Moving Between Worlds: Global Trade, Luxury Culture, and Textiles in Viceregal Peru

Jade Anne Gutierrez

University of Colorado at Boulder, Jade.Gutierrez@Colorado.EDU
MOVING BETWEEN WORLDS: GLOBAL TRADE, LUXURY CULTURE, AND TEXTILES IN VICEREGAL PERU

by

Jade Anne Gutiérrez

A thesis submitted to the
Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Colorado in partial fulfillment
of the requirement for the degree of
Master of Arts
Department of Art and Art History
2017
This thesis entitled:
Moving Between Worlds: Global Trade, Luxury Culture, and Textiles in Viceregal Peru
written by Jade Anne Gutiérrez
has been approved for the Department of Art and Art History

__________________________
James M. Córdova, Ph.D (chair)

__________________________
Sabahat Adil, Ph.D

__________________________
Claire Farago, Ph.D

__________________________
Annette de Stecher, Ph.D

Date____________________

The final copy of this thesis has been examined by the signatories, and we find that both the content and the form meet acceptable presentation standards of scholarly work in the above mentioned discipline.
ABSTRACT:

In Latin America the importation of luxurious and foreign goods from Europe, East Asia, the Iberian Peninsula, and the Ottoman Empire met and merged with existing Andean traditions to form a hybrid visual culture that drew on indigenous, Spanish, European, Asian, and mudéjar elements that held different meanings for different owners and viewers. This thesis contributes to recent global, decolonizing modes of analysis, contributes to critical reevaluation of homogenizing terms such as mudéjar, and demonstrates effective looking strategies in approaching the extraordinarily complicated visual culture of early modern Latin America. Using viceregal textiles and images of textiles as a platform for investigation, this thesis establishes how East Asian, Iberian, and Ottoman visual cultures circulated in global trade networks and were reinscribed with new meanings in the visual culture of the viceregal Andes. Furthermore, this thesis examines how these rearticulated luxury goods were incorporated into a distinct viceregal setting where both visible and invisible characteristics were received and understood in the specifically hybrid colonial culture where continuity and changes of indigenous cultural values led to the construction of new functions and meanings.
Acknowledgements:

This thesis is the culmination of three years of undergraduate and two years of graduate study in the Department of Art and Art History at the University of Colorado Boulder. Perhaps it is buena suerte that I ended up in Colorado of all places, but the endless flow of support I have received from the people in that department has nothing to do luck and everything to do with a rarely found combination of deep compassion, encouragement, and a genuine intellectual liveliness that characterizes the personalities of those I have been so fortunate to work with. My deepest thanks must be extended to my advisor James Córdova, who took me under his wing at the close of my sophomore year, and without whose support I would still be reeling with the immensity and complexity of the unwieldy but extraordinary discipline of Latin American art history. His guidance, infinite patience, constructive challenges, and unwavering support in my studies allowed me to grow intellectually and personally and gain the confidence I needed to begin a lifelong calling.

I owe a considerable debt of gratitude to Claire Farago, who was my first professor and North Star throughout this intellectual journey. Her challenge to me on my first day of college is still pushing me to examine the boundaries, frames, and categories we continually impose on our world. I must continually thank Annette de Stecher whose perspective on the arts has given me the utmost compassion and respect for the lived experiences of others. I am especially thankful to Sabahat Adil, whose investment in my education gave me a whole new direction to grow in; without the knowledge she shared with me, this thesis would be only half-complete. I wish to give a special thanks to my parents John Gutiérrez and Tracey Buchanan, my Tia Mona, my friends Morgan Butts, Penny Baggs, and Tracey Holderman; and my all colleagues who helped me vanquish self-doubt and pushed me to try my hardest. I am enormously grateful to the
archivists at the Ministerio del Cultural del Perú and the staff of Norlin Library who, when I was on the brink of a research black hole, helped me get back on track. A thanks also goes to Carlos Vizcarra, whose friendship and translations helped me navigate my archival findings and the streets of Arequipa.
CONTENTS.

ABSTRACT..................................................................................................................iii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.............................................................................................iv

CHAPTERS.

I. Introduction.............................................................................................................1

II. Chapter I. Colonial Sentiments and the Search for Luxury: Early-Modern Trade and Textiles in the Viceroyalty of Peru.................................................................10

III. Chapter II. The Mudéjar in The Viceroyalty of Peru and its Consequences in Conceptualizing Viceregal Visual Culture.................................................................28

IV. Chapter III. Painted Threads in Latin America: The Merging of Andean and Ottoman Textiles in Viceregal Peru................................................................................50

V. Conclusion.............................................................................................................69

TABLE OF FIGURES.

I. Chapter I Figures..................................................................................................74

II. Chapter II Figures................................................................................................84

III. Chapter III Figures.............................................................................................96

WORKS CITED........................................................................................................114
Introduction:

Trade between the Eurasian continent and Latin America in the early modern/colonial period had a profound influence on Andean visual culture. In the Viceroyalty of Peru, the importation of luxurious goods from Europe, East Asia, the Iberian Peninsula, and the Ottoman Empire often merged with existing Andean traditions to form a hybrid visual culture that drew on multiple cultural traditions. The resultant viceregal Andean visual culture was defined by an instability of meaning. Textiles especially were the loci of global and local systems of knowledge and were active participants in shaping viceregal luxury culture.

This thesis examines how East Asian, mudéjar, and Ottoman visual cultures, specifically textiles and images of textiles, circulated in global trade networks and appeared in the visual culture of the Andes. In particular, I focus on images of Ottoman carpets in viceregal Andean painting, the incorporation of East Asian materials and techniques in viceregal Andean tapestries, and the emergence of a colonial mudéjar aesthetic in viceregal visual culture. In the Viceroyalty of Peru, textiles were received and understood in a specifically hybrid colonial culture where continuity and changes of indigenous and global cultural values led to the construction of new meanings that were neither entirely European, Islamic, East Asian, or indigenous.

My research contributes to recent global, decolonizing methods of analysis and demonstrates effective looking strategies in approaching the extraordinarily complicated visual culture of early modern Latin America. I frame the impact of global trade from a nuanced

---

perspective that acknowledges the unequal power dynamics between colonizer and colonized, and the contradictory, similar, and simultaneous meanings that manifested themselves through the platform of viceregal Andean textiles.

I place my work in opposition to Eurocentric voices from which the discipline of Latin American art history came. While Latin Americanists owe much to George Kubler, there is no longer room to continue formalist, positivist analyses of visual culture that we know to be ascribed with significant value within multiple worldviews. Kubler’s critiques were on a system of aesthetics and values that did not exist in Latin America, but were formed within a European canon and, therefore, cannot accommodate alternate worldviews. The extraordinary confidence Kubler places in the absolute authority of the Spanish colonizers, stating that the “only Pre-Colombian forms that continued to exist were ones that the Spanish allowed due to their utilitarian context” denies the contributions that many indigenous, mestizo, African, and mulatto peoples made in Viceregal Peruvian visual culture.²

This thesis does not privilege early voices like Kubler’s, and instead, is part of the corpus of work that contributes towards dismantling the exclusionary and Eurocentric art-historical canon. Situating images and objects in an early modern global framework, can produce critical scholarship that recognizes the existence of alternative worldviews and leaves space for critical discourse and reevaluation. My decolonizing framework maintains sensitivity to the ever-present dangers of homogenizing one or more participants in the colonial dialectic.

---

Throughout this study I use the term “hybridity” with frequency to refer to viceregal Andean and early modern Iberian visual cultures. While the term has historical racialized and biological connotations, its contemporary critical usage signifies the merging of multiple visual cultures. Rather than focusing on the result of cultural mixing as it is visible to the hyper alert eyes of the contemporary art historian, displaced by time and space, I employ the term to determine how particular mixtures are created, imposed, and are generative of new meanings. Of vital importance is how certain instances of hybridity are privileged for their visible qualities while others are passed over as less significant. By focusing only on the visible, the invisible, but equally important, qualities of textiles become less significant. For example, the process or labor that produced objects and images—which was often indigenous—is ignored in the face of the final product. This, by extension, racializes the term hybridity because it ignores the possibility of multiple hybridities and worldviews. My study seeks to expand past visible instances of indigeneity (and its loss or absence), and instead focuses on global languages of visual culture through both the visible and less visible, structural elements. I employ the term hybridity to describe viceregal textiles that were active agents in creating the multifarious viceregal visual culture.

Furthermore, throughout this thesis, I employ terms such as East Asian, Ottoman, Anatolian, and Iberian to refer to geographic and political regions in which certain material goods circulated before coming to the Americas. While such terms risk the pitfalls that come with assigning borders to a round globe, I use them strategically over other terms such as

---


4 Ibid.,
“Turkish” or “Spanish” which are often anachronistically applied to the early-modern period. Furthermore, I do not intend to imply that the geographic regions named with these terms were in any way culturally homogenous. Yet, for the sake of time and length, I do not go into detail of the vitally rich visual cultures involved in early-modern intercontinental trade—unfortunately, I could only write one thesis.

The scope of this study does not allow for extensive scientific analyses and conservation measures needed to fully understand the technical and structural components of textiles. For this, I make use of the extensive studies of textile historian Elena Phipps and my own knowledge of Andean, East Asian, Ottoman, and Iberian textiles. Furthermore, the focus of this study does not contain the breadth of the viceregal archive. A more comprehensive approach would involve several years’ worth of archival research both in Peru and abroad. This study does, however, utilize archival material whenever possible, and especially makes use of colonial-era indigenous wills.

My contemporary North American perspective, as a Latin Americanist educated in the university system, does not and cannot afford me a colonial-period worldview—nor should there be an assumption that the viceregal perspective was monolithic in nature. Our temporal, cultural, and spatial distance from the sites producing viceregal and early modern textiles is vast. It is not the goal of the art historian—American, Peruvian, or anyone else—to provide an experiential gateway into the lives of the early modern colonial individual. But, as this study demonstrates, one can ethically negotiate the distance of separation to advocate inclusionary and sensitive reevaluations of artworks previously attended to only from the Orientalist perspective as corrupted versions of European models.
In past scholarship, global trade was studied from an imbalanced perspective that looked mostly towards Europe as the originators of important design elements and as Latin American artisans as the imitators. These Eurocentric views are dependent on notions of Western “discovery” of a previously unknown continent that could be shaped or plundered to accommodate competing ecclesiastical, monarchal, and economic global interests. Recent scholarship has tried to place global trade back into a global perspective by emphasizing the fluidity of borders and boundaries and the reciprocity of images and ideas between cultures. There has also been the push towards recognizing heterogeneity in the material culture of origin, and the existence of multiple languages of visual culture simultaneously with the possibility of multiple meanings being attributed to art objects.

Global art history and the reevaluation of early modern trade interactions, borders, and boundaries has recently become a popular lens through which to study the art and humanities, and especially art history. James Elkins’ *Is Art History Global?* (2006) was a major voice in the shift towards global understandings of artistic production. Elkin’s work is a theoretical and critical study that attempts to situate the discipline of art history in a global context, yet it is still

---


largely problematic. While his call for the adoption of non-Western conceptual vocabularies when studying visual culture is pertinent and much-needed, he nonetheless addresses the typical Western scholar without leaving room for non-Anglo scholars working outside the Western academic system, which is in itself a contradiction to the framework laid out.

Timothy Brook’s *Vermeer’s Hat* (2008), published two years after Elkins’ work, has been of crucial importance in shifting contemporary art historical practices and offers a lucid, stream of consciousness visual exploration of the Dutch painter Vermeer’s work as an entry point to understand the seventeenth century global economy. Brook argues that Vermeer’s paintings elucidate a rapidly expanding world where objects and commodities travel thousands of miles overseas and consolidating nations were bent on colonial and imperialist domination. His iconographic, socio-contextual Panofskian approach, which leaves much to be desired in a more focused case study, is nonetheless a seminal critical attempt to articulate the emergent global consciousness that defined the early modern world.

Several recently published important works in Latin American art historical studies have used global trade interactions as the framework through which to understand viceregal visual culture, some more successful than others. While *Vermeer’s Hat* marks an important shift in scholarship, Brook’s introduction to the 2015 exhibition catalogue, *Made in the Americas: The New World Discovers Asia*, is representative of the imbalanced approach that privileges Western colonizing mentalities. The catalogue’s other contributors do not necessarily share this language

---


9 Brook uses polarizing, Eurocentric language that fuels perceived differences between the “us” and “them.” He attributes globalization to Columbus’s discovery of the Americas while ignoring the intercontinental Pre-Colombian trade routes that the colonizers later capitalized on. His call to “reorient” the West in relation to the “Orient” does not accommodate the critical perspective needed to ethically approach the colonial reality of Latin America and perpetuates orientalist, “discovery” mentalities. Timothy Brook, “Prologue: Coming Onto the Map,” in *Made in the*
or perspective, and the publication—along with several others—remains an important, critical addition to recent global studies and Latin American visual culture.\textsuperscript{10}

Several important publications that I draw from for this thesis include the recent publications by Maria J. Feliciano and Donna Pierce. While Pierce’s focus is New Spain, her methodologies utilizing a global framework through early modern trade routes have proven to be important contributions to the field of viceregal Latin American visual culture. Her several recent articles explore colonial hybridity through early modern trade.\textsuperscript{11} While her contributions are valuable to the development of global theoretical frameworks, they serve more as critical introductions for later expansion rather than as comprehensive studies. Maria Feliciano’s recent analysis of the phenomenon of \textit{mudéjar} in the New Spanish context is especially significant for my argument in Chapter II.\textsuperscript{12} Feliciano’s doctoral dissertation is the first comprehensive and critical study of the Islamic Iberian phenomenon in Latin America that looks beyond art historical categorization based on formal analysis, which is an often-neglected area in art historical studies of the Americas.\textsuperscript{13}

Chapter I examines how East Asian luxury commodities transformed the local visual culture of the Viceroyalty of Peru. I then discuss vital trade routes connecting the Eurasian continent, the port of Manila, and the port of Acapulco in New Spain and carry out an analysis of


\textsuperscript{10} See footnote 1.


\textsuperscript{12} See chapter II for an in-depth analysis of my usage of the term \textit{mudéjar}

several colonial-period Andean tapestries that show signs of the active appropriation of East Asian designs and motifs. Through an analysis of Inca and indigenous cultural values related to textile primacy, I determine how some viceregal textiles embodied multiple worldviews and meanings.

Expanding on Feliciano’s recent work on the mudéjar aesthetic, my Chapter II speculates and critically reevaluates the aesthetic phenomenon of mudejarismo as it has been applied to the visual culture of the Viceroyalty of Peru.¹⁴ Seeking a reprieve from a term historically used as a catch-all for anything “Islamic” looking, I use a case study of muejarismo in Andean knotted pile carpets to argue that the term mudéjar can be used critically as a tool to reach a more nuanced understanding of the Iberian Islamic presence manifested in the distinct colonial setting.

Chapter III explores Ottoman Anatolian carpets in their place of origin, in Europe, and in the Americas. This chapter establishes how Ottoman visual culture, specifically images of carpets in paintings, circulated in Europe before reaching the Andes via Spanish galleons where they then appeared in viceregal Latin American painting. Furthermore, I demonstrate how images of Ottoman carpets in the Andean context met and merged with local Andean textile traditions creating hybrid artworks meant differently to different people in the Viceroyalty of Peru.

As part of the effort to decentralize the nineteenth-century European image of the artist as creator, this thesis instead explores the impact of global trade rather than focusing on an exact genealogical lineage of objects. By focusing on the impact of global economies and the role of foreign materials in creating hybrid visual cultures, my study falls in line with contemporary and

critical global art historical studies. Focusing on an exact genealogy of “which artist influenced who” going back to Europe as the “origin” is a historical method that privileges European models of artistic production. This framework is problematic for my thesis because it cannot accommodate the alternate worldviews, commodity cultures, or the visual cultures of Anatolia, Al-Andalus, East Asia or of colonial-period Latin America. What is significant is not determining the exact provenance, but in recognizing the myriad influences and meanings a single artwork can hold in a global market economy.

