



COLNAGHI
Est. 1760

JAIME EGUIGUREN
ART & ANTIQUES



Discovering
Viceregal Latin American
Treasures

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Puente de la Mariscala,

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Project and Direction
Jaime Eguiguren and Ariel Yu Shi

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Discovering Viceroyal Latin American Treasures

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Preface

When I mounted my first exhibition focused on treasures from the New World in 2011, there was a sense that we were playing our part in galvanising interest in what has been an oft overlooked category. The enthusiastic reception that that exhibition received, and subsequent moves within institutions to engage with historic Latin American and Central American art works in their care, have given me great confidence in the appetite of art lovers around the world to learn more about these treasures. In order to curate this year's exhibition of the very best examples of vice regal painting, sculpture and craftsmanship, it was only natural work with my friend, and a great expert in this field, Jaime Eguiguren, with whom it is Colnaghi's privilege to partner in this exhibition.

Given the diplomatic ties and close cultural exchange between Spain and The New World it is unsurprising that such a wealth of treasures of Latin American manufacture are to be found in private collections throughout the Iberian peninsula. It has been our pleasure to work with collectors there to curate a selection of works that we hope will be representative of both the breath of the skills of Latin American artists and artisans during the Viceregal period, but will also showcase the exceptionally high quality of their work.

We hope that this exhibition will continue to build upon the discourse around this field that is underway courtesy of many of the great American institutions. Exhibitions that have focussed on this field include *Arts of the Spanish Americas, 1550–1850* at the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Art in 2002; *The Grandeur of Viceregal Mexico: Treasures from the Museo Franz Mayer* which was curated in collaboration with the Museum of Fine Arts Houston, and toured the United States in 2002, stopping in Houston, San Diego, and Wilmington, Delaware; *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life, 1521–1821*, Denver Art Museum, 2004, curated by Donna Pierce and later shown at the Meadows Museum, Dallas; *Latin American Colonial Art* in Philadelphia in 2006; *Glitterati:*

Portraits and Jewelry from Colonial Latin America was also at Denver Art Museum which ran from 2014–2017, and *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World*, curated by Ilona Katzew at LACMA in 2011. The desire of these institutions, and others such as the Getty and San Antonio Museum of Art to name but a few, to showcase their Latin American treasures from the Viceregal period has reassuringly led to the creation of new departments and new curatorial roles in this field. The path has also opened up for exhibitions on single artists: The Metropolitan Museum's 2017 show dedicated to the Mexican painter of Spanish descent, Cristóbal de Villalpando (1649–1714), is a case in point.

What had felt like a blossoming of interest, now feels like a more global, and very current concern. There appears to me to have never been such an important time to celebrate the splendours of Latin American art, and to vouch for its cultural significance among not only the many diverse Americans, but also to the rest of the world. We find ourselves opening this exhibition in the early Summer of 2021; the world is not yet herself after what has been a most extraordinary and difficult year. In order to be able to share as many of these important works of art with as many of Colnaghi's friends and clients as we possibly can, we have produced this catalogue, which I hope you will enjoy. The works will be available to view across all three of Colnaghi's galleries, in London, New York and in Madrid. We look forward to welcoming you, and to hearing your thoughts on our exhibition.

Jorge Coll

Preface

America, and the illustrious Museo del Prado is showing clear signs that it will, in the near future, be preparing a room exclusively for displays of these extraordinary works of art that are ultimately just as Spanish as they are American, given the artistic output of the viceregal period was undertaken jointly by Spaniards and indigenous natives. It is equally to be expected that European museums will also discover these marvellous works, and that some examples of these wonders from the Americas will join their collections.

Discovering Viceregal Latin American Treasures is the first exhibition of this magnitude based on a private initiative. It starts with a group of remarkable pre-Columbian sculptures, a culture which exerted a core influence on the arts subsequently created in the Americas, and continues with some extraordinary works of art from Mexico, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Brazil and Colombia. The Philippines and Japan are also present, due to the enormous stylistic influence they had on New World art.

I would particularly like to express my gratitude to Jorge Coll and Victoria Golembiovskaya, who supported and had faith in me from the very moment I presented this project to them, to Gonzalo Eguiguren, who had the vision, some years ago, to introduce me into the world of viceregal art, and to Ariel Yu Shi, for whom everything is possible, and whose unconditional support made it possible for this magnificent project to come together. I would also like to thank Vivian Velar de Irigoyen and Sofía Fernández Lázaro for their collaboration.

Jaime Eguiguren

This book is an illustrated companion to the exhibition *Discovering Viceregal Latin American Treasures*, jointly presented by Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques and Colnaghi, being the fruit of years of work, research and investigation. This publication constitutes the culmination of a longstanding project, into which we have put all our energy and knowledge, with the purpose of making a significant contribution to the dissemination of viceregal art in all its astonishing wonder. Viceregal art is the result of the coming together of two relatively incompatible civilizations with different artistic models; on the one hand native American cultures, and on the other Western culture, predominately Spanish, who initially settled in great numbers, with the clear intention of homogenizing the native peoples through language and evangelization. Over the years, however, indigenous artforms developed, giving rise to an extraordinary phenomenon of cultural syncretism through the joining of two peoples. The attributions of the works of art we are presenting here are supported by formal studies with full-page images, enabling the reader to enjoy a surprisingly visual experience in which both art and beauty come together. This book is the fruit of a herculean effort, motivated by passion and love for New World art, perhaps somewhat side-lined over the centuries, but which is now attracting an increasing amount of interest from collectors and museums the world over. The works originating from the Viceregal Americas possess that exuberant magic so characteristic of the Latin American spirit.

American museums show genuine interest in acquiring significant works produced in the New World, and displaying them in their galleries, not to mention organizing major exhibitions for the purposes of raising the profile of this highly characteristic and refined art, which through its depictions transmits the very essence of the millenary indigenous spirit, whose artists were so skilled at adapting to Western requirements, leaving a mark that would live on through the ages. In Madrid, the Museo de América has amassed valuable works from Latin

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Introduction

Whereas in Europe Christianity was a shared ideology, the multiple artistic experiences of the Americas were a reflection of heterogeneous societies with varying levels of development with regard to the subjects depicted, their *forms*, the techniques employed and the use of materials. This interaction would give rise to a multiple and modern society that expressed itself through a unique hybridism taking shape in a diverse cultural corpus depending on each region.

Although art in the Americas invites certain parallels with what was arriving from the West in terms of techniques, subject matters and rhetorical tendencies, it continued to keep its distance with regard to form. In spite of the aforementioned influences, painting, for instance, reflects *regional identity*, being the condition by which it accepted, projected and resolved part of its cultural needs. Visual art served to reflect specific social structures, where aesthetic and technical differences might not necessarily be brought to bear. The result of these tensions between culture and the visual arts would give rise to the choice of subjects belonging to each region.

After the Kingdom of Cuzco (1200–1438), the Inca Empire (1438–1533) ruled Andean territory, while at much the same time (1430–1521) the Aztec Empire was flourishing in Mexico. Both followed on from the great empires that preceded them. The civilizations of Tiwanaco, the Chimú and the Nazca in Peru, and the

Maya Civilization in Mexico, while these descended from intermediary cultures and the latter from archaic ones, from which ceramic and sculptural remains have survived to this day, and from which the subsequent societies inherited their agricultural practices.¹ Given the enormous importance of these primitive cultures we have, out of reverence and respect, included certain exquisite Pre-Columbian pieces in the exhibition we are presenting here. We can but play homage to these extraordinary, and always unknown, artists who inhabited the Americas and who served as inspiration in the development of the burgeoning new art that took shape after the Hispanic conquest. When Western man arrived in the Americas, he discovered a vast continent rich in biodiversity, but also inhabited by a diverse range of cultures and civilizations, the most advanced of which had evolved into advanced societies with well-differentiated forms of both customs and beliefs, as well as systems of social organization.

Of the existing texts dealing with the discovery of, and life in, the Americas following the arrival of the Spanish, there are numerous known examples recorded by professional authors such as historians, members of the religious orders and employees of the Crown, presenting fluent vocabularies and writing styles. In addition, there are the witness accounts of the conquistadors themselves and their soldiers, lacking perhaps in literary skills of note but providing faithful first-hand versions of the events.

In the *Second Letter of Relation* from Hernán Cortés (1485–1547) (Fig. 1) to the Emperor Charles V, he revealed the admiration felt by the first Spanish conquistadors when they came upon the Aztec culture. Sophisticated, well-organized and highly advanced artistically, socially and religiously, it would continue to leave its mark on the art that developed in the Americas (Fig. 2). Among many other things, Cortés mentions a province called Culúa, where there were “Grandes ciudades y maravillosos edificios y enormes riquezas” (Great cities and marvelous buildings and enormous riches), and he talks of the “Grandísimo señorío de Motezuma, rey de Tenutzitlan...” (Great dominion of Moctezuma, King of Temixtitlan...), and of his rites and ceremonies. Cortés writes that, despite the fact that



Fig. 1 Diego Durán (1537–c. 1588), *La Malinche or Doña Marina translates to Hernán Cortés what Tillancalqui says*, in “Historia de las Indias de Nueva España e Islas de tierra firme”, Cap. LXXI, 1579, manuscript. Biblioteca Nacional de España.



the natives were estranged from the Catholic faith, not knowing it, their form and way of life were comparable to the customs of Spain in terms of good manners and refinement. The same wonder and amazement was voiced by the conquistadors who discovered the Inca Empire (1438–1533). In the book *“Relation of the Discovery and Conquest of the Kingdoms of Peru”* (1571), Pedro Pizarro speaks of Atahualpa’s personal habits, his refinement and his enormous powers, making reference here to the respect the untouchable Lord Atahualpa (1500–1533) inspired in his people, and revealing the divine nature of said emperor.

We can only imagine what that amazing lost world was like, a world which, among other marvels, the “mestizo” nicknamed the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (1539–1616) describes in his book *Royal Commentaries of the Incas* as featuring gardens including every sort of animal sculpted in silver and gold, as well as plants and flowers all for the visual enjoyment of the sovereign. Subsequently, both in New Spain and in the Peruvian Viceroyalty, the contact between the Spanish and the indigenous natives gave rise to the gradual creation of an art that was, at times, syncretic, developing its own nuances and additional elements aligned with native idiosyncrasies that would be increasingly reflected over the course of the centuries, with the inclusion of autochthonous floral and plant motifs, along with both real and fantastical animals and exuberant landscapes.

As a result of the extraordinary clash of cultures following Christopher Columbus’ arrival in the New World in 1492 (Fig. 3), over the years the Viceregal Americas would take shape, giving rise to certain artistic expressions that were born of the coming together of elements inherited from native local art and the dominant Western influences. This resulted in a new Latin American aesthetic with a boundless collective artistic imagination and unlimited possibilities, resulting primarily from Western influences represented by the Spanish, but running in tandem alongside age-old native indigenous cultural heritages that developed at different times and in geographical conditions that were totally different to those of the West. This artistic rebirth was reflected in the awakening of a new hybrid society.

During the process of acculturation, the inclusion, by the indigenous natives, of the varying popular and medieval elements was quickly taken up and met little resistance. This acceptance was greatest success of the Spaniards, greatest success, thereby incorporating the social customs of European culture into native life. One example often mentioned bearing out this high level of cultural assimilation is theater, which already existed in certain indigenous cultures, and which rapidly took root in native communities largely due to its use by missionaries as a means of propagating the Catholic faith.

A large part of artistic activity fell under the guidelines of the Catholic Church, which represented the Spanish Crown, aimed at creating religious images, thereby ensuring, in the words of Vargas Lugo, that the “numerous, diverse and multi-colored population of different cultures, intelligences, sensitivities and richness” had access to the “message of the Church through the very object that transmitted it; a specific sort of artwork”.²



Fig. 2 Friedrich Peypus (1485–1534), *Map of Tenochtitlan*, printed in Nuremberg. Newberry Library, Chicago

The political efforts of the Catholic Queen Isabella were decisive to the social history of Latin America. Although it barely sounds plausible today, the issue of the humanity of the indigenous population was at that time very much virgin territory and was the first subject up for debate, encouraging the action taken by Rome by which the Spanish Crown was granted a number of Papal Bulls confirming the evangelical nature of the Spanish colonial mission. The status bestowed on indigenous natives as subjects of the Crown, giving them the same rights as Spaniards, partly fulfilled the function of protecting them from the growing slave market, while also encouraging *mestizaje* between the Spanish and indigenous populations.

Fray Bartolomé de las Casas (c. 1484–1566) wrote that one of the periods of greatest injustice and least freedom for indigenous society came after Isabella’s death in 1504, “...porque Su Alteza no cesaba de encargar que se tratase a los indios con dulzura y se emplearan todos los medios para hacerlos felices”. (...because Her Highness was untiring in urging that the natives be treated with sweetness, and no efforts be spared in making them happy.)

On 23 November 1504, just days before she died, Queen Isabella, fearing for the prospects of her indigenous subjects, asked her heirs to avoid causing them harm and to treat them well,³ thereby establishing a fundamental precedent for Spanish policy with regard to native Americans. While it is true that the economic interests of many immigrants would be affected, and they would find a way to operate within the grey areas set out by the law, as early as 1514 Ferdinand II proclaimed the law on “mestizaje” in the Americas, constituting another great step forward for the liberties of converted natives.

“Que los indios se puedan casar libremente y ninguna orden real lo impida. Es nuestra voluntad, que los indios é indias tengan, como deben, entera libertad para casarse con quien quisieren, así con indios, como con naturales de estos nuestros reinos, ó españoles nacidos en las Indias, y que en esto no se les ponga impedimento. Y mandamos, que ninguna orden nuestra que se hubiere dado, ó por nos fuere dada, pueda impedir ni impida el matrimonio éntrelos indios é indias con españoles ó españolas, y que todos tengan entera libertad de casarse con quien quisieren, y nuestras audiencias procuren

que así se guarde y cumpla.” (That the natives may marry freely, and no royal order may prevent them from doing so. It is our will that native men and women be granted, as should be, full freedom to marry whoever they so desire, whether that be other natives, or those born in our kingdoms, or Spaniards born in the Indies, and that they not be prevented from so doing. And we command that no order be given in our name that might prevent matrimony between male and female natives and male and female Spaniards, and that they all enjoy complete freedom to marry whoever they so desire, and that our courts ensure that this be complied with).⁴

With the discovery of the Americas, subsequent expeditions and the creation of the Viceroyalties, the existing trade routes were expanded, and the most extensive trade route ever imagined was established, of global dimensions, making it possible to navigate the thousands of miles between opposite points on the map. The West Indies fleet, created in 1503 and still in existence up until the last decade of the 18th century, bound Spanish trade up with oceanic navigation and the overseas territories. The ships used to make these trips were known at the Manila Galleons, Acapulco Galleons or the Nao de China, making the crossing between the Philippines and New Spain on a trade route taking in Europe (Fig.

4), the Americas and the Asia-Pacific region, transporting spices and innumerable items every year. The Indies offered countless opportunities for inhabitants of the New World. This continual cultural exchange provided the viceregal population the chance to become familiar with a wide variety of objects and techniques that encouraged local artists to create innovative works often reflecting the differing tastes of each region. This reconversion of Western objects recreated in the Americas may be observed, for instance, in works executed using the “Barniz de Pasto” (Pasto Varnish) technique to decorate chests, trays, *bargueño* desks and so on. This elaborate native skill, which bears a close resemblance to Asian lacquerware, enabled them to depict plants, decorative borders, varying styles and zoomorphic motifs (often fantastical), imbuing their works with a delicious mestizo flavor.

During the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, all sorts of valuable goods travelled from one side of the world to the other, helping to develop local industries such as mining, gold, silver and other metals, along with the works the respective artisans and artists carried out in said materials. As an example of the above, we are presenting a magnificent early 17th-century Mannerist gilt silver salt-cellar, rescued from the shipwreck of the *Nuestra Señora de Atocha* galleon. It is an extraordinary item, executed



Fig. 3 Jan van der Straet (1536–1605), *Christophorus Columbus Liger in "America Rectectio"*, c. 1580, engraving on off white laid paper. Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid

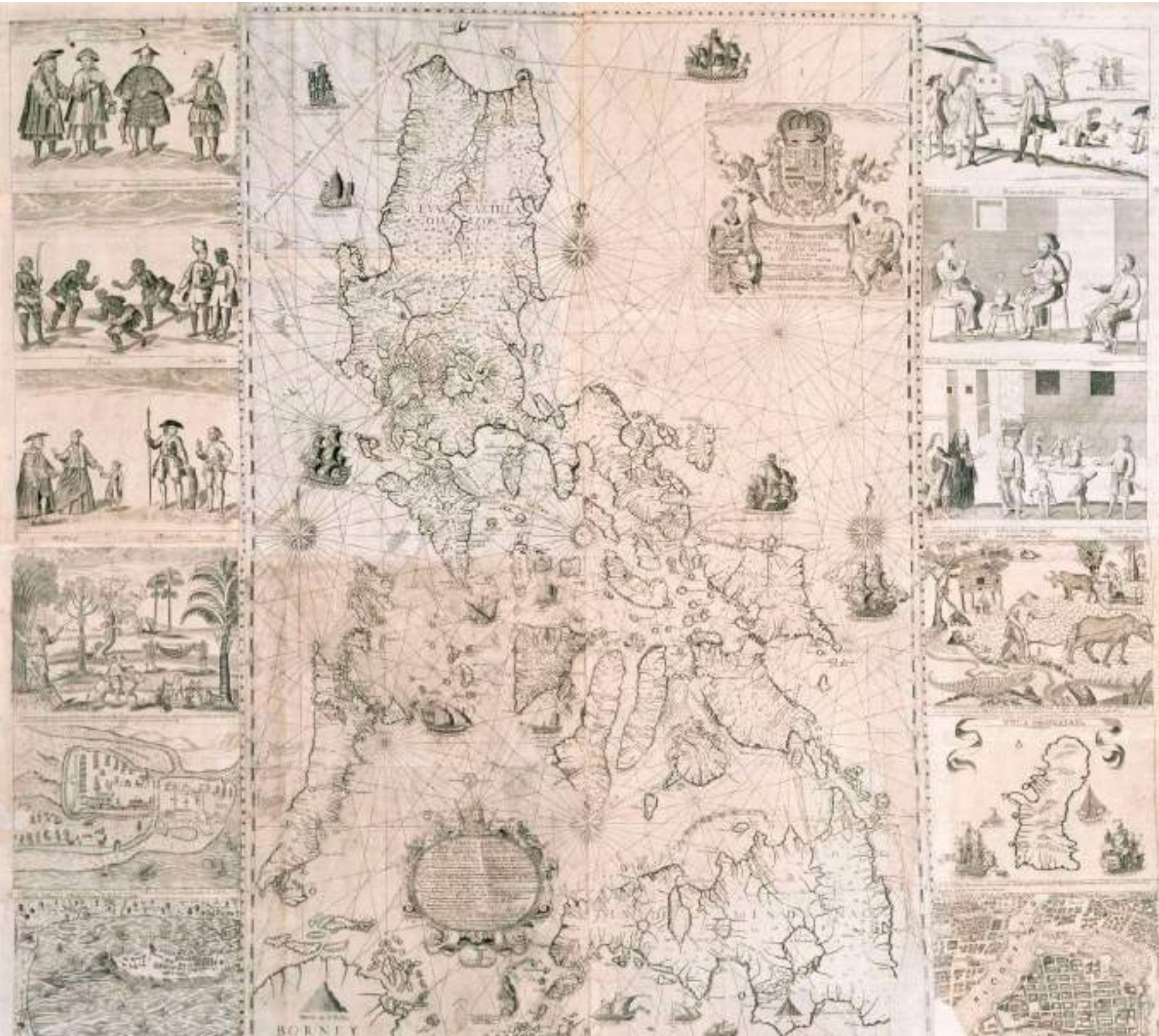


Fig. 4 Pedro Murillo Velarde, (1696–1753), *Carta Hydrographica y Chorographica de las Yslas Filipinas*, 1734. The map shows the maritime routes from Manila to Spain and New Spain. Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid

in Peru, and its exorbitant weight is an indication of the enormous quantities of silver and gold that were extracted from mines of the New World. It is clear that this piece of silver was executed for exportation to the West. The market established with the Indies was immensely rich in both the forms and variety of materials. Trade benefited from the fine pearls, corals, shells, plumage and textiles that were highly-prized goods. In his chronicle *Historia general del Perú* (General History of Peru), the Mercedarian friar Martín de Murúa (1525?–1618?) included an allegorical drawing of an Inca holding on to the two columns of Hercules, symbolizing the Hispanic monarch's support for the extraordinary riches that Spain obtained from the Americas (Fig. 5).

Art in the Viceroyalty brought together all sorts of artistic influences, as may be seen in *enconchado* inlay works, with their origin in Japanese Namban art, and of which we are presenting a memorable collection here, some signed by Juan and Miguel González, which are of extreme rarity and high quality. The New Hispanic *biombo*

(dividing screen) with views of Mexico City, executed in the 18th century using the Mexican *maque* (or makie) technique, also shows the influence of Asian lacquerware. The beautiful *enconchado* pieces of furniture produced in the Peruvian Viceroyalty and in New Spain clearly drew inspiration from those executed in the Ottoman Empire. Here we find decorative geometric motifs that are reminiscent of the *mudéjar* style.

Beyond the extensive variety of fruit and vegetables exported to the West from the Americas, such as the potato with its great nutritional value, corn, beans and so on, chocolate was the real star that captivated Europe. The evolution of this foodstuff's consumption is worth noting. In around 1500 BC the Olmecs (from modern-day Tabasco, Mexico) were the first humans to consume it as a drink, while it was revered by the Mayans and Aztecs. By the 16th century, the Spanish were probably the ones to add sugar to it, drinking it hot in the so-called *jícara* cups that tended to be made of gourds, porcelain or silver. Said recipients were passed from hand to hand, without any base

to stand on, so the Viceroy of Peru, the Marquis of Mancera (1639–1648) invented a circular platter with a container in the middle to house the *jícara*. The name *mancerina* was given to this invention, which was even mass-produced in China for export to Europe and the Americas.

History of art scholars have focused on studying all manner of documents dealing with the arrival on the American continent of architects, sculptors, painters and literati from the West, mainly from Spain, from the outset of the evangelical mission. Just one such who sailed with Christopher Columbus on his first odyssey was the Murcia-born master artist Diego Pérez (active from 1479),⁵ the first European painter to reach the New World. Although no known works by the artist have survived to the present day, and we know nothing of his life, the importance of said painter, as argued by Cristina Torres Suárez in her article on him, lies in his participation as the first Spanish artist in the discovery of the New World, given he was hired by Columbus himself to draft maps of towns, territories and islands.

Following in the footsteps of Diego Pérez, the Seville-born Cristóbal Rodríguez de Quesada arrived in 1535, another artist with no surviving works, but on whom there are documents from the period recording his existence. In 1548, the nomadic Juan de Illescas (c. 1510–1575) arrived in New Spain, practicing his art for the cathedral of Puebla and, along with Bartolomé Sánchez, from Azuaga, was appointed *veedor*, or supervisor, for the guild of the brush, religious imagery and *estofado* in about 1557.⁶ Illescas would go on to work in Mexico City, Quito and Lima, where his oldest son also worked as a painter. No works have survived from the Illescas family, either. The missionary Franciscan Friar Jerónimo de Mendieta (1525–1604), author of *Historia eclesiástica indiana*, would combine his evangelical vocation with his artistic spirit through writing

and the visual arts. In Xochimilco in 1554, he undertook the paintings for the entrance to the monastery of his order, as recorded in the publication subsequently reproduced by Juan Fray de Torquemada in *Monarchia Indiana*.⁷ Other painters also active in New Spain included the likes of Alonso López, established from at least 1555,⁸ Pedro Robles from 1556⁹ and Diego Flores up until 1575.

The Flemish Franciscan friar Pedro de Gante (1486–1572) arrived in the Americas in 1523, founding the Open Chapel and College of San José de los Naturales in Mexico City, the first school dedicated to the art profession for converted indigenous natives, with his efforts focusing on the production of religious images (Fig. 6). Fray Jerónimo de Mendieta mentions that De Gante: “...ordenó se hiciesen aposentos o repartimientos donde se enseñase a los indios a pintar y allí se hacían las imágenes y retablos para todos los templos de toda la tierra.” (...ordered for rooms and facilities to be made to teach the indigenous locals to paint, where images and altarpieces were carried out for all the temples throughout the land.)¹⁰ Missionaries, in their role as the first patrons of the arts in the Americas, created workshops for teaching the indigenous artists to produce liturgical objects and images with Christian subjects. The *emplumados* (feather mosaic works), mostly produced in New Spain, are a clear example of the fusion of two cultures, in that Western images are depicted using native techniques and elements. The magnificent *emplumado* we are presenting in this exhibition was a gift for Pope Innocent X, commissioned in the distant lands of the New World.

In the Viceroyalty of Peru, Western influences on early paintings may be discerned in a Gothic style of Hipano-Flemish origins, though there are few works from the first half of the 16th century. In addition to Illescas, active in Peru around the middle of the century, other Spanish painters emerged such as Juan Gutiérrez de Loyola, Juan



Fig. 5 Martín de Murúa (1525?–1618?), *Villa imperial de Porosi, cerros y minas*, in “Historia del Origen y Genealogía Real de los Reyes Ingas del Piru, de sus hechos, costumbres, trajes y manera de Gobierno”, 1590. Codex. Collection Sean Galvin, Dublin



Fig. 6 School of San José de los Naturales, *Mass of Saint Gregory*, 1539, *emplumado*, feathers on wood with touches of paint. Musée des Jacobins d'Auch, France

de Fuentes and Francisco de Torres. José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert mention the frenzied artistic activity in Cuzco's original main church (Iglesia Mayor) in around 1545 with the arrival of the aforementioned painters.¹¹ Friar Joost de Rijcke, also known as Jodoco de Rique (1498–1575) and the painter Pedro Gosseal or Gocial (c. 1497–1569) also founded schools of art.

The artists mentioned above constituted the first generation of Western painters settling in the Americas. Colonial expansion and the founding of new cities gave rise to the creation of the Viceroyalty of Peru in 1542. The vision the religious orders in the New World had of the Americas was based on the legitimization of a society unified by a single faith. The second generation of artists, active between 1560 and 1579, left an artistic legacy for their disciples and followers, thereby encouraging local production and the creation of a range of workshops in varying locations across the Viceroyalties.

In about 1568, the Toledo-born painter Francisco de Morales established contacts in Puebla and Michoacán with sculptors such as Pedro de Requena and Pedro Brizuela, as well as the outstanding Antwerp painter Simón Pereyngs (c. 1530–1600).¹² The latter shared a number of commissions with the Maestro Mayor of Mexico Cathedral, Seville's Andrés de la Concha (c. 1559–1612), active in New Spain in about 1570. Both Pereyngs and De la Concha are considered the great masters of New Spanish painting from the second half of the 16th century, and major exponents of Latin American Mannerism.

The painter Francisco de Ibía was working in Mexico in the second half of the 16th century, while during the middle of the same century, Nicolás Tejeda de Guzmán was active in the city of Puebla. By Juan de Gerson, an indigenous artist of noble descent, a number of murals have survived from the Franciscan monastery in Tecamachalco, in the province of Puebla. This artist's oeuvre presents a clear example of syncretism, with a discernible expression of his indigenous roots.

The painter Pedro Cáseres was active in Cuzco in around 1573, while the same city also boasted the work of Sebastián Márquez, who painted an *Our Lady of Guadalupe* for the monastery of San Francisco.¹³

In the Viceroyalty of Peru, an intense period of artistic activity was marked by the arrival in Lima, in 1574, of the Jesuit priest Bernardo Luis Democrito Bitti [Camerino (Italy), 1548 – Lima, 1610], who crossed the ocean accompanied by a group of Jesuits who set out from Rome. He was a multi-talented artist, considered to have introduced Mannerism into the Peruvian visual arts.¹⁴ In addition to his skill with a paintbrush, he was also a talented sculptor. In his oeuvre, Bitti presented a style drawing on the Counter-Reformation, which would spread throughout the Andean region. Bitti's first disciple was the Cordoba artist Pedro de Vargas (c. 1553–1596). He subsequently forged links with Quito's Fray Pedro Bedón (1556–1621), who was working in Lima from 1576–1587. Friar José Avitavili, born in Naples in 1572, arrived in Peru in about 1591, then becoming the master artist's closest collaborator.

Notable artists introducing into Peru a Mannerist style linked to the Council of Trent reforms included Mateo Pérez de Alesio (1547–1607) (Fig. 7) and Angelino Medoro (1567–1633) who, along with Bitti, laid the foundations for the future development of the Cuzco School.

In the Audiencia de Quito, one of the first students from the San Andrés school, founded by Jodoco de Rique, was the indigenous painter Andrés Sánchez Gallque (active 1588–1615), who in 1599 executed the portrait of Don Francisco de Arobe and his sons, titled *The Mulattos of Esmeraldas* (Fig. 8). The is the oldest signed and dated painting from the Viceroyalty of Peru.¹⁵

In Pernambuco, in about 1587, the artist who would come to be considered the father of painting in Brazil, the Jesuit Belchior Paulo, commenced his activities. He was both painter and teacher, working in Espírito Santo, Santos, Bahia, São Paulo de Piratininga and Rio de Janeiro. Serafim Leite attributes to him the authorship of the canvas depicting the *Adoration of the Magi* from the Igreja Dos Reis Magos in Nova Almeida, Espírito Santo.

Returning to the north, in 1580 Baltasar Echave Orio arrived in New Spain from Zumaya, Guipúzcoa (Spain). He stood at the head of a dynasty of painters, and occupies pride of place within New Spanish painting. Fortunately, more than a score of his works have survived, several of which are signed.



Fig. 7 Mateo Pérez de Alesio (1547–1607), *The Finding of Jesus in the Temple*, oil on canvas. Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Chile



Fig. 8 Andrés Sánchez Gallque (active 1588–1615), *The Mulattos of Esmeraldas*, 1599, oil on canvas. Museo de América, Madrid

During the first half of the 17th century, the main names representing late Mannerism in the Peruvian Viceroyalty were Gregorio Gamarra, from Bitti's circle, who was active in Potosí and Cuzco from 1601–1631, Francisco de Padilla, who moved between Cuzco and Chuquisaca (Bolivia), and Lázaro Pardo Lagos (active 1630–1669), possibly the last Mannerist in Cuzco. Felipe Guamán Poma (1534–1615) and Martín de Murúa (1525?–1618?) provided their own versions of Andean history and society, in contrast to the fanciful versions carried out at that time by European artists.

Santa Fe de Bogotá, the capital of central New Granada, saw the emergence of one of the first family dynasties of painters, founded by Antonio Acero de la Cruz (c. 1600–1669), whose repertory illustrated the enduring formal Romanist influences. It is also worth mentioning the Figueroa dynasty, whose most prominent member was the painter Gaspar de Figueroa (?–1658).

Prominent mural painters included the likes of the indigenous Diego Cusi Huamán, who executed the *Baptism of Christ* from the church in Urcos, just outside Cuzco, and Luis de Riaño, who was born in Lima in 1596 and then moved to the city of Cuzco.

Following the realism of the Seville school, a Latin American Baroque aesthetic began to come to the fore with the works of Leonardo Jaramillo, active in Trujillo, Cajamarca and Lima from 1619–1643, Antonio Mermejo (c. 1588–?), who worked in the City of Kings (Lima), and the painter Diego de la Puente (1586–1663). The visual arts would reflect Baroque rhetoric in their implementation of different devices such as marked expressivity, naturalism and *chiaroscuro*.

Diego Quispe Tito (San Sebastián del Cuzco, 1611–1681), an indigenous artist, imbued his compositions

with a marked Flemish style. He was one of the most successful and prominent painters in the Viceroyalty of Peru. Although his subjects reflect a Mannerist aesthetic, he pioneered the incorporation of Flemish elements into the Cuzco School. His paintings prioritize the development of landscapes, portraying little towns, hills and rivers, often with birds flying overhead, and his work was in high demand, with commissions coming in from other Audiencias throughout the Viceroyalty. Along with Lázaro Pardo Lagos (active 1640–1660) and Juan Espinoza de los Monteros (active 1638–1669), he is considered to have pioneered the Cuzco School.

Following Cuzco's 1650 earthquake, and the great loss of architectural monuments and works of art that resulted from it, demand for renovation and rebuilding had a direct impact on the expansion of local workshops, transforming the region into one of the most important artistic centers, where the Cuzco School would put down permanent roots. This gave rise to a growth in the exportation of the School's works, with its scope of influence reaching Upper Peru, the Andean region, Lima, Chile and part of modern-day northern Argentina.

A major figure from this period was the great *mestizo* historian known as the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (1539–1616) who, with his *Comentarios Reales* (Royal Commentaries) served to mark the structuring of the image of the social and cultural process known as the *Inca Renaissance*. This rebirth was expressed through the blossoming of painting in Cuzco, where Inca society is depicted leading religious ceremonies and processions where its chiefs proudly wear Andean dress.

The role played by the Madrid-born bishop of Cuzco, Juan Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo (1626–1699), was fundamental to the artistic and cultural hybridization in addition to the reconstruction of the cathedral. His artistic

patronage encouraged the creation and expansion of workshops made up of indigenous and mestizo artists and, with the collaboration of the clergy, he ensured elite classes of Inca society's adhesion to the city, thereby making a claim for the economic power and socio-political situation of an indigenous society that had been considerably weakened in the late 16th century. The most prominent artists in what was known as "Mollinedo's era" were members of the indigenous nobility, Basilio de Santa Cruz Pumacallao (active 1661–1700) and the aforementioned Diego Quispe Tito. It was, in point of fact, Pumacallao who ambitiously represented Mollinedo's international Baroque. Taking into account his training and formal conventions, it is worth highlighting the freedom with which he interpreted the aesthetic preferences of the aforementioned emerging indigenous sector.

The generous use and perfecting of the technique known as *brocateado* to embellish clothing, backgrounds and a variety of elements with gold, is one of the more distinctive features of the school that became established in Cuzco. This technique, much like the use of phylacteries, which was also common in the Cuzco School, was inherited from the painting of the Late Gothic period, when said devices were often used in manuscripts.

The network of cultural exchange originally established through the massive exportation of works from Cuzco (some of which would reach New Spain), and which covered the huge territory of the Peruvian Viceroyalty, remained in place with the arrival of the Age of Enlightenment and the founding of the Viceroyalty of New Granada in 1739 (Panama, Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela) and the River Plate Viceroyalty in 1776 (Bolivia, Argentina, Uruguay and northern Chile).

As recorded by the Franciscan Fray Juan de Benavides, in Lima in 1671 the four best painters from the region were called upon to replace the damaged works on display in the Order's Cloisters, which had been carried out by Leonardo Jaramillo some years before.¹⁶ Said painters were Francisco de Escobar (active 1649–1676), Pedro Fernández de Noriega (?–1686), Diego de Aguilera (1619–1676), and the slave Andrés de Liévana. Their works present a highly mobile Baroque style combined with the chromatic warmth of *chiaroscuro*, added to the architectural settings and lush landscapes of the Dutch.¹⁷

As the 17th century drew to a close, the painters of the altiplano started to draw on the iconographic inventions promoted in the "Mollinedo's era", but differences gradually developed between their style and that of their Cuzco counterparts. This was illustrated by Leonardo Flores (documented 1683–1684) and José López de los Ríos (documented in 1684) (Fig. 9) who used Baroque devices to produce outstanding works of a unique nature.¹⁸ The foremost painter in the region was Melchor Pérez de Holguín (c. 1660–1732), nicknamed the *Brocha de oro* (Golden paintbrush), and considered the father of the Potosí school. He was active from 1678, at the tender age of 18, in the Imperial Municipality where he remained his entire career. His work may be described as Andean Baroque, reflecting a vigorous and exuberant realism. Holguín imbued his work with its own identity

and personality, making it easy to recognize. As one might expect, the great master had a number of disciples and followers, the most outstanding and creative of which was Miguel Gaspar de Berrio (1706–c. 1762), who in 1758 painted the famous *Description of Cerro Rico and the Imperial City of Potosí*. With a style that contrasts strongly with that of Holguín, in around 1737 the multi-disciplinary painter, sculptor and goldsmith of indigenous origin Luis Niño was at the height of his powers, showing the influence of the Cuzco School with his generous use of gilt brocade, and subtle, painstaking brushwork.

The regional pictorial tradition introduced into Santa Fe de Bogotá reached its peak with the indisputable figure of Gregorio Vázquez de Arce y Ceballos (1638–1711). Somewhere in the region of 600 known works are attributed to his workshop.

Counter-Reformation Quito saw the rise of the renowned indigenous painter Miguel de Santiago (1633?–1706). He combined flora and fauna with items of furniture that were typical of the region, inserting colossal figures depicting subjects arranged sequentially in order to increase the impact of the overall narrative. His workshop's numerous followers and apprentices included his daughter Isabel de Santiago and the prolific Nicolás Javier de Goribar (1665–1739).¹⁹

One undeniably outstanding artist from mid-18th-century Cuzco was Marcos Zapata (active 1741–1776), a member of the indigenous aristocracy. The artistic genre produced by this unique talent involved an aesthetic transformation adapted to the needs of his clientele. During this period, works moved away from their Western technical and aesthetic roots, and started to adopt their own canons, such as sweetened facial features and a lack of spatial conception.²⁰ One of his more prominent disciples was Cipriano de Toledo y Gutiérrez. The characteristics of Zapata's painting were further heightened by his followers, Ignacio Chacón and Antonio Vilca who, according to Mesa and Gisbert, marked the end of the so-called mestizo Baroque style. One of Cuzco's few painters who showed a clear tendency towards, and taste for, Rococo ornamentation was Zapata's renowned follower, Antonio Vilca (active 1778–1803). The use of *rocaille* was not as widespread in Cuzco as it was in Quito, where painters included that sort of decorative element in their paintings with complete freedom.



Fig. 9 José López de los Ríos (doc. 1684), *Death and Hell*, oil on canvas. Iglesia de Carabuco, Bolivia



Fig. 10 Luis Juárez, *The Archangel Saint Michael* (active 1610–1633). Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico

Alonso Vázquez (c. 1565–1607), a renowned Mannerism painter from Seville, arrived in New Spain around 1600, just a few years before his death. In addition, we should also mention Baltasar Echave Ibía, the son and follower of Baltasar Echave Orio, whose paintings display a predominance of colorful landscapes in the Flemish style, with different intensities of blue. Another outstanding artist, in terms of his delicate touch and use of light, was Luis Juárez (active 1610–1633), one of the major painters of the first third of the 17th century (Fig. 10).

One artist who deserves a special mention was Fray Alonso López de Herrera (active 1609–1634), who in his day enjoyed enormous prestige and recognition, being nicknamed "El Divino"²¹ (Fig. 11), thereby inviting comparison with his Spanish counterpart, Luis de Morales, also called El Divino. His exquisite works, perfectly drawn with splendid effects of foreshortening, are a reflection of his virtuoso genius. With the arrival in Mexico in about 1640 of Sebastián López de Arteaga, a faithful exponent of Zurbarán's style, and accredited in New Spain with the title of Painter of the Holy Office (Santo Oficio), Baroque painting became even more dominant, influencing painters such as José Juárez (the son of Luis Juárez), Pedro Ramírez (1653–1677) and Baltasar de Echave Rioja (1632–1682), who had tenebrist tendencies.²² Juan Tinoco (Puebla 1641?–1703?) would be the most important painter from Puebla in the 17th century, and is considered to have been a driving force behind the most grandiose and imaginative New Spanish artist, Cristóbal Villalpando (c. 1649–1714).

Another prominent figure was Fray Diego Becerra (active 1632–1640), the son of a native of Extremadura working in Puebla de los Ángeles with a mulatto woman. He executed



Fig. 11 Alonso López de Herrera, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, oil on canvas. Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico City

various paintings for the convent of San Francisco. Three other outstanding artists from Puebla who we should add to these ranks are Miguel de Mendoza (active 1723–1737), Joaquín Magón (active second half of the 18th century) and Miguel Jerónimo Zendejas (1729–1821).

José de Ibarra (1685–1756) disciple of the mulatto artist Juan Correa, was a prominent figure in New Spain. By the middle of the 18th century, Miguel Cabrera (1695–1768) became one of the main exponents of the viceregal Baroque style. Nicolás Enriquez (1704–1790) was working at much the same time, producing some works of great beauty. José de Alcívar, who was active between 1751 and 1806, was one of Mexico City's most iconic painters, and was a member of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Carlos.

After Latin America's independence, all forms of artistic expression suffered, and it took decades for them to reach the heights of a glorious past marked by truly exceptional geniuses and renowned schools of art.

Gonzalo Eguiguren Pazzi

Glory and Beauty in the Americas before the Conquest

Throughout the history of humanity, cultures have had different ideals of beauty. The Maya admired people who “suffered” from crossed eyes, those who filed their teeth making them pointed like the Egyptians did, or those who distorted their craniums to make them noticeably elongated. Their sculpture and painting depicted the art of war in a stark and realistic fashion. In Aztec culture, portrayals of death, torture, sacrifice and frightening gods with animalesque features that

would cause wonder and awe today stood, for Mexican art, as an aesthetic demonstration of pride and victory over defeated peoples. The appreciation of the person who witnesses it, taking into account the historical and social context based on a society's ideological values, is what beauty is all about. In these civilizations, the perception of beauty goes beyond mere aesthetic concept, transcending the earthly plane and touching on the divine.



Vessel, Mythological Scene, Maya, 7th–8th century
Attributed to the Metropolitan Painter
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York









K'iché Maya Two-Part Urn

K'iché Maya, Late Classic Period, 700–850 AD
Alta Verapaz, Southern Highlands (Guatemala)
Earthenware
Height 86.3 cm
Width 76.2 cm
Depth 43.2 cm
Provenance: Lee Moore, before 1970; Allan Stone, Miami, 1970–2012; Private collector, Boston, 2012–2013; AANW, Inc. New York, 2013



Dead of K'inich Ajaw

Northern Maya Lowlands (?)
Late Classic Period, c. 650–900 AD
Limestone
40.6 x 33.3 cm
Provenance: David Stuart Galleries, Los Angeles, CA, 1976; James Alsdorf Collection, Chicago, IL; Sotheby's New York, November 1998, lot 187; Important Northwest Coast American collector acquired from above and remained in the family by descent



Portrait Head of a Female

Maya, Late Classic Period, 600–800 AD
Limestone and stucco
Height 74 cm
Provenance: Former André Emmerich Collection, Zurich; William P. Palmer III, USA; European private collection, acquired in New York in 1988



Relief with Scene of the Palenque Ruler K'inich K'an Joy Chitam

Maya, Late Classic Period, 700–721 AD
Limestone
149.8 x 47 cm
148.5 x 46.3 cm
147.3 x 87.5 cm
Provenance: Former European private collection



Seated Male Figure

Jalisco (Mexico), Protoclassic Period, c. 300 BC–200 AD
Ceramic
Height 42.6 cm
Width 36.7 cm
Depth 30.5 cm
Provenance: Originally collected in the 1960's in Houston, Texas, remained in the same family through descent until May 2015



K'iché Maya Two-Part Urn

K'iché Maya, Late Classic Period, 700–850 AD
Alta Verapaz, Southern Highlands (Guatemala)
Earthenware
Height 86.3 cm
Width 76.2 cm
Depth 43.2 cm
Provenance: Lee Moore, before 1970; Allan Stone, Miami, 1970–2012; Private collector, Boston, 2012–2013; AANW, Inc. New York, 2013

This unique style of funerary cache container comes from the K'iché Maya region of Guatemala's southern highlands.¹ The masterful decoration serves as a frame for its contents, converting a simple container into a complex layering of religious beliefs and Creation mythology. It portrays the Jaguar Sun of the Underworld's rebirth at dawn as it exits the netherworld and rises through the primordial eastern sea. As a cosmogram—a model of the universe—the urn's imagery interweaves mythic concepts of water and the annual cycle of life-giving rain. The two themes create an apt metaphor for a funerary urn, promising the deceased's rebirth in the afterlife and transformation into a venerated ancestor whose spiritual powers affect such earthly cycles as the coming of springtime rains.

The base symbolizes earthly waters including the primordial sea surrounding the earth.² The main image is the “Waterlily Serpent”—the personification of terrestrial waters as a living, sentient being rather than an innate substance. The Waterlily Serpent is portrayed as elderly, which is a Classic Period convention for rendering Creation era beings who shaped the universe. A waterlily pad and blossom are tied on his forehead, and its tendrils become water serpents. Their heads are ornamented with spotted water curls and the feathered panache of *Noh Chih Chan*, or “great serpent” as he is known among Maya peoples today. The great feathered serpent guards terrestrial waters, and his awakening brings life-giving rain while his slumber causes drought. In Classic Period texts, the water serpent hieroglyph reads *witz*, “waterfall” or “spray”, and the name can also be used to record the word *h'ab*, “year” as a reference to the annual cycle of rain.³ The ancient and modern Maya believe they can propitiate the water serpent through ritual acts, which they frequently conduct in caves with entrances resembling the urn's lid's quatrefoil-shaped cleft.

The lid features the Jaguar Sun of the Underworld – the personification of the sun during its nocturnal journey through the netherworld – sitting inside the clefted entrance to the wet, cold underworld which the Maya modeled after caves with their dripping ceilings and swirling

bodies of water.⁴ Four small heads surround the Jaguar Sun, their orientation simulating the four cardinal directions with the Jaguar Sun, symbolizing as the central axis of the cosmos linking the upper and lower worlds. The rising of the underworld's Jaguar Sun is likened to the resurrection of the human soul from death.

The urn's large size suggests it contained a bundled corpse or de-fleshed bones. The opening in the back of the lid allowed descendants to make offerings to the ancestor within. The ancient K'iché Maya created both small and large urns as containers for valued and sacred items (*trésor cache*). In addition to human bones, contents may comprise small animal remains, jadeite jewelry and finely-crafted mosaic objects, shells, and a variety of ritual items from divination stones to mirrors used for ancestor veneration and other religious rites.⁵ Urn contents often were burned, leaving only charred bits and ash. Burning remains a common sacramental practice among the Maya who believe fire transforms earthly items into a form appropriate for the spirit realm.⁶

Two-part cache containers were buried underneath shrines and public buildings and were sequestered in sacred caves.⁷ The Maya view caves as natural shrines and portals to the Underworld, and cave burials often are accompanied by artifacts implying ancestor veneration rites to ensure wellbeing in the afterlife and seek divine advice.⁸ The ancient and modern Maya also use caves to make formal petitions for rain and agricultural success.⁹

D.R.B.



Dead of K'inich Ajaw

Northern Maya Lowlands (?)
Late Classic Period, c. 650–900 AD
Limestone
40.6 x 33.3 cm
Provenance: David Stuart Galleries, Los Angeles, CA, 1976; James Alsdorf Collection, Chicago, IL; Sotheby's New York, November 1998, lot 187; Important Northwest Coast American collector acquired from above and remained in the family by descent
Publication: Houston, S. The Life Within: Classic Maya and The Matter of Permanence, 2014, p. 92, reproduced p. 56

The piercing gaze of the solar deity *K'inich Ajaw* simulates the strong, midday sun in the tropics. The name means “Sun-Eyed/ Resplendant Lord”, and he is one of the most important deified beings for many cultures in Mesoamerica. The Maya associated *K'inich Ajaw* with fire, jaguars, and rulership. Rulers' names included the honorific *kinich*, as in that of Palenque' famous ruler K'inich Jaanab' Pakal I (Fig. 1). At death, rulers could apotheosize into this supernatural solar entity.¹⁰

K'inich Ajaw is distinguished by large, crossed eyes, furrowed brow, T-shaped incisors, and a blunt snout. As is fitting for a powerful force, he is adorned with a precious jadeite tubular nose ornament and earflare topped by a jaguar ear emblem. Jadeite adornments were the exclusive jewelry of Maya deities, especially the maize god, and of rulers as their earthly embodiment. *K'inich Ajaw*'s unique coiffure of cropped hair mimics sun rays, and during the Post-Classic Period (900–1521 AD) he is rendered with a beard, a rare attribute during Classic times yet present below the chin on this portrayal.

Logographic signs often embellish the solar deity's limbs, cheek, or forehead. The most common is the flower-like sign *kin*, meaning “sun” and “day”. On the sculpture, however, the artist substituted a half-circle motif that labels an object as something shiny, divine, potent, and valuable (Fig. 2).¹¹ The sign often embosses the bodies of deities and other spirit beings of power and prestige, and tags divination mirrors and the finely-polished jadeite belt plaques worn by Maya rulers. ¹²The sculpture is part of a larger work, perhaps the support from a bench throne or altar or a building façade. It was originally painted the remains of red and white pigment visible especially on the proper left side. Painting stone carvings was a common practice for adorning building facades, thrones, and monumental sculptures.

This carving's three-dimensionality is unusual because limestone from which most ancient Maya monuments are fashioned typically does not allow for deep carving and rounded edges. The sculptors of Copán, Honduras, and nearby Quiriguá, Guatemala, perfected fully three-

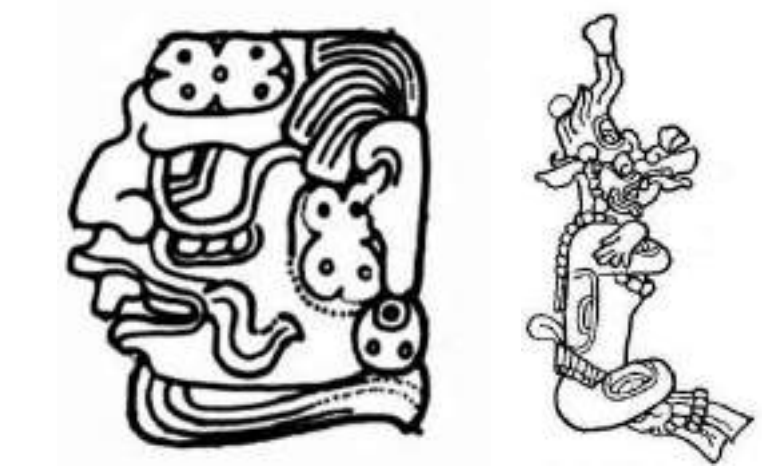


Fig. 1 K'inich Ajaw, the sun god

Fig. 2 “Divine” markings on K'awil (a deity) and jadeite belt plaques, here suspended from a belt adornment depicting K'inich Ajaw



Portrait Head of a Female

Maya, Late Classic Period, 600–800 AD
Limestone and stucco
Height 74 cm
Provenance: Former André Emmerich Collection, Zurich; William P. Palmer III, USA;
European private collection, acquired in New York in 1988

The head is most likely that of a woman of high status, either human or divine. Her sex is identified by the step-cut hair and patterns on both cheeks.¹³ The proper left cheek features a rare double-hooked version of the common “IL” motif denoting representations of women on the painted pottery and figurines as well as the hieroglyphic nominal prefix *ix* or *ixik*, meaning “woman”.¹⁴ Rarely, the double-hooked version also marks the young maize god's cheek. The proper right cheek displays five diagonal, parallel bands, a rare pattern seen in only a few artworks, all of which depict women.

Cheek markings in Classic Maya art have been interpreted as face painting, tattoos, tattoo-like raised scars, or sacrificial disfigurement. 16th-century Spanish descriptions of native peoples throughout Mesoamerica describe bodies patterned by all four techniques, and it is likely that the Classic Maya used more than one of these methods.

The exceptional artistry and colossal scale of the head imply this majestic sculpture adorned the façade of a temple or royal residence. It is said to come from Bonampak, a Maya archaeological site in the Mexican state of Chiapas. The portraiture style resembles that seen on Bonampak's carved stone stelae and stucco sculptures. It



also recalls those of nearby Palenque, famous for lifelike portrayals emphasizing the principal characteristics of Classic Maya beauty and royal portraiture. These include the elongated forehead and cranium, the prominent nose with built-up bridge, slanted eyes, and full lips. The cranial elongation was visually continued by a headdress which was attached to the tenon at the top of the head. Regal headdresses featured long plumes and icons of identity such as the personal name or titles of the person portrayed.

It is rare for large-sized architectural stuccoes to survive. The most famous example, the portrait of Palenque's renowned ruler K'inich Janaab' Pakal (c. 615–683 AD), was preserved because the ancient Maya placed it in his tomb. Most architectural stucco sculptures exist solely as weathered fragments in the rubble of collapsed buildings.

D.R.B.



**Relief with Scene of the Palenque Ruler
K'inich K'an Joy Chitam**

Maya, Late Classic Period, 700–721 AD
Limestone
149.8 x 47 cm
148.5 x 46.3 cm
147.3 x 87.5 cm
Provenance: Former European private collection

This rare relief panel encapsulates the life of Palenque's 13th ruler K'inich K'an Joy Chitam (reigned 702–721 AD), second son of K'inich Janaab' Pakal, one of the most famous Maya sovereigns.¹⁵ The panel's hieroglyphic text affirms K'inich K'an Joy Chitam's royal legitimacy as ruler, and the scene highlights his prowess as a warrior. The panel's artistic and narrative styles connect it to a group of finely carved tableaux considered the pinnacle of Palenque's sculptural tradition, commissioned by Rulers 13–16 during the seventh and eighth centuries (9.11.0.0.0–9.17.0.0.0 in Classic Maya long count notation). It is remarkably similar to the recently discovered Temple XVII wall tablet which features K'inich K'an Joy Chitam's older brother K'inich Kan Bahlam II (reigned 684–702 AD).

The panel's scene portrays K'inich K'an Joy Chitam guarding a war captive and attended by a smaller figure standing behind him. K'inich K'an Chitam's war shield is emblazoned with the Jaguar Sun god, one of three Palenque patron gods also featured on his brother's Tablet of the Sun enshrined in the Temple of the Sun. The hapless captive wears royal finery but his identity remains unclear due to the erosion of the small nominal text above him.¹⁶

The hieroglyphic inscription begins on the panel's left side with the birth on December 23, 452 AD (9.0.17.5.4 5 Kan 12 Mak) of an ancestral personage 192 years prior to that of K'inich K'an Joy Chitam. The eroded text eludes a thorough reading although this enigmatic person is likely a dynastic member given the presence of the “princely lord” title *ch'ok ajaw* in his name phrase and the mention a war captive. The second phrase records the birth of K'inich K'an Joy Chitam on November 2, 644 AD (9.10.11.17.0 11 Ajaw 8 Mak). The parallelism of these opening phrases intimates a direct connection between the two dynastic members, yet the significance is not understood. K'inich K'an Joy Chitam's birth phrase ends with *Ux Yop Huun*, *matawil*. *Ux Yop Huun* is the name and physical embodiment of the royal headband of ritual bark paper tied onto the king's forehead at accession. This vital symbol of royal authority is highlighted throughout the text on K'inich K'an Joy Chitam's principal monument The Palace Tablet.¹⁷ The final glyph *matawil* names the mythical place where Palenque's patron gods were born.¹⁸

The text moves to the right side and chronicles K'inich K'an Joy Chitam's accession to kingship on May 30, 702 (9.13.10.6.8 5 Lamat 6 Xul). His name phrase includes a rare use of Palenque's two emblem glyphs—the *muwaan* mat and *baak'el* signs. *Muwaan* mat is the name of the progenitor of Palenque's patron gods, and it parallels the naming of the patron gods' mythic birth place in the panel's earlier natal statement. The long but eroded accession phrase concludes by connecting K'inich K'an Joy Chitam's office-taking to the passing of

his father K'inich Janaab' Pakal on August 28, 683 AD (9.12.11.5.18 6 Etz'nab 11 Yax). The text's parallelisms and interconnections validate K'inich K'an Joy Chitam's dynastic legitimacy and political authority.

As noted, the panel closely resembles a wall tablet from Palenque's Temple XVII in a recently excavated elite compound near Palenque's royal palace. It was commissioned by K'inich Kan Bahlam, the previous ruler and older brother of K'inich K'an Joy Chitam. Both were sons of ruler K'inich Janaab' Pakal and Lady Tz'akb'u Ajaw. The Temple XVII tablet employs the same narrative format of a central pictorial image framed by two-columned hieroglyphic texts on the left and right sides (the Temple XVII tablet is missing its right panel). K'inich Kan Bahlam is pictured as a successful warrior, with political savvy and power. He wears a comparable, symbol-laden war outfit as his brother, and he too grasps a combat shield and long-handled spear. A bound figure peers up at his captor, the defeated opponent bedecked in the jadeite jewelry and elaborate headdress of noble attire. The panels' hieroglyphic texts are comparable, anchoring the brothers' 7th-century affairs in the 5th-century formative years of Palenque's dynastic line. The Temple XVII text begins with the founding of the Classic Period center of Palenque in 490 AD by king B'utz'-aj Sak Chiik. It then records the 501 AD accession of ruler Ahkal Mo' Nahb' who is prominently mentioned in the dynastic narratives of K'inich Janaab' Pakal, the father of K'inich Kan Bahlam and K'inich K'an Joy Chitam. The narrative ends because the tablet's right half is missing, but it likely contained a dynastic record like that on the London panel's right side which registers his brother's accession to the throne and relation to their father K'inich Janaab' Pakal. The small texts on the Temple XVII tablet provide historical details of the ruler's military campaign and name the captured lord. Given the equivalencies of the two panels, it is plausible that the eroded text above the captive on the London panel detailed the war event and captive's name.

Both panels display the same fine carving and attention to details of costuming and hieroglyphic elements, and they are carved from a similar fine-grained limestone. Yet minor differences suggest the work of two sculptors and the role of time producing changes in artistic production during the 5–15 years between the two panels' creation. The London panel has slightly finer-grained limestone and lower relief carving with less contouring of figural and glyphic surfaces, especially notable in the lords' faces and the head-variant hieroglyphs. Although these variances point to the work of two master carvers, the similar pictorial and hieroglyphic narratives intimate the artistry of scribes and sculptors working in the same or closely affiliated workshops.

D.R.B.



Seated Male Figure

Jalisco (Mexico), Protoclassic Period, c. 300 BC–200 AD
Ceramic
Height 42.6 cm
Width 36.7 cm
Depth 30.5 cm
Provenance: Originally collected in the 1960's in Houston, Texas, remained in the same family through descent until May 2015

The engrossing figure conveys both serenity and dynamism demanding the viewer's attention. The man sits firmly in repose yet poised ready to action, his right hand in air with opened fingers paralleling his penetrating gaze. Double-beaded strands encircle his lower legs, and plain straps wrap his upper arms. The tight bindings cause swollen limbs that accentuate his muscular body and reinforce his social power and spiritual fitness. The man's hair is parted in the center, although it lacks the usual striations indicating hair strands and may instead depict a tight-fitting cap.

This classic example of the Ameca-Etztatlán style of Jalisco pottery figures illustrates its primary characteristics of glossy slip paint in red, orange, and cream, a stocky body striking a dynamic pose, elongated face with pointed chin, and wide almond-shaped eyes prominently outlined by eyelids. The Ameca-Etztatlán style is one of six from the heartland of West Mexico's shaft tomb region in the state of Jalisco.¹⁹ Deep shaft tombs were furnished with figural sculptures of men and women rendered in different poses and dress. Tombs often contained the remains of more than one person, suggesting tomb use over a period of time by one family or lineage.

Ameca-Etztatlán male figures are interpreted as rulers, lineage heads, warriors, shamans, and wrestlers.²⁰ However, as here, most figures' identity remains veiled due to the absence of accoutrements specific to any of these roles. An interpretation more in-step with Mesoamerican thought is to view the sculpture as an embodiment of the essence of the historical person rather than the imitation of his bodily likeness. This type of rendering is expressed by figural features intimating both the physical person and his/her essential life-force. Portrayals of essence focus our attention on the artwork and not the referent's social identity. The essential portrait is an artistically sophisticated type of rendering as relationship between individualism and conceptual referent. From this perspective, the Ameca-Etztatlán figure is the material manifestation of a spirit or larger ideal rather than the representation of his/her physical traits. As such, it served its ancient audience as the formal container of the person's life-force. Concepts of life-force are common in ancient American beliefs wherein the body is the earthly container for one's essential spirit, called *teotl* among the Aztecs, *ch'ulel* by the Maya, and *camay* by the Inkas.²¹



This portrayal combines features of both an essential and a representational portrait. Yet it differs from the Ameca-Etztatlán style in the less elongated ovoid head, the lengthening of the eyes, a wide mouth with sharply defined lips, and the chiseled physique with substantial shoulder and pectoral muscles. All imply a mimetic portrait as the precise rendering of the man's appearance; and yet the sculpture maintains the codified boundaries of the Ameca-Etztatlán style. This careful artistic balance creates a powerful portrayal of the man's material form shrouded in his spiritual essence. As a tomb figure, the sculpture actively embodied the person and validated his earthly status in the afterlife as a authoritative ancestor. As such, he would serve as an effective intermediary between his descendants and the potent forces of the spirit world.

D.R.B.



Enconchados: “The Marvel of the Americas”



Miguel González, *The Conquest of Mexico*, c. 1690, enconchado. Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires

Enconchado inlay work represents one of the most sublime aesthetic expressions, fruit of the Latin American syncretism or “mestizaje” that brought together varying cultures, resulting in these marvelous and unique paintings. When the European world dropped anchor in the Americas, it introduced both its religion and countless Biblical subjects, which became endless sources of inspiration (as was also the case for Asia, whose Namban art arrived from Japan) influencing Latin American society. This, combined with the natural talent of indigenous artists, gave rise to a magical fusion of astonishing beauty that became known as *enconchado* art. These works were executed over a relatively short period of time, mostly in New Spain (Mexico) and, to a lesser extent, Upper Peru (Bolivia), from the mid-17th into the 18th century. There are very few known surviving examples, and these are preserved in museums and private collections. With patience, dedication and good fortune we have been able to build up a remarkable collection, the likes of which has never been seen on the art market.







PRÆCEPTVM.
V.
non occides.











Miguel González
Mexico, active second half of 17th century

Infant Jesus and Infant John the Baptist
Oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel
21.5 x 28 cm
Signed 'Miguel Gonzal'
Inscription on the cartouche *AGNUS ADEST AGNIS*
Provenance: Private collection, London



Juan González
Mexico, active 1662–1703

Thou Shalt Not Kill
Mexico, c. 1697–1703
Oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel
44.5 x 60.5 cm
Signed 'Ju, Go, Fe'
Provenance: Private collection, London



Miguel González and Juan González
Mexico, 17th /18th century

Saint Martin on Horseback
Mexico, c. 1690
Oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel
86 x 60 cm
Provenance: Coll. Paul D. Deutz, Rancho Santa Fe, California



Miguel González and Juan González
Mexico, 17th /18th century

Saint Joseph and the Infant Jesus
Mexico, c. 1690
Oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel
86 x 60 cm
Provenance: Coll. Paul D. Deutz, Rancho Santa Fe, California



Nativity
Unidentified artist
Mexico, last quarter of the 17th century
Oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel
32.5 x 36 cm
Framed 48.5 x 52.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection, London



Flight into Egypt
Unidentified artist
Mexico, last quarter of the 17th century
Oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel
32.5 x 36 cm
Framed 48.5 x 52.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection, London



Attributed to Miguel González
Mexico, active second half of 17th century

Flight into Egypt
Mexico, late 17th century
Oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel
61.5 x 87 cm
Framed 84.5 x 110 cm
Provenance: Private collection, London



González Workshop
Mexico, late 17th–early 18th century

Virgin of Atocha
Oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel
28 x 18.8 cm
Framed 45 x 36 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain



González Workshop
Mexico, late 17th–early 18th century

Saint Joachim, Saint Anne and the Child Virgin
Oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel
29 x 19 cm
Framed 41 x 35 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain



Attributed to Miguel González
Mexico, active second half of 17th century

Saint Ignatius of Loyola and Saint Francis Xavier
Mexico, late 17th century
Oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel
44.5 x 62.5 cm
Framed 68.5 x 86 cm
Provenance: Private collection, London

The Art of the Enconchado in New Spain

In 1756, Miguel Cabrera, a prominent Oaxacan painter, wrote a unusual book in true Baroque style which, he entitled “American marvel and ensemble of rare wonders, observed with the direction of the rules of the Art of Painting in the prodigious image of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico, by Don Miguel Cabrera, painter to His Most Illustrious Señor Don Manuel Joseph Rubio, and Salinas, Most Honourable Archbishop of Mexico and the Council of Your Majesty, etc., to whom it is dedicated. With licence: In Mexico at the Printing House of the Royal and Oldest College of San Ildefonso, in 1756”.

The book’s purpose was to analyze the artistic characteristics, in Cabrera’s opinion, of the painting of the *Virgin of Guadalupe*, following my rigorous examination of it, having it in front of me. As such, the American Marvel was essentially based on the physical analysis of the painting of this Virgin, housed, as it still is to this day, in Mexico City, and which in the opinion of Miguel Cabrera, was worthy of admiration “in accordance with the rules of the art of painting”, this subject, the Virgin, being highly prized by the two González artists, as we shall see shortly.

If we mention this now, it is because the two related artists Juan González and Miguel González, resident in Mexico City, and known at the time as “makie and inlay painters” due to their incomparable use of mother-of-pearl and the prodigious technique they employed in their many works), now represent an American marvel to paraphrase, as it were, the title of Cabrera’s abovementioned book.

One of the first Mexican art researchers to shed light on Novohispanic paintings featuring mother-of-pearl inlay was Manuel Toussaint. In his benchmark study entitled: Mother-of-pearl inlay paintings in New Spain (Fig. 1), Toussaint noticed the dilemma regarding the origin and analysis of Miguel and Juan González and revealed a series of panels signed by the first of the two artists, Miguel, depicting numerous Episodes from the Conquest of Mexico, which are now in the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes of Buenos Aires collection (Figs. 2 and 3).



Fig. 1 Facsimile of the cover of the book by the painter Miguel Cabrera, Mexico, 1756

One thing worth bearing mind about Miguel and Juan González is that not all of their works are signed. Of those signed by Juan we could, for example, point to the *Virgin of Valvanera*, kept at Madrid’s Museum of America, and likewise to his *Nativity*, signed in 1662, belonging to the Smithsonian Institute in Washington.

The works signed and dated by Juan González date from around 1662 to 1703, and those of Miguel, from around 1692 to 1698.



Fig. 2 Miguel González, *Conquest of Mexico*, N° 16, c. 1696–1715, 100 x 52 cm, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires



Fig. 3 Miguel González, *Conquest of Mexico*, N°9, c. 1696–1715, 100 x 52 cm, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes of Buenos Aires

two belonged to the Novohispanic Painters’ Guild, which was rightly generous in its praise of the excellent work and quality of the pieces produced in their Mexico City workshop (Fig. 4).

Some of the works from the series relating the *Episodes of The Conquest of Mexico* are signed by Miguel González alone, and are housed at the National Museum of Fine Arts in Buenos Aires, and the panel *The Allegories on the Creed*, which is at the National Museum of History in Mexico. In 1698, both of them signed works of historical significance, such as the *Episodes of the Conquest*, of a historical nature, reproduced here and kept at the Museum of America in Madrid.

As we said, Juan González’s signed and dated works are from around



Fig. 4 Juan González, *Nativity*, 1662, 32.5 x 41 cm, Smithsonian American Art Museum

1662 to 1703, while those by Miguel date from around 1692 to 1698. They both signed works that they did not date, and often left their works unsigned, which was extremely common given the amount of work they were commissioned to do, either for display at private residences or for public viewing, with paintings displayed at churches in Mexico, probably including the one in Tlazoyaltepec, Oaxaca.

The same can be said of the unsigned works of numerous painters from Mexico’s viceregal period, the most well-known case being that of Miguel Cabrera in the 18th century.

The period relating to mother-of-pearl inlay works probably did not stretch beyond 100 years (around 1650–1750), but Miguel, and to a lesser extent Juan González, have always been linked to this art form. As already mentioned, Manuel Toussaint concluded that the two were probably Viceregal artists. The number of these paintings still surviving in Mexico is proof that their production levels in New Spain were considerable, and the González signature, visible on a number of paintings, shows that they were the most prolific authors of this unique Novohispanic painting genre; a genre and type of painter, as I said at the outset, that should be seen as marvelous or as an American Marvel.

Sonia I. Ocaña Ruiz observes that these artists were working in Mexico City in the late 17th and early 18th century. She also adds that they were prolific, signing nearly a third of the more than 250 works we know them to have produced. These artists often based their works on the European engravings, often presenting marked Mannerist tendencies, which arrived in New Spain from the numerous printing houses in Frankfurt, and which frequently reproduced the engraving works of Maerten de Vos or Raphael Sadeler. It is highly likely that many of the 160 or so anonymous works featuring mother-of-pearl inlay that currently exist may be attributed to the González and their workshop.

They had a family workshop in Mexico City, specializing in makie and mother-of-pearl inlay techniques. Their panels, the historian informs us, were lined with linen, on top of which a paste was applied on which the drawing was executed and the mother-of-pearl pieces were arranged. Next the final drawing was made and delicate layers of multi-colored glaze were applied and, finally, the surface of the works were polished and lacquered until a smooth shiny sheen was attained. The golden, yellowy effect may have been obtained using saffron.

Juan and Miguel González lived in Mexico City along with Tomás, who was also a master lacquer worker, and the they started to produce their works in the family workshop in the capital of New Spain. It is likely that their business focused primarily on Mexico City.

The González workshop specialized in this sort of mother-of-pearl inlay paintings in Mexico City, rightly earning both popularity and reputation. Their output matched the deluge of orders received for both public and private worship when it came to their religious works, as well as works depicting events, such as historical ones, as seen in the extensive series on the Conquest of Mexico, as mentioned earlier. Whether signed or unsigned, their works were a shining beacon attesting to New Spain’s conciliatory plurality.

The works coming out of the González workshop drew a bridge between New Spain with the Orient, a distant mirror of a developing society that would win its independence in 1821. The influence of Oriental art is noticeable in these pieces in the mother-of-pearl inlay technique. Let us not forget that, under Spanish rule, in 1573 the Philippines became a trade hub and point of exchange, where Japanese and Chinese vessels would arrive laden down with merchandise, and from that point on, for the next three centuries, crafts following

the so-called Manila Galleon or Nao de China trade routes would transport an endless stream of oriental items to Mexico and to the port of Acapulco in particular, for distribution throughout New Spain.

Trade was so intense between New Spain and the Orient that, for example, the “Indian Company” dinner service, which was so widely used in New Spain, was made in the Orient, in the city of Jingdezhen to be exact. Indian Company porcelain was in particularly high demand among the Novohispanic elite, following the fashion of European tastes. There is no doubt that this opulent art form had a powerful influence on the tastes of Mexican society during that period.

These paintings were executed at the second half of the 17th century and early the 18th century. They mark a fundamental milestone in viceregal art and culture in New Spain. The González were not the only artists developing this technique, and we can now also point to the works of Nicolás Correa, Antonio de Santander and Agustín del Pino. What is true, however, is that the González had the biggest mother-of-pearl inlay workshop in Mexico City, carrying out the largest number of commissions.

We have already mentioned that this technique was characterized by the encrustation of pieces of mother-of-pearl of varying sizes and shapes adapted to a drawing previously sketched out on a wooden panel. The drawing would be traced out on the base so as to serve as a model for using glue to apply the little pieces of mother-of-pearl across the different areas, whether depicting architectural elements or the clothes of the figures represented, as well as a range of decorative motifs such as flowers and birds, as the scene required. Next a preparatory base was applied onto which a second drawing was traced out with ornamental and iconographic motifs (Fig. 5).

J.E.



Fig. 5 Miguel González, *Virgin of Guadalupe*, end of 17th century to start of 18th century, 124.5 x 95.3 cm, Los Angeles County Museum of Art



Miguel González
Mexico, active second half of 17th century

Infant Jesus and Infant John the Baptist
Oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel
21.5 x 28 cm
Signed 'Miguel Gonzal'
Inscription on the cartouche *AGNUS ADEST AGNIS*
Provenance: Private collection, London

Miguel González, “*skilled in said art of painting*”^a and undeniably a benchmark figure in the mother-of-pearl inlay (*enconchado*) technique,² was born in 1662 to a family of artists. His father, Tomás González de Villaverde, “*master of ‘maque’ painting*”³, had his own workshop in Mexico City where, in all likelihood, Miguel would have received his first commissions. Not much else is known about this master artist, although a considerable number of his works have survived to this day, bearing witness to Miguel as an original creator and eminent figure, along with another artist from the family, Juan, in this unusual artform of a uniquely New Spanish variety.

The work we have before us here, probably a private commission to judge by the exceptional quality of its iconography, should be dated to



Fig. 1 Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *Infant Jesus and Infant John the Baptist*, oil on canvas, 17th century. F. Bonilla-Musoles Collection, Valencia

towards the end of the 17th century, given “*the works signed by Miguel González relate to 1692–1698*”.⁴ The image, with its undeniable debt to Murillo, probably based on one of the prints reproducing this scene from Christ’s childhood (one of the Seville painter’s creative specialties) (Fig. 1), is a showcase of skill and virtuosity, luminosity and sweetness which, clearly seen in the drawing of the faces and in the masterful inlay work, tell us this is a González, “*unique in specializing in these kinds of paintings*”.⁵

The scene, with its anecdotal ambience, in the style of genre painting, is presided over by the two main protagonists. The Infant Jesus, chubby and full of vitality, is located on the left of the composition. With his sweet expression and downward-tilting head, chubby blushing cheeks and long, wavy auburn hair, he is seen wearing an off-white robe, made up of big pieces of mother-of-pearl, arranged regularly, and on top of which one can discern a thin coat of paint that heightens the brilliant sheen of this organic/inorganic material with total freedom. Standing opposite him is the Infant John the Baptist, accompanied by a mother-of-pearl lamb, one of the latter’s key iconographic attributes. The cousin of Christ, equally chubby and in good health, is pictured wearing a reddish loincloth, also made up of pieces of mother-of-pearl on top of which a coat of color has subsequently been applied, helping to lend the composition its intended iridescence. The landscape opens out behind him, with a reduced color palette, in a sort of interplay of washed-out tones of ochre, and which enters into contact and contrast with the execution

of the trees, located slightly more to the foreground and closer to the viewer, impacting on the scene’s sense of space. The trees, mostly to the left of the visual narrative, rise up in a combination of brown brushstrokes and subtle mother-of-pearl inlay.

Finally, it is worth drawing attention to the vibrant and colorful decoration running along the edges which, acting as a frame within the painting, is a peerless display of skill, reminding us of the masterful technique and aesthetic originality to be found in the oeuvre of Miguel González (Fig. 2). This compositional element, subject of the almost exclusive attention of the artist and, I fear, the spectator, too, is made up of an ordered succession of pieces of mother-of-pearl on which, with gilt edging, a decorative border arranged symmetrically has been drawn, and whose point of reference is the lower cartouche on which we can read the words: “*AGNUS ADEST AGNIS*”. As such, this undeniably Baroque-inspired decoration is made up of acanthus leaves, phytomorphic motifs, volutes and a pair of cherubim presiding over the upper corners.

The artist has shown his superlative skill in composition and technique in this wonderful work, creating a scene of surprising sweetness in which the figures appear to pose joyfully for the delight of the viewer.

S.F.L.



Fig. 2 Miguel González, *Last Judgement*, 17th century. Museo Nacional del Virreinato, Tepotzotlán



Juan González
Mexico, active 1662–1703

Thou Shalt Not Kill
Mexico, c. 1697–1703
Oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel
44.5 x 60.5 cm
Signed 'Ju, Go, Fe'
Provenance: Private collection, London

This previously-unpublished mother-of-pearl inlay (*enconchado*) panel, which is excellent in technical and artistic terms, constitutes a major addition to the catalogue raisonné of *enconchados* signed by the Mexican painter Juan González, renowned member of the dynasty of *maque*⁶ painters sharing his surname.

The few surviving documentary references mention “*al menos dos generaciones de los González involucradas en las pinturas incrustadas en concha*”⁷ (*at least two generations of the González family involved in mother-of-pearl inlay painting*), and hint at the possible relationship between Juan and Tomás González Villaverde, the father of Miguel González, a name and figure inextricably linked to the painter we are dealing with here. However, further study still needs to be undertaken in this, a new avenue of scholarship that has just recently opened up in the Historiography of Viceroyal Art, and to which we humbly add this newly-discovered work.

We know little of Juan’s life, other than that he was active from 1662 to 1703 in Mexico City, where he attained the title of Master and ran his own workshop. It is thought, judging by the extensive timespan between his first (1662) and last (1703) signed works, that his output was considerable, and that it contributed to both the creation and success of this new artistic *maniera*. We also know that the Mexican artist’s signed works are dated (other than *Nativity* from the Smithsonian American Art Museum, which is dated 1662) to between 1697 and 1703⁸, a timeframe into which we would place the execution of the panel we are presenting here, in whose lower left-hand corner we can make out the signature that justifies the work’s attribution (Fig. 1). We can therefore date the creation of this beautiful work of mother-of-pearl to the pinnacle of this particular artform’s period of creation which has been limited geographically as well as chronologically to the viceroyalty of New Spain during 1650–1750, despite its global appeal since it first appeared.



Fig. 1 Juan González, *Nativity*, 1662, Smithsonian American Art Museum. Tepotzotlán, Mexico

The work, executed in landscape format, may have been part of a series dedicated to the Ten Commandments, to judge by the Latin inscription reading “*PRÆCEPTVM . V. non occides*” (*FIFTH COMMANDMENT: thou shalt not kill*). Although this is the first panel discovered from this hypothetical series, the execution of the clothing and the postures of the figures are highly reminiscent of previously-discovered works by the artist such as the *Conquest of Mexico* series from a private collection, unveiled in 2016 by Dr. Ocaña

Ruiz, who did not hesitate to attribute it to the González artists (Fig. 2).

As is often the case in works by this family of artists, the events depicted take place against a background immersed in a contrasting chromatic palette, which sets aside coffee-colored and yellowish tones for the landscape, while the clothing is entirely bathed in harmonious, luminous reds and greens. The spectator’s eye is primarily drawn to the two figures fighting in the middle third of the composition. What might otherwise be interpreted as a peace-making embrace turns into the one-sided stabbing of the Turkish soldier’s stomach (identified by his turban) by his Roman assailant. Both soldiers are pictured in sumptuous attire, executed using large and well-arranged fragments of mother-of-pearl, onto which a fine, yet dramatic coat of color has been applied, helping to nuance the brilliant shine of the mother-of-pearl.

Moving on to the right-hand side of the composition, we see a battalion of Roman soldiers hidden behind a rocky outcrop, waiting to be summoned into action. Armed with spears and shields, they are wearing the same nacreous clothing as the figures pictured in combat on the left-hand side of the panel, where three Roman soldiers are running to the rescue of a fellow battalion member who is being put to the sword by one of their Turkish counterparts, while the former kneels in prayer under the roof of a domed temple. In the foreground, two further Roman soldiers are racing to take part in the fight.

Moving to the rear, we come to a city visible in the background. Working on three different planes, González has set aside part of his exquisite inlay work for the architectural features that rise up, brilliant and monumental, shrouded by a series of faintly-suggested hilltops.

Finally, it remains for us to mention the virtuoso drawing work, which precisely depicts details such as the faces of the figures or the feathers adorning the helmet of the main Roman soldier. This fact demonstrates just how seriously he took his pictorial work, a level of dedication that earned him the support of the New Spanish painters’ guild, all the while aware that he would give himself over entirely to this sort of mother-of-pearl inlay painting.

S.F.L.



Fig. 2 Attributed to Juan González and Miguel González, *Conquest of Mexico*, series of 24 panels, c. 1696–1701, private collection



Miguel González and Juan González

Mexico, 17th /18th century

Saint Joseph and the Infant Jesus
Saint Martin on Horseback

Mexico, c. 1690

Oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel

Both 86 x 60 cm

Provenance: Coll. Paul D. Deutz, Rancho Santa Fe, California

One of the first art researchers in Mexico to publish on the technique of painting with mother-of-pearl inlay (*enconchado*) in New Spain was Manuel Toussaint, considered by many the father of Novohispanic art history, and the respected author of a wide-ranging canon of works that would feature prominently in the reference bibliography of any viceregal art scholar.

The dearth of specific information regarding the life and work of the two masters of mother-of-pearl, Juan and Miguel González, was an ongoing issue referred to by Toussaint⁹ as early as his benchmark study entitled *La pintura con incrustaciones de concha nácar en Nueva España* (*Paintings with mother-of-pearl inlay in New Spain*). However, it is to this generation of learned scholars, respectful for, and generous with, the artistic creations emerging across the ocean, that we owe the recognition which has been bestowed on the History of Art in the Viceroyalty, a path they began to forge in the 1920s and which we should continue to walk today. This generation of thinkers also included Alfonso Reyes who, with regard to the subject we are addressing here, published a series of panels signed by Miguel González in the journal “Contemporáneos”, depicting a number of *Episodes of the Conquest of Mexico*.

Tomás González de Villaverde, probably the father of Miguel González de Mier, was also a master lacquer-worker residing in Mexico City, where it is thought the bulk of the production of this sort of art was concentrated. The González had a family workshop in Mexico City specializing in the “*makie*” lacquer technique and mother-of-pearl inlay. The panels, as the art historian Toussaint points out, were lined with linen, on top of which a paste was applied on which the drawing was made, and the mother-of-pearl arranged. The final drawing was then executed, and delicate layers of glaze in varying colors were applied. Lastly, the surfaces were polished and lacquered until a smooth shiny sheen was attained. The golden, yellowy effect may have been obtained using saffron.

The workshop was highly rated and enjoyed well-deserved renown. The surviving documentary material talks of a deluge of commissions for both public and private worship, which went beyond the city itself, stretching across the Atlantic.

As such, the fact that between 80 and 100 mother-of-pearl pieces have been identified on Iberian soil points (beyond the commercial dynamics of return journeys) to an artistic form that was admired and sought after by the most discerning eyes on the old continent. Proof of this is the growing esteem this type of work has garnered among collectors and institutions, enjoying ever-increasing prominence on

the walls of major private collections and museums such as Madrid’s Museo de América, the Museo Nacional de Historia (INAH) and the Franz Mayer in Mexico City, and many other museums in the US.

With regard to Juan and Miguel González¹⁰, both members of the Novohispanic Painters’ Guild, we should that not all their works were signed, which should come as no surprise in artists who, considered masters of their field, had to deal with a considerable number of commissions. As such, we find panels signed by both, by just one of them and by neither. Of those signed by Juan, we could mention the *Virgin of Valvanera*, housed at the Museo de América in Madrid or a *Nativity*, signed in 1662, housed at the Smithsonian Institute in Washington. Miguel, meanwhile, signed some of the series from the *Episodes of the Conquest of Mexico* which, are housed at the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes in Buenos Aires, as well as the panel depicting the Allegories on the Creed, located in Mexico’s Museo Nacional de Historia (Fig. 1). Of the works signed by the two, it is worth highlighting the historical *Episodes of the Conquest* on display at Madrid’s Museo de América, alongside other works of exceptional quality from New Spain, such as, for example, so-called *Casta* (Caste) painting.

The work of the González brought New Spain and the Orient together; a distant mirror of a developing society that won its independence in 1821. These works present a marked Oriental influence in their mother-of-pearl inlay technique. Let us not forget that, under Spanish rule, the Philippines became a commercial hub, a



Fig. 1 Miguel González, *St. Philip*, “Allegories on the Creed” series, late 17th or early 18th century, framed 84.8 x 106.2 cm. Museo Nacional del Virreinato, Tepozotlán, Mexico



Fig. 2 Anonymous, *Ottoman Chest*, tortoiseshell with mother-of-pearl and ivory, Turkey, 18th century



Fig. 3 Anonymous, *Lectern*, mother-of-pearl inlay, Mexican work with Oriental influence, Mexico, 18th century

point of exchange where Chinese junks and Japanese trading vessels would arrive laden down with merchandise, and from that point on, for three centuries, crafts following the so-called Galeón de Manila or Nao de China trade routes would transport an endless stream of Oriental items to Mexico, and to the port of Acapulco in particular, to be widely distributed throughout New Spain, where one could find works with similar techniques such as *Namban* lacquer (Figs. 2 and 3).

It is in the context of the above that the two extraordinary pieces being presented here (a *St. Joseph and the Infant Jesus* and a *St. Martin on Horseback*) were created, and which, due to their fattura and exceptional quality, may be clearly attributed to the González. The *St. Joseph and the Infant Jesus* is of exceptional quality: the clothing is rendered out of a real mosaic of mother-of-pearl, as the edges of each of the pieces making up the Infant and St. Joseph are a perfect fit for the ones that surround them. The way in which the composition has been executed in general suggests a dynamism inherent to this artform. One might almost say we are in the presence of a moving act that has been captured with great skill. The folds of the robe and clothes of the Divine Child, as well as the execution of the hands, in a noticeably Flemish style, combined with the composition of the landscape overall, flanked by leafy trees and a Medieval city with the dove of the Holy Spirit and some rocks in the foreground, make this scene from the life of St. Joseph and the Infant Jesus an undeniable testament to Christian piety and faith.

