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Clothing Colonial Lima: Dress in
Plaza Mayor de Lima de los Reinos de el Peru, año de 1680

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at
Virginia Commonwealth University.

by
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Abstract

CLOTHING COLONIAL LIMA: DRESS IN *PLAZA MAYOR DE LIMA DE LOS REINOS DE EL PERU, AÑO DE 1680*

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Director: Dr. Michael Schreffler, Associate Professor, Department of Art History

The painting *Plaza Mayor de Lima de los Reinos de el Peru, año de 1680*, which is held in the collection of the Museo de América in Madrid, presents an idealized image of social interaction in the Plaza Mayor with its depiction of people from a variety of social groups. Little is known surrounding the painting's commission, and recent scholarship focuses primarily on the colonial architecture within the image. This thesis seeks to shift the scholarly dialogue by examining the depictions of the female figures within the painting. As this thesis will argue, both the portrayal of the female figures in different modes of dress and the location of the figures within the painting document the ways in which distinctions in race and economic class were understood in seventeenth-century Lima. By analyzing the dress and the positioning of the figures, the interactions of Europeans, West Africans, indigenous and mixed raced persons are revealed.

Introduction

In his 1640 emblem book *Idea de un príncipe político-cristiano representada en cien empresas* (*The Idea of a Christian Political Prince Represented in One Hundred Symbols*), Spanish diplomat Diego de Saavedra y Fajardo (1584-1648) suggests the renouncement of decadence in exchange for more conventional values. On the topic of Spanish dress, he comments, “A luxuriously dressed person arouses admiration and respect.”¹ Through this simple and succinct statement, Saavedra y Fajardo makes it clear that dressing well in Spain was understood as a way of setting oneself apart from the rest. Furthermore, the statement implies a sense of hierarchy at play in Spanish society—a hierarchy made visible through clothing. Evidence in wills, popular literature and plays, hospital records, and portraits from this time period further indicate the value that Spanish society attributed to specific garments, textiles, and

¹ Diego de Saavedra y Fajardo’s text is considered anti-Machiavellian in its denouncement of immoral behavior that often became associated with politicians. The original Spanish text reads, “Lo precioso, i brillante en el arreo de la persona causa admiracion, i respeto...” See Diego de Saavedra y Fajardo, *Idea de un príncipe político-cristiano representada en cien Empresas*, 2nd ed. (Milan, 1642), 210. English translation is from Alejandra B. Osorio, *Inventing Lima: Baroque Modernity in Peru’s South Sea Metropolis* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 113-114.

modes of dress.² For instance, garments of silk and lace were valued more highly than items of clothing made from wool, and those who were able to afford luxurious silk and lace garments more likely were considered as members of the upper class in Spain.³ Saavedra y Fajardo continues by arguing that self-representation and appearance were necessary for the division of society and that representing oneself through luxurious items, such as clothing, established one's reputation. Thus, he confirms the presence of a hierarchical system in which luxury goods played a role in the marking of status.⁴ These views regarding clothing certainly were transferred to Spain's American territories, including the Viceroyalty of Peru.

However, Spaniards of the 1600s were neither the first nor the last to consider clothing a signifier of status. Prior to the arrival of the Spanish in Peru, the Inca Empire had established its

² In their examination of the *tapado*, Laura Bass and Amanda Wunder cite popular Spanish Golden Age plays and literature as a primary source for information regarding the garment's use, value, and manipulation. See Laura R. Bass and Amanda Wunder, "The Veiled Ladies of the Early Modern Spanish World: Seduction and Scandal in Seville, Madrid, and Lima." *Hispanic Review* 77, no. 1 (Winter 2009): 97-144. In his study of silk cloaks, Cristian Berco cites a patient admissions book dating to 1654-1665 from the Hospital de Santiago in Toledo. Berco suggests that female patients who wore these garments, which were expensive to produce, were attempting to attain respectability that would have been associated with higher status women who would have owned these garments. For more, see Cristian Berco, "Textiles as Social Texts: Syphilis, Material Culture and Gender in Golden Age Spain," *Journal of Social History* 44, no. 3 (Spring 2011): 785-810. Additionally, Zahira Veliz examines portraiture as a means for understanding elite Spanish and French dress from the mid-seventeenth century. See Zahira Veliz, "Signs of Identity in *Lady with a Fan* by Diego Velázquez: Costume and Likeness Reconsidered," *Art Bulletin* 86 (2004): 75-95.

³ Carmen Bernis suggests that a long, silk cloak marked one as a lady while a woolen cloak implied that the wearer was a common woman. See Carmen Bernis, *El traje y los tipos sociales en el Quijote* (Madrid: Ediciones El Viso, 2001), 252.

⁴ This line of thinking stems from Osorio's interpretation of Saavedra y Fajardo. For more, see Osorio, *Inventing Lima: Baroque Modernity in Peru's South Sea Metropolis*, 114.

own rules governing the use of specific textiles by particular groups of people.⁵ Notably, finely woven textiles referred to as *cumbi* cloth were strictly regulated under the Inca government, and only members of the royal family, high ranking officials, and those chosen by the Sapa Inca (king) could wear these garments.⁶ Although the Inca culture did not have a written language, we have come to understand the worth of these types of garments to those with Inca heritage through the documentation of Spanish chroniclers and colonial era dowries and wills.⁷ As was the case in Spain, these documents provide a basis for understanding the value of clothing and its importance in establishing social hierarchies within Inca culture.

On January 18, 1535, Francisco Pizarro founded the city of Lima, which would become the capital of the Viceroyalty of Peru in 1542.⁸ With the arrival of the Spaniards on Inca territory, the established hierarchies regarding status and clothing were no longer concrete or understood by all parties involved. Originally, the Spanish government issued a *cédula* (decree)

⁵ Pre-Columbian cultures prior to the Incas also had their own textile traditions. To understand just how prevalent textile production was in the Andes, see Ann Pollard Rowe, Elizabeth P. Benson, and Anne-Louise Schaffer, *The Junius B. Bird Pre-Columbian Textile Conference* (Washington D.C: Textile Museum and Dumbarton Oaks, 1979).

⁶ Elena Phipps notes that while the specific definition of *cumbi* has not yet been determined by scholars, most agree that the term refers to Inca fine tapestry weave. See Elena Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes," In *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, edited by Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht, and Cristina Esteras Martín (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004) 17-39.

⁷ In her analysis of Indian women participating in the marketplace, Ana María Presta cites the wills and dowries of women from La Plata. These documents are filled with examples of *cumbi* cloth and other Inca garments. For more see Ana María Presta, "Undressing the *Coya* and Dressing the Indian Woman: Market Economy, Clothing, and Identities in the Colonial Andes, La Plata (Charcas), Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 90, no. 1 (2010): 41-74.

⁸ For a general introduction to Lima's history, including the colonial era, see James Higgins, *Lima: A Cultural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

proclaiming that natives “are prohibited to dress themselves like us.”⁹ Such laws were difficult to enforce, and to make matters more confusing, Lima’s population also included a number of Africans—few were free and most were enslaved.¹⁰ They, too, had their own way of understanding dress and social status prior to arriving on the continent.¹¹ As was the case for natives, African slaves also found their right to dress in a particular manner curtailed by those with power. Because slaves were viewed as property, they often were dressed in clothing chosen by their owners, who in the early years of the Viceroyalty were likely of Spanish heritage.¹²

As the Viceroyalty developed rapidly in the seventeenth century, population data aids in the understanding of Lima’s primary cultural groups. Census information from 1614 revealed the population to number approximately twenty-five thousand, and by 1700, that figure rose to almost thirty-five thousand. Although persons of European heritage accounted for a large portion of the population, data from 1620s suggested an indigenous population that amounted to nearly two thousand while ten thousand Africans, both enslaved and free, also inhabited the city.¹³ With

⁹ Original Spanish text reads, “Les esta prohibido vestirse como nosotros.” See Juan de Solórzano y Pereira, *Política Indiana* (Madrid: Matheo Sacristan, 1736), 197.

¹⁰ Osorio, *Inventing Lima: Baroque Modernity in Peru's South Sea Metropolis*, 24.

¹¹ For instance, some African cultures emphasize the head. This means elaborate headdresses and associated regalia are often made for those viewed as the most important members of society. Additionally, materials differ; some cultures prefer beads and shells to adorn their clothing. For more, see Ulli Beier, *Yoruba Beaded Crowns: Sacred Regalia of the Olokuku of Okuku* (London: Ethnographica in Association with the National Museum, Lagos, 1982).

¹² In her study of slavery in colonial Lima, Tamara J. Walker examines the many ways that slaves navigated society and status through clothing. See Tamara J. Walker, “‘He Outfitted His Family in Notable Decency’: Slavery, Honor, and Dress in Eighteenth-Century Lima, Peru.” *Slavery and Abolition* 30, no. 3 (September 2009): 383-402.

¹³ Osorio also notes that these numbers differ from accounts provided by chroniclers. Differences may be a result of rural-urban migration or nomadic Indians; see Osorio, *Inventing*

a diverse population and the inevitable comingling of these groups came a new system of hierarchy related to both race and class, which was called a *sistema de castas* (caste system).¹⁴

Historians John K. Chance and William B. Taylor have defined the *castas* as a “cognitive and legal system of hierarchically arranged socioracial statuses created by Spanish law and the colonial elite in response to the growth of the miscegenated population in the colonies.”¹⁵ In “Colour by Numbers: Racial and Ethnic Categories in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1532-1824,” David Cahill has tallied a total of twenty-one socioracial categories in Peru and admits that his list is not exhaustive.¹⁶ Within this system, the offspring of these various groups were labeled as new groups; for instance, the offspring of an “*español*” and a “*negra*” resulted in a “*mulato*” while the offspring of an “*español*” and an “*india*” resulted in a “*mestizo*.”¹⁷ The goal of the *castas* was to “whiten” one’s blood—that is to become Spanish—through reproduction. Thus,

Lima: Baroque Modernity in Peru's South Sea Metropolis, 24. See also Walker, “‘He Outfitted His Family in Notable Decency’: Slavery, Honor, and Dress in Eighteenth-Century Lima, Peru,” 383-402.

¹⁴ Ilona Katzew notes that scholars recognize the system of *castas* in the Spanish colonies as a means of social control, but the implementation date of the system remains rather obscure. She seems to suggest that in Mexico City, the system may have gained popularity in the 1630s or 1640s. See Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 43.

¹⁵ While Chance and Taylor present a focused study of *castas* in Oaxaca, this definition is both broad and fitting for Lima as well. See John K. Chance and William B. Taylor, “Estate and Class in Colonial Oaxaca: Oaxaca in 1792,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 19, no. 3 (October 1977): 460.

¹⁶ Cahill also notes that a complex system of racial and ethnic categories existed in Peru prior to the arrival of the Spanish. See David Cahill, “Colour by Numbers: Racial and Ethnic Categories in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1532-1824,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 26, no. 2 (May 1994): 339-340.

¹⁷ Cahill outlines sixteen of these racial categories in his study. See Cahill, “Colour by Numbers: Racial and Ethnic Categories in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1532-1824,” 339.

Spaniards commonly looked down upon marriage with Africans and those with African heritage, as it was believed to be easier to “whiten” one’s blood through marriage with an Indian or a fellow Spaniard.¹⁸ Over time, miscegenation was so prevalent that other factors, such as dress, grew in importance in order to determine social distinctions. As Cahill argues, the *castas* result in an alternative system of signs “in which items of clothing and, literally, the warp and woof of materials signifies a social message, a notation of rank, provenance and even occupation to those privy to the encoded message.”¹⁹

A prolific tradition of painting *castas* existed in colonial Mexico. These paintings generally portrayed a mixed-race couple and their offspring while also underscoring the intimate connection between social status and luxurious dress. Those who were of a higher socioracial class were also more likely to be dressed well within these paintings while those of a lower socioracial class were more likely dressed in common garments.²⁰ However, this fascination with *casta* paintings did not translate to Peru. Only one example of this kind of series exists for Lima through an eighteenth-century commission by the Viceroy Felipe Manuel Cayetano de Amat y de Junyent.²¹ While it is certainly an important series for understanding race and class in

¹⁸ The system is more complicated than this rather simple explanation, and Ilona Katzew’s work provides the best comprehensive understanding of the *castas*. See Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico*, 48-52.

¹⁹ Cahill, "Colour by Numbers: Racial and Ethnic Categories in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1532-1824," 340.

²⁰ For a survey of *casta* paintings from Mexico that show the disparities in dress based on race, see Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico*.

²¹ For a brief introduction to this series, see Scarlett O’Phelan Godoy, "El vestido como identidad étnica e indicador social de una cultura material," In *Barroco Peruano*, edited by Ramón Mujica Pinilla, Vol. 2. (Lima: Banco del Crédito, 2003), 99-133. For a more in-depth analysis of who may have painted the series, see Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, “Los lienzos del virrey Amat y la pintura Limeña del siglo XVIII,” In *Los Cuadros de Mestizaje del Virrey Amat :*

eighteenth-century Lima, Viceroy Amat's *casta* paintings provide less insight regarding these issues during the seventeenth century when the city sustained its largest period of growth. In order to study the visual history of Lima's socioracial categories during this time period, one must rely on other kinds of sources, such as portraits and paintings of public spaces. This thesis centers on the examination of one of these, a painting of the Plaza Mayor of Lima from 1680.

In seventeenth-century Lima, the Plaza Mayor served as the heart of the city—a public space where its racially and economically diverse inhabitants commingled. The bustling square was surrounded by arcades, the royal palace, and the cathedral, among other structures. This meant that the Plaza Mayor regularly hosted traffic from the marketplace and religious and state processions.²² The painting that is my main object of inquiry in this thesis presents an idealized image of activity and social interaction in the Plaza Mayor, depicting people from a variety of social groups.²³ As I will argue, both the portrayal of the female figures in different modes of dress and the location of the figures within the painting document the ways in which distinctions in race and economic class were understood.²⁴

La Representación Etnográfica en el Perú Colonial, edited by Natalia Majluf, (Lima: Museo de Arte de Lima, 2000), 49-65.

²² Both Osorio and Higgins address the lively activity of the Plaza Mayor by noting events such as the birth of Prince Baltasar Carlos, masses held after earthquakes, *autos-da-fe*, pageants of the Inca performed by Indians, and even a reenactment of the Trojan War by a mulatto brotherhood. See Osorio, *Inventing Lima: Baroque Modernity in Peru's South Sea Metropolis*, 22-23; Higgins, *Lima: A Cultural History*, 32-41.

²³ This painting can be found in the collection of the Museo de América in Madrid. The museum has published the image on their webpage here: *Plaza Mayor de Lima*, 1680. Museo de América, Madrid. <http://www.mecd.gob.es/museodeamerica/coleccion2/-ltimas-adquisiciones.html>. The painting can also be found in Richard L. Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 173.

