

Reproducing Nations:

**Types and Costumes in Asia and Latin America,
ca. 1800 - 1860**



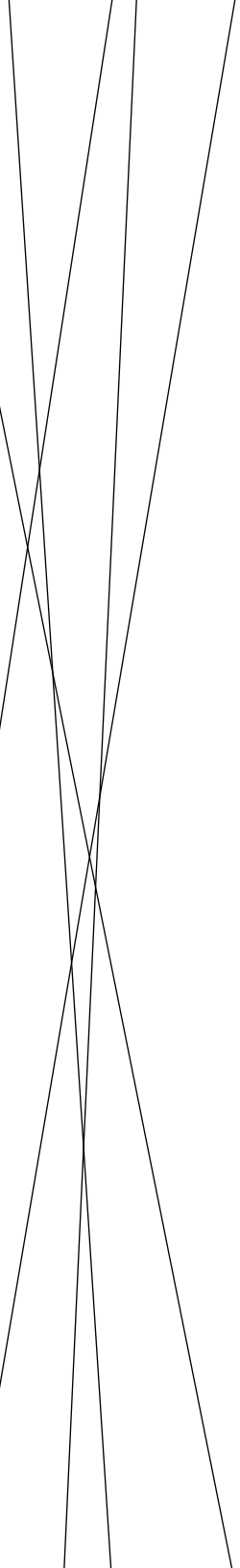
Reproducing Nations:

Types and Costumes in Asia and Latin America,
ca. 1800 - 1860

Americas Society

April 2006

Guest Curated by Natalia Majluf



Americas SOCIETY

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Table of Contents

7

Acknowledgments

Gabriela Rangel M.

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9

Foreword

Susan Segal

President and CEO,

Americas Society – Council of the Americas

11

Introduction

Diana Fane

Emeritus Curator, The Brooklyn Museum

15

Pattern-Book of Nations:

Images of Types and Costumes

in Asia and Latin America, ca. 1800 -1860

Dr. Natalia Majluf

Guest Curator and Director of the Museo de Arte de Lima

57

Pancho Fierro's Holy Week Scroll at the Hispanic Society of America

Dr. Marcus Burke

Curator, The Hispanic Society of America

67

Exhibition Checklist

76

Biographies

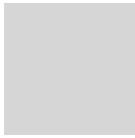
77

Selected Bibliography

80

Credits

Acknowledgments



The Visual Arts Department at the Americas Society is honored to present *Reproducing Nations: Types and Costumes in Asia and Latin America, ca. 1800 - 1860*. The Americas Society was founded in 1965 by David Rockefeller and has since played a pivotal role in shaping the field of Latin American and Canadian art, from pre-Columbian and colonial, to modern and contemporary. Consistent with our mission to promote a better understanding in the United States of the cultural heritage of the many nations in the Americas, it is a pleasure to offer our audiences the exceptional opportunity to appreciate the development of *costumbrismo*, an overlooked chapter in 19th century historiography. The *costumbrista* sub-genre of types and costumes considered in the exhibition and the transformation of these images as a result of the paths of circulation between Asia, Europe, and Latin America, are crucial in understanding how local representations and national imaginaries were constructed.

Numerous individuals and institutions in Peru and the United States have played important roles in making this exhibition and catalogue a reality. The successful implementation of this project has been possible thanks to the joint efforts of the Museo de Arte de Lima and the Hispanic Society of America. We are indebted to their staff for their invaluable support, but especially to Mitchell Coddington, director, and Marcus Burke and Patrick Lenaghan, curators.

On behalf of the Americas Society, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Mr. Eduardo Ferrero Costa, ambassador of Peru to the United States, to Mr. Jorge-Félix Rubio Correa, the deputy chief of mission of the Embassy of Peru in the United States, as well as to Mr. Luis Guillermo Lumbreras Salcedo, director of the Instituto Nacional de Cultura in Peru for allowing us to present valuable pieces from Peruvian collections in New York.

I would like to extend my deepest appreciation to the art collectors in Peru and the United States who have so kindly lent their works for this exhibition: an anonymous collector, Banco Bilbao Vizcaya, The Lilly Library, The New York Public Library, Peabody Essex Museum, and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden. A number of staff members from those institutions deserve special mention for their help and support: Myriam de Arteni, Clayton Kirking, Michael Inman, Sonia Dingilian, James Canary, Sandra Taylor, Minora Collins, and Carina Corrigan.

The Americas Society was fortunate to have the opportunity of entrusting the curatorship of this exhibition to Natalia Majluf, director of the Museo de Arte de Lima and a distinguished scholar of *costumbrismo*. I would like to acknowledge and thank Dr. Majluf for her extraordinary dedication to this project.

I will never be able to give proper thanks to the members of the Visual Arts staff—Patricia Olender, Vanessa Rubio, and Isabela Villanueva—whose tireless efforts and willingness to share their energy, openness, and fresh ideas made this exhibition possible. I want to extend my thanks to Catalina Ocampo, copyeditor of the catalogue and textual materials, to Ferrán Martín, exhibition designer, and to Arturo Sánchez who joined forces with the curator to configure the spatial design and installation of the works within the gallery.

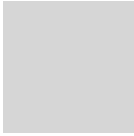
I must express my gratitude to the members of the Americas Society Visual Arts Advisory Board for their enthusiasm and guidance, especially to Diana Fane who served as an ad hoc advisor for this project. I also want to thank Deborah Conrad Weiss who devoted time and energy assisting Dr. Majluf with research in New York collections, and Luis and Cecilia Campos who provided additional support for the publication.

Finally, I would like to thank HSBC for making this intellectual initiative a reality.

Gabriela Rangel M.

Director of Visual Arts, Americas Society

Foreword



The Americas Society is pleased to present *Reproducing Nations: Types and Costumes in Asia and Latin America, ca. 1800-1860*, a scholarly exhibition organized with the generous help of the Museo de Arte de Lima and the Hispanic Society of America.

Costumbrismo is a term used in Latin America and Spain to designate a vast cultural trend that emerged in the late eighteenth century; it refers to the representation of local customs, dresses, and scenes of everyday life in literature and in the visual arts. A mode of representation born with the Enlightenment and its taxonomic and descriptive methodologies, the *costumbrista* tradition expanded with the incorporation of Latin America into world markets after independence. The rapid growth of urban life in the region also contributed to the creation of a spatial imaginary for these representations, whose origins can be traced to collections like *Gritos de Madrid* or *Les cris de Paris*. These visual descriptions of the inhabitants of Latin American cities, like the emblematic Peruvian *tapada*, were quickly popularized by the press; they became so popular, in fact, that lithographers and printmakers from Europe and Asia avidly appropriated them to satisfy the increasing demands of the market.

Travelers and local painters sketched colorful illustrations of vernacular characters and their clothing in capitals such as Lima, Buenos Aires, or Quito long before photography became a widespread invention and a massive practice for disseminating ethnic and geographic diversity through documentary images. By depicting the gentleman, the lady, the water seller, the fish seller, the milkman, the matador, the Indian, etc. to enlighten curious international buyers on foreign customs, they created a large circuit for images. These were reproduced and copied from Europe to China by editors and printmakers who added their grain of diversity to them. Notably, the practice of making multiple watercolors was advanced by Peruvian painter Francisco Fierro, contradicting the idea that massive production is equivalent to the emergence of mechanical reproduction.

In retrospect, the *costumbrista* tradition of types and costumes examined by the exhibition curator, Dr. Natalia Majluf, is particularly interesting today as a means to grasp the cultural influence of economic trade and commerce between Asia, Latin America, and Europe in the nineteenth century. This joint enterprise between South and North American institutions is an effort to reexamine old topics through the lens of current ideas and new theoretical approaches.

On behalf of the board of directors and members of the Americas Society, I would like to thank everyone involved in the planning and organization of *Reproducing Nations: Types and Costumes in Asia and Latin America, ca.1800-1860*. We want to acknowledge Luis and Cecilia Campos who offered additional support for the catalogue. We would also like to thank our sponsor HSBC, whose generous funding made this extraordinary exhibition possible.

Susan Segal

President and CEO, Americas Society

Introduction



"Lima was little changed since I saw it last in 1847," the English traveler Clements R. Markham observed in his "Travels in Peru in 1853." Only one "characteristic" was missing: "the ladies in the streets and churches in the *sayo y manto* dress. It has gone out of fashion and is rarely seen on fiestas, never worn by fashionable people."¹ The *sayo* and *manto* (long pleated skirt and shawl) was a distinctive costume of upper-class Lima ladies who wrapped the shawl over their heads and faces, leaving only one eye visible, a practice that earned them the name *tapadas* (covered women). While the *tapada* was disappearing from Lima's public spaces, she remained ubiquitous in popular images of Peruvian costumes, as can be seen in this exhibition (figs. 13, 14, 19, 20, 21).² Reproducing Nations, however, is decidedly not an attempt to portray the customs and costumes of Peru in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Instead, curator Natalia Majluf has assembled more than seventy watercolors, engravings, lithographs, and gouaches as a way to illustrate the role that images of local types such as the *tapada* played in defining national identities between 1800 and 1860. During this period, representations of local subjects—whether Latin American, Asian, or European—circulated in "an international culture of images." These images had as much in common with each other in terms of their style, composition, and format as they had with the particular cultural, ethnic, and social classes they purportedly represented. Together, they comprised a conceptual "pattern-book of nations" in which cultural differences were made visible and available for consumption around the world. The images also provided guidelines for first-hand observation: Clements Markham undoubtedly knew that the *tapada* was "characteristic" of Lima before he ever set foot in South America.

In her catalogue essay, Natalia Majluf analyzes the complex interaction between local and international markets and the different formats that produced and sustained *costumbrismo* (the visual documentation of costumes and customs) during the first half of the nineteenth century. Illustrated travel accounts, encyclopedic costume books, and print sets and series representing street vendors and peddlers in various cities helped institute and disseminate those formats throughout established European print markets and new post-independence Latin American markets. A selection of publications in *Reproducing Nations* gives visitors an opportunity to compare images of New York City street life published in New York in 1814 with representations of Chinese dress and customs published in London a decade earlier. The exhibition's main emphasis, however, is on the Andean region and, more specifically, on single images of Peruvian types and costumes. This allows us "to follow the trail of images of Peruvian subjects that multiplied and circulated through unexpected routes in America, Asia, and Europe."³

Although *costumbrismo* is a genre in which there are no "true originals"—as Natalia Majluf points out⁴—there are antecedents for the depiction of specific local types and costumes in Peru, such as the collection of watercolors compiled by the bishop of Trujillo, Baltasar Jaime Martínez (1735-1797), and created for the king as a comprehensive visual survey of his bishopric (fig. 3). Several individual artists also stand out as early participants in Lima's tourist market for pictures of local types, most notably Francisco "Pancho" Fierro (Lima 1807-1879), well represented in the exhibition through fifteen images from the Hispanic Society of America. One of the earliest and most ambitious of Fierro's works is a scroll fifteen and a half feet long depicting the Holy Week procession in Lima (fig. 34). In his catalogue essay, Marcus Burke discusses this vivid panorama of Lima society and the history of the Hispanic Society's extensive collection of Pancho Fierro's watercolors.

Pancho Fierro, whose repertory of types is impressively large, is undoubtedly the best known and most productive Peruvian artist of popular imagery. His work was also the most subject to reproduction, a process this exhibition illuminates by examining the many different manual and mechanical means used to turn single watercolors into multiples. In Fierro's case, it began close to home—he copied his own works in order to meet market demands in Lima—and went as far as China, where Fierro's images were meticulously copied on pith paper by Chinese artisans. A depiction of the copying process can be seen in a mid-nineteenth century watercolor of the studio of the painter Tingqua in Canton (fig. 18). Made in China did not necessarily mean sold in China. A set of watercolors on pith

paper, displayed in the exhibition (figs. 16, 30), provides evidence that Peruvian images made in Chinese workshops traveled back to Lima and were sold to tourists and sailors eager for souvenirs to take home.⁵ The set was purchased by a North American naval officer in Peru's port of Callao in 1838 and is currently held at the Lilly library in Indiana.

Art historical surveys and general exhibitions of Latin America art invariably include a few examples of nineteenth-century images of types and costumes to illustrate the *costumbrista* tradition. Questions of copies and multiples within the genre are rarely addressed. Reproducing Nations, however, puts such issues at center stage. Do we value the works any less knowing that most of them were neither made "on the spot" nor "from life"? Not at all. By freeing these images from linear national histories and displaying them in the context of the global circulation and consumption that gave them their authoritative status as culturally specific representations, the exhibition greatly amplifies our understanding and appreciation of the types and costumes genre. The individual images retain their distinctiveness and charm, qualities that appealed to their original buyers and inspired their widespread reproduction. Walking through the exhibition we are tempted to make our own selections and compilations as a traveler would in nineteenth-century Lima. For example, a set composed exclusively of *tapadas*, which are remarkably expressive even with their one eye, would be quite interesting, as would a selection of Lima street vendors or one that compiled one example of each type. I am sure each visitor will make his or her own conceptual album to take home as a souvenir from this engaging and informative exhibition.

Diana Fane

Emeritus Curator, The Brooklyn Museum

Notes

[1] Peter Blanchard, ed., *Markham in Peru: The Travels of Clements R. Markham, 1852-1853* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 7.

[2] See also checklist nos. 22, 41, 44, 45, 47, 68-74.

[3] See in this catalogue: Natalia Majluf, "Pattern-Book of Nations: Images of Types and Costumes in Asia and Latin America, 1800-1860," 16.

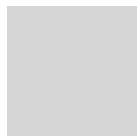
[4] *Ibid.*, 44.

[5] See also checklist nos. 45-50.

Pattern-book of Nations: Images of Types and Costumes in Asia and Latin America, 1800-1860¹

"Las costumbres no se inventan, se copian."
"Customs are not invented, they are copied."

—Eugenio Díaz (Soacha 1803 - Bogotá 1865)²



One of the most radical transformations to affect the visual arts in Latin America after independence was the development of a new kind of pictorial practice that changed the purpose and function of images. Defined by a new empiricism, a supposedly objective form of visual description emerged, supplanting the fictional spaces of colonial painting. This new tradition, known as *costumbrismo*, introduced recognizable images of local subjects that fascinated contemporaries and continue to exert a powerful influence in our time. This essay explores the ways in which the promises offered by description were never fully realized, and how international formats and conventions came to impose themselves on visual representation.

Surveys of nineteenth-century Latin American art tend to obscure the specificity of *costumbrismo* and its particular historical development with respect to other visual traditions. Images created by artist-travelers, academic painting, popular prints, and watercolors of local subjects have generally been configured as part of a single narrative that describes the emergence of national identities throughout

the region.³ Reproducing Nations addresses a specific sub-genre within the *costumbrista* tradition—the popular images of types and costumes that rapidly spread throughout the region and the world. It follows the trail of images of Peruvian subjects that multiplied and circulated through unexpected routes in America, Asia, and Europe. Almost any regional subject could be used, for at issue are the standardized formats of visual representation and the mediums that favored international visual exchange.

By focusing on the forms of production and movement of these images rather than on the subjects depicted, this exhibition attempts to counter traditionally parochial narratives that invariably mine images for content and situate them within the framework of local histories, whether they be of Britain, China, Ecuador, Mexico, Holland, or Peru. Narratives of local exceptionalism or ideological readings of specific images are undermined by the recognition that commercial formats imposed a degree of uniformity on the production of images everywhere in the world.⁴ The success of the types and costumes tradition depended on this factor and on the creation of a shared international culture of images through incessant repetition and reproduction. In a period when nationalism was being forged on arguments that emphasized political representation, images of types and costumes created a space for the assertion of cultural differences between nations long before the discourses of ethno-linguistic nationalisms emerged in full form at the turn of the twentieth century.⁵

Somewhere in the Middle: a Starting Point

Let us begin with a set of eight small watercolors on paper representing types and costumes in Lima: each of the sheets shows a full-length figure, centered on the page. Beneath each minutely drawn image is a hand-written inscription in English describing the subject represented and a date. On the reverse of one of the sheets is the name J. Barber. These are the earliest dated images of Peruvian types and costumes (figs. 1-2).⁶ We have no information on the person whose name appears on the sheets, but we can deduce that it was the first owner of the works, the person who acquired them in Lima between 1825 and 1826. While this is the earliest series we know today, it is not the earliest reference to the production of such images.