Traditional art-historical paradigms attribute an origin to an artwork in ways that perpetuate the myth of authenticity in cultural production, which is an inherently problematic notion that stagnates cultures and ignores dynamism and interconnectivity. “Indeterminacy and multiculturalism” were what characterized the Mediterranean and colonial Latin American worlds during this period.15 Drawing from and expanding on the approaches of recent critical contributions to global art history, I propose an intervention to reevaluate viceregal Andean textiles as significant participants in the tension-filled, racialized colonial society. My analysis goes beyond a critical introduction of the global framework and instead shows how, by looking at three different (but interconnected) geographic and cultural diasporas, this framework can be effectively used to reach new understandings of the function, meaning, and agency of viceregal visual culture.

Chapter I: Colonial Sentiments and the Search for Luxury: Early-Modern Trade and Textiles in the Viceroyalty of Peru

All classes, from Indians of the torrid Lowlands…to the pampered Creoles of the capitol, went dressed in fabrics of the Far East, the cottons of Luzon or India, or the silks of China. —Vincente Riva Palacio, México á traves de los siglos (1880) ¹

I. Viceregal Taste and Global Trade

By the sixteenth century, an air of luxury had pervaded the Viceroyalty of Peru. A desire for the perceived splendor of foreign, imported trade goods characterized viceregal visual culture. Asia, and the luxury items that were associated with that continent, soon became a focus of the Spanish empire. By the late sixteenth century, a steady traffic of Spanish galleons sailing between Manila and Acapulco was established, thus, cementing what would become one of the most traveled trade routes through the end of the seventeenth century. The urban centers of New Spain and the Viceroyalty of Peru were sites of exchange and consumption and of extravagant displays of wealth. Textiles became some of the most sought after trade goods, and silks from China and cottons from India were purchased and imitated throughout the Spanish colonies. Imported foreign goods impacted, and were impacted by, the local visual cultures, creating a convergent, hybrid luxury culture. The reception and reinterpretation of foreign motifs in colonial-period visual culture produced a new and localized “language” of artistic motifs that

was distinctly colonial.\textsuperscript{2} This chapter focuses on how imported (and imitations of imported) Asian textiles became loci of intercultural exchange and signs of status in the viceregal Andes.

The port of Acapulco in New Spain was the gate that controlled the flood of merchandise into the Spanish colonies. Here the galleons would cast off their holdings, which would then be disseminated throughout the realm. However, the Viceroyalty of Peru was far from being excluded from participating in global market exchange. Peru never produced manufactured goods on the same scale as agricultural products, therefore, Peru relied on goods from Europe, Asia, and New Spain.\textsuperscript{3} The Spanish crown required that trade to the Viceroyalty of Peru be managed through the port of Callao, Lima so that the influx of goods could be supervised and taxed. Trade between the colonies was heavily restricted and, beginning in 1582, several royal decrees prohibited Chinese goods from being shipped from Acapulco to Callao, thus, forbidding the sale or purchase of imports from Manila in Peru.\textsuperscript{4}

However, these decrees did little to halt intercontinental trade, and by the early seventeenth century, Asian items from Manila accounted for about ninety percent of goods imported from New Spain to Peru. It is estimated that only one third of that trade was legal.\textsuperscript{5} The increased mining of Potosí’s rich silver deposits in Bolivia, combined with the discovery of the mercury process in 1572, coincided with an increased desire for Asian goods. Profits from silver meant that many members of viceregal Andean society found themselves with money to spend on the latest fashions. When compared to Spanish silks and other heavily taxed goods, Asian

\textsuperscript{2} Donna Pierce and Ronald Otsuka, eds., \textit{Asia and Spanish America: Trans-Pacific Artistic and Cultural Exchange, 1500-1850} (Denver Art Museum: The Mayer Center for Pre-Colombian and Spanish Colonial Art at the Denver Art Museum, 2006). Introduction and Acknowledgements.


\textsuperscript{4} Ibid.,

\textsuperscript{5} Ibid., 3 and Pierce, “By the Boatload.” 55.
imports from Manila were comparatively cheap, which contributed to their popularity among colonial peoples. In what George Kuwayama calls as an “astonishingly lucrative” business plan, New Spanish merchants became middlemen for trading Chinese silk and other trade goods for Peruvian silver.\(^6\) By the seventeenth century, many streets in Callao and Lima had become permanent markets for the constant influx of merchandise coming from the Spanish galleons.\(^7\) Antonio de Morga, a high-ranking colonial officer in the Philippines, described in 1609 a small portion of the type of goods that were traded between the Chinese merchants in Manila with the traders destined for the ports of Acapulco and Callao.

These ships come laden with goods, and bring great merchants…the goods which they usually bring, and sell to the Spaniards, are raw silk, in bundles of the thickness of only two strands, and other silk of inferior quality, soft and untwisted silk, white and other colors in small skeins, much smooth velvet, and velvet embroidered in all sorts of colors and patterns; and others with the ground of gold and embroidered by hand with the same material; stuffs and brocades of gold and silver upon silk of various colors and designs, many other brocades and silver twist in the skeins, thread upon thread of silk…damasks, satins, taffettas, and gorvarans; glossy silks, and other stuffs of all colors, some finer and better than others.\(^8\)

This sampling of goods shows the breadth of luxury textiles that were being brought to the colonies. The specificity in identifying each type of fabric correlates with avid colonial desires for precious textiles from around the world. Such specificity is frequently seen in viceregal wills, where important items were described as “Chinese,” or some by other indicator

---

6 Ibid.,


Global goods, and especially goods from the “Orient” were highly sought after across Europe and in the New World, and these goods were quickly appropriated into Peruvian viceregal culture in new and unexpected ways. Chinoiserie refers to the incorporation of foreign (mostly Chinese, Japanese, and Indian) motifs into a new and uniquely Spanish colonial style. Objects made in this style bore little resemblance to actual Asian objects made for domestic settings, but were still sought after by the upper-classes because they were perceived as highly desirable, foreign luxury goods that indicated distinction. Consumers purchased “Asian” fabrics without knowing their exact point of origin, even if the product had actually been made in Americas in imitation of Japanese, Indian, and Chinese goods. Andean artists who had access to these good sometimes depicted them in their work, and also combined local and foreign motifs to produce inventive visions of the foreign “East.” “Asian” objects were some of the most popular items in the Viceroyalty of Peru.

Consumers of luxury trade goods were not always from the highest social classes, and the outward display of wealth was important for multiple groups from different social classes. The Spanish travelers and chroniclers Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa commented on the lack of sumptuary control evident in women’s extravagant displays of wealth: “Nor is the distinction between the several classes very great, for the use of all sorts of cloth being allowed, everyone

---

9 See Mark Z. Christensen and Jonathan G. Truitt, Native Wills from the Colonial Americas: Dead Giveaways in a New World for translations of indigenous and mestizo wills from colonial New Spain and the Viceroyalty of Peru.
wears what [they] can purchase.” Although likely exaggeration, it illustrates the possibility for individual agency, in which consumerism shaped their public identity and status.

Certain aspects of native dress were subject to sumptuary laws originating in Spain. Such laws attempted to regulate dress according to social hierarchies as well as racial distinctions. For example, silk and lace were both articles of clothing that were restricted among native women. However, sumptuary laws did little to actually enforce the idealized caste system envisioned by the colonial elite. Period documents, such as last wills and testaments, show that the racial and social hierarchies were more fluid than previously thought. According to Karen Graubart, in late sixteenth century Trujillo, Peru, an indigenous woman named Catalina de Agüero was an “intermediary between worlds” in a way that would have been both “unrecognizable to her predecessors and taken for granted by her descendants.” Agüero was not likely descended from indigenous elite (the name on her will did not include the doña as it would have had she been of noble birth), yet, at the time of her death she owned multiple properties and a collection of fine goods that included a comprehensive selection of indigenous, Asian, and possibly Asian-inspired textiles. Her will cited Andean anacu and lliclla, Chinese silk, and even cotton cloth manufactured in Rouen, France. While certain goods like Japanese

---

16 The full list of Catalina de Agüero’s textile bequests included: four pieces of clothing made of woolen cumbi cloth, a lliclla of colored cotton, two lliclla of taffeta, one cloth of fine linen embroidered with red silk, two scarlet-embroidered cushions, two strips of scarlet embroidered cushion, a table cloth from Castile, two woolen mamachumbes (large woven belts), an anacu and lliclla, an anacu made of, two silver topos, and three skeins of silk thread, one red, another white, and the other yellow.
screenfolds (*biombos*) were only accessible to the most wealthy, most people were not prevented from purchasing fine jewelry, lace, pearls, or “imitation” wares made in the Americas.\(^\text{17}\) Like Doña Isabel Uypa Cuca’s wills from 1662, Agüero’s possessions would not have appeared unusual for their global and intercultural characteristics as they do today.\(^\text{18}\) Rather, Agüero understood her clothing and textiles from a distinctly colonial perspective. It is likely that she prized some of her possessions (as did many others from different social classes) for their luxurious appearance or perceived preciousness as “foreign” goods.

Agüero had several *anacu* and *lliclla* in her wardrobe, which were the standard garments for Inca women before and after the conquest. *Anacu* and *lliclla* were usually made of *cumbi* cloth, a type of tapestry woven textile made of alpaca fibers. Such garments were highly significant in Pre-Colombian and viceregal society. Certain types of *cumbi* played vital social, political, and even sacred roles in Pre-Colombian Andean cultures, and *anacu* and *lliclla* of especially fine weaves were some of the most important distinguishers of social and spiritual power. Dress continued to retain its vital social importance in viceregal Peru, but without the old Inca sumptuary laws that dictated who could wear specific garments, considerable flexibility of design increased dramatically. Indigenous individuals began to make exaggerated social claims by wearing garments types that would have been reserved for nobility in Pre-Colombian times.\(^\text{19}\)

---

\(^\text{17}\) See Sophia Sanabrias’s article, “The Biombo or Folding Screen in Colonial Mexico,” for a thorough and critical exploration of how the New Spanish genre of biombos (inspired by Japanese imports) designated space and class in colonial New Spanish society.

\(^\text{18}\) Doña Isabel’s wills were similarly used to demonstrate the phenomenon of cultural hybridity in Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn’s article, “Hybridity and its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America.” Furthermore, as Dean and Leibsohn point out, a list of Doña Isabel’s possessions can be found in her two wills (Archivo Departamental de Cusco [ADC], Lorenzo Messa Anduesa, leg. 195, 1662, ff. 1354r–1378r; ADC, Lorenzo Messa Anduesa, leg. 199, 1665, ff. 1159r–1176v).

Agüero’s status as a non-elite indigenous woman meant that, by owning and wearing a highly visible signifier of status, such as a cumbi garment, she was self-fashioning a higher position for herself and creating a colonial identity that could have been more difficult to achieve in pre-Conquest times.

II. Colonial Manifestations: Asian Textiles in Peru

Catalina de Agüero’s will does not mention the color or print of her anacu made of Rouen cotton, but when left to the imagination, we might picture one of the colorful printed patterns that were so wildly popular in France. Artisans working in Rouen, France began imitating Indian chintz cotton as early as the mid seventeenth century, despite Asian imports being illegal in France at the time. French merchants used the Atlantic markets, not just to sell imported Indian cloth, but also to sell locally produced imitation Indian cottons. France had a thriving calico and chintz industry; some of the cotton products were produced in Rouen, while others were imported from India. In European workshops, the traditional Indian designs of foliage and flowers in vibrant colors were reinterpreted to appeal to European customers. However, traders often attempted to pass off local goods of lower quality as authentically “Indiennes” in order to get higher prices. One memoire from 1783 states that Rouen producers went to such extremes to pass off their ‘counterfeit’ cloth as Indiennes that they, “Scented their


20 Giorgio Riello, *Cotton: The Fabric That Made the World Modern* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013). 152. Similar to the bans placed on Asian goods being imported to the Viceroyalty of Peru, France also had several bans in place to regulate trade with Asia. Despite Indian (and imitation Indian) cottons being prolific in Rouen, it was not until 1758 that this ban was actually lifted. 161.

21 Ibid., 157.

products to make them smell as well as look like Indian cloth.”

Agüero’s Rouen anacu was very likely a cotton chintz of Indian or imitation-Indian origin.

Printed cottons from India were admired both in Europe and in the Americas and were commonly referred to as _indianilla_ in the Americas. Figure 1.1 shows an eighteenth century Andean _casta_ painting titled, "Español. China produce. Quarteron de Chino," where the child of a mixed union is wearing a printed cotton fabric from India. Cotton chintz with large floral motifs were worn most often as part of women’s skirts and men’s housecoats in the viceregal era. However, it is difficult to ascertain whether the cloth shown in colonial-era portraits and _casta_ paintings were imports from India (by way of Manila), imports from European workshops, or made in New Spanish or Peruvian workshops. Figure 1.2 shows a New Spanish _casta_ painting by well-known viceregal artist, Miguel Cabrera. The painting titled, “From a Spaniard and Mulatto, Morisca,” depicts a mulatto woman (the daughter of an African and Spaniard) wearing a vibrant chintz skirt as well as an overblouse called a _manga_ that was worn by women of African descent. _Casta_ paintings, such as the one by an unknown viceregal Peruvian artist and the one by Cabrera, demonstrate how mixed families from wealthier backgrounds were able to assert status within colonial societal norms through dress.

---

23 Quoted in Riello’s, _Cotton: The Fabric That Made the World Modern_, 156.


In addition to being crafted into garments, Indian chintz was also adapted into an astonishing number of household furnishings. Latin Americans used them in upholstery, curtains, bedding, cushions, pillows, bed canopies, and numerous other domestic objects.\textsuperscript{27} Catalina de Agüero’s will states that she intended to bequeath two scarlet embroidered cushions, two cotton curtains, and a cushion embroidered in black to her daughter.\textsuperscript{28} It is tantalizing to imagine that these cotton embroidered household furnishings were made of Indian chintz or embroidered with Asian-inspired designs. It is easy to imagine that bed hangings and bedcovers from India made a particularly bold statement when wealthy individuals welcomed guests to their bed chambers.\textsuperscript{29} Indian chintz bedcovers with white backgrounds and vivid floral designs—such as the one shown in figure 1.3 from the Winterthur Museum in Delaware—were used to adorn bedchambers and were appropriated into furnishings and pillows. Figure 1.4 shows a viceregal Andean tapestry that has been used as cushioning for a couch, demonstrating the inventive process that would have been used for Indian chintz or Chinese embroidered silk.

The desire for household objects that elicited a sense of luxury and foreignness affected local textile production in family and cottage industries, as well as in the larger obraje textile workshops. Residents across the Viceroyalty of Peru and of most economic and social classes would have encountered imported Asian goods and aspired to acquire them in order to display social status and sophisticated taste.\textsuperscript{30} Those who could not acquire objects coming directly off the galleons sought Asian-inspired goods from local guilds where the disparate visual cultures

\textsuperscript{27} Pierce, “By the Boatload: Receiving and Recreating the Arts of Asia,” 71.

\textsuperscript{28} Graubart, “Catalina de Agüero: A Mediating Life.” 34.


\textsuperscript{30} Pierce, “By the Boatload: Receiving and Recreating the Arts of Asia.” 73.
converged producing distinctly hybrid colonial objects. One particular eighteenth century Peruvian tapestry attests to the myriad identities and global visual cultures that overlapped and merged in viceregal Peru (figure 1.5). This tapestry from the Textile Museum in Washington, D.C. is composed of cotton, camelid fibers, and Latin American dyes (such as cochineal red). It was woven using techniques indigenous to the Andean region.\textsuperscript{31} Like the finest Pre-Colombian \textit{cumbe} textiles, this tapestry was reversible, meaning that the pattern is duplicated on the inside and the outside. It was also was created with tightly woven warps and wefts made of fibers of the indigenous camelids.\textsuperscript{32} The woven structure of this tapestry is important in its viceregal context. This is because it was constructed using local methods in a region where textiles were highly important both before and after conquest. The creator of this work was selective in the technique used which indicates a continuity of indigenous, local traditions as well as points towards the maker and patron as being locals.\textsuperscript{33}

The viceregal coat of arms in the center of the tapestry is surrounded by vibrant foliage that stands out against a white background; in Pre-Colombian Inca culture, white on textiles denoted high status, and garments that were mostly white were reserved only for the highest nobility.\textsuperscript{34} As previously stated, dress continued to retain social importance in viceregal Peru, and this specific tapestry might reflect the exaggerated social claims to status if its owner was of noble Inca heritage. However, its value would not have been limited to the indigenous Andean world. Spaniards and natives alike shared an interest in well-made textiles, and European


\textsuperscript{32} Phipps, “Garments and Identity,” 24.