St. Joseph, who is depicted as a young man with dark hair and beard, wearing shoes and holding the “flowering staff”, a clear reference to his being chosen among a group of men to be the Virgin Mary’s husband, lovingly holds out his hand to the Infant Jesus, in this iconographic composition which became popular during the Renaissance, where the Virgin Mary also reaches out to the Divine Child or is seen carrying Him, holding her Son in a more intimate and familiar manner. Jesus turns around to see his father, in a gesture of reaching out his hand to Joseph’s, carrying a cross and a little basket containing a number of unidentified objects, probably including a bird.

The subtle brilliance of the mother-of-pearl invited (as it still does today) the viewer to move around the work, in such a way that, in general, the appearance of these pieces varied according to the light and perspective of the onlooker. As the majority of this sort of work were displayed in private residences, it is reasonable to conclude that the faithful who had them in their homes really would come up close to, and circle around, them. Furthermore, as may be appreciated here, the stunning frame with its design of well-arranged flowers and different types of birds was created with the additional intention of impressing the public. The shadows projected by the divine figures are highly reminiscent of the powerful chiaroscuro of Golden Age Spain.

The intimate and natural rendering of the divine figures combines with the landscape in the foreground, where stones, plants and rocks lend perspective and color. However, the background is a return to a traditional type of landscape/stage resembling a curtain or tapestry, where an ideal city reinforces the compositional weight, in which everything is accumulated in an orderly fashion.

The second work we are studying here is a *St. Martin on Horseback*, without doubt a unique piece in terms of its subject, as there is no other recorded Mexican *enconchado* depicting what is a particularly interesting scene from a historical and iconographic point of view.

The figure of St. Martin on horseback is especially important in Latin America in general, and in New Spain in particular, as he was considered the patron saint of a number of the region’s territories,

among which it is worth highlighting: Acayucan, located today in the State of Veracruz; San Martín Texmelucan in the State of Puebla, and Tixtla in the latter-day State of Guerrero.

St. Martin was born in 316 AD, in what we now know as Hungary. During his time as a Roman soldier, the exemplary episode occurred for which he is now remembered and honored and where, the story goes, one winter’s night Martin encountered a beggar at the gates to the city of Amiens. With nothing more than his arms and simple soldier’s attire, he prayed for those who were passing by to take mercy on the destitute naked man. And yet nobody came to his aid so the saint, taking his sword, cut his cloak in two, giving one half to the beggar and symbolically keeping back the other half for the Roman army. That night St. Martin dreamt that Christ, risen and dressed in half a cloak, announced his good deed to the angels.

In this González *enconchado* work, the Saint presides over the center of the composition, mounted on his white steed, with a great taffeta headdress, holding the horse’s bridle with an amiable gesture and using his sword to cut the cloak in two.



Fig. 4 El Greco, *St. Martin and the Beggar*, oil on canvas, c. 1541–1614. National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC

On the left, and next to a tree, a grateful pauper is receiving the garment. He is leaning on his crutch and presents signs of leprosy. The feet of the beggar, and the faces and hands of both figures, are painstakingly drawn, without neglecting the enlarged toes which may be observed in other works by these painters. The horse is firmly and confidently rendered, in accordance with a very specific form of interpretation, reminiscent of the simplicity of Chinese painting. What is surprising here is that the González should have followed the same compositional model as the *St. Martin* by El Greco now housed in Washington (Fig. 4).

The intimate and almost supernatural approach of this painting combines with the foreground landscape, which is a return to a traditional sort of theatrical curtain, made up of distant horizons with little elevations of land and leafy trees. The log standing in the horse’s way is also a distinctive characteristic of the aforementioned artists. The leaves of varying plants are executed in great detail, but are conventionally distributed. The shimmering sheen, the composition and the stunning chromatic tones of these works by the González posed a challenge to the viewing public and clientele of 17th and 18th century New Spain. The way light reflects on their works’ crystalline surfaces is still as amazing and captivating today as it was then.

It is important to highlight that the frames of these two paintings, *St. Joseph and the Infant Jesus* and *St. Martin on Horseback*, both present the same *enconchado* technique, the decoration of which was undertaken using a simple combination of flowers, petals and varying birds, which point to the many influences on these kinds of works which were displayed in churches and private chapels.

A.A.



**Nativity
Flight into Egypt**

Unidentified artist
Mexico, last quarter of the 17th century
Oil and mother-of-pearl on a wooden panel
Both 32.5 x 36 cm
Framed 48.5 x 52.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection, London

This previously unpublished pair of panels are magnificent example of *enconchado* painting, a hybrid artistic technique that combines oil and tempera painting with mother-of-pearl inlay work. We still know very little about the origins of this artistic method, with some history of art scholars pointing to Oriental influences in a Japanese lacquerware style known as *namban*, which may have reached the New World through the open trade of the Manila Galleon or “Nao de China”. Although the two techniques used in each of the processes are completely different, there is no denying that the result obtained has one common denominator, which is hard to explain without some kind of stylistic inter-dependence having come into play.

However, beyond whatever influences may have inspired the inception of this unusual and opulent artform, its material origin appears to have been confirmed, being traced to Mexico City and a family of *maque*¹¹ painters with the surname González, whose workshops produced the first *enconchado* works for at least two generations.

As such, and focusing on the attractive visual and light effects obtained through this technique, it should come as no surprise that an artform produced over such a limited timeframe (1650–1750) and in such a restricted area (the Viceroyalty of New Spain) has warranted (and continues to do so) the admiration of so many collectors and museums across the globe, with these showcases of iridescence embellishing the walls of such renowned institutions as the Museo del Prado and Museo de América in Madrid, the Museo de Bellas Artes in Buenos Aires, and the Smithsonian American Art Museum in Washington.

Before examining each of these two superb works, I would like to draw the reader’s attention to the growing interest art historians have been showing of late in the production of this artform and its results, aware as they are of the neglect and oblivion to which these “peripheral” artistic expressions have been consigned over the many years of Universal Art History scholarship, now deciding to take off their Eurocentric spectacles and start looking with all due respect at those artistic expressions born of processes that came about on the fringes of the sort of specialization taking place in Europe after the Renaissance.¹²

The first signs of this necessary shift in focus came about in the early decades of the last century, courtesy of authors such as Alfonso Reyes and Genaro Estrada, to whom we owe the opening up of an avenue of erudition and dissemination that the likes of Manuel Toussaint and Guillermo Tovar de Teresa continued to tread, and which is now

frequented by the numerous and invaluable contributions of the Mexican scholar Sonia Ocaña Ruiz. It is largely to her that we must give thanks for the most important revelations, given that of the 250 works we know of today, only 150 had been recorded in 1980.¹³ Recently-discovered pieces include two square *enconchado* works identified as *The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* (Fig. 1) and *The Circumcision* (Fig. 2), and it is to this series of works that the two *enconchados* we are examining here belong.

This recent and burgeoning intellectual dedication, based on the study of new works that have come to light, as well as the publication of early documentary records found in public and private archives, has enabled us to increase the number of surnames now frequently mentioned in association with the manufacture of *enconchado* paintings, and to whose orbit it is likely that the two works we are addressing today, *Nativity* and *Flight into Egypt*, belong. In anticipation of forthcoming studies delving into the stylistic peculiarities of each of these artists, for the time being we can at least publish the names of these masters who, along with the González family, played leading roles in the *History of the Enconchado*, it being worth highlighting Nicolás Correa¹⁴, Agustín del Pino, Pedro López Calderón and a mysterious figure named Rodulpho.¹⁵

In accordance with the chronological order in which the Episodes from Christ’s life are narrated, the first of the two *enconchados* being studied here is the *Nativity*. The birth of Christ has been one of the most popular scenes depicted in Christian art since medieval times, so its forms of representation and iconographic variations are almost as numerous as the written sources narrating it.

Beyond the literary source on which this visual narrative was undoubtedly founded, all indications are that the author of this painstaking *enconchado* must have had access to one of the many Flemish prints that made the journey from Europe to the New World, in the context of the Counter Reformation and with the purpose of spreading the Catholic faith. This claim is based, among other things, on the arrangement of the holy scene within the ruins of a building, emphasizing the idea that the Church (New Testament) would be built on the ruins of the Synagogue (Old Testament), an iconographic element introduced by 15th-century Flemish painting.¹⁶

It is as such that we observe how the artist has produced a composition generous in technical virtuosity and color, whose protagonists occupy

the central part of the panel. The Virgin, exquisitely drawn, appears kneeling down, showing affection for the newly-born Child, in a display of the maternal/filial bond between them. Her face, which is perfectly individualized, tells us that behind the execution of this piece there is a mother-of-pearl artist who put just as much skill and attention into the drawing as into the inlay work. In accordance with the habitual depiction of the Virgin, Mary is portrayed in an electric blue cloak, whose color is particularly intense thanks to the application of a pictorial layer on top of the big, regular pieces of mother-of-pearl. This garment is also adorned with a decorative gilt hem that helps to imbue it with luminosity. Under the cloak we can make out the Virgin’s pink robe, made once more of mother-of-pearl. In the middle, the new-born Child is lying in a manger. Resting on a sheet that his Mother is attempting to arrange Him on, the Infant Christ, wrapped in swaddling cloths, receives the adoration of his father who, kneeling and in an act of prayer, observes the Child from the left of the composition. St. Joseph is also pictured in robe and cloak. Both garments are made up of pieces of polychrome mother-of-pearl, the robe being sky blue while the cloak is a mixture of tones of brown. To Joseph’s right, also kneeling down in prayer, we observe the midwife, who presents the same iridescence as the rest of the figures, and whose clothing is also made up of pieces of mother-of-pearl. Behind them, the classical ruins, which have been traced with a fine gilt outline, extend across the whole composition, featuring various silhouettes and details. To the right of the scene, we can see the heads of an ox and donkey sticking out over a wall, witnessing the arrival of God.

The second of the two *enconchados*, which features the same technique and luminosity as the work we have just described, narrates the Flight into Egypt, an episode depicted in at least two known *enconchado* works. This iconography, whose graphic source probably had its roots in some European engraving, only appears in one canonical text, that being the Gospel according to Matthew: “*When they had gone, an angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream. ‘Get up,’ he said, ‘take the child and his mother and escape to Egypt. Stay there until I tell you, for Herod is going to search for the child to kill him.’ So he got up, took the child and his mother during the night and left for Egypt*”.

The composition shares the same square format and density of color as the Nativity described earlier. In the middle of the panel we find the protagonists of the Biblical story, where a succession of large pieces of mother-of-pearl is arranged in an orderly fashion serving as a support for the drawing and providing the desired iridescence to be found in the clothing, rocks, tree trunks and fruits. The Virgin Mary is pictured sitting on the back of a donkey, which St. Joseph is pulling by its halter, with the Infant Christ perfectly swathed in her arms. The Virgin, lavishly attired and in accordance with the norms regulating how she should be represented, is wearing an electric blue cloak, particularly brilliant thanks to the effects of the mother-of-pearl shining through under the pictorial layer. Under her cloak she wears a red robe, both deep and brilliant at the same time. St. Joseph is seen walking on her left, wearing a black hat and with the aid of a stick. Leading the others along in their expedition, he shows concern for his family, looking back at them sweetly with a slight tilt of the head. He wears a cloak made of mother-of-pearl, featuring a range of brown tones and decorated with a fine gold border all around it.

Two trees rise up, framing the scene. A slender palm tree laden down with fruit stands on the right, made up of fragments of mother-of-pearl and a palette of colors restricted to yellows and browns. This is matched by the tone of the stumpy tree trunk on the left of the composition, whose color respects the original iridescence of the mother-of-pearl. A bird is seen perched in amongst the branches, the sole witness of the Holy Family’s forced flight. Towards the back of

the composition we can make out the city of Jerusalem, depicted in features of clearly classical architecture.

Finally, and as one last compositional element that needs to be addressed and studied, we come to the frames. Far from neglecting his work here, our artist has dedicated a level of technique that is worthy of admiration, and which draws close parallels with what we have described in the paintings, thereby showing that the frames were also highly valued. These provide a lavish showcase for a rich ornamental repertoire replete with floral and bird motifs, decorative elements that were common in these kinds of works, and whose inclusion, with their unmistakable Oriental air, points clearly to the González family.

S.F.L.



Fig. 1 Unidentified artist, *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, 17th century. Private collection



Fig. 2 Unidentified artist, *The Circumcision*, 17th century. Private collection



Attributed to Miguel González
Mexico, active second half of 17th century

Flight into Egypt
Mexico, late 17th century
Oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel
61.5 x 87 cm
Framed 84.5 x 110 cm
Provenance: Private collection, London

Before embarking on our study of the work we are presenting here, it is worth mentioning the recent attention being paid by art history scholars to the mother-of-pearl inlay (*enconchado*)¹⁷ technique, as although there were reference works published as early as the 1930s, the majority of studies, along with the major discoveries, occurred at a later date, given that of the 250 works known today, only 150 were documented in 1980.¹⁸

Regardless of intellectual vicissitudes, we may now, with all the known published documentation to hand, speak in no uncertain terms of the *enconchado* as an artform originating in New Spain.¹⁹ The González family of artists were at the forefront of this marvelous technique from its inception right up to the height of its artistic expression, and it is in this context that this previously unpublished *Flight into Egypt*²⁰ came into being, specifically by the hand of Miguel González.

The above ought to serve to contextualize an attribution in the absence of specific documentation, and there being no author’s signature (quite common in works by both Juan González and Miguel González), relies primarily on a comparative analysis of style and technique.

The iconography depicted, which probably drew inspiration from one of the many engravings that were sent to the New World for evangelical purposes, is the *Flight into Egypt*, an episode taken from Christ’s childhood, the only canonical source for which is to be found in the Gospel according to Matthew: “*When they had gone, an angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream. ‘Get up,’ he said, ‘take the child and his mother and escape to Egypt. Stay there until I tell you, for Herod is going to search for the child to kill him.’ So he got up, took the child and his mother during the night and left for Egypt*”.²¹

The scene, executed in landscape format, taking place against an open backdrop with a sparsely contrasting palette where tones of sepia predominate producing a watercolor effect, gives us an immediate indication that the Mexican painter may well have been its author. In the first place, and occupying the middle of the image, which features the greatest density of mother-of-pearl, generating an explosion of iridescent color, we find the protagonists of the story. The Virgin Mary, wearing a blue cloak, pink robe and boasting a golden aureole, is carrying the new-born Infant Jesus in her arms, swathed in a white cloth, while she travels sat on the back of a donkey which two opulently-dressed angels are pulling by its halter. To her left, St. Joseph is seen walking with the aid of a stick, dressed in a red shirt, green robe and yellow cloak and hat. The central composition, which bears witness to Miguel González’s careful and painstaking drawing, evident in the delicate faces of the Virgin and St. Joseph, is made up of dazzling little fragments of mother-of-pearl, arranged in mosaic fashion to simulate their clothing, covered by a thin and transparent

pictorial layer that does nothing to diminish their brilliant sheen. In the background, and helping to lend the panel a certain depth, we observe a group of four figures, fainter both in line and color, made up of two Roman soldiers and two peasants. Behind them, the city of Jerusalem catches the eye due to its lavish architecture, built up on fine sketching combined with painstaking inlay work.

In conclusion, as one final compositional element and a González family hallmark, it is worth noting the trees, with their stumpy trunks, arranged in the foreground and embellished, beyond the drawing, using the aforementioned inlay technique.

The other component that serves to confirm the attribution, beyond all of the comparative compositional elements, may be observed in the work’s frame, as the González family artists paid particular attention to the presentation of their frames,²² which had a characteristic style, accompanying the work almost as part of it, with painting and frame combining to form one single entity in perfect harmony. Although the technique employed here is the same as on the painting, the aesthetic aim of this decorative element was different, being more akin to a Japanese style of lacquerware known as namban. The frame we have before us here, which is particularly rich in ornamentation, is conceived of as a border around the painting, populated with flowers, leaves, birds, bunches of grapes and other decorative motifs, with a certain level of relief, whose factura is much the same as the frames seen in the series of the *Life of the Virgin* attributed to either Miguel or Juan González, eight works from which are preserved in Madrid’s Museo de América (Fig. 1). It is also known that three more works belonging to this series exist, though their whereabouts are currently unknown, with one such possibly being the *Adoration of the Magi* (Fig. 2) from a Catalan private collection, while the *Flight into Egypt* we have before us here could well be another. The similar execution of the ornamental motifs present on the corners of the frame from this series and those visible in the works at the Museo Nacional del Virreinato in Tepotzotlán should serve to reinforce our attribution.

S.F.L.



Fig. 1 Attributed to Juan González or Miguel González, *The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, “Life of the Virgin” series, late 17th century. Museo de América, Madrid



Fig. 2 Attributed to Juan González or Miguel González, *Adoration of the Magi*, late 17th century. Private collection



González Workshop
Mexico, late 17th–early 18th century

Virgin of Atocha
Oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel
28 x 18.8 cm
Framed 45 x 36 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain

This work, given its excellent quality with which it was executed, surely comes from the workshop of Juan and Miguel González. The representation of the Virgin of Atocha was probably a private commission. The original paintings’ frame also boast the same mother-of-pearl inlay technique, with decorative motifs including a simple combination of flowers, petals and birds.

The motif of the Virgin and Child has been taken from the sculpture of the Virgin of Atocha in the Basilica of Our Lady of Atocha in Madrid. In primitive times when the prevailing custom was to dress religious images, the Virgin of Atocha, dressed and covered in opulent robes with just her face and hands bare, looked almost life-size. Currently, stripped of her robes, the image looks like a non-polychrome wooden statuette, sat on a throne, the symbol of royalty and the seat of knowledge.

This exquisite painting with mother-of-pearl inlay is true to the original iconography of the Virgin of Atocha. The mother-of-pearl inlay is arranged on the clothes of the Virgin and the Infant, thereby recreating the rich robes possessed by the Virgin. On these irregular pieces of mother-of-pearl, oil paint and gilding has been used to depict the folds and varying details making up the rich quilting of the Virgin of Atocha’s opulent attire. The crescent moon held by the angel on the base is also encrusted with mother-of-pearl. The mother-of-pearl inlay reflects the light thereby lending the work a special sort of iridescent luminosity. The faces of the Virgin and the Infant are oil-painted in a dark brown color. The crown and radiance are painted in the same manner. Like the painting, the frame presents mother-of-pearl inlay and oil paint, depicting delicate flowers and birds.

The frame once again presents the same mother-of-pearl inlay technique as the painting, which shows that both painting and frame were closely related, each going with the other.

This painting was executed at the end of the 17th century and start of the 18th century. These extraordinary works mark a fundamental milestone in viceregal art and culture in New Spain. The González were not the only artists developing this technique, and we can now also point to the works of Nicolás Correa, Antonio de Santander and Agustín del Pino. What is true, however, is that the González had the biggest mother-of-pearl inlay workshop in Mexico City, carrying out the largest number of commissions.

V.V.I.



González Workshop
Mexico, late 17th–early 18th century

Saint Joachim, Saint Anne and the Child Virgin
Oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel
29 x 19 cm
Framed 41 x 35 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain

This fine painting describes Saint Joachim, Saint Anne and the Virgin as a Child, skilfully executed and with good resolution, light effects, delineation and colouring, with predominant shades of ochre, red and grey. This has been a common subject of Novohispanic and European art, representing the different stages of the Virgin’s life. The painting captures the moment at which the parents of the Virgin, who appear in the foreground, are leading the Child Virgin by the hand to the temple in order to be consecrated to God. Above them we see the allegory of the Holy Spirit and God the Father. This work, given its excellent quality with which it was executed, surely comes from the workshop of Juan González and Miguel González.

The skin color of the figures and the angels were executed in oil paint, as well the dove, representing the Holy Spirit. In short, oil paint was used to recreate whatever could not be done with mother-of-pearl.

In this work we find mother-of-pearl inlay in the frame, the clothing and in the figure of the Holy Father, above the Holy Spirit. One interesting detail is that the inlay of the clothing is divided into various fragments, and the folds in the fabric are minutely traced in oil paint. In short, this is a type of painting that, despite its scant resources, faithfully depicts scenes from the life of the Virgin. The mother-of-pearl inlay reflects the light thereby lending the work a special sort of iridescent luminosity.

This is most certainly a work carried out on commission and aimed, at private worship, its small format indicates it. It is important to point out that this paintings’ frame also boast the same mother-of-pearl inlay technique, with decorative motifs including a simple combination of flowers, petals and birds, which shows that both painting and frame were closely related, each with the other.

V.V.I.



Anonymous artist, *Saint Joachim, Saint Anne and the Child Virgin*, Ecuador, 18th century, oil on canvas. Museo de San Francisco, Quito

**Attributed to Miguel González**

Mexico, active second half of 17th century

Saint Ignatius of Loyola and Saint Francis Xavier

Mexico, late 17th century

Oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel

44.5 x 62.5 cm

Framed 68.5 x 86 cm

Provenance: Private collection, London

The work we are presenting here is a previously unpublished and unusual example of the *enconchado* technique, a hybrid pictorial genre with roots in New Spanish Baroque, involving the combination of oil and tempera painting with mother-of-pearl inlay.²³

The González family of artists is thought to have been the driving force behind this much-admired and reclaimed artform,²⁴ with output restricted to the Viceroyalty of New Spain during 1650–1750. Although Nicolás Correa, Agustín del Pino, Pedro López Calderón, and a mysterious figure known as Rodulpho have all been linked to mother-of-pearl workshops as a result of the growing body of research aimed at documenting and expanding our knowledge of this technique, there is no doubt that Juan and Miguel remain the main focus of attention in terms of quantity and quality. We attribute authorship of this work to the latter, who we know left a large portion of his output unsigned.²⁵

The composition, arranged vertically, is unique in iconographic terms, with the one single parallel (with numerous contrasts in subject and technique) found to date being a *Saint Thomas Aquinas preaching from a Pulpit*, an *enconchado* belonging to a private collection in Seville. In both cases, the main focus is the sacrament of the Eucharist, the material symbol of the presence of God on earth, represented through His body in our work and through His blood in the Andalusian panel.

It is as such that the work before us which may be interpreted as a “defense and veneration of the Most Holy Sacrament” was in all likelihood the result of a commission made by some Jesuit congregation, judging by the “IHS” seal that can be seen to the mid-left of the panel. This symbol, a monogram of Christ’s name, was adopted by St. Ignatius of Loyola, founding father of the Company of Jesus, and the figure depicted on the left of the composition. On the right, we find St. Francis Xavier, illustrious Jesuit and faithful companion of the founder of the Order in countless portraits. Both figures, dressed in the clothing of the religious community, are wearing black habits, adorned with little pieces of mother-of-pearl that provide the sumptuousness and elegance demanded by the composition, and add the iridescence sought by this kind of *enconchado* work. The scene is taking place symmetrically around an altar decorated with a red cloth featuring inlaid geometrical decorations reminiscent of Japanese lacquerware known as *namban*²⁶, and on the front of which we also see the Jesuit Christogram “IHS”, with more evidence of the influence of this Japanese artform. Despite producing similar aesthetic results, *namban* lacquerware is executed using a completely different technical process, and little light has been shed to date on quite how this Oriental artform came to influence Mexican *enconchado* work.

The monstrance, oversized to match its importance and strategically arranged to be worshipped by both saints, stands over the altar, occupying the central part of the composition and being held aloft by three cherubim. The monstrance is made up of large pieces of natural-colored mother-of-pearl from the foot to the virile, as well as the stem and crown. Two vertical parallel gold bands on both sides of the virile, in the same color as the aureole that surrounds the entire monstrance, are the only decorative elements visible in the holy receptacle. Its drapes hang down in parallel from the top middle section of the image, tracing out a sort of triangle in red and orange tones and decorated with flowers made up of mother-of-pearl inlay and brushstrokes, a device extremely similar to what we see in the González panel Apparition of Christ to the Virgin (Fig. 1) and also highly reminiscent of the Evangelical Scene (Fig. 2) both from the Museo de América in Madrid attributed to the Mexican master.

Finally, but of no less importance, it would be remiss of us to pass over the work executed on the frame, to which the artist gave the prominent role characteristic of González pieces. As such, we see how the artist has integrated the frame into the overall work, applying the same mother-of-pearl technique seen in the rest of the panel, but with a contrasting aesthetic effect that means it bears a greater resemblance to the aforementioned *namban* artform thanks to the application of ornamental floral motifs, volutes and acanthus leaves arranged symmetrically against a blackish background.

S.F.L.

Fig. 1 Attributed to Miguel González, *Apparition of Christ to the Virgin*, 17th century. Museo de América, Madrid



Fig. 2 Attributed to Miguel González, *Evangelical Scene*, 17th century. Museo de América, Madrid



The Coming Together of Two Worlds: Cultural Syncretism



Bernardo Bitti (Camerino (Italy) 1548 – Lima 1610), *Virgin and Child*, Iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús, Arequipa (Peru)

One might say that painting in the Peruvian Viceroyalty began with the Spanish precursor, the sea captain and painter Diego de Mora, who executed the portrait of Atahualpa (Cuzco 1500? –Cajamarca 1533). Viceregal painting would subsequently blossom with three key artists who arrived from Italy: Bernardo Bitti in 1575, Matteo Pérez de Alesio in 1588 and Angelino Medoro in about 1600, developing a Mannerist style. Latin American Baroque would then emerge as a dominant trend in Lima, subsequently giving rise to the peerless School of Cuzco, which was supported by the patron of the arts Bishop Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo (1626–1699). This convergence in painting between the West and the powerful indigenous presence produced a marvelous syncretism in which art distanced itself somewhat from the dominant Western influences, maintaining certain of its own native features. Workshops produced huge numbers of paintings to meet the demands of a number of cities across the Viceroyalty, as well as ongoing orders for works to be exported abroad.













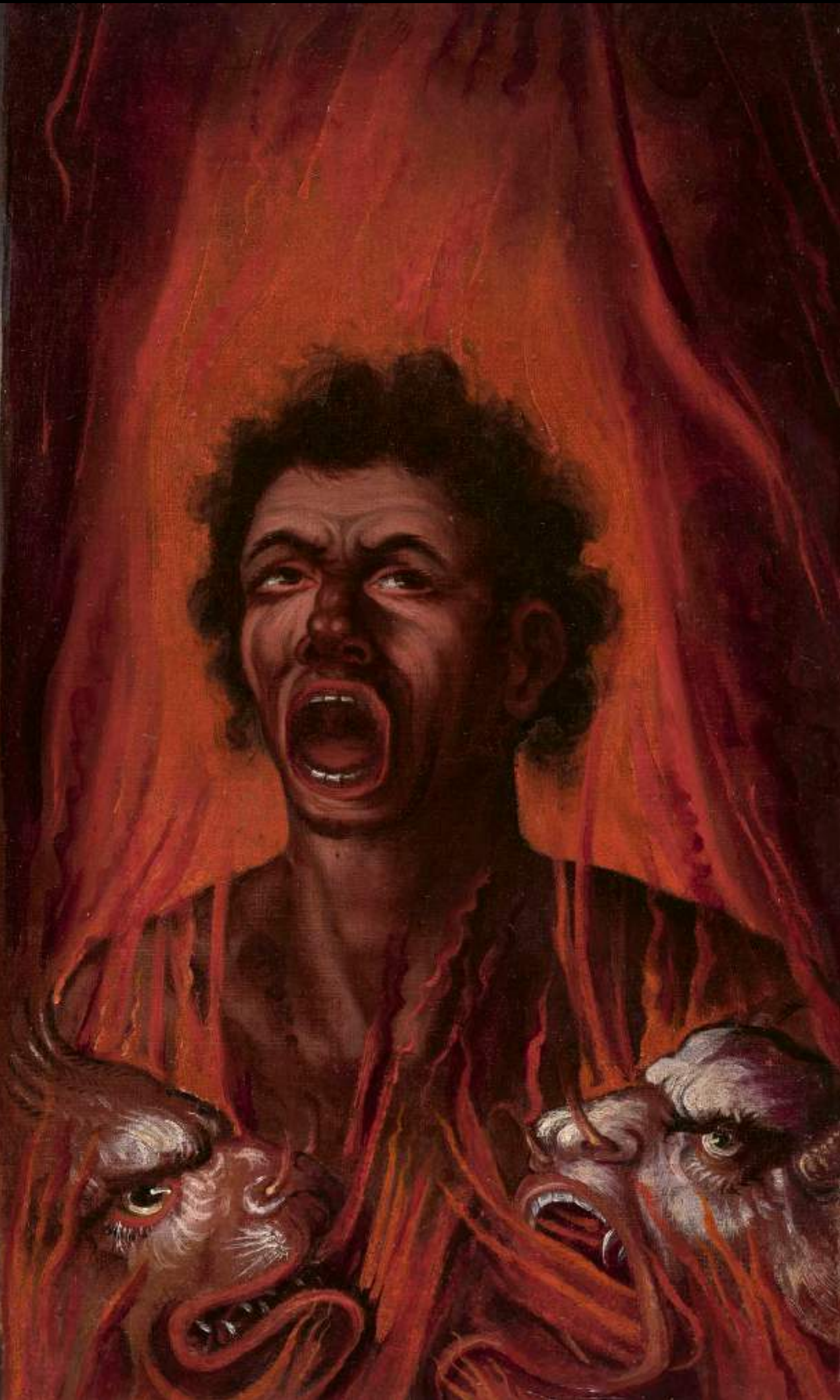














Saint Gabriel the Archangel

Unidentified artist
Viceroyalty of Peru (Peru), 17th century
Oil on canvas
199 x 110 cm
Inscription above his head “PAX ET A IVSTITIA DEI”
Inscription on the plinth “NOLO MORTE PECCATORIS SED VI MAGIS COVERTATVR ET VIVAT, EZEC, 33.”
Provenance: Former bullfighter Antonio Fuentes Zurita Collection, Seville (1869–1938)



The Angel Zadkiel

Unidentified artist
Viceroyalty of Peru (Peru), 17th century
Oil on canvas
199 x 110 cm
Inscription above his head “BENIGNITAS ET MANSVTVDODI”
Inscription of the plinth “ETENIM DOMN 9 DABIT BENIGNITATEM Y ET TERRA NOSTRA DABIT FRVCTUM SVUM PSA. 84”
Provenance: Former bullfighter Antonio Fuentes Zurita Collection, Seville (1869–1938)



Basilio de Santa Cruz Pumacallao
Cuzco, 1635–1710 (active 1661–1700)

The Investiture of Saint Ildephonsus
Oil on canvas
154 x 100 cm
Provenance: Private Collection, Seville (Spain)



Circle of Pedro de Vargas

Montilla (Cordoba), 1533? – Peru, after 1596

The Infant Jesus Blessing
Viceroyalty of Peru, Last third of the 16th century
Oil on canvas
97 x 70 cm
Provenance: Private collection



Our Lady of the Innocent and the Destitute

Unidentified artist
Viceroyalty of Peru (Peru), 17th century
Oil on canvas
108.2 x 86.4 cm
Provenance: Private collection



Adoration of the Magi

Unidentified artist
Cuzco (Peru), late 17th century
Oil on canvas
162 x 112.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Germany



The Imposition of the Chasuble on Saint Ildephonsus

Unidentified artist
Peru, 17th century
Oil on copper
27 x 21.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Madrid



Holy Kinship

Unidentified artist
Cuzco School, 18th century
Oil on canvas
75.5 x 63 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain



Jesus of Nazareth

Unidentified artist
Cuzco(Peru), c. 1720–1750
Oil on canvas
155 x 112 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Madrid (Spain)



Circle of Basilio Santa Cruz Pumacallao

Cuzco (Peru), last third of the 17th century

Immaculate Conception
Oil on canvas
183 x 138 cm
Provenance: Private collection



The Detention of Saint Agnes

Unidentified artist
Cuzco (Peru), first half of the 18th century
Oil on canvas
42.2 x 31.4 cm
Provenance: Private collection, US



The Miracle of Saint Agnes

Unidentified artist
Cuzco (Peru), first half of the 18th century
Oil on canvas
42.2 x 31.4 cm
Provenance: Private collection, US



The Martyrdom of Saint Agnes

Unidentified artist
Cuzco (Peru), first half of the 18th century
Oil on canvas
42.2 x 31.4 cm
Provenance: Private collection, US



Saint Agnes Sentenced in a Brothel

Unidentified artist
Cuzco (Peru), first half of the 18th century
Oil on canvas
42.2 x 31.4 cm
Provenance: Private collection, US



Attributed to Marcos Zapata

Active 1748–1773

Our Lady of the Rosary with Saints in Heavenly Glory
Viceroyalty of Peru (Peru)
Oil on canvas
83 x 63 cm
Inscription “A devocion del YLmo Señor Dr. Dn. Juan Manuel Moscoco y Peralta, Natural de la Ciudad de Arequipa Dionissimo Obispo de la Ciudad de Cordoba.”
Provenance: Private Collection, Spain



Our Lady of Cocharcas

Unidentified artist
Viceroyalty of Peru (Peru), 18th century
Oil on canvas
115 x 96 cm
Provenance: Private collection



Chastity of Joseph

Unidentified artist
Cuzco (Peru), mid-18th century
Oil on canvas
64 x 54.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection, UK



Joseph and the wife of Potiphar

Unidentified artist
Cuzco (Peru), mid-18th century
Oil on canvas
64 x 54.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection, UK



Joseph interprets the Pharaoh's dreams

Unidentified artist
Cuzco (Peru), mid-18th century
Oil on canvas
64 x 54.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection, UK



Joseph proclaimed Viceroy of Egypt

Unidentified artist
Cuzco (Peru), mid-18th century
Oil on canvas
64 x 54.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection, UK



The Creation of the Animals

Unidentified artist
Cuzco (Peru), 18th century
Oil on canvas
69.5 x 90.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection



The Blessed Soul and the Damned Soul

Unidentified artist
Viceroyalty of Peru, 18th century
Oil on canvas
57.3 x 69.3 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain



Saint Gabriel the Archangel

Unidentified artist
Viceroyalty of Peru (Peru), 17th century
Oil on canvas
199 x 110 cm
Inscription above his head “PAX ET A IVSTITIA DEI”
Inscription on the plinth “NOLO MORTE PECCATORIS
SED VI MAGIS COVERTATVR ET VIVAT, EZEC, 33.”
Provenance: Former bullfighter Antonio Fuentes Zurita
Collection, Seville (1869–1938)

The Archangel Gabriel is one of the three canonical angels, whose name means “God is my strength”. He is the heavenly messenger *par excellence*, the teacher of the Patriarch Joseph, and he appears to Mary in the Annunciation, foretelling her Grace. Here he is depicted in all his majesty, standing up with his wings unfurled behind his back. His delicate face is tilted slightly towards the right, while his right hand is holding the dove that represents the Holy Spirit and his left holds the madonna lily, symbol of Mary’s pure and virginal motherhood. He is depicted full length against a background of mountainous outlines, profuse vegetation and a river channel. His rich clothing is made up of loose breeches tied with a silky ribbon that appears to float in the air, a short tunic with a little skirt made of strips, in the fashion of a Roman soldier’s *pteruges*, adorned with gold buttons that look like precious gemstones, elegant leather boots with gold buttons and brooches decorated with lavish jewels.

This depiction of the Archangel Gabriel as a nonsexual, beardless, sumptuously-dressed youth draws close parallels with the work of Francisco de Zurbarán (Spain, 1598–1664), an artist who served as a source of inspiration for painters in 17th-century Cuzco. The essayists Gian Paolo Lomazzo (Italy, 1538–1600) and Francisco Pacheco (Spain, 1564–1644)¹ gave recommendations and instructions for painters regarding how to depict the angels: what colors, postures, clothing, the symbolism of the different precious stones and other symbols that could have a positive influence on God’s revelation to Man. The painting presents a decorative border of exuberant and colorful flowers of great beauty and chromatic richness.²

The depiction of angels and archangels was widespread in the painting of the Viceroyalty, due to their Biblical importance and intrinsic beauty. In his work *On the Celestial Hierarchy* (*De Coelesti Hierarchia*), the late 5th to early 6th-century Byzantine theologian and mystic known as Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite³ divides the angels into three groups. The first being made up of seraphim, cherubim and thrones, the second of dominations, virtues and powers, and the third of principalities, archangels and angels. The third group, to which the Archangel Gabriel and the Angel Zadkiel belong, as depicted in the works before us here, includes the ones that establish relations with mankind. The most important among them protect the nations, and the archangels are messengers of God. The Church recognizes the three canonical archangels, Michael, Raphael and Gabriel. The angels protect all humankind. It was in the Renaissance that the angels started being painted individually and to make up series, and this practice carried on into the Baroque period. Models influencing painting in both Spain and the Americas include the Hieronymus Wierix (1533–1619) engraving *The Palermo Seven* (Fig. 1) and the

works of Gerard de Jode (1509–1591), both of whom copied from the drawings of Maerten de Vos. These works are group depictions of the seven angels, but they established an early benchmark for future series of individual angels. As individual models, artists turned to the engravings of Crispijn van de Passe (1564–1637) and Philipp Galle (1537–1602), among others.⁴ These images were subsequently the models for 17th-century Spanish painters.⁵

Spanish series depicting angels preceded those of their Latin American counterparts. The Spanish master Bartolomé Román executed a series inspired by the engravings of Wierix for Madrid’s Encarnación monastery, and there is a copy from the same artist in the church of San Pedro in Lima and another in Cuzco. The Seville painting school represented by Zurbarán and his disciples Bernabé de Ayala and the Polanco brothers also contributed to this angelic iconography.

V.V.I.



Fig. 1 Hieronymus Wierix (Antwerp, 1533–1619), *The Palermo Seven*, engraving



The Angel Zadkiel

Unidentified artist
Viceroyalty of Peru (Peru), 17th century
Oil on canvas
199 x 110 cm
Inscription above his head “BENIGNITAS ET
MANSVTVDODI”
Inscription of the plinth “ETENIM DOMN 9 DABIT
BENIGNITATEM Y ET TERRA NOSTRA DABIT
FRVCTUM SVUM PSA. 84”
Provenance: Former bullfighter Antonio Fuentes Zurita
Collection, Seville (1869–1938)

The Angel Zadkiel is depicted face-on, looking out at the spectator, against a background made up of mountains and trees. His right hand is pointing to a lamb, while the other is resting on his breast. Two beautiful iridescent wings unfurl from his back. The iconography of this painting links it to the Agnus Dei, which represents the sacrificed Son of God. This archangel (not one of the canonical ones) is depicted as a beautiful beardless youth with elegant facial features and sumptuous clothing made up of a long robe over which he wears a beautiful short tunic with a short skirt, painted with great skill to imitate a rich fabric decorated with a border of large circles, brocade and a varying palette of soft colors and gold. On his delicate feet he is wearing elegant sandals adorned with gemstones, and he has a generous flapping cloak over his shoulders, knotted and secured with an ornate brooch. Zadkiel is the angel who prevents Isaac being sacrificed by his father Abraham, replacing the knife with a lamb, or Agnus Dei, which is pictured joyfully at his feet. Agnus Dei, a subject Zurbarán represented in his paintings on a number of occasions, presents Jesus Christ as a symbol of peace between God and Man. The skilled artist who executed the work being studied here constructed the iconography with great creativity, to the extent that it is the only known example depicting this apocryphal angel with the noble animal. Zadkiel is the angel of Mercy, of benevolence, the patron of those who forgive, and in Latin America he is depicted with various attributes, such as an olive branch and a dagger or sword, as portrayed by Crispijn van de Passe (Arnhemuiden, 1564 – Utrecht, 1637) (Fig. 2).

Although we can identify the clear influence of Zurbarán, our painter manages to create his own style in the building up of the painting’s complex and original iconography, in the richness and elegance with which the aforementioned ornamental and decorative elements are depicted, and in the flimsy fabrics making up the angel’s attire. The originality of the exquisite floral borders in both works (only seen in viceregal paintings), made up of extraordinary roses and carnations, with exuberant lilies and sunflowers at the corners, added to the aspects we have already mentioned, lends these beautiful paintings a clearly Andean freshness. We could also add that the works present a religious nature that is both simple and pleasant, suited to the divine message, given angelical figures are protectors of the community’s spiritual goods and possessions.

Lima’s Monasterio de la Concepción houses a marvelous series of angels executed between 1625 and 1640. This ensemble includes Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, Hadraniel, Uriel, Ariel and Leriell. In this early period, the European style influenced by Zurbarán and Román was taken as a model, with depictions portraying beardless, nonsexual youths dressed in classically-inspired tunics of a feminine nature,

Roman helmets and attire and landscape backgrounds. Subsequently, Lima workshops would develop a regional style, with Cuzco also being a creative hub presenting marked indigenous influences.

The series produced in the Viceroyalty depict angels bearing the attributes of varying hierarchies, such as, for instance, an angel with a flame in his hand, corresponding to a seraphim, or those crowned with roses and bearing symbols from the Passion, which would relate to virtues. Angels with Marian symbols constitute a Baroque innovation.

Drawing on José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert⁶, we could also add that the theoretical basis of these compositions is to be found in the work of the Jesuit Antonio Ruiz de Montoya (Lima, 1565–1652). His book *Silex del Amor Divino* (*Firestone of Divine Love*) evokes the divine power attained by humanity through the angels, the heavenly hierarchies and the “seven princes”: Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, Uriel, Sealtiel, Jegudiel and Barachiel. These types of works were intended to foster devotion for the angels, replacing the pre-Hispanic beliefs in the stars and other natural phenomena, and thereby bring about the long-desired Christianization process in a clear act of religious syncretism.⁷



Fig. 2 Crispijn van de Passe the Elder (Arnhemuiden, 1564 – Utrecht, 1637), *The Angel Zadkiel*, engraving

In the New World, we also find the Spanish custom of mixing series of heavenly beings with Saints, with the oldest source we have recording a series of angels being from a contract signed by the Cuzco-born painter Basilio de Santa Cruz in 1661, in which he agreed to paint 12 angels and 12 virgins. These series include the three archangels, Michael, Raphael and Gabriel, and most of them also include the Guardian Angel, and sometimes Uriel. The other angels are individualized by their names and appearances in the Old Testament. As such, Zadkiel is the name of the angel who speaks to Abraham and holds a flame in his hand.

V.V.I.



Basilio de Santa Cruz Pumacallao
Cuzco, 1635–1710 (active 1661–1700)

The Investiture of Saint Ildephonsus
Oil on canvas
154 x 100 cm
Provenance: Private Collection, Seville (Spain)

In the work of Basilio de Santa Cruz Pumacallao, who was a Quechua Indian, we can observe close ties to Spanish painting. It is to this artist, and his studio, that we attribute authorship of the work we are presenting here.

He was one of the most prominent painters in the Americas, and thanks to his great skill and the quality of his works he can be compared with his Spanish contemporaries. He attained an exquisite fusion of Spanish Baroque with touches of the American spirit. He interpreted the work of the great Spanish masters such as Murillo, Velázquez, Valdés Leal and the Flemish artist Rubens without forgetting his indigenous roots, giving rise to an innovative and unique result, *mestizo style*. *St. Ignatius of Loyola Exorcising the Possessed* and *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier in the Indies* clearly draw on Rubens’ artistic imagination.

At first, art historians confused his origin, taking him for a Spanish painter working in the Americas, due to his clearly Baroque style and a lack of documentary evidence, and they even speculated regarding a life in a monastery which he never had. Recent research identifies Basilio de Santa Cruz as descending from Indians, and though there is little record of his childhood or training as an artist, we do have evidence of his prolific output. At the tender age of 27 he executed his *Martyrdom of St. Laureano*, which is preserved in the Church of the Merced in the imperial city of Cuzco.

The *Martyrdom of St. Laureano* is the first known work signed by Basilio Santa Cruz, dating from 1662 and, of even greater significance, it is considered by a number of scholars to be the first Baroque work carried out in Cuzco, thereby preparing the way, with the arrival of the 18th century, for what would subsequently become one of the most interesting periods, with a style known as *Barroco Mestizo*. It was here that one could observe the most striking and powerful examples, expressed in the visual arts, of the syncretism that resulted from indigenous acculturation, including large numbers of artistic elements of pre-Hispanic nature which were passed on from generation to generation in these innovative works.

In this midst of this cultural heritage we can discern the promising figure of the young Basilio Santa Cruz, who produced a quite extraordinary artistic output focusing on religious painting and portraiture. One of the people who recognized his tenacity and talent was Laureano Polo de Alarcón, the director of the Hospital de San Andrés, immortalized by the artist in his *Martyrdom of St. Laureano*

where he is portrayed as a donor in a breath-taking and masterful work addressed by Celso Pastor de la Torre in his publication *Perú: Fe y arte en el virreinato*.

The *Corpus Christi* housed in Cuzco Cathedral is a clear example of religious syncretism represented in Cuzco painting, combining both Christian and Andean elements. It portrays one of the most important festivities in the Viceroyalty’s religious calendar, held in the month of June, coinciding with the old Incan *Inti Raymi* festival.

Few works currently known by the painter or his circle are to be found outside of the ecclesiastical world; that is to say, in private collections. Of these it is worth mentioning the *Immaculate Virgin* from the Museo de Arte in Lima, and a *St. Lawrence*, measuring 143 x 94 cm, housed at the Museo Pedro de Osma (Fig. 1). Comparing it with the *Investiture of St. Ildephonsus*, we find ourselves before two canvases of similar dimensions, which also clearly present features of the Spanish baroque, combined with elements belonging to Cuzco painting.

The fine work on the ornamental drawings executed using *brocatería* (the application of gold to decorate and highlight scenes) follows exactly the same technical approach and design in the two paintings (Figs. 2a and 2b). It is true that the figure of St. Lawrence is precisely drawn in a fashion that exactly parallels the three figures from the *Investiture of St. Ildephonsus*, but the little angels flying above are less exactly sketched out, with a lack of power in the brushstrokes, thereby demoting them to a secondary level within the scene.

It is certainly the case that the Basilio de Santa Cruz Investiture of St. Ildephonsus we have before us here denotes a clear syncretism between indigenous Cuzco and Baroque Spain. The fact that the work possesses characteristics linking it to European forms and models does not fully distance the artist from his Indo-American identity, powerfully reflected in the abundant use of gold brocade.

Considered one of the Holy Fathers of the Spanish Church, Ildephonsus, who was apparently born in Toledo, where he became Bishop, was one of the most illustrious figures in Visigothic Spain, some of whose writings have also survived, these being a key source for his biographic documentation.

In conclusion, and in the light of the above, The Investiture of St. Ildephonsus has enabled us to make a major contribution to the field of research into the “Barroco Mestizo” style originating in Cuzco, as

well as highlighting the figure of Basilio de Santa Cruz Pumacallao, who was one of the pillars of this key Viceroyalty artistic movement. This work stands as a clear representation of the syncretism taking place in the Americas, and originating in Cuzco, reflecting a balance that came of the intellectual struggle between two cultures fighting for ideological domination over the region. The expression of feelings and ideas gives rise to a historical narrative born of the result of the collision and linking up of two opposing worlds that came together in a startling artform.

G.E.P.



Fig. 1 Basilio Santa Cruz Pumacallao, *St. Lawrence*, c. 1680–1720. Museo Pedro de Osma



Fig. 2a Basilio Santa Cruz Pumacallao, *St. Lawrence* (detail). Museo Pedro de Osma



Fig. 2b Investiture of St. Ildephonsus (detail)



Circle of Pedro de Vargas

Montilla (Cordoba), 1533? – Peru, after 1596

The Infant Jesus Blessing

Viceroyalty of Peru, Last third of the 16th century

Oil on canvas

97 x 70 cm

Provenance: Private collection

The childhood of Christ, and free-standing depictions of Jesus as a Child, were extremely popular subjects among artists and patrons from the medieval period on, due to their pleasantness, grace and delicacy.⁸ And yet it is possible to discern the true and inseparable theological and doctrinal significance concealed within.

The first depictions of the Christ Child as Salvator Mundi can be found in German and northern European 15th-century art. The Flemish town of Mechelen's sculptural workshops contributed to the subject's iconographic model, which focused on producing Infant Messiahs with almond-shaped eyes, outlined lips, and curly hair, in the act of benediction and accompanied by the orb of the world which became popular throughout Europe. Nonetheless, prints were the most effective means of disseminating the form and model of this particular iconography. Great engravers like Martin Schongauer (c. 1448–1491) and Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472–1553) became well-known figures behind the various models depicting this subject, presenting the Child clothed or naked, standing or sitting, alone or surrounded by the elements associated with him. Following the latter approach, the Flemish engraver Hieronymus Wierix (1553–1619) created his own version featuring the Christ Child surrounded by the instruments of the Passion a few decades later (Fig. 1). It was thus that two of Christ's adult iconographies, the *Salvator Mundi* and the *Risen Christ*, were transposed into depictions of the Infant Christ, giving rise to the “Child of the Orb”.

The rise of devotion to the Christ Child took shape in a number of religious orders, including the Society of Jesus. In his Spiritual Exercises, Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556) devoted several sections to contemplating the mysteries of Christ's infancy, thereby laying the foundations for said devotion, subsequently popularized by the Jesuits. On the other side of the Atlantic, the Christ Child would be chosen by Jesuit missionaries as the patron saint of the new indigenous fraternities that resulted from the monasteries they founded in the Peruvian Viceroyalty. It was in this context that the figure of Pedro de Vargas played a leading role. De Vargas was born in Cordoba, Spain, and left for the New World as a soldier, settling in Lima (Peru) where he learnt the trades of painter, sculptor and gilder. In 1575 he entered the Society of Jesus, where he met the Italian painter Bernardo Bitti (1548–1610), with whom he collaborated on a range of altarpieces. Part of his oeuvre is preserved in other cities such as Cuzco (Peru), Quito (Ecuador) and La Paz (Bolivia), generally compositions linked to Jesuit worship. His style, influenced by Bitti and his own personal Mannerism, was characterized by the stylized treatment of his figures, with their fine and slender fingers, the search for transparency through glazes, and the sophistication of his backgrounds.

The Infant Jesus is enthroned in the foreground of the canvas before us, looking out at the spectator with a serene expression. He is issuing

a benediction with his right hand, while holding the celestial orb in his left. His clothing is sumptuous, as might befit a high-ranking cleric or even the Pope himself, made up of a long black robe under another vestment reminiscent of the alba or rochet made of fine white linen with lace edging on the lower hem and cuffs, and a deep red mozzetta, worn like a cape and buttoned at the front, with fur lining and delicate transparencies at the collar. On his feet, meanwhile, the Messiah wears sandals, resting on top of a cushion with tassels. To reinforce the solemnity of the scene, the Child is pictured sitting on a throne, an elegant seat with armrests, popularly known as a monk's chair, a common piece of furniture in both Spanish and viceregal homes in the late 16th century and, behind that, a sort of screen, or dossal, with a *candelieri* sgraffito decorations and the sides closed off by large drapes. The work's Christological spirit is heightened further by a cut-out leather cartouche bearing the Latin phrase “*Ad omnia / paratus*” (prepared for everything), a message aligned with the premonitory symbols around it: The Cross inside the cartouche itself, along with the three nails and crown of thorns on top, all instruments associated with Christ's Passion.

The clear influence of Pedro de Vargas' style allows us to compare our canvas with other works attributed to him, such as the *Virgin and Christ Child with Jesuits triptych* (Fig. 2), the central scene of which features a decorative dossal, fur lining for the Virgin's vestments and fine, transparent glaze covering her head. The physiognomic features, the almond-shaped eyes, the small mouth and serious, almost mute expression, also point to De Vargas. As such, the work we have before us here may well have come from the brush of one of his most faithful followers, with the help of the Master himself.

S.F.L.



Fig. 1 Hieronymus Wierix, *Infant Christ as Salvator Mundi, Surrounded by the Instruments of the Passion*, c. 1600. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



Fig. 2 Pedro de Vargas, *Virgin and Christ Child with Jesuits (detail)*, c. 1595. Museo Casa de Murillo, La Paz (Bolivia)



Our Lady of the Innocent and the Destitute

Unidentified artist

Viceroyalty of Peru (Peru), 17th century

Oil on canvas

108.2 x 86.4 cm

Provenance: Private collection

The iconography represented in this beautiful canvas corresponds to the image of *Our Lady of the Innocent and the Destitute*⁹. This advocacy of the Virgin is deeply rooted in the region of Valencia, where it appeared in the 15th century, but is also found in Peru thanks to the promotion of this solemn Marian image carried out by the Count of Lemos, Viceroy of Peru, who promoted the building of a chapel in her name in 1672.

What stands out, and what helps frame this image within the mystic repertoire of the Viceroyalty, is that, beyond respecting and reproducing the required attributes of the original icon, it is completed with decorative and compositional elements that are clearly rooted locally, such as gilt work that is iconic of the school of Cuzco and the way in which the details have been treated, without doubt imbuing them with an unmistakably indigenous air.

This image, whose representation evokes and calls on the viewer to practice charity and to take measures that favor those in need, stands as an allegory that is clearly showcased in all the compositional elements intentionally included in this sort of *horror vacui*.

Our Lady, represented in line with 18th century physiognomy, stands full-length in an incorruptible frontal position, holding the Holy Child in her left arm, with clearly indigenous features. Identifiable as a young virgin, her face peers out, white and serene, with large, almond-shaped eyes, slender, stylized nose and petite mouth, from a pearly bonnet that fully surrounds her face, on which rests a golden and embellished crown, rich in jewels and sculptural decorations such as torch holders and grotesques. Curls of long auburn hair cascade down over her right shoulder, contrasting with the brilliance of the silver halo encircling Our Lady, formed by beams of light and stars. Both Our Lady and the Child boast beautiful earrings decorated with hanging pearls. Her robe is slightly bell-shaped, dark brown and richly adorned with a variety of devotional jewelry which would have come from pious donations. Gemstone necklaces, strings of pearls, chains and brooches adorn the top section of her attire. Offerings, crosses, corals and pendants cover the lower half.

In amongst the myriad adornments, imploring Holy Innocents emerge at the bottom, as if sheltered by Our Lady's mantle, one at each side of the composition, also with undeniable indigenous features. Dressed only in purity cloths and necklaces, they present bleeding stigmata wounds on their bodies and necks, to mark their slaughter. We can also make out Mary's right hand under the cloak, replete with rings and holding a stem of Madonna lilies. Finally, the cloak is decorated in the *brocatería*¹⁰, with brilliant gilt work that traces out a sort of plant motif border in parallel and along the hems.

Resting on Our Lady's left arm, the Holy Child appears solemn, with long auburn hair and a bell-shaped cloak similar to his mother's though, in his case, in an orange tone. Also like his mother, though more discreetly, he is depicted with an abundance of decoration. Offerings and chains on his cloak, a festooned cross held in his left hand and his head fully decorated, excessive earrings standing out (identical to those of Our Lady), golden powers and a red diadem adorned with a large flower, through which the author makes the iconography his own by giving the subject an indigenous look.

The image, standing on a plinth, is arranged on a table covered with an elegant white linen cloth and is sheltered under what looks like a canopy made of stiff, orange-colored fabric decorated with trimmings composed of acanthus leaves simulating the *estofado*¹¹ technique.

Finally, the last composition worth highlighting is the presence of two lit altar candles, an indisputable attribute of the Holy Innocent Martyrs.

S.F.L.



Vicente López (Valencia, 1772 – Madrid, 1850), *Our Lady of the Innocent and the Destitute*. Iglesia del Monasterio de Santa Ana de Sagunto, Valencia



Adoration of the Magi

Unidentified artist
Cuzco (Peru), late 17th century
Oil on canvas
162 x 112.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Germany

The episode of the *Adoration of the Magi*, or *Epiphany*¹², has been a quintessential topic for (mostly pictorial) artistic representations since the dawn of Christianity. The Epiphany is the first manifestation revealing the divinity of Jesus. For that reason, since antiquity, the Church has used it to symbolize the idea of the salvation of all humanity.

With regard to our Cuzco canvas we find, in the foreground and surrounded by the ruins of classical architecture, the figure of Melchior, bearded and with white hair, who is depicted kneeling on the ground in the same way that vassals from the Middle Ages would have knelt before their Lords.

This gesture of deference is reinforced by the fact that he has also taken off his crown before adoring the Child, as a sign of honor and respect. The Virgin Mary is obligingly presenting her son to him, while St. Joseph is pictured peering over curiously to see what is going on.¹³ On the floor we observe a golden object similar to a chalice which, according to the scriptures, must have contained the gold coins that Melchior was offering up to Jesus as a symbol of his status as king. Standing behind him, the other two Magi are awaiting their turn: Caspar, with auburn hair and beard, is holding another cup in his left hand, this time containing incense, alluding to Christ’s divine status; and, finally, Balthazar, representing the black race, holds myrrh, a symbol of the new Messiah’s human status.

Behind them, as is common in most depictions, a large procession may be seen, identified as the royal retinue made up of soldiers, pages and their respective horses and camels, the latter rather oddly drawn, perhaps due to the artist not being familiar with this species of animal.

It is also worth taking a moment to mention the artist’s fixation with creating a sense of opulence. This is clearly reflected in the lavish clothing of all the characters portrayed, in this case employing the *brocateado*¹⁴ technique, which was popular in the Cuzco School. As such, by applying thin layers of gold leaf, the artist was able to adorn the surfaces of long, luxurious robes and cloaks with linear phytomorphic motifs. He also used this technique to highlight the opulence of the Magi’s gifts and crowns, and the Virgin’s and Child’s halos, shaped like sun rays, or the more austere version that the artist used for St. Joseph.

Many pictorial works from the Cuzco School used Galle’s print as a reference. As a result, paintings with similar compositions to the one being studied here may currently be found in different museums and

collections. For instance, an *Adoration of the Magi* dated circa 1700 that belongs to a private collection (Fig. 1), where only the royal retinue is missing, and in which the figure of St. Joseph is relegated further still from the central scene.

J.G.M.



Fig. 1 Marcos Zapata (Cuzco, c. 1710–1773), *Adoration of the Magi*. Denver Art Museum, USA



The Imposition of the Chasuble on Saint Ildephonsus

Unidentified artist
Peru, 17th century
Oil on copper
27 x 21.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Madrid

*"Come and receive from my hand, dearest servant of God, this gift which I have taken from my Son’s treasury. You are to wear this garment on the days of my festival, and given you have always been faithful to my service and defended my fame among the faithful, this garment of glory which will adorn you in this life, you will likewise enjoy in the future life, alongside those who also serve my Son."*¹⁵

This small-scale copper, depicting one of the most popular episodes from the life of St. Ildephonsus, constitutes a clear example of the Baroque aesthetic of New Spain, by setting itself out as a display of dynamism and contrasting luminous interplay.¹⁶ The choice of this metallic support¹⁷, frequently used in the Viceroyalty, enabled the painter to engage in all the possibilities offered up by the material, and indulge in extraordinary refinement thanks to the painstaking attention given to detail and the profusion of such characteristic brilliance and color.

As one might expect from the above, and to use the words of López Torrijos, “the iconography of the imposition of the chasuble is not only the richest one associated with St. Ildephonsus, but one of the richest iconographies in the History of Art”¹⁸ given the fact that, beyond the support provided by the existing historical documentary records for the saint from Toledo, the depiction of this Father of the Spanish Church is inextricably linked to the defense of the virginity of Mary.

The resurgence of this medieval iconography can be dated to the dawn of the 16th century, marked by the Council of Trent reform and the defense of Marian privileges in the face of the growing Lutheran movement. With undeniably deep-seated roots in 17th-century Spanish society, it would enjoy extraordinary levels of dissemination, clearly seen in the New World, so hungry for iconographic Catholic sources from which to trace out the features of a new cultural identity that would foster unity.

The work before us here stands in perfect harmony with the Baroque compositions of the Spanish “metrópoli” where we see, in the foreground, the miraculous act of the imposition. Towards the left of the composition, sat on an episcopal chair which is seen to hover in a swirl of clouds shifting between white and grey, appears the Virgin Mary, dressed, as was customary, in a pinkish robe with a beautiful blue cloak on top, and sumptuous gold brocade. The Mother of God’s neck is adorned with a necklace whose gold base combines with pearls of varying sizes and from the middle of which what would appear to be an emerald is hanging. This opulent jewel gives way to an elongated

and stylized neck leading up to the virginal face, tilted towards her left shoulder, while her almond-shaped eyes are focused on her most faithful defender. Her porcelain-toned face is adorned with raised, stylized eyebrows which share in the fine line of the nose and the little pink lips making up her mouth. A head of curly brown hair, gathered into a ponytail and with a perfect center parting, and decorated with a thin coral-colored ribbon, serves to seat her elegant and opulent crown, which is gold and pearled over much of its surface, and decorated with an interspersed succession of fleurs-de-lis of varying sizes. A halo of light emanates from the virginal head, made up of a series of whitish rays that open up the composition to a sky heavy with clouds, in which a thin orange strip announces twilight. Around it, three winged red-headed cherubs are seen gliding, smiling with their chubby cheeks, and sharing in their delicate features with the tricolor-winged angel who appears to be coming down from the heavens to take part in the miraculous act. With fine and long-fingered hands, the Virgin Mary holds the chasuble, white with ornate phytomorphic decoration in golden tones, and which is combined, in the middle section, with a string of precious gems of considerable size, some red, others black.

In the lower left corner, kneeling on a beautiful and brightly-colored carpet featuring plant and floral motifs, we find St. Ildephonsus, still dressed in his monastic habit, white and secured at the waist, and with a coral-colored stole hanging around his neck. The Saint is raising his arms towards his chest while opening his hands outwards in an act of reverence. His head, respectful with its monk’s tonsure and surrounded by a golden splendor combining rays of light of different lengths, tilts slightly towards his right shoulder as he raises his gaze, looking for the gift he is being given by the Mother of God. On a second compositional plane, and witnessing what is about to happen, we observe three virgins behind the Marian throne, sumptuously dressed in light robes with pearls at their necks and ears. In harmony with the intended representation, these appear with immaculately combed hair, highlighting their golden curls adorned with ribbons and diadems. Their virginal condition is indicated by the presence of palm fronds of martyrdom accompanying their image. Finally, and as the last compositional element drawing attention to the prodigious events taking place in an inside room, the center right section of the copper features a religious figure who, in an explosive Baroque display, is abandoning the composition, immersed in a sort of dance that sees him cavort into the outside world.

S.F.L.



Holy Kinship
Unidentified artist
Cuzco School, 18th century
Oil on canvas
75.5 x 63 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain

The attempt to illustrate the duality between Christ’s human and divine aspects to the faithful gave rise to representations of the *Holy Kinship*, portrayed in compositions where we find the earthly world on one side, with Christ surrounded by his family of royal descent, while on the other we see the heavenly world, presided over by the Eternal Father, with Christ being the link between the two.

The concept of the *Holy Kinship* originates from the apocryphal legend of the three marriages of St. Anne, and her apostolic lineage, popularized following St. Colette of Corbie’s 1406 vision, where Anne appeared alongside her three daughters (the Virgin Mary, Mary Cleophas and Mary Salome) and their children, as well as St. Elizabeth, the Virgin’s cousin, and her son St. John the Baptist.

As with many other iconographies, the *Holy Kinship* arrived in the New World through European models, both paintings and engravings.¹⁹ In spite of its compositional complexity, featuring a large number of characters, it became a highly didactic tool intended to assist the faithful’s understanding.

Taking, on this occasion, a work by the German Baroque engraver Martin Engelbrecht (1684–1756) (Fig. 1) as a point of reference, the Cuzco artist came up with a pyramidal composition over a number of tiered levels, against a background made up of drapes and pilasters of a classical style. The enthroned Christ presides over the center of the work, looking out at the spectator and gesturing to the scene around him. On his two sides we find the Virgin Mary, dressed in her characteristic combination of brown and blue, hands crossed over her breast, and St. Joseph, bearing his flowering staff. On the step below there is another, older, couple. These are Mary’s parents, St. Anne, with her green gown, yellow cloak and veil over her head, and St. Joachim, with his grey hair and beard. On the bottom step there are four figures. To the sides we find the couple made up of St. Elizabeth and Zechariah, her husband, also looking quite elderly, who after 20 years succeed, by the grace of God, in conceiving their son, St. John the Baptist, seen sat next to his mother and bearing his attributes (camel skin robe, cane cross as a standard and lamb, the symbol of Agnus Dei). Finally, opposite him, another child, identified as St. John the Evangelist due to the book resting next to him, alongside what ought to be an eagle, though it in fact looks more like an Amazonian bird of prey. The presence of St. John the Evangelist tallies with the aforementioned apocryphal legend, which held that he was the son of Mary Salome, herself the daughter of St. Anne by her third marriage, making him Christ’s cousin as well as an apostle.

Concluding the scene is the celestial dimension made up of the figures, wreathed in cloud, of God the Father, half-length and with his arms outstretched, looking at his Son, and the Holy Spirit, pictured

as a dove. Both form a vertical axis culminating in Christ, thereby completing the Holy Trinity. Their celestial character is reinforced by the appearance of the archangels Michael (with helmet and bearing a cross) and Gabriel, responsible for the annunciation of the births of Jesus (to Mary) and John the Baptist (to Zechariah), holding a characteristic white lily.

This was a fairly popular subject in viceregal painting, though generally featuring rather fewer figures, and often referred to in New Spain as the *Cinco Señores* (literally Five Lords), made up of Jesus, Mary, Joseph, Joachim and Anne, along with the heavenly Trinity. We could mention a number of examples by such major artists as Cristóbal de Villalpando, who executed a range of versions of this subject.

With regard to the Cuzco school, it generally adhered to the pictorial tradition arriving from Europe, as is the case with our work, though with individual elements drawn from its own painting tradition that might refer, as it does here, to the lavish depiction of the clothing, with the use of gilt edging for the cloaks or the imitation brocade on all the figures’ robes, a decorative technique that emerged in the late 17th century and became a distinguishing feature in the 18th century. This is not an isolated case, and there are various examples of works from the Cuzco school following the same pattern, as evidenced by another anonymous canvas belonging to the Colección Barbosa Stern (Fig. 2), whose compositional arrangement and message conveyed are highly reminiscent of the iconography before us here.

J.G.M.



Fig. 1 Martin Engelbrecht, *Holy Kinship*, 18th century. National Library of the Czech Republic, Prague



Fig. 2 Holy Kinship, Cuzco School, 1783. Barbosa Stern Collection, Lima



Jesus of Nazareth
Unidentified artist
Cuzco (Peru), c. 1720–1750
Oil on canvas
155 x 112 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Madrid (Spain)

This painting depicts a *Nazareno* (Holy Week procession penitent), or Christ carrying the cross. At first glance, the image could be interpreted as a scene from Christ’s Passion, but the altar table pictured towards the bottom of the painting, as well as the beautiful vases of flowers, lead us to believe that this is a portrait of a sculptural image of dressing a *Nazareno*. This being the case, it could be a portrait of the famous *Nazareno* venerated for so long in one of the side chapels of the church of San Francisco in Cuzco. We could mention two locations in the city with depictions of this subject, one in the Convent of San Francisco, dated 1713 and signed by Juan Flores Sevilla, with the second being the Museo de Arte in Lima. In the work we are addressing here, Christ is pictured stumbling on his way to Calvary, leaning his right hand on a boulder, while holding the Cross in his left. He gazes towards the Heavens, with a look of supplication for God the Father.²⁰

This sort of ambiguity in terms of pictorial representation, that is to say a “portrait of a venerated sculptural image”, was characteristic of the so-called *divine trompe l’oeil*, a genre that sought to recreate altar images with the upmost degree of realism, but also lending them a certain mysticism that emanated from their many tales of miracles.

Our painting sticks to the model of Christ as *Nazareno* mentioned above, but features exquisite details such as Jesus’ robe, which is beautifully adorned with *brocateado* (a technique simulating brocade), as well as the varying opulent fabrics covering the altar, resembling sumptuous Flemish lace. The gospels mention that, while the Roman soldiers mocked Christ, they dressed him in a purple robe, a color linked to royalty. The color of his clothes is not mentioned before or after this event. It is worth highlighting the great realism employed by the painter when depicting the crown of thorns, wounds, aureole, rope and the beams of the cross with a high degree of naturalism. The scene is completed by two angels wearing floating cloths, who hold the heavy drapes framing Christ, while looking at him tenderly.

With regard to the elements placed on the altar, the artist was painstaking in his depiction of the fabric covering it, the refined metalwork in the beautiful silver and glass vases, as well as in the silver so-called “carrete”, or bobbin-shaped candlesticks holding lighted altar candles, between which we can discern subtle differences. The vases display a peerless selection of flowers: roses, madonna lilies, little daisies and, most significant of all, the Inca flower par excellence, known as the *kantuta*, along with the *ñucchu*.²¹ We can observe the red *kantuta* flowers in the vases, and *ñucchu* flowers delicately scattered over the altar cloth, thereby bearing witness to the process of religious syncretism and the ongoing survival of the old customs of Incan rituals. The *kantuta* (in quechuan) is a sacred flower of the Incas, with a red and yellowish tubular bloom, that grows in the Andean regions of Bolivia and Peru. The *ñuk’chu* flower has a brilliant red

bloom, visible in the rainy season. During the Inca Empire, flowers were used throughout the year for a range of rituals. They were part of the initiation headdresses of young men of lineage and could also be offered up in *huacas*. They were included in various rituals and were used to decorate the canopies that protected the Inca men and their wives. In the quechuan language, flowers are associated with youth and beauty, being emphasized as an ideal of youth and a metaphor for eternity. These flowers are currently recognized as being sacred, and social groups used them in certain rites included in the Christian liturgy, such as the festival held in Cuzco on the Monday of Easter Week, in which the *Taytacha de los Temblores*, the image of Our Lord of the Earthquakes, preserved in Cuzco Cathedral, is taken out on procession while the faithful throw the sacred *ñuk’chu* flowers into its path, with which they also decorate their homes. For Catholics, the flower’s red color symbolized Christ’s blood, and in ancient Andean worship it was used as an offering to the old gods *Kon* and *Viracocha*. This barrage of meanings confirms the ongoing survival of old beliefs and the attempt to adapt them to the new Catholic faith in the context of the emerging cultural panorama, standing as evidence and example of the complex phenomenon of religious syncretism taking place. We can see these flowers depicted in numerous artistic manifestations, such as *llikllas*²², shawls woven with fibers from camelids, or in *Mama Occlo*, who represented Mother Earth, *Pachamama*, and in the cloak worn by the Inca princess or *Ñusta* Beatriz in the painting *The double marriage of Don Martin de Loyola to Beatriz Clara Coya india and Juan de Borja to Lorenza Nusta*, Cuzco c. 1725 of her marriage to Martín de Loyola (Fig. 1), as testimony to the process of transculturation and legitimation that was taking place, and whose meaning was associated with youth and beauty.

Andean painting depicted altar images: sculpted images of the Virgin and the Saints, dressed and surrounded by candlesticks, vases and drapes, sometimes framed by niches as if they were part of altarpieces. The purpose was to recreate the myth of divine presence, a sort of syncretism with the old Andean beliefs in *huacas* or sacred places.

V.V.I.



Fig. 1 Anonymous artist, *The double marriage of Don Martin de Loyola to Beatriz Clara Coya india and Juan de Borja to Lorenza Nusta*, Cuzco, c. 1725. MALI, Lima



Circle of Basilio Santa Cruz Pumacallao
Cuzco (Peru), last third of the 17th century

Immaculate Conception
Oil on canvas
183 x 138 cm
Provenance: Private collection

The iconographic configuration of the Immaculate Conception is the end result of the complex translation of a series of dogmatic propositions into a visual image. The Virgin Mary, conceived free of original sin, needed to be depicted in an efficient manner in order to become a universal symbol.

The roots of this iconic quest go back to the middle ages, when other models, such as the Tree of Jesse, the embrace between St. Joachim and St. Anne at the Golden Gate, and the Triple Anne, aimed to corroborate the purity surrounding the birth of the Virgin. However, the validity of these images would be called into question, as their narratives were all based on apocryphal texts, so it was decided to assimilate the figure of Mary with those of three other Biblical females: the wife from the *Song of Songs*; the Woman of the Apocalypse, and the New Eve.

It was as such that the iconographic model known as *Tota pulchra* came into being. This innovative compositional subject gradually took shape over the 16th century, featuring the Virgin alongside a number of figurative symbols from the litanies and prayers drawn from the Song of Songs and the Old Testament.

This combination of elements would be assimilated in the 17th century by artists linked to the Seville school, such as Francisco Pacheco (1564–1644), Francisco de Zurbarán (1598–1664) and Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1618–1682), who lent their artworks a style of their own, which became extremely popular in the Americas, as the Immaculate Conception constituted a doctrinal and pedagogical synthesis of great importance to the evangelization of the New World, thanks to the religious and political cause espoused by the Spanish monarchy, reaching as far as local communities, and giving its name to churches, chapels, shrines and brotherhoods.

In this regard, it is worth mentioning the devotion’s great popularity in Peru, where worship of the Immaculate Conception was extremely widespread, with works from the hands of renowned local artists such as Gregorio Gamarra (c. 1570–1642), Luis de Riaño (1596–c. 1667) and Diego Quispe Tito (1611–1681).

Another prominent indigenous artist was Basilio de Santa Cruz Pumacallao (Cuzco, 1635–1710), active in Cuzco during the second half of the 17th century, with the support of the great art patron Bishop Manuel de Mollinedo. He focuses on large-scale Baroque compositions that were both highly dynamic and decorative, was linked

less to the copying of prints than to the works of the aforementioned Seville artists. His most important pieces adorned the walls of Cuzco Cathedral, with the depiction of miraculous apparitions, mystical ecstasy and theological allegories of a triumphalist nature, presenting a brilliant *fattura*, featuring energetic and vibrant bursts of glory or partings of the heavens. He is also attributed with the canvas depicting the *Immaculate Virgin Victorious over the Serpent of Heresy* (Fig. 1), whose iconographic similarity with the painting before us reflects clear formal parallels between the two works.



Fig. 1 Attributed to Basilio Santa Cruz Pumacallao, *Immaculate Virgin Victorious over the Serpent of Heresy*, c. 1680–1700. Museo de Arte de Lima, Peru

The canvas we are addressing here presents a radiant Virgin Mary, in accordance with the description given by Francisco Pacheco in his textbook *Art of Painting*, first published in 1649: “Háse de pintar pues este aseadísimo misterio, esta Señora en la flor de su edad, de doce o trece años, hermosísima niña, lindos y graves ojos, nariz y boca perfectísima y rosadas mejillas, los bellísimos cabellos tendidos del color de oro [...] Háse de pintar con túnica blanca y manto azul, vestida de sol, que cerque toda la imagen, unido dulcemente en el cielo; coronada de doce estrellas compartidas en un círculo claro entre resplandores”. (“This most immaculate of mysteries should therefore be painted showing this Lady in the flower of youth, aged 12 or 13, a most beautiful girl, attractive and serious eyes, perfect nose and mouth, pink cheeks, the most beautiful gold-colored hair [...] She should be painted in a white robe and blue cloak, bathed in sunlight surrounding the entire image, sweetly united with the heavens; crowned with 12 stars arranged in a light circle in an aureole of splendor.”)

The inclusion of a crescent moon under her feet, extremely common in this sort of depiction, has been eschewed in favor of a terrestrial globe being enthusiastically held aloft by three angels. The celestial setting is reinforced by the emergence of more winged angels surrounding Mary, these in turn bearing symbols alluding to the aforementioned litanies of Loreto: such as a rose, representing charity, the queen of the virtues and emblem of the Passion; the Madonna lily, symbolizing Mary’s virginal status and conception without the stain of

original sin, and a door, standing for the Virgin’s role as the gateway to heaven through which the Savior came to us. Underneath these, in the earthly sphere, we observe vegetation, also carefully chosen to match the litanies, given the palm was a tree that already existed in Paradise, whose leaves were symbols of victory and sacrificial offering, and whose fruit, late to ripen, represented the patience of the virtuous in the face of the rewards of divine justice. Finally, the cypress tree, with its incorruptible resin and hardy foliage, evokes immortality and resurrection, as well as the steadfastness demonstrated by the Virgin in the face of sin. In *Charity as the Queen of the Virtues* (c. 1670) (Fig. 2), a work by Basilio de Santa Cruz, the postures of the angels, their hair, looks and the interlinking of their bodies invite clear comparison with our work. The elaborate composition and the precision of the drawing are typical of the indigenous artist’s oeuvre, and may also be observed in the composition we are dealing with here.

To conclude, it is worth mentioning the fine and delicate brocade effect applied to Mary’s clothing, an attempt to reinforce her solemnity, and a trademark of Cuzco painting, as well as proof of the introduction of certain indigenous elements into the composition’s strict iconographic program that left little room for innovation.

J.G.M.



Fig. 2 Basilio Santa Cruz Pumacallao, *Charity as the Queen of the Virtues* (detail), c. 1670. Museo de Arte de Lima, Peru



The Detention of Saint Agnes

Unidentified artist
Cuzco (Peru), first half of the 18th century
Oil on canvas
42.2 x 31.4 cm
Provenance: Private collection, US



The Martyrdom of Saint Agnes

Unidentified artist
Cuzco (Peru), first half of the 18th century
Oil on canvas
42.2 x 31.4 cm
Provenance: Private collection, US



Saint Agnes Sentenced in a Brothel

Unidentified artist
Cuzco (Peru), first half of the 18th century
Oil on canvas
42.2 x 31.4 cm
Provenance: Private collection, US



The Miracle of Saint Agnes

Unidentified artist
Cuzco (Peru), first half of the 18th century
Oil on canvas
42.2 x 31.4 cm
Provenance: Private collection, US

This series of four little oval panels originating from Cuzco and depicting the life of Saint Agnes of Rome constitutes an important graphic narrative from an iconographic point of view within the context of Viceroyalty art. The hagiography of this young Roman saint has been transposed on many occasions onto pictorial and sculptural supports, with the resultant compositions falling into two core groups.²³ Firstly, those that opt to portray the virginal figure with an abundance of attributes, but distanced from the tempestuous events that marked her short life. It is thus that from the earliest representations characteristic of the Romanesque period, until well into the 18th century, we find numerous examples of Saint Agnes, on her own, accompanied by the lamb, palm of martyrdom and crown, her three recurring attributes (Fig. 1). Secondly, and as an alternative compositional group, there are those scenographic representations in which one observes one or more of the varying forms of martyrdom to which the Saint was subjected, and it is into this group that the works we are studying here fall, their serial composition being of particular interest, an approach that is undoubtedly original in the canons of both the Old World and the New.

Fundamental to undertaking any study of this particular iconography is the consultation of the varying documentary sources which, from the late 4th century, constitute the most precise and reliable records of the life and martyrdom of Saint Agnes of Rome. Of these older written testimonies, that of Saint Ambrose is worth highlighting:

*"...she was just 13 years old when she was martyred. Coming home from school one day, the girl met the son of the Prefect of Rome, who fell in love with her and promised her great gifts in return for promising to marry him. She replied: 'My hand has been asked by another Lover. I love Christ. I will be the bride of He whose Mother is a Virgin; I will love him and continue to be chaste'. The boy sought out his father, the Prefect, who had her arrested. They threatened her with flames if she did not renounce her religion, but she was not afraid of the flames. Then they condemned her to death by having her neck slit [...]."*²⁴

This succinct tale is what we see portrayed, with nuances and adapted to the tridentine decorum, in this series of four oil works which I will now describe. Firstly, and in accordance with the natural order in which the events occurred, is the painting depicting the arrest of Agnes,

forced to walk naked throughout the cities' streets. In the middle of the scene we see the young martyr, her hands bound, flanked by five figures who, although bearded, have indigenous features. Of these, our eyes are drawn to prefects Syphronius' vindicative son, located at the right of the illustration, dressed in courtly 16th-century fashion, with a doublet, smock and breeches. The young saint, with snow-white skin, long and lustrous hair due to, as old tradition tells, a miraculous growth of his main in order to cover his bodies nudity. In this occasion, the painter has reinterpreted the literary version denying us the virginal bareness with a light transparent tulle fabric cloth that contrasts with the rich clothing the martyr still preserves covering her legs which, ranging from red to blue, boasts opulent decoration made up of gilt brocade, an ornamental device characteristic of the Cuzco School.

The second painting depicts the second martyrdom to which the young Roman girl was subjected when, by order of the prefect, she was condemned to be burnt alive. The image, however, respecting the narrative of the events, tells of Saint Agnes' miraculous powers, using prayer to cast the flames aside, and thereby avoid herself burning. The scene is presented before an attentive public, seen on the left-hand side of the composition. In the background, contributing a sense of depth, the city of Rome is seen to rise up. In the foreground, two Roman soldiers are commenting the miracle while a small child points at our protagonist in stupefaction. Saint Agnes, whose facial features match those of the other panels, is wearing a long white robe covering her entire body, secured at the waist with a belt. The Saint signals towards the heavens as if wanting to demonstrate to those present the miraculous power of her faith.

The following scene shows the third miraculous doing at which Saint Agnes, after being send to the brothel, begs to a protecting angel for the prefect's son to be cured, who after trying to taint the young girls' pureness, struck down to the ground, victim of a sudden blindness. The martyr is dressed in a white robe and cloak, with sumptuous gilt floral decoration and crowned by an equally golden nimbus.

Finally, in the last painting in the series, we are witness to the final act of martyrdom, Saint Agnes having her neck slit by a Roman executioner at Dominican's²⁵ stadium, in which Saint Agnes in Agonie's church stands.²⁶ The Saint, kneeling down in prayer in the

center of the image, is opulently dressed for the occasion. Red robe, blue shirt and ochre cloak, all sumptuously adorned with gilt brocade. In the background, three Roman citizens share the scene with two soldiers, all arranged around the gates to the big city.

This iconography, which was particularly deeply rooted in the Italian artistic canon, understandably given the Saint's Roman origin, gradually spread throughout Europe from the early 14th century, becoming a regular feature in the oeuvre of Old World artists. Once she had been accepted as a saint and martyr, the Catholic Church found, in this and other hagiographic models, an excellent tool for transmitting Counter Reformation dogma, arranging for prints with her image to make the journey to overseas territories. Prints that New Spanish artists reproduced, adapting them to their skills, techniques and tastes. As such, we see how these four paintings share fundamental features from the school of the Viceroyalty of Peru, which was the birthplace of many excellent artists.

S.F.L.



Fig. 1 Martin Schongauer (Colmar, c. 1450/1453 – Breisach, 1491), *Saint Agnes*, engraving



Attributed to Marcos Zapata

Active 1748–1773

Our Lady of the Rosary with Saints in Heavenly Glory

Viceroyalty of Peru (Peru)

Oil on canvas

83 x 63 cm

Inscription “A devocion del YLmo Señor Dr. Dn. Juan Manuel

Moscoco y Peralta, Natural de la Ciudad de Arequipa Dionissimo

Obispo de la Ciudad de Cordoba.”

Provenance: Private Collection, Spain

Marcos Zapata was a painter whose family belonged to the native aristocracy of Cuzco, and his surname was “Sapaca”, which became Zapata on being hispanized, although he also sometimes signed his paintings “Sapaca”.²⁷ Alongside his contemporary Basilio de Santa Cruz, he was the foremost exponent of the Andean Baroque style, also known as the *Barroco de Indias*. He is considered one of the main figures from the Cuzco School of the 18th century, and was in charge of one of the most popular and renowned workshops of the day. As the years went by, he received and completed a great number of commissions both from Cuzco and beyond. His work was highly valued due to its simple and devote artistic language. His brush produced visually vibrant and energetic works, with a unique creative identity that made a valuable contribution to the pictorial heritage, rich in syncretic elements where his indigenous roots shine through. His entire oeuvre makes an unquestionable iconographic contribution to the study of the way colonial society functioned in the Hispanic Americas. The emergence of the many schools of the Altiplano (High Plateau region) was largely due to the widespread dissemination of Cuzco painting throughout the Viceroyalty.

In 1748, Marcos Zapata undertook a series on the life of St. Francis of Assisi for the Capuchin Monastery in Santiago de Chile.²⁸ This series gave a foretaste of the potential and maturity this innovative artist would subsequently attain, as he showed two years later with the execution of a series of canvases preserved at the *Templo del Triunfo* in the city of Cuzco.

Zapata was active during the so-called “Mollinedo Era”, undertaking major projects for the Cathedral of Cuzco, generating a noticeable



Fig. 1 Marcos Zapata, *Virgin Mary in the Moment of Glory*. Cuzco Cathedral, Peru

contrast with the works of Basilio de Santa Cruz Pumacallao (1635–1710), preserved in said Cathedral.²⁹ These works were carried out thanks to the extensive artistic knowledge and vision of Bishop Mollinedo, who left his mark on paintings that helped to establish the public image of the Inca renaissance and the consolidation of the Cuzco School.

