

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Dressing Andean Spaces:
Textiles, Painting, and Architecture in the Colonial Imagination

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Art History

by

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2017

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2017

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Doctor of Philosophy in Art History

University of California, Los Angeles, 2017

Professor Charlene Villaseñor Black, Chair

This dissertation addresses the striking preoccupation with textiles in colonial Peru. Both as luxury goods in domestic and sacred interiors and as a key focus of Peruvian painters, textiles demanded and received considerable attention in the period after the Spanish Conquest of 1532. Considering their importance in the Pre-Columbian world, I examine the ways in which textiles were uniquely valued, displayed, and conceptualized in the colonial Andes. Centering on Cusco between 1650 and 1750, I trace the evolution of indigenous textile types in an increasingly global colonial society, paying particular attention to new categories of textiles (tapestries, wall hangings, bedspreads, and rugs) generated by European tastes. While significant scholarship exists on Pre-Columbian and colonial garments, the study of non-garment textiles, as well as the spatial use of textiles in the Andes, has been largely unexplored. In response, this dissertation combines extensive archival research and first-hand examination of numerous textiles, prints,

and paintings, including a well-known, but historically misunderstood colonial tapestry, and a series of thirty-eight paintings (c. 1740), today in the Convent of San Agustín in Lima, by Cusco artist Basilio Pacheco. I conclude by investigating the dominant focus on illustrated textiles within Cusco School paintings, articulating a painterly strategy of textile embellishment used by indigenous and mixed-raced artists of the Cusco School. Methodologically, this dissertation reassigns textiles to a central position within scholarship, and endeavors to recover their original value, importance, and centrality in Andean culture. In contrast to previous scholarship, which has primarily focused on prints as sources for paintings, I demonstrate the complex process by which prints informed textile production, and both prints *and* textiles influenced the Cusco School of Painting. This study proves textiles to have had a much more dynamic role not only in Peruvian interiors, but also within the transmission of motifs across artworks of various media in the early modern period. By illuminating the tangled realms of textiles, prints, paintings, and architectural interiors, I offer a more nuanced view of artistic production and indigenous representation in colonial Peru.

The dissertation of Julia Katarina McHugh is approved.

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2017

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I thank my advisor, Charlene Villaseñor Black, for her incredible mentorship from the conception to the completion of this project. It has been a tremendous honor to work with such a dedicated and inspiring scholar, who is unparalleled in her equal commitment to teaching, publishing, advising, and advocacy. It has been an extraordinary privilege to study under Cecelia F. Klein, whose drive and meticulousness set the standard to which I will always aspire. I thank Stella Nair for her enthusiasm, guidance, and keen insights on indigenous space and place, which have greatly enriched this project. I also express deep gratitude to Joanne Pillsbury for her unwavering support and wise counsel, and for serving as a true model of excellence in academic rigor and professionalism.

Generous funding at the University of California, Los Angeles, and beyond supported this project from start to finish. UCLA's Art History Department supported my initial years of coursework and preliminary travel to Peru with an Edward A. Dickson History of Art Fellowship, Patricia McCarron McGinn Memorial Award, Friends of Art History Graduate Research Endowment Fund Award, and the UCLA Art Council Endowed Scholarship in Art History, in addition to the Graduate Research Mentorship Award and Harry and Yvonne Lenart Graduate Travel Fellowship from Graduate Division. A research grant from the Latin American Institute, as well as the Sarah Gilfillan Award from the Fowler Museum, funded pivotal trips to Peru in 2013-2014. The U.S. Department of Education generously supported my Quechua language study in Cusco in 2013 with a Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship, in addition to the Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad grant, which made possible my fieldwork in archives and collections in Lima and Cusco in 2014-2015. I also must

thank the Fundación Ama and Bernardita Mandiola for sponsoring a highly productive research trip to Santiago, Chile, in 2015.

I wrote every sentence of the dissertation as the Douglass Foundation Fellow in American Art at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, where I was in residence for two years. I thank Ronda Kasl, Sylvia Yount, Amelia Peck, Joanne Pillsbury, Melinda Watt, and the staff of the American Wing and the Education Department for providing a productive and inspiring workplace and easy access to their vast collections. In particular, Ronda's mentorship and candor made my time at the museum a rich and unforgettable experience. I also benefited immensely from conversations with co-fellows in residence Juliet Sperling, José Luis Lazarte Luna, Alicia Boswell, Miriam Said, and Caitlin Earley, in addition to Shannon Vittoria, Catherine MacKay, and Stephanie Herdrich of the American Wing who cheered me through the toughest moments.

The project would not have been possible without the assistance and generosity of numerous scholars and collectors in the United States and Peru. A course with Elena Phipps first sparked my interest in Andean textiles. Maya Stanfield-Mazzi kindly provided an introduction to Cusco archives and lent her expertise on colonial textiles. Ilona Katzew, Sofia Sanabrais, and Kim Richter were role models and mentors over the years, and provided important introductions to scholars abroad. In Peru, Pedro Pablo Alayza, Annick Benavides, Luis Jaime Castillo, Marco Curatola, Jean-Jacques Decoster, Ricardo Estabridis Cárdenas, Ulla Holmquist, Rosanna Kuon, Ricardo Kusunoki, Natalia Majluf, Ramón Mujica Pinilla, and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden facilitated my access to collections and fellow scholars, and gave me kind and thoughtful guidance along the way. Lisy Kuon generously led me on a tour of churches on *la ruta del barroco andino*. I thank Celso Pastor and Jaime Liébana for opening their rich collections to me, and especially Silvia and Aldo Barbosa-Stern whose collection and restoration studio became my

classroom, where I greatly increased my knowledge of material processes in Andean art. I am especially grateful to the staff of the archives and libraries I visited, including the Archivo General de la Nación del Perú, Archivo Regional del Cusco, Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, and the Getty Research Institute, Special Collections. I must also thank David Garrett and Alvaro Caso-Bello for their assistance and generosity at the Archivo Regional del Cusco.

Friends in both hemispheres supported this project at every turn. At UCLA I thank my confidants Sarah-Neel Smith, Jamin An, Andrea Gyorody, and Aparna Kumar for the life-affirming conversations, laughs, and unique insights they brought from their respective fields. In various cities, Verónica Muñoz Najar, Ellen Dooley, Lauren Taylor, Meg Bernstein, Alessandra Amin, Christine Robinson, James Fishburne, Megan Debin, Emily Floyd, Ling Yang, and Ellie and Peanut Waxman provided encouragement and companionship. In Cusco, Allison Caine wore many hats as treasured roommate, travel companion, and occasional nurse. I would not have survived fieldwork without her, nor without the Huamán Escalante family, especially Janet, Ernesto, and little Wayra, who kept me smiling and well fed.

I am deeply grateful to my Peruvian family, the Ipinces, especially mi Sebastián, for opening their hearts and homes to me and for fueling this project with unmatched love and generosity. Finally, I thank my Northern Hemisphere family for being my biggest cheerleaders over the years: my west coast parents, Lee and Jane, for the restorative escapes; my sister, Sally, for keeping me calm and grounded with humor and exercise; and my own parents, Tom and Ann, for instilling in me their love of art, books, and public education, and for always encouraging me to take the path less traveled.

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INTRODUCTION

Dressing Andean Spaces: Textiles, Painting, and Architecture in the Colonial Imagination

Textiles have possessed unparalleled importance in Peru since the second millennium BCE. Considered the first art form in the region, woven goods have long been used to adorn the human body. In life, textiles served as garments that conveyed political, social and occupational status through their material, color, and motifs. In death, they functioned as wrapping for sacred mummy bundles. In both the Andes and coastal Peru, textiles have also played pivotal roles in delineating sacred space, both outdoors and within fabricated structures. Excavations of Pre-Columbian sites have uncovered textile remains, in addition to sculptural reliefs on the walls of palaces and temples that emulate cloth hangings. Sixteenth-century Spanish chronicles also describe the Inca custom of ceremoniously decorating interior spaces with cloth. For centuries prior to the Spanish Conquest, textiles were major nonverbal expressions of indigenous identity and ancestral belief. To this day, Andean textiles are both utilitarian items and instruments of ritual that embody Andean worldviews and cultural values.¹

The Spanish Conquest of Peru of 1532 drastically transformed the Peruvian landscape and the lives of all who lived there, along with indigenous social, economic, political, and economic systems, including art-making. This dissertation traces the evolution of indigenous textile types under the new Spanish order (1542-1824) and with the advent of global trade, centering on the city of Cusco between roughly 1650 and 1750. During this period, I examine the ways in which artists and patrons valued, displayed and conceptualized textiles, considering their long legacy in the Andes as well as their changing status in the mid- to late-colonial period.

¹ Andrea Heckman, *Woven Stories: Andean Textiles and Rituals* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003); Rebecca Stone-Miller, *To Weave for the Sun: Ancient Andean Textiles in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994).

Building on a long-standing weaving tradition in the Andes, Inca weavers and their descendants continued their artistry in the colonial period, but were put to work on new textile products for the Catholic Church and for private patrons. Influenced by Catholicism and European tastes, colonial patrons commissioned altar cloths and frontals, liturgical vestments, tapestries, wall hangings, bedspreads, and rugs—new textile forms that became increasingly popular in colonial Peru.

While art historians have traced in great detail the history and significance of Pre-Columbian and colonial garments, they have not given the same attention to non-garment textiles in the Andes. For example, although scholars have identified approximately three hundred colonial Andean tapestries in collections worldwide, little consideration has been given to the production and use of these textiles within colonial spaces, domestic or sacred.² My dissertation articulates the significance of cloth in dressing spaces and objects by evaluating the textile holdings of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Peruvians with an emphasis on tapestries and other non-garment textiles found in domestic interiors in Cusco. As a starting point, this project documents the evolution of *cumbi*, a finely woven tapestry cloth made from the highest quality alpaca fibers, from the Inca Empire (1438-1532) into the eighteenth century, and reveals the global influences that affected the production and presentation of this indigenous textile.

The analysis in this dissertation is based on previously unpublished archival materials and new readings of colonial visual and written sources. I introduce new archival data from unpublished wills, inventories, dowries, and other colonial notarial documents, which illuminate trends in non-garment textiles in private holdings in Cusco. I also provide significant reinterpretations of two major artworks, discussed below, which offer new insight into the

² Most known examples of colonial Andean tapestries were documented in the exhibition catalog, *The Colonial Andes: Tapestry and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, ed. Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht, and Cristina Esteras Martín (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004).

dynamics of artistic exchange and the pivotal role of textiles in disseminating motifs across the colonial Andes. I contextualize these documents and close visual readings by situating them within the intricate monetary and cultural value systems, linguistic complexities, and processes of production of colonial Peruvian textiles, arguing that cloth products were in the most coveted class of luxury goods in viceregal Cusco.

In my first case study of an artwork, I provide a dynamic new reinterpretation of the complex iconography of a well-known and widely studied colonial Andean tapestry in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. In opposition to existing scholarship, which interprets the motifs as a mysterious narrative, I identify several engravings used in its design process, demonstrating the influence of print culture on Andean tapestry production and the prominence of moral literature in colonial Cusco. Additionally, I use archival findings to speculate on the tapestry's original setting, arguing that colonial residents strategically displayed textiles such as this one to promote their wealth, sophistication, and cultural heritage. Colonial textiles were far from merely decorative, utilitarian and background objects, and their visual programs and deliberate placement in sacred and domestic spaces gave them social exposure and agency.

My second major case study is a little-examined series of thirty-eight paintings of the Life of Saint Augustine, produced in Cusco by *mestizo* (mixed-race) artist Basilio Pacheco in 1742, which depicts colonial Andean textiles in a dynamic and innovative manner. Pacheco's series is representative of Cusco School paintings from the 1670s onwards, in which textiles frequently dominated the compositions, not just in the form of elaborate garments, but also as detailed and colorful rugs, hangings, canopies, bedspreads, and liturgical textiles. These added representations of textile elements mark a major departure from the almost entirely barren,

unadorned European print sources on which the paintings are based. This visual strategy of enriching compositions with textile elements, which I identify for the first time, was a crucial way in which indigenous and *mestizo* artists used Andean textiles to recontextualize Catholic scenes and established a recognizable brand of Cusco School (Escuela Cusqueña) painting. My dissertation traces textile embellishment in the Cusco School, providing a new interpretive strategy and more nuanced narrative of Andean painting and its indigenous legacy.

Textiles have historically been examined in isolation, under the purview of textile specialists and separately from other two-dimensional art forms such as painting or prints. The study of prints and painting exists outside of textile scholarship, in a parallel field dominated by art historians. It is this latter realm, the parallel study of prints and painting, which has been the dominant paradigm for colonial Peruvian studies. This dissertation disrupts this traditional approach by inserting textiles between these two media, demonstrating the process by which prints informed textile production, and both prints *and* textiles were powerful influences on the Cusco School of Painting. Importantly, this undertaking is not confined to a material focus. Rather, textiles function as a major thematic current throughout the dissertation, which is organized around the following subjects: 1) textiles as represented in colonial notarial documents; 2) textile artworks, either produced in or exported to the colonial Andes, in museum collections, and the ways in which print sources often informed their production; and 3) textiles as an artistic strategy in the Cusco School of Painting. This study innovatively combines these genres, proving textiles to have had a dynamic role not only in Peruvian interiors, but also within the transmission of motifs across artworks of various media in the colonial Andes.

Historical Framework

Art historians have only recently taken interest in the mid- to late-colonial period, after decades of gravitating toward the first few decades after the Conquest. The interest in the sixteenth century naturally evolved from Yale art historian George Kubler's 1961 essay on the extinction of indigenous traditions after the Conquest. His essay also generated two scholarly camps: the indigenists and the hispanists (Kubler School), who, while divided on the issue of indigenous agency, mainly focused on art in the direct aftermath of the collision of cultures.³ The scholarship that followed the "Great Debate," as art historian Gauvin Bailey termed it, used the frameworks of hybridity and "mestizo" art to reconsider indigenous contributions to colonial art making, while also exposing the complications of these ethnically-derived terms.⁴ A more recent contribution to this debate, art historian Charlene Villaseñor Black's analysis of the racialized treatment of style in colonial Latin American scholarship, has profoundly shaped my consideration of indigenous artistic production.⁵ With notable exceptions, the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century is much less intellectually traversed. Instead, scholarship so far has

³ George Kubler, "On the Colonial Extinction of the Motifs of Pre-Columbian Art," in *Essays in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology*, ed. Samuel Lothrop (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), 14-34. For a summary of this debate, see Gauvin Bailey, Carla Rahn Phillips, and Lisa Voigt, "Spain and Spanish America in the Early Modern Atlantic World: Current Trends in Scholarship," *Renaissance Quarterly* 62:1 (2009): 8-14. The indigenists included Emilio Harth-Terré and Jose de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, among others.

⁴ See Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn, "Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America," *Colonial Latin American Review* 12:1 (June 2003): 5-35; Alessia Frassani, "At the Crossroads of Empire: Urban Form and Ritual Action in Colonial Yanhuitlan, Oaxaca, Mexico," *Getty Research Journal* 4 (2012): 31-44; Leibsohn, "Colony and Cartography: Shifting Signs on Indigenous Maps of New Spain," in *Reframing the Renaissance*, ed. Claire Farago (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 265-281; Jeanette Favrot Peterson, "Creating the Virgin of Guadalupe: The Cloth, Artist and Sources in Sixteenth-Century New Spain," *The Americas* 61:4 (2005): 571-610.

⁵ Charlene Villaseñor Black, "Race and the Historiography of Colonial Art," in *Envisioning Others: Race, Color and the Visual in Iberia and Latin America*, ed. Pamela Patton (Boston: Brill, 2016), 303-322.

centered around two dramatic historic moments: the Conquest and the independence movements of the late eighteenth century.⁶

My dissertation centers on the historical parameters of 1650 to 1750, a period marked by a major transition in the Spanish monarchy from the Habsburg to the Bourbon regime. The year 1700 marked the end of Charles II's rule and the accession of the first Spanish Bourbon king, Philip V. The period preceding this transition was one of a gradual lessening of Spanish power, in large part due to Spain's financial crisis. The practice of selling treasury appointments in the Americas, begun in 1633, had significant implications for the dissolution of Spanish authority in Peru.⁷ What began as a money-making scheme for the Habsburg monarchy resulted in the appointment of local officials with regional interests. Over the next seventy years, these "bought" officials often poorly and corruptly navigated colonial administration and aligned the Peruvian treasury with colonial rather than imperial interests. Although changes in imperial administration did not occur overnight with the advent of the Bourbon regime, economic legislation that opened Peruvian ports to French merchants, for example, had immediate effects on local markets. By the end of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1713, the crown had made bureaucratic changes in the oversight of the colonies, with an eye towards improving imperial administration and colonial revenues.⁸

⁶ Notable exceptions include Bailey's *The Andean Hybrid Baroque: Convergent Cultures in the Churches of Colonial Peru* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 2010); Ananda Cohen Suarez, *Heaven, Hell and Everything in Between* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016); Alessandra Russo, "Plumes of Sacrifice: Transformations in Sixteenth-Century Mexican Feather Art," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 42 (2002): 226-250; Magali M. Carrera, "Locating Race in Late Colonial Mexico," *Art Journal* 57:3 (1998): 36-45.

⁷ Kenneth J. Andrien, "The Sale of Fiscal Offices and the Decline of Royal Authority in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1633-1700," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 62:1 (1982): 49-71; Peter T. Bradley and David Cahill, *Habsburg Peru: Images, Imagination and Memory* (Liverpool University Press, 2000).

⁸ John Robert Fisher, *Bourbon Peru, 1750-1824* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003), 9-25.

In addition to changes in imperial oversight, natural disasters and demographic changes in the Andes defined the period 1650 and 1750. Deadly earthquakes bookend this period, in 1650 in Cusco and 1746 in Lima, resulting in the significant loss of lives and property in each city.⁹ Throughout the Andes, epidemics caused a massive decline in indigenous populations in the late sixteenth century, but by the mid-seventeenth century Indian communities had recovered substantially and grown in number. Common throughout this period were migrations of Indians from provincial regions to city centers and Spanish-owned lands, as they sought economic opportunities. In addition to migrations, the simultaneous increase in the Spanish population at this time led to a growing urban culture in the Andes. In Cusco, Indian elites maintained much of their political autonomy, but were increasingly “hispanicized,” as indigenous and Spanish elites lived in increasing proximity in the city center, resulting in a mix of cultural traditions of lifestyle and dress.¹⁰ A growing Creole class of Spaniards born in the Americas also defines this period, as this group negotiated its status alongside European-born Spaniards and the indigenous nobility. Creoles especially desired positions in the colonial administration. Between 1687 and 1750, the number of creoles in judiciary offices (the *audiencia*) rose forty-four percent.¹¹

By the eighteenth century, the viceregal Americas were a setting for a nexus of global encounters extending in transatlantic, transpacific and inter-American directions. Beginning in 1565, trade with East Asia brought new raw and finished goods to the Americas, as ships made routine stops at the ports of Acapulco, Mexico and the Lima port of Callao. Silks, yarns, fabrics,

⁹ Charles F. Walker, *Shaky Colonialism: The 1746 Earthquake-Tsunami in Lima, Peru, and its Long Aftermath* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008); Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, “Shifting Ground: Elite Sponsorship of the Cult of Christ of the Earthquakes in Eighteenth-Century Cusco,” *Hispanic Research Journal* 8:5 (2007): 445-465.

¹⁰ David Garrett, *Shadows of Empire: The Indian Nobility of Cusco, 1750-1825* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

¹¹ Peter Bakewell and Jacqueline Holler, *A History of Latin America to 1825* (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 295.

tapestries, ivory, ceramics, wines, foodstuffs, and medicines from China, the Philippines, and East Asia flooded American markets.¹² At the same time, products from Mexico and Guatemala entered South American markets, revealing the vast circulation of goods within the continental Americas. Costly assortments of international products made their way into the homes and churches of both secular and religious viceregal patrons, and into the workshops of colonial artists.

The rise of urbanism and international trade had significant effects on artistic production in colonial Cusco. My dissertation explores the link between the growing cosmopolitan nature of the city and a heightened interest in domestic interiors and their decoration across the Andes. Despite sumptuary laws, which restricted the extravagant display of wealth, luxury goods decorated the interiors of upper-class estates, and were prominent symbols of status and cosmopolitanism. Inventories show that tapestries and other luxury textiles were displayed prominently as wall hangings, rugs, table and altar covers in churches and in several rooms of private residences: the bedroom, the *sala de estrado*, a semi-public room used for entertaining, game playing, courtship and musical serenades, and the private oratory (private chapel). The display of these items was particularly important for Indian nobles and Creoles, who were lobbying for power and prestige in colonial society.

¹² See Raymond Lee, "American Cochineal in European Commerce," *The Journal of Modern History* 23:3 (1951): 205–24; R. A. Donkin, "Spanish Red Study of Cochineal and the Opuntia Cactus," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 67:5 (1977): 1-84; Carmella Padilla and Barbara Anderson, eds., *A Red Like No Other. How Cochineal Colored the World: An Epic Story of Art, Culture, Science, and Trade* (New York: Skira Rizzoli, 2015); Phipps "Cumbi to Tapestry: Collection, Innovation, and Transformation of the Colonial Andean Tapestry Tradition," in *The Colonial Andes*, 81-84; Paula Susan De Vos, "The Science of Spices: Empiricism and Economic Botany in the Early Spanish Empire," *Journal of World History* 17:4 (2006): 399-427; De Vos, "Natural History and the Pursuit of Empire in Eighteenth-Century Spain," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 40:2 (2007): 209-39; Etsuko Miyata Rodríguez, "The Early Manila Galleon Trade: Merchants' Networks and Markets in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Mexico," in *Asia and Spanish America: Trans-Pacific Artistic and Cultural Exchange*, ed. Donna Pierce and Ronald Otsuka (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2009), 39-57; Arturo Giraldez, *The Age of Trade: The Manila Galleons and the Dawn of the Global Economy* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015).

Methodology

This dissertation is the product of extensive archival research in Cusco and Lima, Peru, in addition to numerous extended visits to private collections, museums, churches, and convents in Peru, Chile and the United States. During fifteen months in Peru, I spent considerable time at the Archivo Regional del Cusco (Regional Archive of Cusco) and the Archivo General de la Nación (General Archive of the Nation) in Lima, where I systematically reviewed notary documents between 1620 and 1780. As demonstrated by historian Kathryn Burns, notaries were in a limited class of people who knew how to write in the colonial Americas, and were powerful actors in drawing up legal agreements.¹³ Traversing the archive chronologically, I transcribed wills, inventories, dowries, appraisals, and sales transactions of an ethnically diverse group of middle- and upper-class Cusco and Lima residents, paying particular attention to their holdings of textiles. For each decade I read roughly twenty-five *legajos* (bundles) of documents in order to acquire an extensive sample of textiles in private holdings. In this way, I was able to observe diachronic changes in textile description, appearance, value and display over a one-hundred-year period. Although this dissertation focuses exclusively on Cusco, comparative study with Lima was necessary to test whether Cusco's unique demographics, namely a large indigenous population, had any impact on textile holdings. In future studies, I hope to perform a similar analysis of textiles in Lima collections using the information I collected from the Archivo General de la Nación.

The manner in which notary archives document textiles, as compared to paintings and other artworks, is of particular interest to this project. Values and descriptions of textiles in notarial documents often surpass those of any other personal possession. The listing of textiles as

¹³ Kathryn Burns, *Into the Archive: Writing and Power in Colonial Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

the first objects in wills and inventories, in addition to the high prices in *reales* and *pesos* that often accompany the listings, testifies to their high value in colonial society. Frequently, inventories are organized according to the rooms of a private residence. This structure allows a privileged view into colonial domestic interiors to which we no longer have access and to the textiles that were displayed and stored in each room. Inventories structured in this way have informed my analysis of strategies of display in the *sala de estrado*, the private oratory, the bedroom and other living quarters in colonial Cusco.

Notary archives demand certain linguistic and historical considerations from scholars. These documents expose the limitations of one-dimensional contemporary definitions of colonial textiles, which lead to misconceptions. Stella Nair has noted similar linguistic confusions that occur with architectural terms.¹⁴ With textiles, scholars must often filter textile names through Spanish, English, and Quechua, contributing to hazy understandings of their original colonial-period grades, functions, appearances, and monetary values. My study of the Quechua language has aided this study, as indigenous textiles continue to use Quechua names into the eighteenth century. Anthropologists Frank Salomon and Bruce Mannheim, who are authorities on the political and historical context of linguistic change in the Andes, also provide models for the careful navigation of colonial and modern Quechua.¹⁵

Spanish and Quechua colonial dictionaries have been of crucial assistance in deciphering the material makeup and purpose of colonial textiles. However, even these sources can be misleading, as these languages drastically evolved over the course of the colonial period. Textile

¹⁴ Stella Nair, *At Home with the Sapa Inca: Architecture, Space and Legacy at Chinchero* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015), 111-139.

¹⁵ Frank Salomon and Mercedes Niño-Murcia, *The Lettered Mountain: A Peruvian Village's Way with Writing* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011); Bruce Mannheim, *The Language of the Inka Since the European Invasion* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991); Thomas B. F. Cummins and Mannheim, "The River around Us, the Stream within Us: The Traces of the Sun and Inka Kinetics," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 59:1 (2011): 5-21.

terms exhibit different responses to variations in language over the colonial period. For example, by the eighteenth century, the Quechua definition of *cumbi* had transitioned in meaning from a fine alpaca textile to a broader term that described any luxury fabric, local or imported, of high value. This evolution is an example of an indigenous word evolving to embody a European ideal of value. An opposite case is that of *chusi*, a Quechua term for rug or runner that maintained its meaning, even as similar categories of European textiles entered the Cusco market.

In addition to utilizing archival documents and linguistic resources, I deployed colonial textiles in museum collections to clarify the types of products included in notarial documents. In turn, these textile artworks exposed the categories of information that notary documents are prone to leave out. For example, while colonial archives typically feature material, age, color or product origin in textile descriptions, subject matter is infrequently mentioned. In this dissertation, I use object-based research to help remedy absences in the archive. Outside of South America, much of this dissertation was completed when I was in residence at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, which houses an important collection of colonial Peruvian textiles. Extensive study in the Antonio Ratti Textile Center of several tapestries in the collection provided significant insights into iconographic trends in colonial Andean textiles. These opportunities also afforded comparisons with Spanish, French, and other European textiles, and often clarified puzzling descriptions of imported textiles in Peruvian archival documents. Through the museum's collection, the textiles in archival documents became visible to me.

Moving between the archive and the museum, this dissertation demonstrates the necessity of joining archival and object-based study in the examination of colonial Andean textiles. My methodology combines primary source documents with iconographic and semiotic analysis, social art history, and materiality studies to consider a range of artworks including textiles,

painting, prints, and architecture. My drive to decipher the complex subject matter of numerous colonial artworks, starting with their basic shapes, motifs and symbols, partially derives from Erwin Panofsky's concept of iconography, a three-tiered system of deriving meaning in art.¹⁶ Although the methodology has been contested over the decades, Panofsky's approach provides a guide for employing three types of knowledge in the reading of images.¹⁷ At the first level (pre-iconographic) is the interpretation of basic forms, while the second (iconography) uncovers the secondary or conventional meanings associated with images, which are tied to textual references. According to Panofsky, part three, iconology, expands from the individual artwork to determine its significance through factors that expose "the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical persuasion."¹⁸ Often this third step involves the analysis of repeated appearances of subject matter in a prescribed context—an approach utilized in this dissertation to compare repetitions in motifs and scenes in the corpus of Andean textiles and paintings.

This project both employs iconography and iconology, while also exposing their limitations in the context of the colonial Andes. To begin, the global nature of colonial Cusco presents a stage in which many of these "basic attitudes" fail to align due to the diversity of cultures that informed the art and its production. Secondly, iconography's reliance on textual sources falls short in the analysis of many Andean images. As articulated by Hubert Damisch, in

¹⁶ Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939).

¹⁷ Later engagements with and criticisms of iconography include: E. H. Gombrich, "Aims and Limits of Iconology," in *Symbolic Images*, (London: Phaidon, 1972), 1-25; Paul Taylor, "Introduction," in *Iconography without Texts*, (London: Warburg Institute, 2008), 1-10; Keith Moxey, "Panofsky's Melancholia," in *The Practice of Theory: Poststructuralism, Cultural Politics, and Art History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 65-78; Michael Ann Holly, "Witnessing an Annunciation," in *Past Looking: Historical Imagination and the Rhetoric of the Image* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1996), 149-169.

¹⁸ Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, 7; Also see Panofsky, "Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art," in *Meaning in the Visual Arts: Papers in and on Art History* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1955), 26-54.

iconography “a textual reference will carry the day by providing a ‘key’ which allows the image to be interpreted.”¹⁹ This is difficult to do for artworks in the Andes, due to our limited knowledge of the circulation of printed texts in the region. Furthermore, oral and visual sources are equal if not more important elements in interpreting Andean artworks, which often require analysis through several multi-cultural lenses and lexicons—indigenous, Catholic, and beyond. These conditions prompt this project’s turn to semiotics, which reads images as a system of multivalent signs, which cannot be traced to a single source or fixed interpretation.²⁰ Through semiotics, I perform close readings of artworks to unveil the multiple, interlaced sources from both sides of the Atlantic and Pacific that contributed to their making. Furthermore, I consider textiles as documents capable and worthy of being read like texts and paintings,²¹ and view textile motifs in both weaving and painting as a series of often disharmonious symbols, whose interpretation varied depending on continent, ethnic background of its producer and audience, and method of display. Instead of pursuing an artwork’s original source or significance, I use semiotics to read images laterally and to examine how meaning is produced by both present-day and colonial authors and audiences.

Several scholars have been guiding forces in this employment of multiple methodologies. As encouraged by Alessandra Russo, I abandon disciplinary boundaries and classifications of

¹⁹ Hubert Damisch, “Semiotics and Iconography,” in *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Donald Preziosi (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 237.

²⁰ Christine Hasenmueller, “Panofsky, Iconography, and Semiotics,” *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 36 (1978): 289-301; Meyer Schapiro, “On Some Problems in the Semiotics of Visual Art: Field and Vehicle in Image-Signs,” *Semiotica* 1 (1969): 223-242; Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, “Semiotics and Art History,” *The Art Bulletin* 73:2 (1991): 174-208; Todd Olson, “Clouds and Rain,” *Representations* 104:1 (2008): 102–115.

²¹ For similar semiotic approaches, see Phipps, “Cumbi to Tapestry;” Veronica Cereceda, “The Semiology of Andean Textiles: The Talegas of Isluga,” in *Anthropological History of Andean Politics*, ed. John Murra, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 149-173; Cummins, “Silver Threads and Golden Needles: The Inca, the Spanish and the Sacred World of Humanity,” in *The Colonial Andes*, 3-15; Joanne Pillsbury, “Inka Unku: Strategy and Design in Colonial Peru,” *Cleveland Studies in the History of Art* 7 (2002): 68-103.

artworks as indigenous or European to instead consider them an accumulation of influences and expertises.²² María Fernández’s articulation of cosmopolitanism in colonial Mexico has also been a helpful framework for this project, as she questions the ways in which visual objects fail “to fit within discrete temporal, geographic, and stylistic parameters because of a surplus of referents.”²³ Peruvian scholars Ricardo Kusunoki, Ramón Mujica Pinilla, and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden have guided my understanding of Andean visual vocabularies in painting, and have made tremendous contributions to uncovering the location of print sources used by Andean artists.²⁴ I also aspire to the meticulousness of Pre-Columbian and early colonial studies that center on iconography by art historians Cecelia Klein, Carol Callaway, and James Kiracofe, in addition to Teresa Gisbert’s careful consideration of indigenous ornament and iconography.²⁵

While iconography and semiotics drive the close visual readings at the heart of Chapters 2 and 3, social art history provides the framework for Chapters 1 and 4.²⁶ This methodology

²² Alessandra Russo, *The Untranslatable Image: A Mestizo History of The Arts in New Spain, 1500-1600* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), 4-13.

²³ María Fernández, *Cosmopolitanism in Mexican Visual Culture* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), 1-25.

²⁴ Ricardo Kusunoki, “Art and Visual Culture in the Viceroyal Period,” *Arte Colonial. Colección Museo de Arte de Lima* (Lima: Museo de Arte de Lima, 2016); Kusunoki and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, *Pintura cuzqueña* (Lima: Museo de arte de Lima, 2016); Ramón Mujica Pinilla, “Hell in the Andes: The Last Judgement in the Art of Viceroyal Peru,” in *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World*, ed. Iona Katzew (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2011), 178-201; Wuffarden, “‘Look Without Envy’: Emulation, Difference, and Local Glorification in Peruvian Viceroyal Painting,” in *Pintura de los reinos: Identidades compartidas: Territorios del mundo hispánico, siglos XVI–XVIII*, ed. Juana Gutiérrez Haces and Jonathan Brown (Mexico City: Fomento Cultural Banamex, 2008), 643-691; Wuffarden, “From Apprentices to ‘famous brushes’: Native Artists in Colonial Peru,” *Contested Visions*, 251-273.

²⁵ Cecelia Klein, “The Devil and the Skirt: An Iconographic Inquiry into the Pre-Hispanic Nature of the *tzitzimime*,” *Ancient Mesoamerica* 11:1 (2000): 1-26; Carol Callaway, “Pre-Columbian and Colonial Mexican Images of the Cross: Christ’s Sacrifice and the Fertile Earth,” *Journal of Latin American Lore* 16.2 (1990): 199-231; James B. Kiracofe, “Architectural Fusion and Indigenous Ideology in Early Colonial Teposcolula: The Casa de la Cacica, A Building at the Edge of Oblivion,” *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 66 (1995): 45-84; Teresa Gisbert, *Iconografía y mitos indígenas en el arte* (La Paz: Apartado 195, 1980); Gisbert and Martha Cajías, *Arte textil y mundo andina* (La Paz: Gisbert y Cia., 1987).

²⁶ Pioneering texts on social art history include T.J. Clark, *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the Second French Republic, 1848-1851* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1973); Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the*

posits that art changes in direct relation to economic and political factors, and examines the market forces that impact relationships between artists, guilds, clients, and audiences. Inspired by T. J. Clark, I apply this methodology in colonial Latin America to “reconstruct the conditions in which art was, for a time, a disputed, even an effective, part of the historical process.”²⁷ The unique context of colonial Cusco requires a distinct application of this methodology, which is modeled in studies by art historians Carolyn Dean, Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, Ramón Mujica Pinilla, and Ananda Cohen Suarez.²⁸ Following these scholars, I position art as an active participant in social, economic, cultural, and intellectual developments in viceregal Cusco, and use historical documents (notary records, city annals, colonial chronicles, and travelogues) to examine the events surrounding the production and reception of Andean artworks. Throughout the dissertation, I employ social art history with a markedly global purview as I evaluate the effects of international trade and changing monetary and cultural value systems on Andean textiles and paintings between 1650 and 1750. Furthermore, I consider the social and economic context of the commission of Pacheco’s painting series, not just within the Augustinian order but also in relation to the South American art market. By resituating colonial Cusco on the global early modern stage, I explore the mechanics of image-making and the transmission of motifs

Art of Manet and his Followers (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985); Albert Boime, *A Social History of Modern Art* vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

²⁷ Clark, “On the Social History of Art,” in *Image of the People*, 10.

²⁸ Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); Stanfield-Mazzi, “Weaving and Tailoring the Andean Church: Textile Ornaments and Their Makers in Colonial Peru,” *The Americas: A Quarterly Review of Latin American History* 72:1 (2015): 77-102; Suarez Cohen, *Heaven, Hell and Everything in Between*; Mujica Pinilla and Mercedes López Baralt, *Ángeles apócrifos en la América virreinal* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1996); Mujica Pinilla, *Rosa limensis: Mística, política e iconografía en torno a la patrona de América* (Lima: IFEA, 2001).

between textiles, prints, and paintings, while constantly evaluating the “visibility” of this symbolic system in the colonial Andes and beyond.²⁹

Several sources have aided my approach to the analysis of historical documents. Joanne Pillsbury’s invaluable edited volume on documentary sources in the Andes has largely guided and supported my navigation of colonial chronicles and travelogues.³⁰ The review of archival documents requires another set of skills and precautions. As I used notary records to assess changes in textile holdings, I was very conscious of the power dynamics of the archive itself. Kathryn Burns has warned against reading the archive at face value, as notaries often had personal interests and were far from impartial mediators in the historical record. Accordingly, I approached the archive with caution, examining its inconsistencies with respect to textiles. David Garrett’s skilled navigation of the holdings of the indigenous nobility in late colonial Cusco has also been a model for this project, as has Frank Salomon’s use of notary archives to reveal the roles of women in early colonial Quito.³¹

Another methodological objective of this project is to enter textiles, painting, and prints into a common scholarly conversation by illuminating commonalities in their production and revealing the ways in which these art forms mutually informed one another. Illustrated books and loose-leaf prints were in wide circulation in colonial Peru, and were broadly used in painting

²⁹ Ibid., 15. In his analysis of Courbet, Clark ponders “...what kind of ‘visibility’ a certain symbolic system made possible; and in what specific circumstances one artist could take advantage of this, and another fail to.”

³⁰ Pillsbury, ed., *Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Studies, 1530-1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008).

³¹ Garrett, *Shadows of Empire*; Salomon, “Indian Women of Early Colonial Quito as Seen Through Their Testaments,” *The Americas* 44:3 (1988): 325-341. Other helpful studies that make use of Peruvian notary archives include: Karen Graubart, “The Creolization of the New World: Local Forms of Identification in Urban Colonial Peru, 1560–1640,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 89:3 (2009): 471-499; Ana María Presta, “Undressing the Coya and Dressing the Indian Woman: Market Economy, Clothing, and Identities in the Colonial Andes, La Plata (Charcas), Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 90:1 (2010): 41-74; Stanfield-Mazzi, “The Possessor’s Agency: Private Art Collecting in the Colonial Andes,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 18:3 (2009): 339-364.

guilds as guides for painted compositions. Accordingly, most discussions of colonial Peruvian painting have centered on the use of European prints by indigenous and *mestizo* artists.³² These studies offer important insight into the ways in which colonial Latin American art diverges from European iconographies, techniques, and guild structure.³³ At worst, this approach has the effect of framing colonial Latin American painting as derivative of European artistic traditions. Furthermore, this approach places indigenous painters in a tug-of-war between two artistic traditions: they are either viewed as excellent copyists or as pioneers of an indigenous iconographic program.

Nair skillfully navigates the complexities of indigenous representation in her analysis of the painting *Virgin of Montserrat* (1693), by indigenous artist Francisco Chivantito. Although a European print likely inspired the central image of the Virgin and Christ Child, Chivantito placed the scene within the local townscape of Chinchero, the home of the church that houses the painting today. Visible to the right of the figures is the church and central plaza of Chinchero, depicting an approximation of its built environment. Nair makes an important distinction between documentary illustration, a straightforward rendering of physical reality, and descriptive representation in colonial Andean painting; in the latter, the artist paints with “a certain freedom in visualizing key elements of an actual place or person...but still conveys a strong resemblance

³² Dean, “Copied Carts: Spanish Prints and Colonial Peruvian Paintings,” *The Art Bulletin* 78:1 (1996): 98-110; Cécile Michaud and José Torres Della Pina, *De Amberes al Cusco: El grabado europeo como fuente del arte virreinal* (Lima: Impulso Empresa de Servicio SAC, 2009); Luis Enrique Tord, “La pintura virreinal en el Cusco,” in *Pintura en el virreinato del Perú*, ed. Jorge Bernales Ballesteros and Luis Nieri Galindo (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1989), 167-212; Felipe Cossío del Pomar, *Peruvian Colonial Art: The Cuzco School of Painting* (New York: Wittenborn, 1964); Francisco Stastny, “The Cuzco School of Painting, a Gothic Revival,” *Connaisseur* 759 (1975): 20-27.

³³ Edward J. Sullivan, “European Painting and the Art of the New World Colonies,” in *Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America*, (New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1996), 28-41; Marcus Burke, “The Parallel Course of Latin American and European Art in the Viceregal Era,” in *The Arts in Latin America, 1492-1820*, ed. Joseph J. Rishel and Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, 70-85 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

to what is being depicted.”³⁴ She considers the elements that Chivantito had added to the landscape—the details that depart from the reality of the built environment in 1693—to be crucial insights into his artistic process and understanding of indigenous spatial relations. In particular, she views Chivantito’s manipulation of perspective in the scene as reflecting Andean concepts of duality (*hanan* and *hurin*), as opposed to an inability to meet European conventions by the artist. Nair’s study of this important painting provides a model for examining details in the built environment and landscape in Cusco School paintings. It is also a guide for evaluating the ways in which indigenous artists transformed European engraved scenes to reflect local understandings of space and representational practices.

Although European prints and colonial Peruvian paintings have been paired in scholarship, few art historians have united prints, textiles and painting in a single study. A notable exception is Cohen’s 2016 study on the prints and imported Spanish textiles that inspired murals in Cusco-region churches.³⁵ Like this dissertation, she does not view textile decorations as mere ornament, but as a “pictorial dialect” for enhancing the sacredness of the church interior. In her careful examination of the murals’ style and design, she highlights the use of both textiles and prints by local painters. For example, while Spanish hangings may have inspired the main field of a mural painting, a grotesque motif at its border might show the incorporation of engravings, particularly the marginalia of printed books, in the Andean artist’s repertoire.³⁶ Most importantly for this study, Cohen draws many similarities between eighteenth-century murals and late colonial textiles exported from Spanish and France to Peruvian markets, which attest to

³⁴ Nair, “Localizing Sacredness, Difference, and ‘Yachacuscacani’ in a Colonial Andean Painting,” *The Art Bulletin* 89:2 (2007): 215.

³⁵ Suarez Cohen, *Heaven, Hell and Everything in Between*.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 101-105

the influence of these imported works on local Andean painters. However, she only briefly touches on the use of textiles in the Cusco School, and does not trace the evolution of textiles in oil painting as she does with murals—a gap my dissertation seeks to fill.

As in mural painting, both textiles and prints factored prominently in the production process of many Cusco School paintings, including Pacheco's series. In this dissertation, I move beyond a one-to-one consideration of associated art forms—both between prints and painting and between painting and actual woven objects—to evaluate more than simple correspondences and differences. In this way, this project is an exercise in rethinking the relationship between art forms in the Andes, demonstrating that images of textiles can be equally revealing not just of their woven counterparts but also of spatial construction and strategies of interior display in the colonial Andes. This project expands the discussion of the exchange of artworks and ideas throughout the Andes, and provides a more nuanced understanding of representation across media in the colonial period.

Minor Arts, Minor Details

In the second half of my dissertation, I turn an eye to textiles depicted at the far edges and in the backgrounds of scenes in Cusco School paintings. Although these elements are intensely visible, they have previously been overlooked, or considered decorative, minor details. My privileging of these small components raises the following questions: Why are these seemingly mundane details significant? Why add these textile embellishments to the scenes? Why have these elements been largely invisible to art historians over the decades? The status of textiles as minor arts is one reason for their neglect as elements worthy of study. Historically, textiles have

been relegated to a status inferior to that of painting, a tendency that began with Renaissance art theory.

It is important to note that from an artist's point of view, elements like textiles were far from minor details in painting. Art treatises during the Renaissance emphasized the painterly skill needed to depict textiles in painting.³⁷ In *The Art of Painting (El arte de la pintura)* of 1649, Francisco Pacheco gives specific instructions for tempering colors for draperies in oil painting:

When painting some white draperies, like linen, be well advised (not to those who paint from nature) that charcoal black is better and easier to use for the dark and half-tints because the shadows on white cloth have to be very soft and even the darkest are painted with less force than for other colors...Those who have good taste in color show it in a well painted white drapery.³⁸

He goes on to recommend certain pigments and techniques for depicting rose and crimson drapery, with specific advice for rendering red curtains. It is clear that Pacheco is not only concerned with color differences between fabrics but also in the appearance of textile texture in painting, as he discusses his depictions of velvets.³⁹ For Pacheco, the way in which the oil-painted textiles change in appearance over time is also of great importance. For example, he advises against adding black to blue to darken it, instead opting for pure blue, as black pigment makes the folds indistinguishable.⁴⁰ It is with these guidelines that Europeans arrived in viceregal Peru and began the instruction of indigenous painters in their guilds. The degree to which a later generation of *mestizo* and indigenous painters in the Andes adhered to the technical protocol of *El arte de la pintura* and other painting manuals varies.

³⁷ David Kim, "Lotto's Carpets: Materiality, Textiles, and Composition in Renaissance Painting," *The Art Bulletin* 98:2 (2016): 186.

³⁸ Zahira Véliz, "Francisco Pacheco's Comments on Painting in Oil," *Studies in Conservation* 27:2 (1982): 52.

³⁹ Villaseñor Black, "Pacheco, Velázquez, and the Legacy of Leonardo in Spain," in *Re-Reading Leonardo: The Treatise on Painting Across Europe, 1550-1900*, ed. Claire Farago (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 356.

⁴⁰ Véliz, "Francisco Pacheco's Comments," 53.

From subject matter alone, it is clear that textiles receive significant attention in oil painting from the late seventeenth through the eighteenth century in the Andes. Materiality studies expand iconographic readings and allow a more nuanced view of textile additions to canvases. This project's turn to the small details of painting has been aided by current materiality studies, which have recently emphasized the importance of studying artists' materials and techniques.⁴¹ Art historian and scientific researcher Gabriela Siracusano, in particular, models an innovative approach to Andean painting by demonstrating the ways in which pigments in oil painting continued to carry indigenous symbolic value past the Conquest. Her study inspired my own close examination of the surfaces of Andean paintings, which revealed the artists' intimate knowledge of textile weaves and structures, in addition to a familiarity with local and international textile products in circulation in viceregal Peru. These conclusions suggest that the textiles placed in Cusco School scenes are more than decorative additions. Rather, they have active roles in accentuating key characters, scenes, and sacred events throughout the series. In making this argument, I work against Kubler's insistence that two-dimensional elements, such as textile motifs, are purely formal and carry no symbolic or subversive value.⁴² What Kubler read as formal decoration, I interpret as a thoughtful and nuanced artistic strategy.

David Kim's essay on Lorenzo Lotto's carpets in Renaissance painting provides a model for my dissection of textile design and placement in Cusco painting. Kim argues that Lotto uses carpets throughout his canvas to accentuate spatial regions and experiment with his color

⁴¹ Among others, see Phipps, *Cochineal Red: The Art History of a Color* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2010); Rocio Bruquetas Galán, et al., "Materials and Techniques in Viceregal Paintings and Sculpture in Lima-16th and 17th Centuries," Conference Proceedings, *International Council of Museums: Committee for Conservation* (2011): 1-8; Gabriela Siracusano, *Pigments and Power in the Andes: From the Material to the Symbolic in Andean Cultural Practices, 1500-1800* (London: Archetype Publications Limited, 2011); Villaseñor Black and Mari-Tere Álvarez, eds., "Arts, Crafts, and Materials in the Age of Global Encounters, 1492-1800," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* (Special Edition) 45:3 (2015): 267-406.

⁴² Kubler, "On the Colonial Extinction."

scheme. Kim also expands our traditional notions of materiality studies to explore not only materials and techniques, but also an artist's understanding and engagement with materiality—what he terms “the depiction of materials and their behavior.”⁴³ He reminds us that the study of materiality is not limited to what we see on a painting's surface, but should also consider how and why an artist translates one medium to another. Following this model, I explore indigenous artists' access to and understanding of colonial textiles, and how they conceived of them as pictorial additions to painting. Through this approach we can better understand Peruvian artists' familiarity with artworks of different media and the ways in which they employ them in representational strategies.

Historiography: Textiles in the Andes

Numerous studies in both Andean textiles and painting have informed and aided this dissertation. Pre-Columbian textile scholarship is plentiful and helps lay the groundwork for the longstanding significance of textiles throughout Andean history. Numerous pioneering publications center on impressive textile examples that have been extracted in highly-preserved states from offerings on both Peru's arid coast and in high-altitude tombs. The majority of these examinations focuses on iconography, materials, techniques, and dating these pieces according to horizons, a periodization system for Pre-Columbian cultures.⁴⁴ Some of the earliest twentieth-century studies of Andean textiles include those by Wendell Bennett and Junius Bird, American archaeologists who carried out numerous excavations in South America between the 1930s and

⁴³ Kim, “Lotto's Carpets,” 181.

⁴⁴ Stanfield-Mazzi, “Textile Traditions of the Andes,” *Oxford Bibliographies Online: Latin American Studies*, ed. Ben Vinson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Raoul d' Harcourt, *Textiles of Ancient Peru and their Techniques*, ed. Grace G. Denny and Carolyn M. Osborne (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1962).

1950s.⁴⁵ Bird's reports on textiles excavated at Huaca Prieta and other sites yielded important insights into the tools and techniques used by early Andean cultures.⁴⁶ In the 1930s Alfred Kroeber and Lila O'Neale sought to categorize Andean textiles according to ceramic chronologies, focusing mostly on the cultures of coastal Peru.⁴⁷ Anna Gayton detailed the many weaving techniques that existed before the arrival of the Spanish, insisting on the power of textiles in Pre-Columbian society to convey political, economic and occupational status through their material, color and symbolic motifs.⁴⁸ Another major resource is Raoul d'Harcourt's *Textiles of Ancient Peru and Their Techniques*, which provides a broad review of techniques, materials, and textile vocabulary used by Pre-Columbian cultures.⁴⁹ The scholarship of Rebecca Stone-Miller, Mary Frame, Anne Paul, and Ann Peters has also been pivotal to our understanding of Paracas, Nasca, and Wari textiles.⁵⁰ More recent contributions on Andean

⁴⁵ Wendell Bennett and Junius B. Bird, *Andean Cultural History* (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1949).

⁴⁶ Bird, "Technology and Art in Peruvian Textiles," *Technique and Personality* (New York: Museum of Primitive Art, 1963), 45-78; Ann Pollard Rowe and Bird, "Three Ancient Peruvian Gauze Looms," *Textile Museum Journal* 19-20 (1980-1981): 27-33; John Hyslop, Bird, and Milica Dimitrijevic Skinner, *The Preceramic Excavations at the Huaca Prieta, Chicama Valley, Peru*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History 62:1 (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1985).

⁴⁷ Lila M. O'Neale and A. L. Kroeber, *Textile Periods in Ancient Peru*, 3 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930).

⁴⁸ Anna Gayton, "The Cultural Significance of Peruvian Textiles: Production, Functions, Aesthetics," *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers* 25 (1961): 111-128.

⁴⁹ Raoul d' Harcourt, *Textiles of Ancient Peru*.

⁵⁰ Some of the most prominent studies include: Mary Frame, "Blood, Fertility, and Transformation: Interwoven Themes in the Paracas Necropolis Embroideries," in *Ritual Sacrifice in Ancient Peru*, ed. Elizabeth P. Benson and Anita G. Cook (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 55-92; Anne Paul, *Paracas Ritual Attire: Symbols of Authority in Ancient Peru* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990); Paul, *Paracas Art and Architecture: Object and Context in South Coastal Peru* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1991); Ann Peters, "Ecology and Society in Embroidered Images from the Paracas Necropolis," in *Paracas Art and Architecture: Object and Context in South Coastal Peru*, ed. Anne Paul (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1991), 240-314; Stone-Miller, "Camelids and Chaos in Huari and Tiwanaku Textiles," in *The Ancient Americas: Art from Sacred Landscapes*, ed. Richard F. Townsend (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1992), 334-345; Stone-Miller, *To Weave for the Sun*.

textiles include the proceedings of the *Textile Museum Journal*, organized by Ann Rowe, a leading authority on Pre-Columbian textiles, especially warp-patterned weaves, textiles of the North Coast and Nasca cultures, and women's dress.⁵¹ These sources confirm the high value and ritual use of textiles across Pre-Columbian cultures.

Scholarship on Inca-period textiles has directly informed this project's consideration of indigenous textile traditions and their resonances in the colonial period. John Murra describes the importance and production of textiles in the Andean highlands and lowlands, as well as the documentary sources available to interpret their use by the Inca state.⁵² He refers to a number of colonial sources to document the many uses of textiles in Inca life, including garments used in puberty, wedding, and funeral rituals. After archaeologist John Rowe's major contribution of categorizing Andean archaeology and culture according to horizons, he published a foundational essay on Inca tunics. Here, he discusses the *cumbi* production system under the Inca, and identifies four types of Inca-style tunics, which are testament to the strict standardization of garments under the Inca.⁵³ Using Inca and colonial tunics, as well as their depiction and description in colonial chronicles and painting, Rowe models the way in which a variety of sources can inform our study of Andean textiles. Ann Rowe provides a more technical study of

⁵¹ See Ann Rowe, Elizabeth P. Benson, and Anne-Louise Schaffer, eds., *The Junius B. Bird Pre-Columbian Textile Conference, May 19th and 20th, 1973* (Washington, DC: The Textile Museum, 1979), and subsequent issues; Ann Rowe, "Nasca Figurines and Costume," *The Textile Museum Journal* 29-30 (1990-1991): 93-128; Ann Rowe, "Ica Style Women's Dress," *Textile Museum Journal* 40-41 (2001-2002): 98-117; Ann Rowe and John Patton O'Neill, *Costumes and Featherwork of the Lords of Chimor: Textiles from Peru's North Coast* (Washington, DC: Textile Museum, 1984).

⁵² John Murra, "Cloth and its Function in the Inca State," *American Anthropologist* 64:4 (1962): 710-728.

⁵³ John Rowe, "Absolute Chronology in the Andean Area," *American Antiquity* 10:3 (1960): 265-284; John Rowe, "Standardization in Inca Tapestry Tunics," *The Junius Bird Pre-Columbian Textile Conference*, ed. Ann Rowe and Anne Shaffer (Washington, DC: The Textile Museum and Dumbarton Oaks, 1978), 239-264.

Inca tunics, while Joanne Pillsbury traces the evolution in design and use of this garment from the Inca to the colonial period.⁵⁴

Primary sources, both written and visual, also inform my study of late Inca and early colonial textiles. Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala's *El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* of 1615, and two versions of Martín de Murúa's *Historia general del Piru*, the Galvin Murúa (the Loyola Murúa) of 1590 and the Getty Murúa (the Wellington Murúa) of 1616, all demonstrate a commitment to the representation of textiles, with hundreds of illustrations of Inca garments and textile production. As part of their vast surveys of Inca culture, colonial chroniclers Pedro Cieza de León, Bernabé Cobo, Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, and Juan Polo de Ondegardo, to name a few, also detail the production, use and cultural significance of Inca textiles.⁵⁵

In the field of colonial textiles, this project is most indebted to the scholarship and conservation studies of Elena Phipps. Her studies of textile dyes, fibers, and techniques illuminate the transition in textile production from the Inca to the colonial period.⁵⁶ Building on

⁵⁴ Ann Rowe, "Technical Features of Inca Tapestry Tunics," *Textile Museum Journal* 17:5 (1978); Pillsbury, "Inka Unku;" Pillsbury, "Inca-Colonial Tunics: A Case Study of the Bandelier Set," *Andean Textile Traditions: Papers from the 2001 Mayer Center Symposium*, ed. Margaret Young-Sanchez and Fronia W. Simpson (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2006), 120-168; Tom Zuidema, "Guamán Poma and the Art of Empire: Towards an Iconography of Inca Royal Dress," *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Andrien and Rolena Adorno (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 151-202; Catherine Julien, "Spanish Use of Inca Textile Standards," *Indiana* 16 (2000): 57-81.

⁵⁵ Pedro Cieza de León, *The Discovery and Conquest of Peru: Chronicles of the New World Encounters* [1553], ed. Alexandra P. Cook and Noble David Cook (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998); Bernabé Cobo, *History of the Inca Empire: An Account of the Indians' Customs and Their Origin, Together with a Treatise on Inca Legends, History, and Social Institutions*, ed. Roland Hamilton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979); Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru*, trans. Harold V. Livermore (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006).

⁵⁶ Phipps, *Colonial Andes*; "Textile Colors and Colorants in the Andes," in *Colors Between Two Worlds: The Florentine Codex of Bernardino de Sahagún*, ed. Louis Waldman (Cambridge: The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, 2008), 256-280; *Cochineal Red*; "Aspects of Nobility: Colonial Andean Uncus and Their Inca Models," *Hali* 167 (2011): 97-111; "Color in the Andes: Inca Garments and Seventeenth-Century Colonial Documents," *Dyes in History and Archaeology* 19 (2003): 51-59; Nancy Turner, Phipps, and Karen Trentelman, "Colors, Textiles, and Artistic Production in Murúa's *Historia General del Piru*," in *The Getty Murúa: Essays on the Making of Martín de Murúa's Historia general del Piru*, ed. Cummins and Anderson (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008), 125-145.

the work of Nathalie Zimmern (1943-1944) with careful technical and iconographic analyses, Phipps has focused primarily on colonial tapestries, and has worked to bring this corpus to light.⁵⁷ Her 2004 exhibition, *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, traces the tapestry tradition from its Inca antecedents to its incorporation of global materials and techniques in the colonial period.⁵⁸ This catalogue has functioned as an encyclopedia for this project, as it was the first to publish extensive images, technical studies, and visual dissections of hundreds of colonial tapestries. The exhibition offered comparisons of motifs across colonial period tapestries and silverwork, proving that colonial textiles are most productively studied in relation to other colonial artworks, an approach taken by this dissertation.

Beyond the Body: Dressing Spaces

This project departs from previous scholarship in its focus on a largely overlooked arena: non-garment textiles. The emphasis on royal attire in scholarship on the Inca matches the general trend of focusing on the body in Pre-Columbian textile studies. However, several exceptions exist and have served as models for considering the architectural use of textiles. Rebecca Stone-Miller and Gordon McEwan compare the architecture at the Wari site of Pikillacta with the formal elements of Wari tapestry tunics, while Pillsbury examines the adobe sculpted friezes, which emulate woven textiles, on the palace walls at Chan Chan, the capital of the Chimú culture.⁵⁹ Both sources reveal the ways in which textile layouts and motifs infused the organization and embellishment of Pre-Columbian architecture.

⁵⁷ Nathalie Herman Zimmern, "The Tapestries of Colonial Peru," *Brooklyn Museum Journal* (1943-1944): 27-52.

⁵⁸ Hecht, Phipps, and Martín, eds., *Colonial Andes*.

⁵⁹ Stone-Miller and Gordon F. McEwan, "The Representation of the Wari State in Stone and Thread: A Comparison of Architecture and Tapestry Tunics," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 19/20 (1990/1991): 53-80; Pillsbury,

Studies of textiles in colonial Andean painting have been overwhelmingly limited to garments. The title of my project is an adaptation of the title of Gridley McKim-Smith's essay, "Dressing Colonial, Dressing Diaspora" which can be read as a reflection of the approach typically taken in scholarship on Andean textiles and their depiction in painting. McKim-Smith uses painting to inform our understanding of the dress of Creole elites in the colonial Andes whose clothing expressed their "double identity" as Peruvians and Spaniards.⁶⁰ As in this essay, scholarship on Andean textiles has largely focused on the political act of clothing the body in the Inca Empire and colonial period. The Inca *uncu* (royal tunic), often decorated with *tocapu* (geometric designs), has inspired much of this scholarship, and has led to similar examinations of the *maskaypacha* (royal Inca fringe, worn around the head), *anacu* (woman's dress), *lliclla* (tapestry shawl) and *tupu* (metal pin used to fasten dresses). In these studies, the centrality of the body and its decoration emerges not only from a similar tendency in Western art history, but also from the role of garments in the Inca Empire as important markers of identity and status, encoding signs and symbols that differentiated royalty from commoners.⁶¹

The focus on the depiction of garments in colonial Andean scholarship is also in part due to their unique depiction in the Cusco School of painting, where artists used gold brocade over oil painting to make dramatic visual statements about luxury textiles. In colonial painting, garments depicted in portraiture were a key social and political strategy of representation. Through the technique of *brocateado* (gold brocade), artists applied metal, in the form of gold

"Reading Art without Writing: Interpreting Chimú Architectural Sculpture," *Studies in the History of Art* 74 (2009): 72-89.

⁶⁰ Gridley McKim-Smith, "Dressing Colonial, Dressing Diaspora," in *The Arts of Latin America 1492-1820*, ed. Joseph J. Rishel and Suzanne Stratton Pruitt (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 155-163.

⁶¹ See, among others, Dean, *Inka Bodies*; Isabael Iriarte "Las túnicas en la pintura colonial," in *Mito y simbolismo: la figura y la palabra*, ed. Henrike Urbano (Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos "Bartolomé de las Casas," 1993); Phipps, "Aspects of Nobility."

leaf, to oil paintings to enhance the luxury textiles worn by prominent religious figures in the scenes.⁶² These intricate gold patterns often completely blanket the surface of garments, giving them a striking luminosity. In dimly light interiors, the gold helped to guide the viewer's eye across the canvas to important details. Garments, as depicted in painting, can also provide critical clues to the types of textiles in circulation in colonial Peru, as well as the ways in which sumptuary laws prohibited certain ethnic groups from wearing specific fabrics.⁶³

Considering the changes in textile use and production in the colonial period, very few scholars have shifted their focus from the body to the space it inhabits, and to tapestries and textiles that decorate this space and its objects. The production, import, and rise in popularity of new categories of textiles, including bedcovers, curtains, window hangings, and rugs, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries prompts the consideration of textiles beyond garments. Noteworthy exceptions in scholarship do exist: Gabriela Ramos has examined the economy of early colonial tapestry production and the ethnic significance of textiles at this time.⁶⁴ Teresa Gisbert's *Arte textil y mundo andino* contains a small section on Spanish textiles workshops, as well as a classification system of colonial tapestry, which I evaluate in Chapter 2.⁶⁵ Maya Stanfield-Mazzi's extensive studies of altar cloths and other liturgical textiles thoroughly take

⁶² See José de Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña* (Lima: Fundación A.N. Wiese, 1982), 272; Oscar Flores Flores and Ligia Fernández Flores, "Pictorial Koineization in the Realms of the Spanish Monarchy," in *Pintura de los reinos*, 332; Pedro Querejazu, "Materials and Techniques of Andean Paintings," in *Gloria in Excelsis: The Virgin and Angels in Viceregal Painting of Peru and Bolivia*, ed. Barbara Duncan (New York: Center for Inter-American Relations, 1986), 78-82.