\textsuperscript{34} Ibid.,
chroniclers often noted the fine quality of Andean textiles. For example, Fray Bernabé Cobo compared the especially fine clothing worn by Inca nobles to silk. A wealthy Spaniard could just as easily have commissioned such a tapestry to demonstrate social distinction.

While flowers and vines frequently appear in Pre-Colombian and colonial Andean visual culture, their representation in this tapestry differs from what is typically seen. Viceregal Andean renditions of flora and fauna tend to be stylized and abstracted as seen in the border frame of a seventeenth century Andean cushion cover from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (figure 1.6). In this cushion cover, the flora and fauna motifs are highly stylized. Shapes are compartmentalized into areas of light and dark; borders are often heavily outlined, and the composition echoes techniques of abstraction frequently seen on Pre-Colombian Andean textiles. Pre-Colombian Andean textiles—and other types of visual culture—were interrelated parts of a complex system of social, political, and sacred values that comprised the Inca empire of Tahuantinsuyu (literally four parts of the whole). Textiles played important roles in Andean sacred and social geographies. Geometric abstraction did not echo utilitarian sterility of a dominating Inca culture (as claimed by Kubler in 1962) but rather, participated in complex signifying system that communicated Andean ideologies of reciprocity, opposing and unequal parts of a whole, binary natures, and the complex systems of labor, rituals, artistic production.


36 George Kubler, agreeing with Georges Bataille, when writing on the Inca stonework in Cuzco, stated that, “The intrinsic meaning of Inca art reinforces the general impression of an oppressive state. It is as if, with the military expansion of the empire, all expressive faculties, both individual and collective, had been depressed by utilitarian aims to lower and lower levels achievement.” George Kubler, The Art of Ancient America: The Art and Architecture of Ancient America the Mexican, Maya, and Andean Peoples (Penguin Books, 1962). 334

37 For a succinct and critical introduction to Inca cosmologies and visual culture, see Tom Cummins’ “Silver Threads and Golden Needles: The Inca, The Spanish, and the Sacred World of Humanity” in Phipps, Elena, Johanna
In contrast to viceregal textiles (like the cushion cover from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) that demonstrate the Andean geometric techniques, the foliage in the tapestry from the Textile Museum in Washington D.C. (figure 1.5) evokes the stylistic patterns typically seen on Indian chintz. Figure 1.3 is an example of a chintz from India with a white background, mountain motif, and scrolling floral designs. The floral motifs are rendered in a style similar to the one seen in the viceregal tapestry from the Textile Museum (figure 1.5). Both of these examples exhibit commonalities that define the major characteristics Indian printed cotton. One can note how the pale white or ivory backgrounds of both contrast with bright floral motifs—usually reds, pinks, yellows, greens, and purples—and undulating foliage.

This genre of chintz emphasizes floral motifs, and the vivid prints are crowded, and at times overwhelmed, with flora. Boundaries are sometimes marked out as seen in the chintz from India (figure 1.3) and the one made in the Andes (figure 1.5), but this is not always the case. Considering the high technical quality and extreme attention to detail, it is even possible that the maker of the tapestry was using an Indian chintz as a model during the process of weaving. This particular tapestry was imitating the popular cottons that were circulating as items of high fashion throughout the colony, yet, it was also infused with Andean value in its structure, design, and because of the inherent value placed on well-made garments in the Andes. Multiple textile and design traditions are apparent in this tapestry. In her analysis of the tapestry, Elena Phipps eloquently states, “The degree to which distant cultures influenced Andean colonial art is sometimes masked by shared aesthetic leanings…but there is no doubt that Andean weavers

responded to these beautifully made, soft, and luxurious foreign textiles and incorporated elements of them into their own work.”

Silk fabric, like Indian chintz, was also popular throughout the colonies, and there is evidence of its proliferation in numerous viceregal wills from persons of most racial and socio-economic backgrounds. Chinese silks were favored over the silks coming from Spain because the Chinese imports were both cheaper and had a foreign appeal that was part of the chinoiserie movement. The Spanish silk trade suffered from the popularity of Chinese silks, but the multiple bans placed on importing the silk from China did little to curb popularity or the quantity that flowed into the colonies. Silk remained in high demand, and continued to be the primary export from China in exchange for Peruvian silver.

Spanish chronicler of the colonial Philippines, Antonio de Morga states, “Every year, four hundred ships come from Chincheo in China with silks and other goods, and take silver coin in return.” Silks were embroidered and designed in China and the Philippines specifically for the export market with colonial tastes in mind, as demonstrated by the Chinese exported silk tunic in the Museo Histórico Nacional, Santiago, Chile (figure 1.7). This cotton and silk garment was sewn into a tunic, a common Andean article of clothing that continued to be worn by indigenous men in the viceregal period. The blue slit in the center serves as the opening for the head, and the rest of the garment folds over to drape the body. The tunic is made of dark blue-dyed cotton or wool, and is intricately embroidered with silk and metal wrapped silk threads. The central field is predominated by a vividly colored, stylized version of the Hapsburg, double-headed eagle—the symbol of the Spanish monarchy. In

---

38 Phipps, “Catalogue.”


each corner of the field is an urn filled with colorfully, arranged flowers. The head slit serves as the axis for bilateral symmetry; other motifs that are doubled across the axis include mermaids playing guitars (a common viceregal motifs), elegantly dressed individuals, rampant lions, dogs, deer, and horses with riders, and what may be the Andean viscacha (a small, rodent-like animal). The outer border has gracefully scrolling vines tipped with pink peonies and other flowers. The outermost edge is embroidered with silver-wrapped silken threads that create a shimmering effect on the intricately woven patterns.

It is probable that the embroidery for this tunic was done in China as a specific commission where it was later finished as a tunic in Peru. The finished product of the tunic is remarkably specific to an Andean consumer considering that the design is very similar to the traditional Andean male garment known as an *uncu*. Pre-Colombian Andean garments, such as the *uncu*, were highly visible and covered the majority of the torso (or in the case of the woman’s *anacu* and *lliclla* mantle, nearly the entire body). Textiles identified the person they covered, and they played an important role in how society perceived individuals. Particular colors, designs, and the less visible, inherent qualities of garments contributed to self-image and the social roles of particular individuals. The rank of the wearer was known from the quality of his or her dress, and it was vitally important, as Andean author Guaman Poma states, for each to be “Dressed so that they might be recognized, respected, and honored.” Viceregal *uncus* still functioned in a similar way, and wealthy indigenous individuals could commission *uncus* of the finest material and design without the strict Inca regulations. This tunic, with its vivid contrasting

---

41 Sometimes the opposite was true where the fabric was fitted into a garment in Peru before being sent to China to be embroidered. Phipps, “The Iberian Globe: Textile Traditions and Trade in Latin America.” 36.


colors and intricate Asian embroidery, would have been a bold testament to its wearer’s worldliness and status.

While the tunic was not made in the Andes, the use of metallic threads was greatly admired by Andean weavers, and their incorporation into edges of the tunic would have been highly valued. It is worth noting that most of the finest and most important Pre-Colombian style viceregal garments were made with metallic threads, which speaks to their value to viceregal weavers and consumers. While both gold and silver were valued in the Andes prior to conquest, there is no evidence to suggest that silver or gold were woven into *cumbi* cloth until the viceregal period. Church officials introduced weaving with metallic threads and commissioned native weavers to use European models to incorporate silver and gold yarns into textiles made with local technologies. However, the practice of weaving cloth with silver and gold threads did not originate in Europe, but was most likely introduced by weaving centers of the “Near East.” The metal threads in colonial-period Andean tapestries may have been produced locally, but it is more probably that they were imported from Spain or elsewhere in Europe or Asia. While unconfirmed, Phipps offers an enticing possibility that some of the metal threads were made in Asia or Europe with silver that had been previously exported from the mines in the Andes where it was then exported back to Peru. Using metal threads to weave an

---

44 Phipps states that wedding mantles made of camelid fibers were the colonial textiles that most often incorporated metallic threads.


46 Ibid.,

47 Authors Muros et al., provide evidence for this through an examination of the technique of creating silver threads that was similar to the eastern tradition of coating paper and thin leather with silver or gold leaf.

Andean tapestry is exceedingly difficult because of the fragility of the silk and metal threads; however, Andean weavers were able to expertly incorporate these foreign materials into their finest viceregal *cumbi* tapestries.\(^{49}\)

Figure 1.8, a tapestry with a pelican also from the Textile Museum in Washington D.C., is an exceptional example of a colonial-period tapestry attesting to the interest in China in the seventeenth through eighteenth centuries. It includes many motifs, described below, that commonly appear in Chinese rank badges or baldachins (woven or embroidered covers made for the export market).\(^{50}\) It, like the eighteenth century tapestry imitating Indian chintz (figure 1.5), is woven using indigenous methods where the camelid fibers are interwoven with Chinese silk instead of cotton. Many skeins of raw silk thread were imported to the colonies where they were later woven into a variety of garments and textiles: Catalina de Agüerro owned three skeins of silk thread of red, white, and yellow.\(^{51}\)

In addition to being partially made of silk, the colonial-period tapestry with a pelican mimics motifs that were commonly found on imported Chinese silks, such as in this seventeenth century Chinese silk from the Metropolitan Museum of Art made for the export market (figure 1.9). This panel belongs to the rare set of Chinese silks made specifically to be sent to viceroyalties; all the textiles in this group are similar in layout with a central roundel in a rectangular field surrounded by multiple borders.\(^{52}\) Some scholars have argued that this compositional layout is the result of the influence of Portuguese and Spanish textiles on the

---

\(^{49}\) Ibid.,

\(^{50}\) Phipps, “Catalogue.” 250.


Chinese market, although, some earlier Asian textiles use this format as well.\textsuperscript{53} The motifs on the export silk (figure 1.9) are distinctly Asian in appearance: the central peony is encircled by two dynamic phoenixes; around the borders march pheasants, peacocks, a tiger, elephant, and mythical Chinese beasts such as the blue quilin and a white unicorn-dragon figure known as the, xiezhi.\textsuperscript{54} While there are no known examples of Chinese export silks preserved in Latin America, the Andean version with the pelican (figure 1.8) strongly suggests that such textiles existed and enormously impacted local textile manufacturing.

When comparing the Chinese silk panel (figure 1.9) with the Andean version (figure 1.8) one can see where certain Chinese motifs were appropriated with some alteration by Andean weavers. The xiezhi can be seen conventionally rendered on the viceregal version at both the bottom and top of the tapestry. Like the Chinese panel, the viceregal tapestry is composed with equally spaced important animals and peony flowers. However, unlike the Chinese version, the Andean version is almost perfectly bilaterally symmetrical. Furthermore, it lacks a hard borderline to designate fields. Instead, the foliage and animal renderings can easily overwhelm the viewer for its seemingly chaotic arrangement. Phipps argues that this somewhat random scheme reflects other colonial tapestries of the period, which may reference the Andean local tradition of geometric abstraction in visual culture.\textsuperscript{55} The Andean version also has abstracted Chinese motifs in a manner that corresponds with Andean visual tradition of geometric abstraction. Motifs such as the peony have been flattened and compositionally broken up by vivid contrasting blocks of color. This echoes the Andean tradition of abstraction of form and

\footnotesize{
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid.,

\textsuperscript{54} Ibid.,

\textsuperscript{55} Phipps, “Catalogue.” 251.
}
can be seen in both Pre-Colombian and viceregal textiles. There are only two motifs that are Andean renditions of Spanish symbols. The rampant lions that mirror each other across the vertical axis are crowned, and possibly reference the Spanish monarchy. The central motif is a pelican piercing her breast, one of the common missionary motifs used in the viceregal Americas as a symbol for Christ’s sacrifice because she is shown feeding her young with her own blood.

Textiles such as the colonial-period tapestry with Asian motifs and the tapestry mimicking Indian chintz are products of a diverse society. They would have been indicators of high status and cosmopolitanism, while simultaneously referring to indigenous Andean systems of value. While some colonial-period textiles are remarkable visual testaments to their intercultural origins, not all examples are as visually obvious. A simple glance tells most viewers that viceregal Peru was an extraordinary site of global intercultural exchange, but some textiles hold meaning and the convergence of cultures in less visible ways. Often, the process of creation is just as crucial to an object’s meanings as the finished product. As Dean and Leibsohn argue, understanding hybridity requires seeking further than the surface—both visible, invisible, visible and remarkable, and invisible and remarkable—all are essential to reach a nuanced understanding of the multiple meanings and perspectives embodied in a single garment or textile.

56 Crowned rampant lions are common motifs on colonial tapestry woven textiles, and especially on colonial uncus. See the catalogue for The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830 for multiple examples.

57 Ibid., 251

Chapter II: The Mudéjar in Peru and Conceptualizing Viceregal Visual Culture

I. Introduction

Early modern visual culture in the Iberian Peninsula was as diverse as the Jewish, Arab, Berber, and Christian cultures had occupied the region for hundreds of years before the fall of Islamic rule in 1492. The shifting boundaries and cross-cultural materializations that defined the early-modern Mediterranean world subsequently impacted viceregal Peruvian visual culture.

Drawing from Maria J. Feliciano’s recent work on the mudéjar aesthetic, this chapter examines the aesthetic phenomenon of mudejarismo as it has been applied to the visual culture of the Viceroyalty of Peru.¹ Recent scholarship has offered a shift from the traditional scope of mudéjar to a wider one that incorporates the study of visual and material culture of all types in both the Iberian Peninsula and the Americas.² Some of the most recent contributions to the field further suggest a new, interpretive model that recognizes mudejarismo as evidence of a, “Pan-Iberian aesthetic that has existed in a constant state of flux (much like Iberian society itself) since the early medieval period.”³ In this context, hybrid elements are not seen as disconnected survivals but as participating in complex power negotiations of a heterogeneous Iberian society where,


over time, the forms were adapted and became fully integrated into “local vernaculars.” It is in this last case, especially, where the terms mudéjar and mudejarismo become relevant strategic frameworks for critical analyses of visual culture in the Americas, and particularly for certain textile types found in viceregal Peru.

   In specific circumstances, mudéjar fashions adopted by viceregal women from varying social classes became signifiers of wealth and status associated with owning goods that appeared “Iberian.” Garments associated with the Iberian Peninsula—even if looking “Iberian” was a constructed concept—would have expressed the wearer’s status through association with the colonizing group and through the prestige that came with owning imported luxury objects from across the ocean. Viceregal mudejarismo is particularly significant in the case of a little-known genre of colonial-period tapestries and carpets that incorporate designs and techniques from Islamic carpet traditions. I argue that these viceregal textiles occupied liminal spaces where Andean traditions of geometric abstraction overlapped with carpet design from Islamic traditions, resulting in multivalency. In this instance, mudejarismo can be used to tease out the tumultuous history of the designs, and more importantly, how they would have been conceptualized in distinct colonial Andean social spaces. Through exploring these two manifestations of hybrid viceregal visual culture, I argue that the term “mudéjar” can be used critically to reach a more nuanced understanding of the Ibero-Islamic presence manifested itself in a complex site of contestation and negotiation as part of the rapidly expanding and changing social classes.

