Filigree: A Migrant Metal Practice

Sub-Thesis
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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Ximena Natanya Briceño, hereby declare that the material presented in this Sub Thesis, is the outcome of my research during my Doctor of Philosophy candidature; and that I am the sole author unless otherwise indicated. I have fully documented the source of other ideas, works, quotations or paraphrases from other filigree makers, authors, and artists.

Signed

[Signature]

Ximena Briceño
Preface

Filigree is one of the oldest metalsmithing techniques known. This technique was developed in Asia and it was introduced to other parts of the world through migration and trade.

My interest in filigree began in 1982 with a filigree necklace presented by a family friend while I lived in Peru. In 1985, I enrolled in a beginners jewellery evening class and wondered how filigree was made. The technique was a mystery, as it seemed almost impossible to solder fine filament wires, already twisted, flatted and curled, within the Goldsmith and Silversmith field a highly specialised technique.

Once established in the United States, and while pursuing an education in Art History at the University of Florida in 1995, I visited Catacaos, a filigree making village located on the north coast of Peru, in the state of Piura. The filigree makers of Catacaos, shared their knowledge, and taught me how to do the basics of filigree. I returned in December of 1996, and spent three weeks learning the craft.

I was intrigued to find similar filigree objects attributed to regions and countries other than Peru, so defining what made Peruvian filigree unique and special became a question. The researching of the history and finding visual influences, patterns, and styles was crucial in understanding Peruvian filigree.

This work is the product of research in Peru, Italy, China, and Mexico. In 2006, I made a fieldtrip to collect data about filigree in Peru, interviewed over 18 filigree makers, and visited four private filigree collections. The information collected was limited only revealing the technical aspect and confirming my historical assumptions about filigree. In 2008, I visited the Museo Civico della
Filigrana, Pietro Carlo Bosio, in Campo Ligure, Italy, where I was able to contextualize filigree as a technique, and compare Peruvian filigree against other forms of filigree. I was grateful to the Australian National University, for proving partial financial support for both fieldtrips.

In 2009, I visited Beijing, Shanghai, and Hong Kong, and I had the chance to visit public museums in which filigree objects and jewellery where exhibited as well as antique houses. In 2010, I had the opportunity to present a paper in Mexico City, where I also took the time to search for more filigree. I would like to take the opportunity to acknowledge the Australian National University’s Vice Chancellor Travel funds for their partially funding of the trip to Mexico.

Numerous individuals have aided me with their help, advice, and encouragement at various stages of this thesis. In Lima, Peru, The Patronato de La Plata, Jose Torres, della Pina, kindly provided access to their collection and library. The Barbosa-Stern collection, particularly Silvia Stern, who took the time with me to discuss filigree objects on two occasions followed by a lengthy conversation on filigree.

Enrico Poli, who agreed to meet with me, and discussed his filigree objects and shared his view and knowledge on colonial silver. The Instituto Nacional de Cultura in Huamanga, Ayacucho for their assistance in searching their archives and providing information on filigree at short notice; and the filigree makers of Peru for their interest in sharing their knowledge of filigree while doing this research.

In Italy, my heartfelt thanks goes The Museo Civico della Filigrana Pietro Carlo Bosio, and their very helpful staff, particularly Lorenza, for providing material pertinent to my research.
Janos Gabor Varga for his friendship and taking the time to interpret and translate. To Franca Bongera and Enrico Bongera for taking interested in my project and meeting with me. The filigree makers of Campo Ligure, who made my stay memorable while opening their workshops and sharing their knowledge of Italian filigree with me.

To Johannes Kuhnen, I owe an immense debt of gratitude for his patience, encouragement, and kindly direction throughout the years of graduate study. I can not adequately express my thanks for his suggesting to me to search for filigree patterns produced elsewhere, to trace them, and understand them, plus his detailed guidance in improving my work.

Anne Brennan has given generously of her time in reading this dissertation and has alerted me to numerous textual inconsistencies and stylistic errors. I am grateful for her detailed comments as well as her helpful references to other works.

Nigel Lendon, gave me encouragement to pursue this thesis topic as well as considerable help while researching it, and invaluable feedback in contextualizing other works.

I am extremely grateful to Dr Geoffrey Lancaster, AM, for his friendship and mentorship, who generously gave much of his time to read and comment on my research, and guide me through an enlightening process of research.

I am grateful to the Graduate Convenors, Helen Ennis and Patsy Hely; Cinnamon Lee, Dore Stockhausen and Helen Aitken-Kuhnen, past and present Lecturers in the workshop; Roger Hutchinson, Sally Mussett and Jenny Shaw, past and present Technical Staff in the workshop; for their assistance when needed at various stages of my candidature.
The Academic Skills Centre, Annie Barlett, for her insightful feedback. The Office of Document Supply, Evelyn, Jacinta and Denisse for sourcing and making the ‘impossible out of print publications’ available for my research.

I want to extend my sincere gratitude to my fellow Gold and Silversmith classmates and colleagues, 2006-2011, my family and friends in Australia and overseas. I want to acknowledge and thank Dr Paul L. Doughty and Polly F. Doughty, for a lifetime of encouragement and loving support; Dr Allan F. Burns, for his enthusiasm and suggesting me to look up Yucatecan filigree in 1997.

Finally, I acknowledge a unique obligation to my husband Trevlyn Gilmour, without his unconditional and loving support this research would not have been possible.
Thesis Abstract

In the context of visual arts, more specifically, gold and silversmithing, this Sub thesis discusses and contextualizes, silver filigree objects and jewellery produced in Peru from the 18th to early 21st century. There is an assumption that silver filigree developed in Peru was a consequence of Spanish colonisation; however, this research demonstrates the origins of filigree in Asia and Europe, and how it was disseminated before coming to the Americas. The purpose of this research is to find how filigree was grafted onto and further developed in Peruvian metalsmithing, what other decorative objects informs this practice, and if there is a distinctive Peruvian filigree style. Through an examination of complex global trade routes in Asia and Europe during the 16th-18th centuries and close visual analyses, this sub thesis proposes an alternative theory on how Asian decorative objects informed filigree objects produced in Peru from the 18th century onwards. In addition, it discusses a commercial edict issued by the Spanish government which affected the labelling and provenance of Asian imports including filigree. It is with the introduction of decorative objects and silver filigree jewellery, from Asia and Europe, that filigree manifested in a distinctive figurative form reflected in the objects and jewellery of Peru. The results were hybrid figurative forms, which became a new cottage industry in Peru. Close visual analyses of filigree objects housed in public and private collections in Europe and the Americas provide the context for this research. It is the identification of other filigree objects crafted in China, India and Italy that have helped identify what is unique about the silver filigree objects made in Peru. The introduction of objects and forms through trade and migration has constituted the development and history of Peruvian filigree.
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Introduction
This thesis addresses the origins of silver filigree in Peru. There are two popular hypotheses for the development of silver filigree in Peru. The first is that silver filigree practice was introduced by Spaniards as a consequence of their Mudéjar or Post Moorish heritage, therefore implying that filigree was an art native to Spain, and that it was grafted onto an existing Peruvian indigenous metalsmithing tradition, somewhere around the 18th century, with the arrival of foreign metalworkers to Spanish American colonies in Peru. The second hypothesis is that filigree practice in Peru is thought of as an ongoing indigenous practice from the Pre Columbian period, 2000 BCE-1532 CE, but there is little evidence to support this thesis.

This thesis proposes an alternative hypothesis that Peruvian filigree developed from two different geographical sources: Asia and Europe. Filigree first came to Peru as a result of commerce and trade between Asia and Spain and its Spanish American colonies during the first half of the colonial period, 1571-1700. Trade and commerce allowed for the importation of drawings and the introduction of decorative objects and filigree. These imported objects influenced local crafts in the Spanish American colonies.

The second source for the development of filigree in Peru was the migration of English and Italian populations during the Republican period 1821-to the present. Their presence strengthened filigree practice. In the case of the English migrant community, they where already familiarized with filigree jewellery and objects from India, which in some cases were exported from China and India to England in the 18th and 19th century and then subsequently on to Peru. In the case of Italian migration in the second half of the 19th century, silver filigree practice was already

1 Luisa Maria Vetter, Plateros Indigenas En El Virreynato Del Peru Siglos Xvi Y Xvii (Lima: fondo editorial unmsm, 2008), 68,78.
2 Christopher Rowell Mildred Archer, Robert Skelton, Treasuries from India: The Clive Collection at Powis Castle (London: Herbert in Association with the National Trust 1987).
established practice in Liguria, Italy³ where most of the Italian migrants to Peru came from.⁴ The introduction of new decorative objects through the migration of these communities secured a continued development of Peruvian filigree. In this dissertation I will not discuss English and Italian filigree objects because the length of this research does not allow it, but it is the subject for further research.

The scope for this research concentrates on the influence of filigree and non-filigree objects from China and India from the 16th to 19th centuries a region where filigree was active, and coincidentally the geographical region in which Spain conducted trade and commerce. This dissertation particularly focuses on the Peruvian filigree developed by the Asian-Spanish trade to its Spanish American colonies. Among articles that constituted this trade were Asian decorative arts and some filigree objects. Through visual analysis this dissertation investigates how these imported objects were reinterpreted in Spanish Americas, developing into a new form of decorative art.

Bearing in mind complexities of visual analysis, when searching for a ‘Peruvian filigree style’ it is not unusual to find filigree makers ‘practicing’ their filigree skills while replicating small filigree jewellery from global publications. I discovered such a case while undertaking fieldwork in Campo Ligure, Italy, where a filigree maker was replicating a Turkish handbag published in Oppi Untracht’s Concepts and Technologies.⁵ That experience raised another set of questions, such as what constitutes a Peruvian filigree style? Does replicating the filigree objects of other countries still make it native to the country in which it was made? In this case, was the replicated object considered Italian filigree? Or was it Italian filigree made in the Turkish style? This experience prompted this research to seek whether there is a distinctive Peruvian filigree style.

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³ Gianna Roccatagliata, Il Filo Dell’universo (Genova: Tormenta Editore, 1994), 53.
⁴ Janet E. Worrall, Italian Migration to Peru 1860-1914 (Bloomington, IN: University of Minnesota Press 1972).
⁵ Oppi Untracht, Concepts and Technology (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1982). 174
This dissertation acknowledges the key role commercial trade in the colonial period of Peru (1568-1821) played in the development of arts and crafts in the Americas. It is through this trade that filigree metal practice was introduced from Asia and Europe to the Americas, and subsequently grafted into the Peruvian silversmithing traditions creating a new form of filigree in the Andean region of Peru. It is through these introduced objects that filigree emerged in Peru as artefacts in a three dimensional figurative and non-figurative form.

Filigree is an ancient practice found in various parts of the world and in different historical periods. It has been an item of trade for over 1000 years. This makes identifying filigree very difficult, visual analysis and historical records confirm a close resemblance between Asian objects and the filigree objects produced in Peru. The reference to Mudéjar influence may in fact refer to an Asian and probably Islamic style of filigree developed in the Asian locations of Goa, Gujarat, the Malayan peninsula and Sumatra, traded in the Philippines and then taken on to Spain and then its American colonies. A survey of filigree from other parts of the world reveals similarities in the artistic elements, styles and patterns between Asian and Peruvian filigree. It is through a combination of new decorative objects and introduced techniques to the Americas that filigree emerged in Peru. The figurative form in which filigree manifested in colonial Peru was unique to an idiosyncratic colonial society and due to Andean ingenuity and creativity. In some cases, Peruvian filigree was identically replicated or modified from other Asian and European objects,

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Map 3. Spanish and Portuguese trade routes 18th century

Map 4. Peru 20th century showing the three states in which filigree is practiced.
Map 5. South East Asia region where filigree is practiced
Map 6. Map of India
These are examples of ceramics made in the Americas depicting a clearly Chinese influence.
Figure 4. Desk resting on bufete
18th century
Wood, tortoise shell and mother of pearl
240 x 183 x 61 cm
Museo Pedro de Osma
Lima, Peru
This desk depicts a clearly Indian influence form of ornamentation, inlaid mother of pearl, and shellack varnish.
Figure 5. Tapestry with Pelican. Note detail of Chinese flowers on edges resemble peonies.
Late 17th-early 18th century
Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid and silk weft
175.3 x 165.1 cm
The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C
Figure 6. Tapestry with Mermaids and Unicorn. Note Chinese flowers and phoenix bird in the centre
Late 17th-early 18th century
Tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid, silk, and metallic weft
174 x 90.2 cm Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Figure 7. detail of Phoenix tail
Figure 8. Water Heater with internal brazier (pava con hornillo) Esteras Martin infers this lion has Chinese traits
Lima o Santiago de Chile
Circa 1775
Silver, cast, chased and repousse
31 x 26 cm

Figure 9. Incense burner (Sahumador)
Lima, Late 18th century
Silver, cast, chased, and piecerd
19 x 27 cm
Figure 10. Llama Incense burner
19th century
Silver filigree
50 x 20 cm
Museo Isaac Fernandez Blanco

Figure 11. Lion Incense burner
Persian Seljuk
11th -12th century
Engraved copper alloy
Musée du Louvre, Paris
creating a new hybrid object altogether. These resultant objects were an indigenous response to introduced decorative objects.\(^9\)

Recent scholars investigating colonial arts in the Americas argued and have shown that there is a strong Asian influence in the artefacts developed in the Americas including Peru. Asian influence in the arts of Latin America is seen in ceramics, textile and furniture and some metal works as described by Cristina Esteras Martin.\(^{10}\) (Fig. 1-8) The field of filigree is too highly specialized and complex to have been included in any research. Gauvin Bailey described *en passant* filigree from Peru, as he illustrated a cast hollow bronze Indian incense burner next to a Peruvian silver filigree incense burner, implying their close visual proximity.\(^{11}\) (Fig. 10-11) Therefore, it is to trade that I turn to explain the complex issues in relation to filigree in Spain, and how it was traded in its Asian and American colonies. (Map. 3) Further, I shall demonstrate how Asian filigree objects and non-filigree materials influenced Peruvian filigree.

In this introductory chapter I shall offer a definition and composition of the filigree technique, describe the unique visual characteristics of Chinese, Indian, and Peruvian filigree by examining an object from each of these countries, and providing visual examples of their patterns. (Fig. 13, 14, 15.) I shall then set geographical limitations for Asian and Peruvian filigree, describe the setting, purpose and significance of the study.

**Definition and Composition of Filigree**

The term ‘filigree’ denotes ‘delicate decorative and/or ornamental technique with gold or silver wire threads that are curled, twisted or

\(^9\) Ibid., 59.


Figure 12. Example of Spanish filigree from Cordoba 18th century.
Note that it is only a wire outline.

Figure 13. Example of Chinese filigree 19th century.
Note the swirls and woven pattern.

Figure 14. Example of Indian Filigree from Gujarat, India.
Note the filigree pattern and weave.
Traditionally, filigree is composed of three visual elements: firstly, the object itself, second, the design that composes the filigree object, this is actually outlined by a thicker wire. Third, the weave, pattern or units that fill in the design that composes the object. This may comprise hundreds of individual units. It is usually the weave that makes filigree unique to the maker and the region in which it was produced. (Fig. 15) Identifying designs and patterns has been crucial to this research in order to ascertain the unique global and regional influences. The design of the weave determines its geographical influence and quality of the filigree, as this can only be filled by hand. This description of the filigree composition is only a reference, as some filigree works may not have a design to be filled, and instead the object may be composed of the weave only; or they may have a design without the weave. (Fig. 12)

Peruvian artisans may also have found the source of inspiration to create filigree from other European sources and models. It is not unusual to see an artisan with a photograph of an 18th century European item of wooden or leather furniture which they replicate in silver filigree, and adapt to the filigree visual vocabulary they have developed in their region. Artisans in Peru absorbed filigree and gave it a new identity by further developing and applying patterns of their own and naming the patterns accordingly. Each pattern has a name according to the region in which it is applied, and the names usually differ even in the language. The weave in Ayacucho are given names in the Quechua language, indigenous to the local culture in the high lands, while the central Andean and coastal region also have different names in Spanish, but for the most part, they are the same patterns. Peruvian filigree may incorporate glass to simulate precious stones to add colour, but it does not employ enamel. Because this research is about Peruvian filigree, and its foreign influence, here is a table with filigree patterns applied in Peruvian filigree. (Fig. 16).

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13 In a personal communication with Victor Flores, he named the pattern in Quechua as “Peach seed.”
Figure 14. Interior detail of Sugar lid from sugar bowl
Victor Flores, 2000
Silver filigree
This detail depicts the traditional Ayacucho pattern

Figure 15. Sugar Bowl
Victor Flores
Silver filigree 2000
Note three different wire thickness, wire to construct the frame of the object, internal wire to construct pattern, filigree wire to ‘weave’ the pattern.
Distinctive objects were filigree incenses burners, *mistrureros*, a silver filigree basket to hold potpourri, and chests.

**Visual characteristics of the Chinese Filigree**

Chinese filigree is composed of two twisted, not necessarily flattened, open works composed of swirls, floating cloud, star, and grass patterns. It may represent in some designs the lotus and peony flowers, for example or wholly lotus shaped objects. Woven filigree may also be applied and represent three-dimensional dragons, open pomegranates, and storks as object for table decoration. (Figures. 13, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24).

**Visual characteristics of Indian filigree**

Indian filigree is usually made of silver, traditional objects include *pandan* boxes, coffrets, rose water sprinklers, and salvers. Items made for the west included card-holders, small trinket boxes and trays. Indian filigree patterns include: a tight spiral wheel, a spiral form oblong shaped, two round spirals made with one piece of wire. Compounded filigree units include fine wire works done with twisted wire and semi-circles.¹⁴ (Fig. 17).

**Visual characteristics of Peruvian filigree**

Peruvian filigree is traditionally fabricated in silver but with gold, the object geared towards a top end of the market. These objects may contain cast elements and/or silver sheeting. Originally, silver filigree may have been applied to objects to accentuate the decoration. Filigree objects may be decorative and functional too. The construction of filigree objects usually contains three different sizes of silver wire but this is not always the case. Usually Peruvian silver filigree has a coherent organised pattern woven into the object. The weave inside this pattern is usually very dense composed of several units. In some instances, a single twisted filament

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weaves one silver filigree unit. The organised pattern is often symmetrical and sometimes floral. The object may contain high relief filigree patterns. (Fig. 15). The technique employs thin silver wire for its construction and is always enclosed by a frame or *chassis*. The traditional thickness for the frame or *chassis* and the wires are .80 mm, .30 mm and .25 mm diameter. The sizes may change according to size and weight of the object.

Often described as a lace work, Peruvian filigree uses what I refer to as a unique *Ayacucho* pattern, named for the Peruvian state in which it originally developed, it is not applied in Asia or Europe, making it unique to the region.\(^{15}\) (Fig. 18) This woven pattern is usually one tight unit repeated several times in the object. There is conjecture that a *Cordobés*, *Salmantino* or Asian metalworker may in fact have developed this pattern during the colonial period, but until this is demonstrated, I will argue that this pattern was created in the city of Huamanga, Ayacucho, hence its name.\(^{16}\)

**Geographical Limitations and scope for Peruvian Filigree**

The first Peruvian silver filigree works were crafted in the vice regal period of Peru during the 18\(^{th}\) century. (Map. 2). When discussing a filigree object dated prior to the 20\(^{th}\) century, the term ‘Peruvian filigree’ applies to the geographical area of the Andean region of South America. This area comprises contemporary Peru and Bolivia, (Cuzco, Arequipa, Puno, Lake Titicaca, La Paz and Potosi) because that was the area with the greatest artistic character and also because it was the most consistently artistically unified area of the period.\(^{17}\) In addition, this area belonged to what was known as the Viceroyalty of Peru. Confusingly the term ‘vice regal,’ or ‘republican silver,’ not only denotes an historical period, but also

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15 I am naming this pattern ‘Ayacucho’ after the first state in which filigree developed in Peru, and because it is also referred in Quechua, and in Spanish with different names.

16 There is a possibility that this filigree pattern may have also developed in Oaxaca, Mexico, where filigree is also crafted, but I am unable to confirm this information at this time.

17 Martin, "Acculturation and Innovation in Peruvian Viceregal Silverwork." 60
an artistic style. The problem is that the artistic style may have been replicated recently, so the term ‘Peruvian filigree’ covers that stylistic gap. When discussing a silver filigree object dated to the 19th-20th century, it refers to the current established geopolitical borders, which Peru occupies and refers to the established filigree centres in Peru. (Map. 4).

It is within this geographical and historical framework, that this research examines filigree objects and jewellery by identifying, analyzing, and emphasizing its typological, technical, and particularly its decorative peculiarities- against other filigree objects from Asia and Europe. Of interest is finding and identifying both differences and similarities: in other words, the introduction of Peruvian originality shown in filigree works found in private and public collections in Peru and overseas.

Geographical limitations and scope for Asian Filigree
When referring to ‘Asian filigree,’ I refer to the geographical area that today comprises Bangladesh, China, India, Indonesia, Macao, Malaysia, Philippines, Sri Lanka, because this was the area where Asian objects were traded and ended up in Manila for destination to Spain. Trade also occurred in Goa where furniture, spices and objects found their way to Europe via Portugal.

Definition of ‘Peruvian filigree’ ‘Vice regal silver’ and ‘Creole silver’
Filigree practice is an active form of cottage industry and essentially a folk art tradition in Peru, it includes all filigree objects made in the various regions of Peru. The terms ‘vice regal silver’ or ‘colonial silver’ and ‘republican silver’ are widely accepted in Peru, and refer to a unique style of metalsmithing developed in the region following two broad and

18 Ibid. 60
19 Ibid. 59
Jose Antonio de Lavalle, Plateria Virreynal (Lima: Banco de Credito, 1974).
Figure 16. Peruvian traditional patterns as they are known in three different regions of Peru in which filigree is produced.