⁶³ Phipps, "Textiles as Cultural Memory: Andean Garments in the Colonial Period," *Converging Cultures*, 148-154.

⁶⁴ Gabriela Ramos, "Los tejidos en la sociedad colonial andina," *Colonial Latin American Review* 29:1 (April 2010): 115-149.

⁶⁵ Gisbert and Martha Cajías, *Arte textil*.

into account the dynamics of local labor and the influence of imported textiles.⁶⁶ Her primary focus on sacred realms has prompted my concentration on specifically non-liturgical textiles in domestic holdings, an overlooked category. However, it is important to note that fluidity existed in the movement of textiles between domestic and religious spaces. Women transported prayer rugs to church, and often textiles from domestic holdings were donated to church collections in final wills and testaments.

In addition to locally made products, international textiles that entered Peru through Atlantic, Pacific and intercontinental trade networks were also incredibly influential in the colonial Andes. Situated at the crossroads of numerous global interactions, viceregal Peru was a dynamic scene of global luxury, both in the circulation of international goods and ideas surrounding luxury and its manufacture. Recent scholarship on the ways in which global products coexisted in colonial systems of value and influenced local artistic production was particularly helpful to this project.⁶⁷ The exhibition *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500-1800* was groundbreaking in its focus on the exchange of textile motifs and techniques across far-reaching cultures in the early modern world. The exhibition provided a new and illuminating global context for several colonial Andean tapestries, including the tapestry that is the subject of Chapter 2.⁶⁸

This dissertation also considers the built environments of the colonial period, particularly the domestic spaces in which textiles were used and displayed. I argue that both indigenous and

⁶⁶ Stanfield-Mazzi, *Object and Apparition: Envisioning the Christian Divine in the Colonial Andes* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2013); “Weaving and Tailoring the Andean Church;” “The Possessor’s Agency,” 349.

⁶⁷ See Donna Pierce and Ronald Otsuka, eds., *At the Crossroads: The Arts of Spanish America and Early Global Trade, 1492-1850* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2012).

⁶⁸ Amelia Peck, ed., *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500-1800* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013).

European influences informed the organization and display of textiles in these spaces, as represented in archival documents, colonial accounts, and Cusco School painting. Brian Bauer, Lawrence Cohen, Nair, and John Staller provide models for understanding Inca spatial understanding and hierarchical construction, with mentions of textile use in Inca palaces and on shrines.⁶⁹ For the colonial period, Gustavo Curiel and Jorge Rivas describe the furnishings and activities that would have occupied domestic interiors across the colonial Americas.⁷⁰ The 2013 exhibition, *Behind Closed Doors: Art in the Spanish American Home, 1492-1898*, illuminated the various display methods used for luxury goods in colonial interiors.⁷¹ It demonstrated how tapestries would have been presented alongside furniture and other costly luxury goods that decorated various rooms of private residences across the colonial Americas. Studies of foreign textiles, particularly of Spanish tapestries and carpets and their manner of display, have also informed this study, as these products were heavily exported to the Americas and displayed in sacred and domestic settings.⁷²

⁶⁹ Brian Bauer, *The Sacred Landscape of the Inca: The Cusco Ceque System* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998); Lawrence Cohen, "Other Cuzcos: Replicated Theaters of Inca Power," in *Archaeology of Performance: Theaters of Power, Community, and Politics*, ed. Takeshi Inomata and Cohen (Lanham, MD: Altamira Press, 2006), 223-259; Nair, *At Home with the Sapa Inca*; John Edward Staller, "Dimensions of Place: The Significance of Center to the Development of Andean Civilization: An Exploration of the *Ushnu* Concept," in *Pre-Columbian Landscapes of Creation and Origin*, ed. Staller (New York: Springer, 2008), 269-313.

⁷⁰ Gustavo Curiel, "Ajuares domésticos: los rituales de lo cotidiano," in *Historia de la vida cotidiana en México, vol. 2: La ciudad barroca*, ed. Antonio Rubial García (Mexico City: Colegio de México, 2005), 81-108; Jorge F. Rivas Pérez, "Domestic Display in the Spanish Overseas Territories," in *Behind Closed Doors: Art in the Spanish American Home, 1492-1898*, ed. Richard Aste (New York: Brooklyn Museum, 2013), 48-103.

⁷¹ Richard Aste, ed., *Behind Closed Doors*.

⁷² Santiago Alcolea, *Ars Hispaniae: Historia universal del arte hispánico* (Madrid: Editorial Plus-Ultra, 1975); *Mueble español: estrado y dormitorio* (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, Consejería de Cultura, 1990); Jeanne Weeks and Donald Treganowan, *Rugs and Carpets of Europe and the Western World* (Philadelphia: Chilton Book Company, 1969); Enrique Henere, *Spanish Textiles* (Brighton: The Dolphin Press, 1955); Brown and J. H. Elliott, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

Historiography: Andean Painting

This dissertation focuses just as much on painting as it does on textiles. José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert's *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña* has served as a key reference for this project. A major contribution to the field, this two-volume encyclopedia of Cusco School artists was the first to extensively document and photograph paintings throughout the Andes, while also including iconographic trends, artist biographies and attributions.⁷³ It also includes a section of artist signatures, and uses iconographic analysis to draw conclusions about artist-apprentice relationships. Large survey texts by Juana Gutiérrez Haces and Jonathan Brown and Mujica Pinilla have also been useful in illuminating the distinct style of the Cusco School relative to painting in New Spain and other territories of the Spanish monarchy.⁷⁴ Sources specific to Basilio Pacheco and his artistic output are extremely limited. Mesa and Gisbert (1982) provide an overview of his oeuvre, while Sabine MacCormack (2010) impressively contextualizes the *Life of Saint Augustine* series within Augustinian literature of the period.⁷⁵

This dissertation also draws guidance from scholarship that seeks to reform the language used to discuss indigenous artists and their European sources. In her study of Spanish print sources in the Corpus Christi painting series of 1674-1680, Carolyn Dean refuses to consider the copying process as an inherently derivative one, and instead focuses on the ways in which indigenous elites used visual means to navigate contemporary politics.⁷⁶ Mesa and Gisbert suggest that instead of the verb “copiar” to describe artistic process, we should consider

⁷³ Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia*.

⁷⁴ Gutiérrez Haces and Brown, *Pintura de los reinos*; Mujica Pinilla, et al., eds., *El barroco peruano*, 2 vols (Lima: Banco del Crédito, 2002-2003).

⁷⁵ Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia*; Sabine MacCormack, “Poetics of Representation in Viceregal Peru: A Walk round the Cloister of San Agustín in Lima,” in *The Arts of South America 1492-1850*, ed. Donna Pierce (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2010), 89-118.

⁷⁶ Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*.

“responden,” as the paintings respond to the Flemish prints, instead of duplicating them.⁷⁷ The Project on the Engraved Sources of Spanish Colonial Art (PESSCA), directed by Almerindo Ojeda and informed by numerous art historians, encourages a new framework for this artistic relationship. The initiative describes Spanish colonial painting as forming a *correspondence*, either direct or indirect, with an engraving:

We will say that two works of art form a *correspondence* if one of them is the basis, the model, or the prototype for the other. Most of the correspondences in this project will consist of a European engraving and a Spanish Colonial piece...The only critical condition for placing them in correspondence is that one of them serve as a source for the other. Correspondence may be direct or indirect. A correspondence is *direct* if one of its members served as the immediate model of the other. A correspondence is *indirect* if there is a third work of art that mediates the influence of the one on the other.⁷⁸

In this undertaking, I aim to expand the narrative of the Cusco School to include more than correspondences between painting and prints. In the chapters that follow, I am less interested in tracing the European or indigenous leanings of individual Cusqueñan painters than in providing a new lens through which to examine paintings, prints and textiles.

Chapter Summaries

The distinct approaches in each chapter are deliberate, as one of the goals of this study is to show that colonial Andean textiles are best studied through a combination of materials and methodologies: the textiles themselves, the archival documents that describe them, artist contracts, print sources, and global influences involved in their production, and the contemporaneous paintings that illustrate them. Chapter 1 examines general trends in the behavior of local and imported textiles in Cusco, primarily relying upon their documentation in

⁷⁷ Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia*, 146.

⁷⁸ “What is a Correspondence?,” *Project on the Engraved Sources of Spanish Colonial Art (PESSCA)*, accessed May 10, 2012, <http://colonialart.org>.

the Cusco notary archive over a one hundred year span. I consider the diverse assortment of both local and global textile products, and the ways in which the archive both highlights and obscures the origins of textiles and textile accoutrements throughout the colonial period. Dispersed throughout the chapter are case studies of indigenous and locally produced textiles that evolved in material, function or appearance from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century. Lastly, I use archival documents to animate existing views of textile holdings in the domestic sphere, particularly in the sitting room, or *sala de estrado*, the prominent space for entertaining visitors and displaying luxury goods.

Chapter 2 is an object-based study of a complex colonial Andean tapestry in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Although the tapestry has been scrutinized by scholars since the 1930s, crucial components of its subject matter have long been misidentified until this study. I correct significant misunderstandings of the tapestry's iconography to demonstrate the power of global influences in its design and execution. In doing so, I provide insight into the opaque world of colonial Andean tapestry production, particularly the origins of motifs and their transmission and transformation by colonial weavers. A major revelation is the use of prints, particularly those found in emblem books, in tapestry production, as well as the influence of moral texts on artistic production in viceregal Cusco. Through my study of the tapestry, I demonstrate that the visual programs of colonial textiles were instrumental in communicating religious, moral, and cultural lessons, making these items far from merely decorative, utilitarian and background objects. The sophisticated layout of the tapestry suggests that textiles prompted close looking and playful interaction with their audiences. Tapestries such as this one were essential components of interior display and an owner's self-fashioned identity.

The second half of my dissertation moves from woven objects to their painted representations. Most discussions of Andean textiles and painting consider images of textiles as objects capable of offering clues to the types of cloth available and in use in Latin America.⁷⁹ Chapter 3 reverses this approach to allow textiles to inform images in paintings. Here, both the archive (Chapter 1) and colonial textiles (Chapter 1-2) facilitate the examination of illustrated textiles in a major painted series of the Cusco School: thirty-eight paintings of the Life of Saint Augustine, commissioned for the church of San Agustín in Lima, and painted by *mestizo* artist Basilio Pacheco in Cusco in 1742. Although based on a Flemish print series, the series makes many compositional departures, mainly in the numerous textiles that Pacheco places throughout the scenes. My detailed visual dissection of Pacheco's painted textiles reveals similarities with the motifs and structures of colonial period textiles produced in the Andes. In the series, representing textiles emerges as a major compositional strategy to enhance sacredness and maintain visual clarity throughout the scenes. These manipulations may also mirror colonial interiors, revealing understanding of indigenous and colonial spatial constructions. Lastly, I newly situate the series within the turbulent context of its commission by Augustinian authorities, challenging the historical understanding of Augustinians as benevolent patrons of the arts in colonial Cusco.

Chapter 4 resituates Pacheco's series within the Cusco School of painting, which by the 1740s was considered by scholars to have reached its apex. I first examine the indigenous antecedents for textile and spatial construction in the Andes, maintaining the belief that these they did not only precede colonial art making, but continued to inform it. I then trace the use of

⁷⁹ Scholarship on *casta* paintings has frequently taken this approach with regard to the garments of the subjects. See Dilys E. Blum, "Textiles in Colonial Latin America," in *The Arts in Latin America, 1492-1820*, 146-154; Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain: Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003); Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

textiles in Cusco School painting as a major artistic strategy, originating in the 1680s. Representing textiles was a key tactic in advertising painting as distinctively Cusqueñan, and helped promote the Cusco School as a major artistic center in the viceregal Americas. The manipulation of textiles in the scenes of Pacheco and other Andean artists thus reflects their sophisticated use of representational strategies, as well as their skilled navigation of the colonial South American art market. After challenging traditional explanations for the evolution of the Cusco School, I use textiles to rewrite the narrative of Andean painting. This exercise in examining the Cusco School through its evolving depiction of textiles provides a more nuanced understanding of indigeneity in viceregal Peru. I consider the commitment to textile illustration as less as an expression of the indigenous heritage of the artists and more as a commercial archetype utilized by indigenous artists of the Cusco School. By revealing the kaleidoscopic connections of textiles, prints, paintings, and architectural interiors, I offer a new, multi-faceted view of textile primacy, artistic production, and indigenous representation in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Cusco.

CHAPTER ONE

Textiles in Private Collections in Cusco, 1650-1750

Angelina Sisa, a seventeenth-century indigenous woman from the parish of San Cristóbal in Cusco, had both a wardrobe and a home filled with a variety of textile types and materials. Her 1663 will features an assortment of garments and household textiles of a variety of types: pieces of *ruan* (a linen from Rouen, France) to make sleeves and an umbrella, a skirt of *sempiterno* (a thick imported wool used to make skirts and dresses), a green underskirt of *palmilla* wool from Cuenca, Spain, and two shirts, one of wool, most likely from the Andean highlands, and the other with silk embroidery. Another of her skirts is embroidered with thread dyed with cochineal, made from dried and crushed cactus-dwelling insects native to the Americas. In addition to garments, she also owned several blankets, a floor runner, and a bedspread of natural colors. More than half of the textiles in her will are listed with Quechua names, including an upholstered *ñañaca* (head covering), *acso* (dress), *lliclla* (mantel), and *chusi* (also, *chuse*, meaning rug or runner).¹ The use of Quechua to indicate garment types reflects her indigenous heritage, as well as the continued popularity of indigenous textiles into the seventeenth century.

Although Sisa's will also lists several other goods, textiles make up the majority of her possessions, at least those valued enough to be listed in her will. Similarly, textiles dominate the pages of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Peruvian inventories, dowries, receipts between merchants, and appraisals. Occasionally these documents indicate the prices of woven goods, either in *pesos* or *reales*, revealing their monetary value in comparison with artworks of different media, including painting, sculpture, silver, furniture, and jewelry. In almost all cases, textiles,

¹ ARC, Juan Bastidas de Flores, 1663, Prot. 111, f. 120v-121r.

silver, and jewelry are assigned the highest prices and given the most detailed written attention in archival documents. The significance of the meticulously detailed descriptions of textile holdings will be the focus on this chapter.

Textiles, in particular, emerge as a worthwhile category of study in archival documents because of their consistent importance throughout Peru since the second millennium BC. Even with the introduction of other art forms, like painting, in the colonial period, textiles maintained a privileged position as luxury goods. As Sisa's will and those of others demonstrate, colonial Andeans owned a vast variety of textiles, either to adorn their bodies or their living spaces. While scholars have pointed to the diversity of colonial collections,² few have turned an eye to the intricacies of Andean textile collections and the significance of their meticulous descriptions and signifiers, geographic and other.

What emerges as most notable about Sisa's possessions is that they include an eclectic mix of both locally and internationally produced fabrics, with place names and other indicators that specify their origin. Sometimes the origins of these objects are not geographic in nature, but instead point to a history of inheritance. For example, Sisa's *chusi* is labeled as her husband's, and is the only object in her will specifically noted to be inherited besides a bed frame. Bed frames were also highly valued objects in wills and inventories. Mention of Sisa's husband may indicate the textile's worth in another network of value: familial importance. A close analysis of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Peruvian notary documents reveals the complexities of these two intersecting systems of monetary and cultural value.

² The following studies consider diverse colonial holdings, but not with a specific eye to textiles: Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn, "Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America," *Colonial Latin American Review* 12:1 (2003): 5-35; Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, "The Possessor's Agency: Private Art Collecting in the Colonial Andes," *Colonial Latin American Review* 18:3 (2009): 339-364; Frank Salomon, "Andean Opulence: Indigenous Ideas about Wealth in Colonial Peru," in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestry and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, ed. Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht, and Cristina Esteras Martín (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 114-129.

This chapter will explore textile goods in viceregal Peru as the products of both local artistic practice *and* global early modern trade, with an emphasis, although not exclusive, on non-garment textiles. I will begin by analyzing textile holdings from ethnically diverse middle- and upper-class families in Cusco, the seat of the Inca Empire, where an indigenous aristocracy had grown considerably larger since the Conquest. Through a wide sample of previously unpublished archival documents dated to 1650-1750, I will identify several main trends in domestic textile collections that reveal the consequences of the international textile trade. I will use these documents to illustrate the ways in which local and global products coexisted in private households and how different fabrics were valued over time.

However, this study is far from purely an archival pursuit. Embedded throughout the chapter are case studies of specific textile categories and selected artworks that illuminate significant textile trends in the colonial period. Like their corresponding descriptions in archival sources, these woven objects can also be read as documents for evidence of Andean beliefs and customs. This approach encourages the reading of textiles alongside other circulating visual and textual forms to determine how textiles were produced, valued, and used as a strategy of display in the colonial Andes. While the focus of this chapter is Cusco, occasional reference will be made, by means of comparison, to the private holdings of a similar cross-section of individuals in Lima, the capital of the Spanish viceroyalty.³

1.1 Diversity in Colonial Textile Holdings

Although the long history of textiles in the Andes certainly informed their colonial existence, the unique circumstances of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries dictate a specific

³ The indigenous and mixed-race population of Cusco was much higher than that of Lima.

type of analysis. To begin, a necessary focus is the resonance of other cultural textile traditions—both European and Asian—and their interaction with pre-existing Andean ones. As demonstrated by Sisa’s collection of indigenous and imported fabrics, this type of study requires both global and local lenses of analysis. It is also important to caution against presentism, as the eclectic nature of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century textile holdings may seem particularly noteworthy to a contemporary eye. Instead, we must consider how seventeenth- and eighteenth-century populations understood textiles and whether the diversity of fabrics, embellishments and textiles types were notably diverse.⁴

Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn evaluate the effectiveness of “hybridity” as a framework for the collision and merger of two artistic cultures after the Spanish Conquest. They challenge the idea that artistic diversity, particularly in colonial period collections, is noteworthy:

Because cultures are collective, they are inherently heterogeneous. Millennia of travel and trade have insured that mixing and interaction is the norm; examples of truly isolated societies are rare in the extreme. Yet in every society certain mixtures become naturalized over time, losing their visibility and potency as mixtures, while others continue to be marked as such. The latter apparently disclose signs of their disparate origins; they stand out from the norm and seem to require acknowledgement, if not also explanation. They also require naming. Recently the term “hybrid” has been used.⁵

Dean and Leibsohn highlight the inconsistent visibility of diversity in colonial artworks and architectural structures, which occasionally “disclose signs” of their origins and other times do not. This assessment of heterogeneous cultures rings true for colonial documents and the ways in which they highlight and obscure diversity. As Dean and Leibsohn suggest, instead of viewing artworks as hybrid objects, we should instead look to the diversity of practices inherent in their

⁴ It is important to note that the eclectic nature of collections in the early modern period is not unique to the Americas. European collections of curiosities contained an abundance of objects from all over the world—a material domination of the far reaches of the empire, as some have argued.

⁵ Dean and Leibsohn “Hybridity and Its Discontents,” 5.

manufacture and use. In this vein, I will examine the global textile trade that led to diverse textile collections, as well as the display and use of textiles in domestic spaces in the colonial Andes. This examination of not only textile objects but also the *making* of their diversity will lead to a better understanding of the types of materials in circulation in colonial Peru and of the value systems that led to their use in private residences. In doing so, I will expose the complicated structure and inconsistent nature of colonial archives. The documents in these archives both highlight and veil diversity, revealing hierarchies, both cultural and economic, of artworks of diverse materials and origins.

1.2 Colonial *Cumbi*: From Garment to Tapestry

Between 1640 and 1670, textile holdings of middle- and upper-class Peruvian women of a variety of ethnicities had several commonalities. Frequently used fabrics were cotton and wool, likely alpaca fiber, usually in blacks, whites, and natural colors. Sisa's will is typical of that of an indigenous elite of the period in the numerous wool objects listed: a head covering (*ñañaca*) of fine black wool, a wool shirt, and a bedspread of natural colors, likely of alpaca fiber.⁶ Her holdings are also typical of the decades of the 1640s to 1670s in that an occasional item has upholstery, usually with silk, or embroidery made with cochineal thread, but the majority of items do not have them, or are not described as having such accoutrements. It is not until the turn of the century when garments and household textiles begin to be adorned with gold and silver embroidery, fringes, ribbons, sashes, and buttons decorated with different fabrics and threads.

Textile holdings of the mid-seventeenth century typically included items from a multiplicity of origins. For example, it is clear from the description of Sisa's *ruan*—in *piezas*

⁶ ARC, Juan Bastidas de Flores, 1663, Prot. 111, f. 121r.

(pieces)—that she owned a quantity of this imported linen that she would then presumably commission locally, in her case, to make sleeves or an umbrella. However, often the exact location of the tailoring is unclear. Her skirt of imported *sempiterno* could have been fashioned in Spain, or assembled from fragments and embroidered with cochineal thread by a local seamstress in Cusco. These details are not always included in archival materials and present a complicated view of textile production and value in colonial Peru. What *is* evident, due to its frequent inclusion in archival documents, is the value associated with an object or material's origin. Due to the surge in international trade in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a fabric's origin could be far-reaching: Asia, Europe, the Middle East, or from distant points within the Americas. Wills, inventories, appraisals, and dowries of this period are peppered with international goods, in addition to locally produced materials, which rose in abundance after 1680.

Sisa's holdings actually include few diverse textiles compared to wills and inventories of the eighteenth century. Global exports do not appear in excessive numbers until the end of the seventeenth century, when the majority of items in textile holdings are constructed from more than one material, each often with a different geographic origin. While in the seventeenth century, textile diversity can be assessed per collection (ex: a skirt of Spanish wool; a shirt of French linen), by the eighteenth century each textile item was an accretion of local and foreign elements. By this time, garments and household textiles were accumulations of various luxury materials: fabrics, laces, dyes, trim, ribbons, sashes, threads, buttons, and other additions from a multiplicity of international origins. The international textile aesthetic in Peru was even more pronounced in Lima, as it had a larger import market in addition to a larger Spanish and Creole population thirsty for international products.

Despite the influx of imported luxury textiles, certain locally produced fabrics, like some of Sisa's wool textiles, persevere in popularity alongside international products into the late eighteenth century. The most prominent example, and a main focus of this dissertation, is *cumbi*, a Quechua word for a finely woven tapestry cloth made from the highest quality alpaca fibers. *Cumbi* was a luxury textile in the Inca Empire, where state officials heavily regulated the production, use, and design of *cumbi* garments and other *cumbi* textiles.⁷ A select group of weavers was tasked with the production of this textile in the Inca period: *acllas* and *mamaconas*, women who were typically stationed in an Inca center, along with *cumbicamayos*, men who stayed in their respective hometowns.⁸ The Inca enforced strict standards with respect to garment decoration and thread material, and only the Inca ruler or people who received gifts from him were said to be able to wear *cumbi* cloth. *Cumbi* garments and blankets were also given as gifts of loyalty and rewards to those who relocated under the *m'ita* (work relocation) system. This type of textile also had an important ritual function for the Inca state. The Inca used *cumbi* to adorn natural altars and sacred sites in the landscape called *huacas*, as well as to wrap mummy bundles for burial.⁹

The 1532 Spanish Conquest of Peru significantly changed the Inca weaving tradition. Inca weavers and their descendants continued to work into the colonial period, but were put to work on new projects for the Catholic Church and private Spanish patrons. Pre-Conquest roles were transformed in the colonial period, as European conventions dictated that weaving was

⁷ Major sources on *cumbi* include: John Murra, "Cloth and Its Function in the Inca State," *American Anthropologist* 64.4 (1962): 710-728; Phipps, "Cumbi to Tapestry: Collection, Innovation, and Transformation of the Colonial Andean Tapestry Tradition," in *The Colonial Andes*, 72-99; Karen B. Graubart, "Weaving and the Construction of a Gender Division of Labor in Early Colonial Peru," *American Indian Quarterly* 24:4 (2000): 545; Catherine Julien, "Spanish Use of Inca Textile Standards," *Indiana* 16 (2000): 73-74; Jorge Zevallos Quiñones, "La ropa tributo de las encomiendas trujillanas en el siglo XVI," *Historia y Cultura* 7 (1973): 116-117.

⁸ Graubart, "Weaving and the Construction of a Gender Division of Labor," 541.

⁹ Phipps, "Cumbi to Tapestry," 72-99; Murra, "Cloth and Its Function in the Inca State," 710-728.

female work. Although the Spaniards recognized the male weaver so much as to exploit his labor, the profession ultimately became viewed as a feminine one in the decades after the Conquest.¹⁰ Looms, sheep's wool, and metallic threads arrived from Spain, while new textile products like silks entered from Asia. As a result, many colonial Peruvian textiles combine Inca, European and Asian motifs, materials and techniques.¹¹

The arrival of the Spaniards also altered the Inca taxation system, but there is some evidence to suggest that they followed some Inca precedents in the decades following the conquest. The exchange of tribute clothing undoubtedly changed in the early colonial period, as Spaniards did not require large amounts of fine cloth for royal or ritual purposes. Instead, cloth was distributed as payment for services rendered or through market sale.¹² In the later colonial period, *cumbi* was made on commission, a process in which the customer, including both European and indigenous patrons, could specify design.¹³ While garments were the most important woven items for the Inca, new categories of textiles emerged in Peru in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Influenced by Spanish tastes, tapestries became a popular textile format, and were displayed prominently in homes and churches. Some of the earliest colonial *cumbi* tapestries commissioned by Spaniards had royal coats of arms.¹⁴ Colonial

¹⁰ Graubart explains that female weavers were not regarded as talented artisans, but rather as “weavers by default and by nature” due to their gender: “Weaving and the Construction of a Gender Division of Labor,” 545.

¹¹ Phipps, “Cumbi to Tapestry,” 72.

¹² Most scholarship on colonial *cumbi* centers on the decades immediately following the conquest. For example, see Catherine Julien, “Spanish Use of Inca Textile Standards,” *Indiana* 16 (2000): 73-74; Zevallos Quiñones, “La ropa tribute,” 116-117.

¹³ Ann Rowe, “Technical Features of Inca Tapestry Tunics,” *Textile Museum Journal* 17 (1978): 6.

¹⁴ As documented by Graubart, the Jesuit priest Bernabé Cobo describes the production of Spanish coats of arms by indigenous weavers: “Weaving and the Construction of a Gender Division of Labor,” 559, fn. 21. Also see Cobo’s *History of the Inca Empire* [1653], ed. Roland Hamilton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979).

weavers also used their skills for the production of *cumbi* bedcovers, table covers, rugs, wall hangings, and other pieces to meet colonial needs.

The behavior of *cumbi* is particularly significant to our understanding of the evolution of textile holdings from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries. Through this material we can begin to see the ways in which local and international textiles coexisted in the colonial Andes. Into the seventeenth century, mentions of *cumbi* garments become less and less frequent in archival documents, presumably because European fashion trends influenced local patterns of dress. *Cumbi* does, however, consistently appear in wills and inventories as a non-garment textile, especially in the first half of the eighteenth century. Between 1650 and 1760, archival documents make mention of *cumbi* in multiple forms: as *sobrecamas* (bedspreads), *pabellones* (bed canopies), *chusi* (runners), and cushions. One notable exception is a *cumbi* poncho mentioned in the will of Don Mathias de Urrutía, from the province of Quispicanchi in the Cusco region. His holdings include “dos ponchos, uno de cumbe y otro bordado” (two ponchos, one of *cumbi* and the other embroidered) and “una bolsa de cumbe rica tejido con hilado de oro y plata de todo colores” (a colorful *cumbi* bag finely woven with gold and silver thread) used to hold two surplices.¹⁵ These items are rare in holdings of the period, and their mention here may be due in part to Don Mathias’s location in the provinces of Cusco, which may have had access to fewer imported goods than the city center.

In church collections, *cumbi* and other camelid tapestries were used as rugs and altar cloths in the sixteenth century. These correspond to an early phase of the colonial textile industry in Peru between 1548 and 1577 during which Spain encouraged textile production in *obrajes*

¹⁵ ARC, Ambrocio Arias de Lira, 1759, Prot. 33, f. 46v-47r.

(local workshops).¹⁶ However, by the mid-seventeenth century, *cumbi* tapestries largely disappeared from church interiors. Maya Stanfield-Mazzi suggests that sixteenth-century tapestries, still used in churches into the seventeenth century, were deaccessioned at this time due to old age. She also points to the growing European export market, which may have caused these pieces to be replaced with fine imported silks.¹⁷ Church interiors at this time often featured Flemish-style velvet wall hangings and Italian, Spanish, and Chinese silk brocade altar frontals. Other less costly liturgical textiles included frontals and garments made from *lama* (lamé), a shiny fabric woven with gold and silver threads.¹⁸

In domestic spaces, *cumbi* exhibits markedly distinct behavior, suggesting church and private textile collections had divergent paths in this period. Between 1640 and 1700, *cumbi* appears only sporadically as a garment in wills and inventories, but at the turn of the century, archival mentions of it significantly increase as a non-garment textile. The resurgence of this textile in the eighteenth century in private holdings marks a distinct path from its disappearance from church archives. This phenomenon departs from its behavior in the European market. Taken in great numbers back to Spanish collections, these tapestries were especially popular in the European market in the sixteenth century, although their popularity apparently slowed by the turn of the century.¹⁹

¹⁶ Neus Escandell Tur, *Producción y comercio de tejidos coloniales. Los obrajes y chorrillos del Cusco, 1570-1820* (Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos “Bartolomé de Las Casas,” 1997), 253, 299; Fernando Silva Santisteban, *Los obrajes en el virreinato del Perú* (Lima: Museo Nacional de Historia, 1964), 21-29.

¹⁷ Stanfield-Mazzi, “Weaving and Tailoring the Andean Church: Textile Ornaments and Their Makers in Colonial Peru,” *The Americas: A Quarterly Review of Latin American History* 72.1 (2015): 83-84; Gabriela Ramos, “Los tejidos en la sociedad colonial andina,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 29:1 (2010): 115-149.

¹⁸ Stanfield-Mazzi, “Weaving and Tailoring the Catholic Church,” 82.

¹⁹ Peter Cherry, “Seventeenth-century Spanish taste,” in *Collections of Paintings in Madrid, 1601-1755*, ed. Marcus Burke and Peter Cherry (Los Angeles: Provenance Index of the Getty Information Institute, 1997).

To examine this phenomenon in Cusco, it is useful to take a closer look at how *cumbi* is described in archival documents. Descriptions of this textile almost always include adjectives that describe its age and condition: *nuevo* (new), *viejo* (old), *traido* (worn out), and *ordinario* (ordinary). Importantly, these indicators of age are often used to describe only the *cumbi* items in the collection and not the other imported or locally produced pieces, suggesting there was a value associated with the lifespan of this textile. *Cumbi* also appears in notarial documents with a very limited palette: *de colores* (colored), *blanco* or *negro* (white or black), *entre blanco y negro* (a mix of the two), or *musco* (dark brownish-gray), indicating that it was continuing to be largely produced with natural dyes and fibers.²⁰

Into the 1750s, new *cumbi* pieces appear in archival documents, suggesting they were still being actively produced.²¹ The 1745 will of Don Francisco Muños lists several *cumbi* items: a small *cumbi* tablecloth, two blankets and a bedspread of *cumbi*, and four *cumbis* older than the others (una sobremesa chiquita de cumbe; dos frazadas y una sobrecama de cumbe; cuatro *cumbis* mayores que otros).²² The emphasis on the age and condition of the *cumbi* pieces, referred to as “mayores que otros,” indicate that the time of their production might correlate with their value. Typically textiles described as old or worn have lower monetary values in archival documents, but *cumbi* is a notable exception. A *cumbi* item’s old age does not necessarily lower its monetary value significantly. Instead, the age of *cumbi* may have contributed to its familial

²⁰ The Real Academia Española defines *musco* as “pardo oscuro,” or a dark brownish-gray color: “Musco,” accessed January 19, 2017, <http://www.rae.es>.

²¹ Thomas B. F. Cummins suggests that like *cumbi*, *keros* and *aquillas* also continued to be manufactured and valued in the colonial period: “Let Me See! Reading Is for Them: Colonial Andean Images and Objects ‘como es costumbre tener los caciques señores,’” in *Native Traditions in the Postconquest World*, ed. Elizabeth Boone and Cummins (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998), 116.

²² ARC, Juan Bautista Gamarra, 1745, Prot. 132, f. 178v-179r.

value, especially if it had been passed down through the generations. The value of inheritance may have been considered equal if not more important to its monetary value.

Archival documents also provide illuminating clues as to the colonial uses of *cumbi*. The dowry of Doña Francisca de Torres y Escalante includes a *pabellón* and *sobrecama* of *cumbi* (bed canopy and bedspread), valued at one hundred pesos. Along with a set of candlesticks and *un vestido negro de mujer de damasco* (a black dress of damask) these items are the most expensive items in the dowry.²³ Numerous other *cumbi* bedspreads appear in documents between the 1650s and 1750s. A 1749 inventory includes not only a bedspread and *cumbi nuevo* (new *cumbi*) but also an *espaldar* (upholstered headboard or chair back) of *cumbi*.²⁴ Doña Letrona de Miranda's 1751 inventory also features an old *cumbi* curtain with accompanying wall hanging (*una cortina de cumbe viejo con su espaldar de lo mismo*).²⁵ These examples show the multitude of sizes of household *cumbi*, ranging from a chair back to a bedspread.

Archival descriptions correspond with several smaller-scale *cumbi* tapestries in museum collections today. These pieces, much smaller than a wall hanging or table cloth, once stumped scholars who believed they were *ñañacas*, made up of a piece of *cumbi* folded over a stiff board (Figure 1).²⁶ All share two main characteristics: they are rectangular and have a row of holes along one edge, usually with embroidery to reinforce the edges. Instead of head coverings, these tapestry-woven panels were likely fastened to chair backs. The inventories of eighteenth-century private residences help to clear up this misunderstanding, as they include specific reference to

²³ ARC, Juan Flores de Bastidas, 1650, Prot. 101, f. 405r.

²⁴ ARC, Juan Bautista Gamarra, 1749, Prot. 135, folio unknown (top of pages deteriorated). The RAE defines *espaldar* as “Respaldo de una silla o banco; Colgaduras de tapicería, largas y angostas, que se colocaban en las paredes, a manera de frisos, para arrimar a ellas las espaldas.” Context clues are needed to determine if the *espaldar* is a chair backing, wall hanging, or upholstered headboard of a bed.

²⁵ ARC, Juan Bautista Gamarra, 1751, Prot. 135, f. 358v.

²⁶ Phipps, “Garments and Identity,” 336.

the fabric types used for this purpose. Although imported fabrics are more typical, several inventories from the 1750s include *cumbi espaldar* for the main *estrado* (sitting room) of the house. The 1749 appraisal of the goods of Don Pedro Nolasco de Bejar includes a *cumbi* chair back valued at fifteen pesos, the most expensive non-garment textile in the document.²⁷ Larger *cumbi* tapestries were also repurposed for colonial furniture, such as the nineteenth-century couch in the convent of Santa Catalina in Arequipa (Figure 2).²⁸ The eighteenth-century *cumbi* tapestry, once likely a rug, bedspread, or table cover, was reused in this example as upholstery. The central red ground with its imitation lace border nicely accentuates the couch back and bottom cushion. Like this example, *cumbi* tapestry pieces continued to be used and repurposed throughout the colonial period, and to have consistently high monetary values listed in private holdings.

Examining the behavior of tapestry-woven textiles throughout the colonial period comes with some challenges. For example, identifying *cumbi* in colonial collections is not always straightforward. One of the difficulties of assessing the continued value and use of this class of textiles is that the definition of *cumbi* evolved over the course of the colonial period. What emerges from archival study is that the *cumbi* items listed in wills and inventories do not always refer to fine tapestry-woven cloth, executed in the Inca tradition. Instead, the word came to be a general designator of any luxury cloth, which could include high quality European fabrics.²⁹ A 1665 dowry from Cusco includes *un peinador de cumbe* (a dressing gown of *cumbi*), valued at

²⁷ ARC, Juan Bautista Gamarra, 1749-1752, Prot. 135, folio unknown (page deteriorated). For comparison, the rug (*alfombra*) was valued at 12p and the *chusi* for the *estrado* at 8p.

²⁸ Phipps, "Cumbi to Tapestry," 95.

²⁹ Phipps, "Garments and Identity," 21.

twenty pesos.³⁰ It is highly unlikely that a dressing gown would be of tapestry-woven wool, so it is more probable that *cumbi* here is actually silk or another imported luxury textile. A 1733 inventory provides more insight on the changing meaning of *cumbi* over the colonial period. The mentioned goods include a trunk containing *un cumbe de seda* (a silk *cumbi*) and *lizo sin acabar* (unfinished silk skeins).³¹ This example explicitly describes *cumbi* as a non-camelid fiber textile, signaling its transformation in the eighteenth century as a designator of high quality, not of fiber material. We also have to wonder if, although not specifically indicated, the bed canopy and curtain in the previous inventories were perhaps instead of a non-*cumbi* fabric. The size and orientation of the motifs of these pieces would give us a better idea of their material makeup and use, but unfortunately the archives do not typically provide this information.

Case Study: *Chusi* and *Alfombra*

One category of textile that is interrelated to *cumbi* is the *chusi* (also, *chuse*). The 1608 Quechua dictionary by Diego González Holguín lists *chusi* with *apa*, defining it as a “frazada muy gruesa” (thick blanket). *Apa* however, is later defined as “cobija de la cama, frazada, manta o colcha” (bedding, blanket, or bedspread).³² From archival documents it is clear that a *chusi* is a thick woven mat, used as a rug, runner (for the floor or a bench), or as *un chuse de tapar la cama* (a bed covering).³³ Between 1664 and 1751, *chusi* consistently appear in wills, inventories, and dowries in both natural and bright colors. Most *chusi* were made of *cumbi*, and these two

³⁰ ARC, Juan Bastidas de Flores, 1665, Prot. 111, f. 124r.

³¹ ARC, Pedro Joseph Gamarra, 1733, Prot. 150, f. 543v.

³² Diego González Holguín, *Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Peru llamada lengua qquichua, o del Inca* [1608], ed. Raúl Barrenechea (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1952), 111; Stanfield-Mazzi describes *chusi* as an Aymara term for a “thick blanket” and indicates its use in church inventories in the southern Andes: “Weaving and Tailoring the Catholic Church,” 82.

³³ ARC, Gregorio Basquez Serrano, 1712, Prot. 59, f. 102r.

categories are often very intertwined in archival documents: *dos chuse de cumbi nuevos* (1703; two new chusi of cumbi); *un chuse grande manera de cumbe del colores* (1714; a large colorful chusi in the form of cumbi); *dos chuses de colores de cumbi* (1725; two colorful cumbi chusi).³⁴ A popular non-garment textile, the *chusi* is often listed with an accompanying rug, indicating their placement in the home. A 1737 listing includes *un chusi grande entre negro, blanco y musgo, y otra alfombrita* (a large chusi half white and half dark brownish-gray, and a small rug).³⁵ Often these pieces are specifically listed as located in the *estrado*, such as the *chuse de cumbe de estrado de colores* (colorful cumbi chusi for the sitting room) in the 1712 dowry of Doña Manuela de Saabedra Suniesa.³⁶

Significantly, there are no imported *chusi*; this is a local textile type that persists throughout the colonial period, despite imported rugs and other items. In this manner, the *chusi* represents a unique textile category: an indigenous form that persisted despite global textile influence. In the Andean highlands today, many families own *chusi* that have been passed down from a previous generation. In the highland community of Chillca, a small Quechua-speaking community on the south side of Ausangate, *chusi* is the word used for a coarse, alpaca-fiber mat used for sitting on the ground or covering a bed.³⁷ The use of this textile type in present-day Andean communities attests to its importance over the centuries.

Given its distinct name in archival documents, the *chusi* is clearly different from the *alfombra* (rug) in shape, material, and location of fabrication. Imported pile rugs, most

³⁴ ARC, Cristóbal de Bustamante, 1703, Prot. 63, f. 205v; ARC, Alejo Fernandez Escudero, 1714, Prot. 95, f. 788v; ARC, Francisco Maldonado, 1725, Prot. 213, f. 344r.

³⁵ ARC, Ambrocio Arias de Lira, 1737, Prot. 24 f. 24r.

³⁶ ARC, Gregorio Basquez Serrano, 1712, Prot. 59, f. 30v.

³⁷ I thank Allison Caine for facilitating my conversations with Chillca residents on this topic.

frequently from Spain, were described as *alfombras*, while *chusi* was the term reserved for a locally made product. Not all rugs were imported items at this time. In addition to foreign markets, *obrajes* (textile factories) across the Andes manufactured pile and tapestry rugs in the colonial period. The 1745 will of Francisco Muños includes two rugs from Cotabambas, a region roughly 150 miles to the south of Cusco, as well as a bed canopy from Cajamarca, over 600 miles to the north.³⁸ The transport of these items to Cusco would have been no easy journey over the arduous paths of the Andes mountains. Despite their Peruvian origins, these products might have not registered as local products to Cusco patrons and thus may have been considered just as exotic and foreign as European and Asian imports. The varied holdings of these Cusco residents challenge what we perceive as local and foreign in the colonial period.

An imported rug that was inevitably viewed as very foreign is the *alfombra cairina* (Cairene rug, or rug from Cairo, Egypt), which appears throughout wills and inventories from Cusco and Lima in the first half of the eighteenth century. This class of carpet was consistently very large—eight or nine *varas* (roughly a meter) in length—and is typically described as matching the size of the sitting room.³⁹ The will of a Spaniard in Lima in 1700 includes an *alfombra cairina* of 9½ *varas* by 4¼ *varas* for the astonishing price of 650 pesos (una alfombra cairina de nueve varas y media largo y de ancho cuatro varas y cuarta). By comparison, the rug is only valued at 150 pesos less than a female slave listed in the document (una negra nombrada Geronima criolla en la edad de veinte años poco mas menos, 800p), and as several hundred pesos more than two child slaves.⁴⁰

³⁸ ARC, Juan Bautista Gamarra, 1745, Prot. 132, f. 179r. Bed canopies from Cajamarca are a popular item in colonial holdings.

³⁹ For example, see: ARC, Alejo Fernandez Escudero, 1720, Prot. 101, f. 411r; ARC, Francisco Maldonado, 1725, Prot. 213, f. 343r; ARC, Pedro Joseph Gamarra, 1733, Prot. 150, f. 542v.

These unsettling monetary comparisons demonstrate the extraordinary price of these textiles, which were often considered more valuable than human lives. Although the worth of the *alfombra cairina* is clear, we have to question its degree of foreignness. It is uncertain whether this product was actually from Cairo, a major center for carpet production from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. The Cairene rug typically had a large central polygonal medallion, surrounded by tiny octagonal and star shapes in crowded clusters. They were widely exported across southern Europe and appear in numerous French, German, Italian, and Spanish inventories from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, where they are sometimes described as Turkish rugs from Cairo. The Medici family famously owned two Cairene carpets, dating to 1623. Carpet production continued in Egypt after the 1517 Ottoman conquest with a marked change in artistic style to incorporate more floral motifs. Recent scholarship has also suggested that many Turkish rugs were actually woven in Cairo, or by Egyptian weavers in Turkey.⁴¹ Egypt is also renowned for the Mamluk carpet featuring a central medallion and surrounding geometric motifs, which is considered one of the finest in the world.

It is also possible that the *alfombra cairina* was an Islamic-style carpet made in Spain that used the Egyptian Fustat knot.⁴² The earliest of these Fustat pile carpets were made from the seventh to ninth centuries in Fustat, near Cairo, the center of the government at that time. They characteristically used a technique of a single warp with offset knotting, which made its way to

⁴⁰ AGN, Juan Beltran, 1700, Prot. 130, f. 102r.

⁴¹ Peter Stone, *Oriental Rugs: An Illustrated Lexicon of Motifs, Materials, and Origins* (Rutland, Vermont: Tuttle Publishing, 2013).

⁴² Gustavo Curiel, "Ajuares domésticos: los rituales de lo cotidiano," in *Historia de la vida cotidiana en México, vol. 2: La ciudad barroca*, ed. Antonio Rubial García (Mexico City: Colegio de México, 2005), 82. Although this study examines domestic luxury goods in colonial Mexico, it is useful for identifying the often obscure names of imported goods across the Americas.

Spain between the eighth and tenth centuries.⁴³ Although the Spanish carpet industry was most robust prior to the sixteenth century, major centers continued to thrive, including Andalusia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and Cuenca into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Carpets from these cities combined Middle Eastern, Chinese and European influences, and frequently incorporated armorial motifs in the central field. They were widely popular across Europe and the New World throughout the early modern period.⁴⁴ The *alfombra cairina* as it appears in Peruvian archives could have been one of these products. It could have been made in Egypt or Turkey, and then transported to Peru via Spain. Conversely, it may have been a Spanish rug produced in the Egyptian style. We should also not rule out the possibility that the product was locally produced by Andean weavers imitating Egyptian, Turkish, or Spanish designs.

Another category of rug that receives considerable attention in notary documents is the *alfombrita para la iglesia*, or small church rug. Although nowhere nearly as large and valuable as the Cairo rug, this personal rug would have been carried to church for use on the floor during mass. Archival documents provide little description of its fibers or color schemes, simply labeling it an *alfombrita del iglesia* or *alfombrita de ir a misa*. A 1720 appraisal of the goods of a captain in Lima describes his prayer rug as a yard-and-a-half in size (fifty-four inches) (*alfombrita de iglesia de vara y media*), thereby providing an idea of the rough measurements of this type of object.⁴⁵ Its size indicates that it was a portable object, demonstrating the movement of certain household textiles from the domestic to the sacred realm. Although typically not exceedingly costly objects in inventories, it did have social significance, demonstrated by its

⁴³ Michael Franses, "A Museum of Masterpieces: Iberian and East Mediterranean Carpets in the Museum of Islamic Art, Doha," *Hali* 155 (2008): 72-89.

⁴⁴ Carol Bier, "Approaches to Understanding Oriental Carpets," *Arts of Asia* 26:1 (1996): 71.

⁴⁵ AGN, Francisco de Taboada, 1720, Prot. 996, f. 262r.

inclusion in prohibitive textile laws. In 1622 the Lima city council encouraged the viceroy to pass an ordinance banning the use of prayer rugs and cushions in churches by black and mulatto women. These laws even extended into the private sphere, as the council even advocated harsh punishment for the use of a dais at home by non-Spanish women.⁴⁶

More often than not, sumptuary laws regulated the dress of indigenous and mestizo citizens of the viceregal Americas. In the colonial Andes, native women were prohibited from wearing an abundance of silk, lace and precious stones. Except during sanctioned festivals, the Spanish also forbade the use of Inca-style garments, as they were considered potentially subversive symbols of the fallen Inca Empire. We typically think of sumptuary laws as only concerning garments; however, household textiles were equally susceptible to these rules. Spanish and Creole elites used home furnishings to demonstrate their social status, ignoring the numerous *pragmáticas* (laws) that prohibited lavish shows of wealth in both public and private settings.⁴⁷ During festive social occasions, families used a *mostrador*, a constructed stepped desk on which to display the family's most costly dishes and other pieces of precious metals and stone. Expensive textiles would have covered this piece of furniture, in addition to tables, walls, and floors during banquets and parties.⁴⁸ Due to their inclusion in sumptuary laws, these prayer rugs could have been quite lavish, but we do not know if they were typically of local or foreign manufacture. Although archival documents do not reveal the materials of the prayer rugs, we may presume that their public handling, in transit between the home and the church, gave them a heightened visibility, which made them susceptible to these regulations.

⁴⁶ Frederick Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650* (Stanford: University Press, 1974), 311.

⁴⁷ Jorge Rivas, "Domestic Display in the Spanish Overseas Territories," in *Behind Closed Doors: Art in the Spanish American Home, 1492-1898* ed. Richard Aste (New York: Brooklyn Museum, 2013), 71.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

A comparison of archival material with textiles in museum collections provides even greater insight on Peruvian prayer rugs. A carpet from Arequipa, Peru, in the Brooklyn Museum (50.155) has almost the exact measurements (fifty-three by thirty-nine inches) of the prayer rug in the Lima captain's inventory of 1720 (Figure 3). Dating to the late eighteenth century, the rug has a cotton warp and wool weft pile, and features a male and a female dressed in European garments. The woman wears a wide-skirted dress trimmed with large lace cuffs and holds an umbrella, while a young black attendant gathers the hem of her dress. The addition of the male companion at her side has led scholars to believe that the carpet depicts a marriage portrait. The letters "M, G, D, C" at the top and bottom corners have been thought to be the initials of the couples. However, the woman's upper-class dress when compared to that of the more plainly dressed male, as well as her more central placement on the carpet, suggests that both men could be her attendants.⁴⁹

Whether or not it is a marriage portrait, the carpet's subject matter illustrates the ways in which even non-garment textiles were used to perform identity and race. Based on her dress, the woman depicted here is likely a Spanish Creole who demonstrates her social position with her European garments and lower-class attendants. The illustration of her privileged position on the carpet is not unlike a painted portrait, which would have hung in a semi-public space within a private residence. It recalls examples of both European and Peruvian portraiture of the period that feature an upper-class woman with an attendant, often a dwarf, and parasol (Figure 4). The carpet, too, would have been socially visible, either in a domestic or sacred setting. Interestingly, the Arequipa carpet has been described as a prayer rug, although no explanation for this label has

⁴⁹ Phipps, "Rug," *Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America*, ed. Diane Fane, (New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1996), 196; Mia L. Bagneris, "Reimagining Race, Class, and Identity in the New World," in *Behind Closed Doors*, 173-175.

been given.⁵⁰ Its size, which aligns very closely with archival descriptions of prayer rugs, could be one indicator. Its visual engagement with period debates on ethnicity and sumptuary laws could be another. If indeed a prayer rug, the textile illustrates the very laws that sought to limit certain textiles to specific races.

Unfortunately, we cannot be certain as to the carpet's original setting or use. Due to its size and subject matter, it may have been a prayer rug in a private oratory (private chapel), instead of one bulkily transported to church. Some upper-class Spanish and Creole families had oratories in their homes where they could give masses for family members and guests. Having this kind of space in one's house, which was only obtainable through permission from the church, should be considered as much a demonstration of religious devotion as of social status.⁵¹ Furnishings and decorations for these spaces included numerous paintings and sculptures, as well as an altar, vestments, and liturgical vessels needed for mass.

The 1714 will of Juan Joseph de Castro of Cusco contains an impressive number of liturgical textiles for his private oratory, including four frontals of Chinese satin, white camlet, green camlet, and red satin (un frontal morada de raso de la China; otro blanco de chamelote, otro verde de chamelote, otro de raso colorado).⁵² Also among his possessions in the oratory were nine chasubles, including one of white damask with gold metallic thread ribbon (una casulla de damasco blanco con su sevillaneta de oro) and one of red cloth with gold ribbon (una casulla nueva de tela colorada con su franja de oro).⁵³ Oratories also typically had a number of

⁵⁰ Bagneris, "Reimagining Race, Class, and Identity in the New World," 175.

⁵¹ Rivas, "Domestic Display," 114-115.

⁵² ARC, Alejo Fernandez Escudero, 1714, Prot. 95, f. 117r.

⁵³ Ibid., f. 117v. It is worth noting the difference in description of the ribbons on the two chasubles: one with *sevillaneta* and the other with *franja*. Stanfield-Mazzi differentiates between these two types of ribbons, noting that while both were made of metallic threads, *franja* were a wide, flat ribbon made with flattened metallic threads as the

paintings of religious subjects. The 1743 inventory of the estate of Joseph Pardo de Figueroa describes his oratory as having, in addition to an old floral altar frontal of Chinese silk, thirty-two large and small paintings of different devotional themes (*treinta y dos lienzos entre grandes y pequeños de diferentes advocaciones; un frontal viejo con flores de seda de China*).⁵⁴ Some oratories were much more simply decorated and featured only a small portable altar and several paintings or sculptures.

The oratory and the *estrado*, which will be discussed later in this chapter, were two typically adjacent spaces in which women had a considerable amount of control. Women oversaw these spaces, both in the decoration and activities that took place there. Both the oratory and *estrado* were settings for the religious instruction of their children, as well as needlework and other textile arts.⁵⁵ The Brooklyn Museum's prayer rug could have even been produced and displayed in one of these spaces, depicting not necessarily a marriage celebration but a portrait of the woman of the house.

1.3 The Local and Global Dimensions of Colonial Textile Production

The range of household textiles of this period, among them *cumbi*, *chusi*, and *estrado* and prayer rugs, indicate that local and exported items coexisted in residences and made powerful statements about the class and ethnicity of their owners. I have demonstrated that there is not a clear dichotomy between the categories of local and foreign at this time. While *chusi* is an

weft, and yellow or white fiber threads as the warp. *Franja* could be woven on a backstrap loom and often featured geometric motifs. They were a variation of the *sevillaneta*, a ribbon with metallic thread likely produced in Seville. Stanfield-Mazzi suggests that *franja* could have been produced in the Andes and were perhaps a modification of the Spanish-style *sevillaneta*. If this is the case, the liturgical textiles in the private oratory feature an assortment of textiles that have been altered and embellished both locally and abroad: "Weaving and Tailoring the Catholic Church," 90, 94-96.

⁵⁴ ARC, Juan Bautista Gamarra, 1743, Prot. 140, f. 368r.

⁵⁵ Suzanne Stratton, "Paintings in the Home in Spanish Colonial America," in *Behind Closed Doors*, 114-118.

indigenous textile type, the *alfombra* could have been either an item imported from Spain or the Middle East, or produced in Cusco, its provinces, or far-reaching areas of the Andes.

Like the term, *cumbi*, which came to encompass any costly fabric in the later colonial period, the colonial definitions of textiles need careful review. Another textile that sheds light on these complexities is *avasca*, also made of alpaca fiber and considered to be the inferior counterpart of *cumbi*. A very rough and durable plain weave fabric, *avasca* was the most frequently owned garment of the non-elite in the Inca and colonial periods.⁵⁶ The Spanish friar Martín de Murúa, describes the eleventh Inca king, Huayna Capac, as consuming copious amounts of gold, silver, food, drink, and garments of *cumbi*, *avasca*, and cotton, suggesting that this fabric clearly had a use for elites as well.⁵⁷

Bedspreads of *avasca* were especially popular in Cusco in the 1640s to 1660s. Doña Petrona Luisa de Mendoza's 1668 will includes a cotton bed canopy and *avasca* bedcover of natural colors with an accompanying cotton bed skirt.⁵⁸ Her possessions also include *una lliclla por tierra* (a *cumbi* mantle) and *un chuse de lana de la tierra por* [sic: illegible] *de la cama* (a wool chusi for the bed). *De la tierra*, more frequently *lana de la tierra*, was another designator of local production in these documents, as opposed to *del reyno* if imported from Spain. These labels indicate that the materials used to produce these objects—wool or cotton—was locally sourced and/or produced.

Another way a textile was described as locally produced was through mention of a factory. Doña Micala de Puiñones' will of 1668 features an *avasca* bedcover of *lana azul y*

⁵⁶ Murra, "Cloth and Its Function in the Inca State," 711.

⁵⁷ Martín de Murúa, *Historia general de Perú, origen y descendencia de los Incas* (Madrid: Instituto Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, 1962), 30.

⁵⁸ ARC, Juan Flores de Bastidas, 1668, Prot. 113, f. 136r.

blanco (blue and white wool), a colored wool bedspread, and a cotton canopy with bird motifs, in addition to four blankets described as *de los obrajes de nuestra ciudad* (from the weaving factories of Cusco).⁵⁹ Immediately after the Conquest, Spaniards took advantage of existing systems of textile taxation that were already widely accepted and understood throughout the Andes. They continued collecting textiles as tribute through Inca infrastructure, which was easier to maintain than new collection practices of the colonial period.

Beginning in 1545, the Spanish established *obrajes* in the colonies for the production of low-quality cloth, not fine tapestries. These mills featured new technologies such as the treadle loom, from which pieces of cloth were cut and tailored, using new materials like sheep's wool.⁶⁰ In the Andes, most of the early *obrajes* were located in the Audiencia of Quito, where fifty-six factories were established between 1590 and 1620. The incentive to build these factories across the Andes was to provide affordable garments for the growing population. These garments were very low-quality woolens, as the production of luxury textiles was prohibited in the colonies to force the purchase of costly European imported goods.⁶¹

In Peru, these textile factories increased in number in the later seventeenth century, as they previously had to compete with preexisting structures of domestic production in place since the Inca Empire. It is important to note that the transition to a factory system across the Americas was not without forced indigenous labor. Men, women, and boys worked in the *obrajes*, and colonial authorities often demanded that indigenous communities send a certain quota of workers

⁵⁹ ARC, Juan Flores de Bastidas, 1668, Prot. 113, f. 104r.

⁶⁰ Phipps, "Cumbi to Tapestry," 87.

⁶¹ Carlos Sempat Assadourian, "The Colonial Economy: The Transfer of the European System of Production to New Spain and Peru," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 24 (1992): 64.

to each factory.⁶² By the late eighteenth century, forced labor in *obrajes* was still commonplace, and was one of the rallying cries of Tupac Amaru II as he fought for Peruvian independence and indigenous rights. According to one nineteenth-century account, he destroyed several *obrajes* to protest the workplace abuses and profit-making schemes of Spanish *corregidores*:

After hearing mass Tupac returned towards Tungasuca, destroying the *obraje* of Parapuquio on his way, where he found large quantities of woolen clothes, which were distributed among his followers. He also demolished the *obraje* of Pumacancha, where he found property valued at 200,000 dollars, consisting of 18,000 yards of woolen cloths (*bayeta*), 60,000 of cotton cloths (*tocuyo*), some fire-arms, and two pieces of artillery, belonging to the Corregidor of Quispicanchi. These *obrajes* were odious to the Indians, their owners having enforced the *mita* far beyond the limits assigned by the law, and perpetrated great cruelties on the women and children of the *mitayos*.⁶³

This account demonstrates the ways in which the Spanish exploited indigenous communities for labor and continued to profit from the production of low-cost textiles into the late eighteenth century.

In addition to *obrajes*, there were *chorrillos*, smaller workshops located on haciendas or in homes.⁶⁴ Both centers produced textiles of wool and cotton; the *obrajes* largely produced varieties of cheap sackcloth of sheep's wool, under the names *bayeta*, *pañete*, *jerga*, and *sayal*, in addition to alpaca wool *frazadas* (blankets).⁶⁵ Unlike the mineral industry in Peru, which was overwhelmingly for export, the production of textiles was for a local market. However, occasionally in the documents there is a receipt for a large shipment of Andean-made textiles destined for European markets. While Spanish imperialism undoubtedly had a powerful effect

⁶² Ibid., 65.

⁶³ Clements Markham, *Travels in Peru and India While Superintending the Collection of Chinchona Plants and Seeds in South America, and Their Introduction into India* (London: John Murray, 1862), 141-142.

⁶⁴ Escandell Tur, *Producción y comercio de tejidos coloniales*, 32.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 343.

upon the Americas, the historical dynamics of the period was not merely a unidirectional imposition of colonial policies, ideologies, and products upon a receiving entity. A 1692 receipt between Pedro Rasiner de Acapulco and Capitan Don Francisco Torrilla included 10,163 ½ *varas* of *ropa de la tierra* valued at 5 ½ reales per *vara*, in addition to thirty-five *frazadas* at five reales each and 184 *varas* of *jerga* (sackcloth) at 3 ½ reales each.⁶⁶ These products would have been much cheaper than those available in the European market. Shipments such as this confirm the multidirectional exchange between Spain and its colonies.

For as many references to textile production or material origin that exist, there are an equal number of absences in the historical record. In her will, Doña Micaela Carrasco gives *un pabellón verde y amarillo de los obrajes nuevo* (a green and yellow bed canopy from the obrajes) to her husband; she also gives another *pabellón de obraje* (factory bed canopy) to her son Geronimo. In the same document, many of her other textiles are listed without indicators of origin—local factory or otherwise. For example, she gives another *pabellón azul y blanco de algodón* (a blue and white cotton bed canopy) to her daughter Theodora.⁶⁷ Despite listing its material as cotton, the will has no other description of the piece, which leaves few clues as to its production. From the absence of its origin, should we assume that it was not made in a factory like the other pieces? Could it have been made at home? Was it made from local cotton? Do these missing details reflect oversight on the part of the scribe, or do they imply that it was a less valuable object? Doña Carrasco also gives Theodora *un chuse mediano de lana de la tierra* (a locally made runner).⁶⁸ For this object at least, local production was an important detail with implications for its value. By focusing on specific textile types in the case studies that follow, I

⁶⁶ ARC, Cristóbal de Bustamante, 1692, Prot. 23, f. 165r.

⁶⁷ ARC, Juan Flores de Bastidas, date unknown (1675-1680), Prot. 114, f. 101r.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

explore these questions and examine the effects of the international trade on indigenous and locally produced textile forms.

Case Study: *Lliclla*

One textile type that illustrates the complex interplay of local and foreign influences is the *lliclla*. A mantle or rectangular shawl worn across the shoulders and fastened with a *tupu* (pin), this object presents a nuanced response of a textile type to the influx of international products. An indigenous textile form, the *lliclla* is defined by Holguin as a “manta de mujeres,” which was traditionally woven from fine alpaca wool.⁶⁹ While the *chusi* remains relatively unchanged in structure and material makeup throughout the colonial period and to the present day, the *lliclla* has a very different trajectory. In the pre-conquest and early colonial periods, the finest *lliclla* were of *cumbi* cloth. In the seventeenth century, they are most frequently paired with an *acso* (an indigenous rectangular dress) in archival documents. These pieces are listed together as a *prenda de ropa* (in this case, outfit), and have sparse descriptions. If any description is present, *lliclla* are labeled as *de la tierra*, indicating that they were produced from local materials or locally produced.⁷⁰ For this reason, *lliclla* are largely considered a *cumbi* garment, in keeping with the Inca tradition.