In 1818, Santiago Távora y Andrade (1796-1874), a young student of the Royal College of Medicine of San Fernando, motivated by his desire to learn English established contact with the North American citizens aboard the *Ontario*, a U.S.



Fig. 1 Artist unidentified (possibly Francisco Javier Cortés), *Tapada*, 1826.
Watercolor on paper. ■ Private collection.



Fig. 2 Artist unidentified (possibly Francisco Javier Cortés), *Candle Vendor*, 1826. Watercolor on paper. ■ Private collection.

ship anchored in the port of Callao. Távara struck close friendship with Jeremy Robinson (1787-1834), a North American diplomat then serving unofficially as a U.S. commercial agent in South America. This was a tense moment for international diplomacy: Chile had just won its independence and was the base of operations for José de San Martín's armies. Suspected of having revolutionary sympathies, Robinson had been confined to the port of Callao, and Távara offered to serve as liaison during his confinement. In letters written during the last months of 1818, Távara mentions drawings depicting an "Indian man and woman of the country,"⁷ which Robinson had commissioned from Francisco Javier Cortés (Quito 1775 - Lima 1839), chair of botanical drawing at the Medical College of San Fernando. Through a number of notes sent by Távara to Robinson, we know that other officers on the *Ontario* had also commissioned similar works.⁸

Robinson had struck a personal friendship with Cortés,⁹ as he had with a number of intellectuals associated with the College of San Fernando where the young Távara studied. Robinson's scientific interests are well documented. He had come to South America to obtain contributions for the journal *The Medical Repository* and to collect material for the Historical Society of the State of New York,¹⁰ which was probably the intended destination of Cortés' drawings.¹¹ The youngest of a family of painters from Quito, Cortés had been initially trained as a draftsman in two of the most important scientific expeditions of the late eighteenth century. Between 1790 and 1798 he served under José Celestino Mutis in the Royal Botanical Expedition to New Granada (1783-1816) and later under Juan José Tafalla in the local extension of Hipólito Ruiz and José Pavón's official *Flora Peruviana* (1800-1807). In 1808, Cortés settled in Lima, where he was assigned to the medical school of San Fernando. By 1818, communication with botanists in Madrid had broken down, other members of the expedition had passed away, and botanical pursuits had largely disappeared from the local scene.¹² There is no doubt that commissions like Robinson's opened up new commercial possibilities for Cortés.

The images mentioned in Távara's letters have not survived, but the Barber series can be associated with Cortés, the only artist known to have worked in the genre at such an early date. This series indeed displays the exacting and obsessive attention to detail characteristic of the tradition of scientific illustration in which Cortés had been trained. Cortés' work in this genre thus serves as a missing link to one of the few local antecedents in the depiction of types and costumes: the illustrations created for the scientific expeditions of the late eighteenth century.¹³ Histories of Peruvian *costumbrismo* usually begin with the almost fifteen hundred watercolors created between 1782 and 1785 by the bishop of Trujillo, Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón (1735-1797), during an ecclesiastical visit through his



Fig. 3 Artist unidentified (Peruvian), *Quadroon*, ca. 1782-1785. Watercolor on paper in Baltasar Jaime Martínez de Compañón, *Trujillo del Perú*. ■ Banco BBVA Continental, Lima. ■ Checklist no. 1

diocese (fig. 3). The bishop's project, inspired by the descriptive impulse of the Enlightenment, was defined by a new empiricism and by a profound belief in the value of visual description. A vast accumulation of maps, plans of churches and pre-Columbian ruins, careful drawings of artifacts, customs, or dresses, and minute depictions of the flora and fauna of the region gave shape to the most ambitious and systematic visual project of the period.¹⁴ For perhaps the first time since the conquest, he produced significant local imagery that contributed to the construction of a local identity.

Martínez de Compañón's legacy was certainly known to Cortés, and there is perhaps little other than style and range of subject matter (or ambition) to

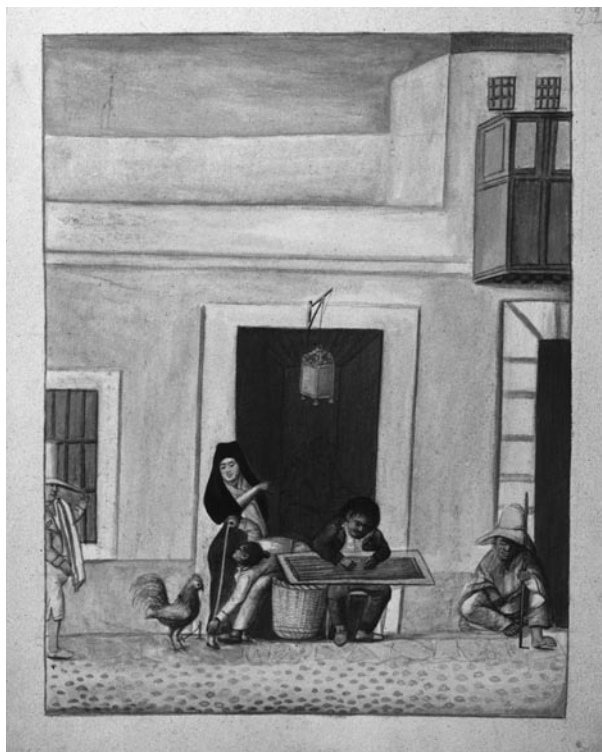


Fig. 4 Artist unidentified (possibly Francisco Javier Cortés), *Tailor*, ca. 1825-1830. Watercolor on paper.

■ Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven (1967.36.28).

distinguish his watercolors from those produced by Martínez de Compañón a few decades earlier. The bishop's enterprise, however, was a scientific endeavor, a totalizing project that attempted to represent all aspects of life in eighteenth-century Trujillo. The images associated with Cortés, on the other hand, were limited mostly to individual figures and focused primarily on the depiction of dresses, customs, and occupations. Yet the most substantial difference between both projects lies in their function and form of production. While Cortés' work was conceived as short series of individual images, generated on demand or for the open market, the circulation of Martínez de Compañón's watercolors was limited to high intellectual circles, ultimately destined to the royal collections. As a visual survey of a particular political territory, they were basically intended for the king's eyes.

Watercolors of types and costumes, whose production gradually increased in the early decades of the nineteenth century, must have been a novelty for a broader public unaccustomed to descriptive images of local subjects. Watercolor itself was a rare medium in the region and its use was generally limited to cartographic and scientific illustration. By the 1820s, descriptive images of types and costumes in Lima had become widespread, as is evidenced by a series of early watercolors, datable to the late 1820s and early 1830s and currently in the Yale University Art Gallery.¹⁵ This collection includes some images of the northern city of Trujillo, though most are devoted to Lima. They depict cityscapes, storefronts, bullrings, and a large number of single-figure compositions showing street peddlers, water carriers, market vendors, and fruit and pastry sellers. Some of the images are virtually identical to those of the Barber series, a fact that demonstrates an early tendency towards repetition (figs. 4, 29). Yet a number of images in the Yale collection reveal a different, freer manner, attributable to Francisco “Pancho” Fierro (Lima 1807-1879), a mulatto painter of almost mythical stature in the history of Peruvian *costumbrismo* (fig. 5).¹⁶ These would be Fierro’s earliest known works, the starting point of a career that would span over five decades. The fact that they are found together with images attributable to Cortés allows us to suggest a relationship between the two artists; it is likely that Fierro was trained by Cortés in the open classes at the Drawing Academy established in Lima soon after independence.

These early watercolors by Fierro are associated with an impressive piece, a long scroll depicting the Holy Week procession in Lima in the collection of the Hispanic Society of America, datable to the early 1830s (fig. 34). One can sense in these early works a certain fascination with the possibilities opened by the descriptive mode. The complexity of the compositions and the range and variety of subjects portrayed is greater than in later images. Complex narrative scenes would disappear from the *costumbrista* repertoire in the succeeding decades, to be replaced by the normative structure of the single-figure composition, which, as we shall see, followed the formats imposed by the conventions of the popular press.

It is significant that this early *costumbrismo* emerged in Lima—a dynamic port city and a point of confluence for foreign merchants and travelers—for, as both the watercolors created by Cortés for Robinson and the Barber series demonstrate, these works were fundamentally produced for foreigners. Nevertheless, these images convey a controlled difference, quite unlike the dramatic exoticism invoked by the traveler who claims to embark on a dangerous adventure. They transmit, rather, the trouble-free insouciance of the tourist or the practicality



Fig. 5 Francisco Fierro (attributed), *Bull Fight*, ca. 1825-1830.

Watercolor on paper. ■ Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven (1967.36.43).

of the traveling merchant. They preserve an air of the familiar. Like the picture-postcard, their standardized format gave them a practical uniformity that allowed them to be marketed as souvenirs. They were commonly sold as individual images in Lima stores or bound in albums with titles like *Souvenirs of Peru* or *Costumes of Lima*. They were bought by the traveler returning to his native land or by the expatriate sending images of his adopted country to his family back home.¹⁷

The watercolors produced by Cortés and Fierro in the 1820s stand on the threshold of a drastic change in the nature of the descriptive enterprise engendered by the Enlightenment. The priority given to natural history gradually gave way to the representation of culture. Although these watercolors were born in the intellectual circles privileged by scientific projects, they were eventually incorporated into an expanded circuit ruled by the logic of demand. *Costumbrismo* emerges precisely at the moment when description ceases to be the province of the botanist or the scientist, when it abandons the confines of intellectual circles and is appropriated by the market for popular imagery.



Fig. 6 *Woman Embroidering* , after watercolor by Pu-Quà.
 Colored stipple engraving in George Henry Mason,
The costume of China (London, 1800). ■ Art & Architecture
 Collection, New York Public Library. ■ See also checklist no. 5

Setting the Pattern: City Cries and Costume Books

Early images of types and costumes were not solely defined by previous scientific enterprises; even more significant was the thriving business of prints, which simplified and disseminated the Enlightenment's classificatory systems. The format that defined the *costumbrista* repertoire—a single figure centered on the abstract ground of the white page—was the standard commercial format of a growing industry of prints representing types and costumes. These were incorporated into three basic editorial rubrics: the illustrated travel account, the print series dedicated to the representation of criers and peddlers, and the costume book proper.

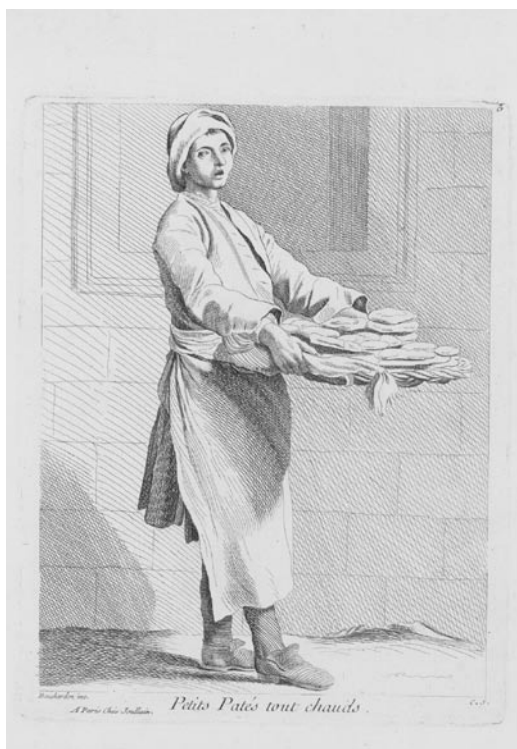


Fig. 7 Comte de Caylus, engraving after Edmé Bouchardon, *Small Pastries, All Hot*. In *Etudes prises dans le bas peuple; ou, Les cris de Paris* (Paris, 1737-1746). ■ Print Collection, New York Public Library. ■ Checklist no. 4

Prints of street-sellers hawking their goods and wares through city streets had become a consistent genre in a number of European cities by the sixteenth century, when they appeared as simple popular broadsheets. As travel within Europe increased, the genre became more widespread, reaching its point of broadest diffusion towards the end of the eighteenth century, when it merged with the travel book and became the standard format for representing cities like London and New York or nations like China, Russia, or Turkey (figs. 6-7).¹⁸ As with prints of city criers, the origin of the costume book can be traced to the late sixteenth century—to classic works like Cesare Vecellio's *De gli Habiti antichi et moderni di Diverse Parti del Mondo* (1590) and its subsequent derivations—and also achieved its greatest popularity towards 1800. Yet what



Fig. 8 Labrousse, engraving after Jacques Grasset de Saint-Sauveur, *Paysannes du Pérou*. Hand-colored engraving in Jacques Grasset de Saint-Sauveur, *Encyclopédie des voyages* (Paris, 1795-1796). ■ Private Collection. ■ See also checklist no. 9

distinguishes these later series from their early predecessors is a change, not in the formal characteristics of the images, but in their dissemination and reception and, fundamentally, in the intensity of their production. The explosion of images in these genres at the end of the eighteenth century gave rise to a massive output, impossible to survey in a systematic fashion.¹⁹

The multiplication of ambitious encyclopedic costume books in Europe, organized by continents and then “nations,” contributed to shaping the concept of cultural units. One of the most widely influential of the early encyclopedic costume books was Jacques Grasset de Saint-Sauveur’s (1757-1810) multi-volume *Costumes civils actuels de tous les peuples connus*, originally published between 1784 and 1787 and reissued under different titles well into the nineteenth century (fig. 8).²⁰ It was followed by an extensive sequence of similar editorial ventures, such as Martinus Stuart’s *De mensch* (1802-1807) or Giulio Ferrario’s well-known *Il costume antico e moderno di tutti i popoli* (1817-26), editions that thrived on the growing popular fascination with an expanded knowledge of the world.

A sampling of titles published between the 1780s and the 1860s testifies to the vast diffusion of this new geographic consciousness through printed materials and to the standardized nature of their endless reproductions: *Gallerie der Nationen*, *Voyages pittoresques dans les quatre parties du monde*, *Costumi dei popoli antichi e moderni*, *A Geographical Present*, *Le monde en estampes*, *La géographie en estampes*, *L’univers illustré*, *Geografía en láminas*, *Musée cosmopolite*, *Die Trachten der Völker*, *Les nations...* The costume book in fact forged a kind of “parageography,”²¹ a popular version of the compendia of knowledge produced by the two great systematic endeavors of the time: the encyclopedia and the voyage of exploration. It was perhaps one of the most influential elements in the diffusion of Europe’s new “planetary consciousness,” as Mary Louise Pratt aptly called it.²² These serial publications gave a broad public the impression that it could gain access to new reservoirs of information while they simultaneously pirated, transformed, and subverted the scientific pretensions of their sources.²³

The classificatory grid of Enlightenment science offered a ready-made framework for representing “nations.” Like genera in natural history, the type became the basic unit of a vast taxonomy that could engender endless variations. In much the same way as the herbariums, catalogues, and collections of the classical age described by Michel Foucault, the costume book served as one of those “unencumbered spaces in which things are juxtaposed,” in which “...stripped of all commentary, of all enveloping language, creatures present themselves one beside the other, their surfaces visible, grouped according to their common features, and thus already virtually analyzed, and bearers of nothing but their own individual names.”²⁴ If natural history had envisaged the establishment of a system of nature, then the costume book seemed to promise the possibility of founding a system of culture.

