with Jesus, who is accompanied by Mary and Joseph, are the Virgin’s parents, Saint Joachim and Saint Anne; the Holy Spirit presides over the scene. On

either side, and organized according to a rigorously bilateral symmetry, is a section of flat vegetal bands with interlacing scrolls, horns of plenty, and abundant flowers, with an angel/siren at the center. To create a compositional link between the two lateral scenes, a horizontal band runs from one side to the other, passing through the jaws of four facing “green masks” (*máscaras verdes*).

The front and side panels follow the same decorative scheme, with intertwining shoots and bands. On the side panels, in addition to horns of plenty and fruit laden with seeds are raptors and angel/sirens. On the the upper band of the front panel are monstrous heads, a pair of nude angels, and a centrally placed shield, all crowned with a cherub. The decoration appears to be repoussé in medium relief, with generous outlines and a very dense ornamental composition. A dense stippled background helps set off some of the motifs.

The frontal is neither technically nor ornamentally distant from the prototypes executed in the time of Mollinedo. We can clearly see the European engraving repertoire used in the silver workshops of Cuzco at that time, here reworked and

interpreted in the process of adapting them to Andean tastes. These adapted traditions are evident not only in this piece but in later works as well, some dating to the second half of the eighteenth century. For example, we find bands of strapwork used as the organizing principle for compositions, large angels with indigenous facial features, hair treatments based on circular segments, horns of plenty, vegetal (or green) masks, and angels/sirens—all elements found in three altar frontals given by Mollinedo to the Cuzco churches of San Cristóbal (Saint Christopher) and Belén (Bethlehem) and to the La Linda chapel in the cathedral.

In the midst of this traditional repertoire of images is a singular motif: complete, almost nude angels whose sexual parts are covered only by a scroll of fabric beneath swollen abdomens. The motif is found in several other pieces placed in some of the churches on the old Inca royal road, in the direction of Puno (for example, the altar frontal in the Church of Checacupe) and the Lake Titicaca region. Another novel element in this type of Cuzco piece is the corner placement—between the front



panel and the start of the side panels—of a cherub head crowned by a scallop shell with two pairs of open wings. This iconography may be a free interpretation of a grotesque figure in Bernardino Radi's *Disegni* (1618–19). It appears on several altar frontals in Puno area churches, such as the one in Ayaviri, and without the scallop shell it is a common device in Altiplano altar frontals (such as those in Pomata, Umachiri, Callapa, Carabuco, and Tiahuanaco) used to emphasize the visual transition in corner areas.¹

The fact that this frontal was carved expressly to be displayed on the altar of the Church of the Holy Family is confirmed by the central device, whose motif represents the subject of the church's dedication. To frame this iconography, the artist chose a heart-shaped shield seen on only two other altarpieces: one in the Church of Quiquijana (near Checacupe) and one in the chapel of the Virgin of Choqonchaka in the Cuzco cathedral. The Church of the Holy Family, attached to the Cuzco cathedral on the gospel (left) side, was built between 1723 and 1735 and consecrated by Bishop don Juan de Sarricolea upon completion. The church apparently lost no

time in acquiring appropriate furnishings, since Diego de Esquivel y Navia writes in *Noticias cronológicas* that in November 1735 the church already had a silver altar frontal, among other pieces.² Thus it must have been carved before 1736, and it certainly does not date from 1745, as stated by Luis Enrique Tord (based on a misinterpretation of Esquivel y Navia).³

Nothing is known about the creator of the piece, but he must have been one of the silversmiths who worked for the cathedral during the important period when Bishop Serrada commissioned the carving of the imposing shrine of Corpus Christi (1731). Still, there is no artistic connection between the shrine and the frontal, which are clearly the works of two different artists. We could consider Gregorio Gallegos (act. 1715–69⁴) as the author of the piece based on his fame in Cuzco and because, among other important pieces he executed for the cathedral, he carved the golden crown of the Señor de los Temblores (Our Lord of Earthquakes) and the enameled monstrance with precious stones given by Bishop don Pedro Morcillo y Auñón (1745). Other than a single pair of monstrances there are no

known works by him, however, which for the time being stymies any hypothesis that he was the author of this frontal, since we have no idea how he might have conceived an altar frontal (or any other piece—missal stand, chest, tabernacle, etc.), given that what remains of his work does not evidence his particular tastes in ornamentation, composition, or technique. Regardless of whether this frontal is the work of this master or another, it is certainly a very beautiful piece, a prime example of the artistic quality that unfolded in the golden age of Cuzco silverwork under the aegis of Bishop Mollinedo.

CEM

1. The motif can also be found on an altar frontal that until recently was in a private collection in Argentina (it was stolen and its whereabouts are now unknown). See Madrid 1997, no. 22. For the altarpieces in Carabuco and Tiahuanaco, see Esteras Martín 1982, pp. 209–16, and ills.
2. "Tiene frontal de plata, mayas [sic], blandones y otras alhajas; y una lámpara de plata y otra de cristal, que dio, en 20 de marzo de 1745, el marqués de Valleumbroso don José Pardo y Figueroa" (It has a silver altar frontal, *mayas*, candlesticks and other treasures; and one silver



and another glass lamp given by the marqués de Valleumbroso, don José Pardo y Figueroa, on March 20, 1745.) Esquivel y Navia 1980, vol. 2, p. 257. Later he notes: "Sábado 20 de marzo [1745], envió el marqués de Valleumbroso para la iglesia de la Sagrada Familia una lámpara de cristal en 288 piezas" (On Saturday, March 20 [1745], the marqués de Valleumbroso sent a crystal lamp in 288 pieces to the Church of the Holy Family); *ibid.*, p. 321.

3. This can be inferred, because one need only read Esquivel's first paragraph, and read it incorrectly, to believe that what was given was the altar frontal instead of the crystal lamp. See Tord 1977, p. 38.
4. In 1715 he was already a master silversmith, and in 1769 he was commissioned to execute a monstrance for a church in Zumaro, an annex of Chinchaypucyo (Cuzco, Departmental Archive, Public Notary Matías Ximénez Ortega, 1715, fols. 10, and Archive of the Archbishop, *Libro de Fábrica de Chinchaypucyo* [province of Abancay], 1769, fol. 40v–49r). According to Vargas Ugarte (1947, p. 406), he was 66 in 1747, which indicates he was born in 1681.

93. *The Creation of Eve*

Southern Andes, early 17th century
Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft
104 × 98⁷/₈ in. (264 × 251 cm)
Círculo de Armas, Buenos Aires

EX COLL.: given to Francisco Madero, 1841; donated by his granddaughter to the Círculo de Armas in 1937

REFERENCES: Buenos Aires 1934, p. 80; Buenos Aires 1939, pp. 64–65; Buenos Aires 1948, p. 83; Furlong 1969, p. 734; Buenos Aires 1986–87, p. 51; Antwerp 1992, p. 455; Iriarte 1992, pp. 82, 95, 98, 102; Buenos Aires 1999, p. 19 and cover ill.

EXHIBITIONS: Buenos Aires 1934, no. 418; Buenos Aires 1939, no. 85; Buenos Aires 1948, no. 258; Buenos Aires 1986–87; Antwerp 1992, no. 283; Buenos Aires 1999.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with single-interlocking joins, some dovetailing joins, eccentric wefts, and lazy lines. **Warp:** cotton \wedge 25 per in. (cream), varies across width of tapestry with some $\wedge\wedge$ doubled and plied.¹ **Weft:** camelid \wedge 86–102 per in. (pink, blue, white, purple, gold, and brown); areas with two colors composed in various ways: a 2-ply yarn of each color

used together $\wedge\wedge$; a single yarn and a 2-ply yarn used together $\wedge\wedge$; a single yarn of each color plied together (blue and white, red and white, brown and white, and brown and blue). **Selvages:** warp and weft selvages not preserved.² **Condition:** old repairs; worn areas; soiled overall.³ **Weaving sections:** six; five range in width from 13³/₈ to 15³/₄ in., sixth is 29³/₈ in. wide. Three of the ridges that define the sections extend from border to border; the other two exhibit jumps in their courses (line strays by several warps).

Among extant colonial tapestries, *The Creation of Eve*, together with *King David* (cat. no. 94) and *The Original Sin* (fig. 76), are the only known examples of a narrative set. The overall pictorial scheme and the iconographic complexity of these three works (there were probably more in the original series) reveal an important trend to emerge in colonial art: a link between the worlds of painting and weaving. Stylistically, these tapestries are very close to Peruvian Mannerist mural painting of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as represented by painting cycles in the churches of Andahuaylillas, Sangarara, Oropesa, and Juli, among others. Particularly they share a certain static quality in the composition; a lack of spatial depth; draped figures indicated by a few pronounced lines; a simplification of the planes of light and shadow; an eloquence of the hands and the glances; and a strong linear character emphasized by contrasting outlines (see, for example, Diego Cusi Guamán's murals for the baptistry of Sangarara and the paintings of Luis de Riaño in Andahuaylillas). There are also shared iconographic elements among the mural paintings and the tapestries, including angels interspersed among vegetal volutes and small animals and the masks of "green men" repeated in the friezes and borders of the mural cycles, all part of a typically Mannerist vocabulary. The depiction of the image of God in the tapestries can also be found in mural painting: white-haired, with a blue tunic and red cloak, peering out between rounded clouds.

These similarities would seem to suggest that Mannerist painters were commissioned to render the cartoons for these tapestries. Because there are so few examples of narrative colonial tapestries, however, it

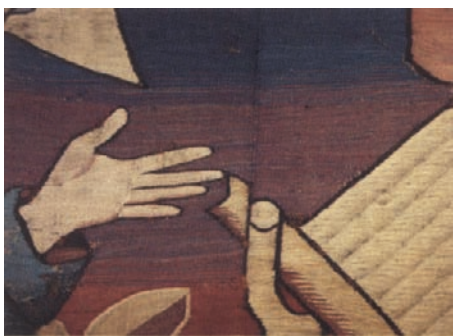
is difficult to establish more precise relationships with the murals. José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert have noted that mural painting was a substitute for more expensive forms, such as *guadamecías* (paintings on leather), hangings, and "wall drapery," or tapestries, that appear in documents in Cuzco dating from the second half of the sixteenth century.⁴

It is likely that the complete tapestry series to which this work originally belonged did not include the Creation of Adam, as Mexican mural cycles depicting the Postrimerías (a visual program including the Final Judgment and scenes from the Apocalypse and Genesis) also omitted this theme.⁵ Those in Xoxoteco and Actopan, for example, which were created under the auspices of the Agustinians in the mid- to late sixteenth century, present instead the Creation of Eve and Original Sin. The Creation of Eve was a more common theme in Christian art because it prefigured the theme of the Birth of the Church from the pierced side of Christ on the cross.⁶ In this tapestry, two unexpected elements were added to the traditional iconography of the Creation of Eve: Adam's tunic, and the manger, neither of which corresponds to any aspect of the biblical story. Rather, both are reminiscent of Renaissance representations of "primitive" man and the early stages of humanity.

The animals in this scene do not seem to have been simply an anecdotal complement to the main subject. Their peaceful cohabitation underscores the state of innocence before sin, in stark contrast with the violent behavior of the animals in the tapestry of *The Original Sin*. One twelfth-century scholastic doctrine linked the Fall of humanity with the theory of the four "humors," each represented by an animal. Sin, the doctrine proposed, subjected humans to an imbalance produced by a predominance of one of the humors.⁷ Perhaps these parallels were known to Martin de Vos, a sixteenth-century Flemish painter whose prints were often used as sources by colonial painters, as animals abound in his etchings that depict scenes of paradise.⁸ Although the differences between his works and the *Creation of Eve* are sufficient to rule out that this tapestry is an exact copy, similarities in many of the animals (in



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93, detail

some cases identical stances) suggest that there is some correlation here, especially between the rabbit, serpent, elephant, camel, tortoise, and one of the dogs.

The elephant beside Eve and the iguana (?) under the manger are remarkably creative interpretations of these exotic animals by the weavers, especially in terms of their volume and surface texture. For the elephant, the weavers incorporated almost the entire color palette

used throughout the rest of the tapestry: seven colors in alternating light and dark lines, with an additional four tones created by combining two colors into one yarn. In the body of the iguana, the linear modeling of the elephant is replaced by a completely different solution. To render the surface of this scaled reptile, diagonal splotches of two shades of lilac are used, a texture found nowhere else in the tapestry.

The early date proposed for this group of tapestries is based on stylistical comparisons with the early Peruvian mural paintings. It is also based on the assumption that the complexity of the task and the quality with which it was achieved would have required weavers with the kind of versatility that results from rigorous training, as the former Inca *cumbicamayos* or their immediate descendants would have had. This example has been in Buenos Aires since the mid-nineteenth century. In 1841 it was given to the Argentine Francisco Madero during his political exile in Potosí.⁹ We don't know where the group was made or who commissioned it, but the biblical program, which appears to have been supervised, suggests at least some sort of religious commitment on the part of those who planned the series, which was likely intended to be displayed on the walls of a church or a religious building as an evangelical aid.¹⁰

II

1. Some of these variations in the warp may include //∧ yarns. Near both weft borders there is a stretch of about 12 4/4 in. of warps that are Z-spun, S-plyed, and Z-re-plyed.
2. The borders have not been preserved, but they were probably given a treatment similar to that of the borders of *The Original Sin*, which has warp loops pulled through one another to form a chain. Both the weft and warp selvages were covered with an embroidery in cross-knit loop stitch, similar to that found on Inca tunics, in a sequence of blocks of red and other stripes alternating with plain blocks of red, ocher, and blue.
3. For exhibition purposes the tapestry underwent conservation work in Buenos Aires by Patricia Lissa, textile conservator, which was supported by a donor who wishes to remain anonymous.
4. Mesa and Gisbert 1982, p. 60.
5. This kind of iconographic program was intended to imbue the Indians with the *temor de Dios* (fear of God) and to warn them against the dangers of idolatry and evil. (Sebastián López, Mesa, and Gisbert 1985, p. 185).
6. Réau 1996, p. 96.
7. Panofsky 1982, p. 159.
8. For the relationship between the scenes in this tapestries and Martin de Vos prints, see Iriarte 1992, p. 91 and n. 11.
9. Madero united a group of *unitarios*, or opponents of the Rosas government, who had fled to Bolivia after the death of their leader, Juan Lavalle. Madero's family had been in the min-

ing business in the past, so by the time he lived in Potosí he likely still had relatives or close friends who could have given him the tapestry. He kept it with him throughout his exile and, despite offers to sell, never did. His granddaughter donated it to the Circulo de Armas in 1937.

10. There is a label sewn on the back of the tapestry that reads: "Tapestry made in Cuzco in the XVIIth century. Given as a present to D. Francisco Madero in the year of 1841." Apparently this card was already sewn on the tapestry when it was donated, but the registration of the donation in the Libro de Actas of the Circulo de Armas includes different information: "Hispano-American tapestry, woven in alpaca wool by the Alto Perú Indians in the XVIIth century under the direction of the Fathers of the Compañía de Jesus." It is uncertain how reliable this information is, nevertheless it has since become part of the "history" of the object.

94. King David

Southern Andes, early 17th century
Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft
H. (warp direction) 109½ × 100 in. (278.1 × 254 cm)
Private collection
NOT IN EXHIBITION

REFERENCES: Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías 1987, fig. 362 and ill. opposite p. 300; Iriarte 1992, pp. 84, 87.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with single-interlocking joins, some dovetailing joins, and eccentric wefts. **Warp:** cotton ∧ (cream). **Weft:** camelid ∧ (red, blue, white, purple, gold, yellow, and brown); areas with two colors composed in various ways: a 2-plyed yarn of two colors used together ∧ ∧; a single yarn and a 2-plyed yarn used together \ ∧; a single yarn of two colors plyed together (blue and white, red and white, brown and white, and brown and blue; two shades of yellow).¹ **Selvages:** warp chain-looped on lower edge, cut-and-entered on upper edge; weft selva present on one side (four selva cords at left side, two cords used together). Right side is worn.

Scenes from the life of King David are common in fourteenth- to sixteenth-century European tapestries, particularly as the storyline represented a justification for monarchy by divine right.² In this tapestry,

the detailed biblical story of David and Bathsheba is reduced to two scenes: Bathsheba bathing, contemplated by a young David from the balcony of his palace, and God pardoning the penitent kneeling king. Episodes related to the other two biblical protagonists—Uriah, Bathsheba's husband, and the prophet Nathan—were omitted.

We are presented with two iconographic models for David: the young man without a beard, and the bearded king with a harp, also known as the author of the Psalms. These were the most widespread representations, but traditionally the story of Bathsheba was linked to the adult king while the image of the young man was limited to his time as a shepherd. It is possible that the absence of a beard here is meant to indicate the chronological sequence of the narrative.

In deference to modesty, it was a frequent convention in the Middle Ages and even among certain Renaissance painters to represent Bathsheba washing only her hands or her feet in order to avoid showing her naked. The nude in the tapestry, then, was probably inspired by contemporary sources. Her beauty (as noted in the Bible) is here manifested in one of her traditional attributes, luxurious golden hair.³ Young David is dressed in the Spanish style customary for the second half of the sixteenth century, while the great mustache on the older king appears in late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century Peruvian paintings. As he kneels, the older monarch raises his eyes toward God and turns his back on sin, as symbolized by an alligator with threatening jaws. The alligator, which is elaborately rendered here, is not an animal customarily linked to Davidian iconography.

This tapestry, along with *The Creation of Eve* (cat. no. 94) and *The Original Sin* (fig. 76) are presumed to have been conceived and produced as part of a larger set, an inference based on the thematic relationships among the three, and the consistency of their measurements, borders, and overall narrative structure. Together they define no one iconographic program, however; although Genesis themes such as the Creation of Eve and Original Sin are typical of the painted cycles on the Postrimerías, King David is not. Of the three extant tapestries in the set, this example presents the



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most complex composition. The scene reads as somewhat archaic because of its multiple points of view, the abrupt incline of the ground, and the incongruence between the sizes of the figures and that of the architecture, with most of the elements deployed in planes parallel to the tapestry's surface, like successive theatrical backdrops. The same artist must have been commissioned to make the cartoons for this work and for *The Creation of Eve*, as both tapestries share a formal style as well as some patterns

in the spatial distribution of the scenes. This suggests that the compositions were conceived specifically for this project: in other words, that the artist was mindful of the overall effect of a "set."

The weavers of the series were likely challenged by having to create woven equivalents of European representational conventions completely foreign to their own textile traditions. The Andean penchant for juxtaposing distinct, solid-color areas seems to survive only in the uniform

red of the background and in the black voids in the walls of the palace. Other compositional elements were modulated, to a greater or lesser degree, by various conventions that help to suggest three-dimensionality. For example, the weavers created specific combinations of outlines, shadows, and colors for the diverse material components of the scene, including the architecture, draperies, clouds, water, skin, and plants. The dark lines that define the small bricks in the wall of the palace are all handled the same way: the upper border is illuminated and the left side is shown in shadow, from which detached lines proceed over halftones obtained by the use of wefts yarns combining light and dark colors. David's cloak is made up of three colors—pink, red, and black—that together create the effect of moving from light into shadow; each fold of the garment is made successively darker by fine lines of a new color mixed in with the color of the previous fold.

The greatest variety of shading is found in the rendering of human skin. Areas of solid color are circumscribed to the shadows next to outlines and the highlights on the nose and eyelids are made with areas of solid color. For the rest, the basic ivory is subtly modified by the intermittent introduction of wefts with differentiated textures, made by intentionally using single passes and by introducing bicolor weft yarns whose doubled strands make them thicker. To intensify color the weaver increased the number of bicolor wefts until eventually the ivory was abandoned altogether, such as on the cheeks or the ear of the young David. This treatment of the skin is repeated in the other two tapestries, although there the cheeks and other areas also include lines of pink wefts.

In all three tapestries we can see how the weavers harnessed their technical knowledge to render the designs provided to them. In the process of translating the original media—whether it was a painting, drawing, or some other form—the components of each scene went through a radical transformation. What was probably a form defined by a few brushstrokes or lines in the original drawing was achieved in the woven version by an amazing quantity of smaller, individual elements. To use an

analogy from modern digital photography, if each interlaced yarn defined by the crossing of one weft and one warp is considered a pixel, then this tapestry represents what could be called a “high resolution” version of the original low-resolution model. This process was certainly a factor of the keen visual discrimination of the weavers, who made the tapestry with numerous combinations and variations of yarns, colors, and techniques that are for the most part visible only with magnification. At the same time it reflects their awareness of how processes that are almost imperceptible to a person viewing a work as a whole are critical contributions to the quality and visual impact of the final product.

II

1. The technique used to make the bicolored yarns and the variety of their physical characteristics were employed intentionally by the weavers to achieve subtle shading effects here. This variety is not found in other colonial tapestries.
2. Salet 1980, p. 99.
3. Réau 1996, p. 321.

95. *Sacrarium*

La Paz, ca. 1735
Silver on wood armature, repoussé and chased; oil on copper
32½ × 29½ (83 × 75 cm)
Provenance: Conceptionist monastery of La Paz, Bolivia
Museo de Arte Hispanoamericano Isaac Fernández Blanco, Buenos Aires (185/26-94-01)

EX COLL.: Luis García Lawson, Buenos Aires

REFERENCES: Taullard 1941, fig. 157; Buenos Aires 1969, no. 78; Ribera and Schenone in Munich 1981, no. 92; Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, pp. 172–73.

EXHIBITIONS: Buenos Aires 1969, no. 78; Munich 1981, no. 92; Paris 1986, no. 40; Madrid 1997, no. 45.

This sacrarium was conceived as an architectural faux facade. The semi-circular niche is closed off by two doors that bear an Annunciation scene framed by

twisted flowering branches, some of which end in grotesque heads. The theme is repeated on the door jambs and the spandrels above the arch of the door. The two columns that flank the niche are vaguely Solomonic, an effect achieved with winding bands of foliage alternating with smooth whorls. The large crest, which is surmounted by a scallop shell, recalls a curvilinear pediment, but here the silhouette is exaggeratedly sinuous. In the center of the pediment is a glass-framed painted image of the head of Christ crowned with thorns and resting on an altar. The silverplate surface of the sacrarium is densely covered with representations of intertwined stems, leaves, and fleshy flowers, two lively nude angels, and the head of a cherub.

This piece was acquired from the Conceptionist nuns of La Paz on October 8, 1917, when it belonged to their convent, which by now has been dismantled. Judging from the style and decoration, there is no doubt that this sacrarium is the work of a silversmith in La Paz or the surrounding region. Although it reveals affinities with the *gradillas* (small stepped platforms on the back of the altar) of the Cathedral of La Paz and with the altar frontals of Calamarca (ca. 1728) and Viacha (1735) by the Bolivian silversmith Manuel Ordóñez, the most telling parallels are with the sacrarium in the La Paz cathedral. Like this example, the La Paz piece depicts the moment when the angel Gabriel tells Mary she will be the mother of God (a scene rarely portrayed on sacrariums). Moreover, the scene is similarly composed in the two works: the two figures are placed in a private setting (a bedroom), with Mary kneeling before a table and the Angel Annunciate holding a branch of lilies. The dove of the Holy Spirit appears above Gabriel, and at the right are open curtains that reveal a canopied bed. In each image close attention was paid to the floor paving, with the tiles arranged to lend the picture a sense of depth. On the floor in each image is a vase of lilies, the obligatory reference to the purity of Mary. The La Paz sacrarium, like this one, is surmounted by a scallop shell, a culminating element that is frequently seen on ornamental plaques (*maríolas*) from the Altiplano.

The silversmith's ornamental vocabulary, particularly his fully Baroque style and





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his free rendering of architectural elements as well as his choice of architectural details, such as the arch interrupting the entablature and the supports without bases or capitals—point to a date of about 1735.

CEM

96. Arch

Cochabamba or La Paz, ca. 1735
 Silver, repoussé and chased; oil on copper
 42½ x 46½ in. (107 x 118 cm)
 Museo de Arte Hispanoamericano Isaac
 Fernández Blanco, Buenos Aires
 (146/26-83-10)

REFERENCES: Taullard 1941, fig. 156; Buenos Aires 1969, no. 155; Ribera 1970, no. 146; Ribera and Schenone in Munich 1981, no. 79; Paris 1986, pp. 58–59; Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, pp. 174–75.

EXHIBITIONS: Buenos Aires 1969, no. 155; Munich 1981, no. 79; Paris 1986, no. 27; Madrid 1997, no. 46.

This ornamental frame is in the shape of a slightly flattened semicircular arch. The edges are decorated: the inner with openwork, the outer with a border of

vegetal, C-shaped motifs. The entire surface is covered with repoussé decoration organized along a rigorously symmetrical axis. Natural subjects predominate, with creeping leafy stalks that envelop flowers and fleshy buds arranged around eight circular medallions bearing Instruments of the Passion (nails, crown of thorns, hammer and pincers, robe, lantern, column, and ladder). From the greenery emerge figural elements: little cherub heads, a pair of nude angels, a pair of semigrotesque male busts, two foliate men (*hombres follajes*) clothed in floral volutes, and various birds. Over the keystone of the arch is a painting with a bust-length image of Christ.

The only documentary information we have about this piece was furnished by Alfredo Taullard in 1941, but some of this is either confused or erroneous.¹ According to Taullard, the arch was a gift from don Gervasio León y Medrano and his wife doña Margarita Villacorta to the Church of Our Lady of Candlemas in Tocopaya (Cuzco) on 1 February 1718. The place name should be spelled Tacopaya, but there is no such location in Cuzco; there are villages of that name in Cochabamba (Arche Province) and in Chuquisaca, now Sucre

(Tomina Province), both situated in the inter-Andean region of Alto Perú (Bolivia). If Taullard's other information is correct, the piece must have come from one of those places. Indeed, in terms of ornamental language and style the arch evidences similarities to works created in Bolivia at the high point of the Baroque, so it is possible to consider Cochabamba as a source, especially since the silver produced there is very similar to what was made in La Paz. The arch is also extremely close in type to examples from La Paz, for instance the sacrarium also in the Museo de Arte Hispanoamericano Isaac Fernández Blanco, Buenos Aires.

Not only the place of origin but also the date of 1717 proposed by Taullard is unconvincing: silver decoration of that general period produced in Cuzco and elsewhere on the Collao plateau (Altiplano) was very different in both its forms and technique. The vigorous relief and the febrile undulation of the forms and their seeming confusion on the surface rather suggest an assignment to the end of the first third of the eighteenth century, the same date I propose for catalogue number 95.

I am convinced that this arch, which has been cut down from its original height, adorned the central niche of the second level of an altarpiece in which there was an image, perhaps of the Ecce Homo. This would have been an apt subject in relation to the painting and to other emblems on the arch that clearly refer to Christ's Passion. This theme was often represented on retables in the Andes and the Altiplano; one well-known and similar example is on the altar dedicated to Saint Joseph in the convent of Santa Rosa in Arequipa.²

CEM

1. See Esteras Martín 1997, pp. 174–75.

2. See Esteras Martín 1993, pp. 117–18.

97a, b. Ornamental plaques (*mayas*)

Potosí(?), ca. 1750
Silver, repoussé and chased
H. 28³/₈ in. (72 cm), max. W. 23¹/₄ in. (59 cm)
Collection of Nelly de Blaquier and Carlos
Pedro Blaquier

The popular term for these plaques, *mayas*, derives from their ornamental content, as they resemble the leaves of a plant called *maya*: a leafy perennial with thick, somewhat downy leaves that are narrow at the base and wide and rounded at the other end and that radiate out from the stem in a circle.

Almond-shaped *mayas* were originally attached to wood armatures that allowed

them to be placed upright on the altar, where they emphasized the richness of the display by reflecting incandescent candlelight. At a time when the Counter-Reformation was determined to focus attention on the altar as the center of worship, these ornate, mirrorlike devices would have produced just the desired effect.

Catalogue numbers 97A and 97B constitute a pair and exhibit the same overall formal designs as catalogue number 74. They are somewhat larger, though, and evidence small changes in ornamentation and composition. The same undulating cords are present, with shoots and fleshy flowers loaded with seed, as well as six pairs of birds arranged according to rigorous axial symmetry, but the flowers are not sunflowers, as they are on catalogue number 74, and the birds, which in the other piece are elegant

herons, here are stockier, somewhat less graceful creatures. The small pointed shoots that emerge from the cords are also absent, and the perimeter is not a festoon but a vegetal border of radiating leaves. These two plaques, in other words, are less developed in terms of technical quality and plastic texture, but they exhibit the same general style and were executed in the same period and in the same artistic center, very likely Potosí or one of the other silver centers in Alto Perú.

CEM



97a, b



98a, b

98a, b. Ornamental plaques (*mayas*)

Moxos, ca. 1750
Silver, repoussé and chased
29 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 20 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (74 × 51 cm)
Collection of Nelly Arrieta de Blaquier and
Carlos Pedro Blaquier

EX COLL.: Elisa Peña and Subasta Saráchaga,
Buenos Aires; purchased by current owner
July 13, 1995

Like many others of the type, these thin, elaborately embossed ornamental plaques were removed from the wood armatures that once protected them. They are of almond shape, and the decoration of each is arranged symmetrically around a vertical axis, with the center of the composition placed in the widest area of the piece. Along this axis, from top to bottom, appear a scallop shell, an oblong cartouche with a papal tiara, a mask, and another oblong cartouche with two crossed keys. Corded stem shapes on either side of the cartouches end in fleshy flowers that are distributed over the surface. A pair of birds with rich plumage, their wings spread, pose on a foliate volute and feed on the seeds of a flower. The feeding birds can be seen merely as typical Baroque ornamentation but at the same time they can be understood as

Christian symbols of the Eucharist. They may be birds of paradise feeding on seeds (or grapes), just as the human soul is nourished by the Eucharist.

These plaques have the exact formal structure and decoration as four other known pieces: two formerly in the Buenos Aires collection of Gustavo Muñoz-Barreto (one of which is perhaps the example now in the Museo de Arte Hispanoamericano Isaac Fernández Blanco, Buenos Aires), and two others in the museum of the Cathedral of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. There is one small but curious difference between these four examples and the two in the present exhibition. The crossed keys here are shown with their points up; in the others they are reversed. This reversal has no effect on the overall composition of the decoration and probably represents a simple mistake on the part of the silversmith.

All of these plaques, in my judgment, were created by the same hand or at least in the same artistic center. If this is so, the evidence that places them is provided by the pair now in Santa Cruz de la Sierra; because we know that they came from the now-dismantled Jesuit church of San Pedro de Moxos,² we can argue, by extension, that the other plaques, including the examples in this exhibition, were made at that Jesuit mission. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the central motifs in all the

plaques allude directly to Peter, the titular saint of the church and town of San Pedro, seat of the Moxos missions. The cartouches present two of his attributes: the episcopal tiara with pontifical ornaments and the symbolic keys of heaven.

The plaques can be dated to about 1750, when the Baroque style was at its height. Like other pieces made by the Jesuit-trained silversmiths of Moxos and Chiquitos, the plaques are notable for their structure, particularly the scallop shells at their tops, a plastic solution that echoes elements of the retable (altar) structure and that here suggests a similar, nichelike form.

CEM

1. Munich 1981, no. 86.
2. About 1850 some of the silver that belonged to San Pedro was distributed to various churches in the province and the remainder was auctioned. Perhaps the pieces that reached South American collections came to them through auction.

99. Tapestry with Dominican symbols

Southern Andes, late 16th–early 17th century
Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft
92 × 84 in. (233.7 × 213.4 cm)
Brooklyn Museum, New York (40.134)

EX COLL.: American Art Association 1924,
lot 627, described as “kelim Animal Cover,
Goan, Seventeenth Century”¹

REFERENCES: Zimmern 1943–44, p. 47
n. 131; Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías 1987; Phipps
in Brooklyn–Phoenix 1996–97, pp. 192–93,
ill. on p. 192.

EXHIBITION: Brooklyn–Phoenix 1996–97,
no. 59.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave
with single-interlocking and dovetail joins.
Warp: cotton / 24 per in. (white). **Weft:**
camelid / 74 per in. (natural: white, dark
brown, medium brown, light brown, and
gray; dyed: brownish yellow; blue [indigo]).
Selvages: none preserved. **Condition:** relatively
intact, but with multiple open areas
from insect damage.²



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The palette of natural browns, golds, and black and white (with some accents in blue) that permeates this intricately woven tapestry is indicative of both the austerity of the Dominican aesthetic and the Andean affinity for earthtones, which derived from pre-Conquest veneration of natural *huacas*, such as sacred rocks and trees. A key element in this tapestry that perhaps allows us to determine whether it was commissioned in service to Pachamama, the Earth Mother goddess, or to the one

God of the Dominican order, is the image of a dog with a candle in its mouth discreetly placed in the exact center of the tapestry. This image is a symbol of the Dominican order and represents one story of its founding, in which Saint Dominic's mother dreams about giving birth to just such a spotted dog. Black and white are thus the colors associated with the Dominicans, and they are used here not only in the spotted dog but also in the guard stripes that separate the piece's concentric bands and borders.³

The large central field surrounding the dog is teeming with running animals such as viscachas, rabbits, birds, and possibly lions and is circumscribed by several series of guard stripes and borders enclosing foliated scrolling vines. Other motifs include flowers and floral stems, baskets of fruit, and small urns with flowers. Some treelike flowers have a snake curled up around their stems, recalling the serpent in the Garden of Eden. This same zigzagging snake can be seen in other colonial tapestries, such

as the woman's mantle from Munich (cat. no. 38).

The cardinal points and corners of the main interior border (the widest one) are marked by polychrome urns, which have handles swathed with ribbons that contain flowering vines. Those at the cardinal points are flanked by peacocks, while those at the corners have pairs of confronting lions, both rampant and profile. Other small animals are interspersed among the growing, curling vines and exaggerated flowers. Both the central field and the outer edge are demarcated by a precisely rendered design of lace tabs or lappets. These tabs, outlined with pearl-like roundels containing heart-shaped pendants, are attached to a band with repeating diamond-shaped and floral designs. The lace motif, possibly of a type referred to as "needle lace," appears to have been formed by tapes or solid areas set off in relief. Lace was a favorite motif in colonial tapestries; here it is outlined in black (indicating black lace) and follows a design convention seen in Hispano-Moresque and other kinds of early Spanish laces and textiles from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Although rendered in solidly woven tapestry weave, these lace designs are recognizable as a genre. In a trompe-l'oeil passage typical of Andean weaving, the extreme outer edge of the tapestry contains not only the lappets but also an interstitial design that floats between them, to ensure that the viewer knows they are not real.

Like so many other colonial tapestries, this work was initially misidentified, in this case as "Goa," meaning from Portuguese India. We know that it comes from the Andes not only because of its characteristic design traits but also from the materials and techniques that could only have originated there. The sheen of the tapestry, for example, comes from the luxurious, silklike fibers of vicuña and alpaca, and the range of colors, with a few exceptions, comes from the natural, undyed hairs of these animals. The varieties of naturally occurring colors in Andean camelids range from white and creams to grays, browns, reds, and blacks. Each color and shade has a different traditional name, and camelid herders who tend flocks of hundreds, sometimes thousands of animals recognize their charges through

a complex method of memorizing the patterns of coloration on each one.⁴ While brightly dyed color is important in Andean culture, the tradition of weaving special items using only natural shades persists to this day, especially in regions where textiles are used to create sacred spaces (*mesas*) or prayer surfaces for conducting rituals, or where they are used as wrapping cloths for ritual paraphernalia.⁵

EP

1. Zimmern 1943–44, p. 47 n. 131.
2. Although the tapestry has been heavily restored, previous reweaving was done with obvious care and attention to detail. Restoration yarns have discolored with time; all of the "orange" color visible is repair, which occurs over much of the surface of the tapestry, including at the top, bottom, and side edges.
3. Another colonial tapestry with the Dominican symbol is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (07.845); see Cavallo 1967, pp. 191–92, pl. 58, and Stone-Miller in Boston 1992, pp. 186–87, pl. 70.
4. See Flores Ochoa 1978.
5. See Zorn (1984) 1986, pp. 289–307.

100. *Missal stand*

Cuzco, ca. 1675–1700

Silver on wood armature, repoussé and chased, with burnished punchwork

13 × 15¹/₈ × 10³/₈ in. (33 × 38.5 × 26.5 cm)

Inscribed: *DIO. DE LIMOSNA EL 24 Dn FRANco. CANO*

Museo de Arte de Lima; Gift of the Prado Family

EX COLL.: Prado Collection, Lima

REFERENCES: Museo de Arte de Lima 1992, pl. 75; Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, pp. 118–19.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1997, no. 20.

The abundance of silver in Peru facilitated the creation of silver missal stands there beginning about the sixteenth century, but in Spain silver missal stands were the exception until the mid-eighteenth century. There wood, copper, or iron was usually the material of choice, to avoid making the piece too costly. These stands served as a supports for the open missals priests would read from, which they did, depending on the point in the mass, from either the Epistle (right) side of the church or the Gospel (left) side. Ordinarily the



altar would have a single missal stand of reasonable size and weight, although occasionally (especially in important churches) there would be a pair of stands, usually of good size. The priest could thus avoid carrying the missal stand from one side of the altar to the other, and would have to transport only the missal itself.

Like almost all Peruvian stands dated between the last quarter of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century this piece is constructed from repoussé silver sheets nailed to a wood armature for support. The slanting surface on which the book rested was conceived as a broad, rectangular lectern framed by a vegetal border. In the center of this surface on the present example is a heart-shaped cartouche encircling a cross, which is depicted on a set of steps. Its ornamental composition includes Cs, flat vegetal bands, fruits, rosebud motifs, and a pair of angel-sirens. The front, which is completely vertical and flat, basically repeats the rectangular structure and the frame of the angled plane, although here the embellishment is varied: the scroll is circular, and the base of the ornamental composition is constructed out of S shapes. On the sides, naturalistic, vegetal decoration predominates. At the center of the composition is a flower with petals that form a pinwheel, and in the lower part is an opening that forms a canopied arch, which facilitated carrying the stand. This kind of canopy is found on other missal stands made in the Cuzco area during the eighteenth century, and it can be seen in stands housed in the churches of Urcos, San Jerónimo, and Andahualillas.

Although the stand bears neither marking nor inscription, the metalwork technique, the ornamental imagery, and the decorative composition, which adheres to rigorous bilateral symmetry, leave no doubt that the piece was made in Cuzco. This is based on similarities between these elements and those on other Baroque works carved in Cuzco during the last third of the seventeenth century, the apex of Cuzco's silverworking splendor.

CEM

101. *Missal stand*

Attributed to Luis de Lezana "the Younger"

(1665–1713)

Cuzco, ca. 1702

Silver on wood armature, repoussé and chased

13¾ × 17¾ × 9 in. (35 × 44 × 23 cm)

Inscribed: *DIO, DE LIMOSNA el 24 Dn*

FRANco. CANO

Museo Pedro de Osma, Lima

EX COLL.: Lábarri Collection, Cuzco

REFERENCES: Esteras Martín 1992a, p. 39,

figs. 21, 22; Esteras Martín 1992b, fig. 35;

Esteras Martín 1995a, fig. 391; Museo Pedro

de Osma 1995, p. 158; Esteras Martín in

Madrid 1997, pp. 126–27; Stastny 1997,

p. 191, fig. II-80.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1997, no. 23.