Over the course of the colonial period, however, *lliclla* exhibit major changes. By the last decade of the seventeenth century and well into the eighteenth, the material quality of the *lliclla* dramatically shifts. The 1696 will of Doña Maria de la Cruz includes *seis piezas de ropa de abasca cosa buena que se compone un acso y lliclla* (six outfits of *abasca* that include a dress and shawl), in addition to *dos llicllas de bayeta de castilla verde y amarillo* (two shawls of green

⁶⁹ Holguín, *Vocabulario de la lengua general*, 152.

⁷⁰ See ARC, Juan Bastidas de Flores, Prot. 111, f. 121r.

and yellow cloth from Spain).⁷¹ This will demonstrate that *llicllas* in this period were being produced in a material other than *cumbi*, in this case a cheaper material, *avasca*, as well as imported cloth. This transition is significant because it dismantles the assumption that *lliclla* were inherently of *cumbi*, or of a locally produced material, and instead demonstrates the response of an indigenous textile form to European imports.

By 1700, *lliclla* appear in archival sources as made of an incredible diversity of fabrics: Spanish cloth, *sempiterno*, *persiana* (silk with large knit floral designs), crimson brocade and glaze. The 1703 will of Doña Francisco de Roja de Betanzo provides a striking example of the evolution of *lliclla* in the early eighteenth century to include not only European fabrics but also lace and other embellishments. Her holdings include:

- *una lliclla verde de raso con sus encajes blancos* (a shawl of green silk with white lace)
- *otra lliclla de raso verde con encajes de plata* (another shawl of green silk with silver lace)
- *otra lliclla de lana de napoles con encaje de oro nueva* (a new shawl of wool from Naples with gold lace)
- *otra lliclla colorada de lana de napoles* (a red shawl with wool from Naples)
- *dos lliclla de tafetán doble* (two shawl of double taffeta)⁷²

Importantly, these mantles include both white and metallic lace trimmings, fashionable additions to these pieces that provide evidence for the types of imported materials in circulation at the time.

Shortly after the Conquest, the Spanish brought the technique of weaving with metallic threads, used in textiles in Europe since 1000 BC, to South America. Produced by wrapping thin strips of pure or gilt silver around thread, these metal fibers were then integrated into

⁷¹ ARC, Cristobal de Bustamante, 1696, Prot. 27, f. 1070v-1071r.

⁷² ARC, Cristobal de Bustamante, 1703, Prot. 63, f. 205v-206r. Thank you to Aaron Hyman for bringing this document to my attention.

ecclesiastical and secular garments.⁷³ While the components of the gold and silver strips components were mined in South America, there is some debate as to where the metallic threads were actually produced. Although typically not specified, one inventory of 1743 includes a quantity of silver fringe, presumably to be used as decorative border for a garment or household textile, which is described as *franja de plata de la tierra vieja* (old fringe of local silver).⁷⁴ The description here highlights the local origin of the silver, which would have been pulled into strips, flattened, and spun into metallic threads to make the fringe. This process was thought to have taken place in Spain, which had a documented thriving metallic thread industry, fueled by the export of copious amounts of South American precious metals.⁷⁵

Archival findings, however, suggest that metallic thread production more likely occurred in the Andes, in local *obrajes*. In 1664 Juan de Béjar, a master goldsmith (*tirador de oro y plata*), hired Petronila Tunqui to spin gold and silver for a year (*como hilandera, por un año, para hilar oro y plata*).⁷⁶ The contract of this specific step—spinning—in the process of producing metallic threads removes doubt that this process only occurred back in Spain. In the eighteenth century, metallic laces become very popular in the colonial Andes and were added to a wide variety of garments, including *llicllas*, and non-garment textiles. Stanfield-Mazzi suggests that metallic

⁷³ Phipps, “Woven Silver and Gold: Metallic Yarns in Colonial Andean Textiles,” *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 29:3 (2010): 4-11; “Garments and Identity,” 26; “Cumbi to Tapestry,” 80-81; Vanessa Muros, Sebastian Wärmländer, David Scott and Johanna Maria Theile, “Characterization of 17th–19th Century Metal Threads from the Colonial Andes,” *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* 46.3 (2007): 230. Although Inca weaving techniques continued in this period, the introduction of metallic threads, in addition to sheep’s wool and silk yarn from China, significantly altered the traditional technical process.

⁷⁴ ARC, Juan Bautista Gamarra, 1743, Prot. 140, f. 364v. Grammatically speaking, *vieja* should be an adjective for *tierra* but as is customary in these documents, often the last adjective describes the main object in question (in this case, *franja*) and is gendered and conjugated to that word.

⁷⁵ Phipps, “Woven Silver and Gold,” 10.

⁷⁶ Jorge Cornejo Bouroncle, *Derroteros de arte cuzqueño: Datos para una historia del arte en el Peru* (Cusco: Ediciones Inca, 1960), 329. Stanfield-Mazzi also points to a 1686 contract for a goldsmith to pull gold and silver so that it could be spun on thread. This is the step in the process that occurs before the spinning of the pulled metal strips: “Weaving and Tailoring the Catholic Church,” 91.

fringe, frequently called *franja*, is an Andean adaptation of the Spanish gold and silver ribbon. Wider, flatter and often with decorative motifs, *franja* were likely produced in Andean workshops and demonstrate a local variation of European textile embellishment.⁷⁷

After 1704, French lace and silk trimmings entered Peruvian markets in abundance, as French ships were allowed to enter the local ports after the start of the Bourbon regime.⁷⁸ After this date, *llicllas* included many costly embellishments, including silk trimmings, embroidery and fringes of gold and silver thread, and decorative strips of a variety of fabrics. In general, lace trimmings were a popular signifier of luxury in the eighteenth century, and their use signaled the wearer's adherence to European fashion trends. In an eighteenth-century Cusco School painting, *Saint John of God with Donors*, a young female donor, identified in the cartouche as seventeen-year-old Doña Josepha de Valenzuela in 1756, wears an assortment of costly jewelry: gold rings, earrings with precious stones, a pearl necklace, and gold cross (Figure 5). Although she wears a plain blouse, perhaps an indication of her piety despite her elaborate jewels, lavish European lace trimmings decorate her neckline.

Across the Americas lace and other luxury goods were often used as a tool of portraiture, especially by indigenous and mestizo sitters. In a colonial Mexican portrait, Sebastiana Inés Josepha de San Agustín, a teenage contemporary of Doña Josepha of Peru, wears a similarly rich assortment of lace and luxury goods (Figure 6).⁷⁹ Her attire serves both to localize her identity as a noblewoman of Indian descent, as well as to reveal her position within a series of global trade

⁷⁷ Stanfield-Mazzi, "Weaving and Tailoring the Andean Church," 94.

⁷⁸ The transition from the Habsburg to the Bourbon regimes occurred as Philip V (1683-1746), grandson to the French king, took the Spanish throne in 1700 after the death of Charles II (1661-1700). Although scholars argue that the majority of the Bourbon Reforms did not affect Peru until the 1750s, several earlier reforms in both economic and imperial oversight produced significant changes in the colonial Andes. See John Robert Fisher's *Bourbon Peru, 1750-1825* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003), 1-25.

⁷⁹ Magali M. Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain: Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), 22-24.

networks. She wears a *huipil* (indigenous dress), traditionally woven as a series of decorative panels as depicted here, but with a wealth of embellishments. In addition to the double-headed eagle motif, a symbol of the Spanish Hapsburgs, her dress is adorned with gems, pearls, lace cuffs, and silk ribbons, likely products of international trade. The paintings of contemporaneous teenagers, Josepha de Valenzuela and Sebastiana Inés Josepha de San Agustín, show how textiles and luxury objects were widely used as tools of portraiture across the Americas.

As discussed earlier, sumptuary laws regulated the garments and household textiles of non-Spanish citizens in the colonial Andes. In addition, the production of luxury fabrics was officially prohibited in the colonies in order to protect Spanish industries at home, requiring all purchases of silks, velvets and other luxury textiles to come directly from Spain. This accounts for the frequent mention of these Spanish fabrics in colonial Andean notary documents. Contrary to Spanish wishes, however, non-Spanish international products entered Peruvian markets. Beginning in 1572, the Manila galleon trade introduced Asian silks to Peruvian markets, as ships traveling between Manila and Acapulco frequently stopped in the Lima port of Callao. The enforcement and effectiveness of these regulations is debated, as shipping documents from the eighteenth century indicate that luxury cloth was still being produced in Cusco and exported to Chile and Buenos Aires, despite regulations. Additional restrictions were in place limiting shipping through the port of Lima.⁸⁰

As stricter Spanish regulations made these materials difficult to access, lace, ball-and-tassel fringe, and other thread work previously used to decorate the edges of textiles began to be represented in woven form.⁸¹ One example of this woven lacework is in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art and includes two different styles of lace motifs on the inner

⁸⁰ Phipps, "Cumbi to Tapestry," 83-87, 97.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 75

registers of the *lliclla*: wheel-spoke and ball and fringe style lace (Figure 7). Here, the design has been incorporated into the registers of the textile and appears in sharp contrast against the crimson and dark blue colors of the *lliclla*. These motifs may have served an aesthetic function as well. As a woven motif, as opposed to a delicate trimming, it was more resistant to wear, easier to clean, and more visually striking against the bold reds, purples, and blues of the traditional Andean textile palette.

While the basic form of the *lliclla* remained consistent throughout the colonial period, its material makeup and accoutrements changed to incorporate imported European and Asian textile products. By the eighteenth century, the types of textiles in use in Peru were also changing. For the Inca, those used for garments were the most important items. In the colonial period, new categories of textiles emerged, as Inca-style textiles, including *lliclla*, were used for new purposes. Often, garments of *cumbi* were reused as bedcovers, wall hangings, rugs, and tablecloths. Another example from The Metropolitan Museum of Art's collection is a shawl that could have been repurposed from a garment to a wall hanging (Figure 8). This piece combines Inca-style *tocapu* (geometric motifs) with birds and a European-style interlaced rosette motif, a pattern that was popular in European fabrics in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁸² Upon close analysis, the *lliclla* reveals small holes near its corners, indicating that it was worn around the shoulders in the traditional style, fastened together with a *tupu* under the chin. However, the holes were later filled in with thread. There is no doubt that this piece was worn as a garment in the early colonial period, but it is possible that it was also displayed as a household textile in a later century. This practice happened frequently in the colonial period, as textiles such as curtains, bed covers, canopies, rugs, and altar cloths in churches became popular through the

⁸² An eighteenth-century painting of the *Virgin of Guápulo* from the Cusco School has a dress with a similar pattern, which suggests that this European motif was popular in the colonial Andes. See The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 64.164.385.

spread of Christianity and European tastes. Due to the main central panel and the fact that it only has one correct orientation (the birds would be upside down, otherwise), this piece would have functioned well as a wall hanging.

Lliclla were able to accommodate changes in material, decoration, and use over the colonial period, in part due to their system of production. For the production of *cumbi* and pieces like *lliclla*, patrons hired one or two individual weavers who set up their looms temporarily in the estate of the client. Because the weaving of *cumbi* depended more on the skill of the weaver than his instruments, the colonial weaver was very mobile and could travel to the households and communities that contracted his work.⁸³ The household would then supply the fibers and embellishments and provide for the weaver during his employment. This more intimate working environment has important consequences for the appearance of *lliclla*. First, their material makeup depended solely on the fabrics owned by the contracting family. This would have allowed a patron to design their own *lliclla* according to their tastes. Archival documents show that these *lliclla* belonged to indigenous, mestizo, and Spanish women, so they correspondingly matched a variety of fashions from both sides of the Atlantic.⁸⁴

Case Study: *Tocuyo*

Another poorly understood textile is *tocuyo* (also, *tucuyo*), defined in present-day dictionaries as “coarse cotton cloth.” This textile encourages us to consider the textile trade as a practice that not only occurred across oceans, but also within the entire continent of South America. An additional confusion regarding this textile is that its contemporary definition has

⁸³ Ramos, “Los tejidos,” 125-126; Julien, “Spanish Use of Inca Textile Standards,” 57-81.

⁸⁴ Ramos argues that *lliclla* may have also evolved over the colonial period as they became less tightly associated with ethnic identity. In the Inca period, certain styles and motifs were closely tied to specific regions. *Ibid.*, 132.

served to misconstrue its period meaning and value. The unremarkable contemporary definition of it as “coarse cotton cloth” does little to illuminate its varied uses and sites of production in the colonial period. Archival investigation reveals that its origins and evolution as a textile throughout the colonial period is much more complex than its definition suggests.

Tocuyo is a muslin-like cotton fabric that originated in the mountainous western Venezuelan city of El Tocuyo, settled by Spaniards in 1545. There they capitalized on Indian populations to form a workforce for the production of *lienzo* (rough cotton cloth), hammocks and beeswax. European merchants made trips from nearby Caracas where they traded imported goods for this cotton cloth, which was used to make flour bags and other products.⁸⁵ By the mid-seventeenth century, the Audiencia of Quito was also producing *tocuyo* for widespread export. A *tocuyo* produced at the hacienda of Doña Felipa de Mora became so famous that at a certain moment it was its own currency, worth one *peso* per five or six *varas*. By this period, *tocuyo* had lost its association with a regional center, and its name connoted any cotton fabric of a plain weave.⁸⁶ By the late seventeenth century, *tocuyo* appears in archival documents in Cusco, as *tucuyo por abrigo*, likely as fabric for coats.⁸⁷ In one receipt between textile merchants in 1692, the fabric appears alongside other products from Spain, China, Holland and Quito, suggesting that it was likely entering southern Andean markets from New Granada in present-day

⁸⁵ Robert J. Ferry, *The Colonial Elite of Early Caracas: Formation and Crisis, 1567-1767* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 22-23.

⁸⁶ Christina Borchart de Moreno, “Beyond the Obraje: Handicraft Production in Quito Toward the End of the Colonial Period,” *The Americas* 52:1 (1995): 5; Ermila Troconis de Veracoechea, *Indias, esclavas, mantuanas y primeras damas*, vol. 25 (Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1990), 30. This term is still used for plain cotton textiles in Peru’s Amazon basin. See Claire Odland and Nancy Feldman, “Shipibo Textile Practices, 1950-2010,” *Textiles and Settlement: From Plains Space to Cyber Space*, Textile Society of America 12th Biennial Symposium Proceedings (2010): 1-9.

⁸⁷ ARC, Cristobal de Bustamante, 1692, Prot. 23, f. 216r.

Venezuela.⁸⁸ Factories in Cuenca and Loja in present-day Ecuador also exported the cloth into Peru, whose major mining centers drove demand for this fabric. Production may have also been centered in the Viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata, with most products exported to Peru. In the 1770s, Peru recognized the potential for local production of *tocuyo* and began producing the cloth in *chorrillos*, undercutting the cost of *obrajes* in neighboring regions.⁸⁹ The increase in production centers undoubtedly resulted in lower prices. Economic analyses also show that *tocuyo* prices in Peru steadily declined in the sixty-year period after their first appearance in Peruvian archival documents in the 1660s.⁹⁰ These findings suggest that the *tocuyo* found in archival documents prior to the 1770s is likely an imported product.

In the eighteenth century, *tocuyo* appears in archival documents as pillowcases, curtain lining, tablecloths, and mattresses.⁹¹ Far from a luxury fabric, it was often used in humble settings, such as the Hospital de los Naturales of Cusco in 1720. In each room, *tocuyo* is used for the pillow covers, along with other inexpensive fabrics, like curtains of *bayeta*, mattresses of *jerga* and wool, and bed covers and blankets of unnamed blue and colored cloth.⁹² It was also used to line fabrics of more luxurious materials, such as the *raso* (satin) curtains in the 1733 inventory of the goods of Doña Gabriela Severicha of Cusco.⁹³

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Monica Zaugg, "Large-Scale Textile Production in Late Colonial Peru," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas/ Anuario de Historia de América Latina* 35 (1998): 112-13; Escandell Tur, *Producción y comercio de tejidos coloniales*, 31-32.

⁹⁰ Héctor O. Noejovich, "Nivel de precios y actividad económica: un ensayo económico en el virreinato del Perú (siglos XVI-XVII)," *Economía* 23:45 (June 2000): 69-70.

⁹¹ ARC, Alejo Fernandez Escudero, 1720, Prot. 101, f. 171r.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ ARC, Pedro Josph Gamarra, 1733, Prot. 150, f. 541v.

A deeper examination of *tocuyo* demonstrates its use in the production of another art form: painting. By the late seventeenth century, *tocuyo* had entered Cusco markets in large amounts for purposes other than garments.⁹⁴ Instead, it is very likely that this fabric was being imported for use by painting guilds. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, most canvases were of flax or hemp, or a combination of the two. Linen, made of flax, had to be imported from Europe. By the seventeenth century, artists sought alternative supports, as linen was difficult to attain. Cotton and wool, including *sarga* (a twilled wool fabric) and *tocuyo*, became common supports for oil painting in eighteenth-century Peru.⁹⁵ Many Cusco School paintings of the eighteenth century have especially coarse cotton or wool canvases, frequently of *tocuyo*. Paintings were also executed on reused tablecloths and sugar bags.

The examination of *tocuyo* not only shows the multivalent use of certain textiles in the colonial period, but also highlights the materials and processes used by eighteenth-century Andean painters, an understudied arena. This is one way in which the study of colonial textiles propels and encourages a greater consideration of artmaking in general in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Andes, shining a light on artworks of various media. Most studies of material and technical processes used by artists in Peru have concentrated on the first hundred years following the Conquest. In this period, many European fibers and pigments made their way to Peru with traveling artists, including the three most prominent Italian painters, Angelino Medora, Bernardo Bitti, and Mateo Pérez de Alessio. Studies have shown that European artistic materials were easily accessible in Lima and were used by painters during the second half of the sixteenth

⁹⁴ ARC, Cristobal de Bustamante, 1692, Prot. 23, f. 216r.

⁹⁵ Andrés Gutiérrez Usillos, “Nuevas aportaciones en torno al lienzo titulado *Los mulatos de Esmeraldas*. Estudio técnico, radiográfico e histórico,” in *Anales del Museo de América*, 20 (2012): 36-37; Pedro Querejazu, “Materials and Techniques of Andean Paintings,” in *Gloria in Excelsis: The Virgin and Angels in Viceregal Painting of Peru and Bolivia*, ed. Barbara Duncan (New York: Center for Inter-American Relations, 1986), 78-82.

century and the first part of the seventeenth. However, not all materials came from Europe. Artists incorporated local resources like wood for stretchers and frames, as well as local minerals for pigments into their works.⁹⁶ By the later seventeenth century, a scarcity of European resources resulted in numerous improvisations, especially in Cusco and the outer provinces. By the eighteenth century, artists were quite inventive in sourcing material to use as canvases. Artists prepared canvases from a variety of sources, often darning together previously used cloth fragments of various thicknesses and surface textures.⁹⁷ Canvases were considerably thicker in the eighteenth century than they were a century prior. In the sixteenth century, canvases were on average eleven to seventeen threads per centimeter, while in the early seventeenth centuries they were ten to eleven threads per centimeter; by the late eighteenth century, they were eighteen to twenty-one threads per centimeter.⁹⁸

An eighteenth-century painting, *Allegory of the Church*, in the Barbosa Stern collection presents an interesting opportunity for the study of painting supports like *tocuyo* in the later colonial period (Figure 9). On the surface, the painting is typical of the Cusco School in that several crude seams of the support are somewhat visible through the oil paint. In this case several cloth pieces combine to form the support. The canvas is slightly unusual, however, as three separate pieces of *mantel*, or a reused table cover, have been woven together to make the canvas. A diagonal seam at the painting's top left corner shows the seams as well as the rough grade of the canvas' weft beneath the painted surface. A surprising find in the examination of this canvas was that several fragments of the textile adhered to the back of the painting. These pieces were

⁹⁶ Rocío Bruquetas Galán, "Materials and Techniques in Viceregal Paintings and Sculpture in Lima, 16th and 17th Centuries," in *Sixteenth Triennial Meeting of the International Council of Museums* (2011): 1-8.

⁹⁷ Silvia Stern, "El lienzo como soporte en la pintura virreinal peruana," *Colección Barbosa-Stern*, 2007, ww.barbosa-stern.org (accessed 6 July 2014).

⁹⁸ Querejazu, "Materials and Techniques of Andean Paintings," 78-82.

remnants of the support for this painting: a blue-green and white striped cotton cloth, likely a reused domestic textile. These detached fragments offer the rare opportunity to examine a painting's support without damaging the integrity of the canvas.⁹⁹

1.4 The *Sala de Estrado* and its Textile Components

As indigenous textiles types evolved throughout the colonial period, with varying responses to international trends and products, their manner of display changed as well. Although it is clear, for example, that *chusi* and *alfombras* were used on floors in both domestic and sacred settings, their archival descriptions provide a better understanding of their specific location in colonial spaces. In this section I make particular use of inventories, which are organized according to the rooms of private home, as this organization provides a virtual tour of the client's home. In private residences, both of these floor coverings were on public or semi-public display, especially in the *sala de estrado*. This semi-public space for entertaining in the Spanish colonial home was named after the raised platform, *estrado*, usually positioned in the center of the room. Usually covered with a large rug or mat, the *estrado* was the space in which women reclined to converse, host visitors, embroider, and play music and games. Pillows and cushions, upholstered most frequently in velvet or other imported fabrics, were positioned on the rugs. A tradition in Moorish Spain, this architectural feature was adopted in the Americas, and was especially popular in New Spain. Because this room was usually adjacent to the bedroom, it was considered a more intimate space than the public reception rooms. It was also considered a feminine space, and women were thought to have control over its decoration and the entertainment that occurred here. Throughout the eighteenth century, the *sala de estrado* was a much-discussed topic by the

⁹⁹ Aldo and Silvia Barbosa-Stern showed me this discovery during a visit to their collection in 2014. Ongoing conversations with them since have greatly informed this study.

church, which had much concern about the activities, mainly the entertaining of male guests, which took place there.¹⁰⁰

Archival documents reveal that this space was the most heavily adorned one in Andean homes. Typically, the room's walls were painted or upholstered and decorated with mirrors, paintings, and wall hangings. However, colonial accounts sometimes muddy our view of these spaces. Amédée Francois Frézier, a French military officer traveling through Peru in 1713, provides a particularly drab view of the houses outside of Lima. He also provides a sense of the general layout of houses:

The dwellings of the Spaniards in Peru are no way answerable to the magnificence of their garb. Without Lima, in which place the buildings are handsome enough, nothing is poorer than the houses; they consist in only a ground floor, 14 or 15 foot high...The first room is a large hall, about 19 foot broad, and between 30 and 40 in length, which leads into two other chambers one within another. The first is that where the *Estrado* is to receive company, and the bed in a nook, in the nature of an alcove, spacious within, and whose chief conveniency is, a false door, to receive or dismiss company, without being perceived coming in... only the *Estrado* is covered with carpets, and velvet cushions for the women to sit on. The chairs for the men are covered with leather, printed in half relief. There are no hangings but an abundance of scurvy pictures made by the Indians of Cuzco.¹⁰¹

Frézier presents a vision of colonial houses as plain, dark, and minimally and poorly decorated.

In his account, only the *estrado* has noteworthy decoration, which he describes as combining textiles, furniture and paintings. An engraving, based on drawings he made during his travels, accompanies his written account, and is even starker in its view of colonial interiors (Figure 10).

Here, three well-dressed women gather in the *estrado* around a large chest with a silver tea bowl.

¹⁰⁰ Richard Aste, ed., *Behind Closed Doors: Art in the Spanish American Home, 1492-1898* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 2013), 33, 67, 82-84, 90-91, 115-117. At least one influential text was published in this time in Madrid: *La virtud en el estrado (Virtue in the estrado)*, 1739 by Antonio Ossorio de la Cadena, pseudonym for Jesuit priest, Juan de la Paz.

¹⁰¹ Amédée François Frézier, *A Voyage to the South-Sea and Along the Coasts of Chili and Peru, in the years 1712, 1713, and 1714 particularly describing the genius and constitution of the inhabitants, as well Indians as Spaniards: their customs and manners, their natural history, mines, commodities, traffick with Europe* (London: Printed for Christian Bowyer and sold by John Osborn, 1735), 261-262.

The *estrado* platform is barren, and on the wall behind the women is what Frézier calls the “scurvy pictures made by the Indians of Cuzco:” three paintings of angels armed with firearms, a typical theme in colonial Peruvian painting.

In his written account, Frézier goes into more detail on the appearance, activities, and gender division of the *estrado*. He describes the women as sitting on a carpeted floor, cushioned by pillows, while their male counterparts sit on chairs.

The method they use at home, is to sit on cushions along the wall, with their legs across on an Estrado, or part of the room raised a step above the rest, with a carpet on it, after the Turkish tradition. They spend almost whole days in this manner, without altering their posture even to eat; for they are served apart, on little chests which they always have before them to put up the work they do: This makes them have a heavy gait, without the grace of our French women.

That which they call Estrado, as was hinted above, is as used in Spain, all on end of side of a visiting room, raised six or seven inches above the floor, of the breadth of five or six foot. The men on the contrary, sit on chairs, and only some very great familiarity admits them to the Estrado. In other respects, the women there have as much liberty as home as in France; they there receive company with a very good grace, and take pleasure to entertain their guests with playing on the harp, or the guitarre, to which they sing. And if they are desired to dance, they do it with much compliance and politeness.¹⁰²

Although it is hard to imagine that women were as sedentary as he describes, this manner of sitting, combined with the style of dress of the period, did mean that women were not exceedingly mobile, and were instead served food and tea on small tables. As Frézier’s account also indicates, cushions played an important role in the *estrado* as seats for upper-class women, and sometimes filled this space by the dozens.¹⁰³ Women either sat on plush cushions or on *taburetes* (small stools) that they hid under their skirts. Frézier also mentions that the women sat on velvet cushions, a detail that is also echoed in period inventories. The 1720 inventory of Doña Theresa de la Paliza of Cusco includes twelve red velvet cushions with gold fringe and acorn

¹⁰² Ibid., 255.

¹⁰³ Curiel, “Ajuares domésticos,” 84.

fringe tassels (doce cojines de terciopelo carmesi nuevos con franjas de oro y sus bellotas).¹⁰⁴

Five years later, Creole Cusco resident Doña Dorotea Tribiño de Escalante y Mendoza listed two red velvet pillows and a Cairene rug, an incredibly expensive carpet as previously discussed, in her will (una alfombra cairina con dos cojines de terciopelo carmesi).¹⁰⁵ Occasionally these cushions combined velvet and other materials, such as the sixteen velvet cushions with Spanish-style gold ribbon with pillowcases of *cotense* (coarse hemp fabric) that appear in a 1733 inventory from Cusco.¹⁰⁶

As Frézier's case demonstrates, archival documents can be superior to colonial accounts in their description of colonial interiors and their furnishings, especially in the general organization and decoration of the *estrado*. As is evident in his beliefs about Cusco School paintings and the behavior of women, the Frenchman was not without his judgments. The inclusion of his account here is not to insist that it is an accurate historical record. On the contrary, Frézier and other European travelers at the time were scientists by training who were attempting to write proto-ethnographies outside of their areas of expertise.¹⁰⁷ Their attempts to legitimize Spanish rule by demeaning Indian customs must also be noted. Furthermore, access to private interiors would have been very restricted, and Frézier spent only a total of one week in Lima in 1713, significantly limiting his exposure to a variety of interior spaces. His account is ultimately important for the effects it has had on contemporary scholarship, specifically our perspective of colonial interiors. His engraving is particularly misleading in its suggestion that

¹⁰⁴ ARC, Alejo Fernandez Escudero, 1720, Prot. 101, f. 410v.

¹⁰⁵ ARC, Francisco Maldonado, 1725, Prot. 213, f. 343r.

¹⁰⁶ ARC, Pedro Joseph Gamarra, 1733, Prot. 150, f. 542v.

¹⁰⁷ Monica Barnes, "Amédée Francois Frézier," in *Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Studies, 1530-1900*, vol. 2, ed. Joanne Pillsbury (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 223-226.

colonial Peruvians valued and displayed paintings more than other art forms in domestic spaces. This belief has encouraged the scholarly privilege given to colonial Peruvian painting, as opposed to textiles, furniture, and other luxury goods in scholarship.

To better understand the organization of the *sala de estrado*, it is once again helpful to return to archival documents, which suggest a different colonial value system for interior furnishings. These documents typically mention the *tarima* (wooden platform) of the *estrado* as covered with one of the following textile products: *alfombras*, *chusi*, *tapetes* (rug or mat), and occasionally *petate* (fiber mats). The 1743 inventory of the goods of Doña Maria Frij de Luera who lived in the Plaza Regocijo of Cusco provides a complete view of a typical *estrado* of the period: a sitting room with twelve red velvet pillows, covered with a rug of alpaca wool, a worn runner and three small rugs of the same quality (un estrado con doce cojines de terciopelo carmesi y usados, tapados con una alfombra de lana de la tierra; mas un chuse traido y tres alfombritas de la misma calidad).¹⁰⁸ In this *estrado*, numerous rugs cover the *tarima*, which also features the typical display of a set of a dozen sitting cushions, like in the previous examples.

Less wealthy Andeans used *tapetes*, small floor carpets, which were cheaper and of poorer quality than *alfombras*.¹⁰⁹ Another even cheaper alternative was the *petate*, a woven reed rug. Stemming from the Nahuatl word *petatl*, this floor covering was locally produced using palm leaves and reeds.¹¹⁰ A 1707 dowry from Cusco provides a sense of this item's monetary value. A doubled-platform *estrado* with its reed rugs was valued at twenty-five pesos (dos estrados con sus petates: veinticinco pesos).¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ ARC, Juan Bautista Gamarra, 1743, Prot. 140, f. 362r.

¹⁰⁹ Curiel, "Ajuares domésticos," 82.

¹¹⁰ Stanfield-Mazzi, "Weaving and Tailoring the Andean Church," 81.

Occasionally, textiles inform the size of the *estrado*, giving us a better idea of the dimensions of this space. For example, the 1746 inventory of Doña Maria Josepha de Lastra includes a new *chusi* for the *estrado*, eight *varas* long (un chuse de estrado con ocho varas nuevo).¹¹² This description tells us that the *chusi* in question was almost eight meters long to cover the platform of presumably a similar size. Similarly, a 1755 dowry includes a new wooden platform of six panels (una tarima nueva de seis tablas) with a large rug of six *varas* (una alfombra grande de seis varas ordinaria nueva).¹¹³ These details are small but significant as they contribute to an understanding of the size and decoration of this important social space.¹¹⁴ It seems from these descriptions that patrons either used several small rugs to cover the *tarima*, or commissioned one large rug to fit the exact dimensions of this platform.

Regardless of the type of floor covering, these textiles functioned to highlight the elevated architectural feature of the *estrado*. The platform had an important social function, as it positioned the hosts above their guests. It also enforced hierarchies of gender. Frézier's description suggests that the space of the *estrado* placed women in an inferior position: women occupy the floor, while men sit above them on chairs. By extension, this positioning suggests that men and women were physically touching different textiles in this space: women were positioned on *chusi* or *cumbi* rugs, while men sat on upholstered chairs, which were decorated with imported fabrics, including Chinese satin, *calamanco* (a glossy wool fabric, sometimes with a checkered pattern), *angaripóla* (a coarse striped linen), and *granilla* (fabric dyed with a

¹¹¹ ARC, Marcelo Alvares de Ron, 1707, Prot. 40, f. 80v.

¹¹² ARC, Juan Bautista Gamarra, 1746, Prot. 141, f. 383r.

¹¹³ ARC, Ambrocio Arias de Lira, 1755, Prot. 32, f. 135r.

¹¹⁴ Rugs function similarly in Mexico archival documents: Curiel, "Ajuares domésticos," 82.

cochineal).¹¹⁵ By the early eighteenth century, women began to migrate from cushions to stools to the occasional use of chairs, eventually ending up on the same level as their male counterparts.¹¹⁶

Stanfield-Mazzi suggests that a similar hierarchy of textiles existed in the configuration of Andean altars in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century churches. While locally made rugs of locally sourced vegetal and animal fiber were on the floors and steps leading to the altar, the altar itself was typically adorned with lace, linen and other imported fabrics. She interprets this organization as a “hierarchy of materials that privileged imported items.”¹¹⁷ Although Andean artists likely participated in the fabrication or alteration of most textile products on and around the altar, non-indigenous textiles most commonly adorned the sacred space of the altar.

This hierarchy of materials may also be applicable in domestic spaces. However, we should be cautious when reading Western gender and material hierarchies into colonial spaces. Different audiences would have had distinct interpretations of these spaces, considering the existing hierarchical systems in place in the Andes prior to the Spanish arrival. There is no doubt that Andeans conceived of textiles in spatial terms. For example, in the sixteenth-century Bandelier tunic, the lower border pairs lion and jaguar motifs, referencing the geographic structure of the Inca Empire (Figure 11). The animals reference the two upper parts of the upper *Hanan* moiety, the Chinchaysuyu and Antisuyu regions, respectively, as opposed to the *Hurin*, or lower moiety. The representation of dualities is not uncommon in Andean textiles. Lee Anne Wilson describes the ways in which textiles embody geographic hierarchies in their composition:

¹¹⁵ As explored above, occasionally these chair backs were of *cumbi*. *Granilla* may be an inferior cochineal dye, made from an immature cochineal harvest: Raymond Lee, “Cochineal Production and Trade in New Spain to 1600,” *The Americas* 4.4 (1948): 471.

¹¹⁶ Curiel, “Ajuares domésticos,” 84.

¹¹⁷ Stanfield-Mazzi, “Weaving and Tailoring the Andean Church,” 83.

Not only are some sections of individual textiles *hanan* to the *hurin* of other sections of the same textiles, but individual design units may each contain elements of both *hanan* and *hurin*. Thus, it seems that neither the world, nor textiles are complete without the contact, yet fluid dialectic between the opposing yet combining forces of *hanan* and *hurin*.¹¹⁸

We should also consider the Inca practice of clothing *huacas* in the landscape with textiles.

Huacas marked sites in the sacred landscape of the Inca and were active parts of mapping the empire. Spanish priest and chronicler Cristóbal de Albornoz describes the ritual of dressing *huacas* in *cumbi* cloth, as well as the idolatry campaigns that targeted the destruction of not only the sites but the cloths themselves.¹¹⁹ In this way, textiles had an active role in non-domestic settings.

Although indigenous traditions and cultural paradigms did not vanish with the Conquest, it is unclear how present they were in the later colonial period, especially in creole households. When theorizing textiles within the Andean built environment, we need to acknowledge the often-conflicting Andean and European value systems and material hierarchies. Demographic changes and migrations to the city center led to a growing urban culture in the Andes. At this time, Cusco was increasingly ethnically diverse, as Spaniards, Creoles, and Indians lived in increasing proximity to each other in the city center. Paintings of the period, like the Corpus Christi series, document the diverse peoples that came out to celebrate city holidays and processions.¹²⁰ The city had eleven parishes, eight of which had a majority Indian population,

¹¹⁸ Lee Anne Wilson, "Nature versus Culture: The Image of the Uncivilized Wild-Man in Textiles from the Department of Cuzco, Peru," in *Textile Traditions of Mesoamerica and the Andes: An Anthology*, ed. Margot Blum Schevill, Janet Catherine Berlo, and Edward B. Dwyer (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 217.

¹¹⁹ See Cristóbal de Albornoz, "Instrucción para descubrir todas las guacas del Pirú y sus camayos y haziendas," in *Fábulas y mitos de los incas [1581-1585]*, ed. Henríque Urbano and Pierre Duviols (Madrid: Historia 16, 1988); Stanfield-Mazzi *Object and Apparition: Envisioning the Christian Divine in the Colonial Andes* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2013), 79; Carolyn Dean, "Rethinking 'Apacheta,'" *Ñawpa Pacha: Journal of Andean Archaeology* 28 (2006): 105.

where most families lives in straw-roof houses, as opposed to those with Spanish tiles.¹²¹ The mid-seventeenth century also saw the rise of Creole pride, where a growing Creole elite in Cusco sought to define its identity as independent from the centers of both Spain and Lima. In this period, Creole writers such as Vasco de Contreras y Valverde (1605-1666) and others lobbied the Spanish throne for positions in the church and government and wrote texts celebrating Cusco for its rich blend of Inca and Spanish history.¹²² The celebration of these dual histories and cultures can also be seen in textile choices of this period, both those used for garments and the textiles found in domestic and religious interiors. Spaces like the *estrado* were ever more important for the growing Creole elite of this period, as opportunities for social networking, especially in private residences, grew.

Considering the diversity of the Cusco city population at this time, we cannot assume that living spaces were uniform in configuration and decoration. The ways in which people used and moved in living spaces varied by cultural tradition. At times, colonial period paintings feature rugs used in manners unconventional to European standards. In the *Allegory of the Church*, the Christ Child and Mary sit in a pastoral landscape on a large Spanish-style rug (Figure 9). Although the figures are not directly resting on the rug—Christ sits on a small chair and Mary on a cushion—the positioning of the rug directly on the grass is unusual by European standards and perhaps closer to indigenous textile uses (for example, the contemporary use of *chusi* as a blanket for outdoor sitting). In other words, European spatial and material hierarchies cannot simply be mapped onto the Andean landscape and built environment.

¹²⁰ Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cusco* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); “Copied Carts: Spanish Prints and Colonial Peruvian Paintings,” *The Art Bulletin* 78:1 (1996): 98-110.

¹²¹ Richard Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 177-178.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 177.

In the *sala de estrado*, there were other important textile components besides rugs in this space. Stanfield-Mazzi suggests that colonial Andeans tended to prefer hanging paintings on their walls, instead of, as in the Flemish tradition, hanging tapestries.¹²³ The large number of paintings mentioned in wills and inventories reflects the popularity of religious scenes at this time throughout the rooms of domestic households. However, wall hangings and tapestries are also present in great number in inventories of *estrado* spaces. The 1703 inventory of Capitan Don Agustín Lara de la Cerda of Cusco includes two sets of large wall hangings: a hanging of red and yellow damask with thirty panels in the bedroom (una colgadura de damasco carmesi amarillo con treinta paños en el cuarto del dormitorio) and a hanging of red taffeta with thirty-eight panels (una colgadura de taffeta carmesi con treinta ocho paños).¹²⁴ Similarly, the 1714 will of Don Juan Joseph de Castro includes a striped taffeta wall hanging that draped across the entire bedroom (una colgadura de taffeta listado que cobre todo el dormitorio), in addition to pieces of taffeta hangings in the oratory (unos pedazos de colgadura de taffeta en el oratorio).¹²⁵ In numerous rooms of the residences of these two gentlemen, tapestries covered most, if not all, of the walls.

Occasionally the structure of the archive reveals more about the organization of these interior spaces. In one instance, Don Juan Joseph de Castro's will pairs a brocaded hanging with a painting of *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* with a decorative golden frame, suggesting that these two items occupied the same wall.¹²⁶ As was common in Spanish residences, these two art forms could have coexisted with paintings on the wall's upper register and tapestries on the

¹²³ Stanfield-Mazzi, "The Possessor's Agency," 349.

¹²⁴ ARC, Cristobal de Bustamante, 1703, Prot. 63, f. 370v, 372r.

¹²⁵ ARC, Alejo Fernandez Escudero, 1714, Prot. 95, f. 117r-117v.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 116v.

lower. What is more likely is that tapestries, wall hangings and paintings were manipulated to meet seasonal demands. In seventeenth-century Spanish palaces, paintings only occupied wall space in the warmer weather, while tapestries were used in the winter for insulation. These seasonal concerns may have been even more pressing in the high-altitude climate of the Andes, and may help explain the presence of tapestries and hangings largely in the sitting and bedrooms.¹²⁷ Rugs were also plentiful in bedrooms and were frequently placed in front of beds.¹²⁸ Like tapestries, they likely served to insulate the more intimate areas of the house. In the chapter that follows, I examine a tapestry that would likely have occupied a prominent space in the *estrado*, proving these objects to be far more than static, decorative elements in the back shadows of estate walls.

As this chapter demonstrates, colonial Peruvian textile holdings feature an increasing number of international products from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century. Notary documents provide a lens through which to examine the makeup of textile collections held by private individuals at this time, which included colorful assemblies of products and fabrics from multiple and widespread origins. The monetary values and written attention given to textiles and their fashionings suggest a heightened awareness and the significance of their place of production. Scribes describe textiles in their specific composite parts, each often from a far-reaching market. The inclusion of these details indicates the value that derives from 1) the specific materials involved in the object's manufacture, and 2) the geographical origins of these materials. A colonial textile might combine a rich assortment of fabrics, laces, dyes, ribbons, and

¹²⁷ This interpretation is based on similar practices as described in Spain: See Cherry, "Seventeenth-century Spanish taste," 62; Jonathan Brown and J. H. Elliott, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 105-6.

¹²⁸ For example, see ARC, Gregoria Basquez Serrano, 1712, Prot. 59, f. 102: "una alfombrita pequeña delante de la cama."

threads, which entered local Peruvian markets through local *obrajes* and various regional and international trade channels. In the chapter that follows, I consider the diverse sources that influenced the production of a tapestry not on a material, but on an iconographic level. I move from the archive to the museum, where I continue my examination of colonial *cumbi* with an iconographic analysis of a tapestry with no archival record.

CHAPTER TWO

We Are Seven: Tapestries, Prints, and Private Libraries

As discussed in the previous chapter, colonial archives at times reveal and at others conceal the diversity and significant details of their textile holdings. One area in which the archive typically provides little assistance with colonial textiles is in their subject matter. Although occasionally notarial documents mention a coat-of-arms or prominent motif on a textile, the textile's visual program typically receives little attention in the archive. This exclusion is particularly challenging in the study of *cumbi*, a tapestry-woven textile of paramount importance to the Inca. Despite the influx of imported goods, locally produced textile goods like *cumbi* continued to have cultural and monetary value, maintaining a presence in private holdings into the eighteenth century. As we have seen, colonial archives typically reveal three types of information about *cumbi* pieces: 1) age, 2) color, and 3) use (as garment or household textile, specified by its location in a residence). In this case, the textile's material makeup—its camelid fibers—are what constitute its status and value as *cumbi*, so they are not explicitly listed in the object's description.

Although unmentioned in the archives, colonial *cumbi* tapestries often had very dynamic visual programs, which combined indigenous, European, and Asian motifs. The combination of imagery on colonial *cumbi* has long confounded scholars, who have only recently made strides in deciphering their visual programs, helped in large part not by the archive but by visual means. After having explored the rich offerings of notary documents in Chapter 1, I demonstrate the limitations of archival study in Chapter 2, especially in the presentation of *cumbi*. What happens when we turn an eye to the details excluded from colonial documents? Colonial archives demonstrate the lasting value of *cumbi* but do little to disclose its subject matter or the conditions

of its production. By looking beyond the archive to consider the significance not only of *cumbi*'s eclectic materials but also its composite motifs, we can examine the diversity of sources that informed the production of colonial *cumbi* tapestries.

In this chapter, I turn from written sources to the close visual reading of type of textile that may have gone unreported in colonial documents, due to its ordinariness in age, color, and use—the most frequently reported details of *cumbi* tapestry in colonial records. In doing so, I demonstrate the necessity of combining archival and object-based study¹ by showing the ways in which information not typically included in the archive, like subject matter, gives a *cumbi* tapestry value. A fitting case study for this study is one of the best known and most widely-studied *cumbi* tapestries is in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 12a). Since the 1930s, its complex visual program has both captivated and confounded scholars, leading to numerous inaccuracies about its iconography and date. Tapestry woven with a cotton warp and camelid weft, the tapestry has the standard material composition of a colonial *cumbi* textile, and is a prime example of a textile that *materially* might not have distinguished itself as remarkable in the archive. However, what is most remarkable about this piece is its eclectic combination of motifs. While nothing materially indicates the foreign sources that motivated its production, its calculated and complex visual program attests to the power of global influences at all steps in the fashioning of a textile—from conception to manufacture.

In this case study, I closely examine the tapestry to correct significant misunderstandings of its subject matter, demystify its complex visual program, and provide some insight into the opaque world of colonial Andean tapestry production. Inspired by semiotics, my approach not only centers on the textual and visual contexts of Catholicism and indigenous cultural traditions,

¹ This is by no means a new approach in the broader field of textiles studies. See Maria Hayward and Elizabeth Kramer, eds., *Textiles and Text: Re-establishing the Links between Archival and Object-based Research* (London: Archetype, 2007).

but also explores a wider range of cultural symbols, which originate on both sides of the Atlantic and Pacific, that informed its making. I demonstrate that one avenue for unlocking the tapestry's meaning lies in one of its most unusual elements: a French phrase woven into the tapestry's border. Additionally, I identify several European print sources used by the tapestry's weavers, demonstrating the influence of print culture, particularly emblem books and moral texts, on Andean textile production. Inspired by Alessandra Russo's reading of a colonial feather painting, I use this tapestry to tackle the poorly understood topic of the creative process of colonial artists.² Prints, historically identified only as sources for colonial Andean painting, greatly expand our understanding of the ways in which artists translated and transformed motifs in woven form across the Andes.

This study also has profound implications for our understanding of viewership and display practices of the period. Colonial documents suggest that tapestries were displayed throughout the many rooms of colonial Andean homes and religious centers. The Metropolitan Museum of Art's tapestry makes the strong case that the visual programs of colonial tapestries were instrumental in communicating religious, moral, and cultural lessons, making these textiles far from merely decorative, utilitarian and background objects. Its sophisticated layout suggests that tapestries prompted close looking and playful interaction with their audiences. Besides fulfilling functional and decorative purposes, they were essential expressions of their owner's self-fashioned identity.

The collection history of The Metropolitan Museum of Art's colonial Peruvian tapestry is one of several narratives that have informed our understanding of the piece's production. In

² Alessandra Russo, *The Untranslatable Image: A Mestizo History of The Arts in New Spain, 1500-1600* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), 4-13.

1956, the museum acquired the tapestry, now considered a masterwork of the collection, from Guillermo Schmidt Pizarro (1881- c. 1960), a collector of Peruvian textiles. It had been previously sold in 1924 at American Art galleries, where it was listed as a “Kelim cover, Goan, seventeenth century,” which added to the confusion about its place of production.³ For some time afterward, it was on loan at the Brooklyn Museum and displayed in several exhibitions there. In 1943, historian, anthropologist and then director of the Museo Nacional of Lima, Luis Valcárcel, wrote an account of his travels to the United States, in which he says the tapestry was at the Brooklyn Museum. He describes the piece as a sixteenth-century Cusco-style Gobelin tapestry, named for a famous seventeenth-century French royal tapestry factory.⁴ In 1956 James Rorimer, then director of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, negotiated its purchase from Schmidt Pizarro and coordinated its transfer, with an accompanying case, from the Brooklyn Museum to The Met.⁵ At some point the tapestry was also in the care of John Wise, textile dealer and collector, who worked out of an office in the Hotel Westbury in midtown Manhattan. Correspondence between Wise and Rorimer’s secretary in September of 1956 indicates that the tapestry was at one point in Wise’s office.⁶ Additional correspondence between Schmidt Pizarro and Rorimer also provides the alleged date of the tapestry. Schmidt Pizarro insists it dates to

³ See catalogue listing no. 629 in *The Magnificent Benguiat Collection* (New York: American Art Association, 1924).

⁴ Luis Valcárcel, “De mi viaje a los Estados Unidos,” *Revista Iberoamericana* 6:12 (1943): 290: “En la de Brooklyn encontré piezas nuevas, como son: dos magníficos mantos de arte indoespañol (los que hemos venido llamando “gobelinos” cusqueños), probablemente del siglo XVI; uno de ellos tiene en la tarjeta esta anotación: “Donación del señor Guillermo Schmidt Pizarro.”

⁵ James Rorimer, letter to Guillermo Schmidt Pizarro, October 1, 1956, Archive of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

⁶ Dudley Easby, Jr., letter to John Wise, September 14, 1956, Archive of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

circa 1580, describing it as “a very rare tapestry of which only 8 large ones exist.”⁷ His letter provides one reason that the tapestry was originally assigned such an early date.

The tapestry has been subject to numerous conservation treatments and technical studies over the decades, which have been paramount for understanding the materials and technical processes of its making.⁸ Chromatography analysis revealed the use of both cotton and wool fibers in their natural colors, as well as fibers colored through natural dyes, among them cochineal and indigo.⁹ The warp fibers are of cotton (Z-spun, S-plied), while the wefts are of camelid fibers (Z-spun, S-plied).¹⁰ The tapestry has four selvages and is double-faced, as is typical of pre-Conquest *cumbi* weaving. As discussed previously, the production of *cumbi* textiles continued into the colonial period, but their materials, motifs and functions evolved to meet new colonial needs. Additionally, many Inca weavers and their descendants continued to use indigenous techniques into the colonial period. Several places on the tapestry have supplemental weft patterning, embellishing certain figures and motifs. The tapestry has been worked in six sections, each roughly thirteen inches wide, in which the weft is unevenly packed and the amount of detail in figures and decorative details varies. These elements have led conservators to conclude that several weavers worked on this piece, but in a “sectional approach

⁷ Guillermo Schmidt-Pizarro, letter to James Rorimer, September 11, 1956, Archive of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

⁸ Elena Phipps, Florica Zaharia, and Nobuko Shibayama, “Conservation and Technical Study of a Colonial Andean Tapestry,” *Met Objectives* 5:2 (2004): 1-6.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁰ Yarns must be spun before they are woven. They can be twisted to the left (Z-spun) or to the right (S-spun). The spun fibers resemble the middle section of each letter.

to the weaving process that we do not fully understand.”¹¹ Overall the tapestry measures 89 9/16 by 84 ¾ inches (227 x 215.3 cm).

2.1 Reading for Meaning: Tapestry Iconography

Since the 1930s, the complex visual program of the tapestry has both captivated and confounded scholars. For iconographic reasons that will be explained, this piece will hereafter be called the *We are Seven* tapestry, although the museum’s official name for it is *Tapestry with Figurative Scenes*. By way of a brief introduction to its varied iconography, the tapestry combines scenes from the Old Testament, Greek mythology, and pastoral scenes, along with representations of various animals and the Four Continents in the inner quadrant’s four corners. The inner and outer borders, which are blue, are filled with Renaissance-style scrolling vine motifs with overflowing vases and a variety of flowers and animals (Figure 12b). Just how to read the tapestry for meaning has escaped previous scholars, as at first glance the motifs appear to be a hodgepodge of human, animal, and plant life.

Scholarship on colonial Andean tapestries is in the nascent stages of developing a methodology for deciphering woven iconography. The closest attention to iconography has been paid in the field of Pre-Columbian textile studies, which have typically focused on textiles through specific cultural groups.¹² Scholarship on Inca and colonial era textiles typically focuses on garments, where, most famously, John Rowe developed a system of standardization for Inca

¹¹ Phipps, “Tapestry with figurative scenes,” in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestry and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, ed. Phipps, Johanna Hecht, and Cristina Esteras Martín (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 245.

¹² Comprehensive studies of Andean textiles are rare but a few exist: Justo Cáceres Macedo, *Tejidos del Perú prehispánico* (Lima: Justo Cáceres Macedo, 2005); Raoul d’Harcourt, *Textiles of Ancient Peru and their Techniques*, ed. Grace G. Denny and Carolyn M. Osborne, trans. Sadie Browen (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1962); Rosario de Lavallo de Cárdenas and José Antonio de Lavallo, *Tejidos milenarios del Perú*. Colección APU (Lima: Integra AFP, 1999), among others. In addition to iconography, these studies examine the cultural significance and tools, techniques, and materials used in the production of these pieces.

tapestry tunics.¹³ Looking beyond garments, several major exhibitions turned an eye to the Inca tapestry tradition as a whole that continued into the colonial period.¹⁴ These groundbreaking exhibitions not only documented nearly every known colonial Andean tapestry, but they also put these artworks in dialogue with indigenous and contemporaneous European and Asian textile traditions. While these projects were crucial in advancing the field, many questions still remain about the origins of tapestry motifs and their transmission and transformation by colonial weavers.

In 1987 Teresa Gisbert published a major text on the history and cultural importance of Andean weaving. The publication included an Aymara language dictionary of textile terminology, as well as a system for categorizing Andean iconography into eight geographic zones, each with its own sub-styles.¹⁵ Although much of her discussion of iconography is limited to pre-Conquest styles, she offers a system for categorizing colonial Andean tapestries according to six main types:

- A. Rectangular orthogonal decoration in the central panel with *tocapus*
- B. “Mestizo” decoration in the central panel
- C. Central panel with diagonal rectangular decoration. Interspersed with “mestizo” motifs/lace motif
- D. Compartmentalized composition that is formed by various boxes
- E. Central panel with unique composition with floral border
- F. Unique central composition without floral border (nineteenth and twentieth centuries only)

Gisbert uses this system to date the tapestries, acknowledging that the classification does not encompass all existing tapestry types. While the system does provide some organization for the

¹³ John Rowe, “Standardization in Inca Tapestry Tunics,” in *The Junius Bird Pre-Columbian Textile Conference*, ed. Ann Rowe and Anne Shaffer (Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum and Dumbarton Oaks, 1978), 239-264.

¹⁴ Lynn A. Meisch, ed., *Traditional Textiles of the Andes: Life and Cloth in the Highlands* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1997); *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*; Amelia Peck, ed., *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500-1800* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013).

¹⁵ Teresa Gisbert, Silvia Arze, and Martha Cajías, *Arte textil y mundo andina* (La Paz: Gisbert y Cia., 1987), 302-304.

study of this corpus, it focuses on the overall structure of the pieces—on the shape and general makeup of the central panels and borders. The only component of Gisbert’s system that considers iconography is “type B,” which includes “mestizo” decoration. By “mestizo” she means a mix of indigenous and European motifs, and native flora and fauna—birds, vicuñas, viscachas (rabbit-like rodents), and flowers—rendered in a European style. While The Metropolitan Museum of Art’s tapestry has several motifs in the central panel that could be classified as “mestizo” decoration, it does not fit neatly into Gisbert’s system. Its central roundel, a feature not found in any of Gisbert’s types, has a large amorphous motif that past scholars have suggested is a Chinese phoenix-and-dragon. I will return to a discussion of this symbol later.

The tapestry differs from the examples Gisbert outlines in that most of its eclectic iconography occupies the wide outer red border, nestled between two blue borders with inner scrollwork. The interpretation of this border, previously described as featuring strange figurative scenes, will be the main task of this chapter. There has been a tendency over the decades to consider the iconography in this border as a continuous narrative, and most scholars have attempted to read the action in this border as sequential or as a decorative frieze.¹⁶ The desire to read the red border as a narrative is not without precedent in the corpus of colonial Andean tapestries. Although rare, there are several examples of colonial Andean tapestries with narrative scenes, the most notable being the three biblical tapestries depicting the Creation of Eve, King David and the Original Sin. Dated to the early seventeenth century, these pieces feature narrative scenes in the large central field of each tapestry, each with a series of outer red borders with flowering vines, winged putti, birds, deer, and feline-like creatures.¹⁷ Due to the rarity of

¹⁶ Phipps, “Tapestry with figurative scenes,” 243; Adele Weibel, “‘Creolerie:’ A Peruvian Tapestry of the Spanish-Colonial Period,” *The Art Quarterly* (1939): 196-206.

narrative tapestries in the colonial Andes, a more productive approach to deciphering The Metropolitan Museum of Art's tapestry is through the lens of Andean decorative arts. In 1980 Gisbert published a foundational study on the ways in which indigenous beliefs informed and infused Christian iconography.¹⁸ Her text cross-examines motifs across oil and mural painting, prints, architecture, sculpture and *kero* cups, and through these artworks in various media she argues that seemingly European motifs and symbols also carried powerful indigenous meanings.

In 2004, the exhibition *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530 – 1830* further explored the issue of the decorative in colonial Peru through woven and metal work. Organized by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the exhibition demonstrated the ways in which imported European ornament, found in prints, books, liturgical vessels, and textiles, interfaced with local motifs found in indigenous textile and metalworking traditions to form a “distinctive Andean colonial style” of decorative arts.¹⁹ The authors argue that it was in the realm of the decorative arts that indigenous artists had the most creative freedom and subversive power, as these minor art forms were not subject to the same scrutiny as major arts by idolatry campaigners. Through the close comparison of motifs in tapestries, altar frontals, *kero* cups, and other liturgical metalwork, four main types of ornament emerge as most prominent in the colonial Andes: 1) *rincaux* (foliate scroll), 2) true grotesque, 3) Arabesque ornament (Moorish tracery), and 4) Flemish strapwork.²⁰ Of these types, the first two appear on the *We are Seven* tapestry within its borders and main field. The foliate scroll motif is found in various versions

¹⁷ Phipps, “Cumbi to Tapestry: Collection, Innovation, and Transformation of the Colonial Andean Tapestry Tradition,” in *The Colonial Andes*, 73; “Tapestry with figurative scenes,” 282-286.

¹⁸ Gisbert, *Iconografía y mitos indígenas en el arte* (La Paz, Bolivia: Gisbert, 1980).

¹⁹ Johanna Hecht, “The Past is Present: Transformation and Persistence of Imported Ornament in Viceregal Peru,” in *The Colonial Andes*, 46.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

throughout in the blue borders and main field, and the grotesque animal-vegetal-human forms similarly populate many regions of the tapestry.

Throughout the colonial period, Andean artists utilized and recreated various ornamental models, creating a unique Andean visual vocabulary that reveals indigenous, European and even Asian influences. Using the example of the European basilisk, a mythological serpent, Johanna Hecht argues that this creature, among many others, carried a double meaning on tapestries and silverwork, as it closely resembled the indigenous *amaru*, a four-legged serpent of Andean myth.²¹ There was a tendency throughout *The Colonial Andes* exhibition to consider the motifs of woven and metal artworks as a series of isolated designs, which represent either “simple decorative borrowing” or are of significant indigenous value, like the *amaru*-inspired basilisk.²² This approach is useful for examining the ways in which European imagery resonated with local beliefs and iconography. However, it presents a very limited vision of Andean artists as either unoriginal copyists of European models (“decorative borrowing”) or artistically inspired only by the motifs in their cultural heritage. The model makes two harmful assumptions. First, it assumes Andean artists were only comfortable in one cultural sphere of iconography. Second, it ignores a major, but overlooked part of the production process: the aesthetic demands of colonial patrons.

The *We are Seven* tapestry is a fitting one through which to test the limits of this methodology and to examine the application of European ornamental models in the colonial Andes. The iconography of this piece is best viewed as individual figures and scenes, an approach that brings clarity to their meaning and the sources that informed the tapestry’s making. As we will explore, however, there is one respect in which this tapestry falls a reading for narrative meaning and its fragmentary ornamental value. In other words, reading the tapestry as a

²¹ Ibid., 50.

²² Ibid., 49.

series of side-by-side but unrelated designs—as a purely decorative frieze—detracts from its overall iconographic scheme. While not a coherent narrative, the tapestry features multiple scenes that mutually inform each other.

2.2 Woven Lettering: “Nous Sommes Sept”

Perhaps the most intriguing element of the tapestry is the woven heading at the upper left section of the border (Figure 12c). Text is very rare in colonial Andean tapestries, which makes this piece an intriguing case study. In well-spaced block letters, the text runs above a small scene of three men on donkeys, who were previously thought to be merchants or traders. They were identified as such due to the incorrect translation of the phrase as “moussom messept,” referencing an Arabic word for trade winds. Instead, the text is in an altogether different language and tone. It reads, “nous sommes sept,” French for “we are seven,” which prompts a reanalysis of the tapestry and provides significant insight into the production of tapestries in colonial Peru.²³ The space in the center of the word “sommes,” obscured by the figure’s hat between the two m’s, likely contributed to this mistranslation. Albeit a small part of the tapestry, the correction of this phrase opens the object to a much more rigorous examination of its iconography and to the influence of print culture on artistic production in the colonial Andes.

“Nous sommes sept” is the main phrase in a popular Renaissance visual trope. Starting in the sixteenth century, the phrase, “We Are Seven,” was part of a visual game, made popular through engravings across Europe. The prints combined this phrase—either isolated or as part of a larger poem—with illustrations of three animals and three humans, which are often represented by *commedia dell’arte* characters. This presentation of text and image engaged the viewer in a

²³ During the fall of 2015, I invited several curators at The Metropolitan Museum of Art to join me in examining this tapestry in the Antonio Ratti Textile Center. I must credit Ronda Kasl, Joanne Pillsbury, Amelia Peck, and James Doyle for their collaborative efforts in deciphering this phrase.

visual game: the seventh absent member was the viewer, no less a fool than the six figures. This humorous trope evolved from the character of the fool holding a mirror in repeated works by Shakespeare. In numerous plays, the fool holds a mirror that reflects his image and that of the spectator. The single fool was later multiplied to two or three, resulting in “we are two” and “we are three” tropes. In the second act of the *Twelfth Night*, the clown greets Sir Andrew with the line, “Did you never see the picture of ‘we three’?” In the seventeenth century, the trope evolved to include seven or ten human and animal figures and added captions to assist viewers in reading the iconography, now no longer an easily identifiable portrait of a single fool. The texts also more aggressively mock their readers, to whom reading was not always the most effortless task.²⁴

Made popular in print form, this visual trope was popular throughout Europe into the nineteenth century. It featured the phrase “we are seven,” in various languages, and often contained a verse aimed at taunting the viewer:

Though we want wit, yet let’s not play the fools;
Our beasts and we are six, the number’s even,
Except some looker-on do make up seven.²⁵

One of the earliest and most well-known printed examples is *Contate bene. Noi siamo sette* of 1620-1630 by the Italian artist Giuseppe Caletti (British Museum 1932.0709.16) (Figure 13).