The costume book postulated the notion that discrete and differentiated cultural groups existed, and that these could be identified and represented through visual means. This structure thus posited an immanent difference that could be seen, drawn, named, and classified. The types thus required no further justification or complex theoretical support. One could argue that the essentializing underpinnings of later ethnic nationalisms had already come into existence through the costume book before history and philosophy attempted to give these notions theoretical form.²⁵

The costume book provided editors with an organizing structure that could be filled in at will. However, while it offered a simple and thus powerful means of synthesizing and representing the “world,” it did not produce new knowledge. It is in the nature of popular imagery to flagrantly disregard the rigor of science and the borderlines between genres; as such, the popular print brought scientific classification into a different sphere. Its images were consistently borrowed from other sources and it effectively flourished on piracy. Each type was there to fill a space in a larger sequence of units—thus the necessary seriality of these images—and belonged in a sequence of similar figures succeeding one another on the pages of the album or the illustrated book.

Once the format had been established, its dissemination through the popular press was guaranteed. Publishing costume books was a widespread editorial trend; wherever the business of prints flourished, editors turned to the production of books describing almost every known region, whether it was the distant and exotic or the local and familiar. Encyclopedic editions gradually spawned monographic series devoted to places as diverse as Austria, China, Egypt, France, Holland, and Russia. These collections could be as narrow or as broad as the author’s ambitions or the market envisaged by the editor. The selection of individual types could give shape to an image of a group, a city, a region, or a nation; grouped together, they could effectively come to represent the world.

These precedents set down the basic format of a genre that was already determined by the standardized conventions of the popular press; they made the costume book the most significant medium through which cultural difference was produced and disseminated around the globe. One could argue that the framework established by the costume book was in itself of greater significance than the specific types it contained or described. It had become a kind of pattern-book of nations, a format that provided visual structures for the set of equivalent differences that now ordered the world.



Fig. 9 Juan de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla, *Creole Spaniard from Lima*. Engraving in *Colección de trajes de España, tanto antiguos como modernos* (Madrid, 1777-1788). ■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York. ■ Checklist no. 10

The Commerce of Identities and the Business of Prints: Latin America, 1826-1850

Images of Latin American subjects appeared in most of these broad visual surveys. Even before Spanish colonial political units had become nations they were already defined as distinct regional cultures in the wider Spanish domain. Peruvian types appeared in the earliest Spanish costume collection: Juan de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla's *Colección de Trajes de España*, first published in 1777 (fig. 9).²⁶ Images of Lima's ladies took their place beside those of Seville, Málaga, and Madrid. Like most late-eighteenth-century cries and costume books, de la Cruz had to construct



Fig. 10 Female Domestics of Lima: Natives who have adopted the Spanish Dress, reprint of a plate in Joseph Skinner's *The Present State of Peru* (London, 1805). Colored stipple engraving in *The Costume of the Inhabitants of Perú* (London, [ca. 1805-1810]).

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York. ■ Checklist no. 13

his image of Peruvian dresses on the scarce published images then available in Europe, most of which derived from two key sources: Amédée Frézier's *Relation du voyage de la Mer du Sud* (1716) and Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa's *Relación histórica del viage a la América Meridional* (1748).²⁷

Unlike other regions opened up by scientific voyages, Latin America remained largely inaccessible, closed off from the world by the Spanish Crown's restrictive policies. This helps explain the enormous success of Joseph Skinner's plates of Peruvian subjects, originally published in London as illustrations to *The Present State of Peru* (1805). In an era of expanding scientific knowledge about the world,

Skinner attempted to shed light on this “*terra incognita*” by reproducing texts from the journal *El Mercurio Peruano*, obtained from the capture of a Spanish ship in 1793. For his images, he turned to a painting—“the production of an untutored native”—showing an “Indian festival in the great square of Lima” held on occasion of Charles IV’s ascension to the throne.²⁸ The twenty prints drawn from the painting were published simultaneously as a collection of plates entitled *The Costume of the Inhabitants of Peru* and as illustrations for both the French and German editions of Skinner’s book, which appeared shortly afterwards (fig. 10).²⁹ Until independence from Spain in the 1820s, these were some of the scarce new images of the Andean region added to the dated repertoire of eighteenth-century travelers.

The situation drastically changed with independence, which opened up the region to free trade and European immigration. The incorporation of Latin America into world markets was one of the significant motivations for independence, as well as one of its immediate consequences. It created an expanded market for a growing European economy and its manufactures, which included cultural products like books, paintings, prints, and furniture. As early as 1822, the Englishman Gilbert Mathison was struck, while traveling through Lima, “by the number of smart shops, abounding in French silks and jewelry, and British goods of every sort and description.”³⁰ While the volume of commerce in books and prints may have been small when compared to the trade in British textiles or other European goods, their impact was by no means negligible. Between 1823 and 1829, the powerful English editor Rudolph Ackermann published over a hundred books and journals in Spanish, destined mostly to the Latin American market. By the end of 1825 there were Ackermann outlets in Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Guatemala, Peru, and Venezuela.³¹ This global print industry became a channel for the expansion of the costume book and its American variants.

Latin America was soon flooded by North American, British, and French investors, diplomats, merchants, sailors, and artisans seeking new markets and opportunities. The members of this new “capitalist vanguard,” as Mary Louis Pratt called it, became avid consumers of books and prints relating to the region and generated new narratives and images of the countries they visited.³² One of these travelers, the British sailor Emeric Essex Vidal, published one of the earliest visual compilations about Latin America destined for the European market: the twenty-four scenes of his *Picturesque Illustrations of Buenos Ayres and Montevideo* printed by Ackermann in London in 1820. It was followed by a number of similar enterprises, such as Henry Chamberlain’s *Views and Costumes of the City and Neighborhood of Rio de Janeiro*, published in London in 1822, or Claudio Linati’s



Fig. 11 César Hipólito Bacle, *Peach Vendor*.

Hand-colored lithograph in *Trages y costumbres de la Provincia de Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires, 1833-[1835]).

- The Hispanic Society of America, New York.
- Checklist no. 18

Civilian, Military, and Religious Dress of Mexico, an extensive series of lithographs published in Belgium in 1828.

Latin America also offered opportunities for independent artists involved in the business of prints. The first lithographic press in the Americas was established in 1826 by Linati during his stay in Mexico. It was followed in 1827 by another short-lived venture, a press set up in Buenos Aires by the French traveler and ethnographer Jean Baptiste Douville.³³ Though many of these early presses were unsuccessful, and although lithography did not develop as rapidly in other Latin American countries, by the 1830s there were lithographic presses in most large



Fig. 12 Lithograph after Ignacio Merino (attributed), published by Litografía Jullian y Ca. (Lima), *Tapada*, ca. 1840-1845. Hand-colored lithograph. ■ Museo de Arte de Lima. ■ Checklist no. 23

capitals in the region. Costume books and plates became a staple of these early editors. Between 1830 and 1835, the Swiss lithographer César Hipólito Bacle, who had settled in Argentina in 1828, published his successful series of lithographs *Trages y Costumbres de la Provincia de Buenos Aires* (fig. 11).³⁴ In 1838, the French lithographers Dedé and Ducasse began publication of a series of loose-leaf prints of types and costumes of Lima drawn by Francisco Fierro, who had already developed a significant corpus of *costumbrista* images in watercolor, and by Ignacio Merino, a young aristocratic painter who had been trained in Europe. Over the next few years, competing editors put out similar series (fig. 12).³⁵ Although we lack documentary evidence of the number of prints issued, we know that such business could be significant. It was able to support large-scale enterprises like Bacle's Litografía del Estado, which by 1835 had three presses, 150 lithographic



Fig. 13 C. Rosenberg, *A Lady of Lima in her Walking Dress*, lithograph after a watercolor by unidentified artist (possibly Francisco Javier Cortés). Inscription: "Drawn by Lieut. Brand, R.N. / C. Rosenberg sculpt." In Charles Brand, R. N., *Journal of a Voyage to Peru* (London, 1828). ■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York.
■ Checklist no. 27

stones, and 34 workers.³⁶ These travelers, editors, artists, and lithographers are foundational figures in the construction of new national images; their local descriptions, filtered through the conventions established by the popular press, became the basis of the types and costumes tradition.

The standardized appearance of these prints is a consequence of their shared sources and formats, but also of the expectations of possible buyers. Travelers could recognize in these images the format of the popular prints depicting cries and street sellers in their native cities or perhaps the plates of one of the travel books



Fig. 14 Artist unidentified (possibly Francisco Javier Cortés), *Tapada*. Watercolor from album *Le Pérou*, ca. 1830.

■ George Arents Collection on Tobacco, New York Public Library. ■ Checklist no. 19

they had surely consulted when planning their trips. This generalized uniformity was a product of the commercial circuits in which these works thrived. Every image produced for the popular press became material for other editors, whether printed with permission or simply plagiarized. Early Peruvian images soon found their way into the international market for popular imagery. An image of the *tapada*, similar to the type drawn by Cortés, appears as a lithographic illustration in Lieutenant Charles Brand's *Journal of a Voyage to Peru* published in London in 1828. Even though the illustration reproduces a Peruvian watercolor, the caption beneath it assures us that it was "Drawn by Lieut. Brand, R.N.," a statement that sustains the descriptive rhetoric of the travel account, which was presented as



Fig. 15 Lithograph after Jules Daufresne, published by Litografía Argentina de A. H. Bernard (Buenos Aires), *Modes de Lima: Indienne Campagnarde, Chola Chacarera, An Indian Woman of the Indian Cast / Fillette, Musersilla, A pretty plain girl*, 1836, after a watercolor by unidentified artist (possibly Francisco Javier Cortés). Inscription: "Lit. Argentina de A. H. Bernard / [Jules] Daufresne del." Hand-colored lithograph. ■ Private collection.

■ Checklist no. 28

evidence of an experience directly apprehended and conveyed to the reader (figs. 13-14).³⁷ This was a common practice for travel writers, who regularly turned to images acquired in the countries they visited to illustrate their accounts and who rarely if ever gave the corresponding credit to the images' authors.³⁸

Early Peruvian costume watercolors were again recycled a few years later in Buenos Aires in a series of twenty-two lithographs under the title *Modes de Lima* (*Fashions of Lima*). The set was published by "La Litografía Argentina," founded in 1833 by the French lithographer Antide Hilaire Bernard. Although the prints are signed by Jules Daufresne, a French sailor established in Buenos Aires who had trained in Bacle's workshop, the images are clearly dependent on the typology defined by Cortés (fig. 15). The descriptive captions in English, French, and Spanish at the foot of each image reveal the editor's intention of reaching a broader international

market.³⁹ Bacle, however, had envisaged a similar enterprise. Barely a year earlier, probably inspired by the success of his costume books, he had announced the publication of a lithographic series dedicated to the dresses and customs of Bolivia, Chile, Mexico, and Peru.⁴⁰ Evidently weary of the emerging competition, Bacle sued Daufresne in 1836, accusing him of stealing the original watercolors on which the series was based.⁴¹ His legal victory against the owners of "La Litografía Argentina" led to the closure of the press and limited the circulation of Bernard's Lima series, which is now quite rare.

These appropriations were by no means infrequent. Bacle had previously protested in 1835 against illegal use of his costume books by British editors⁴² and his series was partially reissued under the same title in 1839 by the lithographer Gregorio Ibarra.⁴³ Alejo González Garaño has also traced the ways in which Vidal's illustrations of Buenos Aires and Montevideo were reused in popular books printed in Barcelona, Paris, Florence, and Venice and Alexandra Kennedy has performed a similar mapping of borrowings of Ecuadorian images in travel and costume books throughout the nineteenth century.⁴⁴ Such plagiarism and recycling of established pictorial repertoires was the rule rather than the exception in commercial publications.⁴⁵ Whether they were copied, redrawn, or reproduced through mechanical processes, their potential impact was multiplied every time they were reused. This bears witness to the success of the types and costumes tradition and to the broad circulation of these images beyond national frontiers. Prints and watercolors rapidly entered the flow of international circulation through the movements of travelers, merchants, and sailors who acquired and then effectively disseminated them. As we shall see, the paths they took closely followed the routes of international commerce.

The Hand-Made Multiple: the Case of China

By the mid 1830s, watercolors and lithographs of Peruvian types had already made their way to China, where they were copied by Chinese artists and turned into a standard export product. Although it seems improbable that money could be made producing images that had to be shipped across the ocean in a journey that could take up to eight months, this was in fact the case with Chinese production of luxury items. By the early nineteenth century, the range of objects made in China for the export trade had widened and painting in the European manner became a significant addition to the standard fare of export porcelain, lacquer, silks, and fans. Artists turned to the production of oils, reverse paintings on glass, and watercolors in the European style for sale to foreign visitors and merchants. Everything was copied in



Fig. 16 Artist unidentified (Chinese), *Milkmaid*,
ca. 1837-1838, after lithograph in César Hipólito Bacle's
Trages y costumbres de la Provincia de Buenos Aires.
Watercolor on pith paper. ■ Lilly Library, University of
Indiana, Bloomington. ■ Checklist no. 37

the Chinese studios, from portraits of George Washington to paintings by Ingres. Costume watercolors were a staple in this industry of hand-made multiples. Although most of this production was devoted to Chinese subjects, workshops turned out hundreds of images of types and costumes of different countries, including those of the nearby Philippines or of the more distant Argentina (fig. 16).⁴⁶

An early series of Chinese watercolors of Peruvian types, now in the Lilly Library in Indiana, was acquired by the North American naval officer Thomas Harman Patterson (New Orleans 1820 - Washington 1889) in the port of Callao on August 25, 1838.⁴⁷ The set of sixty plus watercolors, clearly based on Peruvian models, is drawn on pith paper (often mistakenly referred to as rice paper), a standard

support in Chinese workshops but never used in the Andean region (figs. 16, 30). Between 1837 and 1840, Patterson was appointed to the USS *Falmouth*, Pacific Squadron, which cruised the Pacific coast protecting North American citizens and their property. The ship is not known to have sailed to China.⁴⁸ Confronted with similar works, writers on Peruvian *costumbrismo* usually assume that they were made in Peru and suggest that the paper was imported to Lima and that the images were drawn by Chinese painters residing in the city.⁴⁹ There is no doubt, however, that the watercolors were made in China. This is supported not only by the fact that they are drawn on pith paper, but also by the existence of similar albums bearing the stamps of artists known to have been active in Canton during the period.

Though commerce between China and Peru in the early nineteenth century has received scant attention, customs registers bear evidence of an intensive trade. On the eve of independence, British and North American merchants envisioned the importance that South American Pacific ports such as Callao and Valparaíso could have as entrepôts for trade with China.⁵⁰ In April 1817, the North American ship *Rambler* placed a large cargo of "German and Canton goods" in Valparaíso, and over the next year four North American ships laden with copper ore sailed to Canton.⁵¹ American and British merchant ships carrying silver cargoes from Callao to Manila, the Sandwich Islands, and Canton are registered frequently in the 1820s and 1830s, as are incoming ships loaded with Chinese products.⁵² There is evidence that this activity continued over the following decades and, in all probability, increased after 1849 with the emergence of trade in Chinese indentured laborers, hired to work for the cotton and sugar plantations on the Peruvian coast.

Heinrich Witt, a German merchant settled in Lima, documented the general outlines of a trip from Callao to Canton made by the Peruvian merchant Juan von Lotten Sierra, who set sail aboard the *Lambayeque* in November 1846 and did not return to Lima until July of the following year. The sea voyage to Canton took about two months. Peruvian merchants then stopped in Manila to exchange gold bullion for the Spanish dollars that circulated in China. Once at the Chinese port, merchants usually spent four months ordering, selecting, and gathering products. Depending on the route taken, the trip back could take between three and four months. Witt described storeowners in Lima anxiously waiting for samples of the Chinese merchandise to arrive from the port.⁵³ As the Lilly Library album demonstrates, costume books were one of the products arriving on such ships.