Within the ensemble of Zapata works carried out for the Cathedral, there is a painting entitled *The Virgin in the Moment of Glory* (Fig. 1), in which we can discern parallels with our canvas, such as the prevalence of the use of red, blue and white, and the typical arrangement of the figures, their physiognomy and the light-colored halos. In both works, the figures of God the Father and God the Son would appear to be sitting in a rather unnatural fashion on inexistent thrones. The treatment on the folds in the fabrics is also identical.

The unpublished work we are presenting here, and which is the subject of this study, is a canvas that can be rolled up and stored inside its original container or case. Said case is in red polychrome and its interior boasts dazzling gold leaf. The use of gilding on the inside guaranteed the work’s survival over the centuries, given the incorruptibility of the noble metal. As with the majority of Zapata’s paintings, our work presents a predominance of the colors red, white and ochre for the aureoles that meld into the blue sky. The Virgin Mary, located in the middle of the composition, dominates the painting as the main figure. She holds a rosary in her right hand and cradles the Infant Christ in her left arm, the latter leaning to one side while blessing with a cross. The Holy Trinity completes the composition, made up of God the Father, God the Son and the Holy Spirit. Both God the Father and Christ are resting on a cloud that also supports the Virgin, and this connection represents the divine link binding them. The rest of the scene’s figures are also seen floating on clouds that make up the heavenly stage, each one occupying his/her respective position. Underneath the Virgin we find St. Michael the Archangel who, holding a red banner, defends Catholic truth. Under St. Michael, a cherubim is holding a staff, the official pastoral symbol, flanked by two miters on both sides. Moving clockwise, to the right of God the Father we find St. Gabriel, dressed in the same fashion in which St. James the Greater tends to be depicted, that is to say as a pilgrim with a staff, short coat, hat and drinking flask (similar attire to that of the Archangel holding the Infant Jesus in the Zapata work entitled *The Birth of Francis*, from the Capuchin Monastery in Santiago de Chile), St. Rose of Lima and Child, St. Anne and the Infant Virgin, St. Francis of Paola, St. Margaret Mary of Alacoque, St. Barbara of Nicomedia, St. Teresa of Jesus, St. John Nepomucene, St. Dominic of Guzmán, St. Anthony the Great, St. Joseph and Child, and the Archangel Gabriel carrying a lily.

Toward the bottom of the work we find the following inscription: “*A devoción del YLmo Señor Dr. Dn Juan Manuel Moscoco y Peralta, Natural de la Ciudad de Arequipa Dionissimo Obispo de la Ciudad de Cordoba*”.¹ This tells us that the work was executed for the personal devotion of Don Juan Manuel Moscoso y Peralta, Bishop of Córdoba, who was appointed Bishop of Córdoba del Tucumán in 1771, taking possession of said post two years later, information we can use to date the work to between 1771 and 1773, which marked the end of Zapata’s artistic activity.

In 1748, Don Juan Manuel de Moscoso held the post of *alférez real* (royal ensign) in Arequipa, his native city, which shows that, prior to being widowed and starting his ecclesiastical career, he already had sufficient funds to be able to afford the expenses of the feasts and festivities involved in occupying this honorific post. It would not be his sole show of generosity and power as, on occupying the position of Bishop of Córdoba de Tucumán, he made the cathedral a gift of a gold monstrance adorned with precious stones. To judge by the pictorial quality of the copper portrait work seen below (Figs. 2a and 2b)², Manuel de Moscoso was undoubtedly quite willing to hire artists of the first order. It would be no surprise if the Bishop got word of Zapata, all the more so given his origins in Arequipa and the links he established there during his studies in Lima and Cuzco, where he graduated as a Doctor of Theology. Manuel Moscoso was an influential figure, with contacts at the highest levels of society, both inside and outside the Church.

By 1778 he was transferred to the episcopal seat of Cuzco, which he would take possession of a year later, and set sail for Spain in 1786. His career reached its peak when he was appointed Archbishop of the city of Granada in 1789. He was finally awarded the Grand Cross of the Order of Charles III in 1794. It is quite feasible that he would have taken the painting we have before us here, intended for his personal worship, on the boat back to Spain, and then on to the varying destinations God has in store for him and that, subsequently, it ended up in the hands of the local Granada family who were its final owners.

Of small dimensions, but of great historical importance and major significance for dating our painting of *Our Lady of the Rosary*, is the little copper work (also unpublished to date) mentioned in the previous paragraph, depicting the *Our Lady of Loreto* (with Portraits of Juan Manuel de Moscoso y Peralta and Juan de Otalora), arranged on a cloud resting on the House where the Holly family lived, surrounded by angels. The House of God represents the evangelical work undertaken by the two bishops portrayed on the earth, and the pleased gaze of the Virgin and the Infant Jesus indicate their acceptance of,

and thanks for, their religious activities. The subjects depicted are Juan de Otalora, Bishop of Arequipa, and Manuel de Moscoso y Peralta, who by the inscription on the back of the copper holds the title of “Bishop of Córdoba del Tucumán” without having yet officially taken possession of the post, which explains why we are able to date our canvas to between 1771 and 1773, the year in which Moscoso did finally take possession of the post, while also coinciding with the last year in which Zapata was artistically active. The final notice we have is that the master was imprisoned, as recorded by Mesa and Gilbert, at which point his closest disciple, Cipriano de Toledo y Gutiérrez, replaced him, having been called on to value some paintings in the parish church of San Blas.³⁰

The discovery of *Our Lady of the Rosary*, attributed to the master Marcos Zapata, marks a significant contribution to Cuzco painting, being in all likelihood one of the last works produced by the hand of painter. This study has enabled us to shed light on a relatively undocumented period in the oeuvre of one of the most prominent and innovative artists of Hispano-America.

G.E.P.



Fig. 2a Anonymous artist, *Virgin with Donors*, 1771. Private collection



Fig. 2b Virgin with Donors (reverse), Inscription “año de 1771 El Retrato que está al lado derecho es del YLmo Sr.Dn. Dr.Juan Manuel de Moscoso y Peralta Obispo de Tricomí, Auxiliar de Arequipa, y obispo de Tucuman ahijado de agua y oleo del YLmo Sr.Dn. Juan de Otalora Obpó, de Arequipa de quien es el retrato que está al lado izquierdo”



Our Lady of Cocharcas

Unidentified artist
Viceroyalty of Peru (Peru), 18th century
Oil on canvas
115 x 96 cm
Provenance: Private collection

This curious example of Marian iconography depicts Our Lady of Cocharcas³¹, which has its origins in Our Lady of Copacabana and, in turn, the Virgin of the Candelaria. Also known as Our Lady of the Nativity of Cocharcas, or Mamacha Cocharcas, the Virgin's image, and subsequent veneration, is due to the indigenous native Sebastián Quimichi who, in late 1583, having been miraculously cured of an injury to his hand on an expedition to the Shrine of Copacabana, asked Tito Yupanqui to carve a copy of the image worshipped there, to be transported to Cocharcas.

The image arrived in Cocharcas, Peruvian Viceroyalty, between two parallel sections of the silver and mercury routes to Potos, not without problems. Initially installed in the parish church, while waiting for a shrine to be built in the Virgin's name, it is said that Our Lady performed so many miracles that she soon had numerous devotees and was the subject of unrivalled levels of pilgrimage in the Andean region. This devotion among the faithful both from the area and beyond is reflected in this pictorial representation of undeniably Baroque origins, and in increasing demand from museums and collectors on both sides of the Atlantic interested, for the first time, in raising the profile of an artistic expression which, for many decades, had been unfairly relegated to the sidelines.

Respecting the iconographic basis of the Candelaria, Our Lady of Cocharcas appears depicted as a free-standing statue, accompanied by the Infant Jesus, and elegantly dressed in bell-shaped robe and cloak,

in a clear syncretic reference to Pachamama. As was often the case in the Peruvian Viceroyalty, the blue robe is decorated, simulating the *estofado* technique, with scrollwork and flower and leaf motifs. The garment is secured around the Virgin's waist by a gold belt, tied in the middle. Its golden color matches that of the broad decorative band around the Mother of God's neckline. She wears her red cloak on top of the robe, also decorated using the *estofado* technique and, on this occasion, doubly ornate thanks to a decorative border running around the fabric, inundating the Virgin's outfit with gold. Her face looks out, snow-white and brimming with youthful vitality, from under a beautiful organza veil, whose fabric is matched by the voluminous cuffs sticking out from her sleeves. The Virgin's oval face expresses serenity. Two thin brown eyebrows shield her almond-shaped eyes, which look fixedly out at the spectator. Marking the symmetry of the face, we see a fine and elongated nose, under which her deep red mouth is drawn, small and tightly sealed.

On top of the Virgin's head, with the support of two winged infants who are holding onto it, an imposing gold crown rises up, with a cross at the top. The Virgin's right hand holds a bunch of red and blue flowers, along with olive cuttings. On the other side, the Infant Jesus is cradled in her left arm, dressed in the same fashion as his mother: blue robe, red cloak, embroidery around the neck and hands, and imperial crown. The Child, who is opening his right hand in a clearly ceremonial gesture, is holding the orb of the world, in a clear reference to his dominion over the Christian realm. Both figures are depicted



Our Lady of Cocharcas (detail)

on a processional platform with a canopy over it. This structure, which resembles silver, is held aloft by four slender uprights shaped like Solomonian columns with ionic order capitals and decorated, on both sides, by rows of flowers. The upper part of the structure, the canopy, is made up of red fabric decorated with a significant amount of *estofado* work, whose aesthetic matches the cloth that hangs down from the repoussé silver frieze that acts as a base and on top of which, as well as the processional image, we find two vases, arranged symmetrically on either side of the base of the figure.

Widening our gaze, we see how the composition bears witness to parallel stories surrounding the scene's protagonists. As such, and focusing our attention on the left-hand section of the canvas, we see a diverse group of men and women starting out on a pilgrimage from the top of a hill, descending the steep slope of the mountainside until reaching the riverbank. Some on foot, others on horseback, dressed in religious habit or ponchos, they are all attempting to traverse a lake replete with white swans, cross a flock of sheep and make a short-cut through the houses of a village that stands in the middle of their route.

Of particular note is the scene in which two men are helping a third man to traverse a steep slope, with the aid of two red ropes. Continuing through the compositional elements, we reach the Pampas, one of the most famous rivers in Peru, it being particularly prominent in terms of its strategic position. On the right bank, dressed in Andean-style skirts and ponchos, two indigenous figures are waiting their turn to cross the river, which is full of naked bodies struggling, either swimming or on horseback, to reach the left-hand shore where some are lending a hand and others are watching.

Prominent among those witnessing the scene is a group of religious individuals, to judge by their attire, representing the entire ecclesiastic hierarchy. In addition, and drawing attention to the pilgrims' socio-economic diversity, we see two figures dressed in the French fashion, with dress-coats, breeches and wigs, and who are undertaking the final stage of the journey to the long-awaited encounter with the miraculous Our Lady of Cocharcas.

Moving on now to the right-hand section of the composition, this time from bottom to top, we find more figures from a wide range of backgrounds, it being worth highlighting one man who, on horseback, is making his way to the shrine with a sunshade over his head. Some in the French style, others in ponchos, whether on foot or riding animals,

they approach the shrine, whose two tall towers rise up inside a great walled atrium only accessible through the axis of the nave of the church, and boasting an arch. Our attention is drawn to the Marian iconography strategically scattered throughout the canvas, it being worth noting the litanies represented by the water fountain and tree, both located outside the church, in what one can identify as the main square. Finally, one should mention that the scene takes place against a clearly Andean landscape, at around dusk, to judge by the sun setting between the peaks of the High Plateau.

This pictorial representation of *Mamacha Cocharcas* is a clear example of Andean Baroque, an artistic process and subject not limited to a viceregal reproduction of artistic dogma born of European treatises but, rather, one that took the visual experience and legacy of the Old World and reinterpreted it, assimilating it into a distinct, autochthonous dimension, generating a viceregal art with an undeniable *mestizo* seal where the Baroque and syncretism are unquestionably the main protagonists.

S.F.L.



Unidentified artist, *Our Lady of Cocharcas*, oil on canvas, 18th century. Brooklyn Museum



Chastity of Joseph

Unidentified artist
Cuzco (Peru), mid-18th century
Oil on canvas
64 x 54.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection, UK

The four paintings studied below are part of an undetermined series of paintings illustrating the Story of Joseph and his Brothers, as narrated in the Bible (Genesis 37:1–36; 38:1–23; 39:1–22; 40:1–23; 41:149; 42:1–38; 44:1–34 and 45:1–28). These passages provide a detailed description of how Jacob’s particular fondness for his son, Joseph, sparked the envy of his brothers, who decided to great rid of him, casting off his tunic and throwing him into a pit, which they then pulled him out of, selling him to some merchants, who ended up selling him on to Potiphar, a minister to the Pharaoh and the captain of his guard, who put him in charge of his household. While taking care of all of Potiphar’s affairs, the latter’s wife tried to seduce him, but Joseph resisted all her advances, and finally she falsely accused him of attempting to force himself on her, resulting in his imprisonment. While in prison he interpreted the dreams of the palace cup-bearer and chief baker, who were also incarcerated, and at the end of two years he interpreted the Pharaoh’s dreams, showing him that through the dreams God was revealing that Egypt would undergo seven years of abundance followed by seven years of scarcity, which would plunge his people into a great famine. Joseph suggested keeping back a fifth of the harvest during the years of plenty in order to avert famine during the years of scarcity. Joseph was named minister of Egypt and, after a period had passed, his brothers arrived looking for food without recognizing him. Finally, Joseph revealed himself to them and to his father, who thought him dead.

European painting has illustrated different passages from this story, especially those relating to Joseph being sold by his brothers, the interpretation of dreams and the temptations of the wife of Potiphar, such as those that appear in the decorations of the Vatican galleries from 1519. Series of engravings, especially by Flemish and Italian artists, contributed to the popularization of models that spread with varying success across the whole of Europe and America.

With regards the Viceroyalty of Peru, these subjects did not receive any particular attention, which only underlines the unique nature of these four paintings, belonging to the Cuzco school of the mid-eighteenth century. They provide a reinterpretation of the classical models, emphasizing a contemporary context in numerous details, as may be observed in the description of each one.



Joseph and the wife of Potiphar

Unidentified artist
Cuzco (Peru), mid-18th century
Oil on canvas
64 x 54.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection, UK

Chastity of Joseph

The two protagonists of the scene, Joseph and the wife of Potiphar, are facing each other inside a room with a tiled floor providing a sense of perspective, decorated with huge drapes and three big pillars framing the external landscape, which has an abundance of foliage, with a skyscape that accentuates the depth of the composition.

On the right of the interior space the wife of Potiphar is depicted sitting in an armchair and dressed and adorned in accordance with 18th-century fashion, with lace, pearl bracelets and necklace, earrings and a gold pendant, and holding a fan in her left hand. Behind her there is a table on which we see earrings, bracelets, chest jewels and a ring. Joseph is standing opposite her, listening to her talk, dressed in Roman fashion.

The inscription identifying the subject also includes the number 6, which is probably a reference to the painting’s position in the original series of works: *“Nodesistia de Su propósito laenamorada Señora ante losdesvios de Joseph enCendia mas sudes honesto deseo y Joseph procurara librarse de todos estos peligros conayunos y oraciones y condistribucion pobres lo mas delaracion”*

(The enamored lady did not desist in her intentions when faced by Joseph’s rejections [that] enflamed her dishonest desire all the more. And Joseph managed to free himself from all of these dangers with fasting and prayers and giving more than the fair share [to the] poor).

Joseph and the wife of Potiphar

This is the most popular scene among painters depicting the Story of Joseph, in fact for most of them it is the only one that they deal with, coming back to the same elements time and time again: the wife of Potiphar sat in bed, once again on this occasion dressed and adorned in accordance with 18th-century fashion, just as she is attempting to seduce Joseph, who rejects her advances and heads towards the door, while his seductress catches him by the cloak, which he leaves behind. And, as the legend on the lower edge tells us, the woman cries out



Joseph interprets the Pharaoh's dreams

Unidentified artist
Cuzco (Peru), mid-18th century
Oil on canvas
64 x 54.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection, UK

against the chaste Joseph, who appears once again in a secondary scene, on the left, in which two soldiers are locking him up in prison.

The inscription describes the situation: *“Enamorada lamuger de putifar Suama le persuade con Cariños y dadivas Mas Como Casto y Justo Joseph. – Resistió y dexo la Capa en sus manos, y pisada de honor dioboses que la forsaba y le prendieran”*

(The wife of Potiphar enamored, his mistress tempts him with affections and gifts. But being chaste and just, Joseph resists her advances and leaves his cloak behind in her hands, who, her honor besmirched, cries out [that] he has taken her by force and for him to be arrested).

Joseph interprets the Pharaoh's dreams

On this occasion we find ourselves faced with two clearly-differentiated spaces in which two scenes are taking place with different protagonists and surroundings. In the foreground, and at the entrance to a noble-looking building, a figure we can identify as the Pharaoh (despite his clothing being a diverse mixture of garments), is welcoming two men who are approaching from the left, dressed clearly in the male fashion of the eighteenth century. These are probably the palace cup-bearer and baker, whose dreams Joseph interpreted while in prison. On their being freed and presenting themselves before the Pharaoh, Joseph’s interpretations came entirely true, which would later lead to his being called to court to give his version of the meaning of the Pharaoh’s dreams.

On a secondary level, taking up the whole of the composition’s background, we see fields of wheat in which men are working collecting the grain, while others are storing part of the harvest in a number of buildings, where the grain will be kept in preparation for the years of scarcity, as suggested by Joseph.

The legend includes the number 12, which may refer to the work’s position within the series of paintings.

“En los ...Abundantes Estegran Principe Manda enserrar todo el trigo de estas cosechas. 12”



Joseph proclaimed Viceroy of Egypt

Unidentified artist
Cuzco (Peru), mid-18th century
Oil on canvas
64 x 54.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection, UK

(In the [years] of abundance this great prince orders the grain from these harvests to be stored).

Joseph proclaimed Viceroy of Egypt

According to the Biblical text (Genesis, 41:40–43), the Pharaoh spoke to Joseph in the following terms: “You shall be in charge of my palace, and all my people are to submit to your orders. Only with respect to the throne will I be greater than you.” The text continues, telling us: “... he had him ride in a chariot as his second-in-command, and people shouted before him abrek, and thus he put him in charge of the whole of Egypt”. And so it is that we can see him, standing in front of the palace, where the Pharaoh, in the style of a European monarch, recognizes the importance of his minister, while various persons salute him as he passes.

In the same way that the author of these paintings interpreted the figures and spaces where the events took place with the greatest freedom, so the author of the texts (perhaps the painter himself) prefers to speak of the Viceroy as the maximum authority after the King, moulding him to his own reality.

“Constituie las bienvenida del virrey de Egipto Congranregosijo justo y porpueblo aclamadous Salvador en memori”

(The Viceroy of Egypt’s welcome is formed of great joy and he is proclaimed by [the] people [as] Savior in memoriam).

C.G.S.



The Creation of the Animals

Unidentified artist
Cuzco (Peru), 18th century
Oil on canvas
69.5 x 90.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection

These are the words with which Genesis relates the fifth and (part of) sixth days of the Creation, those which God spent populating the waters, seas and earth with living creatures. These are the Biblical episodes we see depicted in this unusual and beautiful canvas of a mestizo Baroque *fattura*, and in whose composition one may discern inspiration drawn from the multitude of Italian and Flemish prints that made the journey to the Viceroyalty from the early days of the Conquest, as may be inferred from the presence in the work of animals alien to the Latin American ecosystem. This particular depiction of *Creation*, which leaves out Adam and Eve (also created on the sixth day, along with the land animals) is particularly remarkable in its extraordinary iconography, rarely to be seen in European workshops, and even less so in their Cuzco counterparts. What was most common, either as a series or individual work, was to depict the fifth day (the creation of the birds and sea animals) on one side, and the sixth day (land animals and Adam and Eve) on the other. It was also not unusual to see works in which both days were condensed, treating them as one whole. Finally, there were depictions selectively combining the two days and which, as such, stand as a peculiarity within the Andean iconographic repertoire and as an alternative reading of the events narrated in Genesis. The work we are addressing here falls into this last category, sharing its compositional model with the Creation canvas housed at the Monastery of Santa Catalina, Cuzco.

The composition, executed on canvas in landscape format, is divided into two representational sections, separated by the horizon line. In the upper section we find a half-length God the Father, the creator of Heaven and Earth, depicted on a cloud. Respecting the Syriac canon, he is portrayed as an elderly man with a white beard, topped by a golden triangle-shaped aureole made up of thin lines of gold leaf. He is wearing a sky-blue robe and flowing red cloak. Both garments bear witness to one of 18th-century Cuzco painting’s most important calling cards, *brocatería*³². This ornamental technique, which made its first forays into Andean painting in the 16th century, did not reach its expressive peak until the early decades of the 18th century, when artists started to inundate the clothing worn by the figures in their works with print patterns including innumerable volutes and floral and geometric decorations in giltwork. This dynamic *maniera*, undoubtedly rooted in mestizo tradition, should not be conceived of exclusively as a technical display, but as belonging to an Andean idiosyncrasy forming part of the syncretic process the visual arts were undergoing throughout the vast region. As such, Cuzco artists opted to embellish the figures they depicted, not believing the austere attire imported from the Old World was suitable for a divine being.

Over the figure of the Creator, we observe a rainbow, stretching across the composition, flanked on the left by the moon, the bridge between heaven and earth, while on the right we find the sun, a symbol of the

beginning and origin of Everything. Occupying the rest of this upper area are birds. Scattered across the entire heavenly vault, they display their brightly-colored feathers, some in flight, while others perch on the tops of the two trees that, one opposite the other, frame the work. The lower section of the canvas is taken up by a lake, probably Titicaca, judging by the snow-capped mountains rising up in the background, and which help define the horizon. The lake, immense in size, gets narrower the closer it gets to the foreground, tracing an approaching zigzag to the sides of which the two shores rise up, made of brown earth and acting as the stage on which Creation is taking place. The water is teeming with large marine creatures while the shores are depicted as a beautiful compendium of terrestrial life-forms.

It is worth drawing the reader’s attention to the exceptional nature of this pictorial work, taking into account the fact that “*landscape painting was not commonly practiced in the Andean artistic context*”.³³ Although our work does not, *stricto sensu*, fall into this category from the point of view of intentionality, the result of the artist’s work ultimately reflects an aesthetic of a similar *fattura*. Exploring this interesting point in greater depth, Marisabel Álvarez Plata argues that “*the absence of this genre is explained in terms of the educational obstacles faced by artists in the Viceroyalty, given they did not get the opportunity, in the Americas, to study human anatomy, and did not work from models or study landscape*”. Furthermore, “*in the painting of the Peruvian Viceroyalty, the landscape was always a secondary element, subordinate to the religious context. When it was depicted, it was done so as a scenographic accompaniment and not as an autonomous genre*.”³⁴

S.F.L.



Marten de Vos, *God creating the birds and the fishes*, 1600–1602, oil on copper. Musée des Beaux-Arts de Strasbourg



The Blessed Soul and the Damned Soul

Unidentified artist
Viceroyalty of Peru, 18th century
Oil on canvas
57.3 x 69.3 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain

The pictorial representation of the intangible has posed a great challenge for the artists of each generation since antiquity. In this regard, the portrayal of the soul gradually took shape through a range of models until a stereotype was established. The complex imaginary prefiguration of what occurs after death began to coalesce artistically as early as the medieval period due to its profoundly religious aspect. Depictions tended to include what were known as the “four last things”, which were the stages awaiting mankind at the end of his life: death, judgment, heaven and hell. On certain occasions, as seen here, these were reduced to two: heaven and hell, these being the two potential final destinations of the soul after death.

With the sole purpose of further accentuating the believer’s faith, the representation of heaven and hell was humanized, taking the form of the blessed soul (the embodiment of bliss, in an attitude of peace and serenity), and the damned soul (personification of pain and suffering amidst the flames of hell). A woman with a kind of mystical aura, accentuated by her view of the heavens, expressing peace, is generally associated with the blessed soul, expressing peace. Her antithesis, meanwhile, is reflected in the damned soul, in the throes of agony and despair, in a final attempt to escape hell.

The rise in depictions of this kind came about following the Council of Trent (1545–1563), where the existence of purgatory was recognized, being the state reserved for those who, having died in God’s grace, needed further purification before entering heaven. The Jesuit Order also contributed to the dissemination of this notion of different fates or conditions of the soul during the 17th century, through devotional books with written tales accompanied by prints that served to consolidate the iconography figuratively. We know of examples from around 1600 by Flemish engravers such as Pieter de Jode I and Karel van Mallery alluding to the four fates of the soul, which subsequently inspired contemporary works by artists such as the Italian sculptor Giovanni Bernardino Azzolino, and his wax models belonging to London’s Victoria & Albert Museum. Major geniuses of the art world, such as Gian Lorenzo Bernini, also dared to tackle this subject matter, as demonstrated by his famous sculptural pair, *Anima beata* and *Anima dannata*, executed in 1619, and preserved today at the Spanish Embassy in the Holy See.³⁵ Pictorially, other artists also portrayed these fates of the soul in accordance with preestablished engraved models, as in the case of Francisco Ribalta who, in about 1610, executed a pair of paintings as devotional works intended for the king’s oratory in the Palace of Aranjuez, currently preserved in the Prado Museum’s collection in Madrid.

The influence of the “four last things” also crossed the Atlantic, leaving its mark on viceregal art. One example of this is the German engraver Alexander Mair, whose prints on the four fates of the soul,

executed in 1605, made the trip to the New World, where they were used as references by various indigenous artists in their iconographic models (Fig. 1). Prominent among such figures was Quito’s Manuel Chili, “Caspicara”, the author of an extremely interesting ensemble of sculptures belonging to Hispanic Society of America (New York), personifying death, judgment, heaven and hell, dated to a much later period, around 1775 (Fig. 2).

The work we have before us here summarizes all of the above, to the point of clearly and directly synthesizing the real sense of the iconography. The glory of heaven, symbolized by the blessed soul, depicts a young, blonde woman, crowned with flowers and presenting a delicate, virginal appearance, giving off tranquility in warm and celestial surroundings. Hell, on other hand, with its roaring flames, presents the figure of a grotesque man, crazed and tormented, surrounded by two large-mouthed creatures, natives of the underworld, who further increase the sense of unease. Our attention is also drawn to the differences in the skin complexion of the two subjects, with the pearly white tone of the woman contrasting with the dark hue of the condemned man, whose facial features are intentionally reminiscent of those of an indigenous native, perhaps to serve as a warning to his peers of the danger and suffering awaiting those destined to end up in hell.

We can therefore observe how interest for depictions of this kind carried on in the Americas until well into the 18th century, in large part thanks to the dogmatic spirit of these works, perfect for the purposes of evangelizing new believers, and for reinforcing the beliefs of those who had already converted to the Christian faith.

J.G.M.



Fig. 1 Alexander Mair, *Four Fates of the Soul: Death, Soul in Heaven, Soul in Purgatory, Soul in Hell*, 1605, British Museum, London



Fig. 2 Manuel Chili “Caspicara”. *A Skeleton, The Blessed Soul, the Soul in Purgatory, the Condemned Soul*, c. 1775. Hispanic Society of America, New York

Upper Peru: Reflections of an Andean World



Gaspar Miguel de Berrio (Potosí, c. 1706–c. 1762), *Adoration of the Magi*. Museo Nacional de Arte, La Paz (Bolivia)

As was also the case in Cuzco and Lima, in the first years after the Spanish established themselves in Upper Peru, the late Renaissance influences of the 16th century predominated through Italian painters who had arrived in the New World, spreading to La Paz and Potosí, the latter being the city in which the Jesuit painter Pedro de Vargas [Montilla (Cordoba), 1533 ? – after 1591] settled, himself a disciple of the great master Bernardo Bitti [Camerino (Italy) 1548 – Lima 1610]. The Potosí school of painting saw its stock go up with the emergence of Melchor Pérez de Holguín (1660 ?–1732 ?), an extraordinary painter with his own style, who imbued his works with great virtuosity and a brilliant palette of colors. One follower of Holguín worth mentioning is Gaspar Miguel de Berrio (Potosí, c. 1706–c. 1762), who pioneered mestizo painting in Potosí and whose work was a display of the brocateado technique, which consists in applying gilt highlights to clothing, and the saints' attributes he painted, attaining an astonishing effect. During the entire 18th century a new artistic trend developed whereby European influences were less prominent and indigenous values and roots emerged, combining with Western art to give rise to the so-called "Mestizo Baroque Style", the greatest expression of Latin American art.









Melchor Pérez de Holguín and workshop
Cochabamba (Viceroyalty of Peru), 1660 – Potosí, 1732

Saint John the Evangelist
Oil on canvas
85 x 66 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Australia



Attributed to Gaspar Miguel de Berrio
Potosí (Viceroyalty of Peru), c. 1705–c. 1762

Our Lady of the Rosary
Oil on canvas
91 x 67.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection



Josef Villanueva
Potosí (Viceroyalty of Peru), active first half of the 18th century

Portrait of Our Lady of El Cortijo
Oil on canvas
53 x 38 cm
Signed "Josef Villanueva à 16 de Enero de 1737"
Inscription "R. de N Sa del Cortijo de la Villa de Soto de los Cameros Obpdo. de Calaorra Copdo. de su original à devocion de Dn Antonio de Benito y Vallejo Natural de dicha Villa por Josef Villanueva à 16 de Enero de 1737"
Provenance: Private collection, Spain



Saint Martín de Porres

Unidentified artist
Upper Peru (Bolivia), 18th century
Oil and gold on brass
34.5 x 25 cm
Provenance: Private collection



Our Lady of Guadalupe of Extremadura

Unidentified artist
Chairapata, Potosí (Bolivia), 1813
Oil on canvas
114 x 100 cm
Inscription "Verdadero retrato de Nuestra Señora. de Guadalupe de Chairapata, a devoción de Su Párroco el D. D. Manuel de Lossada, y Amezaga Año de 1813."
Provenance: Private collection



Our Lady of Copacabana

Unidentified artist
Titicaca (Viceroyalty of Peru), first half of the 18th century
Oil on canvas stuck to wooden panel
36.5 x 30 cm
Provenance: Private collection

**Melchor Pérez de Holguín and workshop**

Cochabamba (Viceroyalty of Peru), 1660 – Potosí, 1732

Saint John the Evangelist

Oil on canvas

85 x 66 cm

Provenance: Private collection, Australia

As occurs with the majority of Viceroyalty painters, the catalogue of Melchor Pérez de Holguín, probably the most important mestizo Baroque artist to have come out of latter-day Bolivia, lacks the biographical detail to flesh out his identity properly. The son of Diego Pérez de Holguín and Esperanza Flores, he led a tumultuous love life, fathering various children, and is known to have been born in Cochabamba (current capital of the province of Cercado, Bolivia) in 1660, while he is thought to have died in 1732 in Potosí, in the old Peruvian Viceroyalty (current capital of the province of Tomás Frías, Bolivia), where he spent most of his life and career.¹ Known as the Imperial City, Potosí was the most important metropolis not just in Peru, but in the entire Viceroyalty of the Americas. When Holguín arrived, this was the most populated city on the continent, with a population of around 160,000.

This, then, was the context in which Melchor Pérez Holguín lived and died, a painter whose physical image has survived thanks to the self-portrait he carried out as part of the Viceroy Morcillo painting, and whose works, of an unquestionable quality, combined with the merit of having pioneered a prolific artistic school, have earned him the title of cornerstone of Bolivian Viceroyalty painting. He gave rise to a flourishing school that would endure, through his disciples and followers, well into the 19th century and which, as he did, would have to reconcile artistic life with a credulous and miracle-believing Potosí immersed in a Baroque taste tormented by problems of a religious nature given, in the Andean 18th century, far from moving towards acceptance of new dogma, art was forced to survive in a syncretic environment that navigated the combined symbolism of old indigenous beliefs and the demands of Catholicism.

Beyond the syncretism inherent to Holguín's painting, it is crucial to examine the varying influences his highly valued and sought-after brush made its own.² To this end, we should consider the three influences (Italian, French and Flemish) with the greatest impact on Viceroyalty painting overall since its inception, and whose wake may still be seen when studying the painter we are addressing here. Firstly, we would draw the reader's attention to the mark of masters such as Bitti, Pérez de Alesio³ and Medoro⁴, Latin American representatives of Italian Mannerism, whose influence continued into the 18th century through a certain delicacy of execution and the predominance of line. Secondly, and leading the Baroque influence, is the work of the Seville painters of the 17th century, particularly Zurbarán, Murillo and Valdés Leal. Their work, in complete accord with the dogma

and demands of the Counter Reformation, served to transmit values as an iconographic model. To this core issue we should add the force of Baroque form, the euphoria of its expression which, with scant resistance, invaded Viceroyalty workshops.

Finally, we should note the much-studied influence of European engravings as a key source of thematic inspiration.⁵ Prominent here are the Flemish prints that probably provided the iconographic model Pérez de Holguín used for the depiction of this St. John the Evangelist (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1 Cornelis Visscher, *St. John the Evangelist*, 1650, engraving

His work has been linked to Zurbarán's circle, soaked in mysticism and asceticism, with great contrasts of light and shade, and even "*for its hardness, which is almost Caravaggesque*".⁶ These influences, brought over from Europe, with the prevailing chiaroscuro we can observe in the work we are addressing here, led Paul Guinard to claim in his book on Zurbarán that Holguín was the most important "Zurbaranist" in the New World.

Pérez de Holguín's stylistic character is noticeably personal, with a peculiar pictorial world. This was a highly complicated matter in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, due to the imposition of a pre-established tradition in which foreign elements were copied. As such, the author had three well-defined stylistic periods: in the first we see a prevalence of monks and ascetics; in the second, around 1708, his palette became more brilliant and he undertook large-scale compositions; and finally, around 1714, the artist softened, accentuating the flattening of his figures, this being the period to which the Evangelist series belong, particularly influenced by Flemish engravings.

Another element typical of our artist is the way he drew and composed his figures. His subjects are divided into two specific types. On the one hand, we have the ascetics, who present hard faces, although there are compositions, reminiscent of the one we are studying here, in which the figure is seen gazing at the sky with harder facial features. On the other hand, there are his depictions of mystical figures, who have softer

features and a slight paleness we do not find in the first type. It is to this second group that our painting belongs, where we observe St. John with his head turned to the left of the composition, illuminated by a light that completely bathes his face, lending this depiction the "*greatest mystical expression that Holguín attained, along with St. John of God*".⁷

One should also highlight the type of pictorial *maniera* seen in this artist, and which characterized him, identifiable in a marked contrast between the bright tones of the clothes, and other earthier hues, as seen in the background of the work we are studying here.

St. John the Evangelist, the youngest of the disciples and the one "Jesus loved", appears surrounded by the symbols that represent him, making reference to the story narrated in Jacobus de Varagine's *Golden Legend*, which tells of Emperor Domitian's attempt at assassinating the apostle, something I will come back to in greater detail shortly.

As such, we find him in the middle of writing his own Gospel, represented by a book, and with a pen in his right hand. He is sat at a desk, gazing at the sky with his tome in one hand, as forms part of his iconography. He is dressed in a blueish robe, symbolizing his purity and virginity, although on occasions he may be depicted in white or green. On top of that he is wearing a red cloak as, though he did not die a martyr, in the words of Ribadeneira: "*it was not that he lacked the spirit for martyrdom, but rather that martyrdom lacked the spirit for St. John*".⁸ His attribute, the eagle, is seen perched on his right arm. This animal symbolizes the great spiritual content of his gospel, with a far more abstract form of language than the others. Furthermore, it is the only animal, according to the bestiary, that can look straight at the Sun, which would represent God. This sort of iconography was fairly common in our artist.

In the work before us here, we also observe another remarkable element: on top of the Gospel that John is writing a chalice has been knocked over, and from it a snake is emerging, which appears to be attacking the Saint's attribute. This represents the story of the cup of Aristodemos. This priest handed St. John a poisoned chalice, which he had given to another two people just moments before, and who had died in the act. As a result, the Saint took the cup, and having made the sign of the cross, drank the content without coming to any harm. He then covered the dead bodies with a cloak, bringing them back to life. He thereby fulfilled the prophecy that appears in the Gospel according to St. Matthew.⁹

To summarize the compositional content of the painting, it is worth highlighting the chiaroscuro that is accentuated in the lightness of the face compared with the elements in the background, along with the emphasizing of the creases or the features of the Saint's face, neck and hands. Also of note is the coloring we can observe in the clothes and chalice, which contrasts with the earthy tones of the background of the composition. All of the above should serve to reinforce the hypothesis of the creation of (at least) a fourth series of Evangelists born of Holguín's brush in the period relating to the last ten years of his life and, as such, of his artistic career, unanimously considered by scholars of the history of art of the Viceroyalty to represent the very best examples of his oeuvre.

The assertion that more works by Holguín exist is further borne out by the presence, in Madrid's Museo de América, of a canvas depicting *St. Luke* (Fig. 2) from a yet unknown series.

Y.A.R.C.Fig. 2 Melchor Pérez de Holguín, *St. Luke*. Museo de América, Madrid



Attributed to Gaspar Miguel de Berrío
Potosí (Viceroyalty of Peru), c. 1705–c. 1762

Our Lady of the Rosary
Oil on canvas
91 x 67.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Gaspar Miguel de Berrío was, without doubt, one of the most iconic painters of the Bolivian High Plateau. A Criollo by birth, and native to the Puna region, in the area surrounding the Imperial City of Potosí, he was born in around 1706. It was in this major economic hub that he would undertake his artistic activity between 1735 and 1762, attaining the title of master painter and leading the school of Pérez de Holguín.

The main group of works produced by Master Berrío is currently to be found in the Museo Casa de la Moneda in Potosí. Others are housed in the Museo Nacional de Arte in La Paz, in the Museo Colonial de Charcas in Sucre, in the Museo Isaac Fernández Blanco in Buenos Aires and in the Philadelphia Art Museum.

During his almost 30-year career, he earned the recognition of his peers and of viceregal high society, becoming the most outstanding painter in the generation of disciples and followers left by Melchor Pérez de Holguín, eclipsing other talents such as Joaquín Caraballo, Nicolás de los Ecoz, Manuel de Córdoba and Nicolás Cruz, who showed their skills faithfully following the models of their Master.

In contrast to the abovementioned artists, Berrío limited himself to adopting certain characteristic features of Holguín, such as his way of depicting ashen faces, with pointed noses and elongated hands, while infusing his works with his own style.

It is worth highlighting the fine detail, realism and creative genius of his work. Logically, and as would be the case in other key points in the Peruvian Viceroyalty with other pioneers of schools, the influence of the Cuzco style would be essential for the creation of a regional art that would become impregnated with its own elements and style, as is the case with this Potosí school, which was born with Holguín and would continue to grow with Berrío as its greatest exponent. This influence from Cuzco is clearly seen in the subjects depicted, in the use of space and the abundant gold *brocateado*.

The abovementioned characteristics may be observed in the work we are addressing here, a worthy example of Latin American Baroque, placing the Virgin Mary at the center, depicted by the Sacred Heart of Christ. The first thing one notices in this work is the large number of figures crowding the scene and its compositional originality. The location allocated to each figure, symbol or secondary scene was by no means left to chance in this complex composition. This points to a profound knowledge of Christian dogma as befitting an artist experienced in religious subjects. As is also the case in the *Patronage of St. Joseph* (Fig. 1), in the *Coronation of the Virgin* and in numerous works by our artist, the figures are located within the painting according to their varying degrees of prominence.

In the work we are presenting here, the scene is set against a light sky-blue background which melts into the clouds. The center is dominated by the Sacred Heart of Christ, which contains the Virgin and the Infant Jesus. The Virgin is holding a rosary and being crowned by two little angels, while wearing exquisite robes with gilt brocade imitating stars and plant motifs. Her long head of hair is adorned with brightly-colored flowers and she boasts beautiful gold earrings. Sat on an imaginary throne, she offers the rosary to St. Dominic, on his knees below her, while cradling the Infant Jesus in her left arm, the latter standing on her skirts, dressed in a smooth, transparent silk cloth. The Infant, carrying a cross, is blessing St. Francis, who is kneeling at the same level as St. Dominic. Oddly, the Holy Trinity is depicted vertically in the center of the painting, made up of God the Father (emerging from a cloud and with a triangular halo symbolizing his three-fold presence), the Holy Spirit (in the form of a white dove) and the crowned Jesus Christ, depicted underneath his mother.

On each side of the Savior, and bound to him by a sort of branch, are St. Anne on the left and St. Joachim on the right. In the upper section, a number of cherubim are seen fluttering around, interacting with the archangels St. Michael and St. Raphael. The Virgin is framed by 15 golden hoops, inside each of which scenes from her life and that of her son Jesus Christ are depicted.

G.E.P.



Fig. 1 Gaspar Miguel de Berrío, *Patronage of St. Joseph*, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Santiago de Chile



Our Lady of Guadalupe of Extremadura

Unidentified artist
Chairapata, Potosí (Bolivia), 1813
Oil on canvas
114 x 100 cm
Inscription “Verdadero retrato de Nuestra Señora. de Guadalupe de Chairapata, a devoción de Su Párroco el D. D. Manuel de Lossada, y Amezaga Año de 1813.”
Provenance: Private collection

Several miracles are attributed to Our Lady of El Cortijo: the *Miracle of José González Torecilla*, whom she saved from a charging bull, the animal transfixed while in charging position, the *Miracle Cure of Don Inocente Romer*, to whom Our Lady returns his sanity, the *Healing of Little Girl Ambrosia*, who suffers rickets and is unable to walk on her own and, finally, she is also attributed with *The End of Cholera in 1855*.¹⁰

Although the canvas whose origin we are trying to elucidate in these few lines is the only work known by the hand of its author, we can place it within the historical-artistic framework of the school of Potosí in the 18th century. More precisely, the date of production, as the cartouche indicates, was 16 January 1737. Villanueva's representation of the High Altar includes a niche within which the Crowned Virgin appears in bright, starry splendor. Standing on a half-moon symbolizing female divinity and fertility, she is presented at the center of the composition, facing forward and cradling the Holy Child in her left arm and holding a candle in her right hand. She is wearing an elaborate robe, decorated with gold brocade, and two angels hold her bright splendor. Decorations with plant motifs with brilliant gilt motifs superimposed upon them present a peculiar aesthetic effect characteristic of paintings from Cuzco, Quito, Potosí and New Spain.

We find several decorative architectural elements that rise up towards the vault, where we observe a group of peering cherubs, lit by a glowing starfish, an allegory of intervention for the human race. The cartouche above these cherubs: *Quae est Ysta Que pro greditur Quasi Aurora con surgens*, together with the cartouches of the Sun: *Elefa ut Sol*, and the Moon: *Pulchra ut Luna*, located on the top left and top right-hand corners of the composition respectively, form an extract of the Panegyric prayer of the founder of the Ursuline order, St. Angela Merici. These beautiful fragments can be interpreted as: *What is that which looks like a crescent sunrise? Beautiful as the Moon and Brilliant as the Sun*. Integrated into the scene, almost merging with the base on which the Virgin is standing, is the coat of arms of Solar de Tejada, accompanied by the aforementioned cartouche, framed by golden rocaille. The frontal and flat execution of the painting may be linked to the work of the renowned and multifaceted Luis Niño who, besides being a painter, was also a skilled joiner, sculptor and metalworker. Our richly ornamented painting is the earliest record we have of the Josef Villanueva's oeuvre, a work that brings together many elements of Andean imagery, some of which are also present in the magnificent *Mestizo* stone-carved façade of the church of San Lorenzo, attributed by some scholars to Luis Niño (Fig. 1), and which may have served Villanueva as a source of inspiration for this painting.

An example of this is Our Lady of Candelaria, which belongs to the Chapel of San Roque, and is currently preserved in the Museo de

la Casa de la Moneda (Mint Museum). Some of the elements and features mentioned are also present in an early canvas attributed to him, dated 1722, which represents Our Lady of Fuencisla (Fig. 2).

Finally, although irrelevant to establishing the origin of the canvas, we will return to the aforementioned topic of the coat of arms. The use of heraldry in a composition may refer not just to a single person but, by extension, to members of their family. Family understood not only as those who are biologically related to the holder of the coat of arms, but also people in a relationship of service or patronage with him. It is as such that we cannot claim the person who commissioned this work was directly related to the descendants of Don Sancho Fernández de Tejada. What we can do, however, is place them within the family circle since, as José Luis Sampedro Escolar mentions¹¹, using this emblem served not only to maintain their bonds of lineage, but was useful at Court, in Extremadura, in Andalusia and in the Americas, as a means of presentation and a guarantee of their serious nature to fellow compatriot traders and officials as well as society at large, with whom they would trade and deal on legal and administrative matters. This leads us to believe that, although we don't know other works by Villanueva, he must have carried out his activity as a painter among figures of considerable renown and purchasing power.

Having analyzed our painting in terms of form and style, we may now appreciate the features it has in common with the other pieces we have addressed that served as comparative models, and which reflect the rich Andean and Meso-American imagery. In accordance with what we have discussed thus far, I will conclude by highlighting the importance of the painting we have before us here, which constitutes a significant contribution to the field, and whose author may have been a local painter linked to Luis Niño, as it clearly reflects the latter's influence.

G.E.P.



Fig. 1 Attributed to Luis Niño, *Mestizo* facade of the Church of St. Lawrence, in Potosí, Bolivia



Fig. 2 Luis Niño, *Our Lady of Fuencisla*, 1722. Museo Nacional de Arte in La Paz, Bolivia



Saint Martín de Porres

Unidentified artist
Upper Peru (Bolivia), 18th century
Oil and gold on brass
34.5 x 25 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Martín de Porres, the first saint of African descent in Latin America, was born in the late 16th century, the illegitimate son of a Spanish nobleman and a freed slave woman. For most of his life he was linked to the Dominican monastery of Nuestra Señora del Rosario which, due to his status as a bastard and a mulatto (the term by which the study of *castas* in the Modern Era defined children with one white parent and one black one), he was initially not allowed to enter as a monk. He was denied the chance to say mass and was relegated to tasks relating to the monastery infirmary. It was through his successes as a healer that his fame grew in the area. The miracles attributed to him are largely related to the healing of the sick. Also, and in accordance with another characteristic of certain Christian saints (such as St. Francis or St. Anthony), he is said to have established extremely close ties with all sorts of animals, who he also tended to in his apothecary.

In this painting on brass the saint appears dressed in Dominican habit (with his cloak and scapular edged with gold), along with a good number of his iconographic attributes. He holds the most important of these in his left hand: a broom, referring to his humble origins, and which gave rise to his soubriquet, the Saint of the Broom. In his right hand he is holding a crucifix, the symbol of his devotion.

The room in which he is portrayed is presumably a depiction of his apothecary. On the left of the composition, under a red drape with tassels that has been gathered back, we find a table with a blue tablecloth on which various objects are standing. A glass jug with gilt edges, three cylindrical vessels, a basket and scissors, alluding to his skills in preparing medicinal ointments. His attributes also include a whip with three tails, the ends of which are bloody, a reference to the penance Martín subjected himself to as part of his mystic and religious experience. In front of the table, at the saint’s feet, there is a stone mortar, essential for preparing the medicines of the day and, once again, a reference to the healing gifts of the Saint of the Broom.

On the right of the composition a window opens up, with four birds perched on it (a fifth is seen flying into the room). A white embroidered cloth is hanging from the sill, complementing the other objects under the window, including a bowl and a brush (reminding us that in this period the same person would often fulfil the functions of barber, surgeon and pharmacist). Finally, in the lower right-hand corner, we find an explicit reference to one of the saint’s miracles, where he tamed a mouse, a cat and a dog, managing to get them to eat peacefully from the same bowl.

The recognition of his community, and his subsequent legitimization by his father, improved his situation in Lima in the early 17th century, but he would continue to bear the stigma of belonging to a race

that viceregal society branded as being violent and undesirable (as demonstrated in “casta” paintings). However, the fervent religious character of society in the Spanish colonies allowed for the emergence and veneration of certain figures, such as Martín de Porres, who transcended “race” and attained sainthood. His story could serve moralizing ends, with colonial authorities using Porres as an example of a model of conduct to be followed by the Afro-Latin population, where his passivity and devotion were put forward as a stereotype with which they could identify. It is known that from 1501 the Spanish Crown only allowed (officially, at least) blacks to enter the colonies if they were Christians, so an element of cohesion for said community could be of use. All the more so if we consider the abundance of African slaves travelling the Spanish trade routes, with Seville acting as the main port for the slave trade in the west of Europe from the 15th century on. Along with St. Benedict of Palermo, Martín de Porres stands as the major exception to the generalized absence of black subjects depicted in the visual arts during the Baroque period.

H.S.J.



Our Lady of Guadalupe of Extremadura

Unidentified artist
Chairapata, Potosí (Bolivia), 1813
Oil on canvas
114 x 100 cm
Inscription “Verdadero retrato de Nuestra Señora. de Guadalupe de Chairapata, a devoción de Su Párroco el D. D. Manuel de Lossada, y Amezaga Año de 1813.”
Provenance: Private collection

The great veneration inspired by Extremadura’s Our Lady of Guadalupe meant it became one of the most widely-depicted images over the centuries in a number of artistic formats, both in Spain and on the other side of the Atlantic.

The origin of the iconography goes back to a miraculous event that occurred to a cowherd from Cáceres (Extremadura, Spain), Gil Cordero, in the late 13th century in the nearby Guadalupe river area.¹² After it had been lost for several days, Gil came across the dead body of one of his cows and, just as he was about to skin it for its hide, it came back to life. The Virgin then appeared to him, speaking the following words: “... you will go back to your lands, and you will tell the clerics and other people to come to this place where I appeared to you, and to dig here, and they will find an image of me.” A group of people subsequently travelled to said location, and there they found a wooden carving of the Virgin.

Shortly after, King Alphonse XI, having learnt of the apparition, invoked Our Lady of Guadalupe at the Battle of Río Salado (1340), after which his troops were victorious. In gratitude, he granted the recently-created Monastery of Guadalupe royal privileges and concessions, which turned it into a site of great veneration and pilgrimage, guarded by the monks of the Order of St. Jerome. Over the centuries, devotion to the Virgin spread widely, even reaching the Americas, with the Hieronymite friar Diego de Ocaña responsible for its dissemination. Between 1599 and 1608, he travelled the majority of the Spanish viceregal territories, accompanied, the chronicles say, by 300 copies of the recently-published *Historia de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* (History of Our Lady of Guadalupe), friar Gabriel de Talavera’s work, with the goal of leaving a faithful account of Guadalupe’s devotion and history wherever he went, also increasing and maintaining veneration for her over time, which would translate into financial donations for her Shrine in Extremadura. To this we should also add the artistic skills of Ocaña himself, who went so far as to leave visual depictions of the image of Our Lady in each place he passed through. The Spanish engraver Pedro Ángel (c. 1567–1618) was also key to Our Lady’s iconography taking root in the various viceregal territories, having designed a print to be included on the inside cover of Father Talavera’s aforementioned publication (Fig. 1). As such, along with the descriptions in the work itself, native artists had a clear and direct guide to depicting the Virgin correctly.



Fig. 1 Pedro Ángel, *Our Lady of Guadalupe* in “History of Our Lady of Guadalupe”, Fray Gabriel de Talavera, fol. 2, 1597

At some point in their careers, many major viceregal painters undertook to portray this subject. One of the first was

the Peruvian artist Gregorio Gamarra (c. 1570–1642) (Fig. 2), followed some decades later by the Colombian Gregorio Vásquez de Arce y Ceballos (1638–1711).

The work we have before us here relates to a later depiction. We can date it exactly thanks to the explanatory cartouche held by a cherub towards the bottom of the composition, reading “*Verdadero retrato de Nuestra Señora. de Guadalupe de Chairapata, a devoción de Su Párroco el D. D. Manuel de Lossada, y Amezaga Año de 1813.*” (True portrait of Our lady of Guadalupe of Chairapata, for the devotion of its Parish Priest the D.D. Manuel de Lossada, y Amezaga Year 1813).

We can therefore conclude the work was executed at the behest of a parish priest whose surnames take us to the north of Spain, presenting him, along with his church, as the figure behind the commission.

But that takes none of the limelight away from Our Lady of Guadalupe herself. The Marian image appears standing atop a simple pedestal. She is wearing her characteristic triangular cloak decorated with beautiful embroidery featuring floral motifs, gilt brocade, cuffs and collar made of fine white lace, pearl necklace and earrings. The Child, meanwhile, is also sumptuously dressed in brocade in the Cuzco style, with lace cuffs and collar and gold shoes.

Both are pictured face on, looking serious and solemn. It is worth noting Mary’s pale skin, given the original image from Extremadura was actually part of the group of “Black Madonnas”, so called due to their dark skin. Our Virgin is carrying the symbol of Guadalupe in her right hand, a scepter made of gold and precious gemstones, and on her head she has a crown from which a colorful floral veil is seen to emerge. Her virginal status is reinforced by the 10 stars over her head and the crescent moon under her feet, linking her to the Immaculate Conception. The Child, meanwhile, is holding the orb of the world in his left hand, while issuing a benediction with his right.

One of the basic elements of this iconography, missing on this occasion, is the hanging drape, replaced here by a simple neutral celestial background from which little cherubim are seen to emerge, and two beautiful thurifer angels in elegant dress, carrying finely-made censers, matching the overall feeling of luxury and ostentation.

J.G.M.



Fig. 2 Gregorio Gamarra, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, 1614. Iglesia y Convento de la Recoleta church, Cuzco



Our Lady of Copacabana

Unidentified artist
Titicaca (Viceroyalty of Peru), first half of the 18th century
Oil on canvas stuck to wooden panel
36.5 x 30 cm
Provenance: Private collection

The work we have before us here is a beautiful portrait of the most famous *mestizo* Virginal advocacy in the Peruvian Viceroyalty, and one of the most popular ones throughout South America, Our Lady of Copacabana.¹³

Worship of Our Lady was started in 1584, in the town of Copacabana, on the shores of Lake Titicaca in the remains of an old Incan temple, by Francisco Tito Yupanqui, an indigenous Bolivian and devotee of the Virgin.¹⁴ From that point on, her image was repeatedly reproduced thanks to the paradigmatic process of religious syncretism which, through efforts using art to reconvert and superimpose, successfully incorporated pre-existing myths and beliefs into the models set out by the Catholic Counter Reformation. Following her initial exaltation, the popularity of Our Lady of Copacabana spread both inside the American continent and beyond, thanks to the numerous miracles associated with her image. Strategically disseminated by the most efficient means available at the time, the superstitious aura enveloping the image of the Virgin gave rise to an enormous artistic repertoire filling the walls of houses, palaces and churches with paintings and sculptures.

Looking at the way the iconography of this revered Marian figure evolved, we see how depictions of her, following a process involving the devotional redefining of Pre-Hispanic icons, were no more than an adaptation of the *Virgin of Candelaria*, to which her own attributes and meanings were ascribed. Our Lady appears enthroned within a structure simulating silver, supported on four Solomonic columns over which there is a keel arch pediment. This is topped by a semi-circular crown with phytomorphic decorations, presided over by a scallop shape of the same *fattura* as two others located on the top corners of the pediment. This odd way of arranging the Virgin, within a throne structure made to look like silver, is evidence of the influence of Luis Niño¹⁵, a multi-faceted Bolivian artist who was particularly skilled at depicting silver objects (Fig. 1). On the throne we see Our Lady, elegantly dressed in a bell-shaped cloak, clearly a syncretic allusion to Pachamama. The Virgin's robe is presented as a sort of *horror vacui*, replete with embroidery, pearly decorations, precious stones and lavish ornate giltwork, with the same appearance and elegance as the imperial crown sitting above her mystical oval face. The Infant Christ is cradled on her left arm, while her right hand holds a candle which, along with the four candlesticks arranged at the base of the throne, symbolize Marian purification, the origin of the advocacy resulting in this *mestizo* representation, the *Virgin of Candelaria*.

Outside the architectural structure of the throne, and on the left of the Virgin, we find Jesus Christ. Placed on a white cloud and depicted from the waist up, he is crossing his arms over his chest while holding a bunch of white Madonna lilies in his right hand, a symbol of Marian

purity. Of particular note is the opulent and painstaking *brocatería* work to be seen in the Savior's clothing, presenting the same technique and appearance as is found in the religious figure depicted, half-length, on the right-hand side of the composition. Identified as a bishop in the act of praying, he wears a miter and reddish pallium, dark habit and crosier. This decorative technique, originating in Cuzco, steadily spread throughout the extensive regions of the Viceroyalty, becoming a hallmark that would also define the schools of Lima and La Paz. It is to the latter that the painting we are studying here belongs, in which can identify parallels with the work of the disciple of Pérez de Holguín, Gaspar de Berrio¹⁶, a painter who was particularly generous in his application of brocade (Fig. 2).

Over both figures, floating in front of a sky-blue background, and about halfway up the work, we see two little winged angels, giving way to a pair of five-stemmed candelabra that further emphasize Mary's status as the true light of the world. Continuing towards the upper third of the composition we find, on the left-hand side and resting on a white cloud, St. Michael the Archangel. Dressed as a Roman soldier and opulently attired in garments rich in brocade, his left hand holds a shield while in his right hand he bears the knife with which he will defend the heavens. Opposite him, and also on a cloud, an angel is seen to be raising his right hand towards heaven, the same hand which is holding what we can identify as the sacred heart of Jesus. Finally, and as the last elements making up the composition, our eye is drawn to the two angels in red robes and gilt brocade resting on the top of the throne structure, both carrying bouquets of roses, the Marian symbol of love.

S.F.L.

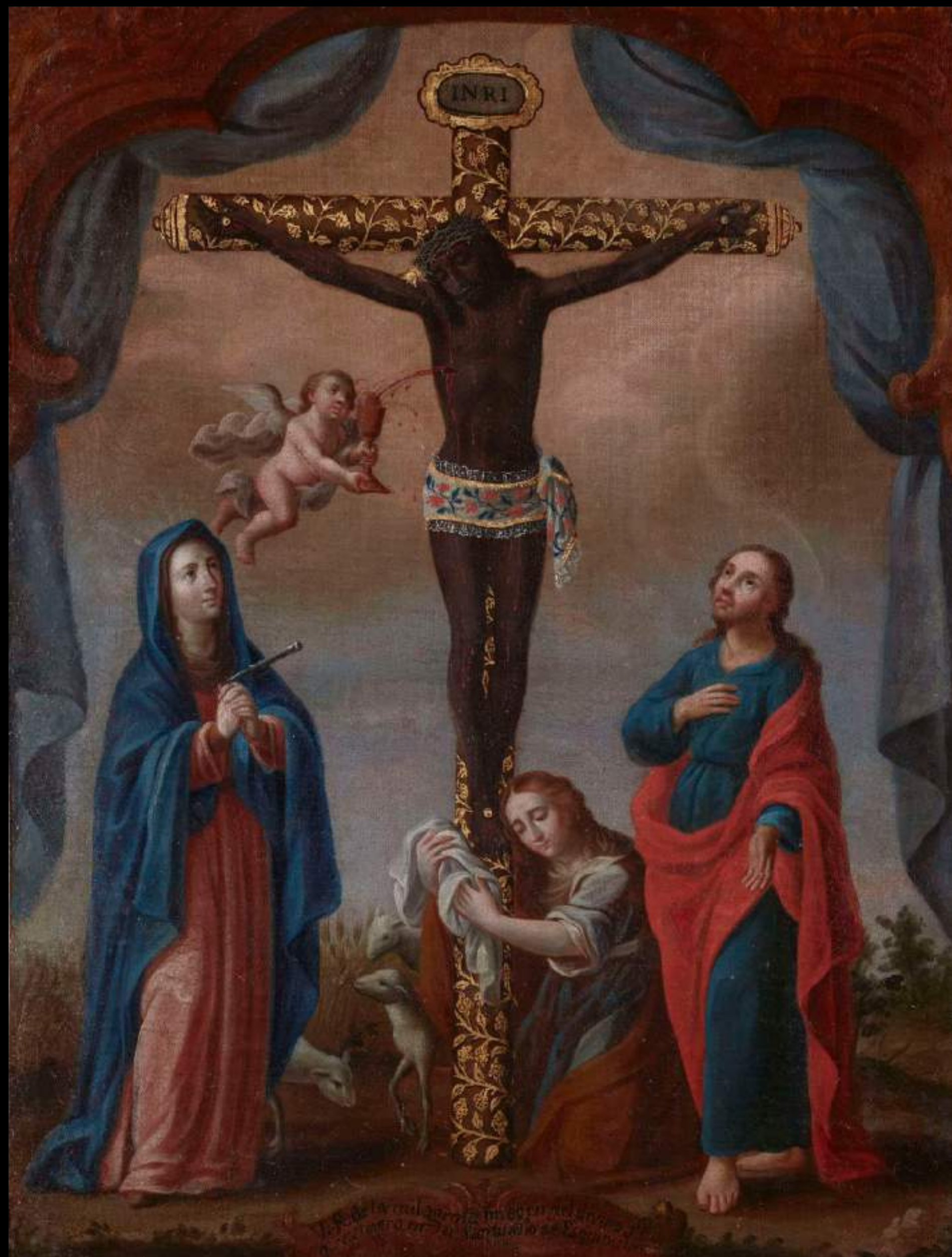


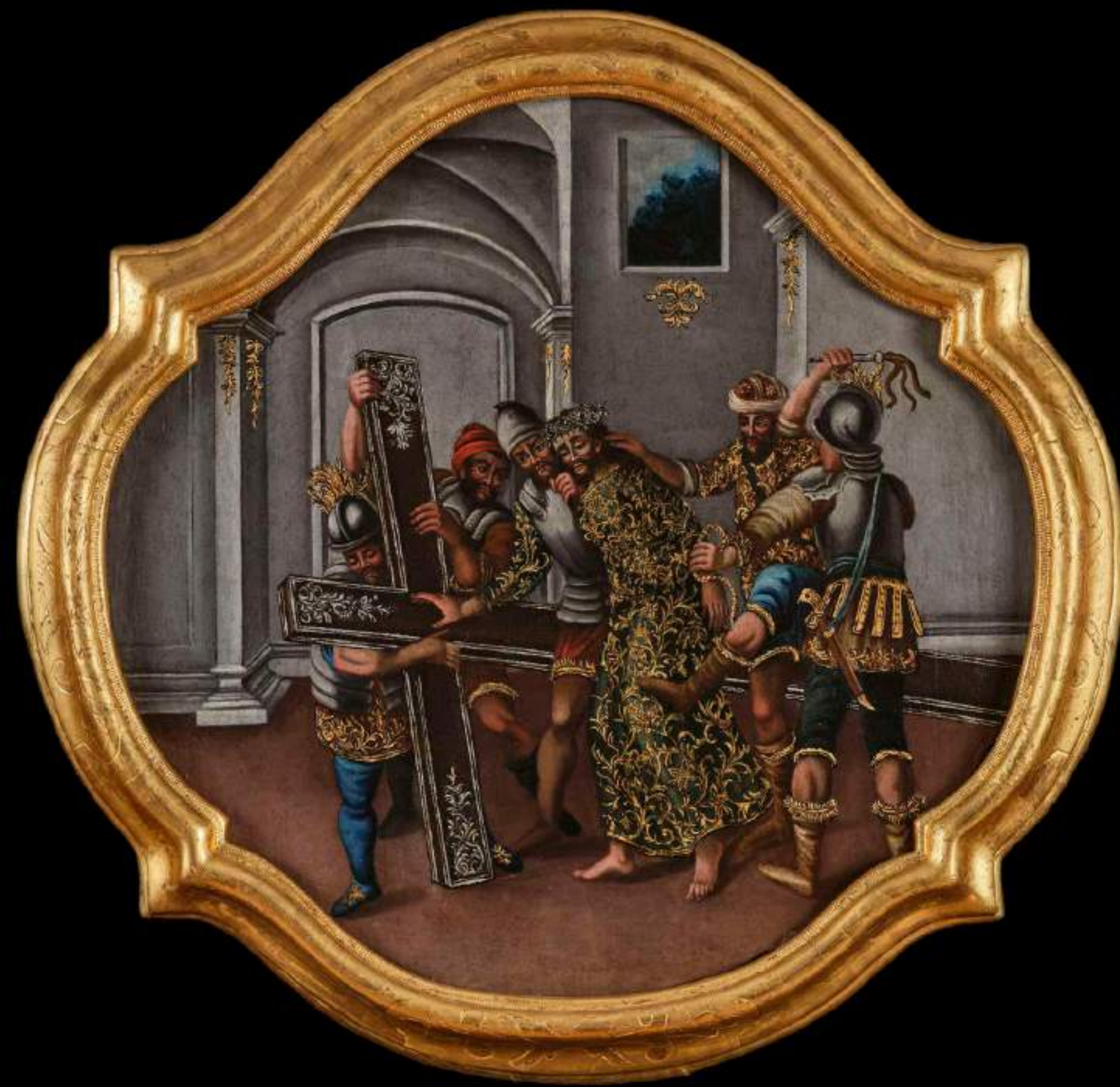
Fig. 1 Luis Niño, *Our Lady of the Rosary with Sts. Dominic and Francis of Assisi*, 1737, oil on canvas. Museo de la Casa Nacional de Moneda, Potosí (Bolivia)



Fig. 2 Gaspar Miguel de Berrio, *Virgin surrounded by Saints*, 1730-1762. Museo Isaac Fernández Blanco, Buenos Aires (Argentina)











Black Christ of Esquipulas

Unidentified artist
Guatemala, 18th century
Oil on canvas
52 x 39 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain



Juan José Rosales

Guatemala City, c. 1751–1816

Portrait of Doña María Josefa Romana y Manrique

Oil on canvas
198 x 149 cm
Inscription “V. R. DE DA MARÍA JOSEFA ROMANA
Y MAN RIQUE NACIO EN LA CIUDAD DE
GUATA EN 26 DE EN° DE 1769, CASÓ CON D.
JUAN PAYÉS Y FONT EN 24 DE OCTE. 1787”
Provenance: Private collection, US



Simon of Cyrene Helping Jesus

Unidentified artist
Guatemala, 18th century
Oil on canvas
48 x 40 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain



Jesus Nailed to the Cross

Unidentified artist
Guatemala, 18th century
Oil on canvas
48 x 40 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain



Circle of Miguel de Santiago

Quito (Ecuador), c. 1620/1633–1706

The Holy Family with Saint John the Baptist and Saint Anthony the Abbot
Ecuador, late 17th century
Oil on copper
36 x 26 cm
Provenance: Private collection



Our Lady of the Incarnation with Saint Joseph and Saint John the Baptist

Unidentified artist
Quito (Ecuador), 18th century
Oil on canvas
102 x 75 cm
Provenance: Private collection



Black Christ of Esquipulas

Unidentified artist
Guatemala, 18th century
Oil on canvas
52 x 39 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain

To the left of this rare painting we see Our Lady of Sorrows, and on the right John the Apostle, both looking at Christ tenderly. Mary Magdalene is weeping, her face turned downwards as she kneels, hugging the wooden cross and holding onto the shroud with which they would take down Christ’s dead body. We can observe typical decorative elements from the Colonial School in the clothing, the brocade and the gilt applied in the form of leaves entwined around the cross and on Christ’s sendal loincloth, and the incorporation of flowers on the latter. Arranged harmoniously around the center, the figures from the scene are placed in a manner that contrasts with works we will be mentioning shortly, taking place in an open landscape with, to his right and under the Christ figure, what looks like a field of wheat, lambs and a little angel filling a chalice with spurts of Christ’s blood, almost as if the artist was suggesting that the holy blood of the Messiah stood for life and continuity. To his left there is woodland and, framing the whole scene, an architectural decoration from which two curtains hang, creating a theatrical effect. At the bottom of the composition we also find a cartouche with the following inscription: “V.R. de la milagrosa imagen del divino Sr q. se venera en su Santuario de Esquipulas”. (True Portrait of the miraculous image of the divine Lord who is venerated in the Shrine of Esquipulas).

There are few surviving comparable works, even if we include the groups of sculptures and canvases depicting the Esquipulas iconography of Christ. The first of these, an original from which a number of copies were subsequently made, corresponds to a carving executed by the sculptor Quirio Cataño in Guatemala in 1594.

According to a number of researchers, it is possible that Christ’s skin color is due to the fact that, prior to the conquest, Esquipulas was a popular center for worship and pilgrimage in Mesoamerica, worshipping the black warrior god Ek Chuah. Among the Mayas it was common for gods to be associated with darkness and the netherworld. This is also the case for *Ek Balam Chuah*, the black jaguar of midnight and Ek-Kampula. It is possible that one viable option for evangelizers in the colonizing project was that of redirecting certain of the natives’ well-rooted beliefs, given to suppress them would have required too much effort and meant likely failure. The approach of using an old Mayan basis on which to develop a syncretism, blending with Christian customs, in such a way that the indigenous people would continue to venerate the same God, but with a different name, is addressed in the line of study suggested by

the archaeologist, anthropologist and Guatemalan historian Carlos Navarrete in the interview “The History behind the Black Christ of Esquipulas”, where he quotes Lothrop and Borhegyi, who posited the possibility of a hybridity with a Pre-Hispanic deity associated with the color black being venerated in what was formerly Copan, also adding oral traditions he had sheard to lend greater credence to these theories. As Borhegyi mentions, one may argue that the popularity worship had attained by the 16th century was primarily due to the clearly Pre-Columbine inheritance of a belief in the curative qualities of earth (geophagia), which was associated with worship in Esquipulas, in the holy symbolism of the color black and, secondly, once the colony had been established, by the spreading word of its miraculous healing powers, which attracted both population groups, giving rise to the production of images of the Black Christ of Esquipulas for worship and veneration. As mentioned earlier, there are few iconographic depictions of this Christ that survive to this day, a few carving in wood (Fig. 1) and a smaller number of canvases.

G.E.P.



Fig. 1 Anonymous artist, *Cristo de las Esquipulas*, Guatemala, 18th century. Museo de América, Madrid



Juan José Rosales
Guatemala City, c. 1751–1816

Portrait of Doña María Josefa Romana y Manrique
1791
Oil on canvas
198 x 149 cm
Inscription “V. R. DE DA MARÍA JOSEFA ROMANA Y MAN RIQUE NACIO EN LA CIUDAD DE GUATA EN 26 DE ENº DE 1769, CASÓ CON D. JUAN PAYÉS Y FONT EN 24 DE OCTE. 1787”
Provenance: Private collection, US

Not much information has come down to us about the life of Juan José Rosales, a Criollo painter and engraver nicknamed *El Místico* (Mystic), other than that he lived in Guatemala City for at least the period 1751–1816.¹ In 1783 he married Doña Ángela Josefa Alfaro, with whom he had four children: Víctor, José María, Gregorio and Nazario. Years later, in 1795, he became a member of the recently-inaugurated *Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País* (Economic Society of Friends of the Country), an institution given over to promoting the arts, science and agriculture, where Rosales came into contact with the doctrine of liberal and enlightened thought, and where his brush was able to pick up a level of erudition in short supply in the Guatemalan school of the time, with its dramatic rather than scholarly tendencies.



Fig. 1 Juan José Rosales, *Don Fermín de Aycinena e Irigoyen*, 18th century, oil on canvas. Private collection

Before embarking on the study and analysis of the portrait of Doña María Josefa, I would like to sketch a brief picture of Rosales in his capacity as official portraitist of the leading Guatemalan social classes. Firstly, we should highlight his position as portrait artist to the most eminent political figures in the Viceroyalty, including his work depicting Don Pedro de Alvarado, *Adelantado* (military governor) of Guatemala, painted in 1808. There are also documentary records referring to Rosales having executed a number of other portraits, one, dated 1812, of Judge Antonio Norberto Serrano Polo, from the Museo

de Arte Colonial, and various works portraying Charles IV, one for the Fortress of St. Fernando de Omoa in Honduras, painted in 1790, and another, dated 1797 for the aforementioned Economic Society, along with two further full-length works for Guatemala City Council, painted in 1789. In addition, in 1808 Rosales painted a portrait of Ferdinand VII, using engravings by Rico and Brunetti based on a drawing by Antonio Carnicero as his model.³

A second group of portraits is made up of those depicting members of the clergy, also keen to leave visual testimony of their role in the developing life of the nation. As is the case with many other cathedrals throughout New Spain, the chapter house of the Catedral Metropolitana del Apóstol Santiago in Guatemala boasts a complete iconographic series of portraits of bishops and archbishops, some of these coming from the palette of Rosales, whose innovative style, generous in terms of light and joyful color, marked a break with the tenebrism of Baroque portraiture popular up until then, and suggests the influence of the brush of José de Páez.⁴

Finally, and as a third category of portraits, this being in my opinion the most attractive group from a compositional point of view, we have the works Rosales dedicated to civil portraiture, and to which the beautiful canvas we have before us here belongs. To speak about civil portraiture in the Viceroyalty in the 18th century does, in fact, mean speaking about the portraits of Criollos or the newly-arrived Spanish. This new generation, distant descendants of the first conquistadors, did not have much in common with those men and women of action. The new Criollo elite, urbane and stable, often cultured, sometimes extravagant, both aware and proud of their status and power, experienced the temptation to make show of their recently-attained social standing and, to that end, one of the fundamental elements was portraiture, through which, and via the codification of differentiating elements appertaining to social rank, they communicated their privileged status to the rest of the settlers in the Americas.

The economic expansion of the Criollo population, made up of landowners, a newly-born bourgeoisie and a few, select members of the local aristocracy, also brought with it a housing expansion, with historical neighborhoods filling up with ostentatious mansions and palaces needing no less ostentatious portraits, the execution of which meant the social rise and prestige of painters such as Juan José Rosales, “the pictorial chronicler of the Guatemalan elite”.

One additional attraction to studying civil portraiture from the 18th century onwards is the fact that the subjects depicted expanded, in a generalized fashion and within the limitations imposed by class, to include women and, with them, a new repertoire of decorative attributes and elements that are particularly interesting for art lovers, such as dress and jewelry.

What scant bibliographic literature there is dealing with Rosales has made the mistake of ascribing neoclassical attributes to him when the predominance of line and form over color, the clear conditioning of the artist to a specific and decisive set of rules, as well as his apparent dependence on recognizable printed models, invites us to draw parallels between his style and the aesthetic requirements of the Madrid Court school from the late 18th century, and early 19th-century French academic art, both of which styles are evident in our portrait.

On this occasion, we see a depiction of Doña María Josefa Romana y Manrique, a Criollo lady born in Guatemala City on 26 January 1769, and who married Don Juan Payés y Font in the same city in October 1787, said husband featuring in the painting hanging on the right-hand wall of the room, with an oval frame and Baroque decoration.

The young lady, aged 22, appears standing up in the middle of the composition, almost in profile and full length. Dressed in all her finery, as called for by a moment immortalizing her over the centuries, she is wearing an elegant two-piece robe, largely in line with French-dominated 18th-century fashion. Her image, which expresses rigidity, dignity and gravity, is dominated by her outfit, concealing her figure thanks to the hoop skirt hidden under the two-piece outer skirt, opening out into a V-shape at the front which reveals her petticoat, just as rigid and ornate, with the same elegant and perfectly designed fabric as the rest of Doña Josefa’s attire. Her torso also has an opening at the front, which appears to be padded out with a *stomacher*⁵, shaped like a shield and stiffened with card or whalebone. The sleeves of the robe are typical of the 18th century, reaching down to a little above the elbows, and just loose enough for the lace frills of her undershirt to stick out, also covering part of her forearms, and thereby meeting the demands of modesty with regards bare flesh. The frill’s fabric and decorous function are shared by the shawl worn over Doña Josefa’s shoulders, which is secured in the middle of her breast, concealing the latter and revealing, in its place, a brooch featuring large white, red and blue flowers. Her face, which is young and impassive, is a closed book in terms of expression, as was *de rigueur* for the purposes of the canvas. Standing out against her snow-white skin we observe two fine eyebrows, slightly raised, and meeting her nose in the middle, which is thin and elongated. Her small, almond-shaped eyes look fixedly towards the left of the composition.

Finally her mouth, which is small, thin and resolutely closed. Her hair is embellished with a vertically-arranged wig and a headdress of feathers and gemstones. Our eye is drawn to the delicate act of rebellion in the timid emergence of the tip of her left shoe which, just visible under a robe of the required length, presages the rising hemlines of the decades to come. Equally important in terms of connotations is the fact that the subject should have chosen to sit for her portrait dressed in her finest jewels. Bracelets, rings, an imposing necklace with matching earrings tell the spectator, particularly the contemporary spectator, that we are witness to one of the most powerful women in Guatemala. Reinforcing this message is the fan she is holding in her left hand, so popular in viceregal depictions of Criollo women, forced to use a brand new one on each occasion.

As with other subjects from Rosales’ oeuvre (Fig. 2), María Josefa is pictured in one of the rooms from her home. On her right we see a

Rococo style table on which there is a silver writing set with inkstand, quill holder and tray. Doña Josefa is pictured resting her right hand on the table, in which she is holding a card.

The cartouche is located in the lower left-hand corner, inside an oval frame with volute molding, and where the inscription reads: “V. R. DE DA MARÍA JOSEFA ROMANA Y MAN RIQUE NACIO EN LA CIUDAD DE GUATA EN 26 DE ENº DE 1769, CASÓ CON D. JUAN PAYÉS Y FONT EN 24 DE OCTE 1787”. Under that, in italics and painted in black, we read the words: *Juan Joseph Rosales fecit año de 1791*.

Diametrically opposite the cartouche, in the upper right-hand corner of the canvas, we see the coats of arms of the Romana family (on the left) and the Manrique family (on the right). Both appear on top of an imposing curtain of red fabric, tied back with a cord with pompoms of the same color, which is hanging on the right-hand side of the canvas, lending the scene a certain theatricality.



Fig. 2 Juan José Rosales, *Don Martín Serra Avelli*, 1790, oil on canvas. Palafrugell Town Council, Girona (Spain)

Of particular interest in this painting is the device (quite common in Rosales) of meta-painting⁶; the painting with the painting, which was rare though not inexistant in viceregal portraiture (Fig. 3), It is as such that Don Juan Payés y Font appears, also dressed in the French fashion, with dress-coat and waistcoat, tie and wig, in a Baroque style portrait in a frame with molding from the same stylistic period. Although the painting does adhere to the demands of line over color that dominated the academic style of late 18th-century courtly portraiture, and which artists such as Maella and Carnicero excelled at in Madrid, with their work reaching the New World through prints, it is hard not to be struck by the slight resistance to a complete abandonment of the nuances of the end of the Baroque period, present in the undulating lines and the earthy quality of the palette.

S.F.L.



Fig. 3 Anonymous, *Portrait of a Lady*, 18th century, oil on canvas. Private collection



**Simon of Cyrene Helping Jesus
Jesus Nailed to the Cross**

Unidentified artist
Guatemala, 18th century
Oil on canvas
48 x 40 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain

The term *Via Crucis* refers to the series of 14 stations providing the faithful with a sequential narrative depicting the stages on Christ’s Way of the Cross, from his condemnation by Pilate to his arrival in Calvary where his crucifixion, death and burial took place.⁷ Although the iconographic and devotional foundations of this Passion story date from the 15th century, becoming particularly popular in the years following the Counter-Reformation, it was not until the 18th century, thanks to the work of the Franciscan Leonard of Port Maurice (1676–1751), that the official model we see here became established, probably arriving in Guatemala through one of the many prints that crossed the Atlantic from Europe to the New World, where the practice of the Stations became completely integrated.⁸

On this occasion, as is often the case for viceregal pictorial series, and all the more so for Guatemalan ones, what we have is an incomplete pictorial group where only two scenes have survived: Stations V and XI from the *Via Crucis*, depicting Simon of Cyrene helping Jesus and Jesus nailed to the Cross.

In the first of the two canvases, the one relating to the Fifth Station, we find a portrayal of the moment the soldiers, seeing Christ’s exhaustion, forced one of the onlookers at the procession to help Jesus carry the cross. There are similar descriptions of the scene in three of the four Canonical Gospels, Luke, Mark and Matthew, with the latter commenting: “As they were going out, they met a man from Cyrene, named Simon, and they forced him to carry the cross.”⁹

The second of the paintings, which presents the same *fattura* as the first one, depicts the Eleventh Station of the *Via Crucis*, with Jesus being nailed to the hard beams of the Cross, witnessed by his Holy Mother. Although the Biblical accounts provided by the four Evangelists refer to the crucifixion, they do not include details such as how Christ was nailed to the cross, so the episode’s portrayal has allowed for a certain formal flexibility, with the scene sometimes depicting the exact moment of the crucifixion or, as is the case here, just moments later when, having nailed the Messiah in place, the cross was stood upright.

Having analyzed the iconographic aspects of the two compositions, we turn now to their artistic features, which require an examination of the pictorial trends of 18th-century Guatemala. This period is key to understanding the dynamics of the viceregal school, marked by a pictorial proliferation that was unprecedented in its artistic history thanks to the emergence of an increasingly prosperous and well-ordered criollo society whose artistic requirements were both better informed and more demanding than those of previous generations.

This new criollo art had to adapt to the academic tools and rationale imported from the “Old Country”, though not without putting up some stylistic resistance with regard to the rigid norms being imposed on how reality was depicted, which stood in stark contrast to the indigenous artistic language. A form of painting thereby came about which, in spite of the obvious influence of the Mexican school, presents a markedly localized seal, the main defining features of which are perfectly reflected in these two beautiful, small-scale Passion scenes with their irregular mix of curved and straight borders, where the ingenuous nature of the figures depicted, and the perspective, is counterbalanced by the exquisite use of brocade. Although the (imposed) predominance of the religious subject matter, compared to a secular or civil theme, does restrict creative originality to a degree, the majesty with which the images in these works were decorated, with abundant gilding, marks a major point of departure from the Old World, while also serving to establish an individual pictorial identity.

Furthermore, and for the purposes of enabling interested readers to examine these and other Guatemalan paintings within a contextual framework that might help to understand their true value, I would like to comment on the factors that have contributed to the scant attention Art History scholars have dedicated to these works, whose story is very much a blank page waiting to be written.¹⁰ The truth is, that beyond the visual, aesthetic and technical specificities shared by the varying Latin American schools, Guatemala has had to deal with a number of conditioning factors that have denied researchers the chance to work with any kind of panoramic or comprehensive vision that might relate the artists with their works. Firstly, and this is a fundamental point, there is the fact that for centuries these works were mired in anonymity. An anonymity imposed by a utilitarian approach to art where form was deemed secondary, and recognition for it therefore unnecessary. Secondly, a factor alien to the artistic process but no less decisive, is that Central America was the victim of numerous earthquakes that spared no mercy when it came to the region’s artistic heritage, believed to have undergone great loss and damage, ruling out greater levels of scientific investigation.

However, and in spite of the above, we are confident that future scholars, showing consideration for the artistic works that were produced on the fringes of orthodox Western dynamics, will help to fill in the dates and places for the many paintings which, like these two we have before us here, once adorned the walls of Guatemala’s most important religious buildings.

S.F.L.



Circle of Miguel de Santiago
Quito (Ecuador), c. 1620/1633–1706

*The Holy Family with Saint John the Baptist and
Saint Anthony the Abbot*
Ecuador, late 17th century
Oil on copper
36 x 26 cm
Provenance: Private collection, US

The work being presented here should be placed within the Quito school of the 17th century. In terms of its technical, aesthetic and stylistic characteristics, one might well attribute it to Miguel de Santiago, who was born in Quito in around 1620. This artist, who was one of the major exponents of the painting produced in the viceroyalty, was the most important painter in the court of Quito. The son of mestizo parents, he was legally adopted by Hernando de Santiago between 1633 and 1636. He enjoyed the patronage of the Augustinian friar Basilio de Ribera, who would commission him to undertake the canvasses of the life of Saint Augustine when the artist was about 20 years old. The painter married Andrea de Cisneros Alvarado in 1681 and died on 5 January 1706.

He obtained the rank of master painter much earlier than most, it is thought at some time between 1654 and 1656. He opened his workshop in property he inherited from his mother, located in the parish of Santa Bárbara, and he was involved in the training of Ecuadorian artists for more than half a century, until the day he died.

The training provided by Miguel de Santiago encompassed at least two generations, including painters who were of great assistance in the execution of his own works, such as in the Saint Augustine series, benefitting from the support of Bartolomé Lobato, Valenzuela and Fray Alfonzo de la Vera.

Víctor Puig demonstrated that Santiago’s series depicting the life of Saint Augustine was inspired by Schelte a Bolswert’s series of engravings on the same theme. He did so simply by publishing reproductions of the engravings and the paintings side by side, thereby creating the first series of parallels between colonial works of art and their engraved sources.