The print shows three men on donkeys, one of which raises his head in a dramatic bray. The central figure with a feather plumed hat carries a banner with the words “Noi siamo sette.” In the

²⁴ See Gregory Davies and Alison Stewart “Head of a Jester,” *Print Quarterly* 19:2 (2002): 170-174; M. A. Katritzky “Shakespeare’s ‘portrait of a blinking idiot’: Transnational Reflections,” in *Transnational Mobilities in Early Modern Theater*, ed. Robert Henke and Eric Nicholson (Burlington: Ashgate: 2014), 157-175.

²⁵ This verse is from the earlier English version of this trope, found on a frontispiece woodcut of 1655 by John Tayler. See Michael Hattaway, *A New Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 503; Kadritzky, *The Art of Commedia: A Study in the “Commedia dell’arte” 1560-1620 with Special Reference to the Visual Records* (New York: Rodopi, 2006), 211-213.

foreground is the text, “contate bien,” urging the viewer to “count well” in his assessment of the scene. Often the figures are often involved in buffoonery—drunk, playing instruments, and teetering in their saddles. A 1695 mezzotint by Dutch artist Cornelis Dusart and published by Jacob Gole provides a livelier, more absurd assortment of animals and characters (Figure 14). A fool, topped by a child jester with a wooden leg, rides a donkey with a collared owl. His equally foolish-looking counterpart wears a lantern as a hat and holds a pig under his arm. The script in the *margin* under the image reads “We are Seven” in English, Dutch, German, French and Latin.

The tapestry’s woven scene has a greater resemblance to more standard seventeenth- and eighteenth-century depictions of this trope, in which three men sit on donkeys whose heads converge at the center. A print published in 1635 by Mondhare at rue Saint Jacques in Paris, a popular publisher of optical prints, has the most similarities to the woven scene (Figure 15). Under similar block lettering, the woven figures share the lacy collars and body positions of the print; the left figure leans forward and the right has folded arms. The heads of the two donkeys in the foreground overlap, with the strips of their manes making a continuous line as they bow towards the earth. The figure on the right loops the donkey’s lead through his folded arms, while the end of the rope hangs in midair. However, the woven scene does not share the cropped composition of the print. The entirety of the donkeys’ bodies is visible in the tapestry, as well as the knife or sword of the left figure, suggesting that another print could have been the inspiration for the tapestry.

Prints that depict the full bodies of the donkeys are few and far between. A hand-colored print published by Paul André Basset between 1804 and 1814 in Paris depicts the donkeys from head to tail (Figure 16). Text within the print identifies them as *commedia dell’arte* characters, Pantaloon, Gilles, and Mezetin, three fools who meet on donkeys in the outskirts of a small town.

However, the men's costumes, positions and the arrangement of the text – the script above and the block print below – in addition to the print's late date, make it an unlikely source of inspiration. As I will demonstrate, it is likely that an earlier print that made its way to Peru inspired the Metropolitan's tapestry.

Previously, the tapestry had been dated to the sixteenth or seventeenth century, based on the fine quality of its weaving and the Spanish costumes of the figures that appeared to be of the period of Philip II.²⁶ The use of thread count in dating colonial textiles is a common approach in the field, as scholars generally point to a steady decline in the quality of textiles after the fall of the Inca Empire. Prior to the Conquest, the Inca had a carefully arranged infrastructure to facilitate the production of high-quality textiles (*cumbi*) for royal and ritual use and low-quality textiles (*avasca*) for domestic use across the great expanse of the empire. State inspections were common in which the Inca enforced the use of state fibers for personal use. Textiles were often used diplomatically by the Inca state; for example, gifts of textiles were made to outlying provinces recently conquered by the Inca to try to improve community relations. Each province had a *koraka*, an intermediary between the state and local community whose main job was as collector and enforcer of textile tribute. Compensation through textiles was also standard practice, as payment to *korakas* and couriers of state goods to and from provincial regions. Garments were also often used in military negotiations and state funerals.²⁷

In the colonial period, many of these regulations and systems loosened over time. Drastic change did not occur immediately, as previously thought, because weaving centers were dispersed throughout the far-reaching empire, so news of the Spanish overthrow did not reach many of them for several years. For example, weavers in Huánaco produced cloth in the same

²⁶ Weibel, “Creolerie,” 197-198.

²⁷ John Murra, “Cloth and Its Function in the Inca State,” *American Anthropologist* 64:4 (1962): 717-721.

manner they did under the Inca until 1549, while weavers in Milliraya, in the Lake Titicaca region, produced their textile quota until 1553, and in Juli until 1567.²⁸ However, into the later sixteenth century, many weaving centers in the empire did slow production and relaxed the high standards that they were previously meeting for the Inca state. The Spanish tried to harness the *cumbi* labor force, and between 1569 and 1579 Viceroy Francisco de Toledo executed a series of *visitas*, sending officials from community to community to locate former *cumbi* weavers.²⁹

In a general comparison of Inca and colonial period textiles, colonial pieces are of a lower quality. Textile conservators blame the relaxing of Inca standards on a decline in the quality of tapestries, as Inca tapestries have much higher thread counts per inch than colonial pieces. Notable exceptions are the so-called Bandelier tunics, a group of six collected by archaeologist Adolph Bandelier in the nineteenth century, which show a commitment to Inca-period standards in the early colonial period.³⁰ Due to their high quality, these tunics have been dated to the end of the sixteenth century. This initiated the general trend of dating colonial tapestries with lower thread counts and inferior qualities to the seventeenth century and even lower thread counts to the eighteenth century.

However, very little information exists on the production of tapestries in the colonial period due to the scarcity of contracts between weavers and patrons. Therefore, quality alone cannot be a reliable dating criterion, especially for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century pieces. In other words, a colonial period tapestry should not be assigned to the eighteenth century based on its thread count alone. Prints, in contrast, can be of crucial assistance in the process of dating a textile. A German print published in the Netherlands between 1620 and 1680 has a similar

²⁸ Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes," in *The Colonial Andes*, 26.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 25.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

composition and text placement as the Metropolitan's tapestry (Figure 17). The French phrase is listed under that of the German, "unser sind siben," just above the scene. In this print, all three donkey heads merge as one and the central figure holds his hat by his side in a manner distinct from the tapestry's scene. Other European prints show the figures with musical instruments, elements missing in the corresponding woven scene, but present in other sections of the tapestry.³¹ Scattered throughout the registers of The Met's tapestry, men and monkeys play flutes and guitars, perhaps a nod to the general tone of whimsy and playfulness that the scene inspires.

Although the exact print source of the scene is unknown, the influence of printed materials is clear. Simplifying minor details like costume, the weavers precisely rendered many of the print's details in tapestry weave, an impressive feat and testifying to their high skill level. Unless the weavers had a print that depicted the entirety of the composition, it is likely that they had to improvise some part of the composition—in this case the donkey rears. A clear innovation is their strategic use of color, an obvious addition to the black and white rubric of the print. Through a simple but carefully contrived color scheme, the weavers seamlessly incorporated the print scene into the overall composition of the tapestry. They assigned the scene the same reds, blues and yellows of the overall tapestry, so that at first glance, it only stands out from the other scenes and figures due to the inscription. More impressively, the weavers used color to guide the eye through the reading of the scene. They used yellow for the donkey on the left, the hat of the central figure and the jacket of the right figure, pulling the eye across the scene from figure to figure. The weavers distributed blues in a similar manner: on the sword and rein of the left figure, the jacket of the central figure and the collar, hat and exposed leg of the right fool.

³¹ See British Museum print (S.3800) by Cornelis Dusart of 1695.

The tapestry also diverges from most European prints in that the weavers have not transferred the ground or foliage at the feet of the characters to the textile. By removing these details, they have eliminated the pictorial space of the print. In other words, the ground in the scene is the same red as the ground of the rest of the tapestry. By contrast, a tapestry from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, treats its print source very differently (Figure 18). In the main field, which is predominantly filled with four vases overflowing with flowers, are four white rectangles with two figures in each quadrant. The figures were copied from a series of engravings published in Augsburg in the early eighteenth century and, unlike the Metropolitan's tapestry, the background of the four rectangles maintains the blank white background of the print.³² They appear as floating vignettes in the otherwise decorative schema of the tapestry. The insertion of these printed scenes into the tapestry demonstrates the "fragmented implementation" of European models into colonial artworks.³³ They do not integrate with the tapestry's overall layout or iconographic scheme.

While the *We are Seven* tapestry treats its print source more discreetly, some clues to its printed origins remain. Most of the woven lines and contours in the scene and in the overall tapestry are curvilinear and flowing, for example, those in the bulbous central medallion, the wavy meandering foliage in the blue borders, the simplified rounded haunches of the donkeys, and folds of the figures' garments. However, the gray shading on the right donkey's rear is in the form of two gray, irregular blotches with sharp edges and points, which resemble the cross hatching used to produce shadow or contour in engravings (Figure 12c). The weavers have also replicated the fine details of the fools' hair and hats, using fine yellow threads for the strands of

³² Gisela Zick and Hans-Joseph Dicke, "Callot in Peru: Notes on a Tapestry and its Graphic Sources," *Boston Museum Bulletin* 74:370 (1976): 72-85.

³³ Hecht, "The Past is Present" in *The Colonial Andes*, 49.

hair and blue for the right figure's hat. The way the two fools' hats penetrate the band of text also hints at its printed origins. Mistranslations of the inscription are due to the central fool's head, which separates the "nous" from "somme," while the right fool's hat obscures the "somme." By allowing the figures' costumes to interrupt the progression of the text, the text and image appear interrelated and in the same plane.

Furthermore, the donkey scene operates in a different way from the surrounding ones. While the scene is bookended by a man with a plumed hat and a torch and a tall flowering plant, it has some pictorial autonomy with respect to the tapestry. While decorative flowers and foliage insert themselves into any nook and cranny that surrounds the other figures and animals on the tapestry, the space between the "We are Seven" fools is relatively empty. This effect makes the scene appear strikingly still—with the two men tilted forward, the reins suspended in midair—as if the figures are frozen in time. By contrast, the swirling, looping, blossoming foliage that surrounds every other element on the tapestry heightens the dynamism of the already lively scenes of animals devouring their prey, musicians with instruments, and hunters leaping with spears. As we will explore, many of the other figures have print origins as well. It is not the print medium that gives a sense of this static, stilted moment, but the temporary lapse in the *horror vacui* that surrounded the fools and their donkeys which renders them more static than the surrounding scenes.

2.3 Beyond "Nous Sommes Sept:" Additional Print Sources

The "We are Seven" scene is just one small section of the tapestry. But what is its relationship to the rest of the tapestry? Isolating and examining this scene actually works to identify a larger structure to the tapestry. The remaining spaces of the red border are filled with a

dynamic medley of musicians, hunters, exotic and pastoral animals, and flowering vines and trees of all kinds. While the tendency has been to call the subject matter a narrative, it is more likely that each section represents an isolated scene. On close inspection, it becomes clear that the weavers have used foliage as framing devices that separate each scene. These decorative elements not only divide the groups of figures, but also create a sense of movement from scene to scene as the eye undulates along the crawling vines to the next vignette.

Like the “We are Seven” scene, many of the other scenes in the tapestry derive from print sources. One clue to this discovery came from the numerous exotic and foreign animals on the tapestry, creatures very unfamiliar to the Andes Mountains. The tapestry features lions, dragons, rams, an elephant, panther, and numerous fantastical creatures. Many other colonial Andean textiles feature animals indigenous to highland regions of Peru. For example, *viscacha* are popular in colonial Peruvian textiles. A seventeenth- to eighteenth-century *lliclla* (mantle) features a small yellow *viscacha*, as does a fragment of a tapestry of the same period, which has yellow and blue *viscachas* around its outer border (Figures 19-20). By contrast, the *We are Seven* piece features a wider assortment of animal life, signaling the influence of foreign sources used by the tapestry’s weavers.

A genre that features an extraordinary number of animals, both exotic and imagined, is the emblem book, widely popular across Europe from 1530 to 1750. Emblem books emerged during the Italian Renaissance, and combined stories from Greek mythology, the Old Testament, Aesop’s fables and medieval literature in both text and image. These books spanned political, ethical, religious, philosophical, and folkloric realms, and always relied on an inventive and playful combination of text and image. The typical format included a motto, image (emblem), and accompanying explanation, usually in poetic form in Latin or the vernacular. Emblem books

varied in format, but each required the viewer's diligent study and deciphering. They were an intellectual exercise that combined historical, religious, and moralistic lessons.³⁴

After the publication of the first emblem book, *Emblematum liber* (Little Book of Emblems; Augsburg, 1531) by the Italian lawyer Andrea Alciato, the genre spread across Europe and became an important source of cultural knowledge through the eighteenth century.³⁵ This genre was especially popular in Spain, which had a history of visual allegory beginning with the publication of *Psychomachia* by the Hispano-Roman author Prudentius in the fifth century.³⁶ For the first time, this text illustrated the virtues, personified as women, who fight against vices. This visual trope of the battle between good and evil infused the iconography of saints and kings in the early modern period, rooting Renaissance and Baroque imagery with historical significance.

Emblem books spread to Peru from Europe in the personal libraries of the first groups of arriving Spaniards. This genre became even more important in the viceroyalties, where it was used to proclaim Spain's imperial victory over the Americas. As Ramón Mujica has discussed, prints like Pedro Peralta y Barnuevo's frontispiece in *Historia de España Vindicada* used allegory to illustrate Spain seated on a throne of virtues (fortitude, perseverance and religion), while triumphing over its many enemies—barbarians, Romans, Muslims and heretics.³⁷ For Spaniards, imperial domination went hand in hand with evangelization, so in addition to the

³⁴ See, among others: Peter Daly, *The Emblem in Early Modern Europe: Contributions to the Theory of the Emblem* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2014); Daly and G. Richard Dimler, *The Jesuit Emblem in the European Context* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2016); Daly, ed., *Andrea Alciato and the Emblem Tradition: Essays in Honor of Virginia Woods Callahan* (New York: AMS Press, 1989); "Emblematica Online," University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, accessed January 6, 2016, <http://emblematica.grainger.illinois.edu/>; "Glasgow University Emblem Website," accessed January 6, 2016, <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/>.

³⁵ Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum liber* (Augsburg: Heinrich Steyner, 1531).

³⁶ Ramón Mujica Pinilla, "Identidades alegóricas: Lecturas iconográficas del barroco al neoclásico," in *El barroco peruano*, vol. 2 (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2003), 252; Jaime Mariazza Foy, "Las imágenes alegóricas y sus textos en la pintura virreinal," *Revista Kaypunku* (2002), 3.

³⁷ Mujica Pinilla, "Identidades alegóricas," 257.

virtues, biblical allegory was a popular theme throughout the Americas. These sources not only heralded Spain as morally and spiritually superior, but also highlighted their responsibility to rid their new colonies of paganism. As art was a principal way of advertising these ideals, American artists frequently used emblem books as sources for artworks in different media as well. In addition to introducing important characters and themes from the Old and New Testaments, emblem books like Alciato's *Emblematum* also served as guidebooks to the grotesque for artists of the Americas. The ornamental frames surrounding the emblems often have foliate heads, wild foliage, hybrid creatures, overflowing cornucopia and other decorative features that became guides for local artists learning a European Renaissance and Baroque visual vocabulary.³⁸ The ways in which Peruvian artists translated and transformed these printed allegories to painted canvases has been the subject of several studies by Mujica and Jaime Mariazza Foy.³⁹

One of the earliest and most popular Spanish emblem books was Juan de Borja's *Empresas morales*.⁴⁰ Published in Prague in 1581, the book has one hundred emblems set in cartouches with accompanying morals in Latin. An explanatory text in Spanish follows each illustration on the following page. The book includes multiple emblems with what is arguably one of the most popular animals found in this genre: lions. Historically, these animals have been attributes of numerous saints, cities (the coat of arms of Potosí features two standing lions), the imperial crown of Spain, the continent of Africa, and are associated with both the four temperaments and in the zodiac system.⁴¹

³⁸ Hecht, "The Past is Present" in *The Colonial Andes*, 42-56.

³⁹ Mujica Pinilla, "Identidades alegóricas," 258-329; Jaime Mariazza Foy, "Las imágenes alegóricas," 2002.

⁴⁰ Juan de Borja, *Empresas morales* (Prague: Georgius Nigrinus, 1581).

⁴¹ James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1974), 193.

Across the tapestry, lions are found in numerous scenes, both in the act of hunting and as human prey. One particular depiction of a lion stands out because of a key trait of this creature: its tail beneath its legs, signifying timidity and fear (Figure 21). Its body language depicts a different lion prototype—that of the coward—and points to one particular emblem, illustrated widely across emblem books. Borja's *Empresas morales* depicts a lion in a similar position: in profile facing to the right with his tail beneath his legs as he runs from a large fire (Figure 22).⁴² The mighty lion fleeing the flames illustrates the accompanying moral: “the great are even frightened by vain things.” The Metropolitan's tapestry does not include the raging fire of the print, but it does have a flame-like motif below the lion. Although several other floral motifs surround the lion, the yellow and red form of the motif is distinctive and could depict tendrils of flames. The weavers have also transferred other details of the print to the tapestry: the spots on the lion's back and its long, stringy mane. Clearly unfamiliar with the appearance of a lion, the weavers have given the lion more of a beard than a mane with thick cords of hair sprouting beneath its chin.

European emblematic models were clearly used by weavers and metalworkers alike, as their ornamental layouts and components are often very similar. A silver *aquilla* (drinking vessel) dating to 1600 features a cowardly lion in a position similar to the flame-frightened lion on the *We are Seven* tapestry (Figure 23). Mirroring the composition of the emblem in Borja's *Empresas morales*, the lion on the *aquilla* looks over his right shoulder with his tail between his legs. Flanked by two vegetal forms, the lion has an odd three-leafed motif emerging from beneath his legs. Perhaps an attempt to depict the furry tassel-tip of a lion's tail by silver workers unfamiliar with this creature, this motif is very similar to the three-petal form that emerges from the belly of

⁴² Borja, *Empresas morales*, 85.

the *We are Seven* lion running from fire. Both lions reveal the use of similar European models and a shared confusion across media as to how to depict this foreign creature.

The cowardly lion is just one example of the ways in which comparing the motifs of tapestries and silverwork can lead to a better understanding of ornamental schemes in the Andes. Without considering the lion depiction on the silver *aquilla*, the three-petal motif strangely emerging from the belly of the woven lion could pass for a foliage or decorative floral motif. Examining ornament across media provides insight into the process by which Andean artists transformed, misinterpreted, embellished or simplified European models to form a unique visual vocabulary with surprising consistency across art forms and decades of artistic output. The examination of the *We are Seven* tapestry benefits from a cohesive reading of its many composite parts. Although the tapestry does not present a narrative, per se, it does feature visual variations on themes and motifs. Examining these multiple reiterations of a theme, in this case that of the lion, allows us to consider the visual complexity of this symbol in the Andean iconography, as well as the possible significance of this animal for a colonial Peruvian audience.

In both colonial Andean textiles and silverwork, a more common depiction is the rampart lion with an outstretched tongue and crown. This motif is found on colonial tunics and silver *aquillas* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁴³ Another reiteration on this theme is the lion in combat with a human. The *We are Seven* tapestry features this type of scene, with a man wrestling with a lion's jaws (Figure 24). Unlike the cowardly lion, this beast is ferocious and poised to attack. His tail curls upward, his many teeth are visible between his clenched jaws, and his mane flows down the back of his head majestically. This particular scene may reference a fable where a man domesticates a lion so successfully that he can put his hand between his jaws.

⁴³ Also see the man's tunic (*uncu*) with two standing lions facing one another just below the neck yoke (Southern Andes, seventeenth century, private collection) and a silver *aquilla* found in the wreck of the *Nuestra Señora de Atocha* galleon, dating to before 1622 (Mel Fisher Maritime Museum, Key West, A85-4311).

However, when the man begins to shave the lion's mane, he is bitten and killed. The moral here: "avoid forbidden things," or "brute instincts can't be tamed." However, most printed depictions of this scene, such as that in Sebastián de Covarrubias Horozco's *Emblemas morales* (Madrid, 1610), show the man with a razor in his hand, in the act of shaving the lion, an element not present in the tapestry (Figure 25).⁴⁴

Close observation reveals that the tapestry scene likely depicts a more famous lion encounter, perhaps from the tales of Samson, David, or Hercules. In the story of Samson and the lion, Samson, strengthened by the spirit of God, rips apart a lion with his bare hands while on the way to his marriage proposal. Old Testament scenes were popular in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century texts because the prophets were often associated with popular parables and temperaments. Especially common throughout Europe in the seventeenth century were illustrated biblical texts with emblematic scenes, scripture and explanatory moral text. One example is *Königliches Seelen-Panget* (1666) published in Munich, which includes a print of Samson straddling a snarling lion with both of his hands inside the lion's jaws (Figure 26).⁴⁵ Outside the cartouche featuring this scene are two defeated lions on their sides, bodies limp. The emblem represents the key values of faith and strength, and the visual metaphor of the lion, the mightiest creature in the animal kingdom, shows the ability of faith to fortify strength to superhuman levels. Samson and the lion were also popular in European textiles of the period. Numerous cushion covers, woven by Flemish weavers working in northern Germany in the seventeenth

⁴⁴ Sebastián de Covarrubias Horozco, *Emblemas morales* (Madrid: Luis Sanchez, 1610), 73. This book was based off the earlier *Emblemas morales* by Juan de Horozco y Covarrubias (Segovia: Juan de la Cuesta, 1589).

⁴⁵ *Königliches Seelen-Panget/ Das ist: Dreyhundert und Fünff- und sechtzig anmüthige Monath-Gedächtnussen von dem hochwürdigsten Sacrament deß Altarsgenommen auß Göttlicher H. Schrift deß Alten Testaments* (Munich: Jäcklin, 1666), 353.

century, depict the fight in a central roundel.⁴⁶ The cushion features the more standard composition of Samson straddling the lion's back and prying his jaws apart. Liturgical textiles also feature this duo, such as an early eighteenth-century silk Portuguese chasuble with several repeated motifs of the historic fight (Figure 27). Judging by the large number of European textiles in Andean collections, this iconography could have entered Peru through these imported pieces.

A similar depiction of a man wrestling with the jaws of a lion is found on a colonial tapestry in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Figure 28). The tapestry is of similar dimensions (222 x 188cm) to the "We Are Seven" textile, and has a cotton warp and wool weft. Situated around a central coat of arms are four scenes from the Old Testament: Samson and the lion, Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, Cain clubbing Abel, and Tobias and the fish. One of the few colonial tapestries with text, the Boston tapestry's biblical scenes each have a corresponding label—"Sanson, Isaac, Abel, and Tovias"—in uppercase and with creative spellings.

Compositionally, the portrayal of Samson on the tapestry is very similar to the *We are Seven* piece (Figures 29-30). In both scenes, Samson stands to the left of the lion, wears a tunic with exposed forearms, and has his hands on the lion's jaws as if prying them open. On the Boston tapestry, his cape billows out behind him, while the figure on the *We are Seven* piece has a white accoutrement on his back, either a cape or a quiver.

While the same print source could have likely inspired both woven scenes, the *We are Seven* piece features a much more simplified representation of the scene in both form and color. These differences are perhaps a consequence of the way each scene relates to the overall organization of the tapestry. In the *We are Seven* piece, the scene is tucked into its outer red

⁴⁶ See *Samson Slaying the Lion* (cushion cover) in the Kestner Museum, Hannover. See Figure 7.1 in Christa Mayer Thurman, *European Textiles* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001), 31.

border, crowded by nearby foliage, a hunter with a spear, and animals that form a cacophonous frieze. However, the depiction of Samson and the lion on the Boston tapestry has pictorial independence. Positioned on an empty red ground interrupted only by the spelling of his name, the scene is in a prominent position in the tapestry's central field just to the bottom left of the large oval coat-of-arms. It is also larger, considerably more detailed than the Metropolitan's piece, and more clearly reveals its print origins. The weavers' use of a print source is evident in their three-dimensional handling of the man's body and in the woven addition of cross-hatching down the spine of the lion and on Samson's garment folds. Scholars have not been able to connect the tapestry with a specific print, but have assigned it to the eighteenth century based on the similarities of its floral border to other Museum of Fine Arts, Boston tapestry, previously discussed, which can be dated to 1725 to 1775 through the aid of prints.⁴⁷

Although the Boston tapestry offers support that this Old Testament scene was in the repertoire of colonial Peruvian textiles, the lion-wrestling man we see in it is not necessarily Samson. There are many similarities between Samson and Hercules, another possible source for this woven scene. In his first labor, Hercules slays the Nemean lion, first trying to use arrows, explaining what could be a quiver and small cape on the figure's back. Ultimately, he is successful in strangling the lion, but loses a finger in the struggle. Juan Francisco Fernández de Heredia's *Trabajo y afanes de Hercules* depicts Hercules a moment before his triumph over the lion (Figure 31).⁴⁸ His club and arrows lay abandoned on the ground on the left, as if his brute strength made their use unnecessary.

The Renaissance fascination with Greek mythology made Hercules a popular subject in prints, tapestries, paintings, armor, and coinage across Europe in the sixteenth century. During

⁴⁷ Larry Salmon, "The Bible in Peru," *Boston Museum Bulletin* 74.370 (1976): 91-92.

⁴⁸ Juan Francisco Fernández de Heredia, *Trabajo y afanes de Hercules* (Madrid: Francisco Sanz, 1682), 146.

this time, Hercules was a symbol for moral and civic good, strength, and masculinity, and his twelve labors represented the triumph over evil. He was also a figure closely associated with Spanish kings, making him a common trope in palace decoration and coats-of-arms. Charles I of Spain (Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor), colloquially known as the “Spanish Hercules,” used the Pillars of Hercules in his coat-of-arms. He also owned riding armor made by an Augsburg armorer around 1540, which featured numerous scenes from Hercules’s life, including wrestling with the Nemean lion.⁴⁹ Charles I not only associated himself with Hercules; he claimed to descend from him, claiming a link to one of Hercules’s labors, the capture of King Geryon’s cattle, which occurred on Spanish soil.⁵⁰ The princely association with Hercules continued throughout the Hapsburg kings of Spain. The collection of Philip II included six tapestries depicting the Labor of Hercules, which were originally part of a set of twelve that the sister of Charles V commissioned in 1535 from the Netherlandish weaver Willem Dermoyen.⁵¹ The Hall of Realms in the palace of Philip IV included ten paintings of the Labors of Hercules by the Spanish painter Francisco de Zurbarán, continuing the trope of Hercules as a symbol of the Spanish monarchy. Here, the scenes functioned as *emblemas*, advertising Hercules’s triumph over discord, and by association, the king’s conquer of domestic and foreign enemies.⁵²

The depiction of Hercules in textile form was especially popular in sixteenth-century tapestries, the most famous of which were produced by several workshops in the Netherlands, including that in Dermoyen. These tapestries feature Hercules’s labors or other main events in his

⁴⁹ See Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, Concha Herrero Carretero, and José A. Godoy, *Resplendence of the Spanish Monarchy: Renaissance Tapestries and Armor from the Patrimonio Nacional* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991), 130-137.

⁵⁰ Jonathan Brown and J. H. Elliott, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 160.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 156-61; 105-14, especially fn. 39: Philip II had a tapestry of the Labors of Hercules.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 160-161.

life in the main field usually with one outer decorative floral border.⁵³ Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Hercules also became a common decorative motif in European household textiles. A late eighteenth-century French silk panel depicts him battling the flame-breathing Hydra with his club poised above his head to strike (Figure 32). Both Flemish prints and tapestries with scenes of Hercules have backgrounds with typical Flemish pastoral scenes—village scenes, meandering paths, castles, towers and small huts—subjects also found on the *We are Seven* tapestry in various sections.

Considering the popularity of Hercules in Europe and especially in Spain, it is no surprise then that additional scenes from the Twelve Labors of Hercules appear on the *We are Seven* tapestry. The opposite side of the border depicts Hercules in more identifiable attire (Figure 33). Here he wears a lion hide and raises a spiked club to kill the winged dragon. This scene could be the second labor of Hercules, his battle with the Hydra. In Renaissance conventions, this multi-headed serpent was often depicted as a winged dragon. However, the creature could also be the one-headed winged dragon, Ladon, the guardian of the apples of Hesperides who Hercules battles in his eleventh labor. Another print in Heredia's *Trabajo y afanes de Hercules* depicts a similar scene in the setting of a garden (Figure 34). In the background are several plots of land and a fence with an arched entryway to the garden. In the story, the dragon was said to have been twisted around the apple tree in the garden, which is perhaps what the weavers were attempting to accomplish by having the tree bisect the creature's neck. Here the apple tree, likely unfamiliar to the weavers, bears some fruit and large teardrop blossoming flowers.

It is tempting to read additional scenes on the tapestry as the remaining labors of Hercules. Directly next to Hercules and the Nemean lion is a scene of a man blowing a hunter's

⁵³ For example, see the four tapestries, *Four Episodes in the Story of Hercules*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (c. 1515-35, South Netherlands; 35.79.1-4.)

horn (Figure 35). He holds a spear positioned to strike the back of a red animal. This could be the third labor of Hercules with the Arcadian stag, the beloved animal of the huntress Diana who is often depicted with a hunting horn. A 1573 French engraving shows Diana returning the hunting horn to Hercules, who carries a staff and reaches for the instrument (Figure 36). In the tapestry's right upper corner, on the same horizontal plane as these two scenes, is a scene of a man with a spear next to two fighting birds (Figure 37). This scene could be the sixth labor of Hercules, the killing of the Stymphalian birds, known in myth for their sharp beaks and talons. However, at closer examination, the man is missing a leg and has what appear to be wings. A possible source for this figure could be outside the visual lexicon of Hercules, instead illustrating a popular emblem of Father Time. Two versions of this figure in Covarrubias's *Emblemas morales* depict him with a wooden leg, wings, and a scythe (Figures 38-39).

Another woven scene potentially representing Hercules shows a male under a tree with a woman on either side of him (Figure 40). A popular subject in sixteenth-century Flemish engravings was Hercules at the Crossroads between Vice and Virtue. In this allegory, he stands beneath a tree and chooses between two women, who personify these traits. Each beckons him to their respective worlds, but Hercules ultimately chooses Virtue. An engraving by Jan Sadeler shows him in the midst of this decision. Hercules stands in contrapposto with his hand on his hip and his elbow and gaze directed toward Virtue, his inevitable choice, who is cloaked in garments and a shroud over her head. Vice, her head, arms and leg unclothed, gestures to the pastures on her left (Figure 41). Considering the other depictions of Hercules on The Met tapestry, this scene may depict Hercules facing this moral dilemma. On the tapestry, one woman is scantily clad, with only a skirt, while the other is fully clothed. In most printed representations of this scene,

Hercules gestures with his body or hands toward Virtue. Similarly on the tapestry, he gestures toward the right moral decision, personified by the skirted woman on the right.

Other events from Greek mythology are also present on the tapestry. On the opposite border of the “We are Seven” scene is a woman seemingly chained to trees with vines and threatened by a dragon (Figure 42). The likely myth for this scene is Andromeda being saved from the sea monster by Perseus (Figure 43). Here, the weavers have shown Perseus descending not on his standard white horse, but in a semi-circular cloud in what could be the winged sandals described by classical writers. Scenes like this one are not only found on textiles of the colonial period. A late seventeenth-century Peruvian cabinet, inlaid with tortoiseshell and ivory, features mythological scenes on its sixteen small drawers. At its center is Andromeda’s rescue (Figures 44-45).

Considering the weavers’ significant use of print sources, it is worth returning to The Met tapestry’s central field to test the strength of previous interpretations of the central medallion and four corners. The central roundel has previously been described as a cloud motif, Chinese chi (life force) and phoenix and dragon motif (Figure 46).⁵⁴ The Chinese influence in the roundel has also been linked to the figures in the lower two corners who sit under Asian-style canopies (Figure 47). In 1944 Zimmern wrote: “The pose of these figures, the canopies, scepters and associated animals certainly seem to have been inspired by Chinese motives. In my opinion, silks, rugs, or other goods coming from China by way of the Philippines imparted these ideas to the Peruvian weaver.”⁵⁵ The entry of Chinese products into Peruvian markets had undeniable effects on local artistic production. Officially, the production of luxury fabrics was prohibited in the colonies in order to protect Spanish industries at home, requiring all purchases of silks,

⁵⁴ Weibel, “Creolerie,” 198; Phipps, “Global Colors: Dyes and the Dye Trade,” *Interwoven Globe*, 164.

⁵⁵ Nathalie Zimmern, “The Tapestries of Colonial Peru,” *Brooklyn Museum Journal* 4 (1943-1944), 34.

velvets, and other luxury textiles to come directly from Spain. Contrary to Spanish wishes, however, non-Spanish global products entered Peruvian markets, likely in exchange for American silver. Beginning in 1572, the Manila galleon trade introduced Asian silks and other products to Peruvian markets via Acapulco, Mexico. Merchant ships then transported the products to the Lima port of Callao, where they were traded for Peruvian silver.⁵⁶

The influence of these Chinese exports can be seen in Andean tapestries with Chinese flora and fauna motifs, including birds like the phoenix with colorful plumage, and other animals.⁵⁷ These motifs may have been inspired by the embroidered squares depicting animals and birds found on the silk robes of Ming nobles.⁵⁸ The central roundel on the *We are Seven* tapestry is distinct from these motifs, however. To begin, the crawling, globular shape contains two putti heads, one with a ruffled collar. The floating heads disrupt the reading of the roundel as a Chinese motif, as these elements are more European in nature.

An illuminating visual connection is the resemblance of these heads to blowing wind heads, personifications of wind itself, found on maps in early modern Europe. These maps typically feature wind heads at the map's corners (cardinal directions) or border. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European maps are not an unlikely source of inspiration for the weavers of the tapestry. One particular map, the *Wittenberg World Map*, also known as *Daniel's Dream Map*, may have played a pivotal role in the design of the tapestry's central medallion. The map depicts

⁵⁶ For more on Manila galleon trade, see Phipps, "Cumbi to Tapestry," 72-99; Etsuko Miyata Rodríguez, "The Early Manila Galleon Trade: Merchants' Networks and Markets in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Mexico," in *Asia and Spanish America: Trans-Pacific Artistic and Cultural Exchange*, ed. Donna Pierce and Ronald Otsuka (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2009), 39-57; Arturo Giraldez, *The Age of Trade: The Manila Galleons and the Dawn of the Global Economy* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015); Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "Asia in the Arts of Colonial Latin America," in *The Arts in Latin America, 1492-1820*, ed. Joseph J. Rishel and Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, (Philadelphia Museum of Art, Yale University Press, 2006), 57-69.

⁵⁷ See the Textile Museum 91.504 and the Victoria and Albert Museum 933.1901; A. F. Kendrick, "A Peruvian Tapestry," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 47:273 (1925): 292-293, 296-297.

⁵⁸ Schuyler Cammann, "Chinese Influence in Colonial Peruvian Tapestries," *Textile Museum Journal* 1:3 (1964): 26.

the prophet Daniel's apocalyptic dream that "four winds of the heaven and four great beasts rise up from the sea," symbolizing the four world kingdoms and the second coming of Christ (Figure 48). This map itself illustrates the continents of Europe, Africa, and Asia, each with its respective wind head and beast from Daniel's dream.⁵⁹ It was first published in 1530 in a book on Daniel by Martin Luther, and again in the Wittenberg Bible of 1534, then published widely in bibles and other theological texts between 1530 and 1661. Unlike other biblical maps, which became more and more specific and scientific over time through alterations and additions of previously uncharted territory, *Daniel's Dream Map* became increasingly fantastical over time with variations in the beasts and hazy approximations of landmasses.⁶⁰

The organization of the global form on the tapestry is not unlike that of world maps featuring three continents: Africa, Asia, and Europe. The oblong land mass of Africa with its small cutout for Lake Victoria, the thin peninsula of Europe and the series of tail-like islands of Asia, all enclosed within a circular medallion, create a landform that is not unlike the shape on the tapestry. These maps were popular throughout illustrated bibles and emblem books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including Borja's *Empresas Morales*, which looks very much like the roundel on the tapestry (Figure 49). Although not labeled with continent names or displaying the typical animal associated with each continent, which was often placed within the continent borders, the tapestry's central design is reminiscent of a sprawling landmass surrounded by water. The delicate white lines inside the border of the globular shapes are also evocative of the hatching marks on woodcut prints.

⁵⁹ Catherine Delano-Smith and Elizabeth Morley Ingram, *Maps in Bibles, 1500-1600: An Illustrated Catalogue* (Geneva: Droz, 1991), 71-78.

⁶⁰ Ibid; Delano-Smith, "Maps as Art and Science," 69.

The geographic motif in the central medallion makes additional sense in the context of the tapestry's main field. In the main field's corners are four figures representing the Four Continents, Africa, Asia, Europe, and America, echoing the illustration of the globe in the central roundel (Figure 50). On one side of the tapestry are two figures under canopies, which have previously been described as a crowned king and queen surrounded by animals.⁶¹ They are undoubtedly royal figures, but they are likely also personifications of Africa and Asia, with Europe and America at the opposite corners.

Beginning in the late sixteenth century, series of prints of the Four Continents were popular throughout Europe, as they advertised Europe's explorations across the globe. A standard means of representing the personified continents was through an allegorical figure seated on an animal native to each respective region. The late sixteenth-century engravings by Netherlandish printmaker Adriaen Collaert after Maerten de Vos use this representational strategy, with each animal acting as a throne (Figures 51-52). The figures on the tapestry similarly adhere to this convention, although the animals do not correspond to those typically featured in prints (Figure 50). Africa is paired with a cow or ram, Asia with a panther and elephant, Europe with a puma, and America with a deer. Although the animals depicted vary widely in prints, there seems to have been some confusion on the part of the weavers as to which animal to pair with each figure. Whereas Africa is typically paired with an elephant, on the tapestry the elephant belongs to Asia, who holds her iconic incense censer.

Africa and Asia also sit under canopies, which float in midair above them and grow into the foliage that surrounds them. Each canopy has two thin posts and a pedaled umbrella that hangs between them. At the top of each is a small arch on which birds perch. These settings for

⁶¹ Phipps, "Tapestry with figurative scenes," 244.

Africa and Asia are similar to those in the ornamental prints made by Flemish engraver Marcus Gheraerts the Elder and published by Philips Galle c. 1590-1600 (Figure 53). In the engravings, Africa and Asia stand under the delicate framework of a small trellis hung with flowery vines and ribbons. As on the tapestry, the posts of each trellis seem to grow organically into the tangled forest of flora and fauna surrounding them. Other elements in these prints may have also been influential to the tapestry makers. The bottom register of the Africa print contains two figures, one on each side of a grotesque head whose open mouth consumes the scrolling wood infrastructure on which the two figures sit. The necks of these two monstrous heads taper into sinewy vines, which disappear into the arrangement of foliage above them. The bottom left corner of the tapestry features a similar beast devouring a foliate man in the corner. It is clear from these examples that the imaginative ornament found in early modern prints inspired the tapestry's makers.

It is also clear from other colonial textiles and paintings that the Four Continents were a familiar iconographic trope in the viceregal Americas. A cotton Mexican bedcover with wool embroidery from 1770-80 has a central roundel with pairs of figures from each of the Four Continents (Figure 54). Each couple sits on a floating green landmass whose bottoms form the contours of the roundel. Outside the roundel are the embroidered names of each continent and the owner of the bedcover. This example shows that common household textiles across the viceregal Americas sometimes featured the iconography of the Four Continents. The visual trope is also found in Cusco School painting of a similar period, showing the spread of engravings of the Four Continents to other media. The allegories of the continents were often depicted in scenes of triumphal processions, including those featured in an eighteenth-century Cusco School painting, *Triumph of Christ the King with the Four Continents* (Figure 55). Likely a fragment of

a larger work, the painting shows Christ on a processional cart, passing by four seated allegories of the continents. This scene, undoubtedly based on a European engraving, recalls the entrance of Prince Philip into Antwerp in 1549, where he was greeted by a *tableau vivant* of the Four Continents.⁶² Here, America is depicted as the woman on the left with a crown of roses, perhaps an approximation of Santa Rosa of Lima, who holds a bow and arrows.

2.4 On Moral Holdings: Prints and Private Libraries

Considering the sophistication of the *We are Seven* tapestry's iconography, a learned individual would have likely owned this piece and put it on public or semi-public display in his private residence. The visual program of the tapestry suggests several possibilities for the type of space and manner in which the tapestry was displayed. Due to its large size and subject matter, the tapestry was likely a central piece—a wall hanging or a table cover—in the *sala de estrado*, the space intended for entertaining, game playing, courtship and musical serenades. As discussed in Chapter 1, the *sala de estrado*, which was a semi-public room used for social occasions for family members and special guests, often featured an eclectic array of artworks, luxury goods and house furnishings. Inventories show that tapestries, rugs, and other luxury textiles were displayed prominently in this space, which, although we can only speculate, would have made a fitting home for the *We are Seven* tapestry. Through its far-ranging motifs, it communicated the intellectual and cultural breadth of its owner.

The lively and elaborately detailed scenes and figures on the tapestry suggest that it was not merely a decorative, background object in the residence. Its many dynamic elements suggest that it was a prestige piece that brought humor and moral lessons to the *estrado*'s visitors, which

⁶² Maria Manzari Cohen, "Triumph of Christ the King," in *Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America*, ed. Diane Fane (New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1996), 234-235.

could have even included the children of noble families. Its small scenes and details suggest that viewers were meant to view it in close proximity or that it was perhaps an accompanying prop in an oral recitation of moral tales and Greek tragedies. As the *estrado* was primarily a female space, women may have been in closest proximity to this textile, and perhaps used it to demonstrate proper, princely behavior to their children. Due to its playful “we are seven” print source, the tapestry could have even been a humorous backdrop to an array of game-playing that occurred in the *estrado*. Upper-class families played versions of modern-day pool, cards, and chess, and sometimes even had special furniture and rooms for these activities.⁶³

Tapestries like this one help to expand our notion of the role textiles played in viceregal Peru. In addition to functionality and decoration, tapestries were active agents in the social sphere of the *sala de estrado*. Their visual programs and strategic placement gave them social exposure and agency, and archival documents suggest that they had a potentially powerful visibility in domestic and sacred spaces. However, the manner of display of this type of tapestry is not clear. One element that has confounded scholars has been The Met tapestry’s orientation. The central motif with the putti heads suggests it should only be viewed vertically, however the “We are Seven” scene is oriented ninety degrees to the left side. Johanna Hecht attests to the often-perplexing orientation of elements on colonial Peruvian tapestries:

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, silverware as well as tapestry design took inspiration from stylistic developments that pushed both art forms in an anti-architectural direction, drawing together the patterning and conception of the two media ever closer together.⁶⁴

⁶³ Gustavo Curiel, “Ajuares domésticos: los rituales de lo cotidiano,” *Historia de la vida cotidiana en México*, vol. 2 (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2005), 101-102.

In other words, we cannot freely apply the methods for deciphering European tapestries, hangings or carpets to colonial Peruvian pieces. The conflicting orientations of the central design and the outwardly positioned border scenes on the Metropolitan's piece cast into question its intended method of display.

Although the tapestry could have been in a playful setting, we should not rule out the possibility that it was instead used in a religious context. The extreme fineness of its weave, ample use of red (the liturgical color for the Passion), and the iconography focused on moral lessons may indicate its placement in a religious space. Emblems played pivotal roles in sermons and religious instruction, particularly in the Jesuit order. In Golden Age Spain, the emblem was widely utilized by Jesuits to convey moral lessons during sermons, during which they playfully solved visual puzzles like these for their audiences.⁶⁵ The central medallion of the tapestry similarly lends itself to a religious setting. Daniel's Dream came to be regarded as a prophecy of the end of the world in which the apocalypse would emerge from the oppressive Roman Empire. Contemporary theologians saw Daniel's dream as foretelling the attack of the Turks on Christian Europe, and over the decades maps came to be less a geographical motif and more a symbol of the perseverance of Christianity.⁶⁶

The triumph of the Catholic faith was a pressing campaign in the colonial Americas, where Andean religion and Christianity were still in an often contentious relationship, making

⁶⁴ Johanna Hecht, "Transformation and Persistence of Imported Ornament," 52.

⁶⁵ John Cull, "The Baroque at Play: Homiletic and Pedagogical Emblems in Francisco Garau and Other Spanish Golden Age Preachers," *Writing for the Eyes in the Spanish Golden Age*, ed. Frederick A. de Armas (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2004), 237-256; Antonio Bernat Vistarini, "La emblemática de los jesuitas en España: Los libros de Lorenzo Ortiz y Francisco Garau," *Emblemata aurea. La emblemática en el arte y la literatura del Siglo de Oro*, ed. Rafael Zafra and José Javier Azanza (Madrid: AKAL, 2000), 57-68.

⁶⁶ Delano-Smith, "Maps as Art and Science," 69.

Daniel's Dream map a potentially powerful symbol.⁶⁷ In the seventeenth century, the issue of the fourth kingdom was widely debated because there was a general sense of the coming apocalypse due the devastation of the Thirty Years War, the Ottoman threat to Europe, and the ongoing colonization of the Americas. There was even thought that the Americas represented the fifth kingdom, and that the transfer of empires should follow Daniel's Dream by moving East to West.⁶⁸ This map as represented on The Met tapestry might have held particular meaning for Spanish and Creole inhabitants of viceregal Peru, who saw themselves as crusaders of Christianity as conversion efforts continued into the seventeenth century. Its placement in the center of the tapestry would have marked the place where the monstrance would stand on the altar.

Iconography of the triumph of Christianity is also found on a tapestry from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, discussed earlier, which also uses significant print sources (Figure 18). In floating vignettes on either side of the main field are pairs of figures from the prints of Jacques Callot published in Augsburg and Amsterdam at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The figures are all dwarves, some in European dress and others in Turkish garb with turbans and robes. These eastern and western pairs likely illustrate the battles between Christianity and Islam, which was a concern at this time of the Austro-Hungarian wars (1683-1699).⁶⁹ Previously identified as Spaniards and native Peruvians, the figures operate in a similar way: as a contrast of Christianity with contemporaneous threats.⁷⁰ In this way, seemingly secular figures like men and

⁶⁷ See Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640-1750* (Princeton: University Press, 1997).

⁶⁸ Carol Newsom with Brennan Breed, *Daniel: A Commentary* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2014), 90-92.

⁶⁹ Zick and Dicke, "Callot in Peru," 79.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 75.

animals could have instead symbolized Christianity's triumph over religious enemies, Muslims and Indians alike. The tapestry in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, was undoubtedly placed on a surface—altar or table—as the four urns at the corners face a central coat-of-arms. The Metropolitan Museum's tapestry could have been used similarly, in a church or in a space like the private oratory, adjacent to the *sala de estrado* used for conducting private masses, the spiritual instruction of children, and sometimes sewing and embroidery projects. Period inventories reveal that private oratories had a small altar and an assortment of textiles and other artworks.

Textiles of documented provenance help unravel the issue of the tapestry's display. An eighteenth-century knotted pile carpet from Arequipa, Peru, in the Brooklyn Museum presents an interesting comparison with the Metropolitan Museum's tapestry (Figure 56). At 159 x 129 inches in size, it is larger than the *We are Seven* tapestry and is knotted as opposed to woven. However, its imagery has many orientations, which provides insight to its use. With a central field and two outer borders, the carpet is organized into two sections, each facing in opposite directions. In the central panel, a mermaid couple and flowering dish sit adjacent to a flowering vase oriented to the other side of the rug. The panels of the outer border mirror this layout and are intentionally incomplete; notably, the outermost border does not continue across the top edge of the rug. The unusual spatial layout of this piece corresponds to its most likely use: as an altar cover for the church of la Compañía de Jesús in Arequipa, where it is documented to have originated. Therefore, the uppermost third of the rug, which is oriented to its top, would have covered the surface of the altar, while the other two-thirds would have hung in front. There is some similarity in iconography with the Metropolitan's tapestry, including a set of double-

headed eagles, rampart lions, scrolling vines, and figures in European dress playing musical instruments.⁷¹

Additional conservation details could assist in illuminating the use of this piece. It is worth returning to the two previously discussed tapestries in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Figure 18; Figure 28), both which feature iconography from European print sources. These two tapestries are thought to have been table covers, as the fineness of their weaves suggests they would not have been able to sustain foot traffic. An additional significant detail is the presence of wax found on the tapestry inspired by Callot's dwarf prints (Figure 18).⁷² Based on the Brooklyn's Museum altar carpet, as well as the textiles listed in inventories, these tapestries may have also been used on or around altars in private oratories or churches, due to the presence of candles in altar configurations. Although no evidence of wax remains on the Metropolitan's piece, we cannot overlook the possibility that it was used as a table or altar covering.

The incredible state of conservation of the tapestry also indicates it may have been primarily kept in storage and only removed for special occasions. Fine textiles were often stored in trunks and *baules* (chests), which were plentiful in various rooms of private residences. Fine textiles like the *We are Seven* tapestry were not the only items that referenced rich and sophisticated European imagery. Often the chests themselves contained allegorical figures, zodiac symbols, European flora and fauna, and scenes of pastoral life and courtly entertainment. Two polychromed and gilded leather and wood chests (c. 1700), painted in the style of the Cusco School, depict allegories of the four elements (fire, earth, wind, and water) on the front panels (Figure 57a). The figure of fire emerges from Dutch printmaker Hendrick Goltzius's allegorical

⁷¹ Phipps, "Carpet," in *Converging Cultures*, 196-197.

⁷² Salmon, "The Bible in Peru," 87; fn.2, 93; Zick, "Callot in Peru," 72.

print of Autumn from 1589 (Figure 57b). The side panels depict musical dwarfs—not unlike those in Callot’s prints, which inspired the tapestry at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston—and noblemen and women in pastoral scenes, all with the Flemish-style bird-filled landscapes that are typical of Cusco School painting. Richard Aste argues that the presence of astrological elements on the chests reflects contemporary debates in Creole society.⁷³ Like the *We are Seven* tapestry, these chests may have been on display and filled with luxury textiles in the *sala de estrado*, where they would have advertised the intellectual prowess and sophistication of their owner.

Although we do not know the specific owner or exact context of the painted chests or the *We are Seven* tapestry, we can assume they were both likely the property of an individual with a large library. Teodoro Hampe-Martínez’s important examination of private libraries in the Hapsburg period outlines many of the challenges of analyzing the spread and availability of textual sources in the Americas.⁷⁴ Thorough studies are needed not only of the inventories of private libraries, but also of shipping records, and the holdings of bookstores, universities and convents. It is difficult to ascertain the public reach of these texts, making the examination of the diffusion of books in colonial Peru a challenge. Studies of the types of texts available in Peru in the colonial period are limited and lack statistical analysis, and have been typically focused only on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

From my own and others’ archival pursuits, we can attest to the diversity of texts available in colonial Peru, and their presence in the colony beginning with the companions of Francisco Pizarro. Only clergy, nobles, and certain professionals like lawyers pursued book

⁷³ Richard Aste, “Art of the Spanish American Home at the Brooklyn Museum,” in *Behind Closed Doors: Art in the Spanish American Home, 1492-1898*, ed. Richard Aste (New York: Brooklyn Museum, 2013), 35-37; Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, “Paintings in the Home in Spanish Colonial America,” in *Behind Closed Doors*, 111.

⁷⁴ Teodoro Hampe-Martínez, “The Diffusion of Books and Ideas in Colonial Peru: A Study of Private Libraries in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 73:2 (1993): 211-233.

collecting at this time, however, these materials were also likely used for the instruction of the lower class. Into the Bourbon period, a growing creole population with European intellectual tastes encouraged the output of local printing presses which published over 17,000 titles over the course of the colonial period.⁷⁵ Most of the books, both those imported from Europe and those printed in the Americas, were religious in nature: hagiographies, scriptures, evangelization manuals, and moral texts. However, texts on the legal system, poetry, fiction, and artistic and scientific treatises were also plentiful. In the moral genre, emblem books were extremely popular and make up numerous private inventories, yet have not received due scholarly attention. Although this is a far from comprehensive review of moral texts in private holdings in viceregal Peru, their presence in libraries attests to their distribution and use throughout the Americas.

All too often we discuss the effects of print culture on artistic production in the Americas without knowing the availability of that particular text in the colony. By identifying some specific moral texts in holdings, I take the approach of Hampe-Martínez of viewing books as a “reflection of colonial *mentalités*.”⁷⁶ Furthermore, I view not only books, but also the *We are Seven* tapestry, as capable of reflecting colonial discourse at this time by reading the textile as non-textual evidence of the existence of important morality texts in colonial Peru. Importantly, the tapestry’s scenes prompt a survey of morality texts listed in the same notarial documents as the textiles, providing a glimpse of the holdings of private libraries in viceregal Cusco. For example, the inventory of the goods of Don Juan de Campos Marín, a priest in the parish of Santa Ana in Lima, features a multitude of moral texts, including *Fragmentos morales*, *Súmulas de moral*, and a volume of *Virtuosa y virtud coronada* (likely *Vidas ejemplares y venerables memorias de algunos claros varones de la Compañía de Jesús*) by the Spanish Jesuit Juan

⁷⁵ Ibid., 221.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 229.

Eusebio Nieremberg of 1647.⁷⁷ Other frequently occurring texts in eighteenth-century private holdings are those aimed at the spiritual and moral education of children, among them the *Infancia ilustrada y niñez instruida en todo género de virtudes cristianas, morales y políticas* by Juan Elías Gómez de Terán (1688-1758), a bishop in Orihuela, Spain, and *Príncipe perfecto, y ministros ajustados. Documentos políticos y morales en emblemas* by Andrés Mendo.⁷⁸

Mendo's text was a copy of Diego de Saavedra Fajardo's *Idea de un príncipe político cristiano representada en cien empresas Dedicada al Príncipe de Las Españas nuestro Señor*, which was dedicated to Philip IV of Spain.⁷⁹ It was a wildly popular education tool and was translated into Latin, Italian, German, Dutch, English, and French. As Philip IV was already a grown man of thirty-five years at the time of publication, its subsequent translations proved more useful in the education of younger subjects. The 1668 French version was dedicated to the seven-year-old son of Louis XIV.⁸⁰ Mendo's version includes eighty engraved emblems with Latin mottos and Spanish titles and commentary, which were used to educate young princes and noblemen on the proper behaviors and qualities associated with strong, honorable rulers. Emblem books may have also served a wider audience in colonial Peru, as their allegorical images would have made them excellent teaching tools for the instruction of the illiterate and non-Spanish speaking lower classes.

⁷⁷ AGN, Francisco Montiel Dávalos, 1740, Prot. 738, f. 5r, 7r; Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, *Vidas exemplares, y venerables memorias de algunos claros varones de la Compañía de Jesús...* (Madrid: Alonso de Paredes, 1647).

⁷⁸ Juan Elías Gómez de Terán, *Infancia ilustrada y niñez instruida en todo género de virtudes cristianas, morales y políticas, que conducen a la santa educación y buenas crianza de los niños, que el Rey nuestro Señor Don Felipe V...* (Madrid: Juan Rodríguez de Escobar, 1729); Andrés Mendo, *Príncipe perfecto y ministros ajustados: documentos políticos, y morales en emblemas* (Lyon: Horacio Boissat and George Remeus, 1662).

⁷⁹ Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, *Idea de un príncipe político cristiano: representada en cien empresas* (Milan: n.p., 1642).

⁸⁰ Alison Saunders, *The Seventeenth-century French Emblem: A Study in Diversity* (Geneva: Droz, 2000), 137-138.

Many of the texts, moral and otherwise, include full-page prints, which were possible sources of inspiration for local artists. Hercules is a frequently occurring character in Mendo's *Principe perfecto*. Other colonial Peruvian tapestries with biblical scenes, although few, are also evidence that pictorial biblical texts were in circulation in the region at this time. Hampe-Martínez encouraged the use of texts and their engravings in the study of colonial painting, especially frescoes⁸¹—an approach that has become commonplace in the decades since the publication of his essay. The use of prints by Andean painters was common at this time. Beginning shortly after the Conquest, church officials brought prints to Peru to assist in religious conversion.⁸² Largely from the Antwerp school, they also aided instruction in numerous local artistic schools.

The dominant narrative in colonial Peruvian art scholarship has been the influence of European engravings on painting of the Cusco School. Especially in studies of indigenous and mestizo Cusco School artists, these conversations have typically portrayed colonial Peruvian painting as derivative of European artistic traditions. The precise and diligent rendering of print sources onto painted canvases has historically been viewed as the best measure of artistic achievement. The Metropolitan's Museum's tapestry provides two major insights to the study of prints in the colonial Andes. First, the clear use of print sources expands the one-to-one consideration of prints and paintings that has long dominated scholarship in the field of colonial Peruvian art. To expand this conversation, I consider here the complex and intertwined relationships between artworks of different media (textiles, prints, and paintings). Traditionally,

⁸¹ Hampe-Martínez, "The Diffusion of Books," 229.

⁸² José de Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña* (Lima: Fundación A.N. Wiese, 1982), 25-27. These prints were often part of devotional books, which pictured prominent events in the lives of the saints and the Holy Family, and were predominantly produced by Adriaen Collaert, the Wierix family, Hendrik Goltzius, Jan Sadeler, and Bolswert and Galle.

these visual and written sources have been examined independently of one another, creating isolated historical narratives. By bringing these sources together in a unified study, I hope to have expanded our understanding of all three art forms and the ways in which they coexisted in modes of production and display in the colonial Andes.

The Met tapestry's visual program also speaks to the production of tapestries in the colonial period. The various sources and hands that contributed to the making of the Metropolitan Museum tapestry illustrate that weaving knowledge at this time was transmitted through oral and visual means. Although we do not know how Peruvian weavers conceived of tapestry designs, prints were obviously part of the preparatory process. Technical studies have revealed that The Met piece was unevenly woven in six sections, roughly thirteen inches wide, suggesting the hands of numerous weavers. Although their relationship is unclear because few contracts exist today, weavers and their clients must have been in close communication.

The *We are Seven* tapestry's complex layout suggests that its owner had extensive participation in its design. Local weavers, hired by private residences and churches, likely set up temporary workshops in their client's locale or in independent workshops, where they used prints made available to them. There is some evidence to suggest that this work occurred on an at-need basis at the client's private residence or hacienda.⁸³ A 1691 contract between an Indian weaver and his client in the Santiago parish of Cusco details the terms of the commission: for six months, he is to weave all types of cloth in his client's house until he earns the sixteen *pesos* he has received.⁸⁴ Other jobs in the textile industry, like tailoring and embroidery, likely took place

⁸³ Gabriela Ramos, "Los tejidos en la sociedad colonial andina," *Colonial Latin American Review* 29:1 (2010): 126; Phipps, "Cumbi to Tapestry," 88, fn. 79.

⁸⁴ Jorge Cornejo Bouroncle, *Derroteros de arte cuzqueño: Datos para una historia del arte en el Peru* (Cusco: Ediciones Inca, 1960), 329.

in workshops.⁸⁵ These positions often involved an arrangement of room and board, clothing, and other provisions as artisans apprenticed with master craftsman. A contract between an apprentice and a master embroiderer in Cusco in 1600 helps to illuminate the way in which such a relationship would support young artisans as they learned the skills of the trade:

Aprendiz de bordador, Pedro Martín, natural del pueblo de Santiago de Huánuco, concierta con Baltazar Aucca Poma, maestro bordador, para servirle de aprendiz y en todo lo concerniente al dicho oficio o arte, por el espacio de tres años, durante los cuales le enseñará a bordar, dándole comida y curándole de sus enfermedades; por cada año le dará un vestido llano de paño de Quito, un sombrero, tres camisas, zapatos y al fin de los tres años, un bastidor, una tijeras, dedal y agujas y algunos padrones de buenas cortaduras y de cosas pulidas y curiosas de que se pueda valer aprovechar en sus trabajos.⁸⁶

In this example, the apprentice entered into a three-year arrangement with the master embroider, who yearly provided him with a set of new clothes. At the end of his apprenticeship, he received a full set of tools, including a frame, scissors, thimble, needles, and patterns, for the purpose of launching his own career.

Other contracts specifically mention that the work occurred at a local *obraje*, like the 1656 contract between Juan Canto Durán, master carpet maker, with his client Pedro Carrasco to make carpets in the factory of Pichuichuro.⁸⁷ Tapestries, in particular, warranted a sizeable workspace. Colonial tapestries were usually woven as one piece of continuous cloth, so looms had to match the size of the final product.⁸⁸ These large wood crossbeam looms were not easily

⁸⁵ Stanfield-Mazzi, "Weaving and Tailoring the Catholic Church," 84.

⁸⁶ Cornejo Bouroncle, *Derroteros de arte cuzqueño*, 335. "Apprentice of embroidery, Pedro Martín, native of the town of Santiago de Huánuco, arranges with Baltazar Aucca Poma, master embroiderer, to serve as an apprentice and in all matters of said trade or art, for a period of three years, during which he will teach him to embroider, giving him food and curing his illness; for each year he will give him a plain dress of cloth from Quito, a hat, three shirts, shoes, and at the end of the three years, a frame, scissors, thimble, and needles, and some patterns of good cuts and of refined, curious things that he can make use of in his work" (translation, mine).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁸⁸ Phipps, "Cumbi to Tapestry," 89.

transported items, so they likely either were stationary in a workshop or perhaps constructed in their client's residence for the duration of the commission.