The exact number of Peruvian images made in Canton cannot be calculated, but the number of surviving sets painted on fragile pith paper suggests that the output was considerable.⁵⁴ Watercolors based on early models associated with Cortés



Fig. 17 Seal of Guan Lianchang, known as Tingqua, on Chinese album containing watercolors of Peruvian subjects, ca. 1855. ■ Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

predominate during the 1830s and 1840s, while those in the style of Fierro appear more frequently in later decades. Most of these watercolors cannot be attributed with any certainty to particular workshops, though there are clear indications that different studios were involved in their production. One of the earliest identified series of Peruvian subjects made in Canton is dated to 1839 and bears the stamped label of Sunqua, a painter in oil and watercolor who worked for the export trade.⁵⁵ Yet another set, currently at the Library of Congress in Washington D.C., has the stamp of Tingqua (Guan Lianchang), one of the most prolific painting workshops in Canton in the mid-1800s (fig. 17).⁵⁶ These three albums were made expressly for the wife of William Wheelwright, founder of the Pacific Steam Navigation Company, based on models sent from Peru sometime in the 1840s.⁵⁷ Each album is bound in red silk brocade and contains twelve watercolors on pith paper in the style of Fierro. The watercolors are affixed to a European wove paper support by light blue silk ribbons, a common matting practice in Chinese studios (fig. 23).⁵⁸ The fact that each album partially repeats the repertoire of images contained in



Fig. 18 Guan Lianchang, known as Tingqua, *Studio of Tingqua the Painter, Canton*, ca. 1855. Gouache on paper. ■ Peabody Essex Museum, Salem. ■ Checklist no. 35

the others suggests that they were probably not intended to be kept together and reveals the systematic nature of the copying process in Chinese studios.

In 1845, a French writer described the Chinese studios' method in his discussion of the workshop of Lam Qua, Tingqua's older brother and one of the founders of Chinese painting in the European manner: "An India-ink outline is first transferred by dampening and pressing it upon the paper, when the ink strikes off sufficiently to enable the workman to fill up the sketch; one outline will serve for limning several copies, and in large establishments the separate colors are laid on by different workmen."⁵⁹ As an alternative to tracing, contours were often stamped, either through the use of inked paper or from woodblock prints. Images of Tingqua's shop dating to the 1850s show a few artists diligently copying images in an orderly workshop (fig. 18). However, as Craig Clunas has observed, these are probably misleading and idealized images, that do not accurately describe painting production in Canton.⁶⁰ In a visit to Lam Qua's studio in 1849, a French visitor claims to have seen:

...twenty youths copying drawings upon great rolls of white or yellow paper... Here it is that are painted those little silk-covered albums which are sent to England, the United States, and even to France (...) There is no art in this. It is purely a mechanical operation, in which the system of division of labor is faithfully practiced. One painter makes trees all his life—another figures; this one draws feet and hands—that one houses. (...) Lam-qua may really pass for an artist; his pupils are scarcely better than workmen.⁶¹

The operation was of such magnitude that, according to a contemporary observer, the painting industry in Canton occupied between two and three thousand artists.⁶² There is little to distinguish this kind of serial manufacture of hand-made multiples from the kind of mechanical reproduction produced by lithography or other printing methods, but there was an important advantage to the hand-made watercolor over lithography: it could invoke the rhetoric of description so vital to the genre. Chinese export watercolors were in fact marketed worldwide as “original drawings” and their exacting details, their tight and fine brushstrokes evoked manual production, which was fast becoming an important differentiating trait in a world increasingly dominated by machine-made products.

Hand-Made in Lima: Pancho Fierro, Copies and Multiples

The hand-made multiple was not an aberration in an era of mass-produced images. Lithography was not universally accessible, nor was it an exclusively mechanical process either. Before the advent of color prints, hand coloring was an enhancement to black and white images that the public had come to expect and demand. Lithography allowed artists to economize in the delineation of the figures’ contours, but it could not save them time or work in the process of illumination. Thus, the hand-made multiple largely coexisted with lithography during most of the nineteenth century.

Francisco Fierro is known to have made lithographs since at least 1838, and it is likely that he played a part in the production of various lithographic series of Peruvian subjects between the 1830s and 1860s in Lima. Watercolors attributable to Fierro often bear the stamp of the music store owned by Inocente Ricordi, who was also responsible for the publication of at least one series of prints in the 1850s.⁶³ Many of Fierro’s watercolors are drawn on the reverse of costume prints, and bound albums of Peruvian types and costumes frequently contain images in both media.

Yet lithographs appear in collections much less frequently than do watercolors, and everything indicates that the latter were at least as abundant as prints during most of the nineteenth century. For every type drawn by Fierro or made in his style one can trace numerous variants in albums dating from the 1830s to the 1870s. To cite one among many possible examples, the image of a lady from Lima putting on (or taking off) her *saya* (dress) was a common subject in watercolors for over nearly fifty years (see figs. 23-28). Though the many versions evidently share a common visual model, there are minor variations in details and coloring explained by the fact that they were executed freehand. This production did not aim for what William Ivins would have termed "exactly repeatable pictorial statements."⁶⁴ What it intended to convey was the image of a particular type in a manner that evoked the rapid, first-hand sketch. Fierro's free, fluid brushstrokes were a sign of spontaneity; they sustained the illusion that his images were made from direct observations of street life in nineteenth-century Lima.

There is no doubt that Fierro's watercolors were fundamentally a kind of "export art," produced and sold in much the same way as their Chinese counterparts. Yet the style of his images would appear to negate this proposition. The documentary value assigned to his watercolors was effectively founded upon the idea that they were an expression of the painter's "natural vision" in the depiction of his surroundings. Thus there was, for a long time, resistance to the idea of the multiple, to the notion that the watercolor of types was something other than a unique original image, caught in a moment by the eye of the draftsman and fixed on a sheet of paper. The truth-value of the image and the artistic status of the author depended on this proposition. At stake were the status of description, the originality of the art, and, ultimately, the authenticity of the very nations described. Collectors and students of *costumbrismo* spent considerable effort trying to distinguish between "original" works by Fierro and "copies" made by alleged followers. The possibility that he could have copied himself was not seriously entertained by any writer.

In the end, whether the watercolors are attributed to Fierro or to anonymous contemporaries is largely irrelevant; they are hand-made multiples created for the modest market of local collectors and foreign visitors to Lima. Their success derived precisely from their combination of a visual rhetoric of description and the repetition of types. How, then, do these images relate to the reality they purportedly depict? They function like templates, visual schemas that, unlike those described by Ernst Gombrich, do not progress towards naturalism but rather gradually coalesce into a fixed matrix ever more distant from the reality they supposedly portray.⁶⁵ We can take the case of an early image of a candle vendor from

the 1826 Barber series. A nearly identical image in the Yale collection, evidently drawn by the same artist, demonstrates an early tendency towards repetition. We can look backwards to the precedents established by the eighteenth-century tradition of cries and peddlers, or forwards to Fierro's numerous versions of the same type and to the Cantonese copies of these images. We can furthermore find parallels in works by artists in other countries or trace instances of reuse in photographs and in the popular press (figs. 29-33). In fact, it is impossible to say in what sense these images could be called "original," both in relation to the subjects depicted and to the word's association with the notion of invention. In more than one sense, this is a genre in which there are no true originals.

The hand-made multiple was also a standard form of production for images of types and costumes in other Andean countries and beyond. It was a staple of costume book production in Quito, where Ramón Salas' success in the genre bred a long line of competitors and imitators.⁶⁶ Early on in Rio de Janeiro, Joaquim Cândido Guillobel (1787-1859) created standardized images of city street sellers and popular characters⁶⁷ and in Colombia, José Manuel Groot (1800-1878) and Ramón Torres Méndez (1809-1885) are known to have repeated many of their watercolors. Further away, Florina Capistrano-Baker has recently called attention to the serial production of hand-made images of types and costumes in nineteenth-century Manila.⁶⁸ The growing awareness of the forms of production for these "multiple originals," as Capistrano-Baker termed them, is no doubt influenced by our current immersion in a culture dominated by seriality and repetition, one in which, as Umberto Eco has proposed, it is difficult "to distinguish between the repetition of the media and the repetition of the so-called major arts," and in which the boundaries between high and low culture are increasingly blurred.⁶⁹

The rhetoric of *costumbrista* works insists, however, on their status as images of immediacy. To sustain this fiction, the genre of types and costumes distanced itself from previous visual traditions and pictorial models: it would be a genre without models, without an origin other than the immediate experience of the artist. This has been the point of departure for most writing on the subject, guided by the language of art historical discourse. Local historians have compared Fierro with Goya, pointing out the expressive character of his images, their spontaneity and originality. They have willfully resisted the evidence that points to the serial and commercial nature of the genre. By focusing on formats and reproductive procedures, the language of commercial imagery begins to supersede that of art; authorial style and intention give way to the priority of markets and circuits of consumption, notions of influence and tradition are replaced by standardization and serial production, and the singular original image opens up to its multiples.

Changing the language used to describe these images may have the effect of demystifying established narratives of national identity and artistic originality, but it also enables a better understanding of the true nature of a genre that became one of the most important vehicles for the definition of the concept of national identity in early Latin America.

National Narratives: Between Manual and Mechanical Reproduction

In a genre that gains consistency through repetition, we would expect photography to be the natural successor of watercolor and lithography. The appearance of the *carte-de-visite* around 1860 did in fact generate new photographic versions of the types and costumes tradition. Yet, in the case of *costumbrismo*, photography largely came into the scene to imitate art. Women dressed as *tapadas* in photographic studios were made to strike poses that would remind viewers of Fierro's watercolors (figs. 19-20), and photographers repeatedly took portraits of street-sellers against neutral studio backdrops in a manner that directly evoked the format of the costume plate. The fact that photography was frequently used to reproduce lithographs and watercolors of types confirms the primacy of the hand-made multiple in communicating the rhetoric of description.⁷⁰ Photography's monotone uniformity, its static studio poses and uncontrolled excess of detail could not compete with the colorful sketches and lithographs of types. The fad for *carte-de-visite* images of types and costumes was thus short-lived. It did not survive the 1860s, and virtually disappeared from photographic albums until the early twentieth century when images made in Courret's studio started to be used repeatedly in postcards of Lima.

Photography and other reproductive technologies merely contributed to the dissemination of previously elaborated types, adding little to the repertoire that had been fixed in the watercolors of Cortés and Fierro in the 1820s. Editors used images by Fierro to prepare their own editions. In some cases, the types were significantly redrawn, as can be seen in the lithographs created by the French artist André Auguste Bonnaffé between 1856 and 1857 (fig. 33).⁷¹ These images, along with others taken directly from Fierro's watercolors, were in turn used by Manuel Atanasio Fuentes in 1867 to illustrate the different editions of his book on Lima (fig. 21), which became a true source book for later publishers (fig. 22).⁷²

As a genre, the costume book had largely disappeared by the 1870s, but its images and the narratives that sustained them were given new life by subsequent



Fig. 19 Francisco Fierro (attributed), *Tapada*.
 Watercolor in album titled *Costumes de Lima*, ca. 1840-1850.
 ■ Museo de Arte de Lima. ■ See also checklist no. 53

generations that recovered them as valued documents of a bygone past. The fashions, industries, and customs depicted in *costumbrista* images had been quickly rendered obsolete by the rapid changes brought about by modernization; a new temporal understanding of these works gave them new meanings and functions. Throughout the world, early costume plates were gradually incorporated into historical discourses. They offered nations a visual past. Eugène Atget's photographs of Parisian street-sellers presented them as living relics of passing French traditions while simultaneously recovering the centuries-old visual format for representing street criers. Similarly, costume plates of Frisian dress contributed to the recovery of the costume as an emblematic symbol of traditional Holland.⁷³



Fig. 20 Courret Hermanos (Lima), *Tapadas*, page of a sampler album of carte de visite photographs titled *Recuerdos del Perú*, ca. 1863-1873. Albumen prints. ■ Collection of Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, Lima. ■ Checklist no. 72

Textual explanations, traditionally present in the costume book only as descriptive titles, now dominated the images' presentation. They served as mnemonic triggers that helped aging patriarchs reminisce about lost customs and traditions. It is through no small coincidence that the most important collectors of Fierro's work in the late nineteenth century were historians or writers whose works were of a clearly historical nature: Agustín de la Rosa Toro, author of history text books, or Ricardo Palma and José Antonio de Lavalle, founders of the nostalgic literary genre known as the "*tradición*."⁷⁴ It was thus only towards the end of the century that literary *costumbrismo*, which had largely run a parallel and independent course, merged with the visual genre of types and costumes.



Fig. 21 Unknown illustrator, *Tapada*. Illustration in Manuel Atanasio Fuentes, *Lima* (Paris, 1867). ■ Private Collection. ■ Checklist no. 73

Just as the picture postcard later imposed its standardized regularity on the world, so too the costume book and its variants gave shape to an image of the nation. Throughout Latin America, the dissemination of prints and watercolors of types and costumes turned a stable set of images into widely recognizable elements of identification for a broad middle class. By the end of the nineteenth century, each country had distilled a few emblematic figures from this mass of imagery and given them a powerful symbolic dimension. In the case of Peru, the *tapada*, a frequent and even dominant presence in early costume books, now acquired the weighty status of a national symbol. After being one among many types, it became the privileged image for identifying the capital city and, by extension, Peru.⁷⁵ In the same way, the *gaucho* in Argentina, the *huaso* in Chile, and the *charro* in Mexico became emblematic figures, types that represented the nation's cultural essence. This long process began in the early decades of the century and involved a seemingly endless reproduction of similar images in books, prints, photographs, and journals.



Fig. 22 *Costumbres nacionales*. Illustration in *El Correo del Perú* (Lima, July 1872).

■ Collection of Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, Lima. ■ Checklist no. 75

The tradition of types and costumes provided models of identity, ready-made formats that allowed national differences to be constructed through seriality and comparison. In this regard, it functioned much like the establishment of nationalism itself. Benedict Anderson described the independent nation state as a model, one that, like the popular images discussed here, was readily “available for pirating.”⁷⁶ For Anderson, “nation-ness” is a cultural artifact, “the spontaneous distillation of a complex ‘crossing’ of discrete historical forces” that, once created, could become “‘modular,’ capable of being transplanted, with varying degrees of self-consciousness, to a great variety of social terrains, to merge and be merged with a correspondingly wide variety of political and ideological constellations.”⁷⁷ His description of the model nation could very well describe the workings of the types and costumes tradition.

Nations, like other modern fictions, are largely shaped by ideas shared among members of broad social groups. The tradition of types and costumes lends new relevance to Anderson’s claims about the primacy of print capitalism in diffusing the idea of the nation.⁷⁸ Its reliance on international circuits of consumption and modes of production also expands those claims: as we have seen in the process that constituted the genre, it was a business basically run by demand. As far as

we know, none of the Latin American *costumbrista* series received direct official endorsement, nor were they created on commission by national states. They flourished on the speculation of large and small editorial houses, adventurous entrepreneurs, and independent urban artisans. Current ideas about the state's active and willful construction of the nation or about intellectuals' scripts for national narratives give way to broader processes in which agency does not have a fixed location and the formats established by popular imagery flow freely through larger international networks. The borders that define the inside and outside of national representations are consequently blurred, and both the narratives of dependence, which propose an omnipresent "European gaze," and those of nationalism, which describe the spontaneous springing forth of innate identities, are inevitably undermined. Standardized international formats and incessant repetition created a common culture of images recognizable by all. Long after the rage for costume books faded into oblivion, the national types produced by the genre remained firmly entrenched in the collective imagination. Only the relentless reproduction of images, whether by hand or by mechanical means, made this possible.