Instead of resting on four feet, this missal stand is placed directly on a base formed by a convex socle. The rectangular front is framed by decoration featuring acanthus and rosebud scrolling motifs, while its center is dominated by a sunburst emblem bearing the initials IHS (Jesus Christ) set within a border with rippling edges from which shoots and leafy volutes with flowers radiate. The rest is rectilinear and forms an

inclined plane above a border bearing sinuous, vegetal designs. Below this is a frieze composed of floral imagery surrounding an oblong, inscribed cartouche flanked by two foliated masked visages.

The engraved inscription refers to the name of the donor, Francisco Cano del Hierro (1682–1707), an Andalusian from Cazalla de la Sierra (province of Seville), who became a judge serving the populace of Cuzco in 1682 and mayor of the city in 1692. Like many naturalized Peruvians who wished to boast of their status, he donated a significant collection of silverwork to the parish in which he was baptized. All of this has been lost, but a remnant of his munificence is preserved in the beautiful altarpiece adorning the parish church of San Jerónimo (a few miles from Cuzco). This altarpiece has taught us something about the donor and also that the renowned silversmith Luis de Lezana the Younger made this Baroque stand; we know that Lezana was responsible for the altarpiece, whose style matches that of the present piece. Thus, we can argue that the missal stand belongs in Lezana's catalogue of works. The date of the stand is probably not far from that



of the altarpiece, which has been posited as about 1702. It is possible that the altarpiece and the stand were part of the same gift to the church. The inscription on this piece is incomplete, suggesting that it was continued on another stand and, further, that there may have originally been two identical lecterns.

This lectern—with its rectangular front, sloping rest, and socle base—embodies a common formula shared by Lezana and contemporaneous masters who worked in Cuzco. Many similar pieces, some successful and some not, can be found in the villages of Huayllabamba and Quiquijana in the department of Cuzco. One example, formerly in the Prado family collection (cat. no. 100), is now at the Museo de Arte de Lima, and another is housed at the convent of La Merced in Cuzco. None, however, displays the high technical and aesthetic quality achieved by the present stand. It is clearly the work of a master of Lezana's stature. And it certainly can be assigned to Cuzco, and to the last third of the seventeenth century, the period of the brilliant florescence of silver craftsmanship in that city brought about by the patronage of the illustrious Bishop Manuel de Mollinedo.

CEM

102. *Missal stand*

Cuzco or Puno, ca. 1700

Silver on wood armature, repoussé and chased, with burnished punchwork

13 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 16 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (34.5 × 43 × 22.5 cm)

Private collection

The front of the stand shows a large-scale portable monstrance flanked by two angels, each swinging a censer and kneeling on a pedestal of clouds. Surrounding these motifs is a dense decoration of stems and leaves in volutes that end in grotesque animal heads; in each upper corner is a cherub's head. The skirt is a rectangular plate framed by foliate molding and dominated by a cartouche bearing the Agnus Dei. A net of sinuous vegetal ribbons, two of which end in grotesque human heads, surrounds the cartouche. This same decoration is repeated on the sides.

Because this piece is decontextualized, with no inscription or marks, any classifica-



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tion depends on a stylistic analysis and a study of the materials and techniques used. The stand reflects the Peruvian Baroque taste of the area around Cuzco, where decoration, often conceived with an evident horror vacui, inundates surfaces with naturalistic motifs that transform into fantastic grotesque shapes. Here these motifs are directly connected with themes used by silversmiths in Sicuani, as demonstrated by the altar frontal from the church there, today in the Poli collection in Lima. The community of Sicuani is located on the old Inca royal road; although it belongs to the department of Cuzco, it is close to the high plateau region of Puno. Formal analysis of the missal stand—the way the apron and side panels are designed, for example—reveals solutions more similar to those of stands found in the Cuzco area than in pieces known to come from the region around Lake Titicaca; among the Cuzqueño types that may be cited are one from Huayllabamba, in the Museo de Arte de Lima (cat. no. 100), and two unpublished examples in the Church of Oropesa. In addition, the manner in which the cartouche with the Agnus Dei is run through by a flat band on

the present stand can be related to a similarly conceived image on an unpublished lectern in Urquillos, and the monstrance-with-angels motif is found on frontals in Huayllabamba and Urubamba (also in the area of Cuzco influence).

These comparisons should be enough to support the hypothesis that this stand was made in one of the Cuzco workshops, which also catered to the valley and a large part of the Highlands; yet no definite conclusion can be reached because Cuzco style influenced the silversmiths of Puno, and it was they who served the churches in the Puno region. We can, however, say that the piece reflects certain iconographic and formal characteristics found in works produced in Cuzco, adding that the silversmith who made it also used decorative elements common to the Peruvian Altiplano. The physiognomy of the chubby angels, with their plump faces and hair in wispy ringlets, is identical to that of the cherubim on a frontal formerly in a private collection that I would also place within those same geographical borders.¹

As for the date, the shallow relief of the decoration and the taste for flat strapwork

intertwined with more animated, vegetal ribbons derive from Mannerist engravings and suggest that the piece was made about 1700. The image of the monstrance alludes to the celebration of the Eucharist, and the presence of the emblem IHS (Jesus Christ) in the center of the monstrance's *sol* seems to indicate that this stand was the property of a Jesuit church.²

CEM

1. See Madrid 1997, no. 22.

2. The Jesuits were established at Juli, a town on the shore of Lake Titicaca, as early as 1576.

103. Missal stand

Attributed to Marcos del Carpio (active 1741–57)

Arequipa, ca. 1740–50

Silver on wood armature, repoussé and chased
11⁷/₈ × 12³/₄ × 9⁷/₈ in. (30 × 32.5 × 25 cm)

Arms: the Mercedarian Order: within an oval shield party per fess, in chief—a cross maltese, in base—five pallets—(or Aragon).

Private collection

REFERENCE: Esteras Martín 1993, pp. 21, 90–93.

Once virtually unknown both within and outside of Peru, silverwork from the city of Arequipa has emerged as a major force in viceregal art. Beginning in the sixteenth century, Arequipan silversmiths had already begun working to meet the growing demands of both civil and religious society, which required furnishings for churches and homes. Their products served the city and its environs, from the Colca Valley to the outskirts of Puno. But Arequipan silverwork reached its zenith only in the eighteenth century, with the triumph of the Baroque during the first half of the century and continuing afterward with the arrival of Rococo tastes. It was precisely at this moment of Baroque plenitude that this missal stand was made, and it constitutes the most notable and undoubtedly the oldest of all Arequipan examples known to date.

The most extraordinary features of the piece derive from its unique decorative expression, not its formal structure, which follows a traditional design (rectangular

front, socle, and sides, with concave scalloping that provides undulating movement). Naturalistic motifs formed of twisted stems and large flowers that curl up with feverish movement reflect the taste for voluptuous, dense vegetation characteristic of this phase of the Baroque. Even more interesting are the figurative elements that reveal the Arequipan silversmiths' Mannerist fantasies and the peculiar ways these are manifested here, as in the foliate masks (green men) arranged on the sides, the vegetal angel-sirens on the corners of the base, and the two fish that serve as canephores, holding baskets laden with fruit in their fangs. Autochthonous traces are evident in the cherubs and naked children, who add local color with their plump faces and circular eyes, pronounced eyebrows, and hair arranged in almond-shaped curls. This sense of "indianization" is underscored by the crest of feathers emerging from the angelic head situated beneath the coat of arms, an unmistakable clue that the stand was the creation of workshops in the southern mountains of Peru. All of the decoration is charged with an exquisite plasticity achieved through dexterous use of repoussé, which enables the motifs to stand out from the ornamental composition despite their compact

character and despite the lack of background stippling typically used to heighten contrasts. The tassled lambrequins that surround the perimeter of the frontal plaque relate this decorative repertoire to embroidery and textile works, in this case transferred to the world of silverwork.

Commissioned expressly for use in the church of the La Merced convent in Arequipa, this stand has long been attributed to the eminent silversmith Marcos del Carpio, who was linked professionally to the convent. There are also substantial similarities between the handiwork evident here and del Carpio's decoration for the frontal in the monastery of Santa Rosa in Arequipa, which not only lends credence to this attribution but leads me to date this work to about 1740–50, the same period the frontal was made. The prominent arms are of the founder of the Mercedarian Order, San Pedro Nolasco (ca. 1179–1256). Although a native of the French Languedoc region, this saint dedicated his hacienda in Barcelona to rescuing Christians captured by the Moors, and it is for this reason that he took the Maltese Cross (the emblem of Barcelona) and the bars of Aragón for the order's coat of arms.

CEM



104. Missal stand

José Murillo (1714–1754)

Quito, 1717

Silver on iron armature, repoussé, chased, and cast

9 × 10⁷/₈ × 10⁵/₈ in. (23 × 27 × 27 cm)

Inscribed: *Soi del Señor Don Santiago de LaRain Caballero del Orden de Santiago Presidente y Cpn. Gl. de Quito / Mando Aser el Señor Presidente y Ca^p General de la Ciudad de San Francisco de Quito. año de 1717. Joseph Murillo mes de septiembre 9*

Arms: per fess in chief, a tree between a horse and a bear rampant, at the dexter and sinister sides a pallet charged with three saltires in pale, and in base, per pale, 1, bendy sinister of five, 2, a bend between two buckles (?) within a bordure chequée.

Private collection

EX COLL.: Larrain Collection, Santiago, Chile

REFERENCES: Ovalle Castillo 1940; Bullrich 1970, no. 200, pl. 26; Ribera and Schenone in Munich 1981, pp. 128–29; Buenos Aires 1983, no. 10; Esteras Martín 1992b, p. XIV, fig. 4; Esteras Martín 1995a, fig. 391; Paniagua Pérez 1996, p. 112; Paniagua Pérez and Garzón Montenegro 2000, p. 161; Kennedy 2000, p. 190.

EXHIBITIONS: Munich 1981, no. 9; Buenos Aires 1983, no. 10.

The sides, back, and rest of this stand can be folded into the base, collapsing it to minimal height for easier and safer transport. The central space on the front is dominated by a beautiful coat of arms surmounted by a morion and a voluptuous vegetal lambrequin surrounded by leafy motifs (shoots, leaves, flowers, and fruits) as well as horns of plenty and birds. The rest of the decoration is naturalistic, with shoots that form scrolls ending in birds, flowers, and grotesque animal heads issuing from foliated masks. The triangular sides of the stand are decorated with foliate men (*hombres-follajes*) with vegetal-plume head-dresses and leaf tunics. The entire piece rests on four smooth spherical feet.

After it was discovered in 1940, this stand became one of the best-known and highly visible examples of South American silverwork. The attention lavished on the piece derives from its firm attribution to an artist (although some doubts remain), the fact that it is dated, and the fact that it was



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once owned by an important Chilean in the service of the Spanish crown: all information gleaned from the extensive text engraved on the back. Without these inscriptions, this stand, like so many other pieces of South American silverwork, would have remained without any concrete provenance or classification other than an attribution to a vague geographic area, in this instance to the Andean Highlands, based on its decorative imagery.

The inscription confirms that it was produced not for a donation or act of piety but for use by its owner, Santiago de Larraín y Vicuña, presiding judge of the royal court and *capitán general* of Quito. If the piece had been intended for use in a church, no mention of ownership (“Soi del Señor. . .”) would have been included in the inscription, but it still might have been engraved with a coat of arms. The stand remained among the furnishings of the Larraín family of Chile, transferred by inheritance from one generation to the next, until it was sold in Buenos Aires in 1970. This history supports the other evidence that it was made to be used in the Larraín family chapel.

We have considerable information about the artist who made this piece, José de Murillo. We know that he was commissioned to produce various works as a member of the silversmith guild of Quito, in which he held the position of master silversmith (1722–53) and overseer, or *veedor* (1729–54). He also belonged to the confraternity of Saint Éloi (1722–48) in the same city. Although archival sources document numerous works completed by Murillo—such as the bier used at San Eloy, which he paid for out of his own pocket—this stand is the only piece attributed to him that has survived.

The technique, formal structure, and ornamentation can be defined as High Baroque, and the engraved date, 1717, situates it within this period. The stand is noteworthy for the plasticity of its motifs, as evidenced in the clarity of the design, which lends it a nearly three-dimensional presence even though the background remains smooth, burnished, and uncluttered. The Andean taste for fantasy is reflected in the choice of ornamental imagery, which follows certain Mannerist prototypes even though it was produced

during the Baroque period. These include the transfigured forms such as grotesques and foliate men, popular motifs in the territory that extended from Quito to Potosí.

CEM

105. *Sacring plaques (sacras)*

Cuzco(?), ca. 1775

Silver on wood armature, repoussé, chased, and engraved

16½ × 12¾ in. (42 × 31.5 cm)

Museo de Arte de Lima; Gift of the Prado Family

EX COLL.: Prado Collection, Lima

REFERENCE: Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, pp. 208–9.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1997, no. 62.

Plaques inscribed with sacred words—called *sacras* (from the Latin *sacer* or *sacro*, meaning holy or consecrated)—were placed above the altar to allow the priest to read some of the prayers and other parts of the Mass without referring to the missal. There were generally three of these rectangular sheets; the central one, which was usually the widest, contained the words of the Consecration; the left plaque was inscribed with the Epistle and the Gospel; and the plaque on the right contained the opening of the Gospel of Saint John.

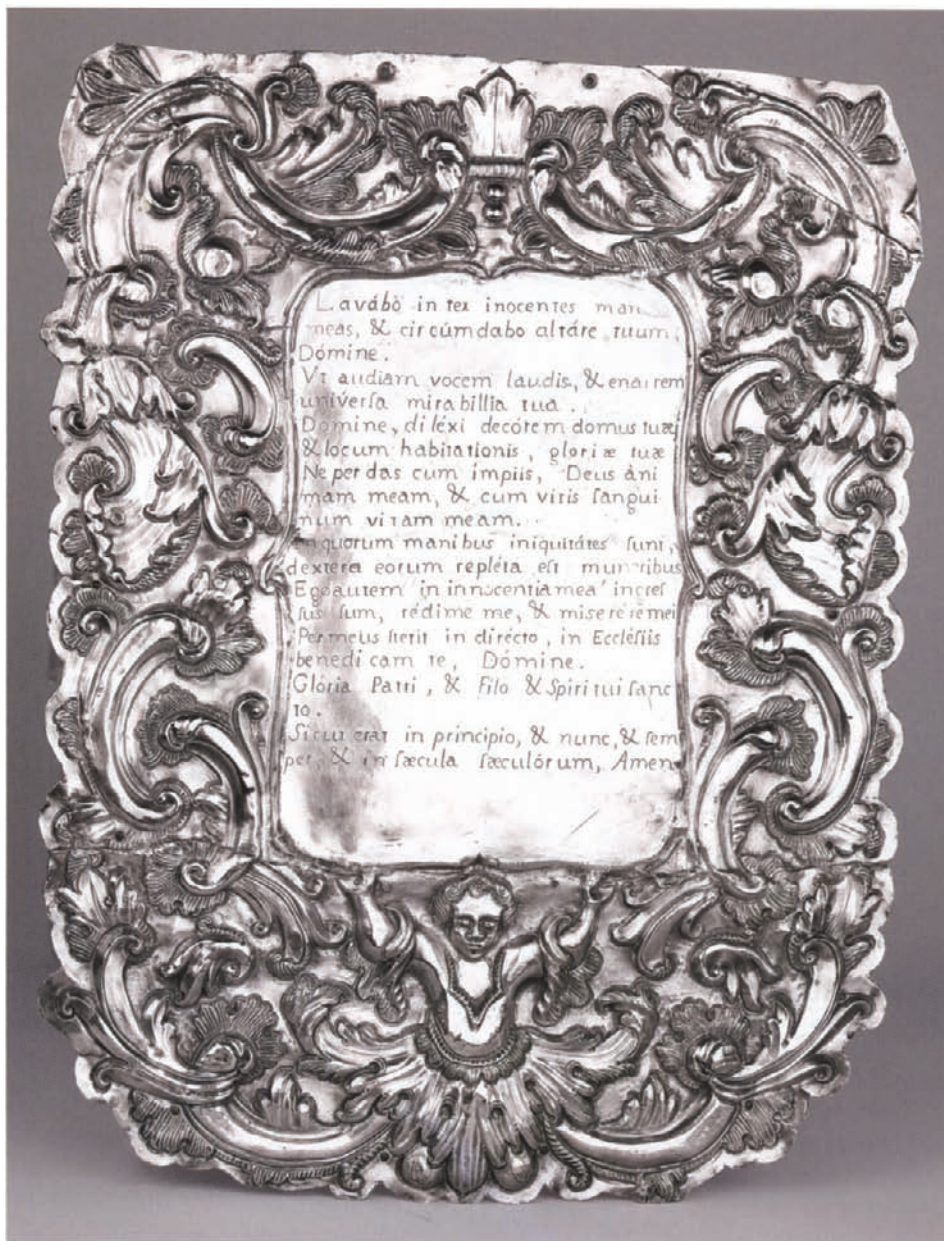
This example is one of an identical pair that were placed to the left and right of the officiant. They are vertical and made of sheets of silver nailed to wood armatures. The central space of each is engraved with Latin text. The most interesting feature of such plaques is the surrounding frame. The frames here are ample and intricately embellished with large symmetrically distributed C-shaped vegetal motifs and an atlantid in the center of the lower portion. This is a grotesque figure, a conflation of human and vegetal features, who fulfills the assigned function of the “atlantid” by seeming to support the inscribed tablet with his extended arms. In the present plaques, he is positioned frontally, wearing a shirt with voluminous sleeves and a skirt

made of foliage with two shoots that extend like coiled tails. Thus he is not only an atlantid but also symbolizes a siren. This dual version of a foliate man as both atlantid and siren was very popular in the Baroque imagery of Andean Peru (from Cajamarca to Arequipa) and the Altiplano region (around Lake Titicaca). The motif must have been inspired by European engravings that circulated throughout the Americas in the form of book covers or plates. The figures on these plaques display parallels with the 1532 grotesques of the

Italian Perino del Vaga (1501–1547).

Determining the artistic center where the plaques were made is not a simple task, although they show distinctive elements pointing to the Highlands or Altiplano region. Given the similarity to several *sacras* preserved at the parish church of Yucay (Urubamba Valley, Cuzco), we might conjecture that they were produced by the silversmiths of Cuzco. The rocaille vegetal motifs situate the work somewhere in the 1770s.

CEM



106. Sacring plaque (*sacra principal*)

Southern Highlands, 1779
Silver on wood armature, embossed and incised
22½ × 25⅝ in. (57 × 65 cm)
Museo de Arte de Lima; Gift of the Prado Family

EX COLL.: Prado Collection, Lima

Compared to catalogue number 105, a pair of lateral sacring tablets with prominent *hombres follajes* and a melange of vigorously embossed naturalistic foliate scrolls, this single tablet, meant to sit in the center of the altar, evidences the progression of the Rococo style into the indigenous communities of the Highlands. Its border of broken reverse curves encloses a playful if somewhat misunderstood array of even more prominently featured rocaille motifs: a number of regularly disposed

C-scroll ornaments edged with shell-like or leafy patterns. The appearance of the surface is enhanced by the contrast between its polished ornaments and stippled areas of reserve.

The crowning motif is a distinctly Christian emblem: the mystic Lamb reclining on a book (the Apocalyptic seven seals would be included in a more conventional treatment). The scriptural text within the framing ornament begins “hoc est corpus meum” (this is my Body), the central phrase used in the offering of the Eucharistic Host. The remainder of the inscription documents the donation of the object in 1779 by the curate of its *doctrina*, the word used for a parish assembled for the spiritual indoctrination and monitoring of the inhabitants of indigenous villages. Judging from his name, the curate, Bernardo X[J]aio, was a product of the substantial Basque migration to the Spanish viceroalties; documents may yet reveal in which *doctrina* he served at that date.

JH



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107. Holy-water stoup (*benditera*)

Alto Perú or Altiplano, ca. 1775
Silver, repoussé, chased, and cast, with burnished punchwork
H. 11⅞ in. (30 cm), max. W. 8⅝ in. (22 cm)
Collection of Armando Andrade

REFERENCES: Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, pp. 198–99; Stastny 1997, fig. II-168.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1997, no. 57.

Characteristically, this type of stoup, also referred to as a holy-water font, is made up of a somewhat elaborate decorative plaque that is equipped on the bottom with a concave receptacle for holding holy water, used to moisten the fingers before making the sign of the Cross. The present plaque, which is surmounted by a cross, is trapezoidal in shape and edged with intertwined leaves extending from shoots that are arranged in a rigorously symmetrical manner. The principal motif is a youth wearing a long-sleeved shirt and a skirt, apparently a hybrid representation of foliage and a scallop shell. A pair of movable arms extends from the sides of the plaque, designed to be used as candle holders. These have ample pans (to collect candle wax) and polygonal elements that attach them to the plaque. The stoup basin is hemispherical, with three cast handles decorated with foliage and finished with human heads near the rim.

Few colonial stoups have come to light, and some that have been published have been erroneously classified. With no context or marking, these works are of little use in any attempt to classify this piece or others that may appear in the future. The primary formal novelty presented by this piece is the placement of the candle holders. Otherwise, it exhibits the same basic compositional parts as a stoup probably produced in Cuzco and now at the Museo Pedro de Osma, Lima (cat. no. 62), and the example in the Hirsch collection in Buenos Aires: a plaque surmounting a small cross, a hemispherical basin with ornamentation on its lower sides, and perpendicularly attached cast handles. What has changed here is the ornamental vocabulary, which now conforms to Rococo taste, although this is somewhat constrained and subordinate to the central



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figurative element, the true protagonist. This motif, no doubt a Rococo version of the merged foliate man and shell, is an Andean reinterpretation of European grotesques, such as the well-known engravings by Marco Dente da Ravenna (1520) and by the Flemish master J. W. (1530–40), both of which render the male figure frontally with two raised hands grasping coiled shoots.

None of the stoup's formal or iconographic elements establishes its origin,

except that, like so much other silverwork, it displays analogies to the products of the Highlands or Altiplano of Peru. The piece could have been executed in Cuzco or Arequipa as easily as in Puno or La Paz, and to insist on a specific origin without justification is baseless. As for chronology, I would guess that it was made sometime in the 1770s, judging from the rocaille vegetal ornament and its subordination to the figure, which calls to mind similar

treatment of the decoration of other pieces made about that date.

CEM

108. *Tapestry panel with religious symbols*

Southern Andes, 17th–18th century(?)

Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft
24½ × 21 in. (76.2 × 50.8 cm)

Victoria and Albert Museum, London
(T15-1923)

EX COLL.: purchased in Cuzco prior to 1924 along with cat. no. 155; given to Victoria and Albert Museum by Louis Clarke, 1924 (see Kendrick 1925, p. 297)

REFERENCE: Kendrick 1925, pp. 292–97, pl. IIA.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with single-interlocking joins, dovetail, and wedge weave; embroidered edge has overcast stitching. **Warp:** cotton / 22 per in. (beige-white). **Weft:** camelid / 72 per in. (pink [cochineal], purple, blue, white, yellow, reddish brown, light blue, and greenish color; hair is a fuzzy wool, possibly sheep). **Embroidery:** camelid (red). **Selvages:** cut on all four edges, but some remnant of warp loops at top edge. **Condition:** slightly dirty; faded; some missing areas; staining.

Couched in this tapestry panel between symbolic Andean design elements generally not accessible in terms of meaning to a non-Andean audience is a broad-rimmed hat with tasseled cords: a Christian symbol of ecclesiastical rank. This panel might have been used as a seat cover or chair back, with the symbols possibly functioning to identify the occupant.¹ As a work of colonial origin, the panel conflates the symbolic language of Andean geometric abstraction with the literal symbols of Christian church hierarchy. The geometric zigzag design across the top and bottom of the panel, for example, represents the potato flower and vine, a motif known from contemporary native Andean weavings and most frequently found on traditional garments. It is interesting that this notably indigenous design is found on an object that obviously served some ecclesiastical function, and it certainly represents a



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“tolerance,” on the part of the church, for the incorporation of native elements into a tapestry it had commissioned. A fragment of a similar piece in the Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., with related patterning is from Pampamarca, in the southern Andean region (91.253).

A. F. Kendrick described this tapestry panel as having the “insignia of an archbishop—the tasseled hat, mitre, biretta, double cross, pastoral staff and glove.”² The hat is black, however, and with its four tassels it might have indicated the office of a priest or regional administrator rather than an archbishop. (The black color, following Andean dyeing practices, is actually a very dark shade of purple.) The double cross, moreover, while indicating the presence of the archbishop, would have preceded him in processions and would have been carried by someone else. Also, there is no pastoral staff; an Andean flower with

a curved stem, seen upside-down next to the hat, was perhaps a visual reference to the crook of the pastoral staff. Interspersed among these symbols of ecclesiastical heraldry are Andean spotted felines, parrots, and running animals, all framed within a traditional Andean band of patterning. These bands, like those on colonial tapestry-woven women’s mantles, contain symmetrically aligned registers of geometric designs that mimic their warp-patterned antecedents.

The tapestry weave, although not as fine as in other examples, is characteristically Andean, with technical features one would expect to find in a colonial tapestry of the period, including double-sided tapestry weave with single-interlocked color changes and uncut warp loops. Certain areas of color patterning, such as the hatching of colors to indicate the basket forms, the detailing of the birds’ wings, and the over-

all outlining of the motifs, manifest the influence of European models that the Andean weavers followed to create this hybrid, recognizably colonial work.

EP

1. Kendrick (1925) speculated that it might have been used to cover the back of a stall in a church. Unfortunately, because the two side edges are cut, we do not know its original size. The top edge is finished, and although the lower edge is cut, we can assume that it is most likely at or near its original height. It is not known if the piece was once a long narrow strip or if it has always been rectangular, like cat. nos. 130 and 131a, b.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 297.

109. *Tapestry cover with cross*

Cuzco(?), late 17th–early 18th century
Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid and gold and silver on linen weft
27 × 19 in. (68.5 × 48.2 cm)
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ethnologisches Museum (VA 64827)

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with single-interlocking and dovetailing joins; eccentric wefts. Embroidery at top and bottom. **Warp:** cotton \wedge 17 per in. (white). **Weft:** camelid \wedge 60–80 per in. (red, blue, white, yellow, and purple); gold strip wound \setminus on \wedge core yarn (yellow); silver strip wound \setminus on \wedge linen core yarn (white). **Embroidery:** camelid \wedge (purple and red). **Selvages:** looped at bottom, cut-and-entered at top; side edges present.

The cross on this small cover indicates that the piece probably served a liturgical function, possibly in the celebration of Mass. Surrounded by Andean animals and bands of “ball-fringe” lace designs, the cross is depicted on its stand or base, giving the impression that there was a three-dimensional object that served as a model. If so it is likely the actual cross was portable, like this small tapestry would have been, too. The cross on the cover is woven in gold metallic yarns and has a multicolored halo that is evocative of an aura or the rainbow-colored feathered plumes sometimes depicted in paintings of the Virgin Mary and typically part of her polychrome feathered crown. Above the halo is a circle

with flowers emanating from it, and flowers also project from the heads of some of the birds. The birds are clearly parrots, which were traditionally associated with the Inca *coyas* (queens), and although small in scale they are intricately drawn. Some of them have elaborated feathers, with those on the head extending into flower buds. Small bulbous-shaped insects also abound, notably on either side of the cross.

Another symbol woven in gold yarns is what appears to be the letter M, extended and drawn out in a block style. Whether it stands for Mary or is some other manifestation of Marian devotion is unclear, but

it is missing the conjoining A (for Ave Maria) that completed the conventional anagram for Mary at that time. The M could also be read as a kind of abstract zigzag, which, when found in other types of Andean textiles (such as warp-patterned weaving), has sometimes been interpreted as a symbol for cultivation, the plowing of fields, or furrows.¹ The horizontal S shapes placed within the spaces between the diagonal lines forming the M are also familiar from other Andean weavings; we find similar designs within the *pallai* pattern bands of women's *llicllas*. We know from ethnographic sources that the S designs represent

an agricultural tool called the *kuti*, and they are thus interpreted as symbols of fertility and growth.²

The inclusion of both Christian and Andean symbols is highly unusual in an ecclesiastical object. It is possible that this cover, which is woven in a traditional Andean style, was used in a native parish, perhaps by the Jesuits, who sometimes sought to incorporate familiar Andean images into the worship service, including images of the Christ Child wearing an Andean *uncu* and the *masccaypacha*, the royal fringe symbolic of Inca royalty and authority. Here they are construed as Christian images of power, but they are nevertheless contextualized within an Andean visual program redolent of fertility and life, notably the S designs but also the birds and the running, spotted vicuña-like creatures scattered throughout the central field.

EP



1. See, for example, Silverman 1994, p. 170.
2. See *ibid.*, p. 160. See also Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías (1987, pp. 212–13), who refer to a style called “*kuti*” associated either with the S design or with a double-headed serpent and related to the inclusion of historically and mythologically charged images from colonial times.

110. *Eucharistic casket*

Altiplano, ca. 1700
Silver, molded, repoussé, and chased, with
burnished punchwork
9⁷/₈ x 11⁷/₈ x 7¹/₈ in. (25 x 30 x 18 cm)
Inscribed: *IHS*
Collection of Nelly Arrieta de Blaquier and
Carlos Pedro Blaquier

EX COLL.: Antonio Muníz; Diego Muníz-
Barreto

REFERENCES: Taullard 1941, fig. 217; Ribera
and Schenone in Munich 1981, pp. 143–44;
Buenos Aires 1983, no. 53.

EXHIBITIONS: Buenos Aires 1934, no. 327;
Buenos Aires 1969, no. 233; Munich 1981,
no. 37; Buenos Aires 1983, no. 53.

This rectangular box rests flat on its base, even though the lower corners bear cast heads of angels. The cover is a

half barrel that swings open on two hinges. The principal motif on the front of the casket is a cartouche that surrounds the keyhole and is framed by another, larger cartouche formed of vegetation sprouting serpentine stems and pomegranate blossoms, with a row of leaves around the perimeter. On the reverse the same compositional concept and some of the same decorations are carried out, but the cartouche is transformed into a plain elliptical boss framed by interlaced bands. On each side is an escutcheon with crisp edges from which emerge four large leaves. At the center of each escutcheon is a handle for carrying the casket. The center of the cover is dominated by a sun bearing the initials IHS. Large C-shaped volutes and the head of a cherub cover the rest of the surface.

The presence of the initials IHS, which stands for Jesus Christ, within a sunburst confirms that the piece was used as a coffer for the reserve of the Eucharist used on Holy Thursday. Although Andean Christianity had rejected the older "pagan" deities, with their celestial imagery, the figure of the Sun was duly Christianized into a sym-

bol of Christ. Furthermore, the artist who made this piece did not employ the pelican model that would become so typical in eighteenth-century Peru, but rather adhered to the traditional form of a lidded coffer to symbolize the sepulchre of Christ.

According to Alfredo Taullard, this piece comes from the Church of "Coripata," founded by the Juan de Lezica y Terrezurri family. Coripata could be the town to the northeast of La Paz, in the Sur-Yungas province on the road from La Paz to Huarina, next to Lake Titicaca, but there is another Coripata in the province of Canta, between Lima and the Cerro de Pasco. If the casket comes from the Coripata in Bolivia, it is logical to assume it was made by a silversmith in La Paz or the workshops that developed around Lake Titicaca, both of which are in the Altiplano. The decoration here is not in the usual Altiplano style, however, which normally features fantastic ornaments derived from Mannerist grotesques. Only the features of the cherub on the cover and the angels on the corners of the base (actually angel-sirens) recall works from the Highlands.

The coffer certainly dates from the Peruvian Baroque period, but the importance accorded to the scheme of the ornamental bands ending in volutes and the way the surface of the ground has been left free so that the motifs stand out luminously against the very dense stippling suggest the late seventeenth century, or, perhaps, to be safe, to a time as late as 1700. It is an accomplished work in every regard, distinguished by balance of decoration, exquisite design of motifs, and mastery of technical execution.

CEM

III. *Sacrarium*

Potosí, ca. 1780–90

Silver, repoussé and chased with burnished punchwork

28 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (72 × 67 cm)

Collection of Nelly Arrieta de Blaquier and Carlos Pedro Blaquier

This piece is the front of a sacrarium that stored the vessels of the Holy Sacrament, which the Council of Trent (1545–63) had ruled must be placed in the center of the altar. It was thus usual for the front of the sacrarium to be worked in sheets of silver in imitation of an altarlike architectural structure, although in a very free composition. On the front of this example, under a semicircular arch, there is a door with two wings that open and close toward the center. These are symmetrically decorated with rocaille motifs, two cherub heads, and two angels. The angel on the left holds a flaming Sacred Heart and bears a simpler heart on its breast, while the angel on the right carries a branch of lilies and has a crown of thorns on its breast. A pair of twisted columns flanks the doors, and at either side of the piece are two wings formed by cornucopias from which emerge bits of rocaille ornament. Each of the wings is surmounted by a bird with wide, outstretched wings. Above the "entablature" is a semicircular, scallop-shaped crest reminiscent of a pediment rendered in a fully Rococo style. A Greek cross with bulbous arms stands atop the structure.

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Although this piece lacks both marks and inscriptions and is not documented, it can easily be attributed to the silversmiths of Potosí based on the style of *rocaille*, the shell-shaped summit that imitates the body of a butterfly, and the two birds and their placement as crowning elements, all of which recall other examples attributed to Potosí.¹ In addition, the structural and

decorative similarities between this work and the *sacrariums* from the churches of Santa Monica and San Martín (1789) and the great unpublished *resplandor* (a large arch that accompanies the Virgin in processions) of the Virgin in the convent of Santa Teresa, all in Potosí, substantiate this attribution. If it is from somewhere else, it must be from a locality directly influenced by Potosí artists

or, perhaps, by a silversmith from that silver-mining center working elsewhere. Stylistically this *sacrarium* is completely Rococo, so it can be dated to between 1780 and 1790, when all the work of the silversmiths of Potosí was marked by that style.

CEM

1. See Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, nos. 69, 77, 79, 87.

Celebrating the Eucharist

The Eucharistic sacrament embodies the belief that the bread and wine offered at Mass are manifestations of Christ's body and blood as offered to his disciples at the Last Supper. A privilege to the Christian participant, the rite was initially denied to Indians, although within decades this restriction was overturned and the Eucharist soon came to be celebrated both in conventional Old World fashion and in some more ambiguous, innovative ways unique to the Viceroyalty of Peru.

Traditionally, the Last Supper and the institution of the Eucharist have been commemorated in both Europe and Spanish America by the solemn feast of Holy Thursday, celebrated during the week before Easter (Holy Week). In the Spanish Americas it was marked by the same sorts of processions that proliferated in Spain, but in Peru the precious vessels designed to protect and display the wafer that was consecrated during Mass (the Host), and which were also paraded about, took on particular splendor and ingenuity. In the Baroque era the monstrance used to exhibit the Host became ever more elaborate, both in the form of its stand and in the increasingly intricate sunblaze (*sol*) that enclosed the wafer itself. Even more distinctive, lifesize (or larger) silver pelicans (birds that symbolized the sacrifice of Christ) with interior compartments to hold the Host became central features of Holy Thursday processions.

The feast of Corpus Christi was a later innovation in the church calendar, instituted to lend the Eucharist even greater importance. In the Andes, this event is celebrated with tremendous exuberance, especially in Cuzco, the former Inca capital and one of the most important artistic centers of viceregal culture. The procession and public presentation of the Host that constitute the core of the event are conducted through the streets of the city; the important religious statues of the various churches throughout Cuzco and its outlying parishes are carried upon elaborate floats, on the backs of the faithful, to the cathedral in the central square. Statues of the Virgin Mary, Santiago (Saint James), San Cristóbal (Saint Christopher), and San Sebastian,

among others—each with its own confraternity (*cofradía*) responsible for the care and adornment of its charges, as well the conveyance of the pious burdens along the prescribed religious circuit—make their way to the cathedral, spending the night in various churches. Music and dance are both integral to the festivities, and in Cuzco the celebration, which begins on the first Thursday after Trinity Sunday, lasts for four days.

In the late seventeenth century the spectacle of Corpus Christi was documented in a series of paintings commissioned under the direction of the bishop of Cuzco, Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo. After the devastating earthquake of 1650, in which a majority of Cuzco's public buildings and churches suffered enormous damage, Mollinedo instituted an ambitious campaign to produce art works for the city, and much of Cuzco's Baroque splendor can be traced to his patronage. The famed Corpus Christi series was painted by local indigenous artists for the Church of Santa Ana, a humble precinct on the hill beyond the city's central square. Although now thought to be idealized portrayals of a sociologically complex event, the canvases afford the modern viewer a remarkable glimpse into the art and society of seventeenth-century Cuzco.

As a celebration of the triumph of Christianity over heresy, Corpus Christi processions traditionally employed the visual vocabulary of imperial Roman parades, with carriages bearing the victors, their banners, and their retinues beneath arches created for the occasion. All of these elements are apparent in the Santa Ana series, which also accurately documents the profusion of silver embellishing the various floats. In the Andes the procession also became a stage for a dialogue between Andean and Spanish Catholicism. As analyzed by scholar Carolyn Dean, the representation of Andean leaders incorporating Inca insignia of rank and nobility in their royal-style garments and elaborate headdresses creates a vision of the exceedingly intricate relationships within Andean viceregal society and the complex, often ambiguous significance of the Corpus Christi celebration that endures even today.

JH and EP

112. *Defense of the Eucharist*

Ca. 1675–85

Oil on canvas

53 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 43 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (135 × 110 cm)

Collection of Celso Pastor de la Torre, Lima

REFERENCES: Wuffarden et al. 1995, pp. 135, 139–40, fig. 49; Córdoba and other cities 1999, p. 124; Mujica Pinilla et al. 2002, pp. 281–85, fig. 53.

EXHIBITION: Córdoba and other cities 1999.

The allegory of the Defense of the Eucharist—part sacred, part political—was used to exalt the Hapsburgs and the Spanish monarchs as the armed protectors of the Catholic faith. The theme was particularly popular in Cuzqueño art at the end of the seventeenth century, when it was intensively promoted by the ecclesiastical government of Bishop Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo (r. 1673–99).¹ This noteworthy version, apparently the oldest, depicts a young King Charles II, at left, next to a monstrance displaying the Host. The monarch is shown drawing his sword, dramatically defending the monstrance and its sacred contents from a group of Saracens, at right, who are evidently attempting to destroy it.² The lower portion of the painting is devoted to renderings of the royal crown and scepter along with the Spanish heraldic lion and a globe, symbolizing the submission of temporal power to divine authority. The column that often appears in versions of this theme supporting the monstrance is replaced by an image of Saint Rose of Lima (1586–1617), the first woman and the first Creole canonized in the Americas, no doubt here a symbol of the contributions of the New World and its citizens in spreading the Christian faith.