Regardless of the area of production, clients must have been deeply involved in the product's commission. Specific details of the *We are Seven* tapestry leads to several questions about the relationship between the client and weavers. The misspelling of "nous sommes sept" on the tapestry indicates that artists unfamiliar with the French language likely wove it. The client too may have been unversed in this language. If the client did indeed know French, the misspelling could suggest that the tapestry's weaving occurred outside the client's residence, as there was no oversight to avoid or correct the mistake. In any case, the process of production was likely an intimate one, with significant communication and sharing of source materials between weavers and clients. Through this system, the weavers could design a piece to meet the aesthetic and intellectual demands of their client. Thus, a colonial *cumbi* weaver could engage with contemporary popular moral texts and images, made available through his client's private library. Like *lliclla*, which evolved in material, decoration and use, tapestries demonstrate a similar transformation over the colonial period as they became increasingly specialized to meet the aesthetic demands of their clients.

The tapestry's "We are Seven" scene, in addition to depictions from Greek mythology and the Four Continents, reveals the circulation of emblematic prints in the colonial Andes and their role in informing the production of textile arts. By inserting textiles into the previously two-dimensional conversation about prints and painting, we can glean a better awareness of the sophisticated and varied use of sources by Andean weavers. I will continue to rethink the relationship between art forms in the Andes in the latter half of this study in my discussion of images of textiles in the painting of the Cusco School.

CHAPTER THREE

Dressing Spaces in Basilio Pacheco's *Life of Saint Augustine* Series

In this chapter I fully transition to the topic of painting. Whereas the previous chapters consider textiles through their archival records, colonial examples in museum collections, and the methodologies and terminologies appropriate to their study, this chapter and the one that follows examine the depiction of textiles in the Cusco School of Painting from 1650 to 1750. Throughout this period, textiles feature prominently in paintings made by mestizo and indigenous artists, not only as elaborate garments but also as meticulously-detailed rugs, wall hangings, curtains, and other household and liturgical textiles. More often than not, these elements are deliberate additions to compositions whose scenes otherwise emerge from European printed sources. Largely unnoticed by scholars, these textiles embellishments are visually striking, and saturate the scenes with a medley of ornate carpets, rich silks, and delicate laces.

The representation of textiles in painting in mid-viceregal Cusco is best explored through a provocative case study: a previously under-examined series of thirty-eight oil paintings by Cusco artist Basilio Pacheco (active 1738-1752). Over half of the paintings in the series feature colorful and detailed textiles that decorate walls, floors, and furniture, and play a significant role in organizing, clarifying, and localizing the scenes in colonial Peru. Dating to the 1740s, however, the series is far from the first instance of the vivid and vibrant depiction of textiles in Cusco School painting. After performing a thorough examination of significant canvases in the series, I will situate the project within the overall development of painting in viceregal Cusco (Chapter 4), showing textiles to be part of a crucial strategy of representation in Peruvian painting.

The Clothing of Saint Augustine in the Habit of the Order (c. 1742), the thirteenth painting in Pacheco's series, depicts a scene whose central subject matter is the undressing and re-dressing of a saint's body, in this case, Augustine of Hippo (354-430) (Figure 58). In this scene, Augustine arrives in Milan, where friars remove his riding clothes before he receives the Augustinian habit from Saint Ambrose, the Bishop of Milan (340-397). Here, Pacheco repeats the figure of the saint several times as he is undressed and dressed again in the traditional Augustinian garb of black woolen robes and a black belt. Perhaps because the simplicity of the Augustinian uniform provides few opportunities for artistic creativity, the clothing here is not what consumes Pacheco's painterly attention, save the richly detailed strip of lace at the bottom of Bishop Ambrose's robes. Instead, the striking depiction of textiles occurs elsewhere in the painting: in the ornate and colorful rug under the feet of the figures, and in the small altar cloth behind the kneeling figure of Augustine. One of thirty-eight paintings of the Life of Saint Augustine in the cloister of the Augustinian convent Our Lady of Grace in Lima, this canvas is not alone in its meticulous depiction of cloth.

Like many colonial paintings throughout the Andes, Pacheco's canvases reflect consultation of a print series: twenty-eight engravings by Schelte Adams Bolswert (1586-1659) and Cornelis Galle (1576-1650), prominent Dutch engravers, which were bound in the volume, *Iconographia magni patris Aurelii Augustini* of 1624 (Figure 59). Georges Maigret, prior of the hermitage of Malines in Flanders and the author of the book's text, commissioned the print series.¹ The paintings adopt many of the compositions, architectural details, and figural poses found in these prints. However, the colorful and intricately designed tapestries are not pictured in

¹ José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña* (Lima: Fundación A.N. Wiese, 1982), 202; *Project on the Engraved Sources for Spanish American Art (PESSCA)*, University of California, Davis, accessed July 30, 2013, <http://colonialart.org>; Sabine MacCormack, "Poetics of Representation in Viceregal Peru: A Walk 'round the Cloister of San Agustín in Lima," in *The Arts of South America, 1492-1850: Papers from the 2008 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, ed. Donna Pierce (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2010), 91, 113.

these engravings. In fact, only one of the twenty-eight prints depicts a rug under the figure of Saint Augustine. The series provides a productive lens through which to examine the strategies used by Cusco artists in manipulating print sources, revealing the ways in which they both adhered to compositional details and abandoned them. Pacheco's series starkly departs from its printed source with dozens of decorated rugs in a multitude of intricate designs, which are placed strategically throughout the canvases. Visually and intellectually, the textiles demand attention. Pacheco flattens the spaces that contain floor rugs, while at the same time depicting rooms and exterior spaces without textiles in precise linear perspective. In doing so, the series reflects two different approaches to the rendering of space, suggesting that Pacheco's abandonment of linear perspective in the representation of textiles was a strategy to enhance their visibility, as the canvases occupy the upper niches of the cloister.

This chapter examines the proliferation of finely illustrated textiles throughout the series, focusing on why these details are worthy of study and what they tell us about strategies of representation in colonial Cusco. To begin, I perform a close visual dissection of the motifs and placement of these pictorial elements, focusing on specific canvases where textiles are visually demanding elements. As this chapter will reveal, the examination has much larger ramifications than the detail themselves, proving textiles to be much more than decorative additions. Instead, they visually resonate with colonial period textiles, both locally produced tapestries, as well as imported pieces, in order to situate the events in the life of Saint Augustine, which took place in present-day Algeria, Tunisia, Rome, and Milan in the fourth and fifth centuries, in eighteenth-century Peru. The textiles throughout the series are one way, albeit unconventional, to approach these little-studied paintings. Although seemingly minor elements, they allow a reading of the series that reveals the context of its production and reception in viceregal Peru. These details in

turn situate the series productively within the narrative of the development of the Cusco School, and can be used as a means to analyzing its artistic evolution between 1670 and 1770, the apex of artistic activity in Cusco.

3.1 Saint Augustine in Europe

Before moving to Peru, it is necessary to situate Augustine with the context of his upbringing and religious career in North Africa and Italy. His biography and depiction in European art highlight his unique representation in the Cusco School of painting. Augustine was born in 354 in Tagaste, a Roman province of Numidia, now present-day Souk-Ahras, Algeria. He was born to a modest family, who quickly realized his promising oratory skills and sent him to study rhetoric in Carthage, where he later taught and wrote his first book (now lost). He then traveled to Rome and on to Milan where he took up his second post as professor of rhetoric. It was also in Milan that Augustine met Ambrose, the Catholic bishop, whose sermons prompted his return to Christianity. Ambrose subsequently baptized Augustine in 387, before he returned to Tagaste, where he raised a son, Adeoatus, until his untimely death. After rising from his post as junior clergyman, in 395 Augustine was made bishop of Hippo, where he wrote numerous books and led pivotal church reforms, including a major debate at Carthage against Donatism, a sect of North African Christianity.²

Augustine's legacy has lived on through his numerous books, among them, *Confessions*, *On Christian Doctrine*, *On Beauty and Proportion*, and *Regulations for a Monastery* (all 397),

² Major texts on Saint Augustine include: Frederick van der Meer, *Augustine the Bishop: The Life and Work of a Father of the Church* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1961); Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967, 2000); Fannie LeMoine and Christopher Kleinhenz, eds., *Saint Augustine the Bishop: A Book of Essays* (New York: Garland, 1994); John O'Meara, *The Young Augustine: The Growth of St. Augustine's Mind up to his Conversion* (New York: Alba House, 2001); E. M. Atkins and R. J. Dodaro, eds., *Augustine: Political Writings* (Cambridge: University Press, 2001).

the last of which was most enthusiastically embraced by his followers as a guide for monastic living. *Confessions* provides an early account of his life, and largely focuses on his mid-life conversion to Christianity. His *City of God*, written in the early fifth century and incredibly popular in the Middle Ages, examines Christianity's role in the fall of Rome. Augustine's *Retractationes* (426-427; *Reconsiderations*), written in the last years of his life, provides an overview of his life and career, as well as clarifications of his previous works. Throughout history Augustine's biographical writings became intertwined with more embellished accounts of his life in Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend* (c. 1260) and Alonso de Villegas's *Flos Sanctorum* (1594; *Lives of Saints*).³

Accounts of his life were in heavy circulation in Europe. As early as the fifth and sixth centuries, Augustine's personal writings prompted his depiction in miniatures, while serial representation began around 1000 CE. The formation of the mendicant order of the Augustinians in the thirteenth century, in addition to the rising interest in monastic life in Europe, led to his increased depiction in the medieval and Renaissance periods.⁴ Large painted cycles of his life appear in fourteenth-century Germany and fifteenth-century Italy, in addition to individual portraits of the saint that became popular throughout Europe from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. Serial depictions include the early fourteenth-century *Augustinusfenster* at Erfurt, the fifteenth-century cycles at Lecceto, and frescoes by Benozzo Gozzoli at San Gimignano (Figure 60).⁵ Famous examples of Augustine portraiture include Sandro Botticelli's 1480 fresco of Saint Augustine in his study in the Church of the Ognissanti (Florence, Italy) and Vittore Carpaccio's

³ MacCormack, "Poetics of Representation," 90-91.

⁴ See Joseph C. Schnaubelt and Frederick Van Fleteren, eds., *Augustine in Iconography* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999).

⁵ Diane Cole Ahl, "Benozzo Gozzoli: The Life of Saint Augustine in San Gimignano," in *Augustine in Iconography*, 359-381; George T. Radan, "The Lecceto Frescoes: The Augustinian Cycle," in *Augustine in Iconography*, 431-465.

1507 *St. Augustine in His Study* (Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice, Italy) (Figures 61-62).⁶

Inherent to Saint Augustine is a focus on textiles that emerged from legendary accounts of his life, which circulated widely in Europe and the Americas. In three miracles stories in *The Golden Legend*, Augustine appears clothed in “decorous and splendid . . . pontifical vestments,”⁷ resulting in the emphasis on liturgical garments in images of him in European prints and paintings. Jaume Huguet’s Catalan Gothic altarpiece (1463) from the Church of Saint Agustí Vell in Barcelona is a prime example, which depicts the consecration of Augustine in tempera with stucco reliefs and gold leaf (Figure 63). In the scene, Augustine is crowned bishop and wears magnificent gold brocade robes, rendered in *pastiglia* stucco relief.⁸

Although some European depictions of Augustine also feature elaborate non-garment textiles, they are isolated, non-serial works, and depict textiles in a very different manner from Pacheco’s series. Printed examples include several fifteenth-century German prints in which the saint stands in front of a hanging tapestry, often supported by two angels, and seventeenth-century French engravings by Nicolas de Poilly made after Philippe de Champaigne’s *Saint Augustine* of 1645 (Figures 64-65).⁹ Champaigne’s *Saint Augustine* depicts Augustine holding a

⁶ Patricia Fortini Brown, “Carpaccio’s St. Augustine in His Study: A Portrait within a Portrait,” in *Augustine in Iconography*, 507-547; Richard Stapleford, “Intellect and Intuition in Botticelli’s *Saint Augustine*,” *The Art Bulletin* 76:1 (1994): 69-80.

⁷ Jacobus de Voragine and William Granger Ryan, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 515.

⁸ See Benjamin Rowland, *Jaume Huguet: A Study of Late Gothic Painting in Catalonia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932), 102-114.

⁹ Ricardo Estabridis Cárdenas discusses German Rococo prints in connection with the late eighteenth-century Saint Augustine series in Cusco in “El rococó germánico y la vida de San Agustín en la pintura cusqueña: Lo profano como alegoría cristiana,” *Illapa, Revista del Instituto de Investigaciones Museológicas y Artísticas de la Universidad Ricardo Palma* 6:6 (Lima, 2009): 19-30. The influence of earlier German printed sources on this series remains unexplored.

flaming heart and wearing lavish sixteenth-century Spanish ecclesiastical robes.¹⁰ In addition to these garments, a detailed and colorful Turkish rug with long fringe drapes over his desk. In the mid-seventeenth century, Poilly made an engraving that translated the composition of the painting, including the design of the rug, in almost exact detail. In the decades to follow, many engravers copied Poilly's print, leading to its widespread popularity throughout Europe. We cannot rule out the possibility that these prints could have made their way to the Andes and entered the libraries of private clients or the repertoire of Andean artists much like the prints that informed the *We are Seven* tapestry. However, none of these European examples depict textiles with the intensity, detail, and placement, or with the attention to non-garment textiles that Pacheco's paintings do. The differences in Pacheco's and European depictions of Saint Augustine suggest that more local factors impacted its conception and execution.

3.2 Saint Augustine in the Americas

Pacheco's series is one of only three painted cycles of the life of Saint Augustine in Latin America. The other two series are fourteen canvases in the Convent of Saint Augustine in Quito, Ecuador by Miguel de Santiago (1620-1706) and his workshop in 1656, and thirty-seven canvases by an anonymous Cusco artist in the second half of the eighteenth century, now in the convent of La Merced after their transfer from the church of San Agustín in Cusco in the nineteenth century. Like Pacheco, Santiago and his workshop based their painted series on Bolswert's prints, leading scholars to consider the Quito series a possible influence for Pacheco's

¹⁰ See Philip Conisbee, Mary L. Levkoff, and Richard Rand, eds., *The Ahmanson Gifts: European Masterpieces in the Collection of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1991), 177-180; Bernard Dorival, "Recherches sur les sujets sacrés et allégoriques gravés au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle d'après Phippe de Champaigne," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 80 (1972): 5-25.

project.¹¹ The apparent success of the Quito series has been thought to have inspired Augustinian officials to commission the Cusco series; however, it is difficult to assign artistic influence anywhere in the Andes for this period, in any manner other than visually.¹² Stylistically, the Quito and Cusco series are incredibly different, particularly in the treatment of textiles. Other depictions of Saint Augustine can be found in Mexico and South America, but only as isolated paintings.¹³

The Augustinian convent of Our Lady of Grace in Lima, founded in 1551, features the paintings in the upper niches of the cloister, where the narrative of the life of Augustine unfolds around the four walls (Figure 66). The placement of these canvases around the perimeter of the courtyard was deliberate, and presented the friars with “an ever-present pictorial meditation” as they moved through their daily lives and performed their religious duties.¹⁴ The canvases all have Spanish captions of varying lengths that run under each scene, which were adapted from Bolswert’s Latin texts. The text and images work in tandem to narrate the life of Augustine in events, which emerged from Bolswert’s print series and numerous historical and fantastical accounts of Augustine’s life. As is common in series of the life of Saint Augustine in Europe and the Americas, Pacheco focuses on Augustine’s relationship with his mother Monica, who was a pivotal figure in his conversion

¹¹ See *Project on the Engraved Sources for Spanish American Art (PESSCA)*; José María Vargas, *Arte quiteño colonial* (Quito: Litografía e imprenta Romero, 1944), 117ff; José Gabriel Navarro, *Contribuciones al arte en el Ecuador* (Quito: Talleres Gráficos de Educación, 1950), 85-96; Jeanne Courcelle and Pierre Courcelle, *Iconographie de Saint Augustin. Vol. 3. Les Cycles du XVIe et du XVIIe Siècle* (Paris: Institut d’Études Agustiniennes, 1972): chapter 7.

¹² See Santiago Sebastián, “Iconografía del claustro barroco en Portugal, España e Iberoamérica,” *Tiempos de América* 12 (2005), 38: “El éxito alcanzado por esta serie fue motivo para que el padre Roque de Irarrazabal (1724-1746) encargara al pintor Basilio Pacheco un conjunto semejante para el convento agustino, pero un siglo después fue destruido y la serie trasladada a Lima.”

¹³ See Héctor H. Schenone, *Iconografía del arte colonial* (Argentina: Fundación Tarea, 1992), 93-118.

¹⁴ MacCormack, “Poetics of Representation,” 91-96.

Inventories of the adjacent areas of the convent expand our understanding of the context of Pacheco's series. The sacristy holds several other paintings of Saint Augustine in various representations.¹⁵ Above the sacristy entrance is a painting of the four apostles at the tomb of the Virgin, likely by a Roman artist.¹⁶ On the wall to the right is the Ecstasy of Saint Augustine, while on the left hand wall is a portrait bust of Bishop Augustine with two allegorical figures on either side: Humility on the right and Charity on the left. In the sacristy is the largest painting, which occupies an entire front wall, with the arched roof making its upper border. It depicts Saint Augustine in a religious family tree, surrounded by the important officials of the Augustinian order, with various inscriptions in Latin. No information in the church archives exists about the commission or artist of this painting. Additionally, there is a smaller copy of the Augustinian family tree in the sacristy, but without the names of the people and the date of the foundation of the order.¹⁷

Paintings tracing the genealogies of religious orders decorated convents across the Americas. They provided a historical context for the order's spiritual work by highlighting the founders and leaders of the movement.¹⁸ For the friars of San Agustín, this painting would have positioned them as disciples working within a long and dedicated lineage of crusaders for the Augustinian order. Under the large painting are two smaller paintings on glass of the Virgin Mary and Saint Joseph, both holding the Christ Child. On the opposite wall, above the entrance,

¹⁵ As these areas of the church were not accessible to me, I have referred to the following two accounts which provide listings of the holdings: Graciano Montes, *La sacristía del Templo de San Agustín* (Lima: San Marti, 1944); Alberto Santibáñez Salcedo, *La sacristía del Templo de San Agustín de Lima*, Separata de la Revista "Cultura Peruana" (Lima, 1945). Santibáñez's text details the holdings of the sacristy after the earthquake of 1940. It also includes two archival documents from 1643.

¹⁶ Montes, *La sacristía*, 16.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 17-24.

¹⁸ Other examples include the large paintings of religious genealogies in the Convento de San Francisco de Cusco and the Convento de la Merced de Cusco.

is a painting of Saint Peter ad Vincula (Saint Peter in Chains), which is supposedly an exact copy of one by José de Ribera in the Prado in Madrid that was signed by Cristóbal Lozano in Lima in 1741.¹⁹

None of the paintings in the sacristy, nor those in any other painted series in the Americas, deals with textiles in remotely the same way as Pacheco and his workshop. Of Santiago's fourteen canvases in Quito, only one, *The Sacrament of Augustine*, features a carpet, which mirrors the only floor rug found in Bolswert's twenty-eight prints (Figures 67-68). In the printed version, Augustine is ordained as bishop and crowned with a miter as he sits on a chair placed on a rug. The carpet in both the print and painting is a minor detail of the scene, as only the top corner section is visible. In Santiago's version, the rug has fringe, but lacks the floral and medallion motifs of Bolswert's print.

The remaining textiles in Bolswert's print series are depicted in the traditional Dutch manner. Several scenes depict table carpets, where were commonly found in Dutch interiors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. *The Death of Monica*, *Augustine Writes his Rule*, and *Augustine Writing the Books of the Trinity* are three examples that feature carpets as altar or table covers with fringed borders (Figures 69-71). The fringe, bulky appearance, and weight of these textiles tell us that they are indeed carpets. Table carpets were usually costly imported Turkish or Persian carpets, or Dutch floral carpets, which sometimes had biblical scenes.²⁰ Dutch still lifes prominently featured these carpets, and can be found most notably in works by Johannes Vermeer (1632-1675). Vermeer's *A Maid Asleep* (c. 1656-1657) illustrates two different

¹⁹ Montes, *La sacristía*, 25. There are also two paintings of Christ at the Column and Saint Gelasius, likely a Roman painting, signed: "S. Gelacyo-PP-Roma-Anno 162."

²⁰ Thomas Campbell, *Tapestry in the Baroque: Threads of Splendor* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007), 258.

seventeenth-century Turkish carpets in complex detail and striking color (Figure 72).²¹ Heavy hanging draperies on walls and across doorways were also common in Dutch interiors.

Neither Santiago's series nor the treatment of textiles in the Dutch tradition in Bolswert's series can be said to be a source of influence for Pacheco's intricate and devoted use of textiles throughout the scenes. By contrast, Pacheco's scene has a huge floor rug, wall murals, and decorated columns, in addition to lavish garments, demonstrating an insistent commitment to interior ornament. Where Bolswert and Santiago use a minimally visible carpet, Pacheco fills the entire foreground of the painting with one. As this chapter will demonstrate, the specific motifs on and placement of textiles within the scenes relocates their settings to Cusco.

3.3 Saint Augustine in Cusco

Although today in the convent of San Agustín in Lima, Pacheco and his assistants executed the Saint Augustine series in their Cusco workshop. After its creation, the series was transported to Lima and installed in the convent between 1742 and 1746. The first painting in the series provides two portraits of the men responsible for the project's commission (Figure 73): Roque de Irarrazábal y Andía, the Augustinian provincial of Peru between 1742 and 1746, and Fernando de la Luna y Virués, the head of the Augustinian convent in Cusco, who commissioned the work and arranged for its transfer to Lima.²² There is some debate as to the intended location of the installation of the paintings. Several scholars believe that the series was made for the Cusco convent, but was transferred to Lima after an earthquake damaged much of Cusco.

²¹ Walter Denny, "Islamic Carpets in European Paintings," in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000), http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/isca/hd_isca.htm (October 2011).

²² MacCormack, "Poetics of Representation," 89, 90, 112. She identifies these two figures and provides transcriptions of the captions in the first painting.

However, it seems more likely that the series was intended for Lima because the canvases perfectly fit their spaces in the cloister.²³ As the series was sent to Lima from Cusco, it is a prime example of the popularity of the Cusco School and the success of its artists in developing a style that had far-reaching appeal by the mid-eighteenth century.

Despite Pacheco's impressive undertaking, as well as the rarity of large-scale depictions of the life of Saint Augustine in South America, very little scholarship exists on these paintings or on Pacheco as an artist. Some information on Pacheco comes from the most comprehensive source on colonial painting in Cusco: José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert's *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, a text that has laid the groundwork for the field.²⁴ This publication builds on their 1971 publication of "Lo indígena en el arte hispanoamericano," which was the first to assert that indigenous symbols and belief systems were encoded in colonial Christian motifs.²⁵

Mesa and Gisbert trace Pacheco's earliest dated work to 1738 and an enormous depiction of the Mercedarian family tree (*Epílogo de la orden mercedaria*), in the staircase of La Merced in Cusco. In addition to Cusco and Lima, Pacheco's work was transported to Ayacucho, where his *Ecce Homo* of 1752 is in the church of Santa Clara.²⁶ Mesa and Gisbert's examination of his work stops with these few attributions, however, and reflects one of the main challenges of using the Vasarian model of art history launched by the publication of his *Lives of Artists* (1550), to

²³ See MacCormack in communication with Ramón Mujica Pinilla and Estabridis: "Poetics of Representation," 112, fn.2. See also, as noted by MacCormack: Ricardo Palma, *Anales del Cusco (1600-1750)* (Lima: Biblioteca Nacional, 1901); Diego de Esquivel y Navia, *Noticias cronológicas de la gran ciudad de Cuzco*, Book 2 (Lima: Biblioteca Peruana de Cultura Fundación Wiese, 1980), 344.

²⁴ Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia*, 201-213. I previously introduced Gisbert's scholarly contributions in Chapter 2 through her six-part classification system for colonial tapestries, in which the *We Are Seven* piece did not fit.

²⁵ Mesa and Gisbert, "Lo indígena en el arte hispanoamericano," *Boletín del Centro de Investigaciones Históricas y Estéticas* 12 (1971): 32-36.

²⁶ Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia*, 201-213.

understand colonial Latin American art.²⁷ Especially in colonial South America, we lack the artist signatures and needed biographies to apply Vasari's artist-centric model. Pursuing this model in colonial Cusco without the kind of biographical information available in European archival documents is harmful as it encourages connoisseurial assumptions based on stylistic conclusions alone.²⁸

The other studies of this series have adopted Mesa and Gisbert's model of evaluating the paintings with regard to their print sources.²⁹ However, this series poses a fundamental dilemma for this methodology, as there are ten more canvases than there are prints. The discrepancies between the numbers of prints and paintings, in addition to the numerous departures from the print series, suggests that Pacheco conceived of scenes based on a multitude of visual and written sources, or relied on other representative strategies—the main undertaking of this chapter.

Scholars have mostly focused on the discrepancies between the printed and painted sources in the thirty-sixth painting in the series, the *Funeral Procession of Augustine* (Figures 74-75). The scene depicts the procession of St. Augustine's body to his funeral with the following caption: "Asisten al entierro de Agustino muchos obispos de las diócesis vecinas con todo el pueblo y nobleza de la ciudad de Hipona."³⁰ The scene departs from the caption, however, in that it does not take place in Hippo in North Africa, but instead in the Plaza Mayor of Cusco. Several friars carry the open casket of Augustine on their shoulders, as they follow a

²⁷ See Barbara Mundy and Aaron Hyman, "Out of the Shadow of Vasari: Towards a New Model of the 'Artist' in Colonial Latin America," *Colonial Latin American Review* 24:3 (2015): 283-317.

²⁸ This model has resulted in attribution of the majority of Cusco School paintings to one of several well-known artists, among them Pumacallao, Quispe Tito, and Marcus Zapata, which in turn drives up their market value.

²⁹ Exceptions include MacCormack's "Poetics of Representation," which stands out for its impressive navigation of textual elements in the series. Estabridis also has an essay in progress related to the restoration of the works.

³⁰ "Many bishops from the neighboring dioceses attend the funeral of Augustine with all the town and nobility of Hippo," (translation, mine).

large group of bald headed men to the cathedral of Cusco with its precisely rendered, ornate tripartite facade. Pacheco's handling of architecture throughout the series, as in the funeral scene, is particularly noteworthy. Mesa and Gisbert most laud the series for Pacheco's complicated interiors and talent in depicting diverse architectural settings.³¹ Richard Kagan and Sabine MacCormack have also noted Pacheco's manipulation of the funeral procession.³²

As with his treatment of architecture, Pacheco skillfully uses textiles and other interior elements to transform Bolswert's prints. Throughout the series, he manipulates settings and their interior furnishings so they refer to a number of geographical locales (the Andes, North Africa, and Italy), as well as two distinct historical periods: the fourth and fifth centuries during which Augustine lived and wrote, and eighteenth-century Peru. His "Peruvian retelling,"³³ to quote MacCormack, features an eclectic mix of Andean, North African and Italian settings which include composite architecture, interiors, furnishings, and, most prominently, textiles. The elaborate textiles that Pacheco depicts in his painted scenes are either absent from, or handled very differently in, the printed album, and may have been a part of another representational strategy—one that significantly alters our understanding of the development of the Cusco School. Analysis of these elements propels us from a limited one-to-one comparison of printed and painted representations to a consideration of the effects of textile production on these art forms.

³¹ Mesa and Gisbert describe Pacheco's "carácter documental" and "complicados ambientes arquitectónicos," which he takes on in the paintings' scenes: *Historia*, 202.

³² See *Project on the Engraved Sources of Spanish American Art*; MacCormack, "Poetics of Representation," 111; Schenone, *Iconografía*, 109; Richard Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World: 1493-1793* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 184-185.

³³ MacCormack, "Poetics of Representation," 91.

3.4 Reading for Meaning: Textiles in Painting

To evaluate the representation of textiles in Peruvian painting we must first acknowledge the ways in which the sources accessible to us differ from those in a European context. David Kim's discussion of the placement of carpets in paintings by Lorenzo Lotto serves both to inspire this study and to point out the sources unavailable in viceregal Peru.³⁴ Kim begins by discussing Lotto's account books, which mention his interest and ownership of several Turkish carpets. Account books that document an artist's possessions and business dealings with textiles are largely unavailable to scholars of viceregal Peru, as these materials were either largely unrecorded or not saved over the centuries. Even in the rare case in which a contract exists for a specific painting commission, we lack information about the specific artists, their workshop conditions, and their artistic practices. In Pacheco's case, we are primarily limited to artistic evidence in our interpretation of his vibrant textile additions.

Kim's study of Lotto's carpets is also distinct from Pacheco's in its treatment of carpet motifs. Although he acknowledges that paintings are not always an accurate form of documentation, Lotto's precise rendering of the delicate tendrils of sixteenth-century Turkish carpets strongly resemble their textile counterparts. Lotto's repeated depiction of Turkish carpets in his oeuvre has even resulted in the naming of a type of sixteenth-century Turkish carpet—the Lotto carpet—after the artist.³⁵ Carpets in European painting are so similar to surviving examples that scholars have taken one of two approaches. One approach has been to use Renaissance paintings to better date, categorize, and provide provenance for carpets for which little documentation exists. The second approach has been to use paintings to better understand the

³⁴ David Kim, "Lotto's Carpets: Materiality, Textiles, and Composition in Renaissance Painting," *The Art Bulletin* 98:2 (2016): 181-212.

³⁵ This approach was begun by Julius Lessing in *Ancient Oriental Carpet Patterns, after Pictures and Originals of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (London: H. Sotheran & Co., 1879).

ways in which carpets were used as furnishings in domestic and religious interiors.³⁶ Often, carpets in European paintings are thought to be studio props, for example the table carpet in Champaigne's portrait of Saint Augustine (Figure 65). In Netherlandish painting, scholars argue that artists copied the textile props used by professional theater companies in Amsterdam, structuring their canvases after stage-sets. These carpets were typically placed on tables and other furniture, as was typical in Dutch interiors.³⁷ Scholarship on the representation of textiles in European painting largely argues that images of woven works reflect contemporary customs, artists' workshops, and other interior spaces.³⁸

3.4.1 Motifs

Considering the unique context of eighteenth-century Cusco and the materials available to us, we are left to examine Pacheco's series through visual readings of his canvases. The rich detail with which Pacheco has rendered his textiles points to several possible readings of the textiles throughout Pacheco's scenes. Here, I trace sources for the painted textiles in an approach inspired by iconography. However, as in Chapter 2, I also consider the social, political, and intellectual factors that led to the employment of these motifs, ultimately reading them as an artistic lexicon employed by Cusco School artists. One of the ways in which Pacheco's textiles differ from Lotto's is in his selection of carpet motifs and design schemes. Pacheco's painted tapestries are visibly *colonial Andean* in style, reflecting not only the influence of Inca

³⁶ Kim, "Lotto's Carpets," 181-182.

³⁷ See Onno Ydema, *Carpets and their Datings in Netherlandish Paintings, 1540-1700* (Zutphen: Walburg Press, 1991).

³⁸ See Jan Steen's *Samson and Delilah* (1688), which features a large Oriental rug. Conisbee, Levkoff, and Rand, *The Ahmanson Gifts*, 169-172, 177-180; Albert Heppner, "The Popular Theater of the Rederijkers in the Work of Jan Steen and His Contemporaries," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 3:1-2 (1939-40); Barbara Kirschenbaum, *The Religious and Historical Paintings of Jan Steen* (New York: Allanheld & Schram, 1977).

antecedents, but also the international textile market in the eighteenth-century Andes. What follows are several comparisons of Pacheco's painted tapestries to extant colonial Andean examples. Through a detailed visual dissection of the motifs and structures of the painted textiles, I match illustrated elements—*tocapu*-like borders, birds, half Inca crosses, floral medallions, and interlocking scrolls—to their woven counterparts, demonstrating the distinctive colonial Andean style of the works. These comparisons reveal that in addition to Inca antecedents, the series reflects the “international aesthetics” of textiles during this period that are evident in the features of Spanish carpets, Chinese silks, and European brocades and laces in Pacheco's scenes.³⁹

Clothing Augustine in the Habit of the Order (no. 13 in series)

In the thirteenth painting in the series, Augustine is depicted several times as he undresses and receives his habit from Saint Ambrose, marking his official entry into the order (Figure 58). Occurring immediately after his baptism, Ambrose dresses Augustine in the traditional garments of the Augustinian hermit: a black robe and black leather belt. This moment was a pivotal one not only in Augustine's life, but also for his followers. The black cowl and belt became a visual signifier of the Augustinian order and a form of visual propaganda for the order as it tried to unify its members. Augustine's baptism and subsequent dressing were incredibly popular subjects throughout the early Renaissance, as these events functioned to unite the order in Augustine's image. The order had previously struggled to make the dress of the hermit uniform,

³⁹ Elena Phipps coined the phrase, the “international aesthetic,” of textiles in this period: “Cumbi to Tapestry: Collection, Innovation, and Transformation of the Colonial Andean Tapestry Tradition,” in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestry and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, ed. Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht, and Cristina Esteras Martín (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 235.

so this depiction of Augustine encouraged friars to dress in the image of their founder.⁴⁰ Serial European depictions of Augustine particularly favored this scene, in which garments were of paramount importance.

Pacheco's scene celebrates this momentous occasion by contrasting the stark black and white colors of the hermits' attire with colorful and lively non-garment textiles. While the actions occur on a tiled floor in Bolswert's print, Pacheco has added several striking textiles: a floral altar frontal with a lace trim altar cloth, which is discussed later in the chapter, and a large rug decorated with birds and a step-fret motif. The design of the carpet is particularly significant. Inside a tiny border of white diamonds with red outlines is a thicker border of birds in profile, positioned in cartouches (Figure 76). The next border features a stepped motif known as the half Inca cross, or *chakana* in Quechua, although its origins can be traced back to the pre-Inca culture of Chavin. Defined by Diego González Holguín (1608) as *escalera* (chacana), or "stairs," it has also been translated as "cross" in more contemporary dictionaries. The origins of the design of the *chakana* may be found in cosmology, as Orion's belt constellation takes a similar shape.⁴¹ Various colonial chroniclers also describe the "chacana" as the name of a star, used in creation myths and other stories. In 1588, the Spanish Jesuit missionary and chronicler José de Acosta described the relationship of local Andeans with stars, which they considered to be deities with specific natural embodiments:

Atribuían a diversas estrellas diversos oficios y adorábanlas los que tenían necesidad de su favor...generalmente de todos los animales y aves que hay en la Tierra, creyeron que hubiese un semejante en el cielo, a cuyo cargo estaba su

⁴⁰ Cordelia Warr, "Hermits, Habits and History: The Dress of the Augustinian Hermits," in *Art and the Augustinian Order in Early Renaissance Italy*, ed. Louise Bourdua and Anne Dunlop (Burlington: Ashgate, 2007), 17-28.

⁴¹ Thomas B. F. Cummins and Bruce Mannheim, "The River around Us, the Stream within Us: The Traces of the Sun and Inka Kinetics," *RES* 59/60 (2011): 8. *Chakana* are still popular today as motifs in contemporary Peruvian weavings, especially in Ayacucho tapestry.

procreación y aumento, y así tenían cuenta con diversas estrellas, como la que llaman Chacana, y Topatorca y Mamana, y Mirco...⁴²

In this account, “chacana” is one of a variety of constellations that represents a natural feature of the environment or class of living creatures.

Regardless of its precise meaning, *chakana* is an established motif in Andean cosmology and artistic production. The symbol is found in a variety of pre-Inca and Inca art forms, including, most prominently, architecture, such as Ollantaytambo’s fountain and sun gate, and a stone boulder in the Saphi-Huatanay River above Cusco (Figures 77-79).⁴³ In these sculpted examples, it has been rendered both in its full diamond-shaped motif and in its half form. The *chakana* also appears on Inca textiles, such as the waistband of a tunic dating to 1460-1540 (Figure 80). Within a red band, eight stepped diamond motifs appear with small yellow crosses in each center.

The *chakana* remained a popular motif in textiles of the colonial period. A seventeenth-century Peruvian mantle from the Cooper-Hewitt Museum features the symbol along the perimeter of each of its two main registers (*pampa*) (Figure 81).⁴⁴ The mantle also has birds in its outer band (*cantu*) that alternate with flowers and other motifs. The placement of *chakana* in

⁴² José de Acosta, *Vida religiosa y civil de los indios (Historia natural y moral de las Indias)* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1995), Ch. 4, 16-17: “They attributed various roles to various stars and worshipped them in need of their favor...of all the animals and birds on earth, they believed that there was a similar being in the sky, in whose charge was their procreation and abundance, and so they had various stars, such as the one they call Chacana and Topatorca and Mamana and Mirco...”

⁴³ It is important to note that a looser stepped motif, which precedes the Inca, is found in Nasca ceramics from the second to fourth centuries. However, it is a crawling stair motif as opposed to one confined to a stepped diamond motif. See The Metropolitan Museum of Art’s 1992.60.6.7; 63.232.52.

⁴⁴ As discussed earlier (Chapter 1), Inca mantles had several key features. Their design had two main registers (*pampa*), flanking narrow bands (*pallai*) with patterns, two outermost bands (*cantu*) on either horizontal side of the mantle, and striped or solid embroidered edges. In the colonial period, this structure loosened, as previous Inca standards were not enforced. An additional sign of relaxed standards in this mantle is the widespread use of *tocapu* (geometric symbols once associated with Inca royalty) in the center band and in the outer *pallai*. See Phipps, Hecht, and Martín, *The Colonial Andes*, 190; *Textile Traditions of Mesoamerica and the Andes: An Anthology*, eds. Margot Blum Schevill, Janet Catherine Berlo, and Edward B. Dwyer (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 207.

Pacheco's painted carpet is identical: just above the second border and facing the main field. In both woven and painted examples, the symbol is halved, outlined in white, positioned in a long series of other *chakana* in slightly differing designs and colors. The profile orientation and placement of the birds in the outer border is also similar to Pacheco's carpet. Bird motifs are common in colonial Peruvian textiles and sometimes even receive archival mention. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the 1668 will of Doña Micala de Puiñones included a cotton canopy with bird motifs.⁴⁵ Birds in profile are also found on colonial tapestry-woven altar frontals found in the Andes, including the tapestry fragment now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, which also includes viscachas and felines dispersed within a field of rosettes (Figure 82).⁴⁶ These motifs likely entered the repertoire of Peruvian weavers through imported textiles from Europe and Asia.⁴⁷ The bird ornamentation of Chinese ceramics and Japanese lacquer works, which were exported in large number to South America in the colonial period, may have also served as inspiration for local artists.⁴⁸ Bird motifs in a variety of Andean artworks include species local to jungle regions of Peru, like parrots, as well as eagles and herons from European and Asian artistic traditions.

The carpet in Pacheco's scene therefore strongly resonates with numerous colonial period garments. However, Pacheco's textiles are large items, much larger than a standard mantle.

Accordingly, his textiles also have similarities to larger woven tapestries, used as wall, table, and

⁴⁵ ARC, Juan Flores de Bastidas, 1668, Prot. 113, f. 104r.

⁴⁶ See Maya Stanfield-Mazzi's discussion of this piece in "Weaving and Tailoring the Andean Church: Textile Ornaments and Their Makers in Colonial Peru," *The Americas* 72:1 (2015): 85-89. She also mentions that birds receive mention as motifs in church inventories.

⁴⁷ Also see The Metropolitan Museum of Art's mantle (08.108.10) with birds in profile. Bird motifs are also found in silverwork of the period.

⁴⁸ Sonia Ocaña Ruiz, "Enconchados: gustos, estrategias y precios en la Nueva España," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 1:106 (2015): 75-112; J. M. Mancini, "Pedro Cambon's Asian Objects: A Transpacific Approach to Eighteenth-Century California," *American Art* 25:1 (2011): 28-51.

floor coverings, which often have avian imagery and a medley of other motifs in their borders. For example, the *We are Seven* tapestry (Chapter 2) has a variety of exotic birds in its outer blue border, where parrots, eagles and other colorful birds perch on and peck the scrolling vine and its blossoming flowers (Figure 12b). Avian imagery was incredibly popular in Baroque decoration across the early modern world, and often had a Christian connotation. Birds symbolized the heavenly paradise of Eden, and were featured prominently on tapestry-woven liturgical textiles, such as the altar cover of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and the small cover with cross and animal and avian motifs in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin (Figure 83).⁴⁹ The bird motifs in Pacheco's carpet, located at the feet of Augustine and Ambrose, could therefore also carry a Christian meaning, as the carpet foregrounds a foundational moment in the life of the saint and for the order at large.

The Sacrament of Augustine (no. 22 in series)

In another painting, Megalius, the bishop of Calama and primate of Numidia, consecrates Augustine as assistant bishop of Hippo in the year 395 (Figure 84). Here, Augustine receives his bishop's miter in front of a painting of the Annunciation, taking place in a small chapel with curtains drawn on either side. This scene adopts the only carpet in Bolswert's prints, which is small and located directly under the consecration (Figure 85). Like in *Clothing Augustine in the Habit of the Order*, Pacheco in contrast, creates an empty space in the foreground that allows a more extensive view of part of the large carpet he has added to the scene. However, the large crowd partially obscures it, so that only the two outer borders and a portion of the central field are visible. Nonetheless, the carpet has been given considerable artistic attention.

⁴⁹ Esteras Martín, "Acculturation and Innovation in Peruvian Viceregal Silverwork," in *The Colonial Andes*, 67-68; Phipps, "Tapestry Cover with Cross," in *The Colonial Andes*, 300-301.

Like the carpet in *Clothing Augustine in the Habit of the Order*, this one has a thin outer band of connected diamonds, visible just above the bottom caption (Figure 86). Its third, outermost border also has large half Inca crosses (*chakana*), rendered with white outlines and additional floral and leaf motifs inside them. The border in between contains a rosette motif with two emerging volutes, which alternate with smaller floral motifs. Again, the carpet design recalls a colonial example: a seventeenth-century *lliclla* (wedding mantle) from the British Museum in London (Figure 87). The mantle has three main registers, divided by four sets of *pallai* (bands) and bordered by two *cantu* (outer bands). In the *cantu* are repeating rosette motifs with four volutes—a popular symbol in Baroque iconography—that are similar to Pacheco’s version.⁵⁰ The mantle’s thin decorated *pallai* also bear some resemblance to Pacheco’s carpets. They feature a step-motif and *tocapu*, various geometric symbols whose use was once restricted to Inca royalty and high-ranking nobles. The exact meaning of *tocapu* is unknown, but one theory is that they represented the four-part Inca Empire of Tahuantinsuyu. In the colonial period, these motifs became more creative in their design and peppered mantles and the borders of some tapestries, as they were no longer subject to Inca imperial restrictions on textile design and material makeup.⁵¹ The early seventeenth-century tapestry of the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich, for example, has an outermost border woven in *tocapu* paired with otherwise European and Asian-inspired motifs; its central field and surrounding borders are filled with European-style scrolling vines, flowering vases, and peacocks.⁵² Although *tocapu* were sometimes oriented both vertically and horizontally in the colonial period, they do not appear in diamond form as on

⁵⁰ Phipps, “Women’s Wedding Mantle (lliclla) with Embroidered Tocapu Edges,” in *The Colonial Andes*, 196-198.

⁵¹ Cummins, “Silver Threads and Golden Needles: The Inca, the Spanish, and the Sacred World of Humanity,” in *The Colonial Andes*, 9.

⁵² Colonial garments sometimes have embroidered *tocapu* borders, as do a few tapestries, but a woven *tocapu* border is extremely rare. See Phipps, “Tapestry with Wreaths and Tocapu,” in *The Colonial Andes*, 240-242.

Pacheco's carpet. However, the thin outer border in Pacheco's canvas may be an approximation of this motif. The carpet in the second painting in the series, the *Birth of Saint Augustine*, has motifs that better resemble *tocapu* (Figure 88). In the carpet's outmost border is a row of rectangular tripartite motifs, which approximate a form that *tocupu* often took in the colonial period. After the loosening of Inca regulations, *tocapu* motifs took on the form of snaking lines, u-shapes, butterfly shapes, and were even occasionally woven as floating motifs in the main field of a garment.⁵³

Augustine's Heart is Transfixed by the Arrow of Divine Love (no. 29 in series)

The twenty-ninth scene in the series features a carpet with a medley of Inca and European motifs (Figure 89a). In what is one of the most dramatic moments of the series, Augustine kneels before the Virgin and Christ Child, who pierces Augustinian's heart with an arrow. The scene is based loosely on Bolswert's print, and emerges from a line in Augustine's *Confessions*: "You have pierced our hearts with the arrow of your love, and our minds were pierced with the arrows of your words."⁵⁴ In the print, the Virgin and Christ Child appear on a cloud encircled by angels in Augustine's study (Figure 89b). His desk, cloaked with a floral tapestry, is half visible at the right. While the floral table tapestry and heavy, tasseled curtain anchor the right side of Bolswert's print, Pacheco has minimized the visibility of these items and placed them behind a central pillar.

Instead, Pacheco emphasizes a large floor rug placed under the scene of Augustine's divine experience with the Virgin and Christ Child. Like the previous examples, it has a diamond

⁵³ See *Tunic for a statue of the Christ Child*, Patrimonio Cultural de Bolivia en custodia del Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore, La Paz in *The Colonial Andes*, 273-275.

⁵⁴ *The Confessions*, trans. Maria Boulding (New York: Vintage Books, 1998), book 9.3.

step-fret motif, this time slightly rounded, and running along the perimeter of the main field. A band of alternating red and white z-shaped scrolls separate the main field from the outer border, which combines large full-sized *chakana* motifs with rosettes with volutes inside of them. A red ground surrounds the brown *chakana*, which are aligned point to point in a horizontal lattice. This carpet resembles a colonial mantle at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which features an interlaced lattice motif with quatrefoil medallions on a deep red ground (Figure 90). The textile also combines birds in profile and additional rosette motifs in its central field, motifs found in many of Pacheco's carpets. According to Johanna Hecht, the lattice motif was an incredibly popular one in European damasks and velvets in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁵⁵ Pacheco has reconceived it here to employ an Inca symbol as the main structuring device.

St. Jerome Appears to Augustine as He is Writing his Eulogy (no. 28 in series)

Multiple scenes in the series employ the repeated design of three borders with step-fret and *tocapu* motifs, which were inspired by colonial garments. However, the twenty-eighth painting in the series expands this formula (Figure 91). On the left, Augustine's student Eulogius has a vision of the dark shadow of Augustine appearing to him in Carthage as he struggles with his rhetoric lesson. On the right and up the stairs, St. Jerome appears to Augustine in his bishop's quarters in Hippo. While the placement of the carpet is similar to that in the previous examples, the textile is very different. Visible under the desk and chair of Augustine is a carpet with an interlaced scroll motif rendered in light blue with white outlines that undulates across the red ground of the main field. This rug has only a main register and an outer border just barely visible above the caption and at its left edge.

⁵⁵ Hecht, "The Past is Present: Transformation and Persistence of Imported Ornament in Viceregal Peru," in *The Colonial Andes*, 43-57.

Although of European origin, the interlaced scroll motif can also be found on a number of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Peruvian *cumbi* tapestries. At the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth, Rococo ornament entered Peru through various channels. One means was through goods imported from French, English and Spanish merchants. New trade routes into Lima opened with the transition from the Hapsburg to the Bourbon regimes, which allowed for the entry of new products from diverse ports.⁵⁶ As detailed by Gauvin Bailey, the Rococo style also spread through French and German engravings, and by means of an influx of European artists, architects, and craftsmen to Spanish America, where the style formed regional variations.⁵⁷ The stylized scrolls and tangled volutes that characterized the Rococo entered and enhanced the Andean Baroque ornamental vocabulary, and were incorporated into textiles, metalwork, frames and furniture.⁵⁸

The interlaced volutes of Pacheco's carpet in the scene recall the motifs of a type of tapestry that emerged in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. These tapestries typically contain a central field of white interlocking scrolls on a red ground with outer borders of additional scrolls on red or blue ground (Figure 92). In these woven pieces, tiny human, animal and floral motifs are often inserted between the empty spaces of the scroll motifs.⁵⁹ Although they are more loosely interlaced, Pacheco's carpet design mimics these tangled volutes that emerge from shell shapes along the central field's perimeter. They also closely align with those in the outer border of the *cumbi* seat cover discussed in Chapter 1.

⁵⁶ See John Robert Fisher's *Bourbon Peru, 1750-1825* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003), 1-25.

⁵⁷ Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *The Spiritual Rococo: Decor and Divinity from the Salons of Paris to the Missions of Patagonia* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2014).

⁵⁸ Phipps and Hecht, "Andean Style in the Secular World," in *The Colonial Andes*, 325.

⁵⁹ See tapestry with scrolls at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1990.624) and the tapestry with scrolls and hunters at the Severočekské Muzeum, Czech Republic (T1192), both featured in *The Colonial Andes*, 327-330.

As these examples demonstrate, Pacheco's carpets have various correspondences with the motifs and design structures of colonial period woven garments and tapestries. His carpets share the concentric rectangle design and numerous motifs like birds, step-fret, *tocupu*, and interlocking scrolls, which are often found on colonial tapestries. As explored in Chapter 1, carpets in colonial interiors had both tapestry-woven and pile carpets, and both were often very large, expensive items. The similarities in design and the level of specificity with which Pacheco renders the carpets suggest that he intended to illustrate a flat, tapestry-woven carpet, as no pile is visible. Tapestry-woven carpets, hangings, and bed and table covers, like the *We are Seven* tapestry, are examples of colonial *cumbi* woven with indigenous techniques, but decorated with a combination of European and Asian motifs and materials.

Cumbi tapestries for furnishing interiors came to be privileged over the garments that were popular in the Inca and early colonial period. Spanish and Creole taste for these tapestries sparked their production in the Andes. Instead of the horizontal orientation of Inca mantles, colonial tapestries adopted the nested rectangular fields of European and Asian carpets and tapestries, items which were imported to Peru and affected local production there. As archival research has shown (Chapter 1), these *cumbi* pieces pepper period inventories and dowries, and retain their status as value textiles, despite the entry of international textiles goods. Pacheco's carpets may reflect the popularity and sustained demand for *cumbi* tapestries throughout the colonial period.

The degree to which Pacheco's carpets reflect real examples is debatable, however. At a quick glance, their motifs and structures suggest that they are translations of period pieces. However, close examination shows that they are more suggestions of tapestries than accurate representations of them. We have already tested the shortcomings of Gisbert's six-part

classification system for colonial tapestries with the *We are Seven* textile (Chapter 2).⁶⁰ It is far from a comprehensive system for categorizing these pieces in the first place, but when used in conjunction with Pacheco's carpets, we see that his designs do not align with her categories either. Like the *We are Seven* tapestry, Pacheco's textiles mostly align with Gisbert's "type B," which feature "mestizo" motifs in the central panel. However, Pacheco's borders, not the central panels, are the areas of the carpet that display this eclectic combination of indigenous and European motifs.

Attempts to categorize Pacheco's carpets further suggest that the carpets are approximations of period pieces. The similarities of the carpets across the series reveal that Pacheco used a formulaic approach for his carpets, one that was likely not based on use of a textile as a studio prop. Across several scenes, including *The Birth of Augustine*, *Augustine Competing as Rhetor of Carthage*, and others, his carpets feature an outermost border with geometric motifs, a second border with spaced motifs (birds, flowers) in circular cartouches, and a third border on the perimeter of the main register with *chakana* (Figure 88; Figure 93). The main field typically has floral, geometric and sprouting medallion motifs. This formulaic approach to carpet illustration draws heavily on the motifs and design structures of garments like *lliclla*. In doing so, Pacheco creates visual suggestions, as opposed to diligent and precise renderings of period pieces.

While the painted textiles vary in their degree of specificity, they do reflect the generally eclectic style of Peruvian tapestries at the time. More than depicting these pieces with exactitude, Pacheco chose motifs that firmly signified the textile as Cusqueñan. The placement of Inca motifs throughout the carpets localizes the scenes in viceregal Cusco, the historic seat of the Inca

⁶⁰ Gisbert, Silvia Arze, and Martha Cajías, *Arte textil y mundo andina* (La Paz: Gisbert y Cia., 1987), 302-304.

Empire, through the work of visual signifiers. Consequently, we should view the painted textiles both as approximate records of contemporaneous objects in circulation and in interiors, and an artistic device used to localize the scenes in Peruvian settings. Textiles are one strategy through which Pacheco relocates the events of the life of Saint Augustine from present-day Algeria, Tunisia, and Italy to Peru.

Pacheco's painterly manipulation of carpets throughout the scenes is further underscored by his inclusion of other period details that make his interiors specific to early eighteenth-century Cusco. These include altar cloths and frontals, bed dressings, wall hangings, lace-trim textiles, wall murals, and period furniture. The action in *Dressing Augustine in the Habit of the Order* occurs in front of a small altar that supports two wooden candlesticks and a Crucifixion (Figure 58). The altar is dressed with a combination of textiles typical of churches in the colonial Andes by featuring a white altar cloth with lace trim covering the edges of the red brocade frontlet, which is often tailored with vertical panels at the ends. The frontlet partially covers the floral altar frontal, likely an imported silk from Europe or Asia. Late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century archival documents indicate that church textiles were primarily made of Italian, Spanish and Chinese silk, as well as lamé, camlet, and Chambray. As Stanfield-Mazzi has demonstrated, costly imported textiles usually decorated the altar itself, but local Andean textile artisans were actively involved in tailoring and embellishing them.⁶¹ An altar in the background of the nineteenth canvas in the series, *The Ordination of Augustine*, shows a similar configuration with a red brocade frontal and a lacy white altar cloth.

Other period textiles are visible in bedrooms throughout the series. Numerous birth, death, and miraculous healing events take place in beds decorated with lavish textiles. In the

⁶¹ Stanfield-Mazzi, "Weaving and Tailoring the Andean Church," 77-102. She has made major contributions in the study of Andean liturgical textiles throughout the colonial period.

Birth of Saint Augustine, Monica sits upright in a wood-frame bed with a red canopy and a yellow floral bedspread with lace trim (Figure 88). In the scene, which takes place in Tagaste, Algeria, in 354 CE, Monica has just given birth in a canopied bed and her husband is in a chair next to her. As a typical nativity scene modeled on depictions of St. Anne, an attendant brings Monica soup, while several women tend to the newborn Augustine, who is swaddled on the floor. The entire room is lavishly adorned with textiles. Although Augustine's parents were of modest means, Saint Anne is depicted in a stately, upper-class bed adorned with costly textiles. In private inventories, textiles for dressing beds were particularly valuable, and often appear listed as part of a set with a bed canopy, bedspread, and bed frame. Bedspreads in private households in Cusco were of a variety of materials, including *cumbi*, Spanish wool, silk, satin, and damask. The 1743 inventory of General Don Joseph Leonardo de Llaguno includes an imported yellow bedspread from China, which was lined in red satin (una sobrecama de China amarilla forrada en rasa colorada).⁶² In the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, bed linens often featured lace trim. The 1745 inventory of sisters Doña Maria y Doña Catalina de la Concha of Cusco includes a blue bedspread from China, which was lined with taffeta, as well as a pair of sheets with Chambery lace (una sobrecama azul de china aforrada en tafetán; un par de sabanas con encajes chambergos).⁶³

Pacheco's lace embellishments of garments and household textiles are also reflective of the textile market of the period. As discussed in Chapter 1, the new Bourbon regime resulted in the introduction of new textiles products to Peruvian markets, including French lace and silk trimmings. Women's shawls, skirts, and dresses were not the only items to feature lace trim; religious garments like albs and chasubles, as well as liturgical textiles like the *palia* and altar

⁶² ARC, Juan Bautista Gamarra, 1743, Prot. 140, f. 364v.

⁶³ ARC, Juan Bautista Gamarra, 1745, Prot. 141, f. 158v.

cloths, often had lace trim of varying widths. The eighteenth-century obsession with lace can be seen in the lacy cuffs and trim of Ambrose's garments in *Clothing Augustine in the Habit of the Order* (Figure 58). Here, the alb terminates in three thin registers and one wide band of lace. Throughout the scenes, lace also decorates the borders of sheets, bedspreads, and pillows, items that are similarly described as having lace trim in period inventories. Inventories and dowries frequently describe lace, commonly called *chambergos* signifying French lace or lace from Milan, by its width in *dedos* (fingers) and by origin.

A more modest type of textile frequently appearing in Pacheco's scenes is the *petate*, or woven reed rug. As discussed in Chapter 1, this mat was a cheaper alternative to a rug and was likely made of local *totorá* reeds,⁶⁴ like those most famously used in the Lake Titicaca region to make reed rafts. Two death scenes, that of Monica and of Augustine, feature large *petates* that cover each bedroom floor. In the *Death of Monica*, a woven mat subtly glistens beneath the deathbed, its herringbone pattern slightly visible (Figure 94). The mat was a purposeful addition here, as Bolswert's print features only a wood plank floor (Figure 69). In the *Death of Augustine*, a larger reed mat occupies the entire floor of the scene (Figure 95a). Instead of a herringbone pattern, this *petate* has alternating gold and brown thatched strips. The mat runs under a small rug, positioned under a table, suggesting that a layering strategy of textiles was sometimes used, perhaps to give rugs traction. A similar style of thatched *petate* is depicted in *Augustine Constructs a Monastery and Writes His Rule*, along with one in a herringbone weave (Figure 96). Here, Augustine and a group of monks convene in a retreat organized by bishop Valerius of Hippo. The monks gather around Augustine as he holds the open book of his rule. The entire group is positioned over these two *petate*, with Augustine in a central position where the two

⁶⁴ Stanfield-Mazzi, "Weaving and Tailoring the Andean Church," 81.

mats meet. The decision to depict two kinds of mat in the same continuous space raises unanswered questions, and demonstrates a careful eye to interior detail. By comparison, the prints by Bolswert that match the two previous scenes feature an unadorned tile floor (Figure 70; Figure 95b).

Another category of textiles reoccurs throughout the series: wall hangings, usually paneled with brocade. Behind the bed canopy in the scene of Augustine's birth is a two-toned hanging with delicate Rococo-style volutes and sprouting flowers in diamond medallions (Figure 88). This room decoration is even echoed in the simultaneous birth of Pelagius in the background. This style of hanging is featured again, but more prominently, in the eleventh painting, the scene of Augustine's toothache. In this scene, the hanging provides a dramatic backdrop for Augustine's suffering as he writes a plea for God to rescue him from his pain (Figure 97). Similarly, the *Baptism of Augustine* features a baptistery decorated with red and brown floral brocade hangings with lace strips dividing each panel (Figure 98).⁶⁵ The motifs here are a bit denser than those in the previous scenes, but all the hangings recall early eighteenth-century Spanish silk panels (Figure 99).⁶⁶ The more delicate volutes in the birth and toothache scenes perhaps show the influence of the French Rococo on the more densely-packed floral and vase motifs of earlier Spanish silk brocades. As discussed in Chapter 1, churches and private households at the time decorated their walls in a variety of ways that included fresco paintings, tapestries, silk and other panels, as well as framed oil paintings.⁶⁷ Pacheco's hangings

⁶⁵ Ananda Cohen Suarez also mentions the hangings in this painting in "Clothing the Architectonic Body," in *Heaven, Hell, and Everything in Between: Murals of the Colonial Andes* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016), 95.

⁶⁶ See the eighteenth-century Spanish silk panel at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, X.451.5.

⁶⁷ Jorge F. Rivas Pérez, "Domestic Display in the Spanish Overseas Territories," in *Behind Closed Doors: Art in the Spanish American Home, 1492-1898*, ed. Richard Aste (New York: Brooklyn Museum, 2013), 70.

particularly recall the multi-paneled and two-colored hangings mentioned in early eighteenth-century Cusco inventories, including the thirty-eight-paneled red and yellow damask hanging in the bedroom of Capitan Don Agustín Lara de la Cerda discussed in Chapter 1.⁶⁸

Other scenes feature wall decorations that could be confused with wall hangings, but are actually mural paintings of textiles. In the twenty-second painting, *The Sacrament of Augustine*, the back walls are red with light blue brocade motifs (Figure 100). These decorations mimic the designs of wall hangings, but the red ground and the looseness of the motifs suggests they are painted. Textile murals were common throughout churches in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and were part of Bishop Manuel de Mollinedo's renovation campaigns of churches in the Cusco region in the 1680s. These murals were intended to mimic the friezes and brocades of silk and velvet Spanish textiles, and were a low-cost alternative to these costly imports.⁶⁹ The murals in Pacheco's scene particularly recall stylized pomegranates with leafy volutes that have been copied from sixteenth-century Spanish silks.⁷⁰ By echoing the painted interiors of churches across the Cusco region, Pacheco relocates Augustine's consecration to the eighteenth-century Andes.

In addition to textiles, Pacheco has placed period furniture throughout the scenes in a further attempt to mimic colonial Peruvian interiors. In the *Baptism of Augustine*, the scene occurs in front of a *mostrador*, a stepped piece of furniture used throughout the Americas to display ceramics, silver, and other costly possessions (Figure 98).⁷¹ In Pacheco's painting, the

⁶⁸ ARC, Cristobal de Bustamante, 1703, Prot. 63, f. 370v, 372r.

⁶⁹ See Cohen, "Clothing the Architectonic Body," 83-117.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 100.

⁷¹ Jorge F. Rivas Pérez, "Domestic Display," 71. Also see Gustavo Curiel, "Ajuares domésticos: los rituales de lo cotidiano," in *Historia de la vida cotidiana en México, vol. 2: La ciudad barroca*, ed. Antonio Rubial García (Mexico City: Colegio de México, 2005), 81-108.

mostrador holds numerous bronze plates, a pitcher, two candlesticks, and a crucifix. It is important to note that these stepped tables were ephemeral furniture. They were constructed from various smaller pieces of furniture and typically covered with a fine textile. The *mostrador* was so mobile that many upper-class families transported them to baptisms and temporarily erected them in the baptistery, where they displayed the family's most precious belongings.⁷² As in Pacheco's canvas, the *mostrador* would have been a backdrop to the baptism and a way of advertising the family's wealth. In Mexico in 1649, this practice was prohibited by the church, which criticized the display of opulence at such a sacred event.⁷³ It is likely that similar restrictions existed in Peru, but Pacheco's canvas suggests they were not well enforced in the seventeenth century.