Figure 17. Indian filigree patterns

Figure 18. Variations of the Ayacucho pattern, identified as Peruvian pattern. This is the pattern applied in figure 15.
Figures 19. Depicting various Chinese designs also found in filigree

Figure 20. Chinese designs

Figure 21. Chinese patterns

Figure 22. Chinese Cloud pattern referred as Jui found in filigree objects
Phoenix and Peacock

Figure 23 Depicting Chinese Phoenix and Peacocks also found in filigree

Figure 24. Chinese clouds designs found in filigree
Map 1. Trade routes upon which filigree was transported 1600.

Map 2. Spanish American Empire circa 1700
important historical periods. Therefore, it is usual to find in established jewellery houses and markets vice regal style metalworks crafted in the present time. Silverwork produced after 1570 onwards in the southern cone of South America, Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay, are referred to as platería Criolla, or Creole silverworks. This ‘Creole’ style of silverwork is still active and produced regionally. Filigree objects comprise only a small component of colonial and republican or Creole silver works.

Peruvian filigree can be referred to as ‘Creole silver,’ but this term has social and racial implications. Whilst the term Creole silver is accepted and applied to ‘traditional’ silver works produced in the southern cone of South America, denoting a particular style consumed by Creoles, the term ‘Peruvian filigree’ is specifically referring to one technique, practiced in Peru, and it is an inclusive term.

Setting of the Study
Filigree is an ongoing silversmithing tradition that is found in several countries, such as Italy, India, Portugal and Peru, all produce and continue to develop filigree. Several globally significant public museums contain collections of filigree. For example the Hermitage Museum, the Louvre, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Smithsonian Institution, the Victorian and Albert Museum. However, The Museo Civico Della Filigrana Pietro Carlo Bosio Collection (PCBC) located in Campo Ligure, Italy, is the only public museum dedicated specifically to filigree. In each of those museums, filigree from many countries is represented including Croatia, China, Italy, India, Indonesia, and Portugal. The PCBC is unique because it contains filigree from Peru.

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23 Monica De Le Comte, Plateria Criolla (Buenos Aires: Maizal, 2005).
In Peru there are several privately owned filigree collections. Each of these collections contains filigree objects that the collectors/owners regard as being Peruvian in origin. However, a lack of provenance details, as well as the lack of a research-based and identifiable Peruvian filigree style, which refers to the weave pattern, casts doubt on the accuracy of the collectors’ claims. Given that the history of filigree has not yet been thoroughly researched, questions may arise in relation to the origins, development, function, weave pattern and design of filigree.

Some researchers have identified several ‘schools’ of filigree. The term ‘school’ implies that a single coherent style occurs within any given place and or within any given period. The single coherent style of filigree objects is manifested by the weave pattern, which refers to a pattern created by curling, twisting or plaiting of gold and silver threads. Certain filigree weave patterns are directly associated with specific countries like China, India, Italy, Portugal. Some filigree objects reveal a cross-pollination of national and/or regional weave patterns, and these patterns refer to a geographically specific filigree style.

Sometimes a pre existent artistic tradition not associated with filigree is merged with filigree. This raises the following question: Is there an identifiable Peruvian filigree style? The pre existent tradition is subsequently enriched. For example the catalogue by Oliveri24 depicts two cups, each made out of a jícara, a type of gourd, and each with silver filigree details to enhance the beauty and importance of the object. (Fig. 26). The use of a jícara is traditionally Peruvian.25 The weave pattern of the silver filigree details is Indian.26 The resultant object represents a merging of the existent tradition with filigree. Another example of a pre-existent artistic tradition for filigree is the stone carvings of Huamanga,

24 Pietro Carlo Bosio, Il Mondo in Filigrana a Cura Di Franco Paolo Oliveri (Campo Ligure: 1989).77
26 Maria Menshikova, Silver Wonders of the East: The Filigree of the Tsars (Amsterdam: Lund Humphries, Hermitage Amsterdam, 2006).
commonly known as the *Piedra de Huamanga*.\(^{27}\) (Fig. 28). In such cases the merging of the pre existing tradition with filigree becomes identified as a new tradition in its own right. In both instances given above, the new tradition is commonly regarded as Peruvian one.\(^{28}\)

**Purpose of the Study**

This study seeks answers to the following questions: Did commercial trade between any specific Asian or European countries influence Peruvian filigree practice? How did Peruvian filigree develop? And is there an identifiable Peruvian filigree style? In order to identify an Asian influence on Peruvian filigree style, selected filigree objects were examined. These objects were the incense burners in the shape of turkey housed in the Pietro Carlo Bosio collection, (fig. 30), silver filigree chest housed in the *Museo de Arte de Lima*, Lima Art Museum known as MALI, and a silver filigree chest also housed in the Pietro Carlo Bosio museum, (figures 31-36) and the *mistureros* or silver baskets. (figures 37-41).

The objects were selected according to the following criteria: They are filigree objects, they were found either in Peruvian filigree collections, or in non-Peruvian collections where they were identified as being Peruvian in origin; and they manifest a filigree object, filigree design and filigree style.

Chinese and Indian filigree styles, which take the name from the geographical location in which they are produced, have been identified. Chinese and Indian filigree styles were selected according to the following criteria: both styles are historically indirectly involved in Peruvian filigree making, both styles are the result of a long tradition of filigree making; both styles are discrete and both styles are identifiable. Within the context

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\(^{28}\) Ibid. p. 32
Figure 25. Cups, Coconut shell and filigree
Goa, India?
17th century

Figure 26. Cups, jicaras and silver filigree.
Peru 18th century
7 x 16 cm
Note resemblance between two sets of cups
Figure 27. Different Cups. Jicaras and silver
18th century, Peru

Figure 28 Piedra de Huamanga Candle holder. Note filigree crown
19th century

Figure 29 Another form of decoration jicara and goldplated silver. 18th century. Peru
Figure 30. Turkey I
Silver filigree
18th century
*Museo Civico della Filigrana*, Pietro Carlo Bosio
Note Turkey I stands on a salver which is standing under an Indian salver as comparison. Note fluted edges on both salvers.
Figure 31. Chest 7 MALI collection. 18th century.
Silver filigree and 22 kl gold Ayacucho, Peru

Figure 32. Chest 7 side detail

Figure 33. bottom of Chest 7. Detail resemble Phoenix tail from textile figure 7.
Figure 34. Chest 8. Silver filigree
18th Century. Peru
Museo Civico Della Filigrana Pietro Carlo Bosio

Figure 35. Back of chest 8.

Figure 36. Detail pattern weave of chest 8.
Figure 37. Misturero. Peru 18th century
Barbosa-Stern collection

Figure 38. Enrico Poli discussing an example of 19th century misturero

Figure 39. Detail of painting depicting on the left had a misturero

Figure 40. Small misturero Enrico Poli Collection. 19th century. A combination of filigree weave.

Figure 41. Exquisite misturero depicting a unique filigree pattern and oak leaf on handle. Enrico Poli collection. 18th century Peru
of both styles, filigree objects may be found that have similar or identical functions. Both styles are either explicitly or implicitly linked.

Interaction between Spain-Portugal and India-China and Peru is identified inasmuch as such interactions are relevant to the development of filigree in Peru. The selected filigree objects are examined in order to identify influences of the Chinese and Indian filigree styles. The selected filigree objects are examined in order to identify elements not associated with Chinese and Indian filigree styles. Elements not associated with the two selected filigree styles are identified as the Peruvian filigree style. Filigree objects incorporate decorative filigree elements. In relation to the selected traditional Peruvian arts and crafts, the presence of the either Chinese, Indian or Peruvian filigree style is identified.

**Significance of the Study**

This study is seen as significant for the following reasons:

First it clarifies that silver filigree in Peru was influenced not by a ‘Mudéjar’ Spanish silversmithing legacy, but rather by a series of different filigree objects from Asian and Asian-Islamic regions. It uniquely seeks to identify a Peruvian filigree style.
Chapter Overview

Filigree: A Migrating Metal Practice

The introduction discusses the overview of the dissertation, a definition and geographical limitations for Asian and Peruvian filigree. It also provides the setting, purpose, and significance of the study. Chapter 1 examines and analyses historical, scholarly and general literature in which filigree is mentioned relevant to this sub thesis. There is an extensive analysis of Chinese, Indian and Spanish filigree. This is due to its influence and dissemination in other parts of the world through trade and migration that parallels in time the development of filigree in Peru. Chapter 2 discusses Asian filigree influences in Spain, a Spanish commercial edit issued in 1820, and other forms of Asian decorative objects in the Americas. Chapter 3 discusses Asian filigree and non-filigree objects. In some instances selected filigree objects are compared with similar filigree objects found in other collections. The aim is to contextualise filigree from Peru, and to identify how other styles of filigree from Asia and Europe helped shape current styles of filigree in Peru. Conclusion reviews silver filigree discussed in this dissertation. Appendix contains a detailed Historical Chronology providing an overview of relevant events in Peru and around the world.
Chapter 1
In chapter 1, a literature review, I analyse and summarise literature pertinent to filigree practice in China, India, Spain and Peru, and seek answers to the following questions pertinent to this dissertation: how did Peruvian filigree develop? Is there an identifiable Peruvian filigree style? How did the filigree practice of China, India, and Spain contribute to a distinctive Peruvian form of filigree? It is with the development of filigree styles in these countries that one can observe and identify a distinctive Peruvian filigree weave pattern distinctive of Ayacucho in Peru. This chapter will examine a misconception that Peruvian filigree was attributed to Mudéjar (Moorish) Spanish influences. Instead it will argue that this Mudéjar style is influenced by Asian silver filigree. The reference to ‘Mudéjar’ influence may in fact refer to an ‘Asian’ or ‘Asian-style’ of filigree developed in Goa, Gujarat, the Malayan Peninsula and Sumatra, traded in the Philippines and then taken on to Spain and then its American colonies.

First I will provide an overview of what comprises Mudéjar Spanish style of filigree. The information available is limited and to an extent stagnant, as very few scholars have dedicated time to this study, let alone to illustrate it. In 1855 Richard Ford described the city of Cordoba as ‘celebrated for its silversmiths, who came originally from Damascus, and continue to this day to work in that chased filigree style.’29 He provided the name of Juan Ruiz, known as El Vandolino, and referred him as the ‘Cellini of Cordoba.’ Further he elaborates on the ‘Joyas- Arabice-jauhar, brilliant- and earrings of the peasantry deserve notice, and every now and then some curious antique emerald-studded jewellery may be picked up.’ Ford describes Cordoba as the ‘Athens under the Moor, is now a Beotian place, and a day will suffice a visit.’30

30 Ibid., 227.
Figures 43 and 44. Cruz de la Victoria, Oviedo, Spain 908AD (Reconstruction after 1977)
Details of cross. Enamel, gold filigree, precious and non-precious gems.

Figure 42. Cruz de los Angeles, Oviedo, Spain 808AD (Reconstruction after 1977)
Gold, precious and non-precious gems
46.5 cm x 42 cm x 2.50 cm
Three notes of interest surface in this fragment that have a direct relevance to filigree jewellery in Peru: first that filigree is developed as jewellery for peasant folk. Second, his description of the emerald studded earrings: this single studded style of earring was referred to in Spain as Dormilona, which is how silver filigree earrings are referred in Peru. Third, the assertion of interest is Ford's claim that silver filigree came from Damascus. Based on this analysis it is easy to understand why Peruvians refer to filigree as 'Spanish Moorish.' The fact that Cordoba was described in the 19th century as a 'Beotian' place indicates that filigree was no longer a thriving industry.

Juan F. Riaño, described two important decorative works that contain filigree made in Spain during the Visigoth period: the Cruz de los Angeles crafted in 808 CE, (fig. 42) and Cruz de la Victoria or de Pelayo, crafted in 908 CE. (Fig. 43-44) Both are housed in the sacred chamber at Oviedo Cathedral. Both crosses have some filigree work and gemstones. Riaño referred to filigree produced in Spain as from the Visigoth period, and in some instances 'occasionally meet with Moorish orfèvrerie, and some details such as filigree work, due to oriental influence,' but clarifies that in general Byzantine, Roman and Gothic styles were embraced in Spain.

A relevant observation made by Riaño was the ivory carvings closely linked with Moorish art. He remarks that this technique was imported from the East. Riaño discussed briefly the Mudéjar or Moorish style of Spanish artworks. He defines this art style as a mixture of Christian and Moorish elements, which were frequently met with in Spain more than any other place, and have been simultaneously used in architecture and decorative arts.

31 Juan F. Riaño, The Industrial Arts of Spain (Chapman and Hall, Piccadilly, 1879), 10.
32 Ibid., 22.
33 Ibid., 12.
Riaño described *en passant* the practice of filigree as a *Mudéjar* legacy still seen in Cordoba and Salamanca, in Spain.\textsuperscript{35} In fact, this information is based on Richard Ford’s abridged information on filigree published on his *Handbook of Spain* in 1855 in which J.C Robinson credits him with being the first person who actually described decorative arts of Spain.\textsuperscript{36} Despite Ford and Riano’s pronouncements on a filigree as a *Mudéjar* practice, none of them provided any illustrations or made any reference to objects commonly associated with filigree such as incense burners, braziers, or pomander objects, so the ‘*Mudéjar* legacy’ is rather subjective, and open for further research.

The first styles of silver filigree objects relevant to my study that were crafted in Peru were the incense burners continuously made in Peru since the 18\textsuperscript{th} century. These incense burners have a figurative animal shape. These are usually turkeys and peacocks, but also representations of deer, llama and bulls were made. (Figures 45-49). These incense burners were made of filigree, usually containing cast and sheeting elements. It is common that these incense burners stand on a silver filigree salver. The first scholar who described Peruvian filigree incense burners was Raoul D’Harcourt in 1927.\textsuperscript{37} He suggested that the tradition of using incense burners was more familiar in the East and Far East compared to Europe, and that Spaniards brought this tradition to Peru as a consequence of their post Moorish influence.\textsuperscript{38} Alfredo Taullard also described the use of incense burners as a ‘post Moorish’ legacy in Spain, and that this legacy was brought to Peru as a consequence of Spanish conquest.\textsuperscript{39} Taullard’s pronouncements were based on the D’Harcourt description. Both

\begin{itemize}
  \item for the Committee of council on education by R. Clay, sons, and Taylor, and published by Chapman & Hall, limited, (1881), 17.
  \item Ibid., 27.
  \item Sir John Charles Robinson South Kensington Museum, *Catalogue of the Special Loan Exhibition of Spanish and Portuguese Ornamental Art* (Printed for the Committee of council on education by R. Clay, sons, and Taylor, and published by Chapman & Hall, limited, 1881), 8.
  \item Ibid., 20-21.
  \item Alfredo Taullard, *Plateria Sudamericana* (Spain: Espuela de Plata, 1941; reprint, Edicion facsimilar 2004), 34.
\end{itemize}
Figure 45. Deer Incense burner
Silver filigree
19th century. 20 x 24 cm
Private collection.
Lima, Peru

Figure 46. Smiling Bull Incense burner
Silver filigree
19th century. 15 x 20 cm
Pedro de Osma Museum
Lima, Peru

Figure 47. Turkey Incense burner
Silver filigree
20th century 37 x 27 cm
Enrico Poli Collection
Lima, Peru

Figure 48. Peacock Incense burner
Silver filigree, chased and repousse
The wings and tail are detachable to insert incense or potpourri
19th century. 23 x 27 cm across
Enrico Poli Collection
Lima, Peru

Figure 49. Rooster Incense burner
19th century 18 x 19 cm
Private collection
Lima, Peru
scholars limited their description to the form and function of the incense burners only.

From the visual arts analysis and historical record, I argue that the silver filigree incense burners developed in Peru as a consequence of the introduction of other filigree and non-filigree objects from Asia. Examples of filigree and non filigree objects made in Asia which might have influenced Peruvian filigree are these Chinese Crane table decoration, made in the first half of the 18th century, (fig. 50) hollow cast bronze incense burners from Deccan, Indian made in the shape of a peacocks, 15th century, (fig. 56-58) silver filigree salvers from Goa, made in the 17th century, and other Indian trays. (Figures. 51-53) I argue that an aesthetic combination of these foreign elements informed the Peruvian silver filigree incense burners. These new figurative silver filigree incense burners were made in the Andean region of Peru, and were developed during the 18th century. This new aesthetic developed through the introduction of the objects themselves and from drawings, as was the case for the development of other colonial repousse silver works. I will expand further in chapter 3 with regard to this combination and development of new works.

The second style of silver filigree object that developed in Peru were the mistureros, these were silver filigree baskets, usually in a conical shape, made to hold potpourri. (Figures 37-41) Taullard described the filigree incense burners and the mistureros as a set.

A third style of object was the silver filigree chests. (Figures 31, 34). These silver filigree chests were made to imitate European style furniture, but in an already identified Indian style of filigree. (Figures 71, 73, 74) These three different styles of silver filigree objects developed in Peru as a consequence of trade and commerce. In addition, these three different

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filigree objects depict what I refer to as the Ayacucho pattern or weave, a distinctive pattern that appears consistently in Peruvian filigree objects. (Fig. 18). Each one of these three different objects developed independently, but have a connection to Asian filigree or to an Asian object. Again I will discuss this in detail in chapter 3, and elaborate on the possibility that Peruvian filigree may have also influenced Asian filigree to a degree according to historical records and visual analysis.

I have now established why filigree in Peru is thought to be a Mudéjar legacy from Spain, rather than an Asian style of decoration. In fact, there is scope for further research in Spain in regards to the origins of filigree in order to determine its influence in the Americas. The origins of Spanish filigree are out of the scope of this study. It is most likely that a Mudéjar style of filigree jewellery worn by the Mudéjar country folk Spaniards influenced the jewellery development in its Spanish American colonies, and it is most likely that Asian objects traded in the Spanish American colonies influenced the development of filigree objects in the local colonies.

Maria Menshikova's research in 2006,\textsuperscript{41} was the first extensive publication addressing filigree practice in the global context. Her research is based on the filigree collection housed in the Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg. She addressed trade as an important historical factor in the migration of filigree objects from Asia to Europe and vice versa. Menshikova provided a commercial silver filigree link from China, India and Spain to the Americas. In addition, Menshikova discusses briefly the importance of silver coins from the Americas as a source of raw material, and the importation of religious ivory objects.\textsuperscript{42} This highlights the importance of trade during the 16\textsuperscript{th}-18\textsuperscript{th} centuries between Asia and Europe then on to the Americas and its relation to filigree. It is with this trade that the

\textsuperscript{41} Maria Menshikova, \textit{Silver Wonders of the East: The Filigree of the Tsars} (Amsterdam: Lund Humphries, Hermitage Amsterdam, 2006).
\textsuperscript{42} Ibid. 22, 42
Figure 50. Chinese table decoration in the form of a pair of Stork or cranes
18th century
Silver, parcel gilt, filigree- paint silk, kingfisher feathers

Figures 51, 52, 53 Silver filigree tray from India. 17th century
filigree technique arrived in the Americas, and became deeply rooted in the Andean region of Peru during the 18th century.

**The dissemination of filigree**

Filigree originated approximately 4,600 years ago in Mesopotamia. The earliest filigree object, a filigree knife sheath, was found in Ur, Mesopotamia dating back to 2600 BCE. Filigree rings were found in Egypt dating back to 1350 BCE, in the Egyptian pharaoh Tutankhamen’s treasure. Later the technique appeared in the Greek and Etruscan civilizations.

Published research reveals that, following its emergence filigree was disseminated in three different geographical directions: Mesopotamia to Greece, thence to Italy; Mesopotamia to India, Mesopotamia to China.

**Indian Filigree**

Oppi Untracht speculates that filigree technique developed in India between circa 1600 CE to 1800 CE.\(^{43}\) The connection between Mesopotamian filigree and Indian filigree is supported by the fact that in India, filigree is commonly known by its Mesopotamian (Persian) name: *melilehkari* (*melileh*: fine gold and silver wire) or *Tarkashi Kam*, (*tar*: wire, *tarkash*: a wire drawer).\(^{44}\) Untracht suggests that Indian travellers who saw ‘filigree work when travelling in Persia’ brought filigree into India from Damascus.\(^{45}\)

Filigree in Portugal represented an outgrowth of the dissemination of filigree from Mesopotamia to Italy. Filigree was brought to Portugal by trade that emerged around the 12th century.\(^{46}\) Often these filigree objects were exchanged as gifts rather than sold. Filigree objects, (such as for example, jewellery), may have been owned by those involved in trading objects other than filigree. Perhaps such privately owned filigree objects

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\(^{43}\) Oppi Untracht, Traditional Jewelry from India, New York: Harry Abrahams, 1997, p. 296

\(^{44}\) Ibid. 296

\(^{45}\) Ibid. 296

\(^{46}\) Lyle N. McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World, 1492-1700* (University of Minnesota Press, 1984). 54
became gifts, or were subject to private sale. Regardless of the context within which these filigree objects were exchanged, Italian filigree objects found their way into Portugal.

By the 17th century Portuguese trade had disseminated the filigree technique to India. During the 17th century, the port of Goa on the western coast of India, and the Coromandel Coast on the east were hubs of commerce and trade. There is evidence that Hindu craftsmen from India migrated to Portugal and to the Portuguese colony of Macao to work on filigree orders. Menshikova refers to the resultant filigree using the following terms: ‘Indo-Portuguese filigree’: filigree created in India with Portuguese influence; and ‘Sino-Spanish filigree’: filigree created in China with Spanish influence.

The city of Cuttack in Orissa, India was founded in the 10th century CE. It was founded by Nripati Kesari, who named the city Makar. Makar was the capital of Kalinga kingdom. Nripati Kesari commissioned filigree from artisans living in villages surrounding Makar. Because of his status as a ruler of Makar, filigree objects commissioned by Nripati Kesari were imbued with social importance. Niprati Kesari used many of these filigree objects for his official gifts, further strengthening the kudos associated with filigree. Between 1200 -1400 makers of filigree created a cooperative in the surrounding area of Makar.