The canvas was probably painted soon after Rose's canonization in 1671. The style is similar to that of the Cuzco school, a group of mostly indigenous artists who were patronized by Mollinedo and whose circle was largely responsible for establishing and consolidating an active regional aesthetic. The Defense of the Eucharist would, in fact, become one of the characteristic themes in southern Andean art. Although the allegory of the Defense of the Church had obvious European ante-



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cedents, its definitive form, as manifested here, was apparently conceived by local church officials. As Francisco Stastny has proposed, the frequent inclusion of figures such as Saint Thomas Aquinas and Saint Rose further suggests the direct participation of members of the Dominican order in creating the allegory.³

The monstrance, the focal point of the composition, is aligned precisely along the vertical axis of the canvas. Dazzling reflections from its traditional sunburst (*sol*) project ecstatically in all directions. Two angels flank the upper part of the piece; one carries a standard that reads “Solo a Dios honor y gloria” (Honor and Glory to God Alone); the other, the archangel Michael, who is shown defeating a dragon, displays a scroll inscribed with his celebrated admonition, “Quién como Dios”

(Who is like God). Cherub heads encircle the Eucharist in a halo, creating the impression that a miraculous apparition has taken place. In fact, in terms of the painting's iconography, that is exactly what has happened. The mysterious crucifix hovering over the Host at the center of the *sol*, rendered as a subtle drawing, suggests the theological tenet of transubstantiation, the miraculous transformation of the Eucharistic wafer into the Body of Christ.

Amid the clouds, angels, and other celestial wonders, the metallic solidity of the monstrance imparts an almost paradoxical sense of materiality.⁴ This leads me to believe that the painter worked from a model, possibly one of the many elaborate silver-gilt monstrances made in the workshops of Cuzco and commissioned by Mollinedo during the last quarter of the

seventeenth century. During this period master silversmiths such as Luis de Lezana the Younger (active 1665–1713) and Luis Francisco Portillo (active 1661–1712) defined the formal configurations and decorative repertoires of the Baroque monstrances produced in Cuzco.⁵ The specific example in this painting was rendered in great detail, except for the base, which is rounded, not quadrangular, possibly because the latter would have been difficult to depict in a frontal representation. Whoever developed the painting's iconographic scheme sought to capitalize on the symbolic value that these liturgical pieces had acquired among Cuzco's devout, who were accustomed to their imposing presence in churches and in other religious ceremonies. This painting was an ingenious means of imparting local character to a theme that already had deep roots in European art and literature.

The association between the Hapsburgs and the mystery of the Eucharist can be traced back to Archduke Rudolf, who according to legend founded the Hapsburg dynasty in the thirteenth century. The Spanish monarchs in power during the Counter-Reformation took up this theme by closely linking it to the militant, post-Tridentine church. At the beginning of the seventeenth century allegorical illustrations appeared casting Philip II as the defender of the faith, drawing his sword to prevent infidels from profaning the Host.⁶ With the twilight reign of Charles II, such rhetoric seems to have assumed even greater urgency. With the king in poor health, his public image needed to be buoyed by persuasive flourishes to offset the harsh reality of a threatened empire. The literature and art of this period thus tended to equate Charles with Rudolf, his distant heroic ancestor, presenting him in similarly noble circumstances, such as abandoning his carriage so a priest might be transported to attend to the sick.⁷

Bishop Mollinedo, who had gained intimate knowledge of the ceremonial devices of the Spanish court while serving as a parish priest at Almudena (Madrid), found Cuzco fertile ground for propagating similar themes. As celebrated in Cuzco, for example, the feast of Corpus Christi—the observance of the founding of the Eucharistic sacrament—had developed into an elaborate pageant whose magnificence was

unrivaled on the continent. As Ramón Mujica has described, ritual battles between Christians and Moors were reenacted in part to inspire just this sort of “defense” iconography.⁸ A carved depiction of the Defense of the Eucharist appears in a processional altar represented in one of the paintings of the well-known Santa Ana Corpus Christi series. Even before this time, however, the Defense allegory was expounded by the great ecclesiastical orators of Cuzco. Juan de Espinosa Medrano, nicknamed “El Lunarejo” (person with moles), discoursed eloquently on the theme in his commemorative sermon for Philip IV, in 1666. At the climax of his remarks he exclaimed: “Philip, now deceased, took up the royal sword to defend the Catholic faith in these realms.”⁹

The Defense was all the more relevant in the context of the anti-Arianism prevalent among the theologians and clergy of Cuzco at the time. As Mujica relates, anti-Arianism was a theological movement in Spain during the Counter-Reformation in which heterodox factions revived the specter of Arius, the influential medieval heretic who had questioned the mysteries of the Holy Trinity and Eucharistic transubstantiation.¹⁰ To the great orators of the period Arius and his followers were demons who posed a powerful threat to both the Catholic faith and its royal defenders. This same combative approach would be used to confront other enemies of viceregal Peru, from the pre-Hispanic “pagan” beliefs that had not been entirely suppressed to the pirates and corsairs who continually terrorized the coasts of the Americas in search of treasure to, most important, the fledgling Protestant heresy.

Because the anti-Arian discourse had mostly taken the form of devout sermonizing, depictions of Saracens or Turks, certainly exotic within an Andean context, were employed in the visual arts to create an image of a tangible, common enemy. In a calculated juxtaposition of opposites, simplistic, caricatured images of the “infidels” were contrasted with the guardians of the faith, whose well-defined, individualized features would have been readily identified by the public of the time. The king's appearance is not dissimilar to youthful depictions of him in earlier portraits, one of which is known to have been brought to

Cuzco by Bishop Mollinedo.¹¹ Saint Rose, in turn, has been rendered according to older iconographic sources, such as the well-known drawing by Angelino Medoro (ca. 1567–1631). She is shown here wearing the white veil of the third Dominican order, as she did in real life. Unlike a similar version at the Museo de Osmá, Lima, in which the saint is depicted in an erect, almost caryatidlike position at the same height as the king, here she is shown kneeling in reverence not only before the sacred Host but also before the monarch defending it. The image would have recalled for the faithful the prayers Rose addressed to the Virgin of the Rosary in 1615 to protect the city of Lima from a Dutch fleet of corsairs anchored off the port of Callao, which posed an imminent threat to the Peruvian territory as well as to the Catholic faith. The coastal landscape seen in the lower section of the painting within the earthly sphere may very well have been an intentional reference to this event, which shook the vicerealty to its core.

LEW

1. During the eighteenth century Bourbon monarchs were incorporated into this same composition. A well-known version at the Museo de Charcas, Bolivia, includes Charles IV. See Macera 1979.
2. Oddly, the ropes used by the Saracens to try to pull down the monstrance are white, green, and red, colors that generally symbolized faith, hope, and charity.
3. Stastny 1982, pp. 43, 46.
4. The technique of “over-gilding” (*brocateado de oro*), seen frequently in representations of the Defense during the next century, was not used here.
5. As the chronicler Diego de Esquivel y Navia wrote, by 1693 eighty-two silver monstrances had been produced in the diocese of Cuzco, commissioned by Mollinedo. See Esquivel y Navia (1741) 1980, vol. 2, p. 175.
6. There is a famous engraving on this theme by Pedro Perret (d. 1637) that was used to illustrate Luis Cabrera de Córdoba's book *Felipe Segundo Rey de España* (Madrid, 1619). In this image the Eucharist is represented in the form of a chalice.
7. This event was portrayed in an engraving of 1685 by the Flemish artist Romeyn de Hooghe, which shows the initial moment of the encounter and the king offering his carriage. Mollinedo chose to depict a subsequent scene in a painting he commissioned for the church

- in Huanoquite. There Mollinedo had himself represented as the priest carrying the Eucharist in the carriage, while Charles II and several other Spanish nobles escort him on foot.
8. Mujica Pinilla et al. 2002, p. 281.
 9. Cited in Rodríguez Garrido 1994, p. 122.
 10. See Mujica Pinilla et al. 2002, pp. 269–85.
 11. The portrait was by the Madrid painter and architect Sebastián de Herrera Barnuevo (1619–1671). For Mollinedo's collection, see Mesa and Gisbert 1982, vol. 1, pp. 118–23.

113. Monstrance

Attributed to Diego de Atienza (active mid-17th century)
Lima, 1649
Silver gilt with enamel, cast, chased, and engraved
H. 22½ in. (57.2 cm)
Inscribed: *EL PADRE FR. P.º DE URREA NATURAL DESTA VILLA DE XADARQVE DIO ESTE SAGRARIO AESTA IGLESIA MAIOR DONDE FVE BATICADº. RVEGEN A DIOS POR EL AÑO 1649*
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931 (32.100.231a, b)

REFERENCES: Esteras Martín 1994a, pp. 71–76; Esteras Martín 1995a, p. 383, fig. 372; Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, pp. 100–101; Hecht 1994, fig. 11.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1997, no. 11.

Chalices were more prevalent than monstrances by far among the religious silverwork produced in Spain. In the territories of the Viceroyalty of Peru, however, monstrances were not only more numerous but also more representative of the output of the silver workshops there. This example is one of the most important pieces of silverwork produced in Peru because it is the first in a series of such works. In my first detailed study of this piece in 1994, I concluded that it was made in Lima in 1649 and was commissioned by the Mercedarian friar Pedro de Urraca to be donated to the parish church of Jadraque (Guadalajara, Spain), where he had been baptized. Indeed, most Spaniards who emigrated to the Indies made donations of this kind. The inscription along the base of the monstrance confirms the friar's donation, even though his name is rendered incor-

rectly (as Urrea instead of Urraca). Urraca was born in Jadraque in 1583 and, in 1608, after having entered the Mercedarian Order in Quito in 1603, moved to Lima, where he remained until his death. Evidently Urraca was, and remains to this day, one of the most venerated religious men from viceregal Lima. Since 1657, when he was interred in the Church of La Merced in Lima, he has been the object of worship among the city's inhabitants.

The style of this piece is comparable to that of other examples produced by the silversmiths of the viceregal capital, such as the monstrance of the church at Fustiñana (Navarre, Spain), and unequivocally fixes its origin in Lima. We know from the date 1649 engraved on the present work that the structural model on which it and similar monstrances were based was established sometime prior to the second half of the seventeenth century. That prototype is echoed in such surviving works as the monstrance in the parish church of Embid de la Ribera (Zaragoza, Spain) and a piece that recently appeared on the New York art market,¹ and many more surely existed that have not been preserved. Because the pieces in Zaragoza and on the market are undated, the Urraca monstrance must be used as the chronological reference point for their model. The Urraca monstrance was itself echoed in other stemmed pieces, for example the San Genaro reliquary in the Jesuit church in Arequipa.

The form seen here—incorrectly referred to in the inscription as a *sagrario*, or *sacrarium*²—is a portable “sunburst” monstrance. In the *sol* (sun) of this example, the crystalline capsule in which the consecrated Host is displayed is surrounded by a circle of straight rays, which are joined by Cs and alternately topped by simple knobs and other, more complex finials. The baluster-like stem is conical and adorned with a ewer node and cylindrical pedestal. The base is square and rests on foliated feet that end in spheres. The stem is embellished with cast, C-shaped finishings that serve as both decorative and structural elements, and the entire work is covered with champlevé enamelwork in a brilliant blue, green, and golden yellow geometric floral pattern. The enamelwork is bordered in silver and applied to trapezoidal or rectangular sheets

of various sizes. There is only one figurative element, a small putto with indigenous facial features wearing a feather headdress, who appears on both sides where the *sol* joins the stem.

The style of this monstrance, like that of many works executed in Peru in the seventeenth century, wavers between Mannerism and the Baroque: Mannerist influences are apparent in the stem and base and the more Baroque elements are visible in the design of the *sol*, which was conceived as echoing meshwork or lace. This latter element has come to be the defining feature of monstrances produced in the Viceroyalty of Peru.

CEM

1. *Important Silver, Russian Works of Art, and Objects of Virtue*, sale cat. (New York: Sotheby's, October 24, 2000), lot 154.
2. The use of this term here is incorrect, because the Host is held in a closed case (*pix* or *ciborium*) in *sacrariums*. In monstrances it is exhibited through a crystal lunette. It is possible that the *sagrario* of the inscription was simply a reference to the presence of the Holy Form in the interior.

114. Monstrance

Francisco de Soria Hurtado (1651–1692)
Cuzco, 1685
Silver gilt with enamel, cast and chased
H. 25¼ in. (64 cm)
Inscribed: *Hiso este vixil FRANco. de Soria HURtAdo por ordeN de Pº. Cortes y de PABLO de Orna ANO DE 1685*
Apelles Collection, Chile

REFERENCES: Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, pp. 108–9; Esteras Martín 2004, no. 12.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1997, no. 15.

Peruvian silverwork is customarily unmarked, so the artists responsible for the vast majority of pieces remain unknown. On the rare occasions when we do find an artist's inscription, we can compare his name with a list of known silversmiths to arrive at a reliable attribution. This monstrance, one of those few inscribed examples, is the work of Francisco de Soria Hurtado, a native of Granada, Spain, who moved to Cuzco. He is known to have worked as a



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silversmith in Cuzco from 1651 until 1692, except in 1653, when he lived in Potosí (perhaps he moved there for family reasons or because of a commission or some other business). He worked for the Cuzco cathedral and trained numerous young men who joined his workshop to be instructed in the silversmith's trade.

We do not know where Hurtado received his training; if it was in the Old World, he was "Peruanized," for his work clearly reflects the Baroque taste of Cuzco. This mon-



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strance, the only known surviving piece by Hurtado, shows a great affinity with the work of the famous Cuzco silversmith Luis de Lezana the Younger (active 1665–1713) in particular, the monstrance produced by Lezana for the Church of Gordejuela (Vizcaya, Spain) (cat. no. 115). It is similar to the Gordejuela piece in the design not only of the base and the supporting feet but also of the molding, which is adorned with raised oval lozenges, an unusual feature in monstrances produced in Cuzco at this time.

The monstrance can be identified as having originated in Cuzco by the form of the *sol* alone but even more by its cruciform base and the putti supports, whose vegetal plumes adhere to and extend along the corners of the pedestal. The baluster-form stem, with its prominent vase-shaped knop, is stylistically in keeping with pieces known to be from the first half of the seventeenth century, such as the monstrance at the convent of Santo Domingo (the oldest monstrance of its type in Cuzco) and another,

later example belonging to the convent of the Recollect Franciscans in Cuzco, neither of which has been published.

Other notable elements of the design of this monstrance include its cast C- and S-shaped ribbing, fantastic angel-siren figurines, and small putti busts with indigenous facial features and unusual hairpieces. The Peruvian taste for adorning monstrances with enamel is followed: the ovate and rhomboid mounts applied to the base, stem, sun rays, and the four sections of the lunette encasement display semiopaque vitreous champlevé enamelwork in dark blue, green, and golden yellow.

Because we lack any information regarding the two individuals who commissioned this piece, we cannot be sure which church it was intended for, although we can surmise that it may have been made for one in the Cuzco valley or on the royal road that joined the city with the Peruvian Altiplano. In any event, because it is dated and inscribed with the artist's name, this monstrance represents an important link in the timeline of Cuzco silverwork and also provides evidence of the technical and artistic skill of Francisco de Soria Hurtado.

CEM

115. Monstrance

Luis de Lezana the Younger (active 1665–1713)
Cuzco, ca. 1675–1700

Silver gilt with enamel, cast and chased
H. 26¾ in. (68 cm), base 10⅞ × 10⅞ in.
(26.4 × 26.4 cm)

Inscribed: *LUIS DE LEZANA*

Museo Diocesano de Arte Sacro/Eliz
Museoa, Bizkaia, Parroquia de la
Degollación de San Juan Bautista de
Gordexola, Spain

REFERENCES: Barrio Loza and Valverde Peña
in Bilbao 1986, p. 72; Esteras Martín in
Madrid 1986, pp. 44–46.

EXHIBITIONS: Bilbao 1986, no. 54; Madrid
1986, no. 15.

The inscription inside the base of this monstrance confirms that it is the work of Luis de Lezana, one of the most prestigious silversmiths in Cuzco during the tenure of Bishop Manuel de Mollinedo y

Angulo (1673–99), the most important patron of the arts in viceregal Peru.¹ Since it was Lezana's custom to sign some of his pieces—including a monstrance in the Barbosa collection, Lima, that was recently identified as his work and the altarpiece from the hamlet of San Jerónimo, near Cuzco—we have been able to identify other pieces from his hand by analogy.

Lezana was the son of the indigenous silversmith Andrés Ignacio de Baños Auquicari. He is referred to as “the Younger” because another silversmith established in Cuzco between 1630 and 1632 had the same name. We have no idea if there was any familial relationship between these two men. It is possible that they belonged to a family of silversmiths, since there was



yet another artist from Cuzco (whose works have not been published) with the same last name, Sebastián de Lezana (active 1686–87).²

The base structure and adornment of this monstrance is the same as that of a monstrance made by Francisco de Soria Hurtado (cat. no. 114), suggesting that this was a popular model during the final decades of the seventeenth century. This example is far more exaggeratedly Baroque, however, with more elements applied to the stem and considerably more cast ribbing. Although the rays of the *sol* in the two examples are the same size, the interconnecting decorative meshwork here is far denser and more tightly worked. Lezana's trademark, the cube-shaped central node seen here, appears on other monstrances in the churches of Coya, Yucay, and Urquillos—all in the Cuzco vicinity—as well as on those in the Cathedral of Santander (Spain) and the parish church of Bielva (Cantabria, Spain). It is entirely possible that Lezana himself devised this model, which survived even after his own era—indeed, there are several eighteenth-century works that, while more evolved, exhibit the same formal solution. Among these are the imposing monstrance produced by Gregorio Gallegos for the cathedral in Cuzco and examples at the Santa Clara and Santa Catalina monasteries in the same city.

Enamel mounts were conventional in this type of Peruvian silverwork. Here they employ, in typical seventeenth-century fashion, the *champlevé* technique, with a predominantly dark blue palette that also includes white, green, and golden yellow. The enamel is semiopaque, with a brilliant luster, and in the applied mounts displays naturalistic, vegetal imagery in keeping with the tastes of the Andean Baroque.

CEM

1. See Esteras Martín 1992a, which includes Lezana's biography and a catalogue of his numerous and varied works.

2. Notary Juan de Saldaña, 1686, fol. 387, and Notary Pedro López de la Cerda, 1687, fol. 745, Cuzco Departmental Archive.

116a–d. *Corpus Christi*

Ca. 1675–80

REFERENCES: Mariátegui Oliva 1951; Mariátegui Oliva 1954; Bernales Ballesteros 1980, pp. 277–92; Gisbert 1983; Mariátegui Oliva 1984; Dean 1990; Wuffarden in Lima—Rome 1996; Wuffarden in Seville—Monaco 1996; Wuffarden 1996, pp. 72–108; Dean 1999; Dean 2002.

EXHIBITIONS (a–c only): Rome 1996; Seville—Monaco 1996.

The Corpus Christi paintings from the Church of Santa Ana in Cuzco are considered to rank among the greatest masterpieces of southern Andean colonial art.¹ As part of the active promotion of the visual arts undertaken by the bishop of Cuzco, Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo—whose patronage was a driving force in Cuzqueño art during the last quarter of the seventeenth century²—the series was initially conceived as the main decoration for Santa Ana, an indigenous parish church strategically located at the entrance to the city. This series of canvases, originally comprising at least sixteen scenes—and now divided between collections in Cuzco and Santiago, Chile—depicts the Corpus Christi procession as it passed through the main thoroughfares of Cuzco. Although these representations were long considered historically accurate, they actually offer an idealized image of society at the time, one painstakingly contrived by the intellectuals working within Mollinedo's circle. This was a highly ambitious iconographic project that included group portraits, panoramic cityscapes, religious allegories, and political themes, all aimed at commemorating (for residents and visitors alike) the vital role played by local authorities and at exalting the merits of Cuzco as the ancient imperial Inca capital fully incorporated into the Christian church.

The original contracts and other related documentation for the series, which would provide a precise date, have not survived. On the basis of thematic and stylistic considerations, most of the paintings can be dated between 1675 and 1680. This is confirmed by a report made by Mollinedo for the king of Spain, dated January 4, 1678,

which notes that in the parish of Santa Ana “great paintings set in cedar frames, which are in the process of being gilded, have been created to grace the entire church.”³ This would link the series to the period when Padre Diego de Hontón y Olarte served as curate (ca. 1663–78), but we should also consider the possible role of Hontón's successor, Dr. Juan de Herrera y Castro, because Mollinedo praised him in a letter he wrote to the king on June 9, 1698, for having embellished this place of worship with altarpieces and paintings.⁴

Another problematic question that has concerned scholars is the authorship of the series. Although no definitive attribution can be provided, it seems very likely that these paintings were produced by the workshop of one of the great indigenous masters patronized by Mollinedo, who we know began to dominate the Cuzco art scene at the time. The rise of these indigenous artists reached its zenith in 1688, when they separated from the traditional guild—which had been under the direction of Spaniards and Creoles—specifically on the occasion of a Corpus Christi procession.⁵ It is almost certain that the creator (or creators) of this series came from that emerging group of indigenous artists. This would also explain the sympathetic treatment given in the paintings to members of the Inca elite, who are depicted with an air of dignity that was atypical in the European iconography of the New World.

Following this line of interpretation, most recent research has concurred in attributing the series to the workshop of Basilio de Santa Cruz Pomacallao or to his immediate circle, which included such renowned artists as Juan Zapata Inca and Pedro Nolasco. Like Diego Quispe Tito, another great master of the period who is often linked to the series, Santa Cruz is presumed to have been a secondary or impoverished member of the indigenous aristocracy who followed an artistic vocation in order to achieve an elevated social or economic status. The apex of Santa Cruz's career came when Mollinedo commissioned from him the decoration of the cathedral transept, consisting of great canvases with iconography based on important Counter-Reformation themes. His graceful interpretation of Baroque spatial conceptions, as

well as the sensual chromatic effects in his paintings, suggests an as yet unsubstantiated relationship with the Corpus Christi series. In both cases we find certain chromatic preferences—for example, the pronounced use of reds—as well as an adherence to formal conventions such as stereotyped human representations or “naive” perspectives that would come to characterize the work of the Cuzco school over the course of the following century.

Unlike their Andean contemporaries, who tended to organize their compositions around biblical stories or hagiography, the creators of the Corpus Christi series were attempting, first and foremost, to portray their city as a perfectly organized social entity within the context of the feast of Corpus Christi. At the time, and through Mollinedo’s initiative, this celebration of the Eucharist—which began to gain real significance in Cuzco in the mid-sixteenth century—evolved into a powerful spectacle in keeping with Baroque sensibilities. In the midst of this ceremonial pomp, the canvases display the processions of civil and ecclesiastical authorities, guilds and confraternities, as well as religious communities, each following their own strict rules of processional order and comportment. Each image is thus a compact, synchronized microcosm surrounding the central mystery of the Eucharist and its undisputed defender, the Spanish monarch.

Within the idealized sense of order created by the feast, the inclusion of a group of indigenous *curacas* (Inca leaders), with their distinctive ethnic features and attire, lends a unique note to this set of paintings. The church authorities were surely aware of how to channel the growing aspirations to social prestige that characterized the native aristocracy of the time. Given their ambivalent status within the colonial system, these *curacas* served as indispensable intermediaries between the Spanish rulers and their indigenous subjects. Availing themselves of this fragile yet crucial role, the indigenous elite began to foster a true “Inca Renaissance,” which took shape principally in the visual and decorative arts and in theater. Thus, some members of Cuzco’s nobility would appear in traditional indigenous attire—although with Baroque flourishes—during these holy festivities.

The paintings serve as exceptional, and early, visual testimonies of this trend.

Because the Santa Ana Corpus Christi cycle has been removed from the church and dispersed, scholars have been faced with the question of what, exactly, the original sequence of the canvases may have been.⁶ Every attempt to assign a coherent order has failed; the paintings allude to different moments in the procession that were strategically chosen to confer varying levels of preeminence to the individuals or groups represented in them. It is also possible that the scenes depict processions that occurred in different years, which would explain certain glaring contradictions, such as the different vestments worn by the bishop in the two paintings he appears in, and the incongruities that arise when comparing the indigenous *alfereces* (royal standard-bearers) in the depictions of their parish processions with those in the final scene.

Once we dismiss a possible “chronological” order of the scenes, we can identify a thematic classification that organizes them in four large groups: 1) Spanish authorities (the beginning and end of the procession); 2) indigenous parishes; 3) confraternities; and 4) religious orders. To these we must add one separate work: *The Altar of the Last Supper*, which contains the series’s leitmotif, the Eucharist. Nearly all of these works share the same compositional scheme, with a highly pronounced division between three ascending planes. In the first, or lowest, plane we find the mass of commoners: a diverse crowd comprising the Indians, mestizos, black slaves, and lower-class Spaniards. The second level, or central, privileged plane, captures the procession as it unfolds, with participants always depicted marching from right to left in relation to the viewer. The third tier, or background, is composed of architectural elements taken from the streets of Cuzco—processional altars, draperies, tapestries, and paintings—rich in symbolic allusions. This plane is also occupied by the most elevated social classes, who are shown either on the opposite side of the street from the lower classes or leaning from windows and balconies.

Through these skillfully employed pictorial devices the paintings in the Corpus Christi series re-created and indeed brought permanency to the fleeting reality

of the feast day. While the ceremony served its purpose of easing tensions in a profoundly stratified society, its representation in these works introduces new levels of manipulation. There are notable absences of otherwise well-documented events, such as skirmishes that would break out as the procession made its way through the streets. All of this confirms that the canvases of the Corpus Christi series—far from serving as mere reflections of the social world of their time (and leaving aside the issue of their obvious aesthetic merits)—played a pivotal role in shaping Andean colonial history. This is the foundation of the works’ conceptual richness and the basis for the numerous questions these scenes continue to evoke: scenes that anticipate, ironically, the conflicting identities that define modern Peru.

LEW

1. The modern historiography of painting in Cuzco began with the doctoral thesis submitted by Felipe Cossío del Pomar at the University of Cuzco in 1922. In his groundbreaking study, Cossío noted that the Corpus Christi series contained “undeniable value, most significantly for historians, artists and sociologists.” Cossío del Pomar 1928, p. 171. In 1951 and 1954, Ricardo Mariátegui Oliva wrote his first monographs on this subject. The recent surge in research on the Corpus Christi paintings is reflected at length in Dean 1990, 1999, 2002, and in Wuffarden 1996, among others.
2. Mollinedo, a native of Madrid, served as bishop of Cuzco from 1673 to 1699. For the decisive role played by Mollinedo and his family in the development of the arts in Cuzco, see Villanueva Urteaga 1989, pp. 209–19.
3. He failed to mention the specific subjects of these works. Villanueva Urteaga 1959, p. 30.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
5. Regarding this famous conflict, see Mesa and Gisbert 1982, vol. 2, pp. 137–38.
6. Both Mariátegui Oliva (1951) and Bernales Ballesteros (1980) attempted to create hypothetical reconstructions of the original hanging order.

116a. *Corregidor Pérez*

Oil on canvas
88 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 81 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (225 x 208 cm)
Arzobispado del Cuzco

This painting is the only work in the series that depicts the corregidor (governor) of Cuzco, who was also the city's highest judge. He leads the Corpus Christi procession carrying the banner of the Blessed Sacrament, a privilege he was accorded in the regulations of the procession set forth by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in 1572.¹ This has led a number of art critics and writers to believe that the painting depicts the beginning of the procession, but an analysis of the work's

iconographic strategy shows otherwise. It is not, in fact, directly related to the other paintings, in which Bishop Mollinedo presides over the ceremony. In those works the bishop is visible in front of the cathedral and is clearly associated with the beginning and end of the procession. Here, in contrast, the corregidor is shown marching without any additional allusions to time or space. In this way, the artist tried to evade disputes over delicate matters of protocol and precedence that sometimes provoked



confrontations between civil and ecclesiastical authorities.

The visible placement of the cross of the Order of Saint John on the corregidor's clothing confirms that he is General Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, son of the influential duque de Medina Sidonia and corregidor of Cuzco from 1670 to 1676.² The first three years of Bishop Mollinedo's rule would have coincided with the last three years of Pérez de Guzmán's government. Relations between the two were probably strained and likely would have worsened in the charged ceremonial context of the Corpus Christi procession. This tension would account for Carolyn Dean's interpretation that the boy at the extreme right, shown shooting a blowpipe, constitutes a symbolic attack aimed at someone outside the frame, possibly the bishop.³

Positioned on the right side of the painting, Pérez de Guzmán is accompanied by clerics dressed in dalmatics and surplices. Those in front carry a tall silver cross, while others hold large candles and wear black birettas to distinguish their ecclesiastical rank. The corregidor has just crossed under the triumphal arch, surmounted by Saint Michael defeating the demon (an unmistakable allusion to the punishment handed down to anyone who defied authority), and is about to pass before a temporary altar covered with mirrors, on which is displayed a painting of Our Lady of Mercy. It is a copy of a devotional work executed in Lima by Pedro Ramírez (active 1642–64) that had become enormously popular after 1675, when word traveled of its “miraculous sweat” in a Jesuit chapel in Callao. The Jesuits immediately commissioned numerous copies of the image, spreading the worship of Our Lady of Mercy throughout the southern Andes. Here the repeated motif of angels with white-plumed head-dresses guarding the altar is complemented by a series of archangels, pictured above, that alternate with panoramas of wooded landscapes symbolizing Paradise.

On either side of the altar are two very different groups of people, each situated between red draperies overhanging the street. At right, women of the Creole aristocracy (perhaps including the corregidor's wife) watch the procession go by, all seated as befits their social position. At left, a group

of seminarians from the seminary of San Antonio Abad, identifiable by their brown-red vestments, seems about to commence a musical homage to the Blessed Sacrament accompanied by an indigenous harpist.

There are also three striking portraits of donors: an elderly woman and two young children, most likely her grandchildren, who are visible among the common spectators in the lower part of the canvas. As Dean has observed, these figures, posed in prayer, appear in the Corpus Christi paintings only when the principal scene includes one of the city's most important authorities; surely they are the patrons of the painting in which they appear.⁴ Notably, the woman is in the lower left corner, where she can look directly at the corregidor Pérez de Guzmán, no doubt as a demonstration of the strong bond between her and her family and the local representative of the crown. She has the appearance of an indigenous aristocrat, perhaps the wife or widow of an important *curaca* (Inca noble), whose traditional clothing—including a *lliclla* fastened with a silver *tupu*—contrasts with the fully Spanish attire worn by her children.

LEW

1. Toledo 1986, pp. 176–78.

2. Dean 2002, p. 203, no. 10. See Esquivel y Navia 1980, vol. 2, pp. 127–33.

3. Dean 2002, p. 92.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

116b. *The Carriage of Saint Christopher*

Oil on canvas

53½ × 86¼ in. (136 × 219 cm)

Inscribed at bottom: *Vitor D. Carlos Guainacapac*

Inga Alferes Real de Su Magestad

Arzobispado del Cusco

Following the compositional scheme of other paintings in the Corpus Christi series that depict the participation of indigenous parishes, this work shows the patron saint of the San Cristóbal parish (Saint Christopher) atop a Baroque-style carriage. The *alférez real* (standard-bearer) dressed in Inca clothing is in the lead, accompanied by the village dignitaries; behind them is a group of native acolytes

carrying a tall cross and silver candleholders. The inscription at the feet of the standard-bearer, which reads “Victor D. Carlos Guainacapac Inca, His Majesty's Royal Standard-Bearer,” tells us that this man, the parish *curaca* (Inca noble), had been named to the position the same year the painting was completed, because the *alfereces* were named annually. The work was probably commissioned to celebrate his having been selected for this honorary position, which was highly sought-after among the indigenous nobility.¹ The word *vitor* (victor) was an expression of acclaim used frequently in the viceroyalty. Don Carlos, the standard-bearer-elect, was a direct descendant of Huayna Capac, from the line of Sayri Túpac, one of the “vassal Incas” who served the conquistadors. Huayna Capac was also the brother of the executed Inca king Atahualpa and of Cristóbal Paullu Inca, who had founded the parish of San Cristóbal in the years immediately following the Conquest. This lineage is corroborated here by the heraldic elements depicted on the standard-bearer's headdress and by the macaw perched on the wall just above his head, a symbol of imperial descent. His clothing is a sort of Baroque re-creation of Inca dress, with an *uncu* combining the geometrically patterned *tocapu*, worn only by the highest Inca elite, with the traditional Inca metallic Sun—here represented by a human face—and sleeves of Flemish lace. One distinctive feature of the figure's face is the absence of a right eye, here ostensibly closed, a visceral detail that the painter was unable to omit.²

In contrast to the series's predominantly “realistic” tone, the processional carriages are fictitious; they were added by the artists to invest the scene with additional pomp. The specific carriage seen here was inspired by the triumphal carriages built in Valencia in 1663 to celebrate the festival of the Immaculate Conception, which appear in engravings by José Caudi (d. 1696) in Juan Bautista de Valda's account of this festival.³ Here that model carriage is turned backwards and relieved of its most flamboyant or “monstrous” elements, which are organized around the depiction of a European-style serpent. Although the painter has rendered this version with artistic license, it is a fully realized image



116b

that was part of a carefully constructed visual strategy, one that aimed to put Cuzco and its potential for opulence on par with Valencia and other important cities in the Spanish Empire.

Amid this Baroque paraphernalia the statue of the saint stands quite naturalistically on a simple platform, as though it were a real person, and both his clothing and the flesh tones are as realistic as those of the participants in the procession. Although the artist has maintained Saint Christopher's traditional iconography—a husky figure with his tunic lifted to cross the river, with the Christ Child on his shoulders—he does not seem to have followed the sculptural style of the actual statues used in processions at the time.⁴ A comparison between this painting and the final scene of the series underscores these differences. The composition of the *Return of the Procession*, for example, shows what might have been Saint Christopher's actual plumed platform, the domestic tree he leans against like a shepherd's crook, and his silver halo. Here the artist has substituted the palm typical of the European iconographic tradition and has omitted the halo, which ensured that the image looked like a sculpture.

These departures from the sculptural model allowed him to emphasize the familiar relationship between Saint Christopher and the worshipers, as though the processional image were a shared supernatural vision.

The absence of the usual spectators at the bottom of the canvas is also seen in the painting of the Virgin of Candlemas, which in the series corresponds to the parish of the Hospital de Naturales. It seems clear that the canvas was cut down at some time, especially considering the elements at the lower right that are cut off. These were probably the staffs (*banderoles*) of a group of Indian dancers dressed up as demons (to judge by the glimpse of horns). This departure from orthodox liturgy might explain why the work may have been subject to censorship.

LEW

1. See Amado 2002, pp. 221–49.
2. The *curaca* depicted here is not the same person who appears in the *Return of the Procession*, indicating that the works were executed at different times.
3. Valda 1663.
4. It also does not recall the image carved by the master Melchor Guamán Mayta (active 1680–1712) about 1680, the one still used in Cuzco's Corpus Christi procession.

116c. *Confraternities of Saint Rose and La Linda*

Oil on canvas

81 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 131 $\frac{7}{8}$ (208 × 335 cm)

Inscribed at bottom: *Aquí ba el alferez con su padre, don Baltasar Tupa Puma . . .*

Arzobispado del Cuzco

Two religious brotherhoods dedicated to female devotions converge in this extraordinary scene, which conflates pictorial conventions of the paintings of the parish churches in the Corpus Christi series with elements from the paintings of the indigenous confraternities. At the head of the procession, surrounded by native musicians, is Saint Rose of Lima, the first saint born in the Americas, who was canonized in 1671. Behind her is a popular image of the Virgin known as “La Linda” (the Lovely), which had been venerated in the Cathedral of Cuzco since the end of the seventeenth century. She is shown here accompanied by a group of native elite. The young *curaca* (Inca noble) leading the group wears Inca garb similar to that worn by the *alfereces* (standard-bearers) in the parish church



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processions. In this case, however, he is not wearing a *mascaypacha*, the traditional Inca plumed headdress. The legend at the bottom identifies him with a colloquial phrase that seems to emanate from the gathering of peasants in the lower part of the painting: “Here comes the *alférez* with his father, don Baltasar Tupa Puma. . . .” In all likelihood the legend refers to the older man dressed in black, in the Spanish style, at the young man’s right side, who stares directly at the viewer in one of the most penetrating, authentic portraits in colonial Andean painting.

In 1659 La Linda, an image of the Immaculate Conception, had been declared patron saint of Cuzco in a royal decree issued by Philip IV.¹ Not by chance, it seems, was Saint Rose of Lima—whose canonization was viewed with pride by Lima’s Creole population as a proud, public testament to their devotion—depicted in a painting with her. This painting symbolically reflects the rivalry between the cities of Lima and Cuzco, decades-long competitors. Although Lima was the capital city, Cuzco had the official title of *cabeza de los reinos del Perú* (head of the Kingdoms of Peru), and both were involved in legal battles to gain primacy over the other.²

In this context it is possible to consider La Linda’s position in the painting—closer to the triumphal arch than Saint Rose, carried on a silver platform, and surrounded by *curacas*—as a visual argument in favor of ancient Cuzco, seat of the Inca Empire. However, the artists defused any potential conflict by placing both images lower than the allegorical scene of the Defense of the Eucharist, which is on a panel near the top of the carved processional altar. There we see a young Charles II, his sword drawn to protect the monstrance housing the Holy Sacrament from a Saracen attempting to destroy it.³ In this way the Hapsburgs’ role as keepers of imperial unity and as the right arm of the Catholic faith was exalted before all of Cuzco.

The theme of political cohesion is borne out by the inclusion of the *curacas*, who are depicted with bare heads. A page passes the *mascaypacha*—symbolic of the ancient power of the Inca—just underneath the monstrance in an unmistakable gesture of simultaneous obedience to the church and to the king of Spain. In effect this image foreshadows the relationship between Saint Rose and the Defense of the Eucharist so frequent in later Cuzco paintings (see, for example, cat. no. 112),

in which Saint Rose, as a literal and spiritual support for the monstrance, helps the king of Spain battle the infidels, becoming “the Imperial Rose that the Spanish Crown would raise as a new symbol of a Golden Age of Spanish America, initiated by her beatification.”⁴

LEW

1. Esquivel y Navia 1980, vol. 2, pp. 116–17.
2. Wuffarden (1999, p. 73) and Dean (2002) concur with this interpretation.
3. Other paintings on the altar depict Moses with the Ten Commandments, the baptism of Christ, and the founding of the Eucharistic sacrament, among other themes.
4. Mujica Pinilla in Wuffarden et al. 1995, p. 54.

116d. *The Franciscan Order*

Oil on canvas

86 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 100 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (220 × 256 cm)

Familia Larraín Cruzat, Santiago, Chile

REFERENCE: Mariátegui Oliva 1954, pl. 1.