²⁴ For the remainder, I will refer to the painting as *La Plaza Mayor de Lima*. Additionally, I have limited my study to that of women's dress, as it makes up the majority of current

While women's dress in Lima has been a topic of recent scholarship in colonial Latin American Studies, most of the literature is dominated by case studies. Unlike costume histories of European countries, no singular book or article attempts to examine the modes of dress worn by the various races or classes present in colonial Lima.²⁵ Instead, the research tends to focus on an individual group—such as the Indian population—and how members of that group may use clothing to signify their status within society.²⁶ Other case studies tend to analyze the wearing of a particular garment.²⁷ These case studies are illuminating but they do not provide an overall understanding of the different modes of dress in Lima. By taking an approach that seeks to systematically address the variety of fashions portrayed in a singular representation of an urban site of social interaction, this study will permit an examination of identity that is relative through comparison and juxtaposition of socioracial categories.

scholarship on dress in colonial Lima. While men's dress and fashions are documented, it remains largely unstudied by comparison.

²⁵ One example of a thorough analysis of the history of fashion for a European country is Roche's study of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century dress in France. Roche attempts to address every section of the population both male and female in his study. See Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the "Ancien Régime"* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

²⁶ A prime example of focusing on one group, Presta's study investigates how lower class indigenous women claimed new identities by obtaining items of clothing associated with the *coya*; although she is studying La Plata, much of her argument pertains to Lima as well. See Ana María Presta, "Undressing the *Coya* and Dressing the Indian Woman: Market Economy, Clothing, and Identities in the Colonial Andes, La Plata (Charcas), Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 90, no. 1 (2010): 41-74. Walker's article uses a similar approach to give a sense of agency to slaves in colonial Lima. See Walker, "'He Outfitted His Family in Notable Decency,'" 383-402.

²⁷ In their study of the *tapado*, Bass and Wunder use a specific type of garment to examine the anxieties surrounding the development of urbanism. See Bass and Wunder, "The Veiled Ladies of the Early Modern Spanish World: Seduction and Scandal in Seville, Madrid, and Lima," 97-144.

About the Painting

Little is known surrounding the creation of the painting, *Plaza Mayor de Lima de los Reinos de el Peru, año de 1680* (hereafter referred to as *The Plaza Mayor of Lima*). No contracts or other documents have yet been found that provide the name of the artist or the reason for the painting's existence. Late in 2013, the Museo de América in Madrid acquired the painting, and it is now on display for the Museum's visitors. However, in his account of the painting first published in 1964, Enrique Marco Dorta thanked Señor don Antonio Almunia y de León, the marquis of Almunia, for allowing Dorta to write about and research his painting, implying that the painting had been in Spain for quite some time.²⁸ Regardless, it seems likely that the conditions of its commission were similar to those of another cityscape painting dating to the same time period—Cristóbal de Villalpando's *The Plaza Mayor of Mexico City* from 1695.²⁹

Richard Kagan asserts that Villalpando's painting was a result of a commission from the Spanish viceroy, Gaspar de Silva, Count of Gelves, who was to return to Spain the following year. Gelves wanted a positive representation of the city to take back with him to Spain—one that would display how the city flourished under his leadership even if that was not the case. Under Gelves' leadership thievery and food shortages were common, and in 1692, a riot took place. The large group of rioters convened in the Plaza Mayor and set fire to the viceregal palace, causing a great deal of damage that still can be seen in Villalpando's 1695 depiction. Villalpando's painting shows restored order in Gelves' city in the form of inhabitants living

²⁸ Enrique Marco Dorta, "La Plaza Mayor de Lima en 1680," In *Separata del XXXVI Congreso Internacional de Americanistas: Actas y Memorias*, Vol. 4. (Sevilla: Editorial Católica Española, 1966), 295-303.

²⁹ Villalpando's painting is in the Methuen Collection of Corsham Court in the United Kingdom. It can also be found in Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World: 1493-1793*, 163.

peacefully amongst one another. Furthermore, the artist depicts a prosperous Mexico City where imported and local goods are plentiful, suggesting the economic success of the city. By portraying the Plaza Mayor in such a manner, Villalpando's painting acts as a positive representation of Gelves' government for all to see.³⁰

Like Villalpando's *The Plaza Mayor of Mexico City*, *The Plaza Mayor of Lima* presents a positive view of the city. The anonymous artist portrays a diverse range of the city's residents engaging in various activities, and a sense of order is imposed through the legends at left and right, which correspond to the numbers painted in red (**Appendix A**). This ethnographic-like quality offers an explanation of the metropolis by presenting the architectural achievements in the list on the left and the economic achievements of the market in the list on the right. It seems likely that an important political figure or noble commissioned this cityscape to take back to Spain as a way of showing off the bustling marketplace of Lima to Spanish residents.³¹ In Villalpando's painting of Mexico City, Gelves—the patron—appears in his viceregal carriage in the lower left. While the carriages in *The Plaza Mayor of Lima* are filled female travelers, it is possible that the male figure dressed in all white in the lower right is the patron of the painting.³² His extravagant dress sets him apart from those closest to him and implies his importance as the person who commissioned the artist to paint it.

³⁰ Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, 160-161.

³¹ It also seems possible that the well-dressed gentleman wearing all white in the right foreground may have been the commissioner of this painting. In many painting, patrons have been placed in the foreground at either the left or the right.

³² Melchor de Liñán y Cisneros was the viceroy of Peru from 1678 to 1681. He was also the archbishop of Lima from 1677 to 1708 when he died. Unlike Mexico City's Gelves, Liñán y Cisneros' government was considered relatively successful.

While current scholarship on the painting remains scant, both Richard Kagan and Enrique Marco Dorta have discussed *The Plaza Mayor of Lima* in their work. In *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, Kagan places the painting within the context of other cityscape images of Latin America during the colonial period and only briefly touches on the figures portrayed.³³ His chapter, "Projecting Order," in the edited volume, *Mapping Latin America: A Cartographic Reader*, addresses the painting as a visual display of order with its labeled legends and depictions of peace and harmony amongst the various citizens of Lima.³⁴ Enrique Marco Dorta, who first wrote about the painting for the *XXXVI Congreso Internacional de Americanistas* in 1964, examines the architecture of the Plaza Mayor by investigating its portrayal in the painting. While he uses seventeenth-century chroniclers to aid his discussion of the Plaza Mayor, his study is limited to architecture and not the inhabitants of the city.³⁵ By choosing to focus on the portrayal of clothing and the city's inhabitants within the painting, this thesis not only contributes to the history of women's clothing in Lima, but also contributes to knowledge on a lesser-known, important image in the history of colonial Latin American art.

³³ Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, 173-174.

³⁴ Richard L. Kagan, "Projecting Order," In *Mapping Latin America: A Cartographic Reader*, edited by Jordana Dym and Karl Offen, (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 46-50.

³⁵ Dorta has also researched the painting but at a much earlier date, see: Enrique Marco Dorta, "La Plaza Mayor de Lima en 1680," In *Estudios y documentos de arte hispanoamericano* (Madrid: Real Academia de La Historia, 1981), 44-55; Dorta, "La Plaza Mayor de Lima en 1680," In *Separata del XXXVI Congreso Internacional de Americanistas: Actas y Memorias*, Vol. 4. (Sevilla: Editorial Católica Española, 1966), 295-303. The essay from *Estudios y documentos de arte hispanoamericano* is virtually the same as the one published for the *XXXVI Congreso Internacional de Americanistas* with only a few, minor edits.

Chapter Synopses and Methodology

Chapter 1 (“Dressing European”) focuses on feminine European styles of dress as represented within *The Plaza Mayor of Lima*. While examining the three main figures in the right foreground, this chapter addresses the fashions of the Spanish *tapado*, courtly dress, and religious accessories. Through the analysis of sumptuary laws, the chronicles of travelers, popular engravings and paintings, archival documents, and trade history, I argue that these female figures in the foreground are dressed in European styles and attempt to create public personas that are distinctly European—more specifically, Spanish. Their placement in the foreground, I argue, also suggests that Lima is presented as a city where Spanish customs thrive and prevail.

Chapter 2 (“Fashioning Indigeniety”) examines the female figures that represent women of indigenous heritage by first discussing the role of Indian women in the marketplace and garments historically associated with the Inca Empire. I argue that the seated figures to the left and right of the fountain are of native descent. This is because of their long, flowing hair, a characteristic that is thoroughly documented by the chroniclers of colonial Peru. In the literature, long hair either down or in braids is often associated with Andeans, for it was a marker of pride and culture. Furthermore, depictions of Andean women in Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala’s *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615) provide support for this theory. Additionally, an analysis of *pañó azul*, a blue cloth possibly worn by one of the seated figures, provides a marker of status. Lastly, the dress and status of a figure labeled “*India Serrana*” is interpreted given the context of the painting.

Chapter 3 (“Clothing Slaves”) addresses clothing worn by the females representative of slaves with African heritage in the painting. In the lower left portion of the image, two, dark-

skinned women follow closely behind a carriage and appear finely dressed. These women are likely the slaves of the women in the carriage and are dressed to display the wealth of their masters. Yet, in the right hand portion of the image, several women also possibly of African descent, appear just below and to the right of the jumping dog and are dressed in less extravagant clothing. Both groups of women are united through their head wraps, which are attributed to West Africa. This examination includes important numbers from Peru's notarial records regarding slaves in addition to accounts from chroniclers and portraits of African women from other regions.

Lastly, the conclusion examines the findings regarding the portrayal of dress and the positioning of the figures within *The Plaza Mayor of Lima*. This conclusion emphasizes that although the painting is an idealized image, it allows for us to better comprehend race and economic class as it was understood by colonials.

Chapter 1: Dressing European

The *Tapado* and the Veiled Ladies of Lima

“There are no Sundays nor holidays in which some church does not have a celebration where the people go to pray and—under that pretext—to stroll, because many veiled women (*mujeres tapadas*) walk through the streets.”

-Fray Diego de Ocaña, *Un viaje fascinante por la America Hispana del siglo XVI*³⁶

Spanish Jeromite Diego de Ocaña traveled to Lima in 1599 and remained there for a year until he moved to Chile in 1600. Eventually, Ocaña returned to Lima in 1603 and lived there for five years before journeying to New Spain.³⁷ During his time in Lima, he recorded details of various religious events and descriptions of the city’s inhabitants, aptly noting the “*muchas mujeres tapadas*”—or the “many veiled women.”³⁸ As noted in the epigraph, people looked for reasons to stroll through Lima's streets to see them. In the bottom right corner of the painting *The Plaza Mayor of Lima*, several of these “*mujeres tapadas*” appear in the foreground wearing a black, veil-like garment known as a *manto* or a mantle. The female figure the furthest to the right, cloaked almost entirely in black, is most certainly a *tapada*. *Tapada* was the name

³⁶ Original Spanish text reads, “Pues no hay domingos ni días de fiesta en que alguna iglesia no haya fiesta, adonde la gente acude a rezar y con este achaque a pasear, porque andan muchas mujeres tapadas por las calles” in Fray Diego de Ocaña, *Un viaje fascinante por la América Hispana del siglo XVI* (Madrid: Studium, 1969), 95.

³⁷ Osorio, *Inventing Lima: Baroque Modernity in Peru's South Sea Metropolis*, 166.

³⁸ Ocaña, *Un viaje fascinante por la América Hispana del siglo XVI*, 95.

given to a woman who wore her *manto* in such a way that it was referred to as a *tapado*. A fashionable way to wear a *manto*, the *tapado* required the manipulation of the garment by the wearer so that it covered the upper body and the majority of the face with the exception of one eye. This meant that depending on the construction of the *manto*, the *tapada* wore the garment either meticulously draped over her face or held in place with her hand, revealing only a small portion of her face.³⁹ As Laura Bass and Amanda Wunder have asserted, “It was...the way that a woman handled her mantle that transformed her into a *tapada*.”⁴⁰ The following paragraphs will examine the Spanish origin of the *tapado*, the materials from which it was most often made, and its role in determining a wearer’s status in Limeñan society before considering the depiction of the *mujeres tapadas* in *The Plaza Mayor of Lima*.

While the *tapado* was a popular fashion in Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, its origins may be traced back further. From roughly 711 C.E. to 1492 C.E., portions of Spain were under Islamic rule, influencing both the religion and the customs of the country.⁴¹ Although there is some debate amongst scholars, it has been suggested that the *tapado* is related to a garment called the *almalafa*, which was worn by Muslim women in Iberia. The *amalafa* was large sheet of fabric that covered the entire body except for the eyes.⁴² In Christoph Weiditz’s

³⁹ Bass and Wunder, "The Veiled Ladies of the Early Modern Spanish World: Seduction and Scandal in Seville, Madrid, and Lima," 108.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ For a historical overview of Muslim influence in Spain, see Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of Al-Andalus* (London: Longman, 1996).

⁴² Costume historian Carmen Bernis suggests that there is no direct relationship between the *almalafa* and the *tapado*; see Bernis, *El traje y los tipos sociales en el Quijote*, 257. Lillian Zirpolo briefly describes the *almalafa* in Lillian Zirpolo, "Madre Jerónima de La Fuente and Lady with a Fan: Two Portraits by Velázquez Reexamined," *Women's Art Journal* 15, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 19. For another brief description, see also Antoine de Brunel, "Viaje de España,"

1529 drawing, *Morisca Woman in Almalafa* (**Figure 7**), the woman is depicted holding her knee-length *almalafa* against her face, only revealing her eyes.⁴³ This form of dress was meant to promote chastity amongst Islamic women by concealing their bodies and thus their beauty.⁴⁴ Following the Inquisition, which brought about forced conversion and expulsion of the Muslims in Spain, several laws were passed in 1513 that banned Muslims in Granada from wearing the *almalafa*.⁴⁵ These decrees were meant to keep the converted Muslims from reverting back to their Islamic ways by removing the simple, everyday reminder of the *almalafa*.⁴⁶

While the *almalafa* had existed prior to the Spanish Golden Age, so too did the *manto*—or mantle—have a long history. According to costume historian François Boucher, the garment was developed in the tenth century and was worn often by the wealthier classes.⁴⁷ In their *Survey of Historic Costume: A History of Western Dress*, Phyllis Tortura and Keith Eubank refer to the

in *Viajes de Extranjeros por España y Portugal*, edited by J. Garcia Mercadal, Vol. II (Madrid: Aguilar, 1959), 418.

⁴³ Weiditz's *Morisca Woman in Almalafa* can be found in the collection of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, Germany. It can also be found in Bass and Wunder, "The Veiled Ladies of the Early Modern Spanish World: Seduction and Scandal in Seville, Madrid, and Lima," 103.

⁴⁴ Zirpolo, "Madre Jerónima de La Fuente and Lady with a Fan: Two Portraits by Velázquez Reexamined," 19.