There is no specific information concerning Indian filigree between the years 1400s-1700s. It is reasonable to suggest that filigree objects maintained their high social status because of their association with Indian nobility, specially the rajas. By the early 1800s, the nobility of Makar (Cuttack) used filigree objects made by local artisans as gifts for

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47 Menshikova, *Silver Wonders of the East: The Filigree of the Tsars*. 17
48 Ibid. 18
50 Ibid. 297
51 Ibid. 297
visiting dignitaries. When the British troops under the command of the Marquis of Wellesley arrived in Cuttack in 1803, they stormed the fort.\textsuperscript{52} Having established control, they began on occasion to order silver objects and filigree from local craftsmen. In this way Indian filigree found its way to England. This trade intensified through the 1800s, to such an extent that by the early 1900s Indian objects were commonly found in England.\textsuperscript{53} Further, the international exhibition in London held in 1849/50 brought Indian filigree to the attention not only of the British but connoisseurs from the continent.\textsuperscript{54} There are four large regions in India where filigree is still being crafted: Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, the east coast of India, and Dhaka in the north, (now in Bangladesh).\textsuperscript{55}

\section*{Mesopotamia to China}

\textbf{Chinese Filigree}

H.A. Crosby-Forbes, \textit{Chinese Export Silver 1785-1885}, 1975 represents not only the first significant study of the history of filigree in China, but also the most comprehensive study currently available.\textsuperscript{56} His research examines filigree in China from three perspectives: historical background in trade and commerce, historical background in the silversmithing tradition, and identification.

He lists five periods during which silver filigree objects were exported to the West: Early China trade, prior to 1785, China trade period, 1785-1840, Later China trade, 1840-1885, Post china trade 1885-1912 and Tourist or Souvenir 1912-1949.\textsuperscript{57}

Although Crosby-Forbes first period includes ‘prior’ to 1785, he does not define the limits of this period. Crosby-Forbes observes in passing that

\textsuperscript{52} Ibid. 297
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid. 297
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid. 297
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid. 297
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid. 7
silver was traded to the West during the 17th century.\textsuperscript{58} He remarks that during this period: ‘17th century accounts describe pieces made at Canton for export to the West.’\textsuperscript{59} Ignoring the period from the end of the Ming dynasty (1644 CE) until 1785, when silver was increasingly traded with the West. He remarks: ‘18th century accounts provide description of jewellers and goldsmiths and describes purchases by Westerners.’\textsuperscript{60}

For the arts, the Ming 1368-1644 dynasty is considered a ‘cultural renaissance’. Whilst there is a marked decline in the production of quality of silver works, gold work reached its splendour and replaced silver objects for Imperial purposes. Here is where filigree objects such as head crowns and hair ornaments are found among others in the tomb of Wan Li.\textsuperscript{61} The mastery of filigree in China is reflected up to the 19th century. The Ch’ing dynasty 1644-1912 CE combines the indigenous tradition of Chinese silversmithing with western tradition in regards to style.\textsuperscript{62} During the 18th century most of the silver works are made for the Western market. The preferred method of decoration was referred to as ‘high relief’ or ‘Cantonese work.’\textsuperscript{63} It is during this period that filigree fans and filigree card cases were made for the Western market.

Crosby-Forbes provides a description of selected filigree objects pertinent to his historical study and describes their function. He identifies decorative patterns, shapes, forms, and functions, associated with silver objects including filigree objects. These include:

> Flower baskets with chased flowers and figures of various sorts enamelled on the outside of the open work of wire, and set with precious stones, may be perhaps be regarded as the masterpiece of native art in the working of metals.\textsuperscript{64}

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid. 7
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{61} Menshikova, \textit{Silver Wonders of the East: The Filigree of the Tsars}. 13
\textsuperscript{62} H.A Crosby Forbes, \textit{Chinese Export Silver 1785-1885}. 17
\textsuperscript{63} Ibid. 19
\textsuperscript{64} H.A Crosby Forbes, \textit{Chinese Export Silver 1785-1885}. 66
After the Ming dynasty (1368-1644 CE) filigree continued in China. Filigree fans were produced between ca. 1780 and 1890s in Canton, the evolution of the filigree fan is clearly reflected in the craftsmanship of the object. As Crosby-Forbes describes ‘...filigree baskets, card cases, or fans proved an acceptable gifts for wives and mother-in-law,’ this became part of the export trade. In addition to the filigree fans, jewellery was also made in filigree like the gold bracelet. Crosby-Forbes takes the history of filigree in China up to 1949.

...some is plain filigree work, dragon bracelets being representative article...the simplest are *brise* fans having wide sticks of silver filigree...the most sumptuous, however were the *brise* fans of heavy silver-gilt filigree upon which were worked designs in blue, green and other enamel colours.

Both gold and silver was used either discretely or together. Some jewellery and non-jewellery objects were used in the Chinese Imperial household between 1368 to 1911 and are filigree in nature, these items take the form of crowns, jewelled headbands, hairpins inlaid with kingfisher feathers, bracelets, gold sceptres, gilded boxes, scent pouches, and boxes entirely made of filigree. With the exception of some crowns, scent pouches, one vase, and three boxes housed in the Palace Museum, Beijing, filigree was applied as a decorative element onto the sheet of metal that comprised the structure.

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65 Ibid. 33  
66 Ibid. 33  
67 Ibid. 67  
68 Ibid. 63
Filigree in Peru

The lack of published research related to filigree in general is mirrored by a scarcity of research addressing Peruvian filigree. It is possible that filigree travelled from China to the Americas in the 1700s. Identifying Chinese filigree fans found in Peruvian narrative are the foundation of a hypothesis that filigree travelled from China to the Americas (specifically to Peru) during the 18th century. This hypothesis has not been raised nor discussed further by any researcher.

In the 19th century Gilbert Mathison, Robert Proctor, Archibald Smith, John Ramsay McCulloch, and Johann Jackob von Tschudi traveller, geographer, scientist, economist, and historian respectively described silver filigree *en passant* as a craft activity developed in the city of Guamanga, or to be more precise San Juan de la Frontera de Huamanga, in the South-Eastern Andean state of Ayacucho, as the main hub for its development. Other cities in which filigree was sporadically crafted were Cajamarca, in the northeast Andean region, and the capital, Lima.\(^{69}\) I emphasize this, because by the 20th century silver filigree practice expanded to the Andean central commercial city of Huancayo, in the state of Junin,\(^{70}\) and later to the village of Catacaos, in the north coastal state of Piura. (Map. 4).

Mathison was the only traveller who compared the silver filigree production of Huamanga to China, claiming that only China surpasses silver filigree production.\(^{71}\) Von Tschudi comments on how this filigree was a favourite item of ornamentation in Spain.\(^{72}\) This observation is relevant as J.C Robinson remarks on the Hindu influence in Portugal, and

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\(^{71}\) Gilbert Mathison, *Narrative of a Visit to Brazil, Chile, Peru and the Sandwich Islands: During the Years 1821-1822* (London: Charles Knight Pall Mall East, 1825), 347.

how this influence did not arrive in Spain, but to its Spanish colonies in Mexico and South America. Robinson does not elaborate any further, but implies that a sub continental influence in metal work was introduced to Spain via its Spanish American colonies in the 17th century. This leaves room for speculation in regards to development of silver filigree objects introduced to the Americas via trade, and/or developed in the Americas and taken to Spain.

Menshikova reinforces the notion that filigree peacocks are distinctly Chinese in origin when describing a table decoration of a peacock housed at the Hermitage museum. (Fig. 50). Menshikova uses objects apart from filigree to support her theory that filigree travelled from China to the Americas during the 1700's. She observes that ivory and wooden sculptures for use by the Catholic church found their way from China to the Americas, as well as the export of ivory and other decorative art objects from China to the Americas. Menshikova suggests that filigree may have been commissioned and made in Manila under Spanish orders. Some filigree objects found in Peruvian private filigree collections reveal an Asian/Chinese influence, for example the Chinese pagoda found in the Barbosa-Stern collection in Lima.

Ramon Muñoz wrote a publication about the city of Huamanga in 1803 titled Huamanga Vindicada in which he observes: 'The filigree work is hardly better elsewhere. Many orders are made for this genre of

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73 South Kensington Museum, Catalogue of the Special Loan Exhibition of Spanish and Portuguese Ornamental Art 12.
74 Ibid.
75 Menshikova, Silver Wonders of the East: The Filigree of the Tsars. 51
76 Ibid. 21-22
78 Menshikova, Silver Wonders of the East: The Filigree of the Tsars. 21
This observation of filigree at the beginning of the 19th century corroborates its early development in Peru.

The Italian traveller, Antonio Raimondi, in his *Notas del Viaje para su Obra el Peru*, written in 1866 and published in 1945, described filigree as a principal source of employment for working class people in Ayacucho.

The principal place of employment of the working people of Ayacucho are silversmithing and tailoring, in fact you can't take a step without finding a tailor shop or silverware shop, but the two occupations, the special silversmiths of Ayacucho, stick mainly to silver filigree works.

In, "*Un Taller de Plateria en 1650,*" Emilio Harth-Terre, 1948, describes the workshop of Juan De Atiencia, a Spanish goldsmith practicing in Lima during the colonial period. Circumstantial evidence suggests that filigree was an introduced technique. Harth-Terre provides some of the names of goldsmiths and silversmiths neighbours' of De Atiencia. This list includes their place of origin describing a very international and diverse neighbourhood practicing this craft in downtown Lima in 1650. In addition, he refers to filigree in two instances and makes a point to highlight how equally important filigree makers were among goldsmiths and silversmiths. In this publication, he remarks how the crew in charge of making wire [for filigree] and sheet metal for *repousse* were equally important in the workshop.

Jose Maria Blanco, in *Diario del Presidente Obergoso al Sur del Pais*, written in 1824, and published in 1974, accounts for the presence of filigree works in Huamanga during the first half of the 19th century and goes on to describe exquisite filigree in the forms of turkeys, baskets, llamas, and

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81 Emilio Harth-Terre, "*Un Taller De Plateria En 1650,*" *Mercurio Peruano* (1948). 503
82 Ibid. 503
many other [filigree] articles. Blanco highlights the names of Francisco Villacreces and Gregorio Bastidas as the best filigree makers in Ayacucho during this period.

Ricardo Palma’s *Tradiciones Peruanas*, 1865, narrates witty historical tales whose plots and incidents were for the most part derived from the rich wealth of Peruvian literature and history. It is in these tales where he describes the outfit of a *Limeña* including a filigree fan, (figures 59-60) imported goods from Manila sold in Lima, and does a comparative description of the jewellery worn by the *Limeñas* and Spanish women during the end of the nineteenth century. In these tales, the term filigree is used to refer to filigree objects as well as being a synonym for something very special.

Carlos Neuhaus Ugarteche made an interesting comment in regards to the filigree developed in Ayacucho, Peru:

...‘silver filigree’ work done in Huamanga (Ayacucho) during the 18th century. Such marvellous work was no longer just filigree but rather true silver lace, the product of a native style created in Peru. Neither the silver worked in Spain or England, nor that of the Italian renaissance or French rococo possessed such exquisite and elegant lightness as did the native filigree work, or silver lacework of Ayacucho. It was different from the work done with the gold ‘threads’ of Toledo, different from the silver filament work, which arrived from Damascus. It had characteristics, which were different from those objects coming from the Philippines or China.

Neuhaus obviously knew of other works of gold and silver filigree from around the world including from the Philippines and China. My speculation that these countries influenced visually the filigree of Peru,
Figure 59. Filigree fan I with enamel and paper
China 19th century
Museo Civico della Filigrana Pietro Carlo Bosio

Figure 60. Filigree fan II with blue and green enamel
China 19th century
Museo Civico della Filigrana Pietro Carlo Bosio

It is this style of filigree fans that Ricardo Palma referred in his Tradiciones Peruanas stories.
but then Peru developed a unique weave or pattern in its filigree could be correct.

In the same publication, Emilio Harth-Terre remarks that at the end of 1781, the municipality of Lima granted a license to a pottery factory in the area of Monserrat, [downtown Lima,] and hence the silver industry received a ‘fatal blow.’\(^{90}\) He further explained that the ‘importation of English china, after the independence [1821-1824] combined with articles from Mexico, as well as objects brought through Mexico from the East Indies (China and the Philippines) produced a marked decrease in gold and silver worker’s activities.’\(^{91}\) This information allows room for speculation in regards to silver work made after the Peruvian independence, that it could have been imported from Asia to the Americas. McCulloch suggests it could have been introduced from Europe, observing ‘in general the manufacture of filigree in large European towns superseded those of the native and are supplied to Peru in exchange for raw produce.’\(^{92}\)

Jose Antonio Lavalle in *Plateria Virreynal*, 1974, describes the import of French silver objects to Peru during the eighteen century, and the influence exerted directly on the Gallic art and Spanish silverware, especially of the Seville style.\(^{93}\) Lavalle adds that the 18\textsuperscript{th} century was a period of nascent affirmation of native and criollo consciousness in Peru that allowed the appearance of those religious objects of silverware considered as purely Peruvian, the incense burner in various figurative representations, (figures 45-49) and the combination of engraved gourds and filigree.\(^{94}\) Another object in this category is the misturero, a basket for


\(^{91}\) Ibid., 31.


\(^{94}\) Ibid. 16-17.
flowers and candies, made in filigree.\textsuperscript{95} (Figures 37-41). Lavalle describes in detail the silversmithing techniques practiced in Peru, and he refers to Peruvian filigree as ‘the most remarkable and singular specialty’ the silversmithing tradition developed in Huamanga.\textsuperscript{96} Furthermore, Lavalle highlights how labour intensive this technique is, and how very thin wires are twisted to produce a metallic lace-like effect.

Charlotte Stolmaker provided salient information in regards to filigree practice and the commerce of San Jeronimo de Tunan, in the central valley of the Andes of Junin.\textsuperscript{97} Her information dates the practice of filigree outside Ayacucho, to the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. She made two observations based on Jose Maria Arguedas’ study on the Sunday Craft Market in Huancayo,\textsuperscript{98} which revealed that the establishment of this craft market spurred the development of arts and crafts in the central valley; among them were silver filigree objects. This is the first mention of filigree in San Jeronimo de Tunan, as it was not listed in earlier texts,\textsuperscript{99} so it is reasonable to infer that silver filigree manufacture in Huancayo began in the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, not before.

Luis Eduardo Wuffarden in la Piedra de Huamanga: Lo Sagrado y lo Profano, 1998 mentioned en passant in a footnote how German traveller, Heinrich Witt while visiting Ayacucho in January of 1828, could not find any filigree for purchase, as all works needed time to be made.\textsuperscript{100} By this period, Ayacucho had a reputation for filigree works.

\textsuperscript{95} Ibid. 17 
\textsuperscript{96} Ibid. 20 
\textsuperscript{97} Stolmaker, “The Sunday Fair at Huancayo: A Market’s Contribution to the Regional Economy.” 464 
\textsuperscript{99} Stolmaker, “The Sunday Fair at Huancayo: A Market’s Contribution to the Regional Economy.” 464 
In *Artistas Populares del Peru*, 1980 Alfonsina Barrionuevo describes the silversmithing traditions of Peru from the Pre Columbian period. Barrionuevo discusses Peruvian filigree developed in the three different states and describes the Peruvian filigree as native from Ayacucho, ‘... [filigree] has been practiced for the last seventy years and has become the main task of the village artisan, as far as that is the case of [women] silversmiths.’

Barrionuevo speculates that filigree may have been introduced to Peru during the colonial period as part of the ‘Spanish Moorish’ influence also found in the engraved gourds. Barrionuevo adds that filigree in Junin reaches its apogee during the mid twentieth century, where it is sold in the Sunday market in Huancayo. Furthermore, Barrionuevo discusses briefly filigree practiced in Catacaos and San Jeronimo de Tunan. She argues ‘it is difficult to determine filigree as a Pre Columbian practice or an occidental practice...no filigree maker can explain why they make filigree there nor is there a recorded history.’ Continuing with the history of filigree in San Jeronimo de Tunan, she claims that filigree migrated from Ayacucho.

In *Quince Plazuelas, Una Alameda y un Callejon*, 1983, Pedro Benvenuto Murrieta describes filigree found in Lima for sale during 1884-1887 and he refers to filigree from Ayacucho as ‘something purely domestic and outside the country is very rare to find.’ Perhaps this publication helped to fuel the national sentiment that filigree is solely a ‘Peruvian national practice.’ Benvenuto Murrieta expands by describing filigree articles available for sale near Plazuela de San Pedro, [downtown Lima] such as flatware with filigree handles, baskets, coin-purses, cigarette and card cases, miniature furniture, miniature silver filigree chandeliers, and silver.

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102 Ibid. 131
103 Ibid. 140
104 Pedro M. Benvenuto Murrieta, *Quince Plazuelas, Una Alameda Y Un Callejon* (Lima: Fondo del libro Banco Industrial del Peru, 1983). 51
filigree stars used in the Christian nativity sets. He refers to filigree as ‘silver lace.’

According to Jose Antonio Del Busto, in *La Plateria en El Peru, Dos mil años de Arte e Historia*, 1996, the height of the silver filigree in Ayacucho was between the years 1920 to 1940. Del Busto describes silver filigree crafted in the three main silver filigree centres of Peru: Catacaos, in the north coast, San Jeronimo de Tunan in the Central Andes, and Ayacucho in the South Eastern Andes. In his regional classification and description of filigree, Del Busto implies how silver filigree became a kitsch form of decoration. He classifies silver filigree from Catacaos into personal ornaments (earrings, necklaces, bracelets, combs, pins, chains, crosses, medals and medallions, boxes, trunks and jewellery,) and domestic decorations. This classification is subdivided into: Anthropomorphic: representing the peasant preparing *chicha*, a drink made out of fermented corn; Zoomorphic: The filigree bulls, fighting cocks, the Mexican turkey, and the peacock of India, the horse’s head on a circular base imitating the knight chess piece; Phytomorphic: objects representing native carob tree, the fruit of *pacay* and a banana tree with its fruit. Several objects have naval references: *the Santa Maria* caravel and *The Huascar*, a naval vessel. Horse drawn carriages, vintage cars covered and uncovered. Several other objects vary from *Naylamp*, a Pre Columbian deity, to commercial aircraft not forgetting helicopters, and reproductions of various objects.

Luis Eduardo Wuffarden describes silver filigree practice in Peru as the product of artisans. Wuffarden describes silver filigree from Ayacucho, San Jeronimo de Tunan, and Catacaos, providing some history and names of filigree artisans. However, he does not further elaborate the origins of its designs, form, and function, attributing it to its colonial past.

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105 Jose Antonio Del Busto, *La Plateria En El Peru, Dos Mil Años De Arte E Historia* (Lima: Banco Sur, 1996). 262
Enrique Gonzales Carre, in *Ayacucho San Juan de la Frontera de Huamanga*, makes an interesting observation and comments on the current status of silver filigree in Peru. Carre states how Antonio Raimondi and Jose de La Riva Agüero, born half a century apart, were observers of Huamanga’s privileged position crafting silverware. Carre adds that this exquisite silver filigree practice is nearly extinct. Moreover, Carre comments on perhaps the most representative objects are the turkey incense burners, but also the spoons and other utensils. Just as with the leather products from 1950 production, Huamanga silverware, and the few silversmiths are subject to reduced demand, and therefore must produce things that bear no relation to their predecessors’ craft.\(^{107}\)

In *Art of Colonial Latin America*, 2005,\(^{108}\) Gauvin Alexander Bailey was the first scholar who describes *en passant* Peruvian silver filigree incense burners with a global perspective. He compared a silver filigree incense burner in the figurative representation of a *Llama* against a figurative representation of a lion shape incense burner from Persian Seljuk, in the 11\(^{th}\) century. He compared both from the similar functions they share. (Figures 10-11).

In ‘Silver and Silverwork, Wealth and Art in Viceregal America’ 2006, Cristina Esteras Martin refers to filigree works as ‘more common during the rise of the baroque in Cuba, Oaxaca, Guatemala, and Peru.’\(^{109}\) In *Plateros Indigenas en el Virreynato del Peru: siglos XVI Y XVII*, 2008,\(^{110}\) Luisa Vetter includes filigree as a technique practised from Pre Columbian of Peru by providing a list of recorded Pre Columbian metalworking techniques.\(^{111}\) Further, she implies this technique has been practiced in

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\(^{107}\) Carre, *Ayacucho San Juan De La Frontera De Huamanga*. 284


\(^{111}\) Ibid. 69
Catacaos, in the state of Piura, in the north coast since that period.\textsuperscript{112} Vetter’s research provided alphabetically 366 names, the origin of the goldsmiths, silversmith, and silver worker when available; and lists their specialties within the field. One observes that there are a few goldsmiths from Portugal, but none are listed as filigree makers.

Of the publications within which filigree in Peru is mentioned,\textsuperscript{113} only one publication is devoted exclusively to filigree in Peru.\textsuperscript{114} Of the publications within which filigree in Peru is mentioned, three agree that Peruvian filigree emerged during the Pre-Columbian period 2000 BCE - 1532 CE. Cecilia Bakula, Jose Antonio del Busto, Jose Antonio Lavalle, and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, all Peruvian scholars, have agreed that Peruvian filigree developed in the 18\textsuperscript{th} century, at the height of the Peruvian-Spanish colonial period.