Dr. Natalia Majluf

Guest Curator

Director, Museo de Arte de Lima

Notes

- [1] An important part of the research for this essay was conducted in North American collections and libraries in 1998 thanks to the support of the Inter-American Development Bank and The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Visiting Senior Research Fellowship, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. I would like to thank Gabriela Rangel for proposing this exhibition and giving it her enthusiastic support, and Deborah Conrad, Emily Katrencik, Patricia Olender, and Vanessa Rubio for their work in putting it all together. Finally, thanks to Beverly Adams and Catalina Ocampo for their comments and suggestions on this essay.
- [2] Cited in Beatriz González, *Ramón Torres Méndez y Edward Walhouse Marck: una confrontación de miradas* (Cali: Banco de la República, 1990), 18.
- [3] Numerous books and exhibitions have studied the development of national iconographies. In the United States, Stanton Catlin's pioneering exhibition *Art of Latin America since Independence* (1966) offered the first broad synthesis of the Latin American descriptive tradition. While his contributions to *Art in Latin America: The Modern Era, 1820-1980* (1989) had the virtue of approaching Latin American art from a broad regional perspective, the very nature of his enterprise led him to ignore the specificity of the tradition of types

- and costumes and its independence with regard to other descriptive projects. See Stanton Loomis Catlin and Terence Grieder, *Art of Latin America since Independence* (New Haven: Yale University Press and the University of Texas, 1966); L. Guy Brett, Stanton Loomis Catlin, and Rosemary O'Neill, *Art in Latin America: The Modern Era, 1820-1980*, ed. Dawn Ades (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).
- [4] See Craig Clunas' pointed critique of European exceptionalism in discussions of dominant historical categories and processes: Craig Clunas, "Modernity Global and Local: Consumption and the Rise of the West," *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 5 (December 1999): 1497-1511.
- [5] For a discussion of the primarily political foundations of early nationalism in Latin America see François-Xavier Guerra, "Forms of Communication, Political Spaces, and Cultural Identities in the Creation of Spanish American Nations," *Beyond Imagined Communities: Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth Century Latin America*, eds. Sara Castro-Klarén and Charles Chasteen (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003). On the late development of ethno-linguistic nationalisms see E.J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 102.
- [6] The eight images in this series, originally in the collection of Raúl Apesteguía, are now in a private collection. One of them bears the inscription "J. Barber / July 1825" on the reverse, while others are dated July, August, and September 1826. Many of them bear the initials "JA" below the hand-written captions. Given that they are in the same ink and handwriting as the captions, and that these were generally added by the person who acquired the watercolors, they possibly correspond to an early owner of the works.
- [7] Távora wrote: "Cortés told me last night that he has made tow (*sic*) drawings for in the case you like they represent a indian (*sic*) man and woman of the country." In the following letter Távora mentions: "I spoke with Cortés he will mend the drawings and follow making a man and woman inidan (*sic*) of the coast." Santiago Távora y Andrade to Jeremy Robinson, undated letters nos. 587-538, Jeremy Robinson Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington D.C. The letters were translated into Spanish and published by Mariana Mould de Pease, "Una faceta de don Santiago Távora y Andrade," *Revista del Archivo General de la Nación* 8, 2a época (1985): 111-122.
- [8] Távora wrote: "Cortés goes on with the indians paints (*sic*) for the lieutenant." Cortés charged ten dollars for two paintings. See Santiago Távora y Andrade to Jeremy Robinson, undated letter no. 540, Jeremy Robinson Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.
- [9] Robinson's personal diary mentions visits by Cortés on October 24 and on November 5 and 10, 1818. See "Diary, September 22 - December 2, 1818," ms. in Peter Force Collection, series 8D, no. 148, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.
- [10] Through his intervention, the magazine published an article by José Pezet. See Joseph Pezet, "Original Essays: Description of the Epidemic which prevailed in the City and Suburbs of Lima, during the Summer months of January and February of 1818; by Joseph Pezet, M.D. Professor of Anatomy of the royal College of St. Ferdinand, Communicated to the Editors by Jeremy Robinson Esq. and translated from the Spanish for the Medical Repository by Dr. Felix Pascalis," *The Medical Repository* 5, no. 2 (February 1, 1820).
- [11] Eugenio Pereira Salas, *Jeremías Robinson: agente norteamericano en Chile (1818-1823)* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Universitaria, 1939), 11. See also the collecting instructions provided by the Historical Society of New York, signed by Samuel Mitchell on June 16, 1817, Peter Force

- Collection, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.
- [12] For Cortés' participation in the botanical expeditions of the period, see Eduardo Estrella, "Introducción histórica: la expedición de Juan Tafalla a la Real Audiencia de Quito (1799-1808) y la 'Flora Huayaquilensis'," *Flora Huayaquilensis* (Madrid: Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación, 1988), xxxii-xxxv, lvi-lvii. On Ruiz and Pavón's expedition see Arthur Robert Steele, *Flowers for the King: the Expedition of Ruiz and Pavón and the Flora of Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1964).
 - [13] The complex relationship between scientific illustration and *costumbrismo* requires further study: the spread of images of types and costumes developed with greater force in countries like Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru that had seen important scientific expeditions at the turn of the nineteenth century.
 - [14] For a full facsimile edition of the volumes at the Royal Library in Madrid, see Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón y Bujanda, *Trujillo del Perú*, facs. ed., 9 vols. (Madrid: Ediciones Cultural Hispánica, 1978-1994). For the two volumes in the collection of the Banco BBVA Continental in Lima, one of which is shown in this exhibition, see Pablo Macera, Arturo Jiménez Borja, and Irma Franke, *Trujillo del Perú: Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón, acuarelas, siglo XVII* (Lima: Fundación del Banco Continental, 1997).
 - [15] The watermarks on a number of drawings in this collection were produced by J. Whatman in 1823, which gives us a *terminum post quem* for the series, but other elements allow us to determine that they were created before the 1830s.
 - [16] For the most complete overview of Fierro's work, see Manuel Cisneros Sánchez, *Pancho Fierro y la Lima del 800*, prologue by Juan Manuel Ugarte Eléspuru (Lima: García Ribeyro, 1975). See also Natalia Majluf, "Convención y descripción: Francisco Pancho Fierro (1807-1879) y la formación del costumbrismo peruano," *Hueso Húmero* 39 (September 2001): 3-44; Gustavo León y León Durán, *Apuntes histórico-genealógicos de Francisco Fierro: Pancho Fierro* (Lima: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, 2004).
 - [17] On the sale of wax figures of types and costumes to foreign visitors in Mexico, see María Esther Pérez Salas, *Costumbrismo y litografía en México: Un nuevo modo de ver* (Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, UNAM, 2005), 134-143.
 - [18] Karen F. Beall, *Cries and Itinerant Trades: a Bibliography*, translated by Sabine Solz as *Kaufleute und Straßenhändler: Eine Bibliographie* (Hamburg: Dr. Ernst Hauswedell & Co., 1975); Massin, *Les cris de la ville: commerces ambulants et petit métiers de la rue* (Paris : Gallimard, 1978).
 - [19] For extensive bibliographies, see René Colas, *Bibliographie générale du costume et de la mode*, 2 vols. (Paris : Librairie René Colas, 1933) and Hilaire and Meyer Hiler, *Bibliography of Costume: a Dictionary Catalog of About Eight Thousand Books and Periodicals* (New York : The H. W. Wilson Company, 1939). Even the most ambitious and exhaustive inventories usually have serious lacunae, especially with regard to non-European countries.
 - [20] For a detailed description of the different editions see Colas, *Bibliographie* 2, 486-498.
 - [21] I borrow the term from Michel Chevalier, "Géographie et paragéographies," *L'Espace géographique* 1 (1989) : 5-17.
 - [22] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), chap. 2.
 - [23] See Rüdiger Joppien, "The Artistic Bequest of Captain Cook's Voyages: Popular Imagery in European Costume Books of the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries," *Captain James Cook and his Times*, eds. Robin Fisher and Hugh Johnston (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), 187-210.
 - [24] Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 131.

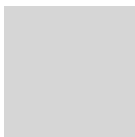
- [25] For the influence of travel books on early anthropology, see Joppien, "The Artistic Bequest of Captain Cook's Voyages," 188. In this regard, Joppien mentions J. G. Herder's call for the creation of a "picture history of man."
- [26] Valeriano Bozal, "El grabado popular en el siglo XIX," *El grabado en España (siglos XIX y XX)*, vol. 32, *Suma Artis: Historia General del Arte*, 2nd ed. (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1988).
- [27] On European travel books about Latin America and specifically on depictions of Lima in the eighteenth century see Jean-Paul Duviols, *L'Amérique espagnole vue et rêvée: les livres de voyages de Christophe Colomb à Bougainville* (Paris: Éditions Promodis, 1985), 301ff.
- [28] Joseph Skinner, *The Present State of Peru: comprising its geography, topography, natural history, mineralogy, commerce, the customs and manners of its inhabitants, the state of literature, philosophy, and the arts, the modern travels of the missionaries in the heretofore unexplored mountainous territories, &c. &c.* (London: Printed for Richard Phillips..., 1805), v-vi, ix-x.
- [29] *The Costume of the Inhabitants of Peru* (London: J. Edington, 1805). The German edition appeared in Hamburg in 1806 and the French edition in Paris in 1809.
- [30] Gilbert Farquhar Mathison, *A Visit to Brazil, Chile, Peru, and the Sandwich Islands, During the Years 1821 and 1822....* (London: Charles Knight, 1825), 228.
- [31] John Ford, "Rudolph Ackermann: Culture and Commerce in Latin America, 1822-1828," *Andrés Bello: The London Years* (n.p.: Casa de Bello Foundation and The Richmond Publishing Co., 1982), 137-151; John Ford, *Ackermann, 1783-1983: The Business of Art* (London: Ackermann, 1983), 84-88.
- [32] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, ch. 7.
- [33] Pérez Salas, *Costumbrismo y litografía en México*, 211-213. On Linati see also Miguel Mathes, "La litografía y los litógrafos en México, 1826-1900: Un resumen histórico," *Nación de imágenes: La litografía mexicana del siglo XIX* (Mexico City: Museo Nacional de Arte, 1994), 45-47.
- [34] See the complete facsimile edition, Bacle y Cia., *Trages y costumbres de la Provincia de Buenos Aires*, facs. ed., with a prologue by Alejo González Garaño (1833; repr. Buenos Aires: Viau, 1947).
- [35] For Dedé and Ducasse see Majluf, "Convención y descripción," 21. See also the works in this exhibition attributed to Merino and published by the lithographic press of Julian y C., owned by an artist who had originally worked for Dedé and Ducasse.
- [36] Alejo B. González Garaño, *Bacle, Litógrafo del Estado, 1828-1838: Exposición de las obras de Bacle existentes en la colección de Alejo B. González Garaño* (Buenos Aires: Amigos del Arte, 1933), 18.
- [37] Lieutenant Charles Brand, *Journal of a Voyage to Peru: A Passage Across the Cordillera of the Andes, in the Winter of 1827, Performed on Foot in the Snow; And A Journey Across the Pampas by Lieut. Chas. Brand, R. N.* (London: Henry Colburn, 1828), facing p. 185.
- [38] Ana Maria Belluzzo has pointed out Henry Chamberlain's use of Brazilian artist Joaquim Cândido Guillobel's images in the elaboration of his illustrations. See Ana Maria de Moraes Belluzzo, *O Brasil dos viajantes*, 3 vols. in one (São Paulo: Metalivros; Rio de Janeiro: Odebrecht, 1994), 3:90. There are exceptions to this general rule. One rare case is the Italian Gaetano Osculati, who credited the Ecuadorian painter Ramón Salas as author of the images that illustrate his travel account. See Alexandra Kennedy-Troya, "Formas de construir la nación ecuatoriana: Acuarelas de tipos, costumbres y paisajes," *Imágenes de identidad: Acuarelas quiteñas del siglo XIX*, ed. Alfonso Ortiz Crespo (Quito: Fondo de Salvamento y Patrimonio Cultural de Quito, 2005), 33.

- [39] References to these scarce prints can be found in some early texts on the history of *costumbrismo* in Argentina. See Alejo B. González Garaño, "La litografía argentina de Gregorio Ibarra (1837-1852)," *Contribuciones para el estudio de la Historia de América: Homenaje al Doctor Emilio Ravignani* (Buenos Aires: Peuser, 1941), 300 and González Garaño, *Bacle*, 18. The set discussed by González Garaño formed part of his personal collection and its present whereabouts are unknown. There is yet another set in the Museo Histórico Nacional of Buenos Aires. See *Catálogo del Museo Histórico Nacional*, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires: República Argentina, 1951), 2:558, nos. 10937-10942.
- [40] González Garaño, *Bacle*, 18.
- [41] Bacle claimed to have acquired the watercolors from the painter Carlos Enrique Pellegrini. González Garaño, "La litografía argentina...," 300; Anibal G. Aguirre Saravia, biographic notes to *Monumenta iconographica: Paisajes, ciudades, tipos, usos y costumbres de la Argentina, 1536-1860*, by Bonifacio del Carril (Buenos Aires: Emecé Editores, 1964), 165.
- [42] Aguirre Saravia, biographic notes, 157.
- [43] On Ibarra's series see González Garaño, "La litografía argentina...," 310-311.
- [44] Alejo B. González Garaño, *Acuarelas de E. E. Vidal: Buenos Aires en 1816, 1817, 1818 y 1819* (Buenos Aires: Exposición Amigos del Arte, 1933), 57-59; Kennedy, "Formas de construir la nación..."
- [45] There is growing awareness of the broad circulation and recycling of international imagery in Latin America. For the case of Mexican caricatures see Helia Emma Bonilla Reyna, "El Telégrafo y la introducción de la caricatura francesa en la prensa mexicana," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 81 (2002): 53-121.
- [46] Carl L. Crossman, *The Decorative Arts of the China Trade: Paintings, Furnishings, and Exotic Curiosities* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1991). On images of the Philippines see Florina H. Capistrano-Baker, *Multiple Originals, Original Multiples: 19th-Century Images of Philippine Costumes* (Makati City: Ayala Foundation, 2005). Bacle's images were often included in Chinese albums of Peruvian subjects, as is the case with the image of a milk seller, currently in the Lilly Library collection and included in this exhibition.
- [47] As documented by an inscription on the album.
- [48] Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1942), 307-308. On the *Falmouth*, see *Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships*. vol. 2 (Washington D.C.: Navy Department, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Naval History Division, 1963), 387-388.
- [49] On the set of Chinese watercolors in the Museo de América, attributed to Fierro or to a follower, see the essay by Carmen Rodríguez de Tembleque in *Figuras transparentes: Tipos y estereotipos del Perú decimonónico* (Madrid: Museo de América, Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 2002).
- [50] According to Jeremy Robinson, one of the most important consequences of Chile's independence for the U.S. was that it granted North American merchants access to gold and silver bullion for the trade with China. See Robinson's diary, June 13, 1818 in Pereira Salas, *Jeremías Robinson*, 62, 69.
- [51] Dorothy Burne Goebel, "British-American Rivalry in the Chilean Trade, 1817-1820," *The Journal of Economic History* 2, no. 2 (November 1942): 194, 196.
- [52] In the years immediately following independence, an average of five ships per year were sailing from Lima to Canton. See Archivo General de la Nación, Lima, series O.L. 151, O.L. 166, O.L. 177, O.L. 188 for the years 1826-1829. For the 1830s see, for example, listings of outgoing ships sailing from Callao to Canton in *El Eco del Protectorado*, no. 29, November 26, 1836,