The scene of Augustine's toothache features additional period furniture (Figure 97). On the table with his writing instruments is a *contador* (small table cabinet), popular in Spain and throughout the Americas. These items, like *escritorios* (writing desks), had been popular in Spanish upper-class households since the sixteenth century. They entered Peru primarily from Spain, but also from China, Japan, and the Philippines, where lacquer furniture was made for the Spanish market. These multi-drawer cabinets, often stacked on top of writing desks and tables, were frequently inlaid with ivory, bone and tortoiseshell.⁷⁴ The 1737 inventory of Cusco resident Fernando Rodriguez includes two small table cabinets inlaid with ivory with gilded locks with a writing desk with gold profiling (*dos contadoritos embutidos en marfil con sus cerraduras dorados y bufete perfilado*).⁷⁵ In Pacheco's painting, a woman reaches inside a drawer, perhaps to

⁷² Curiel, "Ajuares domésticos," 96.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ Rivas, "Domestic Display," 77-82. See the Brooklyn Museum's table cabinet (53.11.8).

remove writing instruments for Augustine's letter. The white decorations around the drawer's edges suggest it is similarly inlaid with ivory. It is in interpreting these pictorial elements that archival documents of the early eighteenth century, the period in which these paintings were commissioned, are exceedingly useful. These documents confirm that Pacheco selected his textiles and furniture from contemporaneous items that adorned domestic and sacred interiors throughout viceregal Peru.

3.4.2 Composition

Colonial period textiles and furniture in Pacheco's scenes strategically relocate the events of Augustine's life in the Andes. However, these elements also serve another function in the series: they serve as an artistic strategy to organize and clarify interior space and sequential action. Pacheco repeatedly depicts the carpets in similar locations throughout the series, placed directly under Augustine and on elevated platforms, which add raised spaces not depicted in the prints he was referencing. Textiles played a pivotal role in this strategy, which sought to combine several events, sometimes occurring in distinct locales, in one composition.

Pacheco's placement of carpets throughout the paintings falls into three categories, which will be explored through study of individual compositions. First, like the use of carpets in Renaissance painting, Pacheco's textiles enhance the sacredness of figures and events by foregrounding them. Secondly, the carpets clarify and differentiate multiple events occurring within one canvas, and illuminate hierarchies in the scenes. Third, the profusion of textile additions mimics the obsession with interior ornament found across domestic and sacred spaces

⁷⁵ ARC, Ambrocio Arias de Lira, 1737, Prot. 24, f. 24r.

in viceregal Peru. Pacheco's compositions also echo the historical construction of space in the Inca Empire, a topic that will be explored in the following chapter.

Although Pacheco's *Life of Saint Augustine* series is unique in its treatment of textiles, it is important to acknowledge the role of textiles in the more widespread treatment of the iconography of saints and their attributes. One of the many ways in which carpets in particular have been discussed in Renaissance painting is as a visual link to actual practices of using cloth in sacred spaces. To explain the carpets in Lotto's paintings, Kim highlights the practice of wrapping relics in cloth. In *The Alms of Saint Anthony* (1542) by Lotto, for example, an intricate "Para-Mamluk" carpet drapes over the saint's tomb, creating a stage for his saintly instruments: a miter, crosier and manuscripts (Figure 101). Kim argues that the carpet becomes a sacred stage for the saint's main attributes, highlighting the ability of textiles to not only identify but also to protect and shroud sacred material. He also alludes to the general convention of placing a carpet beneath a holy figure in iconic scenes such as the Annunciation or the Virgin with a vase of lilies.⁷⁶ The textiles in Pacheco's scenes similarly function to underscore the sacredness of the depicted events, much like the ways in which lavish vestments adorn saints in miracle stories. Augustine was born in Northern Africa to a modest family, who likely had humbler furnishings than the ones depicted in the series. The textiles, then, are not an accurate portrayal of the wealth of the family, but of his esteemed and saintly life to come. In the scene of his birth, the textiles operate to set a sacred stage for Augustine's future, divine work.

Similarly, in *Augustine's Heart is Transfixed by the Arrow of Divine Love*, the rug heightens the miraculous moment in which the Virgin and Christ Child appear to Augustine (Figure 89a). The Virgin and Child descend on a cloud positioned over the center field of the

⁷⁶ Kim, "Lotto's Carpets," 199.

carpet, while Augustine kneels over the carpet's outer border. His robe both spills onto the central field in front of him and across the carpet's tassels onto the wood floor behind him. The rug acts as an intermediary between the sacred realm of the Virgin and Child and the profane one of Augustine's home. In addition to highlighting the momentous event, therefore, the carpet creates a liminal space between these two realms. This pivotal moment in the life of Saint Augustine is not the only one in the painting, however. Pacheco adds an additional event, and it is here that textiles feature prominently. Pacheco's scene does not terminate with Augustine's desk, like Bolswert's, but instead uses this piece of furniture to visually transition to another scene: his friend Paulinus's vision of Augustine as a seraph ascending to an enthroned Trinity. Pacheco has depicted Paulinus together with a group of men, looking upwards at this celestial scene. Throughout the series, Pacheco combines on one canvas multiple scenes that at times occur in different temporal and geographical realms, employing textiles to clarify elements that enhance the scene's spiritual potential.

Here I employ Kim's concept of carpets as "soft architecture": they are pliable, flexible portable objects, capable of mirroring and accentuating architectural forms. The carpet as painted element "anchors built architecture even more firmly into its setting."⁷⁷ The carpets in these European paintings spill down stairs and cascade down the steps of tombs, often with their plied, fringed edges hanging delicately in the foreground in front of the viewer. As in these pictures, Pacheco's series textiles have structural form throughout and often enhance, delineate or clarify the often-complex architectural settings. In this way, textiles work in tandem with a numbering system and captions to guide the viewer through the composition. Red numbers identify the different moments in the often-simultaneously occurring events, guiding the viewer from scene

⁷⁷ Ibid., 189.

to scene. After the caption explains the scene on the left, part two “2” describes the experience of Paulinus: “Obispo de Nola a visitar a su Padre y Maestro Agustino le ve elevado en forma de Serafín, 3, ante el Trono de la Trinidad Santísima.”⁷⁸ Tiny numbers “2” and “3” painted on Paulinus’s robe, and on Augustine’s hem as he appears as a seraph, guide the viewer from scene to scene.

In *The Birth of Augustine*, the carpets have a similar function, albeit more subtle (Figure 88). The rug in the scene of the birth is not rendered in astonishing detail, but serves another compositional strategy. It specifically works to ground the scene and differentiate it from the waterway behind the female attendants. The water divides the birth of Augustine from a simultaneously occurring scene happening in a faraway place: the birth of Pelagius in England. In the tiny scene in the background, we see the main scene in miniature: a canopied bed, brocade wall hangings, and Pelagius on a carpet that occupies the entire room. Here, Pacheco uses textile furnishings to heighten the connection between two men born at identical times in different places in the world. A red zigzagging line crosses the ocean and connects both birth scenes, further emphasizing the simultaneity of the births. Pacheco has used rugs here as grounding agents, which firmly mark the spatial outlines of a scene and differentiate it from another occurring in the same composition.

In addition to delineating space, the carpets reinforce hierarchies throughout the series. The sixth painting in the series, *Augustine Competing as Rhetor of Carthage*, shows Augustine auditioning to become a professor (Figure 93). The Roman proconsul sits on a throne elevated by steps and covered by a carpet. Here the carpet spills down the stairs toward the rectangular-tiled floor at the center of the canvas. The division of the composition into two facing groups, which

⁷⁸ “The bishop of Nola visits Father Augustine and see him elevated in the form of a seraph before the throne of the Holy Spirit,” (translation, mine).

is anchored by the proconsul in the top center, creates a compositional void at the bottom center. The alignment of the tilework and the carpet pull the eye back in space to the proconsul's throne, while also highlighting the power dynamics of Augustine's examination. His evaluator, the Roman proconsul, commands the most visual attention in the scene, confirming his position of authority. The carpet underscores his elevated position, emphasizing the stepped platform on which his throne sits. MacCormack suggests that Pacheco has highlighted similarities in cultural and intellectual practices between viceregal Peru and fourth-century North Africa in this scene. For example, Augustine publicly auditions for the position of professor of rhetoric in a style that was practiced both in ancient Africa and at the University of San Marcos in Lima.⁷⁹

More often than not, Pacheco depicts the rugs as lying on elevated platforms, adding raised spaces not depicted in the prints he was referencing. *Augustine's Heart is Transfixed by the Arrow of Divine Love* demonstrates this strategy, with the pivotal scene occurring on a raised wooden platform elevated four steps from the scene to the right (Figure 89a). This technique not only literally elevates the scene to a level and privilege above the neighboring event, but also enhances the visibility of the carpet. Here, the rug's fringed border faces a strip of wood flooring. However, the bottom edge of the carpet does not have a similar fringe and instead disappears into the caption below. In other words, Pacheco does not depict the carpet with a bottom finished edge, and in doing so, invites the viewer to step into the scene where Augustine's vision is occurring. Without the bottom fringe to position the viewer outside of the scene, one could imagine oneself as an active witness. Pacheco has also manipulated the perspective of the carpet, depicting it at a sharp upwards angle. This decision was a deliberate one, as he has rendered the table behind the column in a more realistic perspectival manner. As these paintings hung in the

⁷⁹ MacCormack, "Poetics of Representation," 92.

upper niches of the courtyard, the textiles would have pulled the eye up and into the scene, enhancing the visibility of the principal scenes and their details.

In the placement of textiles in Renaissance painting, Kim notes a similar tendency. He claims that the carpets act as a *solea*, an elevated platform in the inner sanctuary of the Eastern Orthodox Church. Worshippers process to the *solea* and take communion there. Indeed, many of the carpets in Italian paintings are arranged so as to summons viewer into the picture plane and along a carpeted path to a saintly subject.⁸⁰ Pacheco's carpets function similarly, seen also in the placement of the large floral carpet in *Augustine, contemplating Christ's Passion and the Sorrows of the Virgin Mary, is invited to partake of Christ's Eucharistic blood and the Virgin's own milk*, the thirtieth painting in the series (Figure 102). A massive carpet sets the stage for Augustine, who stands with outstretched arms, parting his robe to reveal the pink underside of his lavish vestments. The rug continues on behind him, heightening the perspective of the scene by narrowing to a triangular shape as it presumably tapers to an invisible altar. Filling the space between the sculptural wooden bases of the pillars on either side, the carpet dramatically pulls the viewer into the momentous scene. Again, the carpet acts as an intermediary of profane and sacred space, as it marks the floor of the church and cushions Augustine's miter and crosier, but also distinguishes this earthly realm from Christ and Mary who sit on clouds bolstered by angels. The design of the carpet also enhances viewer access to the scene. While a floral border runs parallel to the bases of the pillars, the rug has no bottom border and seemingly disappears into the caption below. Again, this strategy works to place the viewer on the same stage as the drama taking place.

⁸⁰ Kim illustrates this concept with Lorenzo di Credi and Andrea del Verrocchio's *Madonna di piazza* (1475-80): "Lotto's Carpets," 189.

Like the *solea* in Renaissance paintings, the carpets in Pacheco's series seem to converse with similar constructions of space in viceregal Peru. It is here that a more local reading of Pacheco's textiles is necessary, as colonial Peruvian interiors differed from their European counterparts. The visual associations created by textiles in European painting undoubtedly differ from those in an Andean world, where practices of dressing spaces were distinct and varied. The platform space in particular recalls the colonial practice of erecting elevated stages in *estrados* (private entertaining rooms). As discussed in Chapter 1, many private residences had a main sitting room with a raised platform called an *estrado*, which was typically adorned with a large rug, pillows and several small pieces of furniture.

In archival documents, the *tarima* (wooden platform) of the *estrado* often receives mention as a separate item of value, often as a *tarima de tablas*. The 1755 dowry between a Spaniard and his Creole bride, both residents of Cusco, includes a platform of six panels (una *tarima nueva de seis tablas*) valued at nine pesos. Listed directly after it is a new rug six-meters long (una *alfombra grande de seis varas ordinaria nueva*), valued at thirty-five pesos and presumably intended to cover the platform.⁸¹ Other households feature numerous platforms, often with an identical number of rugs to cover them. For example, the 1751 inventory of Cusco resident Doña Letrona de Miranda includes eight platforms of three panels each (*ocho tarimas de a tres tablas*). These correspond to eight rugs: two large rugs three meters long, two medium rugs, and two small rugs (*cinco alfombras, las dos a tres varas y las tres pequeñas rasonables, y tres pequeñitas que hacen ocho*).⁸² In some houses, beds were even placed on platforms as well. The *tarima* functioned to theatrically elevate various spaces in the house, giving pieces of

⁸¹ ARC, Ambrocio Arias de Lira, 1755, Prot. 32, f. 138v.

⁸² ARC, Juan Bautista Gamarra, 1751, Prot. 135, f. 358v.

furniture or inhabitants a noble presentation. Pacheco's series imitates this arrangement of elevated interior spaces, each typically covered by a textile.

Very occasionally, Bolswert's prints feature an interest in textiles that has been translated directly into paint by Pacheco. In the twenty-sixth canvas, *Augustine Presides Over the Conference of Carthage*, Pacheco has maintained the draperies that cloak the room and various pieces of furniture and in the scene, but he saturates them with dazzling colors, motifs, and textures (Figures 103-104). According to the caption below, Augustine holds council in a room filled with 559 bishops, who sit in pews draped with European damasks, bordered with fringe. Pacheco follows Bolswert's composition quite closely here, but it is with textiles that he makes the most departures. The table at which the two secretaries sit recording the proceedings is topped with a plain tapestry in Bolswert's print; in Pacheco's painting it seems to be a lace tablecloth, although the motifs are rendered too large to represent a specific type of lace available in Peruvian markets. In the print, the back wall has hangings draped loosely between Corinthian columns, which Pacheco has replaced with flattened two-panel brocade panels with a narrow top border of the same material. While the architecture of the room is the same in both the printed and painted scenes, Pacheco has also tucked a carpet (or perhaps two) onto the elevated platform and steps in front of Augustine's elevated chair. These carpets feature *tocapu* and other motifs derived from locally produced colonial tapestries, which are similar to those in other scenes in the series.

3.5 Augustinian Viewers, Thieves, and Patrons of the Arts

After visually dissecting the motifs and placements of carpets and other textiles in Pacheco's series, we need to consider why it was important to situate the events of Saint

Augustine in the Andes and how a period audience may have interpreted them. As discussed earlier, this seemingly disconcerting combination of historically distinct elements was not uncommon in artwork of the early modern period. On the contrary, anachronistic elements were not perceived by early modern viewers to be visually jolting, but instead signaled what Nagel and Wood refer to as a comprehensible “double historicity.”⁸³ Instead of illustrating the temporal confusion possibly interpreted by viewers today, these elements were understood as signifying both a present and a past epoch simultaneously.⁸⁴ As has been demonstrated in studies of saints in Latin America, although the Council of Trent established careful mandates for religious imagery, which were famously systemized by painter and theorist Francisco Pacheco’s *El arte de la pintura* (1649), New World artists commonly manipulated religious iconographies reflecting both Catholic and indigenous agendas.⁸⁵ Like Pacheco’s series, these artistic projects often combined elements from multiple time periods and places to facilitate indigenous understanding of Christian tenets. We should thus read Pacheco’s painted tapestries as what Nagel and Wood call “deliberate anachronisms,” which were likely more legible to a colonial Andean audience than to a contemporary one.⁸⁶ Throughout the series, textiles operate as temporal and geographic markers, part of a series of sophisticated representational strategies for relocating Christian narratives to the colonial Andes.

However, we need to carefully consider the likely audience for Pacheco’s commission.

The viewers of the series would have been the friars of the convent, who were likely deeply

⁸³ Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood, “Interventions: Toward a New Model of Renaissance Anachronism,” *Art Bulletin* 87 (2005): 403-405.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ See, among others, Charlene Villaseñor Black’s *Creating the Cult of Saint Joseph: Art and Gender in the Spanish Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 161.

⁸⁶ Nagel and Wood, “Interventions,” 403.

knowledgeable about the life and deeds of Augustine. One clue to the erudition of this audience is in the numerous books authored by Augustine, including *On Beauty and Proportion*, *On Christian Doctrine*, *On Baptism*, and *On Faith to the Deacon Peter*, which Pacheco has added to scenes throughout the series.⁸⁷ Several of Pacheco's paintings depict books authored by Augustine on shelves or tables, and they deliberately position the bindings of the books with their titles legible to viewers. These titles are undoubtedly ones that the friars would have read and had on hand at the convent, so they would have strongly resonated with these viewers.

Situating Pacheco's series within the history of Augustinian literature sheds light on Augustine's teachings in a Peruvian context. One of the most influential Augustinian figures in Peru was Antonio de la Calancha, author of *Corónica moralizada* (1638), who had, a century prior, lived in the convent of San Agustín in Lima. Calancha positioned Peru as "the new heaven and the new earth" for the Augustinians, who had a pivotal role in the first evangelization of the Incas. Deeply inspired by the writings of Jordan of Saxony and Nicolaus Crusenius, Calancha considered Diego Ortiz, who died in his attempts to convert the last Incas, to be Peru's first martyr. Calancha's *Corónica* provided seventeenth-century Augustinians with the historical inspiration and sense of purpose on Peruvian soil, and it is in a similar vein that Pacheco's series functions. The alterations of Bolswert's prints—the books, textiles, furniture, and changes in architecture—are not so much didactic elements as propagandistic ones. Instead of serving as teaching tools to help friars make sense of the events of Saint Augustine's life, they reflect contemporary concerns and internal debates within the Augustinian community in the Americas, particularly on the destiny of the order and their mission in Peru.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ MacCormack, "Poetics of Representation," 99.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 111.

The scene of Augustine's funeral is the most obvious example of this strategy to visualize the order's historical and geographical reach from the old world to the new. A major alteration from the print is Pacheco's change in setting to place Augustine's final burial within the city center of Cusco, instead of the church of Saint Stephen in Hippo (Figure 74).⁸⁹ The crown advances through the main square and toward the raised platform on which the cathedral complex sits. The cathedral complex is made up of the Church of the Holy Family (La Sagrada Familia) to the left-hand of the cathedral, and the Church of the Triumph (Iglesia del Triunfo) to the right-hand side. Construction of the cathedral ended in 1654 when the old church, the Church of the Triumph, was converted into a chapel in the cathedral.⁹⁰ The complex is bordered on one side by an arched loggia and on the other by a street running up into the elevated neighborhood of San Blas. The Church of the Holy Family, built in 1723, helps to date the painting in the early eighteenth century. Unusual, however, is the building on the far left, which towers over the neighboring loggia and is cloaked in shadow. This building is not one native to Cusco's city center, and instead has been borrowed from Bolswert's print. The triangular pediment with a circular window and three-tier facade mirrors that in the print, which also depicts a side building with a pitched roof. Other views of the plaza in Cusco School paintings confirm the standard layout of this urban space, such as the *Cusco During the Earthquake of 1650 with Alonso Cortés de Monroy*, c. 1670 (Cusco Cathedral). This bird's-eye view from behind the cathedral depicts the standard covered loggia and small businesses and residences that lined the Plaza Mayor.

⁸⁹ The setting of Cusco for Augustine's burial is already anachronistic, as several scholars have pointed out: Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia*, 202; *Project on the Engraved Sources of Spanish Colonial Art (PESSCA)*; MacCormack, "Poetics of Representation," 111; Schenone, *Iconografía*, 109.

⁹⁰ Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 27.

In other words, the setting is not entirely in the old world or the new. Instead, the scene fuses an Andean and North African world in the same composition. In this hybrid setting, Pacheco positions the saint's coffin between these two worlds. By situating Augustine's funeral in eighteenth-century Cusco, the scene extends his spiritual reach across the Atlantic, where the Augustinians performed their destined task of converting the last Incas. The procession of people connects the Andean and North African buildings, uniting these worlds and visualizing Augustine's impressive spiritual reach over oceans and continents. In the scene, his body is to be interred in the cathedral of Cusco, not in North Africa, establishing Peru as his final resting place and cementing his legacy there. Textiles function similarly throughout the series, as they inscribe colonial Peruvian elements into birth and early events of the life of Saint Augustine. In doing so, they both foreshadow the order's eventual spiritual conquest in Peru and seamlessly unite these two worlds, establishing viceregal Peru as the order's inevitable destination. In this way, Pacheco's series illustrates an Augustinian worldview in a similar manner to paintings of the order's genealogical tree. They depict a seamless progression of Augustinian key officials and principles from Europe and North Africa to the Americas.

Who specifically translated this Augustinian worldview into an artistic program is unclear, however. MacCormack believes that Pacheco's additions of books throughout the series would have likely been at the artistic direction of Fernando de Luna y Virués, the prior of the convent.⁹¹ Whether the artist's workshop or his client directed these artistic changes is unclear, however. One aspect of Augustine's funeral has led scholars to believe that Pacheco spearheaded the alterations of the print sources. In the bottom right foreground of the composition, he has

⁹¹ MacCormack, "Poetics of Representation," 99.

added what several scholars think is a self-portrait.⁹² A middle-aged nobleman wearing a blue cape stands to the side of the procession with his hands in a praying position. Instead of watching the procession, he looks out to the viewer, and Pacheco's signature is at his feet. The possible addition of his self-portrait to the scene has only fueled biographical approaches to Pacheco and his work, a methodology difficult to undertake within the Cusco School due to the general lack of artist signatures, contracts and biographies.

However, Pacheco was likely not alone in conceptualizing the series. The inscription under the donor portraits outlines the involvement of the Augustinian officials in the paintings' commission (Figure 73). Each text outlines their place of origin, theological education, and professional role and domain. On the painting's left is a portrait of Irarrazábal y Andía with text that explains that "under his religious governance this life [of Saint Augustine] was painted and hung in its present form" (en cuyo religioso gobierno se pintó esta vida y colocó en la forma que está). Clearly this official had oversight over the commission, but according to the wording of the caption, may have not have a direct hand in the details. Under the donor portrait of the prior, Fernando de Luna, is a text that ends with specific mention of his commission of the series: "Prior of the Convent of Cusco, where he ordered the painting of the life [of Saint Augustine] at his expense" (...Prior del Conv.o del Cusco, donde mandó pintar esta vida a su costa).⁹³ It is clear from this inscription that Luna ordered the commission of the paintings, but also that he likely worked with Irarrazábal, under whom the series was hung (colocó), to arrange for their

⁹² The convention of artist self-portraits is not without precedent in the colonial Andes. For example, *The Last Judgment* in the convent of San Francisco in Cusco may include a self-portrait of the artist Diego Quispe Tito, dressed as a Sapa Inka. See Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*, 108.

⁹³ MacCormack, "Poetics of Representation," 112. The entire text reads: "Retrato del N.R.P.M.o F. Fernando de Luna y Virues, D.or Theolog.o en la R.1 Univ.ad d. S.n Marcos, Califi.or del S.to Oficio, y Vic.o Prov.l dela Prov.a de Arriba. Exam o Sinodal de Arzobispado de la Plata, Prior del Conv.o del Cusco, donde mando pintar esta Vida asu costa."

transfer to Lima. Which Augustinian official was more responsible and for what purpose the series was commissioned is unclear.

According to the inscription Luna financed the series *a su costa* (at his expense), a standard way of identifying the patron responsible for funding a commission. However, the city annals of 1745 tell a very different story of Luna's actions. Several entries over the course of the year describe Luna's poor reputation in Cusco due to his numerous crimes. He is described as thieving and deceitful, and is accused of money laundering, the misuse of church funds, and refusing to finance the church or support the friars' basic needs. Significantly, the phrase *a su costa* reappears here in the city annals, but is given new meaning in the context of Luna's crimes. As I will demonstrate, the city annals overturn the benevolent meaning of *a su costa* to indicate that Luna was privately benefiting off church commissions. Although previous scholars have hinted at his poor performance as prior,⁹⁴ none have situated the *Life of Saint Augustine* series within this tumultuous period for the Augustinian church during which Luna manipulated artistic commissions for his own profit.

An entry from the city annals dated March 20, 1745, is particularly damning in its description of Luna. Within this entry is mention of a large painting commission, intended to be sent to Lima, which is likely Pacheco's *Life of Saint Augustine* series:

El robo que le hicieron al prior de san Agustín fray Fernando de Luna, se realizó el Domingo 20 de Marzo. Robáronle, en plata y géneros, más de dos mil pesos, por lo que mandó encerrar á todos los coristas y otras frailes mozos de quienes tenía sospechas. Cuando entró de prior de este convento del Cuzco, por el mes de Setiembre, expelió a todos los frailes para que viviesen fuera del convento, en casa seculares, buscándose cada uno que comer y vestir, con la obligación de asistir al convento a las funciones y misas etc. No hubo refectorio en todo este tiempo. Las rentas del convento son suficientes porque, de los veinte mil y más pesos, catorce mil son efectivos, cobrables y seguros. *Mandó pintar cuatro*

⁹⁴ Kagan, *Urban Images*, 184-185. He describes Luna as "tight-fisted" and suggests that his artistic oversight over series, including key departures from Bolswert's series, would have been minimal.

*docenas de cuadros grandes para el convento de Lima, remitiéndolos el año de 1745. Hizo construir doce hacheros de plata que costaron más de treinta mil pesos que fueron llevados a Lima para alquilarlos por su cuenta. Finalmente el escándalo que ha dado en esta ciudad, con haberse quedado con las rentas del convento, sin gastar cosa alguna en él ni en los religiosos, ha sido mayúsculo.*⁹⁵
(emphasis, mine)

Although the four-dozen canvases mentioned outnumber Pacheco's series of thirty-eight, it is most likely the commission in question.⁹⁶ The mention of the commission follows a report of a theft of silver and other products from the convent valued at more than two-thousand pesos, which is followed by an account of Luna's administration of the convent. After entering the convent, presumably in 1744, he expelled the friars from the convents so that they had to live in secular houses and provide for their own food and dress. This action and the mention of the convent's lack of a refectory at this time support the claim that Luna used the income of the convent for causes outside of the convent's upkeep and the care of its friars. In addition to the paintings, he commissioned twelve large silver candlesticks for transport to Lima to be rented on his own accord (*por su cuenta*). This language echoes that on the inscription *a su costa* but in the context of the entry it is unclear if these items were actually paid out of his pocket or not. The passages suggest that Luna's negotiation of money was not morally or legally appropriate and

⁹⁵ Translations are mine and emerge from Palma, *Anales del Cuzco*, 368. To my knowledge, these passages from the city annals have not been translated or transcribed since their 1901 publication: The theft that happened to the prior of San Agustín, Friar Fernando de Luna, happened on March 20th. They stole more than 2,000 pesos in silver and products, so [he] sent the choir singers and young friars whom he suspected to be locked up. When he entered the convent of Cusco, for the month of September, he expelled all the friars to live outside the convent in secular houses; each one had to provide his own food and dress, with the obligation of attending convent functions and masses. There was not a refectory [dining hall] at this time. The income of the convent is sufficient because of the twenty thousand and more pesos, fourteen thousand are cash, collectible debts, and insurance. He ordered the painting of four dozen large paintings for the convent of Lima, sending them there in the year 1745. He had twelve large silver candlesticks made that cost more than thirty thousand pesos that were sent to Lima to be rented on his own accord. In the end, the scandal that he has given this city, having kept the income of the convent without spending anything on the convent or its members, has been enormous.

⁹⁶ See MacCormack's correspondence with Mujica and Estabridis, "Poetics of Representation," 112, f.2. It is unclear if this number includes paintings not included in the series or if the series once contained more paintings.

that perhaps he was using convent funds to finance artworks that he was then selling for personal gain.

Another entry on May 31, 1745, details Luna's departure for Lima with a reported sum of forty-thousand, likely stolen, pesos. It also mentions his neglect of the convent and the way in which he refused to fulfill central convent duties and to pay for the living expenses of the friars:

En el 31 de Mayo debió salir de esta ciudad para la de Lima fray Fernando de Luna, prior de este convento de san Agustín, llevando una suma de dinero que aseguran pasaba de cuarenta mil pesos. Como se ha dicho no hubo en su tiempo refectorio, no los frailes vivían en la celdas, ni se encendía la lámpara del Santísimo. Hizo otros ahorros, mejor dicho robos y desórdenes, con notable escándolo de toda la república...⁹⁷

Over a series of entries from 1745, we learn of the ways in which Luna used church expenses to finance artworks that he then sold for personal profit. These entries indicate that Luna had abandoned church responsibilities and instead illegally channeled money and goods between Cusco and Lima. Luna's behavior was apparently notorious throughout the viceroyalty and led to his apprehension a month later when the torches and other silver liturgical objects were seized from him by the bishop. The friars of the convent demanded recompense, claiming to have made the torches with church funds:

El Domingo 19 de Junio entraron a la casa del señor Obispo los doce hacheros⁹⁸ de plata que el padre fray Fernando de Luna, prior que fue de este convento de San Agustín del Cuzco, se los llevaba para Lima, y de order de su ilustrísima los hicieron regresar desde Abancay por cantidad de pesos que dicho fray Fernando debía a la mesa capitular y a otros particulares, a quienes también demandaron los frailes de dicho convento, alegando haberse hecho los hachones con plata de este convento, sin que se hubiese gastado en la comunidad. Los hachones fueron ocho,

⁹⁷ Palma, *Anales del Cuzco*, 371: On May 31, Fray Fernando de Luna, prior of the convent of San Agustín, had to leave this city [Cusco] for the city of Lima, carrying a sum of money that was guaranteed to surpass forty thousand pesos. As it has been said, there wasn't a refectory [dining hall] at this time, nor did the friars live in [the convent's] cells, nor was the candle of the Blessed Sacrament kept lighted. He made other savings, better called thefts and abuses, with notable scandal of the whole republic.

⁹⁸ The wall torches (los hachones) here are likely the large candlesticks (los hacheros) from the previous entry of March 20, 1745. The Real Academia Española defines *hachón* as a large *hacha* "vela de cera" and *hachero* as "candelero o blandón que sirve para poner el hacha de cera." "Hachón," accessed May 1, 2017, <http://www.rae.es>.

y pesaron veinticinco arrobas y dos marcos. El clérigo que fue a traerlos de orden del Obispo fue el maestro D. Manuel de Rivadeneira, auxiliado de los curas y del Corregidor de Abancay. A este tiempo otro fraile agustino trajo otra petaca de plata labrada de dicho prior Luna, demandando cantidad de pesos. Lo cierto es que el tal prior agustino dejó fama imperecedera en el Cuzco.⁹⁹

Luna's poor oversight, financial management, and thievery occurred during a particularly tumultuous year for the convent. Lawsuits and illegal financial dealings were common throughout the viceregal period, as is evident in the number of legal documents in the colonial archive. However, the number of scandalous incidents involving the Augustinian convent in Cusco in 1745, the year Pacheco was commissioned to paint the series, are exceptional.

The city annals reveal that the convent's issues were not just confined to the financial realm. In April of the same year, the friars of the convent were involved in an assault of a man.¹⁰⁰ In February, the prior was involved in another even more outrageous scandal in which the body of a headless, well-dressed woman was found behind the door of the church. Before the corpse could be sent to the public scribe to be processed and evaluated for injuries, Luna switched the cadavers, putting in its place the body of an older woman:

El Sábado 27 de Febrero encontraron muy temprano detrás de la puerta de san Agustín, el cuerpo de una mujer blanca sin cabeza, á la que habían degollado y dejado detrás del sagrario de dicha iglesia. Estaba vestida con un traje con encajes. Fue al lugar el Alcalde Urdapilita con Felipe de Mesa, escribano público, a reconocer el cadáver y heridas, para formar el proceso y hacer las averiguaciones. Mandó llevar el cadáver a la capilla de santa Bárbara; pero cuando fueron por él ya el prior había hecho ocultar el cuerpo, poniendo otro en

⁹⁹ Palma, *Anales del Cuzco*, 371-372: On Sunday July 19, the twelve large silver candlesticks that Fray Fernando de Luna, prior of the convent of San Agustín, had brought to Lima, entered the house of the senior bishop. By the order of his grace [the bishop], he ordered them returned from Abancay by means of the quantity of pesos that Fray Fernando owed to the chapter administration and to other individuals, those friars who sued from the convent [of San Agustín], claiming to have made the large silver torches of the convent, which would have otherwise been spent on the community [convent]. There were eight torches and they weighed twenty-five *arrobas* and two marks (*marcos*). The clergyman who brought them under the order of the bishop was the master Don Manuel de Rivadeneira, aided by the priests and mayor of Abancay. At this time another Augustinian friar brought another silver case of worked silver of Fray Luna, demanding the [corresponding] quantity of pesos. The truth is that the Augustinian prior left unforgettable infamy in Cusco.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 351.

su lugar, como de cincuenta años, que por la ropa nueva que llevaba se conocía el engaño; y este fue el cuerpo que presentaron al Alcalde y al promotor fiscal esclesiástico. Corren las noticias de que el 26 de Febrero dio muerte a la mujer un desalmado, y que de un chafalotazo le quitó la cabeza, que su madre y su hermana estaban llorando la desgracia. También dicen que era hija de un Villagra, quien ahora muchos años mató al Titimedio.¹⁰¹

The notarial account is limited in its details of the crime, but it is clear that Luna's involvement likely extended beyond switching bodies at a crime scene. These shocking entries in the city annals paint a colorful picture of a patron of the arts and the likely figure behind Pacheco's series.

What does it mean, if anything, for a painting series to be commissioned in this atmosphere of corruption, violence, and money laundering? Is it possible that commissioning the series was a strategy on the part of Luna to launder money? Although we can only speculate, the series itself was likely a money-laundering maneuver by Luna. Like the candlesticks, he likely intended to keep the profits earned from the transfer of the paintings to Lima.

Luna's documented behavior also contradicts the larger narrative of the ardent support of Augustinians for the arts. One oft-quoted entry in Calancha's *Corónica* has largely cemented the reputation of the Augustinians as being devoted patrons of arts and artisan activities:

Que mañanas y tardes les dijese la doctrina...poniéndoles escuelas donde aprendiesen a leer, escribir i contar, aziénddoles aprender oficios i artes políticas, así para que se fuesen haciendo más capaces...siendo pintores, carpinteros, sastres, plateros i las otras artes, a que se acomodasen sus habilidades.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Palma, *Anales del Cuzco*, 349: On Saturday, February 27, they found the body of a white woman without a head, behind the door of [the convent of] San Agustín, who had been beheaded and left behind the tabernacle of the church. She was dressed in a lace dress. The mayor Urdapilita with public notary Felipe de Mesa went to the place in order to examine the corpse and its injuries, and in order to set up the process and make an investigation. He ordered the corpse to be sent to the chapel of Santa Barbara; but when they went, the prior had already hidden the corpse, putting another [corpse of a woman] 50 years old, in its place. The deceit was apparent through the new clothes it wore. This was the body that they presented to the mayor and the fiscal prosecutor. Apparently on February 26th, a heartless person killed the woman and took off her head with a machete; her mother and sister were mourning the tragedy. They also say that she was the daughter of a Villagra who many years ago killed Titus.

¹⁰² Antonio de la Calancha, *Crónica moralizada*, ed. Ignacio Prado Pastor (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1978). As quoted by Gisbert in "Al arte agustiniano en los Andes" in *Iconografía agustiniana: Roma*,

Like other religious orders, the Augustinians prided themselves on their religious, vocational, and artistic training of native Andeans, and in particular on improving their abilities in the vocational arts. Luna's tenure as prior of the Augustinian convent in Cusco challenges this reputation of the Augustinians and proposes another relationship between religious orders and local artists.

This series also positions itself in a key debate in the field of viceregal Latin American art. Without the survival of many artistic contracts, who is responsible for key aesthetic decisions in an artwork? The patron or the artist? These questions similarly surround the production of artworks of various media across the Andes, such as the selection of print sources for the *We are Seven* tapestry, as discussed in Chapter 2. This issue is equally debated in the field of Renaissance painting, where scholars have recently challenged Erwin Panofsky's notion of the artist as having a comprehensive historical perspective on antiquities. Instead of framing the artist as an enlightened historian of the classical past, recent scholars insist that artists did not possess mental or physical chronologies of artifacts, but instead had an indifference to or unawareness of the historicity of art.¹⁰³

This debate in the field of Renaissance art helps to inform our understanding of artists in the colonial Andes. Past scholarship has largely characterized Andean painters as copyists of European models, which explains the tendency of scholars to give Luna and the Augustinian officials, not Pacheco and his workshop, credit for directing the artistic program of the series.

What is more likely is that the series was a collaboration between both groups. Even if an artist's

22-24 de noviembre de 2000: *actas de congreso*, vol. 14 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Augustinianum, 2001), 299: In the mornings and afternoons they are taught the doctrine...and are put in schools where they could learn to read, write, and count, and learn arts and crafts so that they could become more competent as painters, carpenters, tailors, silversmiths, and the other arts so that they can improve their skills (translation, mine).

¹⁰³ Nagel and Wood, "Interventions."

contract existed for this commission, the communications involved in the design and execution of the series would not be in the historical record. Assigning full responsibility to the Augustinians—for their historical vision and pictorial strategy in conceptualizing the scenes—has troubling implications for indigenous artmaking. Without corresponding documentation that supports this claim, it is irresponsible, steeped in the belief that Andean artists lacked the skill, creativity, and historical cognizance to place the past on a contemporary stage.

The careful selection and savvy manipulation of textiles and other interior details in the *Life of Saint Augustine* series challenges this assumption. Recent studies in the field of Colonial Latin American art, including this one, argue that indigenous artists had a sophisticated set of strategies for reconceiving European models. Pacheco's complex treatment of textiles suggests he was capable of navigating the historical complexities of situating fourth- and fifth-century scenes within eighteenth-century Cusco. Although we cannot be certain who schematized Pacheco's series, the paintings fit a larger pattern of textile intensity in Cusco School painting in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Beginning in the 1680s when mestizo and indigenous artists reached master-level positions in guilds, textiles emerged as a common pictorial strategy in Cusco School painting. As will be explored in the following chapter, the study of textiles in Peruvian painting expands our notion of the artistic capabilities and historical understandings of indigenous artists.

CHAPTER FOUR

Towards a New Narrative: Textiles and the Cusco School of Painting

In the previous chapter, I examined Pacheco's *Life of Saint Augustine* series and its treatment of textiles. In doing so, I highlighted the unique circumstances of its production: the scandalous context of its commission, its scale and dynamic manipulation of print sources, and its striking depiction of a multitude of colonial period textiles and other domestic furnishings. By focusing primarily on the textiles depicted throughout the series, I introduced a new interpretive strategy for the Cusco School, which uses seemingly minor elements to unlock greater meaning in Andean painting. This chapter tests the broader applicability of that approach by considering how textiles may have functioned and visually resonated in the greater corpus of the Cusco School. To what degree is Pacheco's series characteristic of textile embellishment in Andean painting? Should we assume textiles function similarly in other paintings of the Cusco School? What are the antecedents of this artistic strategy? The ways in which we can read these subtle yet powerful textile details in the broader field of Andean painting is the focus of the remainder of this dissertation. As I will demonstrate, Pacheco's series is representative of a trend throughout Cusco School painting of depicting textiles and other furnishings with impressive specificity.

This striking penchant for the elaborate illustration of textiles in Andean painting dates to the 1680s. As in Pacheco's series, rugs, bed covers, wall hangings, curtains, and altar cloths are depicted with intricate detail and are often the most elaborate elements in scenes. The 1680s also mark the moment in which guilds of indigenous and mixed-raced artists begin to flourish, initiating numerous changes in the style of the Andean painting. This chapter situates *The Life of Saint Augustine* series within the larger practice of textile illustration by the Cusco School by examining changes in iconography and the rise of indigenous production after 1680, as well as

the audience for Andean painting. While the Augustinian context of Pacheco's series meant that its audience was a closed and restricted community of viewers, other Cusco School paintings hung in private residences and more public areas of the church, and were thus accessible to a larger cross-section of colonial society. Considering the diversity of colonial Cusco, which was made up of indigenous, Creole, and Spanish viewers of varying social classes, we cannot assume that all colonial artists and viewers approached textiles and their depiction in a uniform manner.

By the end of the seventeenth century, Cusco School paintings were in high demand in far-reaching regions of South America. This chapter explores the wider ramifications of the depiction of textiles in painting, by considering how audiences not only in Cusco but also in distinct areas of the viceroyalty may have understood textile illustration. As I will demonstrate, Cusco School artists had a sophisticated understanding of textiles' symbolic value, employing textile depictions as part of a standardized iconography. By tracing textile embellishment in the Cusco School, I challenge previous narratives of Andean painting and provide a more nuanced understanding of indigenous artistic production in viceregal Peru.

4.1 Indigenous Antecedents: Textiles and Space

Indigenous artists and audiences brought unique perspectives to textiles and spatial construction, which undoubtedly informed their production and understanding of Cusco School paintings. Here I consider the ways in which Inca use of non-garment textiles may have influenced indigenous artistic production in the colonial period. Cloth played a pivotal role in Inca ritual. A major component of Inca religious and social organization was the demarcation of sacred sites throughout the landscape, which included mountains, rocks, fields, rivers, stones, and built structures. These sites operated as special shrines, and were a special subset of *huacas*,

a physical manifestation of the superhuman in Andean spiritual belief. *Huacas* could be natural or engineered sites, objects, and even people.¹ *Huaca* shrines, in particular, were celebrated within a calendar system, and it was the responsibility of nearby residents to keep their *huaca* worshipped and cared for. Local communities adorned these sacred sites with *cumbi* cloth, metal figurines and pieces, shells, and sometimes offerings of human sacrifices.² In 1571 Cusco magistrate Juan Polo de Ondegardo published a treatise on Inca religious practices, in which he notes more than 400 shrines in the Cusco region. He mapped these shrines according to the Inca *ceque* system, which consisted of a series of lines, originating in the center of Cusco that connected various *huacas* in the landscape. Ondegardo describes many of these *huacas* as having offerings of fine alpaca textiles, gold and silver figurines, and small round, gold and silver pieces.³ The offerings did not just adorn the sacred site; they subsumed its potency and could transfer its power to the new site. The textiles clothed the *huacas* and gave them form.⁴ Practices of ritually using cloth in offerings to *Pachamama*, the Inca earth goddess, continue to this day. Anthropologist Catherine Allen describes the process in which Quechua people of the present-day Andes ceremoniously wrap coca leaves in cloth, which is then burned as an offering (*despacho*).⁵

¹ Frank Salomon, *The Huarochiri Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 16-17.

² Brian Bauer, *The Sacred Landscape of the Inca: The Cusco Ceque System* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), 16-17; R. Tom Zuidema, *The Ceque System of Cuzco: The Social Organization of the Capital of the Inca* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1964).

³ Bauer, *The Sacred Landscape of the Inca*, 16-17.

⁴ Elena Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes," in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestry and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, ed. Phipps, Johanna Hecht, and Cristina Esteras Martín (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 34; Ananda Cohen Suarez, *Heaven, Hell and Everything in Between: Murals of the Colonial Andes* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016), 89.

⁵ Catherine Allen, *The Hold Life Has: Coca and Cultural Identity in an Andean Community* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 2002), 132-133; Cohen Suarez, *Heaven, Hell and Everything in Between*, 89.

Textiles were not only used in Inca rituals concerning the sacred landscape. They also played important roles in Inca interiors. In her discussion of the royal estate at Chinchero, Stella Nair describes the decorations of the *camachicona uasi*, the meeting room where government officials gathered. This space was likely decorated with ceramics, gold and silver *keros* (drinking cups), and fine textiles. On special occasions, officials may have staged these objects in various niches around the room, where they bolstered the Topa Inca's royal image and were gifted to important visitors.⁶ *Cumbi* cloth was often a major component of royal gift giving. John Murra explains that textiles played a major role in the Inca tradition of reciprocity. Royal officials distributed textiles to attendees of state funerals, and carriers of tribute to the state received compensation in the form of textiles. The Inca State used textiles diplomatically. For example, the Inca gifted textiles to recently conquered provinces in an attempt to improve community relations.⁷

Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala (1535-1516), a Peruvian-born government administrator and chronicler, provides insight into late Inca and early colonial textile traditions. In his 1200 page chronicle with 399 drawings, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1612-1615; *The First New Chronicle and Good Government*), Poma illustrates several very early colonial interiors.⁸ In one drawing, he depicts his parents, Don Martín Guamán Malqui and Doña Juana

⁶ Stella Nair, *At Home with the Sapa Inca: Architecture, Space and Legacy at Chinchero* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015), 119-120.

⁷ John Murra, "Cloth and Its Function in the Inca State," *American Anthropologist* 64:4 (1962): 721.

⁸ Unlike the study of colonial Mexico, the field of colonial Peruvian studies has only three illustrated manuscripts at its disposal: Guamán Poma de Ayala's *El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* of 1615, Martín de Murúa's *Historia general del Piru* of 1616, and the Galvin Manuscript, also by Murúa, of 1590. These three texts are significant not only because of the scarcity of written materials in the Andes, but also because of each artist's attention to illustration in each of the manuscripts. One particular aspect that has attracted study has been the artists' commitment to the representation of garments.

Curi Ocello and his half-brother, Martín de Ayala, in their home in Cusco (Figure 105).⁹ The tiled floor, which tells us that they are in an interior space, is a technique repeated by Guamán Poma in other illustrations to differentiate indoor from outdoor settings.¹⁰ His parents, nobles who descended from the northern Yarovilca culture that preceded the Inca, both wear traditional Inca garments with notable Spanish elements. His father wears a *maskaypacha* (royal headband) and *uncu* (tunic) over Spanish trousers and a cape, while his mother wears an *anacu* (dress) with a *tocapu* waistband and a *lliclla* (mantle) clasped with a *tupu* (pin). Both hold rosaries. Their depiction in a blend of indigenous and European dress presents them as *indios ladinos*, a term Spaniards used to describe local Andeans who embraced European customs.¹¹

Guamán Poma's depiction of his mother shows her sitting cross-legged on a small textile, which appears to have embroidered edges like the borders of Inca-period textiles. His father sits on a *tiana* (small stool), the customary seat for Andean native rulers. More than just a chair, the *tiana* was a symbol of authority.¹² The way in which Guamán Poma's parents sit in this indoor space—with the woman on a textile and the man on a raised stool—also recalls colonial practices in the *sala de estrado*, as discussed in Chapter 1. On the raised *estrado*, women typically rested on a rug and pillows, whereas men sat on European style stools. Guamán Poma's drawing highlights a similar hierarchy of seating arrangements, illustrating just one of the ways in which indigenous traditions informed colonial practice.

⁹ Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, Rolena Adorno, and Ivan Boserup, "Guamán Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615)," Royal Library of Copenhagen, www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/info/en/frontpage.htm, 14, accessed October 10, 2016.

¹⁰ For more on Guamán Poma's treatment of indoor versus outdoor space, see Rolena Adorno, "The Depiction of Self and Other in Colonial Peru," *Art Journal* 49:2 (1990): 116.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 113.

¹² Frank Meddens, Colin McEwan, and Cirilo Vivanco Pomacanchari, "Inca 'Stone Ancestors' in Context at a High-Altitude 'Usnu' Platform," *Latin American Antiquity* 21:2 (June 2010): 188.

Guamán Poma's gendered treatment of textiles continues in his portraits of the twelve Inca kings and queens, the section of the manuscript most frequently discussed by scholars. The garments of each royal pair, especially male tunics, have been used to categorize Inca royal dress.¹³ Unlike his drawings of Inca kings, which show the king outside, his portraits of Inca queens predominantly have indoor settings. With the exception of the fourth, sixth, and tenth Inca queens, the remaining nine sit, kneel, lie, or stand on small rectangular textiles (Figure 106). The textiles are partially obscured by each queen, as Guamán Poma has depicted them without using linear perspective, which makes them more visible in the portraits. Instead of disappearing at the back, the textiles tilt upwards and act as framing devices for each woman. In the portrait of the first Inca queen, Mama Huaco sits on a small textile and is surrounded by several attendants who hold a parasol above her head (Figure 107).¹⁴ Like the textile under Guamán Poma's mother, Mama Huaco's sitting rug has thick seemingly embroidered edges, consistent with Inca-period pieces. Unlike a European-style rug, the border does not have fringe. The small sections of the border are neatly packed together, creating a solid, rounded, embroidered edge.

In addition to pre-colonial textile traditions, we must also consider indigenous conceptions of space. As discussed in Chapter 3, Pacheco inserts additional platforms into his

¹³ See John Rowe, "Standardization in Inca Tapestry Tunics," in *The Junius B. Bird Pre-Columbian Textile Conference, May 19th and 20th, 1973*, ed. Ann Pollard Rowe, Elizabeth Benson, and Anne-Louise Schaffer, (Washington, D.C: Textile Museum, 1979), 239-64; Zuidema, "Guamán Poma and the Art of Empire: Towards an Iconography of Inca Royal Dress," in *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Kenneth Andrien and Adorno (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 151-202; Thomas B. F. Cummins, "'I Saw It with My Own Eyes': The Three Illustrated Manuscripts of Colonial Peru," in *Colors Between Two Worlds: The Florentine Codex of Bernardino de Sahagún*, ed. Louis Waldman (The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, 2008), 334-465.

¹⁴ For more on the dress of Inca queens, see Ana María Presta, "Undressing the Coya and Dressing the Indian Woman: Market Economy, Clothing, and Identities in the Colonial Andes, La Plata (Charcas), Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 90:1 (2010): 42-74. She argues that garments worn by *coyas*, the royal wives of the Inca, were emulated by colonial indigenous women. As Inca restrictions on garment use relaxed, women without legitimate royal ties adopted these styles to try to advance their social status. She hints that Guamán Poma's drawings may have functioned as exemplars for wives of Andean authorities. In *Nueva corónica* Guamán Poma states that the wives of *curacas* should express their native pride through their garments (709).

scenes, which may mirror the elevated spaces of the *sala de estrado* found in upper-class domestic interiors. These platforms create additional hierarchies throughout the scenes, which are not found in Bolswert's print sources. These Inca precedents of organizing and elevating space may have also influenced with the producers and viewers of Pacheco's series. In particular, the numerous platform spaces in the paintings recall the stepped structures, particularly the *ushnu* (also, *usnu*) complex, commonly found in Inca architecture. The *ushnu* complex was a type of *huaca* that was used as a symbol of Inca authority across their vast empire, and was a pivotal point in the planning of a settlement.¹⁵ The Qorikancha (Golden Enclosure) once contained an important *ushnu*, which now holds a colonial baptismal font. The settlement of Inca sites typically radiated outward from the central *ushnu*, like that at the Qorikancha, which was the center of the Cusco *ceque* system.¹⁶

Platform spaces were also important in the layout of Inca royal estates. Inca architecture carefully engaged with the surrounding landscape, and often incorporated a series of elevated plazas and stages into their building. Platform spaces, in particular, were key components of the Inca king's manipulation of hierarchy and access. At the royal estate at Chinchero, theatrically designed spaces dramatized sightlines of the landscape and restricted visibility of the ruler and his private quarters.¹⁷ It is important to note that indigenous practices were not exterminated by

¹⁵ For *ushnu*, see, among others: Frank M. Meddens, "The Importance of Being Inka: Ushnu Platforms and Their Place in the Andean Landscape," in *The Archaeology of Wak'as: Explorations of the Sacred in the Pre-Columbian Andes*, ed. Tamara Bray (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2015), 239-263; Carolyn Dean, *A Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on Rock* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 137-141; John Edward Staller, "Dimensions of Place: The Significance of Center to the Development of Andean Civilization: An Exploration of the *Ushnu* Concept," in *Pre-Columbian Landscapes of Creation and Origin*, ed. Staller (New York: Springer, 2008), 269-313; Lawrence Coben, "Other Cuzcos: Replicated Theaters of Inca Power," in *Archaeology of Performance: Theaters of Power, Community, and Politics*, ed. Takeshi Inomata and Coben (Lanham, MD: Altamira Press, 2006), 223-259.

¹⁶ Dean, *A Culture of Stone*, 134-139.

¹⁷ Nair, *At Home with the Sapa Inca*, 6, 111-139, 141-149; Susan Niles, *The Shape of Inca History: Narrative and Architecture in an Andean Empire* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1999), 290-293.

colonial ones. While the Spanish erected colonial architecture over many Inca platforms and sacred sites, many features of the Inca built environment remain to this day.¹⁸ Indigenous modes of spatial organization and textile use are important to consider as we expand our examination of audience to consider indigenous viewership. These indigenous antecedents continued to course through colonial society despite the influx of European traditions.

4.2 Indigenous Antecedents: Painting

Like textiles, painting has a long and complex history in the Andes. It is first important to note that the practice of painting existed prior to the arrival of the Spanish. Although oil painting was introduced as a tool of evangelization with the Conquest, early Andean cultures and the Inca practiced the art of painting on ceramics, textiles, and wood supports, in addition to mural painting.¹⁹ Furthermore, many pre-colonial Andean cultures employed visual modes of storytelling and historical reporting. In the Inca period, state historians reportedly used large painted boards to record important events in the empire, storing them in the Qorikancha.²⁰ Although these pieces no longer exist, they suggest that prior to the Spanish arrival, indigenous recollections of past events were sometimes visual in nature.

In addition to differences between painting practices, we must also examine indigenous modes of engaging with artworks. Visuality and orality in pre-colonial Peru were deeply intertwined, suggesting that indigenous audiences may have viewed artworks differently than

¹⁸ Cummins, "A Tale of Two Cities: Cuzco, Lima, and the Construction of Colonial Representation," in *Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America* (New York: Brooklyn Museum, 1996), 158.

¹⁹ Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, "The Development of Painting in Peru, 1520-1820," *Oxford Bibliographies Online: Latin American Studies*, ed. Ben Vinson (New York: Oxford University Press, October 28, 2011).

²⁰ Brian Bauer and Jean Jacques Decoster, eds., "Introduction," *The History of the Incas by Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), 19.

Europeans. The Inca did not have an alphabetic writing system, instead using oral recitations, and memory devices such as the *quipu*, a system of knots, to record their history.²¹ Material culture, including architecture, was also of paramount importance in recalling historical events in the Andes. In particular, building, landscape, and the “act of seeing” were key components in oral recollection and memory.²² History, for indigenous peoples in the early colonial period, was part of a cultural tradition of *Yachacuscamcani*, the Quechua word for the act of knowing the past, defined by Thomas Cummins as: “the knowing of how to carry on the social, religious, and political life before the conquest, which can be embodied in an object and/or image.”²³ That an object or an image had the ability to activate the past is an important concept for this project, as it reveals the many dimensions of indigenous modes of visuality.

Debates around visual and oration narration began shortly after the Spanish arrival as historians arrived in the Americas to record Inca history, document the Conquest, and legitimize Spanish rule. The frontispiece of Martín de Murúa’s *Historia general del Piru* of 1616 has a coat-of-arms featuring two eyes and two ears into which two putti gesture; two small shields—one of viceregal Peru on the left and one of the Inca kings on the right—flank this central shield with the Latin motto, “We testify to what we have seen and heard” (Figure 108).²⁴ The coat of arms reminded readers that Murúa’s written account was accurate because it was collected both

²¹ For more on *quipu*, see Gary Urton, *Signs of the Inka Khipu: Binary Coding in the Andean Knotted-String Records* (University of Texas Press, 2003); Jeffrey Quilter and Gary Urton, eds., *Narrative Threads: Accounting and Recounting in Andean Khipu* (University of Texas Press, 2002).

²² Nair, “Localizing Sacredness, Difference, and *Yachacuscamcani* in Colonial Andean Painting,” *The Art Bulletin* 89:2 (2007): 219.

²³ Cummins, “‘Let Me See! Reading Is for Them’: Colonial Andean Images and Objects ‘como es costumbre tener los caciques señores,’” in *Native Traditions in the Postconquest World*, ed. Elizabeth Boone and Cummins (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998), 100.

²⁴ This discussion occurred during Cummins’s talk: “‘Many of those who have not been in... the Indies... are apt to doubt’: Proof by Representation in Early Colonial Latin America,” *Knowledge in the Early Modern Americas*, The Huntington, March 2, 2012. Also see Rolena Adorno, “Censorship and Approbation in Murúa’s *Historia general del Piru*,” in *Historia general del Piru and The Getty Murúa* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008), 95.

visually and orally, the latter through indigenous oral testimony. Positioned between his sources of knowledge—Spanish colonial informants and Inca nobles—Murúa insists that the testimony that has reached both his eyes and his ears is the truth.

Late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century chroniclers like Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa attempted to harness indigenous modes of visibility and orality in their historical accounts. In the writing of *The History of the Incas (Histórica indica)* of 1572, commissioned by viceroy Francisco de Toledo to counter false accounts of Inca history, Sarmiento used oral testimonies he had collected from surviving members of Inca noble families. Most of Sarmiento's interviews took place in the city of Cusco because he knew that the urban landscape was a mnemonic device for the Inca. He acknowledged the powerful *visual* effect of the city on his interviewees, as their memories were shaped by natural features and fabricated sites of Cusco.²⁵

Four paintings (*paños*) accompanying Sarmiento's written account were painted by indigenous artists from the house of Juan Maldonado; the first depicted the origin myth of the Inca, the second and third pictured the Inca kings and their wives, and the fourth presented a genealogical tree of the surviving Inca royalty in Cusco.²⁶ The last painting was of the greatest importance to Toledo and Sarmiento, as it illustrated the current power structures in Cusco—the very political organization they were trying to dismantle. Like the painted boards in the Qorikancha, these painted works were considered capable of narrating past events and possessing historical truth. As demonstrated in Chapter 3, genealogical trees were similarly embraced by religious orders, which sought to visually affirm their long history and legitimize their extension onto American soil.

²⁵ Bauer and Decoster highlight this point in Sarmiento's closing letter to King Philip II: "Introduction," 10.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 16-17.

In the following section I turn to the history of oil painting, which began shortly after the Conquest. When examining the legibility and significance of this art form in the colonial period, we must be especially mindful of early visual forms and practices. Indigenous modes of historical recollection were heavily dependent on visual elements, and natural and fabricated features of the landscape were especially triggering for narrators and their audiences. These elements may have continued to inform the experience of viewing artwork in the colonial period, especially the details of built environments in colonial painting.

4.3 Bishop Mollinedo and the Cusco School of Painting

The first paintings to enter Peru were devotional artworks from the Italian Peninsula and Flanders, which had been brought by the first conquistadors and noble families to adorn their homes.²⁷ In the first forty years after the Conquest, paintings and other artworks constructed from a variety of materials, including plundered gold and silver, were essential tools in aggressive evangelizing campaigns across the Andes. These pieces served as important means through which the Spanish spread their religious doctrine and coerced indigenous understanding of Christian tenets. In the first decades after the Conquest, Italian and Spanish painters relocated to Peru where they produced copper and oil paintings of Christ, the Holy Family, and important saints.²⁸ Artworks such as these were fundamental in teaching the Christian doctrine to the indigenous population. These stories were best taught visually, as many liturgical texts were in Latin and most of the population in the highlands spoke the indigenous Quechua or Aymara languages.

²⁷ Ricardo Kusunoki, "Art and Visual Culture in the Viceregal Period," in *Arte colonial. Colección Museo de Arte de Lima*, ed. Kusunoki and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden (Lima: Museo de Arte de Lima, 2016), 6-7.

²⁸ Wuffarden, "De los orígenes a la 'era Mollinedo' (1560-1700)," in *Pintura cuzqueña* (Lima: Museo de Arte de Lima, 2016), 19.

In order to situate Pacheco's series within this history, we must trace the depiction of textiles to their first major appearances within painting in Cusco. Textiles as a pervasive strategy of representation do not appear in painting until the tenure of Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo (1640-1699), Archbishop of Cusco between 1673 and 1699.²⁹ Prior to his arrival, Spanish and Italian painters working in Peru predominantly emphasized garments, while depicting non-garment textiles modestly or not at all. Until 1650, painting in Cusco exhibits certain stylistic similarities: monumental figures, an emphasis on the drapery of garments, and an interest in landscape and architectural interiors. Color palettes in this period were mostly limited to ochre, yellow, blue and rich reds.³⁰ Italian painter Bernardo Bitti, who arrived in Cusco in 1583, is renowned for bringing an Italian Mannerist style to the Andes.³¹ He depicted garments with a recognizable style that emphasized pale hues and sharp, yet plush satiny folds. However, non-garments are practically nonexistent in his works. Shipments of paintings from Spain also featured textiles in a subtle manner, including those featured in *The Life of Saint Dominic* series (c. 1606) in the cloister of the Church of Santo Domingo in Lima. Painted in Seville by Miguel Güelles and Domingo Carro, the series depicts figures wearing shimmering European silks and brocades, but gives very little attention to non-garment textiles. In the scene of Dominic's vision of the miraculous healing of Master Reynolds, Dean of Orleans, a small, red canopy cloaks the bed, which sits on a small Spanish-style rug (Figure 109).

²⁹ Ibid; Horacio Villanueva Urteaga, "Los Mollinedo y el arte del Cuzco colonial," *Boletín Del Instituto Riva Agüero* 16 (1989): 209-218.

³⁰ Alicia Seldes et al., "Blue Pigments in South American Painting (1610-1780)," *Journal of the American Institute of Conservation* 38:2 (1999): 100.

³¹ For more on Bitti and other Italian painters, see Leopoldo Castedo, *The Cuzco Circle* (New York: Center for Inter-American Relations, 1976); Charles Mo, *The Splendors of the New World. Spanish Colonial Masterworks from the Viceroyalty of Peru* (Charlotte, NC: Mint Museum of Art, 1992); Wuffarden, "La impronta italianista, 1575-1610," *Pintura en hispanoamérica, 1550-1820*, ed. Luisa Elena Alcalá and Jonathan Brown (Madrid: Ediciones El Viso, 2014), 257-274; Aida Balta Campbell, "El sincretismo en la pintura de la Escuela Cuzqueña," *CULTURA* 23 (2009): 101.