Currently in Peru there are three established filigree making communities in three different regions. These are located in Catacaos, in the state of Piura, on the north coast of Peru, San Jeronimo de Tunan in the state of Junin, in the central Andes, and San Juan de la Frontera de Huamanga, in the state of Ayacucho, in the south eastern Andes, as well as filigree patrons and collectors. Of the many filigree makers in Peru, the most acclaimed are Jose Roberto Rodriguez Pomalaza, Jose Calixto Espinoza Lazo, Gabriel Matias Taboada. Following conversations with these three filigree makers, it is clear that the makers believe that filigree is Peruvian in origin. This may be because in Peru, many objects have survived which reveal the existence of a vibrant and sophisticated metal working tradition prior to the arrival of the Spaniards in 1532. The majority of filigree makers in Peru believe the filigree technique is native to Peru because of the Pre Columbian silversmithing tradition.\textsuperscript{115}

\textsuperscript{112} Ibid. 78
\textsuperscript{113} Ricaldo Palma, \textit{Tradicionaes Peruanas}, Universidad Ricardo Palma, ed. Lima 2006. 227
\textsuperscript{115} Personal communication with filigree makers in Peru. Interviews conducted during fieldtrip 2006.
The collectors of filigree in Peru attribute objects of silver filigree found in Peru to Peruvian craftsmanship because filigree objects first appeared during the vice regal period; this supports the theory and lends credibility to the history of silversmithing in Peru;\textsuperscript{116} the common public perception that filigree technique was developed in Peru is due to the lack of a better understanding in metalwork and world history. In fact, there is a paucity of research both in Peru and the Americas to determine the establishment and provenance of silver filigree objects, jewellery and overall filigree practice in Peru, which makes the establishment of a Peruvian provenance for any filigree object made before 1997 problematic.

In Peru, the definitive and only research publication dealing with Peruvian filigree was written by Cecilia Bakula, \textit{Huamanga Hilos de Plata}, in 1999.\textsuperscript{117} The title of Bakula’s book implies that her area of research focus on the filigree practice developed in city of Huamanga, in the state of Ayacucho, where there is some historical written evidence that filigree first started in Peru. Surprisingly, however, Bakula’s book addresses in very general terms the history of Peruvian metalsmithing technique, the history of filigree in Peru and Peruvian filigree practice. Her study does not mention any number of influences or explain how the technique came to be established in Ayacucho, Peru other than through Spanish colonization.

While filigree is a technique that is not represented in many public collections in Peru, several important private filigree collections exist that reveal the technique and design associated with several styles of filigree that developed in the 12\textsuperscript{th} to the 20\textsuperscript{th} centuries. Some of these collections contain filigree objects that uniquely represent the techniques and designs associated with specific regional styles of filigree from various parts of the world. The Barbosa-Stern collection and The Enrico Poli collection, both private collections housed in Lima, contain diverse filigree objects that

\textsuperscript{116} Personal communication with private collectors during September 2006.
\textsuperscript{117}\textit{Huamanga Hilos de Plata}, Bakula, Cecilia, Della Pina Editors 1999, Lima, Peru. The title of this book translates in English as \textit{Huamanga: Silver Threads}
might be of Peruvian craftsmanship as well as items that originate from elsewhere.

The Barbosa-Stern and Enroco Poli collection contain several filigree objects, both collected over the years, and whilst most of the items have been acquired in Peru, the provenance of the objects was not available because in some instances the objects were acquired in secondary markets. The collectors, however, believe the objects in their collections are Peruvian. In addition, there are two museums in Lima that also house filigree objects also attributed to Peruvian craftsmanship. They are The Pedro de Osma Museum, and the Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI). These four collections are important in Peru because they all house filigree objects. Because of the lack of accurate provenance, it is possible the collectors themselves have built their own myths about their collection.

More organized and globally informed collections exist in Europe, most importantly the Pietro Carlo Bosio collection in Campo Ligure. It houses over 250 filigree objects that are representative of filigree techniques and designs from China, England, India, Italy, Peru, Portugal, Sweden, ranging from various periods and collected by Pietro Carlo Bosio. The Silver Filigree of the Tsars collection housed in the Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg, Russia, contains various filigree objects, which are identified as of Asian craftsmanship and used for trade.

Given that filigree does not appear to be a large art practice and that its history has not yet been thoroughly assembled, its general obscurity raises questions related to technique and design. The existence of objects that represent distinctive geographical styles of filigree raises questions related to cross pollination of technique and design ideas between geographical

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118 Pietro Carlo Bosio, Il Mondo in Filigrana a Cura Di Franco Paolo Oliveri (Campo Ligure: 1989).
regions. It is through literature, visual analysis and historical records, that I have been able to identify a distinctive Peruvian weave pattern and trace the origins of Peruvian filigree back to Asia via Spain.
Chapter 2

Asian Filigree in Europe and the Americas

The aims of this chapter are to demonstrate how Asian filigree was perceived in Spain, and how Asian art including silver filigree influenced the development of decorative arts in the rest of its Spanish American colonies. In this chapter of my research I will address Asian filigree found in Europe. I will address Chinese filigree as it was described in the Spanish media in the 19th century as well as in reference dictionaries. This will establish the precedent of Asian filigree in Europe and in Spain. I will then discuss the Spanish decree XCVIII issued in 1820 that affected the way silver filigree was perceived in Spain and its Spanish American colonies, Africa and Europe. To further illustrate this decree, I will provide an example of two silver filigree chests, one housed in the Hermitage museum, (fig. 62) and the second one housed in the Pietro Carlo Bosio museum in Italy. (Fig. 61) I will argue that misattribution of Asian filigree objects in European collections traded by Spanish merchants was in some instances common practice; and that the so called mudéjar style of filigree is due to the Asian influence found in other decorative arts in the Spanish American colonies.

In order to establish why it is thought that 'Spanish Mudéjar' filigree influenced the silver filigree in the Americas, when visual analysis clearly indicates an Asian influence, it is important to provide a general analysis of Spanish filigree first. The scope of this overview is limited to the 18th and 19th centuries. In addition to a visual analysis, I have researched encyclopaedias, as well as Spanish newspapers, commerce and trade documents pertinent to filigree in Spain and the Spanish American colonies. This overview revealed a significant amount of Asian filigree in Spain. This Asian filigree influenced Spanish filigree, and it was then introduced by the Spanish to the Spanish American colonies. Spanish newspapers revealed how Asian filigree was perceived in Spain before
Figure 61. Chest 1 in the Museo Civico della Filigrana Pietro Carlo Bosio
Labelled as Spanish
19th Century

Figure 62. Chest 2 Hermitage Museum
Chinese manufacture
18th century
bringing it to the Americas. The scope of this dissertation did not allow an in-depth research into Spanish filigree, but the information found was sufficient to understand and to establish the visual origins of Asian filigree, and how it influenced both filigree produced in Spain and in its Spanish American colonies. There is enough fragmented evidence to support an alternative theory that filigree in the Americas was influenced by Asian filigree brought to Spain through trade.

To further expand the theory that Asian filigree reached European shores in the 18\textsuperscript{th} and 19\textsuperscript{th} centuries, and in some instances, influenced development of European filigree, Jose Oriol Ronquillo described and compared Chinese, French and Genoese filigree styles in 1855.\textsuperscript{119} He reported that filigree was the only style of jewellery the Chinese knew how to make, and remarked that they excelled in crafting it. Oriol Ronquillo did not provide any illustration for the Genoese filigree, but he described how French and Genoese craftspeople also developed filigree in the form of jewellery. He further explained that French filigree was a combination of solid (sheeting or cast elements) and filigree parts, and that they were the first nation to combine it. In the case of Chinese and Genoese filigree, these resembled each other’s styles. It usually consisted of one very thin woven gold and/or silver thread. The basic difference between the French and the Chinese and Genoese filigree jewellery was: the French filigree decorated bouquets with birds and leaves with some filigree elements, while filigree from China and Genoa were usually composed of more or less elaborate festoons, avoiding figurative representation in solid elements such as castings and sheet.

Moreover, Francisco de Paula Mellado described and compared Chinese and French filigree in a dictionary published first in Spain in 1857, which was based on an earlier publication by Charles Pierre Lefèvre de Laboulaye in 1850. (Figures 63-64) This publication already indicates that

\textsuperscript{119} Jose Oriol Ronquillo, \textit{Diccionario De Materia Mercantil, Industrial Y Agrícola De Todas Las Mercancías}, vol. III (Barcelona: Augustin Gaspar, 1855), 293.
Figure 63. Example of Chinese filigree published in *Diccionario De Artes y Manufacturas de Agricola y Minas*. Vol. 4 p. 723

Figure 64. Example of French filigree in *Diccionario De Artes y Manufacturas de Agricola y Minas*. Vol. 4 p. 723

Figure 65. Sketches of ‘traditional’ Peruvian filigree earrings. Courtesy of Mario Moscol More', Catacaos, Piura, 1996

Note similarities with Chinese filigree drawing
there was an established tradition of Chinese filigree in Europe.\textsuperscript{120} These two styles were distinctive and different from each other, and judging by the illustration, it is the Chinese style of filigree depicted in European publications that further influenced the Peruvian style of filigree.

In addition, to further illustrate the influence of commercial filigree trade between Asia and the Spanish American colonies, in 1801 Spanish frigates \textit{El Triunfo} and \textit{Charmelli} anchored in the port of Acajutla, on the Pacific coast in present day El Salvador, coming from the Port of Callao, Peru. Among the goods listed were 36 silver filigree pincushions from China and 42 thimbles \textit{idem}.
\textsuperscript{121} Whether these frigates came directly from Manila to Callao or from Spain to the Americas is a matter of further research, but for the purpose of this research, it demonstrates that filigree objects were brought from China and were part of a system of circulation. Moreover, intriguing historical fragments of classified ads in the newspaper \textit{Diario de Madrid}, suggests that \textit{jicaras} with silver filigree decorations were brought from China to Spain.\textsuperscript{122} On this occasion jewellery and objects were listed for a fundraiser raffle to benefit the local hospital. The following description implies that \textit{jicaras} decorated with filigree originated in China, or as J.C Robinson suggested, these articles came from its Spanish-American colonies and influenced some remote parts of Spain.\textsuperscript{123} The description of the set was \textit{Una jícara y platillo de China con guarnición y tapa de filigrana}.\textsuperscript{124} The provenance of this set was lost, and it is open for speculation whether this filigree set came from China directly to Spain or from China to the Americas and then to Spain, but of more importance here was that this filigree set did not originate in Spain.

\textsuperscript{120} Franscisco de P Mellado, \textit{Diccionario De Artes Y Manufacturas De Agricultura Y Minas} vol. cuarto (Madrid: Carlos Bailly-Bailliere, 1857), 723.
\textsuperscript{121} "Sonsonore25 De Enero De 1801," \textit{Correo Mercantil de España y sus Indias} 1801, No. 78, 619.
\textsuperscript{122} "Avisos Clasificados," \textit{Diario de Madrid}, , Numero 61 Lunes 2 Marzo 1818. 289.
\textsuperscript{123} Sir John Charles Robinson South Kensington Museum, \textit{Catalogue of the Special Loan Exhibition of Spanish and Portuguese Ornamental Art} (Printed for the Committee of council on education by R. Clay, sons, and Taylor, and published by Chapman & Hall, limited, 1881), 12.
\textsuperscript{124} It translates as a ‘a cup and saucer with filigree trim and lid from China.’ The description bears visual similarities with figure 25).
In *Diario de Madrid*, a notice was published in 1819, giving permission to raffle some personal jewellery and objects for a fundraising cause.\(^{125}\) There were seventeen different awards. Prize four is of interest as it describes a crucifix decorated with gilded silver filigree and two filigree candleholders from China. Other historical fragments published in the local Spanish newspapers provide evidence that in the 19\(^{th}\) and early 20\(^{th}\) century silver filigree was imported from Asia. In *Diario de Avisos de Madrid*, with the occasion of another fundraising raffle to benefit the local court.\(^{126}\) Among other valuables included in the first prize were a coffee set from China comprised of 12 *jícara*s with silver plates and five large objects with a tray. The third prize was described as an exquisite silver filigree chest made in China. This prize probably resembles figures 61 and 62. Between 1850-1851 yet more classified ads in the Spanish newspapers advertised filigree as an affordable curio from the China and the Philippines.\(^{127}\)

As demonstrated above, there is enough evidence that Chinese filigree was abundant in Spain, but what is not widely known is the Spanish Decree XCVIII,\(^{128}\) which provides an answer to why many of the Asian filigree objects were mislabelled as ‘Spanish’ in Europe and in the Americas. This decree provides a logical explanation as to why filigree is thought to be ‘Spanish’ in the Spanish American colonies. On 9 November 1820, the Ordinary courts of Spain, issued decree number XCVIII. Clause two declares that ‘all goods produced in the Islands of Philippines will be admitted as ‘national’ in the ports of Africa, America and Europe.’ Clause three further indicates that ‘national ships are allowed to do direct trade with Spanish ports in America and Europe via the Cape of Good Hope and foreign ports in India and China.’ The goods

\(^{125}\) Josef de Bouligny Francisco Gonzalez de Estefani, "Noticias Particulares De Madrid, Aviso, Direccion General De Reales Loterias," *Diario de Madrid* Domingo 18 de Julio de 1819.

\(^{126}\) *Diario de Avisos de Madrid*, 24 September 1830, number 267. 1074.

\(^{127}\) "Efectos De China," *El Ancora* Jueves 3 de Octubre de 1850.

imported from the Asian region were introduced to the Spanish American and European ports as 'Spanish,' and among the products listed were all sorts of filigree. This clearly explains why filigree provenance is considered Spanish and not Asian. Whilst this decree was issued in 1820, in the waning days of the Spanish viceroyalties in America, it is probable that this was already common practice. This practice also explains why some of the silver filigree chests found in collections are labelled as 'Spanish' and not 'Chinese' or Asian, when there is a clear visual similarity in craftsmanship and technique. I will illustrate this case by providing two examples of silver filigree chests one housed in the Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg, referred to as chest 1, attributed to Asian craftsmanship, and a second chest housed in the Pietro Carlo Bosio Museum referred to chest 2, attributed to Spanish craftsmanship.

**Asian silver filigree chests in Europe**

Based on visual analysis these silver filigree chests, referred to as chest 1 and chest 2, (figures 61-62) it seems likely that both came from the same workshop or the same area. Maria Menshikova described Chest 2 as traditional work of the 17th century by masters that worked in Asia; speculative locations for its craftsmanship were the coast of Malabar in Cochin, Calicut, or Goa in India, or from Macao. The reason she speculate this was because filigree was crafted in this geographical area, and coincidentally, these locations were along the trade routes where Portuguese ships plied for trade in the Asian region. The visual decorations depicted, such as the flower motif with lambrequin feet, were Chinese in style, for this reason it is likely that Chinese masters made the chest. This raises the question of whether there were Chinese masters working in India, Indonesia or in the Philippines? Researchers from Lisbon link these filigree chests to the production in the 16th and 17th centuries in the Portuguese colony of Goa in response to orders from Portugal or Spain. Some Dutch scholars believe, however, that they could have been made to order for Dutch customers in the colony; but for the
purpose of this research, it demonstrates that filigree was made in Asia for a European market.

For chest 2, I only have a photograph taken while on display at the Pietro Carlo Bosio museum. The label only identifies it as from the 19th century and from Spain, no further details are provided. However, visually, chest 1 and chest 2 are very similar. Both depict similar flowers along with lambrequin feet. It is possible that the museum mislabelled the chest, or mistook its provenance. However, the XCVIII decree discussed above offers an alternative answer to its misattribution. A third alternative is that filigree workers somewhere in Cordoba or Salamanca, in Spain, copied Chest 2 from a Chinese model or drawing. Francisco Giner de los Rios implied that ‘Chinese filigree’ was copied in Spain by instructing in his Boletin de la Libre Ensenanza in 1885 that ‘one shall not copy Chinese filigree in a servile way.’\textsuperscript{129} A statement like this from an educator suggests that silver filigree in Spain was an introduced technique subject to further development. I am left to wonder why Giner de los Rios did not refer to nor discuss filigree from Cordoba and Salamanca, as silver filigree jewellery was already produced in that area. In any case, whether Chest 2 was mislabelled in the museum, through abiding by decree XCVIII, or replicated in Spain from a Chinese original, this is enough evidence to support that Asian silver filigree was known and copied in Spain.

Anne Richter offers an interesting observation in regards to the filigree made in Manila. She suggested that ‘[filigree] earrings [in the Philippines] followed Spanish hoop and crescent forms. Earrings in the shape of half crescent moons probably derived ultimately from styles introduced to Spain by the Moors, since they were common in medieval Islamic society.’\textsuperscript{130} However, Richter does not elaborate further in regards to Moorish-Spanish influence in Manila, and her description of crescent moon earrings dating to a medieval Islamic society may in fact be a

\textsuperscript{129} Francisco Giner de los Rios, Boletin de la Institucion Libre de Ensenanza 8-9 (1885): 101.  
\textsuperscript{130} Anne Richter, The Jewelry of Southeast Asia (London: Harry N. Abrams, 2000), 256.
reproduction or re interpretation of a form of earrings found in the Subcontinent.

Ramon Villegas has written extensively about Philippine jewellery. He notes that commerce in Manila was extensive, rich, and unusually profitable; and that all the Chinese and their ships [in the Philippines] participated in it, with those of insular Southeast Asia, and of Vietnam, Cambodia, Thailand, India, Iran, Iraq, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Japan. A note of remarkable interest is his comment on filigree works as a legacy of the Spanish trade, and that the Chinese learned and built upon the styles and techniques they observed among the native craftsmen [from Philippines], with emphasis on filigree work. By the early 18th Manila was exporting gold in the form of filigree vessels and plates to Madras through the East India Company. According to Quiason, these were gifts to influential Muslims. Villegas alludes to Saad Al-Ajadir and his reference to ‘Moresque’ or Hispano-Arabic influence, which reached the island from Spain via Mexico. Saad Al-Ajadir discussed briefly the Islamic influence in Cordoba from earlier centuries, and corroborated J.C Robinson’s remarks about Cordoba. Villegas further elaborates on the influence of Islamic jewellery, which continued to reach the Philippines through the West and South East Asians who continued to do business in Manila. This ‘Eastern’ influence was reflected in the beads done by Tamil and Simbalese craftsmen showing that filigree and repousse gold beads in the 18th century were done in an international Asian style.

The Spanish arrival in the Philippines changed fashions in similar ways that it changed in the Americas. In the case of the filigree earrings the question remains unresolved as to whether their origins were Spanish-Moorish, or Islamic from Asian countries. However, a native Asian decorative fashion was the peineta, a hair comb, traditional of Mindanao.

131 Ramon N. Villegas, Hiyas Philippine Jewellery Heritage (Manila: Guild of Philippine Jewellers, 1997), 76.
132 Ibid., 81.
133 Ibid., 91.
These were made of wood, horn, and shell. Part of the ‘Orientalism’ in Europe was the fascination with hair ornamentation from China in the 17th and 18th centuries. Some of these examples consisted of gold flowers assembled out of layer upon-layer of graduated petals of alternating beaten and filigree gold. Sometimes these peinetas incorporated faux emerald or rubies. Similar ones were found in Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia. Flower ornamentation is also found in the Spanish American colonies. One can track this fashion back to Asia. Other shared examples of jewellery are seen in jewels crafted for religious purposes, this includes the scapular, rosaries, and tamborins, a small religious pendant depicting Catholic saints oil painted on ivory. Some of these religious jewels were made with some filigree, which was a technique that emerged in the Philippines as a consequence of Islamic influences from the east and the west, and the Chinese masters residing in Manila crafted it for export to the west. Because of the similarity of these objects, I speculate that these religious jewels were imports from Asia to the Spanish American colonies.

Most of the ‘Spanish’ influence reflected in filigree produced in Manila is seen in diverse religious accessories such as catholic rosaries in various forms and lengths. The rosaries were also used as necklaces. Halos were made in filigree to decorate religious statues. The result of this ‘Asian-Spanish’ influence is seen in filigree found in Mexico, Panama, and Peru as consequence of Spanish American trade with Asia. It consists mostly of Catholic rosaries combined with natural seeds and filigree. Hairpins ornaments that are still visible in Mexico and Panama, and this fashion can be traced back to Manila, and China in the case of filigree hairpins. Maria Menshikova coined the term ‘Sino-Spanish’ to refer to objects that were made in the east and brought to Europe by the Spanish, or made by the Spanish under Chinese influence in Manila. As Menshikova further explained, Chinese and Indian labour was cheaper than that of a

European master. This suggestion is clearly borne out by the large amount of Chinese filigree found in the European market, and in the Spanish American colonies. Menshikova proposes that silver filigree was commissioned in Asia, and the case of the silver filigree chests described above these reflected a Chinese or Asian pattern, but in some instances these were still European in form. This style of Asian filigree developed in the Asian region that today comprises Goa, Gujarat and Karinmar in India,\textsuperscript{136} Batavia and Sumatra in Indonesia,\textsuperscript{137} Canton in China, and Manila in the Philippines.\textsuperscript{138}

**Other forms of decorative arts from Asia in Spanish American Colonies**

My theory that Peruvian filigree was heavily influenced by Asian filigree as a consequence of the trade and commerce run by the Spanish, finds a parallel with some textile works, ceramics and furniture. It is in these decorative arts that manifestations of Asian influence is clearly reflected and embraced by locals in the Spanish American colonies. I will discuss briefly textiles, ceramic and furniture to ascertain its Asian influence in the local decorative arts of Spanish American colonies and to reinforce my argument that Peruvian filigree was heavily influenced by a form of Asian filigree. These examples will help to illustrate my case in regards to the Asian influence in Peruvian filigree.