- [4] and in *El Eco del Norte*, no. 7, March 18, 1837, [4]; no. 30, October 11, 1837, [4]; no. 38, November 8, 1837, [4]. On ships entering Callao with Chinese manufactures see *El Eco del Norte*, no. 30, May 12, 1838, [4].
- [53] Heinrich Witt, *Un testimonio personal sobre el Perú del siglo XIX: Diario 1824-1890*, vol. 2 (1843-1847) (Lima: Banco Mercantil, 1992), 262-263, 364.
- [54] See Eva Nienholdt and Gretel Wagner-Neumann, *Katalog der Lipperheideschen Kostümbibliothek*. rev. ed., 2 vols., cat. no. Md20 (Berlin: Mann, 1965), 392. A set of eleven watercolors on pith paper in the collection of Frank W. Iklé (Albuquerque), formerly owned by his grandfather, Leopold Iklé (d. 1922), Swiss lace collector and manufacturer, was published in 1949: see José Flores Araoz, "Curiosas estampas de la Lima del siglo XIX," *Cultura Peruana* 9, nos. 36-7 (July 1949). I thank Mr. Iklé for showing me his collection.
- [55] "Twenty-two watercolors of Peruvian types in two blue silk albums with applied Sunqua labels." The albums are inscribed "Costumes de Lima (Peru) 1839, Peints en Chine sur des ... qui envoyés de Lima." See Sotheby's, Sold Lot Archive, lot 260, sale LO1260, June 20, 2001, New Bond Street, London, http://search.sothebys.com/jsps/live/lot/LotDetail.jsp?lot_id=QRL9. I thank Barbara Anderson for pointing me to this series.
- [56] Crossman, *The Decorative Arts of the China Trade*, 189-197; John Warner, *Tingqua: Paintings from his Studio* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Museum of Art and The Urban Council, 1976).
- [57] The provenance information, typewritten and glued to the albums, was apparently provided by Mrs. Martha Atkinson, who presented the albums to the Library of Congress in 1940.
- [58] Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., no. PR 13 (AA) - DLC/PP 1921: 46353. These albums were first discussed by Mercedes Gallagher de Parks, "La farándula criolla del Panchofierrismo," *Mentira azul* (Lima: Editorial Lumen, 1948), 237.
- [59] Cited in Craig Clunas, *Chinese Export Watercolours* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1984), 76.
- [60] *Ibid.*, 81.
- [61] Cited in Albert Ten Eyck Gardner, "Cantonese Chinnerys: Portraits of How-Qua and Other China Trade Paintings," *Art Quarterly* 16, no. 4 (Winter 1953): 317-318.
- [62] Cited in Clunas, *Chinese Export Watercolours*, 81.
- [63] See the prints and watercolors bearing the stamp of Inocente Ricordi, originally contained in album no. A2485 in the collection of the Hispanic Society of America, New York.
- [64] William M. Ivins, Jr., *Prints and Visual Communication* (Cambridge: The Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1978).
- [65] E. H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation*, 2nd rev. ed., Bollingen Series XXXV.5 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).
- [66] Patricia Londoño Vega, *América exótica: Panorámicas, tipos y costumbres del siglo XIX, Obras sobre papel, Colecciones de la Banca Central, Colombia, Ecuador, México, Perú y Venezuela* (Bogotá and Quito: Banco de la República and Banco Central del Ecuador, 2005), 36.
- [67] Awareness of Guillober's serial production is a very recent phenomenon. Ana María Moraes de Belluzzo, personal communication. See also Belluzzo, *O Brasil dos viajantes*, vol. 3, 90.
- [68] Beatriz González, "La otra cara de José Manuel Groot," *José Manuel Groot (1800-1878)* (Bogotá: Biblioteca Luis-Ángel Arango, 1991), 26-39; Beatriz González, *Ramón Torres Méndez: Entre lo pintoresco y la picaresca* (Bogotá: Carlos Valencia Editores, 1985); Capistrano-Baker, *Multiple Originals*. See also Malcom Deas, Efraín Sánchez, and Aída Martínez, *Types and*

- customs of New Granada: the collection of Paintings made in Colombia by Joseph Brown between 1825 and 1841 and the Journal of his excursion to Giron, 1834. / Tipos y costumbres de la Nueva Granada: la colección de pinturas formada en Colombia por Joseph Brown entre 1825 y 1841 y el diario de su excursión a Girón, 1834* (Bogotá: Fondo Cultural Cafetero, 1989), 21.
- [69] Umberto Eco "Innovation and Repetition: Between Modern and Post-Modern Aesthetics," *Daedalus* 14 (1985): 166.
- [70] Natalia Majluf and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, eds., *La recuperación de la memoria: El primer siglo de la fotografía, Perú, 1842-1942*, 2 vols. (Lima: Fundación Telefónica and Museo de Arte de Lima, 2001).
- [71] Both the first series of prints, published in Lima in 1856, and the second edition, published in Paris in 1857, were edited under the title *Recuerdos de Lima, Album: Tipos, trajes y costumbres, dibujados y publicados por A. A. Bonnaffé*.
- [72] Manuel Atanasio Fuentes, *Lima* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1867). See also Carlos Prince, ed., *Lima Antigua, Tipos de Antaño con numerosas viñetas; Lima Antigua, Fiestas religiosas y profanas con numerosas viñetas; Lima Antigua, La Limeña y más tipos de antaño con numerosas viñetas*, Biblioteca Popular series 1-3 (Lima: Imprenta del Universo de Carlos Prince, 1890).
- [73] Claudia Selheim, "Vom altmodischen Kleid zur Touristenattraktion: Zur Ausbildung der Hindelooper Tracht im 19. Jahrhundert," *Waffen und Kostümkunde* 46, no. 1 (2004): 1-17.
- [74] Majluf, "Convención y descripción."
- [75] The complex history of how Lima came to represent Peru, and of how the *tapada* evolved into a powerful symbol of the nation falls beyond the scope of this essay and its discussion of the formats and circuits that shaped such images. For an important discussion of the *tapada* and its inscription in national and racial discourses see Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), chap. 4.
- [76] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1991), 81.
- [77] *Ibid.*, 4.
- [78] For an overview of Anderson's ideas regarding early Latin American nationalism see Castro-Klarén and Chasteen, *Beyond Imagined Communities*.

Pancho Fierro's Holy Week Scroll at the Hispanic Society of America¹



We know very little about Francisco “Pancho” Fierro. Ismael Portal gave 1803 as his birth date, but we now know it to be 1807.² He died on July 28 or 29, 1879 in the Dos de Mayo Hospital in Lima, leaving a widow named Genbaria Cornejo, who was seventy years old at the time.³ He reportedly died of “paralysis”—possibly a stroke or a massive coronary—and his body was taken to Lima’s Cementerio General on July 29.⁴ Fierro was mourned; his obituary in a Lima newspaper is worth quoting in its entirety:

Pancho Fierro. — We are sure that few of our readers have failed to hear this name in reference to the national [school of] painting, that painting of customs that transfers national types to paper or canvas. In the words of one of our friends, Pancho Fierro was for painting what Segura is for drama. He would take the brush and, with extraordinary ease, draw portraits that have more than once presented a challenge to other artists trying to copy them. Well, this genius died last Monday. He leaves numerous pictures in oil and many portraits in charcoal, the only inheritance to his disconsolate family.⁵

This suggests that Fierro worked in oils as well as on paper and left a substantial oeuvre in these media at the time of his death. It also gives us a sense of the esteem in which his work was held by his contemporaries. As we shall see, the “disconsolate family” mentioned in the article included a great number of children in addition to his widow.⁶

Two other contemporary accounts of Fierro have come down to us. The French diplomat, artist, bibliophile, ethnographer, and author Léonce Angrand lived in Peru and Bolivia from roughly 1836 to 1860 and collected *costumbrista* scenes from several Latin American countries.⁷ Among these works, now at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, is a set of forty-nine watercolors attributed to Fierro, to which Angrand appended the following note:

Nota Bene: All of these drawings, from no. 2 (included) to the one that precedes this (no. 50), are the products of an art, or better said, of a local industry. They were made by a man of color, [“called Pancho (Francisco) Fierro” added as a note in the margin] who never learnt to draw, but who nevertheless has, for a long time, made good money selling foreigners these products of his labor, which have, if nothing else, the merit of great precision as much in their rendering of types as in their details.⁸

Of particular interest here are Angrand’s mention of Fierro’s Afro-Hispanic origins and his characterization of the sale of watercolors to “foreigners” as a “local industry,” indicating that the phenomenon was widespread and that Fierro may have had collaborators in his work. That he certainly had competitors is clear from the fact that the surviving watercolors are executed by several hands.

Ismael Portal, a young Peruvian author, met or claims to have met Fierro in 1874.⁹ His book *Cosas limeñas: historias y costumbres* provides us with the 1803 birth date, confirms that Fierro was a mulatto, and identifies a now-famous portrait by Nicolás Palas as a likeness of Fierro. It tells us that Fierro painted billboard advertisements and designed announcements for the Lima bullfights; these announcements were printed by his friend José Alleguez who ran a tobacco shop in the notaries’ street and lived in the building called “Silversmiths of San Agustín,” possibly one of the buildings that can be seen in the scroll depicting the Holy Week procession in Lima, now held at the Hispanic Society. According to Portal, Fierro painted his bullfight images in Alleguez’s house, made murals using popular imagery on the interior walls of Lima houses, and covered street corners with satirical images critiquing local customs (of the type called “the world upside

down,” probably associated with carnival). This last fact suggests that the humor pervading Fierro’s images was an integral part of his artistic personality, and that it was presented as a form of social or moral criticism—an attitude Fierro shares with his namesake and great predecessor in the graphic arts, Francisco Goya. Portal also gives us a glimpse of Fierro’s family life. According to Portal, Fierro was survived by a son, a military man who, along with General Bolognesi, “fell” shortly afterwards at Arica during the battles of the War of the Pacific (1879-1883).

Finally, Portal’s memoir and the information in the printed obituary suggest that Fierro was still active as an artist in the 1870s. If he began his career in the 1820s, as his birth date suggests, then he was artistically active for more than fifty years. If he had averaged only one watercolor a day over this time span, he could theoretically have produced over 18,000 images. The actual number was much lower, of course, given his activity painting advertisements, working with bullfight promoters, painting interior murals, and painting in oil. Still, it does explain the existence of several thousand leaves of his and his contemporaries’ work, in spite of the inherently ephemeral character of this “souvenir” art form.

We also know, from economic history and evidence in the works that have come down to us, a great deal about the way Fierro’s local industry found a market. The Pacific coast of South America was, in the nineteenth century, teeming with international trade. The wealth and population of the South American republics made them lucrative markets for European and North American products. In addition, before the opening of the Panama Canal in 1914, all voyages from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans had to pass around Cape Horn, which required stopping for provisions along the South American coast before crossing the Pacific. The California gold rush also brought hundreds of ships to the coast during the mid-nineteenth century. Nitrate deposits in the deserts and guano on the coastal islands, deposited over the centuries by sea birds, were being mined to satisfy an insatiable international demand for chemicals like saltpeter and ammonia used for munitions and fertilizer. Europe had invested heavily in the nitrate industry and its military and economic importance (the actual *casus belli* of the War of the Pacific) guaranteed Europe’s naval presence in the region, which the United States opposed in accordance with the Monroe Doctrine.

It was in this context that an American, Samuel Alexander Tyler, visited Peru around 1847.¹⁰ A collection of watercolors by Fierro, which he acquired at this time, was passed down intact to Tyler’s descendants, several of whom were admirals in the United States Navy, and has recently entered the collections of the Hispanic Society of America.¹¹ Mr. Tyler probably acquired his watercolors at a shop similar

to those run by Inocente Ricordi on the Calle de las Mantas and by L. Williez in the passageway of the Portal de Botoneros, no. 12.¹² These shops sold prints, drawings, possibly paintings, printed music, musical instruments, military uniform accessories, buttons, and a wide variety of other items. One can imagine naval officers, diplomats, international merchants and their families, passengers at a port of call headed to other destinations in America and Asia, anthropologists, and a small but growing number of what we would now call “tourists” rummaging through bins or portfolios in Ricordi’s shop, selecting images of local types and costumes to take away as souvenirs of their visit. Among those arriving in Lima there were a few immigrants as well: French and British teachers, church officials, and, as Fierro’s watercolors attest, Chinese immigrants like those who migrated to California. From the many examples of Fierro’s works in Peruvian collections, it seems that the wealthier among these newcomers and other residents of Lima also acquired Fierro’s pictures.

It is not known who commissioned the scroll at the Hispanic Society entitled *Holy Week Procession in Lima* (fig. 34),¹³ or why it was made, although an inscription on the back of the work—“2 / 1832”—may indicate its date. A preliminary survey of international men’s fashions suggests that the jackets with flaring “skirts” and high padded shoulders worn in the picture are consistent with a date in the 1830s. The work, probably the largest the artist ever made, was acquired by Archer Milton Huntington, founder of the Hispanic Society of America, between 1909 and 1919 from the German dealer Hiersemann along with other works by Fierro.¹⁴ While this suggests that the work was purchased by a non-Peruvian patron, the scroll may have been taken to Germany long after it was painted.

The scroll depicts a series of *pasos*—religious floats telling the story of Christ’s Passion, a biblical narrative corresponding to the week between Palm Sunday and Easter Sunday in the Christian liturgical calendar—processing down the Calle de San Agustín in Lima. Although Mercedarians, friars of other orders, and secular priests appear, the scene is clearly dominated by the Order of Preachers, or Dominicans. As Angrand points out, the details are quite precise—for example, Fierro is careful to indicate the street numbers on many buildings and to show the signs on the various stores along the route.

The scroll is intended to be unrolled from left to right. The first figures that come into view are three acolytes carrying a draped object, presumably a cross, between two candles. Immediately behind them one can see the famous statue of *Death Triumphant* by Baltasar Gavilán, which has been carried in Holy Week processions for over 250 years and is still preserved in the Church of San Agustín. Next comes

a statue of a Dominican saint flagellating himself in penance, identified as Saint Nicholas of Tolentino by Anna Pursche.¹⁵ The emphasis on the imminence of death and the need for penance strikes the proper theological note for the days leading up to the joyful celebration of Easter. Behind the procession we see the façades of a clock store, a store specializing in hats including cockaded models and cavalry officers' helmets, and a hair-dresser's salon. Next comes the *Entry into Jerusalem* passing in front of a bookstore and the *Last Supper* in front of a boot store; the fancy boots on the military men watching the procession corroborate the store's claim to sell "fine work here" ("aquí ... obra fina"). The *Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane* parades in front of a *botica*, or pharmacy, followed by *The Taking of Christ*—with Judas holding his bag of silver pieces—and the *Flagellation* flanking the entrance to a café. At this point, one can see an arch leading to a brewery ("Fabrica de Serbesa") and another boot store behind the procession. Under the next two floats—the *Via Crucis* and the *Raising of the Cross*, whose bottom halves are visible—one can see the feet of several dozen bearers, exposed below the curtains that hang from each platform. The signs of an inn—the "Vol de Oro"¹⁶ or "Golden Ball"—and another clock store appear behind it. Finally, at the far right of the scroll, we see a group of dignitaries accompanying an image of the *Crucifixion with the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Evangelist* in front of a shoe store; behind the image, a swarm of Dominicans gather around an altar placed on the street between two canopies suspended from the wall of a building. The group's leaders, dressed in chasubles and dalmatics, seem to be taking either a reliquary or the communion host out of what looks like a tabernacle and getting ready to carry it under a black baldachin suspended on six poles.¹⁷ The signs on the last house, no. 19, identify the street as the Calle de San Agustín.