---

4 Fuchs, Exotic Nation, 53. In response to George Kubler’s argument on the extinction of Pre-Colombian motifs in colonial art in 1961, many Latin Americanists (in the 1990s especially) argued for the “survivance” instead. However, mere survivance does accurately describe colonial visual culture because it does not account for the traumas, reorganization, and acculturation that is an inherent part colonization, where both the colonizer and colonized’s visual cultures undergo cross-cultural changes. Determining the multiple meanings of colonial visual culture demands situational awareness of the colonial experience.
II. Problematizing Mudéjar in the Americas: A Brief Historiography and a Case Study Through Fashion

For Christians in the fourteenth century, “mudéjar” designated the recently conquered Muslim inhabitants of the Christian-ruled kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula. The term comes from the Arabic word mudajjan, which translates as “tributary,” “submissive,” or “one who remains behind,” (literally referring to those Muslims who remained in Spain after the fall of Islamic-controlled regions). These mudéjares were literally tributaries and vassals under new Catholic rule and they occupied lower rungs in the racialized social hierarchy of Christian-ruled Spain. The racialized usage of this term stems from Medieval Iberian culture that was particularly sensitive to social, genealogical, and religious categorization based on Medieval/early-modern conceptions of race.

Yet, the term mudéjar was not used in an art-historical context until the nineteenth century when José Amador de los Ríos—a Spanish historian of art and literature—proposed the term as a stylistic designation to describe the “Muslim influence” in early-modern Spanish...
Amador was appropriating a racialized, historic term into a new, art-historical context. Most early art-historical analyses that use the term mudéjar in an Iberian context focus on architecture, where the Islamic influence is, “Abundantly echoed in the built environment of the sixteenth century.”

Mudéjar, as an art historical term, typically refers to the hybrid style of art and architecture of Spain from the fourteenth through late sixteenth century after the fall of the Islamic caliphates and taifa (city-states). Unlike canonical schematic periodizations of art history, scholarship on mudéjar traditionally refers to an atemporal Iberian experience of hybridization and acculturation over a long period of Christian expansion.

Mudéjar, then, has not been understood as a style or a period, but instead as a broader ahistorical form in which scholars have identified the visible presence of Islamic, Iberian, Visigothic, and other “foreign” forms and influence. Through the twentieth century under Francisco Franco, mudéjar continued to be used to describe an atemporal relationship with Iberia’s the Islamic past through architecture. Franco’s colonial interests in Northern Africa meant that there was an interest in Islam (at least for the sake of identifying the non-Catholic “Other”) that subsequently inspired a style in architecture known as neo-mudéjar, which became

---


8 I compare the appropriation of mudéjar to the art-historical context to the term tequiqui, which was the Nahuatl term for “tribute” that was later appropriated by art historian José Moreno Villa in describing arts of New Spain. His usage of tequiqui may be inspired by Amador de los Ríos because he uses the term mudéjar similarly to his predecessor to describe colonial images Moreno Villa, Jose. La escultura colonial mexicana. México: El Colegio de México, 1942.


10 Ibid., 52
popular for public buildings and was celebrated as “romantic and exotic.” Considering the origins of the term as a designator of status based on racial and religious hierarchies, and considering the ahistorical monolithic lens through which the term is applied by scholars to myriad locations and times, using the word mudéjar demands a heightened level of criticism in its contemporary usage in art-historical scholarship.

Manuel Toussaint’s *El arte mudéjar en America* (1946), was the first comprehensive study of mudéjar in the Americas. It chiefly analyzes artesonados (intricate marquetry in wooden ceilings that was practiced by both Muslim and non-Muslim carpenters in Islamic and Christian Spain). However, problematically, Toussaint’s work determines mudéjar stylistic traits from the Orientalizing perspective as a purely invasive, foreign presence in viceregal architecture. Several important works followed Toussaint’s initial studies, most of which until quite recently focus on architectural elements as evidence of a foreign presence. While these studies are important precedents that acknowledge the myriad and complex cultural interaction at play in viceregal visual culture, they still use mudéjar to reference the Iberian, rather than the colonial American, conception of the term because it focuses on the religion of Islam as a signifying component of the art forms.

---


Recent, art-historical studies that situate Peru at a crossroads of global trade occasionally use the terms “mudéjar” or the descriptor “Islamic” to describe the intricate, geometric inlay techniques in furniture or in viceregal *artesonados*. Such studies have been vastly important in conceptualizing how colonial-period visual culture stems from multiple traditions. Yet, even the most recent publications often fail to take the categorization of mudéjar elements beyond a simple statement without regarding how such designs produced unique meanings in colonial visual culture in comparison to their Iberian predecessors and Caliphal origins.

In 1499, the Catholic Monarchs imposed harsh limits on the religious and cultural freedoms in Iberia—limits that were previously much more flexible under both Islamic and Christian rule. A year later, a royal edict forced all Muslims and other non-Christian groups to convert to Christianity and abandon their customs. Among the list of banned practices issued as “Recommendations” in 1500 was, “Everything Moorish in regard to prayer, fasting, celebration, the birth of children, weddings” and, a few decades later, the ban also forbade the use of the Arabic language and the wearing of traditional “Moorish” dress. Despite the enormous impact the restrictions, mandatory conversion, and eventual expulsion had on Muslim and *morisco* communities (*Morisco* is the Spanish term that refers to Christianized Arabs and North African Berber peoples who remained in Spain after the conquest and forced conversion), Ibero-Islamic

---


17 Philip II banned the use of Arabic in 1568 in a series of royal edicts that eventually sparked conflict in the Eighty Years War and the eventual expulsion of 300,000 *moriscos* (roughly four percent of the entire population) by 1614. Ibid., 106-107.
visual culture was neither abandoned nor wiped out. Spanish culture retained and even celebrated morisco culture to the extent that it was sometimes impossible to separate what had become, by that point, hybridized and local forms.\(^{18}\)

Despite the clothing bans towards the moriscos themselves, morisco fashions appropriated by Christians were incredibly pervasive in the Iberian Peninsula, often through subtle appropriations or in the construction and design of materials. Fashionable mudéjar garments included: chapines (high platform shoes), tocas (headdresses similar to turbans),\(^ {19}\) and the practice of veiling one’s face was adopted by upper class individuals, who prized the high quality Muslim and morisco-made silks, damasks, taffetas, and embroidery. Fashionable face covering in Spain (known as tapada) is believed to have grown out of morisco and Muslim practices.\(^ {20}\) In the 1641 Spanish scholarly treatise titled, Velos antiguos y modernos en los rostros de las mujeres, León Pinolo states, “half-veiling, an Arab usage, came to Spain, or was further introduced, by Arab women, and from them Spanish women have it to this day, now as much their own, that no women wear it with greater liking, grace, and tidiness.”\(^ {21}\)

\(^{18}\) Ibid.,

\(^{19}\) Fuchs, Ibid., 65. Toca were also commonly worn in the New World where their appearance has led to confusion about the presence of actual moriscos. Feliciano explains that the tocas, “Assume the proximity of religious others from what is actually fully Iberian wear, or alternatively, a depiction mediated by exoticizing European images.” Her abundant archival analysis shows that tocas, and other andalusi-derived garments, distinguished a colonial Spanish elite from the mass of indigenous peoples. Feliciano Chaves, “Mudejarismo in Its Colonial Context.” 129-33.

\(^{20}\) Bass and Wunder provide substantial evidence for this claim, however, they do mention that some contention over the origins of the tapada exist. They state that Carmen Bernis (costume historian) has argued that tapada fashion had nothing to do with morisco influence because of the stylistic differences. Moriscas covered their faces by holding up the white almalafa to reveal both eyes while Spanish women used a dark mantle to cover one eye. However, I argue that Bernis does not take into account the bans on morisco fashion that would have necessitated some departure from the traditional method. Carmen Bernis, El traje y los tipos sociales en El Quijote (Madrid: El Viso, 2001), 257. And Bass and Wunder, “The Veiled Ladies” 102.

\(^{21}\) Fuchs, Exotic Nation. 71. And León Pinelo, Velos antiguos y modernos en los rostros de las mujeres: sus conveniencias y daños (Madrid, 1641; Santiago de Chile: Centro de Investigaciones de Historia Americana, 1966), 166.
The long-term Christian fascination with the visual culture of Iberian Muslim and morisco attire was impactful to the extent that many attributes were later adopted in the viceregal Americas and especially in the Viceroyalty of Peru. The *tapada* was brought from Spain to the viceregal Americas where women adopted it with alacrity. Figure 2.1 depicts a print titled, “Three figures of Peru” from Amédée Frézier’s travel chronicles to South America in the early eighteenth century. The print shows a colonial Peruvian woman wearing the *tapada* as an almost complete facial and shoulder covering standing by a man on horseback and another, unveiled woman.22 High-society women in the Americas, and especially in Peru, often covered their heads and upper bodies on different occasions, whether with silk or velvet scarfs, plain black or white material, and after 1700, with popular lace mantillas.23 Lace Mantillas might be seen as a partial version of the *tapada*, and it is arguable that the *mantilla* may have become more popular in later years after the *tapada* was banned on several occasions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries both in Spain and in Peru.24

*Mantillas* were often made with black and white Blonde and Chantilly laces from lace-making centers in France, London, and Italy.25 It is arguable that fashionable lace in Spain and

---


24 Although the *moriscas* of Granada were forbidden from using the *almalafa* to cover their faces early in the sixteenth century, León Pinelo dates their substitution of the Castilian mantle for the traditional almalafa to 1567, after several bans were instituted. *Tapadas* were banned several times in Lima, beginning in 1583 when they were at the height of fashion. Bass and Wunder, “The Veiled Ladies of the Early Modern Spanish World: Seduction and Scandal in Seville, Madrid, and Lima.” León Pinelo, *Velos antiguos i modernos en los rostros de las mugeres sus con venienças [sic], i daños*. 166

the Americas had a mudéjar sensibility because they were stemming from the Early-Modern Iberian fashions that were a result of the hybridized visual culture where face, hair, and shoulder covering derived from Iberian Islamic aesthetics. However, lace and imitation lace coverings in the Viceroyalty of Peru conformed to the Iberian sensibility, but had additional meaning in the specific colonial Andean context.

Black lace mantillas would have been highly desired by women of all classes in the Viceroyalty of Peru. These mantillas, like the ones worn by the elegant upper class women illustrated in figures 2.2 and 2.3, would have been seen as signifiers of wealth and status, and of “Iberianness.” The painting Young Lady with a Mantilla painted in the circle of Diego de Silva y Velázquez (figure 2.2) depicts a late seventeenth century painting of a Spanish woman wearing a fashionable, graceful ochre-colored dress—possibly made of silk—with white lace embroidery at the collar and shoulders. She wears a choker of pearls and a black silk and lace mantilla with scalloped edges similar to ones sometimes seen on viceregal Andean textiles and paintings of textiles.26 Peruvian women also wore mantillas as can be seen in the print, Lady of Arequipa Dressed for church accompanied by her carpet-bearer (figure 2.3) from Paul Marcoy’s nineteenth century publication on his travels in South America. This upper class “Lady” was a resident of the viceregal city Arequipa, which was known for having a cosmopolitan and Hispanicized demographic. She is accompanied by her carpet-bearing servant or slave, and is wearing a dark dress and a black mantilla.

---

26 See Cuzco School. Our Lady of Pomata, 1675. Oil on canvas, 44 3/4 x 35 1/2 in. (113.7 x 90.2 cm). Brooklyn Museum, Museum Expedition 1941, Frank L. Babbott Fund, 41.1275.177 (Photo: Brooklyn Museum, 41.1275.177_PS6.jpg) and Tapestry, Late sixteenth century, Camelid fiber and cotton, 92 x 84 9/16 in. (233.7 x 214.8 cm). Brooklyn Museum, Charles Stewart Smith Memorial Fund, 40,134. Creative Commons-BY (Photo: Brooklyn Museum, 40.134_SL1.jpg)
As we know, sumptuary laws regulated certain aspects of native dress in order to preserve social hierarchies and racial distinctions. For example, native women were prohibited from wearing lace. This likely inspired a series of colonial-period Andean tapestries and llicllas that include mimicked lace motifs to make up for the lack of owning actual lace. Figure 2.4 shows a viceregal wedding lliclla from the National Museum of the American Indian with intricately rendered white scalloped lace patterns that may also have derived from mantilla or from fashionable Iberian and European dress that had lace-trimmed sleeves and hems. When tapadas were being restricted in sixteenth century Peru, the punishment for women who transgressed the laws were dependent on the wearer’s race. While all guilty women paid the same fine, high class española or criolla women spent only ten days in prison while African, mulata, and mestiza women were sentenced to thirty days. One wonders if the anxieties over the tapada in the complex, multiethnic cities like Lima were partially owed to the inability to determine a woman’s skin tone under her tapada, thus, allowing women of all classes to move “unseen” through public social spaces.

The colonial-era head and shoulder covering, be it indigenous-made or imported from Europe or the Iberian Peninsula, was a derivative of the Spanish model adopted from Muslim and morisco fashions. Yet, it did not function in the same was that it did in Spain. Maria Feliciano comments on the shared aesthetic culture of textiles and garments in the Iberian Peninsula that crossed political and religious boundaries. She contends that, “Christian consumers saw each piece of Andalusian fabric simply as the sum of its parts, which were often

---


silver, gold, fine silk, difficult to obtain dyes, and the flawless execution of complex weaving techniques,” therefore, lacking “any Islamic meaning to the Christian consumers.”

In a viewpoint that I share with the authors of *The Arts of Intimacy*, I argue that, while these textiles and fabrics were incorporated fully into Iberian culture, it does not follow that “Iberian” denotes uniformity in society. Shared culture does not mean an erasure of difference, and a consciousness of Islamic culture can exist alongside both shared visual languages. Indeed, there was not an erasure of the phobias associated with Muslims and *moriscos*, and general fear of Islam and its practitioners would have been palpable throughout the early modern period in Spain. But would this consciousness of difference have manifested itself in the same manner in the Viceroyalty of Peru?

Perhaps Feliciano’s statement can also be applied to the distinct, varied, and multivalent cultures of Peru. It is unlikely that the *mudéjar* aesthetic and “Islamic” roots, that would have been palpable in Spain, would have been equally resonant in the Americas, where constant tensions and negotiations between a huge range of new social classes would have placed different emphasis on Spanish-looking goods (whether or not they were Islamic in origin). It seems much more likely that the Peruvian *mudéjar* aesthetic, rather than describing a distant “Islamic” past, was absorbed into an altogether different set of priorities, where high fashion and status (and the racial connotations that went along with them) could be partially conveyed through a certain look or style—as seen in the case of racialized punishments for wearing a *tapada*. Therefore, the colonial-era head and shoulder covering, and the luxury and freedoms

---


30 Dodds, Menocal, and Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy*. 322.
they could afford, are examples of American *mudejarismo* where the wearer associated the garment both with local ideas of luxury and with a general desire to appear “Iberian,” cosmopolitan, and fashionable, even if looking Iberian was a constructed colonial notion that was inextricably tied to place, time, and the individuals involved.

III. Liminality and Knotted Pile-Carpets in Viceregal Peru

Though still largely unexplored, certain colonial-period Andean textiles can offer a unique glimpse into how the carpet production techniques in the Ottoman and other Islamic Empires (including Islamic Spain) were effectively integrated into tapestry production in the Americas. While these carpets could be described as visual signifiers of *mudejarismo* due to their overtly “Islamic-looking” patterns and techniques, this characterization is surface-level at best and does little to show how they functioned in viceregal Andean society. Therefore, this genre of textile production demands a closer look both at the objects’ polysemic capabilities and at what *mudejarismo* may have meant in this context. Rather than signaling Islam, these carpets simultaneously occupied multiple spaces of import from the perspective of colonial-period viewers.

While the examples are few, these textiles help characterize the global nature of the visual culture of the Viceroyalty of Peru. Unlike some aspects of Islamic visual culture, carpets and silk textiles from Anatolia and other weaving regions in the Ottoman, Safavid, Mughul, and Mamluk, empires were wildly popular across the European continent beginning in the thirteenth centuries. Ottoman carpets from the region of Anatolia had an especially profound effect on global textile production especially in Umayyad and Catholic Spain, and later in the Americas.