In the case of textile works, whilst there is a strong tradition of weaving indigenous to Peru, other styles were developed from introduced textile works and accepted as part of the local identity. For example, the Mesti\-zo\textsuperscript{139} women from the Andean regions of Peru and Bolivia still wear their \textit{lliglla}, or rectangular shoulder cloth, closed at the neck by a \textit{tupo} or pin. Some of these \textit{lligllas} depict floral embroidery that resembled the \textit{mantones de}...
Manila, silk or shawls embroidered with silk flowers, which were an Oriental fashion, and are still visible in some Andean regions.\textsuperscript{139}

Another textile work considered traditional of Peru is the \textit{paño de leche}, a white and indigo shawl made in the \textit{Ikat} technique, introduced by the Spanish to Peru. (Fig. 67-68) The origins of this traditional shawl lie in Asia too. Visual analysis indicated a close resemblance between Asian textiles and the Peruvian shawl. As Laura Martin Miller suggests that ‘at some point \textit{Ikat} shawls may have been inspired by imported goods from the Philippines.’\textsuperscript{140} (Fig. 66). Martin Miller further elaborated on Juan Ugaz 1927s travelogue \textit{A la sierra-distrito de Santa Cruz}, as he describes that ‘until a few years ago, the Manila shawl for women and wool cape for men were de rigueur’\textsuperscript{141} Miller speculates that ‘from the tone of this document, it appears that Ugaz is speaking of the local peasantry not the elite. This suggests that, at some point, shawls imported from the Philippines were available for local weavers to copy.’ I suggest this argument extends to the development of filigree in Peru; it derived from a combination of Asian-Spanish form of filigree.

Another manifestation of Asian arts was reflected in the blue and white ceramic developed in Puebla, Mexico. (Figures 1-3). The motifs varied from imaginary Chinese landscapes to Chinese motifs, and these ceramic wares were made by native Amerindians for the new Creole elite. These were the local reinterpretation of Chinese blue and white pottery for the local market. Asian techniques in furniture decoration were found in some examples in Lima, Peru. (Fig. 4) The furniture was crafted and embellished in Lima with tortoise shell, mother of pearl, silver thread and lacquer. This was a similar decorative technique to the one found in Gurajat, India during the 18\textsuperscript{th} century. These ‘hybrid’ manifestations in


\textsuperscript{141} Ibid., 370.
Figure 66. Textile from Ilimandiri, Indonesia
Ikat, cotton indigo
courtesy of www.indokain.com

Figure 67. Paño de Leche
From Gaceta Cultural del Peru
Instituto Nacional de Cultura
November 2008 p. 6

Figure 68. detail Paño de Leche Peruvian textile
Produced in the Andean state of Cajamarca, Peru. Notice the similarities in technique and colous.
the decorative arts were an outgrowth of and consequential to the Asian trade to the Spanish American colonies.

The Spanish decree certainly contributed much confusion in regards to the origins of filigree. It concealed until now the origins and precedent of Asian/Chinese filigree in Spain and its Spanish American colonies and especially Peru. This decree affected secondary markets of filigree. Whether silver filigree objects and jewellery were imported to Spain and to the Spanish American colonies under the Spanish name as requested by the Spanish government. It is clear that Asian decorative arts played a significant role in the development of filigree in other parts of the world can not be underestimated.
Chapter 3

The extensive trade in woven and embroidered Chinese silks, printed Indian cottons, and elaborate Ming and Qing dynasty porcelains brought new fascinating aesthetics ideas and models to the Americas. Andean artisans readily incorporated them into their design vocabulary, and traces of this influence can be seen in both tapestries and silverwork of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.\(^\text{142}\)

Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapters, silver filigree practice was indigenous to Asia and Europe before arriving in the Americas. It is from trade of imported objects to the Americas between the 18\(^{\text{th}}\) and 20\(^{\text{th}}\) centuries that foreign and local silversmiths developed filigree in Peru. There is no previous study addressing the development Peruvian filigree, other than passing comment that it developed from a Post Islamic Spanish tradition,\(^\text{143}\) and from Spanish forms.\(^\text{144}\) More complex accounts of the history of filigree revealed its Asian origins, influence on Europe and the world through commercial trade.\(^\text{145}\)

This chapter shows through a visual analysis of various Asian decorative objects how Asian filigree has influenced Peruvian filigree. These objects are: a Chinese crane shaped filigree table decoration, (fig. 50), peacock shaped Indian incense burners, (figures 57-58) Indian silver filigree chests and salvers. (Figures 14, 51-53). Objects made in Peru were a hybrid interpretation of foreign objects that appeared in the Americas along both Pacific and Atlantic trade routes. (Map. 3) The criteria for selecting Peruvian filigree objects discussed in this chapter were that they have been identified as Peruvian craftsmanship. Comparisons with similar

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\(^{144}\) Phipps, "Asian Allusions," 255.

\(^{145}\) Maria Menshikova, Silver Wonders of the East: The Filigree of the Tsars (Amsterdam: Lund Humphries, Hermitage Amsterdam, 2006), 21.
Figure 54. Three different zoomorphic incense burners from Iran, Khurasan 12th century CE
Copper alloy. Average size 20 x 23 x 10 cm

Figure 55. Cast bronze incense burner in the shape of a lynx
Iran, 12th-13th
Copper alloy, cast, with engraved and open work decoration
27 x 27 x 8.7 cm

Figure 56. Three other incense burners from Deccan, India, 15th century.
Figure 57. Brass incense burner
Deccan, late 15th or early 16th century
30 cm height

Figure 58. Bronze incense burner in the shape of a peacock. Deccan 16th century
30 x 29 cm British Museum
silver filigree objects credited to Chinese or Indian provenance assisted with contextualisation of Peruvian filigree.

The aim of the comparison is two-fold: it shows a link to Asian and European influences, and it shows a distinctive Peruvian filigree style. This chapter concludes with a summary of the similarities and differences between various Peruvian filigree objects compared with objects from Asia. This chapter provides a visual relation to Asian and Peruvian objects in each cultural context. Finally, it provides a visual analysis of these objects in three different case studies in comparison to similar Asian filigree.

The silver filigree objects chosen for discussion in this chapter are housed in four important private and public collections in Peru and Italy. These objects are dated from the 18th to the early 20th century. The collections are the Enrico Poli, Barbosa-Stern, Museo de Arte de Lima, all located in Peru, and the Pietro Carlo Bosio collection located in Italy. Peruvian collectors attribute their filigree items to Peruvian craftsmanship, and consider them a manifestation of Peruvian identity. Peruvian filigree objects housed in various collections fell into one of three categories. First, filigree objects were crafted in various geometrical and figurative shapes from imported filigree and non-filigree objects. Second, some filigree objects were attributed to Peruvian origins, but originated elsewhere. Third, Peruvian silver filigree objects have influenced other filigree objects from overseas. The three case studies will address the first and third category. Each case study discusses similar filigree objects from other collections to show stylistic similarities and differences. The comparisons are objects chosen from international collections from the The Museo National Arte Antiga, Lisbon, Portugal, Victoria and Albert Museum in London, the Hermitage collection in St Petersburg, The Mariette Collection in Singapore. Objects in these collections have been used as a comparison because they have been reliably researched and provenance.
Historical context in which Asian-Peruvian filigree developed

Silver filigree appeared in Peru during the 18th century as commercial trade developed with Asia and Europe. As a consequence, imported Asian-European objects became ‘Indigenised,’ and were used in secular and religious contexts. Peruvian metalworkers represented native and non-native flora and fauna in silver works. Floral examples were the pomegranate, and imported fauna represented in objects like lions, (figures 8-9) bulls, (fig. 45), peacocks and turkeys contributed to the creation of a local visual language for filigree. (Figures 47-48)

Asian Filigree in Spain and Peru

An early example of Asian filigree influence on Peruvian filigree is reflected on these two different sets of cups, one made of coconut shells decorated with filigree, (fig. 25), and the second made of jicaras, a gourd native to the Americas, also decorated with filigree (fig. 26) through these objects; I begin to identify, what becomes more evident: an Asian influence of filigree in the Americas. These cups have similar filigree forms of decoration. The feet, the lid, and handles are very similar. What is interesting is the application of organic material native to the region in which they were crafted, the coconut shell and the jicaras.

This Asian influence diffuses in the following centuries in Peru as silverwork including filigree becomes ‘indigenised.’ In Peru, it is widely accepted that filigree came from Cordoba, Spain and from its Post Moorish influence. However, historical accounts reveal that whilst Spaniards brought filigree to Peru, European filigree was also influenced by Asian style of filigree that was introduced to Spain and Portugal and the Americas as discussed in chapter 2.

Contextualizing Cranes, Peacocks, Turkeys and Salvers

Peacocks and turkeys, two different birds are often found represented in Peruvian silver filigree incense burners. In the catalogue Silver Wonders of the East, Menshikova illustrates two sets of table decorations in the form of a pair of cranes, 1740-1759.\(^{147}\) (Fig. 50). They were described as crafted in silver, parcel-gilt, filigree paint, silk, and kingfisher feathers. The catalogue description reveals that these three-dimensional sculptures in filigree were made in Canton for export to Europe.\(^{148}\) Three important elements are the accurate date given to the objects, the technique in which they were produced and the use of a salver on which they stand. Gauvin Bailey discusses Andean, Asian and Islamic influences in decorative arts from Colonial Latin America. He compares a llama shaped silver filigree incense burner next to an incense burner in the shape of a lion from Seljuk, Persia, from the 11\(^{th}\) or 12\(^{th}\) century.\(^{149}\) (Fig. 10-11). In these two examples Bailey establishes an Asian and Islamic influence on the Andean decorative arts. More pertinent to this discussion is a peacock shaped incense burners made in Deccan, India during the 15\(^{th}\)-16\(^{th}\) centuries.\(^{150}\) (Fig. 57). Moreover, Esteras Martin suggests the representation of lions and bulls in the form of incense burners in the Americas had more a resemblance to the Chinese bronze ware and ceramics.\(^{151}\) (Fig. 8).

I have chosen to further illustrate Asian influence in the Americas by discussing silver salvers made in India during the 17\(^{th}\) century. In this particular example I have chosen this single salver. (Fig. 51-53). This object is of wide flattened bands of silver wire in-filled with extremely fine twisted filigree work. It has a rim, which flattens out into a scalloped edge. The salver stands on three hollow spheres also made from filigree.

\(^{147}\) Menshikova, Silver Wonders of the East: The Filigree of the Tsars, 57, 59.
\(^{148}\) Ibid. 108
\(^{150}\) Mark Zebrowski, Gold, Silver & Bronze from Mughal India (London: Alexandria Press in Association with Laurence King, 1997), 95.
The combination of wide, flattened wire components with fine twisted filigree work is found on articles often attributed to Goa, then a Portuguese colony, of the second half of the 17th century.\textsuperscript{152}

It is widely accepted in Peru that filigree incense burners developed as consequence of Post Moorish Spanish tradition.\textsuperscript{153} However, upon closer analysis of the stylistic representation of the incense burners the filigree technique reveals a strong Asian-Islamic influence. To illustrate, the Chinese table decoration: depicts in two sets filigree sculptural three-dimensional representation of a landscape in which cranes, a Chinese symbol of longevity, were represented.\textsuperscript{154} (Fig. 50). One crane has a fanned tail and the other has a drooping tail on each set. The pairs of cranes stand on socles amid bushes and flowers creating a mini landscape. The construction of the filigree is entirely network filigree. The birds were decorated with paint, inlaid kingfisher and peacock feathers and silk. These table decorations date from the first half of the 18th century. These characteristics are reflected in the Peruvian filigree objects such as the incense burners.

Incense burners made in Deccan, India, were functional objects made in the figurative representation of a peacock during the 15th-16th centuries in India. (Figures 57-58) The incense burners were made out of cast bronze, and often stood alone on the surface no salver nor socle to support it. Later examples of silver filigree incense burners shaped as peacocks, doves, and deer were crafted in India in the 19th century, but the examples made in Peru were dated earlier to the 18th century. (Fig. 69). Indian representation is less figurative and more geometrical, giving the figurative incense burners of Peru a dramatic naturalistic resemblance to the animal it represented. Another similarity to Indian filigree style found in the Peruvian incense burners is revealed in the Indian salvers incorporated to the Peruvian incense burners. Similar salvers to the one

\textsuperscript{152} Menshikova, Silver Wonders of the East: The Filigree of the Tsars, 43.
\textsuperscript{153} Harcourt, L'argenterie Péruvienne a L' Époque Coloniale, 20.
\textsuperscript{154} Menshikova, Silver Wonders of the East: The Filigree of the Tsars, 108.
Figure 69. Example of Indian potpourri holder
19th century. Silver filigree.
Note the geometrical shaped compared against
Peruvian incense burners
*Museo Civico della Filigrana* Pietro Carlo Bosio

Figure 70. detail of Indian Potpourri holder
described above were found in several silver filigree figurative incense burners sets in Peru with deer, bull, turkeys or peacocks imagery. (Figures 45-49)

The Andean reinterpretation of cranes found in the Chinese table decoration and the functionality of the peacock shaped Indian incense burner created a hybrid functional object. The figure of the crane was adapted to a more familiar form of a bird such as a peacock or a turkey; both were introduced species to the Americas through Asian trade after 1568. Visual analysis of the resultant Peruvian incense burners supports this theory. The reasons why there are several filigree incense burners in the shape of peacocks and turkeys is based on the importation of these two species to South America. The *pavo cristatus*, commonly known as peacock, is a native of Asia, and *meleagris gallopavo*, or turkey, is a native of Mexico. Representations of peacocks and phoenix, in Andean textiles have also been found dating as far back as 1578. (Figures 5, 6, 7)

However, there are two possible reasons why there is an abundance of the silver filigree peacocks and turkeys incense burners available in collections: Firstly, metalworkers from the Americas saw other representations of peacock incense burners from the Far East and replicated them as a novelty object. In this case, the local bird was substituted, and imports from the Far East were embraced as fashionable by the emerging society.

Alternatively, the answer may lie in a linguistic homographic pun. Spaniards referred to the ‘water-heater,’ a kettle to keep the water warm for *hierba mate* drink, as ‘*pavas con hornillo*’ in Spanish, a literal translation in English is ‘turkeys with a heater.’ The Spanish term ‘*pavas con hornillo*’ also referred to the silver filigree incense burners to hold potpourri or to burn incense. In this particular case, the word *pavas* in Spanish also refer to the bellows to make fire, but it also means a group of female turkeys. There were silver filigree incense holders made in the shapes of deer, lion,
and a bull,\textsuperscript{156} (figs. 45,46,47,48,49), as well as quasi-geometrical shaped with a traditional European spout. Perhaps native metal workers made what they literally understood as a turkey or peacock.

**Case Studies**

In this part of my dissertation, I will discuss three case studies addressing Asian filigree influence on Peruvian filigree. Based on visual analysis and the provenance given, these case studies will demonstrate how Asian decorative arts influenced Peruvian filigree. In case three, there is a speculation where Peruvian filigree may have in fact influenced Chinese Malay filigree.

Case Study 1
Incense Burners

This incense burner, referred to as Turkey I, (fig. 30) is one of the four turkeys and peacocks shaped incense burners housed in this collection attributed to Peru. Turkey I has an overall organized filigree pattern, and it is represented standing with a fanned tail. Its fanned tail is reminiscent of the filigree tail in the crane Chinese table decoration, (fig. 50) and to the Indian peacock incense burner. (Fig. 57). Moreover, the static presentation is similar to the latter two. Turkey I stands on a round salver similar to the Indian salver, however the feet of the salver were different. (Figures 51-53). Similar to the Indian peacock, Turkey I opens by lifting the first half of the sphere; which in consequence also lifts the attached wings. Once lifted one may place potpourri petals or incense inside the container. The turkey is constructed of two filigree half round spheres; the head and legs were cast, chased and repousse. Detail in the photograph reveals one of the bird’s feet screwed to the filigree salver. This turkey depicts three distinctive patterns; the Ayacucho weave pattern, zig zag weave pattern, and a twisted round wire that serves to outline the wings and the neck from the body.

Visual analysis suggests the representation of a peacock or turkey as an Andean reinterpretation of both an Asian species of birds and an Asian filigree object. All silver filigree incense burners are displayed on a socle or salver similar to the Chinese table decoration (fig. 50) or Indian salvers. (Fig. 51-53) Qualities in design and craftsmanship of silver filigree incense burners varied, but were consistent with representation of a single filigree figurative animal on a salver, like Indian incense burners, with elements of Chinese figurative table decorations.

While the custom to use incense burners was attributed to a Post Moorish Spanish tradition in Peru, incense burners were also popular in Asia.

and were also items of both Atlantic and Pacific Spanish trade. Silver filigree incense burners developed in Peru as direct result of the importation of decorative objects from various Asian and European sources. Asian influences in the Peruvian vernacular were identified. For example, use of fragrant flowers like jasmine (*Trachelospermum jasminoides*) and fragrant herbs like basil (*Ocimum basilicum*), which are native to China and India, were used in the incense burners. This was described in Peruvian literature in the early 20th century. The fact that the Spanish traded in Far East Asia with the Americas at the same time Spanish colonial trade occurred helps support the theory that filigree items were also introduced to Peru from the Far East.

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158 La Ciudad Barroca 89, 94
159 1888-1919 Abraham Valdelomar, "Yerba Santa."
Figure 71. *top left*. Chest 3
silver filigree
17th century
Goa and the Indo Portuguese region
16 x 15.5 x 9.2 cm
Museu de Arte Antiga

Figure 72. *top right*. Chest 6
silver filigree
China or Spanish working under
Chinese orders. Hermitage Museum

Figure 73. *middle*. Chest 4
Silver filigree
17th century
Goa and the Indo Portuguese region
11 cm
Museu de Arte Antiga

Figure 74 and *right detail*. Bottom. Chest 5
Cuttack, Orissa
13 x 21 x 33 cm
18th century
Victoria and Albert collection
Case Study 2
Silver filigree chests

Four silver filigree chests found in three international collections, and attributed to Indian-Chinese craftsmanship provide a context for the development of silver filigree chests in Peru. Four chests, two housed in the *Museu National de Arte Antiga*, Lisbon, referred to as chest 3, and chest 4, a third chest housed in the Victoria and Albert Museum, referred to as chest 5 and a fourth silver chest housed in The Hermitage collection, attributed to China, or Chinese masters working in the Portuguese or Spanish colonies in South East Asia, referred to as chest 6 is dated to the 17th century, made in silver filigree. (Figures 71-74). In addition, there are two Peruvian filigree chests referred to as chest 7 and chest 8, which I will discuss briefly, and compare them with that other four similar filigree chests. (Fig. 31-34). Three of these chests were made in silver filigree and a lock with a key. Filigree chest 3 and 4, were identified as Indo Portuguese and dated to 17th century. Chest 5 was identified from Cuttack Orissa, on the Bay of Bengal, dated to the 18th century.

Silver filigree chests in Peru were crafted as early as the 18th century. Chests, 7 and 8, borrowed shapes and forms from other filigree chests or from furniture from the subcontinent, but added indigenous details. (Figures 31, 34) These silver filigree chests fell under the first category for filigree development: they borrowed from different shapes from other filigree objects, but incorporated indigenous details. The *Museo de Arte de Lima*, (Museum of Art of Lima known as MALI) collection houses a beautiful silver filigree *cofre* or chest, chest 7, with high karat gold accents. It is described as of Peruvian manufacture in the 18th century, in the city of Ayacucho. The museum registration card describes it as:

Rectangular chest made in silver filigree with decoration of leaves and flowers. Gold applications in the lid and lock.

More details in the registration form give a date of the 18th century, and attributed it to the Ayacucho style, baroque style. It is described in the

museum as Cofre, or chest, and in a publication it has been described as an exceptionally fine jewellery box in which the filigree arabesques define as a real decorative 'horror vacui.'

At first glance, this chest resembles chest 5, which is attributed to the Indo Portuguese Empire, however the feet differ. The feet of chest 5, are represented in the form of a ball, made in two sections. Chest 7 has the feet made in two sections, but in a conical shape crafted in what is evidently Ayacucho style weaves. Like the filigree salver from Goa, and the salvers of other Peruvian incense burners, this chest also contains a fine silver rope outlining the object on the edges.

The filigree chest 5 has a close resemblance to the filigree chest 7, as both have five 'rosette like' filigree decorations, one on each side, and it seems that the lock was added after the rosette was crafted as an afterthought. Chest 3 also depicts rosettes on the filigree chest. Chest 7 has a 'baroque shape' as it offers a curve on the four sides and a concave lid on the top. Both chests 3 and 5 date from the 18th century. Chest 7 depicts the Ayacucho style weave in some of the 'foliage.' In addition, the base of chest 5 represents four long fan-shaped designs that together it makes it look like a section of a bird's tail represented in textile or filigree. (Fig. 33). The silver 18th century filigree chest 8 attributed to Peru, housed in the Pietro Carlo Bosio Filigree collection has an interesting set of elements; again the form of the chest is reminiscent of the sub-continental filigree work such as chest 4. In seeking a particular style, it is evident that there is no tradition of adding cast elements to filigree objects in the subcontinent, but this filigree chest has cast elements in the feet. In this particular case, the feet were cast elements representing a crowned shield in the form of a heart with legs. The semi flat shields soldered to the filigree chest reveal that it never touched the surface. Chest 6 has a

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162 Untracht, Mughal Silver Magnificence Xvi-Xix C. p. 153
curved lid similar to chest 1. Whilst this chest does not contain the *Ayacucho* style weave pattern, both contain ‘the palmetto style’ filigree identified in the Indian style filigree.\(^\text{163}\) (fig.36). This chest contains a flat sheet in the middle where the lock is placed. This is engraved in Spanish ‘*Soy de D.na Maria Dolores de Gonzales*’ ‘I am from Doña Maria de Gonzales’ indicating the owner’s name.

Visual analysis demonstrate that the forms and style of the various filigree chests made in the subcontinent influenced the silver filigree chests made in Peru housed in the MALI and Pietro Carlo Bosio collection. However, distinctive differences were found in the weave pattern or units of the two Peruvian silver filigree chests compared to the four silver filigree chests from the subcontinent. Whilst chest 7 shared the sub continent style of feet demonstrating its influence, it also denoted characteristics of local filigree like the pattern and fine silver rope. The Peruvian silver filigree chests demonstrated creativity in casting the feet, giving them a distinctive characteristic not seen in other chests made in the 19\(^{th}\) century.