Four canvases in the Santa Ana Corpus Christi series document some of Cuzco's established religious orders—the Dominicans, Franciscans, Mercedarians, and Augustinians—as they participate in the festival procession. This work depicts the Franciscan friars as they march through one of the city's main thoroughfares, which Mariátegui Oliva has identified as the Portal de Panes.¹ This particular scene may have been chosen to commemorate the second founding of the Franciscan monastery, which took place on that very spot in 1538.² Some individualized faces discernible among the group may correspond to actual people, such as the sturdy, bespectacled friar and the subjects at the far right who stare back directly at the viewer. On the whole, however, the painting seems more a collective portrait of a group of men who are tightly bound by obedience to the precepts and disciplines of their order. The iconographic intention was to dispel the image of serious infighting, some of it violent and scandalous, that arose among members of the monastic orders on certain occasions, particularly during the election of priors.

One of the visual strategies the painter employed to create this image of communal solidarity was to portray the friars in harmonious synchrony, as if their steps were choreographed. Grouped in pairs in double file, some of them appear to be quietly conversing with each other. They are shown still wearing the gray habit, in accordance with the order's older traditions. As an eloquent allusion to Franciscan humility, they are partially barefoot, with their hands concealed beneath the coarse sackcloth of their vestments. The procession passes beneath a triumphal arch erected for the occasion, which is surmounted by a tabernacle. The architectural rendering of the arch is noteworthy for the use of paired twisted, or Solomonic, columns, an element that in actuality was not incorporated in Peruvian retables until the



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1680s. It is unclear whether this was some passing architectural novelty or, like the triumphal chariots sometimes seen in the parish church paintings, an imaginative element inspired by European illustrations: in other words, a product of the painter's fancy more than a reflection of visual reality.

In any event this work repeats the compositional scheme of the other paintings that depict religious orders, including two common elements: the passage beneath a triumphal arch and the contemplation of a processional altarpiece. Unlike in the parish or guild processions, the common religious orders did not carry their own religious floats but followed the main image of Christ in a strictly defined order, to avoid any natural conflicts that might arise between the groups. Here this division is manifested by the separate canvases depicting each order. At the far left of the painting a group of friars, dressed in surplices and carrying processional candles and a cross, can be seen heading the Franciscan procession. This placement indicates that the entire group is following closely behind the central procession, which in turn is headed by the bishop of Cuzco. Only one minor departure from this otherwise austere, devout assembly can be seen: a child

who has left a group of commoners and is shown playing with a peashooter as a merchant woman attempts to restrain him. This scene represents a moralizing rhetorical device found in all of the paintings in the series in which friars are present, one that was typically used to demonstrate behavior considered inappropriate during holy processions. The characters who are shown behaving in such a way are always children or madmen, who in keeping with European medieval tradition were considered “innocents,” people not morally responsible for their actions.

On the opposite side of the painting from the procession of commoners we find the privileged viewers watching from stands constructed by the town council. In a somewhat theatrical display, some peer through the red drapery that covers the portal arches. Most of them are women, dressed in the Spanish style; they are shown seated, a privilege befitting their elevated social status. They are overpowered, however, by the processional altarpiece, which is placed at the center of the composition, further accentuating the sense of theatrical illusion.³ The retable, which is pyramidal, is composed of four stepped sections. It is crowned by a ciborium containing a small

crucifix that might have been kept in the Franciscan church, creating a symbolic counterpoint with the monstrance atop the triumphal arch. Each section is richly decorated with mirrors and sheets of embossed silver that must have provided a dazzling overall effect. Such pictorial representations give us a good idea of the magnificent silver pieces produced by the workshops of Cuzco during this time. Its ornate design recalls the vegetal motifs and Baroque scrolls that completely covered the ecclesiastical silverwork created by such masters as Luis Portillo, Andrés de Chávez, and Luis de Lezana.⁴

The eight sculpted angels positioned on the various levels of the altar, each wearing a large plumed headdress, serve as Christ's celestial escorts. These *imágenes de vestir* (clothed sculptures) carry palm fronds symbolizing Christ's final victory over death. Along the highest part of the wall we see another series of archangels, this time rendered on canvas, alternating with other paintings of holy virgins such as Saint Ursula and Saint Elena. There is also a group of Flemish-inspired landscapes hanging in the left corner. In this context these paintings, which line the friars' processional route, are imbued with connotations of the ascetic and contemplative existence of Franciscans and—in the case of the virgins—of their renunciation of earthly pleasures. The lush gardens and orchards thus symbolize the heavenly realm, or Paradise. These were constant themes for the Franciscan order and are common in the oratorical imagery of the time.⁵

Apart from their religious significance these canvases also allude to more secular aspects of the festival. In keeping with a tradition that began in Rome and other great European cities, the feast of Corpus Christi provided painters with an opportunity to display their works, which were hung along the streets where the image of Christ was carried. This gave the artists a chance to exhibit their most recent creations, to attract new clients, and to receive commissions. As vividly illustrated in this work, Cuzco was no exception. The artist, in a remarkable display of virtuosity, has managed to endow these "paintings within a painting" with a decidedly local style, one that is more authentically Cuzqueño than his

own work. As this detail demonstrates, the Cuzco workshops had broken free from the conventions of saints' images that had served as their models and instead were expressing themselves in ways more appropriate to the Andean milieu. Through pictorial "quotes" such as this one, the creators of the Corpus Christi series, as well as the patrons who commissioned these works, undoubtedly let their civic pride shine through as they made their case for Cuzco as the unrivaled center of the arts in viceregal Peru.

LEW

1. Mariátegui Oliva 1954, p. 17.
2. Regarding the second founding, see Esquivel y Navia 1980, p. 111.
3. The *maestros altareros* (masters of the altarpieces) who specialized in this type of work formed a guild that was particularly active in Cuzco at this time.
4. These masters dominated the production of silverwork in Cuzco during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. See Esteras Martín 1980, pp. 709–40, and Stastny 1997, pp. 184–93.
5. For the Andean symbolic association of a lush orchard with the heavenly realm, or with the human soul, see Gisbert 1999, pp. 149–52.

117. Processional cross

Highlands or Altiplano, ca. 1650–1700
Silver, cast and chased, with openwork
H. 26 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (66.2 cm), max. W. 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (34 cm)
Museo Pedro de Osma, Lima

REFERENCES: Museo Pedro de Osma 1995, pp. 154–55; Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, pp. 102–102; Stastny 1997, p. 150, fig. II-34.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1997, no. 12.

Both sides of this Latin processional cross bear the same design. The crosspiece is rectilinear, with a C-shaped expansion on each end and at each side of the intersection between the horizontal and vertical elements. Five rectangular spaces along the length of the crosspieces are embellished with raised rosettes with crested openwork on the edges. The cross rests on a spheroid node that is unadorned except for gadrooned ribbing and ribbing terminating in scrolls crowned by pyramids. The coupling piece is smooth and cylindrical.

This cross is made of solid silver, as was customary in the Peruvian Highlands and



Altiplano, with no armature. Except for the finish, which is chased, the cross is entirely the product of casting. The structure is Mannerist in style, particularly the rigid crosspiece and the large, heavy node. The ornamental elements, including the gadroons, C-shaped motifs, rosettes, and pyramidal ends, are also in keeping with this style, although some are far more nimbly rendered than in the usual Mannerist works.

Even though the cross, which I believe dates to the second half of the seventeenth century, is based on a Mannerist formal language, it can in some features be considered Baroque. The Baroque elements, such as the application of crests and rosettes on the cross and ends of the crosspiece and the use of coiled multiple ribs on the node, reflect an attempt to add flexibility to the contours. This formula is typical of works of the region extending from Cuzco down through the Altiplano, as is the edging of rosettes, which are seen time and again in monstrances produced in the Peruvian Highlands.

The cross can thus safely be considered Peruvian. It probably originated somewhere between the cities of Arequipa and Puno, as it is similar to various other pieces from this area, such as the cross in the Porcel collection in Buenos Aires. However, we cannot entirely rule out Cuzco as a possible point of origin, because stylistically comparable crosses are housed there, for example in the convents of Santa Catalina, Santa Teresa, and San Francisco. Moreover, it was in Cuzco that artists established aesthetic prototypes that were disseminated throughout the Cuzco valley and from there throughout the Highlands and the Altiplano (present-day Peru and Bolivia). Nonetheless, neither a detailed argument nor documentation has been provided that supports a definitive attribution to Cuzco. Although this cross is no longer in the church in which it was originally housed and as such is very difficult to classify precisely in terms of its place of production, I continue to maintain my earlier attribution. On the basis of style, I reject Francisco Stastny's hypothesis that the piece dates to the last third of the eighteenth century.

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118. *Alonso Chiguan Inga*

Cuzco, ca. 1740–50

Oil on canvas

83 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 49 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (211 × 126 cm)

Arms: per fess or and azure, in chief a double-headed eagle displayed sable between two palm(?) trees proper, in base on a field vert(?) a bull statant sable between two serpents erect proper, at the fess point overall the royal Inca fringe (*mascaypacha*) gules, within a bordure gules charged with sixteen crosses formy or; ensigned by a helm proper plumed or.

Inscribed: *Don Alonso Chiguan Inga Visnato de Cápac Lloque Yupangui Inga tercer Monarca y Señor Natural que fue destes Reynos, este fue el primero q. res (ibio el) Agua Del Santo Bautismo siendo Gentil en la*

Conquista por esta f (...) la San (...) en la Ma (...) S (...) hiso merced (...) rmas concediéndole todas las Onras (...) el y sus (...) por su limp (...) Sangre Real de la Villa (...) Se (...) D (...) dor que (...) q ...

Museo Inka, Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad del Cusco

REFERENCES: J. Rowe 1951, p. 260, fig. 2; J. Rowe 1984, pp. 109–28, fig. 2; Cummins 1991, fig. 3; Dean 1999, pp. 119–21, fig. 29, cover ill.; Dean 2002, p. 114, fig. 29; Mujica Pinilla et al. 2002, pp. 30–31, fig. 27.

This is a singularly important work among the vast collection of family portraits commissioned by the *cacique*

Marcos Chiguan Topa as testimony to his family's ancient lineage. The painting, which depicts the ostensible patriarch of the Chiguan Topa family, includes iconographic elements—notably the drapery and table in the background, the mestizo heraldry, and the elliptical scroll of paper with the detailed inscription held by the attendant dwarf—that are very similar to the portrait of Marcos Chiguan Topa himself (cat. no. 43). Both paintings were executed in the mid-eighteenth century and, judging from their similarities, possibly by the same atelier.

Although Alonso Chiguan Inga was supposedly an Inca nobleman from the Conquest period, he is situated not in an idyllic landscape, as is generally the case with images of legendary, pre-Hispanic royalty, but in the interior of a noble European residence analogous to the one in which his descendant, Marcos, would have lived. The portrait thus tells us that the colonial Chiguan Topa family began with Alonso, who is situated amid the trappings of privilege that his descendants would have enjoyed in both Inca and Spanish society. He is garbed in ancient Inca dress, but he also exhibits the conventional signs of having recently converted to Christianity (he was supposedly among the first of the Inca elite to do so). For example, Alonso resolutely holds the cross as he contemplates the light emanating from it. His somewhat amazed expression of mystic rapture is comparable to that of the missionary holy figures and ascetics who frequently appear in viceregal religious painting. Like these figures, Alonso is given a stereotypical facial appearance marked by “idealized” European features. The painter was careful not to mute the intense darkness of his skin tones, however, which reinforces Alonso's ethnicity. The careful combination of the conversion motif and the indigenous identity serves to buttress the claims of his descendants, as noted in the inscription, that he was “the first to receive the water of holy baptism, thereby embracing the conversion of the conquest.” This theme is echoed in his erect posture, which is actually an anachronism; it anticipates what the authors of Spanish courtly treatises later described as the appropriate stance for a “Catholic gentleman.”

The “pagan” aspects of Alonso's costume are offset by European elements that identify him as someone who had embraced not only Christianity but the colonial system as well. The heraldic escutcheon, for example, is the very coat of arms purportedly bestowed by the Spanish king on the Inca monarch Paullu Inca, which the Chiguan Topas, like other members of high-ranking Cuzqueño nobility, appropriated as their own. This heraldry was commonly and intentionally included in such portraiture to “authenticate” ancient lineages and loyalties. The Hapsburgian double-headed eagle partially obscures the Inca image of the Sun god as it also covers the war club, thus symbolizing that Alonso had abandoned his arms following the Spanish invasion.

Efforts to reconstruct ancestors both real and fictional were an important part of the cultural climate of the “Inca Renaissance,” a dynamic southern Andean movement that fostered evocations of the imperial past in the form of dramatic representations and ceremonies, as well as in the decorative arts and painting. The attire worn by the subject of this work is undoubtedly the same as that worn by the *curacas* (Inca noblemen) of Cuzco on festive occasions, and it is likely that the well-known series of paintings of the Corpus Christi festival from the Church of Santa Ana in Cuzco served as inspiration for this painter. Clear similarities can be discerned, for example, between the image of Alonso and that of the second lieutenant Baltasar Tupa Puma, who is seen in the painting of the La Linda and Saint Rose of Lima processions (cat. no. 116c).¹ These include the quatrefoil motifs distributed over the *uncu* (tunic) and the tapered, cruciform *tocapu*, which in the context of the conversion theme may be understood as prefigurations of the symbol of the cross of Christ. Here, however, Baltasar's Baroque lace sleeves have been eliminated to reveal Alonso's “barbarian” naked arms, and a heavy gold bracelet has been added to provide a greater sense of historic authenticity.

Alonso's Inca-style headdress, which was characteristic of the ceremonial garb worn by Cuzco aristocrats beginning in the seventeenth century, was also likely lifted from the Corpus Christi series. As Carolyn

Dean has observed, this fantastic neo-Incan “crown” is the same one that adorns the head of Marcos Chiguan Topa.² The figures are also surrounded by the same decorative elements, as if to say that the family residence remained untouched for two hundred years. Nevertheless, these anachronisms would have provided contemporary viewers with a visual corollary between the subject of this portrait and his descendant. Smaller details, such as Alonso's accessories—the puma heads adorning his shoulders and legs and the Inca Sun pendant on his chest—helped convey the temporal distance between the two men.³

Unlike the painterly illusionism that predominates in the Corpus works, here the metallic adornments have been affixed in gold leaf in an attempt to effect a greater sense of “reality.” The clumsy application of the leaf somewhat flattens the overall effect, however. The various modifications visible on the surface of the canvas are evidence of the portrait's larger purpose: to aggrandize the Chiguan Topa family history. Like the apocryphal genealogies and manipulated historical documents frequently employed by the indigenous nobility to “prove” their ancestry, every detail of this work was surely subject to the capricious aspirations of Marcos Chiguan Topa or his descendants: thus the formal vacillations, erasures, and amended texts as well as the different hands that have left their mark throughout the composition. In fact we have only the persuasive power of the image to support the claim in the inscription that Alonso was the “great-grandson” of the Inca king Huayna Cápac, a legend no doubt concocted by the person who commissioned the work.⁴ And yet with little more than this portrait of his significant ancestor, Alonso, Marcos Chiguan Topa was able to boast of his family's services to the causes of the Conquest and thereby to legitimize his entire lineage as “old Christians” who were loyal servants of the crown.

LEW

1. By interesting coincidence, Baltasar Tupa Puma—who was possibly a relative of the Chiguan Topa family—appears in this painting as part of the sculptural representation of the Defense of the Eucharist, thereby manifesting his simultaneous fealty to the Catholic faith and to the Hapsburgs. Ramón Mujica Pinilla (in

Mujica Pinilla et al. 2002, pp. 30–31) also points out formal similarities between this image and that of the indigenous lord in the parish church of San Sebastián portrayed in the same series.

2. Dean 2002, p. 127.

3. Both items could very well have been appropriated from the Santa Ana Corpus Christi canvases. The gold artifact on the table is not easily identified. It could be a piece from an Inca mace, but the shape also suggests a monstrance crowned by a sunburst motif.

4. The text was partially transcribed with X-rays in 1951 by John H. Rowe, and that is the version we have used here.

119. *Tabernacle*

Veca

Potosí(?), ca. 1780

Silver on wood armature, molded, cast, repoussé, and chased, with tracery work
32½ × 15 × 15 in. (83 × 38 × 38 cm)

Mark: VECA

Convento de Santo Domingo, Lima

REFERENCES: Esteras Martín 1992b, no. 339; Esteras Martín 1995a, fig. 399; Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, pp. 206–7.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1997, no. 61.

This cubic “temple,” which rests on four ball-and-claw feet, is a tabernacle, used to hold the consecrated Host. It is made of silver sheets nailed to a wood core. All four sides are decorated, indicating that it was intended to be viewed from all angles. We know, therefore, that it was not made as a fixed object to be placed on the altar but, perhaps, was intended for use on the processional float for Holy Thursday.

The piece is architectural in conception, with four projecting pilasters at each corner supporting a rectilinear entablature. At its top is a gadrooned hemispherical cupola framed by a large semicircular diadem, surmounted by the image of the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove. The ornamental repertoire comprises vegetal, geometric, and figurative motifs, including fringed crests, vegetal wedges, scallop-angels, foliate angels, C-shaped scrollwork decorated variously with cherub busts, and the shield of Santo Domingo de Guzmán, as well as scallops and putti. The most successfully executed part of the tabernacle is the door, which is topped by a semicircular arch and consists



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of two embossed sheets of symmetrically arranged decorations outlined by the red background of the wood core. Among these decorations is a luxuriant rocaille

branch that links this piece to similar objects and places its date at about 1780.

The tabernacle is marked several times with a name stamp (VECA), which I inter-



119, side view

pret as the mark of the artist—an exceptional feature. It also bears repeated burin incisions that indicate it passed through tax control and therefore was subjected to an analysis of its silver content. If we were able to connect the stamped surname with a known silversmith, we could classify the piece and determine its place of origin. Unfortunately, for the time being the identity of Veca remains unknown. However, the same mark that appears on this tabernacle has been discovered on a coca box in the Museo de Arte Hispanoamericano Isaac Fernández Blanco in Buenos Aires (cat. no. 138). That box can be linked to objects from Potosí on the basis of certain stylistic features and ornamental elements. Thus, we can, by extension, provisionally classify the tabernacle as the product of the silversmiths of Potosí, unless and until a different, definitive provenance is confirmed by new evidence.

The tabernacle's lavish decorative vocabulary clearly points to Highland Peru, as it features the grotesque motifs so popular in that region. Among them are the fantastic foliate angel figures that always appear in



119, back view

Highland Baroque pieces, which are seen here in conjunction with scallop-shell angels. This scallop-angel motif recalls two figures on one side of the facade of the Casa del Recogimiento in Potosí and others on the facade of the Church of Manquiri, near Potosí. In terms of its type, the present example is similar to freestanding tabernacles in the cathedrals of Potosí and Santiago, as well as one in the monastery of Santa Catalina, in Cuzco, which was intended for use on the Holy Thursday processional float, and a Bolivian example in the Hirsch collection in Buenos Aires.

The emblem of Santo Domingo appears in a number of places on the tabernacle, indicating that it was commissioned directly by the Dominicans. The fact that it is now housed in a convent in Lima does not mean that it was produced in that city, since it may originally have been held by another Dominican church or perhaps was commissioned by a benefactor or friar in another part of Peru, such as Potosí.

CEM

120. *Eucharistic urn in the form of a pelican*

Lima(?), ca. 1750–60

Silver, partially gilt, with gold and precious stones, cast, molded, repoussé, and chased, with burnished punchwork

H. 32 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (83 cm), max. W. 35 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (91 cm), base 11 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 11 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (30 × 30 cm)

Monasterio de Nuestra Señora del Prado, Lima

REFERENCE: Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, pp. 182–83.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1997, no. 49.

In Peru, and especially in the Highlands and Altiplano, Eucharistic vessels made to hold the sacramental wafers for the celebration of communion on Holy Thursday took the form of a large pelican feeding its young with its own blood. This form symbolizes divine love made manifest in the sacred Host, the bread of the Eucharist; as such it has the same meaning as the coffers made in the form of Christ's sepulchre that were used to hold the Host in other Hispanic centers. There are many urns in the form of pelicans, of varying size and quality, but this example, from a monastery in Lima, is one of the finest. It is similar to an urn in the Cathedral of Arequipa that I attributed some time ago to the silversmith Marcos del Carpio (fig. 66). Other similarly shaped urns are found in, or once were in, the cathedrals of Cuzco and Chuquisaca (Sucre), the Church of Santo Tomás in Chumbivilcas (now lost), the Church of San Pedro in Moxos (now in the Cathedral of Santa Cruz de la Sierra), the Jesuit college in Moquegua, and the unusual example now in a private collection in Buenos Aires (fig. 127).

This piece is of a good size, as it was intended to be placed high above the sacrarium and could not otherwise have been clearly visible within the elaborate altar/retable complex. The adult pelican, which can be dismantled, is shown with wings spread in the act of pecking at its heart-shaped breast to bring forth blood to feed its young. Both birds have movable tongues and glass eyes. The adult pelican wears on its head a palmette set with sixteen stones, two blue and the rest red. On its back is a small hinged door that opens





120, detail

(with a key) to allow for the deposit of the Host within the body. Both the adult and the juvenile stand on a rounded base, which rests on a square element with claw feet and palmettes wrapped over the corners.

The devastating earthquake that ruined the city of Lima in 1746 destroyed the monastery of Nuestra Señora del Prado, which, now restored, houses the present

piece. The restoration did not begin until 1748, and I believe that the pelican was made a year or two later: if it had existed earlier it might well have been sold for funds to help finance the rebuilding. Whether or not this hypothesis is correct, the fully Baroque style situates the piece in about the mid-eighteenth century, and not later than the 1760s. The object would have been

Fig. 127. Eucharistic vessel in the form of a standing *chajá* representing a pelican, Alto Perú, 18th century. Silver. Private collection



costly, which suggests that it was donated to the convent rather than purchased by the nuns, who were financially strapped at the time. It was probably made by a silversmith in Lima, judging from the very fine technique and formal elegance not seen in similar works known to be from the Highlands or Alto Perú.

CEM

Andean Style in the Secular World

The lavish ornamental style that evolved in the religious sphere in the Andes during the late seventeenth century crossed over into the secular environment as well. The same abundance of flora and real and grotesque fauna that graced the arched doorways and porticos of viceregal Baroque buildings began to appear on all types of domestic objects. Artisans from Lima to Potosí reworked the forms of the European Renaissance and Baroque in unmistakably Andean fashion and applied them to luxurious tapestry-woven bedcovers and hangings and silver utensils of every sort.

Despite an apparent decline in production, silver was available in such abundance in Peru that its ownership was scarcely confined to the elites. Nor was its working limited to guild members supervised by Spanish overseers. Workshops throughout the southern Andes, in Lima, Arequipa, Cuzco, and Potosí, provided a stream of silver objects in a profusion of local styles. Instead of ceramic, iron, pewter, or tin, in the Andes even quotidian tankards, braziers, kettles, and perfume pots, not to mention chamber pots, were wrought in silver. Some of the most distinctive silver objects, in form as well as function, were designed to grace the centuries-old local rituals for consuming infusions of yerba maté, the “Paraguayan herb” from the region’s river basins and forested eastern slopes. Local silversmiths created extraordinary shell-shaped lock boxes for storing maté leaves, curiously shaped samovarlike kettles for heating water, and above all enclosures for the humble gourd cups from which maté was traditionally drunk.

Silver mining generated riches that enabled Peruvian-born Europeans, called Creoles, and a privileged component of the mixed heritage and indigenous population to acquire and display an opulent array of attire and household furnishings that astonished visitors from abroad. Much of this extravagance, apparent in the heavily indigenous regions of the Highlands and Altiplano as well as in largely Creole Lima, was dependent on trade goods such as laces and silks imported from Asia and Europe in defiance of long-standing Spanish attempts to prevent such independent commerce. Contraband intra-American trade, with New Spain along the

Pacific coast and down the eastern slope of the Andes to the increasingly prosperous Atlantic portal of the Río de la Plata, contributed to the flow of luxury goods.

The eighteenth century saw momentous changes in the political landscape of viceregal Peru. After the War of the Spanish Succession at the start of the century, when the Bourbon dynasty replaced the Hapsburgs on the throne of Spain, efforts to revive the colonial contribution to the economy of the mother country inspired a series of “reforms” whose implementation led to great unrest in Peru. Recognizing the growing importance of power centers outside Lima, between 1717 and 1751 the Bourbons created the Viceroyalty of New Granada in the north (encompassing what are now Ecuador, Colombia, part of Venezuela, and Panama). Even more devastating was the amputation of Alto Perú, and with it the silver mines that defined the original Peruvian viceroyalty, when the new Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata (now Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Bolivia) was established about 1776. The legitimization of the long-standing unofficial trade with England, France, and the Low Countries and the rise of Buenos Aires and the Atlantic trade routes displaced Lima from its central role in the economy of Spain’s South American empire.

As a consequence of these changes, and of the resulting influx of goods brought by French and English merchants, fresh artistic ideas began to infuse the traditional ornamental vocabulary that had until then defined the Andean Baroque. Emblems of the European rocaille were taken up with great enthusiasm by silversmiths and weavers from Lima to Potosí. Whether applied to hangings, picture frames, storage boxes, or the ubiquitous women’s garment pins, these motifs were reworked to express the imagination of the Andean artist. Artistic, intellectual, and political life in the colonies shifted further in the wake of the European Enlightenment. Ripples of this movement appeared in the Americas with the French scientists who came to measure the equator in 1736–45 and the two great Spanish expeditions sent to catalogue all the flora, fauna, minerals, and inhabitants of New Spain in the 1780s and 1790s.

JH and EP

121. *Shaving dish*

Alto Perú, ca. 1700–25

Silver, molded, repoussé, and chased
1 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 16 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (4.8 x 41 x 29 cm)
Private collection

REFERENCE: Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997,
pp. 138–39.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1997, no. 29.

The kidney shape and the concave indentation at the center of the rim of this piece lead me to believe that it was intended as a personal toiletry article, specifically for use in shaving or trimming the beard. Nevertheless, the type was not used exclusively for that purpose. Similarly shaped basins exist that served other functions, such as the beautiful example now in the Cathedral of La Paz, which is used in the *Ante Missam*, a prayer said before Mass. Its original function may have been secular, and if so that basin might have been donated to the church.

The most salient feature of the dish's structure—aside from its kidney shape and the curvilinear indentation—is the receptacle's imitation of a scallop shell with its undulating surface adorned with thirteen smooth, concave gadroons. The naturalistic ornament takes the form of a foliate scroll

that winds around the rim, encircling, in each of sixteen scalloped zones, a flower, either open or in bud. A pair of addorsed herons are poised on luxuriant branches on either side of the area of the scallop-shell "hinge." A thick molded border establishes the contour of the piece and functions both as a defining decorative feature and as protection for the delicate rim, the part of the object most prone to damage through use.

Out of context, and with no markings of any kind, the dish must be classified solely on the basis of its ornamentation, which clearly employs a naturalistic Altiplano lexicon. This lexicon typically includes flowers, and herons are rarely absent from the Andean and Altiplano ornamental repertoire. The generous use of materials in this heavy piece also confirms this origin.

The mobility of the dish's contours, the composition, rhythm, and execution of its repoussé adornments, as well as the embellishment at the sides of the scallop-shell hinge and the ornamental vocabulary in general all qualify the basin as Baroque. It probably dates to about 1725, but since we have no knowledge of its maker or the precise place it was produced, I prefer to assign to it a less restricted date, sometime in the first third of the eighteenth century.

CEM

122. *Basin for a ewer*

Alto Perú, ca. 1735

Silver, repoussé and chased, with burnished punchwork
Diam. 14 in. (35.5 cm)
Private collection

REFERENCE: Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997,
pp. 140–41.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1997, no. 30.

This circular dish has an ample, slightly convex rim, the edge of which follows the outline of the piece's decorative motif. These elements are organized to form a border of intertwined and scrolling foliage terminating in flowers and grotesque heads. Four birds placed along cardinal points mark the compositional axes of the piece. Corded molding serves as a border that separates the rim from the basin, which is concave, with decoration divided into six areas divided by smooth, burnished blades. This decoration combines vegetal elements (rosebuds and leaves) and animal imagery (two birds and two lions, as well as foliated serpents, two viscachas, and a pair of "vegetal men" [*bombres verdes*]). The smooth, strongly defined well is encircled by an elaborate convex, vegetal molding with a festooned interior contour.



121



122

The size of the piece and its deep, well-structured seat suggest that it originally served as the basin of an aquamanile: the pitcher would have fit into the central area and would have been protected by the sides of the molding. If it was indeed part of an aquamanile, its circular shape is in keeping with the customary style employed for such objects in Castile and standardized in Spain before the Bourbons came to power at the beginning of the eighteenth century. With the Bourbons came a taste for ovoid and very deep basins, which was in general adopted in Spain; to be sure, in certain areas of Spain and Latin America the Gallic model met with some resistance and the traditional Castilian model continued to dominate.

This basin is heavily embellished with motifs typically used by silversmiths who worked in the area that extended from Puno, along the shores of Lake Titicaca, to La Paz and to Potosí: that is, throughout the Altiplano of colonial Peru. The decorative language of this region is characterized by the representation of both naturalistic and fantastic natural forms. Here this impulse is seen in the display of a luxuriant

orchard—a fantasy of the Altiplano—populated by monsters as well as by local fauna. The silversmith who made this piece was envisioning an imaginary world of warmth, abundance, and well-being that he and his contemporaries would have associated with the Antisuyu, the tropical realm of the old Inca Empire. He evoked this invented world with imagery that includes foliated serpents and animal-plant hybrids, while referring to the real one with such motifs as cockatoos and viscachas. There are other indigenous elements, such as plumed headdresses. The curling manes of the lions, significantly, are part of the standard iconography of Baroque works in Highland Peru.

Based on its style and technique, this piece can be dated to approximately 1735. Its most original feature is the suggestion of movement by means of spiraling motifs that lend instability, in keeping with the Baroque sensibility. The most noteworthy element of the technique is the use of the elaborately stippled background to clearly set off the motifs displayed upon it.

CEM

123. Tapestry with scrolls

17th–early 18th century(?)

Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid and cotton weft

65 × 86 in. (165.1 × 218.4 cm)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Gift of Landon T. Clay (1990.624)

EX COLL.: Andrew R. Dole; Elizabeth F. Cheney; Sotheby's, New York, November 21, 1988, lot 46.

REFERENCES: Lavalle and González García 1988, pp. 307, 309; Stone-Miller in Boston 1992, pp. 195–96, 262, pl. 75

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with single-interlocking and some dovetail joins. **Warp:** 3-ply cotton \wedge 26 per in. (grayish white). **Weft:** camelid \wedge 112 per in. (light and dark cochineal red, light and dark blue, light and dark purple, gold, green, and white). **Loom cord:** 4-ply cotton \wedge (white). **Selvages:** warp selvages chain-looped on lower end, cut-and-entered on upper end. Both side selvages preserved. Heading of five shots of white cotton plain weave at beginning edge. **Condition:** excellent, with some repair on edges; small holes have been previously patched.

The Spanish fascination for Renaissance scrollwork quickly infiltrated the design vocabulary of Andean weavers, resulting in animated tapestries replete with movement and liveliness but sometimes awkward juxtapositions as well. This example displays a veritable forest of scrolling vines populated with animals from the Altiplano, in addition to European-style grotesques, half-man, half-plant creatures sometimes referred to as foliate or “green” men.

The fine lines of the interlacing scrolls fill the large central field, which has a red ground, with leaves and animals placed within the interstitial spaces. The composition is symmetrical—five complete circular scrolls across and four down—but the overall symmetry is somewhat obscured by the plethora of intervening designs, some of which terminate in animal bodies.

The interior “guard” border contains scrolls set against a white ground; these are outlined in blue on the interior and in red on the exterior. The wider middle border has a dark blue background, and it, too, contains interlacing scrolls, which have animals, flowers, and guitar-playing foliate



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men in each corner, the latter with golden-haired lions or pumas behind them in horizontal (that is, tame) positions. The outer border has featherlike scrolls that mirror the design of the inner guard border, here on a red ground.

This tapestry is possibly related to several other colonial examples, including the Metropolitan Museum's "biblical" tapestry (cat. no. 72), especially in terms of its drawing style and technical elements (see also cat. no. 124, which has a similar design). Additionally, several other tapestries in the collections of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, seem to reflect the influence of this piece. One is a tapestry with four central figures of exotic personages based on a print by Jacques Callot (1592–1635), a French artist whose work was reproduced in various editions during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹ This so-called Callot tapestry, which has been dated to after 1725 based on the

identification of the particular edition of the print that served as the model for the figures, has a border design similar to that seen in this example, suggesting that both drew from the same design source.

Whether their shared attributes mean that these tapestries were the output of one workshop over a period of time or simply reflect the eclectic aesthetic of the period, they do underscore the interrelationships that existed among Andean weavers, who shared design approaches, graphic sources, and technical expertise.

This tapestry is very tightly woven, with closely spaced warps. In fact, the closeness of the warps and the tight packing of the wefts made it difficult for the weaver to fully cover the warps, which are exposed in some areas. There is a "right" and "wrong" side of the tapestry (evidenced by the many knotted warps and wefts on the back), an unusual feature for an object of colonial manufacture. The weaver also skipped

some warps while interlacing, indicating that he or she worked from the back. This rare technical mistake yields important information about the processes utilized by Andean weavers. Following Inca tradition (as distinct from the European method), Andean weavers made tapestries that could be viewed from both sides. This doublesidedness was strictly controlled by the Inca master weavers of *cumbi*-quality cloth to ensure that the textiles had no blemishes on either side. Here the skipped threads created blemishes on the front of the tapestry that were probably not seen by the weaver, who worked from the back. (We know the flaw is on what was considered the front because, uncharacteristically, there are small knots joining the broken warp yarns on the other side.) It is possible that in Inca times a companion weaver was seated in front of the tapestry to see that the front side was perfect. The decoration on an Inca ceramic vessel from Pachacamac

shows weavers seated on either side of a tapestry.² We can guess that the less stringent methods employed in the weaving workshops in the colonial era did not allow for a “spotter” to watch over the front. Despite these minor technical flaws, the weaving here is generally of the very highest quality.

EP

1. Zick 1976, pp. 72–86. See also Stone-Miller in Boston 1992, pp. 193–94, pl. 74.
2. See VanStan (1973) 1979, pp. 233–37.

124. *Tapestry with scrolls and hunters*

Southern Andes, late 17th to early 18th century(?)

Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft
84¾ × 75¼ in. (215.3 × 191.1 cm)
Severočeské Muzeum, Liberec, Czech Republic (T1192)

REFERENCES: Sarre and Martin (1910) 1912, no. 2431, pl. 224 (as Spanish or Indo-Portuguese); Kendrick 1925, p. 297 (as Indo-Portuguese); Cavallo 1967, p. 181.

EXHIBITION: Munich 1910, no. 2431 (as Spanish or Indo-Portuguese).

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with single-interlocking joins, wedge weave, and some weft-float patterning. **Warp:** cotton ///^ 20–21 per in. (white). **Weft:** camelid ^ 120 per in. (pink [cochineal], white, blue, purple, yellow/gold; gray and yellow plied to appear like a silver thread). **Selvages:** warp loops on lower edge; upper selvage has long loops, some uncut at top. Weft selvages intact; single cord. **Condition:** faded on front; back retains its bright color. Some old repair and fringe not original but found on piece at time of purchase. Six 12½–14 in.-wide sections do not extend to edges.



When it was first published, in a catalogue for an exhibition of Islamic rugs in Munich in 1910, this beautifully preserved tapestry with interlacing scrolls interspersed with Andean flora and fauna was labeled “Spanish or Indo-Portuguese.”¹ Its export first to Austria and then to Czechoslovakia shows how truly international the vogue for colonial arts had become.¹ It also provides a dramatic example of the widespread interest in collecting *exotica*, a tradition that flourished in the Renaissance with the *Wunderkammer*, or cabinet of curiosities, and to some extent continues to this day.²

Objects from the Andes were first brought to Europe and the East by the conquistadors, as Spanish administrators and clerics sought to inform the European nobility of the “primitive” treasures and *cosas extraordinarias* (extraordinary things) of the New World as well as to amass collections of their own. Records of Spanish royal inventories list precious objects like the *mascaypachas*, the royal fringed headgear worn by the Inca king, as well as silver figurines and other ceremonial offerings.³ The traffic in exotic arts continued to flourish through the nineteenth century, when many colonial tapestries found their way into museum collections.

This tapestry, however it arrived in Europe, is related in style and design to catalogue number 123, a tapestry with interlacing scrolls and musicians. Although the template common to these two works is rooted in a European decorative arts vocabulary, it is a variation on traditional interlacing scrollwork with peculiar Andean additions. The elusive style is difficult to date, but it seems to conform to the aesthetic of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, when the quotidian arts were fully established in colonial society.

Scrolling volutes inscribed with flora and fauna in a rhythmic, regular fashion form the field of the tapestry. They are surrounded by borders (both major and minor) with additional scrolling vines and guard stripes. Although the lateral orientation of the scrolls alternates from row to row, the overall field has a fluid, quadrilateral orientation. Lurking amid the vines are Renaissance-style lion masks that face squarely front, marking what was perhaps

the Andean artist’s unease in weaving a European-style quadrilateral design.

The path of the white circular scroll, outlined in blue, is interlaced with other vines and leaves that have rosettes at their centers and are flanked by rampant lions. Alternate sets of volutes surround monkeys, birds, and other Andean fauna, all inscribed within a swirling flow. The broad central field contains hunters wearing shoes and long cloaks and carrying long pointed sticks or defensive arms. Opposite them are naked men, several of whom carry bows and arrows. The hunters appear intent on capturing the lions, however, and not the “Amazons.”

The main grid is somewhat crudely and irregularly accomplished. The design that served as a model was almost certainly more geometric and regular. The animals scattered about the scrolls and the other Renaissance-derived trappings are evidence of the Andean weavers’ vivid imagination. Viscachas and monkeys hug the rims, and birds perch on the curled ends of the scrolls. The lion masks champ at the scrolling vines in their articulated white teeth with such effort that their eyes are almost crossed, and at the same time stick out their tongues at one another as they float through the imaginary space of the grid. It is almost as if a vital, energized animal kingdom thrives within the confines of this woven labyrinth.

EP

1. According to curator Oldrich Palata, the tapestry was purchased from an antique dealer in Vienna in the early 1900s by the Nordbohemian Museum, now the Severočeské Muzeum.
2. See, for example, Lisbon 2001–2 and Mauries 2002.
3. See Cabello Carro 1989.