⁴⁵ According to the decrees, in addition to enticing recent converts from Islam to Christianity, the *almalafa* allowed its wearers to commit acts of sin while literally under a veil of anonymity. For more on this, see Bass and Wunder, "The Veiled Ladies of the Early Modern Spanish World: Seduction and Scandal in Seville, Madrid, and Lima," 105.

⁴⁶ Deborah Root has cited instances in which Muslim women were punished by the Spanish government for wearing their veils in the late 1400s. See Deborah Root, "Speaking Christian: Orthodoxy and Difference in Sixteenth-Century Spain," *Representations*, no. 23 (Summer 1988): 118-34. See also, Bass and Wunder, "The Veiled Ladies of the Early Modern Spanish World: Seduction and Scandal in Seville, Madrid, and Lima," 105.

⁴⁷ François Boucher, *20,000 Years of Fashion: The History of Costume and Personal Adornment* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1983), 171-172.

mantle as a “cloak or cape designating high rank” that was worn by both sexes in tenth century Europe.⁴⁸ The mantle continued to exist as an element of both male and female dress for several centuries leading into the 1500s. Notably, the garment was particularly popular in Spain as evidenced by numerous paintings and engravings, such as Sebastian Vrancx and Peeter de Jode’s circa 1600 *Hispani et Hispanae in Vestitu Cultus* (**Figure 8**), which shows a “cultivated Spanish lady” wearing a sheer *manto* as she is approached by a Spanish gentleman.⁴⁹

In his 1641 treatise on veils titled *Velos antiguos y modernos en los rostros de las mujeres*, Antonio de León Pinelo suggested that once the *almalafa* was prohibited by the Spanish government again in 1567, Muslim women adopted the Castilian mantle.⁵⁰ The Muslim women wore it so fashionably—according to León Pinelo—that Christian Spanish women began to wear the garment in a similar manner.⁵¹ It was around this time that the *tapado* became popular in

⁴⁸ Although this book presents an overall survey of costume, its definitions of garments provide readers with a basic understanding of costume history and the role that individual garments played. See Phyllis G. Tortura and Keith Eubank, *Survey of Historic Costume: A History of Western Dress*, 4th ed. (New York: Fairchild Publications, 2005), 110.

⁴⁹ Sebastian Vrancx and Peeter de Jode, *Hispani et Hispanae in Vestitu Cultus*, can be found in the Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, in Berlin, Germany. It can also be found in Bass and Wunder, "The Veiled Ladies of the Early Modern Spanish World: Seduction and Scandal in Seville, Madrid, and Lima," 110.

⁵⁰ Antonio de León Pinelo was born in present day Argentina and received his education in Lima before travelling to Spain in 1613. See Antonio de León Pinelo, *Velos antiguos i modernos en los rostros de las mugeres sus conuenencias i daños* (Madrid: Por Juan Sanchez, 1641), 45, 48.

⁵¹ León Pinelo, *Velos antiguos i modernos en los rostros de las mugeres sus conuenencias i daños*, 45.

Spain. As Bass and Wunder have argued, the garment's presence is noted in the art, literature, and plays of both Seville and Madrid in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁵²

In 1587, Alonso de Morgado wrote his *Historia de Sevilla*, in which he comments on the veiled ladies of the city. He notes, "They wear a dress that is very round; they proudly walk upright and in small steps...their charm and elegance makes them well known throughout the Kingdom, due especially to how they gracefully luxuriate, and cover their faces with veils, and glance with only one eye."⁵³ His apt description of the *tapadas* of the city corresponds with several depictions of Spanish cityscapes in which veiled women feature prominently. For instance, in Juan Bautista Martínez de Mazo's painting titled *View of the City of Saragossa* from 1647, a woman wearing a *tapado* appears in the middle ground at left just in front of the river.⁵⁴ She wears a sheer, black veil, revealing only one eye as she extends her hand to a potential suitor. Just as Morgado has described, she also appears to wear a round dress as signified by her very wide, blue skirt.⁵⁵ In another seventeenth-century cityscape titled *View of the Alameda de*

⁵² This paper will not examine the plays or the literature in depth, but Laura Bass and Amanda Wunder have summed up the major examples in their study of the *tapado*. See Bass and Wunder, "The Veiled Ladies of the Early Modern Spanish World: Seduction and Scandal in Seville, Madrid, and Lima," 97-131.

⁵³ English translation from Zirpolo, "Madre Jerónima de La Fuente and Lady with a Fan: Two Portraits by Velázquez Reexamined," 19. Original Spanish text reads: "Llevan el vestido muy redondo, precia se de andar muy derechas, y menuda el paso, y asi las hace el buen donaire, y gallardia conocidas por todo el reino, en especial por la gracia con que se lozanean, y se a tapan los rostros con los mantos, y mirar de un ojo." See Alonso de Morgado, *Historia de Sevilla* (Sevilla: Imprenta de Andrea Pescioni y Juan de Leon, 1587), 47.

⁵⁴ Juan Bautista Martínez de Mazo's *View of the City of Saragossa* from 1647 can be found in the collection of the Museo Nacional del Prado in Madrid under the inventory number P00889. It can also be found through the following link: <https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/online-gallery/on-line-gallery/obra/view-of-the-city-of-saragossa/>

⁵⁵ This very wide skirt is likely a farthingale or a *guardainfante*, both of which were popular and controversial in Spain. Zirpolo suggests that they were often considered scandalous as the

Hércules, Seville from the collection of the Hispanic Society of America in New York, two women are portrayed wearing *tapados* in the foreground.⁵⁶ They both wear the black veils, obscuring their faces with the exception of one eye, as they approach another potential suitor. Further back in the middle ground, another *tapada* approaches a suitor as they stand between two honorific columns. So ubiquitous had the *tapado* become that in his costume book from 1590, Italian Cesare Vecellio portrayed a typical Spanish woman as one who proudly wore the *tapado*.⁵⁷ During these centuries, the *tapado* had become an internationally recognized symbol of Spanish dress.

Despite its widespread popularity, the courts attempted to prohibit women from wearing the *tapado* as it was feared that the garment promoted promiscuous and sinful behavior. This profane behavior could occur because the wearer of the *garment* was able to walk around the city cloaked in a veil of anonymity. As early as 1586, the Cortes de Castilla requested that King Philip II forbid the fashion as “The custom of women to go veiled [as *tapadas*]...is now prejudicial to the best interests of the State, for, because of this fashion a father no longer

wide skirts could hide the prominent belly associated with pregnancy. See Zirpolo, "Madre Jerónima de La Fuente and Lady with a Fan: Two Portraits by Velázquez Reexamined," 20.

⁵⁶ The *View of the Alameda de Hércules, Seville* from the seventeenth century is in the collection of the Hispanic Society of America in New York. It can be found in Bass and Wunder, "The Veiled Ladies of the Early Modern Spanish World: Seduction and Scandal in Seville, Madrid, and Lima," 121.

⁵⁷ Bass and Wunder have discussed the *View of the Alameda de Hércules, Seville* and Cesare Vecellio's portrayal of the Spanish woman in their study of the *tapado*. See Bass and Wunder, "The Veiled Ladies of the Early Modern Spanish World: Seduction and Scandal in Seville, Madrid, and Lima," 102-105, 120-122. Zirpolo briefly examines *View of the City of Saragossa* in her exploration of the *tapado*. See Zirpolo, "Madre Jerónima de La Fuente and Lady with a Fan: Two Portraits by Velázquez Reexamined," 19.

recognizes his daughter, nor a husband his wife...”⁵⁸ Following this complaint, the Crown issued a pragmatic (royal sanction) in 1590 that prohibited the wearing of the *tapado* at the expense of a hefty fine of 3,000 *maravedis*.⁵⁹ Women continued embracing the fashion, however, which led to the reissuance of the ban in 1594, 1600, and 1639.⁶⁰ As evidenced by the dates of the abovementioned artistic depictions of the garment, the laws did not deter women from flaunting the *tapado* in public, and it appears to have played a role in Spanish fashion until around 1770, when the government of Charles III began enforcing harsher penalties.⁶¹

Regardless of the bans and fines issued by the Spanish government, women brought the *tapado* to the colonies where the fashion flourished especially in Lima. In the painting *The Plaza Mayor of Lima*, it is clear that the female figure the furthest to the right, cloaked almost entirely in black, is a *tapada*. As Bass and Wunder have asserted, “While visual representations of Lima’s *tapadas* are scant prior to the nineteenth century—an exception is found in Amédée Frézier’s popular travel book.”⁶² Although she reveals more than one of her eyes, the overall

⁵⁸ Original Spanish text reads, “El uso de andar tapadas las mugeres, que dello han resultado grandes ofensas de Dios y notable daño a la república, á causa de que en aquella forma, no conoce el padre á la hija, ni el marido á la muger...” from *Actas de las Cortes de Castilla*, Vol. 9. (Madrid, 1885), 440-41. English translation from Marcelin Defourneaux, *Daily Life in Spain in the Golden Age* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1970), 159.

⁵⁹ Bass and Wunder, "The Veiled Ladies of the Early Modern Spanish World: Seduction and Scandal in Seville, Madrid, and Lima," 99.

⁶⁰ In 1639, the pragmatic tripled the previous fine of 3,000 *maravedis* in hope of being more effective. See *Prematica en que su magestad manda, que ninguna muger ande tapada* (Madrid, 1639), n. pag. as cited by Bass and Wunder, "The Veiled Ladies of the Early Modern Spanish World: Seduction and Scandal in Seville, Madrid, and Lima," 99.

⁶¹ José Deleito y Piñuela, *La Mujer, La Casa y La Moda* (Madrid: España-Calpe, 1966), 285-289.

⁶² Bass and Wunder, "The Veiled Ladies of the Early Modern Spanish World: Seduction and Scandal in Seville, Madrid, and Lima," 132.

covering of the face by the figure in *The Plaza Mayor of Lima* is remarkably similar to an image from Frézier's *A Voyage to the South-Sea, along the Coasts of Chili and Peru, in the Years 1712, 1713, and 1714*.⁶³ Frézier's *tapada*—like the Plaza Mayor figure—reveals one eye and half of her nose and mouth. Thus, the Plaza Mayor painting is significant for the history of the *tapado* as it is the earliest depiction of the garment in colonial Lima.

Costume historian Carmen Bernis has suggested that mantles—the primary garment from which a *tapado* was formed—could be made from wool, linen, silk, damask, and gauze.⁶⁴ In *The Plaza Mayor of Lima*, the three women in the foreground are shown wearing black mantles, which likely were made of a fine silk given their diaphanous quality. This is particularly noticeable on the woman wearing a white dress and holding a rosary; the artist depicts her grasping a sheer, black veil in her proper right hand as her white dress shines through the luminous fabric. The veil of the *tapada* also appears relatively translucent, most noticeably in the area surrounding her face. The artist chooses to portray these women wearing diaphanous silks in order to assert their status as members of the upper class. While extant examples of these silk mantles are difficult to find, it seems likely that the sheer mantles that the artist depicts are similar in opacity to a later English mantle found in the collection of Colonial Williamsburg.⁶⁵

⁶³ Three figures of Peru from Amédée Frézier's *A Voyage to the South-Sea, along the Coasts of Chili and Peru, in the Years 1712, 1713, and 1714* (London, 1735) can be found in this digital copy of the book that has been published by the Getty Research Institute: <https://archive.org/details/voyagetosouthsea00frzi>.

⁶⁴ Bernis, *El traje y los tipos sociales en el Quijote*, 248-256.

⁶⁵ This woman's cape or mantle made of black woven lace between 1760-1775 in England is made of sheer silk gauze. It can be found in the collection of Colonial Williamsburg under the accession number 1993-337. It also can be found at the following link: <http://emuseum.history.org/view/objects/asitem/search@/0/title-desc?t.state:flow=3536d493-5bd0-48d4-bc96-2f435e6a91a9>

This English mantle, which dates to 1760-1775, is black woven lace made of sheer silk gauze and includes a hood and brocaded designs of flora.⁶⁶ Unlike this English mantle, however, the mantles that the Plaza Mayor women wear probably did not include the brocaded designs or hoods (as they were likely manipulated by their wearers instead).

In his *Historia general del Perú*, Martín de Murúa described Lima's market, noting, "They sell everything precious and valued that England, Flanders, France, Germany, Italy, and Spain produces, works and weaves...when man desires the cloths, brocades, velvets, fine cloth, rags, damasks, satins, silks...they have all here, at the measure that one wants, as if one were in the richest and most frequented fairs of Antwerp, London, Lyon, Medina del Campo, Seville, and Lisbon."⁶⁷ Produced by silkworms, silk was a strong fiber celebrated for its lustrous and lightweight quality.⁶⁸ Spain prohibited its colonies from manufacturing luxury textiles such as silk, so Lima never successfully cultivated silk during the colonial era; it was therefore imported from European countries and China and subsequently sold in the market.⁶⁹ According to textile

⁶⁶ For a guide to textile terms such as silk, lace, and brocade, see Elena Phipps, *Looking at Textiles: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2011).

⁶⁷ Murúa's text was published as multiple manuscripts from 1590 to 1616. Original Spanish text reads, "Se vende todas las cosas preciosas y de estima que Inglaterra, Flandes, Francia, Alemania, Italia y España producen, labran y tejen...cuando el hombre pudiere desear de telas, brocados, terciopelos, paño finos, rajas, damascos, rasos, sedas...todo lo hallarán allí a medida de su voluntad, como si estuviera en las muy rica y frecuentadísimas ferias de Amberes, Londres, León, Medina del Campo, Sevilla y Lisboa" in Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Perú: Origen y descendencia de los Incas*, Vol. 2 (Madrid, 1611), 507. English translation from Elena Phipps, "The Iberian Globe: Textile Traditions and Trade in Latin America," In *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500-1800*, edited by Amelia Peck (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), 33.

⁶⁸ Phipps, *Looking at Textiles: A Guide to Technical Terms*, 70.

⁶⁹ The Manila galleons first began servicing Alcapulco and Callao (Lima's port) in 1572. See Elena Phipps, "Cumbi to Tapestry: Collection, Innovation, and Transformation of the

historian Elena Phipps, silk was the primary export from China to Acapulco and Lima in exchange for New World silver.⁷⁰ Furthermore, Phipps has also noted that forty silk merchants operated in the *Calle de Mercaderes* (Street of Merchants adjacent to the Plaza Mayor) in Lima, suggesting that silk—and therefore the silk mantle—was readily available in colonial Lima.⁷¹ Spain recognized the demand for silk in the colonies and attempted on several occasions to block imports of the textile from China when trade became too competitive with Spain's own exports to Lima and other colonial cities.⁷² Nevertheless, silk was imported continuously during the seventeenth century and played a key role in women's dress in colonial Lima.