Fig. 1 Miguel de Santiago, *Adoration of the Shepherds* (detail), oil on canvas. Cathedral of Bogotá, Colombia

Ángel Justo Estebaranz also published a major study of the same series (along with its engraved sources), of which not all the works were known. This monumental series, originally made up of more than 60 canvasses, and intended to decorate the main cloisters of the convent, was completed in 1656.

Miguel de Santiago left a large number of works that are still admired today. He undertook a number of famous series of paintings such as the abovementioned Saint Augustine series, the Guápulo and El Quinche ones, which are the main pieces in the temples of Quito, and in particular the one from the convent of San Francisco. The Holy Orders that commissioned his works mostly dedicated them to their saints of choice. Furthermore, we can find works by Santiago beyond the borders of Ecuador, as is the case of both the Cathedral and church of San Francisco in Bogotá.

With regard to style, his work presents a painstaking pictorial quality characterized by a nimble brush and obsessive attention to detail. Certain peculiarities exist, both stylistic and physiognomic, that enable us to associate this copper piece with the work of Miguel de Santiago.

Below we include a number of significant, though by no means exhaustive, examples of his oeuvre that may serve as a frame of reference for the painting we are dealing with here, such The Adoration of the Shepherds (Fig. 1), The Lamentation (Fig. 2) and, Creed of the Descent to the Underworld (Fig. 3).

G.E.P.



Fig. 2 Miguel de Santiago, *The Lamentation* (detail), Cathedral of Bogotá, Colombia



Fig. 3 Miguel de Santiago, *Creed of the Descent to the Underworld* (detail), Cathedral of Bogotá, Colombia



Our Lady of the Incarnation with Saint Joseph and Saint John the Baptist

Unidentified artist
Quito (Ecuador), 18th century
Oil on canvas
102 x 75 cm
Provenance: Private collection

The advocacy of Our Lady of the Incarnation (Fig. 1) symbolizes the mystery by which the Word of God (God the Son) is incarnated in Jesus Christ by the power of the Holy Spirit, taking on human form in obedience to God the Father to reconcile humanity, lost due to original sin.

The Virgin is depicted half-length and emerging from the pearl-white heavens in this painting. As a metaphor for hope, she is surrounded by an ethereal golden halo made up of rays and stars. Her hands are crossed over her breast, with a delicately arranged white dove representing the Holy Spirit, through whose mediation she has conceived. Her placid, trusting and tender gaze is directed towards the heavens. She is depicted as a young woman, opulently dressed in a red robe and blue cloak, dotted with stars and floral motifs executed with the finest and most exceptional gold leaf brocade work.¹¹ Her fine tresses of hair fall gently in ringlets down the sides of her face and over her shoulders.

Towards the top of the painting, God the Father appears in a burst of glory. He is dressed in a sumptuous robe and ample mauve cloak. His beautiful, bearded face is surrounded by brilliant rays of light, while his left hand rests on the orb. Out of the clouds from which He is seen to emerge, we also observe the friendly, tender little faces of cherubim. To the sides of the painting a heavenly host made up of angels and archangels accompanies the scene. Two beautifully-dressed angels gaze tenderly at God the Father and, below them, we can make out the three canonical archangels recognized by the Church, each one surrounded by a swirl of clouds. On the left we have St. Michael the Archangel and the Archangel Raphael, and on the right the Archangel Gabriel and the heavenly protector, the Guardian Angel.

Saint Michael the Archangel is the head of God's heavenly host. He wears armor and intercedes as a judge, weighing souls during the Last Judgment, and as such carries a set of scales. Below him, we find St. Raphael, the doctor and healer. On the right-hand side, under the angel at the top, we observe St. Gabriel the Archangel, who is the messenger sent to the Virgin to announce her divine motherhood. Underneath him is the Guardian Angel, who appears next to a child whom he is guiding and protecting, leading him by the hand and pointing him to the heavens to ensure he does not get lost taking the wrong path.

The two lower corners of the composition are taken up by St. Joseph and St. John the Baptist, who are adoring the Infant Jesus.¹² On the left we find St. Joseph, the husband of Our Lady, and foster father of the Child, dressed in a robe with exuberant brocade work and an ornate red cloak. He looks tenderly at the new-born Christ in his crib while affectionately holding out a hand to Him.

The right-hand corner of the painting features St. John the Baptist, who is looking upwards. He is dressed in a robe which leaves one of his shoulders. He is also wearing a red cloak with gold brocade decorations, a color alluding to his martyrdom. His attributes are a staff with a little cross on the top of it, around which a phylactery is wound with the inscription *Ecce Agnus Dei*, and a lamb on a book which he is holding in his right hand.

Our painting's iconographic source is an engraving by Cornelis Galle I (Fig. 2), but the iconography is complex, combining subjects and aspects that are addressed in varying religious texts, such as the gospels of St. John, St. Luke and the Doctor of the Church St. Thomas Aquinas. On the one hand, this is an image included in St. John's apocalyptic visions: "A great sign appeared in heaven: a woman clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet and a crown of twelve stars on her head. She was pregnant and cried out in pain as she was about to give birth." (Book of Revelations: XII, 1–2)

On the other hand, and with regard to the inclusion of God the Father at the top of the painting in a parting of the heavens, this could be seen as an interpretation of the text found in the Gospel according to St. Luke (1:35), which reads: "The Holy Spirit will



Fig. 1 Our Lady of the Incarnation, Quito school, 18th century, oil on canvas. Museo Nacional del Ministerio de Cultura, Quito (Ecuador)

come on you, and the power of the Most High will overshadow you. So the holy one to be born will be called the Son of God."

The mystery or dogma of the Incarnation was widely disseminated throughout the Americas. Following the establishing and consolidation of the original parent convents, each Order undertook to found individual local colleges and monasteries. Some of these female monasteries were unrivalled in their success, growing to the size of little cities. Nuns arrived in the New World in the first decades after the Conquest, and spread through almost all the regions currently making up Latin America. In 1558, the Augustinian monk Andrés de Ortega took charge of the Convento de la Encarnación in Lima, bringing it under his Order's jurisdiction. In 1573, the founders of the Concepción convent came out of this monastery. A second group of Concepción convents was established by Spanish nuns in Quito in 1577. This then gave rise to the Concepción convents of Pasto, Loja, Cuenca and Riobamba.¹³

VVL



Fig. 2 Cornelis Galle I (1576–1650), *The Virgin Mary as Bride of the Holy Spirit*, engraving

Novohispanic Brushstrokes



Juan Gerson (active 1561–1592), *Tower of Babel* (detail of the vault painting). Ex-Convent of La Asunción de Nuestra Señora, Tecamachalco, Puebla (Mexico), 1562

Pictorial art started to develop in the Viceroyalty of New Spain with the arrival of the Spanish in the 16th century, with Friar Pedro de Gante founding the *San José Belén de los Naturales* school in Mexico City, which would subsequently teach art and artisan crafts to the first indigenous, *mestizo* and *criollo* artists and artisans of New Spain, with notable figures including Juan Gerson (16th century), who was one of the first native artists trained in these art schools, leaving a valuable artistic legacy that has survived to the present day. Their purpose was the dissemination of the Catholic faith, largely through religious images created to that very end. Over the following centuries, countless art schools would be founded, producing some extraordinary artists whose works both thrill and astonish the spectator in their quality and beauty. Artists arriving from Europe influenced the painters that were emerging in the Americas, and as the years went by these homegrown artists began to find their own style and identity with a markedly localized character.































Portable Altar with Painting

Triptych case
Unidentified artist
Japan, Momoyama Period (1572–1615), c. 1610

Painting
Unidentified artist
New Spain (Mexico), 17th century
Wood, lacquer, gold and silver dust, mother-of-pearl, colored glass and gilt bronze mounts; oil on copper plate
Closed 50 x 34 cm
Opened 50 x 70 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain



Tota Pulchra

Unidentified artist
New Spain (Mexico), c. 1650–1700
Oil on copper
23 x 17 cm
Provenance: Private collection



Francisco de Morales
Mexico, 17th-18th century

Our Lady of Valvanera
c. 1700
Oil on canvas
165 x 108 cm
Signed “D. Francisco de Morales fessi”
Inscription “Bolvio el rostro XP por no ver ù sacrile”
Provenance: Private collection



Tomás de Sosa
Mexico, c. 1655–c. 1723

Saint Anthony of Padua and the Miracle of the Mule
Oil on canvas
205 x 120.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Madrid



Nicolás Rodríguez Juárez
Mexico, 1667–1734

Our Lady of Guadalupe
Oil on copper
21 x 15 cm
Provenance: Private collection



Nicolás de Correa
Mexico, c. 1660–c. 1720

Baptism of Christ
Oil on panel
99 x 127 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain



A First Portrait of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz

Unidentified artist
New Spain (Mexico), 1673
Oil on copper
11. 5 x 9 cm
Inscription “Ætatis sua 25”
Provenance: Private collection, Spain



Saint Michael the Archangel

Unidentified artist
New Spain (Mexico), c. 1600
Oil on canvas
130 x 90 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain



Our Lady of Guadalupe

Unidentified artist
New Spain (Mexico), first half of the 18th century
Oil on canvas
192 x 129 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain



Pedro López Calderón
Mexico, doc. 1681–1734

Our Lady of Guadalupe with Donor
First third of the 18th century
Oil on canvas
41.2 x 28.2 cm
Signed “Po Calderon fec. Mexco 173”
Provenance: Private collection, Spain



Luis Berrueco
Puebla (Mexico), active 1717–1750

Our Lady of Refuge
Oil on canvas
80 x 55 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain



Buenaventura José Guiol
Mexico, second half of the 18th century

De Español y Mestiza nace Castiza
(*Fruit of Spanish male and Mestiza, Castiza*)
(2° in the series)
Mexico, 1777
Oil on canvas
62.3 x 55.2 cm
Provenance: Minguela Family Collection, Spain



Buenaventura José Guiol
Mexico, second half of the 18th century

De Loba e Indio nace Zambaigo
(*Fruit of an Indian and a Loba, Zambaigo*)
(10° in the series)
Mexico, 1777
Oil on canvas
62.3 x 55.2 cm
Provenance: Minguela Family Collection, Spain



Buenaventura José Guiol
Mexico, second half of the 18th century

De China y Negro nace Genisara
(*Fruit of Negro and China, Genisara*)
(16° in the series)
Mexico, 1777
Oil on canvas
62.3 x 55.2 cm
Provenance: Minguela Family Collection, Spain



Mateo Montes de Oca
Active in Mexico, last third of the 18th century

Our Lady of Guadalupe
Oil on canvas
c. 1770
Oil on canvas
55.2 x 42 cm
Signed “Montedeoca Fce”
Provenance: Private collection



Follower of Gabriel José Ovalle
Active in Zacatecas and Durango (Mexico), doc. 1726–1767

Advocations of the Virgin
Dated “Año. de 1782”
Oil on canvas
48.8 x 65.7 cm
Provenance: Private collection



Portrait of Pope Alessandro VII
(After a print of the portrait by Pietro Paolo Vegli)

Unidentified artist
New Spain (Mexico), c. 1665-1666
Emplumado (Feather work mosaic)
Tropical bird feathers, paper and gold leaf on copper
61 x 44 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Italy



Buenaventura José Guiol
Mexico, second half of the 18th century

De Español y Morisca nace Albina
(*Fruit of Spanish male and Morisca, Albina*)
(7° in the series)
Mexico, 1777
Oil on canvas
62.3 x 55.2 cm
Provenance: Minguela Family Collection, Spain



Buenaventura José Guiol
Mexico, second half of the 18th century

De Cambujo y Mulata nace Albarazo
(*Fruit of Cambujo and Mulatta, Albarazo*)
(12° in the series)
Mexico, 1777
Oil on canvas
62.3 x 55.2 cm
Provenance: Minguela Family Collection, Spain



Biombo with Views of Mexico City

Unidentified artist
New Spain (Mexico), first half of the 18th century
Twelve adjoined wooden panels, oil on red *makie* lacquer
Overall 170 x 760 cm
Provenance: Roberto Mergelina, first half of the 18th century, Cadiz (Spain); Eduarda Gil de Ledesma, mid-18th century, Cadiz (Spain); The Counts of Bustillo by direct descent, Seville (Spain); Rodrigo Rivero Lake, Mexico City



Circle of Juan Rodríguez Juárez
Mexico, 1675–1728

The Vision of Saint Simon Stock
Mexico, 17th18th century
Oil on canvas
77 x 54 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain



Portable Altar with painting

Triptych case
Unidentified artist
Japan, Momoyama Period (1572–1615), c. 1610
Painting
Unidentified artist
New Spain (Mexico), 17th century

Wood, lacquer, gold and silver dust, mother-of-pearl, colored glass and gilt bronze mounts; oil on copper plate
Closed 50 x 34 cm
Opened 50 x 70 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain

This extraordinary portable altar has great rarity value within the corpus of objects executed in the namban style of urushi lacquerware for exportation, as there are very few surviving examples of this kind of item compared to others such as chests, trunks, writing desks or lecterns (Fig. 1), more commonly found in European, American and, of course, Asian, public and private collections.



Fig. 1 Altar Lectern, namban lacquer, Momoyama Period, 16th century. Museo Nacional de Artes Decorativas, Madrid

This original constructive and decorative technique, dating to pre-historic times, was extensively developed as a Japanese artistic genre during the Middle Ages. However, it only really took off on a global scale in the mid-16th century, in the Momoyama period, when the Portuguese and Spanish arrived on Japanese lands, driving the consolidation of a hybrid artform that would combine technical and aesthetic elements of traditional urushi lacquerware with imported forms of Western decorative arts. The role played by the Jesuit missionaries, led on their Japanese expedition by St. Francis Xavier, would appear well documented, in the international development of this sumptuous artform, which they used to propagate the dogma of the Council of Trent, both within Japan's "Christian Century" and in the evangelizing project throughout the Americas to where, as we know, numerous namban artworks arrived on the Manila Galleons. It also seems clear that this was the route the piece we are addressing here must have taken, as the painting on copper featured in the middle of the altar undoubtedly came from the brush of some skilled 17th-century New Spanish artist.

The portable or travel altar is made up of a large rectangular central body arranged vertically. In the middle, as mentioned earlier, surrounded by a frame decorated with scrollwork and glass inlay of varying colors, we find the beautiful Mexican painting by an unknown artist, the upper half of which depicts the Coronation of the Virgin Mary at the hands of the Holy Trinity. The top of the scene is flanked, on both left and right, by four cherubim, two on each side. Somewhat further down the composition, towards the middle, we find St. Michael the Archangel on the left and St. John the Baptist on the right. The lower section of the copper is occupied by three saints. From right to left these are: St. Catherine, along with her traditional

iconographic attributes, the breaking wheel and palm of martyrdom; then St. John the Evangelist in the middle, portrayed as a beardless man writing his gospel and flanked by an eagle and dragon, and finally, taking up the lower left-hand corner of the composition, we see the kneeling St. Francis Xavier, dressed in Jesuit habit and bearing a crucifix in his left hand. The composition is completed with a beautiful landscape scene in a range of greens, which serves to house a major array of Marian attributes. The altar is crowned by a curved pediment where the eye is drawn to a small cross inlaid inside an oval frame, with a little angel on each side. The final compositional element of our work comprises the altarpiece's rectangular doors, decorated with mixtilinear windows on both the inside and outside, on which elegant scenes from nature were drawn, a feature we see on works from as early as the 1610's.

To understand the importance of this portable altar within the corpus of namban lacquerware, it is essential to examine, if only briefly, both the constructive and decorative techniques used for these sorts of works, being particularly accomplished and skilled in the piece we are examining here.

As is often the case with Japanese lacquer works, the support chosen for this portable altar was wood. On top of that, the master artist applied a number of coats of urushi, the Japanese name for the sap of the so-called Japanese Lacquer tree (*Rhus Vernicifera*). After each coat was applied, to facilitate its oxidation and resultant hardening, the object was stored for several days inside a humidified wooden chamber called a furo. In addition, between each successive layer of lacquer, it was subjected to a painstaking polishing process, which is the secret behind the surprising texture and shine of these works, having a mirror-like effect and surprising resistant and impermeable properties.

Although the construction techniques are much the same for lacquer works intended for exportation as for those produced for the domestic market, the decorative techniques were particularly sumptuous in those intended for Europe, with more ornamentally sparing works set aside for the local clientele. As such, the portable altar we have before us here is a display of great technical and ornamental skill, where we can observe a large portion of the known decorative repertoire of namban artworks.

The first of the decorative techniques used to adorn this beautiful altar, and the most common one in namban art, is known as makie (or maki-e), consisting in the application of gold and silver dust, in

varying proportions depending on the intended tone, obtaining a figurative and abstract decorative pattern which, on this occasion, has been executed in flat relief, or hiramakie. Furthermore, combined with or derived from makie, the master lacquer artist used techniques involving tsukegaki, a contrasting combination of metal dust and harigaki, a type of sgraffito using the tip of a needle. The second technique on show, reserved for namban work intended for export, and particularly lavish in the work before us here, is called raden, which is the application of mother-of-pearl inlay. We can observe this technique throughout the entire surface of the portable altar, expressed through a plant and animal-based visual language made up of cherry tree leaves, birds and deer for the mixtilinear windows, and with decorations made up of namban scrollwork, interlinking chains of flowers (hana-shippō) and chains of half-wheels known as katawaguruma combined with triangles for the rest of the surface of the altar.

The above should enable us to understand that beyond the symbolic use assigned by the Jesuit Mission to this sort of object, its aesthetic nature, in no way comparable to anything previously seen in Europe, meant these artworks were coveted by the most important European collectors, featuring at the top of the lists of commissions from the Habsburg House of Austria and, along with them, the major noble families on the Spanish peninsula. Everything would indicate that the first owner of this extraordinary piece would have been a member of one such family.

S.F.L.





Nicolás de Correa

Mexico, c. 1660 – c. 1720

Baptism of Christ

Oil on panel
99 x 127 cm

Provenance: Private collection, Spain

Among the busy and distinguished group of painters who were active in New Spain in the last decades of the 17th century and the first decades of the 18th century are the members of the Correa family. It is an interesting family including the prominent figures of, mainly, Juan and José Correa, brothers, as well as their sons: Diego and Miguel, sons of the former, and Nicolás, son of the latter. All of them of mixed race, the fruit of the union of the Master of Surgery Juan Correa, Spanish born in Mexico, and Pascuala de Santoyo, black.¹ These circumstances are the reason why some documents referring to their son, Juan Correa, describe him as a "master painter of a broken color".



Fig. 1 Nicolás de Correa, *Mystical Marriage of St. Rose of Lima*, Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico

The most important and well-known member of this family is precisely Juan Correa, who was also one of the most prolific, but also one of the most varied, painters of the Viceroy of New Spain. Little is known of the work of José, his elder brother. But he was the father of Nicolás. He and his uncle Juan turned out to be the most renowned painters of the family. His birth date is unknown, but if we consider the year 1691,

shown in his painting *Desposorios místicos de Santa Rosa de Lima* (Fig. 1) as a starting point, and if we think that, by then, he was at least 20 years old, we can guess that he was born between 1665 and 1670. It is sad to admit that there is barely any information regarding his life, or his work, since his catalog consists of just a handful of works. However, we should remember that Nicolás is among the few artists who ventured to create works on nacre-inlaid wood, which are usually known as *enconchados* (mother of pearl inlay paintings)² (Fig. 2), seductive pieces which, as it is well known, were at their best precisely during those years in New Spain, based on an art mode that had been introduced, together with other many marvels, through commerce with the East, through the Manila Galleon (also known as the Nao de China). The fact that Nicolás Correa followed this trend lets us know about his ability to learn new techniques and his readiness to accept numerous commissions.

The beautiful painting *Baptism of Christ* we are describing here is significant because it enriches the catalog of his small production, while allowing us to also appreciate his qualities as a landscape-painter. The theme required placing the figures outdoors, but the artist had opted for a rectangular canvas with horizontal development, precisely to have room for a good landscape background, with two tree clumps on the sides leaving a clearing in the center, behind Jesus and his cousin John, where we can appreciate a city between valleys and mountains, and a brief cloudscape with a burst of glory through which

the Holy Spirit descends. Although the treatment is conventional, the lush foliage of the trees contributes to framing the scene and giving it some depth. Nicolás had already shown his taste and love for nature in the delightful background that embellishes the aforementioned painting *Desposorios místicos de Santa Rosa de Lima*, but we think this sensitivity towards nature somehow must have influenced the work of his uncle Juan, who more than other painters of that time had shown a peculiar predilection for including landscapes in his scenes. John is standing on the banks of the Jordan River, here reduced to a meandering stream coming from the background, inside which is Jesus, torso bent and arms crossed on his chest.

Unlike most versions of this theme made by New Spanish painters, Nicolás Correa has added a large group of witnesses on the right side of the composition—the most common scene had been with just a few angels to hold Christ's clothes, a job that is now performed by a couple of children. Among this group of characters, most of them young, a man's side-face figure stands out; he is of old age and has a turban headdress. A soldier, his back turned to the observer, is conversing with him. The convincing interplay of metallic reflections observed in his armor is worth mentioning.

At the time of the baptism of Christ, one of the most spectacular theophanies of his earthly passing occurred, since it is then when a clear manifestation of his dual nature of God and man occurred, which is usually expressed in the representations of this landscape with the burst of glory on the top, where the dove of the Holy Spirit descends and the Father is heard saying "This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased", and which, in the painting we are describing, is expressed by that Late Gothic formula in the Latin inscription, taken from Matthew, that sways around the Holy Spirit (Mt, 3, 16-17). This archaic solution, gradually abandoned in the European art since the end of the Middle Ages, remained in force in the Hispanic kingdoms of the New World, and regarding New Spanish art, its use is continued well into the 17th century.

J.E.



Fig. 2 Nicolás de Correa, *The Wedding at Cana* (Signed and dated 1696), oil and mixed media on wood panel, inlaid with mother of pearl. The Hispanic Society of America, New York



Tota Pulchra

Unidentified artist

New Spain (Mexico), c. 1650–1700

Oil on copper

23 x 17 cm

Provenance: Private collection

The image we see depicted in this detailed if small copper is a *Tota Pulchra*, an early iconographic forerunner of the Immaculate Conception. This apologetic representation, conceived of as a clear symbolic and visual narrative, became widespread in Europe in the early 16th century, born of the need to find a definitive formula by which to universalize the purity of the Virgin.³ With the apocryphal medieval iconographies upholding Marian privilege (the *Embrace at the Golden Gate*, the *St. Anne Trinity* or 'The Tree of Jesse') rejected by most of the Catholic Church, they came up with a sort of conceptual jigsaw puzzle: the definitive representation of the combined exegesis of Mary and three, now Biblical, figures: the wife from the Song of Songs, the Woman of the Apocalypse and Mary as a new Eve.⁴

Since it provided the altar/throne binomial with the perfect catalyst for the evangelical project, the depiction and veneration of this Marian image in the New World almost exactly coincided with its spread across the Spanish Peninsula. As such, despite the fact that its iconic composition arrived at the Viceroyalty already perfectly defined, its development subsequently combined the more traditional elements including new or modernizing aspects that would allow the iconographic image to survive well into the 17th century, existing alongside new versions representing the Immaculate Conception which, by that time, had monopolized the Virginal repertory on the Old Continent.

In line with the most archaic versions of *Tota pulchra*, our work presents an allegorical composition in the middle of which, and in the foreground, we find the figure of the Virgin facing the spectator, arranged, as the iconography demands, on a crescent moon, her hands clasped together over her breasts in prayer, and dressed in a crimson robe and blue cloak. Her snow-white face, with its fine features and pink cheeks, is slightly tilted towards her right shoulder, while she looks towards the heavens where, in an act of benediction, God the Father is waiting for her. Painted half-length, bearded and white-haired, He appears with the dove, archetype of purity and simplicity, and symbolic representation par excellence of the Holy Spirit. From the heavens they both gaze down on the Virgin, *clothed in the sun*.

Complying once more with the demands of this iconographic model, the Virgin is depicted surrounded by symbols, the origin of which are to be found in a range of Medieval litanies, which served to inform the faithful of the main Marian qualities. Our work is indicative of a second phase in the composition of this iconography, which took shape in New World painting in the 17th century, whereby the phylacteries disappeared,⁵ and the number of litanies increased. The latter, in the case of the work we are addressing here, were included as part of the composition, recreating a physical space between sky and earth. As such, and moving from left to right and top to bottom, we find the following Marian symbols: the morning star the sun, the

gate of heaven, the palm tree, roses, the city of God, the cedar tree, madonna lilies, the tower of ivory, the fountain of wisdom, the closed garden, the tower of David, the beast of the apocalypse, the olive tree, the city of the great king, the well, the tree (of Jesse), the cypress tree and the untarnished mirror.

Despite characteristics in the execution of the compositional iconography that might lead us to date the work to mid-17th-century New Spain, the technique and pictorial support feature elements that cast doubt on said assertion. The choice of sheet copper was extremely common among Mexican painters for small-scale, generally rectangular, works,⁶ as it allowed (as we can see in the piece before us here) for extremely subtle effects in both color and the execution of detail. As such, and focusing on the drawing, we can intuit, from the delicacy of the figures as well as the treatment of the skyscape and the clouds, the brush of an artist who must have been familiar with the work of the Mexican Antonio Espinosa, from whom he also drew inspiration when it came to light and color.

S.F.L.



Litanies

- 1-Morning Star
- 2-Sun
- 3-Gate of Heaven
- 4-Palm Tree
- 5-Roses
- 6-City of God
- 7-Cedar Tree
- 8-Madonna Lilies
- 9-Tower of Ivory
- 10-Fountain of Wisdom
- 11-Closed Garden
- 12-Tower of David
- 13-Beast of The Apocalypse
- 14-Olive Tree
- 15-City of The Great King
- 16-Well
- 17-The Tree (of Jesse)
- 18-Cypress Tree
- 19-Untarnished Mirror



A First Portrait of Sor Juana Inés De La Cruz

Unidentified artist
New Spain (Mexico), 1673
Oil on copper
11.5 x 9 cm
Inscription “Ætatis sua 25”
Provenance: Private collection, Spain

“Some claim that this first portrait is a self-portrait and that it then served as inspiration for more famous subsequent and posthumous portraits; others claim that that self-portrait does not exist, but that Sor Juana was indeed painted during her lifetime, although nobody knows, nor can they confirm, who painted her or where that portrait is.”⁷

This previously unpublished portrait of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz undoubtedly stands as the only known preserved work painted of the poet during her lifetime, and in all likelihood the one to which so much research, and so many theories about Sor Juana, have alluded, in the search for the real face of the most celebrated representative of New Spanish literature.⁸

The Latin inscription “Ætatis sua 25”,⁹ which we can read in the upper left-hand corner of the copper, confirms that this work was painted during the early adulthood of the “Tenth Muse” and allows us, taking her birth as occurring on 12 November 1648,¹⁰ to date the execution of this extraordinary historical/artistic narrative to 1673, a seminal year in the life of the poet.

Juana de Asbaje, as she was known before he gave herself up to a religious life, was as misunderstood as she was admired. Feared even, by some, as one fears a fearless woman. Talented, sensitive and extraordinarily intelligent, she did what she could to overcome the obstacles that class and gender put in the way of her intellectual vocation. She learnt to read at the age of three, and dreamt of cutting her hair and donning a moustache so she could enter university, at that time the sole province of men from the wealthy classes. The same men she surprised with her erudition when she became a lady-in-waiting at the viceregal court. Her learning refused to be trampled by the demands of marriage, so she turned her back on worldly life and entered (first as a Carmelite, a few months later as a Hieronymite) an enclosed convent, to which she offered up her entire life. A strategically-chosen scenario in which to give free rein to a life of study that she would dress up in the vestiges of faith.

This portrait of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, very much in line with the female and Criollo aesthetic of the day, presents a simple composition: the poet depicted half-length, standing up and almost in profile, an arrangement that differs slightly from the compositional model for portraits of nuns to which we are accustomed,¹¹ and which gives the feeling of presenting us with a celebrated figure from Mexican viceregal society rather than a woman living a cloistered religious existence.

As was *de rigueur* for the Order of St. Jerome, which she entered in 1667, remaining there until her death in 1695, Sor Juana appears in a white habit, brown scapular and black wimple. Although the essence of each of the elements making up the Order’s official dress has been respected, she deviates from the norm in the way she wears them, with her ample habit with long, pleated sleeves, that look to reach the floor, reflecting an elegance more suited to Courtly fashion than a cloistered wardrobe. The Mexican poet is depicted against a monochrome grey background that solely emphasizes her figure, and where the only features are a Latin inscription, in white italics, reading “Ætatis sua 25” and the heavy green drape hanging on the right-hand side of the copper. This additional compositional element, so unusual in portraits of nuns, is presented as a typical Baroque iconographic element, and acts as a curtain that is drawn back so we can contemplate the allegory that was her life.

This first portrait of the nun does justice to the many literary references to her captivating and generous beauty. With delicate features and porcelain skin, she evokes the youth of a face that acts as a canvas on which a penetrating gaze with black eyes and thick eyebrows has been drawn, looking out at the spectator in a sort of silent dialogue contrasting with the arrival of her full and sensual lips, tightly closed and from which the function of communication would appear to have been intentionally stripped.

Respecting the supposed compositional simplicity, and yet infusing the depiction with overtones of allegorical significance, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz appears either bearing or wearing a series of attributes which we should take a moment to consider. Firstly, and this numerical ordering is by no means an indication of importance, but simply an organizational discursive tool, we see how the nun is holding in her stylized and also porcelain-like right hand a little black book which she is gently opening with her index finger. On the ring finger of that same hand we see a ring, whose presence we can interpret in the sense of its liturgical symbolism (that of a mystical union with Christ) or alternatively in the secular sense linking it to wisdom and science. As such, and bolstering this second interpretation, we see how Sor Juana’s left hand is holding a magnifying glass, whose intention would appear to be to honor the art of reading and her devotion to it. Continuing with the compositional structure, and coming now to an element that would be recurrent in subsequent depictions of this (and other) nun(s), we observe the presence of a rich and elegant golden rosary. The cross at the end of it is resting on Sor Juana’s left shoulder, while

the golden rosary beads of which it is made up are seen falling down in parallel over both sides of her breast. Finally, in the middle of the composition, occupying the space sketched out between the nun’s chin and the book she has in her hand, she is bearing the *escudo de monja*, or nun’s medallion, a protective symbol of the brides of Christ, with a pictorial depiction of the Virgin and Child, surrounded by four religious figures for whom the professed nun felt great devotion.

Having analyzed the compositional aspect of the work, we should now turn to its travel itinerary; assuming that the portrait of Sor Juana was painted in Mexico City, how did it end up in Spain? The researcher Guillermo Schmidhuber addressed this issue in his work *Identificación del nombre del pintor del retrato de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz de Filadelfia*¹² (Identifying the Name of the Painter of the Philadelphia Portrait of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz) when he asked: “Might someone have taken her portrait to Spain, perhaps the Countess of Paredes, on realizing that she would never see Sor Juana again? Was that the only portrait of Sor Juana painted during her lifetime? Of course it would not have been a large-scale canvas with a laudatory cartouche, but one which, out of decorum, one might describe as a miniature”.¹³

In the absence of either documentation or historical indications that would affirm the version asserting the likelihood of the Countess of Paredes having brought the physical souvenir of her great friend with her, I will now set out, fundamentally based (though not solely) on the material preservation of the work we are presenting here, a new hypothesis arguing that the portrait which serves as the source for so many depictions of the poet and nun (Figs. 1 and 2) may have been brought to Spain by Antonio de Toledo y Salazar, Viceroy of New Spain, 2nd Marquis of Mancera and patron of Sor Juana Inés. This conclusion is founded on the dating of the work to 1673, the same year the Marquis and Marchioness of Mancera lost their position at the Mexican Court. This hypothesis makes sense if we consider the close friendship and patronage between the nun and the viceroy and vicereine. After Sor Juana became lady-in-waiting to Leonor de Carreto at the viceregal Court in 1665, the two began to become close, something clearly demonstrated in the literary works dedicated to the Marchioness and which only the death of her dear *Laura* (as Sor Juana liked to refer to her in her poetry) could end. With this friendship having overcome the cloistered conditions by which Sor Juana’s life was restricted, probably in part thanks to the privileges enjoyed by the power of the vicereine, it is no great leap to imagine the possibility of this previously unpublished miniature responding to Sor Juana’s desire

to give the Marchioness a keepsake with which to remember her on being informed of her (and her husband’s) forced return to Spain. The dates, at least, do not dare deny it. And yet the copper could not have reached Spain by the hand of the Marchioness, given she died in Veracruz, once she had already set sail, alongside the Marquis, on their return journey to the “old country”. It would, therefore, have been the Marquis who took charge, in a two-fold tribute to both his and, above all, his wife’s great friend, of delivering the portrait of the much-admired learned nun to the capital of the Kingdom.

S.F.L.



Fig. 1 Lucas Valdés, *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz*, 1692, engraving



Fig. 2 Miguel Cabrera, *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz*, 18th century, oil on canvas. Museo Nacional de Historia, Mexico



Francisco de Morales
Mexico, 17th-18th century

Our Lady of Valvanera
c. 1700
Oil on canvas
165 x 108 cm
Signed “D. Francisco de Morales fessi”
Inscription “Bolvio el rostro XP por no ver ũ sacrile”
Provenance: Private colection

“(…) *It is largely to the children of La Rioja, who have been arriving in this area ever since the remote days of the Conquest, that we owe the devotion to Our Lady of Valvanera. It was they who sowed the seeds of this sweet Marian title; they brought fire in their hearts, and soon the sparks were given off to light the flames of this marvelous delight*” (LABARGA, F. (2014), P81.)

These were the words of Father Eugenio Ayape, a Colombian Augustinian friar, when referring to the widespread popularity of devotion to Our Lady of Valvanera beyond the geographic limitations of its origins. Although the subject of the image of Our Lady of Valvanera was particularly deeply-rooted in that area, with the iconography originating in the Rioja region, it is also true that the countless individuals who at one time travelled to the Americas facilitated the dissemination of its devotion throughout the Spanish Crown’s overseas territories.

It is also possible the devotion Queen Isabella I professed to this unique Marian image also served as a pretext to fuel the more epic versions of its historiography. So much so that literary figures such as José Ortega y Munilla and the Count of Foxá referred to Our Lady as the “discoverer of the New World”. But if such versions are founded more on local pride than documentary evidence, they do give a glimpse of the extent and intensity of veneration for Our Lady in the Americas, which translated into an extensive repertory of artistic expressions that have survived to this day in the form of paintings such as the one before us here, whose iconographic and devotional origins we turn to now.

According to legend, the Valvanera carving, venerated in the shrine that bears its name in the Sierra de la Demanda mountains, was sculpted by St. Luke and transported to Spain by two followers of St. Paul, Onefimus and Hierotheus. Tradition also tells us that once in the mountains of La Rioja, they built a little chapel for the carving, where it was worshiped until the Muslim invasion, when it had to be hidden to ensure its safety. It was at this point the miraculous event occurred that would shape its iconography, first as a sculpture and then in painting. Legend has it that, faced with imminent danger, a hermit named Arturo decided to hide the Valvanera carving in the hollow of an oak tree, which miraculously closed up behind it.

Centuries later, when the Rioja region had been reconquered by the Christians, the second miracle took place, whereby the carving

appeared to a criminal by the name of Nuño Oñez. Just as he was about to rob a peasant, Nuño saw his victim piously invoke the Virgin, prompting the erstwhile thief to turn his back on a life of crime and live as a penitent. He and a companion named Domingo withdrew to a cave where the apparition of the Virgin told him where the famous carving was concealed. Following Mary’s instructions, he found the most prominent oak tree, surrounded by beehive panels and its roots bathed by a spring. Once there, Nuño watched as the bark of the tree opened up, revealing the mysterious effigy of Our Lady of Valvanera.

This is the scene depicted in the Romanesque carving that has been venerated in the Sierra de la Demanda shrine since its inception. In addition, although with the formal adaptations demanded by its pictorial format, this is also the version we see depicted in the canvas we are presenting here, whose authorship we must attribute to D. Francisco de Morales, as indicated by the legible signature at the bottom of the middle of the work: “*D. Francisco de Morales fessi*”.

We know little about this painter, perhaps a *criollo*, perhaps an immigrant from the Iberian Peninsula who, like so many during this period, set sail for the New World in search of new and better work opportunities. By his hand, or by that of some merchant for whom the Atlantic was a source of abundance or, even, in the charge of one of the many natives of the Rioja region who believed Our Lady of Valvanera had protective and patriotic powers, the print on which the composition of this magnificent and impressive canvas draws inspiration must have reached the Americas.

In 1994, María de los Ángeles de las Heras y Núñez undertook a study of the engraving and iconography of Our Lady of Valvanera in an article published by Ephialte (De Las Heras y Nuñez, M.A., 1994 p. 287–293). Said article includes the print which, first published in 1638, is considered Valvanera’s iconographic prototype. Respecting the basic model of this original iconography is the anonymous print published in 1657 under the title *Verdadero Retrato de Na Sa de Valvanera* (*True Portrait of Our Lady of Valvanera*), whose innovative details, such as the bees and heraldic motifs, were reproduced by the chalcographer I. Seguenot’s print, undoubtedly a source of inspiration for our canvas (Fig. 1).

As such, and adhering to the original sculptural model, we see the Virgin depicted face-on, sat on a folding chair crowned, at the artist’s choice, by two eagle’s heads visible behind Mary’s cloak, constituting

a departure from the normal model in which there is only one bird of prey’s head. The oval snow-white face of the Mother of God is covered by a head-dress secured at her neck, framing her face and including *rostrillo* edging and frontal. On top of this, the Virgin is seen wearing an imperial crown, gilded and sumptuously adorned. Mary’s traditional colors have been respected, red for her robe and blue for her cloak. Both garments are lavishly decorated using *brocatería*, or brocade effect, a stylistic trademark of New Spain and the Peruvian Viceroyalty, and particularly painstaking on this occasion. Both fabrics feature an abundance of meticulous phytomorphic gilt motifs with a proliferation of scrolls and acanthus leaves arranged symmetrically over their entire surface. The cloak, with its rich *fattura*, is secured at the Virgin’s neck by a pearl border with a large brooch in the middle. Mary’s hands are seen protruding from her two ample sleeves. Her left hand is holding a flower, while her right hand supports the Christ Child, also crowned, who is leaning into the crux of her arm while issuing a benediction. Although its color scheme is different, Jesus’ clothing matches that of his Mother, and shares in its opulence. Most noticeable about Christ’s portrayal is the forced pose of his torso, violently twisted from the waist up.

According to tradition, this odd posture is due to the Child’s refusal to witness the sacrilege that a pair of newly-weds were about to commit, as they prepared to consummate their marriage in the House of God, on the epistle side of the altar. The Christ Child, so as not to see them, turned his head violently to one side, which explains the words on the book he his holding, which read: “*Bolvio el rostro Xo P por no ver ũ sacrilegio*” (He turned his head so He would not see sacrilege).

As tended to be the case in pictorial depictions of Our Lady of Valvanera, and those executed in the 17th century in particular, the image stands on top of a tiered six-sided pedestal, the front of which features a tower flanked by two eagles, replacing the normal inclusion of heraldic lions. We find the same elements on the quarterly shield in the lower left-hand corner of the canvas. According to legend, the carving of the Virgin and Child emerged from the hollow of a leafy oak tree that was protecting it. Helping us to date the *fattura* of the work, we also see a number of bees come out, fluttering around the Marian image.

The extensive travels of La Rioja natives in both directions across the Atlantic, which gave rise to a large number of recorded churches and fraternities dedicated to Our Lady of Valvanera throughout the Viceroyalties including, for instance, the chapel and fraternity in

Lima’s San Agustín church, invite us to posit that behind this beautiful canvas was a Rioja-born *indiano* (successful émigré) who, in a combined act of romanticism, faith and attachment to his roots, commissioned this work eternalizing the image of his patron saint through the brush of a talented painter whose identity we have yet to discover.

S.F.L.



Fig. 1 I. Seguenot, *Our Lady of Valvanera*, 1679, chalcographic print in “Historia de la Imagen Sagrada de María Santísima de Valvanera”



Saint Michael the Archangel

Unidentified artist
New Spain (Mexico), c. 1600
Oil on canvas
130 x 90 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain

The iconography of St. Michael the Archangel has been one of the most widespread devotional images in the Christian world since the Medieval period, and is still popular today. Devotion that has translated into a significant number of visual and literary sources on which the painting we are examining here undoubtedly draws:

“And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels. And prevailed not; neither was their place found any more in heaven. And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him.”¹⁴



Fig. 1 Marten de Vos (1532–1603), Saint Michael the Archangel. Cathedral of Cuautitlán, Mexico

In accordance with the Biblical story, the Archangel is depicted as a Roman soldier, full-length, standing up and slightly turned to the side. Slim and elegant, the celestial warrior displays the pictorial magnificence of Italian Mannerism, which undoubtedly influenced the original Marten de Vos (1532–1603) painting on which the work we are studying here was based, and which our painter may have been able to appreciate *in situ*.¹⁵ (Fig. 1)

In accordance, once more, with the literary and pictorial references, the Archangel is

depicted as a beardless young man, with a snow-white pubescent face. His pink-blushed cheeks share center-stage with two little almond-shaped black eyes that imbue his face with great expressivity, and where our gaze is also drawn to the fine, stylized nose and thin mouth with tightly-closed red lips. His head is crowned by short, golden, curly hair over which a round splendor opens out, white at the bottom and blue at the top edge, with thin whitish rays of light.

Casting our eyes over the body of the warrior, we observe his triumphant posture, pointing his right hand towards the heavens while, in a diametrically opposing position, his other hand signals towards the ground, while holding the palm of victory.

Fundamentally respecting the chromatic code reserved and required for the graphic representation of this member of the Catholic body

of saints, the Archangel Michael is depicted dressed in a blue cuirass, adorned all over its surface with gold stars, accompanied by a sun and moon on his pectorals, the former on the right one, the latter on the left. His armor is further embellished with ruffled orange-yellow sleeves that stick out from his undershirt, and an underskirt of the same color.

A series of gold cherub heads, arranged like a belt across the pelvic region, give way to the overskirt, made up of thin hanging parallel strips, the same color as the cuirass, in between which we can make out the underskirt beneath.

Contrasting with the cuirass, which is tight against the body, and yet respecting the rules of decorum set out at Trent, we observe the skirt and cape, both of a light material, caught up in a sort of dance led by the wind, thereby providing the element of movement required by the composition. Under the Archangel's feet lies the devil, depicted as a young, winged man with a snakelike tail hiding a muscly torso under his arms, crossed over his breast.

Finally, and to conclude the descriptive aspect of the composition, it is worth highlighting that the Archangel is presented with his wings open, in battle stance, framed within a host of fluffy, blue-white clouds against which nine little cherub heads are seen floating, arranged like an arch over the guardian of the heavens, the same arrangement we find in the Marten de Vos canvas and which, however, does not strictly adhere to the model that Samuel van Hoogstraten engraved in 1575, and which Hieronymus Wierix reproduced in 1584.¹⁶ To this compositional variation in the design of the background of the scene we may also add the execution of the drawing of the tail of the beast, which is pictured curled up on itself in the iconographical model de Vos sent to Mexico, and which our artist reproduces without any modification. The prints by the Flemish engravers, on the other hand, present the devil with its tail coiled outwards in a single curl. In addition, the position of the Archangel's left hand, which in both the Marten de Vos version and the one we are addressing here is seen with the wrist bending outwards, supports this hypothetical link between the two, as the iconographical model popularized through the varying prints depicts the hand without that outward bending of the wrist.

This comparative analysis helps us to confirm that, although both models (the pictorial one and the engraving) exerted an influence on viceregal iconographies¹⁷, it was the canvas signed in 1581 by Marten de Vos that our anonymous painter saw, and on which he based the work we have before us here. Although the painting's aesthetic already indicated as much, confirmation of this direct influence leaves us no

option but to posit the Novohispanic origin of this beautiful canvas of *St. Michael the Archangel*, which bears a surprising resemblance to a painting bearing the same title housed at the Museo Catedralicio in Burgo de Osma (Fig. 2). In the 1980s, said museum took receipt of a canvas from the parish church of La Cuesta, in the Spanish province of Soria. This large-scale painting which was, according to Enric Olivares Torres, one of “most important versions”¹⁸ existing in Spain, reproduces the same compositional features, executed in exactly the same way, as de Vos's Mexican canvas. Furthermore, although it presents slight variations in technical quality, heightened by the Soria painting's superior state of conservation, the execution of the drawing and the color would appear to indicate the hand of one single painter (not yet identified) behind both the La Cuesta *St. Michael* and the work we are presenting here. In 2013, the Spanish journalist Ángel Almazán published research¹⁹ on the influence of the de Vos *St. Michael* on the painting preserved in the cathedral museum, and although he was not able to uncover the authorship of the canvas, he was able, thanks to the documentary examination of the La Cuesta parish records, to trace out a hypothesis suggesting the Novohispanic origin of the enormous *St. Michael*. According to the journalist, it was Baltasar del Río, an *indiano* (native Spaniards who made their fortune in the Americas) resident in Mexico who, having been struck by the de Vos *St. Michael* from the Cuautitlán altarpiece, commissioned the painting of a copy to be donated to the parish church of Nuestra Señora de los Valles in La Cuesta, where he was born. The dynamic of patronage and the ornamentation of churches at patrons' birthplaces was a common occurrence among Spanish émigrés to the Americas in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. Furthermore, it would also seem fairly likely that, carried away by the beauty and symbolic overtones of the *St. Michael*, he would not have been content with just commissioning the work intended for the church in Soria, but would also have commissioned the same painter to undertake a second canvas (ours) of a smaller size, for his own personal worship.

The dissemination of this iconographical model was prominent on both sides of the Atlantic, with it also being worth highlighting the painting of *St. Michael* preserved at the monastery of Yuso, in the town of San Millán de la Cogolla, in Spain's Rioja region. A version that is once again faithful to the pictorial model of Cuautitlán, bearing witness to the esteem in which both the Novohispanic and Spanish clientele held De Vos's work, and, in addition, the trend of trans-oceanic patronage mentioned earlier given, as the numerous avenues of research embarked on to date have shown, the Rioja region maintained extremely close trade and art links with the overseas territories.

In conclusion, I would like readers to reflect, and even to engage in

their own investigations, on the debt that history of art scholarship owes to the works of artistic expression that emerged from the American viceroalties during the centuries of the conquest. The marked Euro-centrism that has characterized the vast majority of art historians, carried away by an evolutionary and treatise-oriented vision of art, has relegated and mistreated viceregal art, leaving said school bereft of scientific studies, and thereby condemning countless great artists to anonymity, artists who, like the one we are addressing here with this *St. Michael*, are crying out for us to respect them and rescue them from oblivion.

S.F.L.



Fig. 2 Unidentified artist, Mexico c. 1600, *Saint Michael the Archangel*. Museo Catedralicio, Burgo de Osma (Spain)



Tomás de Sosa
New Spain (Mexico), c. 1655–c. 1723

Saint Anthony of Padua and the Miracle of the Mule
Oil on canvas
205 x 120.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Madrid

The life of St. Anthony of Padua was marked by a series of miracles that gave rise to a significant increase in devotion to him.²⁰ One of the most well-known cases occurred in the city of Rimini (Italy) in 1227, as recounted in the biographies written during the lifetime of the Franciscan friar, especially the Vita *Prima di Sant'Antonio*, popularly known as *Assidua*, which dates from 1232, the year he was canonized. This was the so-called “Miracle of the mule”. St. Anthony was walking the streets of Rimini, preaching the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, when a Cathar heretic publicly challenged him, saying he would only believe the dogma if one of his mules, after fasting for three days and refusing to eat when offered normal fodder, prostrated itself before the holy host. After three days, a crowd of witnesses gathered in the piazza, and the mule was led before the saint, where it confirmed the miracle by kneeling before the body of Christ, recognizing His divine presence in the face of its own hunger. Witness to this prodigious scene, and as he had promised, the heretic converted.



Fig. 1 Anonymous Flemish Artist, *Miracle of St. Anthony of Padua*, c. 1500. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

The oldest known depictions of this episode from the saint’s iconography go back to the 15th century. This is demonstrated by the bronze relief work executed by Donatello (1386–1466) for the high altar of the Basilica of Sant’Antonio in Padua itself, and a Flemish panel by an unknown artist dated to about 1500 belonging to the Prado (Fig. 1). Later, in the Baroque period, other major figures such as Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641) undertook their own versions, with one canvas by the latter housed in the Musée des Augustins in Toulouse. Likewise, a range of published books relating to the life of the saint included prints of the scene of the miracle of the mule. This is the case for the *Vida y milagros del glorioso san Antonio de Padua (Life and Miracles of the Glorious St. Anthony of Padua)*, published by friar Miguel Mestre in 1688, with the aforementioned episode printed on fol. 45. This channel is considered to have been the one that played the greatest role in the iconography reaching the New World, as the preaching spirit of the Franciscan Order would lead to copies and interpretations of this sort of print engraving being carried out by workshops, in this case New Spanish ones, to provide visual expressions of their evangelizing narrative.

What biographic records there are on Tomás de Sosa (c. 1655–c. 1723) talk of a New Spanish painter of *mulatto* origins (Spanish father and black mother), by whom we only know of four signed works, with the one before us here being the last of the four, meaning he was still working in 1723, as demonstrated by the signature and date that

appear under the Franciscan saint’s feet: “*Thomas de Sosa fecit Año de 1723*”. His artistic career ran in tandem with that of another *mulatto*, Juan Correa (1646–1716), whose style he would take on, as a pupil, even assimilating his subject matters, given the miracle of the mule had been previously portrayed by Correa for the altarpiece dedicated to St. Anthony of Padua from the Inmaculada Concepción church in Ozumba, State of Mexico (Fig. 2). The parallels between the two canvases are clear, allowing us to posit that it was Sosa who reinterpreted the scene previously conceived of by Correa, whose artistic profile and career were more prominent.



Fig. 2 Juan Correa, *St. Anthony of Padua and the Miracle of the Mule*, c. 1700. Parroquia Inmaculada Concepción Ozumba, Mexico

The figure of St. Anthony of Padua presides over the scene, dressed as officiant and holding a beautiful sun-shaped monstrance containing the Holy Eucharist. In accordance with the hagiographies mentioned above, he is pictured surrounded by other Franciscan friars, four in this case, who are accompanying him under a processional canopy. Opposite them, the heretic, who we can identify by his luxurious clothing, shows his wonder at the miracle that is taking place, his hand pressed to his chest in a way that happens to be highly reminiscent of the same figure from the aforementioned Flemish panel at the Prado Museum, with whom he also shares physical features. Along with him, there are other figures dressed in the “Spanish style” from the early 17th century, with the characteristic ruff collar, perhaps the result of the artist reinterpreting works arriving from Europe, with our eye being particularly drawn to the sophisticated attire of the figure standing between the saint and the heretic, belonging to the social elite. The prostrated mule, meanwhile, is kneeling on the ground in front of the body of Christ, ignoring the bowl of food and pail of water next to it.

Although we cannot be sure of the exact graphic source of this work, the existence of the two canvases by Correa and Sosa leads us to suggest there were a significant number of engravings and paintings circulating between New Spanish and European artists, in this case fundamental to the popularization of the miracles of St. Anthony of Padua in order to relay to the faithful of the New World the message of the great importance of the presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist.

J.G.M.



Our Lady of Guadalupe
Unidentified artist
New Spain (Mexico), first half of the 18th century
Oil on canvas
192 x 129 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain

This anonymous work of exquisite *fattura* and complex composition belongs specifically to the 18th-century New Spanish Baroque repertory of religious imagery depicting Our Lady of Guadalupe.

The previously unpublished canvas we are presenting here portrays the miraculous episode narrated in the *Nican Mopohua* text, where the Virgin appears to the indigenous Juan Diego on the hill of Tepeyac. This legend dating back to 1531 goes on to tell how Our Lady asked Diego to request Friar Bishop Juan de Zumárraga build a temple in her name, leaving an impression of her image on the former’s cloak, or “tilma”, as physical proof and justification.

Although this has been the most frequently represented and venerated episode from the Marian canon in the visual arts of New Spain since Baltasar de Echave Orio first painted it in 1606 (Fig. 1), the way in which it has translated artistically has undergone superficial, but not fundamental, alterations, as beyond the ornamental elements surrounding the scene, the image of the Mother of God has, over the centuries, remained true to the image preserved on the “tilma”.

As a result, Our Lady appears full length, standing face-on to the devotee, depicted as an indigenous Virgin and yet with European features. Her light brown skin, shaded with a range of grey tones, is much the same on both face and hands, the latter clasped together over her breast in an act of prayer, imbuing the scene with a serene mysticism, heightened by the downward tilt of her both beautiful and ingenuous face.

Over her shoulders the Virgin is wearing a blue cloak which, dotted with a host of gold stars, also covers the Mother of God’s head, accommodating



Fig. 1 Baltasar de Echave Orio, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, 1606, oil on canvas. Private collection, Mexico

her crown. The cloak, which opens evenly on both sides of her torso, reveals Our Lady’s pinkish and decorated robe, fastened at the neck and extending beyond her feet in a series of folds. This excess cloth is being gathered up by a cherub who, leaning on the crescent moon that serves as a base for the Virgin, is also unfurling his tricolored wings and tilting his face towards his left shoulder in a clear sign of respect.

The final element we need to highlight as in keeping with the genuine composition of this Marian iconography is the

aureole surrounding the figure of the Virgin which, simulating sunrays, gives way to a host of clouds that serve as a pictorial frame and in which, regularly arranged in the four corners of the canvas, we find the rest of the compositional elements which, by deluging the image with narrative content, allow us to date the creation of this beautiful work to the first half of the 18th century.

“*The iconography of apparitions was established in the four engravings made by the Seville artist Matías de Arteaga y Alfaro in the 18th century, illustrating Luis Becerra Tanco’s opus Felicidad de México*” (Fig. 2).²¹



Fig. 2 Matías de Arteaga y Alfaro (Villanueva de los Infantes, 1633–Sevilla, 1703) *First apparition of Our Lady of Guadalupe* from “Felicidad de México en el principio, y milagroso origen, que tuvo en santuario de la Virgen María Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe”, 1685, xylographic print

It is as such that the work before us displays a complex composition in which four oval medallions bordered by floral garlands contain the scenes from the Virgin’s three apparitions to Juan Diego and the Miracle of the Roses.

In conclusion, the painting we are studying here is a magnificent 18th-century work which, while acting as a showcase for the author’s enviable technical skills, also combines a taste for devotion with an accomplished aptitude for drawing and a display of dazzling luminosity, mixing up a palette of brilliant colors (reserved for the central image) with earthier tones, so typical of Seville Baroque, and which infuse the outer scenes of this beautiful Marian narrative.

S.F.L.



Nicolás Rodríguez Juárez
Mexico, 1667–1734

Our Lady of Guadalupe
Oil on copper
21 x 15 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Nicolás Rodríguez Juárez was born in Mexico City in 1667 to a dynasty of renowned New Spanish painters. He first dipped his brushes at the workshop of his father, Antonio Rodríguez, finally becoming a Master Painter in December 1687.²² He and his brother, Juan Rodríguez Juárez, have been considered by historians of Viceroyalty art as the major exponents of the “*second Mexican Baroque*”,²³ where the soft lighting and tempered coloring formed a nexus with the work of Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, while also presaging Rococo and pointing to the presence of Cristóbal de Villalpando as the main artistic points of reference.²⁴ His late period, marked by the death of his wife and his subsequent taking of the cloth, was defined by a change in style that the artist reinforced and combined with a modification of his normal signature, by including the word *presbiter*, or priest. A new pictorial stage, to which we should date the little copper (previously unpublished) we are presenting here, and in whose lower left corner we can read “*Nicolaes Rodriguez Xuarez. Clerieus Presbyter fecit*”. In the light of the above, we can date the creation of this Guadalupe to a period ranging between 1722, the date at which Rodríguez Juárez, having been ordained, is known to have examined the miraculous “tilma”, and he is recorded as died in 1734.

The Our Lady of Guadalupe iconography,²⁵ which in New Spain was the most venerated out of the entire Marian repertory, originated in the so-called Miracle of the Roses from the *Nican Mopohua* text, which narrates the apparition of Our Lady of Guadalupe to the indigenous Juan Diego on the hill of Tepeyac. This legend from 1531 tells how the Virgin asked Juan Diego to request Friar Bishop Juan de Zumárraga build a temple in her name, leaving an impression of her image on the former’s cloak, or “tilma”. As such, the original image in which the Virgin appeared in this miraculous tale was, and it continues to be so today, the testimony borne by Viceroyalty artists devoted to depicting it over the centuries, and which Rodríguez Juárez chose to portray both on this occasion and in at least two other known works with similar characteristics, the first of which is preserved in the Museo de América in Madrid (Fig. 1), while the second is housed in a private Spanish collection. Turning to the composition of the work, simple and yet smooth and luminous, we see the Virgin, depicted standing full length facing the devotee, her left knee slightly bent. Identified as an indigenous Virgin, yet with European features, she has dark skin, rendered in a range of grey tones, as are her hands, clasped together in the middle of her breast in prayer, and



Fig. 1 Nicolás Rodríguez Juárez, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, oil on copper. Museo de América

where the scene is imbued with a serene mysticism, also heightened by the downward tilt of her face which has been lent an ingenuous beauty. Draped over Our Lady’s shoulders, we observe a blue cloak dotted with gold stars arranged in exactly the same fashion as in the work from the Madrid museum. The cloak, which covers the Virgin’s head on top of which it accommodates her crown, opens symmetrically on both sides, revealing a pinkish-colored, decorated robe covering the body of the future Mother of God. The robe, fastened at her neck, is gathered up into folds around her feet. A cherubim is seen to be holding the excess fabric, supported on a crescent moon, which also serves as a platform for the Virgin, while opening his tricolored wings and tilting his face towards his left shoulder in a clear gesture of respect. It is worth mentioning a few compositional elements essential to the strict representation of this Marian iconography, such as the aureole surrounding the figure of the Virgin and which, emulating sunbeams, gives way to a host of clouds that serve as a pictorial frame, delimiting the sides of the copper thanks to the artist’s deft white brushstrokes.

The signature, in the lower, left-hand corner, has survived intact, as has that of the work from the Spanish private collection (Fig. 2), and which, as opposed to the piece from the Madrid museum, has not been subject to incisions made to the copper plate with the intention of adapting the painting to the frame and, as such, respecting and maintaining the original value of this exquisite work of art.²⁶

I would suggest that this copper, signed in the lower left-hand corner, was intended to serve as a protective amulet for some Spanish citizen who, having made his fortune, was undertaking his own personal *tornaviaje* (return journey) to the Old World, familiar with the superstitious mysticism that had, mouth to mouth and century by century, enshrouded the epic tale of the most venerated virginal image.

S.F.L.

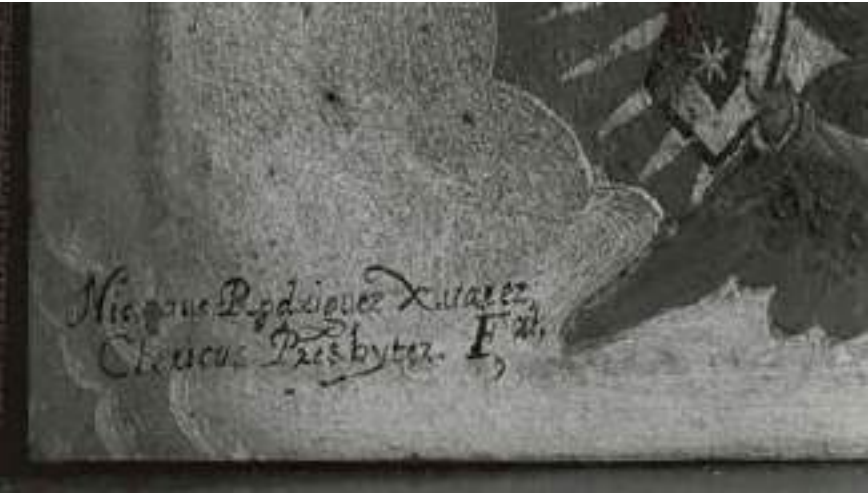


Fig. 2 Nicolás Rodríguez Juárez, *Our Lady of Guadalupe* (signature detail), oil on copper. Private collection



Pedro López Calderón
Mexico, doc. 1681–1734

Our Lady of Guadalupe with Donor
First third of the 18th century
Oil on canvas
41.2 x 28.2 cm
Signed “Po Calderon fec. Mexco 173”
Provenance: Private collection, Spain
Literature: González Moreno, J., Iconografía guadalupana I, Mexico D.F., Eitorial JUS, 1959, p.86; Mayorga Chamorro, J.L., Pedro López Calderón: pintura y devoción en la órbita del tornaviaje, Santiago de Compostela y Sevilla, 2020, p. 487

Little is known of the life of Pedro López Calderón beyond the fact that he lived between the last third of the 17th century and the first third of the 18th, as evidenced by his first and last canvases, dated 1681 and 1734.²⁷ Having reached the rank of master painter, and settled in Mexico City, he devoted his artistic skills to a particularly extensive and varied pictorial oeuvre, as well as mother-of-pearl inlay, a little-known aspect of his despite being one of just eight known recorded artists working in the *enconchado* artform.²⁸

The commission of the small-scale canvas we are presenting here, whose version of the portrait with donor stands as one of the most unusual expressions of devotion for Our Lady of Guadalupe. Despite being an essentially autochthonous form of devotion, which appeared early, it reached its height as an artistic representation during the 18th century, a period to which we would date the creation of this work.

The catalogue of José López Calderón of *Guadalupes*²⁹ is made up of an extensive repertory of works, largely intended for exportation to Spain, with different formats and compositional features, including small-scale versions on both copper plate and canvas and which, due to their reduced size, we assume were for domestic and/or devotional use. Examples of these would include the work we are addressing here, and the 30 x 25cm copper belonging to the Calderón collection. These are joined by larger canvases with elaborate designs intended to be displayed in churches and cloisters, of which it is worth highlighting the *Guadalupes* from the monastery of Santa María la real in Bormujos (Seville), and the church of the former convent of Carmen de Sanlúcar la Mayor. Of exceptional quality, and recently added to the artist’s catalogue, are the *Guadalupes* located by Adrián Contreras, one in a convent in Granada and the other from the personal collection of José María Pérez de Herrasti y Narváez, recently donated to the *Real Monasterio de Santa María de Guadalupe* in Cáceres.



Fig. 1 Pedro López Calderón, *Virgen de Guadalupe*, 17th century, oil on canvas. Cripta del templo de Santa Mónica en la Colonia del Valle, Mexico

Our small-scale Guadalupe meets the characteristics Montes González attributed to the *fattura* of López Calderón’s work, as did the classical version by him in the Guadalupe from the temple of Santa Mónica in the Colonia del Valle, Mexico (Fig. 1). Measuring 41 x 28 cm and having chosen canvas as the pictorial support, the Guadalupe we have before us here adopts and adheres to the iconographic and compositional tradition of the first half of the

17th century, where the composition, both balanced and free from ornamental elements, held sway over the narrative and floral versions of subsequent decades.

In accordance with the most purist of depictions,³⁰ Our Lady of Guadalupe appears in full length, standing facing the devote spectator, her left knee bent, just visible under the folds of the robe. Identified as an indigenous Virgin, with dark skin and yet European facial features, she is gathering her hands together, adorned with a gold cross in the middle of her chest, in an act of prayer, imbuing the scene with a serene mysticism also heightened by the downward tilt of her face, depicted with ingenuous beauty.

Resting on Our Lady’s shoulders is a blue cloak, covered by a host of gold stars which, covering the Virgin’s head and serving as a seat for the crown, falls down equally on both sides of her torso, revealing the pinkish, decorated robe covering the body of the future Mother of God. The robe, secured at the neck, the middle of which is adorned with what appears to be a jewel, is elongated through shy and yet rigid folds beyond her feet. Picking up the bottom of the fabric is a cherub who, resting on a crescent moon that also serves as a base for the Virgin, opens his tricolored wings while tilting his face towards his left shoulder in a clear gesture of withdrawal and respect.

Finally, and as one of the last essential compositional elements in a purist representation of Our Lady, we should draw attention to the splendor or halo of golden rays surrounding the figure of the Virgin which, in the intensity with which it appears to emulate the rays of the sun, both introduces and opens the way to a host of clouds that serve as a conceptual and pictorial framework for the composition.

To conclude our descriptive analysis of the work’s composition, I would pause for a moment on the image of the donor, who appears in the lower left-hand corner of the canvas, dressed in the French style, giving us a clue to his wealthy economic and enviable social position within the strict society of Mexican castes. Being either a Spanish migrant or, possibly, a Mexican criollo, he had himself portrayed in accordance with courtly fashion, dressed in a powdered *in-folio* wig that perfectly matches the black dress coat he wears on top of a red waistcoat of which only the collar is visible, and topped off with a recent addition to fashion, a tie of white lace.

S.F.L.



Luis Berrueco
Puebla (Mexico), active 1717–1750

Our Lady of Refuge
Oil on canvas
80 x 55 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain

Active in Puebla during the first half of the 18th century, Luis Berrueco was the most prominent painter of a group that included five others sharing the same surname, and which formed a family dynasty.³¹ We also know that he learnt his trade under the guidance of Juan Correa, the latter therefore being one of his benchmark figures.³²

With regard to Berrueco’s artistic output, it is worth highlighting the fact that he was one of the first artists to develop the *Castas* painting genre³³ (Fig. 1). His career was largely linked to the aforementioned city of Puebla, although his work was also popular in Atlixco, Tlaxcala, Aguascalientes, San Luis Potosí and Querétaro, due to his close connections with the Jesuit and Franciscan Orders, from which he received numerous commissions. Large part of his work is currently scattered between various institutions, such as the Museo de la Universidad Autónoma in Puebla, the Museo de Chapultepec in Mexico City, the Museo Regional in Querétaro, and Madrid’s Museo de América.

The subject of the work we are addressing here refers to Our Lady of Refuge, a Marian title originating from Italy, and which over the years became popular in other parts of the world, largely thanks to the dissemination carried out by religious missionaries. The advocacy itself was created and popularized by Antonio Baldinucci (1665–1717)³⁴ who, according to Father Francisco de Florencia, “*Deseaba grandemente tener una imagen de la Santísima Virgen, que fuera su Compañera, Guía y Maestra en las Misiones. Para esto llamó a un pintor de los menos afamados de Roma, y habiéndole dado la idea, consiguió con sus oraciones que saliese la imagen tan perfecta que tuvieron mucho que celebrar y admirar los Maestros más acreditados en el arte de la pintura*”.³⁵

Baldinucci is therefore considered the person who first popularized this advocacy, as he bore the image with him like a standard wherever



Fig. 1 Luis Berrueco, *Castas Painting*, 18th century. Museo de América, Madrid

he went in Italy, it even being considered by many a miraculous painting as, “*Con el favor de María Santísima esta Soberana Imagen consiguió innumerables conversiones de pecadores, y la reformación de sus costumbres*”³⁶ (With the favor of Mary the Most Holy, this Supreme Image was successful in converting countless sinners, and reforming their habits).

The image soon took on such prominence and fame that, following numerous requests, on 4 July 1717 it was crowned by order of Pope Clement XI in the Jesuit church in Frascati.³⁷ It was from that point on that Baldinucci gave it the title of *Refugium Peccatorum* (Refuge of Sinners), an advocacy which, over time, would end up evolving into Our Lady of Refuge.

Two years later, in 1719, his fellow Jesuit Juan José de Giuca, present at the act of canonical coronation, ordered a print be made of the image in order to take it with him on future evangelical missions to New Spain, following Baldinucci’s example. It was thus that veneration of Our Lady of Refuge ended up reaching the city of Puebla and, from there, quickly spread to other regions throughout the Viceroyalty, such as the Bajío region or the state of Zacatecas, always linked to the mission of the Order of the Society of Jesus.³⁸

This Virginal advocacy was widely venerated from the very beginning, with a temple even being built in Our Lady’s name at an early date in Puebla, and numerous niches and tabernacles with Her image appearing scattered throughout the streets of the city. De Florencia tells us that images venerating Our Lady of Refuge were equally present in the homes of the social elite as in those of the humblest classes.³⁹ This bears witness to the great work carried out by the Jesuits in spreading the Faith, both in terms of the evangelization of the natives and in converting sinners.

With regard specifically to the work being addressed here, we can clearly see how Baldinucci’s original idea is expressed with exactitude. The composition is adapted to an oval frame within which the sole protagonists are the Virgin and Child in the foreground. The seated Mary has the infant Christ on her lap, standing up on one foot and, in a gesture of affection, both their faces come together. To heighten this tender aspect even further, the Child is holding onto his Mother’s thumb, while she supports his chest and back.

It is also extremely common for these sorts of compositions to feature their subjects wearing rich and ostentatious clothing, along with jewelry, aspects that Berrueco includes in his work, drawing in part on

his training with Juan Correa. In the case of the Virgin, she appears in a red robe with gilt plant and floral brocade all over, and a blue cloak with lace trim and a border featuring plant motifs along the hem, also gilt, as are the eight-pointed stars over the surface of the garment and the monographs of Mary (crowned MAR) and St. Joseph (JOSEPH).¹⁰ The Child, meanwhile, is dressed simply in a light transparent silk robe with details embroidered on the collar and cuffs. In addition, and in the interests of modesty, the Virgin casually conceals the Infant Christ’s private parts with a white cloth.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of the iconography is the inclusion of items of jewelry, in this case a necklace of fine pearls and a brooch on the Virgin’s breast, with precious cabochon stones set in it, lending the Mother of God a contemporary appearance, akin to that of a noblewoman of New Spain.¹¹

Finally, it is worth mentioning another of the key attributes accompanying the iconography of this Marian image, crowns, alluding to the act of canonical coronation of 1717, this being represented for posterity. Once again, within the lavish aesthetic Berrueco was aiming to achieve, the Virgin gains in prominence and opulence, with a great gold crown with inlaid emerald cabochons, matching the smaller crown worn by the Infant Christ, added to the aureole of golden rays given off by both figures as a sign of their divine character.

Luis Berrueco must have carried out a number of works depicting this subject throughout his professional career, with perhaps the closest example to the one we are studying here being a canvas on display in the Museo de la Basílica de Guadalupe in Mexico City, which also features the artist’s signature (Fig. 2). Their iconographic characteristics are practically identical, right down to the ostentatious and lavish appearance of the clothing, where we once again observe the same decorative gilt plant motifs. The execution and technique are also extremely similar, something that becomes all the clearer in the skillful *fattura* in the transparencies of the Child’s robe. Only the slightest of changes may be appreciated, such as in the background of the composition, which in this case attempts a *trompe l’oeil* effect, as if the figures were arranged inside a niche or a frame. Also striking is the greater profusion of monograms on the Virgin’s cloak, this time including the Christogram.

In much the same way, although with reference to a different subject matter, one might compare our work with the painting of *The Divine Pilgrim*, signed by Berrueco, and on display at the Museo Regional de

Querétaro (Fig. 3). We once again witness the same features and tender gesture between the Child and his Mother, whose physical appearance is also similar to the work we are studying here. The same goes for the use of lavish fabrics, jewelry and precious stones as worn by the Virgin.

Another signed work is the canvas depicting *St. Joseph and Child* from the church of San Félix in Atlixco. Berrueco once again portrays that same tender look, this time between Father and Son, while the Infant Christ shares the same physical characteristics mentioned earlier, once again dressed in a transparent robe of an extremely similar *fattura*. Turning to Joseph’s crown, we see how it matches the model from *Our Lady of Refuge*, as do the sunrays emitted by both figures.

Such was the fervor felt for Our Lady of Refuge during the 18th century, that the leading New Spanish artists of the day dedicated numerous works to her image, always following the model of the print brought by Father Giuca. As such, we could also mention the following names: Gabriel de Zúñiga, with characteristics that are close to those of our work; José de Páez, more decorative, with a floral frame and Miguel Cabrera, with a common variation featuring the Child standing on a cloud rather than on his Mother’s lap, and also with a floral frame.

J.G.M.



Fig. 2 Luis Berrueco, *Our Lady of Refuge*, 18th century. Museo de la Basílica de Guadalupe, Puebla



Fig. 3 Luis Berrueco, *The Divine Pilgrim*, 18th century. Museo Regional de Querétaro, Mexico



Portrait of Pope Alessandro VII
(After a print of the portrait by Pietro Paolo Vegli)

Unidentified artist
New Spain (Mexico), c. 1665-1666
Emplumado (Feather work mosaic)
Tropical bird feathers, paper and gold leaf on copper
61 x 44 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Italy

This portrait, made of hundreds of exotic bird feathers, is an extraordinary example of amanteca, commissioned directly in Mexico by an Italian patron. Only rare specimens of this precious featherwork technique have survived; this one in particular is distinguished for its large size and technical quality. Unlike what was thought until recently, this portrait does not depict Pope Innocent X, born Giovanni Battista Pamphilj, but his successor, Pope Alexander VII, born Fabio Chigi, who was at the head of the Catholic church from 1655 to 1667. During the research for the exhibit of this work at Museo delle Culture di Milano (MUDEC) (on schedule from September 2021 to September 2022 – please see the technical card in the Museum catalogue for further information and bibliography), we discovered that, in addition to replicating an oil painting by Pietro Paolo Vegli depicting Pope Alexander VII (conserved in Palazzo Chigi in Ariccia, Rome) (Fig. 1), this feather mosaic is probably the same portrait commissioned around 1665 by Athanasius Kircher (great Jesuit scholar and collector of antiquities and curiosities gathered in the Kircherian Museum in the Roman College, Rome) to Mexican priest Alexandro Favián. In one of the letters of their epistolary correspondence, Favián informed Kircher that he had received the model (probably a print of the Roman painting) that he would entrust to the amanteca artist; but unfortunately, it is not clear from their later correspondence whether this featherwork was eventually sent to and received by Pope Alexander.

L.T.



Fig. 1 Pietro Paolo Vegli, *Portrait of Pope Alexander VII*, oil on canvas.

Historical Comments on Emplumados (Feather Mosaics)

For the indigenous populations of Mesoamerica, feathers were among the most highly-prized items, comparable with valuable gems such as jade or turquoise. Beyond any merely utilitarian interest (they were, for example, used in the manufacture of arrows), commercial, ornamental or ornithological ones (Moctezuma’s aviary was one of the places that unsettled the Spanish the most when they entered Tenochtitlán), or medicinal function (feathers were used in cures where a delicate application of the medicine was necessary), feathers were used as a tribute, offering and amulet, considered to be a symbol of fertility, abundance, wealth and power. Those wearing feathers (such as high-ranking political or religious dignitaries, warriors or those chosen for ritual sacrifice), were associated with the divine; in fact, some of the most prominent gods in the Mexica pantheon were related to the most beautiful birds. Such is the case of Huitzilopochtli, directly linked to the hummingbird, whose attire consisted partly of feathers covering his head, shield and left sandal; or Quetzalcóatl, the plumed snake (in náhuatl, quetzal means feather), who, according to legend was the creator of lavish feathers and master of humanity in all works made with them. Such was the prominence of feathers in Pre-Colombian Central American culture that the representation of one of them was the number centzontli (which translates as great mane of hair).

Feathers’ power to embody the sacred both in the local religion and in Christianity was one of the instruments used by the evangelizers to break down barriers separating them from the natives, and undertake their mission. For example, the story about the conception of Huitzilopochtli tells how his mother, the goddess of fertility Coatlicue, was sweeping the temple when a ball of feathers fell on her, which she took and held against her breast, thereby falling pregnant; a passage relating a birth without any male participation and therefore reminiscent of the story of the birth of Christ where, let us not forget, the archangel Gabriel (a winged servant of God) told Mary that she would become pregnant by the grace of the Holy Spirit, taking the iconographic form of a dove.

The schools founded as convent annexes were not solely centers of indoctrination, but places where the missionaries took advantage of the manual skills of the newly-converted to generate a new form of Christian art with which they could identify, combining European form and content with American techniques and aesthetics. As such, artists who worked with feathers, a format that had a long Pre-Hispanic history, could continue their activities.

When the Spanish disembarked, Mesoamerica was not the only region in the world where feathers had been worked with since time immemorial, but it was the one in which this art form had the greatest prominence and where it was most highly appreciated. Proof of this is the fact that immediately after the arrival of the colonizers, the amantecas started to create helmet crests, round shields, fans, clothing and many other items. The refined and showy feather objects amazed the Europeans in such a way that they quickly became must-have collectors’ items, whose inclusion was essential in any self-respecting cabinet of curiosities. It is therefore hardly surprising that the indigenous peoples of the American continent were personified as being richly feathered figures.

But, if there was one sort of work that received particular admiration these were mosaics or paintings made using feathers, as shown by the texts included above. When executing these pieces, birds were used as a sort of living palette, with their feathers providing the chromatic and luminous effects that proved the envy of brush painters, as they were hard to attain using the mineral and vegetable pigments of the day. In chapter XX of book IX of his General History of the things of New Spain (c. 1577), or Florentine Codex, Bernardino de Sahagún explains, in the náhuatl language, and illustrates, the process involved in creating these works, which may be summarised as follows: taking an engraving as his model, the tlacuilo (painter) would make a preliminary sketch on amate paper or cotton, on which the amanteca would stick both common and precious feathers, which had been previously selected and trimmed. With time, other materials were added to compositions, such as paper and gold leaf, and lines and colors were highlighted using brushes. The amanteca’s trade was socially recognized, and as such came with certain privileges, such as in Pátzcuaro being exempt from providing personal services in order to be able to devote themselves to their artisan endeavors. (Figs. 2–5)

Despite the limitations involved in this very particular type of mosaic work, the amanteca made every effort to reproduce the gaze captured by Velázquez: solemn, dignified, astute, vigorous and penetrating, the look of the man, rather than the politician, is the real star.

Without doubt, one element that catches the eye is the simulated frame, perfectly integrated into the piece, and which further enhances its overall visual impact. It is made up of a succession of rhombi, dots and spiral-ended ribbons, a pattern seen in many contemporary works (for example, the piece housed at the Museum of America in Madrid), and which aims at imitating Italian works in pietre dure also being carried out at that time.



Figs. 2–5 Some of the drawings with which De Sahagún illustrated the work of the amantecas in his General History of the things of New Spain (book IX, chapter XX)

In addition to the extraordinary nature of its iconographic source, this feather mosaic is original in that it presents a portrait, of which few were made using this technique, given over fundamentally to religious matters. News has reached us of other examples, such as the portrait of the Emperor Moctezuma II in the keeping of his descendants, and one of Bishop Juan Palafox y Mendoza, in a private collection in Seville.

This portrait, object of study, was executed on a copper base measuring 61 x 44 cm, covered by countless feathers of different sizes (both whole and trimmed) and colors (varying shades of white, brown, red, orange, yellow, green and blue). The areas that have lost feathers show us that, curiously, these were stuck directly onto the metal, without there being any layer of vegetable fiber in between, as was commonplace. Other materials liberally applied to the work include thin strips of paper (orange, yellow, pink, flesh-colored, brown and black), and gold leaf (on the frame and in details of the decoration of the chair, ring and shoe buckle).

In his Natural and Moral History of the Indies, the Jesuit José de Acosta tells us how Sixtus V, on receiving a Saint Francis: “[...] wanted to test it, running his fingers over the work, it seeming amazing to him that it was so well executed that it was impossible for the eye to tell whether the colours were the feathers’ own natural ones, or had been added artificially with a brush” (book IV, chapter XXXVII)

And another Jesuit, Teófilo Ciotti, wrote from Tepotzotlán in 1585 that he was thinking of commissioning: “[...] three feather images, and the Indians take five or six months to complete a good one, but I want to present one of them to the Pope”.

We should, then, perhaps consider this work in the context of a gift.

In short, this portrait of Pope Innocent X is a magnificent example of the new artistic sensitivity embodied in feather mosaics during the colonial period; a work charged with profound religious, cultural and social significance, and executed for the refined delight of both sight and touch.

N.L.M.



Buenaventura José Guiol
Mexico, second half of the 18th century

Five Casta paintings
Mexico, 1777
Oil on canvas
62.3 x 55.2 cm
Provenance: Minguela Family Collection, Spain

Casta Painting is the most fascinating pictorial genre in Mexican art history. Born in New Spain at the beginning of the 18th century and, most likely, died out towards the end of that century, certainly before the advent of Mexican independence in 1821.

Casta paintings or paintings of *mestizaje* unions, typically produced using oil on canvas or, on some occasions, on copper, consist of a series of images representing the racial mixes arising in New Spain from three primary racial groups: Spaniards, American Indians and Blacks, giving rise to numerous types. Some fifty possibilities have been counted.⁴⁰ A typical series covers sixteen basic types although the largest known series comprises twenty paintings. *Casta* paintings usually depicted a couple (a mother and father) in which each is a member of a different racial group, and they are accompanied by a small child. Texts alluding to the designations assigned to each individual are included.

To better understand the concept of *Casta*, it must be traced back to the Mexican conquest in the first part of the 16th century. From the beginning of the viceroyalty, there were numerous cases of stable relationships between the *conquistadors* and Indian women which, according to the scholar Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru, could not be considered the fruit of force since “they were established from the outset as or subsequently drifted towards the constitution of what was a true family”.⁴¹ In addition, during the Viceroyalty, the civil legislative framework was relatively lax and always facilitated the institutionalization of relationships between couples who were not necessarily married and the subsequent legitimization of the offspring.⁴²

In fact, the laws on Indians from the Spanish monarchy allowed, right from the beginning of the conquest of the New World, mixed marriage between Spaniards and the indigenous people, as illustrated in the following provision: “It is by our will that male and female Native Americans have, as they should, full freedom to marry whomever they wish, thus with Indians as with natives of these

Kingdoms of ours, or Spaniards born in the Indies, without this being an impediment. And we stipulate that no order of ours, that has been given, or shall be given, may impede or prevent the marriage among the Indians with male and female Spaniards, and that they have complete freedom to marry whomever they wish, and our Courts to ensure that this is kept and fulfilled” (Real Cédula de Felipe II, on October 19th, 1514, ratified in 1515 and in 1556, and included in the *Recopilación de las Leyes de Indias* (Compilation of Laws of the Indies) from 1680, Sixth Book, First Heading, Law II) (Fig. 1).

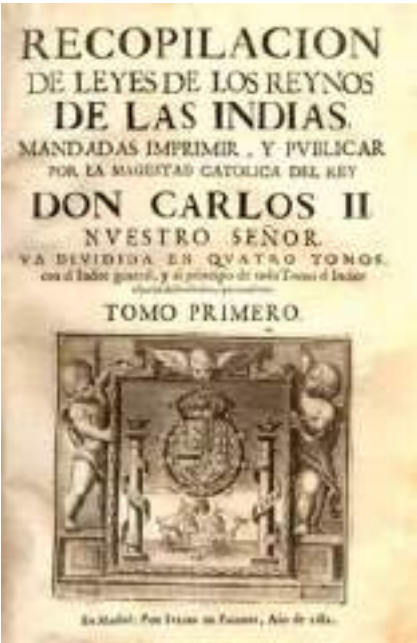


Fig. 1 Antonio de León Pinelo and Juan de Solózano Pereira, *Recopilación de leyes de Indias*, Madrid, 1680



Buenaventura José Guiol
Mexico, second half of the 18th century

De Español y Mestiza nace Castiza
(Fruit of Spanish male and Mestiza, Castiza)
(2° in the series)
Mexico, 1777
Oil on canvas
62.3 x 55.2 cm
Provenance: Minguela Family Collection, Spain

This family group is made up of a Spanish father, who is leaning above his daughter in baby walker, a little servant, and a Mestiza mother who is handing over a bracelet. The scene takes place inside of an elegant house. On the right, there is a piece of paper attached to the wall as a painting with the number 2 and a text identifying the scene “De Epañol y Mestiza nace Castiza”.

Our collection starts with this painting number 2 of the series.⁴³ It would hardly be surprising for other works by the artist to come to light thanks to the identification of this new set of *casta* works, thereby completing the series and leading to a reevaluation of the collection.

The elevated social status of the group is made explicit by the richness of the attire and the presence of a Black servant elegantly dressed and holding the little Castiza girl’s baby walker. The great beauty and harmony of the domestic group is not reminiscent of any known prototype, and may be Guiol’s own invention. The faces of the children are close to the style of José de Páez.



Buenaventura José Guiol
Mexico, second half of the 18th century

De Español y Morisca nace Albina
(Fruit of Spanish male and Morisca, Albina)
(7° in the series)
Mexico, 1777
Oil on canvas
62.3 x 55.2 cm
Provenance: Minguela Family Collection, Spain

In the interior of an elegant house, this family painting portrays a Spanish father, a *Morisca* mother and their little *Albina* daughter.