The Middle East has a history of textile primacy that antedates the advent of Islam in the seventh century. Textiles were used to cover and define domestic and sacred spaces. Unlike
Western Europe, where furniture was used to keep human activity away from the floor, most Islamic cultures used rugs, carpets, and mats to warm the floors and keep down dust; thus, the surface of these textiles became the primary place of domestic activity. Carpets were used by all members of society and had multiple functions in daily life and in an Islamic context, where they were used for prayer and to define sacred space, much as they are today.

There is no known documentation before the thirteenth century verifying the production of the specific type of Anatolian knotted pile-carpet and tapestry woven *kilim* that would later become the signifier of “Islamic” foreign presence in the world. However, by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the economies of Islamic empires relied on textile production and trade of these iconic carpets. By the early-modern period, the Ottoman empire bolstered the manufacture of luxury carpets from Anatolia and other regions for domestic and global consumption. At this time weavers began to use paper patterns prepared by professional designers in court workshops in order to mass produce carpets with extremely elaborate designs.

---


32 Ibid., 83 And example used by Blair and Bloom is the textile covering that goes over the Kaaba


34 The knotted pile technique is used mostly in carpet production. It is formed with a woven warp and weft and a supplementary pile weft. The pile weft begins as a continuous yarn that forms loops that are later cut to create the pile. The loops are secured in place by the weft forming the ground weave, which alternates with rows. There are different types of knots used to make knotted pile carpets, and the type often distinguishes it origin. For example, the Turkish knot uses two warp yarns while the Spanish knot uses just a single weft. *Kilims* were carpets produced in Islamic carpet-weaving regions that were created using the slit joined tapestry weave rather than the knotted pile technique. This technique involves weft years interlaced win their respective color areas to turn at adjacent warp yarns, leaving an opening or slit in between. When the design forms rectangular color blocks, the large slits are sometimes sewn up after the weaving is completed. The definition of the knotted pile and tapestry-woven *kilim* techniques were found in Elena Phipps glossary, Elena Phipps, *Looking at Textiles: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles, Calif: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2011). 45.

35 Blair and Bloom Islamic Arts 363
that would then be sold on an international market. The centrality and significance of carpets and textiles in their ability to conflate social status in this region cannot be denied, and as Ottoman textile scholar Walter Denny states, “Textiles and costumes were a primary mode for the projection of power and authority.”

However, carpets were coming from sources besides Anatolia in the late medieval and early modern periods; the Iberian Peninsula soon had its own carpet weaving centers—the most famous of which is Alcaraz—that continued through the Catholic Reconquest. Carpet weaving is not indigenous to Spain and, while its precise origin is unclear, designs between Anatolian and Hispano-Moresque pile carpets are quite similar, which indicate that one tradition may have grown from the other. Considering the global popularity for the Ottoman export carpets, the connection between designs makes Anatolian carpets a distinct possibility as models for the Iberian tradition. Carpets of the Iberian Peninsula (often referred to as Spanish rugs or mudéjar carpets) often bear patterns that relate them to the carpets of the Anatolia region and other weaving centers of the Islamic world, but these carpets also bear distinct differences, especially after the Reconquest when they appear bearing heraldic devices of nobles and the monarchy.

---

36 Ibid., Interestingly, many of these designs were appropriated from the existent tradition of manuscript illumination and the arts of the book that was considered one of the highest art forms in Islamic cultures.
38 Carol Bier and Elena Phipps acknowledge Anatolia as a strong possibility for the origin of the Iberian tradition of carpet production. However, Bier offers the interesting argument that while the design and technique stems from the older traditions in the Islamic world, Spanish rug manufacturing as an industry developed as an economic enterprise that had high levels of local patronage that extended beyond the luxury carpet to include other kinds of visual and material culture. Carol Bier, “Iberian Carpets, Wool, and the Making of Modern Spain,” Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings, 2012. 6. And Phipps, “Catalogue.” 239. And Elena Phipps, “Cumi to Tapestry: Collection, Innovation, And Transformation of the Colonial Andean Tapestry Tradition,” in The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830 (New York : New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art ; Yale University Press, 2004), 83.
Furthermore, they are also created using the distinctive Spanish knot instead of the Turkish knot.\(^{39}\)

Knotted pile carpets appear in both design and technique in several colonial-period Andean textiles. The Spanish knotted pile carpets were especially prolific in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as was the Anatolian knotted pile carpets that were being actively traded around the globe. The model for the Andean versions as being entirely Spanish or Anatolian is difficult to discern, but it is likely that carpets from both regions made their way into the Viceroyalty of Peru where they served as models for the distinctly colonial versions.\(^{40}\)

Figure 2.5 depicts an eighteenth century viceregal Andean knotted pile carpet from Arequipa that creatively combines typical Islamic carpet designs with Andean invention. This eighteenth century carpet is evidence that imports from Spain or from the Ottoman empire were a part of viceregal visual culture, and that the knotted pile technique—which was not used in the Pre-Colombian Andes—was known and practiced by indigenous weavers.\(^{41}\) This carpet was most likely woven by an indigenous weaver because its general layout, including the compartmentalization and arrangement and design of motifs, and choice in flora and fauna, conform to other local modes of textile production. The carpet is composed of three major fields: including a central red field and two border fields of orange and red. The design is asymmetrical because the outer red border does not follow around the entirety of the carpet and only touches the orange border on three sides. It is tempting to connect the asymmetry to the long-standing


\(^{40}\) While there was no direct trade between the Ottoman empire and the Viceroyalty of Peru, the worldwide popularity of the carpets meant that they probably made their way into the Americas via more circuitous routes than those from Spain (see chapter 3 for a more extensive analysis of Ottoman carpets in the Americas).

\(^{41}\) Further analysis of the carpet’s knot structure can determine further if it was based on a Spanish or Anatolian precedent.
Islamic carpet tradition where the indicated direction of the carpet was used to orient it towards Mecca during prayer. However, the collector who bought the carpet from the Church of la Compañía de Jesús in Arequipa was told that the carpet was made specifically for the church, so that the top border was intentionally left incomplete to fit the altar.  

The bright red that predominates the carpet was created using cochineal dye, which is indigenous to the Andes. In the central field, two mermaids face one another, one of them holding what appears to be a Spanish guitar. The vines branching out from equally spaced urn motifs are laden with grapes, pomegranates, and multi-colored flowers. Colorful birds perched on vines appear along the bilateral axis. Two other types of birds appear along the same axis near the base: the blue birds are depicted aerially in a style sometimes seen in Pre-Colombian textiles, while the yellow birds face one another and are depicted from the side. At the head of each cardinal point are two large clusters of flowers. Separating the red field from the orange border field is a small guard stripe of blue with red and white roundels that may be small flowers. The orange field has scrolling vines; such vines are a commonly used colonial-period Andean motif. These floriated vines sprout pomegranates, flowers, and what appear to be free floating heads. The outer border field is geometrically compartmentalized, another Pre-Colombian Andean feature that appears frequently in textiles, but is also appears in Islamic knotted pile carpets and kilims. Each compartment shows a different scene including felines that may be rampant lions, Spanish clothed men and women—one woman even has a fashionable mole and a Spanish guitar—floral and animal motifs, and monkeys. The bilateral symmetry also upholds the Pre-

43 Ibid.,
44 Mermaids holding Spanish guitars are popular motifs in colonial Andean tapestries. See catalog numbers 38, 40, 76, 155 from Phipps et al., The Colonial Andes.
Colombian Andean convention of male on the proper right (hanan) and female on the proper left (hurin).\textsuperscript{45}

While the carpet is created using the knotted pile technique, the motif in the central field is astonishingly similar to the Sarkoy Usak tapestry-woven *kilims* that use the “Tree of Life” motif as the central design element, as seen in the seventeenth century Usak *kilim* Vakıflar Carpet Museum in Istanbul (figure 2.6). Sarkoy kilims, named for their typical region of origin, are a type of Anatolian tapestry known for their inclusion of the “Tree of life pattern.” Birds are also often seen appearing regularly as filler motifs, border designs, or depicted sitting on the branches of the “tree,” much like as they are depicted in the Andean version\textsuperscript{46} However, the “Tree of Life” in viceregal knotted pile carpet (figure 2.5) has been adapted so that it appears to correspond with Andean notions of fertility and vitality—prolific foliage sprouting from an urn and a bowl seems to be vigorously growing even as one looks on. Figure 2.6 depicting the seventeenth century Usak example also includes urns from which the “Tree” is growing, however, this is a less common motif among Anatolian carpets than it is in colonial-period Andean tapestries where it is used with surprising frequency.\textsuperscript{47}

Woolen pile carpets were traded and used in the viceregal Andes. In the eighteenth century, the chronicler, Frézier stated, “Woolen manufactures and particularly carpets, like those of Turkey” were spread on the floor for women to sit upon.\textsuperscript{48} This usage is similar to the use of

\textsuperscript{45} Fane et al., *Converging Cultures*. Catalogue no. 63.


\textsuperscript{48} The catalogue entry under this carpet notes several other existing pile carpets in Cuzco and in Bolivia. Amédée F. Frézier *A Voyage to the South Sea and Along the Coasts of Chili and Peru in the Years 1712, 1713, and 1714*. London, 1735, 201. And Fane et al., *Converging Cultures*. Catalog Number 63.
carpets, and especially *kilims*, in the Muslim context where non-export carpets were sat on and used, often until they were completely worn out.\(^{49}\) Recalling the woman wearing the black *mantilla* in figure 2.3, it would corroborate Frézier’s remarks if her carpet bearer was toting a woolen knotted pile carpet for her to sit upon during mass.

A seventeenth century colonial-period tapestry from the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston woven in the Southern Andes is another testament to the global and hybrid visual culture that existed in the viceregal Andes (figure 2.7). The textile is tapestry-woven using local camelid fibers and dyed with cochineal red.\(^{50}\) Unlike many Andean tapestries, which are reversible due to the discontinuous warp/weft method, this tapestry has a “right” and “wrong” side. The motifs themselves are derived from Anatolian patterns that have been modified to accommodate localized traditions.\(^{51}\) The central field has a red ground and is covered in interlaced yellow golden tendrils that intersect to create an intricate, geometric latticework pattern commonly known as the “lotto” design. Figure 2.8 depicts an early sixteenth century Anatolian Lotto-style carpet. The interlocking yellow latticework on the carpet from Anatolia that brightly contrasts against the red central field is strikingly similar to the viceregal Andean version (2.7). Each “lotto” palmette contains a small square motif that has four even smaller stepped cross motifs.

The central field is followed by four smaller fields and guard stripes that are full of interlocking tendrils, abundant flora and fauna, and interspersed geometric patterns. Viscachas, lions, brilliantly colored birds, trumpet-shaped flowers, European urns or vases, berries, and what appear to be swords along with myriad intertwined tendrils and plant growth compos the outer

---


\(^{50}\) Camelids include domesticated alpaca, llama, and vicuñas throughout South America.

borders so that the effect is quite overwhelming. In the central field are three wreaths encircling vases from which protrude abundant plants, birds, griffins, and rampant lions that can be seen in a detail in figure 2.9.

Such wreaths are representative of a popular motif for carpets produced in Alcaraz, Spain in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as seen in a sixteenth century wreath rug fragment from Alcaraz currently housed the Philadelphia Museum of Art (figure 2.10). This bicolor rug of red and green contains three wreaths in the central field in a fashion quite similar to the seventeenth century viceregal tapestry from the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. Elena Phipps states that such wreath carpets from Alcaraz can be traced to the octagonal and star carpets from Mamluk era Anatolia before the rise of the Ottoman Empire in the fourteenth century. This supports the idea that the Spanish practice of rug weaving originated in Anatolia.\textsuperscript{52} The single sided orientation combined with the appearance of wreaths and “lotto” designs indicates that the weaver was following a physical model that likely came from Alcaraz. Phipps further argues that the details incorporated in this textile are such that they must have come from the direct observation of a wreathed “lotto-style” carpet, which are known to have existed as a genre in Spain.\textsuperscript{53} Such knotted pile carpets would have been fabulously luxurious items owned by the most wealthy, and would have been imported from Spain among other sumptuous domestic furnishings.\textsuperscript{54}

Importantly, this textile is an Andean tapestry rather than knotted pile carpet or slit woven \textit{kilim} (as its design might suggest), probably because of the tapestry primacy in the pre-

\textsuperscript{52} Ibid.,
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid.,
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid.,
Textiles in the viceregal Andes cannot be considered without understanding the role they played in social, political, and sacred aspects of the Andean world.

For the Inca empire especially, textiles were one of the most important distinguishers of both social and spiritual power. For example, animate rock outcroppings with minimal carvings, known as *huacas*, were often dressed in *cumbi*.

Textiles also distinguished social importance through the quality of the *cumbi* and through the number and type of geometric motifs found on a garment. For example, one of the most recognizable conveyers of political and ritual status in Pre-Colombian textiles was *tocapu*: square, geometric motifs that were exclusively found on garments of extremely fine quality that denoted the high status of the wearer, a status that could only be bestowed by the Sapa Inca (the supreme leader of the Inca state). *Tocapu* participated in a cognitive system that denoted different meanings depending on type, placement, and number. The most important example of Pre-Colombian *tocapu* is on the Dumbarton Oaks Inca Royal Tunic that likely belonged to the Sapa Inca due to its entire surface being covered in *tocapu* (figure 2.11). The colonial Andean “lotto-style” tapestry incorporates the stepped cross motif is in the centers of the lotto palmettes,

---

55 Andean tapestry weaves are often made using the discontinuous warf method either warps or wefts, rather than spanning the length of a cloth, are present only where needed to create color areas for the design. Discontinuous wefts are supplementary. Weaving in this method requires special aids to maintain the appropriate tension. This type of weaving was used extensively in the Andes. This definition was taken from Elena Phipps, Phipps, *Looking at Textiles*. 28.


and are reminiscent of tocapu and can be seen in figure 2.12 which depicts a detail of the larger tapestry.\textsuperscript{58} The inclusion of the stepped-cross motif in a tocapu-esqe form indicates that that this tapestry was a participant in the uniquely hybrid colonial Andean society where Pre-Colombian aesthetics retained importance, but were modified to accommodate the shifting power dynamics of viceregal society.

These two colonial-era examples, one a tapestry and the other a knotted pile carpet, attest to the remarkable intercultural spaces that existed in the Viceroyalty of Peru. Like the colonial-period tapestries in chapter 1 the tapestry and carpets discussed here are both visible and invisible testaments to the complex nature of viceregal Peru, where meaning was often explicit in design or implicitly hidden in the structure. In the case of these textiles and the other fashionable garments that were an integrated part of viceregal visual culture, one is left considering just how “Islamic” these hybrid mudéjar forms were in their everyday usage. In the viceregal Andes, mudéjar objects from the Iberian Peninsula were immediately introduced after conquest, and arguably functioned as tools in the acculturating process (whether knowingly or not). This indicates that the mudéjar aesthetic, as it was adopted and transformed in the Andes, would have been radically disconnected from anything traditionally considered Islamic.\textsuperscript{59} Instead, these textiles would have been meaningful in the colonial context, and that meaning would change if the viewer was an upper-class criolla whose mantilla was an outward testament of Iberianness and fashion or an indigenous individual who may have identified with the complex geometric abstraction of a well-made tapestry.

How appropriate is the usage of the word mudéjar in relation to the aspects of colonial-period Andean visual culture that clearly indicate an Islamic aesthetic, regardless of how

\textsuperscript{58} Phipps, “Catalogue.” 239.

\textsuperscript{59} Feliciano Chaves, “Mudejarismo in Its Colonial Context.” Xx.
removed that world may be? Feliciano recently argued to discontinue the use of the term entirely, especially when it is used as evidence of “difference.” 60 Its usage in contemporary critical scholarship may be clouded by the weighty baggage that attends the term. The term must be applied both carefully and critically as to avoid the traditional, ahiistorical survey of mudéjar that seeks to categorize all visual culture that is vaguely related to Islam. The mudéjar objects discussed here have none of the meanings prescribed to the monolithic nineteenth century category, rather, they functioned differently in different contexts. Just as in the case of invisible hybridity, 61 the silence or absence of immediately recognizable traits need to be scrutinized, and it follows that more case studies of mudéjar objects should be conducted without the weight of the art-historical survey to muddy the waters. 62 In the instance of the textiles and garments examined in this chapter, their mudéjar characteristics are only a part of the multiple meanings they carried when they circulated as important parts of a complicated colonial whole.