After the disastrous earthquake of 1650, Mollinedo helped to repair and revitalize the city's churches, convents, and monasteries. His correspondences with church officials in the 1680s document his aesthetic preferences, which were largely influenced by Spanish tastes, during renovation campaigns.³² As carefully detailed by Ananda Cohen Suarez, murals were a major component of Mollinedo's transformation of rural church interiors.³³ These mural paintings imitate velvet and silk European wall hangings, often with lace trim. Trompe l'oeil murals were a cheaper alternative to actual imported textiles, and although they emerged largely from Mollinedo's dictates, they also somewhat subversively continued indigenous practices of adorning sacred spaces with textiles in a new Catholic setting. For Cohen Suarez, textiles were a method of navigating between indigenous and Catholic cultural practices, and should be seen as "as an active agent in the materialization of the divine."³⁴

Mollinedo arrived in Cusco from Madrid in 1672, bringing with him with extensive ecclesiastical experience and a number of items, which were potentially influential on Andean artists. Scholars credit the thirty-six Flemish and Spanish paintings that he transported from Madrid as helping to launch the Andean Baroque, arguing that Andean artists used them as models.³⁵ The paintings included two works by El Greco, one by Juan Carreña de Miranda, and one by Eugenio Caxés.³⁶ Few scholars have considered the possibility that other items

³² For numerous transcribed correspondences between Mollinedo and parish officials, see Villanueva Urteaga, *Cuzco 1689: economía y sociedad en el sur andino: informes de los párrocos al Obispo Mollinedo* (Cusco: Centro de Estudios Rurales Andinos "Bartolomé de las Casas," 1982).

³³ Cohen Suarez, "Clothing the Architectonic Body," *Heaven, Hell and Everything in Between*, 83-117.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 96.

³⁵ José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña* (Lima: Fundación A.N. Wiese, 1982), 119, 279; Villanueva Urteaga, "Los Mollinedo y el arte del Cuzco colonial," 209-18; Stanfield-Mazzi, "Cult, Countenance, and Community: Donor Portraits from the Colonial Andes," *Religion and the Arts* 15 (2011): 439.

³⁶ Villanueva Urteaga, "Los Mollinedo y el arte del Cuzco colonial," 209.

transported by Mollinedo to the Andes may have been equally if not more influential to local artistic production. An inventory of Mollinedo's possessions made in 1673 at the time of his arrival in Lima lists luxurious vestments, a canopied chair, and a number of silverworks and jewels.³⁷ Although difficult to prove, these items may have also served as models for local artistry in decorative arts. Considering the ways in which both weavers (Chapter 2) and painters (Chapter 3) used prints in their artistic processes, we should also take into account the potential influence of Mollinedo's private library on Andean artists. Inventoried at 696 volumes and estimated at 31,928 *reales*,³⁸ this extraordinary number of books may have been used by the artists he commissioned or circulated to local presses for reprinting.

By the 1680s, the Cusco School was largely made up of mestizo and indigenous artists, who received commissions from both churches and private patrons. Of this group, Mollinedo's close working relationship with local painters, among them Basilio Pacheco de Santa Cruz Pumacallao (1635-1710) and Diego Quispe Tito (1611-1681), launched these artists' considerable successes. It is not only in the murals instituted by Mollinedo's church renovations, however, where textiles emerge under his patronage. Some of the first oil paintings commissioned by Mollinedo also feature prominent textiles. As will be discussed, Santa Cruz Pumacallao, an official painter for Mollinedo, often depicted large and colorful rectangular rugs in his works.

One of the earliest and most prominent examples of textiles in Cusco School serial painting is the *Life of Saint Francis of Assisi*, which is in the Franciscan monastery (Convento y

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Teodoro Hampe-Martínez, "The Diffusion of Books and Ideas in Colonial Peru: A Study of Private Libraries in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 73:2 (2013): 232.

Museo Colonial de San Francisco) of Santiago, Chile.³⁹ Produced between 1680 and 1684 in the Cusco workshop of indigenous artists Santa Cruz Pumacallao and Juan Zapaca Inga and shortly thereafter transported over two thousand miles to Santiago, it serves as a possible precedent for Pacheco's series, as numerous canvases feature colorful and meticulously detailed textiles (Figures 110-111). Throughout the series, large Spanish-style carpets, in addition to lavish bed hangings, liturgical textiles, and period furniture, populate birth, death, and miracle scenes, which typically occur in lavishly decorated domestic settings. The attention given to these and other fabrics, such as laces and gold embroideries, conveys a devoted interest in and knowledge of textile forms and techniques on the part of the Cusqueño painters that may have been a major influence on Pacheco's series.

4.4 Altar Paintings, Textiles, and the Accumulation of Luxury

In addition to the lives of saints, the genre of altar painting was encouraged by Mollinedo. It became increasingly popular in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Altar paintings depict the main altar of a church or side chapel, which was decorated with an array of costly objects. These arrangements often included a miraculous sculpture of the Virgin Mary, Christ, or a saint, who was similarly enshrined and decorated with luxurious offerings.⁴⁰

³⁹ Information on this series is limited: *Álbum de la pinturas que representan el nacimiento, vida, milagros, santidad y ultimo trance de Nuestro Seráfico Padre San Francisco, ejecutadas hace tres siglos para la Orden Franciscana de Santiago de Chile y en cuyo convento se hallan* (Santiago, Chile: Museo Colonial de San Francisco, 1990); Constanza Acuña Fariña, "Del libro a la imagen: una aproximación a la iconografía de la inmaculada concepción a través del estudio de la biblioteca del convento de San Francisco en Santiago," *Anales de Literatura Chilena* 26 (2016): 193-211.

⁴⁰ See Stanfield-Mazzi, *Object and Apparition: Envisioning the Christian Divine in the Colonial Andes* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2013); "Shifting Ground: Elite Sponsorship of the Cult of Christ of the Earthquakes in Eighteenth-Century Cusco," *Hispanic Research Journal* 8:5 (2007): 45-65; Carol Damian, *The Virgin of the Andes: Art and Ritual in Colonial Cuzco* (Miami: Grassfield, 1995); Barbara Duncan, "Statue Paintings of the Virgin," in *Gloria in Excelsis: The Virgin and Angels in Viceregal Painting of Peru and Bolivia*, ed. Duncan (New York:

Throughout the Cusco School, textiles are visually striking in this genre of painting. One of my main considerations in the examination of Pacheco's *Life of Saint Augustine* series was how precisely textiles are depicted and to what degree they reflect colonial period items. Despite many similarities with colonial artworks, it is clear from an examination of Pacheco's canvases that his depictions are largely approximations of colonial styles, as opposed to faithful reproductions of them. Altar paintings, on the other hand, depict textile adornments with great specificity that borders on documentary rendering.

Throughout the colonial period, church officials and private patrons staged arrangements of textiles on altars as grand gestures of luxury and religious devotion. They often paired altar cloths, hangings, tapestries, and rugs with silver altar frontals, monstrances, vases, chalices, missal stands, candlesticks, trays, incense burners, plaques, and carved wood and ivory sculpture. Oil paintings realistically render many of these items in extravagant setups. The earliest altar paintings commissioned by Mollinedo demonstrate the role of textiles in these images. In *The Virgin of Bethlehem with the Bishop Gaspar de Mollinedo as Donor*, Mollinedo kneels before the statue of the Virgin, which stands on an altar with a silver frontal (Figure 112). As demonstrated here, the silver frontals, which were adhered to wooden frameworks, imitated the layering of cloth altars and were usually topped with a white cloth.⁴¹ The decorative intensity of the silver frontal is echoed in the Spanish-style rug with fringed edges below it. Unlike Pacheco's series, which was viewed by a restricted group of friars, altar paintings in churches and homes

Center for Inter-American Relations, 1986), 32-57; Emily Engel, "Visualizing a Colonial Peruvian Community in the Eighteenth-Century Paintings of Our Lady of Cocharcas," *Religion & the Arts* 13:3 (2009): 299-339.

⁴¹ In the second half of the seventeenth century, altar frontals made of silver became prominent in liturgical arrangements in churches in Cusco and the surrounding rural regions. Mollinedo financed twenty of these. Numerous mines across the Andes, including the 1545 discovery of the richest silver mine ever at Cerro Rico in Potosí, Bolivia, made silver and gold plentiful across the region. As a result, even very poor churches in outlying rural communities had silver altar frontals. Adorning the altar in silver was not a practice confined to Cusco's most urban and prosperous parishes.

would have been more widely accessible to an indigenous audience. Indigenous patrons even sponsored altar paintings; their portraits, like Mollinedo's, are often included in the bottom corners of paintings.⁴²

One overlooked aspect of altar paintings is the specificity of their illustration. Nair makes an important distinction in Andean painting between documentary illustration, a straightforward rendering of physical reality, and descriptive representation, in which the artist paints with a looser rendering of place, which resembles but does not precisely depict the lived environment.⁴³ Two eighteenth-century altar paintings approach Nair's definition of documentary illustration through their depiction of textiles and cult images (Figures 113-114). Both altars feature brocade frontals with gold thread, and are covered with white altar cloths, one with lace trim. The *palia*, the small rectangular cloth used to accentuate the monstrance, has been depicted here with a deliberate translucency. This rendering suggests it could be of Indian mull, a very fine cotton weave.⁴⁴ At the base of the altar we glimpse the edge of a dark red and blue rug with geometric designs. As discussed previously, Stanfield-Mazzi has keenly observed that costly imported textiles usually decorated the altar itself, while locally produced items—both tapestry and pile rugs and vegetal fiber mats—usually occupied less sacred positions.⁴⁵

Textiles as displayed on altars functioned as a visual record of patronage and artistry. The level of specificity with which textiles, metal objects, and other luxury goods are rendered in altar paintings was a deliberate strategy to highlight their distinctiveness. Altar paintings depict

⁴² Stanfield-Mazzi, "Shifting Ground," 445-465.

⁴³ Nair, "Localizing Sacredness," 215.

⁴⁴ I thank Amelia Peck at The Metropolitan Museum of Art for assisting me in identifying some of the textiles depicted in these altar paintings.

⁴⁵ Stanfield-Mazzi, "Weaving and Tailoring the Andean Church: Textile Ornaments and their Makers in Colonial Peru," *The Americas* 72:1 (2015): 77-102.

these items with incredible specificity so as to emphasize their uniqueness as objects and the specific contractual agreements that led to their commission. Costly textiles were purchased for churches by Spanish monarchs, clergy members, and any individual who wanted to demonstrate their piety and commitment, both financially and spiritually, to the church. The private sponsorship of church adornments was a way in which worshippers expressed their commitment to local parishes and religious cults. Many wills of the colonial period mention a patron's intention to donate several costly artworks, usually textiles and silverwork, to a church after the time of their death. In this way, items that began their lives in a domestic realm often found a second use in a sacred context. Whether through commission or donation, private gifts of artworks for churches were acts of religious devotion and financial allegiance.

Take, for example, an eighteenth-century painting of the sculpture of the Virgin of the Purification for the church of Copacabana, Bolivia (Figure 115). The sculpture, carved in 1583, sits in an elaborate chapel with decorative wooden columns and an archway, a silk altar cloth with gold brocade, silver candle sticks, and a large silver mandorla with mirrors. Church archives document the addition of the mandorla in the eighteenth century, which is faithfully depicted in oil on canvas here.⁴⁶ In this way, the oil painting functions to record the changes enacted on the chapel, by featuring the new elements in its evolving display. The precise rendering of textiles in altar paintings may have functioned similarly. In this genre, textiles are not generic types, but individualized objects, connected to a specific patron who financed or commissioned its production. More than just a showcase of various precious materials, altar arrangements demonstrate the practice of accumulation as a religious practice. Although church altars undoubtedly emerge from a Catholic tradition, pre-Conquest practices of dressing sacred *huacas*

⁴⁶ Cohen Suarez, *Paintings of Colonial Cusco* (Cusco: Haynanka, 2015), 60.

with an accretion of precious metals and textiles are also resonant. As more and more patrons financed items for altars, or individual patrons increased their commissions, the altars became more and more heavily clothed and adorned in a dizzying display of accumulated metal and textile objects. Oil paintings functioned to capture changing views of altars in various extravagant setups.

The act of arranging items on church and ephemeral altars was also considered a devotional act. Liturgical textiles and metal objects were continuously restaged in different arrangements, which corresponded with different holy festivals throughout the year.⁴⁷ This schedule required frequent alteration of altars and their components. Archival documents hint at the colonial profession that was responsible for the creation and upkeep of these carefully curated altars. In 1718 José Baquera, a goldsmith, and Juan de Becerra, an *altatero* (altar assembler), both of Cusco, were commissioned to make a temporary altar for Corpus Christi. The altar was to be “very well dressed, in all its brilliance, bright and colorful and well adorned; and the said participants are to give and help with the hangings, paintings and necessary [statues of] the Christ Child, as well as new mirrors and new engravings” (muy bien vestido, con todo lucimiento, vistoso y curioso y bien alhajado; y los dichos diputados le a de dar y ayudar con colgaduras, lienzos y niños necesarios como también con nueve espejos y nueve laminas).⁴⁸ This description showcases the rich combination of artworks and luxury goods of varying materials that would have dressed this temporary altar.

⁴⁷ Luisa Elena Alcalá, “On Perceptions of Value in Colonial Art,” in *Journeys to New Worlds: Spanish and Portuguese Colonial Art in the Roberta and Richard Huber Collection*, ed. Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art), 21-22.

⁴⁸ Jorge Cornejo Bouroncle, *Derroteros de arte cuzqueño: Datos para una historia del arte en el Perú* (Cusco: Ediciones Inca, 1960), 144.

Additional archival descriptions of altars provide a greater understanding of textiles in sacred realms. The 1754 lease document (*arrendamiento*) for the estate of a rector of the Colegio de San Borja includes a private altar for the Virgin of the Assumption, described as a *capilla de tela* (cloth chapel): “Una capilla de tela, y en ella esta colocada una imagen de la Asunción con su Nicho de madera sin dorar, vestida de tafetán blanco...” (A cloth chapel, and in it is placed the Virgin of the Assumption, dressed in white taffeta, in her wooden niche without gilding).⁴⁹ We see similar language in Spanish archives. Temporary funerary structures in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Spain were elaborate constructions of wood and cloth, and were decorated with tapestries, candles, and royal emblems. The tomb structure for the body of the Portuguese king Juan II (1455-1495) in the church of Santa María de Miraflores in Burgos was described as *una grande iglesia de paños* (a large church of cloth).⁵⁰ What is remarkable is the way in which these accounts describe cloth in these settings not as an adornment, but rather as an architectural framework. In these descriptions, cloth is not merely a dressing, but a defining spatial element.

Colonial travelogues also provide detailed accounts of textiles, paralleling the attention they receive in notary archives. Accounts of European travelers frequently laud the rich textile displays on the altars of colonial churches. During their expedition to South America, the Spanish navy officers, Jorge Juan y Santacilia (1713-1773) and Antonio de Ulloa y de la Torre-Guiral (1716-1795), described the magnificent churches they entered in Lima, giving specific mention to their textile and gold and silver components:

The riches and pomp of this city, especially on feast days, is astonishing. The altars, from their very bases to the borders of the paintings, are covered with massive silver, wrought into various kinds of ornaments. The walls also of the

⁴⁹ I thank Aaron Hyman for sharing this transcription with me (email message to author, February 2, 2016). ARC, 1754, Prot. 33, Ambrosio Arias de Lira, not paginated (translation, mine).

⁵⁰ Ronda Kasl, *The Making of Hispano-Flemish Style: Art, Commerce, and Politics in Fifteenth-century Castile* (Belgium: Brepol Publishers, 2014), 127.

churches are hung with velvet or tapestry of equal value, adorned with gold and silver fringes: all which in this country, is remarkably dear; on these are splendid pieces of plate [silver] in various figures. If the eye be directed from the pillars, walls and ceiling, to the lower part of the church, it is equally dazzled with glittering objects, presenting themselves on all sides; among which are candlesticks of massive silver, six or seven feet high, placed in two rows along the nave of the church; embossed tables of the same metal, supporting smaller candlesticks; and in the intervals betwixt them pedestals of which stand the statues of angels. In fine the whole church is covered with plate [silver], or something equal to it in value; so that divine service, in these churches, is performed with a magnificence scarce to be imagined, and the ornaments, even on common days, with regard to their quantity, and richness, exceed those which many cities of Europe pride themselves with displaying on the most common occasions.⁵¹

Juan and Ulloa carefully list the types of objects that would have been displayed in church interiors, conveying the breathtaking visual impact of this costly assortment of items.

Observations on the dazzling optics of church altars are common throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Another Spanish chronicler described the interior of the church of San Agustín in Lima in 1622 as shining bright like a gold ember (*hecha un ascua de oro*).⁵² French military officer Amédée-François Frézier (1682-1773) also commented on the decoration of church altars in Lima: “all are confused, crowded and bad, so that a man cannot but lament the immense sums they spend on those gilt disorders.”⁵³ Much like the colonial domestic interiors and behavior of Creole women, as discussed in Chapter 1, Frézier judged Peruvian church decorations to be in poor taste.

⁵¹ Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, *A Voyage to South America: Describing at large, the Spanish cities, towns, provinces, on that extensive continent (Relación histórica del viaje a la América Meridional)* (London: Printed for Lockyer Davis and C. Reymers, 1760), 38-39.

⁵² Cristina Esteras Martín and Ramón Gutiérrez Cedodal, “La cofradía de San Eloy de los plateros de Lima,” *Atrio* 10-11 (2005): 160.

⁵³ Amédée François Frézier, *A Voyage to the South-Sea and Along the Coasts of Chili and Peru, in the years 1712, 1713, and 1714 particularly describing the genius and constitution of the inhabitants, as well Indians as Spaniards: Their customs and manners, their natural history, mines, commodities, traffic with Europe* (London: Printed for Christian Bowyer and sold by John Osborn, 1735), 263.

An eighteenth-century painting of the high altar of the Cusco Cathedral visualizes the commentaries of European travelers, especially Juan and Ulloa's description of church interiors (Figure 116). The painting recalls their accounts of the ways in which textiles and metalwork created an atmosphere of brilliance. Awe-inspiring arrangements, like the one depicted here, contributed to a visual vocabulary of the triumph of Christianity across the Americas. In this painting, both materials work together to visually saturate the altar and the church's interior. A silver repoussé frontal covers the altar, which supports a multi-tiered silver pedestal with a gold monstrance, silver candelabra, and freestanding candlesticks. On the back wall is a Flemish-style velvet hanging with gold trim. The steps and ground in front of the altar are particularly noteworthy. They hold numerous gold and silver vases, large candle holders decorated with two-handed Renaissance-style urns, trays, and incense burners, all carefully organized on two intricately detailed carpets—one on the altar's steps and the other on the ground below. The carpet on the steps is depicted in traditional Andean reds and browns with a medley of arabesque floral motifs. Its design suggests that it could have been imported from Spain or produced locally in the Andes. The other carpet could be a Persian-style import of the kind popular in Spain at the time. Its pomegranate-like medallions echo the placement of the silver censers above them.

The incredible detail of the carpets in the scene of the Cusco cathedral evokes the treatment of textiles in Pacheco's series. However, the specificity of their designs surpasses that of Pacheco's, and suggests that they may be more than approximations of contemporaneous textiles. Further archival work may reveal that carpets in the church interior at the time inspired the artists. The floor carpet's motifs are characteristic of seventeenth-century Persian carpets with palmette and flowering vine motifs. An example at the Metropolitan Museum of Art features a similar assortment of palmettes of varying sizes on a red ground (Figure 117). Many of

these carpets incorporate vegetal motifs in what is known as the “garden style” that feature blossoming flowers and fruits.⁵⁴ The carpet depicted in the Cusco cathedral similarly incorporates cross-section-like views of flower buds surrounded by crawling tendrils and smaller palmettes. This type of rug also recalls the *alfombra cairina* (rug from Cairo, Egypt) found in colonial inventories, as discussed in Chapter 1. Like the example in this painting, the Cairo carpet was roughly nine meters in length and very expensive. Europeans eagerly traded for Egyptian and Persian rugs, which were major symbols of exoticism and luxury in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The textile industry helped revitalize the Persian economy at this time, as the nation used its products to attract European trade, particularly from Spain, England and France.

A similar example is the large carpet in the painting, *Christ among the Doctors*, which is attributed to Basilio Pacheco (Figure 118). A classic portrayal of faith versus science, Christ sits on a throne above two pews of doctors, who engage him in debate. A large carpet taking up the bottom third of the scene has considerably more painterly detail than the rest of the canvas. The carpet’s motifs—a large central medallion, arabesque tendrils, and decorative corner pieces—are similar to some sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Persian and Turkish carpets (Figure 119). The scrolling tendril around the central medallion recalls those found on the “Lotto” carpets named for the Venetian painter Lorenzo Lotto, who painted this type of hand-knotted Turkish carpet in his sixteenth-century altarpieces (Figure 120).⁵⁵ The vegetal arabesque design was used in Islamic style carpets from the late fifteenth century to the seventeenth century.

⁵⁴ For more on Iranian carpets, see Carol Bier, ed., *Woven from the Soul, Spun from the Heart: Textile Arts of Safavid and Qajar Iran, 16th-19th Centuries* (Washington, DC: Textile Museum, 1987).

⁵⁵ David Kim, “Lotto's Carpets: Materiality, Textiles, and Composition in Renaissance Painting,” *The Art Bulletin* 98:2 (2016): 181-212; also see Carol Bier, “Approaches to understanding Oriental carpets,” *Arts of Asia* 26:1 (1996).

Turkish carpets were especially popular in Spain in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In both Spain and the Andes, textile workers incorporated Turkish motifs into hybrid styles. A tapestry carpet at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, which emulates Turkish motifs in tapestry weave, further reveals the importance of Islamic textiles in the Andes (Figure 121). It combines the wreath motif common in Spanish Alcaraz textiles of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with the yellow arabesque “Lotto” tendrils. Although carpet and tapestry motifs were also adopted from European print sources, as argued in Chapter 2, the precision of the weave of the Boston rug suggests that the weavers had direct access to an Alcaraz Lotto-style carpet.⁵⁶ This example further suggests that these items—perhaps all called *alfombra cairina* in notary archives—accompanied wealthy Spanish travelers to Peru, where local weavers, inspired by Turkish designs, created their own variations. These two examples of Islamic carpets in Cusco School painting are also important in that they illustrate the dilemma faced in Chapter 1 as to a textile’s place of manufacture. They could depict a carpet from the near East, a carpet produced in Spain in the Islamic style, or a product produced in the Andes.⁵⁷

As demonstrated by the altar paintings, textile adornment of churches extended far beyond the altar. It also was the role of textiles, metalwork, and other luxury goods to stage the altar and its surroundings as a divinely adorned space. This practice was equally important in outdoor festivals like Corpus Christi, a celebration of the Eucharist during which temporary altarpieces were constructed in Cusco’s city center. Commissioned by Bishop Mollinedo, a series

⁵⁶ Phipps, “Tapestry Carpet with Wreaths,” *The Colonial Andes*, 238-240.

⁵⁷ Contemporary viewers might find irony in the placement of an Islamic carpet in a Christian scene. David Carrier discusses the ways in which Islamic carpets lose their power in the European settings of Renaissance paintings. Muslims would have used these carpets for praying or sitting, but in European painting they are walked on, support furniture, and hold fruit on tables. See *A World Art History and its Objects* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 6-8. In the context of the colonial Andes, these items are similarly neutralized, as they are even further geographically removed from their original contexts.

of sixteen Corpus Christi paintings (1674-1680) illustrates in great detail the costly textiles and other artworks that decorated the processional routes. As Carolyn Dean has argued, the triumphal arches, decorated processional routes, ephemeral altars, and dance and music performances all contributed to a visual vocabulary of the triumph of Christ as mortal and divine hero.⁵⁸

As in the painting of Cusco Cathedral, for example, the altar painting of the Last Supper in the Corpus Christi series features a combination of silver and textile goods: a silver frontal, plaques, and small tables that support vases of flowers, in addition to a large and detailed Spanish-Moorish style rug (Figure 122). The incredibly detailed rug with red foliate motifs is the base on which the entire ensemble is arranged, creating the appearance of a church interior. It is important to remember that this festival took place, and continues to be held, in the main plaza of Cusco, so the rug would have been placed on the plaza floor, sanctifying the ground for the temporary altar above it. Red tapestries with gold stripes form flowing backdrops for the temporary altars. Just as the rug temporarily converts the plaza ground into a sacred stage, the tapestries block the arcade of the buildings behind them, further transforming the plaza into a temporary church.

Other scenes of the Corpus Christi procession depict similar arrangements of textiles. In one, indigenous men carry statues of Saint John the Baptist and Saint Peter through a temporary silver arch and past a multi-tiered altar made of white cloth frontals and mirrors (Figure 123). A Spanish-style carpet similarly foregrounds the altar and is topped by a silver table with an incense bowl and two velvet cushions. Throughout all the scenes, the textiles take on two different roles; at times they are soft, amorphous objects, which bunch and billow in the hands of onlookers hoping to get a better view. In other scenes, rigid altar cloths hang stiffly on a hidden

⁵⁸ Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).

wooden infrastructure. In both forms, tapestries and carpets act as the frameworks of the ephemeral architecture in the scenes, with the textiles reading as both grounds, in the case of the tapestry backdrop, and “walls.” Like the *capilla de tela* and *iglesia de paños*, these textiles play important roles in defining spatial boundaries. Altar paintings, both of church interiors and outside festivals, help situate Pacheco’s series within the practice of textile embellishment in the Cusco School. They suggest that at least in sacred realms, textiles as depicted in painting are somewhat documentary renderings of actual arrangements.

Other Cusco School paintings, however, illustrate textiles in divergent strategies. At times, artists insert textiles into scenes not as exact replicas, but as potent symbols. The 1718 painting, *Marriage of the Descendants of the Inca Imperial Family with the Loyola and Borgia Family*, demonstrates this strategy, as it uses textiles as a deliberate symbol for indigenosity (Figure 124). The painting depicts the imagined double marriage of the royal Inca family with the founders of the Jesuit order. On the left, the *Ñusta* (princess) Beatriz Clara Coya, niece of the last Inca king, stands poised to marry the grandnephew of Saint Ignatius of Loyola. On the right, the grandson of Saint Francis Borgia weds the daughter of the first couple.⁵⁹ Here, gold brocade illuminates the luxury textiles, which are the main signifiers of indigenous and European heritage. Gold staffs, arm and foot ornaments, and *tupu* (pins) emphasize the garments of the Inca royalty, who wear the traditional *uncu* (tunic), *anacu* (dress), and *lliclla* (shawl), and sit on a large tapestry. Gold also embellishes the courtly dress of their European counterparts, and in particular, Beatriz’s brocaded gown peeking out from beneath her Inca dress.

In addition to the detailed garments, the ways in which each family is presented in the background is noteworthy. Each family stands on an elevated platform, which is distinctly

⁵⁹ For more on this portrait, see Marie Timberlake, “The Painted Colonial Image: Jesuit and Andean Fabrication of History in Matrimonio de Garcia de Loyola con Ñusta Beatriz,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 29:3 (1999): 563-598.

decorated; a textile covers the Inca's platform, while the European platform is bare. On the Inca side, the red and grey geometric textile is not depicted with any sort of specificity, although the zigzag motif may vaguely reference Inca period textiles. Instead, the textile functions as a symbol of indigenous culture spatially and culturally different from its European counterpart. Numerous eighteenth-century copies and variations of this painting include a rug on the indigenous side of the canvas only with slight variations on the Inca-style textile.

4.5 The Birth of the Cusco School

Tracing textiles throughout the Cusco School of painting not only reveals a number of strategies used by mestizo and indigenous artists, but also puts forth a new narrative for colonial Andean painting. I start by recounting the traditional narrative of the Cusco School to demonstrate the ways in which textiles enrich and expand this history. Scholars have assigned several origin stories to the Cusco School to explain the unique style that emerged in the 1680s. They typically trace the styles' beginnings to a combination of three factors: the earthquake of 1650, the patronage and tastes of Bishop Mollinedo, and a key archival document which reveals discord in the painting guilds. As previously discussed, the earthquake of 1650 and Mollinedo's patronage in the 1670s sparked a period of mass rebuilding and many artistic commissions in Cusco and the surrounding provinces. Mollinedo's close working relationship with indigenous and mixed-race artists, in particular, also helped to launch their careers.

For previous scholars, an additional factor illuminates this pivotal moment in painting history: a notary document that alludes to abuse and disharmonious relationships in the painting guilds. In a petition filed in 1688, eight Spanish master painters issued a formal complaint about

indigenous artists, describing them as “drunken and malicious.”⁶⁰ The document grew out of problems that had mounted in the previous decade, including a debacle surrounding the commission of a painted triumphal arch for the Corpus Christi procession, during which native artists withdrew from their guilds citing claims of abuse. Scholars describe this moment as the guild schism of 1688, or “el triunfo de la tendencia indígena,” claiming that indigenous and European artists parted ways and formed independent artist guilds.⁶¹ According to Carol Damian, the conditions for indigenous artists in European guilds were bleak. In addition to abuse, Spanish guilds made it difficult for indigenous artists to advance. The structure of Spanish guilds was based on a medieval European system, and it was very difficult for an indigenous artist to become a master due to rigorous tests based on the ability to use European conventions like figure drawing. Damian implies that this system led to growing resentment among indigenous artists between 1677 and 1688, resulting in the split. In her appendix, Damian includes the petition, which was first mentioned by Teresa Gisbert in 1981 and first published by Horacio Villanueva Urteaga in 1985.⁶²

Few scholars have challenged the supposed ramifications of this document, its impact on indigenous artists, and the way in which it has been considered the “birth certificate” of the Cusco School.⁶³ A notable exception is Fernando Valenzuela, who weighs the significance of the petition and examines the ways in which the field has been defined through this document.⁶⁴ To

⁶⁰ Damian, “Artist and Patron in Colonial Cuzco: Workshops, Contracts, and a Petition for Independence,” *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 4 (1995): 47-48. The document is the ARC, Protocolos Notariales, 1687-1688, (scribe: Losanos).

⁶¹ Balta Campbell, “El sincretismo en la pintura de la Escuela Cuzqueña,” 101-113.

⁶² See Fernando Valenzuela, “The Guild of Painters in the Evolution of Art in Colonial Cusco,” working paper, Kultur und Sozialwissenschaftliche Fakultät Soziologisches Seminar, 2010, fn. 3.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 6.

begin, it is unclear how influential this petition was on guild structures and if a true ethnic rupture occurred. If the schism did transpire, it is difficult to discern to what degree it brought artistic autonomy to indigenous artists. The main reason that scholars use to justify the authenticity of the petition is that significant stylistic changes occurred in Andean painting in the 1680s. It is only after the guild schism that the Cusco School developed what is seen as its signature style: flattened perspective, heavy gold brocade, the frequent addition of tropical birds, and the detailed rendering of landscapes and angels' wings and costumes. Scholars typically view these elements as ethnically derived additions to print sources—a racialized treatment of style that Charlene Villaseñor Black has warned against.⁶⁵

No Andean artist has been subject to this treatment in scholarship to the degree that Diego Quispe Tito (1611-1681) has, largely as a consequence of his extensive and documentable use of prints.⁶⁶ His best-known series, the Zodiac paintings of 1680 from the Cusco Cathedral, have received considerable scholarly attention due to their reliance on a set of twelve Flemish engravings by Adriaen Collaert and Jan Sadeler I after drawings by Hans Bol (Figures 125-126).⁶⁷ In addition to the Zodiac series, Quispe Tito's paintings of the life of St. John the Baptist in the Church of St. Sebastian are directly based on engravings by Stradanus and Cornelius and

⁶⁴ See Valenzuela, "Painting as a Form of Communication in Colonial Central Andes: Variations of the Form of Ornamental Art in Early World Society," (PhD diss., University of Lucerne, 2009). He was the first to challenge the narrative of the guild split, but does not propose an alternative framework for the stylistic developments of the Cusco School.

⁶⁵ Charlene Villaseñor Black, "Race and the Historiography of Colonial Art," in *Envisioning Others: Race, Color and the Visual in Iberia and Latin America*, ed. Pamela Patton (Boston: Brill, 2016), 303-322.

⁶⁶ For a partial biography of Quispe Tito, see Teófilo Benavente Velarde, *Pintores cusqueños de la colonia* (Lima: Municipalidad del Cusco, 1995), 41; Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia*, 141.

⁶⁷ See Mesa and Gisbert, *El zodiaco del pintor indio Diego Quispe Tito* (Palma de Mallorca: SS. Corazones, 1972); *El zodiaco en el Perú: Los Bassano (s. xvi) y Diego Quispe Tito (s. xvii)* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1990).

Philippe Galle.⁶⁸ The strong correspondences between print sources and his paintings have led to a common approach to his *oeuvre*: a focus on the ways in which his painted compositions both mirror and depart from the prints that inspired them.

Although Quispe Tito largely predated the supposed guild split—he produced his work between 1627, the date of his first painting, *Immaculate Conception*, and 1679, the date of his last painting cycle in the church of San Sebastián—he is considered the model that indigenous artists turned to as they separated from their European guilds and forged a new, American school.⁶⁹ Now regarded as one of the founders of Cusco school, Quispe Tito is not only widely renowned for the exceptional quality and quantity of his artistic output. He is also lauded for successfully navigating a fertile ground of cultural intersection, as his paintings reveal both indigenous and European influences in a dynamic interplay.⁷⁰

A common approach in scholarship on Quispe Tito has been to describe all departures that he makes from print sources—angels, birds, and flowery foliage—as reflections of his indigenous heritage. Aida Balta Campbell describes these additions as an indigenous impulse for decoration: “Ambas obras presentan una ornamentación en la que Quispe Tito expresa *sus orígenes indios* de una forma tan espontánea, como si se tratase de *un gesto innato* del cual no se

⁶⁸ Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia*, 146.

⁶⁹ Gisbert, “Andean Painting” in *Gloria in Excelsis: The Virgin and Angels in Viceregal Painting of Peru and Bolivia*, ed. Barbara Duncan (New York: Center for Inter-American Relations, 1986), 25-27.

⁷⁰ According to Mesa and Gisbert, these artistic additions “no hacen más que marcar los caracteres esenciales de la escuela que se estaba formando y de la que Quispe es el principal representante” (*Historia*, 146). Two scenes from the Church of San Sebastián, *Agony in the Garden* and *The Resurrection of Lazarus* (1634-1663), from the Passion of Christ, stem from engravings by Hieronymus Wierix, the same artist who produced the *Life of the Infant* prints. Mesa and Gisbert argue that Quispe Tito diligently follows Wierix’s image of the Holy City of Jerusalem: “primeros planos con innumerables hierbas y flores, árboles frondosos, jardines bien cuidados y al fondo una ciudad: Jerusalén, según la concepción flamenco-renacentista del grabador J. Wierix en quien se apoya Quispe.” These authors go on to praise Quispe Tito’s depiction of Christ with “ojos ligeramente almendrados” as one of the best executed figures by an indigenous artist, 144.

puede prescindir” (italics mine).⁷¹ According to this model, Quispe Tito’s compositions reflect his intrinsic impulse toward ornamentation—an indigenous sensibility he cannot control. This characterization of Quispe Tito’s work has also been widely applied to mestizo and indigenous artists across the Andes.

Recent scholarship has challenged the idea of what constitutes an indigenous addition to or manipulation of a European print source. For Nair, an indigenous conception of space marks the artistry of the painting *Virgin of Montserrat* (1693) by the indigenous artist Francisco Chivantito of Cusco in the first decades of the Cusco School. She interprets Chivantito’s compositional choices not as an inability to use European perspectival theory, but as a promotion of Andean spatial concepts of duality (*hanan* and *hurin*). For Nair, Chivantito’s decision to emphasize indigenous spatial relations marks a significant turning point in Andean painting. The dating of Chivantito’s work, just preceding the guild split, positions it at a crucial juncture in time. She suggests that this type of artistic choice—the preference for indigenous as opposed to European content—may have even precipitated the separation of indigenous artists from guilds run by European artists.⁷² This argument gives a new dimension to the guild schism of the 1680s by proposing that incompatibilities in artistic styles, in addition to mistreatment, sparked the division of the guilds. If so, Chivantito’s manipulation of space may be part of a larger phenomenon in the late seventeenth century in which indigenous artists rejected European conventions in support of Andean notions of space, geography and visuality.

⁷¹ “Both works present an ornamentation in which Quispe Tito expresses his Indian origins in such a spontaneous way as if it were an innate gesture that he cannot deny,” (translation, mine). Balta Campbell, “El sincretismo en la pintura de la Escuela Cuzqueña,” 101. In her examination of the relationship of the Cusco school and Flemish prints, Balta Campbell describes Quispe Tito’s paintings as illustrating a natural and artistic syncretism. In several works including *Vision of the Cross* of 1631 and *Ascension* of 1634, Balta Campbell argues that Quispe Tito creates a clever fusion of autochthonous plants and birds and European architecture.

⁷² Nair, “Localizing Sacredness,” 217.

4.6 Textiles and Indigeneity

The previous historical approaches to indigenous artistry greatly inform my examination of textiles in the Cusco School. How to define indigeneity, what connotes an indigenous addition or manipulation to a canvas, and how we explain the stylistic changes that occurred in painting after the 1680s are the subjects of the conclusion of this chapter. Recently, Ricardo Kusunoki has cautioned against scholarship that considers indigenous production anti-academy, provincial, and inferior. Instead, he argues that the Cusco School split from the parallel course of European painting as it began to skillfully incorporate local reference points—a testament to indigenous innovation.⁷³ As we have seen, some of these local reference points included regionally specific flora and fauna, as well as architecture, such as the main square of Chinchero in Chivantito's *Virgin of Montserrat* and the Cusco Cathedral in Augustine's funeral scene in Pacheco's *Life of Saint Augustine* series. This conclusion will consider textiles as one of these local reference points, which functioned to standardize Cusco School iconography for audiences in increasingly distant areas of South America. In doing so, I propose a more nuanced view of the Cusco School, which honors the innovations and achievements of indigenous artists in Cusco and beyond.

In the Andes, local reference points were part of a larger strategy to make scenes relatable and legible to colonial Peruvian viewers. To aid visual clarity, Cusco School artists created a standardized iconography for painting that was widely identifiable. For example, regional devotions to various Virgins led to a standard set of attributes used to identify each cult.⁷⁴ Another standardized devotional image was that of Saint Joseph and the Christ Child. Although in European depictions Joseph is typically an older man, throughout the colonial Americas his

⁷³ Kusunoki, "Art and Visual Culture in the Viceregal Period," 23.

⁷⁴ Stanfield-Mazzi, *Object and Apparition*.

standard depiction was as a young and devoted father, who lovingly embraces the Christ Child.⁷⁵ These artistic conventions streamlined iconography, creating recognizable types. Like regional Virgins or youthful depictions of Saint Joseph, textiles were a crucial component of this new, standardized visual lexicon used by Andean artists. The illustrated cloth items in Pacheco's series and in other Cusco School paintings function as specific local references to Peruvian material culture. By approximating and sometimes mimicking the appearance of local textiles in circulation in colonial society, the artists relocated the European biblical narratives to Peruvian settings, giving viewers a sense of familiarity when interpreting the scenes.

By the time of the production of Pacheco's series, Cusco School paintings were in high demand across South America, and mestizo and indigenous artists were exporting paintings *en masse* to distant areas of the Spanish viceroyalty. The commission of Pacheco's series for the Convent of San Agustín in Lima reflects the popularity of the Cusco style, which by the 1740s had reached its apex. Kusunoki describes the *Life of Saint Augustine* series as "the most visible sign of the success achieved by the painters of Cuzco in the capital."⁷⁶ In doing so, he highlights the commercial success of Cusco artists like Pacheco whose work was in heavy demand in faraway cities by the early eighteenth century. Although very few contracts exist that document these sales, the vast presence of Cusco School paintings across churches, convents, and monasteries in distant regions of South America testifies to their popularity in the colonial period.

Despite unfavorable reviews by European travelers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, who largely viewed indigenous painting with distaste, Creole and indigenous residents

⁷⁵ For more on the cult of Saint Joseph in the Americas, see Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of St. Joseph: Art and Gender in the Spanish Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

⁷⁶ Kusunoki, "Art and Visual Culture in the Viceregal Period," 28.

of South America came to regard the Cusco School with a growing sense of pride.⁷⁷ Because Cusco had been the center of the Inca Empire, the city became increasingly regarded as the seat of indigenous legitimacy and power, and artworks from Cusco functioned to advertise these ideals. Portraits of Inca kings are one genre that rose to popularity at this time, driven by an indigenous and Creole elite who were eager to assert their claims to royal lineage (Figure 127).⁷⁸ Favorable views toward local artistic production may have encouraged the production of paintings that were markedly Cusqueño in appearance with elements like local architecture, flora, and fauna that firmly cemented their attributions to the Cusco School. Although textual evidence is needed to better support this idea, visual clues suggest that artists endorsed several main strategies to establish a widely recognizable brand of Cusco School painting throughout South America.

The application of *brocateado* (gilded patterns) to the surface of paintings was one strategy used by Cusco School artists that dramatically distinguished their productions from other regional schools (Figure 5). These patterns typically decorated the garments of figures in portraiture. Although this technique was also used in Byzantine and Renaissance painting, the intensity and flat nature of brocade in the Cusco School differentiates Andean from European examples. In the eighteenth century, Cusco artists transitioned from using raised gilding that profiled halos and shirt cuffs to intricate patterning that completely blanketed the surfaces of garments.⁷⁹ The most common brocade designs were daisies with seven or eight petals, rosettes

⁷⁷ Kusunoki, “Esplendor y ocaso de los maestros cuzqueños (1700-1850),” *Pintura Cuzqueña* (Lima: Museo de Arte de Lima, 2016), 43.

⁷⁸ See Dean, “The After-life of Inka Rulers: Andean Death Before and After Spanish Colonization,” *Death and Afterlife in the Early Modern Hispanic World: Hispanic Issues Online* 7 (2010): 39-48; Diana Fane, “Portraits of the Inca: Notes on an Influential European Engraving,” *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 29:3 (2010): 31-39.

⁷⁹ See Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia*, 272; Oscar Flores Flores and Ligia Fernández Flores, “Pictorial Koineization in the Realms of the Spanish Monarchy,” in *Pintura de los reinos: Identidades compartidas: Territorios del mundo*

with eight points, fleur-de-lis, six and eight pointed stars, and other symbols of European origin.⁸⁰ After artists applied the gold leaf in a flat manner, they sometimes used amber and brown glazes to enhance contours and shading.⁸¹

Scholars suggest a variety of aesthetic and cultural reasons for the use of *brocateado* in the Andes, but its origins are still much disputed. Balta Campbell suggests that Andean artists used gold brocade to heighten the contrast of figures on dark backgrounds, a technique that emerged from Baroque painting.⁸² Gisbert argues that the technique spread to the Andes through sixteenth-century Spanish painting, including works by Alejo Fernández. She also points to the influence of illustrated choir books that contained ornamentation in the same technique.⁸³ Pál Kelemen proposes the Moorish origins of this technique and argues that similar gold patterns are found on Spanish furniture and ceilings during this period.⁸⁴ Several scholars have suggested the possible influence of Francisco Pacheco's *El arte de la pintura* (1649), which includes instructions for applying gold and silver to textiles in painting.⁸⁵ Like other attributes of the Cusco School, *brocateado* is also considered to have emerged from an indigenous preference for

hispanico, siglos XVI–XVIII, ed. Juana Gutiérrez Haces and Jonathan Brown (Mexico City: Fomento Cultural Banamex, 2008), 332; Pedro Querejazu, "Materials and Techniques of Andean Paintings," in *Gloria in Excelsis: The Virgin and Angels in Viceregal Painting of Peru and Bolivia*, ed. Barbara Duncan (New York Center for Inter-American Relations, 1986), 82.

⁸⁰ Leopoldo Castedo, *The Cuzco Circle* (New York: Center for Inter-American Relations, 1976), 48.

⁸¹ Querejazu, "Materials and Techniques of Andean Paintings," 81.

⁸² Balta Campbell, "El sincretismo en la pintura de la Escuela Cuzqueña," 111.

⁸³ Gisbert, "La conciencia de un arte propio en la pintura virreinal andina," in *Tradición, estilo o escuela en la pintura iberoamericana, siglos XVI–XVIII: primer seminario de pintura virreinal*, ed. María Concepción García Sáiz and Gutiérrez Haces (Mexico: UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 2004), 140.

⁸⁴ Pál Kelemen, *Peruvian Colonial Painting* (New York: Brooklyn Museum, 1971), 9.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*; Charles Mo, *The Splendors of the New World. Spanish Colonial Masterworks from the Viceroyalty of Peru* (Charlotte, NC: Mint Museum of Art, 1992), 37.

ornament. Damian argues that the brocade patterns create the same decorative pattern as *tocapu*, geometric designs used by the Inca to signify royal status.⁸⁶

Unfortunately, very few contracts exist that provide a greater understanding of this technique. Due to the close proximity and relationships of numerous artists and buyers, many instructions may have been communicated verbally in place of written agreements.⁸⁷ Archival mentions of gilding usually pertain to frames. However, some contracts do explicitly state that gilding was to be used on certain paintings. In the 1754 contract between Don Mauricio García y Delgado and artists Gabriel Rincón and Pedro Nolasco, García demands that some of the 435 paintings being commissioned be brocaded with fine gold.⁸⁸ This suggests that *brocateado* was a feature explicitly requested by patrons who were willing to pay more for the gold leaf. The technique was used in the Cusco School until roughly 1780, and then declined in popularity with the influence of Neo-Classicism.⁸⁹ The overlay of gold designs marked the surface of paintings with the unique stamp of the Cusco School. *Brocateado* is so widely recognized as a Cusco School feature that the technique was reportedly applied in the twentieth century to previously ungolded paintings to increase their value in the art market.⁹⁰ Although in the colonial period the application of gold brocade seems to be a client-driven request, it undoubtedly served to

⁸⁶ Damian, *The Virgin of the Andes*, 77; also see Balta Campbell, “El sincretismo en la pintura de la Escuela Cuzqueña,” 111.

⁸⁷ Stanfield-Mazzi, “The Possessor’s Agency: Private Art Collecting in the Colonial Andes,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 18:3 (2009): 352.

⁸⁸ Cornejo Bouroncle, “Arte cuzqueño,” *Revista del Archivo Histórico del Cuzco* 2 (1951): 286-289.

⁸⁹ Teresa Gisbert, “La conciencia de un arte propio en la pintura virreinal andina,” in *Tradición, estilo o escuela en la pintura iberoamericana, siglos XVI-XVIII: primer seminario de pintura virreinal*, ed. María Concepción García Sáiz and Juana Gutiérrez Haces (Mexico: UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 2004), 140.

⁹⁰ Several conversations with Peruvian art historians and conservators have informed this topic, but due to its sensitive nature, I keep these communications anonymous. Institutional resistance to identifying later manipulations to canvases, which could potentially affect the value of these works, hinders further investigation of *brocateado*.

establish a widely recognizable brand of Cusco School painting for patrons from Ecuador to Chile.

Like *brocateado*, the illustration of textiles may have been part of the standardization and commodification of Cusco School iconography, helping to promote the Cusco School as a major artistic center in the viceregal Americas. As Andean paintings were increasingly commissioned across South America, artists relied on systematic modes of representation, recycling motifs and scenes to facilitate greater audience understanding and rapid execution of canvases. As demonstrated in Chapter 3, textiles are far from hastily depicted elements in the scenes. The attention to detail and specificity with which textiles are depicted suggests a close working relationship between artist and patron in which the textiles, like *brocateado*, may have been requested. The widespread use of textiles throughout Cusco School paintings might also point to the division of workshop labor, in which certain artists were responsible for only the illustration of garments and other cloth elements.

By newly situating Pacheco's *Life of Saint Augustine* series and other Cusco School paintings within the larger context of the South American art market, we can speculate on the more dynamic role played by textiles in these canvases. Although it is difficult to measure artistic agency or colonial appreciation of artworks, we can imagine that viewers in far-reaching regions of South America may have considered these textile elements as part of the recognizable Cusco style. Like *brocateado*, textile illustration may have been considered a distinctively Cusqueñan feature in painting, which functioned to celebrate indigenous artistic production at a time when Creoles and indigenous Peruvians were promoting these ideals for political leverage.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion and Future Studies

In August of 2015, I traveled to Chillca, a high-altitude village outside of Cusco, in the Pitumarca district on the southern slopes of the Ausangate mountain. With the help of anthropologist Allison Caine, who had spent the past year there studying alpaca herding, I was able to enter a small abandoned Catholic Church in the center of town, after hearing reports from local residents that mural paintings decorated its interior. Inside was a badly damaged gilded altar with three niches and small devotional statues, as well as modest mural paintings featuring a Pietà scene and textile motifs. However, what most caught my attention was a large, alpaca-fiber woven tapestry with a pattern of brown, grey, white, and blue diamonds and small animals. Although it had been rolled up under a small side altar, when unfolded the tapestry's length almost perfectly matched that of the main altar (Figures 128a-b).

Likely dating to the early nineteenth century, the rectangular tapestry was severely deteriorated in several places, and had a large almond-shaped hole at its center. Its dimensions, in addition to the recollections of Chillca's residents, suggested that it likely originally occupied the space in front of the altar, either in front of its two small steps or perhaps even blanketing them. The textile's deterioration also indicated heavy foot traffic at its center, perhaps by a priest standing in front of the altar. As my companions kindly unfurled the tapestry in the nave of the church, I could not help but recall the use of textiles in the colonial *sala de estrado*, where, according to archival documents, floor coverings matched the exact dimensions of the *tarima* (platform). It seemed likely in this case that the tapestry had been specifically designed with the measurements of the altar in mind.

My encounter with this tattered yet beautiful tapestry delighted me more than I or my local guides anticipated. Although the church walls were crumbling and the murals were partially effaced, I imagined the textile at the height of its existence as it demarcated the humble, yet hallowed altar and obscured the rough adobe floor at its base. For me, this tapestry connected colonial and contemporary practices, underscoring a centuries-long tradition of carefully and calculatingly dressing Andean spaces according to the dimensions and activities of their built environments. For thousands of years, textiles have sanctified spaces in Peru, serving as both utilitarian and ritual objects, which embody Andean worldviews and cultural values.

In *Dressing Andean Spaces: Textiles, Painting, and Architecture in the Colonial Imagination* I have aimed to articulate the significance of cloth in dressing spaces and furniture in the colonial Andes. By uniting archival and object-based research, I have demonstrated the complex dynamics of the design, collection, display, and illustration of colonial textiles. Using textiles as a thematic current, I examined their unique appearance in a number of colonial sources, both textual and visual: the notary archive; a *cumbi* tapestry; a painted series of the Cusco School; and, the larger corpus of Andean painting. The chapters of this dissertation mutually inform each other, allowing archival information to inform visual readings, and vice versa. The combination of focused case studies and larger surveys provide both micro- and macro-level analyses of colonial Andean textiles and their illustrated forms.

In large part this dissertation is a challenge to the privileged position held by painting in colonial Latin American art history. Although oil painting was a novel introduction to the Andes after the Conquest and a primary tool of evangelization, it did not diminish or compete with the status of textiles as luxury goods. Notary documents affirm the high value of textile products, assigning them values and descriptions far superior to those of painting. Archival sources also

document the behavior of indigenous textiles in an increasingly global colonial society. Despite the rise of international goods in Peruvian markets, artists and artisans continued to produce indigenous textiles like *cumbi*, which was valued into the late eighteenth century in Peru. As non-garments textiles like tapestries, bedspreads, table covers, and rugs rose in popularity, *cumbi* evolved to meet the tastes of new patrons, as well as the spatial demands of new colonial interiors.

From the archive I pivoted to a close reading of one of the most important *cumbi* tapestries in museum collections today. This case study exposed the limitations of the archive, which infrequently mentions subject matter regarding colonial textiles. By identifying multiple print sources used in the weaving of the *We are Seven* tapestry, I gave new insight to colonial Andean tapestry production and reception. I argued that weavers and clients worked closely to design artworks that often relied heavily on emblem books and other moral texts. This case study provided a new model for analyzing the transmission of motifs in the colonial Andes, revealing a more nuanced system of artistic exchange in which prints, textiles, paintings, metalwork, and even furniture mutually informed each other's production.

I further investigated the transmission of textile motifs among textiles, prints, and paintings in another case study: Basilio Pacheco's *Life of Saint Augustine* series (c. 1740), a major, yet little-studied series of paintings from the Cusco School. By examining a previously overlooked part of the series—the proliferation of meticulously detailed textiles that decorate floors, walls, and furniture in over half of the thirty-eight paintings—I articulated a key artistic strategy used by Pacheco in which he employed textiles to enhance sacredness and maintain visual clarity throughout the scenes. The illustrated textiles throughout the series convey the artist's awareness of trends in luxury textiles, particularly the popularity of tapestry rugs in

colonial Peruvian society, suggesting that both local and international textile products influenced Andean painters.

Through close comparisons of specific canvases and woven tapestries produced in the colonial Andes, I showed that Pacheco depicted textiles on a scale of exactitude; in some instances he more faithfully renders them, while at other times he approximates or fabricates them. Most importantly, the painted tapestries have more than a decorative value in the scenes. Through design and placement, Pacheco uses them to relocate the scenes from across the Atlantic to eighteenth-century Peruvian environments and to clarify their series of events. By featuring locally produced textiles, Pacheco repositions the events of Saint Augustine's life, which occurred in the distant cities of Tagaste and Hippo Regius (present-day Algeria), Carthage (present-day Tunisia), Rome and Milan, by putting them in Andean settings, thereby making the scenes more relevant and readable to a Peruvian audience which primarily relied on visual means to learn the central tenets of Christianity. The built environments of Pacheco's scenes may also reflect indigenous spatial construction, while also mimicking the displays of colonial interiors such as the *sala de estrado*.

The *Life of Saint Augustine* series inspires the greater consideration of textiles, furniture, and other elements of built environments, previously thought to have solely decorative roles, in the study of early modern painting—both in the Americas and in Europe at large. In the final section of the dissertation, I moved on from Pacheco's series to consider textile elements in the broader fields of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century indigenous representation and the Cusco School of painting. Tracing the use of textiles by Cusco School artists from the 1670s onwards, I explored the possible origins of this artistic strategy, considering the resonance of indigenous modes of visuality and spatial construction. Through comparison of Pacheco's series to altar

paintings and other works of the Cusco School, I suggested that the proliferation of textiles was tied to the standardization of iconography and increasing commercialization of Andean painting. I argued that textiles in painting became a symbol of indigenous representation, and may have functioned to promote a recognizable brand of Cusco School painting.

Considering the historically problematic treatment of the Cusco School and its relationship to European engravings, the examination of textile elements forges a new narrative of Andean painting that better values and evaluates indigenous contributions. In this dissertation, I examined indigeneity through the broader lens of the South American art market and early modern period, instead of through isolated regions, as it has typically been considered. Here I consider indigenous artmaking, both in tapestry weaving and oil painting, not as a provincial, regionally specific practice, but as one that incorporates and responds to a plethora of local and international influences. Through the lens of textiles, this project expands our insights into the exchange of artworks and ideas throughout the Andes, and provides a more nuanced understanding of representation across media in the colonial period.

Recognizing the importance of textiles in both their woven and their painted forms may have an even broader applicability in Latin American art. Future directions might include more extensive work in both notary and ecclesiastical archives across Peru and in other regions in South America aimed at comparing textile holdings in Cusco with those of other cities. For example, Lima notary archives between 1650 and 1750 infrequently mention *cumbi*—a marked difference from Cusco holdings. Similarly, I found no mentions of *chusi* in Lima holdings. These absences do not necessarily mean that these products did not exist in Lima households. As Stanfield-Mazzi has pointed out, the absence of a product in an archive does not necessarily

mean that it lacked value in either the Spanish or Andean market.¹ Thus, Lima residents may have owned locally produced textile products, but not warranted them significant enough to receive archival mention. Analyzing popular textile products, as well as their absences in the historical record, across the colonial Americas would provide a richer understanding of the ways in which textile production and appreciation differed by city. Comparative archival work might also reveal variations in the decoration of the *sala de estrado* and other rooms of private residences across the Americas.

A still largely unexplored area is the print holdings of religious and private patrons throughout the viceroyalty. Continued archival work, focused especially on the private libraries of colonial residents, would greatly expand our knowledge of the print sources available to Andean weavers and painters. Creating a comprehensive list of the titles of books and images from Europe to the Americas available to colonial residents would greatly facilitate our understanding of their transport and transmission. The field would also greatly benefit from the comparison of both the libraries and textile holdings of private residents and religious officials. Luxury goods moved freely between the domestic and sacred realms, when, for example, worshippers donated their possessions to the church at the time of their death. Tracking the movement of goods between the home and the church would better illuminate the circulation and reuse of luxury goods in colonial society.

Future studies might also include additional examinations of colonial textiles in museum collections. Technical and iconographic analyses of a larger sample of *cumbi* tapestries may reveal the common print sources that informed their making. Now knowing the influence of moral literature on tapestry production, I would start by reviewing the motifs of textiles in

¹ Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, "The Possessor's Agency: Private Art Collecting in the Colonial Andes," *Colonial Latin American Review* 18:3 (2009): 354.

consultation with emblem books. The identification of common print sources, motifs, and weaving techniques may be one avenue through which we can group textiles by workshop and identify master weavers by hand. For example, several motifs and scenes on the *We Are Seven* tapestry vividly recall those on a small group of tapestries, now divided among museum collections. The evaluation of these tapestries as a family of textiles that may have emerged from the same workshop or decade would allow us to create schools of tapestry production, as in painting.

The study of colonial Peruvian art is particularly challenged by the lack of artist signatures, contracts, and biographies. An overwhelming majority of colonial artworks are assigned “anonymous” labels in both museums and publications. The examination of both woven and painted textiles may better facilitate our navigation of a largely unrecorded group of Andean artists. In the field of painting, textile motifs may be one way of identifying an artist’s hand. In my survey of textile motifs in the Cusco School, I was able to distinguish similarities in the handling and design of illustrated tapestries and other textiles in the scenes. Although palette and figural rendering are the typical criteria for attributing unsigned works in the Cusco School, textiles can function similarly. A Pumacallao-style altar cloth or Pacheco-style carpet may be a helpful category for assigning authorship within Andean painting, giving textiles greater importance as tools for attribution.

Future avenues for the study of Andean painting begin with Pacheco’s *Life of Saint Augustine* series. Locating contracts and other archival mentions of this series would better contextualize its iconographic program, commission, and transport from Cusco to Lima. Comparison of Pacheco’s paintings to other large-scale series in the Cusco School would also be fruitful. These pursuits might begin with a more focused investigation of the *Life of Saint*

Francis of Assisi series in the Convento y Museo Colonial de San Francisco of Santiago, Chile. Executed roughly sixty years prior, the series could have been a possible source of influence for Pacheco's series, as it is the earliest in the Cusco School to depict textiles in dynamic detail. Of particular interest are the large and meticulously depicted carpets throughout the *Life of Saint Francis of Assisi* series. It would be especially productive to employ the approach I used with Pacheco's *Life of Saint Augustine* series: a detailed iconographic and semiotic reading of the textile motifs used by Cusco School artists Basilio Pacheco de Santa Cruz Pumacallao and Juan Zapaca Inga.

Another topic for future study is the South American art market of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Tracing the transport of Cusco School paintings to distant regions of Peru and elsewhere in South America in the colonial period would begin to clarify this topic. To better interpret the widespread demand for Cusco School painting in the eighteenth century, it is necessary to locate artist contracts and entries in various city annals, which may describe these commissions. These documents may include specific demands for painted commissions, such as the use of *brocateado*, which is sometimes stipulated in contracts, which would help us better understand the stylistic choices of artists of the Cusco School. For example, was certain subject matter in greater demand in some regions of South America than in others? Was *brocateado* requested more frequently by patrons in specific cities or by patrons of certain ethnic groups?

The origins and motivations for the use of *brocateado* in painting have continued to mystify scholars. Further investigation of the technique, application, and significance of *brocateado* would be an invaluable contribution to existing scholarship. Some scholars have proposed that artists applied gold brocade with stencils (*plantillas*), although no colonial sources

exist thus far to support this theory.² Others have suggested its use mimicked the gilding of polychrome sculpture, another topic that merits further inquiry.³ The study of *brocateado* is further complicated by the later application of gilding to colonial paintings. After 1780 the technique fell out of style, but in later centuries, it was applied to give paintings the distinct mark of the Cusco School. Conservators can help distinguish between original and twentieth-century gilding, but they are often hesitant to do so publicly because it can devalue works in public and private collections.

The corpus of colonial Andean textiles and painting is continually growing, as new artworks and private collections come to light. In recent years, museums have made tremendous strides in bringing greater visibility to this field by mounting exhibitions and acquiring private collections of artworks long inaccessible to scholars and the general public. Many colonial textiles and paintings still rightfully remain *in situ* in churches, convents, and monasteries across South America, where they are essential components of contemporary religious practice. Others can be found in private homes as valued family heirlooms that have been passed down from generation to generation. Although more difficult to access, the original settings for these artworks provide invaluable information on the ways in which they adorned colonial interiors for centuries across the Andes. As illustrated by the Chillca church, the practice of dressing spaces exists far outside the historical and regional parameters of this dissertation. The tradition can

² Leopoldo Castedo, *The Cuzco Circle* (New York: Center for Inter-American Relations, 1976), 48; Pedro Querejazu, "Materials and Techniques of Andean Paintings," in *Gloria in Excelsis: The Virgin and Angels in Viceregal Painting of Peru and Bolivia*, ed. Barbara Duncan (New York Center for Inter-American Relations, 1986), 78-82.