125. Drinking vessel and salver

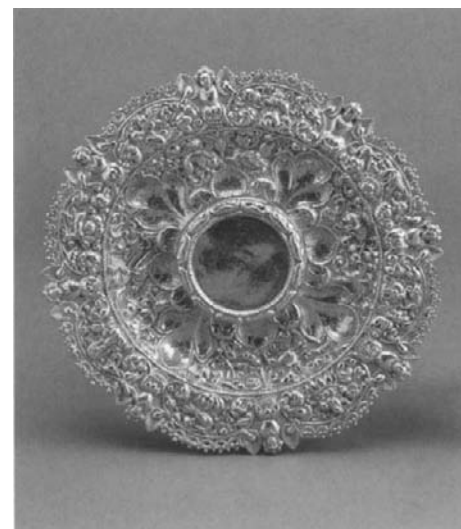
Alto Perú, ca. 1730
Gold and enamel, repoussé, chased, and engraved, with tracery work and burnished punchwork
Vessel: 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (3.5 x 9 x 19.5 cm)
Salver: 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (8.5 x 4.5 cm)
Private collection

REFERENCES: Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, pp. 164–65; Esteras Martín 2000c, p. 133.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1997, no. 42.

From the seventeenth through the eighteenth century, viceregal Hispanic American society developed an affinity for certain types of vessels (*bernegales*), both with and without presentation salvers, that were made to contain bezoar stones. The bezoar stone, actually a calcareous concretion ejected from the stomach of a ruminant animal—for example, the bezoar goat in the Middle East and the llama in Peru—was from ancient times credited with medicinal and magical properties: it was believed to cure melancholy, cholera, plague, and epilepsy and to act as an antidote to poison as well as to detect the presence of poison. Bezoar stones were thus highly prized as regal gifts and, accordingly, sought after by the rest of society.

This ensemble includes a cup-shaped receptacle and a presentation salver with a base. The salver is the more sumptuous and finely executed component of the set. It contains a well-structured circular holder for the base of the vessel, which provides stability during transport. Extending from the salver’s well, the ornament takes the form of a large blossom with pointed, concave trefoil petals that are set off by animal and vegetal motifs in the reserved areas: a rooster facing a puma; a parrotlike bird facing another puma; a taruca chased by a dog; and a bird of prey carrying another bird in its claws. The curved segments along the platter rim are marked by “vegetal men” (*bombres verdes*), who create an



125, top view of salver



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undulating frame for repeated naturalistic motifs: a leafy fringe intertwined with various animals such as herons, foxes, birds, tarucas, wild boar, rodents, and dogs.

The most significant features of the cup are the green and black champlevé enamel in the ornamentation and the foliate frieze engraved beneath the rim border, the latter a well-executed, original design. The bottom of the cup interior still contains the clasp that held a bezoar stone (now missing), which indicates the original function of the receptacle.

When I first came across these two pieces in 1997, I performed a detailed stylistic analysis and painstakingly compared it to other Peruvian examples of the kind. Since the pieces bear no marks that might facilitate a determination of their origin, I suggested that, given the indigenous fauna in the ornamentation and the rendering of foliate men with open sleeves and raised arms reminiscent of angel wings, the platter is analogous to works from the Bolivian Altiplano (the Lake Titicaca–La Paz region). However, the imagery is also related to that of works originating in Potosí, farther south. I therefore classified these pieces as Highland Peruvian from the High Baroque period, dating to about 1730.

Difficulties remain, however, concerning the vessel's classification, since clearly there are elements of its ornamental vocabulary—the use of enamel, for example—that separate it from the salver. Nevertheless, there are several features that link them together, even if they are not of precisely the same date. One is the perfect fit of the

cup base into the cup holder, which indicates that even if the cup was produced after the salver it was made to go with it. Both pieces are of considerable artistic value, noteworthy for the material employed (gold) and its weight, the definition and richness of ornamentation, the good state of preservation (except for the enamel, which has sustained some loss), and the fact that they remain together as a set, with a cup that was more than a simple receptacle—for it held a precious bezoar stone.

CEM

126. *Tray*

Potosí(?), ca. 1725–50

Silver, repoussé, chased, and engraved, with burnished punchwork

15½ × 12⅛ in. (39.4 × 30.8 cm)

Mark: royal crown

Arms: crown of thorns with five wounds
Apelles Collection, Chile

LITERATURE: Esteras Martín 1995a, p. 400, fig. 396; Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, pp. 142–43; Esteras Martín 2004, no. 46.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1997, no. 31.

This deep, rectangular tray—one of the most beautiful and accomplished objects from Alto Perú—has sloping sides and a wide rim with a cutout contour. In



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the center of the bottom is a tondo showing the crown of thorns and the five wounds, as well as foliate men in the form of double-tailed sirens. A gadroon with an ogee arch is centered on each of the four sides of the rectangle that encloses the tondo. Each gadroon is flanked by angular palmettes and stems enclosing flowers; small sprout-like stippled tendrils subtly shade the plain areas of the sides. Two rows of twisted cording frame the outer border of the tray, a continuous band of foliate ornamentation interrupted at the corners by figures of musicians playing guitars. In the center of each long side is a green mask, and four herons adorn each of the short sides. The tray is marked with the *quinto* in the form of a royal crown surrounded by a circle of pearls. This emblem guarantees that the piece passed through official control and that the required tax (a fifth of its value) was paid.

From the shield of the Franciscan order engraved on the tray we might deduce that the piece originally had a religious purpose. This is uncertain, however, because the engraving seems to have been added at some time after the tray was completed, to take advantage of free space in the central medallion. Moreover during the eighteenth century, when this piece was made, rectangular, trough-shaped trays with sloping sides and a wide rim were used for both secular and religious purposes (those with a religious function were usually alms trays).

The figural motifs seen on this tray are invariably found in the ornamental repertoires of Alto Perú and thus are the key to its attribution to that region. Moreover, the foliate masks, the grotesque heads at the ends of stems, the foliate men presented as sirens with divided tails, and the herons are typical of the Baroque style of Alto Perú. A few small floral disks and the figures of musicians connect these decorations to the ornamentation of pieces supposed to be from Potosí, for example a coca box (*coquera*) now in a private collection,¹ and lead me to conclude that the tray may be from that center.

CEM

1. See Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, no. 77.



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127. Tray

Alto Perú (?), 1700–1750

Silver gilt

24 × 12½ × 1¾ in. (61 × 31⅞ × 4.5 cm)

Lent by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II

REFERENCES: E. A. Jones 1911, p. 58; Taillard 1941, fig. 75; Muthmann 1950, p. 117; London 1991–92, p. 196.

EXHIBITION: London 1991–92, no. 173.

The form of this densely patterned tray differs from that of catalogue numbers 126, 128, and 129, which, as is typical of the genre, have flat rims and slanting sides framing a flat bottom. Generally the artist differentiated these three planes by varying the ornamentation: by shifting the scale of similar motifs, or by employing entirely contrasting patterns or ornamental techniques (*repoussé*, chasing, incising), as in figure 128. The present, copiously embossed example, in contrast, has a single deep, convexly rounded rim and an otherwise consistent style of ornament.¹

Two motifs stand out: a seated lion within the central oval boss, and double-headed eagles with leafy crowns at the centers of each longer side. The lion is surrounded by winding cords and a framework of leafage and is encircled again by a border of overlapping feathers and an edging of sharp dentillation. On either side of the central boss emerge female demifigures with foliate

skirts (*mujeres follajes*) and scrolling hornlike “wings” in lieu of arms. A wide variety of birds are carefully differentiated within the wiry scrolling stems and foliage of the two long rims, along with several *viscachas*. The shorter rims are embossed with floral motifs, centered by large rosettes.

This tray’s maker adhered to the traditional Andean repertoire of scrolling foliage interspersed with figural motifs, but his technique and approach to the ornamentation are distinctive for such an object. The voluptuous foliage shows little of the tight linearity that characterizes the scrolling vines on most trays like this one, and the *repoussé* is lush and looser, and its raised surfaces far more insistently textured. Also, most trays of this form have a punched ground that sets off the gleaming smooth figuration; here chased parallel lines cover



Fig. 128. Tray, Alto Perú, ca. 1700–50. Silver gilt, raised, *repoussé*, chased, and engraved. Private collection

virtually every leafy surface, with punching in the flower heads and other raised areas as well. The Baroque, emphatically naturalistic style of the ornamentation seems quite close to that of the floral altar plaques, or *mayas*, which although attributed to Alto Perú have also been linked to the style of the Jesuit reductions in Moxos and Chiquitos, in eastern lowland Bolivia.²

Although most Andean trays are edged with delicate, often ajouré (pierced) self-trim, the elaborate border seen here is a later application, possibly added once the piece was already in Great Britain. The tray has apparently been in the Royal Collection since 1825, when, according to the Carlton House inventory (ca. 1830) it was “sent as a present to His Majesty from South America.”³ A slightly later description adds that it came “from one of the British Consuls.”⁴ Recent investigators suggest the tray may be the “embossed Plate of Square form—Embossed with Various Devices” presented to King George IV in 1825 by his friend Sir Edmund Nagle.⁵ This surmise is lent additional support by Nagle’s history as a naval officer who served throughout the American Revolution and Napoleonic wars, fighting numerous battles along the Atlantic coasts of North and South America including at least one, in 1806, off Buenos Aires. Alfred Jones cites an 1825 bill from the royal goldsmiths Rundells, now lost, for gilding (which accounts for its very bright gold color) as well as for the replacement of the *mujer follaje* corner figures.⁶ This would indicate that corner figures of this style were an original component of the piece, and also that it may have borne a more typical Andean edging. As the present edging is certainly not original, it may be that Rundells also added it then, and that by the time the piece was donated to the king (as much as one hundred years after its creation) this vulnerable area had suffered enough damage to warrant replacement.

Other Peruvian silver of venerable provenance has been documented in English collections. Figure 128, for example, was originally the property of the Prince Regent’s mother, Queen Charlotte, and bears the mark of her collection. It was sold at Christie’s in 1819,⁷ the year after her death, and has recently resurfaced. Yet another

tray, which is round but again of more characteristic Andean facture (and closely comparable to cat. nos. 121, 122) was booty seized by an English privateer in 1745 from the Spanish fleet during the War of Austrian Succession.⁸ Indeed it is likely that many more examples of Andean silver will be found in Great Britain, given the large number of treasure ships captured by the mighty British navy as well as the many privateers active in the era, which distributed cargo among crew members as prizes.

JH

1. For a similar type, formerly in the collection of Luís García Lawson, see Taillard 1941, fig. 75.
2. See Munich 1981, pp. 138–39, no. 26, for a liturgical candelabra (*centellero*) displaying a similar style and technique of ornamentation.
3. “Carlton House Inventories,” vol. X (of a series of vols. A–X dating between 1793 and ca. 1830), p. 24.
4. Rundell, Bridge & Co., “Descriptive Inventories of the Various Services of Plate, &c Belonging to The Crown, . . .” (London, 1832), fol. 29.
5. London, 1991–92, p. 196, no. 173.
6. E. A. Jones 1911, p. 58.
7. *A Catalogue of a Superb Assemblage of Jewels, Trinkets, . . .* sale cat., Christie’s, London, May 17, 1819, p. 29, lot 32. I am most grateful to Christopher Hartop for bringing this object to my attention and for the copious information he so generously provided regarding Spanish colonial silver in British collections.
8. *Highly Important Silver*, sale cat., Christie’s, London, July 5, 2000, pp. 52–54, lot 21. The tray was catalogued as Portuguese or Portuguese Colonial, but Christopher Hartop noted, correctly, that it is Andean (personal communication with the author).

128. Tray

Alto Perú (Moxos and Chiquitos?), ca. 1750
Silver, repoussé and chased, with burnished punchwork
21 x 13¾ in. (53.4 x 34.9 cm)
Denver Art Museum (1986.456)

EX COLL.: Adela Nupp de Lamb, Lima

Catalogue number 128 and figure 129 were once in the same collection and are structurally identical except for minuscule differences in dimensions and decoration; the central figure faces right on one and left on the other. This type of tray, with its rectangular, trough-shaped format, is well known, and the decoration accords with the ornamentation common to pieces from Alto Perú. Specifically, the fleshy sunflowers filled with seeds, the buds twisted into helicoid forms, the green men (*bombres verdes*) placed in the center of each outer border on the long sides, and the nude child that centers the decoration on each



Fig. 129. Tray, Alto Perú, ca. 1725–50. Silver, repoussé, and chased. Private collection



of the short sides are all characteristic of the regional repertoire. Four small animals appear on each tray, arranged diagonally in the corners: two birds of the same type, a taruca (a type of deer), and a boar. A bird and a viscacha, and a smaller bird and an owl, hide among the branches on the long sides of the trays.

The principle motif on the bottom of the trays is a figure of a nude youth that serves as the vertical axis; on either side of the youth, the elements of the decorative composition are organized symmetrically. The youth wears only a band across his chest and carries in his hand (the right hand on one tray, the left on the other) a flowering rod that is surmounted by a cross and has a small bird at the bottom. When I published this image in 1997 I did not know how to interpret it because the rod resembled a sword; I now understand that the motif corresponds to the representation of the infant Saint John the Baptist, which suggests either the ceremony of baptism or perhaps stands for a confraternity whose titular saint is John.¹

Among the fauna represented, the viscachas and tarucas are specific to the Altiplano and the herons and owls are obligatory subjects in the arts of the Alto Perú region of Bolivia. Thus, we must assign the trays to that region, a classification supported by the technique used and the vocabulary of the vegetal ornament. The undulating rhythm of the composition, the fleshiness of the flowers, and the delicate shading of the background with tendrils assure us that these Baroque works date from the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Perhaps they originated at the Jesuit missions at Moxos and Chiquitos in the eastern region of Bolivia, since they speak with a language similar to that of pieces known to have been produced in that area. Regardless of their place of origin, these two pieces are exceptional for their size and weight, for the plasticity of their ornament, and above all for the cutout decoration of their edges.

CEM

1. Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, n. 34.

129. Tray

Alto Perú, ca. 1725–50
Silver, repoussé and chased
16¼ × 10¼ in. (41.2 × 26 cm)
Private collection

REFERENCES: Ribera and Schenone in Munich 1981, pp. 232–33; Esteras Martín 1997a, p. 426, fig. 168a.

EXHIBITION: Munich 1981, no. 238.

The center of this rectangular, trough-shaped tray is flat and decorated with a disk that encloses the image of a double-headed eagle. The eagle has a pomegranate on its breast and is surrounded by pomegranates and leaves that morph into bird heads. The sides slope gently downward and are embellished with a series of smooth gadroons and with a palmette in each corner. The rim, which is very wide with a ridged border, is adorned with a thick vegetal frieze where scrolling stems and pomegranates are interlaced. In the center of each of the short ends is a green angel (*ángel follaje*), and four scallop shells grace the corners.

The structure of the tray repeats a model widely used throughout the Viceroyalty of Peru. In addition to the amply proportioned rectangular format, common details include the treatment of the rim with decorative elements enclosed by piping, the gadrooned sides, and the ornamental language of grotesques—the foliate man (*hombre follaje*)

in his green angel variant and the leaf birds—all of which relate this tray to examples known to be from Alto Perú. Although it can be assigned to this region, at present it is not possible to pinpoint a particular center.¹

Many trays of this type are preserved in monasteries, churches, and public and private collections in Peru and abroad. Almost all are between 30 and 70 centimeters long, a substantial size. Natural motifs predominate in the decoration, but sometimes there are elements of a clearly religious nature, such as the pelican feeding its young or the anagram of the Franciscan order. This kind of iconography reminds us that these pieces serve secular purposes but occasionally had a religious function. The principal theme in the ornament of this tray suggests a religious use; here the two-headed eagle, by virtue of the pomegranate on its breast (a symbol of the Blood of Christ and His Resurrection), has assumed the Eucharistic symbolism of the pelican, which is represented in Christian iconography feeding its chicks with blood spurting from its breast. The pomegranates that appear on the rim may merely be an ornamental element or perhaps were intended to emphasize the religious significance of the fruit.

CEM

1. See Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, nos. 32, 33.





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130. *Small cover*

Southern Andes, late 16th–early 17th century
Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft
49 × 16¾ in. (124.5 × 42.5 cm)
Museo Inka, Universidad Nacional San
Antonio Abad del Cusco (Tex-294, ant. 727)

REFERENCES: Chartres 1992, pp. 234–35
(colorpl.); Ravines 1996, cover ill.

EXHIBITION: Chartres 1992, no. 203.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with single-interlocking joins. **Warp:** cotton //∧ 35 per in. (white). **Weft:** camelid 128 per in. (red, blue, purple, yellow, and white). **Selvages:** chain-looped on top and bottom. Center folded, but the two sections woven as one continuous piece, with a single design orientation. **Condition:** extremely fine, with excellent color; some restoration along torn edge. Perforated by eight holes at top and bottom for attachment.

131a, b. *Pair of small covers*

Late 17th–early 18th century
Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid and metallic weft
24¾ × 21⅞ in. (62.5 × 55 cm); 25¾ × 21⅞ (64.5 × 53.5 cm)
Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde,
Munich (34-41-4, 34-41-5)

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with single-interlocking, slit, and dovetail joins. **Warp:** cotton ∧ 25 per in., tightly spun.



131a



131b



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Weft: camelid(?) \wedge 110 per in. (pink, blue, white, and light blue); metallic thread: cut silver sheet wound on plyed linen core \wedge . **Selvages:** warp chain-looped on lower edge, cut-and-entered and plaited on upper edge; weft present on both sides. **Condition:** generally good, with areas of loss; no perforations for attachment.

beginning end of warp selvage looped, with upper edge cut-and-entered; four shots of plain weave cotton weft as header. Weft selvages present. Woven tape of silk and metallic weft-faced bands attached to top and bottom edges, stitched to back. **Condition:** previous restoration; five perforations at top (cut into tapestry after weaving) with buttonhole stitching around holes to secure loose ends.

132. Seat cover

Late 17th–early 18th century(?)
Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid hair, silver, silver gilt, and silk weft
20 $\frac{3}{4}$ \times 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (52.5 \times 49.5 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Paul W. Doll Jr. and Payne Foundation Gifts, Gift of Estate of James Hazen Hyde, by exchange, and funds from various donors, 2003 (2003.412)

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with single-interlocking, slit, and dovetail joins. **Warp:** cotton $///\wedge$ 24 per in. (white). **Weft:** camelid \wedge 80–100 per in. (light and dark cochineal pink, purple, blue, yellow, gold, light yellow, and white); silver sheet \backslash wound on white cotton core \wedge ; silver gilt sheet \backslash wound on yellow silk core \backslash .¹ **Selvages:**

Several of these small rectangular tapestries have been preserved. They are often found in pairs, either as separate pieces or joined together on one side, and are woven in a variety of styles and materials.² Most share one unusual feature: a series of holes along one edge, made after the tapestry was woven, that have been reinforced with embroidery.

The function of these tapestry-woven items is somewhat obscure. Some scholars have generically designated them “small covers,” presumably meant to be used in some furnishing context, but others have proposed that they are festival *nañacas*. A *nañaca* is a type of woman’s headcovering designed to be folded around a rigid board and worn on special occasions, a custom still observed in the Cuzco region today.

However, the *nañacas* depicted in colonial paintings, such as those worn by the *ñustas* in colonial Inca portraits (see fig. 30), as well as several actual examples that have been preserved, have the distinct patterning and signature horizontal registers of women’s mantles, though they are smaller than mantles. That is obviously not the case for the tapestries in this group, which all have a central field surrounded by an outer border.

The holes in these objects were likely made in order to lash the pairs together around some solid object. The position of the holes along only one edge would seem to indicate that the covers were suspended vertically, not horizontally, as a *nañaca* would be when worn on the head (in which case both edges would probably have been secured). This seems to bolster the argument that they served as some sort of furniture item, such as a chair back.

Tapestry-woven *cumbi* chair covers were indeed listed in the seventeenth-century inventories of a number of parish churches in Cuzco and its environs. They were probably part of the decorative program instigated by Bishop Mollinedo (r. 1673–99), who also commissioned the famous series of Corpus Christi paintings for the Church of Santa Ana (see cat. nos. 116a–d).³ The records of the parish churches include silverwork, paintings, “items of silk” and “items of wool,” and, listed as both furniture items and as textiles, “chairs or seats of tapestry.” The inventory for the town of Quispicanchi includes one such cover, as does the pueblo of Pirque, which also boasts a *chuse* of *cumbi* (meaning a heavier cover or tapestry rug) and a mantle made of white Chinese silk damask.⁴

Seating in church would have been reserved for special persons, and by law only certain officials were granted the privilege. (This was also the case in the offices of the colonial administration, for instance during meetings of the Audiencia, the judicial and advisory council for the viceregal government. One law in 1606 declared that “the Oidores [judges] in the body of the Audiencia do not have cushions, only the eldest governor.”)⁵ Women attending mass would bring carpets or mats to sit upon, as is depicted in several eighteenth-century paintings. Some officials also brought carpets; those belonging to the deacons of the

chancellery were allowed to bear “honorific ornament,” and it is possible that several extant small coats of arms are examples of these official ornamented seat covers.⁶

These small covers evidence a range of weaving styles and were made over an extended period of time. Some include the scrollwork popular in the late seventeenth century, and all mix Andean flora and fauna with European lions and other imported motifs. The Museo Inka cover (cat. no. 130) is probably the earliest of four exhibited here; it also has the finest weaving, indicative of Inca quality in terms of technical expertise and design sense. The contrast between the red and blue fields on either side recalls the somewhat theatrical effect seen in colonial processional *uncus*, which typically change dramatically from front to back. The small-scale birds and flowers scattered within the field create the same sense of “chaos” as the designs on some women’s garments, notably in the *pampa* section of the *lliclla*. The weaver was thus drawing on a traditional garment design vocabulary for this new type of object. Perhaps not fully understanding the object’s function, the weaver oriented all of the designs in one direction, so that when the cover is folded and lashed one side reads upside down.

The pair of covers from Munich (cat. nos. 131a, b), in contrast, are structured according to a European scrollwork theme commonly found in the fields of large, tapestry-woven wall hangings (see, for example, cat. nos. 123, 124). They also depict Andean hunters from the tropical *selva*, replete with bows and arrows and long, striped *uncus*. The single cover in the Metropolitan Museum (cat. no. 132), whose mate may have been published in the 1980s as belonging to a private collection,⁷ has collared lions among the scrolls and gold and silver threads that were used to render the details within the chaotic designs. A narrow woven tape, made of metallic and silk threads imported from Europe and used here as a trimming device, is attached to the back of the cover. Another set of double covers, now in a private collection in Lima, also has a trimming element: a silver-wrapped tassel. The woven tape on the Metropolitan Museum’s piece and the related silver tassel are perhaps the



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elements that argue most convincingly that these small tapestries were furnishing fabrics, not personal garments.

EP

1. Metal analysis was conducted at the Metropolitan Museum by Nobuko Shibayama and Tony Franz of the Department of Scientific Research (“Analysis Report,” April 26, 2004). The metals were analyzed using X-ray fluorescent spectrometry (XRF), which detected silver as well as trace amounts of gold on the suspected “gilt” thread. The metallic yarn with the white core yarn was silver only, and the one with the yellow core yarn was silver with trace gold used to enhance the effect. Further testing is in process.
2. There are also examples in the Rhode Island School of Design Museum, Providence (Zimmern 1943–44, pl. 8); Museo de América, Madrid (Cuesa Domingo 1980, p. 396, pls. 192, 193); and in a private collection in Lima (a set of double covers).
3. Villanueva Urteaga 1982.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 142–43, 146–47.
5. Solórzano y Pereira (1606) 1972, p. 222 (book 3, título 15, l. 26): “que los Oidores en cuerpo de Audiencia no tengan almohada, sino solo el mas antiguo gobernado.”
6. *Ibid.*: “Y en este caso . . . al Decano della Chancilleria son permitidos y que el tapete o alfombra sean ornamentos honorificos para sen-

tarse . . . la costumbre de llevar tapete se debe observar.”

7. *Hali Magazine*, no. 46 (1989), p. 32. The piece is almost identical in design, but it is not as well executed.

133. Casket

Potosí(?), before 1758

Silver, cast, repoussé, and chased, with burnished punchwork; gold, cast and pierced
9⁵/₈ × 12¹/₄ × 6³/₄ in. (24.5 × 31 × 17 cm)
Iglesia Parroquial, Ezcaray, La Rioja, Spain

REFERENCES: *Inventario artístico de Logroño* 1976, p. 121; Logroño 1992–93, no. 15; Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, pp. 178–79.

EXHIBITIONS: Logroño 1992–93, no. 15; Madrid 1997, no. 48.

Several important colonial caskets intended for secular use are in public and private collections in Europe and America. None, however, equals this silver and gold Baroque example in terms of richness of materials and decorative imagination and delicacy. Unlike most sixteenth- and seventeenth-century caskets of this

kind, which were worked entirely in silver, this piece is made of silver plates mounted on a wood armature, giving it a dense, rich appearance. It is conceived as a rectangular box resting on four ball-and-claw feet. The top is a half-barrel shape; on the sides are twisted handles. Hinges of pierced gold at each corner, decorated with birds pecking at small baskets of flowers were intended to strengthen the casket and to introduce color and decorative elements.

The entire surface is covered with an ornamental vocabulary that is delirious in its profusion of vegetal, floral, and figurative elements. The front is decorated with branches whose sinuous stems and blossoms are disposed symmetrically. Two of the branches end in serpent dragons. Two foliate angel-sirens with double tails carry cornucopias and baskets of fruits; they seem to oversee and order the composition around the plaque that encircles the keyhole. The principal motif on the back is a crowned double-headed eagle. On each side are vases with two facing figures of Mercury, and on the lid is a pair of rampant human-headed lions flanking the top of the latch. A tree crowned by a bird adorns each of the semi-circular sides of the lid. Like the corner brackets and the lock, the latch, fastener, and key are gold and bear vegetal ornamentation.

This piece was used as a coffer to hold the Host on Holy Thursday, but its origins are clearly secular, as evidenced by the character of the decoration and existing documentation. Records indicate that the casket was donated and sent to the parish church in Ezcaray in 1763 by a native son, don Pedro Antonio de Barroeta y Angel, when he was bishop of Granada, Spain. The piece was not made in Granada, however. Nor do I believe it was made in Lima, although Barroeta had served as archbishop there between 1751 and 1758 and sent the piece to Ezcaray from the city. The decorative vocabulary of grotesque motifs—ranging from ambiguous beings such as angel sirens, serpent dragons, and lions with human heads, volute-shaped manes, and birds' feet to real birds (parrots) at play in the vegetation of a romantic, temperate paradise—was developed in the Highlands and in the other areas of Alto Perú. The only new elements here are the winged figures of Mercury, unmistakable

with his caduceus. Images of Mercury were often used as symbols of commerce, but here they may have had another meaning or perhaps were simply an adornment chosen by chance from a repertoire of many other motifs. I am inclined to think that this "little trunk" (*baulito*, as it was called in 1763) is from Potosí or from some area under its artistic influence, such as La Plata (now Sucre). This possibility is suggested by a chain of events involving Barroeta and his immediate predecessor, don Agustín Rodríguez Delgado, who from 1742 to 1746 was bishop of Charcas, which had its seat in La Plata. When Barroeta was archbishop of Lima, the cathedral there was destroyed by the earthquake of 1746, and Rodríguez Delgado's *expolio*¹ was sold. Some of these goods, this casket perhaps among them, were sent to the royal court. It is conceivable that the new archbishop bought the piece from the shipment destined for the court. In truth, however, he could have acquired it some other way.

The naturalistic subjects of the ornamentation, the horror vacui apparent in the density of decoration, and the high relief of the motifs mark this as a fully Baroque work dating to about the middle of the eighteenth century. If, in fact, it belonged to Archbishop Rodríguez Delgado, it would date a bit earlier, between 1742 and 1746, when he was living in La Plata. In either case, the casket undoubtedly was made before August 1758, when Barroeta returned to Spain.

CEM

1. These were goods acquired with ecclesiastical income that remained the property of the church when the bishop who acquired them died intestate.

134. Tapestry poncho with musicians

Southern Andes, late 17th–early 18th century(?)
Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid, silk, and metallic weft

Garment: 39 × 66¼ in. (100 × 179 cm)

Woven dimensions: 69 × 66¼ in. (175.3 × 168.3 cm)

Los Angeles County Museum of Art; Gift of Miss Bella Mabury (40.1.76)

REFERENCE: Kahlenberg in Los Angeles 1974, no. 3.

EXHIBITION: Los Angeles 1974, no. 3.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave, reversible, with single-interlocking joins.

Many eccentric wefts and lazy lines. **Warp:** cotton //∧ 26 per in. (white). **Weft:** camelid ∧ 112 per in. (purple, purple-gray, blue, pink, and white); silk ∧ (yellow and pink); silver cut sheet \ wrapped on linen core ∧ (white).

Selvages: none preserved; neck slit woven with selvage edges. Fringe old but not original.

Music was an important part of all colonial celebrations, and from the sixteenth century on, images of musicians were used frequently on colonial art works, including both silver pieces and tapestries. Whether the musicians are depicted as mythological beings, such as mermaids or mermen playing guitars or harps, or as realistic players, such as the four men seen here, the musician theme always connotes pageantry and celebration. Those on this tapestry overcloak, or poncho, were carefully positioned so that they would be visible at chest level on the front and back when the garment was worn. This suggests that the poncho was worn either by an actual musician or by someone whose presence or arrival was being heralded by the musician on the garment. In late-seventeenth-century paintings of the Corpus Christi processions in Cuzco, musicians lead the silver-laden *paso*, or float, that carries the image of Saint Rose and La Linda. One celebratory procession in Lima on October 21, 1656, included floats that had a "serpent with seven heads; a fountain in a plaza; horse with two savages; serpent with angel on top; tree with Adam and Eve and serpent with apple"; all of the floats were paraded "on wheeled vehicles to the music of

drums and bugles: it was a night of unforgettable fireworks.”¹

The musicians on this poncho all wear long jackets, billowing short pants, shoes, and brimmed hats, European-style garments that might have been worn by either Andean or mestizo performers. They have yellow hair, however, which tells us that these individuals were of European ancestry, as native Andeans would have been depicted with dark hair. Each of the figures is embellished with the same luxurious silk and silver threads that were used to form the quatrefoil designs at the poncho’s neck. The garment’s unusual mottled pastel purple color is reminiscent of the shimmering *tornesol* fabrics that were favored by the Spanish nobility (and others in Europe) in the eighteenth century but were uncommon in the Andes.² The color purple had retained its European association with royalty and thus came to be associated in the Andes with nobility. Purple garments, specifically *uncus*, were said to have been owned by *caciques* and other local leaders (see cat. nos. 26, 27).

As a garment type, the poncho, which typically has open sides and a neck opening, is widely considered to have originated in Spain, but some Precolumbian examples have been preserved.³ By the mid-seventeenth century, ponchos were being worn by men of various social and political ranks, including both Spanish and native officials, and were made in a variety of weaving techniques across the Andes. Most late colonial ponchos—notably those made in the eighteenth century in Jesuit workshops—were made in weaving techniques other than tapestry and were composed of narrow strips of cloth sewn together. This tapestry-woven example, which reflects some of the older Inca *cumbi* traditions, is thus significant in terms of its high-quality weaving and materials. It was fabricated in the traditional Andean manner: the patterning is constructed in tapestry weave, and the garment was made as one piece of four-selvaged cloth, with a woven-in neck opening and edges that were finished on the loom.

Along with the musicians at the four corners, the poncho is embellished with wing-faced cherubs, bugle-playing monkeys, and viscachas set among the scrolling vines and



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flowers. The overall style, especially the elaborate scrollwork of the diagonal extensions that emanate ebulliently from the floral vases in the corners, is similar to that found in some contemporary and slightly later embroidered ponchos, both domestic and imported. These include an eighteenth-century poncho embroidered with silk and metalwork that also has double-headed eagles at the neck opening believed to have been embroidered by Chinese needleworkers in the Philippines for a Peruvian commission (Museo Histórico Nacional, Santiago, Chile).⁴ A slightly later example is the famous poncho given to José Francisco de San Martín (1778–1850), who helped liberate South America from Spanish rule, in 1821 by Viceroy José de la Serna.⁵ Such elaborately embroidered examples represent the extreme in luxury and the fashionable taste for “exotica.” They may have served as models for tapestry-woven ponchos like this one, which has silver threads imported from Spain, silk threads likely imported from China, and was possibly dyed either



134, detail of musician

in Mexico or Peru as it made its way south via the trade routes. With an admixture of European, Asian, and quintessentially Andean elements, including finely spun

camelid hair yarns, this poncho is a classic example of a multicultural colonial production.

EP

1. Mugaburu and Mugaburu 1975, p. 40. Tom Cummins (2002, p. 181) has also pointed out that legions of musicians participated in governmental proceedings and accompanied native officials and Spanish administrators as they traveled to outlying areas.
2. See Phipps (2000) 2001.
3. See Montell 1929; Corcuera [1999].
4. Cruz de Amenábar 1996, fig. 40; Corcuera [1999], pp. 56–57.
5. Taullard 1949, fig. 264; Corcuera [1999], pp. 116–17.

135. Tapestry poncho with double-headed eagles

18th century

Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft

Garment: 37½ × 66 in. (95 × 168 cm)

Woven dimensions: 76 × 66 in. (193 × 168 cm)

National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

(13/7028)

REFERENCE: Sawyer in Washington, D.C., 1961, p. 2.

EXHIBITION: Washington, D.C., 1961, no. 20.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with single-interlocking and dovetailing joins; many eccentric wefts and wedge weaving.

Warp: cotton \wedge 19 per in. (white). **Weft:** camelid \wedge 64 per in. (blue, white, purple/blue, and cochineal red). **Selvages:** long looped ends on top and bottom of warp selvage (rolled and hemmed at top); weft selvage has doubled warp cord at each edge Neck slit presently sewn up. Woven in five sections, some beginning at edge: 13 in.; 13 in.; 13 in.; 13¼ in.; 12 in.

Ponchos with double-headed eagles, the symbol of the Hapsburg dynasty, were worn as displays of power and status. Here the bicephalous birds are positioned at the base of the neck opening, where animals are sometimes found on other traditional types of Andean men's garments, as well as at the shoulders. The eagles and the many other small, decorative elements—such as the birds and flowers among the field, the vases at the inner corners, and the scrolling



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motifs and simplified forms in the outer borders—are all composed in white and thus dramatically silhouetted against the red and blue ground.

The origin of the poncho as a garment type—an essentially rectangular overcloak open at all sides, with a central neck opening—has been disputed by scholars, although most rely on the seminal early research of textile scholar Gösta Montell, who found some of the earliest colonial references.¹ In 1629 the German naturalist George Marcgrav described the garment worn by the Araucanian peoples from the far south of Chile: “They dress themselves in a piece of cloth that they weave from the wool of their sheep. . . . The men take a square piece of this cloth about 2½ ells in length (more or less) and about 1½ ells wide. In the middle they make an incision through which they put the head.”² One seventeenth-century Italian traveler named D’Ovagle wrote of seeing an “Indian

[wearing] a kind of coverlet corresponding to a mantle called *ciogni* and which was also used as a counterpane.”³ The Frenchman Amadée Frezier, who traveled along the Pacific coast of Chile and Peru in 1717, used a similar term (*chony*) to describe these garments.⁴ The word “poncho” does not appear in either of the early dictionaries of Quechua or Aymara, however, nor was it illustrated by Guaman Poma in 1615. Considering how the poncho came to be associated with the horse-riding culture of the mid-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, many have assumed that it was introduced by the Spanish to the Americas, but this is still a point of debate.⁵

One of the earliest illustrations of a poncho is a detailed watercolor from the 1780s by Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón y Bujanda, the bishop of Trujillo, in which a man on horseback wears a poncho that falls below his seated position and covers his knees.⁶ This is the standard model for

a poncho, which was designed specifically with the comfort of a rider in mind. The traditional knee-length Andean *uncu*, with its closed side seams, was too constricting to be worn when riding, whereas the poncho's open sides allowed for unrestricted movement. (Spanish-style pants and shirts would have been worn underneath.) Along with silver stirrups and other equestrian hardware, ponchos eventually became ubiquitous in the Andes, and they continue to be made today in a variety of fabric types.⁷

The quadrilateral format of this eighteenth-century tapestry-woven poncho, with its four-lobed center, central field, and concentric outer borders, can be found both in garments and in tapestry-woven hangings and tablecovers of the period (hence the astute observation of D'Ovagle). In fact, the designs are often so similar that the function of a given piece can be determined solely by the presence or absence of a central opening woven as a neck slit.

This similarity between garments and household furnishings was a late colonial development. Given that traditional Andean tunics and mantles still retained their highly specific formats and designs as well as their intrinsic cultural meaning, these new interchangeable textile templates were one sign that the quotidian Andean lifestyle had evolved in dramatic new directions. The wearer of this poncho was a true inhabitant of the colonial world.

EP

1. See Montell 1929, p. 239, and Montell 1925, pp. 173–81.
2. Quoted in Montell 1929, p. 239.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. See Montell 1925, pp. 173–81; Corcuera [1999]; and Frame [2000], especially fig. 1 (a Precolumbian example).
6. The poncho depicted in the drawing may have been woven by weavers working under the auspices of the Jesuits prior to their expulsion from Peru in 1767. The patterns are typical of a warp-patterned weave, and the garment was probably constructed from narrow strips of cloth, an innovation developed by the Jesuits, who used looms with mechanisms that assisted the weaver in repeating small-scale designs.
7. The 1997 exhibition “To Honor the Ancestors: Life and Cloth in the Andes” at the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco included many examples of ponchos; see Meisch 1997.

136. *Coca box (coquera)*

Moxos and Chiquitos(?), ca. 1775
Wood and silver, cast and chased
8¼ × 12¼ × 10¾ in. (21 × 31 × 26.5 cm)
Museo de Arte de Lima; Gift of Prado Family, 1960

EX COLL.: Prado Family Collection, Lima

REFERENCE: Esteras Martín in Madrid—Lima 1997, pp. 236–37.

EXHIBITION: Madrid—Lima 1997, no. 76.

Unlike the wide variations seen in silver examples of the form, wood examples of the boxes called *coqueras* tend to follow a common prototype. Typically the sides are densely covered with applied “cookie-cutter” relief, whose surfaces are

textured with regular incisions following the form of the foliate ornament, while the cockle shell-shaped hinged cover is formed by radiating gadroons. Often the gadrooning of the cover is lent variety by other designs that are interspersed among the plain convex tongues, such as strips of rocaïlle foliate carving, which in this example are augmented with cherub heads. Strings of beading terminating in open floral blooms also separate the pairs of gadroon tongues. The area around the silver hinges is decorated with a large shell held by a *hombre foliaje* (foliate man), whose arms are scrolling branches in which parrots peck at fruits.

The sides of the box are carved with undulating foliage and two cherubs “supporting” the silver escutcheon plate of the lock, whose shell border echoes the overall



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136, back view

form of the container. Most wood *coqueras* are either flat or stand on silver ball-feet. The distinctive aspect of this piece lies in the integration of its four wood feet, formed of winged cherubs with scrolling foliate tails and pendant floral emblems hanging around their necks.