More research is needed to determine whether the procession, as depicted, conforms to actual events in early nineteenth-century Lima, or whether Fierro condensed several processions taking place on different days into one. Cisneros identified the event as a procession taking place on Holy Thursday, summing up the entire Holy Week experience. The scenes depicted on the floats, however, correspond to specific days in Holy Week, such as the *Entry into Jerusalem* for Palm Sunday, the *Last Supper*, *Agony in the Garden*, and *The Taking of Christ* (and possibly the *Flagellation*) for Maundy Thursday, and the *Via Crucis*, *Raising of the Cross*, and *Crucifixion* for Good Friday. If the object being prepared at the end of the procession is a communion host, it would be appropriate on Maundy Thursday, but if it is indeed a relic of the True Cross, it would be much more appropriate on Good Friday. Perhaps more important, however, is the realization that Fierro used a number of figures from his single-leaf watercolors like the bread sellers with their trays balanced on their heads in front of the *Entry into Jerusalem* and

the women dressed as *tapadas* to populate the Holy Week scene. This would suggest that Fierro kept some kind of archive of model images and repeated or mixed them as the commission demanded. One could speculate, given the difficult financial circumstances of his family after Fierro's death, on whether a group of the artist's model images might have been sold posthumously and is now to be found in a collection or collections in Lima.

Along with a group of large single-sheet watercolors at the Yale University Art Gallery (probably also attributable to Fierro),¹⁸ a variant version of the Hispanic Society scroll,¹⁹ and scattered single leaves with multi-figure scenes of daily life by Fierro and his contemporaries, the Hispanic Society scroll offers a tremendous opportunity to appreciate the daily life of a bygone era. Fierro's works are an important addition to the numerous lithographs and book illustrations, many of which imitate Fierro's designs, that document the social customs not just of Lima, but of many other centers throughout Latin America and the Pacific rim as well. As more and more connections are found between these images and texts from the same time period, our understanding of what they represent and what this representation meant to contemporaries will become ever more refined. An even more exciting prospect is the possibility of finding new documentation in archives and printed records that could provide clearer biographical information on Fierro. In the meantime, we have the images themselves, which both delight and inform in their own right.

Dr. Marcus B. Burke

Curator, The Hispanic Society of America

Notes

[1] I have benefited greatly from the generosity of Katherine Manthorne of the City University of New York in preparing this essay—I am particularly indebted to her for sharing secondary sources on the artist. I am also grateful to my research assistants over the years, who have helped me in this topic; these include Elizabeth Hastings, Nandi Cohen, and in particular Orlando Hernández Ying.

[2] Ismael Portal, *Cosas limeñas: historias y costumbres* (Lima: Empresa Tipográfica "Union," 1919), 179; For current

biographical information on Fierro, see Natalia Majluf, "Convención y descripción: Francisco-Pancho Fierro (1807-1879) y la formación del costumbrismo peruano," *Hueso Húmero* 39 (September 2001): 3-44.

[3] The full name of Fierro's wife was Gervasia Rosa Cornejo Belzunce. See Gustavo León y León Durán, *Apuntes histórico-genealógicos de Francisco Fierro: Pancho Fierro* (Lima: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, 2004). I am indebted to Natalia Majluf for this information.

- [4] "Partida de difunción" (death certificate) in the registry of deaths, photostat published in Manuel Cisneros Sánchez, *Pancho Fierro y la Lima del 800* (Lima: Librería García Ribeyro, 1975), 221. The text reads as follows (reproduced as written): "Franco Fierro / en veinte y nueve de Julio de mil ochocientos setenta y nueve: fué conducido al Cementerio General el cadaver de Francisco Fierro, casado con Genbaria Cornejo de setenta años de edad, falleció de parálisis en el Hospital del dos de Mayo, de que doy fé - Luis Al[illeg.]ado."
- [5] First week of August, 1879. Reproduced in Cisneros, *Pancho Fierro*, 222-223.
- [6] León y León Durán, *Apuntes histórico-genealógicos*.
- [7] *Ibid.*, 76-77.
- [8] *Ibid.*, 221.
- [9] Portal, *Cosas limeñas*, 178-189. We may assume that his information about Fierro is for the most part correct, although forty-five years had passed between their meeting and the publication of Portal's book.
- [10] We can assume from his family's maritime tradition that Mr. Tyler was also an officer, either in the Navy or the Merchant Marine.
- [11] Acc. nos. LA1814-LA1860.
- [12] A number of extant nineteenth-century Peruvian watercolors, including those attributable to Fierro, are marked with Ricordi's trade stamp. For example, a formerly bound set in the Hispanic Society (acc. nos. A2485/1-72) contains works executed by several hands, bearing a stamp that reads: "DEPOSITO GENERAL DE MUSICA / INSTRUMENTOS, CUERDAS ROMAN.s / ESTAMPAS, DIBUJOS, CUADROS &. / - DE - / INOCENTE RICORDI. / LIMA CALLE DE LAS MANTAS." Other watercolors in the same set are drawn on the back of the proof sheets of a possibly satirical lithograph showing Williez in front of his shop, with sheets of music and lithographs of shipwrecks, caricatures, and *costumbrista* scenes displayed around the doorway. In the foreground is a man in a top hat sitting under an arch labeled "Portal de Botoneros" and in front of a bench display that shows epaulettes and military insignia for sale, winding a skein of yarn or thread. One of the inscriptions reads "MÚSICA Y PAPELES / L. Williez. No 12 / estampas / y / caricaturas".
- [13] Acc. no. A1585.
- [14] Karl W. Hiersemann [firm], *Hiersemann Katalog 314* (Leipzig, 1905), no. 362; *Hiersemann Katalog 371* (Leipzig, 1909), no. 85. The works were presumably bought in 1909, but Mr. Huntington only presented the works to the Society in 1919 after World War I so he might not have taken possession of the works until after the war.
- [15] Anna Pursche, "Scenes of Lima Attributed to Pancho Fierro," *Notes Hispanic* 4 (1944): 106-111. Saint Nicholas is identified on p. 107.
- [16] "Vol de Oro" is probably a misspelling of "Bola de Oro," the name of a well-known inn in Lima. I am grateful to Natalia Majluf for this information.
- [17] *Ibid.*, 108. Pursche identified the object, which cannot be seen, as a reliquary with a piece of the True Cross, presumably because of the cross on the shield above.
- [18] Published in Cisneros, *Pancho Fierro*, 178-183, figs. 63-68.
- [19] *Ibid.*, 198-199, fig. 70; Cisneros mistakenly published this variant version of the scroll as the Hispanic Society's version. The photography is out of focus and the legend at the right end of the scroll is indecipherable, but it is still obvious that many details in the crowd and the shops along the route are different than those in the Hispanic Society's version.





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text in red should be deleted

Fig. 34 Francisco Fierro (attributed), *Holy Week Procession in Lima*, ca. 1832. Watercolor on paper.

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York. ■ Checklist no. 20



Exhibition Checklist

Note: all original titles of artworks are given in quotations and attributed or translated titles are given without quotations.

1 Artist unidentified (Peruvian) *Cuarterona (Quadroon)*

Watercolor on paper

■ 23 x 16 cm. / 9 x 6 1/4 in.

In Baltasar Jaime Martínez de Compañón, compiler, *Trujillo del Perú*, ca.1782-1785, bound album of watercolors, plate 48.

■ Banco BBVA Continental, Lima

2 *Lisianthus*

Engraving in Hipólito Ruiz and José Pavón, *Flora Peruviana, et Chilensis, sive Descriptiones, et icones plantarum Peruvianarum, et Chilensium, secundum systema Linnaeanum digestae, cum characteribus plurium generum evulgatorum reformatis. Auctoribus Hippolyto Ruiz, et Josepho Pavon...* (Madrid: Typis Gabrielis de Sancha, 1798-1802), vol. 2, plate CXXV.

■ Rare Books Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations

3 Félix Mixelle and Georges Malbeste, after Jacques Grasset de Saint-Sauveur *"Tableau des principaux peuples de l'Amerique"* (*Table of the Principal Peoples of America*), 1798

Hand-colored engraving

■ 44.7 x 51.9 cm. / 17 5/8 x 21 3/8 in.

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York (QF Mixelle)

4 Comte de Caylus, engraver, after Edmé Bouchardon *"Petits Patés tout chauds" (Small Pastries, All Hot)*

Engraving in *Etudes prises dans le bas peuple; ou, Les cris de Paris* (Paris: Joullain, 1737-1746).

■ Print Collection, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints, and Photographs, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations

5 Unidentified engraver *"A Pipe Seller"*

Colored stipple engraving in George Henry Mason, *The costume of China, illustrated by sixty engravings: with explanations in English and French*, (London: W. Miller, 1800), plate XII. After watercolor by Pu-Quà

■ Art & Architecture Collection, The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints, and Photographs, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations

6 *"The Milkman"*

Illustration in *Cries of New-York* (New York: printed and sold by Samuel Wood at the Juvenile book-store, 1814), 38.

■ Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations

7 Charles Haghe, lithographer
"Shah Shoojau ool moolk"

Lithograph in Lockyer Willis Hart and James Atkinson, *Character & costumes of Afghaunistan [sic]...* (London: H. Graves & Co., 1843).

■ Art & Architecture Collection, The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints, and Photographs, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations

8 L. Portman, engraver,
 after Jacques Kuyper
"Iwoners van Quito"
(Inhabitants of Quito)

Engraving in Martinus Stuart, *De mensch, zoo als hij voorkomt op den bekenden aardbol, beschreeven door Martinus Stuart, afgebeeld door Jaques Kuyper...* (Amsterdam: Bij J. Allart, 1802-1807), vol. 4, 228.

■ General Research Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations

9 Jacques Grasset de Saint-Sauveur
Encyclopédie des voyages, contenant l'abrégé historique des mœurs, usages, habitudes domestiques, religions, fêtes, supplices, funérailles, sciences, arts, commerce de tous les peuples; et la collection complete de leurs habillements civils, militaires, religieux et dignitaires, dessinés d'après nature, gravés avec soin et coloriés à l'aquarelle (Paris: Deroy, 1795-1796). Book, 5 vols.

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York

10 Juan de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla
"Española Criolla de Lima" **(Creole Spaniard from Lima)**

Engraving in Juan de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla, *Colección de trajes de España, tanto antiguos como modernos, que comprehende todos los de sus dominios...* (Madrid : Casa de M. Copin, Carrera de S. Geronimo, 1777-1788), plate 36.

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York

11 Verico, engraver
"Abitatori de Lima"
(Inhabitants of Lima)

Engraving in *Il costume antico e moderno o storia del governo, della milizia, della religione, delle arti, scienze ed usanze di tutti i popoli antichi e moderni...*, 2nd rev. ed. (Firenze: Vincenzo Batelli, 1828) vol. 3, part 2.

■ Private Collection

12 Unidentified engraver
"Raw Negro Residing in the District of Lima"

Colored stipple engraving in *The Costume of the Inhabitants of Peru* (London: J. Wallis and J. Edington, 1816), plate XVI.

Reprint of a plate in Joseph Skinner's *The Present State of Peru...* (London, 1805).

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York

13 Unidentified engraver
"Female Domestics of Lima: Natives who have adopted the Spanish Dress"

Colored stipple engraving in *The Costume of the Inhabitants of Peru* (London: J. Edington, [ca. 1805-1810]), plate IX.

Reprint of a plate in Joseph Skinner's *The Present State of Peru...* (London, 1805).

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York

14 P. Legrand, engraver, after
François Désiré Roulin
"Mde. De Volaille,
Mendiant, Manoeuvre"
(Poultry Seller, Beggar, Laborer)
Engraving in Gaspard Théodore, comte
de Mollien, *Voyage dans la République de
Colombia, en 1823...* (Paris: A. Bertrand, 1824),
vol. 1, facing page 270.

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York

15 T. Sutherland, engraver,
after Emeric Essex Vidal
"Milk Boys"
Hand-colored aquatint in Emeric Essex Vidal,
*Picturesque illustrations of Buenos Ayres and
Monte Video, consisting of twenty-four views:
accompanied with descriptions of the scenery,
and of the costumes, manners &c., of the
inhabitants of those cities and their environs by E.
E. Vidal, esq.* (London: R. Ackermann, 1820), 33.

■ Rare Books Division, The New York Public
Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations

16 Claudio Linati
"Aguador"
(Water Carrier)
Colored lithograph in Claudio Linati, *Costumes
civils, militaires, et religieux du Mexique:
dessinés d'après nature...* (Brussels: C.
Sattanino, imprimés à la Lithographie royale de
Jobard, 1828), plate 7.

■ Print Collection, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach
Division of Art, Prints, and Photographs, The
New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and
Tilden Foundations

17 (Lehenert), lithographer,
after Carl Nebel
"Las tortilleras"
(Women Making Tortillas)
Lithograph from Carl Nebel, *Voyage pittoresque
et archéologique, dans le Mexique: Lithographie
par les artistes les plus distingués de Paris*
(Paris: Lith. de Lemerrier, [ca. 1836]), plate 39.

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York

18 César Hipólito Bacle
"Durasnero" (Peach Vendor)
Hand-colored lithograph
■ 29.5 x 22.5 cm. / 11 ⁵/₈ x 8 ⁷/₈ in.
From album by César Hipólito Bacle, *Trages y
costumbres de la Provincia de Buenos Aires*,
6 vols. (Buenos Aires: Bacle y Co., Impresores
Litográficos del Estado, 1833-[1835]),
vol. 2, plate 4.

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York
(Q608)

19 Artist unidentified
(possibly Francisco Javier Cortés)
"Tapada" Watercolor on paper
■ 30.48 x 25.4 cm. / 12 x 10 in.

From album *Le Pérou*, ca. 1830
■ George Arents Collection on Tobacco, The
New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and
Tilden Foundations

20 Francisco Fierro (attributed)
"Holy Week Procession in Lima, ca. 1832"
Watercolor on paper
■ 44.4 x 47.5 cm. / 17 ¹/₂ x 18 ¹/₈ in.
■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York
(A1585)

21 Francisco Fierro (attributed)*Bullfight*, ca. 1850-1870

Watercolor on paper

■ 23 x 30.7 cm. / 9 x 12 in.

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York (A2485/56)

22 Francisco Fierro (attributed)*"Paseando" (Tapada Seen from Behind)*, ca. 1850-1870

Watercolor on paper

■ 21.2 x 16 cm. / 8 1/3 x 6 1/3 in.

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York (A1605)

23 Litografía Jullian y Ca. (Lima),

after Ignacio Merino (attributed)

"Saya ajustada" (Tapada), ca. 1840-1845

Hand-colored lithograph

■ 21.5 x 14.5 cm. / 8 1/2 x 5 3/4 in.

■ Museo de Arte de Lima (2.0-1606)

24 Francisco Fierro (attributed)*Penitent in Procession*, ca. 1850-1870

Watercolor on paper

■ 30.7 x 23 cm. / 12 x 9 in.

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York (A2283)

25 Unidentified lithographer (Lima),

after Francisco Fierro

Penitent in Procession, ca. 1850-1860

Hand-colored lithograph

■ 31 x 21.5 cm. / 12 x 8 1/2 in.

■ Museo de Arte de Lima (2.0-1611)

26 Unidentified lithographer (Lima),

after Francisco Fierro

Watermelon Vendor, ca. 1850-1860

Hand-colored lithograph

■ 31 x 21.5 cm. / 12 x 8 1/2 in

■ Museo de Arte de Lima (2.0-1610)

27 C. Rosenberg, lithographer*"A Lady of Lima in Her Walking Dress"*

Inscription: "Drawn by Lieut. Brand,

R.N. / C. Rosenberg sculpt."

Lithograph in Charles Brand, R. N., *Journal of a Voyage to Peru: a passage across the Cordillera of the Andes in the winter of 1827, performed on foot in the snow, and a journey across the Pampas* (London: Henry Colburn, 1828), opposite page 185. After a watercolor by unidentified Peruvian artist (possibly Francisco Javier Cortés)

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York

28 Litografía Argentina de A. H.

Bernard (Buenos Aires), after

Jules Daufresne

"Modes de Lima: Indienne Campagnarde, Chola Chacarera, An Indian Woman of the Indian Cast / Fillette, Mengersilla, A pretty plain girl," 1836

Hand-colored lithograph

■ 26 x 36 cm. / 10 1/4 x 14 1/8 in.