³ Carol Damian, *The Virgin of the Andes: Art and Ritual in Colonial Cuzco* (Miami Beach: Grassfield Press, 1995), 67; Oscar Flores Flores and Ligia Fernández Flores, "Pictorial Koineization in the Realms of the Spanish Monarchy," in *Pintura de los reinos: Identidades compartidas: Territorios del mundo hispánico, siglos XVI–XVIII*, ed. Juana Gutiérrez Haces and Jonathan Brown (Mexico City: Fomento Cultural Banamex, 2008), 335.

even be traced to present-day communities in remote regions of the Andes, demonstrating the persistence of textiles as key components of interior display for centuries across Peru.

FIGURES



Figure 1. *Cumbi seat cover*, late 17th- early 18th century, Peru. Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid hair, silver gilt, and silk weft, 20 3/4 x 19 1/2 in. (52.5 x 49.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, 2003.412.



Figure 2. *Couch with 18th-century cumbi tapestry upholstery, 19th century, Peru. Convent of Santa Catalina, Arequipa, Peru. Photo by author.*



Figure 3. *Carpet*, 18th century, Peru. Wool and cotton, 53 x 39 x 1/4 in (134.6 x 99 x .6 cm). The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, New York, 50.155.

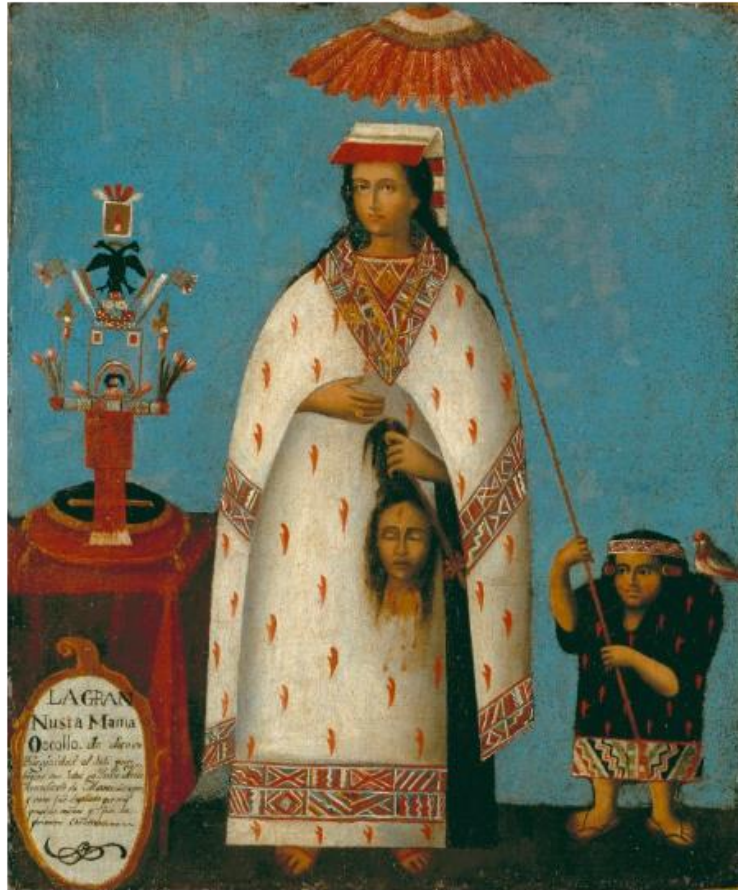


Figure 4. Cusco School, *Inca Noblewoman*, early 1800s. Oil on canvas, 18 x 14 in. (45.8 x 37.8 cm). Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado, 1996.18.



Figure 5. *Saint John of God with Donors*, 18th century. Oil on canvas, 37 3/5 x 27 4/5 in. (95.5 x 70.7 cm). Museo Pedro de Osma, Lima, Peru.



Figure 6. *Portrait of Doña Sebastiana Inés Josepha de San Agustín*, 1757. Oil on canvas, 23 x 19 in. (58.2 x 47.7 cm). Museo Franz Mayer, Mexico City.



Figure 7. *Lliclla* (woman's mantle), 17th-18th century, Peru. Camelid hair, 35 1/2 x 3 3/8 in (90.2 x 110.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, 1994.35.67.



Figure 8. *Lliclla* (woman's mantle), late 16th-early 17th century, Peru. Tapestry weave with cotton warp and camelid weft, 50 1/2 x 45 1/2 in. (128.3 x 115.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, 08.108.10.



Figure 9. *Allegory of the Church*, 18th century, Peru. Oil on canvas, 27 3/8 x 48 3/4 in. (70 x 123.8 cm). Colección Barbosa-Stern, Lima, Peru.



Figure 10. *La sala de estrado*, in Amédée François Frézier, *A Voyage to the South-Sea and Along the Coasts of Chili and Peru, in the years 1712, 1713, and 1714 particularly describing the genius and constitution of the inhabitants, as well Indians as Spaniards: their customs and manners, their natural history, mines, commodities, traffick with Europe* (London: Printed for Christian Bowyer and sold by John Osborn, 1735), 236.

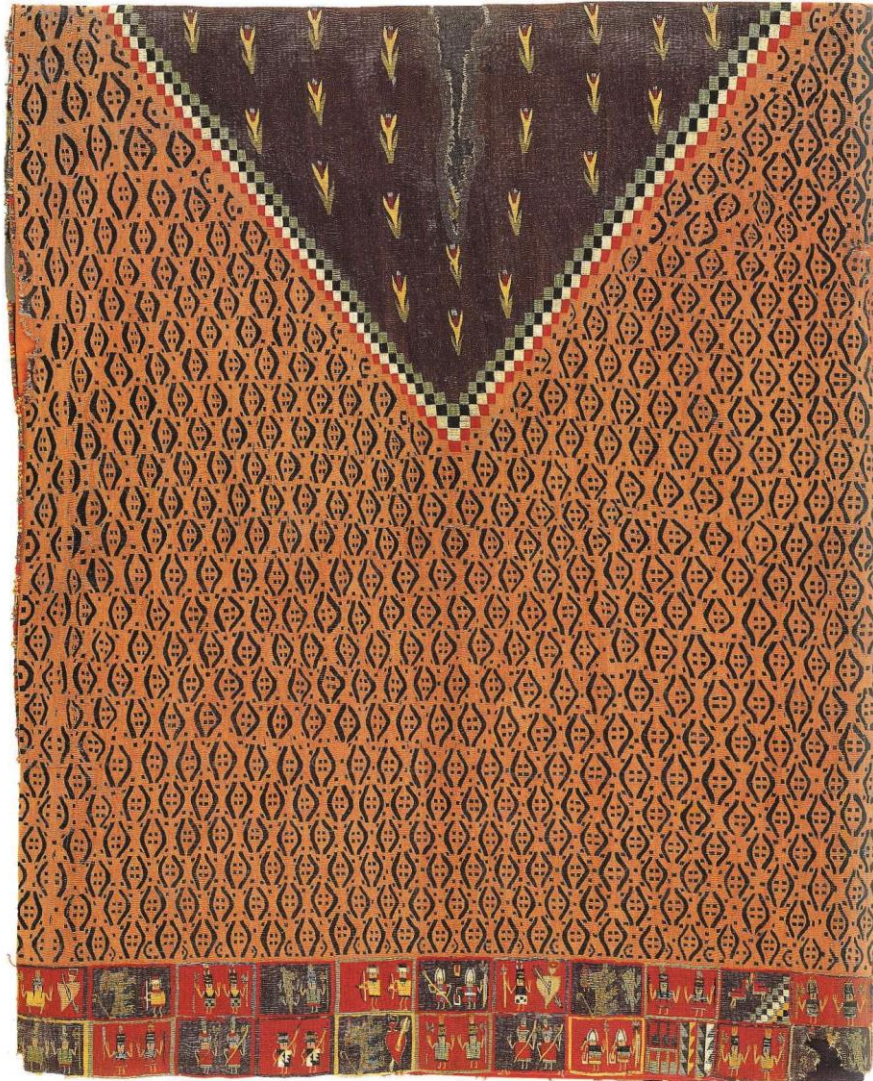


Figure 11. *Bandelier Tunic (man's uncu with feline pelt design and tocapu)*, view of back, mid to late 16th century, Lake Titicaca. Tapestry weave with cotton warp and camelid, silk and metallic weft, 38 1/2 x 30 3/4 in (97.8 x 78 cm). The American Museum of Natural History, New York, New York, B1500.



Figure 12a. *We are Seven* tapestry, 17th century, Peru. Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft, 89 9/16 x 84 3/4 in. (227.5 x 215.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, 56.163.



Figure 12b. *We are Seven* tapestry (details: sections of borders, enlarged and oriented horizontally), 17th century, Peru. Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft, 89 9/16 x 84 3/4 in. (227.5 x 215.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, 56.163.



Figure 12c. *We are Seven* tapestry (detail), 17th century, Peru. Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft, 89 9/16 x 84 3/4 in. (227.5 x 215.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, 56.163.

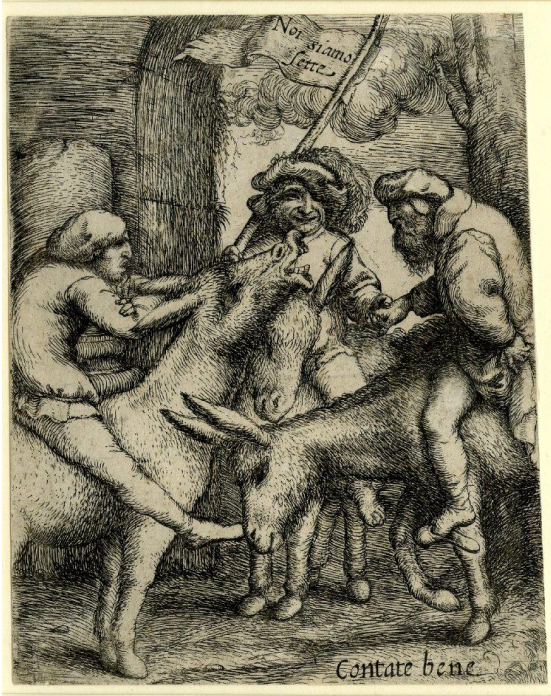


Figure 13. Giuseppe Caletti, *Contate bene. Noi siamo sette*, 1620-1630. Etching. British Museum, London, United Kingdom, 1932.0709.16.



Figure 14. Cornelis Dusart, *Nos sumus septem*, published by Jacob Cole, 1695. Mezzotint. The British Museum, London, United Kingdom, S.3800.



Figure 15. *Nous sommes sept*, published by Mondhare, 1635. Engraving. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.



Figure 16. Paul André Basset, *Nous Sommes Sept*, 1804-1814, Paris. Hand-colored print. The British Museum, London, United Kingdom, 2009.7032.



Figure 17. *Unser sind Siben/Nous sommes Sept*, 1630-1680 published in Amsterdam. Engraving. The British Museum, London, United Kingdom, 1880.0710.841.



Figure 18. *Cover*, mid-18th century or later, Peru. Wool and cotton, 96 7/8 x 82 5/8 in. (243.5 x 209.9 cm) Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Boston, Massachusetts, 04.1619.



Figure 19. *Woman's Mantle (lliclla)*, 17th-18th century, Peru. Camelid hair, 35 1/2 x 43 3/8 in. (90.2 x 110.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, 1994.35.67.



Figure 20. *Hanging (fragment)*, late 16th-17th century, Peru. Camelid hair, cotton, 48 x 23 in. (121.9 x 58.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, 2011.324.



Figure 21. *We are Seven* tapestry (detail), 17th century, Peru. Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft, 89 9/16 x 84 3/4 in. (227.5 x 215.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, 56.163.



Figure 22. Juan de Borja, *Empresas morales* (Prague: Georgius Nigrinus, 1581), 85.



Figure 23. *Aquilla*, c. 1600. Silver, probably incised and stippled, 4 1/2 in. (11.4 cm). Collection of Fernando and Josefina Larraín. Image reproduced from *The Colonial Andes: Tapestry and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, edited by Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht, and Cristina Esteras Martín (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 177.



Figure 24. *We are Seven* tapestry (detail), 17th century, Peru. Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft, 89 9/16 x 84 3/4 in. (227.5 x 215.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, 56.163.

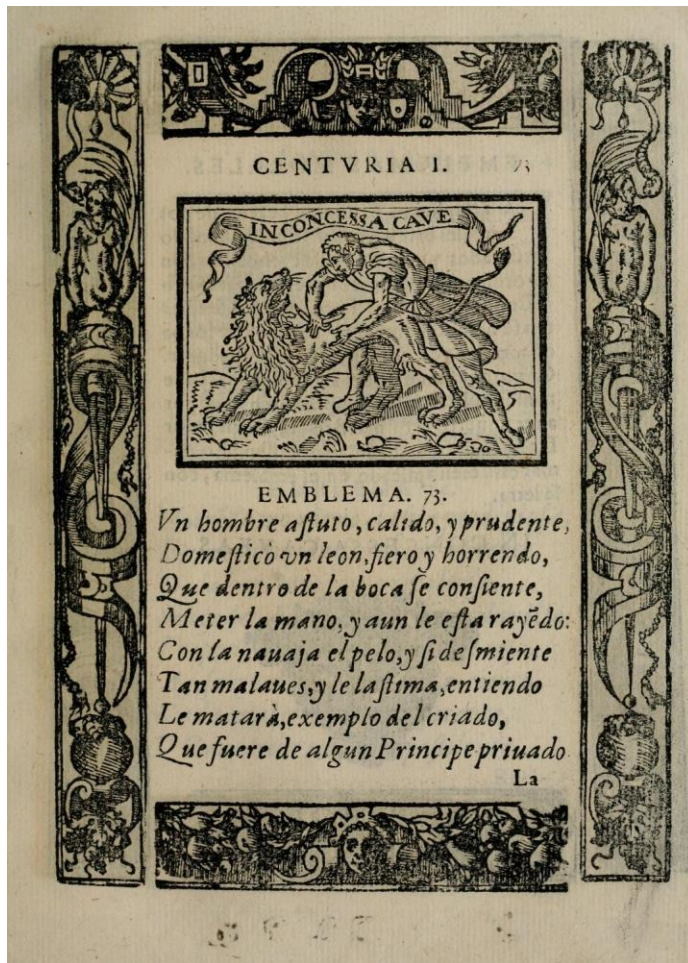


Figure 25. Sebastián de Covarrubias Horozco, *Emblemas morales* (Madrid: Luis Sanchez, 1610), 73.



Figure 26. Königliches Seelen-Panget/ Das ist: Dreyhundert und Fünff- und sechtzig anmüthige Monath-Gedächtnussen von dem hochwürdigisten Sacrament deß Altarsgenommen auß Göttlicher H. Schrift deß Alten Testaments (Munich: Jäcklin, 1666), 353.



Figure 27. *Chasuble*, early 18th century, Portugal. Silk satin, brocaded with chenille and silk, 48 x 29 in. (121.9 x 73.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, 42.97.



Figure 28. *Cover*, 18th century or later, Peru. Cotton and wool, 87 3/8 x 74 in. (222 x 188 cm).
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Boston, Massachusetts, 1975.334.



Figure 29. *Tapestry (detail)*, 18th century or later, Peru. Cotton and wool, 87 3/8 x 74 in. (222 x 188 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, 1975.334.



Figure 30. *We are Seven tapestry (detail)*, 17th century, Peru. Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft, 89 9/16 x 84 3/4 in. (227.5 x 215.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, 56.163.

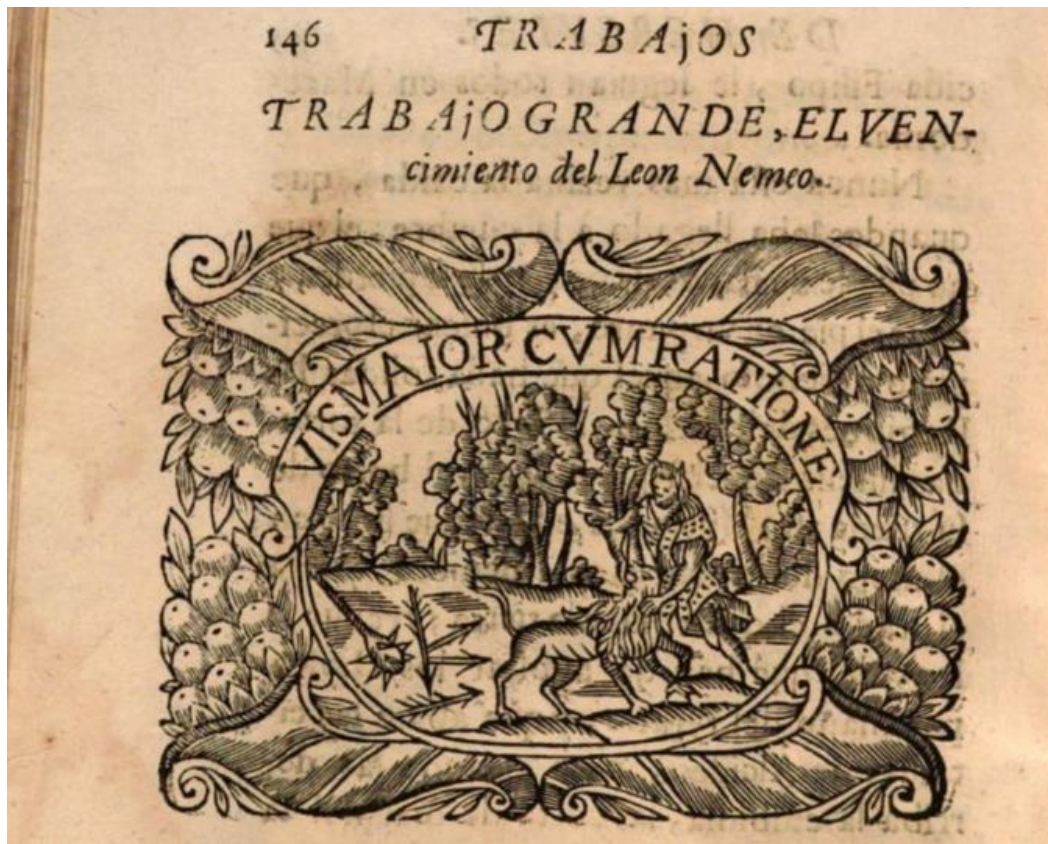


Figure 31. *Trabajo y afanes de Hercules*, Juan Francisco Fernández de Heredia (Madrid: Francisco Sanz, 1682), 146.



Figure 32. *Panel with Mythological Scenes*, c. 1790, French (probably Lyon). Silk, 87 x 36 in. (221 x 91.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York. 48.79.1.



Figure 33. *We are Seven* tapestry (detail), 17th century, Peru. Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft, 89 9/16 x 84 3/4 in. (227.5 x 215.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, 56.163.



Figure 34. *Trabajo y afanes de Hercules*, Juan Francisco Fernández de Heredia (Madrid: Francisco Sanz, 1682).



Figure 35. *We are Seven* tapestry (detail), 17th century, Peru. Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft, 89 9/16 x 84 3/4 in. (227.5 x 215.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, 56.163.



Figure 36. Etienne Delaune, *Diana Returning the Hunting Horn to Hercules*, 1573. Engraving, 2 5/16 x 2 15/16 in. (5.8 x 7.5 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1985-52-4301.



Figure 37. *We are Seven* tapestry (detail), 17th century, Peru. Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft, 89 9/16 x 84 3/4 in. (227.5 x 215.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, 56.163.



Figure 38. Sebastián de Covarrubias Horozco, *Emblemas morales* (Madrid: Luis Sanchez, 1610), 208.

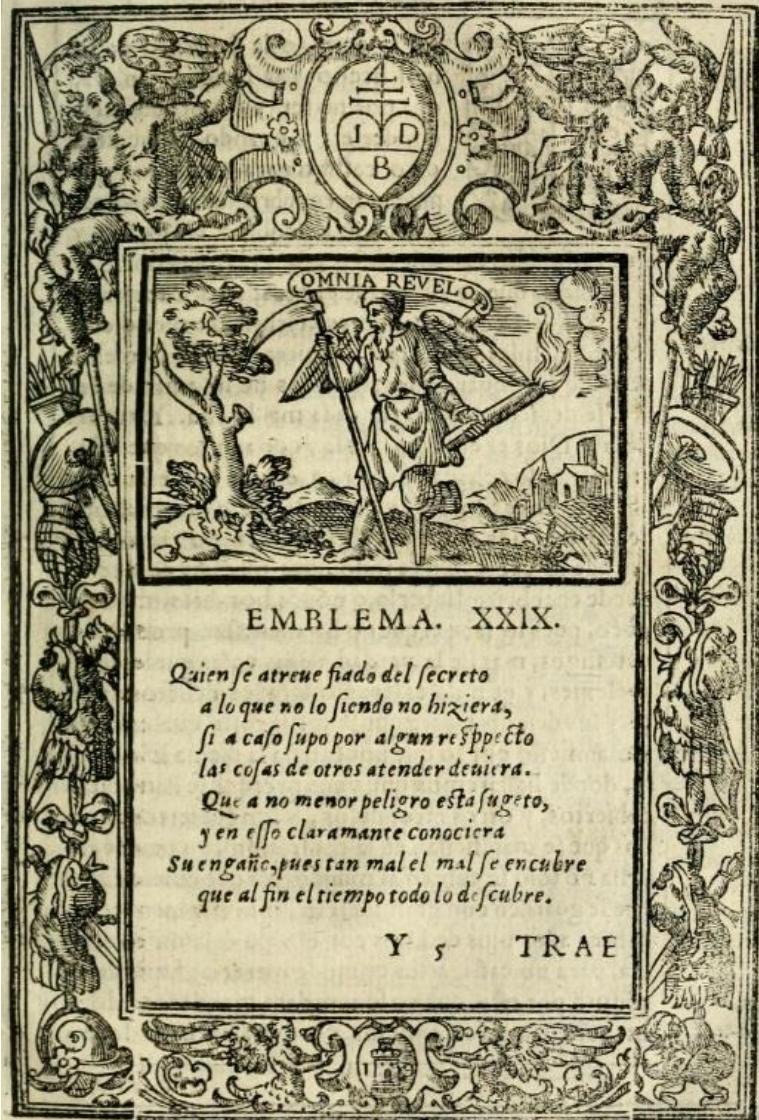


Figure 39. Sebastián de Covarrubias Horozco, *Emblemas morales* (Madrid: Luis Sanchez, 1610), 158.



Figure 40. *We are Seven* tapestry (detail), 17th century, Peru. Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft, 89 9/16 x 84 3/4 in. (227.5 x 215.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, 56.163.



Figure 41. Jan Sadeler I, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 16th century. Engraving, 16 5/8 x 12 1/4 in. (42.1 x 31.1 cm). Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, San Francisco, California, 1963.30.14709.



Figure 42. *We are Seven* tapestry (detail), 17th century, Peru. Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft, 89 9/16 x 84 3/4 in. (227.5 x 215.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, 56.163.



Figure 43. Antoni van Leest, *Perseus and Andromeda*, 1577, Netherlands. 4 1/2 x 6 in. (11.7 x 15 cm). Rijksmuseum, Netherlands, BI-1937-210-10.



Figure 44. *Cabinet with mythological scenes*, 1670-1700, Peru. Wood with inlaid tortoiseshell and ivory. Museo de Arte de Lima, Peru.



Figure 45. *Cabinet with mythological scenes (detail)*, 1670-1700, Peru. Wood with inlaid tortoiseshell and ivory. Museo de Arte de Lima, Peru.



Figure 46. *We are Seven* tapestry (detail), 17th century, Peru. Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft, 89 9/16 x 84 3/4 in. (227.5 x 215.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, 56.163.



Figure 47. *We are Seven* tapestry (details), 17th century, Peru. Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft, 89 9/16 x 84 3/4 in. (227.5 x 215.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, 56.163.



Figure 48. Hans Lufft, *Daniel's Dream Map (Wittenberg World Map)*, 1530-1661. 5 x 2 3/4 in. (13 x 17 cm). British Library, London, United Kingdom, BL.1.b.10.



Figure 49. *World Map*, Juan de Borja, *Empresas Morales* (Prague: Georgius Nigrinus, 1581).



Figure 50. *We are Seven* tapestry (details: America, Europe, Asia, Africa, clockwise from top left), 17th century, Peru. Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft, 89 9/16 x 84 3/4 in. (227.5 x 215.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, 56.163.



Figure 51. Adriaen Collaert after Maerten de Vos, *America from the Four Continents*, 16th century. Engraving. 8 x 10 in. (20.3 x 25.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, 59.654.10.



Figure 52. Adriaen Collaert after Maerten de Vos, *Africa, from the Four Continents*, 16th century. Engraving. 8 x 10 in. (20.3 x 25.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, 59.654.09.



Figure 53. After Marcus Gheraerts the Elder, published by Philips Galle, *Africa from the Four Continents*, c. 1590-1600, Antwerp. Engraving. 8 3/16 x 5 5/8 in. (20.8 x 14.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, 59.654.52.



Figure 54. *Cotton bedcover with wool embroidery, c. 1770-80, Mexico. 81 1/2 x 56 3/8 in. (207 x 143.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, 2014.176.*



Figure 55. *Triumph of Christ the King with the Four Continents (fragment)*, 18th century, Cusco School. Oil on canvas, 38 x 46 3/4 in. (96.5 x 118.8 cm). Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, New York, 41.1254.



Figure 56. *Carpet for altar*, 18th century, Arequipa, Peru. Knotted pile; cotton warp and wool weft pile, 159 x 129 in. (403.9 x 327.7 cm). Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, New York, 47.16.1.



Figure 57a. *Chest*, c. 1700, Cusco School. Polychromed and gilded leather, wood, and iron, 22 13/16 x 33 1/6 x 17 5/16 in. (58 x 84 x 44 cm). Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, New York, 2011.86.2.



Figure 57b. Hendrick Goltzius, *Allegory of Autumn*, 1589. Engraving, 11 3/8 x 10 3/4 in. (28.89 x 27.31 cm). Minneapolis Museum of Art, Minneapolis, MN, 2007.49.1.1.



Figure 58. Basilio Pacheco, *The Clothing of Saint Augustine in the Habit of the Order*, no. 13 in the *Life of Saint Augustine* series, c. 1742. Oil on canvas. Convento de San Agustín, Lima, Peru. Image reproduced from *Project on the Engraved Sources of Spanish Colonial Art (PESSCA)*, <http://colonialart.org>, 252B.

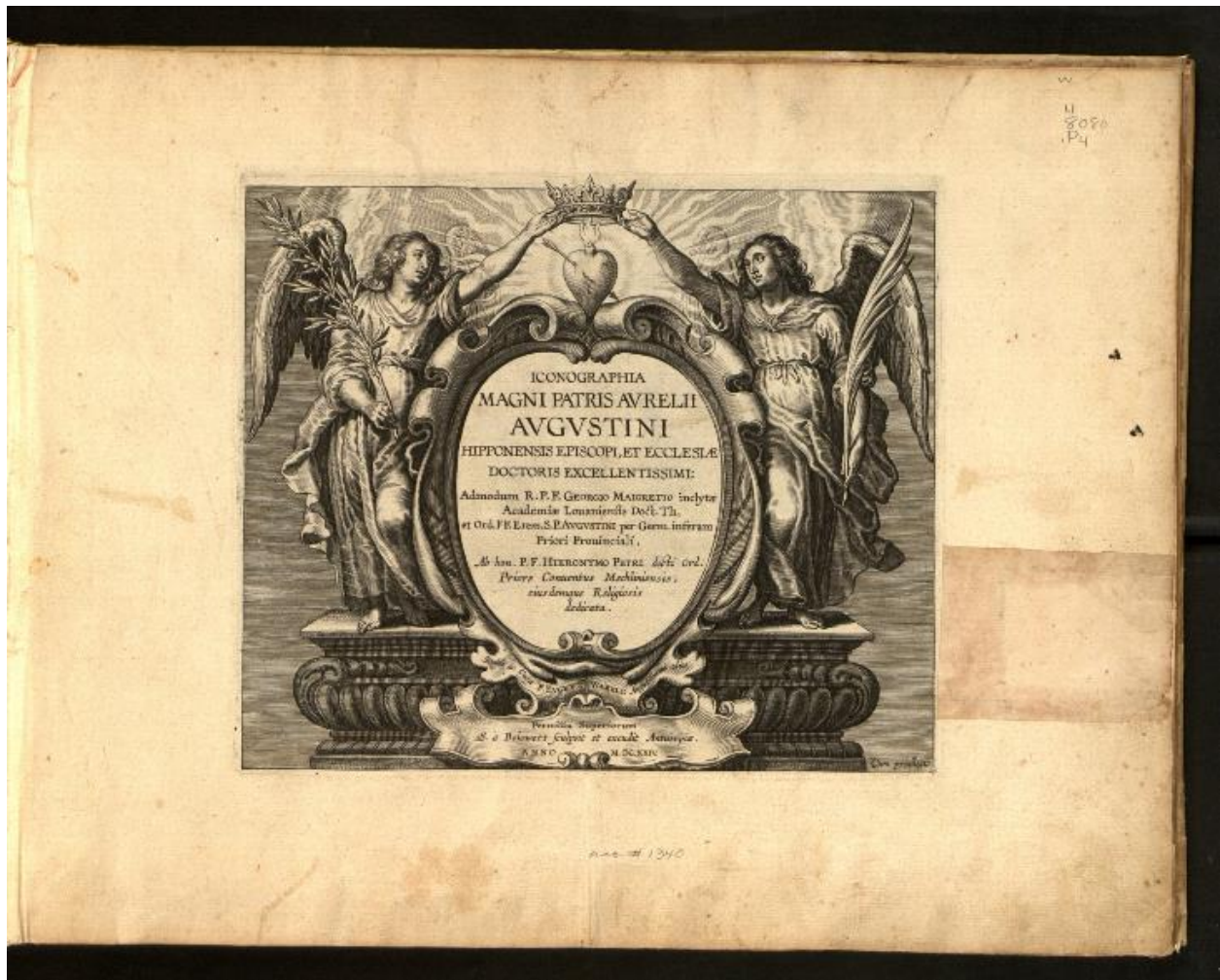


Figure 59. Schelte Adams Bolswert and Cornelis Galle, *Iconographia magni patris Aurelii Augustini*, frontispiece. Engraving. Antwerp, 1624. Image reproduced from PESSCA 317A.



Figure 60. Benozzo Gozzoli, *Saint Augustine Reading Rhetoric and Philosophy at the School of Rome*, from the *Life of Saint Augustine* series, 1465. Fresco. Chapel of Sant'Agostino, San Gimignano, Italy.



Figure 61. Sandro Botticelli, *Saint Augustine in his Study*, 1480. Fresco, 60 x 44 in. (152 x 112 cm). Church of the Ognissanti, Florence, Italy.

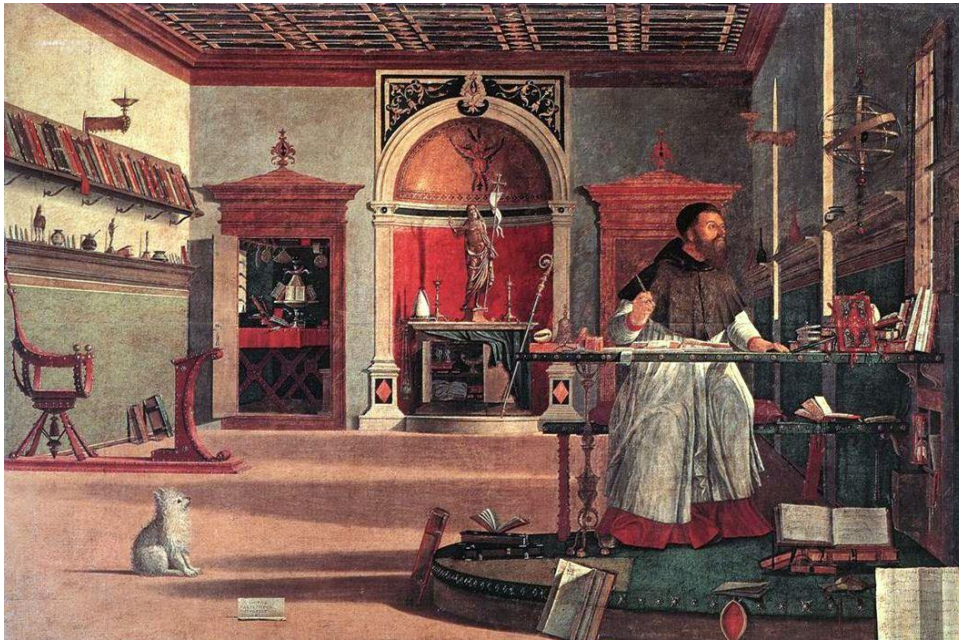


Figure 62. Vittore Carpaccio, *St. Augustine in His Study*, 1507. Tempera on panel, 56 x 83 in. (141 x 210 cm). Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice, Italy.



Figure 63. Jaume Huguet, *The Consecration of Saint Augustine*, 1466-1475. Tempera on panel, 107 x 79 in. (272 x 200 cm). Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona.



Figure 64. Nicolas de Poilly, *Saint Augustine*, after Champaigne, 17th century. Engraving.



Figure 65. Philippe de Champaigne, *Saint Augustine*, 1645. Oil on canvas, 31 x 24 in. (78 x 62 cm). Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, California, M.88.177.



Figure 66. *Cloister of the Convento de San Agustín*. Image reproduced from Antonio San Cristóbal Sebastián, *La iglesia y el convento de San Agustín de Lima* (Lima: Colegio San Agustín, 2001).



Figure 67. Miguel de Santiago, *The Sacrament of Augustine*, from *Life of Saint Augustine* series, 1656. Convento de San Agustín, Quito, Ecuador. Image reproduced from PESSCA 274B.



Figure 68. Schelte Adams Bolswert and Cornelis Galle, *The Sacrament of Augustine*, in *Iconographia magni patris Aurelii Augustini*. Engraving. Antwerp, 1624. Image reproduced from PESSCA 259A.



Figure 69. Schelte Adams Bolswert and Cornelis Galle, *The Death of Monica*, in *Iconographia magni patris Aurelii Augustini*. Engraving. Antwerp, 1624. Image reproduced from PESSCA 254A.



Figure 70. Schelte Adams Bolswert and Cornelis Galle, *Augustine Constructs a Monastery and Write his Rule* in *Iconographia magni patris Aurelii Augustini*. Engraving. Antwerp, 1624. Image reproduced from PESSCA 258A.



Figure 71. Schelte Adams Bolswert and Cornelis Galle *Augustine Writing the Books of the Trinity*, in *Iconographia magni patris Aurelii Augustini*. Engraving. Antwerp, 1624. Image reproduced from PESSCA 263A.



Figure 72. Johannes Vermeer, *A Maid Asleep*, c. 1656-1657. Oil on canvas, 34 1/2 x 30 1/8 in. (88 cm x 76 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, 14.40.611.



Figure 73. Basilio Pacheco, *Augustine's Parents Patricius and Monica as Spiritual Parents*, no. 1 in the *Life of Saint Augustine* series, c. 1742. Oil on canvas. Convento de San Agustín, Lima, Peru. Image reproduced from Sabine MacCormack, "Poetics of Representation in Viceregal Peru: A Walk 'round the Cloister of San Agustín in Lima," in *The Arts of South America, 1492-1850: Papers from the 2008 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by Donna Pierce (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2010), 89.



Figure 74. Basilio Pacheco, *The Funerary Procession of Augustine Crossing the Main Square of Cusco*, no. 36 in the *Life of Saint Augustine* series, c. 1742. Oil on canvas. Convento de San Agustín, Lima, Peru. Image reproduced from PESSCA 267B.



Figure 75. Schelte Adams Bolswert and Cornelis Galle, *The Funerary Process of Augustine*, in *Iconographia magni patris Aurelii Augustini*. Engraving. Antwerp, 1624. Image reproduced from PESSCA 267A.



Figure 76. Basilio Pacheco, *The Clothing of Saint Augustine in the Habit of the Order (detail of rug)*, no. 13 in series, c. 1742. Oil on canvas. Convento de San Agustín, Lima, Peru. Image reproduced from detail of PESSCA 252B.



Figure 77. *Fountain with chakana motif*, late 15th century. Ollantaytambo, Cusco region, Peru. Photo by the author.



Figure 78. *Wall of the Six Monoliths with chakana motif (detail), late 15th century.* Ollantaytambo, Cusco region, Peru. Photo by the author.



Figure 79. *Boulder with carving, Saphi-Huatanay River.* Sitio Arqueológico Inca Yuracpunko. Ollantaytambo, Cusco region, Peru. Photo by the author.



Figure 80. *Tunic with Diamond Band*, c. 1460-1540, Peru. Camelid hair and cotton, 29 x 35 in. (73.7 x 88.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, 1982.365.



Figure 81. *Women's wedding mantle (lliclla) with tocapu*, 17th century, Southern Andes. Tapestry weave, cotton warp and silk and metallic on linen weft, 36 1/4 x 50 in. (92 x 137 cm). Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum, Smithsonian Institute, New York, New York, 1902-1-782.



Figure 82. *Tapestry Altar Cloth*, 16th or early 17th century, Peru. Wool and cotton, 22 1/16 x 43 1/2 in. (56 x 110.5 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, 07.844.



Figure 83. *Tapestry Cover with cross*, late 17th-early 18th century, Peru. Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid and gold and silver on linen weft, 27 x 19 in. (69 x 48 cm). Staatliche Museen in Berlin, Germany, VA 64827. Image reproduced from *The Colonial Andes: Tapestry and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, edited by Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht, and Cristina Esteras Martín (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 301.



Figure 84. Basilio Pacheco, *The Sacrament of Augustine*, no. 22 in the *Life of Saint Augustine* series, c. 1742. Oil on canvas. Convento de San Agustín, Lima, Peru. Image reproduced from PESSCA 259B.



Figure 85. Schelte Adams Bolswert and Cornelis Galle, *The Sacrament of Augustine* in *Iconographia magni patris Aurelii Augustini*. Engraving. Antwerp, 1624. Image reproduced from PESSCA 259A.



Figure 86. Basilio Pacheco, *The Sacrament of Augustine (detail of rug)*, no. 22 in the *Life of Saint Augustine* series, c. 1742. Oil on canvas. Convento de San Agustín, Lima, Peru. Image reproduced from detail of PESSCA 259B.



Figure 87. *Woman's wedding mantle (lliclla) with embroidered tocapu edges*, 17th century, Southern Andes. Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid, metallic on silk, and possibly viscacha weft; camelid embroidery, 36 x 38 in. (91.4 x 96.5 cm). The British Museum, London, United Kingdom, 1891.7-22.2.



Figure 88. Basilio Pacheco, *The Birth of Augustine*, no. 2 in the *Life of Saint Augustine* series, c. 1742. Oil on canvas. Convento de San Agustín, Lima, Peru. Image reproduced from Sabine MacCormack, "Poetics of Representation in Viceregal Peru: A Walk 'round the Cloister of San Agustín in Lima," in *The Arts of South America, 1492-1850: Papers from the 2008 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by Donna Pierce (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2010), 106.



Figure 89a. Basilio Pacheco, *Augustine's Heart is Transfixed by the Arrow of Divine Love*, no. 29 in the *Life of Saint Augustine* series, c. 1742. Oil on canvas. Convento de San Agustín, Lima, Peru. Image reproduced from PESSCA 264B.



Figure 89b. Schelte Adams Bolswert and Cornelis Galle, *Augustine's Heart is Transfixed by the Arrow of Divine Love*, in *Iconographia magni patris Aurelii Augustini*. Engraving. Antwerp, 1624. Image reproduced from PESSCA 264A.



Figure 90. *Woman's Wedding Mantle (lliclla) with interlace and tocapu*, early 17th century, Southern Andes. Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft, 50 1/2 x 45 1/2 in. (128.3 x 115.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, 08.108.10.

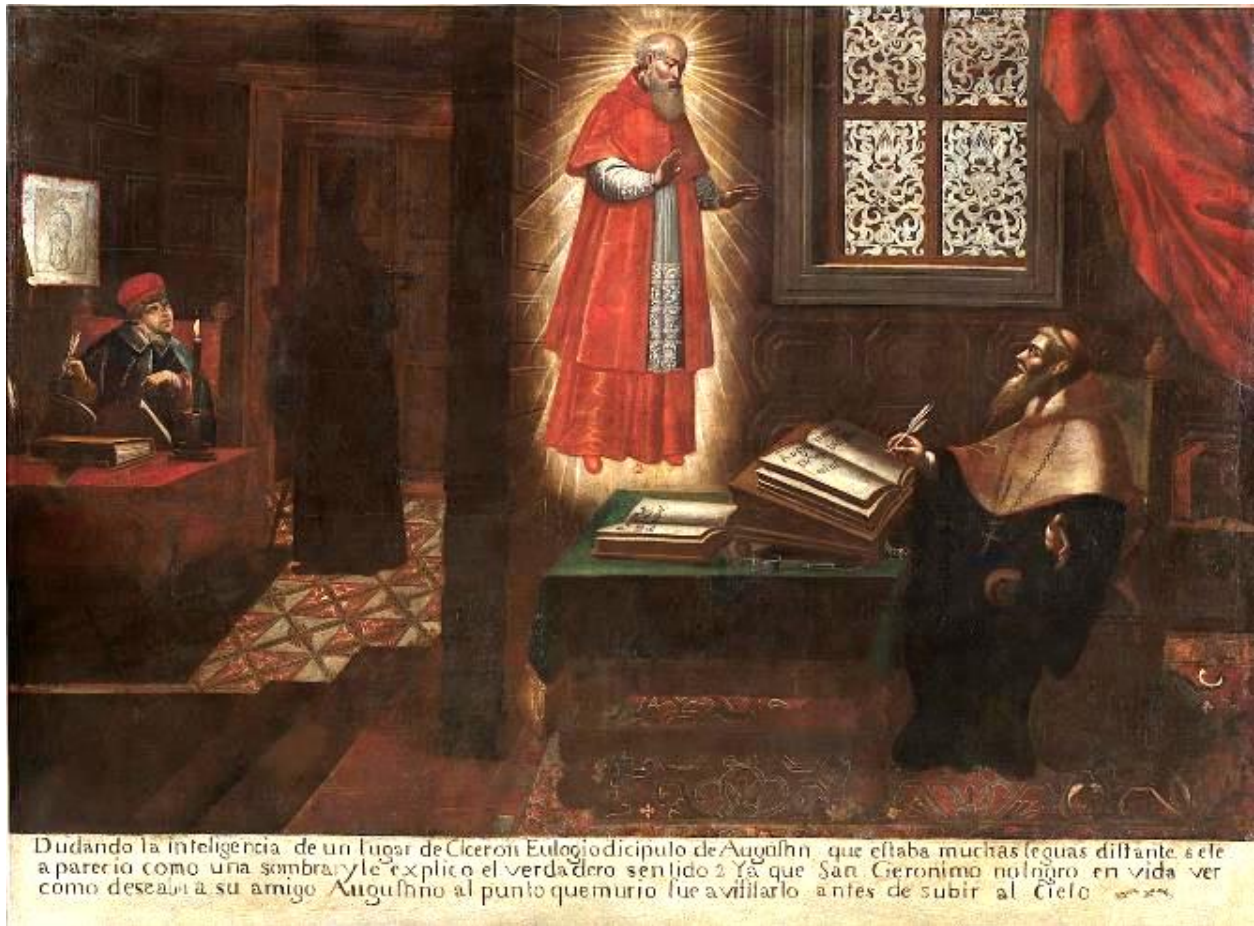


Figure 91. Basilio Pacheco, *Saint Jerome Appears to Augustine as He is Writing His Eulogy*, no. 29 in the *Life of Saint Augustine* series, c. 1742. Oil on canvas. Convento de San Agustín, Lima, Peru. Image reproduced from *PESSCA* 262B.



Figure 92. *Tapestry with scrolls*, late 17th to early 18th century, Southern Andes. Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft, 84 3/4 x 75 1/4 in. (215 x 191 cm). Severočeské muzeum, Liberec, Czech Republic, T1192. Image reproduced from *The Colonial Andes: Tapestry and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, edited by Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht, and Cristina Esteras Martín (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 329.



Figure 93. Basilio Pacheco, *Augustine Competing for His Position as Rhetor of Carthage before the Roman Proconsul*, no. 6 in the *Life of Saint Augustine* series, c. 1742. Oil on canvas. Convento de San Agustín, Lima, Peru. Image reproduced from Sabine MacCormack, “Poetics of Representation in Viceregal Peru: A Walk ‘round the Cloister of San Agustín in Lima,” in *The Arts of South America, 1492-1850: Papers from the 2008 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by Donna Pierce (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2010), 91.



Figure 94. Basilio Pacheco, *The Death of Monica*, no. 16 in the *Life of Saint Augustine* series, c. 1742. Oil on canvas. Convento de San Agustín, Lima, Peru. Image reproduced from PESSCA 254B.



Figure 95a. Basilio Pacheco, *The Death of Augustine*, no. 35 in the *Life of Saint Augustine* series, c. 1742. Oil on canvas. Convento de San Agustín, Lima, Peru. Image reproduced from PESSCA 266B.



Figure 95b. Schelte Adams Bolswert and Cornelis Galle, *The Death of Augustine*, in *Iconographia magni patris Aurelii Augustini*. Engraving. Antwerp, 1624. Image reproduced from PESSCA 266A.



Figure 96. Basilio Pacheco, *Augustine Constructs a Monastery and Writes His Rule*, no. 20 in the *Life of Saint Augustine* series, c. 1742. Oil on canvas. Convento de San Agustín, Lima, Peru. Image reproduced from PESSCA 258B.



PACHECO Basilio (1746): Agustín padece un fuerte dolor de muelas en Casiciaco. Óleo/lienzo. Convento S. Agustín. Lima.

Figure 97. Basilio Pacheco, *Augustine Suffers a Toothache*, no. 11 in the *Life of Saint Augustine* series, c. 1742. Oil on canvas. Convento de San Agustín, Lima, Peru. Image reproduced from Jeanne and Pierre Courcelle, *Iconographie de Saint Augustin. Vol. 3. Les Cycles du XVIe et du XVIIe Siècle* (Paris: Institut d'Études Agustiniennes, 1972).



Figure 98. Basilio Pacheco, *The Baptism of Augustine*, no. 12 in the *Life of Saint Augustine* series, c. 1742. Oil on canvas. Convento de San Agustín, Lima, Peru. Image reproduced from PESSCA 251B.



Figure 99. *Panel*, 18th century, Spain. Woven silk, 63 1/2 x 42 in. (161.3 x 106.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, X.451.5.



Figure 100. Basilio Pacheco, *The Sacrament of Augustine*, no. 22 in the *Life of Saint Augustine* series, c. 1742. Oil on canvas. Convento de San Agustín, Lima, Peru. Image reproduced from *PESSCA 259B*.



Figure 101. Lorenzo Lotto, *The Alms of Saint Anthony*, 1542. Oil on wood, Basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.



Figure 102. Basilio Pacheco, *Augustine, Contemplating Christ's Passion and the Sorrows of the Virgin Mary, Is Invited to Partake of Christ's Eucharist Blood and the Milk of the Virgin*, no. 30 in the *Life of Saint Augustine* series, c. 1742. Oil on canvas. Convento de San Agustín, Lima, Peru. Image reproduced from Sabine MacCormack, "Poetics of Representation in Viceregal Peru: A Walk 'round the Cloister of San Agustín in Lima," in *The Arts of South America, 1492-1850: Papers from the 2008 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by Donna Pierce (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2010), 109.



Figure 103. Basilio Pacheco, *Augustine Presides Over the Conference of Carthage*, no. 26 in the *Life of Saint Augustine* series, c. 1742. Oil on canvas. Convento de San Agustín, Lima, Peru. Image reproduced from PESSCA 261B.



Figure 104. Schelte Adams Bolswert and Cornelis Galle, *Augustine Presides Over the Conference at Carthage*, in *Iconographia magni patris Aurelii Augustini*. Engraving. Antwerp, 1624. Image reproduced from PESSCA 261A.



Figure 105. Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, “Guamán Poma’s Parents,” 1615. *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 14. Royal Library of Copenhagen, Denmark.

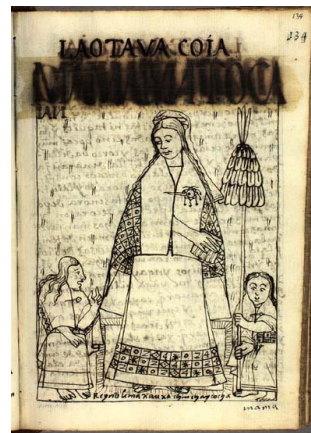
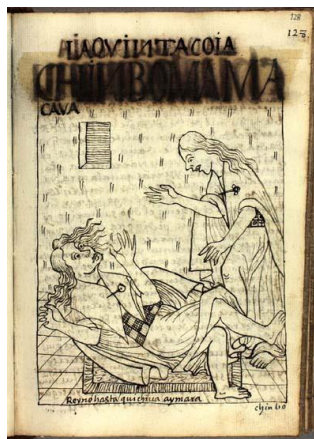
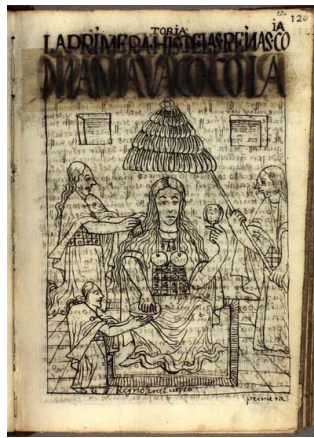


Figure 106. Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, “Portraits of Inca Queens,” 1-3; 5; 7-9; 11-12, 1615. *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 120-142. Royal Library of Copenhagen, Denmark.

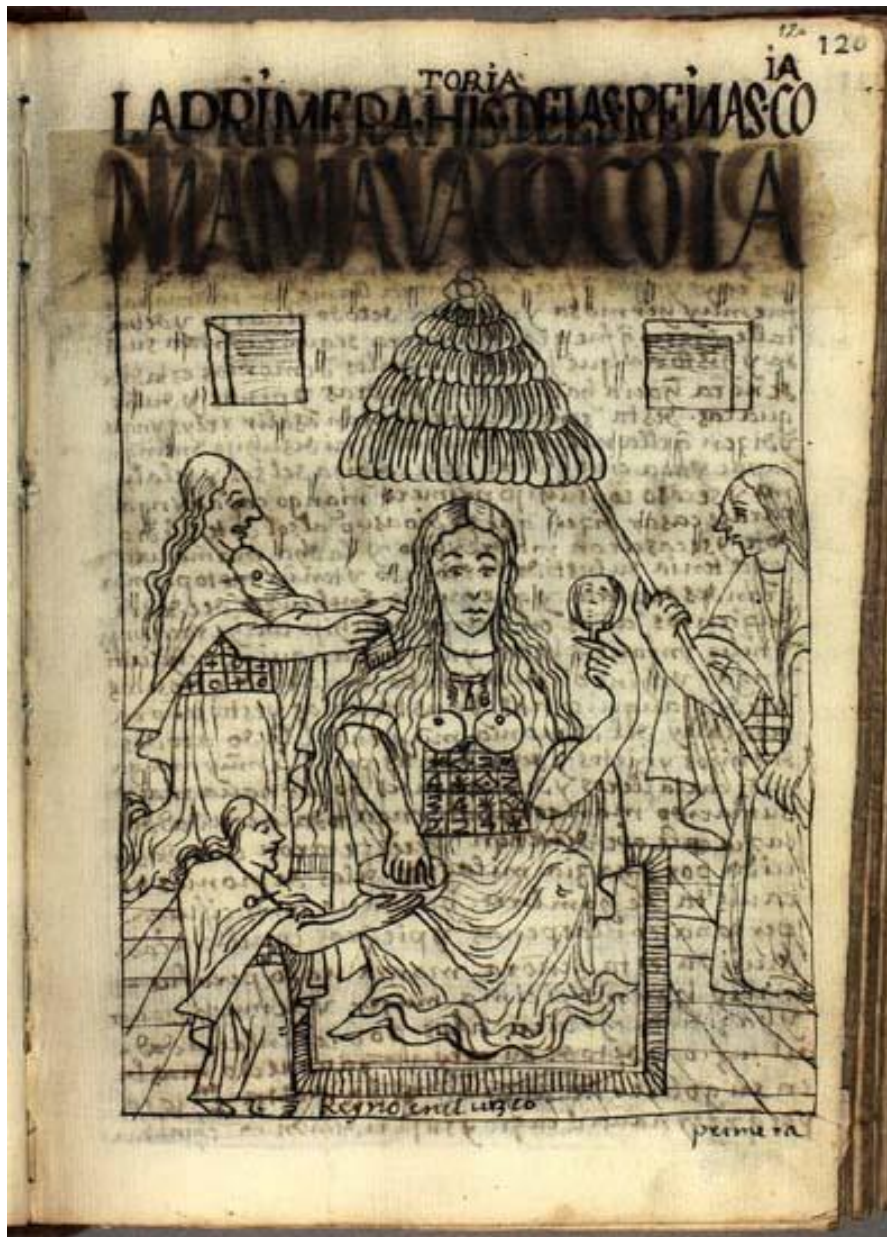


Figure 107. Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, "The first *quya*, Mama Huaco," 1615. *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 120. Royal Library of Copenhagen, Denmark.



Figure 108. Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, frontispiece, 1616. Pen and ink and colored washes on paper. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, California.



Figure 109. Miguel Güelles and Domingo Carro, *The Miraculous Healing of Master Reynolds*, in the *Life of Saint Dominic* series, c. 1606, Spain. Church of Santa Domingo, Lima, Peru. Photo by author.



Figure 112. Basilio de Santa Cruz Pumacallao, *Virgin of Bethlehem with Bishop Mollinedo as Donor*, 17th century. Oil on canvas. Cusco Cathedral, Cusco, Peru. Image reproduced from Archivo Digital de Arte Peruano.



Figure 113. *Virgin of Bethlehem with Monstrance*, 18th century, Cusco School. Oil on canvas, 62.6 x 44.88 in. (159 x 114 cm). Museo del Arzobispado, Cusco, Peru. Image reproduced from Ananda Cohen Suarez, *Paintings of Colonial Cusco: Artistic Splendor in the Andes* (Cusco: Haynanka, 2015), 56.



Figure 114. *Allegory of the Eucharist*, 18th century, Cusco School. Oil on canvas, 55 x 28.35 in. (141 x 72 cm). Church of Santiago Apóstol de Yucay, Cusco, Peru. Image reproduced from Ananda Cohen Suarez, *Paintings of Colonial Cusco: Artistic Splendor in the Andes* (Cusco: Haynanka, 2015), 89.



Figure 115. *Virgin of the Purification of Copacabana (Bolivia)*, 18th century, Cusco School. Oil on canvas. Convent of San Antonio de Padua de la Recoleta, Cusco, Peru. Image reproduced from Ananda Cohen Suarez, *Paintings of Colonial Cusco: Artistic Splendor in the Andes* (Cusco: Haynanka, 2015), 60.

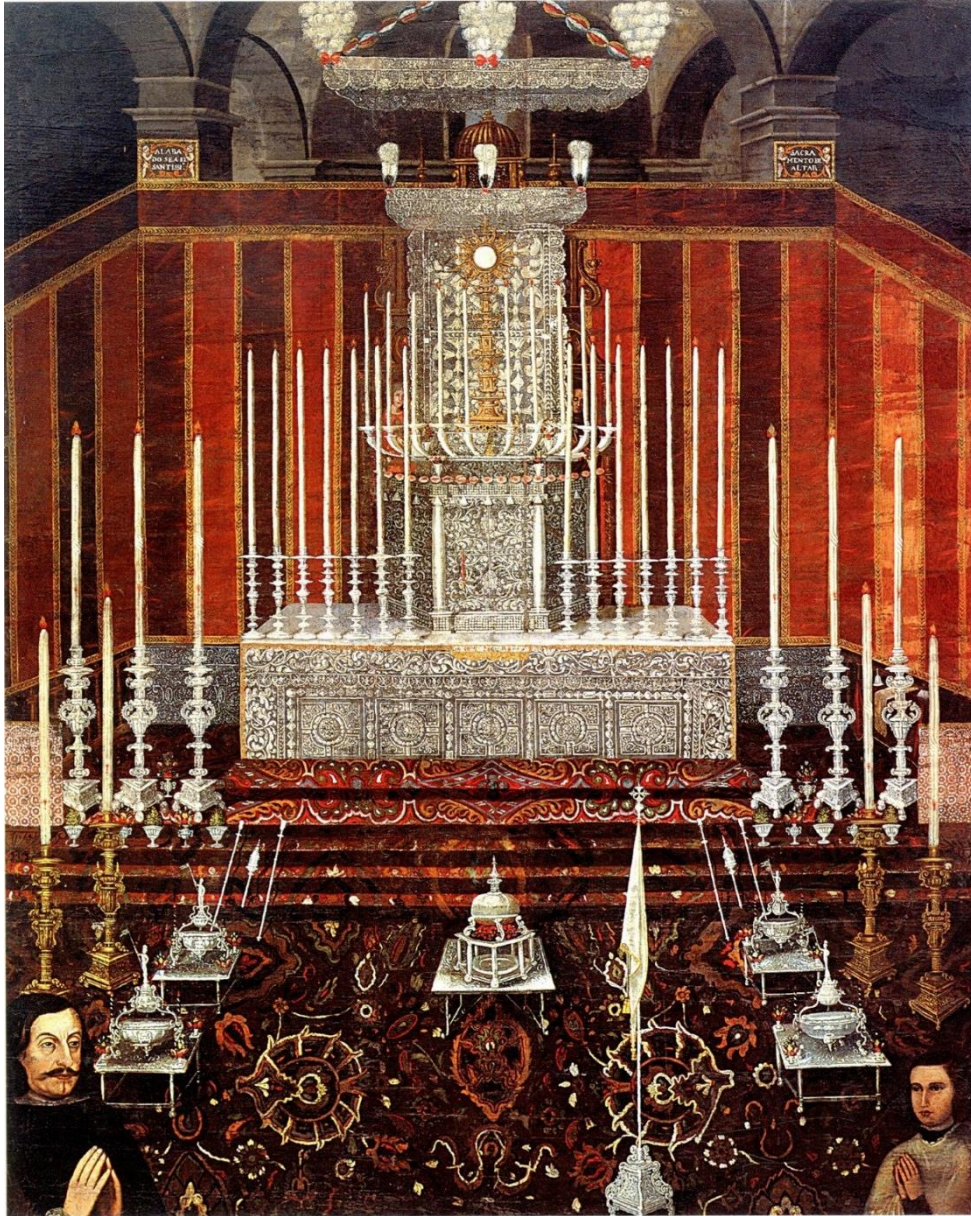


Figure 116. *View of the High Altar of the Cusco Cathedral*, 18th century, Cusco School. Oil on canvas. Private collection. Image reproduced from *Arte y fe y devoción: Colección Joaquín Gandarillas Infante. Arte colonial americano* (Santiago: Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, 2014), 33.



Figure 117. *Carpet*, 17th century, attributed to Iran. Wool (warp, weft and pile) and asymmetrically knotted pile, 164 x 71 in. (416 x 180 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, 14.40.711.



Figure 118. Attributed to Basilio Pacheco, *Christ Among the Doctors*, 18th century. Oil on canvas. Cusco cathedral, Cusco, Peru. Imaged reproduced from PESSCA 71B.



Figure 119. *Silk Kashan Carpet*, 16th century, made in Iran, probably Kashan. Silk (warp, weft and pile); asymmetrically knotted pile, 98 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. x 67 $\frac{5}{16}$ in. (249 x 171 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, 58.46.



Figure 120. "Lotto" carpet, late 16th century, Turkey. Wool; knotted pile, 121 1/4 x 69 1/4 in. (308 x 175.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum, New York, New York, 1978.24.



Figure 121. *Tapestry carpet with wreaths*, late 16th-17th century, Southern Andes. Cotton warp, camelid weft; tapestry weave, 166 15/16 x 281 1/2 in (424 x 715 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, 1970.502.



Figure 122. *Altar of the Last Supper*, from the *Corpus Christi de Santa Ana* series, c. 1675-80, Cusco School. Oil on canvas, 88 9/16 x 98 7/16 in. (224 x 244 cm). Museo del Arzobispado, Cusco, Peru. Image reproduced from Ananda Cohen Suarez, *Paintings of Colonial Cusco: Artistic Splendor in the Andes* (Cusco: Haynanka, 2015), 143.



Figure 123. *The Confraternities of Saint John the Baptist and Saint Peter*, c. 1674-1680, Cusco School. Oil on canvas, 98 x 90 in. (249 x 229 cm). Museo del Arzobispado, Cusco, Peru. Image reproduced from Ananda Cohen Suarez, *Paintings of Colonial Cusco: Artistic Splendor in the Andes* (Cusco: Haynanka, 2015), 142.



Figure 124. *Marriage of the Descendants of the Inca Imperial Family with the Loyola and Borja Family*, 1718, Cusco School. Oil on canvas, 69 x 66 in. (175.2 x 168.3 cm). Museo Pedro de Osma, Lima, Peru.



Figure 125. Adriaen Collaert, *Parable of the Murderous Wine Growers (Scorpio)*, 1585. One print from the Zodiac engraving series by Adriaen Collaert and Jan Sadeler I after drawings by Hans Bol. Image reproduced from PESSCA 34A.



Figure 126. Diego Quispe Tito, *Parable of the Murderous Wine Growers (Scorpio)*, 1681. Oil on canvas. Museo del Arzobispado, Cusco, Peru. Image reproduced from PESSCA 34B.



Figure 127. *Atahualpa, Fourteenth Inca*, mid-18th century, Peru. Oil on canvas, 23 5/8 x 21 3/4 in. (60 x 55.2 cm). The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, New York.



Figure 128a. *Tapestry*, early 19th century, Peru. Wool. Church of Chillca, Peru. Photo by the author.



Figure 128b. *Tapestry*, early 19th century, Peru. Wool. Church of Chillca, Peru. Photo by the author.

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