The Spaniard is writing and is interrupted by the mother who brings him the daughter, at which time the father takes the opportunity to give her an object that seems to be a bracelet. In the lower background we see an archway with a servant carrying a tray of food, and another servant asking her to share it with him.

The homely atmosphere of the scene is highlighted by the clothes worn by the Spanish father; he is dressed in a banyan, a typical long men’s coat almost reaching the feet, and a white cap, clothing that was only worn in the house. Banyans used to be made of chintz, cotton printed with Chinese drawings transported to America through the Nao de Acapulco, bearing witness to the extensive trade links between Asia and Mexico. This type of garment is depicted in many *casta* paintings, demonstrating that such models were common among the painters of the time. This work sees Guiol sticking close to the prototype and revisiting compositions characteristic of Cabrera, Páez and Magón. Let us not forget that a guild system existed in 18th-century Mexico, which explains why various artists repeated similar models.

In the foreground we see a piece of paper on the floor with the number Seven for the series and a text identifying the scene “De Español y Morisca nace Albina”. In the lower right-hand corner, on a kind of bench seat, the painter’s proud signature is to be found, reading “Bonaventura Jose Guiol fecit Mexico año de 1777”.



Buenaventura José Guiol

Mexico, second half of the 18th century

De Loba e Indio nace Zambaigo
(*Fruit of an Indian and a Loba, Zambaigo*)
(10° in the series)
Mexico, 1777
Oil on canvas
62.3 x 55.2 cm
Provenance: Minguela Family Collection, Spain

A scene of great beauty set indoors with the background separated by a lattice and a large window, with the family grouped around the work of the father who is sitting patching shoes next to a table where several of the tools of his trade are visible. To the left his wife prepares a meal while their son completes the scene sitting on the ground beating leather. The dark skin woman is wearing jewelry, a pearl necklace and fine matching earrings. At first glance, such extravagant and elaborate jewelry may seem exaggerated given the domestic setting, but the abundance of pearls in the American seas made their use in jewelry across all social classes during the viceregal era.

The explanatory note with the series number is located on a piece of paper pinned to the right-hand wall, with the number 10, “De Loba e Indio nace Zambaigo”.

Although Guiol sticks to the norm, and the scene is very similar to those depicted by other painters from the second half of the 18th century, portraying trades with the same shelves and molds with shoes hanging down, certain details, like the still life of the kitchen scene or the ceramic jug resting on the windowsill, show us an interesting and well-versed artist. This piece is associated with the so-called “Tonalá”, whose main feature was a glossy finish effected through a characteristic burnishing process which, in contrast to pre-Hispanic pottery, started to be popular following the Spanish settlement due to the workshops set up by the religious orders which, in addition to their evangelizing activities, taught new Spanish techniques. The prominence given to these clay pieces means that they appear in numerous still-life paintings by the greatest specialists of the time. In their still lifes, the Spaniards Van der Hamen and Antonio de Pereda often depicted containers that are directly related to Mexican red ceramics. Guiol uses the jug to add depth to the scene, which is opened up via a window to the outside.



Buenaventura José Guiol

Mexico, second half of the 18th century

De Cambujo y Mulata nace Albarazo
(*Fruit of Cambujo and Mulatta, Albarazo*)
(12° in the series)
Mexico, 1777
Oil on canvas
62.3 x 55.2 cm
Provenance: Minguela Family Collection, Spain

An outdoors scene that changed the rich clothing of the upper classes for the simple threadbare dress of a couple and a boy walking barefoot near a river. In the background, a boat scene with an elegant couple singing and playing the guitar contrasts with the main scene of the Cambujo and the Mulatta. The further one gets from White Spanish, the greater the poverty—particularly in works dating from the second half of the 18th century. The characters don’t even have a home, seeming to wander carrying all their possessions with them. Their son looks at them doubtfully, caught between the choice of carrying on walking with them or stopping where he is. As we have seen, family scenes in the *casta* painting genre usually take place in the domestic sphere or in its immediate surroundings. It is as such that this outdoors painting might be attempting to convey the idea that the *castas* represented (Cambujo, Mulatta and Albarazo) live on the margins of society with no fixed abode, like vagabonds. The explanatory note with the series number is located on a piece of paper with the number twelve, “De Cambujo y Mulata nace Albarazado”.

The landscape is reminiscent of other works by Guiol. It resembles a theatrical scene with musicians singing, very similar to European artists in the Rococo style. All of this seems to point to the need, with regards the *casta* paintings genre, for further research into the relationship these works might have with the courtship scenes of M. A. Housse or Paret y Alcázar.



Buenaventura José Guiol

Mexico, second half of the 18th century

De China y Negro nace Genisara
(*Fruit of Negro and China, Genisara*)
(16° in the series)
Mexico, 1777
Oil on canvas
62.3 x 55.2 cm
Provenance: Minguela Family Collection, Spain

The last painting to comment on and the one that concludes the series is the number 16. As we mentioned earlier, this is a typical number of paintings for these series. The work depicts a couple in the midst of a quarrel. The man is attacking the woman, grabbing her by the hair and wielding a knife. The woman is defending herself by pulling the man’s hair and holding a wooden spoon as a weapon. The little girl is grabbing at her father’s leg in an attempt to separate the couple.

Because of the quarrel, the small table full of pottery lost its balance and fell to the ground, as if the painter wanted to capture the moment. scene looks like a balancing act between the couple, and while the other works from the series speak of marital harmony and understanding, this scene transports us to a universe of quarrelling and hardship. The harshness of this scene of domestic violence surprises us in an artist such as Guiol, who depicted the good side of society. Yet he, like many of his contemporaries, also dares to portray subjects that must have been regular occurrences in most countries, however little pictorial evidence there may be.

The work, signed and dated in Mexico in 1777, sticks to the *casta* genre prototype and draws this fascinating series to a close.

A.Z.



Biombo with Views of Mexico City

Unidentified artist
New Spain (Mexico), 18th century
Twelve adjoining wooden panels, oil on red makie lacquer
Overall 170 x 760 cm
Provenance: Roberto Mergelina, first half of the 18th century, Cadiz (Spain); Eduarda Gil de Ledesma, mid-18th century, Cadiz (Spain); The Counts of Bustillo by direct descent, Seville (Spain); Rodrigo Rivero Lake, Mexico City

The importance of the Manila galleon trade’s role in Hispano-American art and culture was fundamental. New Spain imported all sorts of items, such as furniture, pieces of ivory, porcelain, folding screens, lacquerware and, most of all, the artistic influence that perfected the techniques used in undertaking Novohispanic art. This was the case for the lacquer in the furniture copied in Hispano-America, in particular in Mexico. The technique of mother-of-pearl inlay on paintings was also introduced, leading to the production of fantastic enconchado works. This technique is especially well represented by Juan and Miguel González, who were able to create authentic works of art. Folding screens started to be made in Mexico in the first half of the 17th century, using the aforementioned techniques, and including “makie” imitating Asian lacquer. Makie was a mixture made up of varying mineral, vegetable and animal elements such as tecoxtle (a yellow mineral with a sandy texture), linseed, teziscalte (a white stone that was ground up), insect oils, colored earth, agave and cat hair. These resulted in a paste with which the varying woods were covered and which, once it had hardened, was polished repeatedly and then often painted as is the case for the folding screen we are presenting here.

These Mexican screens were authentic works art, and as such they were exported to Europe and the rest of the Americas. Not only were they sought after across the world due to their “exotic” flavor, but also because of their variety and functionality, serving to divide areas and to decorate rooms, lending them an exquisite touch of beauty.

The earliest known screens were generally executed by anonymous artists, and of those artists that have been identified, none would appear to have been of Asian origin. It is likely that Chinese, Filipino and Japanese artisans were involved in their execution, but the real artists would have been Novohispanic, in many cases “mestizos”. Given the great demand for these pieces of furniture, one may reasonably suppose that the economic circumstances would have encouraged the development of a sizable production industry, and that as such there would have been numerous artists and artisans devoted to their manufacture. A number of artists have been identified for

their skills decorating these screens, including Juan Correa, Miguel Cabrera and José Joaquín Magón. In Mexico City, Oaxaca and Puebla, other artists developed their talents, such as Antonio de Santander, Pedro López de Calderón, Nicolás Correa and Agustín Pino.

This extraordinary screen is made up of wooden panels mounted onto supporting frames, where the crowns of carved gilt wood are separate from the main body. The panels are covered using the Asian “makie” technique, lacquer with a brilliant burnt red color, on top of which a border frieze is applied in a design undeniably originating from Pátzcuaro, serving as a sort of frame. Inside these, we observe two major groups, with cutaways and various perspectives of the streets of Mexico City from the early 18th century. Finally, we find a range of depictions, from the mountains and volcanoes of the valley, and the neighboring villages that now form part of the growing City. The monuments and cutaways of the streets are architecturally well executed, and we can identify buildings and monuments that still exist today, along with others that have sadly not survived the passing of the years.

In the foreground we can make out the ancient inhabitants of the city, each one dressed in accordance with his social standing. We also observe the first halberdiers of the King, with their weapons and attire, which is key to determining the date our folding screen was made. Judging by fashion, we know the scenes took place during the reign of Philip V, Spain’s first Bourbon king. From the background of the pictures, done in red lacquer, we can discern an Asian influence, as well as in the gilt border framing the panels and the birds that adorn the work. According to Marco Dorta, who has carried out in-depth studies of this sort of screen, the initials A.R, which we find on the sacks being carried by mules led by muleteers, may be those of the author of the paintings.

The coloring of the constructions and the streets, and the passersby depicted in this magnificent work, offer us a snapshot of the physiognomy of Mexico City during a key period. The representation may be read on varying levels: majestic edifices rise up in the foreground, where we observe the inhabitants of the city and, as a

sort of backdrop, the outer limits of the valley, starting with two great volcanoes identified with the following inscriptions: “El Volcán” and “El otro Volcán” (“The Volcano” and “The Other Volcano”). The lagoons, canals and irrigation channels surrounding the city extended to the very heart of it, providing access to the freight and foodstuffs needed by the residents. All uses that were made of them are mentioned, including smuggling. We also find the names of the city and its neighboring towns, including San Angel, Texcoco, El Peñón, Coyoacán, Amecameca, Iztapalapa, Chapultepec and several others. We can also make out the names of the Texcoco and Chalma lakes, the city squares, the Alameda avenue, and the arcades that carried water to the stone basins such as the “Salto del Agua”, the sides of which feature the Royal Spanish escutcheon and the eagle and snake.

The figures populating these “*vistas*” are of the most diverse variety. There is a nobleman elegantly dressed in the French style and wearing a three-pointed hat, influenced by the fashion of King Philip V, the halberdiers who made up the armies of the Viceroyalty, cloaked men, beautiful criolla and mestiza women accompanied by their black slaves, the coal merchant and firewood seller, their wares laden onto mules,

cottage cheese sellers, women selling fermented agave, others selling chickens, and wholesalers on the other side of the Palace, linked to the Correo Mayor bridge. All of this serves to provide an important visual record of the customs and habits of the period of the Viceroyalty.

The work also identifies major buildings such as the Royal Palace, the Mariscala, the Cathedral, the churches of San Juan de Dios and the Santa Veracruz, La Piedad, Bethlem de las Mochas, San Antonio Abad, and we can clearly make out the Temple of Guadalupe, with the mysteries along the Calzada roadside, with each doorway featuring a depiction of the eagle devouring the snake, an unequivocal symbol of Mexican lineage with Indian roots.

J.E.





Mateo Montes de Oca
Active in Mexico, last third of the 18th century

Our Lady of Guadalupe
Oil on canvas
c. 1770
Oil on canvas
55.2 x 42 cm
Signed "Montedeoca Fce"
Provenance: Private collection

Not much information has survived on the life of this Mexican painter to whom, to date and in the absence of new revelatory documentation, scholars of art history in the Viceroyalty have not dedicated the attention he deserves, to judge by the quality of his few existing known works.

Although sharing the same period as José de Ibarra and Miguel Cabrera might seem reason enough for many of them to have remained in the shadows, I feel the list of New Spanish masters could be suitably embellished by the addition of some less frequently-mentioned names, without casting too many (at times unfair) comparative aspersions.



Fig. 1 Mateo Montes de Oca, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, 18th century, oil on canvas. Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Cadiz (Spain)

the Tenerife-born Guimerá Peraza,⁴⁵ both bearing undeniable parallels with the work we are studying here.

Also helping to date this piece to the 18th century is the presence of border medallions including scenes depicting the Virgin's three apparitions to the indigenous Juan Diego and the Miracle of the Roses, an iconography first established in the works of the Seville engraver Matías de Arteaga y Alfaro in the 18th century, and illustrating Luis Bercera Tanco's⁴⁶ opus *Felicidad de México*.

Beyond this display of decorative skill, which I will be returning to later, the iconography depicted by Montes de Oca in strict compliance with the requirements in place for representations of this Marian figure as key protagonist of the visual narrative.

As such, we see Our Lady drawn full length, standing facing the devotee, depicted as an indigenous Virgin but with undeniably European features. Her light brown skin displays shades of grey,

as do her hands, which are clasped together in the middle of her breast, in an act of prayer, imbuing the scene with a serene mysticism heightened by the tilt of her both beautiful and ingenuous face. Over her shoulders, the Virgin is wearing a blue cloak, dotted with a host of gold stars, which also covers the Mother of God's head, accommodating her crown. Following the fabric in a downwards direction, we see how it opens up evenly on both sides of her torso, revealing the future Mother of God's ornate pink robe. Respecting the early representations of this apocalyptic advocacy, the Virgin appears suspended in the air, supported by a crescent moon under which we observe a winged cherub, pictured gathering up the excess folds of Mary's robe, and tilting his head towards his left shoulder in a clear sign of respect.

Equally true to the authentic composition of this iconography is the aureole that surrounds the figure of the Virgin which, emulating sunrays, gives way to a characteristic blue sky that acts as a frame on which the narrative medallions have been drawn, symmetrically occupying the four corners, oval in shape and with identical slender gilt borders, held up by four winged angels joined by two floral garlands. It is worth to mention the innovative device used by Montes de Oca wherein he replaces the more common cloudy background with a bright blue skyscape, thereby departing from the Baroque palette and ushering in the new colors of Rococo. This device, though unusual, is not exclusive to the artist we are studying here, as the New Spanish painter Antonio de Torres⁴⁷ also made use of the same lively palette (Fig. 2). These two artists also share in their original depiction of the Tepeyac landscape, with Our Lady's shrine appearing in the lower part of the work.

In conclusion, this may be a small-scale work, but the artist has demonstrated the full panoply of his natural talent, successfully combining both beauty and skill in his depiction of Our Lady of Guadalupe.

S.F.L.



Fig. 2 Antonio de Torres, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, 18th century, oil on canvas. Convent of San José, Antequera (Spain)



Follower of Gabriel José Ovalle
Active in Zacatecas and Durango (Mexico), doc. 1726–1767

Advocations of the Virgin
Dated "Año. de 1782"
Oil on canvas
48.8 x 65.7 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Gabriel José de Ovalle, active in Mexico during the first half of the 18th century, was a "passionate popular painter"⁴⁸ to whom the Historiography of Viceroyalty Art has not devoted the depth of study he deserves. His, as was also the case for so many of his contemporaries, was an example of a painter immersed in an artistic environment where practically all that was asked of him was a correct iconographic approach, above and beyond aesthetic verisimilitude or technical prowess. The function of art in the context of the Council of Trent resided in transmitting the Counter-Reformation message, highlighting art's didactic capacities and largely dismissing the painter's imagination and creative capabilities.

It is against this utilitarian backdrop, in 1782, that Ovalle is thought to have painted this curious canvas, *Advocations of the Virgin*, a visual narrative that sets itself up as a perfect manual of Marian iconography where, from left to right, we observe depictions of the following Marian titles: *The Coronation of the Virgin*, *Assumption of Mary* and *Our Lady of Guadalupe*.

Firstly, and occupying the left-hand third of the canvas, we see the image of the Coronation of the Virgin Mary, probably the most significant epiphany of the Mother of the Savior as the Queen of Heaven.⁴⁹ In accordance with the patristic and theological sources narrating this Marian privilege, the Virgin is depicted throned and crowned, surrounded by four angels, two on each side. The two occupying the upper part of the image are placing the crown on the virginal head, while the other two, arranged lower down, and resting their hands on the seat of honor, are holding a cartouche. The painted image of the Virgin appears arranged inside a niche which is in line with the simulated sculptural appearance of the work. As such, the Mother of God is wearing an elegant white robe, secured at the waist and rich in decorative plant motifs in gold leaf embroidery in the same fashion as the scapular falling down from her neck and on which we see the image of a golden monstrance. On her head, and down over both shoulders and beyond, is a blue cape, equally rich in gold decoration. The back of the niche is a deep, striking red color, a tone we often find in Ovalle's palette. Also red, though not as deep, is the drape hanging in the upper part of the composition, and which opens symmetrically on both sides of the image.

Secondly, and occupying the central part of the canvas, we see the image of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary,⁵⁰ the exact moment at which, following her death, a choir of angels accompanies her body to heaven, under the restful eyes of the apostles who are watching over her tomb. In heaven, dressed in a white robe, undulating red cape and with the orb in his left hand, God the Father is waiting for her, with a white beard, accompanied by the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove. The Virgin, in the middle of the composition, is raised up on a host

of clouds and cherubs. She wears a white robe, secured to her body with a red belt that matches a band of fabric adorning her neck. On top of that, the blue cape, richly decorated with gold leaf plant motifs. Towards the bottom of the image, the twelve apostles, presenting the bold colors that characterize the Mexican painter's palette.

Finally, on the right-hand side of the composition, we see the image of the apparition of Our Lady of Guadalupe⁵¹ to the Indian Juan Diego, an iconographic subject that was common in artists such as the one we are addressing here, and who made such efforts to ennoble the value of his homeland. As was so often the case with Ovalle, here we see how the image appears before a broad landscape with a background made up of light tones. In the foreground, kneeling towards the left of the composition, we observe the witness to the miracle, the Indian Juan Diego. He is wearing a white robe with a basket of flowers in his hands, which he would appear to be offering to the Mother of God. Above him, Our Lady of Guadalupe is floating in a host of white clouds. Depicted in accordance with the original *tilmatli*, she is wearing a red robe, starred blue cape and crown. Her features, though European, are drawn on a greyish, mestizo skin. At her feet, a cherub is picking up the excess fabric, revealing the crescent moon above which the virginal figure is elevated. Finally, running around the entire outline of her image, we see a golden glow that provides an intimation of the sun.

In conclusion, this unusual work, which bears witness to an artistic technique in which content took precedence over form, constitutes a clear example of the evangelizing role painting played in the Viceroyalty of New Spain.

S.F.L.



Gabriel José Ovalle, *El tránsito de María*. Museo ex Convento Franciscano and Colegio de Guadalupe, Zacatecas, Mexico



Circle of Juan Rodríguez Juárez
Mexico, 1675–1728

The Vision of Saint Simon Stock
Mexico, 17th/18th century
Oil on canvas
77 x 54 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain

The emergence of the religious devotion to Our Lady of Mount Carmel goes back to the middle ages. In the early 12th century, a group of pilgrims and former crusaders decided to organize themselves into a community and live as hermits, settling in Mount Carmel (Palestine) around a little chapel dedicated to Mary. Thus was born the Order of the Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel, also known as the Carmelites, and was recognized as a mendicant order by Pope Innocent IV in 1247 through a papal bull.

Tradition tells us it was in this context, in July 1251, that the Virgin appeared to the English Carmelite friar Simon Stock, handing him a scapular (a long garment with just one opening for the head, and worn over the upper body) that would protect him from the eternal flames after death. Following the miraculous vision, the Order took on the scapular as part of its monks' habit, becoming its most iconic symbol, associated as it was with the privilege of salvation for all those who died wearing it according to the so-called "Sabbatine Bull", promulgated by Pope John XXII in 1322, though not disseminated until two centuries later. Devotion to the scapular then spread widely throughout secular society, by means of a reduced version in the form of a cloth pendant that would also save the bearer from the flames of purgatory.

This religious fervor gave rise to an increase in artistic depictions alluding to the subject in the mid-16th century, with Our Lady of Mount Carmel taking centerstage, on many occasions linked to the vision of St. Simon Stock. This devotional expansion also reached as far as the Americas in 1585, thanks to the first expeditions of the Discalced Carmelite friars, who would preach their devotion to Our Lady there for centuries, helped in large part by various publications and writings that were widely disseminated across the Viceroyalty of New Spain. It was as such that, taking the engraved illustrations accompanying these texts as their point of reference, local artists were able to draw inspiration when executing works that would strengthen faith in the scapular even more. One of the most widely-publicized works was *Cries of Purgatory and Ways to Silence Them*

(*Gritos del Purgatorio, y medios para acallarlos*), by José Boneta y Laplana, the 1699 edition of which may have served as a model for the canvas we are addressing here (Fig. 1).

Our Lady, accompanied by the Christ Child, is dressed in the Carmelite habit, secured over her breast by a brooch featuring the coat of arms of the Order, and adorned with gilt edging, as well as her beautiful crown. Below her, on his knees, we find



Fig. 1 José Boneta y Laplana (1638–1714), *Cries of Purgatory and Ways to Silence them*, Zaragoza, Gaspar Thomas Martínez, 1699

Simon Stock, to whom she is giving a little scapular, while the Child is engaged in a tussle with one of the souls in purgatory who, hanging onto another scapular, is attempting to flee the flames. In front of the saint, we see a book lying on the ground, where we read the words: “*Flor del Carmelo, viña florida al resplandor del cielo, Virgen fecunda y singular. Madre ¿apirible? Intacta (de) hombre; a tus Carmelitas les proteja, estrella, que nos guíe*” (Flower of Carmel, florid vine of the splendors of heaven, fertile and unique Virgin. Mother (apirible?) untouched by man: you protect your Carmelites, star who guides us), verses in the form of a supplication, frequent in the prayers of Saint Simon Stock, and subsequent to which, according to tradition, the Marian apparition occurred. Another beautifully-framed cartouche appears towards the top of the composition, in the celestial region, held up by two angels, and containing the Virgin's reply after delivering the scapular: “*Este será privilegio especial para ti, y todos los Carmelitas: el que muriere con él, no padecerá el fuego eterno*” (This will be a special privilege for you and all the Carmelites; whoever shall die with it shall not suffer the eternal flames), thereby setting out the protection its use guaranteed.

The iconographic program is thereby completed: supplication, miraculous apparition and divine answer, clearly showing the faithful how the Carmelite Order's fundamental scene took place.

Also noteworthy is the author's possible artistic influences, as one of the attributes does not relate to the saint (a dog with a flaming torch in its mouth), but to St. Dominic de Guzmán, founder of the Dominican Order, to whom the Virgin also appeared, delivering him a rosary that would aid him in his evangelical tasks.

Finally, with regard to the work's authorship, we can clearly discern the influence of the renowned New Spanish artist Juan Rodríguez Juárez (1675–1728), by whom there is a known canvas depicting a similar subject, *Our Lady of Mount Carmel with Sts. Teresa and John of the Cross* (Fig. 2). The facial features of the Virgin and the saint are largely reminiscent of those seen here, as well as the angels' posture and loose wind-swept clothes. As such, despite any confirmed authorship, it is highly likely the work came from the brush of one of said artist's closest followers.

J.G.M.

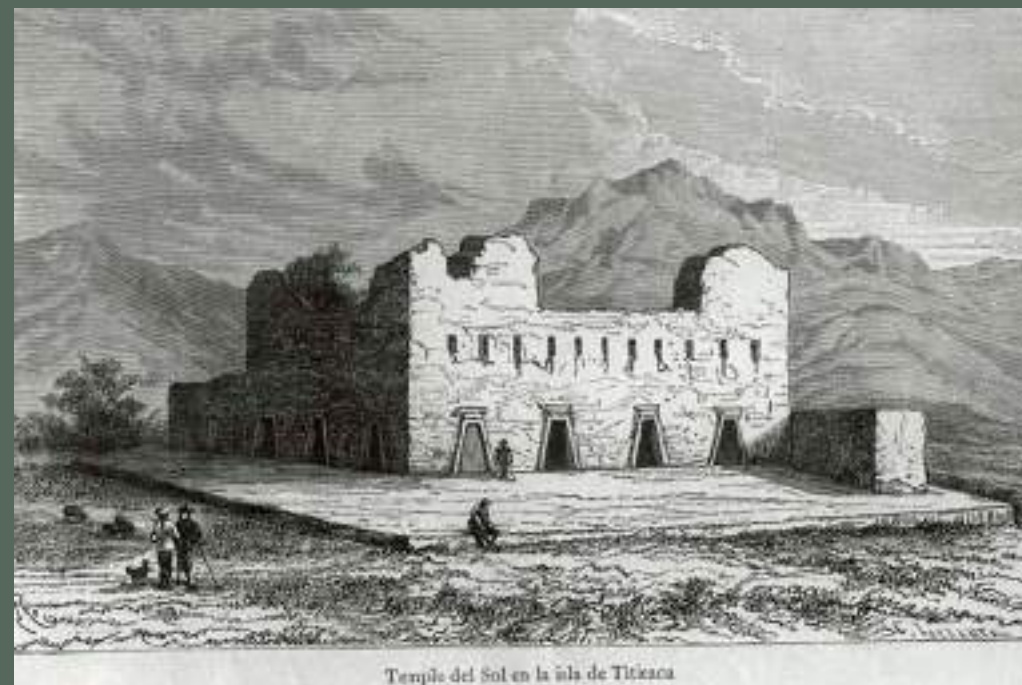


Fig. 2 Juan Rodríguez Juárez, *Our Lady of Mount Carmel with Sts. Teresa and John of the Cross*. Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico



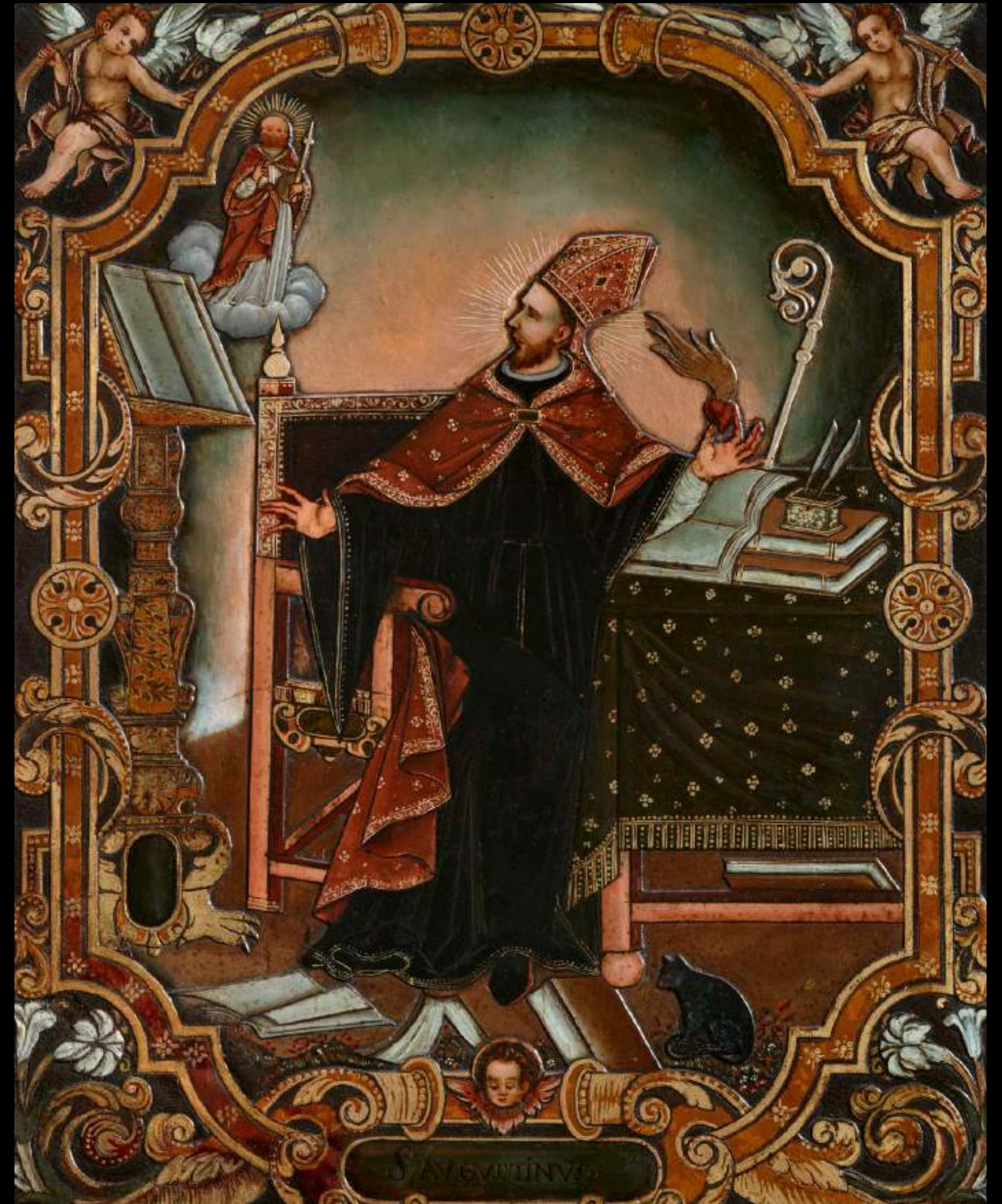
The Painted Coppers of Titicaca

Lake Titicaca is the highest navigable lake in the world, located as it is on the Andean altiplano at an altitude of 3.812 m (12.507 ft) above sea level and with a surface area of 8.300 sqkm (3.200 sqm). According to the chronicler “Inca” Garcilaso de la Vega (1539–1616), legend had it that the Inca originated from the inhabitants of this lake, from which the divine beings Manco Cápac and Mama Ocllo were said to have emerged. Following the creation of the Viceroyalty of Peru in 1542, the lake and its neighboring towns were administered by the Spanish, who conscientiously evangelized the inhabitants of those faraway lands. The Jesuits built countless places of worship and founded schools in which to educate the indigenous population. Through engravings and prints of religious images arriving from Europe, the local artists were able to create these extraordinary chased, low-relief copper works decorated with brilliant colors and typical *brocateado* effect, gilding the most prominent surfaces. The exquisite technique used to execute these small-scale masterpieces was perfected in the towns on the shores of Lake Titicaca, cities such as Pomata and Copacabana, where anonymous artists produced two of the stunning coppers we have before us here, Our Lady of the Rosary of Pomata and Our Lady of Copacabana.



Temple of the Sun, Tiahuanaco, near Lake Titicaca. Friedrich von Hellwald (1842–1892), “La tierra y el hombre: descripción pintoresca de nuestro globo y de las diferentes razas que lo pueblan”, Montaner y Simón Editores, Spain, 1887







Oil on Copper Paintings from Titicaca



Saint Thomas Aquinas

Unidentified artist
Lake Titicaca workshop, c. 1730
Oil and gold on copper
30 x 22 cm
Provenance: Private collection



Saint Augustine of Hippo

Unidentified artist
Lake Titicaca workshop, c. 1730
Oil and gold on copper
30 x 22 cm
Provenance: Private collection



Our Lady of Copacabana

Unidentified artist
Lake Titicaca workshop, c. 1730
Oil and gold on copper
14 x 11 cm
Provenance: Private collection



Our Lady of the Rosary of Pomata

Unidentified artist
Lake Titicaca workshop, c. 1730
Oil and gold on copper
23.9 x 18.4 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Over the centuries, Lake Titicaca has accrued great symbolic and religious significance for the civilizations that have occupied it. From time immemorial, the Andean region has woven together a mythology in which the creation of the world did not come out of the void. Rather, the emergence of a new deity gave rise to the reordering of existence and the birth of a new cosmos. One of the most popular tales recounting the origin of the Inca Empire in the Hispanic world was the one presented by Garcilaso de la Vega, where the Sun god, on contemplating the woeful state of mankind, created Manco Cápac and Mama Ocllo. These two new beings, who emerged from the waters of Lake Titicaca holding a golden rod, founded Cuzco, the first city of a new civilization.¹

This epic account of the wars between divine creators draws marked parallels with the process of conquest and conversion of the indigenous native Americans. Once the Catholic missionaries had achieved their goal, Lake Titicaca was witness to a new spiritual order. As such, it became host to major institutions, such as the Jesuit Order, which gave rise to the immigration of artists from Europe. Artistic production and tradition in the area embarked on a new chapter with Bernardo Bitti, a member of the Jesuits who arrived in the New World in 1575.²

During the likely period of execution of the copper paintings we are dealing with here, the 1730s (a detail on which experts such as Pedro Querejazu and Francisco Stantsy both agree),³ there were still a large number of temples, with intense levels of devotion, probably all the more so in the urban centers. But these had already started on the road to a process of secularization as the Viceroyalty entered its final century. By the time of the declarations of independence of Peru and Bolivia, in 1821 and 1825, the burgeoning enlightenment and socially secular values of late 18th and early 19th century France were being adopted.

This gradual, yet constant, loss of faith among the urban population (rural communities would stick to their traditions, forcing their members into self-imposed isolation) would lead to the dispersion of the art treasures preserved by a church with diminishing support, in both spiritual and financial terms. A good example of this is the sale, by the Society of Jesus in Potosí, of the collection of paintings, copper plates and all the other pieces housed at their church to Edward Temple, a captain in the British army, for just 28 pesos. Such events make it extremely difficult to track down the movements of works such as the copper paintings we are examining here.⁴

The theory according to which these paintings were executed in the Lake Titicaca area is backed up by the existence of an active local art market. The inhabitants of the mining towns were the main buyers of these small devotional pieces. Their reduced size, and the greater ease with which oil paintings could be carried out on copper rather than canvas, meant they could be transported and created en masse. This theory of their being produced almost in assembly line numbers is borne out by the formal characteristics of the pieces. Four of them present the same structure, with the main scene surrounded

by an identical garland border featuring peaks and arcs with stylized acanthus leaves.

Some of the arguments used to counter this theory are based on the formal similarity with the artistic output of Matteo Pérez de Alesio (Lecce, 1547– Lima, 1628).⁵ This Italian-born painter lived for many years in Lima, but his influence was probably not limited to that city. The nearby provinces must have been immensely appreciative of the presence of an artist so closely associated with the school of Michelangelo, and who thereby provided the Viceroyalty with a direct link to the artistic and religious capital of the day. It is only to be expected that, even a century after the death of Pérez de Alesio, painters from the area were still cherishing the lessons and *maniera* imported by the Italian.

In fact, it is possible to identify a strong European influence in some of these copper compositions. This is commonplace with much of Latin American painting which, while adapting motifs to its own particular tastes, often drew inspiration from artists from the other side of the ocean.

The influence of European models is of great importance in viceregal painting, with local artists making these influences their own by adapting them to a homegrown style. During the 18th century in the Potosí, Collao and Cuzco areas, artists presented a growing tendency to ignore pictorial values such as perspective or the volume of bodies, in favor of increased decoration, especially with the inclusion of gilt details. Diego Angulo attributes this to the growing activity of Indigenous and Mestizo painters, who introduced their own personal tastes (and those of the majority of the population), combined with their tradition of making offerings to deities.

These six oil paintings on copper date from the middle of this process of change, a period in which contracts often commissioned gilt “brocateados” (brocade effect) or “fileteados” (fillets, or narrow edging strips) in the fabrics depicted. These products, which were especially popular among the masses, also led to many travelling drovers becoming art dealers, commissioning large numbers of devotional works from painters (at times in excess of a hundred), which they could then sell in the more inhospitable regions of the Viceroyalty.

H.S.J.



Saint Thomas Aquinas

Unidentified artist
Lake Titicaca workshop, c. 1730
Oil and gold on copper
30 x 22 cm
Provenance: Private collection

The central scene is framed by geometrical decorations accompanied by acanthus leaves and a couple of winged *putti* bearing long overlapping flower stems. Towards the bottom, a cartouche indicates the identity of St. Thomas Aquinas.

The model used for *St. Thomas* is also a close copy of the previously-examined works, pointing to a certain dearth in reference sources or an interest in serial production, only that on this occasion the composition is reversed. The sole variations involve the iconography of the saint, who is pictured wearing the Dominican habit with biretta: a golden sun is hanging from a chain around his neck, symbolizing his wisdom; the apparition he is looking at is made up of the Holy Eucharist in a monstrance and, finally, one of his less frequent attributes, wings referring to the moment at which angels girded him with the cord of chastity. But in terms of the appearance of the furnishings and the posture of St. Thomas’ body and his expression, the work follows the model set by the larger of the two St. Augustines.

This copper work is the pendant piece to the St. Augustine of Hippo belonging to the same series from this collection, and which we examined in the previous analysis.

H.S.J.



Saint Augustine of Hippo

Unidentified artist
Lake Titicaca workshop, c. 1730
Oil and gold on copper
30 x 22 cm
Provenance: Private collection

The central scene is framed by geometrical decorations accompanied by acanthus leaves and a couple of winged *putti* bearing long overlapping flower stems. Towards the bottom, a cartouche indicates the identity of St. Augustine of Hippo.

This saint is portrayed as a younger man than in the earlier work being presented here, depicted in profile and staring fixedly at the image of God as Savior, who is holding the cross in His left hand, while issuing a benediction with the right. The rest of the details, the attributes that enable us to identify the saint, along with his bishop’s vestments, miter and crozier, books and flaming heart, are almost identical. As with the previous work, this painting also draws closely on the *St. Augustine of Hippo* by Philippe de Champaigne (Brussels, 1602 – Paris, 1674) from the LACMA in California (Fig. 1). The tall lectern with its lion’s paw feet; the book, some on the table and others on the floor, with one spread open on its pages with the saint’s foot resting on it; the old man’s posture, caught just as he turns towards the divine presence in his study. All of these elements are also present in Champaigne’s canvas. Prints were an extremely important resource for artists in the Viceroyalty,⁶ and there is little doubt that this was the means by which the French artist’s composition reached as far as the shores of Lake Titicaca.⁷

This copper is a pendant work for a *St. Thomas Aquinas* belonging to the same series from this collection, and which we turn to now in our next analysis.

H.S.J.



Fig. 1. Philippe de Champaigne (1602–1674), *Saint Augustine*, c. 1645. LACMA, USA



Our Lady of Copacabana

Unidentified artist
Lake Titicaca workshop, c. 1730
Oil and gold on copper
14 x 11 cm
Provenance: Private collection

This fine and elaborate painting depicts Our Lady of Copacabana as part of an altarpiece.

The Virgin appears elegantly dressed, with a red cloak decorated with gilt brocade, chains made of the same noble material and pearls covering the lower half of her robe, along with ample sleeves of white lace. Both the Child and the Virgin wear crowns.

The mandorla or arch is replaced architecturally by an oval-shaped alcove with alternating coffered panels and cherub heads. At the top of the oval, we observe an altarpiece crown from which votive candelabra are seen hanging. To the sides, two ornate Solomonic columns decorated with plant motifs entwined around them, while at the base of the columns we find the figures of St. Nicholas of Bari and St. Joseph and the Christ Child. The entire scene is decorated with *brocateado* (brocade effect) or gilding.

The Marian title “Our Lady of Copacabana” was always closely linked to the traditions of the Americas, being one of the most frequently-depicted images in the Viceroyalty. The Virgin’s shrine in what is now Bolivia was built on the shores of Lake Titicaca and is one of the most famous holy sites in Latin America. There, the indigenous native artist Francisco Tito Yupanqui attempted to sculpt an image of the Virgin for a brotherhood, but it was rejected for its lack of finesse, although it was finally accepted.

H.S.J.



Our Lady of the Rosary of Pomata

Unidentified artist
Lake Titicaca workshop, c. 1730
Oil and gold on copper
23.9 x 18.4 cm
Provenance: Private collection

What we have here is a piece with a similar *fattura*, but which does not match the decorative pattern of the previous coppers. *Our Lady of Pomata* does not present a perimeter of peaks and arcs, but appears against a background of faded colors depicting celestial surroundings. Mary is holding Jesus in her arms, both wearing a mix of imperial crowns in the European style with Incan feather crests. This *mestizo* combination of symbols of majesty is a particular characteristic of this Marian title, originating in the town of Pomata, on the banks of Lake Titicaca. Equally, the rosary held by both mother and son provides an unequivocal identification of the subject. The rest of the pictorial field is taken up by eight other figures.

Towards the top, two angels place the Crown on the Virgin’s head while, on both sides, two sitting Christs complete the representation of the Holy Trinity alongside the Child being held by Mary. It was common during the process of converting the Americas for the complex concept of the Trinity to be expressed literally, either by a Christ with three faces or, in accordance with European practice, through three differentiated figures: Father, Son and Holy Spirit. In this case, the artist appears to have opted for a formula depicting three identical Sons as incarnation of the three facets but having included a Virgin and Child in the lower part of the composition, he finally decided that the Christ Child counted as one part of the Trinity. In the middle section we find St. Peter, with one of the keys that are his attribute, and St. Paul, who holds the sword with which he cut off St. Peter’s ear. Finally, in the bottom left-hand corner, St. Thomas the Apostle, with a builder’s square in his right hand and, in the bottom right-hand corner, St. Anthony of Padua and Child.

The iconography of Our *Lady of Pomata* became incredibly widespread in the first third of the 18th century, when Marian advocations took on particular importance. Furthermore, the origin of the devotion, in the Collao area, was one of the busiest locations in the Peru of the time. Its genesis and evolution from the title of Our Lady of the Rosary is linked to the Order of Preachers, or Dominicans, who evangelized the Lake Titicaca area between 1542 and 1572. Although Our Lady of Copacabana (a town near Pomata) was renowned for its miracles, the advocacy we are examining here was, according to Querejazu, probably the one most often depicted in paintings.

H.S.J.

Sculptures: Materializing the Divine



Bernardo de Legarda (Quito, c. 1700–1773), *Our Lady of Quito*, Polychrome wood, 17.7 x 13.3 x 3.2 cm. Private collection

As the Spanish consolidated their presence throughout the Americas, and the indigenous population converted to Catholicism, the need arose to illustrate the Christian narrative through devotional images. The creation of art and artisan craft schools directed by Spanish monks enabled talented local artists and European ones arriving in the Viceroyalties to create religious images presenting both naturalism and great realism. Religious imagery was decisive in the conversion of the native population and, subsequently, as an expression of an authentically mestizo society that was able to adopt the new religion as its own and lend a unique character to the astonishing sculptural works produced on the American continent. Each region had its own seal and distinctive characteristics: Guatemala attained the upmost in perfection and beauty in its works; the work of Ecuador strikes one with its powerful indigenous mark and magical realism, while Upper Peru produced pieces of extraordinary majesty, featuring sumptuous materials where brocade and dazzling arrays of color predominate. In short, the religious imagery emerging from the New World constituted a breath of fresh air revealing a different artistic vision.

















Saint Michael the Archangel

Unidentified artist
New Granada, Quito School, c. 1750
Polychromed and partially gilt wood,
silver, imitation emerald gemstones
93 x 64 x 48 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain



Manuel Chili, known as “Caspicara”

Quito (Ecuador), c. 1723–c. 1796
Calvary
Polychromed graffito gilt wood
120 x 54 cm
Provenance: Private collection



**Attributed to Manuel Chili,
known as “Caspicara”**

Quito (Ecuador), c. 1723–c. 1796
Our Lady of Sorrows
Last third of the 18th century
Carved, gilt, polychromed wood
38.5 x 26.8 x 7.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection



Our Lady of Guadalupe

Unidentified artist
Mexico, Late 17th century
Carved, gilt and polychromed wood, gilt
bronze
Figure only 114 x 41 cm
Height with base 149 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain



Saint Michael the Archangel

Unidentified artist
Hispano-Philippine, 17th century
Ivory, traces of polychrome and gilding
Figure only 61 x 38.6 cm
Height with base 81 cm
Weight 8.380 kg
Provenance: Former Esclasans Collection since
c. 1930, Barcelona (Spain)



Calvary

Unidentified artist
Hispano-Philippine, 17th century
Ivory, traces of polychrome and gilding
Christ 34 x 23 cm
Virgin 20 x 6.5 cm
Mary Magdalene 20 x 7.5 cm
Saint John 17 x 3.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain



Infant Jesus of Cebu

Unidentified artist
Hispano-Philippine, 17th century
Ivory and wood
Height 51 cm
Provenance: Private collection



Circle of Padre Carlos

Reliquary bust of Saint Genesium Martyr
Quito (Ecuador), 2nd half of the 17th
century
Polychromed wood
68 x 49 x 37 cm
Provenance: Private collection



Nativity

Unidentified artist
Guatemala, c. 1790
Carved and polychromed wood
Saint Joseph: 28.5 x 17.8 cm
Virgin: 26.5 x 16 cm
Child: 15 x 7.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Madrid



Saint Michael the Archangel

Unidentified artist
Queretaro (Mexico), Late 17th–early
18th century
Polychromed terracotta
37 x 17 x 14 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain



Divine Shepherdess

Unidentified artist
Guatemala, late 18th–early 19th century
Carved and polychromed wood, *estofado* and
gilt silver
28 x 28 x 14 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain



Saint Benedict of Palermo

Unidentified artist
Brazil, 18th century
Carved and polychromed wood
70 x 24 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain



Saint Michael the Archangel

Unidentified artist
New Granada, Quito School, c. 1750
Polychromed and partially gilt wood, silver, imitation emerald gemstones
93 x 64 x 48 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain

““Then war broke out in heaven. Michael and his angels fought against the dragon, and the dragon and his angels fought back. But he was not strong enough, and they lost their place in heaven. The great dragon was hurled down—that ancient serpent called the devil, or Satan, who leads the whole world astray” (Revelation 12: 7)

Free-standing sculpture depicting the Archangel Michael defeating the devil. Winged, standing and in a victorious pose, his right arm raised and brandishing a sword. His wings display varying tones of blue with gold leaf, and the sleeve of his left arm reaches the elbow, decorated with gilded motifs, on a base of silver to attain a metallic sheen. The cuff of the sleeve is made up of a very thin ring of finely worked gilt copper, imitating lace or gold brocade. He wears a green sash across his chest over his armor and tight to his body, richly decorated. He also has a red cloak on his right arm, which he wears in an almost casual fashion, fluttering with the movement of the Archangel’s arm, thereby transmitting the sense of flying through the air, giving the sculpture great dynamism and movement. He wears a skirt to the knees, which also has gilt copper leaf in the form of lace on the lower hem. Turquoise Roman sandals with further gilding. Jewels in the armor, sandals and the join between the skirt and the plated doublet. Our anonymous sculptor opted to embellish and heighten the importance of his piece using a range of accessories matching the sort of goldsmith and jewelry work being carried out in the Viceroyalty, such as gold chains, silver filigree accessories and the imitation of precious stones such as emeralds. Between his feet and the flames, in a suffering pose, lies the vanquished devil.

The territories falling under the Viceroyalty of New Granada included latter-day Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Panama and Guyana. The entity was established by the Audiencia courts of Santafé, Panama and Quito, and the Captaincy General of Venezuela.

The Quito School is the term used to refer to the ensemble of artistic works and artists from the territories under the Real Audiencia (Royal Audience) of Quito, from Pasto and Popayán to the north, to Piura and Cajamarca in the south, during the colonial period (second half of the 16th century, 17th and 18th centuries, and the first quarter of the 19th century) during Spain’s rule (1542–1824).

It is likely that of all the visual arts practised in New Granada, sculpture is the one that brought the greatest fame to the Quito School, the latter being one of the most important centers of sculptural production during the American Baroque, and which was unavoidably influenced from the outset by the Spanish works and models that

were arriving in the Viceroyalty, as may be appreciated, for instance, in the Andalusian influence in the figure representing the devil in our sculptures if we compare it with the detail of the devil taken from Juan Martínez Montañés and Juan de Arce’s altarpiece from the Church of San Miguel in Jerez (Fig. 1).

The works produced then began to take on their own well-defined characteristics over the centuries. Of these, it is worth highlighting a certain Oriental influence with regard to the depiction of faces, with our Archangel Michael’s face exhibiting features that are very similar of those carved in ivory in the Philippines (Fig. 2), as well as a proclivity for the classical canon of straight profiles. In certain cases, it is even possible to identify similarities in polychromy between the Orient and America. A taste for the tragic, expressive and emotive, inherent to the Hispanic Baroque, is transformed in the Quito School into delicacy, serenity and moderation, recalling the little Oriental ivory figures that were arriving in America loaded onto Chinese carracks. As in the Philippines, so-called “dress sculptures” were also common throughout the entire colonial territory. In these works the hair could either be carved or not, as natural hair could also be applied, with the head left almost bare and smooth, in order to be able to accommodate the wig.

The cultural exchange between the New World, Spain and the Orient was a fluid one, with major cargos of coins and valuable local products such as spices and other items, including feather mosaics, fabrics, ceramic, jewelry, gold smithery, sculptures, canvases and gemstones transported across the vast oceans. Some were merchandise intended for profit, but it was also necessary to transport religious iconographic elements in order to be able to evangelize and spread the word of God among the people, including carved works depicting divine subjects and liturgical items such as crosses, altars, chalices and monstrances.

One sculptor arriving in Santa Fe de Bogotá having worked in Andalusia was Pedro Laboria (1700–c. 1770), going on to undertake works for the churches of Santo Domingo and San Francisco, the



Fig. 1 Juan Martínez Montañés and José de Arce, *San Miguel altarpiece* (detail). Iglesia de San Miguel, Jerez (Spain)

Cathedral of Bogotá and the Cathedral of Tunja. And then there was Ignacio García de Asucha (1580–1629), a joiner, carver and sculptor born in Gijón, who set out from Toledo and arrived in Bogotá. He was highly respected there and also requested to lead the most important artistic enterprises of the moment, such as the main altarpiece of the Cathedral of San Francisco.

In the sculpture we are dealing in this study, we can appreciate one of the characteristics of the Quito School, which is the implementation of the technique of *carnation*, or face coloring, adopted from Castilian tradition used in the era of Berruguete and Juni. Sculptors and workshops from the Quito School opted for brilliant polychromy, lending a more natural appearance to the skin on the faces. Once carved and perfectly sanded down, a workshop artisan would then go on to cover the wood with several layers of plaster and glue. After each layer was applied, it was polished painstakingly until a completely smooth finish was attained. Next, several extremely fluid coats of color were applied, with each coat being transparent, allowing for the optimal optical blend of superimposed colors. Work would start with the colors used for shadow (blue, green, ochre), followed by the lighter shades (white, pink, yellow), and finally the highlighting colors (orange and red for the cheeks, children’s knees and elbows, and dark blue, green and violet for Christ’s wounds and bruises, or for the shading of stubble in beardless men.

One of the most important sculptor from the Quito School was Diego de Robles, originally from Toledo, who arrived in New Granada in 1584, and who carried out the sculpted image of *Our Lady of*



Fig. 2 Hispanic-Filipino Ivory Head auctioned in 2019 at Leon Gallery, Manila



The Archangel Michael Defeating the Devil (detail), New Granada, Quito School, c. 1750

Guadalupe in Guápulo, and then *Our Lady of Oyacachi* and a *Baptism of Christ* in the church of San Francisco.

Going forward a century, to the Quito of the 1620–1680 period, we now come across a great sculptor known by the name Padre Carlos, for whom we have no contemporary documentary records. The first time his name appears is in an inscription of the *St. Luke the Evangelist* (from the chapel in Cantuña, according to which the piece was executed by P. Carlos in 1668 and was renovated by Bernardo de Legarda in 1762, the latter being considered the great maestro of Quito religious imagery from the first half of the 18th century. One of this sculptor’s most iconographic works is the *Virgin of Quito*, also known as the *Virgin of the Apocalypse*. In Quito School sculpture it is common to find metals and gilt silver used to generate greater brilliance, especially in the Marian iconography of said sculptor (Fig. 3). One extremely important characteristic that we should bear in mind when turning to our Archangel Michael is precisely the artist’s use of this technique, as mentioned earlier, in the skirt and sleeve of the left arm.



Fig. 3 Bernardo de Legarda (Quito, 1700–1773), *Virgin of Quito*. Primate Cathedral of Quito

The artist continuing de Legarda’s legacy was Manuel Chili Caspicara, of indigenous origin and probably born in Quito in around 1723, with specialists tending to date his death to 1796. Faithful to the golden age norms of Baroque religious imagery, he cultivated religious motifs, both in wood and marble.

G.E.P.



Manuel Chili, known as “Caspicara”
Quito (Ecuador), c. 1723–c. 1796

Calvary
Polychromed graffito gilt wood
120 x 54 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Manuel Chili, also known as Caspicara, is considered Bernardo de Legarda’s successor in the complex art of religious imagery and, along with José Olmos (Pampite), he constitutes the purest essence of the famous Quito School. It is thought he was born between 1720 and 1725 in the Ecuadorian capital. His nickname, which in the kichwa language means “Wooden Face” or “Stick Face”, leads one to imagine a man with a copper-colored countenance, probably with the same smoothness as the wood or sticks he transformed into the works of art that immortalized both him and the indigenous race. According to the historian Jaime Aguilar Paredes, Manuel Chili “Gave himself up to religious imagery from an early age, attaining a peerless skill that would put him at the fore of the sculptors of his age, and it is no exaggeration to place him on the same level as the most famous European sculptors”.¹

Caspicara’s story revolves around the *Compañía* de Jesus priests who knew him from a young age. It was they, therefore, who decided to take charge of his education, allocating him a small allowance, as at that time artisans did not enjoy the same privileges as true artists. But the Jesuits’ efforts did not stop there; they also helped hone Manuel’s abilities so he could improve his technique both as a painter and a sculptor. These, in essence, are the roots of the man who years later would become one of the greatest and finest exponents of the Quito School.

Caspicara started to gain recognition for his work, where he was tireless, working 12 hours a day. His fame spread across both the new and old continents. Images of Christ (Fig. 1), Saints and Virgins adorned churches across Ecuador, Colombia, Peru, Venezuela and Spain. In 1791, the writer, art admirer and contemporary of Chili, Eugenio de Santa Cruz y Espejo,² referred to the artist in the following terms, “But this very day you see how the famous Caspicara refines, polishes and approaches perfect imitation on marble and wood, just like Cortez on panel and canvas”.



Fig. 1 Manuel Chili, known as Caspicara, *Reclining Christ*. Museo Nacional del Ecuador, Quito

Caspicara’s work goes beyond the sphere of creation and art, becoming the most complete and revelatory document of the age. Contrary to those who remained on the fringes of artistic events, Caspicara dove straight in with all his strength, bearing the banner of his race in the

midst of the colonial darkness. It is also well worth adding the words of Fray José María Vargas³, when referring to Chushig⁴ and Caspicara: “In the middle of the 18th century, De la Condamine⁵ and Padre Velasco highlighted the skills of Indians and Mestizos in the visual arts. Espejo and Caspicara were the greatest expression of their race, and demonstrated the scope of their abilities, when personal effort outstrips the prejudices of one’s surroundings”.

Caspicara’s sculptures have received just as much praise for the great feats he carried out in executing expressions and emotions, given that even when the figures depicted are completely immersed in the actions and scenes in which they are involved, their gestures and mannerisms are by no means exaggerated (Fig. 2). Instead, they are seen as works of great harmony, serenity and expressiveness. Critics also consider Chili to be a master of depth and composition, as well as recognizing his merit as one of the few sculptors to tackle groups of human figures. Also exceptional was his incredible work with miniatures (Fig. 3), working largely in the field of virtuosity. This is shown in the smooth lines that demonstrate a subtlety of spirit, a balance of temperament, elegance, and excess of perfectionism, an absolute command of the sculptor’s gouge, a profound knowledge of urban anatomy, of *estofado* (the technique of painting over gold leaf), *encarnado* (the technique for simulating skin color), graffito and polychrome. In short, expressive painting full of splendor and beauty. Manuel Chili is a great representative of the serene elegance of the 17th century and the revolutionary dynamism of the 18th century.

We do not know exactly when this leading sculptor from the Quito School died, but sadly what we do know for sure is that, Caspicara died in poverty, in the midst of the loneliness and abandonment of a hospice.



Fig. 2 Manuel Chili, known as Caspicara, *The Holy Shroud*. Catedral de Quito, Ecuador



Fig. 3 Manuel Chili, known as Caspicara, *The Fates of Man*, c. 1775. Hispanic Society of America, New York City

Calvary

The episode in Christ’s Passion involving the Crucifixion is one of the most representative in colonial-era sculpture in Quito. Generally, the Calvary scenes undertaken for the city’s altarpieces and oratories present Christ accompanied by his Mother, the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene and Saint John. The base is a structure that simulates stone and represents the little mount of Golgotha, on which rest the skull and bones that allude to Adam .

In the center, on the mount of Golgotha, the Cross towers over the composition. Christs is depicted with his face looking down, his mouth half-open, already dead, and although this is a highly dramatic moment, he transmits a certain peace now that all his suffering is over. His powerfully contoured hair ruffles in a dynamic fashion, his face, eyes and half-open mouth display a grimace of great pain.

His body was sculpted in pale white with a powerful sense of naturalism, highlighting traces of blood on his hands, knees and feet. Little trails of blood trickle through his beard onto his neck and run down his body, further bringing out the whiteness of his skin where his wounds and stigmata contrast strongly with their purple color, denoting the suffering Christ went through prior to his Crucifixion. The blood and wounds are highlighted by tens of little rubies that reflect the light and add further dramatism to this Passion scene. His pubis is covered by a perizoma, a white cloth with broad folds attached to his body with a cord, finely carved with a great sense of naturalism. His lacerated feet are attached to the foot support by one single nail.

The Mother of Christ is depicted at the foot of the Cross, in an attitude of resignation with her arms crossed against her breast , hugging herself in a demonstration of her great pain and grief. Mary Magdalene is on her knees with her right arm stretched out while her left hand holds her veil, looking disconsolate at the skull and bones of Adam . On the right-hand side we find Saint John with his arms open, sobbing . All express great sorrow and despair, which Caspicara manages to transmit using great skill in the work’s coloring, with subtle differences in the reddish tones around the eyes which show tear tracks, thereby revealing his fine command of expressive execution.



Manuel Chili, known as Caspicara, *Calvary* (detail)

It is worth highlighting the exquisite *estofado* and graffito work seen in the garments, the subtle and varied tones and skill shown in executing the folds and the sense of depth.

It possible that this Passion group may have formed part of a locus orandi, or devotional place where the faithful would go to pray in private, and where it was common to find images of the Crucified Christ alone. In this case, the presence of the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene and Saint John only go to intensify the moment of meditation and to invite female believers to imitate the observing figure of the Virgin Mary.

As is characteristic of works by Caspicara, the hands lend tone to the work, and their position forms a dramatic gesture of supplication. An intensely emotive and theatrical execution of the sculpture aimed at evoking feelings of empathy in the spectator.

In the way the psychological aspects of character are executed in both the face and posture of the Virgin, the artist is providing spectators with a mirror on to her own pain due to the suffering of Christ.

From Spain’s earliest incursions at the Royal Court of Quito, the evangelizers promoted Seville’s ceremonial format, in which Christ’s Passion played the most important role in the Holy Week processions. Through dramatic sermons and expressive images, they provoked emotive responses from the faithful, who looked upon the Passion images in their private oratories. The prayers of the Stations of the Cross or the reading of pious works called for visual aids in order to establish a spiritual colloquy as Saint Ignatius would have suggested.

J.E.



Attributed to Manuel Chili, known as “Caspicara”

Quito (Ecuador), c. 1723–c. 1796

Our Lady of Sorrows

Last third of the 18th century
Carved, gilt, polychromed wood
38.5 x 26.8 x 7.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection

It is worth taking a moment to explain to readers the difficulties that scholars of art in the Viceroyalty, and particularly in Quito, face when it comes to addressing the authorship of the country's major sculptural repertory, given that the majority of works are unsigned.⁶ This lack of vanity or need for recognition on the part of sculptors, joiners, and carvers was the result of an art whose primary function was to glorify God and transmit the Gospels, and as such, the artists' consecration was not deemed necessary.

This absence of documentary certainty forces us to be particularly meticulous in our stylistic analysis of the works, in order to identify a modicum of shared characteristics that might allow our gaze to fall on one specific workshop or artist. As such, taking this as the guiding principle informing this study and as a source legitimizing the attribution we are proposing, it would seem that the technical virtuosity of the *fattura* of this sculptural medallion depicting the *Dolorosa* points to the chisel of the indigenous sculptor Manuel Chili, known as “Caspicara”,⁷ the “prince of colonial sculpture in the Americas”.⁸

In this previously unpublished relief work, the Virgin appears as the sole protagonist in the middle of an oval medallion arranged vertically. Our Lady of Sorrows is depicted half-length, facing the spectator and with her head slightly tilted towards her left shoulder. In accordance with the distinctive style of the Quito school to which Caspicara belonged, the Virgin's face, snow-white and brimming with youthful vitality, is a magnificent example of the carnation technique by which, through the application of pigment on top of a rubber lacquer base and subsequent polishing, the artist was able to attain a simulation of the color of human flesh the appearance of which, as we see in this case, is perfectly naturalistic. As such, this accomplished pictorial layer representing the face of the Virgin is adorned with two fine, raised eyebrows whose brown tone matches the eyes they crown. These, almond-shaped and slightly bulging, maintain a gaze that holds back from the spectator, cast downwards as if by the resignation and the sadness accumulated in the tears which, though lost today, left their mark on the pinkish cheekbones. Her straight and pointed nose dominates the center of her face, lending this Marian depiction an elegance that culminates in the mouth, with its small and tightly-sealed carmine lips. Adding vigor to the depiction is the rounded chin that completes the face, and which stands in contrast to the thin, elongated and bare neck with its perfect carnation. Framing the Mother of God's face is a dark head of hair where we can just intuit curious little kiss-curls sketched out at the root. On her head, Mary is pictured wearing a veil and cloak, both made up of delicate undulating planes that appear to cancel out the inherent stiffness of the wood. The veil is white and adorned with a host of brown and reddish stars, executed using the tip of the brush combined with considerable sgraffito work revealing the gold leaf hidden under the pigment, also particularly visible in the decorative border running around the inside of the veil

and resting directly on the Virgin's head. We can but imagine that a great artist was behind the sculpting of the work we are studying here; elegant and meticulous, it bears further witness to a virtuosity attained by few hands, evident in the execution of the cloak. As tends to be the case with Marian iconography, the outside of this protective garment is blue. Once again in compliance with the aesthetics of the Baroque Quito school, we observe exquisite *estofado* work both in the blue outside of the fabric as well as in the reddish inner lining, this latter being in line with the preference of the Ecuadorian sculptor's palette. The decoration of the Virgin's clothing combines phytomorphic and floral ornamental motifs with other popular devices such as *sgraffito*, featuring fine lines scratched into the surface using a thin, sharp knife, or stiletto. This combination of polychromy with revealed gold leaf is what generates the simulated richness of the fabrics. One's eye is also drawn to the meticulous depiction of the folds we can observe in the clothing around the neckline, carved in wood in the case of the red cloth with its abundant sgraffito, and simulated using a sort of glued cloth to make up the Virgin's white undershirt. True, once again, to the demands of Marian iconography, the Mother of God appears on her knees, surrounded by a gold nimbus made up of thin sunrays arranged in parallel, and out of whose combination of sizes a great star is drawn, whose red background matches that of the nine Marian stars going round the divine face. The frame, with its simple *fattura*, as if accepting that the main focus is elsewhere, is oval, with a plain brown molding at its outside edge and another molding combining pearly and gadroons on the gilt inside section.

The image, with its simple composition, does not require the added inclusion of attributes or any other secondary elements to produce its intended emotive charge for, if there is anything that defines Caspicara's *maniera*, it is the transmission of the emotion and cultivated sentiment of his art, peerless throughout the viceroyalties and worthy of the admiration it earned him beyond their borders, given he was singularly successful in moving the faithful to the very devotion the Counter Reformation intended.

In the light of the above, we can state that this is without doubt a magnificent work whose authorship can be attributed to “Caspicara” (“skin of wood” in the Quechua language), an Ecuadorian sculptor born in San Francisco de Quito in around 1723, a region at that time belonging to the Real Audiencia of Quito. Considered by scholars of the history of art of the Viceroyalty as the successor to Bernardo Legarda and José Olmos, enjoying the patronage of the Company of Jesus and, finally, Master of his own workshop, he managed to develop a technique and style that were as unique as they were admired, and which have earned him the respect of art collectors and scholars alike.

S.F.L.



Our Lady of Guadalupe

Unidentified artist
Mexico, Late 17th century
Carved, gilt and polychromed wood, gilt bronze
Figure only 114 x 41 cm
Height with base 149 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain

The image of Our Lady of Guadalupe originates from New Spain (Mexico), and relates to the apparition of the Virgin Mary in the Viceregal region, this being the most venerated iconography in the entire Marian repertory on New Spanish soil. The story, known as *Nican Mopohua* (*Here is recounted*), is a hagiographic text written in *Nahuatl* by Antonio Valeriano in about 1556, and it describes the various occasions on which the Virgin appeared to the indigenous native Juan Diego on Tepeyac hill in 1531. It was subsequently published in 1649 by the priest Luis Lasso de la Vega (1605–1660) in his book Huei *Tlamahuizoltica* (Fig. 1). When Juan Diego went to see the first bishop of Mexico, Juan de Zumárraga, as the Virgin had requested, and asked him to build a temple in her name, the bishop asked him for some evidence proving what he claimed to have seen. On Mary's final apparition, Juan Diego took her roses, and the image of the Virgin was imprinted on his *tilma*, or cloak, thereby serving as undeniable proof lending credibility to his vision.⁹

Both pictorial and sculptural depictions of Our Lady of Guadalupe are based on the image she left on Juan Diego's cloak.¹⁰ This original image provides testimony of the miraculous episode, and was portrayed by innumerable artists in the Viceroyalty over the centuries.¹¹

The magnificent sculptural image of Our Lady of Guadalupe we present here stands on a four-sided pedestal made of carved gilt wood, with phytomorphic motifs. On top of this base, the beautiful Virgin rises up, tall and majestic, in accordance with the iconography left on the miraculous cloak. She is depicted full length, standing with her hands clasped together in prayer, her left knee slightly bent, a movement reflected in the arrangement of her robe, which is somewhat twisted. Her beautiful face presents indigenous features with porcelain-like skin matching that of her slender and delicate hands, the latter joined together in an act of prayer over the middle of her breast. Her dark, straight hair with its center parting falls closely down on both sides of her head, covered by the cloak that points to her virginity. Her head is slightly tilted to the right in a generous and humble gesture and sign of reverence and respect, while her eyes gaze downwards tenderly. Her head and shoulders are covered by a blue cloak adorned with stars executed in gold leaf. The robe covering her body is a pink color representing the earth. It is decorated with floral motifs executed in extremely fine *estofado* work, representing the nine pilgrim tribes that arrived from Aztán to populate the valley according to the 1576 Aubin Codex. Her robe is closed at the neck, and has vertical folds, ruffling up towards the bottom where the fabric is seen to overflow. The bow of her belt is an indication of her maternity. This type of belt was used by noble indigenous pregnant women, secured using a black band above the waist, leaving the belly free.

A pink-robed angel with tri-colored wings stands at the bottom of the sculpture, his arms raised high, supporting the Virgin. In the middle

of his chest he boasts a medallion with Christ's cross. This child, or angelic youth, with sweet features and curly hair, was the Virgin's messenger, and also represents Juan Diego, the bearer of the great news bringing life and truth. The angel is holding on to the Virgin's cloak and robe, symbol of the union between earth and heaven. The final compositional element we should mention is the *mandorla* of flaming splendor, executed in bronze, that surrounds Mary, imitating sunrays, and lending the image an aura of holy mysticism.

It is worth highlighting the magnificent polychrome of this beautiful and extremely rare piece of sculpture depicting Our Lady of Guadalupe, with there being very few other known examples. The carving work is unparalleled, as is the polychroming, through which the artist attained a naturalistic depiction with a powerful sacred and devotional element. Although the varying compositional elements of Our Lady's iconography were respected, our artist proved capable of lending this beautiful piece of sculpture its own individual characteristics and features that make it an exceptional prototype of great beauty and originality.

V.V.Z.



Fig. 1 Luis Lasso de la Vega, Frontispiece of Huei *Tlamahuizoltica*, 1649



Saint Michael the Archangel

Unidentified artist
Hispano-Philippine, 17th century
Ivory, traces of polychrome and gilding
Figure only 61 x 38.6 cm
Height with base 81 cm
Weight 8.380 kg
Provenance: Former Esclasans Collection since c. 1930, Barcelona (Spain)

Saint Michael was one of the most venerated saints in the Christian world in the years following the Council of Trent.¹² In terms of the ivory figures of Hispano-Philippine art there was a particularly interesting resurgence of worship of the saint in the Renaissance period, fostered in part by the Jesuits, who saw him as a symbol of the Church triumphing over heresy, and because he was especially revered by Saint Francis Xavier. His introduction onto the Isles was colored with certain very particular characteristics, both ideological, due to the danger of heresy in a world far removed from Catholic doctrine, and stylistic, due to the margin provided by his image for depicting Satan at the Archangel’s feet, on occasions relating directly to the Eastern world. With regards to the interesting iconography of Saint Michael during the Baroque period, its composition adapted to the conceptual approach of the Counter Reformation. He is most often depicted dressed as a Roman warrior spearing a dragon, Satan or Lucifer, represented by a figure with a woman’s body and the tail of a mermaid or a reptile, defeated by the Guardian of the Roman Church.¹³

The popularization of worship of the Saint in the Philippines is a reflection of what Spain exported to its colonies.¹⁴ In terms of iconography, his depiction follows the lead of European models,¹⁵ examples of which exist in ivory, always with the Saint dressed as a warrior, sometimes wearing a helmet, a tassel-sleeved doublet with tails covering a short tunic or pleated short breeches in the Spanish style of the mid-16th century, which became widespread throughout the rural classes during the entire 17th century. In the Philippines,¹⁶ these compositions express far less movement. It is also interesting to point out the varying depictions that have been made of the Devil at the feet of the Archangel. These vary from depictions of Lucifer in the form of an oriental dragon, as we observe in the piece housed at Badajoz Cathedral, to human figures with quadruped legs or the form of a mermaid, these being more in line with the Biblical spirit of woman’s seduction by the snake, a sin which is redeemed by the Virgin, the New Eve, as the mother of the Redeemer.

Our exceptional ivory Archangel is depicted holding a sword in his right hand while looking triumphantly down at the devil at his feet. In his left hand he carries a round shield with a flaming sun, on which there are traces of gilding and polychrome. His naturally golden fine hair is combed into a short mane, and tied into a bun above his forehead, in the style popular in the reign of Philip III. The beautiful features of the Saint’s oval face present clearly Hispano-Philippine characteristics; heavy eyelids over half-closed eyes, a slender nose with pronounced nostrils, prominent chin and small mouth in deep red polychrome. His dress is made up of a doublet or corset with a square neck and plain body decorated with delicate polychrome to represent the sun, moon and stars, crossed by a knotted sash.

He is seen with his sleeves rolled up to his elbows, great wings with thin golden lines that trace out the delicate plumage, and boots tucked over under the knee, gathered up by a cherub in the style of Roman legionnaire footwear, like the rest of the clothing used in European art when depicting the archangel, stressing the active nature of his worship: a symbol of the fight against heresy in the world of the Counter Reformation. At his feet, the curious and beautiful figure of the long-maned devil, with its feminine human torso and, from the waist down, the form of a twisting tail. The pedestal on which the work stands is of carved, gilt wood, and presents a very high quality in the carving of naturalistic forms, scrollwork and acanthus leaves. The sun, moon and stars that adorn the Saint’s doublet have a profound theological significance, given that the holy texts consider the Archangel to be the savior of the Apocalyptic Woman, a symbol of Mary and the Church, and a figure to which, according to the apocalyptic texts themselves, the sun, moon and stars pay homage.

This piece accentuates the antithetical character of the devil, face and bust of a woman with the lower part of the body being that of a long-tailed reptile, which Saint Michael is attacking in order to save the Apocalyptic Woman, a precursor of Mary, in a composition that is reminiscent of an engraving of the same subject by Hieronymus Wierix (Fig. 1).¹⁷

It is worth highlighting the high quality and great beauty of the carving, and the exceptional state of conservation that make this piece an unusual work of art.

V.V.I.



Fig. 1 Hieronymus Wierix (1548–1624), *The Archangel Saint Michael*, Late 16th–early 17th century, engraving



Calvary

Unidentified artist
Hispano-Philippine, 17th century
Ivory, traces of polychrome and gilding
Christ 34 x 23 cm
Virgin 20 x 6.5 cm
Mary Magdalene 20 x 7.5 cm
Saint John 17 x 3.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain

We have before us here one of the most highly-prized pieces of Filipino art, an ivory carving. This exquisite Calvary stands as a compositional rarity, as sculptural groups are far less common than the more frequently-occurring individual depictions of Christ, the Virgin and a wide range of saints.

The religious subject matter of these works leads us to date the emergence of this artform to soon after 1565, the year when, following the conquest of the Philippines, the fleet linking Spain with its overseas territories was completed.¹⁸ As would be the case with the artistic development in New Spain and the rest of the American territories under the Spanish Crown, all of the artistic output was part of the Habsburg House of Austria’s civilizing efforts and, as such, formed part of the evangelical mission being driven by the Catholic Church, particularly intense and visible following the ecumenical Council of Trent (1545–1639).

This particular idiosyncrasy helps us to understand the exceptional aesthetic nature of an artform we might well consider hybrid, given it strikes a perfect and serenely harmonious balance between a technical and visual lexicon with a slight Oriental touch, and a subject matter and iconography of clearly Western origin. The aforementioned crossover between two major civilizing trends, one Chinese and the other Spanish, is what we can appreciate in the visual composition of this magnificent Calvary, whose iconography underwent considerable artistic development in Latin America from the second half of the 17th century onwards (Fig. 1), at which point, and as a major focus of influence, its acceptance in the Philippines was promoted.¹⁹

The ebonized wood crucifix that stands over this group of figures displays an image of Christ who is dead and nailed to the cross by three nails. His body contours are expertly aligned with the demands of the curvature of the ivory tusk from which a highly skilled hand drew the image of the Son of God. Christ’s lifeless face, falling down onto his right shoulder, is an extraordinary exemplification of that balance of artistic influences, with Oriental characteristics, such as the curving of the corner of the eye, lengthening and stylizing, clearly discernible in his physical features, as well as iconographic devices of a Western origin, such as the forked beard or the way Christ’s hair is depicted, falling down equally on both sides of his face. The combination of the intended sense of beauty given to the central figure in the scene, serene and rejecting the dramatism of the ruling model, developing a polychrome with distinct Baroque overtones that transforms us into distraught witnesses of the Messiah’s affliction is particularly noteworthy. The absence of sculptural detail regarding Christ’s sex indicates that there must have been a loincloth made of some fabric that has not survived due to its natural lack of durability.

Accompanying the scene we find the Virgin, St. John and Mary Magdalene. The latter, as recounted in the Gospels, appears kneeling at the foot of the cross, flanked by the upright, and also ivory, bodies of the other two. Displaying great skill in carving these three sculptures, the deft rendering of the Oriental features of their faces by no means robs the spectator of the intensity of gazes riven with pain. The three figures are dressed in accordance with the demands of the day, in robes and cloaks. The Virgin also wears a veil. Equally worth mentioning is the virtuoso manner in which the artist sculpted the hands of these three figures, with an enormous degree of stylization and adhering to the exigencies of dramatic movement.

It is easier to contextualize the work’s execution if we consider the polychromy, limited in earlier pieces to facial features and the edges of clothing. As such, we observe how an elegant copper-gold tone, arranged with painstaking technique, has been applied to the decorative borders of the fabrics, while the visible surfaces of the main garments are adorned with elegant three-leafed flowers. The work we are studying here shares its sparing polychrome and excellent skill depicting folds, hands and facial features with the Calvary preserved at the Seminario Mayor Agustiniiano in Valladolid, rated by Margarita Estella as one of the most important known and preserved examples of its type, and this is an assessment we should also now apply to this previously-unknown work which, at last, both scholars and art lovers may enjoy.

S.F.L.



Fig. 1 Manuel Chili “Caspicara” (c. 1723–c. 1796), *Calvary*, Museo del Banco Central, Quito



Infant Jesus of Cebu
Unidentified artist
Hispano-Philippine, 17th century
Ivory and wood
Height 51 cm
Provenance: Private collection

The work we have before us here is of particular historic artistic interest due to both the technical quality of its *fattura* and the prominence enjoyed by this specific iconography of Christ, the most widespread in the Philippines²⁰ during the centuries of Spanish rule.

The iconography in question is the *Santo Niño de Cebú* (Christ Child of Cebu), a title of Filipino origin corresponding to the Infant Jesus iconography of the Salvator Mundi, also known as the Infant Jesus of Prague or the Christ Child of the Orb. Although in the work we are studying here the defining attribute (the *globus cruciger*, or orb), has not survived, the position of the Child’s left hand, reaching out and with the palm upwards, indicates that it originally held it. The act of benediction presented by the right hand, which is typical of this type of depiction of God as world savior, supports this theory.

We know that the iconography of the Infant Jesus arrived on Filipino soil in 1521 along with Magellan, who took to the New World a wooden carving he gave to “Queen Juana” on the island of Cebu the day she was baptized. The vicissitudes of history denied this image of the Christ Child any major role for the next 44 years, and it was necessary to wait for the expedition led by Legazpi and Urdaneta to reach the conquered land for, following its discovery, it to be raised up as the main image serving the purposes of the evangelical mission, thereby making it one of the main devotions in Magellan’s archipelago.

Beyond the specific context explaining the deep roots the *Santo Niño de Cebú* put down in the Philippines, it is key to identify its function as a fundamental part of the spirit of the Council of Trent, which found in the allegories of the Christ Child an appealing way of inviting the recently-conquered into Catholic devotion. To this end, it was key to reproduce images from the Old World, highlighting, in the case at hand here, the introduction into both the Americas and the Philippines of models originating in Seville, where the prototype was the Infant Jesus executed by Juan Martínez Montañés in 1607 for the city’s cathedral, and on which there is no doubt that this ivory work draws.

The sculpture is of astonishing quality and lightness of touch. The torso and legs are carved out of a solid marble tusk, with the arms then attached to the body. The Christ Child appears standing up and looking straight at the spectator with his right leg pushed slightly forward. His chubby body is depicted naked, as was often the case for images intended to be dressed in rich and elegant fabrics. In

accordance with the demands of ivory, the Infant Jesus has a snow-white face, serene and brimming with sweetness. He presents Oriental physical features, with it being worth highlighting the broad brown eyes, with fleshy and elongated eyelids, from which he looks out keenly at us. His nose, straight and stylized, with two well-pronounced nostrils, leads on to the mouth, tightly sealed and still testament to the red with which his thin lips were originally decorated. The Infant Jesus’ face is crowned by a generous head of curly brown hair where we may discern an interplay of artistic influences, given the presence of the “moña montañesina”, or marked “quiff” or “pompadour” in the center of the Savior’s forehead, which is a clear indication of some kind of contact with the sculptures that Martínez Montañés and his follower, Juan de Mesa, carried out during the first half of the 17th century. Furthermore, the execution of the neck, wrists and knees is particularly interesting, presenting typically Buddhist folds, a clear sign of the hybridism characterizing Hispano-Filipino ivory works, where Western iconography was a perfect and harmonious match for the local artists, the *sangleyes*, and their virtuoso technique along, of course, with their visual references.

It is also worth noting the rectangular pedestal on which the *Santo Niño Jesús de Cebú* is standing. Made in ebonized and molded wood, the bone inlay panels on the sides with the elegant decoration featuring phytomorphic motifs and acanthus leaves are of particular note.

Although historically Filipino-Hispanic ivory has moved in anonymity (there are no known signed works or documentary references providing any names), both the visual specificities along with the sparing polychrome (limited to hair, eyes and lips) indicate the early date of this work’s execution. Furthermore, the exquisite carving, a display of technical skill enjoyed by few, also tells us that what we have before us here is a piece by one of the finest Filipino ivory sculptors.

S.F.L.



Circle of Padre Carlos
Reliquary bust of Saint Genesius Martyr
Quito (Ecuador), 2nd half of the 17th century
Polychromed wood
68 x 49 x 37 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Saint Genesius was a roman notary during the Tetrarchy government of Diocletian (286 AD–305 AD) who refused to support the decree of persecution against the Christians (The Diocletianic or Great Persecution), he deserted his service in the city of Arles and therefore he was prosecuted by the roman authorities, captured and beheaded. Through martyrdom he was made saint and became the patron of notaries and secretaries. The attributes of this saint are the book of the notaries and a tree branch.

This Saint was specially venerated in medieval Spain, thus his cult extended to all the viceroyalties during the 16th and 17th century, although the saint was called San Ginés de la Jara (Fig. 1), being essentially the Iberian version of Saint Genesius of Arles.

Reliquary busts were extremely popular in throughout the Spanish Empire, allowing the access of the worshippers to the cult of Saints in remote locations, as the provinces of the various viceroyalties. The relics were used to invigorate of the local Christian communities.

This reliquary bust gathers all the characteristics of the Ecuadorian school of sculpture, from the treatment of the polychromies to the construction of the facial features, through them it can be defined that the probable author of the sculpture is the friar Padre Carlos, active during the second and third quarter of the 17th century in Quito. He was the leading sculptor of the city, influencing important artists such as Bernardo de Legarda (Quito, 1700?–1773) and Manuel Chili Caspicara (Quito, 1720?–1796?).

J.E.



Fig. 1 Luisa Roldán (called “La Roldana”) (1652–1706), *Saint Ginés de la Jara*, about 1692, Polychromed wood. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles



Nativity

Unidentified artist
Guatemala, c. 1790
Carved and polychromed wood
Saint Joseph: 28.5 × 17.8 cm
Virgin: 26.5 × 16 cm
Child: 15 × 7.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Madrid

In his 1978 catalogue, *Estofados en la Nueva España*, Xavier Moyssén presented an interesting document that has remained associated with the works with which it deals.²¹ This is the invoice Julián Fernández de Roldán, an intermediary living in New Guatemala, issued to the Marquis of Sierra Nevada²² from Mexico City, on 7 October 1790, including the varying expenses involved in the “Nativity that has been delivered”. The group of works referred to, as with those being addressed here, is composed of a Virgin and St. Joseph, both depicted kneeling and in contemplative adoration of the Divine Child who, lying in his crib, completes the group. This link, and the fact that we have records of the first group, make it a point of reference, as we now establish a preliminary comparative study to which we will be adding more images, many with the same iconography, supporting the Guatemalan attribution of the carvings we are dealing with here. In turn, we would insist on these works’ importance as benchmark pieces belonging to a sort of religious imagery being produced in said Central American country from the last third of the 18th until the first third of the 19th centuries, and an effective reflection of a system of artistic output driven by a fame and skill that set them apart at the time, making them highly sought-after items.

As part of the rise enjoyed by sculptures depicting the Nativity passage in the Hispanic world throughout the *Settecento*, the Americas also saw a growing predilection for the model we are dealing with here. Based on engravings and paintings, one can observe compositions that bear close parallels in groups of works from Quito and New Spain,²³ though in this case for the old Captaincy General, and in this widespread pattern we should take into account the boost undoubtedly provided by the Order of the Bethlehemite Brothers and their saint and founder, Brother Peter of Betancourt, so devoutly worshipped in the country.

This model would thus reappear time and time again, with barely the slightest variation in terms of the arrangement of gestures or folds in the clothing between one sculpture and another, where the parallels are unmistakable. Along with the painstaking wood carving work, what makes these pieces easily recognisable as Guatemalan is the repetition of the fine carving of heads, faces, hands and hair. We can identify numerous examples of this, such as the one preserved in the Metropolitan Museum in New York²⁴, another work of greater dimensions in the Museo de la Basílica de Guadalupe, Mexico City²⁵ and, in Spain, the one we presented from Cadiz’s Rebaño de María convent²⁶²⁷. To this list one could add numerous pieces from private collections, where it is once again worth insisting on the success of the model, and the few differences between each piece. As part of said preferred model, one might well highlight the figure of the Infant Christ, of a type (specifically the one we are presenting here) that could, in terms of its adaptability, be considered very much a benchmark in Guatemalan workshops.²⁸ In addition to finding it

included in Nativity scenes, from which it could be removed for its own separate worship, as continues to be the case for the celebration of Candlemas, it is also quite common to find it in both unitary and divisible ensembles including the Virgin or St. Joseph, in particular with the latter, as well as with a number of other saints.