The presence of well-made silk garments in the archival records of Peru's colonial inhabitants suggests the perceived value of these types of textiles. By including silk garments in inventories of estates amongst other goods with great value, there exists the suggestion that silk garments also were considered highly prized goods. In her study of indigenous women in colonial Peru, Karen Graubart cites the example of Ynes Quispi, a woman of indigenous descent who moved to Lima from the highlands. According to Graubart, "Her 1623 will described her estate as including large amounts of extremely fine Indian and European clothing (*llicllas* made of *cumbe*, *awasca*, silk, taffeta, and velvet as well as Castillian wool skirts, and *ruán* shirts and

Colonial Andean Tapestry Tradition," In *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, edited by Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht, and Cristina Esteras Martín (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 81.

⁷⁰ Phipps, "The Iberian Globe: Textile Traditions and Trade in Latin America," 34.

⁷¹ Phipps, "Cumbi to Tapestry: Collection, Innovation, and Transformation of the Colonial Andean Tapestry Tradition," 82.

⁷² According to Phipps, the prohibition of silk imports from China to Lima occurred in 1591, 1593, 1595, and 1604. It seems that during the 1600s these restrictions became more relaxed and silk imports were numerous. See Phipps, "The Iberian Globe: Textile Traditions and Trade in Latin America," 34, 313.

bedclothes)...”⁷³ Graubart continues by citing several other indigenous women who measured their wealth through items of clothing. For instance, in 1631 Catalina Ynes, “‘who said she was an Indian, native of the city of Guayaquil, dressed in the style of a Spaniard,’ came before a notary with her employer, doña Ana María de Rivera...to state for the record that she had received the following as pay for her service: fifty *pesos* in cash, two silk *sayas*, two *ruán* shirts, a shawl made of silk from Toledo, and a mattress.”⁷⁴ María Madalena, born to Rodrigo de Tapia and an Indian mother, visited a notary in 1602 to collect on a loan that she had made. According to Graubart, Madalena’s wardrobe was recorded by the notary as including “*sayas* of taffeta and two kinds of silk, a number of fashionable headcoverings, and veils.”⁷⁵ For these women, wealth was measured to some extent by the quality of the garments that they owned and that quality included the materials from which the garments were made.

Although garments of silk can be found in indigenous wills—which suggests that indigenous women indeed wore these garments—it is important to note the restrictions imposed by the government regarding silks and *tapados* specifically. In their *Chronicle of Colonial Lima*, Josephe and Francisco Mugaburu document important events in Lima’s history from 1640 to

⁷³ Although I will be discussing several of these terms in the next chapter, it will help to briefly define *illiclla* here. The *illiclla* is the Andean equivalent of a mantle that Incan women would wear over their shoulders. For more on this testament, see Karen B. Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Colonial Society in Peru, 1550-1700* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 70. Graubart is working from the following will: "Testamento de Ynes Quispi," AGN PN Tamayo, 1851 [1631], f. 736.

⁷⁴ Although I will be discussing several of these terms in the next chapter, it will help to briefly define *saya* here. The *saya* was a popular skirt worn at this time. For more on Catalina Ynes, see Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Colonial Society in Peru, 1550-1700*, 150. Graubart is working from the following document: "Carta de pago," AGN PN Tamayo, 1853 [1630], f. 434.

⁷⁵ Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Colonial Society in Peru, 1550-1700*, 154. Graubart is working from the following document: "Testamento de Maria Madalena," AGN PN Gómez de Baeza 35, [1601], f. 1088.

1697. The year 1667 was marked by a ban on silk as they note that “no mulatto woman, Negress, or *zamba*, freed or slave, without exception, [could] wear a dress of silk, nor trimming of gold or silver, nor black trim of silk or linen.”⁷⁶ This restriction was both race and class based; by prohibiting a specific race from wearing a silk garment, the government attempted to keep that race at a lower class level. Anti-*tapado* legislation functioned in a similar manner. As in Spain, the *tapado* caused great anxiety in Lima; however, it seems that Lima’s government feared the *tapado* because of its ability to conceal race and class rather than its ability to allow the wearer to commit potentially scandalous acts. In 1624, viceroy Marqués de Guadalcázar issued a ban against the wearing of the *tapado* in Lima, citing the disruption of church services and processions, but the punishments, which were based on race and social status, reveal an underlying motivation. The fine for women found guilty of donning the *tapado* in public was the same for all.⁷⁷ However, women of the nobility were to spend ten days in prison while a sentence of thirty days in prison was issued for all *negras*, *mulatas*, and *mestizos*, who violated the ban.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Two additional bans were issued the same day regarding the use of particular weapons. See Josephe and Francisco de Mugaburu, *Chronicle of Colonial Lima: The Diary of Josephe and Francisco Mugaburu, 1640-1697*, Translated by Robert Ryal Miller (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975), 124.

⁷⁷ Bass and Wunder, "The Veiled Ladies of the Early Modern Spanish World: Seduction and Scandal in Seville, Madrid, and Lima," 137.

⁷⁸ Bass and Wunder cite the original Premática, and the original Spanish text reads, “el exesso de las dichas Tapadas ha crecido tanto que ha causado, y causa graves daños, y escandalos en esta republica, y turban, e inquietan la asistencia, y devocion, de los templos y de las proseciones, y demas actos religiosos que se procuran hazer para aplacar la ira de Dios... las que contraviniendo a esta prohibicion fuezen halladas, y aprehendidas estando tapadas, o se probare, y aberiguare con informacion bastante que lo han estado, tengan perdido y pierdan por el mismo caso el manto con que se tapazen... y con diez dias de Carcel con declaracion que si la que assi se hallare tapada fuse muger noble... y si las tales Tapadas fueren negras, o mulatas, o mestizas, han de tener, y tengan la pena misma pecuniaria, y del manto, y teinta dias de carcel, y por la segunda vez la propia pena con mas destierro de esta ciudad por un año” from *Provisión para que las mugeres no anden tapadas*, fols. 269r-70v.

The noble—the upper class, who likely had some claim to Hispanic heritage—were privileged in their punishment while those of a lower *casta* were forced to endure harsher penalties.

The anonymous artist of *The Plaza Mayor of Lima* portrays the three mantle-clad women in the foreground, and thus they appear larger in size than the other figures. Given the privileged placement and size of these figures, the artist is able to include greater detail as seen in the fabric types and skin tones. Notably, the women wear highly valued silk mantles, and one is even shown manipulating her garment into a *tapado*. These well-dressed women are further distinguished by their pale skin tone as they arguably are represented as the palest figures in the painting—especially when compared to the figures portrayed in the middle and backgrounds. Through the Spanish dress and pallor, the artist depicts these figures in a way that would lead a viewer familiar with the socio-economics of seventeenth-century Lima to identify them as *españolas* (women from Spain) or *criollas* (women born in the New World to Spanish parents). Unlike the figures behind them, these females are not shown engaging in business transactions or sales. Instead, they stand in the foreground displaying their fashionable clothing for all to see. Presumably these women represent the upper class and do not need to sell clothing in the marketplace in order to have the money necessary to purchase their highly valued silk mantles. It may have been women such as these *tapadas* who drew pious church-goers (described by Ocaña at the beginning of the chapter) and other inhabitants of the city to the Plaza Mayor.

Courtly Dress and a Rosary

Of this grouping of the three veiled women in the foreground, one figure displays a partially open mantle, revealing a mostly white dress similar to the one worn by the Infanta

Margarita in Diego Velázquez's renowned painting, *Las Meninas*.⁷⁹ Velázquez's portrait of the royal family of Spain dates to 1656—a pivotal moment in Spanish fashion. According to Silvia Ventosa, “Fashion in Spain has had two stellar moments of influence over European fashions. First was the *moda a la española*, which spread from the powerful Spanish court of the Hapsburgs to other European courts through matrimonial and political alliances from 1530 to 1665.”⁸⁰ The artist portrays the Infanta Margarita in the most regal Spanish garments when the country's fashion was at its zenith. In *Las Meninas*, the Infanta wears a white, silk dress with a high neckline that features a circular, decorative motif comprised of what appear to be bows. Furthermore, she also wears a wide, farthingale skirt known as a *guardainfante*.⁸¹ Although the female figure from the Plaza Mayor painting does not wear the *guardainfante*, her dress is also of a luxurious, white fabric and includes a high neckline.

The high neckline was indicative of Spanish courtly dress during this time period. Zahira Veliz notes that a lower neckline that displayed the décolletage was a French fashion that

⁷⁹ Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez's *Las Meninas*, or *The Family of Felipe IV*, which dates to 1656 can be found in the collection of the Museo Nacional del Prado in Madrid under the inventory number P01174. It can also be found at the following link: <https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/online-gallery/on-line-gallery/obra/the-family-of-felipe-iv-or-las-meninas/>.

⁸⁰ Silvia Ventosa, "Part 5: Italy and the Iberian Peninsula: Spain," Translated by Lucy Lawton, In *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion*, edited by Lise Skov, Vol. 8. (Oxford: Berg, 2010).

⁸¹ The *guardainfante* literally translates to “baby protector.” The wide skirt was actually quite controversial and many laws were established in an attempt to prohibit its use. See Amanda Wunder, "Spain: Dress," In *Lexikon of the Hispanic Baroque: Transatlantic Exchange and Transformation*, edited by Evonne Levy and Kenneth Mills, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), 108-110. In her examination of *Las Meninas*, Madlyn Millner Kahr asserts that the Infanta wears a dress of fine silk. See Madlyn Millner Kahr, "Velázquez and *Las Meninas*," *The Art Bulletin* 57, no. 2 (June 1975): 225.

eventually found its way to the Spanish courts in the late seventeenth century.⁸² Alternatively, Spanish ladies continued to dress more conservatively as denoted by the high neckline in Velázquez's depiction of the Infanta Margarita.⁸³ This neckline preserved the modesty of the women who chose to wear it and aligned them with notions of Spanish piety as promoted by the government.

The woman wearing the white dress in *The Plaza Mayor of Lima* also holds a rosary in her proper left hand. Rosaries were popular in both French and Spanish fashion during the 1600s. According to Veliz, French members of the aristocracy and well-off bourgeoisie were often depicted holding or wearing rosaries around their wrists.⁸⁴ One early example appears in a 1624 print by Jacques Callot from the series titled *La noblesse* in which a well-dressed woman is shown with a rosary dangling from her wrist.⁸⁵ Writing of her travels in Spain in 1679, the French Comtesse d'Aulnoy colorfully noted, "All the ladies have one [a rosary] attached to their belt, so long, that they almost drag along the ground. They say it [the rosary] without end, in the

⁸² Veliz discusses low and high necklines in her examination of a painting by Diego Velázquez. See Veliz, "Signs of Identity in *Lady with a Fan* by Diego Velázquez: Costume and Likeness Reconsidered," 78, 82, & 84. Amanda Wunder notes that at the end of the seventeenth century, French fashions were in vogue at the Spanish court after the death of the last Bourbon King, Charles II, in 1700. See Wunder, "Spain: Dress," 109.

⁸³ Veliz, "Signs of Identity in *Lady with a Fan* by Diego Velázquez: Costume and Likeness Reconsidered," 79, 81-82. See also, Wunder, "Spain: Dress," 109.

⁸⁴ Veliz, "Signs of Identity in *Lady with a Fan* by Diego Velázquez: Costume and Likeness Reconsidered," 82. Jacques Callot's *Lady with a Large Collar, Her Hair Pulled Back and a Rosary at Her Wrist*, from *La noblesse lorraine*, 1624, can be found in the collection of The British Museum in London under the accession number 1871,1209.2427. It also can be found at the following link:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1566157&partId=1&searchText=la+noblesse&people=130293&from=ad&fromDate=1624&page=1.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

street, while playing *hombre*, while speaking, and even in making love...”⁸⁶ If d’Aulnoy’s account of the widespread nature of rosaries in Spain is to be believed, then it seems clear that rosaries certainly played a role in Spanish fashion. In Velázquez’s 1638 *Lady with a Fan*, another well-dressed woman appears with a rosary wrapped around her wrist.⁸⁷ While scholars have questioned her identity, Veliz suggests that her low-cut dress signifies that she may have been a French woman—possibly Marie de Rohan, duchess of Chevreuse—present at Spanish court.⁸⁸ Even Flemish painter Anthony van Dyck painted a portrait of his Scottish wife, Mary Ruthven, wearing a rosary around her wrist in 1639.⁸⁹ The presence of rosaries in these portraits suggest that the item was distinctly European and associated with upper class or fashionable, elite women.

In “Dressing Colonial, Dressing Diaspora,” Gridley McKim-Smith argues that Creole women—those born to Spanish parents in the New World—may have worn indigenous garments in the privacy of their homes. However, when they presented themselves in public, clothing

⁸⁶ Original French text reads, “Toutes les dames en ont un attaché à leur ceinture, si long, qu’il ne s’en faut guère qu’il ne traîne à terre. Elles le dissent sans fin, dans les rues, en jouant à l’hombre, en parlant, et meme en faisant l’amour...” in Comtesse d’Aulnoy, *Relation du voyage d’Espagne* (Paris: Imprimeurs-Éditeurs, 1874), 270.

⁸⁷ Diego Velázquez’s *Lady with a Fan* (ca. 1638) can be found in the Wallace Collection in London. It can also be found in Veliz, “Signs of Identity in *Lady with a Fan* by Diego Velázquez: Costume and Likeness Reconsidered,” 76.

⁸⁸ Veliz, “Signs of Identity in *Lady with a Fan* by Diego Velázquez: Costume and Likeness Reconsidered,” 75-95.

⁸⁹ Anthony van Dyck’s *Mary Ruthven, Lady van Dyck* (ca. 1639) can be found in the collection of the Museo Nacional del Prado in Madrid under the inventory number P01495. It also can be found at the following link: <https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/online-gallery/on-line-gallery/obra/mary-ruthven-lady-van-dyck-1/>.

played an integral role in the creation of identity.⁹⁰ For example, McKim-Smith suggests that in a portrait “a Creole woman would insist on posing as a noble Iberian—except that only a colonial would display a coat of arms, an antiquarian detail that clearly places the [woman] in a diaspora.”⁹¹ She continues stating, “Colonials could dress hyperbolically to show New World identity...or they could revive a discarded Spanish dress code, as the *cabildo* did with their hats and boots from the glory days of empire.”⁹² McKim-Smith’s claims are integral in understanding the depiction of the veiled woman dressed in white in the Plaza Mayor painting.

As illustrated in the abovementioned paintings by Velázquez and others, the fashion of a white silk dress with a high neckline and the carrying of a rosary date to about the mid-seventeenth century in Europe. *The Plaza Mayor of Lima* dates to around 1680 according to the title given by the artist. A lag time in fashion for Lima is to be expected when European fashions were largely imported; however, a lag time of some thirty years is excessive. This woman in the white dress appears to wear clothing that would be perceived as outdated in Spain by 1680. By portraying her black mantle, her white dress with a high neckline, and a rosary, the artist presents this figure—who was likely a Creole—as a European. The artist uses distinctly European fashions that were associated at an earlier point in time with Spain and the aristocracy to create a public persona that claims this identity.