This type of wood box has long been attributed to the region of Alto Perú, but Cristina Esteras Martín has recently cited documentation suggesting that such boxes were among the abundant, inexpensive wooden ware produced for sale to Peru in lowland eastern Bolivia, the region of the Jesuit missions among the Guarani of Moxos and Chiquitos.¹ Trade from these areas, celebrated for their artistic woodwork, to the more western Andes was carried through Cochabamba and Potosí, facilitating an active cross-fertilization of ornamental repertoire between the lowlands and the Altiplano that is evident in silver design as well.

JH

1. Esteras Martín (in Madrid 1997, p. 236) quotes a 1786 statement by Chiquitos governor Antonio López Carvajal: "the workshops of all the villages produce well made chests and other wooden objects which may be sold in Peru for no more than the cost of transporting them." See also Gutiérrez and Gutiérrez Viñuales 1995.

137. Coca or sweets box (*coquera* or *dulcera*)

Potosí(?), ca. 1775

Silver, cast, molded, repoussé, engraved, and chased, with burnished punchwork
5 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (13 x 22 x 20 cm)
Private collection

REFERENCE: Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, pp. 234–35.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1997, no. 75.

Given the well-established custom of drinking yerba maté infusions in Peruvian viceregal society, maté cups and kettles were indispensable items. So, too, were medium-size boxes or coffers in a range of forms designed for storing yerba maté from Paraguay (*yerberas*, or yerba boxes) or coca leaves (*coqueras*, or coca boxes).



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These boxes could be put to a variety of other uses, such as storing candy, preserves, or sugar, and could even be used for holding holy oils. All were designed with a lid and key and were supported by feet.

The box for this piece is in the form of a great scallop shell (*Pecten jacobaeus*) supported by four feet in the form of leaf-angels terminating in shells. The clasp is circular, and the latch is formed by two counterpoised leaves. The curving sides are decorated with rocaïlle against a stippled background, while the flat back shows a bucolic scene, in which a man plays a flute and a woman plays the guitar in the midst of forest, and a bird apparently sings. The lid is arched (although it has a flat outside edge) and is embellished with a representation of a grotesque canephor figure, a young man or woman carrying a basket on the head, surrounded by rocaïlle foliage, a pair of eagles, and two small rosettes.

Since there are no compartments inside the box, it is difficult to know exactly what its intended function was. Boxes used for storing coca usually contained at least one space set aside for lime, and those intended for storing yerba maté usually had four interior compartments: the largest for the



137, view of lid

maté, a second for sugar, and two smaller ones for cinnamon and clove or orange peel, all of which were considered necessary for enhancing the flavor of native maté. Because there are no interior divisions and no indication that these originally existed, I propose that this example might have served as a *dulcera*, or sweets box, since eating sweets was a widely indulged habit in the colonies. This identification is uncertain, however, and represents only one of several possibilities.

The prototype of a lidded box with a scallop-shell body is unknown in Spanish silverwork outside the Viceroyalty of Peru.

But in England from the end of the sixteenth century through the first decades of the seventeenth century, boxes bearing these very features were used as sugar and spice jars. This is evidenced, for example, by one such box at the Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archeology, Oxford, and it is indeed possible that the earliest antecedents for the Peruvian containers were produced by English silversmiths. However, it is my impression that the source for the Peruvian model derives from hardwood boxes produced at the Jesuit missions in Moxos and Chiquitos, which were designed in the form of scallop shells and used for a variety of purposes.

The presence of rocaïlle on this piece points to a date sometime about 1775. I believe it was produced in Potosí, since it exhibits specific decorative elements similar to those used in that city's silver workshops. These include the rosettes bordering the image of the canephor, the angel forms of the feet, the presence of birds of prey, the types of trees, and the bucolic scene, all of which are reminiscent of images that frequently appear in the free-style decoration of the *queros* and *aquillas* produced in the former Inca realm during the colonial period. I have recently identified similar motifs in the ornamentation on an incense burner (on the market) that bears a monetary stamp attesting to its origins in Potosí.

This box evidences astonishing variety and skill in its technique, for example, in the fine engraving and repoussé employed to highlight motifs and create Baroque effects. The dreamlike vocabulary of the images, which is Mannerist in nature and utterly characteristic of Highland Peru, is embodied in the imaginary Indianized canephor. The inclusion of the bucolic-musical scene represents an important enrichment of the Peruvian iconographic repertoire of the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

CEM

138. *Coca box (coquera)*

Veca

Potosí(?), ca. 1780

Silver, cast, engraved, repoussé, and chased, with burnished punchwork

6¾ x 8½ x 8⅞ in. (17 x 21,5 x 22 cm)

Mark: VECA

Museo de Arte Hispanoamericano Isaac Fernández Blanco, Buenos Aires (74/26-35-05)

EX COLL.: Isaac Fernández Blanco, Buenos Aires

REFERENCES: Ribera 1970, no. 74; Ribera and Schenone in Munich 1981, pp. 211–12; Ribera 1983, p. 341; Ribera in Paris 1986, p. 92; Esteras Martín 1992b, no. 340; Esteras Martín 1995a, fig. 300; Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, pp. 232–33.

EXHIBITIONS: Munich 1981, no. 180; Buenos Aires 1983, no. 204; Paris 1986, no. 90; Madrid 1997, no. 74.

The structure of this box was intended to evoke a coffer, since it is equipped with a lid and lock indicating that it was meant to store items of value. In this piece the items of value were neither jewels nor money but coca leaves. Mixed with lime, coca leaves were chewed in the Andes and

Alto Perú before the arrival of the Spanish. The widespread use of these leaves continued during the colonial period and led to the production of coca boxes, or *coqueras*. Made of wood or precious metals, they were used by distinguished families in their drawing rooms, when they consumed coca, either by drinking it in the form of an infusion, *maté de coca*, or by chewing the leaves.

This example takes the shape of a scallop shell; the form is underscored on the lid by a shell valve rendered with prominent gadroons radiating from a foliated, or green, mask. As is customary, the piece does not rest directly on its base but sits on feet, here three in the form of angels with coiling foliated skirts. A carved band runs along the curvilinear sides of the box, which display engraved decoration: vegetal scroll motifs that contribute a hint of rocaïlle and four symmetrically disposed eagles. There is a floral motif below the hinge on the back of the box, which is also engraved and adds a rocaïlle flavor. The lock is in the form of a circular plaque with vegetal scrolls, and a latch is created by a mask superimposed along the rim, which is rendered in the form of a monstrous figure, a bird-siren.



The interior of the box is divided into two compartments of unequal size by a silver sheet placed parallel to the hinge. This confirms that the piece was likely intended as a *coquera*, because such boxes had two compartments, the smaller typically used to store lime and the larger for storing the coca leaves. The piece has been classified on various occasions by Luis Adolfo Ribera or Héctor Schenone as originating in Peru or Alto Perú without explanation or specific provenance. When I exhibited this box in Madrid in 1997, I maintained that it was produced in Alto Perú based on its significant decorative elements, including the angel forms of the feet, the green mask on the lid, the small, round fruit pecked at by the birds, and the rendering of the birds themselves. All of these elements are comparable to features of a coca or a sweets box in this exhibition (cat. no. 137), which I believe was produced in Potosí. Now that we have more information regarding Peruvian/Bolivian silverwork, I venture to say that the present piece, too, was, in fact, made in Potosí, or in its area of influence. Other possibilities must be considered, of course, until its provenance can be confirmed. The key to classifying the piece is establishing the identity of the silversmith who stamped the box with the mark of VECA, which also appears on the tabernacle from the convent of Santo Domingo in Lima (cat. no. 119). The rocaille ornamentation dates this work to sometime during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and the combination of engraving and highlighting through repoussé points to a more precise date, allowing us to suggest that it may well have been produced about 1780.

CEM

139. Coca box (*coquera*)

Lima or Cuzco(?), ca. 1790
Silver, cast, molded, repoussé, and chased
10 x 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (25.5 x 20.5 cm)
Private collection

REFERENCES: Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, pp. 228–29; Esteras Martín 2000c, p. 138.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1997, no. 72.

Multipurpose boxes worked in silver and locked with a key (like a coffer), such as the present piece, were among the most original creations of the silversmiths of viceregal Peru. It was customary in that region of the Hispanic world to drink yerba maté and chew coca leaves, and thus Peruvian artisans had to invent pieces to be used as containers for those substances (*coqueras*). The custom was unique and so, it follows, were the containers. Although the boxes might be oval, round, or pear-shaped, the most numerous and characteristic are the those shaped like scallop shells, or ones with round, bulging contours created by vertical gadroons.

Radial gadroons give undulating contours to both the container and the cover of this coca box (*coquera*). When the key is removed, an articulated latch designed as two struts forming an S locks the cover and body of the box together. These parts are complemented by a heart-shaped keyhole cover adorned with a rocaille frame. As is usual with these pieces, the box rests

on three feet, in this example shaped like goat hooves, with a trefoil where they are attached to the body of the container. The lid is crowned by a round fruit.

The interior of the box is divided into two spaces of different size, the smaller for powdered lime, the larger for coca leaves. These compartments alone indicate that the piece is a *coquera*, an identification confirmed by the piece of fruit represented on the top of the cover. This ornament is a tiny hinged box. In it was placed the *acullico*, or *llipta*, an alkaline ball of vegetal ashes that the Indians, and the Creoles after them, put in their mouths to mix with the coca leaves. The lime ash released the cocaine of the leaves and helped to dissolve it in the saliva.

It is difficult to determine where this piece was made, for it bears no marks or inscriptions, and the few similar works, both published and unpublished, also have no known provenances. Nevertheless, we can approach a viable hypothesis regarding its origins by comparing it to works that share stylistic affinities, whether they be



coca boxes, sugar bowls, or even *calentadores*, vessels designed to warm water. We know that this *coquera* belonged to a family in Lima. Although this does not necessarily mean that the piece was made in Lima, it gives us a point of departure. And certain stylistic evidence suggests that it was indeed made in Lima. Thus, a *pava con hornillo*, a water heater with an internal brazier (cat. no. 141) with a mark that suggests a Lima workshop also has feet shaped like goat hooves and is decorated with a trefoil where the legs join the body of the piece. The same features are also seen on another warmer (formerly in the Hirsch collection, Buenos Aires), which Alfredo Taullard considered to have come from Lima. Contrarily, the globular, gadrooned structure of the present box is similar to that of an example in the Apelles collection in Chile, which is surmounted by the same fruit, worked in gold. The globular, gadrooned elements appear as well on an unpublished box that was acquired in Cuzco and is now in a private collection in Buenos Aires. Yet another box with similar characteristics is in the Museo de Arte Hispanoamericano Isaac Fernández Blanco, Buenos Aires, but it is doubtful that that piece is of the same period as the present example. Lima and Cuzco, then, are both viable candidates as the place of origin of this piece. Given that coca chewing was more popular in Cuzco, that city would seem the likelier, although still uncertain, source.

This box is comparable in type to a container made in Potosí that is also oval and gadrooned but adorned on its top with an ornamental comb rather than a fruit. (Both the fruit and comb are embellishments that appeared later than the scallop shell adornments of other boxes.) The present container can be dated to the last decade of the eighteenth century on the basis of style: not only for its rocaïlle ornamentation but also for the gadroons, which are Neoclassical, a style that had not taken hold until that late date.

CEM



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140. *Water heater with internal brazier (pava con hornillo)*

Lima or Santiago de Chile(?), ca. 1775
Silver, cast, chased, and repoussé
12¼ × 10¼ in. (31 × 26 cm)
Apelles Collection, Chile

EX COLL.: Goldeberg de Ursúa collection,
Santiago, Chile

REFERENCES: Esteras Martín 1997a, fig. 58c;
Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, pp. 224–25;
Esteras Martín 2000c, p. 136; Esteras Martín
2004, no. 47.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1997, no. 70.

This vessel served the same purpose as a ewer, but instead of holding cold water it was intended to keep the water

hot. Its ingenious design was devised in response to the social custom of brewing and drinking very hot yerba maté infusions, a popular practice throughout the Viceroyalty of Peru. This type of vessel was variously referred to as a *calentador de agua para hierba* (water heater for yerba maté), a *pava para calentar agua* (kettle for heating water), or simply a *calentador* (heater) or *tacho* (canister). Now, however, it is called a *pava-hornillo* (a kettle-brazier), which more clearly links its heating function with the *borno de pava*, the name given to the large bellows in a certain type of furnace.

Of the animal forms that water heaters took, the lion was undoubtedly the most popular—or at least it is the most numerous among surviving examples. These lions always appear crowned, stand on all four

feet, and have a handle formed by the tail, which extends along the back in a C- or S-shaped curl whose end is attached to the back or neck.

This example presents a lion standing erect in a rigid posture, with neck and head looking straight ahead. Its face is extremely expressive, with large, slanted eyes that, like its jaws, have been clearly indicated with incised concentric lines. The lion's tongue serves as a spout. The mane is rendered as stylized curling locks shown along the back as well as on the head and neck. The smooth, hairless, and burnished body contains an aperture on the left side to provide ventilation and exhaust for the coals held in the brazier. A perforated cap placed atop the piece forms a closure for the coal receptacle. The lion's crown serves a double function, providing a heraldic reference and, as always, a cap for the water receptacle. The S-shaped tail serves as a handle for ease of pouring the liquid.

As yet there is no concrete evidence that indicates whether the lion model originated in Lima or in some other part of the Viceroyalty of Peru. We do know that no other pieces of this type have been found in Latin America outside the Viceroyalty or in Spain. Similar lion-shaped aquamaniles, or ewers, were, however, produced in Lower Saxony from the twelfth through at least the sixteenth century. I have found various references to the existence of "lion-shaped kettles" in dowry inventories from the last third of the eighteenth century in Santiago. This model exhibits stylistic links with works from Lima as well as from the Altiplano region, although it differs from three other examples of lion-shaped water heaters, all in private collections,¹ that apparently originated in the Altiplano region in that it is far more elegant and finely crafted. It stands apart in the texture of the glossy pelt and the extraordinary form and positioning of the eyes, the flat nose, and the curvilinear jaws, all of which reveal strong connections to Asian forms. In fact, the head quite closely recalls the heads of Chinese dragons. Considering this similarity, and given the notable Indian and Chinese influence on Lima via its port, it is my opinion that this piece could have been produced in that city, where lions were typically rendered according to Asian models. A possible



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Chilean provenance should not be ruled out, however, since works of its kind existed in Santiago. The first owner of this piece, Padre Luis Roa de Ursúa, lived in Santiago, although he was in Lima in 1881 for reasons relating to the War of the Pacific and might have acquired the piece at that time. Prudence suggests that we consider both Lima and Santiago as possible points of origin until conclusive data is brought to light. As for its date, the coiled foliage on the brazier cap and the curling mane along the back are rendered as *rocaille*, suggesting that the piece was produced sometime about 1775.

CEM

1. See Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, p. 58, for one of these.

141. Water heater with internal brazier (*pava con hornillo*)

Lima(?), ca. 1770–90

Silver, cast, molded, and chased

13 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 11 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (35 × 30 cm)

Mark: royal crown

Collection of Nelly Arrieta de Blaquier and Carlos Pedro Blaquier, Buenos Aires

REFERENCES: Ribera and Schenone in Munich 1981, pp. 278–79; Buenos Aires 1983, no. 271; Esteras Martín 1992b, no. 376; Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, p. 226.

EXHIBITIONS: Buenos Aires 1966, no. 640; Munich 1981, no. 339; Buenos Aires 1983, no. 271.

So-called *pavas con hornillo* were ingenious pieces devised to keep water hot so that maté could be drunk in a drawing room or

in some other place that was not near a stove. These vessels were given different forms: some were boxlike, others were designed to represent animals, still others were akin to globes. Examples of the last type are the simplest because in general they were left with smooth, burnished bodies almost unadorned except for spout and handle. This type of water heater differs from box- or animal-shaped heaters in that it contains two openings, one on each side, not one, for ventilating the brazier. And instead of a lid to close the aperture that leads to the water container, it has a hinged flap. Therefore it has only one domed lid at the top center, which is perforated so that it serves as an exhaust for the coals placed inside the base.

In my opinion this kind of vessel has formal antecedents in a type known simply as a *pava* (kettle) in Peru. The *pava* is spherical and does not have feet. Instead, it has a flat bottom that allows water to be heated

directly over a fire, a movable handle, and a long tubular spout that ends in a grotesque form. This particular piece has a serpent's head spout and a handle with numerous reverse curves. The decoration is simple; three-leafed palm fronds mark points at which the feet are attached to the base, and rocaille motifs extend down the body from the base of the handle.

The heater is marked, which is unusual, and the central part of the handle displays a tax stamp, the *quinto*. The mark consists of a finely traced open royal crown with five bands gathered at the top into a globe set within a cord motif. It recalls the marks on other pieces that were stamped in Lima, such as a tray now in a private collection in Madrid. I think it probable, therefore, although not without some doubts, that this heater may have been produced in Lima or that it at least passed through tax control there. If the latter conjecture is correct, the piece could have been produced

in the Highlands, possibly in Cuzco or Arequipa.

Of the known pieces with similar formal characteristics, the closest is a *pava con hornillo* made in Lima and formerly in the Alfredo Hirsch collection in Buenos Aires. That piece is comparable to the present one in terms of its structure as well as its feet, which terminate in foliated forms, its serpentine spout, and its lid with perforated gadroons. Another example of like design can be found in the Museo de Arte Hispanoamericano Isaac Fernández Blanco, Buenos Aires, which according to Alfredo Taillard was produced in Lima, as was the *pava con hornillo* from the Hirsch collection. Still more examples are in the Museo Enrique Undaondo in Luján (Province of Buenos Aires) and the Museo del Convento de Santa Catalina, Cuzco. It is quite possible that this type of vessel was produced in various parts of the Viceroyalty of Peru, but for now we only know of ones that originated in Lima, Cuzco, or Arequipa.

Based on the presence of rocaille decoration and the goat-hoof form of the vessel's feet an approximate dating to the 1770s can be made, if it was indeed produced in Lima. If it was made in the Highlands, however, I would move this date forward by one decade, since Rococo arrived there later than in Lima, where it was introduced and flourished under the rule of Viceroy don Manuel de Amat (1761–75).

CEM



142. Water heater with internal brazier (*pava con hornillo*)

Alto Perú, ca. 1750–1800
Silver, cast, molded, and chased
11 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (30 x 27.5 x 14 cm)
Inscribed: *SBL*
Private collection

REFERENCE: Esteras Martín 1997a, p. 452, fig. 338.

Although intended to keep water hot, this receptacle, like all *pavas con hornillas*, was not designed to rest directly over a flame. The supporting feet indicate that it was made to be used independently, with

the boxlike structure serving both as a vessel (*pava*, or kettle) and a brazier (*bornillo*). The piece is thus equipped with a lidded interior container for coals and a hole for ventilation and exhaust on the left side. It also has an adjacent lidded interior container for water, which was poured in through an opening at the top of the vessel. The liquid in the vessel was heated by the coals and then poured through the spout.

This example takes the form of a rectangular box with beveled corners resting on four feet surmounted by “vegetal angels,” which have leafy coverings scrolling to their waists. The two apertures have domed lids (we know that the one closest to the spout is a modern addition as it is not perforated for ventilation), and the air-intake aperture is circular and festooned along its edges. The piece has a multiply curved, swiveling handle embellished with double leaves at the base twisted like a rope in the arched center portion. The spout is in the form of a monstrous animal with a horse’s head and a boldly vegetal body, possibly a free adaptation of Pegasus or a winged horse.

Except for three uppercase initials, SBL, engraved on the base of the box, the vessel is unmarked. These initials undoubtedly refer to the name of the owner, who has not been identified. Given this lack of information, we can arrive at a classification only by analyzing the work itself. Based on parallels with pieces of known origin, I am inclined to believe that this heater was produced in Alto Perú. The facial features, coiffures, and iconography of the angels are in keeping with many representative works from there. More specifically, four similar examples in various private collections point toward a Bolivian provenance. Comparisons of the same sort seem to date the piece to the second half of the eighteenth century, although there is not enough evidence in this respect to assign a definitive date.

CEM



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143. *Water heater with internal brazier (pava con hornillo)*

Lima(?), ca. 1750–1800
Silver, cast, repoussé, and chased
12¼ × 8¼ × 9⅝ in. (31 × 21 × 24.5 cm)
Private collection

REFERENCE: Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, p. 58.

Water heaters such as this one, now referred to as *pavas-bornillos* (small kettle-braziers), assumed a variety of forms, including various animal shapes, among them bulls and lions, but this is the only known example that represents a turkey. Originally from Mexico, where it was called the “*guajolote*,” the turkey was raised through-

out the Americas and Europe after 1492. In Peru representations of turkeys, most of them in filigree, were very common on silver censers. We can surmise, therefore, that their images also graced water heaters, even though this is the only turkey *pava-bornillo* known to have survived.

Like other water heaters that contain a brazier for coals, this vessel has feet that raise it above the surface upon which it may be set. Here the feet are the bird’s strong claws, which grasp two spheres that form the actual base. A circular appendage extending below the tail serves as a third foot, creating a tripod structure that stabilizes the piece.

The image of the turkey is magnificently rendered both in terms of technique and as a realistic representation. The bird has an erect, open tail that fans out; wings drooping at its sides, which lend an impression of a slightly backward motion; a head tilted

forward; and a snood over its beak. The plumage and neck wattles are expertly realized, so that the bird seems almost alive. The tail and wings are movable, and at the top of the piece there is an aperture with a perforated cap that allows ventilation of the coals held within the brazier. The articulated handle is composed of two convex shafts joined by a central grip in the shape of a keg. The bird's neck and head form the spout, and the beak is shaped to prevent spillage when liquid is poured.

The heater bears no ornamental details that point to a specific period or taste; however I believe it was produced in the eighteenth century, and quite possibly during its latter half, because pieces of this type enjoyed widespread popularity during this period. Establishing a specific artistic provenance is as problematic as assigning a date, since the piece bears no marks or inscriptions. Based on its technique and type, I have attributed it to the silversmiths of Lima, an assignment that is, however, open to future revision.

CEM



144. *Maté cup*

Alto Perú (Potosí?), ca. 1790–1800
Gourd and silver, cast, repoussé, and chased,
with burnished punchwork
7⁷/₈ x 3³/₈ in. (19.5 x 8.6 cm)
Museo de Arte Hispanoamericano Isaac
Fernández Blanco, Buenos Aires
(418/26-70-140)

EX COLL.: Lola Acosta de Fernández Rivera;
Gustavo Muñoz-Barreto and Celina González
Garaño, Buenos Aires

REFERENCES: Taullard 1941, fig. 238; Pérez-
Valiente 1960, p. 155, no. 141; Ribera 1970,
no. 418, pl. 25; Ribera and Schenone in Munich
1981, no. 312; Urgell et al. 1988, p. 69, pl. 1;
Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, pp. 222–23.

EXHIBITIONS: Munich 1981, no. 312; Madrid
1997, no. 69.

There are several different types of *maté* cups, each derived from the specific variety of calabash gourd the cup is made from. Those fashioned out of a halved gourd—called the *galleta* (gourd) type—have wide mouths that narrow slightly beneath the rim. The large, vertically oriented, ovoid form is known as the *cabeza de serie* (head of the line), of which the present cup—oblong and almost entirely covered in silver—is a perfect example. It is supported by three legs with double curves that extend down from masked visages. The body consists of two hemispheric segments ornamented with rocaïlle motifs and joined by four vertical bands, two smooth and two with tracery-work cartouches adorned with similar imagery. The tracery bands have hinges so the setting can be manipulated easily. The rim area displays vegetal motifs and ovoid lozenges in relief. The piece is crowned by a gadrooned lid which has an opening for inserting the *bombilla* (the hollow tube through which the infusion is sucked) and which is surmounted by a lion finial that serves as a handle. A small chain connects the lid to the body of the vessel, ensuring that it cannot become separated or lost.

This *maté* cup is believed to have been produced in Peru in the second half of the eighteenth century, a date that is clearly indicated by the Rococo style of its decoration. When I analyzed the piece in 1997 I dated it more precisely to the last quarter of that century. Because the decoration of

the rim apparently points toward Neoclassicism, I am now refining it further, to the late eighteenth century, or about 1790 to 1800.

The cup can be classified as Peruvian according to the political structure of the viceroyalty prior to 1776. However, if it is considered in terms of current boundaries, and given the Bolivian (Alto Perú) style of its rocaïlle embellishment, that is, *mariposa* or butterfly rocaïlle, its provenance should, rather, be the silver workshops of Bolivia or, more precisely, Potosí and the surrounding area, which after 1776 belonged to the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata.

Examples of this type of cup with similar ornamentation abound; most have either been restored or have undergone some other intervention. This piece, however, is preserved in its original condition. Thus, it is of particular interest beyond that conferred by the high quality of its technique and ornament.

CEM

145a–c. *Three maté cups*

a. *Maté cup*

Alto Perú, late 18th century
Gourd and silver, cast, repoussé, and chased
H. 3¹/₂ in. (8.8 cm)
Private collection

b. *Maté cup*

Alto Perú, late 18th century
Coconut and silver, chased, stamped, and cast
H. 5³/₈ in. (13.7 cm)
Private collection

c. *Maté cup and cover*

Alto Perú, late 18th–early 19th century(?)
Wood and silver
H. 3¹/₂ in. (8.9 cm)
Private collection

The consumption of yerba *maté* tea crossed all social boundaries; it was only the style of the vessel that varied. The poorest customarily drank it from simple dried gourds, from which the beverage took its name (*mati* being the Quechua word for the squash plant that produced the gourds). The wealthiest took theirs from bowls of various materials entirely encased in precious metals. Mounting the natural element while leaving a portion of the gourd exposed reverts, on one hand, to the traditions of



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mounted *Kunstammer* exotica, while on the other, it serves as an advertisement of regional American identity: the owners preserved the Andean custom of drinking the beverage and the traditional manner of drinking it as well.

These three maté cups correspond to the model known in Peru as the *galleta* (gourd) style. The interest of these examples arises, in part, in the use of silver as a “value-added” presentation frame, much as European collectors mounted treasured objects (Chinese porcelain, carved ivory, crystal and semi-precious hardstone vessels, rhinoceros or narwhal horns). The preciousness of the framework signaled the value of the thing it contained. All three have silver rims to protect the gourd from sustained use and wear and from the abrasive action of the *bombilla*. The styles of these rims changed along with the aesthetics of the era, from elaborate Rococo examples to the very severe after the onset of classical taste. In this group the focus is on the natural or artistic quality of the bowls.

The earliest example in terms of style (cat. no. 145a), conforms (with some exceptions) to the typical style of *galleta* cups, in which the oval opening of the half-gourd is mounted with an incurving silver band, with pendant lobes curving down over the bowl and two cast handles applied on the opposing, flatter sides of the gourd. Some matés have only two pendants as part of the rim, while others have two smaller additional ones applied separately. Here there are four, all integrally joined to the wide main rim and linked to one another via short segments of scrolling ornamentation. The



145b

lobes are ogival in form and chased with rocaille palmettes, and the entire ornamental area of the rim is edged with cording, the lower border being scalloped as well. The cast handles are also formed of rocaille scrolls. The decoration on the gourd itself is lent additional contrast through burned incised grooves.

The second cup reflects a more popular style and is perhaps the work of a silversmith who misunderstood the underlying concept of the *galleta* types. The four pendant lobes are indistinctly merged to form a loosely drawn series of scallops with an edging of simple punched circles. The vestigial *bombres follajes* and bird finials on the C-scroll handles also show a loss of definition. The bowl itself is striking for the simplicity of its design, in which vertical stripes seem to have been burned to emphasize the natural grain of the wood. In catalogue number 145c the emphasis is entirely on the receptacle: apparently wood carved with foliate rocaille designs in high relief to which the mount conforms. Unlike the typical *galleta* cup it features a cover with a simple, radiating gadroon pattern that points to a Neoclassical influence.

It is generally assumed that at some point the *galleta* type maté cups had in place one of the two design solutions that evolved to lend stability to the inherently unbalanced shape of the maté gourd: either an integrated foot (see cat. no. 144) or a conforming *mancerina*, or stand (see cat. no. 146). So many of the type appear without stands (or with mismatched stands) however, that one wonders whether they all did indeed have them, or whether the custom, especially



145c

with cups meant for traveling, was simply to hold the cup until it was emptied.

JH

146. Maté cup on stand

Peru, ca. 1780–1860

Gourd and silver, hammered, cast, incised, and repoussé

H. overall 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (22 cm), H. of cup 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (8 cm), Diam. of stand 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (20 cm)

Inscribed: cursive monogram on underside of saucer

Private collection

In *galleta*-type matés (see cat. nos. 145a–c), the mouth of the gourd is encased in an elaborate silver rim, with pendant lappets that leave much of the bowl exposed. In this luxurious meditation on the form the entire gourd is encased in silver and the cup is accompanied by an elaborate stand. Every part of its highly refined decoration reflects playful variations on the motifs that embellish the traditional *galleta* mounts, including a combination of repoussé and indented designs.

The decoration follows the formal divisions of the vessel type. On the narrow ends of the gourd the mouth is covered with a plain rim from which descend two large lobes with applied, cast handles. These are joined by horizontal bands to two smaller lobes on the broader sides. The smaller lobes are filled with repoussé shells, while the larger lobes are filled with two opposing pairs of leafy rocaille scrolls that are incut rather than repoussé. From both lobes

sharply chased tendrils extend onto the horizontal joining bands. The rocaille leafage of the larger lobes is echoed in repoussé on the casing of the bowl itself, where the gourd would normally be exposed.

A similar play of relief and “intaglio” is at work on the stand.¹ Four repoussé swags, pierced and gadrooned, are suspended from a circular support that holds the maté bowl in place with four intaglio palmettes. The support is connected to the tray by four delicately reversed, curved legs that terminate in hooves and are horizontally linked by four more struts joined in the center with a foliate finial that is riveted to the tray. The steep-sided mixtilinear tray is raised on three feet in the form of leafy, skirted foliate men, which, even more than the stylish little dogs that top the cup handles, add a distinctly popular Andean touch that is somewhat disconnected from the more fashionable decorative theme.



146

The extraordinary craftsmanship of this set, which far exceeds the routine decoration of silver matés, would necessarily associate it with the wealthiest sector of Peruvian society; such luxurious embellishment lifted the piece well above the intrinsic value of its silver, a workaday medium in the viceroyalty that by itself was not the province of the rich. The hint of classicizing style that can be seen creeping into an essentially Rococo design would place the set in the latter part of the eighteenth century, when tea was replacing yerba maté as the stylish beverage in Lima. Such a set may well have added fresh prestige to a custom that was in the process of losing its cachet.

JH

1. The stand is sometimes called a *mancerina* after Viceroy Pedro de Toledo y Leiva, marqués de Mancera (r. 1639–48), who was believed to have introduced to America the type of stabilizing saucer called a *trembleuse* in France.



147

147. Maté cup

Southern Highlands or Altiplano, ca. 1770–80
Gourd and gold, molded and repoussé, with
tracery, burnished punchwork, and inset
turquoise

7¼ x 2⅞ in. (18.5 x 7.4 cm)

Private collection

EX COLL.: Llobet-Cullen Collection, Buenos
Aires

REFERENCES: Ribera and Schenone in Munich
1981, pp. 270–71; Urgell et al. 1988, p. 71.

EXHIBITION: Munich 1981, no. 322.

Fashioned from a long, ovoid gourd, this maté cup falls into the *cabeza de serie* category. The setting is made of gold, and the gourd surface is adorned with motifs organized within sections separated by naturalistic imagery in relief. The wider, central portion contains three scenes (one relating to courtly love, the other two to hunting) that are bordered by vertical, ornamented bands. In the courtly love scene, a musician plays the guitar before a couple, who stand

and hold hands; in one hunting scene a kneeling hunter points a gun at a camelid (possibly a llama); in the other a hunter with a bow and arrow takes aim at a bird. All three scenes are organized around a central axis dominated by a relief showing a bird with long plumage. All of the decoration on the gourd is executed in low relief, although turquoises have been set into the surface. The stones give the piece a two-color scheme (the blue-green of the turquoises and the reddish brown of the gourd) that enhances the ornamental effect.¹

The gold setting is very fine, both in terms of its craftsmanship and its choice of naturalistic motifs, which are in relief. The relief work sets off the dark background of the calabash gourd. As is customary, the decoration is organized in two hemispherical sections, one at the top, the other at the bottom of the gourd, joined by vertical bands. The upper section of each side is tripartite, dominated in the center by a foliated mask between shoots and leaves and a scallop shell that unites the fields. The lower section contains a corolla of six pointed petals and additional vegetal imagery in the form of coiling shoots and rocaille leaves, surmounted by a bust of a putto. The cup rests on a cylindrical shaft (apparently a later addition) and a circular base. There is a row of gadroons between shaft and base.

The only written documentation about this piece notes that it was produced in Peru in the eighteenth century; there is no argument or explanation regarding these classifications and no attempt to propose a more precise dating or provenance. While it is true that the absence of markings on this piece complicates the task of classification considerably, as a specialist I feel obliged to put forward at least a logical argument that might lead to a more precise date. After studying the motifs and technical treatment here and in other Peruvian and Bolivian pieces produced between 1750 and 1770, I have found that this *maté* cup has parallels with works executed by the silversmiths of Arequipa. For example, the setting on this cup, the gilt ornamentation in the Cathedral of Arequipa, the crown of gold and precious stones at the convent of La Merced, and the breastplate and crown, both made of gold and precious stones, adorning

the statue of the Virgin in the church at Characato—all in Arequipa—exhibit the same aesthetic and technical approach. Because the silversmiths in the southern Andean city of Arequipa and those in the Altiplano region (Puno-La Paz) worked in closely related styles, to date I have not been able to posit a place of origin for this cup that is any more precise than “Peru,” which prior to 1776 occupied most of South America except for Brazil.

The undulating movement of the shoots and foliage, the scallop shell, and the vegetal masked visage are all typical of the Baroque. However, the small, twisted rocaille leaves indicate the piece was produced closer to the 1770s.

CEM

1. These cannot be marcasite, as Héctor Schenone claims (in Munich 1981, no. 322), since this variety of pyrite (iron sulfide) is pale bronze-yellow in color.

148. Tapestry with coat of arms and floral edge

Southern Andes, 18th century

Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft
78 × 68 in. (198.1 × 172.7 cm)

Arms: quarterly: 1, *or*, a lion rampant gules, in dexter chief an estoile of eight points azure; 2 (?), azure three bars purple (or *vair en point* purple) within a bordure *or* (or on a bordure or a chain azure); 3, argent, on a terrace an orange tree *tenné* between two boars rampant azure; 4, quarterly 1 and 4 argent an eagle displayed azure, 2 and 3, gules a cross flory *or*¹
Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.; Museum Purchase (1961.1.1)

EX COLL.: Mayorkas brothers²

REFERENCES: Zimmern 1943–44, pl. 14; Kelemen 1961, pp. 1–4, fig. f; Sawyer in Washington, D.C., 1961, pp. 1–4.

EXHIBITION: Washington, D.C., 1961, no. 24.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave, reversible, with single-interlocking and dovetail joints; curvilinear wefts. Chain-looped, buttonhole-stitch embroidery along top edge. **Warp:** cotton // \wedge 37 per in. (beige), wheel-spun. **Weft:** camelid hair \wedge 112 per in. (light and dark cochineal red, light purple, blue, turquoise blue, black, orange, yellow, and gold). Combined yarns (one single of each color, plied): \wedge purple and white, red and

yellow. **Embroidery:** camelid \wedge (white).

Selvages: heavy cord at beginning end; long loops, chained, at top end. Side selvages present. **Woven sections:** 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.; 14 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.; 13 in.; 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.; 14 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (dovetailed around a common warp); joins begin at heading position. **Condition:** excellent, with bright, well-preserved colors; very fine weaving.

Unusually fine for an eighteenth-century colonial tapestry, this armorial hanging (*repostero*) expands the boundaries of the Andean aesthetic as we understand it. Although it evidences traditional Andean technical features, such as Inca-style embroidery at the top and bottom, uncut three-ply cotton warps, and *tour de force* reversible weaving, the tapestry perfectly embodies the hybridized, cross-cultural character of late viceregal culture. It is a distinctly colonial work of art.

The arms, set against a mottled purple ground, are intricately delineated by a complex cartouche and surrounded by feathers and armorial regalia. The family they belonged to is unknown. Armorial crests in colonial Andean *reposteros* are often on a white central square, but using white for the overall ground color was unusual. The Inca considered white a precious color, and they reserved it for the highest nobility. Here it creates a cumulative effect, especially in conjunction with the stylized and static flower sprigs in small vases, that is reminiscent of a Persian or Indian shawl. In fact, such shawls (as well as printed cottons and other textiles) were brought to Peru on the Manila galleons, the ships that traveled a circuitous trade route from India to China and then to the New World.³ These Indian and Persian textiles, and particularly the shawls, were fashionable in the eighteenth century in both Europe and the Americas. The degree to which distant cultures influenced Andean colonial art is sometimes masked by shared aesthetic leanings (a penchant for floral designs, for example) but there is no doubt that Andean weavers responded to these beautifully made, soft, and luxurious foreign textiles and incorporated elements of them into their own work. The border on this example is a unique design of networked bands edged with three-dimensional leaves that stand out against the two-dimensional plane of the tapestry, a remarkable technical and aesthetic feat.



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One can imagine a Spanish patron handing the weaver a shawl with knitted or looped three-dimensional flowers and leaves (popular in Spain in the seventeenth and eighteenth century) and requesting a copy of it in tapestry weave, with arms at the center.

The result is a masterpiece, an expertly rendered translation from model to tapestry.

The Andean weavers who made this tapestry were likely already accustomed to working with a variety of three-dimensional braiding and finishing techniques. We can

guess that they would have been fascinated by the construction of foreign knitted and lacework textiles and would have quickly understood how to “deconstruct” them in order to re-create them in another weaving technique. Here the Andean weavers

embroidered the top and bottom edges with chain-looped stitches, the same meticulous treatment used on Inca-period garments. Very few colonial tapestries with this type of embroidery have been preserved (see cat. no. 93). Eighteenth-century colonial fashion may have prescribed an elaborate fringe or a knitted or crocheted edging, but for the traditional Andean weaver a textile was not complete until its edges were concealed and protected.

EP

1. See Zimmern 1943–44, p. 47, n. 139.
2. *Ibid.*, pl. 14.
3. Schurz 1939, p. 32: "Silks in every stage of manufacture and of every variety of weave and pattern formed the most valuable part of their cargoes. . . . From the Mogul Empire of India—from Bengal and the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar—cottons. . . . Persian rugs and carpets, imported into the Philippines by way of India,

became customary items in the cargo of the China Ship after regular trading connections had been established with the Malabar ports."

149. *Frame*

Potosí(?), ca. 1780–90
 Silver, repoussé, molded, and chased
 37 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 23 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (94.5 x 60 cm)
 Inscribed: *Heste cuadro es para la / Capilla Isabel / C.R.*
 Museo de Arte Hispanoamericano Isaac Fernández Blanco, Buenos Aires (363/26-69-02)

REFERENCES: Ribera 1970, no. 363; Ribera and Schenone in Munich 1981, no. 217; Ribera 1983, p. 382; and Esteras Martín 1997a, p. 457, fig. 343; Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, pp. 242–43.