In addition to the carving, one element leaving no doubt as to the ensemble’s Guatemalan origins is its characteristic polychroming.²⁹ First we observe the elaborate carnation work, lightly polished and with multiple layering to emphasize the sense of volume, and reflect the relevant details. Then there is the *estofado* work, another hallmark of pieces coming out of this region. This is reflected in both the designs and many techniques used by the painter to evoke the rich fabrics imported into the country, popular since some years earlier. With regard to the design, brocade effects predominate, with rhomboidal patterns based on plant elements against gold and silver fields. This is exquisitely achieved thanks to the combination of techniques such as abundant *picado de lustre* punch-marking on the background, the highlighting of the fabric volume using *aparejo* or fine stucco relief, and the use of silver gilding and bronzing. The work was concluded with brushstrokes to emphasize the relief and by the execution of typical little flower motifs, all part of the many combinations to be found in the oft-repeated *maniera* of Guatemalan works to which we attribute this Nativity.

P.A.M.



Saint Michael the Archangel

Unidentified artist
Queretaro (Mexico), Late 17th–early 18th century
Polychromed terracotta
37 × 17 × 14 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain

When we examine this original sculpture from Queretaro, Mexico, we can but be well aware of the dearth of documentation surrounding the study of the sculptural heritage of New Spain.³⁰ However, the success of formal analysis in studying the origins of pieces with similar characteristics leads me to argue the case for the validity of said method on this occasion, too.

The image of St. Michael (37cm tall, ronde-bosse and executed in terracotta) presents a depiction of the archangel that adheres to traditional medieval iconography. The saint and head of the heavenly hosts appears face-on, standing on a pedestal of imitation marble, his left leg forward, resting on the speared and captive body of Satan. In accordance with the Gothic aesthetic being reproduced, the Archangel Michael is depicted as a young knight wearing 15th century armor, including rerebraces, cuirass, a mail skirt and cloak. Protecting the lower half of his body are cuisses, poleyns, greaves and sabatons. In addition, and also following the iconographic model, his left hand bears his shield while his right hand holds his spear. On his head he has a helmet with a plumed crest and his hands are protected by gauntlets.

Michael’s face presents a pale complexion where the pink cheekbones are particularly noticeable. He has two enormous dark, almond-shaped eyes which, topped by two fine raised eyebrows, look down on the Devil, accompanied by a slight tilt of the head in the same direction. His nose, both prominent and markedly straight, contrasts with the fine delicacy of his lips, which are reddish and closed tightly.

With regard to the carving work, it is worth noting the fine softness of the folds, with an abundance of undulating movement, especially in the cloak, generating a dynamism which, added to the excellent polychroming, lends the sculpture a captivating effect.

It is key, at this juncture, to address a series of aesthetic details that are an indication of the Latin American origins of this work, and which call on the reader to pay close attention to the specific manner in which the artist has executed the polychroming of this extremely interesting terracotta sculpture, of particular note due to the gilding and *corladura*³¹ varnishing work. This may be observed all over the surface making up St. Michael’s body. Without ornamentations added to the garments covering the upper and lower extremities of his armor, we see how the skirt has been polychromed using the tip of the brush, with red and green tones forming successive parallel and undulating lines that skillfully match the folds depicted in the garment. In addition, lower down, the artist has included a border made up of thin, straight vertical lines, also in tones of red and green. Of particular interest is the ornamental repertory the artist has brought to bear on the cloak, so suggestively mobile and rich in color and brilliance. The red inner lining of this garment features the most elegant and painstaking decoration, combining blue and white floral motifs applied using the

tip of the brush with rich *estofado* work, particularly noticeable in the host of little gold hoops covering the cloak. In addition, lending the image even greater elegance, we observe how an outer border rich in phytomorphic *estofado* motifs of great size imbues the inside of the garment with a remarkable brilliance. Finally, it worth to mention the decorative technique with which the artist has executed the outside of the cloak, with its intense electric green, attained using the abovementioned *corladura* technique, which involves the application of a varnish, in this case of a greenish hue, to metal leaf, thereby lending the surface of the sculpture the required metallic appearance.

As such, the imitation medieval aesthetic of the image, added to the metallic brilliance of the fabrics with their intense palette of colors, leads us to posit that the artist behind this work wanted to reproduce an international gothic aesthetic he may have been familiar with through one of the many prints arriving on Mexican soil. The composition we have before us here invites parallels with 15th century models, in spite of differences in technique and period, presenting painstaking ornamentation, graceful movement in the fabrics, and a rich metallic range of colors, lending the work a decorative character that counterbalances the martial overtones of the Archangel’s iconography (Fig. 1).

Finally, it is worth pausing to consider the iconography being portrayed, St. Michael defeating the Devil. This visual depiction of the best-known archangel was particularly popular following the Council of Trent, with his image being associated with the Catholic Church’s triumph over Protestant heresy, which goes to explain its devotional dissemination on both sides of the Atlantic. This is the same ideological context surrounding the sculpture of *St. Ferdinand, King of Spain* (Fig. 2), symbol of the Christian reconquest in the light of Muslim domination of Spanish soil, in whose aesthetics we can discern shared elements with the work we are studying here, elements that invite us to date the creation of our *St. Michael* to the Mexican city of Queretaro in around 1700.

S.F.L



Fig. 1 Israel van Meckenem (German, c. 1445–1503), *Saint Michael*, 1470–1480, engraving. National Gallery of Art, Washington DC



Fig. 2 Anonymous artist from Queretaro, *Saint Ferdinand King of Spain*, 1730, wood with polychroming and *estofado*. Denver Museum of Art



Divine Shepherdess

Unidentified artist
Guatemala, late 18th–early 19th century
Carved and polychromed wood, *estofado* and gilt silver
28 x 28 x 14 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain

This image, executed at approximately the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, may be linked to the devotional sculpture of the old Kingdom of Guatemala and, to be precise, to the genre which, due to its small-scale format, is generally known as “domestic”, being associated with contexts of private devotion.

The wood chosen for the lower section would appear to be Spanish cedar (*Cedrela odorata*), a popular choice for many artists working in the old Kingdom of Guatemala. One prominent feature is the carving work on the plinth, which presents a very particular stonework effect, rendered in almost geometric patterns. Similar examples are to be found on the Calvaries on display at the Museo Nacional de Escultura in Valladolid, and in the group purchased fairly recently by the Metropolitan (MET) in New York (Fig. 1). With regard to the female image, its execution draws on certain fairly closed compositional designs, thereby helping to maintain volume without requiring the addition of complementary elements, but where great attention is paid to attaining depth, especially in the folds in the cloak and robe, as we observe in our work. The hair is arranged into long clumps that separate forming whimsical undulations. Finally, the approach to sculpting the lambs is similar to that seen in the depiction of the *Infant Divine Shepherd*, belonging to the Fundación Mario Uvence in Chiapas, Mexico (Fig. 2). Once the figures were sculpted, a layer of priming or thin stucco was applied, and then the colors were applied through a series of techniques that make the piece of religious imagery we are dealing with here easily recognizable.

It was onto this priming layer, and executed in the same material, that one can traditionally observe the application of multiple layers of relief imitating vegetation, only drawn in outline, as is so typical of this sort of religious imagery. Other technical variations exist for undertaking this kind of relief work, consisting in the use, prior to the metal leaf work, of a substance of rubbery appearance, applied by the “barbotine” technique, or “pastillage” gesso. This is then coated with a layer of bole, carefully burnished in preparation for the application of the gold or silver leaf. Next, color was used to attain the carnation and *estofado* effects, along with other elements such as the plinth and the imitation of the lamb’s fleece using a brush finish; the precise and perfectly complementary little touches we see in the eyebrows, eyelashes and lips.

In term of the application and combination of silver and gold leaf, which was then painstakingly burnished, we find the former in part of the clothing, in particular in the fabric on the Virgin’s shoulders, the lamb’s fleece sticking out from the former and, of course, in the lambs themselves that accompany her, as well as in the lining of the cloak. The painter worked on the texture of the fabric being imitated after the surface of the metal had been burnished, using a burin or die cutter for the popular “picado de lustre” technique of making punch marks in the metal, creating a series of little boxes arranged in a regular four by four pattern, generating a brilliance that seeks to play on the different chromatic effects of the metal as the light hits it. One parallel we could

mention is the image of *St. Salvador of Horta*, from the church of San Francisco, Guatemala City, executed in 1794. Two different techniques can be seen in relation to the decorative elements that are superimposed. The first is the previously mentioned barbotine application, which adds relief by tracing out a series of plant motifs that resemble simple leaves or palm fronds and are arranged all over the surface to give the impression of a textile pattern with gilt edges. This section of the polychroming is finished with a dark outline made up of a relatively thick line around the entire motif, which serves to create a kind of pictorial shadow that heightens the design in contrast to the general gilding. Everything points to an attempt to create chromatic contrasts based on varying levels of transparency and to enrich the garments, serving as an illustration of one of the aspects of Guatemalan religious imagery’s historical skills.

We conclude our study of the cloak by turning to the braiding at the front and the lining, decorated solely using “picado de lustre”. In the design of this *Divine Shepherdess’* clothing, we can easily observe the use of patterns sourced from 18th-century European textiles. The design we see here consists of various vertical bands of different widths and ornamentations, made up of continuous lines in relief superimposed over the base of the fabric, with profuse “picado de lustre” on top of what must be silver. The dark coffee color combined with the green of the plinth is characteristic of Guatemalan sculpture. This depiction of the *Divine Shepherdess* is based on an iconography of unknown source being, quite possibly, a free version.

There is, in short, no doubt that the sculpture before us here is a remarkable work of the so-called “domestic” variety, which enjoyed great praise in the output of the workshops of Guatemala’s old “Capitanía General”, probably dating from the late 18th century, and most certainly after the change of capital city following the Santa Marta earthquake of 1773. It is an interesting compendium of the sculptural and pictorial skills of said artists, and also a reflection of the techniques and approaches in which the academic literature written to date has come to identify an unmistakable hallmark. Furthermore, this is an iconographic *rara avis* that should still reveal further aspects of the notions underlying its creation.

P.A.M.



Fig. 1 Calvary Guatemala, c. 1790
Polychrome wood, gilt silver, glass, hair
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



Fig. 2 Divine Shepherd Guatemala, 18th century, carved polychrome wood with carnation and *estofado*. Fundación Mario Uvence in Chiapas, Mexico



Saint Benedict of Palermo

Unidentified artist
Brazil, 18th century
Carved and polychromed wood
70 x 24 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain

Our beautiful free-standing sculpture depicts the figure of a young man with dark skin and curly hair. He is dressed in the Franciscan habit, which is made of rough, dark brown wool cloth and is secured at the waist by a typical Franciscan belt, as well as a high-collared cape with a triangular hood that falls down his back. The habit’s main body has vertical folds, while the sleeves have delicate creases. While raising his right hand, he gathers the front of his robe with his left hand, forming a pouch in which he carries a small bunch of red flowers. The portrayal of the saint hiding flowers in his robe alludes to one of his miracles. In the habit of providing food for the poor from the monastery’s stores, he was caught in the act by a superior on one occasion, and when he opened up the front of his robe, a bunch of roses miraculously fell out onto the ground. His hair is curly, and he has the features of a young man of African descent. The traditional Franciscan cincture, made of a cord with three knots, is highlighted with gilding to emphasize his intercession in childbirth complications, for which mediation was performed. Flowers and parallel borders adorn the habit.

St. Benedict of Palermo (San Fratello c. 1524–Palermo 1589), also called Benedict the Black, Benedict the Moor or Benedict of San Fratello. In Brazil he is also called *São Benedito das Flores*. The son of African slaves, he was a hermit before becoming a Franciscan. It is thought his parents worked on a plantation near Messina where they had been brought from Africa. In around 1564 he entered the monastery of Santa María in Palermo and, despite not being able to read or write, due to his saintly character he was appointed guardian of the community, then vicar and master of services, and proved an inspiration to everyone, as he seemed to possess divine enlightenment. He subsequently went on to take responsibility for the kitchens, where he showed great humility and charity towards the needy. He died in 1589. He was beatified by Pope Benedict XIV in 1743, and canonized in 1807 by Pius VII. He has become the patron saint of African Americans and, in particular, black slaves.

One of the most important genres of viceregal art was the depiction, both in painting and sculpture, of black saints. Religion and slavery were two essential elements enabling the Portuguese crown to achieve its goals in the colonization of the Americas.³² In various regions of Brazil, including Minas Gerais and the north-east of the country, confraternities were formed by and for slaves, whose worship centered on black saints of African origin. In the evangelical process throughout Africa and the Americas, one devotional object proved particularly efficient in the 16th century: the rosary. The devotion born of the appearance of the Virgin Mary to St. Dominic in 1218 spread among Europeans through the Dominicans, whose friars welcomed the blacks arriving in Lisbon. Nossa Senhora do Rosario dos Homens Pretos (Our Lady of the Rosario of Black Men) is one of the most widespread confraternities in Recife, whose church included altars dedicated to St.

Elesbaan (Fig. 1), Benedict of Palermo (Fig. 2), Anthony of Catalagirona, Moses the Hermit, Iphigenia and Melchior, all of African origin.³³

These brotherhoods of black men constituted privileged pockets of liberty, although not of equality with white men. Given the number of renowned Brazilian artists of African descent working during the colonial period, it seems quite feasible that the creators of sculptures depicting black saints might themselves be black or mixed race sculptors, although there is no recorded information on said artists. Depicting black saints was one of the Catholic Church’s strategies aimed at the sought-after catechesis and evangelization of the black slave population, recently arrived on the Portuguese colony. The combination of black saints with traditional ones also constituted a form of religious syncretism. The search for moral virtues in the lives of black saints contributed to combatting undesired habits and customs, which would generate social disorder. They sought to establish a profile for the faithful that cultivated humility and prayer, and to this end made use of the history of saints and developed hagiographies that would assist the good and faithful Catholics.

The virtues, goodness, charity, and excellence of St. Benedict of Palermo were exalted to illustrate the Christian predisposition of blacks and mixed race people. His poverty, obedience, chastity, proclivity for fasting, humility, prayer, and many miracles, mostly aimed at children and both rich and poor men and women, are all highlighted in his hagiographies. Particular emphasis is given to medical subjects such as the healing of the blind and his intercession in childbirth complications. The goal of creating this Christian model based on a black saint from Sicily was to portray him as a model for the African population to follow, as well as a tool for their social integration.

V.V.I.



Fig. 1 St. Elesbaan, Brazil, 18th century, 120x105x50 cm. Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Rosario dos Homens Pretos, Recife (Brazil)



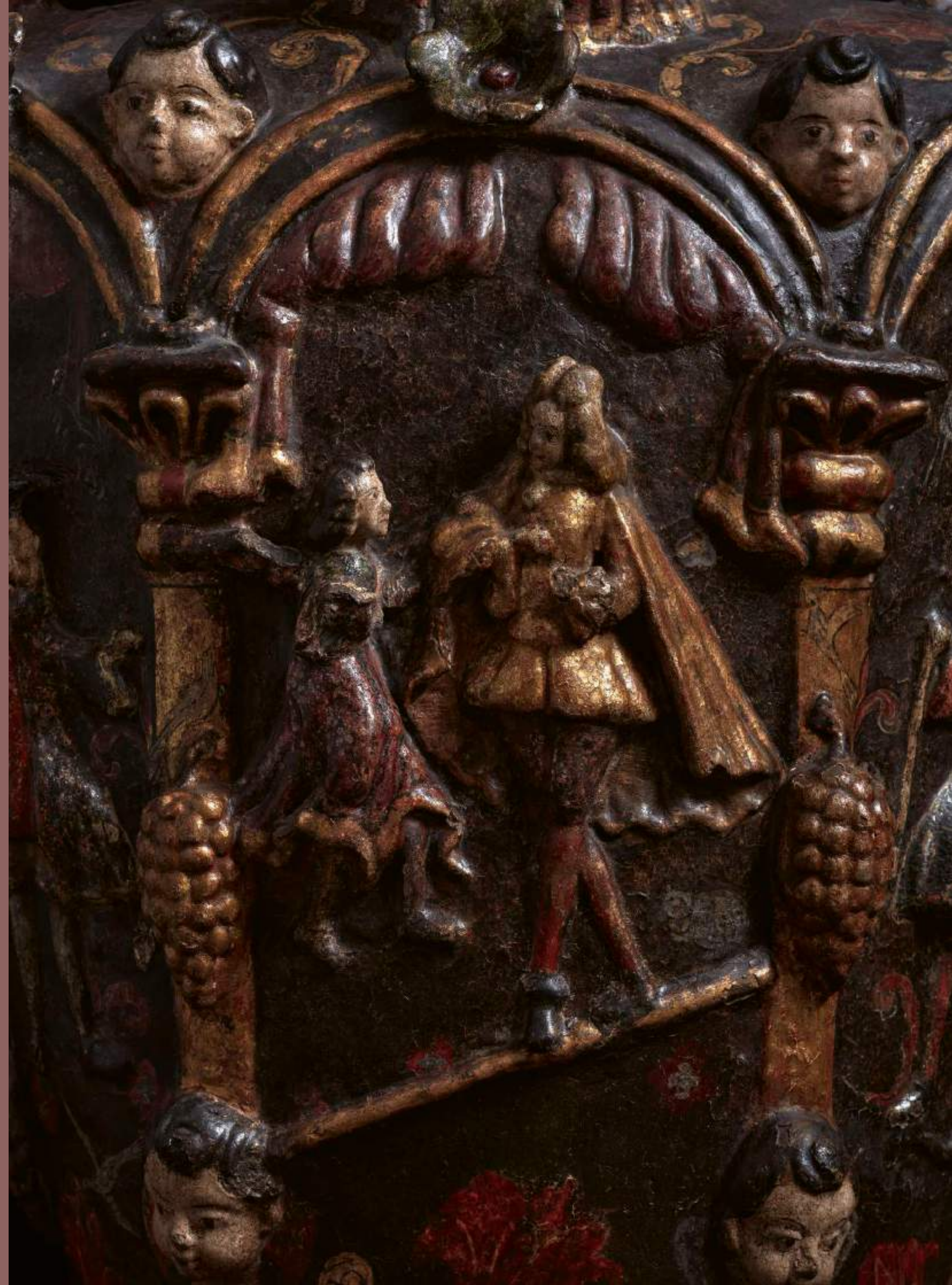
Fig. 2 St. Benedict of Palermo, 18th century, Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Rosario dos Homens Pretos, Recife (Brazil)

Tonalá, Perfumed Beauty



Juan van der Hamen, *Still-Life with Crockery and Cakes*, c. 1627, oil on canvas. Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid

Tonalá burnished ceramics are an artform with an ancestral identity going back to pre-Hispanic times. In theory, with the Spanish arrival in the city of Tonalá, production of these objects, which were made by indigenous artists, was initially overseen by the Franciscans, being taken over by the Augustinians in 1573, and it was the latter Order that perfected the burnished ceramics technique. At first, these works were produced for the local market, but soon they started to be exported to the Old World, where they were extremely sought-after, and by the 17th century there were various famous collections made up of such pieces from the New World. The type of clay used to make these jugs, or “*búcaros*”, which tended to be used for holding water, imbued the liquid with a delicious aroma and freshness that added to the innate beauty of the vessels themselves. Although it is hard to believe now, there was a widespread fashion in Spain whereby women would ingest small chunks of Tonalá clay and scrub their bare flesh with fragments of ceramic, as the clay was considered to have both gastronomical and medicinal properties that improved the complexion. This custom was known as “*bucarofagia*”.







Tibor with Two-Headed Eagle

Mexico, Tonalá, 1710
 Earthenware
 Molded, shaped and burnished with slip (*engobe*);
 single firing. Polychrome wooden lid
 88 x 66 cm
 Provenance: Private collection, Spain



Tibor with Scene of Gallant Courtship

Mexico, Tonalá, late 17th–early 18th century
 Earthenware
 Molded, shaped, painted with slip (*engobe*) and
 burnished; single firing
 80 x 56 x 35 cm
 Provenance: Private collection, Spain

Tonalá Burnished Ceramics

Before the Spanish arrived in the New World, almost all of the regions of the Americas had major ceramics traditions, and production continued to flourish in the viceregal period. While some of these indigenous traditions were not affected by the Conquest, many took advantage of the tools and new decorative motifs introduced by European artisans.

Tonalá is a town in western Mexico, some nine miles from Guadalajara. The town's burnished ceramics are an expression of ancestral identity going back to pre-Hispanic times. Their ancient origins are recorded in inventories and travelers' chronicles. These ceramics were much appreciated by many of the Spaniards and Criollos living in New Spain, and they arrived in Europe as part of the merchandise sent by the New World to satisfy the tastes of the European elites.

There were sedentary communities producing ceramics from at least 400 AD (Fig. 1). The burnishing technique is found from that point on in semi-spherical bowls and elegant narrow-mouthed vessels. This is a technique that lends clay a brilliant, shiny finish, making it more attractive and also impermeable by sealing its surface pores. These early known pieces were found in the Tumbas de Tiro sepulchers, as part of the funerary offerings. Little is known of the region's subsequent settlements and ceramics. However, colonial sources and historical studies from the 19th and 20th centuries describe a major community in Tonalá in the period just prior to the Conquest.

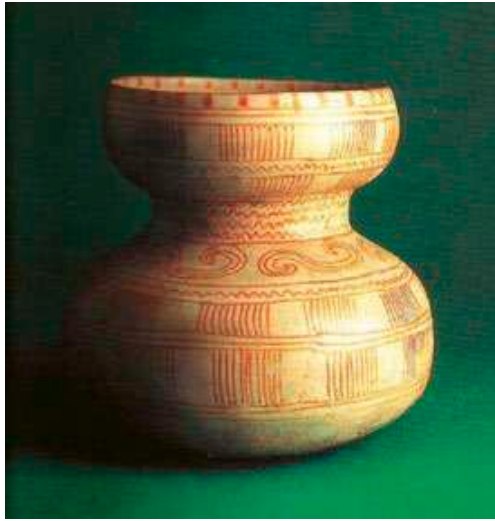


Fig. 1 Modelled ceramic with burnished red slip decoration, Shaft tombs, Jalisco, c. 400 AD, single firing. Museo Regional de Guadalajara, Spain

The Spanish changed life as it was known in the pre-Hispanic world through both their diet and their beliefs. The funerary use of burnished ceramics disappeared with the banning of pagan indigenous funerary customs. The use of ceramics was limited to what it is today: vessels for carrying water, a function for which they are famous due to the aroma and freshness the local clay lends the water, and owing to their civil, rather than religious, ornamental use, which became successful as a result of their pleasant texture, beautiful shape and decoration. As such, it was in the 16th century that Tonalá's burnished ceramics became popular with the inhabitants of the Guadalajara region, being accepted by both Spaniards and Criollos. This was the first step towards commercializing these works throughout New Spain and, from there, Europe. Tonalá ceramics became known in Spain as Indian jugs, or "*búcaros de Indias*", and were highly-prized due to their fine craftsmanship and fragrant clay, as well as the taste they gave the water kept in them. Said water also remained cool and, when it evaporated, it kept the dry Madrid air both moist and fragrant. Tonalá clay became fashionable, particularly among women, who would eat

small chunks of it, and rub their bare skin with the ceramic objects, as it was thought the clay had both gastronomical and medicinal properties that improved the complexion. This custom became known as "*bucarofagia*" (jug-eating). The popularity of these vessels is well recorded both in literature and in 17th and 18th century still lifes. Painters such as Van der Hamen, Juan Bautista Espinosa (Fig. 2) and Antonio de Pereda depicted Tonalá ceramic vessels in their works, not to mention Diego de Velázquez's *Las Meninas*, the middle of which features a red clay jug being handed to the Infanta Margarita on a little silver salver by the titular "menina", or lady-in-waiting, María Agustina Sarmiento. All of this reflects the widespread fashion for collecting New World ceramics in Europe as early as the first quarter of the 17th century. Major collections of these objects included those owned by the Florentine Grand Duke Cosimo III de' Medici, the Aldobrandini family also from Florence, and Seville's Duchess of Alba. Of all of these, the greatest and best-known collection was built up by the Spanish noblewoman Catalina Vélez de Guevara, niece and wife of Íñigo Vélez de Guevara, Count of Oñate and Viceroy of Naples from 1648 to 1653, during the reign of Philip III. This collection was added to by her descendants, who donated it to Madrid's Museo Arqueológico in 1884. It was later passed on to the Museo de América in Madrid when it was founded in 1941.

Vessels made of Tonalá clay are also present in various *Casta* paintings from New Spain. The letters of the Florentine scholar Lorenzo Magalotti (1637–1712) provide the most important source of information regarding the varying traditions. In 18th century European texts the ceramics were known as Guadalajara clay, although the colonial workshops were located in Tonalá.

Tonalá ceramics may be grouped together into three general categories: red, polychrome and black. Of these, the burnished red "*búcaro*" vase or jug would appear to have been the first, with examples featuring in Spanish still lifes from as early as 1624.

These paintings reveal the variety of forms and decorations produced and sent to Spain in that period. They ranged from jugs, cups, vases and bottles to other elaborate vessels of capricious and extravagant design. Their decoration is characterized by their fluted sides, concentric rings and both sunken and relief motifs. Another early model of burnished red "*búcaro*" is characterized by its incised stamped and punched decorations.

Towards the end of the 17th century, the ceramists of Tonalá started to manually apply white and red slip, or "engobe" to their works, including floral and abstract motifs in red, orange, blue and manganese. This style of vessel is described in the Countess of Oñate's 1685 inventory as "red", and it began to appear in Spanish and Mexican still lifes from the early 18th century. This would suggest that it probably started being produced in the last quarter of the 17th century and continued to be so until the end of the 18th century. The most popular polychrome model was undoubtedly the two-handled pitcher which, according to Magalotti was used for drinking water.

The other ceramic model to prove extremely popular was the "tibor", a jug shaped like an amphora. The Europeans were particularly taken by this sort of big ornamental vessel, known by the term "*archibúcaro*", and which appears to have been mainly manufactured for exportation to the Old Continent. It is characterized by its egg-like shape and rounded bottom. The tibor is actually a model of Oriental origin, which became well-known in Mexico due to the Manila Galleon trade route, but it was also popular in Europe from at least the Greco-Roman period, being used in the Mediterranean region for the transportation of food and liquids. Its rounded bottom was designed so it could be easily stored on the dirt or sandy floors of ships. Whether glazed or not, the Spanish "tinaja" and Mexican "tibor" were extremely important for transporting food, oils and wine from Spain to the New World during the colonial period and must have created a deep impression on the ceramists of Tonalá. However, tibors often included a lid, due to the influence of Oriental models arriving on the Manila trade route, and were burnished rather than glazed, being put on display as highly-prized and exotic possessions. As luxury objects, their only function was to contain water and provide the pleasant fragrance for which they were famous.

These large vessels were manufactured using two vertical molds which were then joined together. The handles, along with the relief decorative elements, were made separately also using molds, and were stuck onto the vessel once the two halves had been joined and while the clay was still fresh. It is possible that the vertical projections of the shoulders were intended to support additional ornamental elements, such as flowers, figures or cherub heads. There are two differentiated types depending on the tone of the engobe, providing a cream-colored, red or mixed background. Complicated decorative designs were added to this base, including exotic birds, two-headed eagles, relief figures and a profuse decoration of plant and zoomorphic motifs made of engobe and mineral oxides.

Technical Aspects – Manufacturing Tonalá Burnished Ceramics

Production was dominated by artists of indigenous descent. The city prided itself on the fact that every house in Tonalá had its own workshop, and that both men, women and children were involved in the process. The Mexican historian José Antonio de Alzate y Ramírez (1737–1799) gives the earliest known technical description of Tonalá ceramics in his 1792 article published in the *Gazeta de la Literatura*.

The clay was extracted from the mines of San Andrés, in the area surrounding Guadalajara. In Tonalá, two different clays were always used, combining to give a specific consistency and plasticity: "stiff" clay, which is sticky, along with a "soft" variety, which is powdery. The former presents a range of reds, yellows and greys, while the latter has a whitish color. Each family of ceramists would prepare their own clays, mixing them together to obtain the right combination. For

pigments, they used a clay slip called "barniz de Sayula", along with manganese, iron and other mineral deposits. Once the clays were ready, having been ground, they were mixed and stored, and water was added to them to form the paste which was then left to settle. They would subsequently be applied, having been kneaded in order to remove any air pockets and to get the right consistency. Once the pieces had been left to dry in the sun, they were smoothed using river stones and then the vessels were painted using "engobe" paste made with varying clays that had been ground up and dissolved in water. Other pigments used included manganese, copper and iron oxides. When it came to decorating these pieces, they were first coated in the "barniz de Sayula" engobe, to create a cream-colored base. This was then embellished through a process called "palmar", which gave the vessels their traditional polychrome appearance. "Palmar" meant painting red and black zoomorphic and phytomorphic motifs, whereas "sombrear" was a process involving outlining the figures in black or white. The brushes used were made of dog or fox hair. Once the paint had dried, the next step was to burnish the piece. The area being worked on was dampened and then burnished using a hard stone or piece of pyrite fitted onto a clay support. The burnished colors took on their final intensity once they had been fired at high temperature. These pieces were only fired once, in contrast to the glazed and tin-glazed works introduced by the Spanish. Once the pieces had been fired, additional gilt or silver leaf polychromy could be applied. The mordant used for gilding purposes was made of sticky plant substances such as fig, prickly pear or mulberry sap.

V.V.I.



Fig. 2 Juan Bautista Espinosa, *Still Life with Dead Bird*, 1651. Museo del Prado, Madrid



Tibor with Two-Headed Eagle

Mexico, Tonalá, 1710
Earthenware
Molded, shaped and burnished with slip (*engobe*); single firing. Polychrome wooden lid
88 x 66 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain

A tibor is a container shaped like an amphora, originating from Asia, which was widespread in Europe from the Greco-Roman period onwards. It could have either a decorative or utilitarian function. In the Mediterranean world, it was used for carrying food and liquids. These simple, undecorated vessels, with their rounded bottoms making it easy to stand them on dirt floors, were widely used for transporting oils and other foodstuffs from Spain to the Americas. Furthermore, this type of amphora, with its more sophisticated decoration and glaze, was introduced into the Viceroyalty of New Spain as a result of the trade routes between the Spanish colonies in the Orient, from the port of Manila to Acapulco in Mexico, carried by the Manila Galleons. It was as such that ceramics from Tonalá and Talavera de Puebla started to include these sorts of models in their repertoires. Tibors from Tonalá usually include a lid, and were displayed as highly-valued possessions, on lacquered or gilt wooden bases. They were egg-shaped with rounded bottoms, so these pedestals were necessary to support them. Their function in the homes of the wealthy classes was to hold water, this being a way of keeping the air fresh in hot seasons and environments, while the famous Tonalá clay impregnated the liquid with an exquisite aroma. Pieces of Tonalá ceramics were exported to Europe, with tibors preserved in the Royal Palace of Turin, Rome's Quirinal, Cosimo III's collection in Florence, and in the famous collection belonging to the Count of Oñate in Spain,¹ which is currently housed at Madrid's Museo de América (Figs. 1 and 2). The Europeans were highly attracted to these ornamental vessels, which they called "*archibúcaros*".²

The tibor we are presenting here is characterized by its oval shape with its neck and handles, and is exceptional in that it possesses its original lid, in carved, polychromed wood, which repeats the floral decorative motifs of the body of the vessel. Its two faces present different iconographic designs. The front features three rounded arches supported by columns, in the middle of which the crowned two-headed eagle of the Habsburgs. Said dynasty reigned as Spanish monarchs until the end of the 17th century. A lamb rests at the feet of this majestic bird, symbolizing the union of the Habsburgs with the Catholic religion. The side arches are taken up by rampant lions and hummingbirds, sipping from exuberant bell-shaped flowers. The columns are decorated with pomegranate flowers and little winged cherubim in relief, with stylized features. The lower section of the tibor features a wide floral border around the entire circumference.

On the back, we observe a heart inside of which there is a coat of arms and, above this, the date 1710. The heart suggests the joining of two families, by marriage, represented in the aforementioned heraldic shield. The front is profusely decorated with plant and flower motifs, particularly roses, poppies, wisteria and bell-shaped forms. Two lions with half-open mouths rest their paws on the surface of the body of

the vessel where it joins the neck, and at the shoulders there are two cylindrical handles.

The body and the neck were executed using vertical molds in two parts that joined together. The handles, as well as the relief decoration, the lions, cherub heads and flowers, were made separately using molds and then stuck to the body while the clay was still fresh. The eagle, the coat of arms, the plants, flowers and rest of the motifs were painted using manganese, cobalt and iron oxides. The cream-colored background was executed using slip, or "*engobe*", and the surface was burnished in its entirety, lending it that characteristic shiny finish. It is worth highlighting the beautiful decorative fillet work, made up of geometric motifs such as spirals, dots and dashes.³

V.V.Z.



Fig. 1 Tibor, Tonalá (Mexico), 17th century. Museo de América, Madrid



Fig. 2 Tibor with Two-Headed Eagle and Relief Figures, Tonalá (Mexico), first third of the 17th century. Museo de América, Madrid



Tibor with Scene of Gallant Courtship

Mexico, Tonalá, late 17th–early 18th century
Earthenware
Molded, shaped, painted with slip (*engobe*) and burnished; single firing
80 x 56 x 35 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain

This magnificent amphora, or "tibor", is egg-shaped with a long neck and two round handles on either side of its body. The vessel displays two clearly-differentiated faces. The front is ornately decorated with a triple arcade, the middle arch of which contains a relief scene made up of two figures framed by a voluminous drape and golden columns adorned with birds, enormous bunches of grapes and cherub heads at the bottom, which are repeated on the corners of the arches. One of the figures, a sumptuously-attired gentleman with dress coat and golden cloak, is engaged in gallant conversation with a beautiful young woman who looks up at him, enraptured.

Under one of the side arches we once again find the same male figure with a thick head of blond hair, elegantly attired in a dress coat, red waistcoat decorated with gold buttons and a hat. He is dressed in the style of late 17th century Europe. A curious bird is seen flying over his head. Under the opposite side arch we find the same man, standing up in a pose of analogous elegance, with an enormous red flower suspended over his head. In the middle of the amphora's neck, as a conclusion to the narrative, we observe a scene oozing with romanticism; the aforementioned suitor elegantly courts the distinguished lady, her shoulders covered by a golden shawl and with a flower in her black hair. The beautiful young lady in her long red dress lovingly offers up a handkerchief, while her lover kisses her hand. The scene is completed by an aureole executed in gilt varnish. The space surrounding the various figures is filled with phytomorphic elements, leaves and a range of flowers and birds, in red, ochre and orange, with the relief motifs heightened using gold-colored varnish (Fig. 1).

The back of the work presents a crowned two-headed eagle, loosely painted using manganese oxide on an ochre background, and which is a direct allusion to the Spanish monarchs of the Habsburg House of Austria, who reigned until the end of the 17th century (Fig. 2).

The clear difference between the way the two sides were decorated suggests the piece was intended to be seen solely from the front, with the aforementioned three arches. Tibors were normally arranged



Fig. 1 Amphora's neck detail



Fig. 2 Back detail

against the wall, and contained water which humidified and refreshed the dry Madrid air with their delicious aroma.⁴ The scenes pictured in the arcade and on the neck of the vessel would appear to narrate episodes from the life of its owner, a member of the social elite depicted in an act of gallant courtship, as we can infer from his opulent dress, as well as the Habsburg eagle denoting sympathy for the House of Austria and the presence of the cherubim and bunches of grapes signaling his devotion to the Catholic faith.

This tibor is a unique example for its unusual subject and elaborate conception. In all likelihood it was expressly commissioned by the wealthy suitor in enduring remembrance of eternal affection for his lover.

It is extremely interesting to note that, of all known *tibors*, whether those in the Museo de América collection in Madrid, or the ones housed at the Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum in Braunschweig (Germany), or in Barcelona's Museo Etnológico, this is practically the only known piece presenting so many relief figures participating in elegant scenes of courtship, which makes it one of the main exponents of this sort of object in terms of its rarity and exceptional artistic qualities.

The Museo de América collection boasts a piece presenting a similar sort of composition: a three-arch arcade on the front and some relief elements; one fashionably-dressed figure, pomegranates and cherubim, but it does not display the same number of figures involved in domestic and courtly episodes from the life of its owner as in our elegant tibor. There are, meanwhile, several tibors from the Madrid collection featuring the popular two-headed eagle motif on the back, the three-arch arcade and little relief figures next to each other making up varying iconographic scenes (Fig. 3).

V.V.Z.



Fig. 3 Tibor with Two-Headed Eagle and Relief Figures, Tonalá (Mexico), first third of the 17th century. Museo de América, Madrid

Viceregal Furniture: A Legacy That Lives on



The Birth of the Virgin, Cuzco (Upper Peru), 18th century, oil on canvas. Private collection

One of the most widespread artistic expressions in the Latin American Viceroyalties was furniture, and it is thanks to the pieces that have survived to the present day that we have a clear idea of the customs and habits of the diverse viceregal society. Museums and private collections house some extraordinary pieces that reflect the brilliance and power enjoyed by the inhabitants of Latin America, and which serve as clear examples of syncretism, the melting pot of contrasting cultures, where we can delight in an aesthetic beauty revealing symbolism and a heightened sense of iconography.



















Chest

New Spain (Oaxaca), c. 1600
Granadillo, Mexican lemon and lign-aloes
trees, zulaque vegetable dyes, iron metalwork
87.5 x 58 x 22 cm
Provenance: Private collection, London



Pair of Frames

Viceroyalty of Peru
Last third of the 17th century
Carved wood, gilt and polychrome
198 x 108 x 22 cm and 192 x 106 x 19 cm
Provenance: Private collection



Traveling Desk

Viceroyalty of New Granada (Ecuador), 18th
century
Polychrome wood, and iron mounts
28 x 45 x 36 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Santa Fe (USA)



Trunk

Unknown artist
Cuzco, early 18th century
Wood, oil, iron mounts and leather
24 x 88 x 52 cm
Provenance: Private collection



Armoire

Cuzco, 17th century
Paintings: Diego Quispe Tito's workshop
(San Sebastián del Cuzco, 1611–1681)
Oil on wooden panel, gilt carved wood and
iron fittings
Height: 215 cm
Depth: 94 cm
Width closed: 147cm
Width opened: 236 cm
Provenance: Private collection



Enconchado Table

Viceroyalty of Peru (Peru), late 17th century
Wood, mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell
Height: 74 cm
Diameter: 65 cm
Provenance: Private collection



Writing Desk

Upper Peru (Bolivia), c. 1780
Cedar wood, painted in oil with purpurin
gilding, iron hinges, lock and key
56 x 64 x 34 cm
Provenance: Private collection



Hierbera (Herb Box)

Moxos or Chiquitos (Bolivia), c. 1760
Cocobolo wood, iron fixtures
17.5 x 23 x 21.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection



Enconchado Trunk

Mexico or Peru, 17th Century
Wood, mother-of-pearl, tortoiseshell, iron
lock fittings
75 x 47 x 48 cm
Provenance: Private collection



Enconchado Trunk

Mexico or Peru, 17th Century
Wood, mother-of-pearl, tortoiseshell, iron
lock fittings
77 x 47 x 47 cm
Provenance: Private collection



Pair of Armchairs

New Spain (Mexico), 18th century
Carved mahogany, red damask, gold leaf
decoration
Both 180 x 70 x 49 cm
Provenance: Private collection, US



Dressing Table Box

Unidentified artist
New Spain (Mexico), 17th–18th century
Paintings: Oil and tempera on wooden panel,
mother-of-pearl, gold and silver;
Box: Jacaranda and cedar wood, bone and iron
100 x 40 x 30 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain



Trunk or Portable Writing Desk

Viceroyalty of Peru (Peru), 17th century
Cedar and fruit tree woods and iron fittings
55 x 84 x 40 cm
86 x 84 x 71 cm (opened)
Provenance: Private collection



Chest
New Spain (Oaxaca), c. 1600
Granadillo, Mexican lemon and lign-aloes trees, zulaque vegetable dyes, iron metalwork
87.5 x 58 x 22 cm
Provenance: Private collection, London

Exceptional piece of furniture from the viceregal period of the second half of the 17th century, made in the Analco neighbourhood in the Villa Alta de San Ildefonso in the Oaxaca region of Mexico. It was executed on a pinewood base or supporting frame, covered by delicate woods such as Mexican lemon, granadillo and lign-aloes. It presents inlaid engravings with Greek fret, lattice work, metopes and religious iconography. The entire work is studded with fine wooden nails, decorated with the *zulaque* technique and finished with wrought iron metalworks.¹

Works executed in Oaxaca feature as some of the well-studied Mexican pieces carried out to date, with their zulaque inlay technique, a bituminous paste made of calcined lime and black vegetable dye extracted from dyewood, out of which thin threads were formed and then inserted under pressure in the grooves made in wood, forming different decorative motifs such as those observed in this important chest which presents a decoration of animal, plants and geometric motifs, which in turn to frame the religious ones. This technique was used on chests, flat-lidded boxes called *bufetillos*, bureaux, writing desks and other items.

In the viceregal period, the steep-sided mountain range of Oaxaca was the backdrop of Villa Alta de San Ildefonso, a town that excelled for its refined cabinet-making skills. From the loving caresses of its artisans and their rich sense of imagination these exquisite works of art were born.² The workshops of Analco, one of Villa Alta's most prominent neighbourhoods, had access to numerous European engravings, mainly Flemish, which served as a source for depicting the images adorning the pieces of furniture.

There is no doubt that the intellectual overseers, Dominican friars and direct patrons, provided the artisans with an extensive body of erudite images, and that explains the rich iconographic repertory of this type of furniture, presenting scenes of a religious nature and highly complex narratives in its interpretation, particularly messages from Sacred History and of a humanist nature.

This chest presents religious motifs, among which stand out on the lid a coat of arms with the Papal Tiara and crossed keys to the Kingdom of heaven inverted, flanked on both sides by lavishly-attired Archangels, dressed as warriors. On the inside we find a coat of arms of Mercedarian Order, held by two lions and surrounded by four cherubs' heads. The back, front and sides feature depictions of the twelve Holy Apostles, dressed in tunics and robes, some with belts round their waists, of which it is worth highlighting Saint Paul and Saint Peter, both with their attributes of keys and sword (Fig. 1).

The other Apostles are also portrayed with their attributes, which include swords, books, and farming tools. These figures are framed by semicircular arches held up on baluster columns, all decorated with engravings of mascarons, Greek fretwork, filigree and grotesques, executed with great skill using the *zulaque* technique³ made with fine woods (Fig. 2).

It is worth emphasizing this chest's excellent state of conservation and, in particular, the unusual religious iconography of the coat of arms of the Mercedarian Order, given that those charged with maintaining religious tradition were the Dominican friars supervising the region. As we have already mentioned, this chest includes the coat of arms of the Mercedarian Order, which suggests that it was executed on commission from a high-ranking Ecclesiastical authority, possibly from the Order of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mercy.

V.V.I.



Fig. 1 Detail of Holy Apostles icons



Fig. 2 Detail of apostles' icons framed by semicircular arches and baluster columns



Pair of Frames
Viceroyalty of Peru, last third of the 17th century
Carved wood, gilt and polychrome
198 x 108 x 22 cm and 192 x 106 x 19 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Two fantastic carved frames making up a pair. The composition is entirely executed with dense carving barely leaving any gaps and in painstaking detail. The carving is arranged around a central subject towards the top, consisting of a feminine figure with a distended belly and pronounced torso holding a horn of plenty in each hand. A great fanned ornamental comb or scallop shell rises above her head, made up of vine or acanthus leaf scrollwork. The carved shell is flanked, in turn, by two elegant exotic birds. To their sides, two little child figures draped in sashes help to hold up the horns with one hand, while in the other they support the rounded heads of fantastical long-beaked birds. The sides present undulating and straight carving with little heads of children or cherubs immersed in floral scrollwork. Towards the bottom, a child with a distended belly, arranged among scrollwork, balances and completes the composition. One might say that Cuzco was pushing the boundaries of fantasy in the anthropo-zoomorphic depiction and Andean vegetation of a carving whose sense of volume tends towards *horror vacui*.

These little children's heads or full-length bodies could be typical *quechuan* physiognomic faces from Cuzco's mestizo art. They emerge

from an intricate landscape of flowering foliage, Dionysian subjects of wild mythology, horns of plenty overflowing with succulent fruits and classical flowers from the high plains, including bunches of grapes, corn cobs, pineapples, vegetable elements and scrollwork in the form of shells. The treatment of the carving is fluid, elegant and of great expressive quality and opulence, alternating work at the picture plane with the relief contouring of the figures. This exquisite pair of frames would have adorned the walls of a *sala*⁴, living or main reception room, the most important area of a Vice-Regal house in Cuzco, which the owners⁵ would have imbued with sophistication and ostentation in their choice of decoration and furniture.⁶

V.V.I.





Armoire

Cuzco, 17th century
Paintings: Diego Quispe Tito's workshop
(San Sebastián del Cuzco, 1611–1681)
Oil on wooden panel, gilt carved wood and iron fittings
Height: 215 cm
Depth: 94 cm
Width closed: 147cm
Width opened: 236 cm
Provenance: Private collection

This exceptional armoire is made up of two individual sections, each separated from the other by two adjacent drawers in the middle. It was a very popular model in Spain, and may have been inspired by pieces from the Netherlands. This design was often used in the Peruvian Viceroyalty during the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century. These cupboards, or *armarios*, were used to store bedclothes and ceramic or silver dinnerware, and may have been intended for either civil or religious use, as is the case for our beautiful vestry cupboard.⁷

The cabinetmakers of the Viceroyalty were quick to adopt this model featuring two main sections with separate doors, supported on feet which, in this case, present two attractive smiling lions with great manes of hair and a wide band of molding at the top. The decoration, with carved gilt grotesques covering the entire surface of the cupboard, is an outstanding design feature that has been arranged with rigorous symmetry. The front is divided into six reserves framed by carved moldings. These reserves correspond to the two upper doors, the two central drawers and the panels of the lower doors, and the motifs are different in each one. In the middle of each of the doors of the upper section we find a Baroque motif featuring a vase, out of which a range of foliage is seen to be emerging. Each of the vases is flanked by Solomonic columns, with beaded edging and, in the corners, attractive flowers. There is a decorative perimeter border, then a plain border with gold leaf diamond motifs, and a frame with pearly beading and edging motifs, concluding each of the doors. The drawers once again present a central vase from which phytomorphic elements are seen to emerge, in broad and voluptuous scroll and counter-scroll patterns, framed by the border of the upper doors. Above the vases our eye is drawn to an iron fitting, shaped like a fleuron, among the foliate volutes of two little iron handles. In each of the panels of the lower doors we observe a central flower with four petals, out of which a complex pattern emerges, made up of grotesques of carved gilt foliage and scrollwork. The middle of the beautiful molding on the upper section has another vase as its central motif, with a series of foliage and bunches of grapes extending out to the left and right. The sides of the cupboard repeat the motifs of the front, with variations, with one prominent feature being a panel from the upper section in the middle of which there is a motif with scallop shells and grotesques around it. The middle has a similar motif to the drawers on the front, and the lower section features an exuberant vase with a round base and gadroon and diamond tip ornamentation. The decorative border and beaded edging motifs are repeated throughout the cupboard.

On opening the armoire, one encounters a truly exceptional, one-off decorative composition. The upper section features shelves or ledges, the edges of which are decorated with carved grotesques, as is the underside of the top of the piece, made up of a central flower with foliage, scrollwork and leaf motifs emerging from it. The lower section features a drawer which is hidden by the lower doors, and only visible on opening the cupboard. In the middle it presents a scrollwork motif featuring curves and counter-curves emphasizing the scroll motif, in the area where the drawer handles are.

Particular mention should go to the paintings from the Diego Quispe Tito workshop that are to be found on the insides of the upper and lower doors. The influence of the master is clear in these beautiful scenes where the saints depicted are framed by the typical landscapes he tended to recreate in his works, replete with birds of attractive plumage from the Andean rain forests and surroundings, as well as local trees and flowers.⁸ The saints depicted belong to the Franciscan Order, three of which are pictured with halos. They boast long flowing hair and beards bare-footed and dressed in Franciscan habits, made up of flannel robes secured at the waist by corded rope belts with three knots, from which hang the decenary rosaries and books the Doctors of the Church used to carry with them. Two of them also feature crucifixes. One might imagine that these were scenes from the life of St. Francis, judging by the austerity of the attire and the self-imposed seclusion for meditation and the adoration of God, although they do not have the signs of the stigmata that would be expected in that case.



Diego Quispe Tito (1611–1681), *Saint Jerome*, oil on canvas. Monastery of Santa Catalina, Peru

The ascetic and mystical characteristics of St. Francis and his Order were emphasized by a new iconography that was introduced in the 16th century, particularly in Spain, and which spread quickly. In around 1700 there were 454 Franciscan monasteries in Latin America, with some 3,600 members of the Order.

V.V.I.



Enconchado Table

Viceroyalty of Peru (Peru), late 17th century
Wood, mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell
Height: 74 cm
Diameter: 65 cm
Provenance: Private collection

An exquisite little table made of decorated wood, featuring fine marquetry work executed with mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell inlay, arranged in an elaborate design made up of geometric motifs.

This elegant piece of furniture bears faithful testimony to the Oriental influences that made themselves felt in Latin America during the viceregal period, being widely embraced by the society of the Americas. Orientalism, which lay at the core of the Hispanic soul, sprang exuberantly to life on American soil.

The galleons that arrived in the Americas from Manila would drop anchor in the ports of Veracruz and Acapulco. These vessels brought enormous cargoes of Indian, Persian, Chinese and Japanese goods to the New World. These priceless raw materials immediately underwent a process of “syncretism”, and artisans and artists, inspired by Oriental pieces of furniture, created their own designs, incorporating viceregal tastes and giving rise to a new art with a markedly mestizo stamp.

This marvelous living-room table was executed in highly-skilled marquetry, undertaken by carving out little sections of wood a quarter of an inch deep, into which the tortoiseshell and mother-of-pearl were subsequently inlaid, resulting in the design patterns described above. This piece, in accordance with the techniques of the day, does not feature a single metal nail. At the time wooden pegs, also called *tarugos*, were commonly used.

There is no doubt that this beautiful work must have adorned the interior of a sumptuous and palatial viceregal residence. The intrinsic value of the costly materials with which it was made, the beauty and complexity of the design, and the accomplished skill with which it was executed lead us to conclude its original owner must have been a rich and affluent gentleman.

V.V.I.





Enconchado Trunk

Mexico or Peru, 17th Century
Wood, mother-of-pearl, tortoiseshell, iron lock fittings
75 x 47 x 48 cm
Provenance: Private collection

An elegant rectangular enconchado trunk with a flat lid, whose main body rests on four carved ball-shaped feet with moldings. The body of this prismatic chest is made of tropical woods, richly adorned with mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell inlay marquetry, known as *enconchado* decoration. This features across the entire surface of the trunk, forming a symmetrical pattern on both sides and lid, presenting a beautiful and profuse ornamentation of floral and geometric motifs that are by turns both stylized and naturalistic.

The sides and lid of the trunk feature alternating squares and rectangles containing varying motifs executed in mother-of-pearl that stand out against the marbled tortoiseshell background with its golden reflections. The designs depict stylized and rippling petals as well as geometric elements. All of this serves to make up an extremely attractive, exuberant and dynamic surface. Towards the bottom of the front there is a shallow little drawer with lock, intended for storing papers or personal objects. The keyhole is in silver openwork with sgraffito phytomorphic motifs and a long, plain silver latch combining elements of both straight and undulating designs. The sides of the chest have handles to allow it to be transported. The lower sections of the trunk, as well as the edges of the lid, feature borders made up of semi-circular mother-of-pearl inlay motifs, lending the trunk a particularly lavish appearance. The inside of the trunk presents inlay marquetry in a range of fruit tree woods of varying tones, making up geometric motifs, and subdivisions with little compartments for storing the papers or personal objects.

The trunk we are presenting here is an example of the link between Asia and colonial artistic traditions. The Philippines became a Spanish colony in 1565, with its capital in Manila. The Crown designated the Viceroyalty of New Spain to take charge of its administration and government, and Philip II ordered the provision of an armed fleet between Acapulco and Manila, known as the Manila Galleons or Nao de la China (Chinese Ships). This operated between 1565 and 1815, and bore witness to the great commercial exchange that took place between Mexico and the Pacific. The cargoes transported from the Orient included silks, furniture, porcelain, ivory, pearls and other luxury goods, as well as “Chinese Indians”, in the capacity of slaves and servants, along with passengers.

On their return journey, the ships carried lead, silver, wine and other merchandise aimed at meeting the needs of the Spanish population living in Asia. In Manila, a major storage facility was built to house the merchandise arriving from Persia, India, Indochina, China and Japan and being sent to Acapulco. This facility was known as Parián, and the same word was used in Mexico for the markets selling Oriental

products. These also reached the River Plate, thanks to an alternative fleet based in El Callao. From there, they were transported to Upper Peru, and then headed south through Salta, La Rioja and Córdoba before reaching Buenos Aires.

These mother-of-pearl inlay objects and pieces of furniture were much sought-after by the wealthy viceregal elites, who liked the rich and luxurious oriental goods: silks, lacquerware, porcelain and ivory. These sophisticated inlay works were inspired by the opulent furnishings, chests and other objects with mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell inlay that were first produced for the European market in Gujarat, a Portuguese colony in India from the early 16th century until the 17th century. These sumptuous objects were included in royal European collections from as early as the 16th century. Towards the late 16th century, Portuguese traders introduced these objects into Japan, where they were reproduced for the Namban trade with Portugal and Spain. Due to the intense levels of trade throughout the Pacific, Filipino artisans in Manila made their own versions to be exported to the Spanish colonies in the Americas, where they were very popular, and a true testament to the widely-felt Asian influence on colonial society, which revealed in displays of luxury and opulence in their homes. In the Viceroyalty of Peru and New Spain in the 17th and 18th centuries, workshops emerged producing these highly-valued works of inlay furniture and other objects, including large-scale wardrobes with cresting or “peinetón” comb motifs, tables, chests, jewelry boxes and desks. (Fig. 1)

V.V.I.



Fig. 1 Bargueño enconchado, Viceroyalty of Peru 18th century Wood, mother-of-pearl, tortoiseshell. Private collection



Enconchado Trunk

Mexico or Peru, 17th Century
Wood, mother-of-pearl, tortoiseshell, iron lock fittings
77 x 47 x 47 cm
Provenance: Private collection

The fine *enconchado* trunk we are presenting is a piece of furniture in a European format, made up of a prismatic main body, flat lid and four ball-shaped feet. The trunk is rectangular and made of tropical woods, richly ornamented with mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell inlay marquetry, known as *enconchado* decoration, symmetrically applied across all four sides and the lid, creating both stylized and delicate ensembles of floral and geometric patterns.

The work before us here is a true testament to the link between Asia and colonial artistic traditions. Its sides and lid present central motifs made up of rectangles or squares inside of which, and contained within an octagon, a flower is depicted in the form of a rose with mother-of-pearl inlay representing a corolla that is particularly prominent thanks to an elevated central circle and stylized petals that stand out against a tortoiseshell background, generating a subtle interplay of light and dark, golden reflections and iridescence. The central motif is framed by a geometric border of interlinking latticework, featuring floral and geometric motives inside. In addition to this lavish ornamentation, the front also presents a shallow little drawer with a central lock towards the bottom, and an elaborate silver mount made up of a fluted fleuron-shaped lock and an elongated latch that fits into it, made up of floral motifs and sgraffito decorations. The elevated central circles on the two sides of the chest feature silver handles by which the trunk could be transported. The inside presents marquetry in a range of fruit tree woods of varying tones, making up geometric motifs and subdivisions, with compartments for storing papers or personal objects.

These mother-of-pearl inlay objects and pieces of furniture were highly-prized by viceregal society for their beauty. The elites liked to own the lavish items, which they treasured as if they were jewels. The Asian furniture, which served as a model for the pieces that were subsequently made in the Viceroyalty, arrived in the Americas via the busy trade route served by the Manila Galleons, linking Asia with Mexico. The Spanish occupied the Philippines in about 1565. From that point until 1815, the Manila Galleons, or “Nao de China” (Chinese Ships), were responsible for an enriching exchange between Asia and Mexico. The ships arriving in Acapulco provided a bridge for the exchange of goods and raw materials between the Pacific and Mexico and, indirectly, Lima, with the route from Acapulco to El Callao served by the Acapulco Galleons.

These exotic inlay objects were inspired by the opulent pieces of furniture, chests and other objects with mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell marquetry, first produced for the European market in Gujarat, a Portuguese colony in India from the early 16th century

until the 17th century. In the inventories of 16th-century royal European collections, these unusual objects were considered exotic jewels. Towards the end of the 16th century, Portuguese traders introduced them into Japan, where they were reproduced for the Namban trade with Portugal and Spain. Due to the intense levels of trade in the Pacific, Filipino artists in Manila made their own versions to be exported to the Spanish colonies in the Americas, where they were very popular, and a true testament to the widely-felt Asian influence on colonial society, which put a high price on the silks, lacquerware, porcelain and other sumptuous goods that arrived from the Orient. In the Viceroyalty of Peru and New Spain in the 17th and 18th centuries, workshops emerged producing these opulent pieces of furniture and other *enconchado* works, including large-scale wardrobes, tables, chests, jewelry boxes and cases.⁹ These were generally of a European design, including a wooden body covered with patterns including flowers, petals and leaves executed with mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell inlay. Although the cabinetmakers of Peru and Mexico made sophisticated pieces of furniture and other objects with these materials inlaid in various styles, we can also find colonial pieces that point to the powerful influence of the Orient, which probably originated from the Philippines, as can be observed in details such as fluted moldings (Fig. 1). In general, the varying models to be found also feature the presence of other materials, such as thin threads of silver, ivory and gold leaf under the tortoiseshell, which produces intense golden reflections.

V.V.I.



Chest, Viceroyalty of Peru, 18th century. LACMA



Dressing Table Box

Unidentified artist
New Spain (Mexico), 17th-18th century
Paintings: Oil and tempera on wooden panel, mother-of-pearl, gold and silver;
Box: Jacaranda and cedar wood, bone and iron
100 x 40 x 30 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain

The structure of this dressing table box is made of cedar wood, coated with jacaranda, a tree also known by the generic name Brazilian rosewood, a species native to tropical and sub-tropical Latin American regions, including Mexico, with a pleasantly fragrant wood that was traditionally much sought-after by cabinet-makers. The surface is beautifully adorned with inlay marquetry, symmetrically arranged and in the same material, combined with bone. The former is set out in square and rectangular panels seeking contrasts between the direction and tone of the grain of the wood, and the second, acting as a substitute imitating the ivory of Oriental pieces, forms a geometric perimeter made up of circles, rectangles, rhomboids and triangles, engraved with stylized plant scrolls, floral motifs and vases, and eight-rayed suns with cheery humanized faces. Also in bone, the middle of the lid is dominated by a semi-circular arched window divided into four sections depicting a winged heart in flames, a triple tiara, a ferula with three crossbars and the crossed keys of St. Peter, the latter three all being papal symbols. The ornamental delicacy also extends to the iron mounts, where the lock fitting features an abstract interlinking design. It is also worth noting that the original key has survived.

However, the importance of this piece lies in what we find inside. This is a work of *enconchado*, the current terms used to refer to a type of mother-of-pearl inlay painting that became widespread in Viceregal Mexico, particularly in the capital, from the middle of the 17th century until the first decades of the 18th.

In this marvelous *enconchado*, the elaborate ornamentation envelops the central motif. On top of a jet-black background, one's eye is drawn to a profusion of flowers, leaves, foliage, buds, fruits and bunches of grapes, which seem to be being pecked at by birds, illuminated by the mother-

of-pearl's luster. The gold and silver dust serves to enrich the figures' clothing, as well as creating the illusion of the vases and angels standing on stone flooring. The birds and butterflies fluttering around the flower vases, little more than golden sketches, are exquisitely graceful.

This dressing table box would appear to have been an individual commission with a specific purpose. The central scene depicts the imposition of the chasuble on St. Ildephonsus (607–667) (Fig. 1), arch-bishop of Toledo and Father of the Church. His Marian devotion, defended in works such as *De virginitate perpetua Sanctae Mariae adversus tres infideles*, was rewarded on the night of 18 December 665, when the Mother of God, sat on the Saint's episcopal chair and surrounded by a choir of virgins, clothed him while exclaiming: "You are my chaplain and faithful notary. Come and receive from my hand this chasuble which I have taken from my Son's treasury". On this occasion, the architectural setting and the heavenly accompaniment have been simplified, and one can just make out a fragment of the church wall, with the maidens replaced by an angel. Another two, outside this central scene, are portrayed bearing elements associated with the Saint: the angel on the right is carrying his bishop's crozier and altar cruets as chaplain of the Virgin, while the one on the left is carrying the episcopal miter and, curiously, a ferula with two crossbars, a papal symbol which in this case may allude to his role as Father of the Church. In addition, in amongst the vegetation on both sides we find a chalice on the left and the Holy Scriptures on the right.

Looking closer at the work's European heritage, the magnificent vases and the framing of the religious scene with an abundance of flora and fauna inevitably make one think the prolific 17th-century Flemish paintings with vases and garlands surrounding devotional images. Even the butterflies and birds fluttering around in the *enconchado* are reminiscent of the little insects, reptiles and amphibians that appear in said paintings. Even tulips have been depicted, a species of flower quite alien to the Mexican panorama, but enthusiastically cultivated in the Netherlands from the 17th century onwards.

Although the painting is unsigned, it could be attributed to the Workshop of Miguel and Juan González, two members of a family which, as recorded by what little surviving documentation there is, specialized in *enconchados*, and whose magnificent work is linked to the artform reaching its apogee. Cleaning has revealed the work's painstaking *fattura*: base layers of color (generally corresponding to

the backgrounds) executed using tempera, and carnation tones and mother-of-pearl covering layers with oil paint or an oil and tempera emulsion. On top of the mother-of-pearl we can identify remains of yellow glaze of an oil resin nature, which originally provided the characteristic golden finish. The nacreous fragments have been meticulously prepared and inlaid in such a way as to meld with the base; alongside the lines of gold, and gold and silver dust, they generate a special glow that emanates from within the painting, making it easy to imagine how it must have been a joy to behold, shimmering under the effect of candlelight. The artist's technical skill is also demonstrated by his ability to apply a reduced palette without becoming repetitive, combining it with the Oriental iridescence of the mother-of-pearl.

Analysis of certain decorative motifs allows us to posit that this dressing table box may have been executed for a member of the Order of St. Augustine. The flaming winged heart bears this out, as the Saint's most recognizable attribute is a flaming heart, and his prolific written oeuvre may be seen as a philosophy of the heart, with this being deemed Man's essence, where body and soul come together. In fact, the motto of the Order is *anima una et cor unum in Deum* (one single soul and one single heart in God), and its emblem depicts a flaming heart resting on a book and pierced by the arrow of charity.

Finally, the religious subject might point to the original owner sharing his name with the Saint, in this case either Ildefonso, Alfonso or Alonso, all derived from the same Germanic root. The commissioning of a work of such extraordinary characteristics as seen here would link it to a wealthy family from the Mexican society of the day.

N.L.M.



Dressing Table Box (detail from the enconchado depicting the imposition of the chasuble on St. Ildephonsus)



Fig. 1 Hieronymus Wierix, *St. Ildephonsus of Toledo*, 1616. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Trunk or Portable Writing Desk

Viceroyalty of Peru (Peru), 17th century
Cedar and fruit tree woods and iron fittings
55 x 84 x 40 cm
86 x 84 x 71 cm (opened)
Provenance: Private collection

A fantastic trunk or travel bureau; a portable piece of furniture consisting of a prismatic box and domed lid made of cedar wood. Delicately inlaid with marquetry featuring geometric and floral motifs, this exquisitely fine work was executed in dark and light woods from fruit trees such as the orange, pear and lemon, amongst others.

It presents a collapsible front section that, on opening, reveals a central drawer with a crowned two-headed eagle motif, the symbol of the Habsburg monarchy, framed by baluster columns; a simple design which reproduces an architectural entrance on a small scale. Around this drawer we find three rows of drawers of varying sizes arranged symmetrically, with their respective handles, and decorated with marquetry depicting little geometric elements in Moorish style, motifs in the shapes of crosses, stars, plants and lattice-work typical of the Mudejar style (Fig. 1).

Framing this central motif with the two-headed eagle, and separating it from the little side drawers, we observe a decoration of architectural style made up of niches with flower vases, surrounded by scrollwork with decoration featuring Renaissance motifs. The rampant lions on each side are executed in, and framed by, fine marquetry featuring abstract geometric and plant motifs. Both the lions’ fur, their anatomy and the vegetation in which they are contextualized were carried out with painstaking detail and naturalism.



Fig. 1 Trunk or Portable Writing Desk (detail of drawers)

The inside face of the collapsible front panel features the shield of the Dominican Order (Fig. 2), made up of a fleur-de-lis cross on a field of argent (white) and sable (black), referring to the two colors of the habits of the Order. The shield or escutcheon is then flanked by two dogs carrying flaming torches in their mouths in allusion to the dream of the mother of Saint Dominic, the Blessed Juana de Aza, and to the evangelical and preaching mission of the Order, with Saint Dominic as “the Dog of the Lord”. The presence of this shield suggests that this trunk may have been commissioned by a high-ranking Dominican priest.

The collapsible front section, which folds down on hinges, served to protect the lavish inner drawer section and its valuable contents. Furthermore, it could be used as a folding desktop for writing, thereby reflecting the trunk’s increasing complexity, setting it apart from the simple storage box or chest, the specialization of the functions of everyday life and the growing evangelization and the process of reading/writing in Viceregal society.¹⁰

It is worth highlighting the skill with which these motifs were executed. The dogs with their flaming torches are portrayed with great naturalism, using the technique of marquetry inlay. Their bodies, made up of light and dark woods, stand out against a dark background, displaying Moorish geometric and floral motifs. Furthermore, the shield of the Order is executed in the same fashion, with marquetry in light and dark wood, with an exquisite aureole, made up of typically Renaissance scrollwork, surrounding and framing the shield.

The outside of the folding front, the top of the domed lid and the sides of the trunk present the same kind of symmetrical decoration, consisting of rectangular frames made up of lattice-work of a Mudejar origin, with flowers in the middle surrounded by geometric and floral marquetry, in turn framed and surrounded by guarding lines containing them. Handles on the sides, hinges for the lids, and a locking device are all made of hammered wrought iron for support and transportation. The keyhole is round and intricately fitted to a delicately-detailed clasp. All of these iron elements allowed the piece to be carried, transported and to withstand blows and knocks (Fig. 3).

In America during the Vice-Regal period, items of furniture were an expression of the tastes that the Spanish empire popularized throughout its dominions, undergoing a mestizo miscegenation of materials and models present in successive artistic styles.

Furniture evolved in a context of luxury and ease, alongside the expansion of cities and the ceaseless evangelical efforts of the religious

Orders. In colonial America, the way the cities developed with their churches proved a framework for a habitat that demanded more complex furnishing. The new resident conquistadores and their descendants, both white and of mixed race, as well as the member of religious Orders, tried to emulate the lifestyles of a Spanish metropolis, which called for pieces of furniture such as tables, chests, cases, trunks, beds, the famous portable travel bureaux and chiffoniers.¹¹ Classical pieces of Spanish furniture that not only offered efficient utility solutions, but also provided a symbolic value with regards status and power. In the 17th century, the chest and all its derivatives, including cases, chiffoniers, trunks, waste paper baskets and so on, constituted the most representative part of Spanish furnishing. It was as such that the furniture arriving in the Americans depended on the shapes and sizes that could be transported, and what would facilitate the transferal of the Hispanic lifestyle into Spain’s New World dominions.¹²

The first religious order to arrive in Peru was the Dominican. During the initial conquest process, the Order of Preachers or Saint Dominic was represented by Friar Vicente Valverde, the priest who asked the Inca Emperor Atahualpa to renounce his beliefs, and who would later become bishop of Cuzco and protector of the Indians in the face of Spanish abuses. The religious orders that arrived in Peru had different methods of evangelizing the indigenous people: The Dominicans were known for disseminating scholastic teachings, focusing on popularizing the Gospels through colleges and higher education



Fig. 2 Trunk or Portable Writing Desk (detail of inside face of the collapsible front)

centers. The Dominicans also emphasized the knowledge of native languages and local customs in order to evangelize properly. Fruit of this concern was the “Lexicon or General Vocabulary of Peru, known as Quechua”, by friar Domingo de Santo Tomás, and published in 1560. This work was a major contribution, as it helped improve understanding of indigenous grammatical and conceptual forms.

The Dominicans quickly set up monasteries across the entire Peruvian Vice-Regal territory, although they always maintained their educational approach, devoting themselves to teaching the Catholic faith throughout the whole region.

VVL



Fig. 3 Trunk or Portable Writing Desk (detail of the front)



Traveling Desk

Viceroyalty of New Granada (Ecuador), 18th century
Polychrome wood, and iron mounts
28 x 45 x 36 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Santa Fe (USA)

From the dawn of time, man has created pieces of furniture with the purpose of increasing his comfort, lending his creations a series of aesthetic values and elements that reflect numerous aspects of culture, lifestyle and the way of thinking of the societies that produce them.¹³ Each one of these pieces of furniture fulfils a function, and multiple types of model exist to meet the varying needs being satisfied. Some have no decoration and, while others present simple adornments, they may be austere or lacking in style. For those who could afford them, there were renowned workshops and artists that could be called on for commissions involving exquisitely decorated furnishings for civil or devotional use. Not all the citizens of the Viceroyalty were in a position to purchase sophisticated furniture, much less aspire to said objects also being intended to produce aesthetic delight, the purpose of which also lay in bestowing symbolic value and elite status. As such, one might say that beyond the practical functionality of such objects, what gave the workshops, artists and artisans behind these marvels fame and renown were their beauty, their craftsmanship and the rarity of the materials used.

A number of historians, such as Adolfo Luis Ribera, in his text *El mobiliario del Río de la Plata*, from the book titled *La Historia General del Arte en la Argentina*, published by the Academia Nacional de Bellas Artes, use the word *escritorio* to classify certain types of desk or cabinet which, though they may be manufactured using different techniques, and may have varying origins are, generally speaking, similar to the previously unpublished traveling desk being presented in this brief analysis.



Fig. 2 Traveling Desk (detail of inside of fold-down front)

We could categorize these pieces as *mestizo bargueños* or traveling desks due to the inclusion of iconographic elements of native origin in European compositions and structures. As such, in the Americas the term *mestizaje* may refer not only to a question of race but to all human activities producing hybrid art as a result of the cultural assimilation taking place, these works being visual manifestations and proof of a new society in the Viceroyalty of Peru.

The function of these desks, as would have been the case of the one we have before us here, was to store and, in some cases, furtively conceal, jewelry, secret documents and all sorts of valuable items.

The subject matter being illustrated in the mestizo-style traveling desk we are presenting here is depicted through romantic scenes involving the wooing of a lady. We can assume, due to the opulent clothing worn by the figures depicted, that they belonged to the high social elite of the Viceroyalty of New Granada, which is now Ecuador. The outside of the top presents decoration featuring scrollwork, floral motifs and birds. Taking into account the way in which the story is narrated, this reminds one of the covers of a book. On the outside of the drop-down front we observe a scene divided by two gold-braided Solomonic columns around which climbing plants are entwined, in such a way that the composition is divided into three. In the first section we observe the encounter between an elegant *Yapanga* (mestizo girl from Quito) (Fig. 1) and a gentleman who is making her a gift of a little bird (symbol of fidelity). In the central part of the composition, another suitor offers the maiden a heart as a symbol of his love for her, while the aforementioned *Yapanga* is holding a white flower in her left hand, representing femininity and fertility. Like the flower, the white handkerchief she has in her other hand represents purity and innocence. The right-hand section, meanwhile, depicts the second suitor being consoled by his parents, in anticipation of the decision the lady is going to make.

On opening the folding front lid, we reveal the second scene (Fig. 2). Resting on a rock we find one of the characters from the previous scene, with a visible look of sorrow and dejection on his face, while



Fig. 1 Vicente Albán, *Yapanga from Quito*, "Yapanga de Quito con el traje que usa esta clase de Mujeres que tarran de agradar" (Yapanga girl in dress that try to please), 1783, oil on canvas. Museo de América, Madrid

the lady returns the heart that he had given her back to him, in a clear sign of rejection. On the right we observe the victorious suitor triumphantly wielding a club and with a look of satisfaction on his face at having won his beloved's affections.

Raising our eyes from the aforementioned scene, we find ourselves looking at a series of drawers with gilt moldings, the fronts of which depict scenes from the life of our heroic protagonist, who uses his proven abilities to conquer the maiden's heart. He can be seen fighting a feline beast, hunting with a firearm, mastering the art of bullfighting and setting sail on a voyage with his lover bidding him adieu.

The third scene presents the now-familiar gentleman as a picador taking on a wild bull, being assisted by a hunchbacked servant who taunts the bull while another man is perilously riding the beast (Fig. 3).

The fourth scene is depicted on the left-hand side of the desk (Fig. 4). It portrays the lovers dancing, framed by an open landscape of trees with birds perched in them, like spectators admiring the pleasant scene. Musicians play the harp and violin while the hunchbacked servant reappears, this time offering drinks to the happy couple. The *Yapanga* is elegantly dressed in a florid waistcoat and long skirt, in accordance with the typical attire fashionable at that time in the Audiencia of Quito (current Republic of Ecuador). On the right of the composition we find an odd figure, that of an Indian dressed in Incan clothes and wearing an *Uncu* (cloak), who appears to be recording in a notebook what is happening at the charming festivities. That the native Indian should know how to read and write is something that catches the attention.



Fig. 3 Traveling Desk (detail of the left-hand side)



Fig. 4 Traveling Desk (detail from the right-hand side)

Acting as a conclusion, the fifth and final scene is only visible when you lift the upper folding lid, giving the impression that the dénouement of this agreeable story was intended for the lady owner of the desk's eyes only. The scene is framed by scrollwork and gilt flowers and depicts the celebration of the lovers' joining in matrimony, with a dance at which the bride and another woman are seen wearing elegant and elaborate dresses with brocade, one of them with touches of gold. On this occasion, the dashing beau of the story is depicted dancing while two musicians play the harp and the violin. The scene takes place once more in an open space with trees, various flowers and birds. Acting as a theatre curtain, two Sirens are holding up a mirror in which the lady owner of the desk can look at herself while trying on her jewels. As they float in mid-air, the Sirens are holding string instruments, violins looking like the native charango. The mirror, incorporated into the scene as if it were a magic portal, is an extremely clever addition, which not only allows the owner of the desk to look at herself, but also magically immerses her in the story being narrated.

The iconographic subject matter of the wooing of a lady supports our theory that the owner of this rare and historical piece of furniture was a woman, no doubt the very one being depicted in this beautiful series of images. There are few surviving examples of painted pieces of furniture, and much less ones telling an elaborate story full of romanticism and ingenuity such as the one we have before us here.

G.E.P.





Trunk

Unknown artist
Cuzco, early 18th century
Wood, oil, iron mounts and leather
24 x 88 x 52 cm
Provenance: Private collection

The lid of the rare and exquisite trunk we are presenting here is made of wood, and lined with leather on the outside adorned with studs, the larger ones being gadrooned, making up “S” motifs. Inside a cartouche of a rectangular shape with rounded edges, we find a Christogram with a cross at the top (Fig. 1). The abbreviation "IHS" is one of Christianity’s oldest symbols, taking the first three letters of Jesus’ name in Greek, *Ἰησοῦς* (Iesous), which in capitals reads *ΙΗΣΟΥΣ*. When Latin became the religion’s primary language, sigma "Σ" was replaced by "S", and eta "H" became the Latin "H".

The iconographic painting on the inside of the lid (Fig. 2) presents a varied group of devoutly-kneeling worshippers engrossed in the conclusion of Mass, the women with their heads covered, the men having taken off their hats in a sign of respect. Their ethnic features and clothing indicate the presence of *criollos*, *mestizos* and indigenous natives, with their attire also pointing to their social standing. The opulence of the embroidery and fabrics worn by the couple in the foreground, along with the gentleman’s sword, the pearl necklace and earrings shown off by the lady, indicate their well-to-do status.

It is precisely the clothing of the men, made up of long dress coats, breeches down to below the knees, tights and striking rectangular collars with intricate lacework falling down over their chests, which enables us to place the painting (comparing it with other works that have been more precisely dated) within a period spanning the years just before and after the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries (Fig. 3).

As a member of the Cuzco school, rather than focusing on the portrait’s realism, the perfection of the perspective or the correct application of light and shade, the artist made great efforts at transmitting an original concept of art and beauty through decorative

(such as the design of the carpet and the altar frontal) and anecdotal (the altar boy turning his head to his companion, or the figure looking directly at the spectator, thereby introducing us into the scene) elements, and a vibrant palette, where earthy and green tones predominate, from opposite ends of the chromatic spectrum, details that lend the painting a very particular candor.

The priest, with the aid of three acolytes, is consecrating the bread and wine with his back to the congregation, as was the custom until the liturgical reforms carried out by the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965). A large opening at the back of the chapel looks out onto an exuberant woody landscape where we see exotic birds perching in the trees, bearing close parallels with those embroidered on the priest’s chasuble. The holy place thereby forms a union with nature, the most sublime divine creation.

Diego Quispe Tito (1611–1681), one of Cuzco’s most prominent painters, is attributed with having granted landscapes an importance unprecedented in the region, as well as the inclusion of birds much like those mentioned above. There is a desire for the mind to escape into a primitive indigenous habitat in these earthly paradises, a nostalgic recreation of a world before the arrival of the conquistadors.

If, in the painting on the inside of our trunk, the relative predominance of the human figures and natural landscape strike a balance, in the four panels featured on the outside, man is dwarfed by the enormity of nature.

The shepherdess and her flock of sheep (front), the fisherman (left-hand side), the hunter who, gun in hand, is chasing a stag (right-hand side), and his companion guided by two hounds (back), are portrayed in idealized, timeless, rural surroundings, where neither danger nor hardship seem to have any place, with the ground a carpet of flowers and the skies dotted with songbirds.

This sort of non-religious and eminently landscape-oriented painting, executed with the sole purpose of being a joy to behold, became



Fig. 3 Anonymous artist from Cuzco, *Wedding of Don Martín de Loyola to Doña Beatriz Nusta, and of Don Juan de Borja to Doña Lorenza Ynga de Loyola* (detail), late 17th century. Iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús, Cuzco

increasingly widespread as the 18th century progressed, featuring on objects such as trunks, folding screens, wardrobes, doors and so on. The combination, in the same space, of both religious and secular subjects, invites comparison with the frescoes from the chapter room of the convent of Santa Catalina in Cuzco. Here, the lower section includes images of worldly pleasures, such as banquets, concerts, hunting parties, courtship, etc., while the upper area is taken up by hermits and models of penitence, the only path by which sinners could find redemption.

On another comparative note, the Santa Catalina convent has on display a trunk with a painting inside featuring a nun and monk kneeling before the Immaculate Conception, surrounded by symbols from the Marian litany. Their worship takes place against a beautiful landscape much akin to those described above (Fig. 4).

It is worth considering that there are currently very few surviving examples of such pieces of furniture due to their age and the lack of care with which they have been treated.

N.L.M.



Fig. 4 Anonymous artist from Cuzco, *Trunk with religious scene*, 18th century. Convent of Santa Catalina, Cuzco



Fig. 1 Trunk (Detail of lid)



Fig. 2 Detail of underside of the lid



Writing Desk

Upper Peru (Bolivia), c. 1780
Cedar wood, painted in oil with purpurin
gilding, iron hinges, lock and key
56 x 64 x 34 cm
Provenance: Private collection

This writing desk is composed of a rectangular box standing on four feet. The drop-down front panel reveals a front that combines nine drawers and a little door, distributed over four horizontal levels. The drawers are decorated with palmette and fluted molding enclosing “c” and “s”-shaped plant motif struts, their gilding standing out against a red background. The knob on six of the drawers simulates a flower bud. The central door includes two pillars with shafts wreathed in gilt vegetation, supporting a trilobate arch festooned on the intrados and with spiral and radial ornamentation on the spandrels. The front panel boasts a knob among colorful painted bouquets, motifs that also adorn the inside of the drop-down front and external side panels.

The border that surrounds the dual scene is richly decorated in Rococo style, with rocaille, sea mollusk shells, flowers, struts, and bows prominent; the voluptuousness of the curved line and delicate elegance of the pastel tones dominate these motifs.

Oblivious to the main action and inserted within a lush landscape, a hunter is resting next to his dogs, playing music; a melody heard by a country girl standing behind him, holding a basket filled with flowers or wild fruits. The death of Louis XIV of France in 1715, and with it the personification of absolutism, encouraged noblemen to claw back their influence and individuality, which, until then, had centered on the monarch. At a time when tradition had started to wane, Rococo painting opposed academic doctrine: it abandoned the representation of topics that underlined power and patriotic grandeur, opting instead for smaller formats intended for private contemplation, showcasing the carefree mentality of the elites, whose life revolved around the pursuit of happiness, beauty, grace, enjoyment and sensual pleasure, excluding all rhetoric and drama. The classic myths of Arcadia and the noble savage, that is to say, the harmonious merging of man and nature which originated it, inspired pastoral views of rural environments in which aristocrats and the high bourgeoisie played the role of idle shepherds and farmers, youths with pearly skin and opulently dressed, their heroism based on bright conversation and amorous conquests.

In the main scene, a family, distinguished judging by their attire, gathers around a table set outdoors, as if this was a *fête champêtre* (garden party). The young woman, however, is sobbing in the arms of her lover, while the priest scolds them, holding the Holy Book. Dumbfounded, an older lady, probably the young woman’s mother, puts her hand to her head. If the *genre galante* is a courtly invitation

to eroticism, this painting could be interpreted as having a moral overtone, as a warning against the grave danger of giving in to the provocations of love.

The writing desk (also known by the controversial term *bargueño*, a neologism coined in the 19th century) constitutes the most characteristic piece in Spanish furniture from the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, always forming part of a set with a credenza or commode which served as support. Just like the example being analyzed here, it served three purposes: the storage of documents and small objects, support for writing and as an ornament demonstrating its owner’s prestige, always linked to the wealthy classes. The 18th century witnessed the emergence of smaller writing desks than seen previously, born out of a quest for intimacy and domestic comfort, in reaction to the solemnity of the system and rigid etiquette finally associated with the *Ancien Régime*.

Having set out these notions, we will now go on to establish the links between this writing desk and others that appeared in the same historical and cultural context. The pictorial decoration of this type of furniture was often inspired by European works. Just as the writing desk studied here was inspired by the *style galant* of Fragonard, Watteau and Boucher.

N.L.M.



Hierbera (Herb Box)

Moxos or Chiquitos (Bolivia), c. 1760
Cocobolo wood, iron fixtures
17.5 x 23 x 21.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Hierberas, being little herb boxes or containers, emerged in the colonial era to meet the need to keep and store not just the *paraguayan herb* with which *mate* (an infusion drunk through special tubes or *bombillas*) was prepared, but also sugar, cloves and cinnamon. These last two were extremely expensive in the Viceroyalty period, so the boxes almost always featured a lock to carefully secure the prized herbs. *Mate* herbal infusions were highly appreciated by the upper echelons of colonial Andean society, which developed a series of objects for their consumption: *mates* (cups), *bombillas* (tubes or straws) and *pavas de hornillo* (kettles). The materials used to manufacture these items depended on the social class of their owners. These materials included cocobolo wood with inlay work in a variety of fruit tree woods. They were designed as chests or boxes in a variety of shapes, and soon became part of colonial furnishings.¹⁴

Our box is carved in cocobolo wood. The lid takes the form of a Rococo-style scallop shell, which defines the shape of the bottom half of the piece: undulating with a curved front and straight back. Two small iron hinges at the back link the bottom half and the lid, which is convex in shape. Its ornamentation includes concave radial gadroons of different sizes, alternating between smooth and decorated ones giving rise to a surface of great dynamism. Four of the decorated gadroons present foliate decoration and plant scrollwork, elements in a late Baroque or Rococo style, culminating at the front in the beautiful heads of winged cherubim. Meanwhile, the gadroons are interspersed by thin, sprig-shaped divides. The gadroons on the lid all radiate out from a central motif in the back. This motif features a wonderful winged cherub surrounded by decorative Rococo elements in the form of a scallop shell adorned with Andean plant scrollwork, gadrooning, and floral borders. Meanwhile, carved borders with decorative edging, festoons and pearlying delicately run along the outer rim of this *coquera* or coca plant box.