Yet, the artist places these well-dressed figures in the foreground and paints them with more detail than the rest of the figures in the middle and backgrounds, giving greater importance

⁹⁰ Gridley In *The Arts in Latin America, 1492-1820*, edited by Joseph J. Rishel and Suzanne L. Stratton (Philadelphia, PA: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2006), 161.

⁹¹ In Spain, the displaying of the coat of arms was not in vogue at this time, but it was a convention practiced in portraiture during the sixteenth century. See McKim-Smith, "Dressing Colonial, Dressing Diaspora," 161.

⁹² McKim-Smith, "Dressing Colonial, Dressing Diaspora," 161.

to the women dressed in European-style garments. The point of view is high, looking towards the east at the Andes in the background and an invisible Spain far off on the horizon. The landscape is interrupted by the presence of the bustling square surrounded by the viceroy's palace on the left, the archbishop's palace and Cathedral beyond the fountain, and the merchants' stalls on the right. Although the city and its well-dressed inhabitants appear grand within this canvas, that was not always the case. While living in Lima at the beginning of the seventeenth century, friar Diego de Ocaña noted more than just the veiled women described at the beginning of this chapter. Ocaña went as far as suggesting that Lima was no more than a "village" in his chronicle *Un viaje fascinante por la America Hispana del siglo XVI*.⁹³ The artist's depiction of *The Plaza Mayor of Lima* provides visual evidence that disproves Ocaña's assertion and creates a metropolitan Lima. Certainly well dressed citizens are a prerequisite for a growing metropolis, and by placing these figures in the foreground, the artist presents Lima as a city where luxuries of Spain thrive amongst a mixture local goods. These figures are offset from those in the background who may not be able to afford to dress in a similar fashion. It is to their clothing that we now turn.

⁹³ Fray Diego de Ocaña, *Un viaje fascinante por la América Hispana del siglo XVI* (Madrid: Studium, 1969), 94-95. See also Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, 170.

Chapter 2: Fashioning Indigeneity

Indians in the Market and a History of Inca Dress

“Those who sell are women, *mulatas* and blacks, Indians and *mestizas* beneath their awnings for protection against the sun. The Indians have all that they sell on the ground on mantles, reed mats, and straw mats, and the *mulatas* and blacks, on wooden tables. Each one has and knows her place and space [which is] assigned by contract, such that they form an aisle and a main square so that they are apart from all the confusion, and they form two rows with all their awnings and tables covered with large leaves fresh from the trees, and on them they put the fruits of Castile and of this land.”

-Fray Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova,
Memorial de las historias del nuevo mundo Pirú, 1630⁹⁴

Writing of Lima’s many splendors during the colonial era, *criollo* friar Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova (1592-1653) describes the marketplace setting in his *Memorial de las historias del nuevo mundo Pirú*, which was published in 1630. He aptly notes that those who sold goods in the Plaza Mayor were *indias*, *mestizas*, and *mulatas*—not *criollas*. If his observations are to be taken as truth, they are particularly salient as they construct a familiar

⁹⁴ English translation from Lynn Brandon Lowry, *Forging an Indian Nation: Urban Indians under Spanish Colonial Control, Lima, Peru, 1535-1765* (Diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1991), 191. Original text (with modern punctuation) reads, “Las que venden son mugeres, mulatas, y negras, indias, y mestizas devaxo de sus toldos, para la defensa del sol: tienen las indias todo lo que venden en el suelo sobre mantas, esteras, petates: y las multas, y negras en mesas de madera. Cada una tiene, y conoce su lugar, y asiento señalado con tal concierto, que hazen una calle, y duara principal, que distinguen de toda la confusión, y component en dos hileras, con sus toldos, y mesas cubiertas de ojas grandes, y frescas de los arboles, y sobre ellas componenen las frutas de Castilla, y de la tierra.” from Fray Buenaventura Salinas y Córdova, *Memorial de las historias del nuevo mundo Pirú* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1957), 253.

scene. Salinas emphasizes that *indias* “sell on the ground” and that they commonly sell “the fruits of Spain and of this land.”⁹⁵ This scene that Salinas describes parallels the portrayal of the marketplace in *The Plaza Mayor of Lima*, which shows several groups of seated women flanking the fountain at both the left and right. Particularly notable are the groups of women seated on the ground closest to the red painted numbers of “46” at left and “47” at right. The red “46” corresponds to “*camotes*”—sweet potatoes—while “47” corresponds to “*papaz*”—potatoes—according to the legend at right. The spatial relationship between the painted numbers and the seated, female figures suggests that these women sold the so-called “fruits...of this land” and fit Salinas’ description of Indian women.⁹⁶ The following paragraphs will examine the dress of the two groups of seated women who are represented in the painting with clothing and attributes that identify them as *indias*. To support this argument, this chapter will address the role of the Indian woman in the marketplace in addition to traditional Inca dress and beauty standards. This analysis will lend support to Karen Graubart’s assertion that at this time “‘Dressing like an Indian’ did not mean dressing like an Inca, nor even like the peasants of any particular region of the Inca realm. Instead it came to describe the wearing of inexpensive homespun, and later

⁹⁵ Salinas y Córdova, *Memorial de las historias del nuevo mundo Pirú*, 253.

⁹⁶ The potato was long a part of the pre-Hispanic diet in the Andes. It is believed that the potato was first domesticated in Peru as excavations in Lima have resulted in the finding of potatoes possibly dating to 8,000-6,000 B.C.E. Writing in his 1653 chronicle *Historia del nuevo mundo*, Jesuit Bernabé Cobo likened the popularity of potatoes in Peru during the colonial era to that of bread in Europe. For more on the history of the potato, see Christine Garves, ed. *The Potato Treasure of the Andes: From Agriculture to Culture* (Lima: International Potato Center, 2001), 43, 52.

obraje-produced, textiles fashioned into garments that increasingly were a woman's skirt, blouse, and shawl.⁹⁷

In census data from 1614, the Indian populations of Lima numbered just under two thousand.⁹⁸ By 1636, a population estimate made by the Archbishop of Lima—which was given to the Viceroy Conde de Chinchón, who passed along the information to the Crown—recorded a drop in the number of Indians as they accounted for only 1,500 of a total of 27,064 inhabitants of Lima. This remarkably small number of indigenous inhabitants is a result of the dispossession of the original residents of Lima by the conquistadors in the mid-1500s.⁹⁹ According to Graubart, the expulsion of the original inhabitants allowed for the immigration of rural Indians from the surrounding areas.¹⁰⁰ She asserts that the census from the early 1600s reveals only fifteen percent of indigenous women had spent more than twenty years within the city.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Colonial Society in Peru, 1550-1700*, 154. Note that I will discuss *obrajes* in more detail later in this chapter, but the term is used to refer to workshops where garments of wool, cotton, and other fibers were produced during the colonial era.

⁹⁸ Salinas y Córdova printed these numbers in his *Memorial*, but they also appear in Vargas Ugarte's *Biblioteca Peruana*. See Salinas y Córdova, *Memorial de las historias del nuevo mundo Pirú*, 245. See also, Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Biblioteca Peruana*, Vol. 1 (Lima, 1935). For a convenient chart of the population of Lima from various time periods, see Frederick P. Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974), 337-341.

⁹⁹ Graubart suggests that the indigenous population was likely higher than the 2,000 individuals recorded by the 1614 census. See Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Colonial Society in Peru, 1550-1700*, 15-16.

¹⁰⁰ Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Colonial Society in Peru, 1550-1700*, 15.

¹⁰¹ According to her records, some 34 percent of indigenous women had only been in the city of Lima for four years at the time of the census. See Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Colonial Society in Peru, 1550-1700*, 63.

Many of these rural indigenous immigrants were young girls who worked as domestic servants in European households in exchange for a small sum of money and sometimes even clothing.¹⁰² Under these terms of employment, indigenous women working as domestic servants were expected to tend to regular household duties as well as prepare *chicha* (corn beer) or food stuffs to be sold in the marketplace.¹⁰³ While domestic servitude did not always mean great success in Lima, some young women were able to save their wages, allowing them to buy their own houses and participate as owners of businesses by selling goods in the market.¹⁰⁴ Those indigenous or *mestiza* servants who were able to accumulate wealth and those who were lucky enough to come to Lima with considerable wealth were able to hire or subcontract their own indigenous or *mestiza* servants (and sometimes even purchase slaves). Often part of the subcontractor's job involved the selling of items in the market for female indigenous employers.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Written contracts for domestic service were relatively rare. However, Graubart cites an example in which a young indigenous girl was provided twelve *pesos* per year, five different garments, shoes, a room, and food, among other things. See Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Colonial Society in Peru, 1550-1700*, 64.

¹⁰³ Luis Miguel Glave, "Mujer indígena, trabajo doméstico y cambio social en el siglo XVII," In *Tranjinantes: Caminos indígenas en la sociedad colonial siglos XVI/XVII* (Lima: Instituto en Apoyo Agrario, 1989), 354-357. See also Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Colonial Society in Peru, 1550-1700*, 66.

¹⁰⁴ Graubart comes to this conclusion through analyzing several testaments. See Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Colonial Society in Peru, 1550-1700*, 67-70.

¹⁰⁵ Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Colonial Society in Peru, 1550-1700*, 69-94. Ana María Presta also briefly describes instances of indigenous women having domestic servants in her study of clothing in the wills of indigenous females from La Plata (Charcas). See Ana María Presta, "Undressing the *Coya* and Dressing the Indian Woman: Market Economy, Clothing, and Identities in the Colonial Andes, La Plata (Charcas), Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," 41-74.

Prior to the arrival of the Spanish with Francisco Pizarro's conquest of Peru, Lima and its surrounding areas were under Inca control, meaning that most women wore garments associated with the Inca Empire. Jesuit chronicler Bernabé Cobo (1582-1657) discusses the two primary garments customarily worn by Inca women in his *Historia del nuevo mundo* (1653), which was written to record Peru's history and customs under Inca rule. Comparing the two garments to the Spanish *saya* (skirt) and *manto* (mantle), he describes the *anacu* and the *lliclla*. Of the *anacu*, Cobo states, "They wear [the dress] like a sleeve-less soutane or tunic the same width at the top as at the bottom; it covers them from the neck to the feet. No hole is made for their head to fit through...they wind it around the body under the arms, and pulling the edges over the shoulders, they ring them together and fasten them with their pins [which are called *tupus*]." ¹⁰⁶ Essentially the Inca *anacu* was a rectangular piece of fabric that women wrapped around the body and held in place with a pin. ¹⁰⁷ The Spanish had reservations regarding the propriety of the garment as the arms remained uncovered, and it was possible to see the bare legs of women when they walked. ¹⁰⁸ Similarly the *lliclla* was also a large, rectangular piece of fabric, but women wore it to cover their shoulders instead as seen in *Portrait of a Ñusta* (Inca princess) from the Museo Inka

¹⁰⁶ Translated English text from Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes," In *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, 20. Original Spanish text reads "Se ponen como sotana sin mangas, tan ancha de arriba como de abajo, y les cubre desde el cuello hasta los pies; no le hacen cuello por donde sacar la cabeza...es que se la revuelven al cuerpo por debajo de los brazos, y tirando de los cantos por encima de los hombros, los vienen á juntar y prender con sus alfileres." in Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del nuevo mundo*, Vol. 4 (Sevilla: Sociedad de bibliófilos Andaluces, 1893), 161-162.

¹⁰⁷ Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes," In *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, 20.

¹⁰⁸ Cobo notes that during the early colonial era when Inca clothing was relatively popular, those women of indigenous heritage who converted to Christianity would sew the *anacu* shut in order to maintain modesty. See Cobo, *Historia del nuevo mundo*, 162.

in Cusco.¹⁰⁹ Cobo notes, “They put it over their shoulders, and bringing the corners together over the chest, they fasten it with a pin. These are their cloaks or mantles which come halfway down the leg.”¹¹⁰ These garments were worn by Inca women of both the upper and lower classes; those worn by the upper class were made of a fine cloth called *cumbi* while the lower classes were more likely to wear *anacus* and *llicllas* made of *ahuasca*, a plain, coarse cloth.¹¹¹ Square geometric designs referred to as *tocapus* also appeared on garments of the higher-class women and men as a symbol of their power.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ The *Portrait of a Ñusta* from the eighteenth century is in the collection of the Museo Inka at the Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad del Cusco in Peru. An image of the painting can be found in Elena Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes," In *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, 30.

¹¹⁰ Translated English text from Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes," In *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, 21. Original Spanish text reads “Pónensela por encima de los hombros, y junando los cantos sobre el pecho, los prenden con un alfiler. Éstos son sus mantos ó mantellinas, las cuales les llegan hasta media pierna...” in Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del nuevo mundo*, Vol. 4 (Sevilla: Sociedad de bibliófilos Andaluces, 1893), 162. Cobo also notes that *llicllas* were removed when women were working or in their houses.

¹¹¹ Elena Phipps notes that *cumbi* is rather difficult to define. In the simplest sense, *cumbi* can be defined as a textile of high quality, and garments made of *cumbi* had the same patterning on the insides and outsides. Because of this, it is commonly associated with tapestry weave. Furthermore, *cumbi* production required master weavers—both men and women—who were specialists in its production. For more see, Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes," In *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, 21-24. See also Elena Phipps, "Textiles as Cultural Memory: Andean Garments in the Colonial Period," In *Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America*, edited by Diana Fane (New York: Brooklyn Museum, 1996), 144-156.

¹¹² Rebecca Stone-Miller argues that *tocapus* appeared on the garments of the lower class Inca citizens, but the patterns were more repetitive (such as a plain checkerboard pattern). The garments of high-class citizens that included *tocapus* treat the patterns with irregularity—a symbol of uniqueness and not standardization. See Rebecca Stone-Miller, *Art of the Andes: From Chavín to Inca* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2002), 212.

The popularity and the primary consumers of the *anacu* and the *lliclla* shifted with the conquest of Lima. Prohibition of Inca-style garments occurred in 1575 under Viceroy Toledo who acted with the authority of King Philip II of Spain.¹¹³ Instead, these garments were reserved primarily for festivals and parades, such as Corpus Christi, and former members of the Inca nobility, as evidenced by portraiture during the seventeenth century.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, hybridization of these garments occurred. For example, when elite women of indigenous heritage wore the *anacu* during the colonial era, an underskirt was worn with it to avoid the display of any uncovered skin. This can be seen in the painting *Marriage of Don Martín de Loyola to Doña Beatriz Ñusta*, in which the Inca princess Beatriz is portrayed wearing a blue, lace-trimmed underskirt.¹¹⁵ A seventeenth-century *lliclla* in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art also exhibits hybrid qualities; the bird motifs and the overall weaving technique suggest indigenous influence while the lace-like horizontal bands of off-white mimic the colonial affinity for Spanish lace.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes," In *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, 27.