\(^{163}\) Oppi Untracht, *Traditional Jewelry from India*, First ed. (New York: Harry N. Abrahams, 1997). 298
Case Study 3
Mistureros or Filigree Baskets

The *mistureros* or silver filigree baskets were traditionally conical shaped silver filigree baskets with one handle across the basket. (Figures 37-41). They were made for religious and secular purposes; they were hung from the little finger of a statue of the Virgin Mary. The function was to hold potpourri to scent the church. These baskets were made in various sizes according to the size of statue. In the secular context, these baskets were used to hold a mix of fragrant potpourri which during *mardi gras*, was thrown over the people in the streets. The *mistureros* are an example of how Peruvian filigree influenced other filigree objects from overseas. There were several *mistureros* housed in at least four collections: Enrico Poli collection, Pietro Carlo Bosio collection, *Museo de Artes Decorativas* in Chile collected by the late Hernán Garcés Silva, and the Barbosa-Stern collection. These *mistureros* merit mention due to their consistent style and the dates attributed to them. Collectors and collections date some of these *mistureros* as early as 18th century, and all collectors give Peru as a place of provenance.

The Enrico Poli collection and the *Museo de Artes Decorativas de Chile* were more specific and provided Ayacucho as a place of origin for the *mistureros* in their collections. Some of the *mistureros* vary according to size and style of patterns, but they were all made for the same purpose: to hold potpourri in the church, family chapel, or the home. It is interesting to compare these *mistureros* with the two silver gilded filigree baskets housed in the Mariette collection in Singapore. Maria Menshikova suggested the possibility of Spanish ‘Sino-Spanish filigree’ referring to ‘filigree made in the East and brought to Europe by Spanish (or made by Spaniards under Chinese influence).’  

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Figure 75. *top* Bekas Bunga, ornament for bridal bed. Note the *jiu* design, filigree and blue enamel. Mariette collection. 20 cm diameter.

Figure 76. *top left.* Ornamental flower basket with filigree work depicting pomegranates and phoenixes. Silver gilt. 20 cm Mariette collection.

I wonder whether Peruvian *mistureros* influenced these filigree baskets.

Figure 77. Another example of filigree flower basket. Silver gilt 17 cm Mariette Collection.
An ornamental flower basket executed entirely in filigree work. It is said that it hung from the canopy of the wedding bed. The uniqueness of this piece of craftsmanship suggests that it is not a product of local silversmiths but rather that of some skilled craftsman in China. It is said to have come from the heirloom of a wealthy Malacca family. [It is] a work of great beauty. Silver gilt. Height 17 cm widest width 10 cm weight 250 grams.165

Figure 55 is described as

Another ornamental flower basket, also executed in filigree work. The elegant eight-sided basket is mounted with a complex of pomegranate flowers (symbols of fertility) while a pair of phoenixes surmounts the overarching handle. Mark of ‘Yen Kee” Height: 18 cm. Weight 300 grams, From Malacca, probably of South China provenance. Mariette collection.166

Wing Meng traced the use of fragrant petals as an ancient Malay tradition.167 He described these filigree baskets as counterpart to the bekas bunga, caskets made of pierced metal, composed of two halves and secured together by flanges.168 Wing Meng indicated that fragrant petals like jasmine were placed inside the halves to perfume the matrimonial bed. In the case of the silver gilded baskets, they represented these flowers and also hung from the matrimonial bed. There is no date given to these silver gilded filigree baskets, but Wing Meng remarked on a resurgence of filigree works in the 19th century by the Malaccan Strait Chinese. Historic commercial trade and visual analysis suggests a crosspollination of decorative filigree objects between the Strait Chinese and Peru. The tradition of fusing incense burners was mentioned in passing, but it was not a common custom for Malay Chinese to use them due to the tropical and humid weather conditions. Similar silver filigree baskets with flowers have been created in Peru in the 1970’s, whether they were a reinterpretation of the traditional Peruvian silver filigree mistureros or a reinterpretation of these Malay Chinese filigree baskets to ornament a wedding bed from the 19th century is open for interpretation and further research. What it is clear here is that the concept of the mistureros, is native to Peru, and has been reinterpreted in the Malacca Straits by Malay Chinese in a different form in gilded-silver filigree technique.

166 Ibid. 84.
167 Ibid.
168 Ibid. 82.
Conclusion

As demonstrated in the case studies, all the filigree objects developed in Peru are in some way linked to Asian objects rather than a Mudéjar or Post Moorish Spanish tradition. Silver filigree objects developed in Peru as a consequence of a direct response to imported objects and traditions from overseas. With the exception of the mistureros, filigree objects borrowed different elements from other objects and added indigenous details. Examples shown were the incense burners and the filigree chests. Lastly, as suggested by Maria Menshikova, ‘Sino-Spanish’ filigree developed in Asia. This was demonstrated in the floral filigree baskets in the Mariette collection. The floral baskets may have been reinterpretations of Spanish-American filigree to the East, as it has a close visual similarity, considering too, that silver coins were mainly traded from the west to the east.¹⁶⁹ These examples demonstrate how this technique was incorporated into the native Peruvian vernacular arts and crafts, and how Asian arts influenced the arts of Latin America. Without commercial trade between 1570-1810, mainly to the East, filigree would not have been developed.

¹⁶⁹ Lyle N. McAlister, Spain and Portugal in the New World, 1492-1700 (University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 373.
Conclusion

This dissertation focuses on an examination of the influence of Asian arts decorative on filigree objects housed in private and public collections in Peru. This examination reveals that filigree in Peru developed from Asian metalwork rather than from Mudéjar Spanish art forms. In some instances, acquisition of these objects in the secondary market obscured their provenance. Therefore, they are thought of as being Spanish or Peruvian craftsmanship. Maria Menshikova’s research on filigree works housed in the Hermitage collection traced some of its filigree objects to China and India, and credit Asian trade as the main contributor to the dissemination of filigree in Europe. In Peru, nobody has attempted to classify or identify filigree styles, designs, and influences found in Peruvian filigree, as this has not been considered relevant before. With the exception of Alfredo Taullard whose pronouncements on the filigree incense burners first published in Spanish in 1941 were based on Raoul D’Haurcourt’s French analyses on Andean silver published in 1927, filigree is thought to be of Spanish and Andean provenance. Both authors discussed the function of filigree incense burners and the mistureros, and described in passing the filigree technique. Jose del Busto discussed filigree in the catalogue of Enrico Poli’s collection, he classified Peruvian filigree in a broad regional sense. However, no discussion of patterns and weave were addressed, as filigree is generally thought of as an object with wires and ‘Arabesque’ decoration. Moreover, filigree was thought to be from Spain, as it was already a practice established there. However, a closer visual analysis of filigree objects, Spanish trade routes and commerce patterns within Asia, and historical data between Spain and its American colonies suggests otherwise.

D’Harcourt and Taullard’s pronouncements on Peruvian filigree incense burners as a post Spanish Islamic/Moorish legacy did not leave any space for consideration of an Asian influence in Peruvian filigree. Both publications have been significantly taken by historians as the main
sources for information in regards to filigree in Peru. However, if Asian influence were present in the arts and crafts of Colonial America, in textiles, furniture, and ceramics, why would metasmithing have been excluded? Amongst the 20th century scholars, addressing the influence of Asian arts in Colonial Arts of the Americas led by Gauvin Bailey, and followed by Esteras Martin suggest otherwise. Further, Oriol Ronquillo and Francisco de Paula Mellado’s description and comparison of Chinese and French filigree published first in Spain in 1855 and again in 1857, which were based on Charles Pierre Lefèbvre de Laboulaye French publication of the Arts and industries in 1850, already indicates that there was an established tradition of Chinese filigree in Europe.170 (Figures. 63, 64, 65). These two styles were distinctive, different, and judging by the illustration, it is the Chinese style that further influenced the Peruvian style of filigree. Moreover, Francisco Giner de los Rios’ publication in 1885 when referring to Chinese filigree and describing Peruvian filigree suggests there was an established practice of Chinese filigree in Spain, and a distinctive Peruvian style too. Since so few people have researched filigree in the last century, significant visual identification of styles and differences of filigree have not been addressed until this dissertation. If found to be correct, my historical and visual analysis of the issues regarding Asian influence on Peruvian filigree, may make a significant contribution to the history and development of filigree in Peru in the last two centuries.

The history of filigree in Peru is a complicated affair tangled by its history, trade, commerce, migration and creativity. The first consequence therefore is a reassessment of the history of filigree made by the indigenous metalworkers of Peru, developed as a consequence of Spanish colonization by 1580. This study traces, interrelations of trade and commerce between Spain and its American colonies that have to be considered as an important part of development of filigree of Peru and the

170 Franscisco de P Mellado, Diccionario De Artes Y Manufacturas De Agricultura Y Minas vol. cuarto (Madrid: Carlos Bailly-Bailliere, 1857).
Americas. With attention redirected towards the importance of the development and indigenisation of filigree in Peru, a distinctive filigree style was created and developed out of this complex combination of circumstances first in the city of Ayacucho and then in the rest of Peru.

In my survey of filigree from Asia and Peru, I chose different filigree and non-filigree objects from China and India, and compared them with the filigree objects produced in Peru. By visual comparison, I demonstrated how these forms and technical styles merged in some instances, and were modified in others. In this particular case I refer to the incense burners, which borrowed elements from an Indian tradition, from the cast incense burners made in Deccan India in the 16th century, which in this particular case, was made entirely of filigree. This merging and development of styles is possible through the introduction of new objects and drawings through trade between Spain's Asian and American colonies. Analysing these incense burners from India and Peru, and silver filigree salvers from India reinterpreted in filigree salvers from Peru suggests a visual similarity, especially since the development of these figurative incense burners in Peru began in the 18th century, when trade with Asia had already begun.

In chapter 2, I compared two similar filigree chests, one housed in the Hermitage museum dated to the 18th century and another housed in the Pietro Carlo Bosio Museum, attributed to Spain, and dated to the 19th century to demonstrate Asian filigree in Europe. This is a perfect example of how Asian objects were misrepresented by a Spanish decree issued in 1820. This decree affected the labelling and provenance of objects that originated in Asia but were then traded by Spaniards. This decree contributed to the confusion about the given provenance of objects traded among the Spanish colonies in Asia, Europe and the Americas. When this decree was issued at the end of the Spanish colonization in the Americas, in 1820, it certainly had an impact on the objects traded after that date. Because this decree was issued, it raises the question whether it was
already a Spanish common practice to trade objects from Asia to the Americas as a ‘Spanish product.’ Even if the chest from the Pietro Carlo Bosio was copied by Spanish metalworkers in the 19th century, still, one can nevertheless see the impact of Chinese filigree in Spain and hence Peru. My argument about the Asian influence on the filigree of Peru is supported by the trade that occurred between the Spanish run colonies in Asian and the Americas, and the prior development of silver filigree in Asia during the 16th, 17th & 18th centuries. It could be possible to find more corroboration of this point and this could be the subject of further investigation. Other samples of silver works developed in Peru during the same period of silver filigree also denote an Asian influence as Esteras Martin remarks on the lion water heater. (Fig. 8). The significant evidence that I presented makes it a reasonable proposition that Asian silver filigree dated from 17th century influenced Spanish American silver filigree from the 18th century onwards. This was a way of linking Asian silver filigree trade and commerce with local silver filigree production, and placing Peruvian filigree in its cultural context, one of my proposed objectives. It was also part of another proposed intention of seeing the influence of Peruvian silver filigree involved in exchanges within Asia. Future research may further refine the connections I have suggested, based on visual analysis and Menshikova’s suggestion, and make a proposal clearer, or even more complex. In addition, I presented two other examples of Asian textiles that influenced Peruvian textiles and fashion in Peru, the Manton de Manila, from the Philippines, and the ikat textile from Ilimandi, Indonesia, (fig. 66), and the lligllas and paño de leche (fig. 67, 68), I argue that in the similar case to Asian textiles, Asian silver filigree influenced silver Peruvian filigree. One way of identifying Asian filigree in the Americas is through its patterns applied in the objects, and the development of Asian-European filigree work in the shape of chests.

Chapter 3 began with questioning the provenance of two different sets of cups. One set of cups made of coconut shells ornate with silver filigree handles, salvers and lid. (Fig. 25). The second set of cups made of local
Peruvian *jícara*, also with silver filigree handles, salver and lid. (Fig. 26). I compared silver filigree coconut cups attributed to Indian craftsmanship in the 17\(^{th}\) century against the silver filigree *jícaras* cups made with filigree in Peru in the 18\(^{th}\) century the Asian influence on the Peruvian design of filigree is clearly evident. First the replacement of coconut shell for a *jícara*, second, similar application of design in the *jícaras* set, however this design is more sophisticated than the Indian one. My research provides this information as a foundation from which other connections can be made; for example the development of Peruvian silver filigree chests based on Asian models in the 18th century in Ayacucho. I proposed that Spanish trade within its American colonies between 1580 to 1810, and migration of Europeans to Peru after 1830s further enhanced filigree practice in Peru.

My objective was to contextualize through visual analysis silver filigree developed in Peru. Further investigation in that direction could be also relevant to the study of silver filigree in Spain.

In chapter 3, I continued my visual analysis of silver filigree in Peru. I provided examples of Asian decorative objects, of Chinese and Indian provenance influencing Peruvian filigree objects, as discussed in the case studies. These case studies address visual similarities among objects from Asia that visually influenced filigree in Peru.

The first appearance of silver filigree objects in Peru is recorded in the 18th century. D'Harcourt, Lavalle, Del Busto and Wuffarden all agreed on this date. Nevertheless, as well as showing us how indigenous metalworkers of Peru reinterpreted filigree, it also served my purpose in proposing that Asian filigree influenced the shapes and objects in Peruvian filigree as in the case of the incense burners. What was distinctively Peruvian was the weave and pattern, and in some cases the figurative representation altogether. No other historian or researcher has explored or commented on this aspect of filigree.
Figure 78. Silver Filigree basket commissioned by Emperor Qianlong, as a retirement gift to one of his officials.
Palace Museum, Beijing, China
18th century

Figure 79. Silver Melon-ridge vase
Coiling grass pattern
Qianlong reign 1736-1795
Palace Museum, Beijing, China
Silver filigree in India was already in practice by the 11th century,\footnote{Oppi Untracht, \textit{Traditional Jewelry from India}, First ed. (New York: Harry N. Abrahams, 1997), 296.} and in Sumatra by 1760,\footnote{William Marsden, \textit{The History of Sumatra}, Second edition ed. (London: 1784).} and it was gifted formally to government officials on special occasions.\footnote{DIA, "Historia General De Los Viajes Tachard Ii Viaje 1687," \textit{Diario Noticioso Universal} Enero, Martes a 25 de 1774.} Therefore silver filigree objects were considered special in Asia from 17th century. Silver filigree gifts represented kings and Emperors during the 17th and 18th centuries. An example is Tachard's encounter with the pope and giving the gifts from the King of Siam in 1674. Another example is the filigree basket housed in the Palace Museum in Beijing, China, commissioned by Emperor Qianlong in 1765, and given as a retirement gift to one of his officials. (Figures 78, 79). As discussed above, scholars have dated silver filigree practice in Asia to the 11th century, and in Peru to the 18th century. If it was the case trade contributed to the development of silver filigree in the Americas, as it bears a strong resemblance to silver filigree from Asia, it was probably supported by Spanish silversmiths who also contributed to the development of silversmithing in Peru. Developing filigree in the Spanish American colonies may have been a way to respond to these 'exotic' objects imported from Asia. Spanish, Creole, mestizo and indigenous silver workers continued producing filigree, as later examples of Peruvian silver filigree attest. My speculation is that similarity of visual details applied in filigree first in the Spanish chest and second in the \textit{jicaras} cups represent an Asian influence in filigree that was introduced to the Americas. It is evident that in the \textit{jicaras} cups innovation was applied, as the style had some modifications. One can say, however, in the 18\textsuperscript{th} and 19th centuries, trade was a vehicle through which Asian objects were introduced to Spanish American colonies and then on-traded.

Two of the examples of the filigree objects used as case studies: the figurative incense burners and \textit{mistureros}, which as demonstrated became unique to Peru, illustrate the secular and religious function of the objects for which these were created. The most common religious procession in
which the incense burner can still be seen is at the Señor de Los Milagros, Lord of the Miracles, a religious procession held continuously in Lima every October since 1747, with the incense burners held by members of the congregation in the procession. A fragrant wood, palo santo, is burned during the procession. These new religious traditions contributed to the demand of objects in a new emerging society. Other objects like the jícaras with silver ornamentation, demonstrate how filigree was exquisitely replicated and improved in Peru from an Indian example of filigree. This demonstrates that filigree was a decorative technique applied to different objects for different purposes. These were not exclusively religious or secular in function, but rather both. These objects represent the integration of religious and secular traditions in one. These filigree incense burners and mistureros bridged both worlds. While the religious incense burners were indeed in circulation just as they are today, these objects are not solely associated with religious devotion or secular display, but rather with a distinctive regional folk craft technique to which filigree is now associated. In addition, it is often associated with a folk art sensibility, and considered a legacy of Spanish conquest.

Identifying filigree from China, India, and Peru gives a better understanding of its secular and religious purpose. In some instances it was commissioned by emperors, kings and viceroys and given away as a formal gift of the state in appreciation, in other instances it was made for commercial purposes to trade with the west. The context and its purposes merged in Peru creating a unique and distinctive style of filigree from the 18th century onwards. Whilst this technique at the present is considered a regional practice, its style of jewellery appeals more to the country folk of Peru, Peruvian artists chose to wear it internationally as a symbol of national identity. In the case of the filigree objects, these are displayed as a symbol of a colonial past and a Republican present that informs the future in which filigree makers do not hesitate to be part of by making tomorrow’s object. From imported objects and drawings from Asia, filigree in Peru was developed by local craftspeople and found its place in Peruvian folklore.
Illustration Credits

Map 1. Trade routes which filigree was transported 1600.

Map 2. Spanish American Empire circa 1700

Map 3. Spanish and Portuguese trade routes 18th century

Map 5. South East Asia. Region where filigree is practice.

Map 6. Map of India

Figure 1. Jar with Handles

Figure 2. Basin with landscape in Chinese style

Figure 3. Basin with strapwork and bobbin lace decoration

Figure 4. Desk resting on bufete

Figure 5. Tapestry with Pelican.

Figure 6-7 Tapestry with Mermaids and Unicorn.

Figure 8. Water Heater with internal brazier (*pava con hornillo*)

Figure 9. Incense burner (*Sahumador*)
Figure 10. Llama Incense burner  

Figure 11. Lion Incense burner  

Figure 12. Example of Spanish filigree from Cordoba 18th century  

Figure 14. Example of Indian Filigree from Goa, India  

Figure 17. Indian filigree patterns  

Figures 19-24 Depicting various Chinese designs also found in filigree  

Figure 25. Cups, Coconut shell and filigree  

Figure 26. Cups, *jícara* and silver filigree  

Figure 27. Different Cups. *Jícara* and silver  

Figure 28 *Piedra de Huamanga* Candleholder  

Figure 29 Another form of decoration *jícara* and gold plated silver.  