The undulating sides of the bottom half are adorned with a wide carved section featuring plant scrollwork, making up interesting and sumptuous borders imitating intricate foliage. The front boasts an iron lock in the shape of a fleuron, delicately cast and chased, to the sides of which we observe the aforementioned border which, made up of stylized plant scrollwork, takes the form of medallions with interlacing birds of attractive plumage, flowers and fruits, these being typical Andean motifs. The box sits on smooth, spherical wooden feet. The small latch fitting joined to the lock is also made of iron, and includes delicate chasing and sgraffito work.

As mentioned earlier, in colonial society *hierberas* were used to store *mate*, sugar, cinnamon, cloves and so on, and as such would sometimes include a variety of inner compartments. When several separations exist, they would be used to store herbal leaves, sugar cubes and other elements involved in preparing this popular infusion.

Silver *Hierberas* were manufactured in the Upper Peru region, whereas those made in cocobolo wood came from the missions in Moxos and Chiquitos (Figs. 1 and 2),¹⁵ where the Jesuits taught the peoples to carve in wood and a number of other artisan skills, including the manufacture of musical instruments or the carvings and reliefs intended to decorate altarpieces and opulent church interiors. *Hierbera* from Moxos and Chiquitos are characterized by their exquisite and original carving, and were exported across the Peruvian Viceroyalty where they were greatly prized by the viceregal Andean society. On their way to the western Andes they had to pass through Cochabamba and Potosí, which encouraged the integration of ornamental motifs prominent in the lowlands and the *Altiplano*, as can be observed in the different flowers and birds that decorate our exquisite *hierbera*.

V.V.I.



Fig. 1 Herb Box, Moxos or Chiquitos, 18th century, carved cocobolo wood, silver fixtures. Museo de Arte Hispanoamericano Isaac Fernandez Blanco, Buenos Aires (Argentina)



Fig. 2 Herb Box, Moxos or Chiquitos, 18th century, carved cocobolo wood, polychrome, silver fixtures and details. Museo de Arte Hispanoamericano Isaac Fernandez Blanco, Buenos Aires (Argentina)



Pair of Armchairs

New Spain (Mexico), 18th century
Carved mahogany, red damask, gold leaf decoration
Both 180 x 70 x 49 cm
Provenance: Private collection, US

Latin America proved fertile soil for the development of Rococo. During the 18th century, this style, with its respective formal repertory, spread throughout the continent, but with regional characteristics depending on the influence taken on board, and the skills attained, by the varying cabinetmakers.

This exceptional pair of armchairs were delicately carved in solid mahogany. It is worth noting they borrowed numerous formal aspects from the mid-18th-century Anglo-Dutch repertory. They took as their benchmark the furniture of Thomas Chippendale (Fig. 1), whose book *The Gentleman & Cabinet Maker's Director*, published in 1754, was incredibly widely distributed. Furthermore, the healthy commercial market in the Caribbean did not just involve Spanish colonies, but also contraband between English and French ones, thereby generating an interesting cultural exchange. It was thanks to this trade that mahogany of excellent quality arrived in Mexico from Jamaica and Cuba. Meanwhile, among the artisans of the New World, it was extremely common to copy new styles and fashions from illustrations in publications and prints, which also served to showcase a catalogue of furniture for customers to commission. These European models were recreated in the Americas with their own additional touches, making use of great inventive imagination.

Of the two prevailing styles in 18th-century Europe, the French and the English, it was the latter that was most enthusiastically adopted in Mexico, basically due to the influence of Chippendale's furniture, which local artisans¹⁶ cultivated and interpreted in their own way, lending the works a certain magnificent and astonishing disproportion in the exuberant undertaking of specific decorative elements. The Mexican pieces of furniture are generally a combination of Queen Anne style and Chippendale, with marked Spanish features.¹⁷

This superbly opulent pair of chairs is made up of four-sided seats and high backs, topped with rocaille-shaped crests which, in turn, house a cabochon, with a symbol of ownership, surrounded by energetic decorative elements including scallops, shells, scrolls, garlands and volutes which, in the style of a great piece of filigree, lend the works a rare elegance. The cabriole legs present elegant and twisting curves, culminating in wavy scrollwork. They are joined by central and lateral stretchers with decorations in the middle.

The front seat rail extends downwards like a pediment, with convex and concave curves, rocaille and foliate decoration, and a medallion

in the middle, culminating in a pronounced crown at the bottom, forming a vertical axis with the main rocaille decoration at the top of the back of the chair. The central padding of the back and seat is upholstered in a sumptuous, crimson-colored brocade. The mahogany back around the fabric presents undulating decorations with details of flowers, leaves and rocaille. Compared with the rest of the chair, the arms are simple and rectilinear, attaining a delicate balance with the rest of the decorative elements.

It is worth highlighting the enormous imaginative capabilities of the cabinetmaker, emphasizing the application of gold leaf in the exultant crests and in the edging of the mahogany back of the chair, which contributes to heightening its undulating borders, with convex and concave curves. The upper part of the back also creates a contrast between the mahogany rocaille carving and the sumptuous crest which has been gilded with gold leaf.

The extraordinary quality of the carved decoration, in addition to its sophisticated *fattura* and design, demonstrate the high level attained by Mexican cabinetmaking.¹⁸

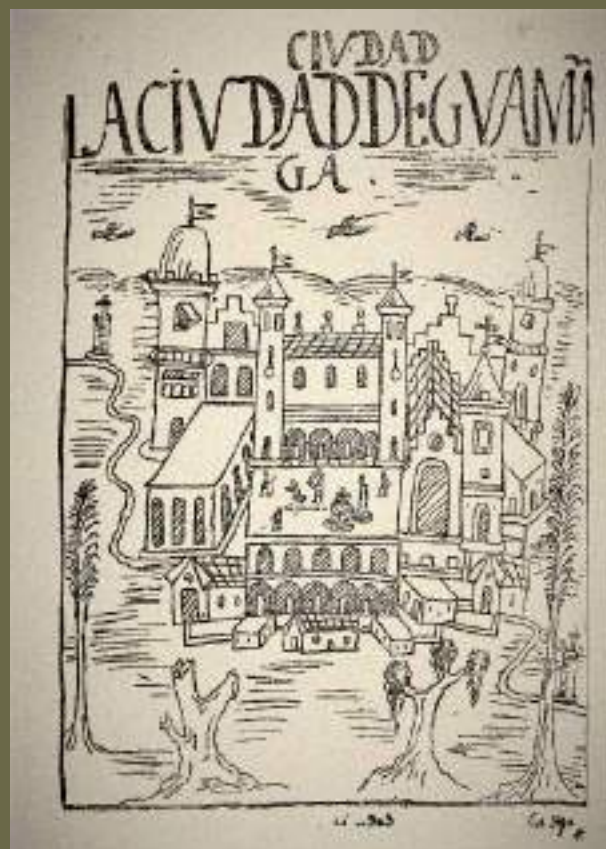
V.V.I.



Fig. 1 Thomas Chippendale (1718–1779), *Designs for three chairs*, 1754, Pen and black ink. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



Huamanga, New World Alabaster



"La Ciudad de Huamanga", from Felipe Guzman Poma Ayala's *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, c. 1615

The Spanish discovered *Huamanga stone* soon after their arrival in Upper Peru. A mineral with close similarities to alabaster in its light, transparent appearance, this malleable material was mostly to be found in the Huamanga area, in the Ayacucho region of Upper Peru. Quarries provided artists with an abundance of the stone, which they used to execute religious images and a wide range of decorative items. Spanish carvers, some of whom originated from Navarre and Aragon, were the ones to initiate the indigenous and *criollo* artisans in the techniques for working Huamanga stone, subsequently giving rise to an extensive sculptural school. In 1626, the chronicler Bernabé Cobo wrote that "in Huamanga there was a hill full of seams of the finest alabaster, white as snow, from which little free-standing images were sculpted, these being extremely unusual and highly-prized wherever they were taken, and this is the stone, once soaked in water, which is carved with a knife..."





Huamanga, the Peruvian Alabaster



Saint Michael the Archangel

Unknown artist
Ayacucho (Peru), 17th century
Carved Huamanga stone, encaustic polychrome, gold leaf *estofado*
64 x 36 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain



Saint Ferdinand

Unknown artist
Ayacucho (Peru), late 17th century
Carved *Huamanga* stone, encaustic polychrome, gold leaf *estofado*
Inscriptions: upper left side “*DÑS MIHI A DIVTOR*”, left side “*SANCTUS FERDINANDUS HISPANIAE REXSARA CENORV MATER RORA CRELIGIO*”
30 x 24 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Netherlands

The techniques of European polychrome sculpture reaching the Americas arrived via the members of the religious orders and the artisans travelling there. The main center of Andean production of polychrome wooden religious imagery came out of the founding of the *Colegio de San Andrés* by the Franciscans in Quito, and the subsequent training of artisans who would set up workshops. Lima, Potosí and Cuzco also had their centers of sculptural production where European masters instructed Pre-Columbine artisans in the European vision and collective creative imagination. Meanwhile, the *criollo* and *mestizo* sculptors continued said tradition, but also incorporated innovative aspects and elements taken from the Andean world.

According to Dr. Josefina Schenke, the Spanish settled in San Juan de la Frontera de Huamanga, which became known as Ayacucho following independence, in the 16th century. The 17th century saw the emergence of an authentically American sculptural tradition, work sculpted out of a soft limestone similar to alabaster, which was polychromed using the encaustic technique.¹ No records survive of this stone being used in the Pre-Hispanic world. *Guamanga* is a Quechuan word meaning “soft stone”. There were other quarries in Cuzco and on the high plane Altiplano which were rich in this material, known as “berenguela”², but it was only used for utilitarian ends. In Puno and in the surroundings of Lake Titicaca there was another “lake stone”, which was used to fashion rustic amulets.

The local carvers adapted the characteristics of Spanish religious imagery, polychroming and gilding the works executed in Huamanga stone. In general, these are small works in *ronde-bosse* or relief, as the softness and fragility of the stone did not allow for the execution of large-scale pieces. Furthermore, the quadrangular format of the reliefs emerged not only out of the Spanish models, but also drew on other European prototypes, specifically on the alabaster reliefs from Nottingham produced from the 14th to 16th centuries. These little reliefs and *ronde-bosse* works were widely distributed from England as far as Italy, and without doubt the first European artists to reach Peru, Bernardo Bitti(1548–1610) and Matteo Pérez de Alesio(1547–1607), would have been familiar with them.

European iconography was also well-known through prints arriving from Antwerp. The Council of Trent (1545–1563) had emphasized the legitimacy of worshiping saints and their relics. The evangelical mission being undertaken in the Americas by the varying religious orders made use of images as a tool for catechization, following the Council guidelines.

Spain, the bastion of the Catholic faith, imposed religious subject matters in the varying arts. We can find examples of these beautiful Huamanga stone carved reliefs in a number of locations, from the insides of churches and chapels to more intimate spaces intended for prayer and solace, both religious and civil. It was as such that Nativities, Calvaries, Marian scenes, and episodes from the lives of St. Joseph, Christ and the rest of the Saints emerged. Furthermore, the translucence, opalescence and warmth of the Huamanga stone was the perfect vehicle for subjects announcing a new, friendlier and more sentimental form of religious worship, such as the relief we are addressing here, dealing as it does with an episode from the childhood of the Virgin Mary, accompanied by her beloved parents St. Anne and St. Joachim, blessed by God the Father and cheered by a choir of musical angels.

These little sculptures, along with the rest of artistic imagery, became a means of disseminating Catholic dogma and other Counter-Reformation rulings, which had re-affirmed the function of the image as an instrument of faith.³

J.E.



The Triumph of Death, Ayacucho (Peru), 18th century, carved Huamanga stone, 24 x 16.5 cm. Private collection



Saint Michael the Archangel

Unknown artist
Ayacucho (Peru), 17th century
Carved Huamanga stone, encaustic polychrome, gold leaf *estofado*
64 x 36 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain

Huamanga stone, which enjoyed pride of place in ecclesiastical interiors, was not solely used for religious imagery, but also for the construction and decoration of religious buildings, in addition to serving as a support for oil paintings. Secular patronage popularized its use, with commissions for small-scale sculptures for private chapels intended for domestic worship.

Sculptures made of Huamanga stone were executed using two basic methods, one involving free-standing or *ronde-bosse* images, either individually or forming groups, and the other, the so-called “*de arrimo*”, which is the one used for the St. Michael we are presenting here, which were sculptures in high relief with flat backs and profusely carved fronts. This is the older of the two methods, with this type of relief work practiced in the city of Huamanga since the earliest times, being somewhat reminiscent of wooden altarpieces from churches.

This piece, which is extraordinary in terms of its quality and enormous size, was without doubt created in the city of Huamanga, in the province of Ayacucho, which is the origin of this material known as “Peruvian alabaster” due to its malleability and translucent qualities. The model draws inspiration from a 1581 painting by Maerten de Vos (Antwerp, 1532–1603), which engravers such as Hieronymus Wierix (Antwerp, 1553–1619) (Fig. 1) would subsequently recreate in prints that were exported to the Americas, thereby inspiring local artists. De Vos depicted St. Michael as an athletic young man of hermaphroditic appearance. His clothing resembles that of a Roman emperor, dressed in all his military finery, with an anatomical cuirass, tunic and paludamentum cloak. His breastplate features the sun, moon and stars, as St. Michael was said to rule the universe. In adherence to the established norms of the day, the Archangel is depicted with curly blond hair and a pair of magnificent eagle’s wings. Although the style of the image is noticeably *mestizo*, one can discern European influences, and the ornamentation is characterized by Western elements such as the military cuirass referring to Michael’s role as leader of the heavenly hosts. The Archangel’s wings are unfurled in a gesture of protection for believers, and his shield bears the inscription “*Quis Ut Deus*” (Who is like unto God). His elaborate helmet is adorned with feathers, and he brandishes a flaming sword. Regarding his clothing, it is worth noting the short skirt, boots and marvelous cloak, featuring ample folds and decorated in brocade effect with golden flowers. The rich palette of colors used on the sculpture also catches the eye, as well as the application of gilt elements or *brocateado* (brocade effect) over a good part of the work. The devil is portrayed at Michael’s feet, in the form of a serpent with a human head and arms.

It is extremely interesting to note that in 17th and 18th century documents, such figures depicting St. Michael and executed in Huamanga stone are described in cases of witchcraft on the altars of sorcerers. During the Counter-Reformation (1545–1648), this form of iconography spread successfully throughout Europe and the New World as a champion for the cause of the Christian faith. Depictions of archangels referred to natural phenomena, stars and planets, and as such they were more easily accepted by the indigenous native world. Michael’s name appears in the Book of Daniel and the Book of Revelation as the “great prince” who defends God’s people from the Antichrist, and as the head of the heavenly host that threw Satan and his rebel angels down to earth when they rebelled against the Incarnation of Christ.

J.E.



Fig. 1 Hieronymus Wierix, *The Archangel Michael and the Dragon*, 1584, engraving



Saint Ferdinand

Unknown artist
Ayacucho (Peru), late 17th century
Carved Huamanga stone, encaustic polychrome, gold leaf *estofado*
Inscriptions: upper left side “*DÑS MIHI A DIVTOR*”, left side “*SANCTUS FERDINANDUS HISPANIAE REXSARA CENORV MATER RORA CRELIGIO*”
30 x 24 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Netherlands

St. Ferdinand is depicted standing in the middle of the relief, gazing upwards. A ray of divine light is emerging out of the clouds, flanked by heads of winged angels. The phylactery, which is portrayed like a divine apparition, bears the following inscription: “*DÑS MIHI A DIVTOR*” (taken from Psalm 118 [117]), thereby showing Ferdinand III’s gratitude to God for the help received in the fight against the infidels.

The saint king appears wearing anachronistic clothing. A delicate halo surrounds his crowned head, and he is dressed in armor, ruff, closed crown and flowing ermine cloak. His beautiful face presents delicate features, a long mane of hair, moustache and thick beard. His right hand bears a sword, and he holds the orb in his left. Around his neck he is wearing a thick gold chain with a medal that probably represents the Virgin of the Kings, from Seville Cathedral, linked to the monarch in his defense against infidel heresy. A golden scepter is lying on a table. On the wall we can read the following inscription in Latin: “*SANCTUS FERDINANDUS HISPANIAE REXSARA CENORV MATER RORA CRELIGIO*”, which once again alludes to divine aid and the canonized king’s victory over the Saracens. On the left-hand side, a heavy, green-colored curtain is hung around a large column. On the base of the column, we observe a crowned shield framing the *Giralda*, flanked by two vases of lilies, which identify the piece as belonging to the Chapterhouse of the Cathedral of Seville, with which those emblems are associated. In the lower border of the scene, over which the victorious St. Ferdinand stands tall, we can observe the coat of arms and, to the sides, flags with symbols alluding to Islam, defeated by the action of the king with the help of God, as indicated by the Latin inscriptions mentioned earlier. Elements from the struggle against the infidels are depicted in great detail: flags with Islamic symbols, arrows, helmets and a quiver with arrows.

It is worth highlighting the great quality of the *fattura* of this exceptional relief depicting St. Ferdinand. The artist who executed it had the skills to represent volume through carving, as well as various levels in the low, half and high relief to produce the sensation of depth and the search for harmony in the proportions. The sculptor sought to depict the varying textures of the materials with the greatest authenticity: stone, marble, varying fabrics and jewels, revealing a great capacity for imagination and skill in execution. In the same way that the Flemish engravings and prints that were circulating in the Viceroyalty of Peru served as a source of inspiration for the execution of a range of artistic works, one may also point to the importance of Spanish sculpture in the undertaking of fantastic pieces carved in *piedra de Huamanga* (Huamanga stone). The sgraffito and *estofado*

techniques,⁴ as well as the encaustic method, were highly valued by the sculptors of Huamanga stone. In the relief before us here, we can appreciate the application of gold leaf and the subtle sgraffito work which aims at imitating the abovementioned materials. In the same way, the clothes of the King are highlighted using the encaustic technique, which consisted in binding pigments using wax, and applying this paint to varying areas in order to hierarchize them. The beautiful characteristics of Huamanga stone, its softness, translucence and opalescence, come through in a number of areas, creating an attractive contrast.⁵

This exceptional relief is of particular interest for a number of reasons. Of these, one might mention its superb state of preservation, given the dearth of surviving Huamanga reliefs, as well as the unusual subject being depicted. The most popular were scenes from the life of Christ or specific Saints, Marian subjects or ones that would foster the kind and sentimental sort of piety that served to facilitate the arduous road to evangelization. Our relief depicting Ferdinand III, a medieval Saint King who was canonized in the 17th century, transforms into an example of, and metaphor for, the struggle against heresy and the infidels, a model to follow in the Americas, constituting a symbol of evangelization and a Counter-Reformation prototype.

We can deduce that this beautiful huamanga stone relief was based on a painting by Ignacio de Ries (Fig. 1), a disciple of Francisco de Zurbarán, housed at Seville City Hall. De Ries’ painting, in turn, was inspired by the engraving of Claude Audran the Elder (1597–1675), which established Ferdinand’s iconography in around 1630. This is one of the first iconographies of the saint king, which in turn drew on the series of saint kings and nobles that had been executed by Giovanni Battista Crespi for the general of the Franciscan order, Francesco Gonzaga, in 1587. Its imagery is therefore based on other models, such as St. Louis of France and St. Leopold of Austria.

V.V.I.



Fig. 1 Attributed to Ignacio de Ries, *Ferdinand III the Saint*, c. 1650, oil on canvas, Seville City Hall

Barniz de Pasto, Cultural Heritage of Humanity



Manuel María Paz Delgado (Colombia, 1820–1902), *Barnizadores de Pasto* (Artisans Practicing the Decorative Technique of "Barniz de Pasto"), 1853, watercolor. National Library, Colombia

The Barniz de Pasto is a globally unique artisan technique that has been used for centuries in San Juan de Pasto, Colombia. Wooden objects, ranging from chests and bargueño writing desks to boxes and trays, are decorated with the resin of a wild scrub tree known in the indigenous language as mopa mopa once said resin has undergone a complex process. This ancestral technique, passed down through the generations, has resulted in a number of authentic works of art executed from the 16th century to the present day. The art of Barniz de Pasto bears living testimony to the cultural mestizaje that came about in Colombia, as the arrival of the Spanish gave rise to a fusion of pre-Hispanic techniques and Western styles, resulting in these beautiful and stunning pieces. As recently as 2020, the Barniz de Pasto was added to the UNESCO list of Intangible Cultural Heritage.







Barniz de Pasto Chest

Pasto (Colombia), 17th century
Wood, barniz de Pasto and iron mounts
31 x 13 x 20 cm
Provenance: Private collection, France



Barniz de Pasto Chest

Pasto (Colombia), 17th century
Wood, barniz de Pasto and silver mounts
25 x 12 x 18 cm
Provenance: Private collection



Barniz de Pasto Chest

Pasto (Colombia), 17th century
Wood, barniz de Pasto and silver mounts
14 x 12 x 8 cm
Provenance: Private collection



Barniz de Pasto Chest

Pasto (Colombia), 17th century
Wood, barniz de Pasto silver and iron mounts
22 x 10 x 17 cm
Provenance: Private collection



Barniz de Pasto Chest

Pasto (Colombia), 17th century
Wood, barniz de Pasto and silver mounts
32.7 x 13 x 28 cm
Provenance: Private collection



Barniz de Pasto Chest

Pasto (Colombia), 17th century
Wood, barniz de Pasto and iron mounts
31.4 x 13 x 20 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain

The Art of Barniz de Pasto

The decorative arts were a fabulous field for experimentation in the colonial Americas. The fantastical artistic imagination of the pre-Columbian peoples was combined with European tradition and Oriental influences.

The indigenous artists and artisans from the pre-Hispanic world had a creative genius, and produced beautiful objects in gold, silver and ceramics, as well as extremely high-standard textiles from camelid fibers. From the 16th to the 18th centuries, during the colonial period, indigenous artists continued to draw on their roots, traditions and artistic techniques, but now equipped with new cultural baggage picked up from European artists. As Mitchell A. Coddington explains in his vision of decorative arts in Latin America,¹ out of all this cultural heritage hybrid artforms emerged: the indigenous techniques adapted to European ones, European designs were introduced into indigenous arts and Asian forms and motifs were reinterpreted by both European and native artists. This gave rise to extraordinary decorative artworks.

Drawing inspiration from the Asian porcelain and lacquerware arriving from Spain and from the Orient on the Manila galleons, Colombian artists from the Pasto region perfected a pre-Hispanic lacquer technique known as *Barniz de Pasto* (Pasto varnish), adding both silver and gold leaf to the thin coats of resin obtained from a tree known in the indigenous language as *mopa mopa*. These layers of resin, silver and gold were applied to different types of cedar wood furniture based on European models, for both religious and civil purposes: boxes, chests, little desks, *jícara* drinking cups, trays and bowls were all in high demand among the wealthy classes and the Spanish nobility. As mentioned earlier, Asian lacquerware, silks, porcelain and new materials such as mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell served as a source of inspiration for the creation of new motifs.

Hispano-American decorative arts followed the models of the main European stylistic movements from the Renaissance to Neo-Classicism, but each region left its own personal stamp, both in the techniques and in the motifs and materials used. During the colonial period, two independent regional *mopa mopa* resin traditions developed: one in the area of Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia, related to the lacquer used on Incan *keros* (drinking vessels), and the other, which developed in Pasto, characterized by using motifs from Andean flora and fauna combined with European subjects and others of Asian influence. The *Barniz de Pasto* technique reached its height in Pasto, Colombia, and in Quito in the 17th and 18th centuries, as both cities were closely linked, with Pasto belonging to the diocese and regional government (Audiencia) of Quito.

The aforementioned coats of lacquer were obtained from a resin covering the flowers and leaves of a tree called *mopa mopa* in the indigenous language, and which in 1977 was identified by the botanist Eduardo Mora Osejo.² The scientific name for the tree is *Elaeagia Pastoensis Mora*. It is native to the tropical forests of the mountains of the south-east of Colombia, near the river Mocoa in the region of Putumayo. It grows to a height of about two or three meters, and is characterized by the abundant resin covering the buds at the ends of the branches, including flowers and fruit. It is thought that the pre-Hispanic

peoples used the resin extracted from this tree, because beads coated with it have been found in the funerary monuments of Pasto natives.

The process for obtaining the purified resin involves several stages. The locals, inhabitants of Sibundoy and Mocoa, two towns in Colombia, would collect the fruit and flowers covered with the resin and form it into balls or blocks which they would then hand over to artisans or tradesmen. It was they who established a commercial route delivering the raw material to the artisans in Pasto. Firstly, the entire block is boiled to remove any impurities, leaves or pieces of bark. Once the resin has been purified, it is chewed, kneaded and stretched to obtain thin, transparent sheets. This process can be repeated several times if necessary. The next step is to color the thin sheets with mineral and organic dyes, kneading the resin once more until a very fine layer is obtained. Once this has been achieved, the different motifs are cut and applied to the reheated pieces. The resulting lacquer produces a shiny, resistant and impermeable surface.

There were numerous members of religious orders, travellers, chroniclers, botanists and naturalists who visited Pasto, leaving detailed accounts of the varying stages in this technique. Of these, Friar Pedro Simón in 1623, Friar Juan de Santa Gertrudis in 1757 and the Jesuit Father Juan de Velasco in 1789 all mentioned and described the manufacture and use of *Barniz de Pasto*, in addition to the naturalists Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa who visited the region in around 1740, mentioning the benefits and beauty of the technique.

Alexander von Humboldt visited Pasto in 1801, and he recorded the manufacture and trade of identifying the use of a number of coloring agents: indigo diluted in water for blue, pure indigo for black, amaranth for red, blue diluted with ground local saffron root for green, lead oxide for white and local saffron (*Escobedia Scabrifolia*) on silver leaf for gold. The figures being depicted were cut into the middle of the sheet of resin at its thinnest point, and these were then alternated in the varying compositions, with layers sometimes superimposed to create relief designs.

In 17th century pieces, very fine threads of black or white varnish were used to outline figures or to add details, also using thin crisscrossing lines to obtain effects of shadow and volume.

The motifs used in the 17th century: flowers, leaves, hunting scenes, both real animals and mythological creatures, drew inspiration from 16th century European sources, such as engravings, drawings and illuminated manuscripts, combined with Andean artistic imagery. The second half of the 17th century and the 18th century saw an eclectic explosion of motifs taken from European, indigenous and Asian sources. It is as such that we observe monkeys, Andean animals, peonies and carnations from Chinese ceramics and textiles, geometrical motifs from *namban* lacquerware, tropical flora and fauna, the two-headed eagle of the House of Habsburg, heraldic devices and mythological and religious subjects.

V.V.I.



Barniz de Pasto Chest

Pasto (Colombia), 17th century
Wood, barniz de Pasto and iron mounts
31 x 13 x 20 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain

This European-style chest has a rectangular body with a semi-cylindrical lid. Its four sides and convex lid are covered with profuse decoration. The body of the chest is made of cedar wood, on which barniz de Pasto has been applied in successive very thin, semi-transparent layers, generating a wide range of colors. We can observe a rich palette made up of yellows, reds, greens, blacks and oranges.

The ornamental elements form a sort of horror vacui, as the entire surface of the chest is covered with decorations in square boxes, featuring a fabulous compendium of Andean flora and fauna. Each box is separated from the one next to it by the thinnest cord-like border executed in barniz de Pasto resin to imitate woven rope fabric.³

Each of these boxes features a different bird or mammal. Of the former, we can identify parrots, hummingbirds, storks, long-legged herons and, of the mammals, a range of feline species such as jaguars, along with monkeys, foxes, armadillos and deer, depicted with the sort of distortion reminiscent of medieval figures and fantastical creatures. Each animal is surrounded by a rich display of local flora representing the lush Andean tropical world, and contextualizing it in said environment. Using the Pasto varnish resin, the artist's exquisite skills successfully create a composition that is exuberant and full of life, where we can make out the varying plumage of the birds and the fur of the mammals. Our author also uses delicate lines, dots and colors as a technical device to represent the characteristics of each species, displaying keen skills of observation, individualizing the different types of bird and mammal. Each of the sides of the chest is framed by decorative borders featuring plant motifs, which serve to frame the central figures, and demonstrate the symbiosis and fusion of indigenous Andean, Oriental and European subjects. The chest has two baluster-shaped side handles, two elongated, rectangular sheet-iron hinges on the back, and an iron keyhole and lock on the front. The inside is red lacquer, with thin lines tracing out geometric rhomboid motifs.

In short, this example of barniz de Pasto is a unique work of art, and living testimony to the extraordinary creative imagination of the artists capable of producing such a unique and beautiful piece.

V.V.I.





***Barniz de Pasto* Chest**

Pasto (Colombia), 17th century
Wood, barniz de Pasto and silver mounts
25 x 12 x 18 cm
Provenance: Private collection

This chest based on a European model has a rectangular body and semi-cylindrical lid. All four sides and the convex lid are covered in a profusion of decorative elements. The structure of the chest is made of cedar wood, and the surfaces have been adorned with a range of motifs using barniz de Pasto in a range of intense colors.

The front presents carnations or peonies arranged symmetrically on both sides of the keyhole, motifs taken from Oriental lacquerware.⁴ The petals of the flowers are edged with fine lines in black resin. Beautiful reds, oranges and yellows imitate the tones of the flowers, contrasting with the black background. The plant stems and some of the leaves are gold, and combine with the colors of the rocaille, which has been executed using the thinnest layers of *mopa mopa* resin. The flowers, meanwhile, are immersed in blue-green scrollwork and silver leaf, alternating between the different layers of barniz de Pasto, and representing a lush tropical environment.

In the middle of the back of the chest, we observe a bird unfurling its wings, surrounded by a circle made up of beautiful blue, red, white and gold scrollwork.

The lid is decorated with peonies or carnations, similar to those found on the front of the chest. In between the two hinges, what appear to be a hummingbird opens its wings, while holding a little branch in its beak.

The sides feature the same floral motif surrounded by plant scrollwork and beautiful metallic colors. All the scenes throughout the chest are framed by gold and black borders.

The convex lid is attached to the body of the chest by long, finely-chased silver hinges. On the front we observe the lock with a round, chased silver keyhole and undulating edges resembling the petals of a flower. The latch features the same chasing work and design as the hinges.

VVL



***Barniz de Pasto* Chest**

Pasto (Colombia), 17th century
Wood, barniz de Pasto and silver mounts
14 x 12 x 8 cm
Provenance: Private collection

This chest, based on a European model, is small and rectangular with a semi-cylindrical lid. Its structure is made of wood, and it features a profusion of symmetrical decorative elements on all surfaces.

The front has a uniformly orange background, as do all the other sides of the chest. We observe two beautiful flowers that could be either peonies or carnations, popular in Oriental lacquerware. These flowers are framed by a black and gold border inside a rectangle with a dark background containing them. The two flowers are surrounded by plant scrollwork done in gold leaf, contrasting with the dark background. The petals of the flowers have been executed in great detail using the varying techniques of barniz de Pasto,⁵ superimposing layers of said material in order to depict the petals and stamens and lend them volume. The aforementioned rectangle is surrounded by dense decoration made up of leaves and scrollwork. The back has the same rectangle with a dark background, but on this occasion it only features one single flower, immersed in a great scroll with a range of decorative elements in beautiful metallic green and gold. On the sides, inside the rectangles themselves, we observe flower buds of the same kind as are depicted on the front and back. On the front of the lid, on either side of the latch, we find two similar flowers to those described above and, towards the rear, in between the two hinges, one larger flower. The plant scrollwork surrounding and framing the black rectangles is present throughout. The base of the chest has silver openwork corner mounts. These pieces have the charm of featuring beautiful indigenous faces, thereby bearing witness to the process of syncretism in the Americas; the union of two cultures, European and native. The hinges joining the body of the chest to the lid are in silver openwork, profusely decorated with plant motifs and symmetrical scrollwork. The latch, also made of the same noble metal, presents the same design. The front of the lock, with its undulating edges, is plain and shield-shaped. On the lid we find a beautiful silver handle secured by means of two hooks featuring tiny silver flowers.

This exquisite chest is an example of the cultural symbiosis that came about out of the union of three different, but interconnected, worlds: Europe, the Orient and the thriving and fantastical Andean universe.

VVL



***Barniz de Pasto* Chest**

Pasto (Colombia), 17th century
Wood, barniz de Pasto silver and iron mounts
22 x 10 x 17 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Rectangular chest with semi-cylindrical lid. The structure of the chest is made of wood, with a design based on European models. The entire outer surface is profusely decorated. The whole chest is covered in layers of black *mopa mopa* resin, on which a range of motifs have been applied, such as llamas, birds and stylized elements imitating flora and tropical vegetation, where the shape of the leaves denotes varying species of forest flora. The artist has imitated the plumage of a number of birds using color and *sgraffito* work to depict the differing species, yellow plumage with black spots on the lid and black plumage with yellow specks on the sides. These effects are obtained by cutting fine threads, geometric shapes and dots with varying tones in the layers of resin and applying them to the piece while hot. As such, the llama's hide features attractive details, while it turns its head to one side and with its mouth open displays its tongue. The way in which the camelid animal is distorted is reminiscent of depictions of animals in medieval Europe.

The sides present the same bird and camelid motifs surrounded by delicately stylized details featuring vegetation and floral buds. All the sides of the chest are framed by decorative borders with scrollwork and wave motifs creating the appearance of threaded rope fabric. The upper corners of the main body of the chest, as well as those of the lid, present silver openwork corner mounts with symmetrical rocaille and pearly beading. The keyhole fitting is rectangular, with openwork applied to the corners in the same style and design as the abovementioned corner mounts. The latch that allows the chest to be locked presents the same design. Its front is plain with a hole through which the key may be introduced into the lock. On the back there are three hinges connecting the lid to the body of the chest. The side hinges are small and are decorated in the same design as the corner mounts and the latch. The central hinge is made out of an elongated plain sheet of iron with the edges slightly bevelled and floral decorations at the ends. In the middle of the lid we find a silver handle in the shape of a baluster with floral decorations at the ends.

This small yet magnificent piece features fantastic motifs taken from the collective imagination of the Andes, recreated in combination with the influence of Oriental lacquerware⁶ in its decorative elements, producing the superb symbiosis of differing cultures.

VVL



***Barniz de Pasto* Chest**

Pasto (Colombia), 17th century
Wood, barniz de Pasto and silver mounts
32.7 x 13 x 28 cm
Provenance: Private collection

This chest, based on a European model, is rectangular-shaped with a semi-cylindrical lid. All four sides and lid are densely decorated with plant elements and a range of birds, arranged symmetrically against a black background onto which the varying motifs in the elaborate design have been applied.

The front features two birds facing each other with one wing closed and the other one open. These beautiful creatures are surrounded by varying stylized forms of vegetation resembling a range of Andean rainforest plants with their flowers and buds. The birds are perched on beautiful flowers. The elaborate picture is built up through these flowers and fine branches, lending the scene a high degree of movement and rare compositional complexity. The back presents the same intricate design, with the birds mirroring each other, the only difference being that a great open flower bud is seen rising up in the middle. Stems are growing up from below, unfurling in time with the rest of the flowers of the same variety. The lush appearance of the flora is undoubtedly inspired by the Latin American tropics. The sides both feature a single bird immersed in exuberant vegetation. On the lid we once again observe the central bird motif immersed in a stereotypical tropical rainforest surrounding. This is repeated on the front and back of the lid. Beautiful flower buds seem to sprout out of the intricate branches that surround the birds, thereby building up a bucolic and fantastical image of the Garden of Eden.

The scenes depicted throughout the surface of the chest are framed by decorative borders with fruit and flower bud motifs. These borders are achieved by using *mopa mopa* resin in such a way as to resemble ribbons of braided cord fabric.⁷

The chest also boasts beautiful corner mounts made of cast silver openwork, featuring symmetrical phytomorphic scrolls at the corners which, like fine filigree, help to further embellish this stunning object. On the back, narrow hinges in the same style join the body to the lid. The keyhole mount is rectangular, made of plain silver with arrow-shaped projected tips at the corners, and presents two orifices, one for the key and the other to house the latch, which is made up of one plain, elongated metal strip with incised motifs. The handle is baluster-shaped with a tip sticking out in the middle and tiny little flowers on the hooks attaching it to the lid.

On the long sides of the inside of the chest there are two protruding wooden half-moons that serve as guides for the curved lid, also acting as dust guards.

The beautiful Andean imagery covering the lid is complemented by the fantastical feet on which the chest is supported. These feature imaginary animals that may be meant to represent the Quechua deity Amaru, who had a head, the legs of an animal and the body of a scaly serpent. Amaru was the deity of water, fertility and wisdom in the Quechua culture, which was deeply-rooted in the central Andean region. These feet are in the shape of a curvy, scaly serpent, with a bare female torso and the face of a fantastical animal, reminiscent of a dragon or some other marine creature present in Spanish bestiaries and heraldry, which leads us to conclude that what we are witnessing here is a marvelous hybrid intercultural encounter.

VVL



Barniz de Pasto Chest

Pasto (Colombia), 17th century
Wood, barniz de Pasto and iron mounts
31.4 x 13 x 20 cm
Provenance: Private collection, France

A chest with a rectangular body and semi-cylindrical lid. The structure is made of wood and the design is based on European models. The entire outer surface features profuse decoration in a *horror vacui* style typical of the European Baroque. It has been executed using a rich palette of light colors where layers of *mopa mopa* resin alternate with gold and silver leaf, lending the surface a beautiful iridescent coloring that gives off a radiant, golden luminescence. The design is replete with flora covering the entire surface other than where fauna dominates the scenes portraying birds, mammals and other hybrid and fantastical figures.

On the front of the chest we can observe a pair of harpies opposite each other with stylized avian bodies and female faces topped by ostentatious crowns of feathers. The figures dominating the scene are surrounded by profuse floral decorations, some drawing inspiration from Oriental lacquerware, such as peonies and carnations, alongside other native flowers. Delicately-executed birds sip from the flowers while joyful butterflies of varying species flutter in amongst them. The two lower corners feature two fantastical three-headed birds.

In the middle of the back we observe a beautiful white-haired unicorn gazing happily at one of the two extraordinary birds located on either side of it. The artist probably intended to depict dodos, a bird native to Mauritius that became extinct thanks to indiscriminate hunting in around 1662, the year in which the last one was sighted. The lower corners feature two animals that look like Andean tapirs, which would appear to be sipping from the stamens of large flowers. The scene is completed by varying birds with colorful plumage, flowers and butterflies, creating a composition of unparalleled beauty.



The middle of each of the sides features a deer cheerfully at rest, surrounded by birds of exotic plumage that resemble birds of paradise with splendid and imaginative tails, butterflies and varying flowers such as carnations, pomegranate flowers, peonies and bellflowers. On the sides of the lid, squirrels are reveling in the beautiful vegetation.

The lid, which is convex, has a winged sphynx in the middle of it, boasting attractively-colored plumage and a face with indigenous features, crowned by a feathered headdress. Above this regal figure we observe a splendid, red-plumed macaw joyfully pecking at an enormous pomegranate. In the two front corners there are a couple of magnificent stags with huge antlers, smelling the delicious fragrance that appears to be emanating from the beautiful flowers at their feet. In the opposing central section, two hyenas, facing each other, have blood dripping from their mouths, clearly resting after a fruitful hunt, while a pair of enormous birds of prey are flying with recently-captured birds in their beaks. The scene is completed with a wide range of tropical rain forest vegetation as seen in the rest of the chest and featuring the same compositional design. Each section of the chest is framed by a decorative border made up of geometric, rhomboid and curved motifs that attempt to imitate (through the varying tones of the coats of *mopa mopa* resin) the nacreous reflections of Namban lacquerware with mother-of-pearl inlay.⁸

The chest mounts are made of iron and the keyhole has a plain front with worked edges making it look like a cartouche. Both the latch, with goes into the lock, and the two hinges, present the same decorative design, with scrolled openwork.

All of these early 17th century designs depicting hunting animals, and real or mythological creatures, were based on 16th century European sources such as bestiaries, engraving, drawings and illuminated manuscripts, which were an inexhaustible source of inspiration for Andean artists.

VVL



Splendors of the New World



Crown of the Andes, Popayán (Colombia), c. 1660 (diadem) and c. 1770 (arches), gold and emeralds. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, US

In his masterpiece, *Don Quixote*, Miguel de Cervantes (1547–1616) penned the famous phrase: “Worth a Potosí” in reference to the immeasurable riches in silver and gold pouring into the coffers of the Spanish Crown from the most important mine in the world at that time, Cerro Rico in Potosí. Such was its boundless wealth that, in around 1650, the Imperial Municipality of Potosí boasted a population of 160,000, and was one of the richest cities on the planet. This abundance of silver and gold gave rise to the emergence of numerous silversmiths with workshops scattered all across the New World. The extraordinary works that were produced by these (often mestizo) artists and artisans not only served to decorate churches, but were also in high demand and frequently used in the homes and palaces of those living on Latin American soil. They were also exported to the Motherland, as was the case for the extraordinary silver salt-cellar rescued from the shipwreck of the *Nuestra Señora de Atocha* ship, on display in this collection.















Chalice

Santiago de Guatemala (Antigua), c. 1550–1560
Partially silver-gilt; thrown, smelted, embossed and engraved
28 x 19 cm
Weight 938 g
Marks in base, engraved pilgrim scallop in a square frame and a vegetable three-pointed crown
Provenance: European private collection



Attributed to Pedro Franco

Mexico, 17th century
Chalice-Monstrance
Mexico City, before August 8, 1608
Partially silver-gilt; turned, melted, embossed, engraved and chiseled
Height 57.5 cm
Cup's diameter 16.5 cm
Weight 2.443 kg
Marks: male head in left profile over o/M in between crowned columns (repeated twice); “TO/RES” (with horizontal separating bar) and an ‘F’ crested with a crown (several times in the small bells)
Provenance: Former Apelles Collection, Chile-England



Salt Cellar

Unidentified artist
Viceroyalty of Peru, no later than 1622
Silver-gilt; cast, turned, engraved, finely punched with dots and slightly raised in relief
Height 31 cm
Maximum width of the base 17.5 cm
Weight 2.457 kg
Mark repeated twice at the base of the cylindrical body “royal crown inside a pearled circle”
Provenance: Recovered from the shipwrecked Spanish Galleon ***Nuestra Señora de Atocha***



Francisco de Soria Hurtado

Viceroyalty of Peru, Cuzco (Peru), 1651–1692
Monstrance
Partially silver-gilt; casted, turned, chiseled, fretted and enameled
Height 64 cm
Sun's diameter 25.5 cm
Maximum width of the base 21 cm
Weight 5.000 kg
Inscription “Hiso este vixil FrANco. De Soria HurtAdo por orden de Pº Cortes y de Pablo de Orna Ano de 1685” (This luna was made by FrANco. De Soria HurtAdo commissioned by Pº Cortes and de Pablo de Orna Year 1685)
Provenance: Former Apelles Collection, Chile-England



Attributed to Luis Lezama

Viceroyalty of Peru, Cuzco (Peru), final quarter of the 17th century
Portable Monstrance
Partially silver-gilt, casted, turned, chiseled, fretted and enameled
Height 80 cm
Sun's diameter 31.5 cm
Stand 28 x 28 cm
Weight 8.730 vkg
Provenance: Former Apelles Collection, Chile



Tray

Unidentified artist
Viceroyalty of Peru, mid-18th century
Inscription: MACICAO
36 x 27 cm
Weight 880 g
Provenance: Private collection



Box

Viceroyalty of Peru (Peru), c. 1770
Silver in own color, cast, beaten, chased and engraved
37 x 28 x 24 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain



A Unique Silver Estrado Table

Upper Peru, c. 1780
Silver in own color, cast, hammered, beaten and chased
38 x 38 x 38 cm
Provenance: Private collection



Pair of Salvers

Viceroyalty of Peru (Peru), 17th century
Silver in own color, cast, beaten and chased
Both 23 x 7 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain



Pair of Box Stirrups

Peru, early 19th century
Silver; cast and chased, carved wood and leather
Both 25 x 26 x 17 cm
Provenance: Private collection



Chalice

Santiago de Guatemala (Antigua), c. 1550–1560
Partially silver-gilt; thrown, smelted, embossed and engraved
28 x 19 cm
Weight 938 g
Marks in base, engraved pilgrim scallop in a square frame and a vegetable three-pointed crown
Provenance: European private collection

A piece formed by a foot that sketches a star-shaped plant with a wide edge in which semi-circular shapes alternate with pointy shapes, which lose their tip when they reach the end of the edge. The base rises like a truncated cone and its narrowest points are covered by *candelieri* decorations, while the widest areas are covered by cherubs with a vase that acts as a symmetrical axis in the composition. Over the flat molded washer, there is a tall, plain and almost cylindrical drum above which lies a vase-shaped apple with six blended oval molding on at its base and a delicate decoration of hanging cloth and fruit at its neck. Then the same washer is repeated, but the latter has smaller dimension and the piece becomes cylindrical and plain. The cup is slightly conical, while the sub-cup is bulbous (fits at its base) and shows four winged cherubs among hanging ribbons.

Embossed in the edge, there are two identical marks with the shape of a scallop with a flat valve, with its two ears next to its hinge, which reproduces the image of the pilgrim’s scallop shell (*pecten jacobeus*); therefore, the origin of the piece is easily recognizable. The icon is taken from the Santiago de Guatemala (Antigua)¹ heraldic. It is called in this way because of its allusion to the Pilgrim Apostle, the patron of the area, who gives his name to it and where this chalice was made. In the edge of the foot, in one of the blunt spots, there is a faulty engraving of a vegetable three-pointed crown, which means that the piece was examined by the fiscal control and complied with the “fifth” payment.

Both marks (of place of origin and fiscal tax) correspond to a morphology² which was used in the silversmiths’ workshops of Antigua from the middle of the sixteenth century until the end of the century, since they are mostly seen in the work of the marker *Cosme Román* (c. 1553–1570). Since two marks out of the four required marks are missing (the marks of the author and the marker), it is very difficult to classify the chalice with precision, in relation to the period in which the work was done and the silversmith that made it. The only possible guide will be, therefore, a stylistic and typological analysis of the piece, in which certain peculiarities can be discovered since certain gothic characteristics in its structure were combined with decorations from the Renaissance. The choice of the star-shaped base with a wide edge corresponds to the characteristics of the last gothic, while the apple of the stem in the shape of a vase corresponds, as do the decorations, to the tastes of the central decade of the sixteenth century. The chronology of the chalice can be established in this period. The whole decorative repertoire reproduces some of the characteristic motifs of the first Renaissance, better known as “plateresque style”, in which floral vases, *candelieri* works, hanging cloths and cherub heads, worked with axial symmetry, cover the metal surface.

Nevertheless, if the mark of the chalice indicates that it was made in Guatemala and that it belongs to the middle of the sixteenth century, approximately, it is important to compare it with other pieces of this period to discover de dependency or originality of the piece and if its decorations are common among the silversmiths of Antigua. Up to this moment, we have not found another chalice such as this one, but we did find a similar stem shape and a vase with a bulbous³ base in two pieces: one of them belongs to the Várez Fisa⁴ Collection and the other is kept at the Tuxtla Gutiérrez Cathedral in Chiapas, Mexico.⁵ Regarding the diagram of the foot, it coincides with this last piece and with a reliquary which was exhibited in the Maastricht Fair in 2009. Regarding the decorations, the most repeated motif is the head of an angel with spread wings, which invariably appears in the lower part of the cup; however, they are also frequent in the base.

Not many engraved chalices from the sixteenth century made in Antigua city (Santiago de Guatemala) are known at the moment; therefore, the reference to this one, which is now coming into light, is of utmost importance to reconstruct the religious silverwork produce in the workshops of this important Central American artistic center. Moreover, considering its simple type, perfect harmony is found in the structure of this chalice due to the order and separation of the parts that compose it. Most importantly, it is an outstanding piece due to its elegant decorative vocabulary which was worked with a great plastic sense, in which motifs were drawn with certainty and a strong volume which makes them stand out, powerfully, against a plain background. All in all, it is a very singular piece because of its artistic quality and, most of all, its old age.

C.E.M.



Attributed to Pedro Franco

Mexico, 17th century

Chalice-Monstrance

Mexico City, before August 8, 1608
Partially silver-gilt; turned, melted, embossed, engraved and chiseled
Height 57.5 cm
Cup’s diameter 16.5 cm
Weight 2.443 kg
Marks: male head in left profile over o/M in between crowned columns (repeated twice), “TO/RES” (with horizontal separating bar) and an ‘F’ crested with a crown (several times in the small bells)
Provenance: Former Apelles Collection, Chile - England

This object is a chalice with a monstrance on top. The chalice has a circular base with a convex plinth decorated with abstract motifs over a gilded chiseled background together with eight highlighted and polished mirror pieces; the turned shaft is made of a cylindrical pedestal with a string of sunken pieces of mirror and a big egg-shaped knot with outlined wedge-shaped ornaments, the larger chalice is supplemented with a smaller bulbous chalice adorned with wedge-shaped ornaments and crowned with a protruding border. The monstrance, fitted into the mouth of the chalice by means of a cylindrical piece, has the shape of a squared-base shrine with Tuscan columns in each corner, plant-like semicircular arches in its four faces and a straight entablature; over the axis of the brackets, there are four children sculptures and underneath, little hanging bells; it is crowned with a bell-shaped dome decorated with motifs identical to those of the chalice’s base. On top of the dome is a sculpture of The Savior.

A tripartite mark confirms that the chalice-monstrance has a Mexican origin.⁶ In the inner part of the base and in the shrine’s base there are two stamped marks very close to each other: o/M with a male head in a left profile within two crowned columns and TO/RES (with a horizontal bar separating the surname Torres in two lines).⁷ The first mark can be linked to the stamp used in the Mexico City with a variation in which the “o” binds the first letter of the name with the head making it look like an earring of the icon. This mark was used by Miguel de Torres Hena, a silversmith whose craftsman period cannot be fully confirmed, except that this chalice was finished on August 8, 1608,⁸ although this year predetermines the period of this piece since it must have been finished prior to that date. Next to these two signs – place and marker – there should be a third mark, indicating the payment of a tax (called “quinto” in Spanish) that every piece made in the Mexico Viceroyalty must have, which was represented by a tower in the lake during its time, thus making a reference to the origin of the Mexico City (Texochitlan) founded on the Texcoco lake.

The four bells are marked with a third stamp in which a capital letter “F” can be seen crowned with a simplified crown that undoubtedly represents the symbol chosen by the silversmith to reflect his work. Since 1986 when this piece was published,⁹ we are still in doubt about the attribution, since there are many masters with surnames start with “F”: *Juan Falcón* (1626–1634)¹⁰, Antonio Faria Saldaña (1603)¹¹, Baltasar Ferras (1601–1609)¹², Juan de Fonseca (1622)¹³ and etc. Even sometimes the marks can be the initial of silversmith’s first name; such is the case of Francisco Frías Salazar (1570–1587)¹⁴ or that of Francisco Fernández (doc. 1618–1639)¹⁵. However, the morphology of the mark is not the most commonly used among Hispanic silversmiths, since they tend to use their full or abbreviated names, not independent

initials and, even less, crowned, which is why, we have suspected that could belong to a Portuguese artisan and, taking into account the date, could be the work of Pedro Franco, a silversmith born in Camiñal¹⁶ and found in Mexico City between 1619 and 1620, when he gave a letter of dowry and deposit for his marriage. But, this is a hypothesis that has yet to be tested.

We know about two other Mexican examples of similar structure with the same features in which the monstrance is designed in the shape of a square shrine crowned with a dome-shaped piece: the one kept in the Diocesan Museum Lucas Guillermo del Castillo in Coro (Venezuela) and the one kept in the Museum Bello y González in Puebla (Mexico). In this format, the chalice adjusts to the traditional structure of this type of pieces during the time of Torres Hena The Elder, but now the egg-shaped knot is slightly more slender and the decorations are more simplified that adapted to the repertoire of Abstract Mannerism, leaving aside the naturalistic motifs used in other chalices, possibly from the end of the century like the ones mentioned from Reinos and Coro. This array of geometrical abstraction, along with the structural design of the piece, confirms that the object was make within the XVII century no later than 1608.

The fact that this is the only chalice-monstrance known so far to have been made by this silversmith (Crowned F) and that it has all its pieces, since the usual circumstance is to find these pieces torn with missing parts, makes this chalice-monstrance extremely valuable not only for its artwork catalogue, but also to have a clue about the evolution of this type of work in Mexican silver. Furthermore, this object has the remarkable characteristic for pieces from this period of being marked by the author, which is unusually rare, making this chalice-monstrance an extremely exceptional piece.

C.E.M.



Salt Cellar

Unidentified artist
Viceroyalty of Peru, no later than 1622
Silver-gilt; cast, turned, engraved, finely punched with dots and slightly raised in relief
Height 31 cm
Maximum width of the base 17.5 cm
Weight 2.457 kg
Mark repeated twice at the base of the cylindrical body “royal crown inside a pearled circle”
Provenance: Recovered from the shipwrecked Spanish Galleon *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*

The Salt Cellar is structured around four sections, with each recipient having a round cross-section, and coming together to form a pyramid structure when assembled on top of each other. The lower one, which serves as the base, is mounted on a six-sided stand with short spherical legs at each of the corners, on top of which there is a convex section. On top of this there is another of the same shape with a deep concavity for storing the salt; on top of this a second recipient is arranged, this time cylindrical and somewhat taller, which also has a concave depression to serve as a receptacle for the salt. And the fourth part, at the top, is shaped like a bell, whose pyramid-shaped handle (which screws off) has a perforated ball at the end for sprinkling pepper. The entire piece is decorated with abstract engraved scrollwork (c’s) around oval and rectangular mirrors worked in relief, as are the little stud-like rhombuses. The background surfaces have been slightly raised in relief, creating a magnificent contrasting light effect by allowing the decorative elements to stand out against a toned down background. The Salt Cellar's ribs are all cast, with superimposed mirrors on those at the dome-shaped top.

This piece was devised for the seasoning of meat at part of a dinner service, being designed to contain two essential spices for use in such dishes; salt and pepper. Furthermore, Salt Cellars served a secondary function as a decorative element and an iconic reference, indicating the class of the diners served at the table. And it was for this reason that impressive so-called salt cellars (as opposed to pepper shakers or spice pots) were created, despite the fact that they were often used to hold pepper and other condiments.

This type of Salt Cellar was what was known as a *torrecilla*, or turret design, being made up of a block of various sections which were not used (unless disassembled), as is the case with this double salt and pepper cellar, where the two lower receptacles were reserved for salt and the upper, half-globe compartment, was given over to pepper. The latter was sprinkled whereas the salt was “spooned” out using a little palette or carving knife.

Although a large number of Salt Cellars were made at the time (some more important than others), few have survived today, which explains their interest for collectors. The most common type are those with a cylindrical body (with or without legs in one or all of the sections), or a square cross-section, but the type presented by the piece we have before us here is really extraordinary in its rarity. Here we find the two approaches being combined: the lower section (the base) is both polygonal and sinuous, lending it a voluminous layered effect we have

not observed in other pieces,¹⁷ while the three remaining sections on top of it, being round-sectioned, are more reminiscent of what are known as *verdugado* Salt Cellars.

Fortunately, this Salt Cellar has two fiscal tax marks imprinted on the pedestal of the cylindrical segment with an engraver's chisel. These two symbols depict a five-pointed royal crown with a visible hoop, inscribed within a round frame bordered with pearls (interlinking circles), an icon which, in its different versions,¹⁸ shows that the piece went through fiscal controls, with a fifth part of its value, or *quinto*, being paid. The presence of this tax stamp leads us to conclude that it must have come from one of the silversmith centers in the old Vice-Regency of Peru and if, as we will see shortly, it also formed part of the *Nuestra Señora de Atocha* galleon treasures (Fig. 1), its Peruvian origin is beyond doubt.

We find that the version of tax stamp seen on the salt-cellar matches those of a jug with spout, a pair of plates from a dinner service, a candlestick-holder and the broken wick from another candlestick-holder¹⁹ that were recovered from the same wreck, and that of a previously unpublished *tachuela* (short cup with two handles) from an Argentinian private collection, so we know that all these works were stamped in the same royal deposit, but which one? If we look back over the pieces found from the *Atocha* shipwreck, we observe that there is a group bearing a mark from the city of Santafé de Bogotá and another simply with that of the fiscal tax office, which makes us think that these two latter works must have been stamped in Peruvian territory, given that they do not include the mark of the town or location (Bogotá, for example), and must therefore have been made in Potosí or in Lima, which were the two cities in control of silver. We would deduce that it could not have been Potosí because the mark used at that time was a “monetary stamp”, so it is only logical to assume the mark was from the City of the Kings, which was exactly the place enforcing the greatest control over the silver being worked on after leaving Vice-Regal Peru. This does not necessarily mean the salt-cellar was definitely made in Lima, as it could easily have come from any one of the other important cities in the old Peruvian Vice-Royalty (such as Cuzco, Lima or Potosí), as records have survived of those who embarked on the “Atocha”²⁰ including passengers from these three cities, such as Diego de Guzmán y Córdova, Chief Magistrate of Cuzco, Martín Salgado, Secretary of the Court of Lima (and his wife María de Ayala) and Lorenzo de Arriola, a resident of Potosí.

The fact that the Salt Cellar was rescued from the Atocha shipwreck puts its date of execution at prior to 6 November 1622 (including

that year or previous years, but not subsequent to it), given that was the date that the galleon hit a coral reef just off the Marquesas Keys, between the Dry Tortuga and Marquesas islands off the coast of Florida, immediately sinking with 265 people on board, of whom only five survived. This tragic event took place when a hurricane wreaked havoc on eight ships out of the 28 that made up the *Tierra Firme* (Mainland) fleet on its return to Spain.²¹ The *Nuestra Señora de Atocha* vessel was the flagship concluding the rear-guard of the fleet on its journey back from the *Carrera de Indias* treasure route and was discovered and salvaged in 1985 by the North American treasure-hunter Mel Fisher and his team (Fig. 2).

Of all the salt-cellars recovered from the *Atocha* shipwreck (five in total, including ours), the one we have before us here is without doubt the most important and exceptional, both in terms of its extraordinary weight: 2.504 kg, equivalent to 10.887 marks (when the normal weight for this sort of piece was between four and five marks), and for the originality of its design and the astonishing quality of the decorative work, whose pattern, based on geometric motifs (arabesques) followed the abstract Mannerist tastes of around 1600. And if we add to its undeniable artistic value its historic value and age, as well as its excellent state of preservation given the troubled life it has led, we can conclude that this Salt Cellar is a unique piece, deserving of a place among the very finest pieces of Hispanic silverwork, both from the Americas and the Spanish peninsula.

C.E.M.



Fig. 1 Bernegal, Peru?, early 17th century, Partially silver gilt. Recovered from the shipwrecked Galleon Nuestra Señora de Atocha

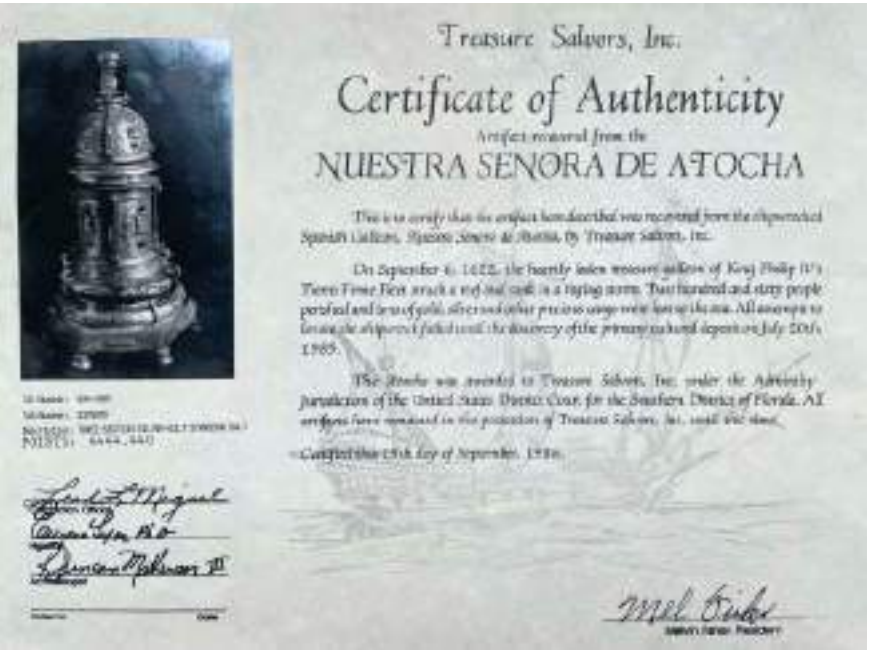


Fig. 2 Certificate of Authenticity of the recovered salt-cellars recovered from the Atocha shipwreck



Francisco de Soria Hurtado
Viceroyalty of Peru, Cuzco (Peru), 1651–1692

Monstrance

Partially silver-gilt; casted, turned, chiseled, fretted and enameled
Height 64 cm
Sun's diameter 25.5 cm
Maximum width of the base 21 cm
Weight 5.000 kg
Inscription “Hiso este vixil FrANco. De Soria HurtAdo por orden de P^o Cortes y de Pablo de Orna Ano de 1685” (This luna was made by FrANco. De Soria HurtAdo commissioned by P^o Cortes and de Pablo de Orna Year 1685)
Provenance: Former Apelles Collection, Chile – England
Exhibition: *Platería del Perú Virreinal, 1535–1825*, Banco Bilbao Vizcaya/Banco Continental, Madrid - Lima, 1997, no.15, pp. 108 & 109; *The Colonial Andes, Tapestries and Silverwork 1530–1830*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2004, cat. 114
Literature: *'Acculturation and Innovation in Peruvian Viceregal Silverwork'*. In: Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht & Cristina Esteras; Martin et. al., *The Colonial Andes. Tapestries and Silverwork 1530–1830*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 2004, pp. 59–71, & 221, cat. 114

The sun (same on both sides) presents a molded frame from which fifteen rectilinear rays emerge, joined together by small c-shaped links, and ending in vegetalized knobs; the larger ones have cherub heads superimposed on them and the smaller ones an application of leaves. The stem has the shape of a banister with a truncated cone-shaped collar with moldings, a semi-ovoid vase-shaped node, and, finally, a cylindrical pedestal. The base is square with a truncated cone-shaped neck, a plinth with a convex profile and a cruciform ground plan with the chambranle fretted with ovals; it rests over four legs with cherubs' shapes with a vegetal body doubly scrolled. The embellishments in the stem and base are made up of small casted handles, some with “C” and “S” shape, and others, imitating the icon of a mermaid; all of them are adorned with a string of pearls. Moreover, in the corners of the base, we can find four overlapping palmettes. There are worked motifs applique with *champlevé* enamel in ultramarine blue, honey yellow and green, taking the geometrical shapes as rhombus and ovals, the shape of plants (palmettes) and cherub heads (which are only used in the stem's pedestal) everywhere along the piece. The formal and decorative features of the monstrance adjust perfectly to the type most used by silversmiths in the city of Cuzco during the last three decades of the 17th century, a conclusion that is reaffirmed, also, thanks to the inscription engraved in the inner side of the base and which allows us to classify it with certainty as a work from Cuzco from the year 1685, done by the hands of silversmith Francisco de Soria Hurtado.²²

We have gathered several information about his personal and artistic biography. He was originally from Granada (Spain),²³ although we do not know when he went to the Indies and if before embarking he was already a silversmith or if he was trained in the Americas. What we do know is that he lived in the mining city of Potosí (Bolivia) where he married María de Salas around 1653.²⁴ A few years before that, he had been living in Cuzco where he apparently had returned definitely later on. Thus, we detect that in 1651 he participated with other officials and guilds in the meeting of the two councils of Cuzco (secular and ecclesiastical) celebrated in the Cathedral and in the presence of the Prelate to decide the festivity of the bishopric and its province, and of the city, choosing the Immaculate Conception and Santiago Apostle as patrons of the first and the second. For the convent de San Francisco he made a lamp for the chapel of Nuestra Señora de Caspi in 1666, charging 100 silver marks²⁵ and for Don Francisco Enríquez²⁶, chantre of the cathedral, he made two silver-gilt chalices. It is unknown whether any of these three pieces still exist, although we believe that they have disappeared.

In his workshop and under his tutelage he trained two young apprentices in 1664 and 1692: Ambrosio Flores de Espinosa and Joan Pinto, to whom he taught the secrets of business for six years;²⁷ he also had as “slave and skilled worker” the eighteen-year-old Juan de la Cruz. When he made his will in 1673, he declared that he owned five silverware drawers, five bellows and three anvils, all instruments necessary to work trade as a silversmith.

The reasons for which he was imprisoned in the public jail of Cuzco are unknown. During that time he received a payment from a colleague, *Lorenzo Portillo*, a goldsmith and silversmith, on January 29, 1683.²⁸ He most probably passed away at the end of the century, because we can't find any other news of him after 1692, at least for the moment. We suppose that he was buried in the crypt of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, in the convent of San Francisco,²⁹ since that was his wish when he wrote his will in 1673.

but in the monstrances made by this famous silversmith, the shaft becomes more complex with the sum of several bodies, the increase of casted handles, and the choosing of a central node of cubical shape and not a vase, like in our master.

For the moment, this monstrance is the only known and preserved work by Francisco de Soria Hurtado, and if we compare it with other contemporary works from the silversmiths of Cuzco, we can see that it is in line with the work of Luis de Lezana (doc. 1665–1713)³⁰ by having a cruciform base, in the angelomorphic solution of the legs and in the design of the solar luna, although the monstrances carved by this famous silversmith the stem is complex with the sum of several bodies, the number of cast handles and the choosing of a central node of cubical shape, and not a vase as in our specimen.

It is noteworthy that the silversmiths from Cuzco (as many other silversmiths from other parts of viceregal Peru) never, as far as we know, marked their works although it was mandatory. Nonetheless, some of them like Franciso de Soria Hurtado, Luis de Lezana, Gregorio Gallegos (1681–1753)³¹ or Ignacio Üre (1770)³² did leave a testimony of their authorship through engraved and/or signed inscriptions with which they could perpetuate themselves.

The fact that the monstrance is epigraphically dated 1685 not only assures us of the time of the execution of the work, but also serves us to mark, with a certain approximation, the typological border between the model (column type stem with a semi-ovoid vase-shaped node)

and the one that would later be imposed in the 1690s, where the shaft becomes more complex due to the accumulation of bodies and the acceptance of the use of cubical-shaped main nodes. What is sustained invariably in the stylistics of monstrances in the last third of the 17th century and even sometimes during the first years of the 18th century is the repetitive use of the casted handles with snaky shapes of winged mermaids or simple “S” shaped forms ruffling the silhouette, the base supports taking the shape of little phytomorphic angels wearing bold toupées, the squared design of the base with extrusions in the front and the rear describing thus a cross, or in the rays that make up the luna and in the way they're interlocked by means of a vegetal fretted rounded links network finished up with fleurons. The use of applied embellishments, such as palmettes, runs throughout all of the craft production in Cuzco; there's also a profuse application of enameled items, worked with a *champlevé* technique, with a semi opaque glassy surface and a polychromic use of color based on ultramarine blue, intense green and honey yellow.

This monstrance made by Francisco de Soria Hurtado is, therefore, a key link and of enormous interest for the understanding and reconstruction of the history of Cuzco silverware in the most active period, that we already qualify as “The Golden Age”, while it confirms the great mastery of this silversmith who can manage with determination and skill the technique, the structural balance and the decorative repertoire, blending with perfection the chromatism between the gilded surfaces of the metal and the polychrome of the enamels. As we mentioned previously, the maker's origin from Granada is not reflected in the monstrance, perhaps because he was already trained in Cuzco as a silversmith, therefore this monstrance is a clear example of the tastes implanted in this Andean city in which his silversmiths reached an extraordinary level of variety and artistic quality. The exceptionality of this work is highlighted also by its excellent state of preservation, since it keeps every single one of the original pieces, of both silver and enamels.

C.E.M.



**Attributed to Luis Lezama**

Viceroyalty of Peru, Cuzco (Peru), final quarter of the 17th century

Portable Monstrance

Partially silver-gilt, casted, turned, chiseled, fretted and enameled

Height 80 cm

Sun's diameter 31.5 cm

Stand 28 x 28 cm

Weight 8.730 kg

Provenance: Former Apelles Collection, Chile

It has a square base but with semicircular projections on the fronts that make it cross-shaped. The central area has a convex profile and is equipped with an openwork trim with ovals, and legs shaped like anthropophytomorphic mermaids. It is adorned with floral enamel overlays and figured handles of mermaids and cherubs attached to the different surfaces and profiles. The shaft or stem is rigid, comprising five bodies among which both the cubic knot and the egg-shaped one below stand out because of their volume and excellence. The former resembles a small architectonic temple with vaulted niches, its fronts flanked by Solomonic pillars, which are repeated at the corners; they hold sculptures of four saints with painted flesh tones and clothes, which are recognizable by their attributes: Saint Joseph (with the Child in his arms)³³ and Saint Anthony of Padua (with a book and the Child Jesus in his arms)³⁴, whereas the two others, judging by their habits, are Mercedarians: Saint Peter Nolasco (bearing a standard and a church scale model)³⁵ and Saint Raymond Nonnatus (holding a chalice with the host in the right hand and a palm in the left hand)³⁶; cast C- and S-shaped handles, palmettes, cherubs' heads and plant appliquéés besides enameled compositions decorate the stem. The sun is made up of eleven rays finished off by rosettes with pear-shaped finials at the ends, interlaced by openwork vegetable cartouches to which partially enameled cherubs' heads are appliquééd in white silver, and the geometrically ornamented ring of the *viril* (small case placed inside the monstrance) is also covered by enamel. Some of the ornamental details of the piece have *champlevé*³⁷ enameling, and the colors used are ultramarine (prevalent), intense honey yellow and turquoise.

From the formal point of view, it falls within the type of ostensoriums that became widespread as from the late 16th and early 17th centuries, when portable monstrances imitating a small architectonic temple are left behind in favor of a sunburst format exhibiting the consecrated Host. In structure it totally imitates the model created in Cuzco during the rule of Bishop Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo (1673–1699), clearly expressed by the planimetric solution of the base, as well as by the configuration of the shaft and of the sunburst, which render the Cuzco origin of the piece unquestionable. If we pay attention to the stand design, we will see that, for example, the openwork trim with ovals bordering it as if it were a skirt is similar to the one used by Cuzco silversmith Francisco de Soria Hurtado (1651–1692) in a monstrance from the former Apelles collection (Chile)³⁸ and it also matches another one kept in the church of Saint John, in Gordexola (Biscay, Spain),³⁹ a work signed by *Luis de Lezana*, a master silversmith from Cuzco who worked mostly in the late 17th century.

As regards the shaft, in its composition and overlap of bodies involved (cylindrical pedestal, egg-shaped knot followed by a cubic small temple and a neck ending in a truncated cone), it could be associated

with that in the two monstrances signed by Luis de Lezana: the one kept in the church of Gordexola (mentioned above) and the one held in the Barbosa collection (Lima) and also with the one in the church of Saint Anthony the Great, in Bilbao (Spain).⁴⁰ But it is with two other monstrances that it is more closely connected: one, “the big one”, belonging to the Franciscan convent in Cuzco (unpublished) and the other, owned by the church of Urquillos, Urubamba province, in the Cuzco region (though coming from the church of Saint John of God in Cuzco, lost today).⁴¹

And in the shaft, the knot that most stands out because of its volume and structural and decorative significance is the architectonic cube with Solomonic columns and with vaulted niches on its four fronts, showing the figures of Saint Joseph, Saint Anthony of Padua (Franciscan), Saint Peter Nolasco (Mercedarian) and Saint Raymond Nonnatus (Mercedarian), some of these images referring to the the church to which the monstrance belonged and was dedicated, possibly one of the Order of Mercy, given the presence of its Founder (Saint Peter Nolasco), and another Mercedarian (Saint Raymond Nonnatus), who was one of the first to join the Order for the purpose of redeeming captives. It is true that among the many monstrances made in Cuzco in the last third of the 17th and the first decades of the 18th centuries, the use of the cubic knot was very common, with or without Solomonic pillars (substituted by cast handles), and with or without applied figures (replaced by enameled appliquéés). Among the most remarkable monstrances with either full-length or half-length figures (painted, enameled or in silver), we could mention the one from the town of Urquillos, the “big one” in the convent of Saint Francis, the one in the monastery of Saint Teresa (both in Cuzco), or the unpublished one kept in the Apelles collection (Chile),⁴² most notably the splendid example once belonging to the Enrico Poli collection in Lima.

Therefore, based on all the structural and decorative characteristics discussed above, we believe that this piece may well have been wrought in Cuzco in the last quarter of the 17th century, and it can be perfectly classified within the catalog of the works made by master silversmith Luis de Lezana. It is undoubtedly a very expensive piece of great opulence (since it is fire-gilded and covered by enameled appliquéés), and one of the best baroque monstrances from the workshops of the Andean city. Its extraordinary weight, its excellent state of preservation and the effective management of chromaticism, with a remarkable play of color between the gilding of the surfaces and the details in silver color, besides the use of *champlevé* enamels, make this an example of an exceptional class.

C.E.M.

**Tray*****Anonymous artist***

Viceroyalty of Peru, mid-18th century

Inscription: MACICAO

36 x 27cm

880 grams

Provenance: Private collection

This tray is rectangular and trough-shaped. The inside bottom presents sgraffito low-relief ornamentation made up of scrollwork and interlinking plant elements arranged around a raised oval-shaped central medallion like a cartouche, bearing the inscription *MACICAO*. The central oval is flat, and shaped like a cabochon, surrounded by beaded edging with a frame made up of volutes and plant and geometrical motifs.

The sides of the trough are set at an angle, and these are made up of gadroons, or sunken concave shapes presenting alternating motifs featuring floral buds and vines with bunches of grapes that have been engraved, and sgraffito work applied, with ogee corners. These shapes are framed by thin tubular cords culminating in pointed arches towards the top. The corners present elongated sunken concave profiles decorated with curly palmettes.

The outer surface of the tray is broad and flat, presenting highly elaborate and sumptuous ornamentation. The relief work lends great volume, highlighting the importance of the decoration against a flat base of plain silver, where some of the sections feature pointed decorations with plant elements. The style is robust, and the rhythm is overwhelming, with a great profusion of flowers and buds, where one can make out exuberant sunflowers laden with seeds, and the sinuous flowers of Andean climbing plants. The edges of the surface of the tray are undulating, with three curves on the longer sides and two on the shorter ones, while the corners feature pointed ogee segments. The insides of each of the fourteen compartmented spaces on the outer surface of the tray feature a broad range of motifs, from strange birds perched on exuberant flowering branches, from which we see hybrid creatures emerge, or various mammals that could be *viscachas* with defiant looks on their faces, covered in impressive fur, to floral buds and leaves, in between which thin intertwining and interlinking cords are seen to wind their way, thereby serving to differentiate the different spaces featuring these fantastical motifs. The central reserves of the longer sides contain birds and hybrid creatures, flanked by mammals. The spaces at the corners present a delightful and typically Andean motif, namely “leaf” or “foliage” angels, with their wings unfurled, rounded eyes and characteristically stylized haircuts, their heads slightly tilting and looking up towards the heavens while their entire bodies are covered with fine sgraffito work evoking delicate and subtle foliage. These figures are flanked by voluptuous floral motifs. The decoration, in contrast to the central section, is extremely dynamic, with solid winding stems and petals distributed across the entire surface in a typically *horror vacui* style. The shorter sides are decorated with two semi-circles containing an exuberance of flower buds and foliage from which we see birds' heads emerge, with abundant plumage, and the heads of fantastical animals with tapering beaks, thereby populating the work with strange hybrid creatures. These are

repeated in the central section of the longer sides, under and to the sides of the birds located above them, perched on branches.

A border runs along the entire outer edge of the tray, made up of varying decorative elements, prominent among which is the sunken scallop shell in the corners generated by the meeting of the curved edges. A thick braided cord separates the flat outer surface from the sloping sides of the trough, thereby heightening the rich decoration of said surface, with the aforementioned plant motifs, angelic figures, varying animals, mammals, birds and hybrid creatures of peerless extravagance.

Our beautiful tray is a typical example of Andean silverwork, combining European motifs such as the hybrid creatures of Medieval bestiaries and Renaissance grotesques with elements of an indigenous nature, such as the “leaf man”, the sunflowers laden down with seeds and the diverse and varied flora so characteristic of the Altiplano region. It was common for silverwork to include elements originating from the Andean animal kingdom, such as viscachas, tarucas, birds and squirrels in fantastical scenes, alongside floral elements such as pomegranate flowers and sunflowers, bunches of grapes and fantastical creatures, with “green man” or “leaf man”, “leaf woman” and “leaf angel”,⁴³ motifs we find in our exceptional tray, as we have already mentioned. This combination of European and local indigenous motifs is an example of the cultural syncretism taking place in the arts throughout the Andean region.

These trays could serve civil or religious purposes. The iconography of our tray would suggest a civil use, as evidenced by the wide range of animals and birds, and the presence of secular motifs.

Silver was so abundant in Peru and its surroundings that the precious metal was used to make many everyday items. The workshops of Lima, Arequipa, Cuzco and Potosí turned out a wide variety of objects using this noble metal that would normally be made in other, cheaper, materials, such as pewter, bronze, ceramics, tin or copper. Braziers, kettles, mate and infusion sets, cups, candlestick holders and trays were made out of silver for the thriving and prosperous colonial society enriched through the mining business and trade. Their houses emanated a luxury and opulence that astonished foreign visitors. Many of these extravagances could be observed in houses of the Altiplano region or in Lima and Cuzco, where such luxurious silver and gold items were also joined by materials and objects originating from Europe and Asia, such as lavish silks, lace, furnishings and the fantastic pieces of furniture featuring mother-of-pearl, ivory and tortoiseshell inlay from the Oriental colonies, which arrived in Acapulco, Mexico, courtesy of the Manila galleon trade route.

V.V.I.



Box

Viceroyalty of Peru (Peru), c. 1770
Silver in own color, cast, beaten, chased and engraved
37 x 28 x 24 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain

This chest has a rectangular cross-section and a semi-cylindrical lid. The four sides and convex lid are decorated with exquisite pastoral scenes in bucolic surroundings. It is supported on four simple plain feet with a flat and curved profiles.

On the front we observe two rural scenes separated by the keyhole mount: on the left, a peasant woman is collecting fruit in a basket under the watchful eye of her boss, a lady riding a donkey with a horsewhip in her hand. The elegant lady is depicted wearing a necklace, dress and fur stole, and her donkey is equipped with ornate tack, while a dog attempts to play with the peasant woman. To the left of this scene, we can make out a country house in the distance, sheltered by a leafy tree. On the right of the keyhole mount, a peasant man is attending to his livestock while two dogs sniff each other's snouts affectionately. The two scenes are portrayed in an exotic, idealized and bucolic setting, with an abundance of details depicting flora, architecture and varying types of clothing, differentiating the social classes.

The silver keyhole mount is rectangular and shaped like a shield, with one hole for the key and another for the latch fitting. It is framed by decorative motifs featuring plant and floral scrollwork and classic Rococo ornamental devices such as characteristic rocaille.

The latch that slots into the lock boasts an exquisite motif typical of Andean imagery: a features of an indigenous native wearing a feather headdress. The piece is crowned by a rocaille-decorated strip.

The front of the lid also includes two scenes separated by the band securing the latch. On the left, we observe a romantic scene in which a male suitor is offering a drink to a lavishly-dressed lady holding a censer in her hand. Behind the couple we see the side of a citadel dominated by a monumental temple. Both this and the adjacent building are crowned by crescent moons, the traditional Islamic symbol. On the right, a peasant collecting firewood is wearing an exotic turban with the same symbol, while a camel observes him in a friendly manner. These scenes tell us that the master silversmith drew inspiration from some engraving from the Ottoman Empire or, rarer still, it could have been a commission from some wealthy figure of Turkish origin who had settled in the Peruvian Viceroyalty.

The back of the lid presents an ornate cartouche surrounded by profuse ornamentation in the Rococo style: ribbons, rocaille, borders, marine shells and a *treillage* background. In the middle, the owner's monogram has been embossed: *AMB*, and subsequently stamped. On the left of the cartouche we find a pair of hunting dogs, and on the other side elegant warriors on horseback, carrying spears and about to engage in combat.

The back of the chest features a scene that takes up its entire surface. An elegant carriage with six horses equipped with lavish tack is passing in front of a two-towered building, while a bird flying cross the sky lends movement to the narrative. There are various figures, of which it is worth highlighting the servants or coachmen standing at the back of the carriage, the driver and, riding one of the horses at the front, another servant. The gentlemen being driven must have been extremely rich given the pomposity of the scene. The servants are dressed in the French fashion, with dress coats, wigs and three-cornered hats. The body of the chest is attached to the lid by two hinges decorated with scrollwork.

Both sides feature the same motifs: in the lower section there is a Rococo cartouche, while on the lid we see a lion standing on its four feet with its head turned looking back. These scenes are framed by decorative borders with ribbons in saltire, scrolls, leaves, rocaille, scallop and mollusc shells, with a background of indented chasing, which creates a clear contrast with the motifs depicted.

The excellent technical execution and the fine chasing work combine with the creativity of the drawing of the subjects, in particular in the depiction of the different textures, such as the hair and fur of the animals, the clothing fabrics and the foliage. The work's elaborate design and the virtuosity of its execution make this an extraordinary piece of domestic silverware.

As is well known, silver was so abundant in Peru and Bolivia that it was used to make many everyday objects. While in Europe such items were made of clay, ceramic, bronze or pewter, in the Viceroyalty of Peru these very same objects were made of silver. It was common for homes to be equipped with kettles, candlesticks, mate cups, chests, herb boxes and countless other items made in this noble metal. Criollo society, rich from the mining business, made its houses the showcases of such luxury and ostentation that there are endless accounts by astonished travellers describing these sumptuous palaces.⁴⁴

V.V.I.



A Unique Silver Estrado Table

Upper Peru, c. 1780
Silver in own color, cast, hammered, beaten and chased
38 x 38 x 38 cm
Provenance: Private collection

This extraordinary *estrado* table is probably the only remaining example of its type to have survived to the present day, and it offers a glimpse of a Peruvian Viceroyalty inhabited by a social elite of exquisite tastes and incomparable wealth. The word “estrado” comes from the Latin *stratum*, which means elevated platform, and it originally implied a certain posture, that of squatting down with your legs crossed, or leaning back. At one time, the Spanish adopted this custom, by which ladies sat on huge cushions in “Moorish” fashion, while busy sewing, chatting, reading or praying. This custom was subsequently exported to the New World by the conquistadors. An *estrado*, or *estrado de damas*, referred to a room furnished in Oriental style, which featured a carpeted rectangular platform on which little pieces of furniture were arranged, such as chairs, tables, trunks, boxes and cushions. This form of repose was common throughout the Orient, and Spanish books and chronicles from the period relate the chores and day-to-day activities of the ladies in these curious little rooms.

During the Spanish Golden Age and up until the 19th century, ladies could relax in the privacy of these spaces given over exclusively to them. Both Lope de Vega (1562–1635) and Miguel de Cervantes (1547–1616) make numerous references in their famous literary works. In the Museo Casa Natal de Cervantes, an original *estrado* is preserved to this day (Fig. 1). The estrado de damas in the Castillo de los Mendoza in Manzanares el Real can also be visited (Fig. 2).

Because the varying furnishings used in these rooms had to be small, in the Peruvian Viceroyalty they were given the soubriquet of “*muebles ratones*”⁴⁵, or “mouse furniture”. In Latin America, chairs were arranged on the platform around a table or brazier.⁴⁶ Due to their size and decorative function, many such wooden pieces have survived, built on a miniature scale and decorated in exactly the same fashion as their full-size counterparts.

The unusual silver *estrado table* we have before us here has markedly curved cabriole legs, in the French fashion, and one is drawn to the Rococo style of its profuse ornamentation. The naturalist decoration presents figurative elements of a Western variety, which are combined with an indigenous New World stamp, thereby obtaining a marvelous mestizo style. This syncretism may be clearly identified in the four mascarons on the bends of the legs, where the figures are depicted wearing feather headdresses, a cultural crossover characteristic of works from Upper Peru, setting a unique style. The tabletop is flat, with a plain surface lacking in any decoration, and a skirt on all four sides in richly ornamental openwork. Underneath the tabletop there is a large ornamental feature with leaves, scrolls

and volutes using the same technique as the aforementioned openwork. The legs, which have curves and counter-curves in an “S” shape, rest on claws that grip balls.

It is extremely hard to believe that this magnificent piece should have survived to the present day, given even when it was made it must have been commissioned by some wealthy gentleman with a luxurious residence. The high value of silver itself proved the downfall of many large objects or pieces of furniture executed in the noble metal, with their owners succumbing to the temptation, over the years, to melt them down to reap the immediate monetary gain.