¹¹⁴ Phipps argues that the presence of Inca garments in festivals and colonial parades was both theatrical and highly charged. It was a safe way of presenting an Inca past within the sphere of colonial power. For more, see Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes," In *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, 27-28. See also David Cahill, "Refashioning the Inca: Costume, Political Power and Identity in Late Bourbon Peru," In *The Politics of Dress in Asia and the Americas*, edited by Mina Roces and Louise P. Edwards (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2007), 186-187.

¹¹⁵ Phipps also argues that the lace underskirt provided a sense of courtliness that the Spanish would have desired. The *Marriage of Don Martín de Loyola to Doña Beatriz Ñusta* from the late seventeenth century is in the Compañía de Jesús in Cuzco, Peru. For an image of the artwork, see Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes," In *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, 30-31.

¹¹⁶ "Woman's Mantle (Lliclla) [Central Andean] (1994.35.67)," Metropolitan Museum of Art, <http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/1994.35.67>.

The garments worn by the seated figures in *The Plaza Mayor of Lima* do not appear similar to either the colonial *anacu* from the painting *Marriage of Don Martín de Loyola to Doña Beatriz Ñusta* or the *lliclla* in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Because of the relatively small size of the figures, the artist is unable to include great detail. Additionally, their seated position prevents an accurate reading of the garments worn on the lower half of their bodies. Instead, one must turn to the deliberate rendering of the hair of these figures and a light blue cloth worn by one of the seated figures in the left portion of the painting to understand possible links to *indias* or *mestizas*.

Long Hair and Blue Cloth

In *The Plaza Mayor of Lima*, the seated female figures to the left and to the right of the fountain are portrayed with long, dark hair. This is most obvious in the seated figures to the left of the fountain as their dark hair rests upon their shoulders. Colonial chroniclers have emphasized the importance of long hair to those with indigenous heritage in their extensive records of the city. In Bernabé Cobo's *Historia del nuevo mundo* (1653), Cobo describes the customs of Incas as he asserts, "The Indians identify their honor with their hair to such an extent that the worst disgrace that one can inflict on them is to cut their hair, and for that reason, the judicial authorities are accustomed to pass this sentence on those who commit grave and infamous crimes."¹¹⁷ He continues by noting that the women "adorn their hair by wearing it long,

¹¹⁷ John Howland Rowe and Roland Hamilton have compiled and translated sections of Fray Bernabé Cobo's *Historia del nuevo Mundo*. One of their books focuses on Cobo's volumes on Inca religion and customs. See Bernabé Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, Edited by John Howland Rowe, Translated by Roland Hamilton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 185.

very long, washed and combed. Some wear it loose, and others braid it.”¹¹⁸ Cobo was not alone in his assertion of the importance of hair. Writing of their travels to South America much later in *Relación histórica del viaje hecho de orden de su Majestad a la América Meridional* (1748), Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa also discuss the hair of *indias*. The chroniclers note, “Their hair is generally thick and long, which they wear loose on their shoulders, never tying or tucking it up, even when they go to sleep...the greatest affront possible to be offered to an Indian of either sex, is to cut off their hair...”¹¹⁹ Given that Cobo, Juan, and Ulloa all noticed this distinguishing factor almost a century apart, it seems that long hair consistently was associated with *indias*.

Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala presents further evidence of the importance of long hair in visual form in *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615). A descendant of Inca nobility, Guaman Poma created the text and images in his manuscript to inform the Spanish king, Philip III, of the poor treatment of natives by the colonial government and to make suggestions for reforming the system.¹²⁰ In his manuscript, he presents a brief history of the twelve Inca *coyas* (queens) that existed prior to the conquest, and two of his drawings are of particular note regarding the long hair of Inca women. Guaman Poma’s illustration of the first *coya*, Mama

¹¹⁸ Bernabé Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, Edited by John Howland Rowe, Translated by Roland Hamilton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 188.

¹¹⁹ Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, *Voyage to South America: Describing at Large the Spanish Cities, Towns, Provinces, Etc. on That Extensive Continent*, Translated by John Adams, Vol. 1 (London: J. Brettell, 1806), 267.

¹²⁰ In his foreword to his translation of Guaman Poma’s manuscript, Roland Hamilton notes that the manuscript made its way to Europe, but it is unknown if it ever found itself in the hands of King Philip. The manuscript had disappeared from the record and was rediscovered in 1908 in the Danish Royal Library where it remains to this day. See Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government: On the History of the World and the Incas up to 1615*, Translated by Roland Hamilton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), xiv.

Huaco, shows a seated Inca queen with long hair streaming down her shoulders.¹²¹ The female attendant to the left combs the *coya*'s hair, suggesting that it was a point of prestige to have well-manicured, long hair. His illustration of the eleventh *coya*, Raua Ocllo, includes a kneeling Inca queen whose long hair is being washed and combed by two, female attendants—one at her left and one at her right.¹²² In his description of this *coya*, Guaman Poma notes, “She was very beautiful, well built, had abundant hair.”¹²³ This is key as his attribution of her beauty is dependent on the fact that she “had abundant hair.”

In the majority of Guaman Poma's drawings, Inca women of all classes are shown with long hair. For example, the attendants of the *coyas* Mama Huaco and Rauca Ocllo all have long hair just like the *coyas* whom they serve. It seems likely that this is an example of “trickle-down” fashion, a phenomenon examined by sociologist Georg Simmel in his seminal article titled “Fashion” (1904).¹²⁴ In the article, Simmel argues that the upper class establishes a fashion and

¹²¹ Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's depiction of *The First Quya [Coya], Mama Huaco* (Drawing 39) from 1615 can be found in the Det Kongelige Bibliotek (Danish Royal Library) in Copenhagen, Denmark. The image of this *coya* can be found in Guaman Poma de Ayala, Felipe. *The First New Chronicle and Good Government: On the History of the World and the Incas up to 1615*, Translated by Roland Hamilton.

¹²² Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *The Eleventh Quya [Coya], Raua Ocllo* (Drawing 49) from 1615 can be found in the Det Kongelige Bibliotek (Danish Royal Library) in Copenhagen, Denmark. The image of this *coya* can be found in Guaman Poma de Ayala, Felipe. *The First New Chronicle and Good Government: On the History of the World and the Incas up to 1615*, Translated by Roland Hamilton

¹²³ Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government: On the History of the World and the Incas up to 1615*, 108. Original Spanish text reads, “Era muy hermosa y de buen talle y de mucha cauellerá y de buen cuerpo y muy hermosa...” in Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno (1615/1616)* (Copenhagen: Royal Danish Library, 1615), 141.

¹²⁴ Simmel was not alone in his analysis of this social phenomenon (nor did he come up with the term “trickle-down”). For more, see Susan B. Kaiser, “Trickle-down,” In *The Berg Companion to Fashion*, edited by Valerie Steele (Oxford: Berg, 2010), 689-690. See also, Kaitlin

the lower class appropriates and mimics the fashion in order to obtain a higher social status.¹²⁵

The Inca women of both the high and low classes wore their hair long prior to the Spanish conquest, and the trend persisted throughout the colonial era as evidenced by the abovementioned colonial chroniclers and the figures in *The Plaza Mayor of Lima*. This is not to say that *criollas* preferred short or off-the-neck hairstyles, but more often than not, they fashioned themselves as Europeans; to do so meant that a woman would wear her hair curled and “built up high on top of the head.”¹²⁶ Rather than mimic the hairstyles of *criollas* or elite Spanish women, many women of Lima with indigenous heritage continued to wear their long hair down around their shoulders—a trend that extended back over one hundred years.

Although the trend of long hair provides insight on ethnic association, it does not serve as an obvious indication of social status. Instead, we must turn to the light blue cloth worn by one of the seated female figures in the left portion of *The Plaza Mayor of Lima*. The seated figure furthest to the left—and facing the red painted number “46”—appears to be wearing a garment made of a very light blue colored cloth. A textile known as *pañó azul* (blue cloth usually made of wool) was produced in large quantities in the *obrajes*, or textile workshops, of Quito located

Medvedev, "Social Class and Clothing," In *The Berg Companion to Fashion*, edited by Valerie Steele (Oxford: Berg, 2010), 645-647.

¹²⁵ Although Simmel first wrote of this phenomenon in 1904, his article was also republished in 1957. He is generally cited as the father of the theory although others have also written about “trickle-down” fashion, See Georg Simmel, "Fashion," *International Quarterly* 10 (1904): 130-55.

¹²⁶ Tortura and Eubank argue that this was the case in the late 1600s, and they provide popular painting from the period as visual evidence. See Tortura and Eubank, *Survey of Historic Costume: A History of Western Dress*, 215.

north of Lima in present-day Ecuador.¹²⁷ Historian Arnold J. Bauer notes that the woolens produced in the *obrajes* of Quito were traded as far south as Potosí (Bolivia) and even some portions of central Chile.¹²⁸ Furthermore, Quito's *obrajes* produced about 100,000 *varas* (colonial measurement of just less than one yard) every year during the seventeenth century.¹²⁹ As Linda Newson asserts, "Textiles produced in Ecuador could undercut local production in these areas [Peru, Colombia, and Chile], despite the high cost of transport, largely because labor costs were lower."¹³⁰ Despite its consideration as a fine cloth, *pañó azul* was in no way a rare or unattainable textile in Lima's market, and it seems likely that the female figure in *The Plaza Mayor of Lima* is shown wearing a garment made of this cloth.¹³¹

During the seventeenth century, the cost of a *vara* of *pañó* produced in Quito ranged from approximately two to four *pesos*.¹³² A 1630 contract of *india* domestic servant Juana María reveals how this cost may have been afforded by the women who worked as domestic servants

¹²⁷ The Royal Audiencia of Quito was part of the Viceroyalty of Peru during the seventeenth century.

¹²⁸ Arnold J. Bauer, *Goods, Power, History: Latin America's Material Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 110.

¹²⁹ Robson Brines Tyrer, *The Demographic and Economic History of the Audiencia of Quito: Indian Population and the Textile Industry*, Diss., University of California, Berkeley, (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1976), 167-175. Kenneth J. Andrien has suggested that a *vara* is roughly 33 inches long (83.5 cm long). See Kenneth J. Andrien, *The Kingdom of Quito, 1690-1830: The State and Regional Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 18.

¹³⁰ Linda A. Newson, *Life and Death in Early Colonial Ecuador*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 208.

¹³¹ According to Ann Pollard Rowe, *pañó* was defined as "wool treadle-loom or machine-woven fabric..." Essentially, it was considered fine because of its production via a machine rather than by hand. See Ann Pollard Rowe, "Glossary," In *Costume and History in Highland Ecuador*, edited by Ann Pollard Rowe (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 334.

¹³² Tyrer, *The Demographic and Economic History of the Audiencia of Quito: Indian Population and the Textile Industry*, 167-175.

selling goods in the marketplace. The terms of the contract read, “[The employer] is obligated to give and pay her each year twelve *pesos* of nine *reales*, an *anaco* and a *lliclla* made of cotton and a skirt made of *pañño* from Quito and two *ruan* shirts and whatever shoes are necessary...”¹³³ The contract reveals two options for a domestic servant to obtain a garment made of *pañño azul*; she either could pay the two to four *pesos* for a *vara* of *pañño azul* from her annual salary of twelve *pesos*, or she could receive the garment as payment for her services.

Garments made of *pañño azul* appear in a number of contracts and testaments analyzed by Karen Graubart in her book *With Our Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Colonial Society in Peru, 1550-1700*. Their presence in these types of documents suggests that they held a certain value to their owners since they were recorded. However, more often than not, garments made from *obraje*-produced cloth served as cheaper alternatives for imported European-style garments and textiles.¹³⁴ Either by saving money or by receiving garments as payment, *indias* who were domestic servants could obtain items made from *pañño azul* that had been shipped to Lima by merchants.¹³⁵ In doing so, these *indias* became part of a growing, urban middle class in colonial Lima.

¹³³ The employer in this contract also provided food, healthcare, and housing. English translation published by Karen Graubart. See Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Colonial Society in Peru, 1550-1700*, 64. Graubart is working from the following document: "Asiento de Juana María yndia," AGN PN Tamayo, 1853 [1630], f. 99.

¹³⁴ Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Colonial Society in Peru, 1550-1700*, 155. Some *obraje*-produced cloths were intended as inexpensive options for miners in provinces such as Potosí. While less refined *obraje*-produced cloths also were sold in the market at Lima, nicer versions, such as *pañño azul*, would bring more money to Quito. For more on this, see Suzanne Austin, "Ecuador under the Spanish Empire: An Introduction to the History of Colonial Ecuador," In *Costume and History in Highland Ecuador*, edited by Ann Pollard Rowe (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 101-104.

¹³⁵ Newson, *Life and Death in Early Colonial Ecuador*, 73.

By placing these female figures in the middle ground on both sides of the painting, the artist has framed them as willing participants in the colonial mechanism of the marketplace. There is no resistance on their part but rather active participation through the act of selling numerous goods—both local and imported. As Richard Kagan notes, “Local inhabitants, especially Creoles, seemingly used these images to convince themselves, and others, that Lima was, in the words of Antonio de León Pinelo, the ‘paradise of the New World’ ...a community whose citizens, regardless of racial origin, lead peaceful, harmonious, and seemingly prosperous lives.”¹³⁶ While Lima was not about to implode, the suggestion that all of its citizens constantly maintained peace regardless of race was far from the truth. In their *Chronicle of Colonial Lima*, Josephe and Francisco Mugaburu note that five years prior to the creation of *The Plaza Mayor of Lima* three Indians were hanged for attempting an uprising. They write, “Three Indians who were chairmakers and barbers by trade were hanged and two were flogged. They had said they were going to create an uprising in this city and call together the other Indians to join forces...killing all the Spaniards of this city...”¹³⁷ Several years prior in 1666, Gabriel Manco Capac attempted a far-reaching uprising based largely on a rumor that all *indios* were to become slaves. The fear of an uprising was so intense that Viceory Conde de Lemos issued a decree the following year that condemned the act of enslaving *indios*.¹³⁸ Yet, any hint at unrest or rebellion is suppressed in this painting of the Plaza Mayor. The extravagantly dressed *criollas* shown in the foreground of the painting are given more importance based on their position and detailed depictions, and they rule

¹³⁶ Kagan, "Projecting Order," In *Mapping Latin America: A Cartographic Reader*, 49.

¹³⁷ Josephe and Francisco de Mugaburu, *Chronicle of Colonial Lima: The Diary of Josephe and Francisco Mugaburu, 1640-1697*, Translated by Robert Ryal Miller, 228.