61 See Chapter I, footnote 56

I. Introduction

Much of the scholarship on Anatolian carpets and their depictions in Renaissance paintings employs orientalizing language that perpetuates notions of artistic hierarchies specific to the European canon. Even the most recent critical studies of this artistic phenomenon use language that construes the visual cultures of the Ottoman Empire (and other dynastic empires in Islamic cultures) as exotic or fetishized in comparison to European modes of representation in art. Meanwhile, another vein of art-historical scholarship has made efforts to place early modern trade in the Mediterranean and the Americas into a global perspective by emphasizing the fluidity of borders and boundaries, the reciprocity of images and ideas between cultures, the lack of homogeneity in the material culture of origin, the existence of multiple visual culture traditions, and the possibility of multiple meanings that art objects convey. In viceregal Latin

---


2 See *The Sultan's World: the Ottoman Orient in Renaissance Art*. While this is the most critical book approach to Ottoman visual culture in Europe to date, the language does not entirely accommodate the approach itself. Chapter and section headings use triggering language such as “Enemy,” “War,” the “Orient” and other words with negative or Orientalizing connotations.

America images of Ottoman textiles entered into a cross-cultural milieu where continuity and changes of indigenous and European cultural values led to the construction of new meanings. As a socio-contextual and global analysis of select paintings of Anatolian textiles in viceregal Peru, this chapter examines how Ottoman visual culture circulated in Europe and then took on new meanings in the Andes where it met and merged with local Andean textile traditions.

II. Shifting Perspectives: From European Paintings to the Viceregal “Anatolian” Carpet

Anatolian carpets were not only made for local use in the Ottoman Empire, but were intended to generate revenue as luxury, purchasable items to merchants destined to sell their goods in Europe. The Republic of Venice, with its close proximity to major ports in the Ottoman Empire, and with its key location in the Mediterranean, soon assumed pan-European significance as the principal hub for “oriental luxury goods” from the Near East, and as a key source of intelligence on all things perceived to be “Ottoman” in nature.\(^4\) There was the permanent establishment of ambassadors and merchants from both political entities in Venice and in significant cities in the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, trade goods of myriad origins and luxurious qualities circulated constantly between cultural diasporas.\(^5\)

By 1500 knotted-pile and and kilim wool carpets, produced primarily in Anatolia, had become an integral part of Venetian material culture and were regarded throughout Europe as


\(^5\) Ibid., 257
symbols of wealth, power, and taste. Luxury commodities, including vast quantities of carpets, were acquired by those who could afford them in Europe. They were placed on display where they hung over residential balconies and in public markets and later became popular motifs in European paintings, evidence of their desirability and placement in the early modern Mediterranean’s exchange network. The number of carpets exported to the Republic of Venice and the rest of Europe between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries was significant. The concentration of paintings with carpets in specific areas, some of them quite far from ports of origin like Flanders, signifies that images of carpets were just as likely to travel as the actual carpets. European painters and patrons were interested in depicting carpets when details of privileged spaces that reflected the ‘real world’ were of concern. For example, painting by Lorenzo Lotto, Portrait of Giovanni della Vo

ta with his Wife and Children (1547) shows a wealthy man, possibly a merchant, with his wife and two children. In the foreground and acting as a table cloth is an Anatolia carpet with yellow arabesques and a kufic script border (figure 3.1).

Images of carpets in Venetian paintings were commonplace due to the Republic’s close ties with the Ottoman Empire, and would have indicated wealth and status because they were viewed as prized trade goods. To a European viewer, the appearance of carpets was equated with cosmopolitanism and high social standing in an increasingly global economy. These popular carpets were often depicted in Christian narratives and domestic interiors in Renaissance

---


7 Born et al., The Sultan’s World. 47.


9 Born et al., The Sultan’s World. 31.
painting, thereby removing them from their Islamic context and establishing them instead as
signifiers of European status.

The depiction of Anatolian carpets in European painting was first addressed by
nineteenth century German art historians at a time when there was great interest in systematically
categorizing the visual culture of Europe’s Others.\textsuperscript{10} The prolific use of particular patterns in
European paintings caused scholars to name many of these patterns for the painters who used
these designs, rather than using their Turkic or Arabic names.\textsuperscript{11} Thus, names like “Lotto-style,”
(figure 3.1) “Memling style,” “small-pattern Holbein,” “large-pattern Holbein,” became the
standard academic terms for carpet motifs in paintings and for the physical carpets themselves.
This terminology is in line with the nineteenth century notion of “artist as genius” because the
terms disregard the origin of Anatolian carpets and privilege the European painters who
appropriated the designs.

It is probable that Ottoman carpet motifs in European paintings were not entirely based
on actual carpet models, and many of those representations were created by observing other
paintings or through description. Painters used artistic license when they depicted Anatolian
carpets, and several of these representations are likely imagined inventions derived from
Anatolian designs. However, it remains important for scholars to note that while the patterns
used in paintings may not have been actual designs found in the carpets, the terminology
referring to the European appropriation of the designs, and their continued use in contemporary
scholarship, is problematic. Nonetheless, many of the carpet patterns used in European paintings,

\textsuperscript{10} Julius Lessing (1843-1908) was among the nineteenth century German scholars who laid the foundation for
naming carpets after painters who incorporated them in their compositions in his volume titled, \textit{Ancient oriental
Carpet Patterns, after Pictures and Originals of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries}, (David Young Kim, 181).

\textsuperscript{11} Born et al., \textit{The Sultan’s World}. 236.
especially those used by Hans Holbein the Younger and Lorenzo Lotto, imitate actual Ottoman
designs.

As consumers of globally-traded goods, colonial-era individuals in Latin America were
familiar with European style paintings, and Latin America itself was home to many European
painters. A taste for cosmopolitan, foreign goods by the upper echelons of viceregal Andean
society fueled the desire and purchase of trade goods, such as the latest styles of paintings made
by both local and internationally famous painters. Paintings that included “foreign” elements,
like Anatolian carpets, would have been perceived as valuable in the viceregal Andes because
they referenced foreign luxury goods as well as well-known European paintings.

Many paintings of the Sevillan artist Francisco de Zurbarán (1598-1664) include images
of carpets, such as the paintings Holy Mass with Priest Cabañuelas (1638) (figure 3.2) and Saint
Bonaventure at the Church Council of Lyon (1629) (figure 3.3). Zurbarán was often
commissioned by church officials and private patrons in Spain, New Spain, and Peru. He
would impact the artists both in the Lima and Cuzco schools where the tradition of including
carpets developed in a specific colonial context where the carpets gained localized meanings that
varied depending on the viewer. While it is unknown if any of Zurbarán’s paintings directly
influenced the production of viceregal Andean paintings with carpets, it demonstrates that
Spanish painters were involved in this tradition, and that these paintings (and hundreds of others
from Flanders as well) were influential in both New Spain and the Viceroyalty of Peru.13

12 Lori Kata, “Art, Trade, and Patronage in Seventeenth Century Lima: Francisco de Zurbarán’s commission for the
Convent of La Encarnación” (Bryn Mawr College, 2009). V.

13 Enormous numbers of Flemish paintings were imported from Antwerp to Seville, and many of these were sent to
the Americas. One shipment from 1653 lists 504 paintings that were sent from Antwerp to Seville. Suzanne L.
Stratton-Pruitt, “The Origins of Painting in Colonial Peru and Bolivia,” in Journeys to New Worlds: Spanish and
Portuguese Colonial Art in the Roberta and Richard Huber Collection (Philadelphia, PA : New Haven ; London:
Philadelphia Museum of Art ; In association with Yale University Press, 2013), 33. and De Marchi, 17 and van
Miegroet 2002, 87.
Zurbarán’s painting of *Holy Mass with Priest Cabañuelas* (figure 3.2) is a typical example of an early modern European painting that pictures an “oriental” carpet. The carpet on which the priest kneels, features border fields composed of repeated geometric medallions and intertwined floriated scrolls that are characteristic of most Anatolian carpet genres.

Imported Spanish and European paintings, such as those by Zurbarán, are a potential source of the Anatolian carpet motifs in viceregal paintings, yet, it is the viceregal manifestation of this phenomenon that is extremely significant in the tension-filled, racialized socio-political climate of viceregal Andean society, where power contestations and liminality between competing worldviews created powerfully multivalent objects. Viceregal Andean painting is characterized by boldness and inventiveness. Viceregal paintings contained new and unusual interpretations of old themes, and, “Far from fading as a dominant methodology, iconographic analysis has been renewed by taking into consideration [colonial] motifs and sources.”

Analysis of the ways in which varied audiences affect and inflect meaning of an image or artwork is tremendously important in the study of viceregal art. Because the archive has not produced significant evidence toward the importation of Ottoman carpets in large quantities, it is likely that the Andean image of carpets was premised not on actual carpets but rather on images of carpets. Some Latin American paintings that include Anatolian-style carpets have flattened qualities—in that the optical naturalistic elements, such as the rendering of folds and shadows,

---


15 Ibid.,

16 Elena Phipps argues that the “lotto-style” colonial tapestry that is part of the Metropolitan Museum of Art collection was likely based on an actual Ottoman carpet owned by a very wealthy patron in the Viceroyalty of Peru.
are removed in a way that is often seen in colonial-era paintings. This does not indicate that the Andean version of painted Anatolian carpets were less sophisticatedly rendered, but rather points to the Andean penchant for geometric abstraction.

Considering that there was no direct trade route between the Ottoman empire and the port of Acapulco in New Spain, there were far fewer physical Anatolian carpets than there were paintings of carpets. However, there were likely several physical carpets in the Viceroyalty of Peru that would have been owned by wealthy families where they would have functioned as demonstrations of wealth and cosmopolitanism. As demonstrated in Chapter 2, the Andean “lotto-style” tapestry included minute details such that Elena Phipps argued for the direct observation of a knotted pile carpet in its creation—be it a carpet from the Anatolian or the Iberian tradition. Gustavo Curiel’s analysis of seventeenth century New Spanish inventory of Doña Teresa de Retes y Paz demonstrates the fabulously luxurious lifestyles of the upper echelons of viceregal society. The room in which Doña Teresa would have received her guests to relax and drink the delicacy chocolate was adorned with global trappings of embroidered silks, cushions, and rugs from China, quantities of silver from Potosí, imported furniture, as well as two “Moorish” carpets valued at 800 pesos each. Antonia de Morga, writing from colonial Manila, recorded that Portuguese merchants brought, “small carpets of silk and fine wools from

---

17 Colonial Andean paintings where drapery is depicted with gold brocading have been a point of speculation art historical context for a similar “flattening” that breaks from the European tradition. In Andean examples, brocading takes on an almost stamp-like quality. Andean painted brocades flattens the surface, and goes over the figures rather than around them, becoming tocapu-like in nature. The brocading never mimics tocapu design, however, the quality of the brocading is much more similar to Andean design technique of flattened, geometric and compartmentalized patterns than it is to the optically rendered counterparts in European traditions. Again, this style of brocading in the Andes was likely never differentiated from other types, but it reflects the hybrid artistic traditions where Andean systems of aesthetics contributed to creating colonial art forms.

Persia and Turkey” indicating that, at least in the Portuguese colonies, Ottoman carpets may have been more actively sought.

Actual carpets from Anatolia certainly existed in small numbers in the Viceroyalty of Peru, and many more may have existed. Yet these carpets were most likely accessible to a select few colonial elites. While some of the colonial Andean painters may have used actual carpets as the source for their paintings, imported European paintings depicting Ottoman carpets seem a more plausible source, especially since painters in the Cuzco and Lima schools often used European paintings as models for their own. For the purpose of my thesis, the source of inspiration for the Andean painted carpets is less important than how colonial depictions of carpets developed and functioned. Andean paintings often include surprising inventiveness and motifs specific to the Andes that depart from the Anatolian tradition and are never seen in European paintings.

Rather than being the receiver and imitator of schools in Europe, Andean painting schools were counterparts that engaged in multi-directional, parallel endeavors that were independent of one another. This is important because both indigenous and criollo painters in the Americas were not operating within the European canon in the same as European artists. Instead they were the creators of a viceregal Andean tradition that drew from multiple sources, both local and imported. Furthermore, the purely indigenous schools, artists, and mestizos in the Andes soon took on their own distinct characteristics through the subtle inclusion of local motifs.

---


and meanings.\textsuperscript{21} While indigenous artists were primarily working in the Andean highlands rather than in the port city of Lima, some of these indigenous painters were commissioned to work throughout the Andes and especially within Cuzco.\textsuperscript{22} Therefore, in my analyses of Andean depictions of Anatolian carpets, the distinction between ethnic identity of the artist as well as the geographic location of the paintings were significant to understanding how these motifs were potentially understood.

An important example of a colonial Andean painting that includes an Anatolian carpet is \textit{The Last Supper} (figures 3.4 and 3.5) in the Monastery of San Francisco in Lima, tentatively attributed to Marcos Zapata, a well-known indigenous painter most prolific in Cuzco in the mid-eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{23} This large painting takes up an entire wall in the refectory of the convent and depicts an Andean version of the biblical meal. The twelve apostles, rather than sitting side by side along a rectangular table as most often depicted, are seated at a round table and are surrounded by servants. Demonstrating the artist’s mastery of linear perspective, to the left of the composition’s center, a doorway allows the viewer to glimpse into another room occupied by a man, a woman, and two children facing a hearth. The dim room is lit by two ornate golden chandeliers, and the European-style interior walls are hung with rich fabrics.

Depicted in the composition’s right side, below the rightmost window, is a tiered display pedestal—called a \textit{mostrador}—of the type commonly found in the homes of the viceregal elite.

\textsuperscript{21} Stratton-Pruitt, “The Origins of Painting in Colonial Peru and Bolivia.” 34.

\textsuperscript{22} Ibid., “Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo Ortíz was bishop of in Cuzco 1673 and was a great patron for the arts, employing sculptors and painters. He was also the foremost patron of indigenous painters Diego Quispe (Tito) Inca, and Basilio de Santa Cruz Pumacallao both of whom were active in 1660 and later helped establish the Cuzco school.”

\textsuperscript{23} Allison Lee Palmer, “The Last Supper by Marcos Zapata (c. 1753): A Meal of Bread, Wine, and Guinea Pig,” \textit{Aurora} IX (2008). 54, 59. Zapata is perhaps most well-known for another rendition of \textit{The Last Supper} in the Cathedral of Cuzco that shows Christ surrounded by the apostles, all of whom flank a traditional Andean meal of roasted guinea pig (called \textit{cuy} in the Andes) and other Andean dishes such as potatoes, and (what some scholars believe to be) the fermented corn drink, \textit{chichi}. 
These display areas were located in reception rooms and often held the most valuable objects—usually silver and gold—owned by the family to show off their wealth to visiting guests. The display in the painting is covered with Andean silver dishes and platters and two silver candlestick holders. In the lower right a serving man pours a liquid—perhaps the fermented Andean corn drink *chicha*—into an urn that is strikingly similar in shape to the Andean *chicha*-holding vessel known as *urpu*. Ritual significance of *chicha* (maize beer) in the Andean context may point to a heightened significance from the Andean perspective of this important biblical event.

In the center composition, directly below the figure of Christ, a *cuy* (guinea pig) rests on a silver platter surrounded by a table set with candles, cups, bread, and dishes of what appear to be both yucca and papaya. There are both wine goblets, and cylindrical cups which further supports the argument that there is both *chicha* and wine being served. The cups themselves are also similar to the cylindrical Andean *kero* vessels from which *chicha* is drunk, though their bases are less tapered in the painting. The apostles are lounging around the table conversing with one another while children serve them from silver platters, imposing an overall air of luxury.