EXHIBITIONS: Buenos Aires 1969, no. 256; Munich 1981, no. 217; Madrid 1997, no. 79.



The rich resources of the American silver mines, especially those in the Viceroyalty of Peru, made it possible to adorn homes and churches alike with all manner of objects wrought in this precious metal. Among them was this sumptuous frame. Now used for a mirror, its original function is uncertain. It might initially have framed a painting, perhaps a portrait or a religious subject. The inscription engraved on its cartouche asserts that "this picture is for the chapel Isabel C.R." which indicates that the frame and the picture it enclosed were donated to a chapel by Isabel C. R. We know, therefore, that at some time in the past the piece served as a frame for a painting, which presumably was devotional in nature.

Imposing in its effect, the frame is rectangular and surrounds a smooth trough with tongue-like forms at each of the corners (the one at lower left is a modern replacement in base metal). At the sides are borders of pierced rocaïlle, with floral embellishments, C- and S-shaped struts, and a pair of herons, one at center left, one at center right. The bottom of the frame displays a rocaïlle ornament of the butterfly style, with two cylindrical elements in which to fit arms to hold candles. The pierced crest at the top is cut out into a rocaïlle shape, with a pair of birds raised on pedestals and a crown of erect plumes that open out into a circle with a scalloped silhouette.

This piece, clearly Rococo, is notable for the peculiar shell-like spiral movement of the gadroons, much as we have seen on various other pieces in this exhibition, for example, a maté cup (cat. no. 144), and a sacrarium (cat. no. 111), as well as on a chrismatory formerly in the Buenos Aires convent of the Capuchin nuns (now in a private collection). There are other parallels among these pieces. In addition to rocaïlle ornament, both the frame and the tabernacle have the same birds (herons) similarly posed on the same crowning spots. The gadroons on the top of the frame are finished off with double beads, just as they are on the lid of the chrismatory from Buenos Aires.

These and other similar works have in common a technical plasticity of ornament that unmistakably identify Potosí as their place of origin; in the absence of any marks or other documentary support, however, this classification must be put forward with

reservation. The frame can be dated to between 1780 and 1790, when the silver workshops of Alto Perú reached their peak.

CEM

150. *Woman's mantle (lliclla)*

Southern Andes, 18th century(?)

Tapestry weave, camelid warp and weft
35½ × 43¾ in. (90.2 × 110.2 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Bequest of Arthur M. Bullowa, 1993 (1994.35.67)

EX COLL.: Arthur M. Bullowa

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave, reversible, with dovetail and some single-interlocking joins; eccentric wefts. Embroidery binding upper and lower edge. **Warp:** camelid \wedge 22 per in. (white). **Weft:** camelid \wedge 80 per in. (red, white, yellow, blue, purple, orange-brown, and blue-gray). **Selvages:** warp loops on bottom edge; loops cut on upper edge. Four shots of plain weave heading at beginning end. Two weft selvage cords, each side camelid \wedge . Four panels dovetail-joined around a common warp; sections: 10½ in.; 11¼ in.; 11 in.; 11 in.



150

151. *Woman's mantle (lliclla)*

18th century

Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft
34½ × 45½ in. (87.6 × 115.6 cm)

American Museum of Natural History, New York (40.0/6177)

EX COLL.: possibly acquired by Adolph Bandelier in Cuzco¹

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave, reversible, with single-interlocking and dovetail joins; eccentric wefts. **Warp:** cotton \wedge 22 per in. (white). **Weft:** camelid hair \wedge 68 per inch. (light and dark cochineal red, light and dark blue, white, pink, purple, yellow, and reddish brown). **Selvages:** warp loops on top and bottom. Four shots of plain weave at beginning end, five shots at finishing end. Interlock-joined around common warp in two sections, 22½ in. and 23 in. wide each; each section divided into two additional sections, 11½ in. wide, dovetailed together.



151

The lace edgings on native women's mantles were considered to be in such "scandalous excess" in the eighteenth cen-

ture that special laws were enacted to regulate them.² In order to circumvent these restrictions, some women had lace designs like the stylized fringe that borders the central decorative bands of these two garments woven directly into the fabric of their mantles (as opposed to applying bands of actual lace). Similar lace designs, drawn from popular European-derived lacework and

edging patterns, were also woven into many tapestries of the period (see cat. no. 99).

A lacework pattern with tiny, tied balls of yarn—usually referred to as ball fringe—was especially popular in the eighteenth century as a furnishing and garment edging and design motif. The fringe itself was used in the seventeenth century on lacework pieces such as pillow covers and

bed throws, but the design motif, somewhat abstracted, reached the height of its popularity during the eighteenth century. Even in this stylized manifestation, it is instantly recognizable.

These two tapestry-woven rectangular garments follow the traditional Andean design principles for women's shoulder mantles, with symmetrical horizontal registers of various types of designs: a center band flanked by a unique design; two broader, red-ground sections (the *pampas*) filled with numerous scattered and regularly placed motifs and edged with ball-fringe bands; six narrow bands (the *pallai*), three on each side, each containing their own repeated motifs; and two outer bands, one on the top and one on the bottom, that contain undulating floral vine motifs (*cantu*). An abstracted horizontal S-shaped design resembling a double-headed snake appears on both mantles, although not in the same location.

The *pampas* of the Metropolitan Museum's mantle are filled with Andean birds and other animals, as well as flowers. The variety of fauna harkens back to an age-old Andean association between women, particularly the Inca *coyas* (noblewomen), and certain birds and animals. Guaman Poma, for example, wrote in 1615 that Mama Huaco, the seventh Inca queen, was "a friend of animals, raising little birds, parrots and *guacamayas* and monkeys and other birds that sing and wild doves" (fig. 15).³ Colonial portraits of elite Inca women always include a parrot or other bird as their companion. The mantle from the American Museum of Natural History also has birds of various species, some with elaborately rendered polychrome feathers. In each of the *pampas*, a pair of double-headed eagles flanks a large urn.

The snakelike S motif is sometimes referred to as a *kuti*, the name of an agricultural implement.⁴ Both the tool and the motif are still used today in remote Highland regions. The visual references in the horizontal *pallai* designs to the plowing of fertile fields, especially as combined here with abundant floral and faunal imagery, seem to celebrate life and fecundity. That these mantles are made of tapestry weave situates them in the high-status tradition of ceremonial mantles woven for marriages, notably between native noblewomen and

Spaniards. But because they include no references to Inca nobility, especially the *tocapu* designs found in other types of *llicllas*, they were probably made for local ceremonies.

The Metropolitan Museum's mantle was woven with camelid hair yarns in both the warp and the weft; in contrast, the mantle belonging to the American Museum of Natural History, like the majority of tapestry garments and hangings, has cotton warps.⁵ The use of camelid warps may offer clues as to the origins of the piece. It no doubt reflects a regional weaving style, which may also account for the garment's loosely organized, less highly articulated designs. Most likely the *lliclla* came from the southern Highlands, where camelid yarns were more abundant and therefore used in spite of certain technical disadvantages.⁶ Cotton was available only as a trade item, and so the weavers may have substituted traditional, locally available materials. That the mantle was woven in tapestry weave indicates that, despite their remoteness, the weavers were influenced to some degree by prevailing colonial styles and tastes. Indeed, it is likely that mantles with camelid hair warps originated in the southern Highlands, and possibly in the Arequipa region, where there was a concurrent large-scale production of tapestry rugs with camelid warps.

The weaving in these examples, although finely executed, is far from the densely packed, tightly woven *cumbi* tradition of the Inca. It is looser, with coarser yarns, and according to Andean convention although the garments are woven as single webs of cloth, each mantle has pronounced vertical sections. These were created during the weaving process and are a common feature of many colonial tapestry mantles and hangings. Unlike many of the other such examples, the Metropolitan Museum's mantle has sections that extend all the way to the very edge of the cloth, creating the appearance that they were woven on separate looms and joined together. Close examination reveals that the sections were more likely work areas the weavers created as they wove, probably on a single loomed width.

EP

1. It is possible that this garment is in fact the textile previously known as Bandelier 1507. According to Vuka Roussakis, textile conservator

at the American Museum of Natural History (e-mail message to the author, November 24, 2003), "[The mantle] seems to have lost its tag in the 1930s; it was designated as 'found in storage' and recatalogued in the 1940s by Junius Bird as 40.0/6177. Bird wrote a note, however, stating that he thought this was the missing B/1507, which according to Bandelier was from Cuzco." I am grateful to Vuka Roussakis for this important information.

2. Women of mixed heritage, for example, were allowed only two edgings of lace or velvet on their mantles; see Elena Phipps, "Garments and Identity," in this publication.
3. Guaman Poma (1615, p. 132) 1980, p. 111: "amiga de criar paxaritos, papagayos y guacamayas y micos y monos y otros paxaros que cantan y palomitas del campo."
4. The *kuti* is referred to as *livk'ana* or *luk'ana* in Quechua. See López, Flores, and Letourneux 1993, pp. 230, 239. See Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías 1987, pp. 212–13, and Silverman 1994, p. 160.
5. Some similarly designed garments and tapestries also have camelid warps. Another characteristic of this style of weaving is the use of a particularly long-fibered white camelid hair yarn. See, for example, a tapestry poncho in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (07.846); Boston 1992, p. 200, pl. 78.
6. Camelid warp yarns are slightly more flexible and tend to stretch under the tension required for tapestry weaving.

152a–j. *Garment pins*

a–c. *Three ttipquis*

- a. Southern Highlands, second half of 18th century(?)
L. 13¾ in. (35 cm)
- b. Altiplano (Lake Titicaca), second half of 18th century(?)
L. 13⅞ in. (34 cm)
- c. Altiplano (Lake Titicaca?), second half of 18th century(?)
L. 12⅝ in. (32 cm)

d–f. *Three tupus*

- d. Altiplano (Lake Titicaca), second half of 18th century
L. 13 in. (33 cm)
- e. Altiplano (Lake Titicaca), second half of 18th century
L. 15⅜ in. (39 cm)
- f. Southern Highlands(?), 18th–19th century
L. 12¼ in. (31 cm)



152a–c

g–j. Two pairs of *tupus*

g, h. Cuzco region, 19th century

L. 15 in. (38 cm) each

i, j. Altiplano (Lake Titicaca), 19th century(?)

L. 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (39 cm) each

Private collection

EX COLL. (a, b, and f only): María Luisa Álvarez Calderón

REFERENCE (a and b only): Madrid 1997, nos. 120a, c.

The prominent display of silver in the form of garment pins is one of the most enduring cultural traditions in the indigenous communities throughout the Andes, a practice that has persisted from pre-Hispanic times (see cat. nos. 5a, b) to the present day. Prized by women along with the treasured woven garments they accompany, such pins are steadily recorded in wills and inventories of the colonial era and may still be found in the possession of those who can afford to keep them. The once simple but mammoth disk forms of the pre-Conquest period were replaced in the Baroque era with more intricately shaped heads embossed with naturalistic ornamentation and later worked with images reflecting a variety of meanings. The forms of the pins may have changed with the arrival of European styles, but the essential function remained the same: pairs of *tupus* were worn point up to hold the *acsu* (dress) together below each shoulder, while the

ttipqui was inserted more diagonally to secure the *lliclla* (shoulder mantle) across the chest.

Today many Andean women wear a combination of Andean and European-style dress, often wearing *llicllas* over the skirts and tops that have replaced the pinned *acsus*. Thus while *ttipquis* continue to serve a purpose, *tupus* per se are rarely used, and it is likely that many pairs of *tupus* have been separated and converted to be worn head up. It is, in fact, often difficult to know if some of the garment pins that survive in isolation were meant to be *tupus* or *ttipquis*, as the original skewerlike points have frequently been replaced, and at times their original disposition has been so altered that the spike now emerges from what was once the bottom of the decorative head of the pin rather than its top.

In catalogue number 152a we see a phoenixlike bird of Asian derivation pecking at a fruit-filled urn, a motif that is linked with imagery found throughout the Andes. In liturgical silver it is often interpreted as an emblem of the Eucharist, but it is not commonly seen in garment pins. The working of the silver is particularly striking for its delicate draftsmanship and the lithe, robust movement of the foliage. The piece may have been an individual commission. The tiny pendant ewer is typical of the talismanic charms that hung in



152d–f



152g–j

quantities on nineteenth-century pins; like the pinpoint, it is a later replacement.

The rectangular, beveled coffer shape (*espejo*, or mirror shape, in Spanish) of catalogue 152b, actually resembling a miniature *bandeja* (deep tray), is more frequently encountered in garment pins. The pierced foliage where the tray now attaches to the pin and the lacelike foliate and beaded edging are typical of the Andean Baroque and may indicate an eighteenth-century origin.¹ These embellishments were probably meant as visual supports for the “tray” rather than as a crowning element, but as the pin is not integral to the plaque, it could well be a replacement. Which end the pin was originally attached to is hard to know for certain, as is whether this object was one of a pair of *tupus* or whether it served as a *ttipqui* and the loop simply supported a hanging charm.²

Shell forms were frequently employed in garment pins in the Altiplano, and in a variety of imaginative ways. The decorative value of the shell far outstripped its limited Christian implications as a pilgrim’s emblem or as a sign of baptism. In catalogue number 152c the shell appears to emerge from the foliage that serves as the transition to the pin, indicating that the shell was always meant to be the crowning element of the design and that the pin served as a *ttipqui*. Its pendant is in the shape of an *olla*, a type of cooking vessel and another popular charm on nineteenth-century pins.

Catalogue numbers 152d and 152e demonstrate the popularity and adaptability of the shell form. The design of the former, with phoenixlike birds nestled in foliage, is ambiguous, and the pin could conceivably have been worn horizontally as a *tipqui*, in which case the loop on the stem would have held a charm rather than linking it to another *tupu*. Catalogue 152d, with its intact stem, retains only the most vestigial sense of a shell. It is clearly one of a separated pair of *tupus* as indicated by the orientation of the green mask in the center and the flanking viscachas.

Catalogue number 152f represents a decorative form particularly widespread in the Lake Titicaca region. The faceted glass bead set in its center is surrounded by a maze of foliage enclosing birds and monkeys. Crowning the design is a winged cherub face, and below is a triple spray of spoon-shaped leaves, a motif that persisted in *tupus* long after the close of the colonial era.

The fascinating (if rudely executed) imagery that decorates the pair of circular-headed *tupus* (cat. nos. 152g, h) features a plethora of European elements adapted to indigenous purposes that have yet to be fully interpreted. The figure in colonial dress wearing a slit-crowned hat evocative of a sort of clerical headcovering appears to be master of the crowned lion (Spain?) on which he sits, and which in turn seems to have subdued the dog lying against the rim of the disk.³ The lion and the eagle on his shoulders are colonial Andean heraldic emblems. The pair of spoon *tupus* (cat. nos. 152i, j) represent what is probably the most typical form for them in the nineteenth century. Most such *tupus* are simply incised with various Andean emblems, in this case the Sun and crescent Moon. Cristina Esteras Martín has suggested that the spoon-form *tupus* may have developed so that they could be disguised as household goods when the crown suppressed the display of Inca emblems after the Túpac Amaru II rebellion in the 1780s.⁴

JH

1. Pins dating from the Baroque era are rare; catalogue numbers 152a and 152b, for example, have been classified as colonial by Esteras Martín (in Madrid 1997) but as “neo-Baroque” by others. See, for example, Wuffarden 1997, pp. 338–39.

2. In other examples of the general type the arrangement is inverted. One pin in a private collection in Buenos Aires features an *hombre fol-laje* transitioning to the spike above the rectangle and thus was clearly intended as a *tupu*.

3. Similar symbolism is encountered in the Huamanga carvings from Ayacucho that proliferated during the Republican era, and it is generally interpreted as representing the triumph of the Independence movement. See Majluf and Wuffarden 1998.

4. Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, p. 326, n. 194.

153. Panel for coca bag (*ch'uspa*)

Southern Andes, possibly 18th century
Tapestry weave with weft-float patterning,
cotton warp and camelid weft
12½ × 6 in. (31.8 × 15.2 cm)
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd Cotsen

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave with weft-float patterning; single-interlocking and dovetail joins; lazy lines. **Warp:** cotton //∧ 18 per in. (white). **Weft:** camelid ∧ 104 per in. (pink, blue, white, purple, and yellow); silk ∧ 208 per in. (yellow and white).

Selvages: warp selvages chain-looped on lower edge, cut-and-entered on upper edge. Weft selvages present; four shots of cotton plain weave weft for heading. **Condition:** good; original edge stitching removed.

Coca bags (*ch'uspas*) were generally made from one woven panel of cloth folded and stitched together. Here we have an unstitched panel that was woven with the figures on the lower half facing upside down and the ones on the upper section facing right side up so that when the panel was folded and stitched together as a bag, both sides would be oriented correctly. The center fold line is demarcated with a plain band. Both sides of the bag are asymmetrically designed in a somewhat free-form colonial style, with familiar Andean birds (including parrots), viscachas, and the elaborate flowers common to a variety of colonial tapestries juxtaposed to a register of four-petaled flowers.

The practice of chewing coca leaves is still integral to Highland culture; the chemicals released help alleviate fatigue and other hazards associated with the low oxygen level at high altitudes. Men traditionally



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carry their daily handful of coca leaves in a bag such as this one, while women fold theirs into small square cloths and tuck them into their waistbands. Guaman Poma depicted some Inca *coyas* (queens) holding coca bags, so perhaps this was a privilege of the nobility. Women's coca cloths, which might also have been used to lay out ritual offerings, were generally woven as warp-faced textiles, a more “local” and traditional method than weft-faced tapestry weave, which was associated with Spanish-colonial textiles. No women's tapestry-woven coca cloths have been preserved from the colonial period, or at least none that has been identified as such.

The *ch'uspa* typically has a narrow strap that is worn crosswise over the shoulder. Some bags have an additional small pocket to hold *llipta*, a mixture of lime (calcium carbonate) and ash that is sometimes wrapped in the masticated leaves. The *llipta* leaf bundle is thrust into the cheek, where it remains, perhaps for hours, while saliva slowly mixes with the contents and breaks down the narcotic in the leaf.

EP

Reconstructing Andean Identity

José Gabriel Condorcanqui (1742–1781), otherwise known as Túpac Amaru II, was a wealthy mestizo *curaca* who led a grass-roots insurgency, based in the southern Andean Highlands around Cuzco, between 1780 and 1781. An outgrowth of years of discontent with colonial authority that had been accelerated by unwieldy tax reforms imposed by Bourbon rulers in Spain, the rebellion was actually supported by some Creoles and opposed by some indigenous *curacas*. Its nominal aim was a return to Andean hegemony based on an idealized concept of the Inca past.

Leading up to the revolt, and perhaps in response to it, Spanish administrators—namely Visitador José Antonio de Areche of Cuzco—repeatedly tried to squelch any uprising by banning elements suggestive of Inca identity: for example, Inca-style tunics, traditional trumpets made of seashells, and portraits of the Inca kings. Areche also encouraged the teaching of Spanish in an effort to displace the native Quechua language. Language, dress (including *tupus*), music, and portraits were all viewed as potentially subversive cultural attributes.

Ritual activities were a deeply ingrained component of Andean spirituality. Although Christianity had taken strong hold, and native religious practices had long been suppressed through the extirpation campaigns of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Andean rituals incorporated devotions to the Virgin Mary as well as to Pachamama, the Earth Mother. Similarly, aspects of Hanan and Hurin identity, integral components of pre-Hispanic Andean culture, were maintained within acts of Christian piety, and offerings to native *huacas* for the health and fertility of fields and herds were part of everyday life in Highland communities.

Over the course of the eighteenth century, the land rights and privileges of those Andeans who had been exploited by the colonial system were subject to reexamination, causing a dramatic upsurge in the rebellious climate. Re-creating an ideal for the future that was based on a reformulation of the Inca past was a

primary leitmotif in Peruvian art of the late eighteenth century. With independence in 1824 came the abolition of the privileges of the native Andean nobility, privileges that had been based on tenuous links to Inca royal bloodlines as documented and propagated through series of royal or genealogical portraits. The role of the Inca nobility thus declined, as the nineteenth century witnessed the growth of Peru's Indian population and the strengthening of traditional Andean society. Limited social and economic change, along with the increased autonomy of Indian and mestizo communities, contributed to a flourishing of the arts and crafts and to a continuance of some colonial lifestyles and festivities. Thus, although production and export of silver had been declining for years, silverworking continued, even if it meant that “old-fashioned” pieces were melted down to produce new ones. The advent of classical and romantic styles affected works produced for the wealthier urban clientele, while in the Highlands, the persistence of traditional Andean customs led to an evolution of traditional forms: indigenous women's garment pins became wildly elaborated as they were converted into weighty displays of personal wealth, and dance rituals, with their silver-bedecked costumes and paraphernalia, consumed significant portions of limited community resources.

In the wake of independence the fine tapestry weaving that had constructed Inca-style garments nearly ceased; only small pockets of communities persisted in weaving special garments (particularly women's *llicllas*) for weddings and other festive ceremonies. Villages such as Coroma, in southwest Bolivia, maintained their heritage by preserving their garments—including *uncus* from early colonial times—in sacred *q'epi* bundles that are opened and worn once a year to ensure the health and welfare of the community. In a few specialized rural communities in Highland Peru and Bolivia, large-scale, tapestry-woven rugs and bedcovers continue to be woven on large upright looms, remnants of an age-old tradition.

JH and EP



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154. *Incense burner* (*sabumador*)

Altiplano(?), late 18th–early 19th century(?)
Silver, cast, chased, and pierced
6¾ × 10¼ in. (17 × 26 cm)
Private collection

REFERENCES: Esteras Martín 1992b, fig. 6;
Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, pp. 296–97;
Wuffarden 1997, fig. IV-48-49.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1997, no. 106.

In this incense burner, the Peruvian taste for animal forms finds expression in the representation of an armadillo. A native of South America, the armadillo is encased in a body armor of moveable bony plates into

which it can roll for self-protection. The Quechua Indians called armadillos “*quirquinchu*” and used their armor to make the *charango*, a musical instrument with five strings. The appearance of the armadillo is copied in minute, realistic detail in this incense burner with no sacrifice of the object’s functionality. It is a brilliantly thought-out piece in terms of both structure and technique, charged with the imagination and creativity characteristic of Peruvian works, in which the anecdotal—here a hunter aiming at a taruca (deer) placed atop the armadillo—plays an important role.

The armadillo is shown crouching upon its feet. Toward the center of its body, at a point marked by a superimposed floral

garland, the body opens on a hinge. Inside are the accoutrements of the incense burner. In the center of the highest point of the body is a cylindrical, pierced vessel with a rhomboid-shaped reticule that served as a brazier for burning perfumes. Two smaller lidded vessels, used to store the scented substances, are under the armadillo’s head. The aromatic, purifying smoke drifted out of the interior of the body through the skillfully perforated armor. The pierced lid, surmounted by the hunter, drew in air that allowed the perfumed materials to burn.

The somewhat tricky mechanics of opening the piece are ingeniously handled: the tail is hinged at its middle, so that when the body of the animal, which serves as a lid, is lifted backward, it rests on the tail

and on the hunter, both of which support the armadillo's weight. The craftsman responsible for this piece not only evidenced enormous creativity in producing a fully functional object; he also revealed a great gift for decoration, which is balanced and tasteful, not overabundant. His inventiveness is apparent in his use of the garland that covers and hides the divisions between the armadillo's body and the hunter and the deer. Impressive also is the nest of leaves surrounding the opening on the top. The red stones embedded in the eyes of the armadillo enliven the animal's expression and add a note of realism and color.

The escutcheon on the left side of the animal bears the arms of Republican Peru, suggesting that the piece dates after 1825, the year the country became independent from Spain. Because the escutcheon could have been added some time after the piece was completed, the dating to the nineteenth century is cautiously assigned, however. It should be noted that the laurel

garland at the top of the armadillo, with its passementerie tassels, reflects the classicist tendencies of the late eighteenth century or, more likely, the first years of the nineteenth century.

Luis Eduardo Wuffarden believes that the burner must be from the southern Andean region because it is in the shape of an armadillo, which is indigenous to that area.¹ This argument is unconvincing; using the same logic an incense burner in the shape of a turkey must be from Mexico, its native habitat, but there are certainly Peruvian burners made in the shape of turkeys. Moreover, armadillos are not exclusive to the southern Andes but are found throughout South America. I thus continue to maintain my earlier suggestion that this burner was made in the Highlands of what we today call Peru and will do so until or unless new evidence proves otherwise.

CEM

1. Wuffarden 1997, fig. IV-48.

155. *Armorial tapestry*

Southern Peru (possibly Cuzco), mid- to late 18th century

Tapestry weave; cotton warp and camelid hair (possibly silk and viscacha hair) weft
96 × 85 in. (243.8 × 215.9 cm)

Arms: ensigned by a marquis's coronet and set about with military trophies: quarterly within a bordure argent, 1 and 4, gules a tree *or* between two hounds counter-rampant sable(?) collared *or*; 2, argent a knight on horseback forcené before a tower proper, an eagle gules issuant from the top; 3, azure a tower proper and in base two cats(?) counter-salient argent, within a border chequée *or* and gules.¹

Motto: *SI DIOS ES POR NOS / QUIEN SERA CONTRA NOS*

British Museum, London (1913.3-11.1)

EX COLL.: said to have been acquired by Louis Clark in Cuzco about 1910;² presented by him to the British Museum

REFERENCES: Joyce 1913, pp. 146-50; Kendrick 1925, pp. 292-97; Van de Put and Kendrick 1928; Zimmern 1943-44, p. 47, n. 137; Kelemen 1969, p. 185, fig. 6.9; Thomson 1980, pl. 8; Cummins (1992) 1998, fig. 34; Durkin 1998, chap. 11, pp. 199-224.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION: tapestry weave, reversible, with single-interlocking and dovetail joins; eccentric wefts. Some weft-float patterning. **Warp:** cotton //^ 25 per in. (white).

Weft: camelid ^ 124 per in. (red, green, blue, white, brown, black-purple, yellow, gold, greenish yellow, and plyed purple and white); possibly other fibers, including silk and viscacha.³ **Selvages:** warp selvage has chain-looped on bottom edge, cut-and-entered (long cut ends) on upper edge; weft selvage has one cord (two ^ used together) at each edge. Heading has nine shots of plainweave along lower end. **Condition:** excellent.

Emblazoned above the central heraldic shield in this remarkable tapestry is a familiar biblical cry: "Si Dios es por nos, quien sera contra nos?" (If God is for us, who will be against us? Romans 8:31). The question glares at the viewer from this complex, visually dazzling work, as it also begs another question: who is the "us"? Did the piece belong to a Spanish nobleman (hence the prominent Spanish arms at the center) who was alluding to the Conquest of the Andes, or perhaps to the historic reclamation of Moorish Spain? Or is this a looser reference to the mythological world depicted in the central field, where sirens



154, open



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play harps and guitars to lull the populace into a state of happiness and fulfillment? Or is the “us” the Inca king and queen shown in full regalia in the border, standing proud among symbols of both their glorious past and their potential future dominion?

The coat of arms, silhouetted against a stark white ground, was exactly studied

at the beginning of the twentieth century, when the piece was acquired by the British Museum, but scholars have yet to identify the family it represents. Based on the formality and presumed legitimacy of the format, the arms could be Spanish, but as A. Van de Put pointed out in 1928, they cannot be linked to any known family of the Spanish conquistadors.⁴ The border sur-

round of the escutcheon contains small red squiggled lines reminiscent of the birds that encircle the arms granted to the city of Cuzco in 1540, which suggests some Andean component in the arms' origin.⁵ Other puzzling heraldic devices surround the escutcheon, tucked into the typical flags, musical instruments, and banners of European heraldry: On one of the banners

is what appears to be the spiny pad of a cactus, the head of a large-eared black animal can be found on the helmet, and a heart on a chain dangles below.

Armorial tapestries (*reposteros*) were made by Andean weavers in good numbers, but examples with text are exceedingly rare.⁶ The inclusion of text raises questions about the role of the written word in colonial works of art, especially those commissioned by and for native Andeans, as alphabetic writing was unknown in the Andes prior to the arrival of the Spanish.⁷ Those tapestries that do have woven texts generally also depict either an armorial or a biblical (that is to say religious) subject. Several also have depictions of historical and mythical personages, suggesting some kind of narrative.

The figures in the broad border surrounding the central field of this tapestry represent Inca nobility. The kings are posed with their staffs, shields, and headdresses, symbols of authority and identity. They are accompanied by *quero*-bearing Inca queens, who are shaded by parasols carried by hunchbacked attendants (*q'uimillo*). The king, queen, and attendant are a familiar trio in the colonial iconographic repertoire found in various traditional media, especially pigmented wood *queros* and seventeenth- to nineteenth-century dynastic portraits. The figures repeat on all four sides of the tapestry, but with some variation in the sequence, and each group has unique features, especially in the coloration and other details of their dress. The garments are rendered in detail. Each of the *coyas* wears her *media acsu* (half-skirt) over her Spanish-style underskirt, as mandated in the late sixteenth century by Viceroy Toledo's *Ordenanzas*. The kings wear traditional Andean tunics (*uncus*) and Spanish-style ruffled knee breeches. Four-petaled flowers extend from their headdresses,⁸ and most of them wear Sun-shaped gold pectoral medallions like those seen in certain colonial genealogical paintings (see cat. no. 118). Small, highly abstracted designs, including Andean *ñuccha* flowers (*Salvia esplendes*) decorate the lower halves of their solid-color tunics, most of which are blue, a color reserved in Inca times for the most sacred occasions.⁹ The *q'uimillos* too wear Inca-style tunics, but they also sport a curious type of hat reminiscent of a Jesuit's biretta or even a bishop's split miter.¹⁰

The Inca men along the top and bottom borders flank an architectural motif that might represent a church entrance.¹¹ The facade comprises two rounded columns on either side of a stepped, arched double door. The three arched, crenellated windows above the lintel might allude to those on a real building, such as the Cathedral of Cuzco.¹² Depictions of symbolic architectural elements occur in other colonial contexts, such as the elaborate head ornamentation worn by the *alférez real* during Corpus Christi processions and the temporary triumphal arches erected to celebrate important state occasions. Checkered flags—a recurring motif in colonial paintings of pageantry from the seventeenth century (and, perhaps most memorably, in the final painting of the Corpus Christi series from the Church of Santa Ana, Cuzco, now in the Museo Arzobispal, Cuzco)—wave from the top of the lintel, confirming that this is an exterior view of a building (see also cat. no. 35d). The flags also indicate the celebratory nature of the occasion depicted in the border, probably a procession or a wedding.¹³

The central field of the tapestry is filled with images of fertility and vitality, including vines, flowers, animals, and mermaids, who wear elaborate headdresses with dangling floral appendages. Mermaids are found on several other tapestries, where they are similarly associated with music and festivities (see cat. no. 76). In the narrow band surrounding the field are hunters in European-style jackets bearing matchlock rifles, whose prey appears to be large blue birds. Small *viscachas* meander through the vines, which emanate from Renaissance-style, lion-faced grotesque masks. Lion masks, in profile, are also seen on the bases of the church portal columns.

The outer border of static, stylistic pendants draws on a European decorative vocabulary. Beaded drops separate broad, almost heart-shaped designs similar to the edge decorations on some silver vessels (see, for example, cat. no. 121). The nearly invisible white dots between the pendants look as if they may have been added later, but this is not the case; the matching red fringe, however, was most likely an afterthought.

The inclusion of Inca figures on this tapestry and on other colonial works of art

has been discussed at length by Tom Cummins, who relates them to similar narrative imagery found in registers along the rims of silver plates and bowls from the 1622 shipwreck of the galleon *Nuestra Señora de Atocha* (see cat. no. 20).¹⁴ Compared to the tapestry figures, however, those on the pieces from the *Atocha* are more static, creating what can perhaps be described as a more symbolic than narrative effect. Still, the stylistic links have led some scholars to propose that the *Atocha* silver vessels, which obviously date no later than 1622, could provide a guideline for assessing the date of manufacture of the tapestry.

The Inca figures on this tapestry do appear to associate it with objects from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and the comparatively high quality of the weaving might also indicate an early date. Other features, however, particularly the handling of the arms and the border motif that repeats around the outer edge, are more closely associated with eighteenth-century design. And the Inca figures very likely reflect the revival of Inca themes that occurred around the time of the rebellion Túpac Amaru II led against the Spaniards in 1780.

EP

1. See also the description given by T. A. Joyce (1913, p. 149).
2. Ibid. A. Kendrick (1925) also details its history.
3. One bicolored yarn, used in the drum skins surrounding the coat of arms, is composed of dyed yellow and natural white fibers spun together. One brown yarn appears to be silk (but fiber microscopy has yet to confirm this). There is also one odd, unidentified fiber, found in green and in a reddish brown, on which the color is slightly faded at the front, suggesting that it was dyed with brazilwood. A gray yarn, used to form the spear tips in the arms, is possibly *viscacha* hair fiber.
4. After extensive study, Van de Put (1928) was unable to find the family associated with these complex arms. He proposed a Guipuzcoan or Biscayan family because of a similar use of paired upright animals. Joyce (1913, p. 149) also related the shield to a coat of arms from the Urbina family of Andalusia. It has also been noted that the chequered quarter may relate to the Soto Florido family and can be found in a portrait of Francisco Antonio Ruis Cano y Saenz Galiano, fourth marqués de Soto Florido (Museo de Historia, Lima); see Durkin 1998, p. 220. Jessie McNab, associate curator,

Metropolitan Museum, has suggested they could belong to the De la Puente family.

5. The arms of the city of Cuzco have a single castle tower surrounded by a shield shape, with birds. Cummins (2002, fig. 11.1) has suggested that these represent the condors that fed on the bodies of the Inca.
6. Another armorial tapestry with a motto or text is at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1975:334); see Van de Put and Kendrick 1928, pp. 24–30.
7. See Cummins 1992, pp. 46–59, and also Cummins 1994, pp. 189–219.
8. The headdress, with its arching cap, is perhaps an adaptation of the eighteenth-century style promoted in the engravings of the Inca kings by Alonso de la Cueva (1724–28). See Gisbert 1980, fig. 116.
9. There are twenty-one blue tunics, three red, four yellow, and one white.
10. Whether this is intentional—as perhaps a commentary on attitudes toward priests—is not known. However, that idea is seen in other colonial tapestries, such as the woman's tapestry *llulla* from the Abegg-Stiftung (see fig. 33), which has a monkey wearing a cardinal's tasseled hat.
11. The architectural feature has also been interpreted as possibly representing a tabernacle. The flying flags, however, seem to contradict this.
12. The three arched windows also evoke the origin myth of the Inca, in which ancestors emerge from three caves or windows. See Betanzos (1557) 1996, pp. 13–14; Zuidema 1990, pp. 7–13; and Urton 1990, pp. 45–51. The interiors of the windows are colored: the outer two on the lower border have blue centers, the central one is yellow (the two main colors used for Inca tunics); the outer two on the upper border are red, and the central one yellow.
13. Durkin (1998, p. 220, citing sources given in Busto Duthurburu 1981) postulates that this tapestry may have been made to commemorate the wedding of Túpac Amaru II.
14. He adds that the designs in the border of this tapestry, like those found on *queros* and other indigenous objects, retained meaning for native and European audiences alike; see Cummins (1992) 1998, pp. 91–148.

156. Genealogy of the Inca Kings

Alto Perú, ca. 1825–40
Oil on canvas mounted on board
21¼ × 24¾ in. (54 × 63 cm)
Collection of Alex-Najib Ciurlizza

REFERENCES: Gisbert 1980, pp. 133–34, fig. 125; Buntinx and Wuffarden 1991, p. 195, n. 101; Gisbert 1992, pp. 86–87; Manzari Cohen in Brooklyn–Phoenix 1996–97, p. 238, under no. 93.

EXHIBITION: Buenos Aires 1966a.

This is one of the last in a long tradition of painted genealogies of the Inca rulers that can be traced to the sixteenth century.¹ The extended history of these images, which were variously incorporated into the political strategies of Spanish administrators, creole elites, and

Andean nobles, testifies to the charged symbolic role that the Inca played in defining political legitimacy within colonial society.

In the upper part of this composition, Manco Capac and Mama Huaco, legendary founders of the Inca Empire, flank the Inca coat of arms. They are followed by a sequence of full-length portraits of the Inca kings, from Sinchi Roca to Huascar, arranged in an orderly grid. Stylistically, the painting evokes the light tone of early-nineteenth-century Andean Neoclassicism, while the calligraphy used in the inscriptions also confirms a date in the early Republican period. Like most extant versions of the theme, the painting derives from the iconographic program conceived by the Lima priest Alonso de la Cueva about 1700, which cast the Spanish monarchs as the successors of the Inca. It was a powerful yet ambivalent representation of faultless



succession, widely disseminated as a print in 1725 and thereafter integrated into the diverse political tactics of Andean elites.²

In this painted version, the genealogy does not include Atahualpa, the last Inca ruler, and all portraits and written references to the Spanish kings are carefully omitted.³ The inscriptions, however, faithfully follow those that appear in Cueva's seminal print, save one significant addition. After listing the four major "captains" and 104 kings that ruled the region before the Inca, the text is interrupted by a phrase that specifically recalls Apo Guarachi, "of greater renown for his greatness and exploits . . . , antecedent and independent of the Incas," who "dominated from Desaguadero to Charcas and had his Palace at Hatunquillajas."⁴ The painting can thus be associated with the Guarache lineage, who were the *caciques* of the town of Jesús de Machaca in the province of Pacajes (today Ingavi, Department of La Paz, Bolivia) and one of the richest and most powerful noble families of the Collao region during the colonial period.⁵ A similar phrase can be found in an 1805 manuscript describing the merits and titles of the descendants of José Fernández Guarache (d. 1745). The text evokes the figure of the local ancestor while simultaneously associating the family with the lineage of Capac Yupanqui, Viracocha, Maita Capac, and "other monarchs of Cuzco."⁶ The Guarache, who are thereby presented as both the descendants and predecessors of the Inca, thus lay claim to a twofold legitimacy.

This work was almost certainly inspired by a painted genealogy of the Inca and Spanish kings—in turn most likely derived from Cueva—that was listed in the inventory of the possessions of José Fernández Guarache in 1734. It was a valued piece that exceeded the price given to other paintings in his collection, a fact that would assure the conservation of the work in the family circle for generations.⁷

It has been proposed that this painting may have formed part of a petition to the king of Spain.⁸ This would correspond with the traditional uses of painted genealogies during the colonial period, as they often served as probatory documents in vindications of noble titles. Nonetheless, the late date for the painting and the elimination of the Spanish monarchs from the composition

does not support that hypothesis. In the aftermath of the Túpac Amaru II rebellion (1780–81), colonial authorities reacted swiftly to prohibit Incaist imagery and to limit the power of the native aristocracy. A genealogical representation such as this would have been considered subversive, and it is unlikely that it could have been created before Bolivian independence from Spain in 1825.