¹³⁸ Ana María Lorandi, *Spanish King of the Incas: The Epic Life of Pedro Bohorques* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005), 58-59.

over the other figures, such as the seated *indias*, who are forced to engage in work given their social status.

“India Serrana” or Highland Indian

While the seated female figures in *The Plaza Mayor of Lima* painting are portrayed as *indias* based on the reasons previously argued, there is another figure whose Indian ethnicity is made more explicit. Figure number “38”—as labeled by the artist—represents an “*India Serrana*” or a highland Indian according to the legend at right. Shrouded in all black with her face completely obscured, she travels with a “*carnero de la tierra*” and a “*vicuña*” as signified by the corresponding labels for numbers “36” and “37” at right. The “*carnero de la tierra*,” which translates roughly to “local sheep,” was likely due to the artist’s lack of familiarity with camelids. The Spanish introduced sheep to South America during colonization, and in this particular depiction, the legs of the animal appear too tall to belong to a sheep.¹³⁹ In all likelihood, both numbers “36” and “37” are portrayals of camelids travelling with the “*India Serrana*.” While her travel companions make perfect sense given the presence of *vicuñas* and other camelids in the highlands, her black garment is a source of interest. One could easily interpret this as a *tapado* as her face is completely covered by a black cloth. However, an analysis of the highlands reveals an alternative reading of the black garment worn by this figure.

The mountain range of the Andes, commonly referred to as the highlands, ranks second to the Himalayas in altitude and extends to three times the length (4660 miles) roughly following the western coastline of South America. Because of the extreme altitude with peaks measuring as

¹³⁹ Bauer asserts that the sheep fit right in with the camelids (llamas, alpacas, vicuñas, etc.) already present in Peru. See Bauer, *Goods, Power, History: Latin America's Material Culture*, 91.

high as 22,830 feet, the temperatures also vary greatly depending on the time of day. In the daytime, the strength of the sun results in very high temperatures, which can drop as much as fifty degrees by nightfall.¹⁴⁰ The garment worn by the “*India Serrana*” likely served as protection from these extreme elements. According to Bernabé Cobo, “The Indians of the Sierra, which is the main part of the kingdom and where the old Inca nobility and *orejones* [young noblemen] lived, made their clothing of wool.”¹⁴¹ During the Inca Empire, *vicuña* wool was reserved for the Sapa Inca and appointed nobles, suggesting that it was highly valued.¹⁴² It seems likely that this travelling “*India Serrana*” is shown wearing a black garment made of wool from a camelid—possibly a *vicuña* as she travels with one.

The specific garment that the highland Indian wears is more difficult to determine. One possibility is that the black garment is a *lliclla* that she has manipulated and wrapped around her body like a cloak. However, the garment could be an item known as a *panta* worn by the Lupacas, who were Aymara. Like the Inca, the Aymara were known simply as “*indios*” to the Spanish colonizers. Furthermore, the Aymara had been conquered by the Inca in the centuries leading up to the Spanish conquest of Peru but were able to maintain some cultural differentiation such as the *panta*. In his extensive research of South America, friar Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa wrote of the garment in his *Compendio y descripción de las Indias Occidentales* (1628), noting that it was a hood made of black wool.¹⁴³ Additionally, Ann Pollard Rowe argues that Guaman Poma de Ayala portrays the garment in an illustration of a woman

¹⁴⁰ Stone-Miller, *Art of the Andes: From Chavín to Inca*, 12.

¹⁴¹ Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, 224-225.

¹⁴² Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, 225.

¹⁴³ Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendio y descripción de las Indias Occidentales*, Vol. 4 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1948 [1628]), 562.

known as Umita Llama.¹⁴⁴ In Guaman Poma's illustration, the *panta* extends halfway down the back of Umita Llama, but it is possible that these garments could be made longer like the one worn by the "India Serrana" in *The Plaza Mayor of Lima*. The *panta*, or hooded garment, would explain why we are unable to see the face of this highland woman who has been painted in partial profile within the scene.

Regardless of the specific garment that the artist portrays her wearing, the "India Serrana" is significant, for she is one of two figures distinctly labeled within the legend. Number "39," the *mercachifle* (peddler) is labeled on the basis of occupation, not race or ethnicity. Her outsider status is stamped on the canvas for all to see. While her clothing does not necessarily suggest that she would be considered a foreigner within Lima, the portrayal of her camelid travel companions indicate her status. Clearly she travels into the city—as she enters the frame at left—with the intent to either purchase goods, which would be carried back to the highlands by the camelids, or to sell her travel companions to make a profit. Her presence legitimizes Lima as a metropolitan city to which people would travel from far away places in order to purchase or sell goods. But, the label given to her by the artist suggests that she is a curiosity much like the fruits and vegetables sold within the market. Even if she is shown wearing the most extravagant garments made of European silk or vicuña wool, the label—not her dress or even her perceived heritage—determines her status. She is labeled an item of Spain's Empire that can be found in the marketplace much like the slaves whose dress will be discussed in the following chapter.

¹⁴⁴ Ann Pollard Rowe, "Ecuador Under the Inca Empire: Costume under the Inca Empire," In *Costume and History in Highland Ecuador* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 90. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *The third lady, Umita Llama, qhapaq, powerful* (Drawing 68) from 1615 can be found in the Det Kongelige Bibliotek (Danish Royal Library) in Copenhagen, Denmark. An image of Umita Llama can also be found at the following link: <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/179/en/text/>.

Chapter 3: Clothing Slaves

Africans and Slavery in Colonial Lima

“The long petticoat is particularly worn on Holy Thursday [by the upper class women of Lima]; as on that day they visit the churches, attended by two or three female *negro* or *mulatto* slaves, dressed in an uniform like pages. [These are] the lower class of women, whose whole stock of apparel seldom consists of more than two *camisas* [shirts or shifts] and a *saya* [skirt or petticoat]...”

-Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa,
Relación histórica del viaje á la América Meridional, 1746¹⁴⁵

Writing of the dress of upper class women later in Lima’s history, Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa also record the clothing worn by the city’s slaves in their observations of South America’s inhabitants. Specifically the explorers note that the slaves wear a “uniform”—that is to say that the women wear clothing not of their choosing but rather that which has been provided for them or designated as appropriate. Despite the fact that Juan and Ulloa address the clothing of slaves nearly 60 years later than the painting of *The Plaza Mayor of Lima*, their comments were true of the 1680s as well. Occasionally slaves may have been able to save money to purchase clothing through contracted employment or may have been willed clothing by their

¹⁴⁵ Ulloa and Juan traveled to South America as part of a French Geodesic Mission to record geographic measurements at the equator. Although their book was published in 1746, their observations date to 1736 to 1744 and cover the areas of Quito, Panama, Guayaquil, and Lima. See Antonio de Ulloa and Jorge Juan, *A Voyage to South America*, Translated by John Adams (New York: Knopf, 1964), 199-200.

owners, but most were forced to wear clothing provided by their owners.¹⁴⁶ The following paragraphs will examine the disparities in the clothing worn by two female figures in the left foreground who closely follow behind a black, horse-drawn carriage and a group of three female figures in the right portion of the painting who are situated just above the woman holding a rosary and below a jumping dog. As I will argue, both groups of women represent females with African heritage given the artist's inclusion of white head wraps, which have been associated with the dress of West Africans. I will also suggest that these women likely were enslaved citizens of colonial Lima given their locations within the composition. In order to support this argument, the chapter will begin by examining the population and roles of Africans in colonial Lima.

The census of 1614 reveals that 11,130 blacks and *mulatos* lived in the city of Lima amongst 11,867 Spaniards and roughly 2,000 *indios*.¹⁴⁷ These numbers show that for every one person of European heritage there was also a person of African heritage, which means that the roles of Africans in Limeñan society were quite significant. Portuguese and Spanish slave traders had brought over the majority of those with African heritage from West Africa via Tierra Firme (Panama) due to high demand for laborers as the indigenous population of Lima continued to

¹⁴⁶ Both Frederick Bowser and Tamara Walker address the topic of how slaves obtained clothing in colonial Lima. Slaves were sometimes accused of stealing clothing or stealing money to buy clothing as a way of navigating their status in colonial Lima. For more, see Frederick P. Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974). See also Tamara J. Walker, "'He Outfitted His Family in Notable Decency': Slavery, Honor and Dress in Eighteenth-century Lima, Peru," 383-402.

¹⁴⁷ I am using the terms also used by Frederick J. Bowser in his study of Africans in colonial Peru. See, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650*, 75.

decline.¹⁴⁸ In his survey of 6,890 slaves sold in Lima's market between 1560-1650, Frederick P. Bowser notes that 3,031 had spent at least some time in Spanish American territories prior to their sale while another 2,381 came directly from Africa with little or no previous experience with Spanish or European cultures.¹⁴⁹ Together these numbers reveal that Peru relied on Africa for roughly 80 percent of its slaves. Further analysis of numbers represented in Peru's notarial records reveal that of 5,278 Afro-Peruvians (persons with African heritage born in Peru) in Peru between 1560-1650, 3,543 could trace their ethnic heritage back to West African territories such as Guinea-Bissau while 1,735 were from Central or Southern African territories such as Congo and Angola. Similar numbers exist for slaves brought directly from Africa during the same time period with 1,529 hailing from West Africa and another 766 from Central and Southern Africa.¹⁵⁰ In both cases, over 50 percent of those enslaved could trace their ethnicity to West Africa—a fact that will prove significant later when analyzing modes of dress.

Once Africans arrived in Lima, those citizens of the capital city who could afford to purchase humans for labor largely determined the fate of those they purchased. Likewise, daily tasks varied for slaves depending upon the background and finances of those who owned them. Some female slaves completed domestic tasks in large households or attended to their owners when traversing public spaces, but “hiring out” labor was also a common practice in colonial Lima. “Hiring out” involved slave owners essentially renting their slaves to those who could not

¹⁴⁸ The main route that slave traders took involved stopping at Cartagena, Colombia, before sailing on to Tierra Firme and then Lima (although additional stops could be made between Tierra Firme and Lima). See Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650*, 72-73.

¹⁴⁹ Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650*, 76-77.

¹⁵⁰ Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650*, 39-44.

afford to buy a slave but could afford to pay a small price for daily labor.¹⁵¹ For female slaves, work might include cooking and serving food in the city's taverns or selling local goods—such as flowers, bread, and *chicha* (corn beer)—in the Plaza Mayor.¹⁵² When the “hiring out” of labor occurred, slaves received a small rental fee for their work and then turned over the majority of fee to their owners. Tamara J. Walker asserts that occasionally additional money was received for such tasks and that slaves most likely used excess funds to purchase extra clothing, food, or even freedom.¹⁵³ Freedom was possible through either money saved by slaves to purchase their own freedom or contracts devised by owners; most often it was the exception and not the rule. In his survey of notarial records from 1560-1650 in Peru, Bowser notes that only 214 female slaves were granted freedom by their owners, and in the majority of cases, these slaves were considered racially mixed when documented.¹⁵⁴

The African Head Wrap

In *The Plaza Mayor of Lima*, two groups of women are shown wearing white cloth wrapped around their heads. One of these groups is the pair of women in the left foreground who

¹⁵¹ Owning a slave was an incredible investment in colonial Lima and depended on both the age and the sex of the slave. From 1560-1650, a female slave between 8 and 35 years of age could be purchased the range of 270 to over 500 *pesos* (of 8 *reales*). Recall that the Indian domestic servant was paid a mere 12 *pesos* each year. Clearly, one had to obtain considerable wealth before being able to purchase a slave. For more on the prices of slaves in Lima, see Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650*, 344-345.

¹⁵² Walker, “‘He Outfitted His Family in Notable Decency’: Slavery, Honor, and Dress in Eighteenth-Century Lima, Peru,” 384.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Bowser also suggests that it was more common for owners to grant freedom to their female slaves rather than their male slaves. It is also important to note that if a female gained her freedom, any child she had after she became free would also be considered free. For more, see Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650*, 297-298.

follow closely behind a carriage and are depicted in nearly identical outfits—both with white head wraps. The other is the group of three women who are dressed in a simpler style and who appear in the right portion of the painting just below a jumping dog. Like the women at left, these female figures wear tightly wound, white cloth on their heads. Although these women are dressed slightly different from the neck down, they are united through their head wraps. Bernabé Cobo notes the prevalence of an Inca style headdress in *Historia del nuevo mundo* as he states, “They wear a piece of rich *cumbi* cloth called *pampacona*, and they do not wear it spread out...they let one edge drop down over the forehead, and the rest passes on over the head, leaving the other end hanging down and the hair uncovered on the sides.”¹⁵⁵ However, the head wraps worn by both groups of female figures in *The Plaza Mayor of Lima* completely cover all of their hair, which indicates that they were different than the ones worn by the Incas. In “The West African Origin of the African-American Headwrap,” Helen Bradley Griebel argues that the head wrap, which fully encompasses and covers all hair, is distinctly West African in its origins.¹⁵⁶ Following Griebel’s argument, it seems likely that these women represent the presence of West Africans in Lima’s population.

According to Griebel, the earliest known documentation of head wraps in West African cultures appears in Richard Ligon’s *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados* (1657). Ligon was a British explorer who left England in the 1640s to seek fortune in the West Indies. On his way to Barbados in 1647, he stopped at Cape Verde, an island off of the coast of West Africa, and he recorded his observations of its inhabitants. Of one woman, he notes, “[She] wore

¹⁵⁵ Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, 188.

¹⁵⁶ Helen Bradley Griebel, "The West African Origin of the African-American Headwrap," In *Dress and Ethnicity: Change across Space and Time*, edited by Joanne B. Eicher (Oxford: Berg, 1999), 207-226.

on her head a roll of green taffatie, strip't with white and Philiamont, made up in manner of a Turban, and over that a sleight vayle, which she took off at pleasure."¹⁵⁷ From Bowser's survey of 6,890 slaves sold in Lima's market between 1560-1650, it is known that at least 86 hailed from Cape Verde.¹⁵⁸ Although this number seems low, Griebel argues that the head wrap is the result of popularly held beliefs regarding the significance of the head in most West African cultures—not just that of Cape Verde.¹⁵⁹

One example of a West African ethnic group that values the significance of the head is that of the Yoruba. The Yoruba, who still live in parts of West Africa such as modern-day Nigeria and Benin, heavily influenced other West African cultures during their period of dominance, which began roughly in the seventeenth century. A popular Yoruba incantation reveals the importance of the head as a source of power as it states,

It is where my head leads me
that my legs will follow
For it is with the head that the
fish cuts through the deep
It is with the head that the
thunderbolt splits the *irókò* tree
It is with the head that the
carved post supports a house
A bird never collides with a tree
in the sky
I will have a safe passage in life
through the power of my head.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ Richard Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados* (London, 1657), 12.

¹⁵⁸ Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650*, 78, 375.