Figure 37. *Misturero*. Peru 18th century
Figure 39. Detail of painting depicting on the left hand a *misturero*


Figure 42. *Cruz de los Angeles*, Oviedo,
Image source: http://www.flickr.com/photos/9974897@N04/page3/

Figures 43 - 44. *Cruz de la Victoria*, Oviedo
Image source: http://espanaeterna.blogspot.com/2011/01/la-cruz-de-la-victoria-su-accidentada.html

Figure 45. *Deer Incense burner*

Figure 46. *Smiling Bull Incense burner*

Figure 49. *Rooster Incense burner*

Figure 50. *Chinese table decoration in the form of a pair of Stork or cranes*

Figure 54. *Three different zoomorphic incense burners from Iran, Khurasan 12th century CE.* Image source: JM Rogers, *The Arts of Islam, Treasures from the Nasser D. Khalili Collection*, 2007. P. 83

Figure 55. *Cast bronze incense burner in the shape of a lynx*

Figure 56, 57, 58 *Incense burners from Deccan, India, 15th century.*

Figure 62. *Chest 2 Hermitage Museum*

Figure 63- 64 *Example of Chinese filigree published in Diccionario De Artes y Manufacturas de Agricola y Minas. Vol. 4 P. 723*
Figure 66. Textile from Ilimandiri, Indonesia courtesy of www.indokain.com

Figure 67-68. Paño de Leche From Gaceta Cultural del Peru Instituto Nacional de Cultura November 2008. P. 6

Figure 71, 73, 74, Top left Chest 3, Middle chest 4, bottom chest 5, Image source: Mughal Silver Magnificence XVI-XIX. Antalga, 1987. Pages:152, 153, 154

Figure 72. Top right. Chest 6 Image source: Maria Menshikova. Silver Wonders from the East: The Filigree of the Tsars. Amsterdam: Lund Humphries, Hermitage Amsterdam, 2006. P. 46

Figure 75- 77 top Bekas Bunga ornament for bridal bed and filigree baskets. Image source: Ho Wing Meng Straits Chinese Silver, A Collectors Guide, Singapore Times Book International. 1984.P. 83-84

All other images by Ximena Natanya Briceño
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Appendix

Chronology of Historical Events
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kings of Spain</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Viceroy of Peru</th>
<th>Events in Peru</th>
<th>Events Around the world</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>1533-1536: Pizarro sets up Manco Inca as puppet ruler in Cuzco.</td>
<td>1533-1536: Pizarro sets up Manco Inca as puppet ruler in Cuzco.</td>
<td>1530s. Treadle looms imported into Mexico.</td>
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<td>1534: Rumiñahui leads Inka resistance against Spanish.</td>
<td>1534: Rumiñahui leads Inka resistance against Spanish.</td>
<td>mid 1530s. Brazil divided into captaincies.</td>
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<td>1535 Foundation of Lima, Peru</td>
<td>1535. Foundation of Lima, Peru</td>
<td>1531: Virgin of Guadalupe appears to Juan Diego on a hill outside of Mexico City.</td>
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<td>1537. First Peruvian see created, at Cuzco.</td>
<td>1537. First Peruvian see created, at Cuzco.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c.1540. First sugar mills built in Peru.</td>
<td>c.1540. First sugar mills built in Peru.</td>
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<td>1544. First viceroy, Blasco Núñez Vela, arrives in Peru. Revolt of Peruvian colonists, under Gonzalo Pizarro, begins.</td>
<td>1544. First viceroy, Blasco Núñez Vela, arrives in Peru. Revolt of Peruvian colonists, under Gonzalo Pizarro, begins.</td>
<td>1532. Vasco de Quiroga's first hospital, Santa Fe de los Altos, founded near Mexico City. Settlement at São Vicente (Brazil) by Martim Afonso de Sousa; settlement also inland, at Piratininga. 1535-1550: Antonio de Mendoza is named the first viceroy of New Spain.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>1545: Silver discovered at Cerro Rico, Potosi (Bolivia)</td>
<td>1545: Silver discovered at Cerro Rico, Potosi (Bolivia).</td>
<td>1535. Arrival in Mexico of the first, and founding, viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>1545. Silver ores found at Potosi.</td>
<td>1545. Silver ores found at Potosi.</td>
<td>1537: Pope Paul III decides Indians have souls.</td>
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<td>1549. Royal ban on servicio personal by Indians (i.e. the use of Indians in encomienda for labor).</td>
<td>1549. Royal ban on servicio personal by Indians (i.e. the use of Indians in encomienda for labor).</td>
<td>1540. Cortés returns to Spain from Mexico.</td>
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<td>1540. Cortés returns to Spain from Mexico.</td>
<td>1541. Foundation of Santiago de Chile; permanent Spanish settlement of Chile begins.</td>
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<td>1542: The Spanish Crown issues Las Nuevas Leyes (The New Laws) to protect the Indians.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year(s)</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<tr>
<td>1550-1552</td>
<td>Antonio de Mendoza, conde de Tendilla</td>
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<tr>
<td>1551</td>
<td>Universidad Mayor de San Marcos is founded in Lima by Dominican friars; oldest university in the Americas</td>
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<td>1550</td>
<td>Ricardo Palma wrote that in the 1550’s it was the “golden filigree” period for doctors.</td>
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<td>1552-1556</td>
<td>Melchor Bravo de Saravia, president of the Audiencia</td>
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<td>1550</td>
<td>Debate between Las Casas and Sepúlveda at Valladolid in Spain.</td>
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<td>c.1550</td>
<td>Beginning, in Mexico, of state-imposed draft labor by Indians.</td>
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<td>c.1555</td>
<td>Beginning of silver refining by amalgamation in Mexico.</td>
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<td>1550</td>
<td>Debate between Las Casas and Sepúlveda at Valladolid in Spain.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1551</td>
<td>The University of Mexico is founded.</td>
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<td>1555-67</td>
<td>French colony of “Antarctic France” at Rio de Janeiro.</td>
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</table>

- Antonio de Mendoza, conde de Tendilla:
  - According to Ricardo Palma (1863), gives a full account of cockfighting in colonial Lima, as well as profits.

- Universidad Mayor de San Marcos:
  - Founded in Lima by Dominican friars; oldest university in the Americas.

- Ricardo Palma:
  - Wrote that in the 1550’s it was the “golden filigree” period for doctors.

- Melchor Bravo de Saravia:
  - President of the Audiencia of the Indies to push the “New Laws” to reform treatment of Indians.

- Bartolomé de las Casas:
  - Named Bishop of Chiapas in southern Mexico.

- Silver ores:
  - Found at Zacatecas: start of mining in northern Mexico.

- Council of Trent:
  - Held in 1545-64.

- Death of Cortés:
  - In Spain, established at Guadalajara. Grammar of Nahuatl, the first of a Mexican language, produced by Andrés de Olmos, O.F.M.

- Tome de Sousa:
  - Appointed and installed as governor general of Brazil; foundation of town of Salvador (Bahia) as capital.

- Debate between Las Casas and Sepúlveda:
  - At Valladolid in Spain.

- French colony:
  - “Antarctic France” at Rio de Janeiro.
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<td>French colony of &quot;Antarctic France&quot; at Rio de Janeiro.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1556</td>
<td>Abdication of Charles V (died 1558). Accession to Spanish throne of Philip II.</td>
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<td>1557-72</td>
<td>Governorship of Mem de Sá.</td>
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<td>1559</td>
<td>Audiencia established at La Plata.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1560s</td>
<td>First serious epidemics of Old World diseases in Brazil.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1563</td>
<td>Audiencia established at Quito.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1565</td>
<td>Northerly return route from east Asia to America found by Andrés de Urdaneta.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1566</td>
<td>Death of Las Casas.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1566</td>
<td>Beginning of Dutch revolt against Spanish rule.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1556</td>
<td>Beginning of royally-approved sale of office (notarial positions) in Spanish America.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1568</td>
<td>First Jesuits in Spanish America, at Lima.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1569-81</td>
<td>Administration of Don Francisco de Toledo, fifth, but &quot;founding,&quot; viceroy of Peru.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1568</td>
<td>Silver refining by amalgamation begins at Potosí.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1570-1</td>
<td>Tribunal of the Inquisition set up in Lima (1570).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1571</td>
<td>Revolt of Tupac Amaru I in Peru.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1573</td>
<td>Ordinances for New Discovery and Settlement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1574</td>
<td>Ordinance of Patronage (Ordenanza del Patronazgo).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1575</td>
<td>Approximate starting date of period of roughly fifty years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year(s)</td>
<td>Event/Note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1581 - 1583</td>
<td>Direct trade between Manila &amp; Peru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1584</td>
<td>Cristóbal Ramírez de Cartagena, president of the Audiencia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1584 - 1589</td>
<td>Levy duties imposed on exports from Mexico to Peru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1589 - 1596</td>
<td>Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1596 - 1604</td>
<td>Luis de Velasco, marqués de Salinas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 16th Century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year(s)</th>
<th>Event/Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1598</td>
<td>Death of Philip II of Spain. Accession of Philip III.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1598-1621</td>
<td>1596 - 1604 Luís de Velasco, marqués de Salinas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1604 - 1606</td>
<td>Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acevedo, Count of Monterrey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1607</td>
<td>Diego</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1600s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year(s)</th>
<th>Event/Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1583</td>
<td>Audiencia established at Manila.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1588</td>
<td>Defeat of the Spanish Armada sent against England.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1590s</td>
<td>Rise of foreign incursions into the Caribbean.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>late 1590s</td>
<td>First Dutch settlers on Guiana coast of South America.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600s (i.e. 17th century):</td>
<td>rise of creole numbers, and creole participation in colonial affairs and government; growing weakness (economic, military, political) of Spain itself (though Spanish arts and literature flourish in the 'Golden Age', lasting until almost 1700); growing economic and administrative independence of the colonies; native populations in most regions begin to recover from declines in the 1500s; foreigners (French, Dutch, and English) begin to press on edges of the Spanish empire, particularly in the Caribbean. Dutch occupation of north-east Brazil, 1630-54.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600</td>
<td>Beginning of slave-raiding bandeiras from São Paulo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1606</td>
<td>Royal decree permitting purchase of almost all local offices. Beginning of silver boom at Oruro (lasting until c.1630).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1606</td>
<td>Founding of first Brazilian relação, at Salvador.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.1609-21</td>
<td>Truce between Spain and the Dutch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.1610</td>
<td>Three-roller sugar mill introduced into Brazil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1615</td>
<td>French finally driven away from Brazil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1621</td>
<td>Foundation of Dutch West India Company.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Philip IV 1605-1665**

King of Spain, Portugal & the Indies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1621</td>
<td>Death of Philip III of Spain. Accession of Philip IV.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1621-1665</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1621-1622</td>
<td>Juan Jiménez de Montalvo, president of the Audiencia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1622-1629</td>
<td>Diego Fernández de Córdoba, Marquis of Guadalcázar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1633</td>
<td>Beginning of sale of fiscal offices in Spanish America.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1621</td>
<td>Maranhão declared a separate “state” of Portuguese America. Dutch West India Company founded.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1624</td>
<td>English seize St Kitt’s in Leeward Islands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1628</td>
<td>Piet Heyn captures a Spanish treasure fleet off Cape Matanzas (Cuba).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1629 - 1639</td>
<td>Luis Jerónimo Fernández de Cabrera, conde de Chinchón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1639 - 1648</td>
<td>Pedro Álvarez de Toledo y Leiva, marqués de Mancera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1648 - 1655</td>
<td>García Sarmiento de Sotomayor, 2nd conde de Salvatierra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1655 - 1661</td>
<td>Luis Enriquez de Guzmán, conde de Alba de Liste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1661 - 1666</td>
<td>Diego de Benavides y de la Cueva, conde de Santisteban del Puerto</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| 1630 | Dutch capture of Recife: beginning of Dutch occupation of north east Brazil. |
| 1634 | Dutch seize Curaçao. |
| 1635 | French seize Martinique and Guadeloupe. |
| 1637-9 | Expedition of Pedro Teixeira from northern Brazil to Quito and back: Brazil’s boundary extended far westward. |
| 1637-44 | Brazilian administration of Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen. |
| 1640 | Portuguese revolt against Spanish rule. |
| c.1640 | Beginning of large-scale sugar planting in non-Spanish Caribbean islands. |
| 16487-95 | Life of Juana Ramirez de Asbaje (Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz). |
| 1649 | General Brazil Trading Company founded. |
| 1650-1700 | Large inland movement of cattle in Brazil. |
| 1654 | Dutch leave Brazil. |
| 1655 | English seize Jamaica. |
| 1660s | English settlement of mouth of Belize river. |
| 1661 | Revolt of citizens of São Luis against Jesuits. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1665</td>
<td>Death of Philip IV of Spain. Accession of Charles II. France sends official governor to Tortuga island; beginning of colony of St. Domingue, later Haiti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1666-1667</td>
<td>Bernardo de Iturriaza, president of the Audiencia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1667-1672</td>
<td>Pedro Antonio Fernández de Castro, conde de Lemos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1672-1674</td>
<td>Bernardo de Iturriaza, president of the Audiencia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1674-1678</td>
<td>Baltasar de la Cueva Enríquez, conde de Castellar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1678-1681</td>
<td>Melchor Liñán y Cisneros, archbishop of Lima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1681-1689</td>
<td>Melchor de Rocaull, duque de la Palata</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1669. Fortress built at São José de Rio Negro, at confluence of Negro and Solimões rivers.

1677. Sale of corregimientos and alcaldías mayores permitted.
<p>| 1689 - 1705 | Melchor Portocarrero Lasso de la Vega, conde de Monclova | Audiencia offices put up for sale. mid-1690s. |
| 1700 - 1746 | Philip V 1683-1746 King of Spain &amp; Indies | 1680-93. Revolt of Pueblo Indians in New Mexico. Gold found in Minas Gerais. |
| 1700. Death of Charles II, final Hapsburg ruler of Spain. | 1701. Accession of Philip V, first Bourbon king of Spain. | 1700s (i.e. eighteenth century): continued decline of Spain, now under heavy French political influence (as a result of replacement of Hapsburg royal dynasty by the French Bourbons in 1701); Spain consequently often drawn, behind France, into wars with England; in Spanish and Portuguese America, a 'century of reform' (or at least attempted reform), as Spain and Portugal try to tighten their control of the American colonies; pace of attempted reform (stricter administration, more efficient tax collection, redirection of trade towards Spain and Portugal), accelerates from 1770 onward; consequent resentment among creoles and other parts of the colonial populations feeds into movements for Independence after 1800. |
| 1705 - 1707 | Miguel Núñez de Sanabria, president of the Audiencia | c.1710. Zacatecas overtakes Potosí in silver production. |
| 1707 - 1710 | Manuel de Oms y de Santa Pau, marqués de Castelldosrius | |
| 1710 - 1716 | Diego Ladrón de Guevara | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1716</td>
<td>Mateo de la Mata Ponce de León, president of the Audiencia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1716</td>
<td>Diego Morcillo Rubio de Aunón, first time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1716-1720</td>
<td>Carmine Nicolao Caracciolo, principe de Santo Buono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1720-1724</td>
<td>Diego Morcillo Rubio de Aunón, second time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1717</td>
<td>Casa de Contratación moved from Seville to Cadiz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1720</td>
<td>Captaincy of Minas Gerais created. Abolition of General Brazil Trading Company. Chief executive in Brazil henceforth termed viceroy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1720s</td>
<td>Diamonds found in Minas Gerais.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1724</td>
<td>Founding of the Academy of the Forgotten (Academia Brasilica dos Esquecidos) at Salvador, first of several Brazilian intellectual academies of the the eighteenth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1728</td>
<td>Caracas (or Guipúzcoa) Company founded in Spain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1730</td>
<td>Mestizo-led rising at Cochabamba.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1736</td>
<td>Beginning of Juan Santos Atahualpa's rising in Peruvian Andes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1739</td>
<td>Viceroyalty of New Granada established.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1739</td>
<td>Rising at Oruro, opposing tax increases.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1739-48</td>
<td>Wars of Jenkins' Ear and of Austrian Succession.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sotomayor, marqués de Villagarcia</td>
<td>1745-1761 José Antonio Manso de Velasco, conde de Superunda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1742-1755: Revolt of Juan Santos Atahualpa &quot;the invincible&quot; in Peru.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1744. Captaincy of Goiás created.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1746. Our Lady of Guadalupe proclaimed patroness of New Spain.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fernando VI 1713-1759</th>
<th>Death of Philip V. Accession of Ferdinand VI.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1745 - 1761 José Antonio Manso de Velasco, conde de Superunda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1746: Major earthquake in Lima.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1748. Last sailing of galeones to Isthmus of Panama.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1748. Captaincy of Mato Grosso created.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1752. Relação of Rio de Janeiro created.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1755. Lisbon earthquake. Beginning of the reform program of the Marquis of Pombal: creation of Board of Trade, and of Pará and Maranhão Company.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1756-63. Seven Years' War.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Charles III 1716-1788</th>
<th>1759. Death of Ferdinand VI. Accession of Charles III.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1761 - 1776 Manuel de Amat y Juniet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1777: Arrival in Peru of José Antonio de Areche as general inspector.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1778. &quot;Regulations and Royal Tariffs for Free Trade</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1763. Capital of Brazil shifted from Salvador to Rio de Janeiro.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1764. First American ports opened to single ship trade. First intendant placed in America (Cuba).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1765. Rising in Quito against growing fiscal pressure.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1759-1788</td>
<td>Manuel de Guirior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1780-1784</td>
<td>Agustín de Jáuregui y Aldecoa</td>
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<tr>
<td>1778</td>
<td>Treaty of San Ildefonso, fixing southern boundaries of Brazil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1780-1781</td>
<td>Revolt led by Túpac Amaru II in Peruvian Andes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1780-1781</td>
<td>Indian revolt led by Tupac Amaru II in Upper Peru.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1788</td>
<td>Siege of La Paz (Bolivia) by Túpac Katari. Comunero revolt in New Granada.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801</td>
<td>Manuel Arredondo y Pelegrín, president of the Audiencia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801 - 1806</td>
<td>Gabriel de Avilés y del Fierro, marqués de Avilés</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1806 - 1816</td>
<td>José Fernando de Abascal y Sousa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Ferdinand VII 1784-1833 King of Spain & Indies
  - 1808. Abdication of Charles IV of Spain. Accession, exile, and abdication of Ferdinand VII. 1808-1814-1833
  - 1806 - 1816 José Fernando de Abascal y Sousa
  - 1816 - 1821 Joaquín de la Pezuela

- 1810: José Boqui arrives to Lima briefly, Italian silversmith with Spanish training, he comes back in 1814, and helps with the independence movement.
- 1821. San Martín named Protector of Peru.

- 1799-1803: German geographer Alexander von Humboldt explores Mexico and South America.
- 1803. Louisiana sold by Napoleon Bonaparte to the United States.
- 1804. Seizure by the crown of the church's obras pías in America.
- 1805. French-Spanish naval defeat at Trafalgar by Britain.
- 1806. Miranda tries, and fails, to start rebellion in Venezuela.
- 1807. Franco-Spanish invasion of Portugal.

- 1809. Risings in Buenos Aires and Quito.
- 1809-10. Independence declared in La Paz (Bolivia), but quickly suppressed by Spanish forces.
- 1810: Creoles establish ruling juntas in Caracas, Venezuela, Santiago, Chile, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1810-14</td>
<td>Deliberations of Cortes (Parliament) of Cadiz.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1811</td>
<td>Defeat, and execution, of Hidalgo in Mexico. Effective achievement of independence by Paraguay. French expelled from Portugal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>The priest Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla issues the “Grito de Dolores” in Mexico which begins the War of Independence against Spain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1811</td>
<td>Hidalgo is defeated and executed. José María Morelos y Pavón takes command of the insurrection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1811</td>
<td>Venezuela and Paraguay declare independence from Spain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1813</td>
<td>Morelos convokes the first Mexican Congress, which formally declares Mexican Independence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1812</td>
<td>Constitution of Cadiz.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1813</td>
<td>French expelled from Spain. Morelos captures Acapulco.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1814</td>
<td>Ferdinand restored to Spanish throne. First Mexican constitution issued, at Apatzingán.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1815</td>
<td>Final defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte. Execution of Morelos. Brazil raised to status of Navigation and Commerce between Great Britain and government in Brazil.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1821 - 1824 José de la Serna e Hinojosa (acting)

1824 - 1826 Juan Pío de Tristán y Moscoso (acting)

1923: Jose Boqui, Appointed director to the casa de La Moneda in Lima, returns to Genova taking wealthy possessions with him: "Velas, Buen Viento & hasta Genova."


1821: Agustín de Iturbide declares Mexico independent with his Plan of Iguala.

1815: Morelos is defeated and executed.

1815: Simón Bolívar forced to retreat to the island of Jamaica.

1816: Argentina declares independence.

1816. Death of Miranda.


1818. Battle of Maipú. Independence of Chile.


1822. Battle of Pichincha. Independence of Ecuador. Confidential meeting of Bolívar and San Martín at Guayaquil, and San Martín’s withdrawal from the independence movement. In Brazil, proclamation of Peter I as emperor, and independence.

1821: Agustín de Iturbide declares Mexico independent with his Plan of Iguala.
1822: King Pedro declares Brazil independent from Portugal.

1822-1823: Iturbide is proclaimed emperor in Mexico.

1823: A rebellion led by Antonio López de Santa Anna forces the abdication of Iturbide and the establishment of the Mexican Republic.
1823: United States issues the Monroe Doctrine which warning Europe against the recolonization of the newly independent Spanish American republics.

1825. Independence of Bolivia (end of Spanish dominion in South America).
1825: Bolivia declares independence.

1830: Gran Colombia splits into the separate countries of Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador.