Two Ottoman-style carpets appear in the painting’s foreground on which two of the Apostles lounge. The carpet on the left, with its intricate rosettes around the border, particularly evokes patterns commonly found in actual Anatolian carpets with “large-pattern Holbein” designs (figures 3.6) and in the depictions that reference these carpets in Renaissance paintings (figure 3.7). The Anatolian “large-pattern Holbein” carpet shown in figures 3.6 is

---

compartmentalized into squares filled with red and blue geometric rosettes; rosettes similar to those seen on the borders of the right-side carpet in the Lima Last Supper painting (figure 3.5). The Portrait of Lady Alethea Howard Countess of Arundel with attendants and Sir Dudley Carleton by Peter Paul Rubens (1620) is an example of a carpet with a very similar border pattern (figure 3.7). It is worth noting that Rubens works, many of which were reproduced in prints that circulated in viceregal Latin America and Europe, were quite popular as a source of inspiration the Andes. Similar examples of the carpet motifs used in Lima Last Supper painting appear in both New Spanish and Andean viceregal paintings, such as in Luis Juárez’s Birth of the Virgin (1615-1625) where a spectacular “large-pattern Holbein” carpet with a ovular Usak medallion sprawls across the floor (figure 3.8). This indicates that the “large-pattern Holbein” style was known in New Spain, and that this pattern was circulating across the Americas and not exclusively in the Andes.

The large number of similarly styled carpets in European paintings potentially explains the high number of paintings in the Americas that incorporated the “Holbein” pattern, however, many viceregal paintings have been lost, and the incomplete record makes it difficult to reach any definitive conclusion. Bartolomé Carducho’s The Last Supper (1590) (figure 3.9) also provided a precedent for the inclusion of carpets in Last Supper compositions in the Hispanic world. In this painting, a carpet fringe that may be Ottoman in design peeks out from beneath the tablecloth. While it is unknown if the artist who painted the Lima Last Supper would have seen this painting, it is important to note that such a precedent does exist at least in the Iberian Peninsula. However, it is unknown if this painting, or no longer extant copies of it, would have ever reached the Viceroyalty of Peru.
There is a palpable air of luxury and abundance portrayed in this painting that may have corresponded with the aristocratic, and primarily criollo and Spanish, demographic of Lima. In the upper left background of the painting, there are what appear to be two moriscos with dark skin tones and head wrappings who are possibly traders. The Spanish Reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula from the last Islamic state ended in 1492, but the morisco population mostly remained in the peninsula as long as they converted to Christianity. However, there remained a significant perceived threat from the religion of Islam in the Spanish Empire, and from the beginning of the colonial period, both the Spanish monarchy and the Catholic church made efforts to maintain a religious and cultural hegemony over both the peninsula and the “New World” across the Atlantic.  

In 1532 a Spanish royal decree declared, “In a new land like this, one where faith is only recently being sowed, it is necessary not to allow to spread there the sect of Muhammad or any other.”

Spanish imperial authorities sought to restrict emigration to the Americas to “old” Catholics rather than the “new” converts of morisco or Jewish backgrounds (even if the “new” converts had been culturally Spanish for several generations). In order to be officially sanctioned to leave for the Americas, one would have to prove to be the child or grandchild of Christians who had never been tried by the Inquisition. However, this policy was very difficult to enforce,

---


and there were significant numbers of Muslims and moriscos in New Spain and Peru as slaves, free laborers, and traders.²⁸

The general fear of the Turkic “Other” was palpable throughout Europe and corresponded with the seven hundred year Reconquista of the Iberian Peninsula and the rising power of Islamic dynasties.²⁹ The defense of the Host from Moorish invaders is a common theme in viceregal paintings as seen in the Defense of the Host, attributed to the workshop of Flores Leonardo of La Paz, Bolivia, (figure 3.10). However, this fear of the Islamic Other is not apparent in the reception of Ottoman carpets nor in the Lima painting of The Last Supper. It is possible that the carpets and the moriscos might be reciprocally referencing one another and the diverse social climate of the Viceroyalty of Peru. This specific depiction of moriscos is not necessarily negative, despite the ethnic group occupying a lower social stratum in the racialized hierarchy of the early modern Christian world. The “oriental Other” occupies dual spaces in the colonial Andes, and luxury goods did not necessarily contain the same meanings ascribed to the people and cultures that produced them.

Mudejarismo, as defined as a condition specific to colonial viceregal visual culture in which hybrid elements of the Iberian and “Islamic” worlds are redefined and rearticulated, can be a penetrating lens through which paintings of Ottoman carpets elucidated various meanings. Ottoman carpets have been rearticulated by the Cuzco school painter in the Lima Last Supper painting. These painted textiles had polysemic capabilities, and their mudéjar elements—rather than distinguishing the foreignness of the possible morisco traders as ethnic “invaders”—could instead describe the assimilation of important luxury goods into local visual culture vernacular.

---


²⁹ Born et al., The Sultan’s World. 81.
Rather than signaling Islam, the painted carpets simultaneously occupied multiple spaces of import from the perspective of colonial-period viewers.

III. Multiple Meanings: The Andean Textile Tradition and the Inclusion of Carpets

An astonishing example of the incorporation of an Ottoman carpet in viceregal visual culture is a colonial-period retablo of the Saint Anne and the Virgin with Saint Joaquin, which was originally commissioned for the Church of the Conception in Lima in the early seventeenth century (Figures 3.11-13). A major earthquake in 1746 destroyed the church, and the retablo was then moved to the Cathedral of Lima, where it is a permanent part of the Museum of Religious Art.30 The retablo consists of three polychrome wooden sculptures of Saint Anne and the Virgin with Saint Joaquin, set against a backdrop. Between Saint Anne and Saint Joaquin is a representation of a “lotto-style” carpet from Anatolia (see figures 3.1, 2.8 for comparison).

Anatolian carpets that utilize this design are remarkably similar to the one depicted in the retablo. The retablo, attributed to the New Spanish criollo artist, Juan García Salguero, was commissioned in the early seventeenth century.31 Salguero originally made this piece for the high altar of the Church of the Conception in 1627 after the first two artists who were hired were unable to complete the altarpieces.32 It is difficult to attribute which portions of the altarpiece are Salguero’s alone, however, Elena Phipps attributes the “lotto-style” carpet design to Salguero.33 The “lotto-style” carpet has not been found in any other colonial-period Andean paintings thus

30 Museum label, Cathedral of Lima.
32 Ibid., Juan García Salguero was only asked to complete the work after the first artist, Martín Alonso de Mesa, died in 1625 and the second artist Gaspar de la Cueva was sent to prison for unpaid debts.
far, however, as I have demonstrated in my thesis, the pattern itself was not unfamiliar in the Andes as exhibited by the colonial-period tapestry with “lotto”-like motifs.

Salguero’s retablo painting of a “lotto style” carpet (figures 3.11-13) is composed of several geometric patterns in gold-leaf and red, blue, orange, and purple paint. In addition to the Anatolian carpet designs, there are several Christian crosses that correspond with the religious context in which it was commissioned. The upper portion of the carpet design is a direct reference to the Anatolian and European painted versions, but the bottom portion is unusual in that the motifs are not commonly found in Anatolian carpets or in the European representations. These motifs consist of several stepped patterns, checkerboard motifs, and a stepped cross motif.34

While it is possible that these details might appear in rare contexts on Anatolian carpets, Salguero created this retablo in the Andes. This is important because similar Andean motifs were common in pre- and post-Conquest Peru, and reminiscent of “lotto-style” motifs. For example, one can compare the checkerboard pattern to the Pre-Colombian Inca military tunic (figure 3.14) and to the smaller tocapu version of this tunic found on the Inca Royal Tunic (figure 2.11). As previously stated, the checkerboard pattern has often been associated with important Andean concepts of sacredness. Furthermore, the checkerboard motif can be seen as a reference to terraced mountainsides and agricultural fields of the Andes as well as in Andean cityscapes.35

The stepped cross is also a motif found in the sacred Andean landscape, including on monumental architectural formations as well as in textiles. The monumental stones at a sacred indigenous site in Ollantaytambo include several stepped cross motifs that, when linked together,

34 This stepped cross motif is also found in the center of the palmettes of the “lotto-style” colonial-period Andean tapestry discussed in chapter 2 (figure 2.7)

form a stepped terrace (figure 3.15). The Inca drew their political power from the land itself, and both their control and synchronization with the land is evident in the specific geometric motifs that appear in almost every aspect of their material culture.

The indigenous Andean tradition of geometric abstraction in textiles, and the culture of textile primacy, leads to the conclusion that Andean peoples in viceregal Peru regarded geometric patterns of Ottoman carpets differently than European did. It is likely that, if viewed by an indigenous person, Salguero’s carpet might have been meaningful in the Andean context where fine, geometric textiles contained intrinsic value. However, Salguero was not indigenous nor was he a mestizo. Salguero was a criollo painter from New Spain who was living and working in Lima for many years. Furthermore, Lima was demographically very different from the Andean highlands, where indigenous peoples and artists were more populous. Therefore, would Salguero’s retablo textile designs have resonated in a meaningful way in Lima? Perhaps not, if the retablo was inaccessible to an indigenous audience. However, it is reasonable to assume that the appearance of these distinctly Andean characteristics do indicate that Andean motifs were an integrated part of viceregal visual culture, whether or not the sacredness of their indigenous origins was acknowledged or known.

The traumas of colonization in an ethnically stratified society inevitably result in the colonized needing to sort through aspects of the colonizer’s culture that can hold meaning for themselves. Marginal worldviews, like those of indigenous Andeans, operating within the dominant colonial hegemonic society, therefore, adopt and identify alternative worldviews from within the framework of their own. Such instances lead to the production of hybrid visual culture

---

and polysemic objects and images, from which “double mistaken identity” can emerge. This phenomenon occurs when each cultural group understands that a particular form or concept is essentially known to the other and operates similarly to its own tradition. It is the instance when one culture takes for granted the other’s understanding without recognizing the possibility of alternative interpretations. This is a concept that is especially pertinent to viceregal Andean paintings of Ottoman carpets, and for much of viceregal Andean visual culture, because these artworks were informed by ideologies rooted in multiple traditions.

The convergence of multiple worldviews in these paintings is a visual and physical demonstration of the polysemy of a single object. Furthermore, the belief that the “other” is operating within one’s own perspective allows for small, but meaningful, differences to continue invisibly. This ultimately creates meaning that is not mutually understood between groups. In this way local Andean motifs, as well as Anatolian motifs, can function within colonial frameworks, generating new unexpected meanings that may be similar or different from the original context. As Lockhart explains, double mistaken identity is not a static phenomenon, but meanings can continue to transform depending on the situation and scenario; each culture lends certain elements to the other until certain forms are no longer distinguishable from each other, and the original origin becomes unknown because both accept it as their own. In the instance of viceregal Andean paintings of carpets, the moment of encounter between multiple worldviews will always have the potential new, surprising, and totally unauthorized designative meanings.

---

38 Ibid.
Although Salguero was a New Spanish criollo painter, who would not necessarily have recognized his inclusion of Andean-like motifs as meaningful outside of his frame of reference, there are instances of indigenous painters working within the Cuzco school who referenced Ottoman carpets in their paintings where the context becomes more significant. While The Last Supper at the Monastery of San Francisco in Lima has not been definitively attributed to Marcos Zapata, there might be something to say if Zapata (who was an indigenous painter) had been the artist. Zapata was one of the last native painters who were a part of the Cuzco school in the mid-eighteenth century. While some of his works likely remain undocumented, he has been attributed with over 200 paintings throughout the Andes, making him a prolific colonial-period painter whose work was desired both in and out of Cuzco. Zapata’s Last Supper painting in Cuzco is known for its Andean approach to traditional Catholic imagery through the inclusion of Andean dishes. Furthermore, the inclusion of cuy—a dish only used in important meals—as the main course instead of the traditional lamb, speaks to his heightened native social and political awareness that is specific to the time and place of the painting’s creation in eighteenth century Cuzco. If Zapata were the painter for The Last Supper in Lima, would he have been interested in the carpets as more than foreign elements that evoke cosmopolitanism and artistic skill?

The same question could be asked of indigenous artist Juan Zapaca Inga, who was working in the workshop of Basilio de Santa Cruz Pumacallao in the late seventeenth century. Pumacallao was one of the most active and well-known indigenous painters in addition to “Tito” Quispe, and the two helped establish the Cuzco school in the seventeenth century. Zapaca Inga’s two untitled paintings depicting carpets on the floors of religious narratives (figures 3.16, 3.17) are not as easily definable as other images of carpets, yet the geometric patterns and colors

---

41 Ibid., 73.
reference Anatolian-style carpets much more than European tapestries or rugs. In this case, Zapaca Inga may be referencing a compositional element that he has not seen himself; perhaps the carpet designs were modeled after other paintings of carpets so that the images have transformed through numerous depictions. As I have stated, artistic license for depicting carpets meant that many of these representations were likely imagined inventions of what “oriental” carpets may have looked like. Despite the unknown provenance of Zapaca’s carpet designs, both he and Zapata were working in a city that was still very much rooted in Andean worldviews that existed alongside of, and in subordinate positions to, the dominant European worldview of the colonizers. Therefore, the interest in textiles could be founded in a historical Andean tradition of textile primacy that goes beyond the colonial appreciation of trade goods.
V. Conclusion

Andean textiles were endowed with multiple meanings and acted as powerful participants in shaping the globally engaged societies that produced them. Textiles in the viceregal period met and merged with imported visual languages, thus, taking on additional meanings that were neither entirely European, Ottoman, Spanish, or indigenous in the Viceroyalty of Peru. Instead, as the art historian Tom Cummins has stated, they were representative of the “Colonial dialectical struggle which makes the colonial project always and everywhere incomplete.”

While global art history has a less established methodology, its focus on connection and interaction, the fluidity of borders and boundaries, and the multifariousness of visual cultures is particularly valuable for the study of textile production, consumption, and trade. Textiles have historically been relegated to the realms of “craft” or “folk art” and have, therefore, often been excluded from the wider canon of art history, despite textiles inhabiting a crucial space as desirable luxury goods in the development of early-modern global consciousness. While this thesis does not tell the whole story of colonial-period Andean textiles, I have shown how viceregal textiles were unstable, contestable sites of importance due to their global commodification and local significance as objects of high social and political import.

Viceregal tapestry-woven textiles, and the East Asian imports that they drew from, are products of intercultural exchange in the colonial-era Andes. Viceregal textiles with East Asian characteristics would have been indicators of high status and cosmopolitanism, while simultaneously referring to indigenous Andean systems of value. Yet, their visuality should only

---


be the first step to determining their role in colonial society. More extensive scientific analyses of structure, dyes, and techniques are vital for future studies of Andean visual culture. This is because these less visible signs often signify meaning within non-hegemonic worldviews, and definitely outside of the worldview easily understood from the eyes of most contemporary art historians.

No more are we concerned with the last remnants of a deep-lying shipwreck of civilization from which a few meaningless survivals of indigenous culture can be pulled.\textsuperscript{44} The Viceroyalty of Peru was a site of contestation, negotiation, and realization. Not just between the colonizer and colonized; but between images, objects, and individuals from around the globe.

It is vitally important to recognize that the colonizers of the Americas were not bringing with them a culturally homogenous visual culture. There is a myth that influential art objects’ “culture of origin” is statically uniform, yet this perspective disregards continual cultural dynamism and political changes that all geographically bounded regions underwent. The mudéjar fashions and textiles discussed in this paper were coming from a geographic region that had experienced vast levels of political and cultural transformation for several thousand years, thus, they were already highly charged hybrid objects upon their reception and adoption in the Viceroyalty of Peru where they became tools to negotiate the emerging and competing social classes.

These colonial-period mudéjar objects had none of the meanings prescribed to the monolithic nineteenth-century art-historical category, rather, they functioned differently in different contexts. Just as in the case of invisible hybridity,\textsuperscript{45} the silence or absence of

\textsuperscript{44} Kubler, “On the Colonial Extinction of the Motifs of Precolumbian Art.” 66

\textsuperscript{45} See Chapter I, footnote 56
immediately recognizable traits in the case of seemingly “Islamic” visual culture needs to be scrutinized, and it follows that more case studies of mudéjar objects should be conducted without the weight of the art-historical survey to muddy the waters. The mudéjar characteristics in the textiles and garments examined in this chapter are only a part of the multiple meanings they carried when they circulated as important parts of a complicated colonial whole.