Although little is known of the history of the Guarache family during the late colonial era, their fidelity to the Spanish administration is solidly documented. Like many other *curacas*, José Prudencio Fernández Guarache fought for the crown during the Túpac Amaru rebellion. His son, Diego Fernández Guarache, was confirmed as *cacique* of Jesús de Machaca and rightful heir to the family titles in March 1807. Loyalty to the king during the revolt had allowed the Guarache to preserve their privileges at a moment when the Andean nobility was under general attack. Their royalism is confirmed by a memorial written by Diego Fernández Guarache in 1811, in which he requests retribution for the loss of land and property suffered as a result of the occupation of Alto Perú by the liberating expedition sent from Buenos Aires in 1810.⁹

The Guarache's invocation of their noble lineage, as expressed in this painting, may convey the expectations of Andean elites on the eve of independence, an unstable period in Bolivian history, when the political outcome of the wars was uncertain and the possibility of restoring an Inca monarchy was still entertained in certain sectors. Indeed, the genealogy ends with the figure of Huascar and a phrase that recalls that he had no male child, thus leaving open the issue of rightful succession. The Guarache, claiming both historic precedence and descent from the Incas, could thus assert their position as heirs and legitimate successors of the empire. These claims did not necessarily imply a specific or direct political intent; they could also have been a response to the need to affirm social status at a time when the political and economic power of Andean *caciques* was being gravely undermined. With the abolition of all titles of nobility and of *cacicazgos* decreed by the new Republican governments,

independence in fact dealt the final blow in the downfall of the Andean nobility as a social group.¹⁰

NM

1. Marco Dorta 1975.
2. Buntinx and Wuffarden 1991. For a reproduction of the print, see Imbelloni 1946, folding ill. 4.
3. A fragment of another version of this painting (Brooklyn Museum), which is also related to the Guarache family, does include Atahualpa, although it excludes the narrative legends under each Inca. See Manzari Cohen in Brooklyn–Phoenix 1996–97, p. 238, no. 93. That the figures of the Inca in the Brooklyn version are painted in more detail could suggest that it precedes this painting, which could confirm that the elimination of the figure of Atahualpa was intentional.
4. The only other significant difference from Cueva's print is the fact that Mama Huaco is identified as the sister, not the mother, of Manco Capac. Otherwise the texts differ only in the spellings of specific words and names.
5. Aguirre 1981, p. 31.
6. Aguirre 1978, pp. 131–33; Gisbert 1992, pp. 86–87.
7. Gisbert 1980, p. 167; Manzari Cohen in Brooklyn–Phoenix 1996–97, p. 238.
8. Gisbert 1992, p. 87.
9. Aguirre 1978, pp. 135–36.
10. O'Phelan Godoy 1997.

157. *Genealogy of the Incas*

Marcos Chillitupa Chávez

Oil on canvas

Six panels, 76¾ × 29½ in. (195 × 75 cm) each
Inscribed on the arms of the Republic of Peru: POR D°N MARCOS CHILLITUPA CHAVEZ AÑ° 1837

Collection of Celso Pastor de la Torre

REFERENCES: Gisbert 1980, pp. 176, 178–79; Mariazza 1987, pp. 15–17, n. 21; Buntinx and Wuffarden 1991, pp. 194–95; Gisbert 1994, pp. 176, 178–79, fig. 125a–d, colorpl. facing p. 176; Mujica Pinilla 1999, pp. 192–93, fig. 91 (detail); Pastor de La Torre 1999, pp. 19, 22, 27, 151, 153, 156.

Visiting Cuzco in 1834, the French traveler Eugène de Sartiges mockingly stated that "the only painters of Cuzco are bad Indian painters who sell for a few pesos, true portraits of the ten Incas of the dynasty of Manco Capac, certified,



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authentic copies, based on the originals.”¹ The 1830s indeed saw a revival of Incaist imagery in Cuzco, along with a widespread proliferation of painted genealogies produced for an incipient tourist and antiquarian trade. The succession of Inca rulers, sometimes represented on a single canvas and sometimes as a sequence of independent portraits, thus acquired a schematic and generic character. Stylistically, this painting corresponds to these series, although its format and dimensions are unusual.²

The function and purpose of the painting remains unclear. The fact that it is composed of six independent panels has led to its identification as a *biombo*, or screen, which

are rare in the Andean region. On the front a red painted frame divides each of the vertical panels into three equal sections; on the reverse two crossbars joined to the stretcher create similar divisions.³ On one of the sides the resulting grid of eighteen sections contains a sequence of Inca rulers that begins with Manco Capac, the legendary founder of the empire, and ends with an equestrian figure identified as the “Liberator of Peru.” The coats of arms of the city of Cuzco and the Peruvian republic preside over the composition.

The reverse of the painting combines decorative elements and mythological scenes disposed in three horizontal rows. In the top row the motif of a small bird hovering

above a hanging garland is repeated with slight variations in each of the sections. At the center of the garlands red and white roses are arranged in a manner that evokes the alternating colors of the Peruvian flag. Each of the sections in the second row is decorated with a vase of flowers characteristic of nineteenth-century Andean ornamentation. The uniformity in the application of the designs in the upper rows is broken in the lowermost one, which shows six different scenes derived from classical mythology: the Cretan Labyrinth, Ganymede, Urania, Eros battling Anteros, Janus, and a helmeted figure that could be Mars.⁴ This eclectic array appears to have no programmatic character; rather it seems

to have a purely decorative function that reflects the generalized use of classical allusions in Cuzco society during this period.⁵

The painting is signed under the figure of Mama Huaco, but the artist's name, along with the date 1837, is also prominently displayed on the lower banners of the Peruvian escutcheon. Little is known of its author, Marcos Chillitupa Chávez, whose name evokes not only a long line of Andean painters but also one of the principal noble Inca families of Cuzco.⁶

Unlike the native elites in other regions who formed an aristocracy "of privilege," those in Cuzco who could claim direct descent from the Inca rulers formed a coherent and officially recognized nobility.⁷ The Chillitupa, related to the *panacas* of Viracocha, Inca Roca, and Sinchi Roca, held important *caticazgos* in Oropesa and Zurite and participated in the council of the twenty-four electors of Cuzco, a right reserved for those who could trace their lineage to one of the twelve Incas.⁸ Where the family's social status was not sustained by possession of a *caticazgo*, their participation in respectable professions in the city upheld their role in the regional economy. At least two members of the Chillitupa family are known to have been active as painters in the eighteenth century.⁹

By the time of independence the political and economic position of these Cuzco nobles had been dramatically diminished, if not completely undone. The fate of the Chillitupa family must have been no different.¹⁰ As they were relegated to the margins of the creole republic, the evocation of their lineage no longer held currency beyond the affirmation of a special social status.¹¹ Yet the appropriation of the images of the Inca by the new Creole independence leaders testifies to their continued significance as symbols of political legitimacy. Some genealogical representations even incorporated the images of Simon Bolívar and his generals as rightful successors of the Inca, in place of the Spanish kings.¹² In the chaotic years following independence, contending *caudillos* recurrently made use of the pre-Hispanic past to garner support in the Cuzco region.

In 1837, the year this painting was made, Cuzco was under the command of the forces of Bolivian president Andrés de Santa

Cruz, who was then attempting to consolidate the Peru-Bolivian Confederation in the face of great opposition. Both Santa Cruz and his principal adversary, the Cuzco native Agustín Gamarra, made frequent use of Incaist imagery in speeches and public ceremonies. Gamarra, in particular, who had a broad base of support in Cuzco, appealed to the Inca past as a way of stirring regional pride.¹³ The prominence of the Peruvian escutcheon in the painting is meaningful in this context, especially considering that Santa Cruz decreed new national symbols for the confederation in May 1837, a coincidence that suggests the painting might have been commissioned by one of his detractors.¹⁴

The identity of the equestrian figure that closes the Inca succession is difficult to establish. It has been proposed that it represents José de San Martín, a hero of independence, and in fact the painted figure recalls one of the better-known images of San Martín, disseminated through a print by Théodore Géricault.¹⁵ The title of "Liberator," however, is generally associated with Simon Bolívar, and this figure could even be Gamarra, whose participation in the wars of independence earned him the same title.

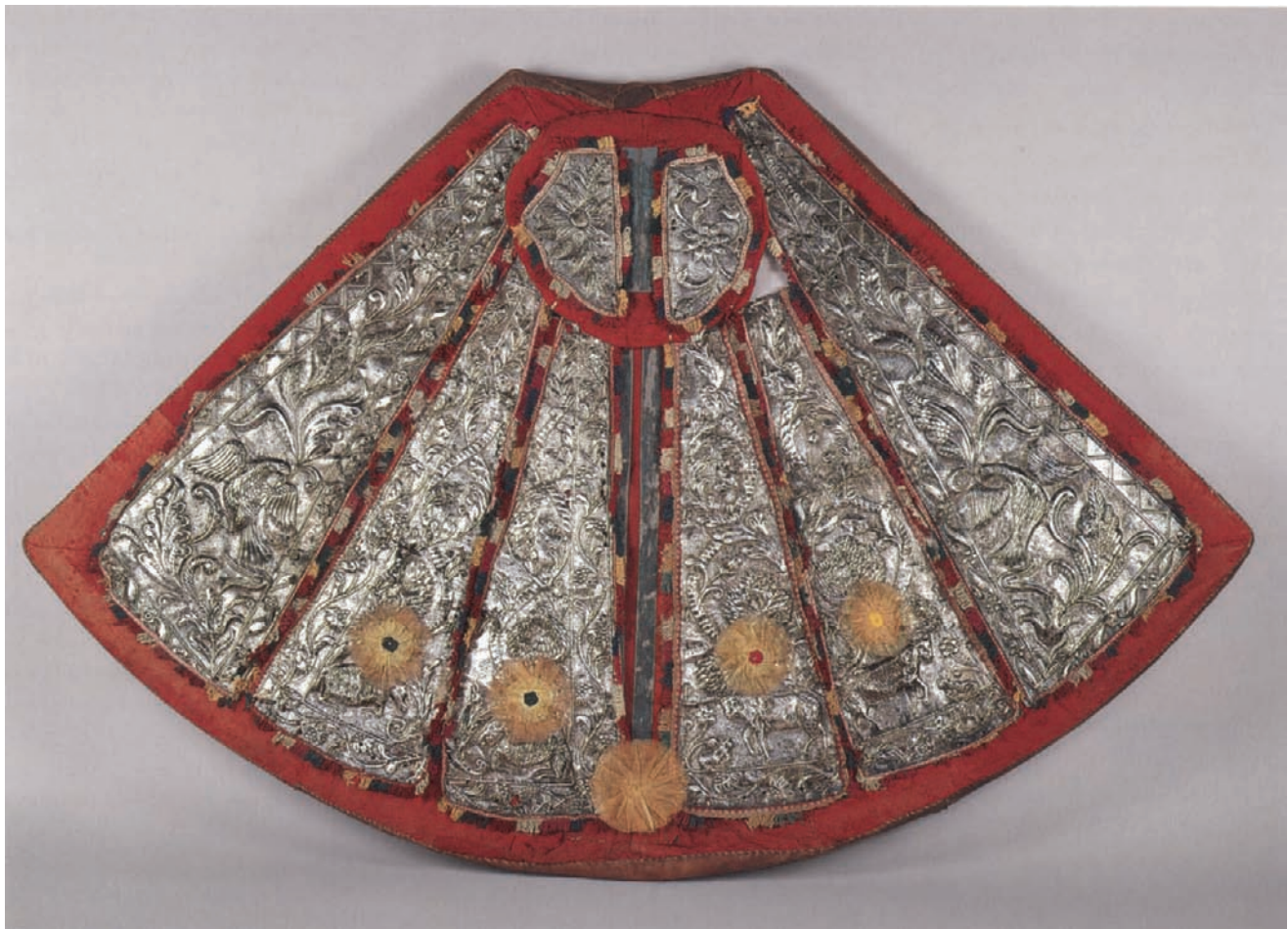
Although it is likely that its author was in some way engaging in the political factionalism of the period, the painting's decorative character suggests it had a more private function. Many descendants of the Cuzco nobility—Pablo Policarpo Justiniani and Justo Apu Sahuaraura among them—kept documents and painted images of the Inca in their homes, as nostalgic mementos of an irretrievable past.¹⁶ One can certainly imagine this painting in a similar context.

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1. Sartiges (1851) 1947, p. 68. See also Radiguet (1856) 1971, p. 111, and Gisbert 1980, pp. 134–35.
2. Compare the series at the Denver Art Museum, Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, and Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima; Gisbert 1980, pp. 134–35. This painting's similarity to one at the Museo Pedro de Osma, Lima, is also particularly striking; see *Latin American Art*, Sotheby's, New York, May 19–20, 1987, lot 64.
3. When the painting was acquired by the present owner, each of the panels had been framed

independently. The crossbars on the reverse appear to have been applied after the canvas was painted, as the edges of the motifs within each section are covered by the boards.

4. For a very different identification and interpretation of the mythological scenes, see Gisbert 1980, pp. 176, 178.
5. See, for example, the literary review *Museo erudito*, 1837–39.
6. The Marcos Chillitupa who is depicted as a page to Juan Sucnu and his family in a silver altar frontal of 1770 in the Church of Zurite, a town closely associated with the Chillitupa family, is more likely a relative of the painter, as he would have been more than seventy years old in 1837, when the painting was made; see Gisbert 1980, p. 97. On the reverse of the first panel, a paint layer has been removed to reveal an inscription that reads: "Al Sor D.n Agustín Hidalgo, Contador de [illegible] Areqpa." The unusual placement of the inscription and the fact that it was originally covered by paint suggest that it probably relates to a prior use of the canvas.
7. Garrett 2003, pp. 18–20.
8. Sala i Vila 1990, pp. 602–4; Dean 1999, pp. 100ff.; Amado 2002; Garrett 2003, p. 13.
9. Pablo Chilli Tupa signed a painting of the Virgin of Pomata in 1723 (Museo Histórico Regional, Cuzco). See Mesa and Gisbert 1982, vol. 1, p. 191, pl. 29, vol. 2, no. 265. In 1798 a Francisco Chilli Tupa painted the Apparition of the Virgin at Sunturhuasi. See Gisbert 1980, p. 196.
10. Although members of the Chillitupa family fought against Túpac Amaru II in 1780, like other Andean nobles they participated in anti-colonial uprisings between 1812 and 1815 in the Cuzco region. It is likely that, as a consequence, they should have suffered economic losses and other reprisals. See Cahill 1988, p. 146; Sala i Vila 1990, pp. 627–32; and Sala i Vila 1996, pp. 99–118.
11. Flores Espinoza 2001.
12. Gisbert 1980, p. 132, figs. 120, 121.
13. Walker 1999, chap. 6; Amado Gonzales 2002, p. 236.
14. See article 37 of the law decreeing the constitution of the confederation in "Confederación Perú-Boliviana," *Telégrafo de Lima*, May 27, 1837, p. [2].
15. Gisbert 1980, p. 178. On Géricault's images of San Martín, see Carril and Leoni Houssay 1971, pp. 38–50.
16. Sahuaraura 1850; Marcoy 1861, vol. 2, pp. 50–76; Markham 1991, pp. 106–7; Flores Espinoza 2001.



158a

158a–f. *Parts of two silver-mounted dance costumes*

Alto Perú, probably nineteenth century
Wood, wool, cotton, silver, and leather
a (cape): $51\frac{1}{4} \times 74\frac{7}{8}$ in. (130 × 190 cm),
weight 50 lbs. 11 oz. (23 kg); b (cape): $52\frac{3}{8} \times$
 $70\frac{1}{8}$ in. (133 × 178 cm), weight 52 lbs. 6 oz.
(23.75 kg); c (jacket): $21\frac{1}{8} \times 23\frac{3}{8}$ in. (55 ×
60 cm); d (helmet): $11 \times 11\frac{3}{8}$ in. (28 × 29 cm);
e (apron; not illustrated): $9\frac{7}{8} \times 18\frac{1}{8}$ in. (25 ×
46 cm); f (trousers; not illustrated): $30\frac{3}{8} \times$
 $31\frac{1}{2}$ in. (77 × 80 cm)
Museo Etnográfico J. B. Ambrosetti,
Universidad de Buenos Aires (41676, 41677,
42016, 41998, 42027, 42312)

EX COLL.: Acquired by the Museo Etnográfico in 1920 from Jose Ana, a dealer in La Quiaca (Jujuy, Argentina)

REFERENCE: Taullard 1941, p. 23, pls. 36, 37.

These two silver and cloth costumes from the Museo Etnográfico in Buenos Aires have long been associated with indigenous dance performances in the region of Alto Perú (now Bolivia), but little has been known about their age or the

context in which they were worn. Similar costumes were used in the region between Sucre and Potosí as recently as 1990, but the tradition's origin and how far back it reaches are questions that remain to be answered. Costumed dances by native Andeans, particularly around the celebration of Corpus Christi were (and still are) copiously described by observers throughout viceregal Peru, from Quito to Sucre, but none of the costumes in the often detailed descriptions of the colonial era correspond to the Museo Etnográfico type. Each of these costumes, which came to the museum in 1920, consists of a silver-mounted cape, jacket, trousers, and short apron, along with a silver helmet. The function of other accessories that accompanied the major pieces when the museum acquired them is not clear.

Numerous sets of silver plaques from such costumes exist in other museums and private collections, but those on the costumes in Buenos Aires appear to be the only ones still mounted in an authentic manner. (And even on these costumes, base-metal plaques from a variety of

sources and dates have replaced the silver ones in several places on the various garments and accessories, not all of which are exhibited in New York.)¹ The jacket, which fastens at the back, carries a silver breastplate displaying a single-headed eagle. Broad, curved plaques displaying two-headed eagles extend the full length of the multicolored wool sleeves, which cover other sleeves of lace-edged linen. Curved epaulets adorn the shoulders. The multicolored pieced trousers (not illustrated) were also originally mounted with silver plaques, and bands of round bells probably surrounded the legs. The short, apronlike accessory (not illustrated), apparently meant to be tied around the waist and over the abdomen, is embellished with three plaques and six round bells. Each of the capes is a two-part cloth-covered structure, hinged at the center beneath a leather strip, on which six trapezoidal silver plaques are mounted like gores, with two smaller winglike plaques attached with hinges at the top.

On the cape with gauzy yellow rosettes (158a) the two outer plaques have nearly identical but opposing designs with a zigzag on



158b

the outer edge and a leaf-and-rosette pattern along the bottom and inner edges. Like all the plaques, these are bordered with multicolored fringe. On each, a large bird with its wings spread perches on a leafy spray growing from one of the lower corners. The bird appears to hold in its

beak another foliate spray that twists upward into the narrowing space, terminating in a bellflower and a series of graduated beads that fill the apex of the plaque. In the distinctive design on the four inner plaques, interwoven scrolling vines, one fine-stemmed, the other wider and rib-

bonlike, grow from large multipetaled flowers (chrysanthemums or sunflowers?). Large domestic animals (a sheep on one and a pig[?] on the other) recline at the base of two of these plaques, which have borders of scrolling floral vines along the lower edge and one side; a cow(?) with a



158c



158d



Fig. 130. Anonymous European painter, "Costumbrista" Scene of Dancing Indians During the Festival of Corpus Christi in the Potosí District, 18th century. Oil on canvas. Museo Soumaya, Mexico City

reclining calf(?) stands at the bottom of each of the other two, which have similar borders but only along the base.

The outer plaques on the second cape (158b) are virtually identical to those on the first, but the four inner plaques are not. The pair of plaques flanking the central hinge are narrower and have only a thin border that is alternately plain and hatched, with a floral spray forming a sort of edge at the bottom. On both, a floral vine curves upward around a bovine standing beneath a large tree. The other two plaques have even more complex imagery: above a border of elegantly scrolling bellflowers, an embossed landscape reminiscent of Potosí, with a house on a mountainside and birds in flight and a shining Sun face (truncated by the edge of the plaque) in the sky above. The wings of the cape are embossed with spread-winged birds as well.

The earliest record of costumes like these is a painting believed to date from the eighteenth century that is one of a series in the Museo Soumaya, Mexico City (fig. 130). It shows a group of ten silver-caped performers, two of them carefully detailed in



Fig. 131. Melchor María Mercado, *Entry of the Candles (Potosí)* (detail), from *Album de Paisajes, tipos humanos y costumbres de Bolivia* (1841–1869), pl. 18. Pen and ink with watercolor. Archivo Nacional de Bolivia/Biblioteca Nacional de Bolivia

the foreground. These capes appear to be more fully articulated than the Buenos Aires capes (though the painter may simply have used artistic license); rather than a single central hinge, they appear to have hinges between all the plaques, so that the plaques at the sides, at least, are visible when the dancer is facing forward. The large figure at the left in the front, like two of the dancers behind him, carries a shield and staff and wears a silver breastplate embossed with IHS (Christ's monogram), armguards, and vertical

Fig. 132. Melchor María Mercado, *Waka tokori* (detail), from *Album de Paisajes, tipos humanos y costumbres de Bolivia* (1841–1869), pl. 18. Pen and ink with watercolor. Archivo Nacional de Bolivia/Biblioteca Nacional de Bolivia



bands of silver bells(?) on his calves. The two dancers playing both a flute and a drum, one on the right in the foreground and the other just to his right in the background, have shorter capes, short puffed pants, and none of the armorlike appurtenances worn by the other eight. The three dancers at the right in the background appear to be wearing long skirts with mock horse and bull heads attached to them. The inscription on the painting says that the dance it depicts was performed in La Plata (one of the numerous colonial-era names for Sucre) at Corpus Christi and other feasts.

Costumes that include elements closely resembling some pieces of the Buenos Aires ensembles also appear in two watercolor drawings of Bolivian rituals or celebrations that are part of an album Melchor María Mercado made between 1841 and 1869.² In one of the drawings (fig. 131), titled *Entrada de los velas (Potosí)* (Entry of the Candles [Potosí]), the drummer accompanying the candle bearer wears a cape, epaulets, and a helmet. The other drawing (fig. 132), *Waka tokori* (a burlesque, roughly translated as "Dancing Bulls"), shows figures wearing costumes similar to two shown in the background of the Soumaya picture: a figure concealed under a skirted bull following another dressed in armor, a cape, and a skirted horse costume.

Somewhat later, in 1875, José Domingo Cortés described similar costumes used by *danzantes* (as opposed to the more typical *bailarines*): "The so-called *danzantes* wear a stiff cape which resembles butterfly wings, composed of a wooden armature covered with red wool cloth, over which there are some thin silver plaques; the hat is of the

same metal. Straps around the knees are connected to straps around the ankles by other perpendicular ones and all are covered with thick jingle bells. The dancer carries a sword in the right hand and a shield in the left. The 'danzantes' probably date to a period after the Conquest."³ Cortés also described the mournful local music termed "*guaiños*" that accompanied the dances, but he did not specify a particular occasion for their performance, except to note that they were accompanied by the traditional Andean ritual exchange of alcoholic beverages.

In his *Diccionario del folklore boliviano* of 1967, the Bolivian ethnographer José Felipe Costa Arguedas recorded that he was told that many years before (in the 1940s?) as many as ten *danzantes* performed in the procession of the Virgin of Guadalupe of Sucre, whose feast is celebrated on September 8: "Their costumes were formed of heavy wood capes—various hinged panels, lined with red cloth on the inside and outside with thin sheets of silver decorated with 'Meztizo style' motifs. They were attached with very strong straps of leather over their costumes and formed a tremendous weight for the devotee *Danzantes*."⁴ Arguedas's informants reported that one of the troupe wore a miniature version of the cape and carried a small drum. (The Casa de la Moneda in Potosí displays a number of small plaques that may be elements of such a miniature cape; they correspond to the plaques on the short capes of the drummers in the Soumaya painting and the Mercado watercolors.) A priest who had been attached to various villages in the department of Potosí told him that the *danzantes* had been widespread in the region. Arguedas also included in his *Diccionario* a photograph that shows a troupe of dancers wearing capes identical to those in the Museo Etnográfico. According to Blanca N. Torres Martínez, the photograph was taken in Sucre, probably in the 1950s, by her father, Antonio José Torres Rojas. Torres Martínez herself witnessed a performance of the dance in 1974 near San Lorenzo de Potolo, a village between Sucre and Potosí, in celebration of the feast of the town's patron saint, Lawrence (August 10).⁵

Torres Martínez observed that the capes, called *alitas*, that she saw in 1974 were no longer made of silver. Already in 1967 Costa Arguedas had remarked that most of the

rich vestments of the *danzantes* may have been sold to collectors. Certainly many unmounted plaques from costumes of the Buenos Aires type exist in museums and even private collections. A large assemblage of variously decorated plaques from the Arana Urioste collection, now owned by the Fundación Cultural del Banco Central de Bolivia and exhibited in the Museo Charcas de Sucre, comprises twelve embossed silver gores (enough for two capes), some with combined zigzag and leaf-rosette borders and others with none, and an assortment of wing and sleeve pieces.⁶ Another set, once in the collection of Adolfo Costa du Rels and first published by Raoul d'Harcourt, although aberrant in design, is far less complete.⁷ A large group in the Museo de Oro del Perú, Lima (see fig. 133), has thirteen gores, two wings, a hat, and a plaque of undetermined use.⁸

Although d'Harcourt was unable to imagine quite how the pieces of the Costa du Rels set were assembled, he suggested that despite its great weight (which he calculated at more than 41 kilograms [90 pounds]), the costume was worn by dancers who with great agility mimicked the movements of a winged insect. He interpreted this as a survival of a pre-Hispanic totemic dance surreptitiously incorporated into the celebrations of a Catholic cult. According to d'Harcourt, Costa du Rels himself told him that he acquired the set in 1920 from a mestiza woman in Sucre who had rented it to dancers for large sums on the occasion of fiestas. (Much concern was expressed during the colonial era about the very large proportion of their incomes indigenous dancers spent on the rental of such costumes.) The breastplate and two of the cape gores are embossed with condors(?) holding in their beaks *banderoles* inscribed with what was apparently the name of an owner (De Ana Sorrudo?), perhaps in an effort to prevent their being stolen. Whether a community's *danzantes* owned their costumes or rented them, clearly over the years a certain deterioration would have set in, and plaques that were damaged, lost, sold, or stolen would have needed to be replaced. The mismatched silver parts and the smaller base-metal pieces that are obviously replacements in the Buenos Aires sets might have been added over the course of many years of



Fig. 133. Plaques from a dance costume, Bolivia, 18th–19th century. Silver, repoussé and chased. Museo de Oro del Perú, Lima

active use, or perhaps the last owner (a dealer) replaced missing plaques with loose pieces he found on the market.

However much the plaques in the various collections may differ in detail or fineness of execution, most of them follow a consistent overall concept. All these dance costume capes may derive from a type of gored cape dating to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, an example of which is in the Escorial.⁹ Identified as Goan in origin and said to be similar to short capes worn by Portuguese of the period, the Escorial garment has gores with borders of foliate vines and lozenge pattern, terrestrial scenes at their bases, and scrolling vines with flowers and birds ascending to fill the remaining space.

Most of the silver cape plaques feature emblematic elements at their bases.¹⁰ Some of the emblems are survivals from the colonial period, but a number of them are clearly Republican in origin. The most obvious colonial survival is the bicephalic eagle on the sleeves of the Buenos Aires jacket and on two of the gores of the Lima cape. Other birds appear as well, but none with the prominence given the birds on the Buenos Aires breastplate and the Costa du Rels plaques. The birds on the plaques have the long neck of an Andean condor, a bird of great significance in rural indigenous regions even today.¹¹ Soldiers in nineteenth-century uniforms appear on the Museo Charcas de Sucre plaques and on one in the Museo de Arte Hispanoamericano Isaac Fernández Blanco in Buenos Aires.¹² The most striking image is the Sun and mountains on one of the Museo Etnográfico capes and

on two of the Sucre gores, which echo the Bolivian national seal. Another element, the couples swinging little goats, recalls the game of *cabrito*, which is still represented on contemporary Andean textiles. Scrolling foliage was pervasive throughout the decorative arts of the Andes before and after independence; close analysis might allow us to determine some sequential dating, but the designs may eventually tell us more about regional styles than about chronology. In any case, though they may preserve viceregal traditions, there is very little evidence to suggest that many of the parts of the extant costumes date to the period before independence.

Although most native Andean dances are associated with Catholic feasts and were originally encouraged by the clergy, they are often analyzed by ethnographers as disguised assertions of alterity and covert resistance to the dominant European culture. Indeed many of the more usual dance costumes incorporate bizarre and fearsome elements distinct from traditional European dress. It would appear, however, that costumes of the Museo Etnográfico type were, at least originally, a deliberate effort to appropriate emblems of European power. In fact, with their wing-embellished capes, they somewhat resemble the dress of the armed archangels depicted in well-known regional genre paintings. Most modern observers note no such association.

In a 1990 video in the Museo de Arte Indígena (Fundación Asur) de Sucre, pairs of dancers wear modern versions of the Museo Etnográfico capes. According to Verónica Cereceda, director of the museum, the gores on the capes displayed there are not silver but rather are made of flattened metal from large cans of baby formula. The dance, which the museum calls "Danza de Liberia," is performed in small villages in the Jalq'a region—Potolo, Sacapampa, Quila Quila, Purunquila—during August and September on the feasts of various saints, or to honor the pre-Hispanic earth goddess Pachamama, in a ritual to promote the fertility of small livestock. Sometimes the dancers are associated with butterflies, other times with condors, and they call the capes *alitas* (little wings). The dances and the music, or *waynos*, that accompany them are now considered demonic in nature, and it is said that at night in certain solitary places

demons from the deep can be heard playing the *waynos* of "Liberia."¹³

JH and II

1. Many such small silver plaques have found their way into museum and private collections; see Muthmann 1950.
2. Mercado 1991, pls. 17, 18.
3. Cortés 1875, pp. 72–73, cited in the original Spanish in Paredes Candia 1984, pp. 23–24. We are grateful to Margarita Alvarado for supplying Cortés's complete account.
4. Costas Arguedas 1967, pp. 253–54.
5. The authors wish to thank Elizabeth Torres, director of the Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore, La Paz, for her most generous help and for communicating information gained through her family's long involvement with the traditions of the Bolivian Highlands.
6. Mesa 1997, p. 70, fig. 9. Panels 1 and 12 have soldiers in the upper narrow portion, one with a feather in the panel below and the other a pomegranate; 2 and 11 show a dog chasing deer; 3 and 10 a parrot with its wings spread; 4 and 8 two couples holding a kid between them; 5 and 9 the sun rising over two peaks; and 6 and 7 sirens playing guitars.
7. D'Harcourt 1927, pp. 25, 26, pl. 43; Muthmann 1950, pp. 62–63, 118. The set is now in a private collection in La Paz.
8. Mujica Pinilla in Lima 1993, p. 48.
9. Madrid 1998–99, pp. 303–5 (Escorial, 10051047).
10. The exceptions are several plaques in the Lima group that have scaly, snakelike patterns that do not appear on any of the other known suites (see fig. 133).
11. D'Harcourt believed the bird to be a borrowing of the Mexican national eagle, but this is clearly not the case.
12. Paris 1986, p. 107.
13. This allusion to the mournful *wayno* (or *guaiño*), from the label text accompanying the Sucre museum's display, corresponds to Cortés's account. Our thanks to Verónica Cereceda, director of the Museo de Arte Indígena (Fundación Asur) de Sucre, for generously sharing her knowledge regarding this material.

159, 160. Two dance whips

Huancavelica, ca. 1875–1925
Braided leather and silver
159: L. 41 in. (104 cm), 160: L. 76¾ in. (195 cm)
Museo de Arte de Lima; Acquisitions Fund 2001

REFERENCE: Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, pp. 334–35.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1997, no. 125c, d.

161. Dance staff

Huánuco, ca. 1875–1900
Wood, silver, and beads
92½ × 6¼ × 5½ in. (235 × 16 × 14 cm)
Inscribed: *T* on the top of the pile; *T.P.* on one of the lower silver bands.
Museo de Arte de Lima; Acquisitions Fund 2001

REFERENCES: Stastny 1981, p. 44, no. 35; Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, pp. 332–33.

EXHIBITION: Madrid 1997, no. 124.

Communal festivities played a fundamental role in forging a colonial culture in the Andes. A complex structure known as the *fiesta-cargo* system involved all social sectors in the organization of vast public celebrations to mark civil and religious occasions. The enormous cost of the processions, dances, bullfights, and feasts that shaped these events were financed through the collective resources of confraternities and the personal contribution of *mayordomos*, officials elected yearly to organize the celebrations. Within the community, the prestige of the *mayordomo* depended on the sumptuousness of the spectacle, the luxury of the costumes, and the abundance of food and drink. Viewed from without, these festivities can be seen to have contributed to the definition of local and regional identities, which were forged through the specificity of patronal devotions and the particularities of the music, dances, and costumes.¹

That the *fiesta-cargo* system remains in place today confirms its centrality to Andean social organization; it also bears witness to the continuity of certain colonial traditions into the Republican period. In fact, the nineteenth-century saw the growth of Peru's Indian population and the strengthening of traditional Andean society. Limited social and economic change, along with the increased autonomy of Indian and mestizo communities, contributed to a flourishing of the arts and crafts and to the continuance of colonial lifestyles and festivities.² This was particularly true in the central Highlands, where these whips and dance staffs originated.³

The elaborate nature of the pieces reflects the lavish character of Andean feasts and



159, 160

the importance given to the dance troupe's attire. Costumes were richly embroidered in complex ornamental patterns, and silver was widely used to embellish outfits and other objects associated with the celebrations.⁴ The crowning silver element and applications on the staff, the solid silver handles, and the silver joints that clasp the braided leather pieces of the whips certainly added luster to the dances in which they were used.

The whips can clearly be associated with the *negritos* dance, which is most likely derived from the Spanish *moriscas* and persists as one of the most popular theatrical dances of the Andean region.⁵ One of the cast-silver figurines that decorate the handles of the whips wears a mask, a plumed

hat, and an embroidered coat, the basic elements of the costumes worn by the *negritos*, the Indian dancers (possibly evocations of the Magi) who traditionally make their appearance on Christmas Eve to honor the Christ Child. They parade through the streets in revelry, imitating the manner of the African slaves who were settled mostly along the Coast. The retinues of *negritos* are each led by a *caporal*, who brandishes a whip to keep them in order. Despite regional variations and modern innovations, the whip forms an essential element in the narrative structure of the dance.

A description of the *negritos* in the feast held on Saint Michael's Day in Moya (Huancavelica) about 1940 mentions a type



161



161, detail of top



161, detail

of whip known as the *chicotillo*, which was “chiseled in silver by extraordinary jewelers” and carried by the *mayordomos* of the three main confraternities of the town.⁶ While some communities did produce these valuable objects for certain feasts, more frequently they were rented on particular occasions from specialized suppliers.⁷ This allowed the same costumes and objects to be used in a variety of dances in a large region.

A dance staff included here (cat. no. 161) appears, however, to have been the property of a specific confraternity, as suggested by the prominent place given the initial *T* on the upper part of the pole and to the incised *T.P.* engraved on one of the lower silver bands. These doubtless refer either to the first owner or to the donor of the piece.⁸ The upper end of the pole supports a rectangular silver platform on which cast-silver figurines represent the culminating scene of a bullfight. A series of silver bells hang from the sides of the platform. Below, charms, trinkets, and coins hang from four perforated leaves. At the center, the figure of a monkey appears to climb up the pole, while a serpent winds around the lower half of the piece.

Similar staffs are used in a variety of dances in the Huánuco region even today. Although the iconography of this piece would appear to have no direct relation to

the *negritos* dance, a photograph by Charles Kroehle taken in the early 1890s shows similar staffs being held by the standard bearers of a *negrito* retinue in the central Highlands. Silver *negrito* figures also appear as finials on comparable staffs in various collections,¹⁰ and contemporary references mention staffs with silver adornments and multicolored ribbons being used in the *jija de llata*, a variant of the *negritos*.¹¹ Nonetheless, it is also likely that this kind of object could have served confraternities in a number of different festivities.¹²

The ornamentation on the staff and whips reveals the importance of the lowland jungle regions in shaping the world view of Highland communities. Parrots, monkeys, and serpents, associated with the fauna of the eastern rain forests, and *chuncho* dancers, idealized representatives of the tribal groups of the Amazon,¹³ play a significant role in Andean iconography. They frequently appear in colonial *queros*, tapestry designs, and architectural decoration as expressions of both the sustained contact established through the trade routes that define the vertical ecology of the Andes and the role the jungle lowlands played as the ultimate “exotic” frontier of the Highland communities.¹⁴ As elements of traditional Andean culture, these objects also evidence the per-

sistence over time of certain iconographic motifs, artistic typologies, and craft techniques, which actually exacerbates the difficulty in dating them, for there are few relevant documentary sources or ethnographic descriptions. Stylistic elements allow us to place them in the late nineteenth century, but it is evident they derive from much older conventions.¹⁵ Yet it is precisely their insertion in traditional patterns of social organization that lends these objects the power to evoke the most diverse aspects of colonial culture in the Andes and to demonstrate the manner in which that culture continues to shape Andean society.

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1. For a discussion of the *fiesta-cargo* system, see Mitchell 1991, chap. 7.
2. Kubler 1973; Gootenberg 1991.
3. Manrique 1988.
4. On the presence of silver objects in the Indian dances organized to celebrate the coronation of Charles IV, see *Descripción de las reales fiestas* 1790.
5. Alarco Larrabure 1979; Tschudi 1849, p. 263.
6. Quijada Jara 1985, pp. 79ff.
7. The fact is mentioned in late-eighteenth-century sources, but it continues to be the case today. See, for example, Carrió de la Vandra 1938, p. 290.
8. This is corroborated by the inscription on a similar staff in a Spanish private collection, which dates to 1855 and mentions the name of the *mayordomo* who commissioned it. See Esteras Martín in Madrid 1997, p. 332, n. 198.
9. Kroehle, a correspondent of the South American Photo Co., traveled to the Amazon region between 1890 and 1892. The route to Chanchamayo took him through the central Andean Highlands, where this photograph was doubtless taken. On Kroehle, see Majluf and Wuffarden in Lima 2001–2, vol. 2, p. 70.
10. See, for example, the figures crowning a staff in the Liébana collection in Lima, which appear to be cast from the same mold as those in the upper section of a staff in the Museo de Arte de Lima and on another staff reproduced in De la Fuente et al. 1992, p. 203, fig. 240.
11. Domínguez Condezo 2003, p. 88.
12. Esteras Martín (in Madrid 1997, p. 332) relates this staff to the *tijeras* dance based only on the suggestion that the shape of the iron support of the lower end vaguely evokes a *tijeras* dancer.
13. See, for example, Sallnow 1987, pp. 221ff.
14. See Brooklyn–Phoenix 1996–97, pp. 227ff., and Cummins 2002, pp. 250ff.
15. The coins and charms that hang from the staff correspond to different periods and may have been added by successive owners of the piece.

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