¹⁵⁹ Griebel, "The West African Origin of the African-American Headwrap," In *Dress and Ethnicity: Change across Space and Time*, 216.

¹⁶⁰ Babatunde Lawal, *Embodying the Sacred in Yoruba Art: Featuring the Bernard and Patricia Wagner Collection* (Atlanta, GA: High Museum of Art, 2007), 22. Here, Lawal references Adebayo Ayelaagbe, *Iwure: Ajinle Adua Enu Awon Yoruba* (Ibadan, Nigeria: Vantage Publishers, 1997).

This importance is further reflected in the art of the Yoruba and other West African countries through stylization and overall emphasis of the head.¹⁶¹

The significance of the head likely played a role in the development of the head wrap as a fashionable garment for Africans. As historian Beverly Chico asserts, “The head wrap, a kerchief worn by tying over the forehead, is believed to have traveled with women from Senegal and Gambia (West Africa) along the slave trade routes to Caribbean Islands and ports in North and South America.”¹⁶² Although later than the date of *The Plaza Mayor of Lima*, visual evidence of the fashion exists in depictions of women from the Caribbean and Louisiana, where African slaves were also imported. In *Free Women of Color with Their Children and Servants in a Landscape*, Italian painter Agostino Brunias portrays both free and enslaved women wearing white head wraps in the Caribbean island of Dominica in the late eighteenth century.¹⁶³ The fashion continued in the nineteenth century in Louisiana where French artist Louis Antoine Collas painted a portrait of woman titled *Free Woman of Color Wearing a Tignon*.¹⁶⁴

After New Orleans fell under the control of the Spanish, Governor Esteban Miró issued a provision regarding the dress of free women in 1786. With time, the provision has become

¹⁶¹ Babatunde Lawal, *Yoruba* (Milan: 5 Continents, 2012), 28-29.

¹⁶² Beverly Chico, "Headdress," In *The Berg Companion to Fashion*, edited by Valerie Steele (Oxford: Berg, 2010), 400.

¹⁶³ Agostino Brunias' *Free Women of Color with Their Children and Servants in a Landscape* (circa 1770-96) can be found in the collection of the Brooklyn Museum under the accession number 2010.59. It also has been reproduced in Mia L. Bagneris, "Reimagining Race, Class and Identity in the New World," In *Behind Closed Doors: Art in the Spanish American Home, 1492-1898*, edited by Richard Aste, (New York: Brooklyn Museum, 2013), 178.

¹⁶⁴ Louis Antoine Collas' *Free Woman of Color Wearing a Tignon* (1829) can be found in the collection of the New Orleans Museum of Art under the accession number 49.2. It also has been reproduced in Bagneris, "Reimagining Race, Class and Identity in the New World," In *Behind Closed Doors: Art in the Spanish American Home, 1492-1898*, 198.

known as the “*tignon* law” as the *tignon* was the name given to the type of head wrap worn by women of African descent in Louisiana. Like sumptuary laws in Lima, the law curtailed the rights of mixed race women, and prohibited them “from wearing such fine clothing as silks or brocades, forbade them from adorning their hair with plumes or jewelry, and effectively restricted their headdresses to head wraps known as *tignons*.”¹⁶⁵ Free women acted within the law by wearing elaborate and brightly colored head wraps like the green and yellow example shown in the portrait by Louis Antoine Collas.¹⁶⁶ Although Lima had sumptuary laws that attempted to restrict the access of particular fabrics to *mulatas* or *negras* (see Chapter 1), no known laws existed regarding the wear of particular headdresses or head wraps in the colonial city. Instead, it seems that the women in *The Plaza Mayor of Lima* are depicted wearing head wraps to convey their status as women of African heritage. The garment symbolizes the diaspora experienced by those portrayed wearing it.

Sumptuous versus Plain Dress

In *The Plaza Mayor of Lima*, two women in the left foreground follow closely behind a black carriage filled with three elegantly dressed ladies. Given their proximity to the carriage and the apparent direction of their travels, these women represent the slaves of the figures in the carriage. Tamara Walker notes, “[Elite Spaniards] frequently made their way around town in the company of elegantly dressed slave attendants, whose presence underscored their owners’

¹⁶⁵ Bagneris, "Reimagining Race, Class and Identity in the New World," In *Behind Closed Doors: Art in the Spanish American Home, 1492-1898*, 107.

¹⁶⁶ Bagneris argues that the law attempted to bring free women down to the status of enslaved women. She also suggests that the law was fully enforced. See Bagneris, "Reimagining Race, Class and Identity in the New World," In *Behind Closed Doors: Art in the Spanish American Home, 1492-1898*, 197-199.

privilege.”¹⁶⁷ It was not unusual for elite women to bring their slaves to the Plaza Mayor and parade them about in order to assert their status as implied by the epigraph at the beginning of this chapter. This was particularly the case in the eighteenth century when fashions became more extravagant as evidenced by Vicente Albán’s *Señora principal con su negra esclava*, in which an elite and white female from Quito wears sumptuous clothing and dresses her slave in the same manner.¹⁶⁸ However, as Walker notes, this most likely would occur only if the owners could afford sumptuous clothing for their slaves.

While not dressed like their owners in the carriage, the two women following behind are shown wearing more costly fabric than many of the other figures in *The Plaza Mayor of Lima*. Both women wear their white head wraps and green mantles trimmed with red fabric. Furthermore, they appear to be wearing pleated *sayas* (skirts) made of a blue fabric—possibly *pañó azul*—with a white underskirt—possibly made of lace. They are even portrayed wearing red stockings, which are barely visible under their blue skirts. In addition to having multiple layers of garments, these women are depicted in garments that would have been dyed. Green mantles with red trim and red stockings would be more costly than undyed garments given the extra time and labor required to make them.

The other women wearing head wraps in the right portion of *The Plaza Mayor* also likely

¹⁶⁷ Walker, “‘He Outfitted His Family in Notable Decency’: Slavery, Honor, and Dress in Eighteenth-Century Lima, Peru,” 383.

¹⁶⁸ Vicente Albán’s *Señora principal con su negra esclava* (1783) can be found in the collection of the Museo de América in Madrid. It also has been reproduced in O’Phelan Godoy, “El vestido como identidad étnica e indicador social de una cultura material,” In *El Barroco Peruano*, 107.

represent slaves given the low numbers of manumission rates as provided by Bowser.¹⁶⁹ In addition to their head wraps, they are shown wearing neutrally colored garments, which are obscured given the seated position of two of the women. The standing woman wears a white blouse with a brown or tan colored *saya* and a black mantle that falls loosely around her shoulders. These neutral colors are significant as the women wear items of clothing that are undyed. Considering that camelids were a prevalent source for clothing and that camelid wool could be white, black, or brown, the artist likely depicts these women wearing garments made of local wool. It is also possible that their garments were made of an inexpensive linen or cotton. Bowser notes that most slave owners did not spend large sums of money on clothing for their slaves. He cites the example of slaves owned by the city of Lima who were employed to do municipal work, such as building of the city's water system. The physical intensity of the labor involved in building a water system led those who chose the slaves for this project to select men, and they were provided with inexpensive clothing made primarily of wool. Bowser notes, "The city bought thirteen outfits in 1574...sixty-three and a half *pesos* was spent on cheap woolen cloth (*saya*); the rest went for shirts (thirteen at two *pesos* each), for thread (three and a half *pesos*), and for the tailor's fees on the *ponchos* and breeches (twenty-four *pesos*)."¹⁷⁰ Of course the city wanted to save money whenever possible, but it seems likely that slave owners who "hired out" their slaves followed the same model. There was no need to provide a slave—who was to be rented to sell goods in the marketplace—with sumptuous or extravagant clothing.

Both the sumptuously and plainly dressed slaves appear in close proximity to the

¹⁶⁹ Recall that in his survey of notarial records from 1560-1650 in Peru, Bowser notes that only 214 female slaves were granted freedom by their owners. See Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650*, 297-298.

¹⁷⁰ Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650*, 226.

foreground. As Bowser asserts, “The ownership of black slaves brought prestige.”¹⁷¹ Therefore, the artist also portrays a city with a considerable number of wealthy inhabitants when he paints slaves in the foreground of *The Plaza Mayor of Lima*. Regardless of her dress, the average female slave cost her owner somewhere between 270 and 550 pesos from 1560-1650, which further suggests the wealth of Lima’s inhabitants.¹⁷² The cost of living also added to the annual investment of owning a slave as food, shelter, and clothing also had to be provided by owners. Just as the “India Serrana” discussed in Chapter 2, slaves were regarded as items in the marketplace—to be purchased by many elites—rather than flesh and blood. Furthermore, the presence of slaves in the painting evokes the city’s role in an extensive trading network. Like number “24,” which denotes “Plátanos de Gvinea” (plantains of Guinea) in the painting, the slaves represent the success of foreign goods in the marketplace, but perhaps it was the case that the enslaved do not need to be labeled as their head wraps symbolize their status as West Africans.

Considering that this painting was taken to Spain likely as a positive representation of Lima, the inclusion of numerous slaves suggests the city’s civilized nature in addition to its economic prowess. The abovementioned census of 1614 revealed 11,130 blacks and *mulatos* lived in the city of Lima amongst 11,867 Spaniards. Certainly these figures were cause for concern in Spain as the enslaved could easily mount a rebellion against the Spanish inhabitants of Lima. This portrayal of slaves living peacefully in service to their owners implies that Lima’s elite were successful overseers. There is not even the slightest of hint of a possible rebellion or revolt in *The Plaza Mayor of Lima* as all of the inhabitants are shown civilly engaging with one

¹⁷¹ Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650*, 8.

¹⁷² Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650*, 344-345.

another. According to this portrayal, Lima was in the process of becoming an urban metropolis with a Plaza Mayor in which its socially and racially diverse inhabitants could congregate and engage in business transactions without violence or uprisings.

Conclusion

In *The Plaza Mayor of Lima*, the unknown artist portrays numerous female figures in a variety of clothing, and the dress given to these figures fixes their places in a socio-racial hierarchy that would have been understood by the colonial viewer. The artist deliberately depicts women dressed in elegant, European-style garments in the foreground. These women wear silk veils that can be manipulated into *tapados*, which were distinctly associated with Spanish women at the time of the painting. Additionally, one of these figures is shown wearing a white dress—similar to courtly dress in Spain from earlier in the century—as she holds a rosary in her hand. This manner of dress implies that the wearers are either *españolas* or *criollas*, and the quality of fabric suggests their elite statuses. By placing these figures in the foreground, the artist suggests that elite Spaniards were at the forefront of Limeñan society while *indias*, *mestizas*, *negras*, and *mulatas* acted in service to this upper class.

Similarly the artist depicts multiple seated female figures to the left and to the right of the fountain within the painting. These figures are shown with long hair that drapes around their shoulders, suggesting that these women represent *indias*, who have been recorded by chroniclers as wearing their hair in this manner. Furthermore, one of these figures wears a light blue blouse, which may be an example of *pañó azul*, a relatively fine cloth imported in large quantities from Quito. The artist portrays these figures as workers in the middle ground and not as leisurely strollers in the foreground like the abovementioned European women. Their economic status is determined by their role within the marketplace and the items of clothing that they wear.

Although they could either purchase or be gifted items of clothing, their status as middleclass citizens is suggested through their willing participation in the urban marketplace.

Female figures portrayed as West Africans also participate in the marketplace. The artist depicts these women wearing head wraps, which were distinctly West African in their origins. However, these figures are split into two groups—one group is dressed in more sumptuous clothing and another group is dressed more plainly. Those dressed sumptuously attend to similarly dressed Europeans who travel in their own carriage while those dressed more plainly sell goods in the marketplace like the abovementioned *indias*. Both the well-dressed and the more plainly dressed represent the wealth of the city as buying a slave was a big investment in colonial Lima. However, the well-dressed attendants placed in the foreground directly reflect the wealth of their owners who are also pictured.

This contrived depiction of the marketplace in *The Plaza Mayor of Lima* suggests a city where citizens of various races and economic groups coexist in peace and harmony. The artist appears motivated to present a positive view of Lima in which the city's economy and racially diverse residents thrive. Luxury is apparent, but class and race still can be determined by small details such as hairstyles or head wraps. *The Plaza Mayor of Lima* allows for a better understanding of the ever-changing signs of race and class in seventeenth-century Lima.

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Appendices

Appendix A: *The Plaza Mayor of Lima Legends with Original and Translated Texts*

1. La Iglesia maior	1. The Cathedral
2. El Sagrario	2. The Sagrario
3. Palacio Arçobispal	3. Archbishop's Palace
4. Palacio del señor birrei	4. Viceroy's Palace
5. Capilla de la Soledad	5. Chapel of Solitude
6. San Francisco	6. San Francisco
7. San Xpsttobal	7. San Cristobal
8. San Ildefonso	8. San Ildefonso
9. San Pedro	9. San Pedro
10. Santa Clara	10. Santa Clara
11. El Carmen	11. El Carmen
12. Santo Tomás	12. Santo Tomás
13. La Consesión	13. La Consesión
14. La Compañía	14. La Compañía
15. Santa Catalina	15. Santa Catalina
16. La esquina de la	16. The corner of the
17. La Pescadería	17. The Fish Shop
18. Esquina del	18. Corner of
19. Esquina de los Merc	19. Corner of the Merchants
20. Calleión de los Mercaderes	20. Street of the Merchants
Frvtas	Fruits
21. Piñas	21. Pineapples
22. Chirimoias	22. Chirimoyas
23. Plátanos de la tierra	23. Local Plantains
24. Plátanos de Gvinea	24. Plantains of Guinea
25. Frvta de Chile	25. Fruit of Chile
26. Granadillas	26. Passionfruit
27. Gviabas	27. Guavas
28. Pacaes	28. Bundle
29. Pepinos de la tierra	29. Local Cucumbers
30. Agvacates, son pastillas	30. Avocados
31. Lvcvmas	31. A variety of eggfruits, possibly eggplants
32. Sirvelas de fraile	32. Plums of the monk
33. Caracvchos	33. Caracuchos (type of flower)

34. Amancaes	34. Amancay (type of flower)
35. Ñorvos	35. Ñorbos (type of flower)
36. Carnero de la tierra	36. Local Sheep
37. Bicvña	37. Vicuña
38. India Serrana	38. Highland Indian
39. Mercahifle	39. Peddler
40. Pejerreies	40. Pejerrey (type of fish)
41. Cabrillas	41. Cabrillas (type of sea bass)
42. Pechicolorado	42. Red-breasted Robin
43. Margaritas, son nardos	43. Daisies, are nardos (plant of India)
44. Maníes, son cacagvates	44. Peanuts, are earthnuts
45. Narsiso	45. Daffodil
46. Camotes	46. Sweet Potatoes
47. Papaz	47. Potatoes

Vita

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