1838: United Provinces of Central America breaks into five republics (Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Events in Peru</th>
<th>Events Worldwide</th>
<th>President of Peru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>July 28, 1821-September 20, 1822</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>José de San Martín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 20, 1822-September 22, 1822</td>
<td>1822: Minister Monteaugudo abolished the Cockfighting in the city of Lima.</td>
<td>Francisco Xavier de Luna Pizarro Indirect elections Interim caretaker</td>
<td>José La Mar Elected by Congress President of the Government Junta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 20, 1822-February 27, 1823</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>José Bernardo de Tagle, Marquis of Torre-Tagle Interim caretaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 27, 1823-February 28, 1823</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>José de la Riva Agüero Elected by Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 28, 1823-June 23, 1823</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Antonio José de Sucre Elected by Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 23, 1823-July 17, 1823</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>José Bernardo de Tagle, Marquis of Torre-Tagle Elected by Congress Supreme Delegate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 17, 1823-February 17, 1824</td>
<td></td>
<td>1823-1855: Period of Santa Anna in Mexico. 1824: The first Constitution of independent Mexico formally establishes a federal republic. 1825 Imperial Academy of Fine Art founded in Rio de Janeiro</td>
<td>Simón Bolívar Elected by Congress Liberator of Peru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 17, 1824-January 28, 1827</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Andrés de Santa Cruz Elected by Congress President of the Government Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 28, 1827-June 9, 1827</td>
<td>1827-8 Anglo-Brazilian treaty ending slave imports into Brazil (ineffective until 1851)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Manuel Salazar y Baquijano Elected by Congress Interim caretaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date Range</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Leader/Event</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 22, 1827 - June 7, 1829</td>
<td>Heirich Witt traveled to Huamanga aware of the reputation of Silver filigree, but did not buy anything as it took long to make; he left to Arequipa the next day. (Huamanga)</td>
<td>Jose La Mar Direct Elections</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 7, 1829 - September 1, 1829</td>
<td>Antonio Gutierrez de la Fuente Coup d'état</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| September 1, 1829 - December 20, 1833 | 1830 Death of Bolivar  
1830s: Rise of caudillos, self-interested military dictators backed by private armies.  
1831 Abdication of Peter I in Brazil  
1831-3 First modern factory built in Latin America (a powered cotton mill near Puebla in Mexico)  
1833: Santa Anna becomes President for the first of eleven times. | Agustin Gamarra Elected by Congress               |
| December 20, 1833 - December 21, 1833 | 1834: Father Blanco in his diary with President Obergoso mentions filigree makers with names in Huamanga. (Huamanga) | Francisco Xavier de Luna Pizarro Interim caretaker |
| December 21, 1833 - August 11, 1836 | 1836: The State of Texas declares its independence from Mexico and begins a war against the central government. Santa Anna is defeated by the Texans.  
1835 Academy of Painting and Sculpture founded in Caracas | Luis Jose de Orbegoso y Moncada Elected by Congress |
<p>| January 4, 1833 - April 24, 1834 | Ricardo Palma is born                                               | Pedro Pablo Bermudez Coup d'état                 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
<th>Person/Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>February 23, 1835- February 7, 1836</td>
<td>Provisional Supreme Ruler</td>
<td>Felipe Santiago Salaverry&lt;sup&gt;22&lt;/sup&gt; Coup d'étatSupreme Legislator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 11, 1836-August 25, 1838</td>
<td>1835-9 Confederation of Bolivia and Peru, under Santa Cruz</td>
<td>Andrés de Santa Cruz&lt;sup&gt;21&lt;/sup&gt; Supreme Protector of the Confederation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 25, 1838-November 18, 1841</td>
<td>1839: <em>El Comercio</em> newspaper is published in Lima, Peru.</td>
<td>Agustín Gamarra Elected by Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 18, 1841-August 16, 1842</td>
<td></td>
<td>Manuel Menéndez Interim caretaker President of the Government Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 16, 1842-October 17, 1842</td>
<td></td>
<td>Juan Crisóstomo Torrico Coup d'état</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 17, 1842-March 15, 1843</td>
<td></td>
<td>Francisco Vidal&lt;sup&gt;20&lt;/sup&gt; Coup d'état</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 15, 1843-March 20, 1843</td>
<td></td>
<td>Justo Figuerola Coup d'état</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 20, 1843-June 17, 1844</td>
<td></td>
<td>Manuel Ignacio de Vivanco Selfproclaimed President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 20, 1843-February 17, 1844</td>
<td></td>
<td>Domingo Nieto Selfproclaimed President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 17, 1844-August 10, 1844</td>
<td>1844-51 First presidency of Ramón Castilla in Peru (second, 1855-62)</td>
<td>Ramón Castilla Elected in replace of Domingo Nieto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 17, 1844-August 10, 1844</td>
<td></td>
<td>Domingo Elias Selfproclaimed President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 10, 1844-August 11, 1844</td>
<td></td>
<td>Manuel Menéndez Interim caretaker President of the Government Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 11, 1844-October 7, 1844</td>
<td></td>
<td>Justo Figuerola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date Range</td>
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<tr>
<td>October 7, 1844 - April 20, 1845</td>
<td>1845-8 Mexican-American War, ending with Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 20, 1845 - April 20, 1851</td>
<td>1845: Texas becomes part of the United States of America. 1846-1848: Mexican-American War, ending with the defeat of Mexico. 1847-1848: Maya Indians rebel against plantation owners in Yucatán, Mexico in what is known as the Caste War. 1848: Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo cedes northern half of Mexico to the U.S. 1850: Death of San Martin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 20, 1851 - January 5, 1855</td>
<td>1853: “Baile de la Victoria” in Tradiciones, Palma mentions de furniture from China &amp; Orient. Event hosted by Ramoncita, the daughter of Viceroy Abascal &amp; Sousa. 1861: Ricardo Palma exiles himself in Chile</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 5, 1855 - October 24, 1862</td>
<td>1855: U.S. filibuster William Walker and his mercenaries invade and occupy Nicaragua. Walker declares himself president, rules for 2 years, and is finally</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date Range</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Person/Position</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| October 24, 1862- April 3, 1863 | shot by a Honduran firing squad on September 12, 1860.  
1855-1876: Period of Benito Juárez in Mexico  
1857: A new and liberal Constitution is approved, preceded by a series of laws directly opposing the interests of the Church and Mexican conservatives.  
1860s Beginning of boom in Latin America  
1858-1861: The War of the Reform between Liberals and Conservatives.  
1861: The Conservatives are defeated. President Benito Juárez suspends payment of the foreign debt for two years. France, England, and Spain sign an agreement intended to compel Mexican payment of the debt.  
1862: The French Army, supported by Mexican Conservatives, invades Mexico. The War of the French Intervention begins. | Miguel de San Román  
Direct Elections |
| April 3, 1863-April 9, 1863 | Ricardo Palma publishes his *Anales de la Inquisicion* en Lima, and *Tradiciones Peruanas* were read by people. | Ramón Castilla  
Revolution Selproclaimed President |
| April 3, 1863- August 5, 1863 | 1863-7 Reign of the Archduke Maximilian as emperor of Mexico  
Pedro Diez Canseco  
Interim caretaker  
Second Vicepresident |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>August 5, 1863- April 25, 1865</th>
<th>1863-70 War of the Triple Alliance</th>
<th>Juan Antonio Pezet First Vicepresident</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1864: The French Army and Mexican Conservatives establish the Second Mexican Empire, crowning the Austrian archduke Maximilian von Hapsburg emperor of Mexico. 1864-70: War of the Triple Alliance between Paraguay, Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay. 1864-70: Period of Mariano Melgarejo in Bolivia.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 25, 1865- June 24, 1865</td>
<td>1867: The Liberal armies defeat the Empire. Maximilian is executed. Juárez reestablishes the Republic.</td>
<td>Mariano Ignacio Prado Coup d'état</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 24, 1865- November 8, 1865</td>
<td>1870s Beginning of large (especially southern European emigration to Latin America (continuing until early twentieth century). Revival of foreign lending to, and investment in, Latin America. Start of major railway building, and of industrialization in form of small factories. Beginnings of organized labor. Rising influence of positivism 1868-78: Independence movements in Cuba and Puerto Rico lead to the Ten Years' War in Cuba.</td>
<td>Pedro Diez Canseco Interim caretaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 8, 1865- November 28, 1865</td>
<td>1868-78: Independence movements in Cuba and Puerto Rico lead to the Ten Years' War in Cuba.</td>
<td>Pedro Diez Canseco Interim caretaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 28, 1865- January 8, 1868</td>
<td>1868-78: Independence movements in Cuba and Puerto Rico lead to the Ten Years' War in Cuba.</td>
<td>Pedro Diez Canseco Interim caretaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 8, 1868- August 2, 1868</td>
<td>1870s Beginning of large (especially southern European emigration to Latin America (continuing until early twentieth century). Revival of foreign lending to, and investment in, Latin America. Start of major railway building, and of industrialization in form of small factories. Beginnings of organized labor. Rising influence of positivism 1868-78: Independence movements in Cuba and Puerto Rico lead to the Ten Years' War in Cuba.</td>
<td>Pedro Diez Canseco Interim caretaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date Range</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Leader/Event</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 2, 1868- July 22, 1872</td>
<td>1869: Industrial Exhibition in Lima. (Exposicion Industrial de Lima)</td>
<td>José Balta Direct Elections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1872: Ricardo Palma publishes the first Tradiciones Peruanas. From</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1868-1872, he became the First secretary.</td>
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<td>1870: Rise of Republican party in Brazil</td>
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<td>1871: &quot;Free-womb&quot; law in Brazil</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1872: Death of Juárez. Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada becomes President of</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 22, 1872- July 26, 1872</td>
<td>Tomás Gutiérrez Coup d'état Supreme Leader of the Nation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 26, 1872- July 27, 1872</td>
<td>Francisco Diez Canseco Interim caretaker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 27, 1872- August 2, 1872</td>
<td>Mariano Herencia Zevallos Interim caretaker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 2, 1872- August 2, 1876</td>
<td>1872: Peru takes part of the Universal Exhibition in Paris. (Exposicion Universal de Paris) where a portion is dedicated to filigree</td>
<td>Manuel Pardo Direct Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 2, 1876- December 23, 1879</td>
<td>1879-84: War of the Pacific involves Chile, Peru, Bolivia.</td>
<td>Mariano Ignacio Prado Direct Elections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 23, 1879- November 28, 1881</td>
<td>1877: Beginning of Porfriato (the age of Porfirio Diaz) in Mexico</td>
<td>Nicolás de Piérola Coup d'état Commander in Chief of the State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 12, 1881- September 28, 1881</td>
<td>1876: Porfirio Diaz overthrows Lerdo de Tejada and becomes President in Mexico. He will reelect himself seven times, and his dictatorship, the &quot;Porfiriato&quot; (1876-1911), will last thirty-four years.</td>
<td>Francisco García Calderón Elected by Congress Chilean Occupation (Lima) Provisional President of the Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date Range</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Person(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 28, 1881- November 6, 1881</td>
<td>Lizardo Montero Flores Congress Chilean Occupation (Arequipa) Provisional President of the Republic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 6, 1881- December 25, 1882</td>
<td>Andrés Avelino Cáceres Selfproclaimed Chilean Occupation (Central Peru) President of the Republic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 6, 1881- December 25, 1882</td>
<td>Ricardo Palma becomes director of the National Library of Peru (1884-1912)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 3, 1885- June 5, 1885</td>
<td>Miguel Iglesias Elected by Congress Chilean Occupation (Cajamarca Regenerator President of the Republic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 5, 1886- August 10, 1890</td>
<td>1886 Abolition of slavery Cuba 1886-1888 Abolition of slavery in Brazil 1887 Statue of Cuauhtemoc erected in Mexico City 1889 Abdication of Pedro II in Brazil Brazil proclaimed a republic.</td>
<td>Andrés Avelino Cáceres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 10, 1890- April 1, 1894</td>
<td>1892: Nation Exposition in Lima (Exposicion Nacional de Lima)</td>
<td>Remigio Morales Bermúdez</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1, 1894- August 10, 1894</td>
<td>Justiniano Borgoño Interim caretaker President of the Government Junta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 10, 1894- March 20, 1895</td>
<td>Andrés Avelino Cáceres Direct Elections Constitutional President</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date Range</td>
<td>Person</td>
<td>Position</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 20, 1895- September 8, 1895</td>
<td>Manuel Candamo</td>
<td>Interim caretaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 8, 1895- September 8, 1899</td>
<td>Nicolás de Piérola</td>
<td>Direct Elections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 8, 1899- September 8, 1903</td>
<td>Eduardo López de Romañá</td>
<td>Direct Elections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 8, 1899- September 8, 1903</td>
<td>Eduard Lopez de Romañá</td>
<td>Direct Elections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 8, 1903- May 7, 1904</td>
<td>Manuel Candamo</td>
<td>Direct Elections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 7, 1904- September 24, 1904</td>
<td>Serapio Calderón</td>
<td>Interim caretaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 24, 1904- September 24, 1908</td>
<td>José Pardo y Barreda</td>
<td>Direct Elections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 24, 1908- September 24, 1912</td>
<td>Augusto B. Leguía y Salcedo</td>
<td>Direct Elections</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 1901: Platt Amendment to Cuba's new constitution gives the U.S. unilateral right to intervene in the island's political affairs.
- 1903: United States engineers Panama's separation from Colombia.
- 1903-1904: Theodore Roosevelt's Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine declares the U.S. to be the policeman of the Caribbean.
- 1904-14: Panama Canal built.
- 1909-33: U.S. Marines occupy Nicaragua, Haiti, and Dominican Republic.
who is later murdered. Venustiano Carranza leads a rebellion against Huerta. After the victory, the Revolutionaries fight among themselves. The forces led by Carranza defeat Francisco (Pancho) Villa and Emiliano Zapata. Carranza becomes President and convokes a new Constitutional Convention.

1911 End of Porfirato in Mexico. Madero assumes presidency

| September 24, 1912- February 4, 1914 | Guillermo Billinghurst  
Direct Elections  
Constitutional President |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| February 4, 1914- August 18, 1915   | Óscar Benavides  
Coup d'état |
| August 18, 1915- July 4, 1919      | José Pardo y Barreda  
Direct Elections  
Constitutional President |

- 1914: US forces shell and then occupy Vera Cruz, Mexico.
- 1916: Pancho Villa raids Columbus, New Mexico
- 1917: Zimmermann Telegram revealed in which Germany offers to help Mexico recover territory lost to the US in exchange for support in the First World War.
- 1917: A new Constitution is issued. Carranza becomes Constitutional President.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Leader/Party</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1927: Raoul d'Hartcourt writes L'Argenterie Peruvianne</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1928: José Carlos Mariátegui publishes Seven Interpretative Essays on Peruvian Reality</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 25, 1930- August 27, 1930</td>
<td>1919: Zapata is assassinated.</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1920s: Rising political influence of working class in most of Latin America.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>United States now the dominant financial and economic influence in Latin America.</td>
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<tr>
<td>September 1, 1930- August 27, 1930</td>
<td>1920: Carranza is overthrown and dies in an ambush. New elections lead to the presidency of Álvaro Obregón.</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1926-1929: Conflicts between the government and the hierarchy of the Catholic Church lead to the Cristero Rebellion, a widespread revolt in central and western Mexico.</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 27, 1930- March 1, 1931</td>
<td>1927: Augusto César Sandino launches first Sandinista uprising in Nicaragua.</td>
<td>Nicaraguan</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1929: Plutarco Calles establishes the National Revolutionary Party (later the PRI) which then rules Mexico as a one-party state for the next seventy years.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1929: Conservatives grant women the right to vote in Ecuador, the first country in Latin America to do so.</td>
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<td>August 27, 1930- March 1, 1931</td>
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<td>Event Description</td>
<td>President/Leader</td>
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<tr>
<td>March 1, 1931- March 5, 1931</td>
<td>Coup d'état</td>
<td>Ricardo Leoncio Ellas Arias</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2nd President of the Provisional Government Junta</td>
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<tr>
<td>March 5, 1931- March 11, 1931</td>
<td>Coup d'état</td>
<td>Gustavo Jiménez</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3rd President of the Provisional Government Junta</td>
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<tr>
<td>March 11, 1931- December 8, 1931</td>
<td>Interim caretaker</td>
<td>David Samanez Ocampo</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>President of the Southern Junta</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>December 8, 1931- April 30, 1933</td>
<td>1932: A peasant uprising in El Salvador leads to the death of 30,000 Indians.</td>
<td>Luis Miguel Sánchez Cerro</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1932: Women gain the franchise in Brazil, Puerto Rico, and Uruguay.</td>
<td>Direct Elections</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1932-1935: Chaco War between Bolivia and Paraguay leads to costly defeat for Bolivia.</td>
<td>Constitutional President</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 30, 1933- December 8, 1939</td>
<td>1933: FDR announces &quot;Good Neighbor Policy.&quot;</td>
<td>Oscar Benavides</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1934: U.S. abrogates the Platt Amendment of 1901 which governed Cuba. Women gain the right to vote in Cuba.</td>
<td>Elected by Congress</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1936-1979: Somoza era in Nicaragua.</td>
<td>Constitutional President</td>
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<td>1937-1945: Getulio Vargas era in Brazil.</td>
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<td>1938: Lázaro Cárdenas nationalizes the</td>
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<td>Date Range</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| December 8, 1939- July 28, 1945 | 1940: The First Inter-American Indigenist Congress held in Pátzcuaro, Mexico leads to the formation of the Instituto Indigenista Interamericana (III).  
1942: Women gain the franchise in the Dominican Republic.  
1944: Guatemalan revolution overthrows Jorge Ubico. Juan José Arévalo elected president.  
1945: Women gain the franchise in Guatemala and Panama. | Manuel Prado y Ugarteche  
Direct Elections  
Constitutional President |
| July 28, 1945- October 29, 1948 | 1946: Emilio Harth Terre writes *Un Taller de Platería en 1650*  
1946: Juan Domingo Perón elected president of Argentina.  
1947: Women gain the franchise in Argentina and Venezuela.  
1948: Organization of American States formed. | José Luis Bustamante y Rivero  
Direct Elections  
Constitutional President |
| October 29, 1948- June 1, 1950 | 1948: Costa Rica abolishes army.  
1949: Women gain the franchise in Chile | Manuel Odria  
Coup d'état |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
<th>Leader</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| June 1, 1950- July 28, 1950 | 1955: Women have the right to vote in Peru  
1950: Jacobo Arbenz elected president in Guatemala. Pace of reforms accelerates, including expropriation of United Fruit Company banana lands.  
1950: Women gain the franchise in El Salvador.  
1952: Puerto Rico becomes a U.S. Commonwealth.  
1952: The National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) comes to power in Bolivia. Under the leadership of Víctor Paz Estenssoro, tin mines are nationalized and the next year an agrarian reform program is instituted. Women and illiterate peasants gain the right to vote. | Zenón Noriega Agüero  
Interim caretaker  
Manuel Odria  
Direct Elections  
Constitutional President |
| July 28, 1950- July 28, 1956 | 1955: Women have the right to vote in Peru  
1950: Jacobo Arbenz elected president in Guatemala. Pace of reforms accelerates, including expropriation of United Fruit Company banana lands.  
1950: Women gain the franchise in El Salvador.  
1952: Puerto Rico becomes a U.S. Commonwealth.  
1952: The National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) comes to power in Bolivia. Under the leadership of Víctor Paz Estenssoro, tin mines are nationalized and the next year an agrarian reform program is instituted. Women and illiterate peasants gain the right to vote. |  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>Fidel Castro launches a failed uprising at the Moncada Barracks in Santiago, Cuba. He defends his actions with a speech <em>History Will Absolve Me</em>.</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>Women gain the franchise in Mexico.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>CIA overthrows constitutional government of Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala.</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>General Stroessner comes to power in Paraguay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>Women gain the franchise in Colombia.</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>Women gain the franchise in Honduras, Nicaragua.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Triumph of Cuban Revolution. CIA plots to depose or assassinate Fidel Castro in what is eventually named &quot;Operation Mongoose.&quot;</td>
<td>1960-</td>
<td>CIA plots to depose or assassinate Fidel Castro in what is eventually named &quot;Operation Mongoose.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Eisenhower administration breaks diplomatic relations with Castro in Cuba.</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Failed Bag of Manuel Prado y Ugarteche Direct Elections Constitutional President</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date Range</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>July 18, 1962- March 3, 1963</td>
<td>Ricardo Pérez Godoy Coup d'état 1st President of the Military Junta</td>
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<tr>
<td>March 3, 1963- July 28, 1963</td>
<td>Nicolás Lindley 2nd President of the Military Junta</td>
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<tr>
<td>July 28, 1963- October 3, 1968</td>
<td>Fernando Belaúnde Terry Direct Elections Constitutional President</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1961: Paraguay becomes the last country in Latin America to grant women the right to vote.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1961: Nicaraguan guerrillas organize the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).</td>
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<tr>
<td>1961-69: Kennedy’s Alliance for Progress tries to bring reform and development to Latin America.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1961: Nicaraguan guerrillas organize the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).</td>
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<tr>
<td>1967: Guerrilla hero Ernesto “Che” Guevara is killed in Bolivia while attempting to spark a revolutionary uprising.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1967: Colombian Gabriel García Márquez publishes <em>One Hundred Years of Solitude</em> which becomes Latin</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
America's most famous novel and a classic example of magical realism. Guatemalan Miguel Ángel Asturias awarded the Nobel Prize in literature.

1968: A large and important Student Movement ends with police and army massacring on students at the Plaza of Tlatelolco in Mexico City.

1968: Latin American bishops meeting in Medellín, Colombia, embrace liberation theology and announce a 'preferential option for the poor.'

October 3, 1968- August 30, 1975

1967: Madeleine Hartog Bell becomes Miss World. Wears the traditional earrings from Catacaos: Dormilonas.

1970: Salvador Allende in Chile elected president in Chile, and becomes the first democratically elected socialist to take power in Latin America.

1971: Chilean Pablo Neruda awarded the Nobel Prize in literature.

August 30, 1975- July 28, 1980

1977: Roger Ravines edited Tecnología

1975: Cuban government passes law making childcare and housework equal

Juan Velasco Alvarado
1st President of the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces.

Francisco Morales Bermúdez
2nd President of the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Andina</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May 18th, 1980: Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso) guerrilla warfare starts in Peru.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government of the Armed Forces</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| June 1976: On March 24, generals Videla, Massera and Agosti form a military junta in Argentina. Their resulting “guerra sucia” (Dirty War) lasted until 1983 and killed or “vanished” thousands of people. |

| 1977-80: President Jimmy Carter makes human rights a major goal in his Latin American policy. |

| 1979: Sandinistas take power in Nicaragua |

|---|

| 1982: British victory in the Malvinas/Falklands war leads to the collapse of the military government in Argentina and a return to civilian rule. |

| 1982: Colombian Gabriel García Márquez awarded the Nobel Prize in literature. |

| 1983: Assassination of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop of Grenada. Ronald Reagan orders U.S. forces to invade the small Caribbean island to halt Cuban invasion. |
**July 28, 1985 - July 28, 1990**

1984: Raul Alfonsin, of the Radical Party, assumes the presidency of Argentina ending nine years of military rule.

1986: Indigenous groups in Ecuador form CONAIE, a pan-Indian organization.

1987: Former Costa Rican president Oscar Arias is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts in settling Central American conflicts.

1988: Pinochet loses plebiscite in Chile which was to extend his military rule.

1989: The PRI uses electoral fraud to prevent Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas of gaining the presidency in Mexico.

1989: General Stoessner ousted from power in Paraguay.

1989: George Bush orders invasion of Panama to capture one-time dictator Manuel Noriega.

**July 28, 1990 - November 22, 2000**

1990: FSLN loses elections to Violeta Chamorro in Nicaragua and an elected civilian government takes over from Augusto Pinochet in Chile.


1993: Coup d'état ousts Fujimori from power.


1997: Fujimori wins election.

2000: Fujimori wins election.

2001: Fujimori ousts himself from power.

2006: Fujimori wins election.

1992: Peace agreement ends civil war in El Salvador.

1994: U.S., Mexico, and Canada form NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement.

1994: A rebellion breaks out in the southern state of Chiapas, Mexico, led by the Zapatista Army of National Liberation and commanded by a charismatic leader known as Subcomandante Marcos. (For more detailed information, see this Chronological history of the peace talks between the EZLN and the Mexican government, 1994-1998.)

1996: Peace agreement in Guatemala, but human rights violations continue.


1999: Transfer of the Canal Zone from U.S. to Panamanian control.

November 22, 2000- July 28, 2001

Valentin Paniagua
Elected by Congress
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>President</th>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Election Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>July 28, 2001- July 28, 2006</td>
<td>Alejandro Toledo</td>
<td>Interim caretaker</td>
<td>Direct Elections</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>President elected</td>
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<tr>
<td>July 28, 2006-Present</td>
<td>Alan Garcia Pérez</td>
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<td>Direct Elections</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>President elected</td>
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</tbody>
</table>