After a watercolor by unidentified Peruvian artist (possibly Francisco Javier Cortés)

■ Private Collection

29 Litografía Argentina de A. H. Bernard (Buenos Aires), after Jules Daufresne
"Modes de Lima: Campagnarde / Chacarera de lujo / A Country Woman in her Best Dress," 1836

Hand-colored lithograph

■ 26.5 x 39 cm. / 10 ¹/₂ x 15 ¹/₃ in.

After a watercolor by unidentified Peruvian artist (possibly Francisco Javier Cortés)

■ Private Collection

30 Litografía Jullian y Ca. (Lima), after Ignacio Merino (attributed)
"Lima: Rexando de Noche" (Lima: Praying by Night), ca. 1840-1845

Hand-colored lithograph

■ 24 x 17.5 cm. / 9 ¹/₂ x 6 ⁷/₈ in.

■ Private Collection

31 Litografía Jullian y Ca. (Lima), after Ignacio Merino (attributed)
"Lima: Rexando de Noche" (Lima: Praying by Night), ca. 1840-1845

Hand-colored lithograph

■ 21.5 x 14.5 cm. / 8 ¹/₂ x 5 ³/₄ in.

■ Museo de Arte de Lima (2.0-1622)

32 Artist unidentified (Chinese)
Shanghai Bund, ca. 1860

Oil on canvas

■ 43.18 x 76.2 cm. / 17 x 30 in.

■ Peabody Essex Museum, Salem (M20537)

33 Artist unidentified (Chinese)
Interior of a Fan and Ornament Shop, Canton, ca. 1820

Watercolor on paper

■ 26.7 x 33.65 cm. / 10 ¹/₂ x 13 ¹/₄ in.

■ Peabody Essex Museum, Salem (E80607.28)

34 Artist unidentified
Tea Hong: American Merchants Purchasing Tea, ca. 1855

Gouache on paper

■ 26.7 x 34.93 cm. / 10 ¹/₂ x 13 ³/₄ in.

■ Peabody Essex Museum, Salem (E83547.13)

35 Guan Lianchang, known as Tingqua
Studio of Tingqua the Painter, Canton, ca. 1855

Gouache on paper

■ 26.67 x 34.93 cm. / 10 ¹/₂ x 13 ³/₄ in.

■ Peabody Essex Museum, Salem (AE85592)

36 Studio of Lamqua (attributed)
Chinese Gentleman Seated in a Western-Style Chair,

ca. 1845 Gouache on paper

■ 44 x 36.5 cm. / 17 ¹/₃ x 14 ¹/₃ in.

■ Peabody Essex Museum, Salem (E83634.2)

37 Artist unidentified (Chinese)
Milkmaid, ca. 1837-1838

Watercolor on pith paper

■ 24.5 x 16.2 cm. / 9 ⁵/₈ x 6 ³/₈ in.

After lithograph in César Hipólito Bacle's *Trages y costumbres de la Provincia de Buenos Aires*

■ The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington (23/65)

38 Guan Lianchang, known as Tingqua (attributed)
(Mestizo Man, Manila), ca. 1855

Watercolor and gouache on paper

■ 35.2 x 26.6 cm. / 13 ⁷/₈ x 10 ¹/₂ in.

After a watercolor by Justiniano Asunción

■ Peabody Essex Museum, Salem (E83532.51)

39 Artist unidentified (Chinese)
"Chola del campo, a Caballo" (Country Woman on Horseback), ca. 1830-1840

Watercolor on pith paper

■ 26 x 21 cm. / 10 ¹/₄ x 8 ¹/₄ in.

After a watercolor by unidentified Peruvian artist (possibly Francisco Javier Cortés)

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York (A2333)

40 Artist unidentified (Chinese)
"Mestiza a Caballo, muy jineta" (Mestizo Woman on Horseback), ca. 1830-1840

Watercolor on pith paper

■ 26 x 21 cm. / 10 ¹/₄ x 8 ¹/₄ in.

After a watercolor by unidentified Peruvian artist (possibly Francisco Javier Cortés)

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York (A2338)

41 Artist unidentified (Chinese)
"Señorita de saya y manto" (Tapada), ca. 1830-1840

Watercolor on pith paper

■ 26 x 21 cm. / 10 ¹/₄ x 8 ¹/₄ in.

After a watercolor by unidentified Peruvian artist (possibly Francisco Javier Cortés)

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York (A2344)

42 Artist unidentified (Chinese)
"India de plaza" (Indian Woman Going to Market), ca. 1830-1840

Watercolor on pith paper

■ 26 x 21 cm. / 10 ¹/₄ x 8 ¹/₄ in.

After a watercolor by unidentified Peruvian artist (possibly Francisco Javier Cortés)

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York (A2347)

43 Artist unidentified (Chinese)
"Mulata de paseo" (Mulatto Woman on a Walk), ca. 1830-1840

Watercolor on pith paper

■ 26 x 21 cm. / 10 ¹/₄ x 8 ¹/₄ in.

After a watercolor by unidentified Peruvian artist (possibly Francisco Javier Cortés)

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York (A2342)

44 Artist unidentified (Chinese)
"Mozita blanca de paseo" (Tapada, Creole Woman on a Walk), ca. 1830-1840

Watercolor on pith paper

■ 26 x 21 cm. / 10 ¹/₄ x 8 ¹/₄ in.

After a watercolor by unidentified Peruvian artist (possibly Francisco Javier Cortés)

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York (A2334)

45 Artist unidentified (Chinese)
Tapada, Creole Woman on a Walk, ca. 1837-1838

Watercolor on pith paper

■ 26 x 16.2 cm. / 10 ¹/₄ x 6 ³/₈ in.

After a watercolor by unidentified Peruvian artist (possibly Francisco Javier Cortés)

■ The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington (2/65)

46 Artist unidentified (Chinese)
Mulatta Woman on a Walk, ca. 1837-1838

Watercolor on pith paper

■ 26 x 16.1 cm. / 10 ¹/₄ x 6 ³/₈ in.

After a watercolor by unidentified Peruvian artist (possibly Francisco Javier Cortés)

■ The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington (1/65)

47 Artist unidentified (Chinese)
Tapada with Comb, ca. 1837-1838

Watercolor on pith paper

■ 25.5 x 16.1 cm. / 10 x 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.

After a watercolor by unidentified Peruvian artist (possibly Francisco Javier Cortés)

■ The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington (12/65)

48 Artist unidentified (Chinese)
Penitent in Procession, ca. 1837-1838

Watercolor on pith paper

■ 26.3 x 15.6 cm. / 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.

After a watercolor by Francisco Fierro

■ The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington (18/65)

49 Artist unidentified (Chinese)
Religious, ca. 1837-1838

Watercolor on pith paper

■ 26.2 x 16.5 cm. / 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.

After a watercolor by Francisco Fierro

■ The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington (31/65)

50 Artist unidentified (Chinese)
Indian Woman Leading a Laden Llama, ca. 1837-1838

Watercolor on paper

■ 17.5 x 26.5 cm. / 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.

After a watercolor by unidentified Peruvian artist (possibly Francisco Javier Cortés)

■ The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington (59/65)

51 Guan Lianchang, known as Tingqua
Mestizo Woman from Manila, 1854

From a signed and dated album of paintings

Watercolor on paper

■ 30 x 22 cm. / 11 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.

After a watercolor by Justiniano Asunción

■ Peabody Essex Museum, Salem (AE85341.36)

52 Guan Lianchang, known as Tingqua
(attributed)

Mestizo Woman from Manila, 1840-1850

Watercolor on paper

■ 35.4 x 27 cm. / 14 x 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.

After a watercolor by Justiniano Asunción

■ Peabody Essex Museum, Salem (AE83532.49)

53 Francisco Fierro (attributed)
Lima Lady Putting on the Saya, ca. 1840-1850

Watercolor on paper

■ 26 x 21 cm. / 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.

From album *Costumes de Lima*, containing 36 watercolors and prints.

■ Museo de Arte de Lima (2.0-1524.9)

54 Artist unidentified (Chinese)
Lima Ladies Putting on the Saya, ca. 1837-1838

Watercolor on paper

■ 17.5 x 26.5 cm. / 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.

After a watercolor by Francisco Fierro

■ The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington (56/65)

55 Francisco Fierro (attributed)
Lima Lady Putting on the Saya, ca. 1850-1870

Watercolor on paper

■ 17.7 x 11.4 cm. / 7 x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York (A3109)

56 Francisco Fierro (attributed)
Lima Lady Putting on the Saya, ca. 1850-1870

Watercolor on paper

■ 23.2 x 17 cm. / 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York (A2180)

57 Francisco Fierro (attributed)

Lima Lady Putting on the Saya,
ca. 1850-1870

Watercolor on paper

■ 10.5 x 12.1 cm. / 4 1/4 x 4 3/4 in.

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York
(LA1752)

58 Francisco Fierro (attributed)

Lima Lady Putting on the Saya, 1858

Watercolor on paper

■ 29.8 x 23 cm. / 11 3/4 x 9 1/8 in.

■ Museo de Arte de Lima (2.0-1578)

59 Francisco Fierro (attributed)

Water Carrier on Mule, ca. 1850-1870

Watercolor on paper

■ 30.7 x 23 cm. / 12 1/8 x 9 1/4 in.

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York
(A2233)

60 Francisco Fierro (attributed)

Water Carrier on Mule, ca. 1850-1870

Watercolor on paper

■ 21.2 x 13.3 cm. / 8 3/8 x 5 1/4 in.

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York
(A3027)

61 Francisco Fierro (attributed)

Water Carrier on Mule, ca. 1850-1870

Watercolor on paper

■ 13.3 x 15.9 cm. / 5 1/4 x 6 1/4 in.

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York
(LA1749)

62 Francisco Fierro (attributed)

Water Carrier on Mule, ca. 1850-1870

Watercolor on paper

■ 14 x 15.8 cm. / 5 1/2 x 6 1/4 in.

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York
(LA1750)

63 Artist unidentified (Chinese)

Candle Vendor, ca. 1837-1838

Watercolor on pith paper

■ 26 x 15.5 cm. / 10 1/4 x 6 1/4 in.

After a watercolor by Francisco Fierro

■ The Lilly Library, Indiana University,
Bloomington (43/65)

64 Francisco Fierro (attributed)

Candle Vendor, ca. 1850-1870

Watercolor on paper

■ 13.8 x 13.1 cm. / 5 1/2 x 5 1/8 in.

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York
(LA1744)

65 Francisco Fierro (attributed)

Candle Vendor, ca. 1850-1870

Watercolor on paper

■ 12.9 x 15.2 cm. / 5 1/8 x 6 in.

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York
(LA1745)

66 Francisco Fierro (attributed)

Candle Vendor, ca. 1850-1870

Watercolor on paper

■ 30.7 x 23 cm. / 12 1/8 x 9 1/8 in.

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York
(A2276)

67 E. Morin, lithographer, after
André Auguste Bonnaffé, published by
Imprimerie Lemerrier (Paris)
"Velero" (*Candle Vendor*), 1855-1857

Colored lithograph in *Recuerdos de Lima*,
Album: Tipos, trajes y costumbres dibujados
y publicados por A. A. Bonnaffé (Lima [Paris]:
A. A. Bonnaffé, 1857).

■ George Arents Collection on Tobacco,
The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox,
and Tilden Foundations

68 Francisco Fierro (attributed)
 "Saya a la Orbegoso" (*Tapada in*
 "Orbegoso" Style Skirt), ca. 1850-1870

Watercolor on paper

■ 22.5 x 15 cm. / 8 x 6 in.

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York
 (A2177)

69 Francisco Fierro (attributed)
 "Una Disfrasada" (*Tapada*),
 ca. 1850-1870

Watercolor on paper

■ 23.5 x 15.6 cm. / 9 1/4 x 6 1/8 in.

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York
 (A1601)

70 Published by Litografía Jullian
 y Ca. (Lima), after Ignacio Merino
 (attributed)

"Lima, Saya desplegada"
 (*Tapada*), ca. 1840-1845

Hand-colored lithograph

■ 24 x 19.8 cm. / 9 1/2 x 7 7/8 in.

■ Private Collection

71 Published by Inocente Ricordi
 (Lima), after Francisco Fierro
Tapadas, ca. 1850-1860

Hand-colored lithograph

■ 30.7 x 23 cm. / 12 1/8 x 9 in.

■ The Hispanic Society of America, New York
 (A2485/79)

72 Courret Hermanos (Lima)
Tapadas, ca. 1863-1873

Page from sampler album of carte de visite
 photographs titled *Recuerdos del Perú*

■ 28 x 34.5 cm. / 11 x 13 5/8 in.

■ Collection of Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, Lima

73 Unknown illustrator
 "Limeña con saya y manto" (*Tapada*)

Illustration in Manuel Atanasio Fuentes' *Lima: apuntes históricos, descriptivos, estadísticos y de costumbres...* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1867), 102.

■ Private Collection

74 Unknown illustrator, after Manuel
 Atanasio Fuentes, *Lima*, 1866
Tapada

Illustration in Carlos Prince, ed., *Lima antigua: Tipos de antaño* (Lima: Imprenta del Universo de Carlos Prince, 1890), 3rd series, 11.

■ Private Collection

75 *Costumbres nacionales*

Illustration in *El Correo del Perú*
 (Lima), July 1872.

■ Collection of Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, Lima

76 Published by Eduardo Polack
 (Lima)

"Lima. Perú. Un panadero" (*Lima, Peru: Bread Vendor*), ca. 1902-1906

Postcard from the series *Old Popular Types*
 (*Tipos populares antiguos*)

After a photograph by E. Courret & Co. (Lima)

■ Private Collection

Biographies

Natalia Majluf

Dr. Natalia Majluf received her MA in art history from the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University (1990) and a PhD in art history from the University of Texas at Austin (1995). She was the chief curator of the Museo de Arte de Lima from 1995 to 2001 and is currently the museum's director. She has published extensively on Peruvian art of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. She is the author of *Escultura y espacio público: Lima, 1850-1879* (1994), *Francisco Laso: Aguinaldo para las señoras del Perú y otros escritos, 1854-1869* (2003), and co-author with Luis Eduardo Wuffarden of the exhibition catalogues *La piedra de Huamanga: lo sagrado y lo profano* (1997), *Elena Izcue: El arte precolombino en la vida moderna* (1999), and *La recuperación de la memoria: El primer siglo de la fotografía, Perú, 1842-1942* (2001). In 1998 she received the Inter-American Development Bank and Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Visiting Senior Research Fellowship from the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts in Washington D.C. to undertake research on Latin American *costumbrismo*. In 2005 she edited *Los incas, reyes del Perú*, published by the Banco de Crédito del Perú. Dr. Majluf was recently awarded the 2005/2006 Getty Curatorial Research Fellowship.

Marcus Burke

Dr. Marcus B. Burke holds an undergraduate degree in English from Princeton University, an MTS in church history from Harvard University, and an MA and a PhD in art history from the New York University Institute of Fine Arts, where he has also been adjunct professor of fine arts. He has served on the faculties of Yale University, SUNY Purchase, Southern Methodist University, the University of Texas, Stephen F. Austin State University (Texas), Saint Peter's College, Rutgers, the Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum Master's Degree Program in the Decorative Arts, and the New York University Institute of Fine Arts. Dr. Burke has taught hybrid history-studio courses in old master materials and techniques as well as more traditional art history classes. From 1974 to 1977, Dr. Burke held a J. Clawson Mills Research Fellowship at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, where he later co-curated the 1990 exhibition *Mexico: Splendors of Thirty Centuries*. He has been a guest curator at the Art Museum of South Texas, the Davenport Museum of Art, and the Heckscher Museum of Art, as well as a consultant to many other museums.

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