Ottoman carpets were some of the foremost luxury goods in the fifteenth through eighteenth century in both the Republic of Venice, and in the rest of Europe where they were available to varying degrees. Their popularity was rooted both in their superior quality, and in the foreignness that was associated with trade goods from the East. Their subsequent incorporation in European paintings became a trope that was later transformed in viceregal painting. This phenomenon has been rarely noted in current Latin American studies of visual culture, and the corpus of work that may include such carpets is likely much larger than is represented in this case study. Yet, the subject represents a rich repository of material that can lead to new findings about the composition of the multiethnic, multilingual, and multimodal colonial Andean society.

Global visual culture in the early modern period was propelled by the desire for luxury commodities, and the viceregal Americas were both producers and consumers in the global market. Yet, because of the incompleteness of the art record, the viceregal archive is an essential tool to uncover the multiplicity in colonial-period everyday life. Future studies should utilize the written records that individuals have left behind (viceregal wills, notaries, bills, or other

documents), just as much as the existent repository of art objects. Keeping in mind the inherent bias of the archive due to historical collecting practices and natural deposition, these records can still serve as a crucial entry point into the lives of colonial society members.

So what should the global art-historical study look like? And how does one go about beginning to describe and analyze the artistic productions of so vast a space? Considering the immensity of the globe and the millions of lived experiences of its inhabitants over centuries of spiritual, environment, political, social, economic changes, the answer seems just as intangible as the presumptiveness suggested by the question itself. By accepting the proposition that the action of looking is always linked to judging and is, therefore, never objective, one can begin to discover the multiple ways of looking and ways of knowing that met and merged along a global system of trade networks.

The geographic areas where early modern art objects were produced are neither isolated nor unified. Art from the Andes is myriad and varied depending on ethnic, cultural, temporal, geographic, and religious areas. Throw in the traumatic histories of colonization, the rapidly expanded global interconnectivity that fueled the viceregal luxury economy, and Eurocentric founding of the discipline of art history, and one is left with a subject that is both tangled and in need of reevaluation. The problems and issues are systemic and go beyond that of Latin American art history to the discipline of art history itself, which has still yet to come to terms with its own long and complicated history. It is necessary for there to be a critical reevaluation of the categories imposed on the study of visual and material cultures and of the terminology that is used.

Rather than providing a formula for the successful global art-historical study, one should instead seek the answers to the questions of why and how? Why does a swath of cotton from a
maker or makers in India come to Rouen, France? And why did that piece of fabric come to be imbued with the value needed for it to travel across the ocean again to be bought and later bequeathed by an indigenous woman in seventeenth century Trujillo? And how did this fabric come to participate and gain meaning in an incredibly diverse colonial society in ways that are new, unexpected, and potentially unauthorized? The global implications of an art object should be approached from within the socio-contextual climates that produced them. Each individual can do what he or she can to increase their own self-consciousness and relationship to the discipline they practice.

An understanding of other languages, a priority to learn about other cultures, a recognition that one does not and should not have access to all modes of knowledge, an awareness of the constructedness of one’s own reality, a desire to create new knowledges that do not privilege one culture over another. All of these are vital to the survival of art history as an ethical and critical discipline. One must always remain sensitive to his or her own distance in time and space from the historical context of the art objects under study, and to the hierarchical Eurocentric models that constructed the discipline that—though under constant reevaluation—must inform some aspect of what we do. Described by Tom Cummins as the “colonial dialectical struggle” that remains “always and everywhere incomplete,” this phrase seems all too correct when applied the study of early modern visual culture as a whole because it was not—nor should be assumed—that so vast a space can ever reach “completion” as a period in the “relentless march of the art historical survey.” Future scholarship that seeks to understand Peru’s place as a global crossroads will depend on exploring less-seen or outright “invisible” avenues in order to reach new perspectives on a unique aspect of viceregal Andean visual culture.

47 Cummins, Thomas B.F. “The Madonna and the Horse: Becoming Colonial in New Spain and Peru.”
Table of Figures.

Chapter I Figures.

Figure 1.1. Anonymous artist. Español. China produce. Quarteron de Chino, Peru, Eighteenth Century, Oil on canvas, Museo Nacional de Etnologia, Madrid. Reproduced in Artstor.
Figure 1.2. Miguel Cabrera, De español y mulata; morisca New Spain, 1763, Oil on canvas, Private collection. Reproduced in The Arts in Latin America, 1492-1820, catalogue #V1-52.
Figure 1.3: Palampore, India (probably Coromandel Coast), for the European market, ca. 1750; cotton, painted and resist and mordant, dyed, 12 ft. 4 ½ in. x 8 ft. 10 ¾ in., Winterthur Museum, Delaware, Gift of Henry Frances du Pont. Reproduced in Interwoven globe: the worldwide textile trade, 1500-1800, Catalogue #52.
Figure 1.4: Couch, Convent of Santa Catalina, Arequipa. 19th century, upholstered with 18th century colonial Andean tapestry, Reproduced in The colonial Andes: tapestries and silverwork, 1530-1830, “Cumbi to Tapestry: Collection, Innovation, and Transformation of the Colonial Andean Tapestry Tradition” by Elena Phipps, pg. 95
Figure 1.5: Colonial Andean Tapestry, Southern Andes, 18th century; tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft, 78 x 68 in., Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.; Museum Purchase (1961.1.1). Reproduced in The colonial Andes: tapestries and silverwork, 1530-1830, Catalogue #148
Figure 1.6: Cushion cover, Peru, late sixteenth-seventeenth century or later; cotton, silk and linen interlocked and dovetailed tapestry, 45.6 x 43 cm; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Reproduced in Artstor.
Figure 1.7: Bedcover, Mexico, ca. 1776; wool crewel-work embroidery on cotton, 234.9 x 148.6 cm, Denver Art Museum, Neusteter Textile Collection, Gift of Mrs. Frederic H. Douglas Collection, 1956.45. Reproduced in Made in the Americas: the New World Discovers Asia, “By the Boatload: Recieving and Recreating the Arts of Asia” by Donna Pierce, pg. 75, figure 45.
Figure 1.7: Tunic with Asian and European motifs, embroidered in China for the export Peruvian market, eighteenth century, cotton or wool (?) embroidered with silk and metal-wrapped thread. Museo Histórico Nacional, Santiago, Chile (1981-259). Reproduced in *Interwoven globe: the worldwide textile trade, 1500-1800*, “The Iberian Globe: Textile Traditions and Trade in Latin America” by Elena Phipps, pg. 35.
Figure 1.8: Tapestry with Pelican, Peru, late seventeenth-eightheenth century; tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid and silk weft, 69 x 65 in. Textile Museum, Washington D.C., (92.504). Reproduced in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, Catalogue #75
Figure 1.9: Panel with Flowers, Birds, and Animals; China for the export market, seventeenth century; silk, embroidered with silk and gilt-paper-wrapped thread, 100 x 80 in., The Metropolitan Museum of art, New York Bequest of Catherine D. Wentworth, 1948, (48.197.614). Reproduced in Interwoven Globe: the Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500-1800, Catalogue #28
Chapter II Figures.

Figure 2.1: Three figures of Peru. Amédée Frézier, A Voyage to the South-Sea, along the Coasts of Chili and Peru, in the Years 1712, 1713, and 1714 (London, 1717). Rare Books Division, New York Public Library. Reproduced in “The Veiled Ladies of the Early Modern Spanish World: Seduction and Scandal in Seville, Madrid, and Lima” by Laura Bass and Amanda Wunder, pg. 133.
Figure 2.2: Circle of Diego de Silva y Velazquez. *Young Lady with a Mantilla*. 1677 Chatsworth Photo Library, Chatsworth, Bakewell, Derbyshire. Reproduced in “The Veiled Ladies of the Early Modern Spanish World: Seduction and Scandal in Seville, Madrid, and Lima” by Laura Bass and Amanda Wunder, pg. 111.
Figure 2.3: Lady of Arequipa Dressed for church accompanied by her carpe-bearer, from paul marcoy, Travels in south America: from the Pacific Ocean to the Atlantic (London: Blackie & Sons, 1875), p. 44. Brooklyn Museum Library Collection, SCR F3320M33. Reproduced in Behind Closed Doors: Art in the Spanish American Home, 1492-1898, “Domestic Display in the Spanish Overseas Territories” by Jorge Rivas, pg. 69
Figure 2.4: Woman’s wedding mantle, Lake Titicaca, sixteenth or seventeenth century, Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid and metallic and possibly viscacha hair weft. 43 3/8” x 46 3/4”. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (5/3773). Reproduced in the NMAI online collection.
Figure 2.5: Knotted pile carpet, Arequipa, eighteenth century; cotton warp and wool weft pile, 159 x 129 inches(?), 47.16.1, Frank L. Babbott Fund. Reproduced in *Converging Cultures: Art & Identity in Spanish America*, Catalogue #63.
Figure 2.6: Usak *kilim*, first half of the seventeenth century. Photograph by the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts and Vakıflar Carpet Museum, Istanbul. Budapest museum of applied arts. inv no 7.960. Reproduced in *Turkish Carpets from the 13th-18th Centuries* by Ahmet Ertuğ, pg. 219.
Figure 2.7: Colonial Andean tapestry, 17th century or later, Cotton and wool interlocked tapestry with eccentric wefts, 424 x 715 cm (166 15/16 x 281 1/2 in.), 1970.502, Purchased by Museum of Fine Arts, Boston from John Wise, Ltd., 15 East 69th Street, New York, New York, November 10, 1971. Charles Potter Kling Fund. Reproduced in the Metropolitan Museum of Art online database.
Figure 2.8: Anatolian Lotto-style carpet, Anatolia, early-16th century, Wool and possibly goat hair, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Reproduced in Artstor.
Figure 2.9: Detail. Colonial Andean tapestry, 17th century or later, Cotton and wool interlocked tapestry with eccentric wefts, 424 x 715 cm (166 15/16 x 281 1/2 in.), 1970.502, Purchased by Museum of Fine Arts, Boston from John Wise, Ltd., 15 East 69th Street, New York, New York, November 10, 1971. Charles Potter Kling Fund. Reproduced in the Metropolitan Museum of Art online database.
Figure 2.10: Wreath rug fragment; Made in Alcaraz, Spain; mid sixteenth century, Wool, bast fiber (probably flax), and possibly goat hair, 6 feet 10 inches x 4 feet 8 inches (208 x 142 cm), Philadelphia Museum of Art. Reproduced in Artstor.
Figure 2.11: Tunic. Peru. Inca, c. 1500 - Camelid fiber and cotton 35 x Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, Pre-Columbian Collection, Washington, D.C. Reproduced in Artstor.
Figure 2.12: Detail. Colonial Andean tapestry, 17th century or later, Cotton and wool interlocked tapestry with eccentric wefts, 424 x 715 cm (166 15/16 x 281 1/2 in.), 1970.502, Purchased by Museum of Fine Arts, Boston from John Wise, Ltd., 15 East 69th Street, New York, New York, November 10, 1971. Charles Potter Kling Fund. Reproduced in the Metropolitan Museum of Art online database.
Chapter III Figures.

Figure 3.1: Lorenzo Lotto, *Portrait of Giovanni della Volta with his Wife and Children*, 1547, oil on canvas, The National Gallery London. Reproduced in Artstor.
Figure 3.4: Unknown, *The Somerset House Conference*, 1604, Reproduced in Wikipedia commons
Figure 3.2: Francisco de Zurbarán, *Holy Mass with Priest Cabañuelas*, Spain, 1638, Erich Lessing Culture and Fine Arts Archives/ART RESROUCE, N.Y. Reproduced in Artstor.
Figure 3.3: Francisco de Zurbarán, *Saint Bonaventure at the Church Council of Lyon*, Spain, 1629, Museé de Louvre. Reproduced in Artstor.
Figure 3.4: Marcos Zapata (?), *The Last Supper*, The Monastery of San Francisco, Lima. mid-eighteenth century. Photo by author.
Figure 3.5. Marcos Zapata (?), *The Last Supper*, The Monastery of San Francisco, Lima. mid-eighteenth century. Photo by author.
Figure 3.6: Large-Pattern Holbein, Western Anatolia, 1500. Reproduced in *Carpets from Islamic Lands* by Sphuler et al., pg. 43.
Figure 3.7: Peter Paul Rubens, *Portrait of Lady Alethea Howard Countess of Arundel with attendants and Sir Dudly Carleton*. 1620, oil on canvas, Munich, Alte pinakothen. Reproduced in *The Sultan's World: the Ottoman Orient in Renaissance Art* by Born et al., pg. 30.
Figure 3.9: Bartolomé Carducho, *The Last Supper*. 1590, Museo del Prado, Madrid. Reproduced in Art History Reference.
Figure 3.10: Workshop of Flores Leonardo, La Paz School, *Defense of the Host*, Bolivia, 1700-1710. Oil on canvas, 64 in. x 47 in., Denver Art Museum. Reproduced in Artstor.
Figure 3.11: Juan García Salguero(?), *Saint Anne, the Virgin and Saint Joaquin*, from *Scenes of the Life of the Virgin*, Originally in the Church of the Conception Lima 1627, moved to the Cathedral of Lima in 1746. Photo by Author.
Figure 3.12: Juan García Salguero(?), *Saint Anne, the Virgin and Saint Joaquin*, from *Scenes of the Life of the Virgin*, Originally in the Church of the Conception Lima 1627, moved to the Cathedral of Lima in 1746. Photo by Author.
Figure 3.13: Juan García Salguero(?), *Saint Anne, the Virgin and Saint Joaquin*, from *Scenes of the Life of the Virgin*, Originally in the Church of the Conception Lima 1627, moved to the Cathedral of Lima in 1746. Photo by Author.
Figure 3.14: Inca “Military Tunic,” Pre-Colombian. Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Reproduced in Artstor.
Figure 3.15 Monumental Stone, Pre-Columbian. Ollantaytambo, Peru. Photo by author.
Figure 3.16: Juan Zapaca Inga workshop of Basilio de Santa Cruz Pumacallao, Cuzco, Late seventeenth century. Museo de San Francisco, Santiago, Chile. Reproduced in *The Arts in Latin America, 1492-1820*, Catalogue #V1-81
Figure 3.17: Juan Zapaca Inga workshop of Basilio de Santa Cruz Pumacallao, Cuzco, Late seventeenth century. Museo de San Francisco, Santiago, Chile. Reproduced in *The Arts in Latin America, 1492-1820*, Catalogue #V2-78
Works Cited:


Born, Robert, Michał Dziewulski, Guido Messling, Raphael Beuing, Ben Carter, Palais des beaux-arts (Brussels, Belgium), and Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, eds. *The Sultan’s


http://biblioteca.aranjuez.es/i18n/consulta/registro.cmd?id=8363.


Carrera, Magali M. Imagining Identity in New Spain. University of Texas: University of Texas


Ertuğ, Ahmet. *Turkish Carpets from the 13th-18th Centuries*. Published in conjunction with the exhibition held at the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul, Sept. 26-Nov. 12, 1996, 1996.


León Pinelo, Antonio de. Velos antiguos i modernos en los rostros de las mugeres sus con uenienças [sic], i daños: ilustracion de la real prematica de las tapadas : d.c.d. ala señora Doña Maria de Auellaneda, Condesa de Castrillo. En Madrid: Por Iuan Sanchez, 1641.


Martí, Ramón, Joseph de Voisin, Francis Ash, Giovanni Battista de Marini, and Thomas Turco. *Pugio fidei adversus Mauros, et Iudaeos nunc primum in Iucem editus cura ... Thomaee Turco ; subindeque ... Joannis Baptistae de Marinis ... Cum observationibus Domini Iosephi de Voisin*. Parisiis, 1651.


Roberson, Jennifer. “From Dictatorship to Democracy: Cordoba’s Islamic Monuments in the