J.E.



Fig. 1 Estrado de Damas. Museo Casa de Cervantes, Alcalá de Henares



Fig. 2 Estrado de Damas. Castillo de los Mendoza, Manzanares el Real



Pair of Salvers

Viceroyalty of Peru (Peru), 17th century
Silver in own color, cast, beaten and chased
Both 23 x 7 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Spain

An extraordinary pair of silver salvers, each featuring a circular base that provides stability for carrying liquids, supporting a round platter or tray made up of a thick sheet of silver with a depression in the middle. This central orifice would have housed a recipient that may have been a little cup known as a “jícara”, possibly made of silver, cocobolo hardwood or gourd, with silver ornamentation, and intended to hold some kind of liquid, beverage or infusion. This central well features a decorative border of petals that would have served as a beautiful frame for the container holding the infusion. The depression itself is in plain silver with no ornamentation. The decorative elements on the platter radiate out from the middle, featuring animals surrounded by exuberant and dense phytomorphic motifs in a sort of *horror vacui*. Arranged symmetrically on an axis, prominent elements include felines and birds. The jaguars, typically Andean animals, appear to be licking their lips at the sight of the rich foliage, while breathing in the fragrance of a beautiful open flower hanging over their heads. In their beaks, the birds are seen carrying thick branches of leaves at the end of which varying birds’ heads are seen to emerge. The salvers therefore present typical Mannerist grotesque decoration, bearing witness to the complex phenomenon of transculturation.

The felines and birds are immersed in a realistic depiction of foliage and phytomorphic elements that present curves and counter-curves. It is worth highlighting the exuberant display in the representation of the variety of flowers and their buds, which are seen from multiple points of view, thereby enriching the floral diversity.

The salvers’ bases are broad, made of plain silver with circular indentations, whereas the platters showcase intricate chasing and *sgraffito* work in an attempt to create a lifelike representation of the anatomy and characteristics of the jaguars, with it being worth highlighting the fur, claws and snouts. Likewise, the birds use their claws to perch on the foliage, with their wings and tails unfurled aggressively, executed through fine chasing work in an attempt to lend verisimilitude to the depiction of their plumage and combative body language. The edges of the platters are plain with a subtle upward lip. The ornamental language of these salvers is completely naturalistic, with indigenous fauna and flora playing a prominent role, as Peruvian Baroque art placed a high value on local elements, often including aspects of Andean wildlife in its depictions. The pair of salvers we are presenting here is exceptional in that they often got broken up and it is more common to find single items than complete pairs.

We could also add that this splendid pair of salvers is testimony to the secular or civil silverwork of the rich dinnerware services that existed in the Peruvian Viceroyalty. Silver was so abundant in Peru and its surroundings that the precious metal was used for many everyday objects. The silver workshops of Lima, Arequipa, Cuzco and Potosí

produced large numbers of objects that were normally made in other, cheaper, materials, such as pewter, bronze, ceramics, tin or copper.

The palaces of the elite classes and mansions of the wealthy were home to all sorts of silver items. Braziers, kettles, mate cups, herb boxes, drinking cups, candlesticks, trays, boxes, chests ewers with flaring spouts and salvers (Fig. 1) were made in this noble metal for the prosperous and thriving colonial society, wealthy from the mining business and trade, which created an environment that encouraged the development and popularization of silverwork. Their houses were showcases for degrees of luxury and opulence that astonished foreign visitors. Although the society of the Viceroyalty imitated the customs and habits of the “old country”, it also generated a repertory of innovative objects aimed at the new social customs of the Americas taking shape in the Andean region, Peru and Bolivia. It was as such that new types of object emerged in Latin America, and we are referring here to those related to the deep-rooted custom of drinking herbal infusions, particularly mate, in the Peruvian Viceroyalty.⁴⁷ These innovations allowed for the development of a wide range of artefacts, to which our beautiful and outstanding salvers belong.⁴⁸

As occurred with other artforms, silverware also drew heavily on Spanish models, Flemish engravings and book covers arriving in the Americas from Spain, which were the main sources for the master silversmiths working in the Andean region. These Spanish models were themselves inspired by Italian grotesques from the early 16th century and drawings by Flemish Mannerist engravers such as Frans Floris or Cornelis Bos, active in around 1550 (Fig. 2). The silversmiths replicated these ornamental decorations, and steadily Andean silverwork introduced local flora and fauna motifs, as well as fantastical ones, “green” men or women, mermaids and Andean cherubim, in a gradual process of transculturation and *mestizaje*, thereby building up a unique universe of homegrown techniques and motifs.⁴⁹

V.V.I.



Fig. 1 Salver, Peru, Lima 1600–1635, silver in original color. Private collection



Fig. 2 Cornelis Bos, c. 1545, engraving. Museum Boijmans, Netherlands



Pair of Box Stirrups

Peru, early 19th century
Silver; cast and chased, carved wood and leather
Both 25 x 26 x 17 cm
Provenance: Private collection

The body of this pair of box stirrups is of a truncated pyramid shape with concave sides. The front and side faces present an ornate, symmetrical decoration including leaves, scrolls and geometric elements, while at the back there is the gap necessary to house the foot, with a strap of repoussé leather at the bottom. The corners are reinforced with plain protective silver caps, which boast the particular feature of relief leaves culminating in typical little Andean cherub heads. Silver bands like garlands run along the middle of the sides, decorated with floral and foliate motifs. On the sides we find typical symmetrical and geometric carvings including volutes and spiraling and cruciform motifs. In the middle of the front we can observe a triangle inside of which there is a geometric decoration taking the form of flowers, ornate trimming, crosses and braided cords. To the sides, we find symmetrical ornamental borders containing circular motifs, spiraling and cruciform elements around the central feature.

At the top, a piece of chased silver is mounted on the crown of the pyramid, serving to secure the thick cast silver hook-eye. This silver cap is decorated with superimposed floral and foliate motifs, executed in relief and topped by curved forms with leaves, flowers and scrolls in low relief. The eye, which is plain and rectangular, gives the impression that it is being held aloft by a hand, and is attached to the finely braided leather saddle strap.

The origin of the stirrups is China as we known it today, towards the 4th century.⁵⁰ Its function is to stop the weight of the human body from being concentrated on one single area, and it must have been developed by some nomadic peoples, given that distributing body weight over three areas made it easier to undertake long journeys. The device was adopted in the West during the middle ages, and it gradually evolved over the passing centuries, with the use of metal being the most important factor in its manufacture. Thanks to the stirrup, riders had their arms free, which was of fundamental importance for military campaigns and expeditions, as well as for rural work. The manufacture of stirrups steadily adapted to the varying requirements, aimed at the comfort and safety of the rider, and tailored to variations in climate and terrain.

The pair of stirrups we have before us here, being of the carved wood box stirrup variety, have the characteristic of protecting the rider from geographic conditions, in places where there were spiky bushes, torrential rivers and inclement climates. The Jesuits’ arrival in the Americas, and the great number of artisans that came with them, contributed to the development of varying trades. They brought with them the necessary knowledge, materials and tools to undertake this sort of carving work in objects belonging to the rural world. It is as such that ornamental motifs such as rosettes, volutes, decorative borders, phytomorphic devices, spirals, buds, braided cords,

geometric patterns and adornments could come to be so widely developed in the artistic silverware of the Viceroyalty of Peru.

Box stirrups are generally made out of a single piece of hollowed-out wood, the inside of which is given a concave form in order to allow for the introduction of the foot. Another integral element is the rim, a metal band that goes around the sides of the stirrup like a belt, and which serves as a support to secure the eye at the top, which the straps that are attached to the saddle go through. Box stirrups evolved from a rural context to the sophisticated and refined world of riders⁵¹ who enjoyed the elegant and fine walking gait of the Peruvian Paso horse, becoming highly-valued artistic items, as is the case for our exceptional pair of stirrups.⁵²

V.V.I.



Notes

Introduction

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9 The notaries Gaspar Calderón and Antonio Alonso, n 4583 AA51/1, folios. 338–338, Mexico, 11 November 1567. Ibid, 46.

10 Francisco de la Maza, *Los Retablos dorados de Nueva España* (Mexico: Ediciones Mexicanas, 1950), 13.

11 José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña* (Lima: Fundación Augusto N. Wiesse, 1982), Vol. I, 48.

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16 Emilio Hart-Terré and Alberto Márquez Abanto, “Pintura y pintores en Lima Virreinal,” *Revista del Archivo Nacional del Perú*, 1963, Vol. XXVII, 148.

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19 Carla Grunauer Andrade, *Nicolás Javier de Goribar, el pintor Barroco de la Escuela Quiteña*, minutes from the III Congreso Internacional del Barroco Iberoamericano: *Territorio, arte, espacio y sociedad*, vol. 1 (Seville, Universidad Pablo de Olavide, 2001), 319.

20 Teófilo Benavente Velarde, *Pintores cusqueños de la colonia* (Cuzco: Municipalidad del Cuzco, 1995), 146.

21 Manuel Romero de Terreros, “El pintor Alonso López de Herrera,” in *Anales del instituto de investigaciones estéticas* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1965), Vol. 9, 5–14.

22 Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, “Entre el arcaísmo y la innovación,” in Luisa Elena Alcalá and Jonathan Brown, *Pintura en Hispanoamérica, 1550–1820* (Madrid: Ediciones el Viso, 2014), 531.

Glory and Beauty in the Americas before the Conquest

1 Pierre Becquelin, *Archéologie de la région de Nebaj: Guatemala. Mémoires de l’Institut d’Ethnologie*, Vol. II (Paris: Universitèa de Paris, 1969); Samuel Lothrop, *Zacualpa: A Study of Ancient Quiche Artifacts*. (Washington D.C.: Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1936), Publication 472.

2 Daniel Finamore and Stephen Houston, *Fiery Pool: The Maya and the Mythic Sea* (New Haven and London: Peabody Essex Museum and Yale University Press, 2010).

3 David Stuart, “Reading the Water Serpent as Witz,” Maya Decipherment: A Weblog on the Ancient Maya, 2007, http://decipherment.wordpress.com/2007/04/13/reading-the-water-serpent/.

4 James E. Brady and Wendy Ashmore, “Mountains, Caves, Water: Ideational Landscapes of the Ancient Maya,” in Wendy Ashmore and A. Bernard Knapp, eds., *Archaeologies of Landscapes: Contemporary Perspectives* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), 124–145.

5 August Ledyard Smith and Alfred V. Kidder, *Excavations at Nebaj, Guatemala* (Washington D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1951), Publication 594.

6 Hattula Moholy-Nagy and William R. Coe, *The Artifacts of Tikal: Ornamental and Ceremonial Artifacts and Unworked Material* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2008), Tikal Report No. 27, Part A.

7 Pierre Becquelin, *Archéologie de la région de Nebaj, Guatemala*. Mémoires de l’Institut d’Ethnologie, Vol. II. (Paris: Université de Paris, 1969).

8 Today, these practices continue among Christian Maya in Guatemala and Mexico who embrace their ancestors as sacred figures similar to the saints. See Christiansen Allen, “Dancing with the Footsteps of the Ancestors,” in Virginia M. Fields and Dorie Reents-Budet, eds., *Lords of Creation: The Origin of Sacred Maya Kingship* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2005), 90–96.

9 James E. Brady, and Keith M. Prufer, eds., “In the Maw of the Earth Monster: Studies of Mesoamerican Ritual Cave Use,” in Linda Schele, *Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005).

10 For example, Yax Nuun Ayiin I, father of the powerful Tikal ruler Sijay Chan K’awiil I (aka “Stormy Sky”) (r. 411–456 CE), was transformed into K’inich Ajaw at his death (c. 404 CE). His apotheosized image appears on St. 31 floating above the living ruler Sijay Chan K’awiil. The Maya sculptors ensured his identity as the Sun-eyed Yax Nuum Ayiin by his name glyph used as his headdress.

11 Karl Taube 1992, “The Iconography of Mirrors at Teotihuacan,” in Janet Catherine Berlo, ed., *Art, Ideology, and the City of Teotihuacan: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections and Trustees of Harvard University, 1988), 169–204.

12 Karl Taube, “The Symbolism of Jade in Classic Maya Religion,” in *Ancient Mesoamerica*, Volume 16 (2005), 23–50.

13 Andrea Stone and Marc Zender, *Reading Maya Art: A Hieroglyphic Guide to Ancient Maya Painting and Sculpture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2011).

14 Linda Schele and Mary Miller, *The Blood of Kings: Dynasty and Ritual in Maya Art* (Ft. Worth: The Kimbell Art Museum, 1986). Also see Tatiana Proskouriakoff, “Portraits of Women in Maya Art,” in Stephen Houston et al., eds., *The Decipherment of Ancient Maya Writing* (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press-Norman, 2001), 342–357.

15 Joel Skidmore, *The Rulers of Palenque: A Beginner’s Guide*, Third edition, 2008. Mesoweb: www.mesoweb.com/palenque/resources/rulers/PalenqueRulers–03.pdf.

16 Linda Schele suggested this text includes the name of Lady Sak K’uk’, the mother of K’inich K’an Joy Chitam. However, the final glyph in the name phrase does not appear to be a k’uk’ logogram.

17 David Stuart, “The Name of Paper: The Mythology of Crowning and Royal Nomenclature on Palenque’s Palace Tablet,” in C. Golden, S. Houston, and J. Skidmore eds. *Maya Archaeology*, Volume 2 (San Francisco: Precolumbia Mesoweb Press, 2012), 115–142

18 Martin Simon, *Chronicle of the Maya Kings and Queens: Deciphering the Dynasties of the Ancient Maya* (London and New York: Thames and Hudson, 2000), 159.

19 This substyle may come from the Magdalena River area in central Jalisco. See Christopher S. Beekman and Robert B. Pickering, eds., *Shaft Tombs and Figures in West Mexican Society: A Reassessment* (Tulsa, Oklahoma: Gilcrease Museum, 2014).

20 Patricia Rieff Anawalt, *Ancient West Mexico: Art and Archaeology of the Unknown Past*, ed. Richard F. Townsend (USA: The Art Institute of Chicago, LACMA, 1998).

21 Rebecca R. Stone, “Keeping the Souls Contained: Instantiation and the Artist’s Hand in Ceramic Figures by the ‘Mexpan Sculptor’ of Southern Nayarit,” in Christopher S. Beekman and Robert Pickering, eds., *Shaft Tombs and Figures in West Mexican Society: A Reassessment* (Tulsa, Oklahoma: Gilcrease Museum, 2014), 175–194.

Enconchados: “The Marvel of the Americas”

1 Guillermo Tovar de Teresa, “Documentos sobre enconchados y la familia mexicana de los González,” in *Cuadernos de Arte Colonial* (Madrid: Museo de América, 1986), no. 1, 101.

2 For a more in-depth study of the technical and constructive process, see Estefanía Rivas Díaz, “El empleo de la concha de nácar en la pintura virreinal: Estudio radiográfico de la colección de pintura

enconchada del museo de América de Madrid,” in *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, 2002, Vol.15; Adelina Illán and Rafael Romero, “La técnica pictórica de los enconchados mexicanos y la problemática de su restauración,” in *Ciencia y esencia: Cuadernos de conservación y tecnología del arte I* (Madrid: I&cR, 2008); and Andrés Escalera and Estefanha Rivas, “Un ejemplo de pintura enconchada. La Virgen de la Redonda: estudio radiográfico,” in *Anales del museo de América* (Madrid: Museo de América, 2002), no. 10.

3 Guillermo Tovar de Teresa, op. cit. 101.

4 Sonia I. Ocaña Ruíz, “Nuevas reflexiones sobre las pinturas incrustadas de concha y el trabajo de Juan y Miguel González,” in *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2013), Vol. XXXV, no. 102, 126.

5 Ibid, 169.

6 The term *maque* appears in a number of documents consulted by the researcher Sonia Ocaña, used to refer to enconchado or mother-of-pearl inlay work, probably alluding to the similarity between the works’ frames and namban lacquerware as seen in Sonia I. Ocaña Ruíz, “Nuevas reflexiones sobre las pinturas incrustadas de concha y el trabajo de Juan y Miguel González,” in *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2013), Vol. XXXV, no.102, 133.

7 The way in which Miguel and Juan González were related continues to be a mystery awaiting to be solved for researchers, although a father-son relationship appears to have been ruled out by some authors. The most recent information in this regard appears in Sonia I. Ocaña Ruíz, “Nuevas reflexiones sobre las pinturas incrustadas de concha y el trabajo de Juan y Miguel González,” in *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2013), Vol. XXXV, no.102.

8 Ibid, 126.

9 Manuel Toissant, “La pintura con incrustaciones de concha nácar en Nueva España,” in *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* (Mexico: Universidad de México, 1972), no. 20, 5–20.

10 Guillermo Tovar de Teresa, “Documentos sobre ‘enconchados’ y la familia mexicana de los González,” in *Cuadernos de arte colonial* (Madrid: Museo de América, 1986), no. 1, 97–103.

11 Sonia I. Ocaña Ruíz, “Nuevas reflexiones sobre las pinturas incrustadas de concha y el trabajo de Juan y Miguel González,” in *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2013), Vol. XXXV, no. 102, 126.

12 Ibid, 132.

13 Sonia I. Ocaña Ruíz., “Enconchados: Gustos, estrategias y precios en la Nueva España,” in *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2013), Vol. XXXVII, no. 106, 725.

14 Nephew of painter Juan Correa.

15 Sonia I. Ocaña Ruíz, Ibid, 128.

16 Irene González Hernández, “El Nacimiento de Cristo,” *Revista Digital de Iconografía Medieval*, 2010, Vol. II, n° 4, 44.

17 The term enconchado is used to refer to the wooden panels on which pictorial scenes are depicted

in combination with fragments of mother-of-pearl that are inlaid onto the surface before being covered with various coats of varnish. For more detailed information on the definition and technique, see Cristina Ordóñez Goded, “De lacas y charoles en España: Siglos XVI-XIX” (PhD diss., Universidad Complutense, 2016), 115.

18 The importance of this sort of artwork has not been taken into account until relatively recently. For more information, see Sonia I. Ocaña Ruíz, “Marcos enconchados: autonomía y apropiación de formas japonesas en la pintura novohispana,” in *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2008), no. 92,107.

19 Despite almost no such doubts remaining today, the fact that the majority of the works do not feature a signature gave rise to discussion regarding the origin of this artform in the past, with positions divided among those who upheld the Mexican origin of the enconchado, see Teresa Castelló Yturbide and Marita Martínez del Redo, *Biombos mexicanos* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1970); Marta Dijovne, *Las pinturas con incrustaciones de nácar* (Mexico: UNAM, 1984); Agustín Espinosa, *Los enconchados: Conservación y restauración de pintura con incrustaciones de concha* (Mexico: FIDACA, 1986); María Concepción García Sáiz, *La pintura colonial en el Museo de América: Los enconchados* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, Dirección General del Patrimonio Artístico, Archivos y Museos, Patronato Nacional de Museos, 1980); José Santiago Silva, *Algunas consideraciones sobre las pinturas enconchadas* (Mexico: Museo Nacional de Historia, Castillo de Chapultepec, INAH/SEP, 1976); and Guillermo Tovar de Teresa, “Documentos sobre Enconchados y la familia Mexicana de Los González,” in *Cuadernos de Arte Colonial* (Madrid: Museo de América, 1986), no. 1. In front of those were opposed by their Spanishism, consult Manuel Toussaint, “La pintura con incrustaciones de concha nácar en Nueva España,” in *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Atónoma de México, 1952).

20 In the church of Santiago de Tlazoyaltepec, within the framework of the project for the recovery and protection of artistic heritage, promoted by the Mexican Autonomous University’s “Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas”, and in collaboration with other Mexican institutions, a mother-of-pearl inlay painting has been found, depicting the Flight into Egypt, a detail confirming religious subject matters, and Christ’s life story in particular, as recurring iconographies within the canon of maque painters. Gabriela García Lascuraín, “Noticias acerca de pinturas y pintores de enconchados en Oaxaca,” in *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Atónoma de México 2011), Vol. 33.

21 Matthew 2: 13–14 New International Version.

22 For a more in-depth study of frames in enconchado paintings, see Sonia Ocaña Ruíz, “Marcos enconchados: Autonomía y apropiación de formas japonesas en la pintura novohispana,” in *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* (Mexico: Universidad Juárez Autónoma de Trabajo, 2018), 92.

23 For a more in-depth study of the enconchado technique, see Santiago Silva, *Algunas consideraciones sobre las pinturas enconchadas* (Mexico: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia-Museo Nacional de Historia, 1976); Alejandro Huerta, *Análisis de la técnica y materiales de dos colecciones de pinturas enconchadas* (México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1991); and Andrés Escalera and Estefanía Rivas, *Un ejemplo de pintura enconchada: La Virgen de la Redonda, estudio radiográfico* (Madrid: Anales del Museo de América, 2002), no. 10, 291–305

24 Sonia Ocaña Ruíz, “Nuevas reflexiones sobre las pinturas incrustadas de concha y el trabajo de Juan y Miguel González,” in *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2013), Vol. XXXV, no.102, 126.

25 Gabriela García Lascurain provides further details on the numerous artists who worked using the enconchado technique in “Noticias acerca de pinturas y pintores de enconchados en Oaxaca,” in *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2011), Vol. XXXIII, no. 198.

26 For more on the relationship between Japanese namban art and enconchado painting, see Rodrigo Rivero Lake, *El arte namban en el México virreinal* (Madrid: Estilo México Editores, 2005).

27 For more on the relationship between Japanese namban art and enconchado painting, see Rodrigo Rivero Lake, *El arte namban en el México virreinal* (Madrid: Estilo México Editores, 2005).

The Coming Together of Two Worlds: Cultural Syncretism

1 For a more in-depth in this matter, see Francisco Pacheco, *El arte de la Pintura*, ed. Bonaventura Bassegoda i Hugas (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 2001).

2 Eduard Pommier, “La Jerarquía de los Ángeles: El Ángel desde el Génesis hasta Bossuet,” in *El retorno de los Ángeles, Barroco de las Cumbres en Bolivia* (La Paz: Unión Latina, 2000), 35–50.

3 For more on the heavenly hierarchies and the thinking of Dionysius the Areopagite, see Rene Roques, “L’univers dionysien: Structure hiérarchique du monde selon le Pseudo-Denys l’Aéropagite,“ *Laval théologique et philosophique*, June, 1986, Vol. 42, no. 2.

4 On the influence of European engraving on viceroyal art, see Almerindo Ojeda, *El grabado como fuente del arte colonial: Estado de la cuestión*. Proyecto Sobre las Fuentes Grabadas del Arte Colonial (USA: University of California, 2017).

5 José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, “La Jerarquía de los Angeles: Ángeles y Arcángeles,” in *El retorno de los Ángeles, Barroco de las Cumbres en Bolivia* (La Paz: Unión Latina, 2000), 25.

6 Ibid.

7 Ramón Mujica Pinilla, *Ángeles Apócrifos en la América Virreinal* (Lima: Fondo de Cultura Económica, Instituto de Estudios Tradicionales, 1992).

8 Of particular interest in this regard is the doctoral thesis of Nerea Virginia Pérez López, “La Santa infancia en la pintura barroca sevillana” (PhD diss., Universidad de Sevilla, 2016).

9 In the 17th century, the pictorial depiction of religious sculptures arranged around an altar as a sort of trompe l’oeil, was a device of great realism, employed in the visual reproduction of certain Marian devotions, including this iconography of Our Lady of the Innocent and Destitute, see the study by Emilio Aparicio Olmos in this regard, *Santa María de los Inocentes y Desamparados: En su iconografía original y sus precedentes históricos*, 1968, and “La Virgen de los Desamparados en América: Huella de la expansión de Valencia aglutinante de los emigrantes valencianos”, III Congreso de la Emigración Española a Ultramar, Valencia, 1965.

10 When we talk about *brocatería*, we are referring to a painting covered with applications in gold, silver

or even other pigments, generally imitating the details of more luxurious garments. Although the pinnacle of its expression has been linked to the Cuzco School of the 18th century, we know that its use spread quite stunningly to other neighboring schools in the Americas. See Bárbara Belda Lido, “La técnica de la brocatería en las pinturas de la escuela cuzqueña” (PhD diss., Valencia: M.A., Universidad Politécnica de Valencia, 2013)..

11 The *estofado* technique, which first appeared in Spanish religious imagery in the 15th century, and was exported to the overseas territories during the early years of the Conquest, consists in the imitation of quilting and other fabrics by applying oil or tempera to burnished gold leaf, finally using “sgraffito” on the ornamental motifs being worked on. I would recommend anyone hoping to learn more about the techniques of sculptural polychromy to read José Luis Parés Parra, “La escultura policromada y su técnica en Castilla: Siglos XVI–XVII” (PhD diss., Facultad de Bellas Artes, Universidad Complutense, 1998).

12 Laura Rodríguez Peinado studies the iconography of this Biblical episode in *La Epifanía, Revista Digital de Iconografía Medieval* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2012), no. 8.

13 The character of St. Joseph was reviled from early times, being relegated to the background, in the shadows, even. His figure really gained in importance from the Baroque era onwards.

14 Bárbara Belda Lindo, *La técnica de la brocatería en las pinturas de la escuela cuzqueña* (Valencia: Universidad Politécnica de Valencia, 2013).

15 Enrique Flórez, España Sagrada: Theatro Geographico-Histórico de la Iglesia de España (Madrid: Antonio Marín, 1764), 508–09.

16 For more on the literary sources and texts referring to St. Ildephonsus, and their dissemination throughout Europe, read Joseph Snow, *Esbozo de la figura de San Ildefonso de Toledo* (607–667), *a través de mil años de literatura Española* (Spain: *Anales Toledanos*, 1984); and Ángel Custodio Vega, *De patrología española: San Ildefonso de Toledo, sus biografías y sus biógrafos y sus varones Ilustres* (Madrid: Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia,1969), 35–107, and Francisco Esteve Barba, *San Ildefonso de Toledo, el capellán de la Virgen* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 1941).

17 One of the most comprehensive studies on the use of metals as a pictorial support in the Viceroyalties of the Americas may be found in Clara Bargellini, “La pintura sobre lámina de cobre en los virreínatos de la Nueva España y del Perú,” in *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Mexico, 1999), 74–75.

18 Rosa López Torrijos, “La iconografía de San Ildefonso desde sus orígenes hasta el siglo XVIII,” in *Cuadernos de arte e iconografía* (España: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1988), Vol. I, no. 2, 165–212.

19 Dolores Álvarez Gasca, *Iconografía virreinal* (Ciudad de Mexico: Graénén Porrúa Ed., 2018).

20 José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña* (Lima: Fundación Augusto N. Wiese, 1982).

21 On the subject of the sacred *ñucchu* or *ñuk’chu* flowers, and others involved in Inca rituals, see Eleonora Mulvany, “La flor en el ciclo ritual incaico,” in *Boletín de Arqueología* PUCP (Lima: Universidad Católica del Perú, 2005), no.9, 373–386, and Eleonora Mulvany, *Flores para los incacuna, haaui incas y uaccha incas* (Buenos Aires, Cuadernos del

Instituto Nacional de Antropología y Pensamiento Latinoamericano,2000–2002,no. 19, 441–458.

22 For more information regarding Inca garments made of camelid fabrics, such as the *llikllas*, or shoulder capes, worn by women from the Inca nobility in the colonial period, see early texts by the likes of Guaman Poma, 1615; Fray Martín Murúa, 1611, and Diego de Ocaña, 1601.

23 To consult about the life of Saint Agnes of Rome, see Juan Carmona Muela, *Iconografía de los santos* (Madrid: Akal, 2008), 205–207; Louis Réau, *Iconografía del arte Cristiano* (Barcelona: Ediciones de Serbal, 1997), Vol. 4, tomo 2, 109–110, and VV.AA. *Guía para identificar los santos de la iconografía cristiana*, (Madrid: Cuadernos Arte Cátedra, 2018), 160–161.

24 P. Elicecer Salesman, *Vidas de Santos* (Apostolado Biblico Catolico, 2007).

25 Present Plaza Navona, Rome.

26 The church of Saint Agnes in Piazza Navona is one of the most interesting examples of Baroque Rome, whose building was undertaken on the instructions of Pope Innocent X in 1652. Throughout the long and complex history of its construction, we can see the mark of some of the most outstanding Baroque architects, such as Girolamo Rainaldi, his son Carlo Rainaldi, and Francesco Borromini.

27 Teófilo Benavente Velarde, *Pintores cusqueños de la colonia* (Cuzco: Municipalidad del Cuzco, 1995), 135.

28 Ibid, 135.

29 By the dawn of the 18th century, the works produced in Cuzco gradually started to reveal aesthetic transformations that distanced them from the European canons, such as the replacement of naturalist features in human figures with sweeter stereotypes, the loss of the concept of space, and the prevalence of a more majestic vision for the main figures, with the addition of unrealistic landscapes taking on a symbolic value.

30 José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña* (Lima, Fundación Augusto N. Wiese, 1982), 218.

31 On the representation of this Marian iconography in Peruvian art, see Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Historia del culto de María en Iberoamérica y de sus imágenes y santuarios más celebrados* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Huarpes, 1947); Teresa Gisbert and José de Mesa, *Iconografía y mitos indígenas en el arte* (La Paz: Editorial Gisbert & Cia S.A, 1980); and Héctor Schenone, *Iconografía del arte colonial* (Buenos Aires, Fundación Tarea, 1992), Vol. II.

32 For a more in-depth understanding of this element that identifies Peruvian painting, consult Bárbara Belda Lido, *La técnica de la brocatería en las pinturas de la escuela cuzqueña* (Valencia: Universidad Politécnica de Valencia, 2013).

33 One of the most ambitious and complete works devoted to the study of landscape depictions in Viceregal painting may be found in the doctoral thesis of Sebastián Ferrero, “Representación de la naturaleza y el espacio en la pintura andina de los siglos XVII y XVIII” (PhD diss., Université de Montreal, 2016), 79.

34 Ibid, 80

35 Eckhard Leuschner, “The role of prints in the artistic genealogy of Bernini’s Anima beata and Anima Damната,” in *Print Quarterly* (London: Print Quarterly, 2016), vol. 33, no. 2, 2016, 135–146.

Upper Peru: Reflections of an Andean World

1 The biography of the Bolivian painter has been studied, fundamentally, by Luis Zubieta Sagarnaga, *Un pintor de la época colonial: Melchor Pérez de Holguín* (Potosí, 1930); José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Un pintor colonial boliviano: Melchor Pérez de Holguín*, Laboratorio de Arte (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1952); José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Holguín y la pintura altoperuana del virreinato* (La Paz: Serie Arte y Artistas, 1956); José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Holguín y la pintura virreinal* (La Paz: Librería editorial Juventud, 1977); José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Melchor Pérez Holguín mefet, su tiempo, su obra, sus seguidores* (La Paz, 1989); Mario Chacón Torres, *Documentos en torno a Pérez de Holguín* (Buenos Aires; Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1963); Adolfo de Morales, “Melchor Pérez de Holguín Primera noticia cierta sobre el hombre,” *La Razón*, May, 1948; and Gustavo Adolfo Otero, “Holguín, el Greco altoperuano,” *Revista Ultima*, 1942.

2 José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert devote an entire chapter to studying the aesthetic influences of the Upper Peruvian painter: *El mundo pictórico de Holguín y sus primeros cuadros: Las influencias en Holguín y la pintura virreinal en Bolivia* (La Paz: Librería Editorial Juventud, 1977), 125–143.

3 Jorge Bernales, “Mateo Pérez de Alessio, pintor romano en Sevilla y Lima,” *Archivo Hispalense*, 1973, vol. 56, no. 171–173.

4 José de Mesa y Teresa Gisbert, “El pintor Angelino Medoro y su obra en América,” in *Anales del arte, americano e investigaciones estéticas* (Buenos Aires: Facultad de Arquitectura, Diseño y Urbanismo, 1965), no. 18.

5 For an in-depth study of the dissemination of engravings throughout the Southern Viceroyalty, see Ricardo Cárdenas, *El grabado en Lima virreinal: Documento histórico y artístico* (Lima: UNMSM, Fondo Editorial, 2002).

6 Teresa Gisbert, *El arte virreinal* en Bolivia (San Sebastián: Museo San Telmo, 1974), 6.

7 José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Holguín y la pintura virreinal en Bolivia* (La Paz: Librería editorial Juventud, 1977), 197.

8 Juan Carmona Muela, *Iconografía de los santos* (Madrid: Ediciones AKAL S.A., 2003), 234.

9 Juan Carmona Muela, *Iconografía cristiana* (Madrid: Istmo, 2010), 63.

10 Silverio Domínguez, *La Virgen del Cortijo: Episodios históricos de soto de cameros, donde se venera esta imagen* (Logroño: Imprenta y encuadernación de Federico Sanz, Estación, 2), 35–91.

11 José Luis Sampedro Escolar, "Escudos de Linajes, no de apellidos," in *De sellos y blasones, miscelánea científica* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2012), 387, 389, 396, 412.

12 For more on the iconography of Extremadura in the Latin American Our Lady of Guadalupe, see Francisco Javier Campos y Fernández de Sevilla. “Guadalupe en la fe de Extremadura y en la evangelización del nuevo mundo,” in *Congreso Mariano Guadalupense*, (Sevilla, 2004), 205–251, and Pilar Mogollón and Rafael López Guzmán, *La Virgen de Guadalupe de Extremadura en América del Sur: Devoción e iconografía* (Cáceres: Fundación Academia Europea e Iberoamericana de Yuste, 2019).

13 For more on the iconography of Our Lady of Copacabana in the art of the Viceroyalty, see

Pedro Querejazu, “La Virgen de Copacabana,” *Arte y Arqueología* (La Paz: Universidad Mayor de San Andrés, 1981), no. 7, 83–94. In addition, for further intellectual insight, I would recommend reading the catalogue *Virgenes Sur Andinas: María, territorio y protección* (Chile: Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, 2015)

14 The researchers José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert address the legend of Tito Yupanqui in *Escultura virreinal en Bolivia* (La Paz: Academia Nacional de Ciencias de Bolivia, 1972).

15 Regarding the influence of Luis Niño in Bolivian art, see Pedro Querejazu’s monographic study, *Luis Niño, el famoso desconocido* (La Paz: Revista de la Fundación Cultural del Banco central de Bolivia, 1999), Vol. III, 7.

16 In the absence of a monographic study of this unknown painter, we do find references to his life and works in Isabel Cruz, *Lo mejor en la historia de la pintura y escultura en Chile* (Santiago: Editorial Antártica, 1984), and José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Holguín y la pintura altoperuana del Virreinato* (La Paz: Biblioteca Paceña, 1956).

Real Audiencia of Quito and the Capitania General of Guatemala

1 One of the first articles devoted to the study of 18th-century Guatemalan visual arts was that of Luis Lujan Muñoz, whose *Las artes plásticas guatemaltecas a mediados del siglo XVIII y siglo XIX* was published in the *Revista USAC* in 1966. Following in his wake, was the History of Art PhD Juan Haroldo Rodas Estrada, who published the few known details regarding the painter Juan José Rosales in *Revista de Antropología, Arqueología e Historia*, 1996, 3rd period, no.2, and Juan Haroldo Rodas Estrada, *Pintura y escultura hispánica en Guatemala* (Guatemala: General Research Department and School of History at the Universidad de San Carlos,1992).

2 Consult the biographical reference that appears in Flavio Rojas, *Diccionario histórico biográfico de Guatemala* (Guatemala: Asociación de Amigos del País, Fundación para la Cultura y el Desarrollo, 2004), 803.

3 For a broader understanding of the influence of prints on Guatemalan painting, we would recommend reading the work by Ricardo Toledo Palomo, “Aportaciones del grabado europeo al arte de Guatemala,” in *Instituto de investigaciones estéticas*, (Mexico: UNAM, 1996), no. 35.

4 Many of the works of art preserved in Guatemalan churches and museums were executed by Mexican artists, of whom it is worth highlighting Cristóbal de Villalpando, the author behind the paintings depicting the life of St. Francis housed today at Antigua’s Museo Colonia, Juan Correa, whose work is to be found in the *Catedral Metropolitana*, and Miguel Cabrera, the author of the canvases of Brother Peter belonging to the *Colección Popenoe*. For more information on the Mexican influence on Guatemalan painting, see José Mobil, *Historia del arte guatemalteco* (Guatemala: Serviprensa Centroamericana, 1988), 273, and Mario Monforte, *Las formas y los días: El barroco en Guatemala*, (Guatemala: Universidad San Carlos, Turner, 1989), 149.

5 A female garment, molded like a shield and stiffened with card or whalebone, which was arranged on the chest, over an interior garment, cancelling out curves and the feminine outline. James Laver, *Breve historia del traje y la moda* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2017), 116.

6 This is not the first time the Guatemalan painter used the “painting within a painting” device, which we also find in the *Portrait of Doña Rafaela Labayru Azagra y Pineda*, belonging to the Collection Popenoe, and studied by the author of these lines in the M.A Dissertation titled *Juan José Rosales ca.1751–1816 y el retrato civil: Nuevas aportaciones al estudio y catálogo del pintor guatemalteco*, for which she was awarded a distinction. It is also of great interest for the study of this compositional device to read Javier Portús Pérez, *Metapintura: Un viaje a la idea del arte en España* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 2016).

7 The presence of this Passion-related iconography in the Americas was studied in Alena Robin, “Vía Crucis y series pasionarias en los virreínatos latinoamericanos,” *Goya*, 2012, 130–145.

8 The influence of prints on Guatemalan painting was studied at length in Ricardo Toledo Palomo, “Aportaciones del grabado europeo al arte de Guatemala,” in *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* (Mexico: UNAM, 1996), Volume IX, no. 35, 47–57.

9 Matthew 27: 32

10 Fortunately, increasing numbers of art historians are now criticizing and reflecting on the process of the historization of art, a process that has, to date, been defined as linear, evolutionary and hierarchical., impregnated by a Euro-centric profile that has undervalued minority voices when it has paid any attention to them at all. One of the victims has been the art of the Viceroyalty and, very much in particular, that of Guatemala, ignored by many for too long.

11 For more information on *mestizo Baroque*, the *brocateado technique* and the materials used (pigments, gold leaf, stencils and dies), consult Barbara Belda Lido, *La Técnica de la “Brocatería en las pinturas de la Escuela Cuzqueña*,” (master’s thesis, Universidad Politécnica de Valencia, 2013)..

12 For more on the iconography of St. Joseph and St. John the Evangelist, see H. Schenone, *Iconografía del arte colonial* (Buenos Aires: Fundación Tarea, 1992), Vols. I–II, 500–506.

13 On the subject of female monasteries and convents, and their importance in the task of evangelization and the spreading of the faith, see Angel Martínez Cuesta, *Las monjas en la América colonial* (Spain: Centro Virtual Cervantes, 1995).

14 For more on the iconography of St. Joseph and St. John the Evangelist, see H. Schenone, *Iconografía del arte colonial* (Buenos Aires: Fundación Tarea, 1992), Vols. I–II, 500–506.

15 For more on the iconography of St. Joseph and St. John the Evangelist, see H. Schenone, *Iconografía del arte colonial* (Buenos Aires: Fundación Tarea, 1992), Vols. I–II, 500–506.

Novohispanic Brushstrokes

1 Said Juan Correa was an important surgeon of that time who performed anatomical dissections in New Spain and worked for the The Court of the Inquisition.

2 Besides Juan and Miguel Gonzáles, little by little other artists started to join this trend. Two works by Nicolás Correa are recorded: *Cristo en la Boda de Caná* (1693) (*Christ in the Wedding at Cana*) and a *Sagrada Familia* (1694) (*Holy Family*); see George Kubler and Martín S. Soria, “Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions, 1500–1800,” in *The Pelican History of Art* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1959), 313.

3 For more on the iconographic origin of the Immaculate Conception, and its consolidation throughout the Americas, see Suzzane Stratton, *La Inmaculada Concepción en el arte español* (Madrid, Fundación Universitaria Española, 1989); Iván

Martínez, “Estandarte de la monarquía española: El uso político de la Inmaculada Concepción,” in *Un privilegio Sagrado: La Concepción de María Inmaculada. La celebración del dogma en México* (Mexico, Museo de la Basílica de Guadalupe, 2005), and Sergi Domenech García, “La imagen de la Mujer del Apocalipsis en Nueva España y sus implicaciones culturales” (PhD diss., Universitat de València, 2013).

4 Domenech García Sergo, *La recepción de la tradición hispánica de la Inmaculada Concepción en Nueva España: El tipo iconográfico de la Toía Pulchra* (Spain: Espacio, Tiempo y forma, 2015), Series VII, no. 3, 277.

5 Ibid, 286.

6 For more on the use of copper as a pictorial support in New Spain, see Clara Bargellini, “La pintura sobre lámina de cobre en los virreñatos de la Nueva España y del Perú,” in *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1999), Vol. 75, Spring, 1999.

7 Sofía Rosa, *El reflejo, el eco: Sor Juana a través del pincel* (Montevideo: Universidad de Montevideo, Facultad de Humanidades, 2010), 4.

8 The iconographical representation of the most distinguished of Mexican nuns is a mystery that has been addressed by a long list of prominent of scholars, of whom it is worth highlighting: Luis González Obregón, *México Viejo* (Mexico: Promexa Editores, 1979); Amado Nervo, *Juana de Asbaje* (Madrid, Hijos de M.G. Hernández, 1910); Ezequiel Chávez, *Ensayo de psicología de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz* (Casa Editorial Araluce, Barcelona, 1931); Ermilio Abreu Gómez, “Iconografía de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz,” in *Anales del Museo Nacional de México* (Mexico: Museo Nacional de Arqueología, 1934), no. 1; and Octavio Paz, *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz o las trampas de la fe* (Mexico: FCE, 2000).

9 “*Ar her age of 25*”.

10 Due to a lack of reliable documentation, the birth of Sor Juana Inés was put at 1651 (Georgina Sabat-Rivers, Alejandro Soriano Vallés and others). However, documents located by Guillermo Schmidhuber in 2016 confirm, in accordance with the speculations of Octavio Paz and Antonio Alatorre, 1648 as the true year the Mexican nun was born. In Guillermo Schmidhuber de la Mora, “Pertinencia actual de la primera biografía de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz,” in *Estudios de Historia de España* (Buenos Aires: UCA, 2017), Vol. 19.

11 For more on portraits of nuns, I would recommend reading: Josefina Muriel and Manuel Romero de Terreros, *Retratos de monjas* (Mexico: Editorial Jus, 1952); Alma Montero Alarcón, *Monjas coronadas* (Mexico: Círculo de Arte, Conaculta, 1999); Rogelio Ruiz Gomar, *El retrato novohispano en el siglo XVIII* (Puebla: MUPAVI, Secretaría de Cultura del Estado de Puebla, 2000); and Iliana Mendoza Villafuerte, “Estudio de la producción novohispana de monjas muertas” (master’s thesis, Universidad de las Américas, 2003).

12 Guillermo Schmidhuber de la Mora, *Identificación del nombre del pintor del retrato de Sor Juana Inés de la cruz de Filadelfia* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2012), 473.

13 Ibid.

14 Book of Revelation 12: 7–12.

15 Three of the paintings sent by Marten de Vos to New Spain (Mexico) are to be found in the major altarpiece of the Cathedral of Cuauhtitlán (*St. Peter, St. Paul and the Archangel Michael*), while *Tobias and the Angel* is housed in Mexico Cathedral and *St.*

John Writing the Book of Revelation is preserved at the Museo Nacional del Virreinato.

16 In addition to them, other engravers such Johannes Berwinckel and Johannes Hogenberg made copies of the iconographical model conceived of by Marten de Vos, thereby contributing to its dissemination throughout the new and old worlds.

17 The Anonymous *St. Michael the Archangel* preserved at the church of San Pedro in Lima, Peru, demonstrates that the Flemish prints based on Marten de Vos’s *St. Michael* also reached American soil.

18 Enric Olivares Torres, “Imágenes y significados del demonio serpentiforme en el tipo iconográfico de San Miguel combatiente,” *IMAGO. Revista de Emblemática y Cultura Visual*, 2015, no. 4, 31–48.

19 Ángel Almazán, “San Miguel-Lucifer en dos cuadros derivados de Martín de Vos en la catedral del Burgo de Osmá,” *El Burgo de Osmá* (blog), December 29, 2013, https://burgodeosma.wordpress.com/2013/12/29/san-miguel-lucifer-en-dos-cuadros-derivados-de-martin-de-vos-en-la-catedral-del-burgo-de-osma/

20 To study the iconography of St. Anthony of Padua in painting, see Antoniano Banda y Vargas, “Temas antonianos en la pintura barroca sevillana,” in *Actas do Congresso Internacional Pensamento e Testemunho: 8º centenario do nascimento de Santo Antonio* (Braga: Universidade Católica Portuguesa e Família Franciscana Portuguesa, 1996), Vol. I.

21 Patricia Barea Azcón, “La iconografía de la Virgen de Guadalupe de México en España,” in *Archivo Español de Arte* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2007), 189.

22 In the absence of a monographic study of the life and works of the Mexican painter, we can find biographical references in Enrique Marco Dorta, “*Arte en América y Filipinas*,” in *Ars Hispaniae* (Madrid, 19739), Vol. XXI, 337-351; Manuel Toussaint, *Pintura colonial en México* (México, 1965), 146–149; and Teresa Gisbert, “*Arte Iberoamericano desde la colonización a la Independencia*,” in *Summa Artis* (Madrid: 1985), Vol. XXVIII.

23 Markus Burke, *Pintura y escultura en Nueva España: El Barroco* (México: Grupo Azabache, 1992), 135.

24 Ibid.

25 One of the most complete studies of this Marian iconography may be found in Joaquín González Moreno, *Iconografía guadalupana* (Mexico, Ed. Jus, 1959).

26 Rafael Domínguez Casas, op.cit., (Tomo 62, 1966), 431.

27 The most recent studies on the Novohispanic painter Pedro López Calderón come from the Spanish researcher José Ignacio Mayorga Chamorro, who is focusing his efforts and concerns on the doctoral thesis he is completing at the Universidad de Málaga. In one piece of research, as part of said doctoral thesis, he addresses the work we are presenting here: *Pedro López Calderón: Pintura y devoción en la órbita del tornaviaje in tornaviaje, tránsito artístico entre los virreñatos americanos y la metrópoli* (Santiago de Compostela and Seville: Universo Barroco Americano, Andavira Editora S.L., 2020), 487.

28 José Ignacio Mayorga Camorro, *San Ciriaco y Santa Paula, patronos de Málaga, en un lienzo inédito de Pedro López Calderón* (Malaga: Universidad de Málaga, 2018), 81.

29 For more on this, see the study by José Ignacio Mayorga Chamorro, “Catalogando la obra del pintor novohispano Pedro López Calderón: Nuevas aportaciones, reflexiones y conclusiones,” in *IV Congreso Internacional de Jóvenes Investigadores Mundo Hispánico: Cultura, arte y sociedad* (Spain: Universidad de León, 2018).

30 Consult the studies by Gisela von Wobeser and Patricia Barea Azcón on the tradition and iconography of Our Lady of Guadalupe: Gisela Von Wobeser, “Antecedentes iconográficos de la imagen de la Virgen de Guadalupe,” in *Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas* (Mexico, UNAM, 2015), Vol. XXXVII, no. 107, and Patricia Barea Azcón, “La iconografía de la Virgen de Guadalupe de México en España,” in *Archivo Español de Arte* (Madrid: Instituto Diego Velazquez CSIC, 2007), Vol. 80, no. 318.

31 These are currently recorded under the names Diego, Miguel, Pablo, José and Mariano, all being the sons of Luis Berrueco. María C. Fraga González, “Obras del pintor mexicano Luis Berrueco en Tenerife,” in *Estudios Canarios* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Anuario del Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1999–2000), no. 44, 78.

32 Of African descent, in the last decades of the 17th century, Juan Correa cultivated a Baroque srye based on an interest in lavish decoration and opulence, marked in turn by the search for luminosity and golden tones. His skills as an artist were unrivalled throughout his prolific career, and it is worth highlighting three large-scale canvases undertaken for the Cathedral Metropolitana in Mexico City.

33 A pictorial genre generally linked to New Spanish artists from the 18th century, based on the depiction of variations resulting from the intermixing of races, between whites, indigenous natives and blacks. Works are made up of two adults and a child, alongside a cartouche explaining the correct terminology to use when referring to each of them.

34 A Jesuit monk who carried out evangelical missions in Italy, mainly in the cities of Viterbo and Frascati. He was beatified by Pope Leon XIII in 1893.

35 Francisco de Florencia (1619–1695), 1755, p.189. Translation: “Greatly desired to have an image of the Holy Virgin, who would be Companion, Guide and Mistress of the Missions. To this end he called for one of the most renowned painters in Rome and, having given him the idea, through his prayers attained so perfect an image that the most respected Masters in the art of painting had great cause to celebrate and admire it.”

36 “*Hubo tal conmoción en todas partes, que para fomentar el amor y devoción para con la Señora del Refugio, se imprimieron en varias láminas más de cuatrocientas mil estampas, que en breve se expandieron porque de todas partes las pedían*” (“There was such commotion everywhere that, in order to foster love and devotion for Our Lady of Refuge, more than four-hundred thousand prints were made on various plates, which were soon disseminated because they were in demand everywhere.”), Francisco de Florencia, 1755, 190.

37 Ibid, 191.

38 It is more common for the Christogram to appear next to Mary’s monogram, but there are a few rare cases, like this one, where it is replaced by the monogram of St. Joseph.

39 M. A., Castillo Oreja, 2008, 326.

40 Teresa Castelló Yurbide, “La Indumentaria de las Castas del Mestizaje,” in *Artes de México* (Mexico: Artes de México y el mundo S.A.), no. 8, 73–79; citing Nicolás León, *Las castas del México colonial o Nueva España* (México, 1924).

41 Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru, “La familia y las familias en el México colonial,” in *Estudios Sociológicos* X: 30 (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 1992), 698.

42 “With everything, the presence of illegitimate children was on the increase over the years, so that during the 17th century in the city of Guadalajara, illegitimate children accounted for 40, 60 and 50 percent of the total number baptized” (Ibid, 707–708, citing Thomas Calvo, La nueva Galicia en los siglos XVI v XVII, Guadalajara, El Colegio de Jalisco/ CEMCA, 65–68). Also: “Because for one hundred years there were no restrictions against mixed race and mulattos in the Real Universidad de México, nor were there stringent demands for legitimacy” (Ibid, 708).

43 Number 1 often refer to pure Native Indians or more commonly, *De Español e India, Mestiza*. A single case is known in a painting in the Museo de América de Madrid that alludes to the mixture of *Española e Indio, Mestizo* Although, as noted in the introduction, in the nomenclature of the castes there are no exact rules.

44 For more on the tradition and iconography of Our Lady of Guadalupe, see the studies of Alicia Mayer González, “El culto de Guadalupe y el proyecto tridentino en la Nueva España,” *Estudios de historia novohispana*, 2002, no. 26; Patricia Baeza Azcón, “La iconografía de la Virgen de Guadalupe de México en España,” *Archivo Español de Arte*, 2007, Vol.80, no. 318; and Gisela Von Wobeser, “Antecedentes iconográficos de la imagen de la Virgen de Guadalupe,” in *Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas* (Mexico: UNAM, 2015) Vol. XXXVII, no. 107.

45 Patria Barea Azcón, “Pintura guadalupana en las Islas Canarias,” *Anuario de Estudios Atlánticos*, 2012, no. 58, 904.

46 Patricia Barea Azcón, “Iconografía de la Virgen de Guadalupe de México en Granada,” *Cuadernos de Arte*, 2007, no. 38, 326.

47 Ibid, 327.

48 The case of José de Ovalle is yet another example of the lack of detailed studied into a large part of the catalogue of artists working in the Viceroyalty of New Spain during the modern age. In her study, “Nuevos documentos sobre Gabriel José de Ovalle (...)”, Clara Bargellini opened the door for new researchers wanting to examine the life and works of Ovalle. Clara Bargellini, “Nuevos documentos sobre Gabriel José de Ovalle y algunas consideraciones acerca de la apreciación de la pintura novohispana,” in *Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, (Mexico: UNAM, 2001), no. 78, 77.

49 For a broad perspective of the iconography of the coronation of the Virgin, consult Fogelman, Patricia, *Las representaciones de la Virgen María en el Cielo. Una aproximación al imaginario Cristiano americano colonial* in *Entre cielos e infiernos*: Memoria del V Encuentro Internacional sobre Barroco, (2010), 167–176.

50 For more on the iconography of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, consult José María Bover, *La Asunción de María: Estudio teológico sobre la Asunción corporal de la Virgen a los cielos* (Madrid: La Editorial católica, Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1947), 450, and José María Salvador González, “La iconografía de La Asunción de la Virgen María a la luz de sus fuentes: Análisis de ocho obras pictóricas del Quattrocento italiano,” in *Perspective Contemporane asupra lumii medieval* (Pitesti: University of Pitesti, Editura Tiparg, 2010), no. 2, 237–246.

51 See the studies by Gisela von Wobeser and Patricia Barea Azcón on the tradition and iconography of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Gisela Von Wobeser, “Antecedentes iconográficos de la imagen de la Virgen de Guadalupe,” in *Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas* (Mexico: UNAM, 2015), Vol. XXXVII, no. 107, and

Patricia Baeza Azcón, “La iconografía de la Virgen de Guadalupe de México en España,” in *Archivo Español de Arte* (Madrid: Instituto Diego Velázquez, 2007), Vo. 80, 318.

The Painted Coppers of Titicaca

1 Franklin García-Yrigoyen, *Perfiles andinos: Una introduccion* (Sevilla: 1970 Anuario De Estudios Americanos), vol. 27, 3–4.

2 Diego Angulo Íñiguez, *La Exposición De Arte Virreinal De Bolivia* (Madrid: Instituto De Cultura Hispánica De Madrid, Archivo Español de Arte, 1974), vol. 47, no. 187, 347–348.

3 Pedro Querejazu, *El arte barroco en la antigua Audiencia de Charcas, hoy Bolivia, en Barroco Iberoamericano de los Andes a las Pampas* (Milán: 1997), 154–155.

4 José Luis Mesa Alanis and Teresa Gisbert, *Pervivencia del estilo virreinal en la pintura boliviana del siglo xix* (sevilla: laboratorio de arte: Revista del departamento de historia del arte, 1992), 144.

5 Pedro Querejazu, *El arte barroco en la antigua Audiencia de Charcas, hoy Bolivia, en Barroco Iberoamericano de los Andes a las Pampas* (Milán: 1997), 251.

6 Pedro Querejazu, “Iconografías marianas locales y la pintura de imágenes durante el siglo XVIII en la Audiencia de Charcas” in *Actas del III Congreso Internacional de Barroco Americano: Territorio, arte, espacio y sociedad* (Sevilla: Universidad Pablo de Olavide, 2001), 360.

7 Diego Angulo Íñiguez, *La exposición de arte virreinal de Bolivia* (Madrid: Instituto De Cultura Hispánica De Madrid, Archivo Español de Arte, 1974) vol. 47, n. 187, 348.

Sculptures: Materializing the Divine

1 Jaime Aguilar Paredes, *Grandes personalidades de la patria ecuatoriana* (Quito: Editorial Pio XII, 1979), 104.

2 Francisco Javier Eugenio de Santa Cruz y Espejo (Royal Audiencia of Quito 1747–1795) was a medical pioneer, writer and lawyer of *mestizo* origin in colonial Ecuador.

3 Fray José María Vargas Arévalo (1902–1988) was an Ecuadorian Dominican friar, writer, and historian.

4 It was the nickname of Francisco Javier Santa Cruz y Espejo

5 Charles Marie de la Condamine (1701–1774) was a French explorer, geographer, and mathematician. He spent ten years in present-day Ecuador measuring the length of a degree latitude at the equator and preparing the first map of the Amazon region based on astronomical observations.

6 The most complete studies on Ecuadorian sculptural production are by Gabrielle Palmer, *Sculpture in the Kingdom of Quito* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987); Hernán Crespo Toral and José María Vargas, *Historia del arte ecuatoriano* (Quito: Salvat Editores Ecuatoriana S.A., 1977), Vol. 3; Ximena Escudero, *América y España en la escultura colonial quiteña: Historia de un sincretismo* (Quito: Ediciones del Banco de los Andes, 1992); Julio César Morales Vasconez, “Técnicas y materiales empleados en la policromía de la escultura colonial quiteña y su aplicación con miras a la restauración” (master’s tesis, Universidad Tecnológica Equinoccial, 2006); and José Gabriel Navarro, *La escultura en el Ecuador durante los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII* (Quito: FONSAL, 2006), and Ximena Escudero, *Escultura colonial quiteña: Arte y oficio* (Quito: Ediciones Trama, 2007) .

7 In spite of the quality of his sculptural works, Manuel Chillí Caspicara continues to lack the renown he deserves. In the absence, once more, of a catalogue raisonné or monograph with detailed research into the life and works of this genius of Ecuadorian sculpture, we can but turn to the following works for an approach to his intellectual study Agustín Moreno Proaño, *Caspicara* (Quito: Ediciones Paralelo, 1976).

8 José Gabriel Navarro, *La escultura en el Ecuador durante los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII* (Madrid: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, 1929), 171.

9 For an exhaustive analysis of the origin and development of the symbol of Our Lady of Guadalupe, consult Stafford Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe: The Origins and Sources of a Mexican National Symbol, 1531–1797* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995).

10 For more on the subject of the iconography of Our Lady of Guadalupe, see Gisela von Wobeser, “Antecedentes iconográficos de la imagen de la Virgen de Guadalupe,” in *Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas* (Mexico: UNAM, 2015) Vol. XXXVII, no. 107.

11 David A. Brading, *La Virgen de Guadalupe imagen y tradición* (Mexico: Editorial Taurus, 2002).

12 For more in-depth information on the figure of the Archangel Michael as the defender of the Catholic faith, see José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, “La jerarquía de los Ángeles: Ángeles y Arcángeles,” in *El retorno de los Ángeles. Barroco de las cumbres en Bolivia (La Paz: Unión Latina*, 2000), 25–50.

13 For more on the subject of Flemish engravings that had an impact on the depiction of Saint Michael the Archangel in the Viceroyalty, see Cesar Sponda de la Campa and Orlando Hernández-Ying, “El Arcángel San Miguel de Martín de Vos como fuente visual en la pintura de los reinos de la monarquía hispana,” *Atrio. Revista de Historia del Arte*, 2014, 8–23.

14 On the subject of ivory sculpture in Spain see: Margarita Estella Marcos, *La escultura barroca de marfil en España: Las escuelas europeas y las coloniales*, ed. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (Madrid: Instituto Diego Velázquez, 1984), vol. 1, 36.

15 Margarita Estella Marcos, “El comercio de imágenes de España con América y Filipinas: Algunos ejemplos,” in *Cuadernos de arte colonial* (Madrid: Museo de América), no. 5, 67–80.

16 To find out more about the models of Hispano-Filipino ivory sculpture, consult Margarita Estella Marcos, *La sculpture en ivoire hispano-philippine* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiado, 1950)

17 For more in-depth information on the biography of Hieronymus Wierix, see Marie Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *Les estampes des Wierix* (Brussels: Bibliothèque Royale Albert I, 1978–1943), vol. 4, 518–522.

18 María Teresa Sánchez Trujillano, “Los envíos de Indias: El arte colonial en La Rioja,” in *Anales del Museo de América* (Madrid: Museo de América, 2001), no. 9, 255.

19 Margarita Estella Marcos, *Marfiles Hispano-filipinos en las colecciones particulares* (Madrid: Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, 1972), 8.

20 The most important studies into ivory art in the Philippines were the work of the Spanish scholar Margarita Estella Marcos who, over the many years she devoted to artistic research, wrote a major body of articles addressing this subject. I highlight some of the most important ones as follows: *La escultura barroca de marfil en España: Las escuelas europeas y las coloniales* (Madrid: CSIC, 1984); “La talla de marfil,” in Antonio Bonet Correa (coordinator), *Historia de las artes aplicadas e industriales en España* (Spain: Cátedra,1982); “Tráfico artístico entre Filipinas y España vía Acapulco,” in Simposium Internacional Extremo Oriente Ibérico, *Investigaciones históricas, metodología y estado de la cuestión* (Madrid : Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional en colaboración con el Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1989); and *Marfiles hispano-filipinos en las colecciones particulares* (Madrid: Dirección General de bellas Artes, 1972).

21 Xavier Moyssén, *Estofados en la Nueva España* (Mexico: Ediciones de arte Cmermex, 1978), 23–235. The sculptural group referred to is housed in a private collection in Mexico City.

22 At that time, this related to the figure who had recently acquired the aforementioned title, Joaquín Rodríguez de Arellano Íñiguez, through his marriage to María Jacinta de Serna y Noreña. We are grateful to Dr Javier Sanchez (IIH-UNAM) for his guidance.

23 A close example in the case of Ecuador would be the famous work preserved in the convent of Corpus Christi (Las Carboneras) in Madrid. With regard to Mexico, we could mention those in the Museo del Carmen, Mexico City, or in the Museo Amparo, Puebla.

24 Catalogue Nos.: 64.164.168 to 171.

25 Reproduced in Luis Luján Muñoz and Miguel Álvarez Arévalo, *Imágenes de oro*, Galería Guatemalaeca II (Guatemala: Corporación G&T, 2002), 100–103.

26 Pablo F. Amador Marrero, “Ventanas de Cádiz que miran a ultramar: Arte guatemalteco en el convento del Rebaño de María y su reflexión como obra múltiple,” in Pablo Amador Marrero et al. eds., *Tornaviaje: Tránsito artístico entre los virreinosatos americanos y la metrópolis*, Eds. (Seville: Universidad Pablo de Olavide, 2020), 591–621.

27 Ibid.

28 This multiple functionalities may explain the orifice found towards the middle, which may also be observed in other pieces belonging to the same iconographic representation.

29 There is a recent study examining this subject in Brenda Janeth Porras Godoy, “El retablo y la escultura en Guatemala, siglo XVI al XIX” (PhD diss., Universidad de Sevilla, Facultad de Historia y Geografía, Departamento de Historia del Arte, 2015), 565–627.

30 The fact that the sculpture of New Spain has not come down to us in the same terms of quantity and quality as the pictorial canon points to a clear relationship of inferiority when it comes to addressing its study from a scientific point of view, as borne out by the lack of reference literature. However, and despite the obstacles posed by the passing of the years and the stumbling blocks of historical scholarship, we do have a series of introductory studies that can encourage us along this avenue of research. I would therefore highlight the following: Pedro Rojas, “Las artes figurativas: la escultura,” in *Arte mexicano: Época colonial* (Mexico: Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, UNAM, 1963), and María del Consuelo Maquívar, “La escultura de Vocacional,” in *México en el mundo de las colecciones de arte* (Mexico: UNAM, 1994), Vol. 3.

31 For a more in-depth study of this decorative technique, see Enriqueta González-Alonso Martínez, *Tratado del dorado, plateado y su policromía: Tecnología, conservación y restauración* (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 1997).

32 For more on the ideas of the scholars Emanoel Araujo and Robert Farris Thompson, major voices in the study of Afro-Brazilian and Afro-American art, see Edward J. Sullivan, “The Black Hand,” in Joseph Rishel and Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt (organizers), The Arts in Latin America: *1492–1820* (Belgium: Philadelphia Museum of Art, Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso, LACMA, 2006), 40.

33 Ibid.

Tonalá, Perfumed Beauty

1 María Concepción García Sáiz and María Ángeles Albert de León, “La cerámica de Tonalá en las colecciones europeas,” in Alberto Ruy Sanchez, *Tonalá: Sol de barro* (Monterrey: Banca Cremi, 1991).

2 Mitchell A. Coddling, “The Arts in Latin America, 1492–1820,” in Joseph Rishel and Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt (organizers), *The Arts in Latin America: 1492–1820* (Belgium: Philadelphia Museum of Art, Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso, LACMA, 2006), 115–118.

3 With regard to the materials: clays, oxides and natural pigments, the process for preparing the *engobes*, or slips, and the manufacturing of Tonalá ceramics, see Alberto Ruy Sanchez, *Tonalá: Sol de barro* (Monterrey: Banca Cremi, 1991).

4 Ibid.

Viceregal Furniture: A Legacy That Lives on

1 Sara Bomchil and Virginia Carreño, “Méjico, la policromía pintada: El maque,” in *El mueble colonial de las Américas y su circunstancia histórica* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1987), 715–721.

2 For more on Oriental influences, consult Gustavo Curiel, *Taracea oaxaqueña: El mobiliario virreinal de la Villa Alta de San Ildefonso* (Mexico: Museo Franz Mayer, 2011).

3 On the subject of the *zulaque* technique, consult Maria Paz Aguilo Alonso, *Aproximaciones al estudio del*

mueble novohispano en España (Barcelona: Instituto de Historia CSIC, 2008), 24.

4 For further information on inventories and the types of furnishings to be found in the houses of the Peruvian Viceregal elite, see Gabriela Germaná Roquez. “El mueble en el Perú en el siglo XVIII: Estilos, gustos y costumbres de la elite colonial,” in *Anales del Museo de América* (Madrid: Museo de América, 2008), 16, 186–206..

5 Quoted from the Potosí chronicler Arzanz y Vela, addressing the luxury and wealth of the inside of the mansions of Potosí in around 1654: “The decoration has been widespread and permanent, and extremely lavish in the houses, with silk drapes and other varying precious tapestries; excellent prints from Rome, sumptuous desks made of silver, ebony, ivory and mother-of-pearl; beautiful mirrors, abundant dinnerware, burnished and chased in silver; gilt-embroidered chairs with costly studding; gilt dressing tables and wardrobes with extremely precious silver and gold plate; curious clay pieces from China and Chile...”, in Arzans y Vela. A: *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí*, Emecé, Buenos Aires, 1943, 159.

6 Jorge F. Rivas Perez, “Domestic Display in the Spanish Overseas Territories,” in *Behind Closed Doors: Art in the Spanish American Home, 1492–1898*. Brooklyn Museum, Exhibition 2013 (New York: The Monacelli Press, 2013), 49–103.

7 Sara Bomchil and Virginia Carreño, *El mueble colonial de las Américas y su circunstancia histórica* (Buenos aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1987), 437–442.

8 For more information on the life of the painter Diego Quispe Tito and his workshop, see Celso Pastor de la Torre, “La conquista y la escuela pictórica del Cuzco,” in Celso Pastor de la Torre and Luis Enrique Tord, *Perú: Fe y arte en el virreinato* (Córdoba: Publicaciones Caja Sur, 1999), 62.

9 For more on oriental influences, consult Sara Bomchil and Virginia Carreño, *El mueble colonial de las Américas y su circunstancia histórica* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1987), 418–420.

10 Ibid, 409–442.

11 Juan Manuel Martínez, *El arte de guardar: Colección Jaime Gandarillas Infante* (Santiago de Chile: Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, 2016).

12 Alfredo Taullard, *El mueble colonial sudamericano* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Peuser, 1944).

13 Juan Manuel Martínez, Ibid, 6.

14 For further notes on the customs of colonial society, see Jorge F. Rivas Perez, “Domestic Display in the Spanish Overseas Territories,” in *Behind Closed Doors: Art in the Spanish American Home, 1492–1898*. Exhibition Brooklyn Museum (New York: The Monacelli Press 2013), 49–103.

15 With regard to the varying types of hierbera boxes, see Javier Eguiguren Molina and José Eguiguren Molina, “Tipología de la Hierbera”, in *The Mate in America y Equestrian Silver in the River Plate*, (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Eguiguren y Vega, 2015), 193–203.

16 For more on the reproduction of English Queen Anne and Chippendale styles, and the use of cabriole legs with ball and claw feet by the artisans of New Spain, see Maria Paz Aguiló, *Aproximaciones al estudio del mueble novohispano en España* (Barcelona: Instituto de Historia, 2008), 22.

17 Sara Bomchil and Virginia Carreño, *El mueble colonial de las Américas y su circunstancia histórica* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1987), 729–730.

18 Jorge F. Rivas Perez, “Observations on the Origin, Development, and Manufacture of Latin American Furniture,” in Joseph Rishel and Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt (organizers), *The Arts in Latin America: 1492–1820* (Belgium: Philadelphia Museum of Art, Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso, LACMA, 2006), 496–497.

Huamanga, New World Alabaster

1 Josefina Schenke, *En nombre de los Santos* (Santiago de Chile: Centro de Extensión Pontificia, Universidad Católica de Chile, 2018).

2 Natalia Majluf and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, *La piedra de Huamanga, lo sagrado y lo profano* (Lima: Talleres de Ausonia, 1998), 18.

3 Ibid, 19.

4 José Antonio de Lavalle and Werner Lang, *Arte y tesoros del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1980), 16.

5 Natalia Majluf and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, *La piedra de Huamanga, lo sagrado y lo profano* (Lima: Museo de Arte de Lima, 1998), 19.

Barniz de Pasto, Cultural Heritage of Humanity

1 Mitchell A. Coddling, “Decorative Arts in Latin America,” in Joseph Rishel and Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt (organizers), *The Arts in Latin America: 1492–1820* (Belgium: Philadelphia Museum of Art, Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso, LACMA, 2006).

2 Luis Eduardo Mora Osejo (Túrreques, 1931 – Bogotá, 2004) was a renowned Colombian botanist who intensively studied the flora of Colombia.

3 For more information, consult the report on the 1977 expedition undertaken by the botanist Luis Eduardo Mora Osejo, and the identification of the resin, or discharge, covering the buds of what is commonly known as the *mopa mopa* tree, whose scientific name is *Elaeagia Pastoensis Mora*, Luis Eduardo Mora-Osejo, “El barniz de pasto caldasia,” JSTOR, January 20, 1977 Vol. 11, no. 55, 1977, 18 January, 2021 www.jstor.org/stable/43406057.

4 For more information, see M. A. Coddling, “The Decorative Arts in Latin America, 1492–1820,” in Joseph Rishel and Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, orgs., *The Arts in Latin America: 1492–1820* (Belgium: Philadelphia Museum of Art, Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso, LACMA, 2006), 106–108.

5 For further information on *Varniz de Pasto* and its manufacturing processes, based on collecting the resin covering the buds of what is commonly known as the *mopa mopa* tree (*Elaeagia Pastoensis Mora*), see Mitchell A. Coddling, “The Decorative Arts in Latin America, 1492–1820,” in Joseph Rishel and Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt (organizers), *The Arts in Latin America:*

1492–1820 (Belgium: Philadelphia Museum of Art, Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso, LACMA, 2006), 106–108.

6 For more on the subject of the Manila Galleon, cultural exchange and the existing links between Asia and Hispano-America, see Félix Alvarez Martínez, *Galeón de Acapulco: El viaje de la Misericordia de Dios* (Mexico City: Ediciones Polifemo, 1993), and Francis van Wyck Mason, *Manila Galleon* (Boston: Little Brown, 1961).

7 In the 18th century, numerous scientists and chroniclers visited Pasto, and they left written accounts of the processes involved in the famous varnish. These included the famous naturalist Alexander von Humboldt, who visited Pasto in 1801. In his notes and writings, he left information regarding the source of the resin, described the trade and manufacture of Pasto Varnish, and identified the pigments used. For more on Humboldt’s time in Pasto, see Alexander von Humboldt, *La ruta de Humboldt: Colombia y Venezuela* (Bogotá: Villegas Editores, 1994).

8 With regard to the influence of Japanese *Namban* lacquerware on objects executed using the *Pasto Varnish* technique, see Gauvin Alexander Bailey, “Asia in the Arts of Colonial Latin America,” in Joseph Rishel and Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, orgs., *The Arts in Latin America: 1492–1820*

Splendors of the New World

1 Its coat of arms features a border with “eight gold scallops in an azure field”. It was granted by Queen Joanna I of Castile on 28 July, 1532.

2 Reproductions and classifications of them may be found in the following works by Cristina Esteras Martín: *Marcas de platería hispanoamericana: Siglos XVI–XX* (Madrid: Ediciones Tüero, 1992), 260–263; *La platería en el Reino de Guatemala: Siglos XVI–XIX* (Guatemala, Gráfica Jomagar, 1994), 3–5–7–11, and *Masterpieces of Guatemalan Silver and Gold Sixteenth to Nineteenth Century* (Buenos Aires: Eguiguren Ediciones, 2016), 1–2.

3 It was also common in pieces with stems to find a torus in the descending form of a double architectural cupola, as seen in examples such as the chalices housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (bought in Sotheby’s Paris, on 30 October 2008, lot 171) or in the Museo Nacional de Historia of Guatemala in Cristina Esteras Martín, *La platería en el Reino de Guatemala siglos XVI–XIX* (Guatemala, Gráfica Jomagar, 1994), 54–55.

4 It is a particularly impressive piece thanks to the beauty of the enamelling. It was first presented and studied by Cristina Esteras Martín, *La platería de la Colección Várez Fisa: Obras escogidas siglos XV–XVIII* (Madrid: T.F. Editores, 2000), no. 14 (A), 54–58.

5 For more on this, see Roberto Andreu Quevedo, “La platería colonial en Chiapas,” in *Cinco siglos de plástica en Chiapas* (Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Chiapas: *Centro Cultural de Chiapas Jaime Sabines*, 2000), 74–268–269. It is regrettable that this chalice is not marked, as it would have served as a guide when cataloguing our piece.

6 It was presented, with a photographic reproduction and a footnote with its origin, in Cristina Esteras Martín, “El Oro y la Plata americanos, del valor económico a la expresión artística,” in *El Oro y la plata de las Indias en la época de los Austrias* (Madrid: Fundación ICO, 1999), 400.

7 Another variation of his mark exists, where the dividing bar has been eliminated. This is reproduced in Cristina Esteras Martín, *Marcas de platería Hispanoamérica: Siglos XVI–XX* (Madrid: Ediciones Tüero, 1992), 31–33–36.

8 We had documented records of him up until 1606, see Cristina Esteras Martín, *El Arte de la Platería Mexicana: 500 Años* (Mexico: Centro Cultural / Arte Contemporáneo, 1989–1990), 23. This date has been recently extended to the day, month and year indicated above in María del Carmen Heredia Moreno, “Precisiones sobre los cargos públicos de la platería en el Virreinato de la Nueva España (1527–1650),” in Jesús Rivas Carmona, *Estudios de Platería, San Eloy 2010* (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 2010), 314–315, with the commission passing to his son, Miguel de Torres Hena (the Younger) who, so as not to be confused with his father, used his second surname for his mark: ENA. The fact is that Torres Hena (the Elder) must have been using his own mark for a lengthy period of time, given there are many pieces bearing said mark.

9 We had documented records of him up until 1606, see Cristina Esteras Martín, *El Arte de la Platería Mexicana: 500 Años* (Mexico: Centro Cultural / Arte Contemporáneo, 1989–1990), 23. This date has been recently extended to the day, month and year indicated above in María del Carmen Heredia Moreno, “Precisiones sobre los cargos públicos de la platería en el Virreinato de la Nueva España (1527–1650),” in Jesús Rivas Carmona, *Estudios de Platería, San Eloy 2010* (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 2010), 314–315, with the commission passing to his son, Miguel de Torres Hena (the Younger) who, so as not to be confused with his father, used his second surname for his mark: ENA. The fact is that Torres Hena (the Elder) must have been using his own mark for a lengthy period of time, given there are many pieces bearing said mark.

10 Notary Pedro Santillán, 1–III–1629 and Alonso de Rueda Torres, 12–IV–1634, s/f, Archivo General de Notarias, Mexico, fol. 550 v^a.

11 Notary Menén Pérez de Solís, 30–VII–1603, s/f, Archivo General de Notarias, Mexico.

12 Notary Diego Álvarez, 11–V–1609, s/f, Archivo General de Notarias, Mexico.

13 Notary Alonso Hidalgo Santillán, 20–VII–1622, Archivo General de Notarias, Mexico, fol. 205..

14 Notary Baltasar Díaz, 9–V–1570, General Parte, I, Archivo General de Notarias, Mexico, fol. 170.

15 Notary Francisco Muñoz Silíceo, 6–IV–1618, s/f and José Veedor, 20–XII–1639, Mexico, Archivo General de Notaría, fol. 590 v^a.

16 This must have been Caminha, a municipality in the district of Viana do Castelo.

17 It is only reminiscent, without being exactly the same, of the salt cellar that the silversmith *Pere Rivago* submitted for his 1607 exam to gain the title of Master (Barcelona, Museo de Historia de la Ciudad, *Libres de Passanties*, Libro II, 1532–1629, fol. 381).

18 Other than in one period from the beginning of the 17th century, when the *monetary stamp* was used as a fiscal mark, in South America, as far as is known, it was normally depicted using a bordered royal crown, generally using interlinking pearls, with variations in morphology and size (some variations on this model are reproduced in Cristina Esteras Martín, *Marcas de platería hispanoamericana: Siglos XVI–XX* (Madrid: Ediciones Tüero, 1992), 160–164–167–171–359–362–366–368–374–381–384.

19 The four pieces were published in *Gold and Silver of the Atocha* nos. 41 and 42, 66 and 28. Furthermore, it is possible that the type of salt cellar and jug are the same as a pyramid-shaped incense burner (No. 57, pp. 98 and 99), and a workshop board (presentation platter with leg, like a salver) also found in the wreck of the *Atocha* (No. 62, 106–107) (and currently preserved at the Museo de América: inv. no. 88, 6–8).

20 Ibid, 17 and Tom Cummins, “Keros coloniales y Naufragio de Nuestra Señora de Atocha: El problema de la cronología y el estilo heterogéneo,” in *Revista del Museo Inka*, 1995, no. 25, 148. But the entire passenger list of the forty passengers travelling on the “Atocha” is included in the *Relación de lo sucedido en los Galeones y Flota de Tierra firme*, 1622, 3.

21 It set out from the port of Callao (Lima) heading for Panama, then went by land until Porto Bello and having reached Havana, in April joined the fleet that was coming from Nueva España (Mexico), with the convoy heading for the port of Seville. The fleet tended to set out for Spain in the spring (mid-March) or in early summer, but on this occasion, it was delayed, and that is precisely what caused the disaster and shipwreck, given that the hurricanes started in early July.

22 We presented this piece in the exhibition catalogue *Platería del Perú Virreinal: 1535–1825*, (Madrid-Lima: Banco Bilbao Vizcaya / Banco Continental, 1997), no. 15, 108–109.

23 In Cristina Esteras Martín, “Aportaciones a la historia de la platería cuzqueña en la segunda mitad del siglo XVII,” in *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* (Sevilla, 1980), Vol. XXXVII, 30–31, and “Plateros granadinos en Indias: El Reino de Granada y el Nuevo Mundo,” in *V Congreso Internacional de Historia de América* (Granada: Diputación de Granada, 1994), 356.

24 He only lived with her for a month, and as such the marriage was annulled and the dowry taken back (Ibid). It is highly likely that he moved to the city of “Cerro Rico” to carry out some business or commission, as it would not be the first-time silversmiths had moved from Cuzco to Potosí for professional reasons.

25 Although he completed it to a very high standard, they didn’t want to accept or pay for it, so he pawned it to Manuel Martínez Sequeiros (we glean this from his will and testament, dated 20 August 1673, see Esteras Martín, “Aportaciones a la historia...”, op. cit. 738.

26 Said priest is recorded between 1658 and 1698 in Diego de Esquivel y Navia: *Noticias cronológicas de la gran ciudad del Cuzco* (Lima: Biblioteca peruana de cultura, 1980), II, 114–118–121–124–125–132–169–171.

27 Cuzco, Archivo Departamental. Protocolos, Notario Cristóbal de Bustamante, 1692, fol 18.

28 Cuzco, Archivo Departamental. Protocolos, Notario Juan de Saldaña, 1683, fol. 17. This silversmith was brother of *Luis Portillo*, Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo’s favorite silversmith.

29 He was closely linked to the silversmiths of Cuzco, which was where the Brotherhood of San Eloy was located, patron of this Guild, with a chapel and image of the saint.

30 In particular, regarding the monstrance from the church of San Juan, in Górdējuela (Biscay, Spain), which it matches not only in terms of the structure of the base and the viril, but in the fact that the decoration of the border framing presents the same style, based on oval-shaped tips, an unusual feature

compared to other contemporary monstrances from Cuzco. For more on this silversmith and his oeuvre, see our monograph “Luis de Lezana, platero del Cuzco (1665–1713),” in *Boletín del Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar* (Zaragoza: Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar, 1992), XLVIII–IL, 31–60.

31 His name “G° GaLLeGOS” is engraved on a monstrance from the Enrico Poli collection in Lima, and also features on the monstrance from Cuzco Cathedral commissioned by Bishop Pedro Morcillo in 1745, which reads: “Anno 1745. Fecit D. Gregorius gallegos,” see Cristina Esteras Martín, “La segunda Edad Dorada de la platería cuzqueña, 1700–1770: Gregorio Gallegos y sus contemporáneos,” in Jesús Paniagua Pérez and Nuria Salazar Simarro (coordinators) *Ophir en la Indias: Estudios de la plata americana. Siglos XVI–XIX* (León: Universidad de León, 2010), 333–335.

32 He left his signature on the frontal of the parish church of Zurite, Cuzco (Ibid, 346, fig. 10).

33 He wears an ankle-length tunic and robe. After the Renaissance he started being portrayed holding the Child in his arms or holding Him by the hand.

34 He is represented as a beardless young man, wearing the Franciscan habit.

35 Since he is the Founder of the Order of our Lady of Mercy, he carries the standard and the church. He wears a tunic and robe, and on his chest he bears the coat of arms of the Mercedarians. These are not his most common attributes, but we are certainly acquainted with representations using this same iconography (see an oil on canvas at the *Museo de América* in Madrid, probably dated 1650–1700, coming from the Viceroyalty of Peru [inv. No. 00097]).

36 He is dressed identically, with the chalice and the host suggesting that he received Communion from an angel at the time of his death and the palm (even though he was not a martyr) because of the imprisonment and torment inflicted on him.

37 This technique involves carving hollows, cells or troughs out of the surface to be decorated and later filling them with enamel paste.

38 Made known by Cristina Esteras Martín in *Platería del Perú Virreinal: 1535–1825* (Madrid-Lima: Grupo BBV and Banco Continental, 1997), no. 15, 108–109.

39 See Cristina Esteras Martín, *Orfèbreria hispanoamericana. Siglos XVI–XIX* (Madrid: Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, 1986), no. 15, 44–46. On this silversmith and his artistic catalogue, refer to Cristina Esteras Martín, “Luis de Lezana, platero del Cuzco (1713–1665),” in *Boletín del Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar* (Madrid: Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar, 1992) no. XLVIII–IL, 31–60. There were probably two silversmiths with the same name, father and son, which makes it difficult to separate their individual careers over time, since the chronology identified covers a long period from 1630 (a year by which one appears as the owner of a house in the square, so he must have been already of legal age) to 1713 (when a namesake is mentioned upon making a will).

40 We believe that it is a work by silversmith *Sebastián Villegas*, an attribution we published in *Platería del Perú Virreinal...*, op. cit. 108.

41 It is studied and photographically reproduced in “Luis de Lezana, platero...”, op. cit. 36, Fig. 11.

42 On the cubic knot it shows the appliqué reliefs of the four Evangelists, finishing the shaft off with the sculpture of an angel on his knees. It is made of gilt silver, it contains precious stones and it is 62.5 cm high, the sun’s diameter is 25 cm and the quadriform stand is 21.5 x 21.5 cm. We personally studied this monstrance as well as the other pieces in this Collection in 1996 and 1998, preparing a catalog which was unfortunately never published.

43 For more on the motif of the “leaf man” and other elements from the Andean visual lexicon, see Cristina Esteras Martín, “Viceroyalty of Peru: Acculturation and Innovation in Peruvian Silverwork,” in Elena Phipps et al., *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530–1830* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 58–71.

44 Johanna Hecht, “Viceroyalty of Peru: The Past is Present, Transformation and Persistence of Imported Ornament in Viceregal Peru,” in Elena Phipps, Cristina Esteras Martín and Johanna Hecht, *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork 1530–1830* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 43–57.

45 Sara Bomchil and Virginia Carreño, *El mueble colonial de las Américas y su circunstancia histórica* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1987).

46 Alfredo Taullard, *El mueble colonial sudamericano* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Peuser, 1944).

47 For more on the widespread custom, in the Peruvian Viceroyalty, of drinking an infusion made of Paraguayan *mate* herbs, and the emergence, in secular silverware, of new types of pieces, including mate cups, herb boxes, kettles and salvers, see Javier Eguiguren Molina and José Eguiguren Molina, *The Mate in America* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Eguiguren y Vega, 2004), 115–123. With regard to Cristina Esteras’ cataloguing of similar salvers, see Ibid, 243.

48 On the subject of the engravings included by the French scientific traveler Frézier in his *Relation du voyage de la mer du Sud*, and the description of the *estrado room* and the custom of drinking mate infusions from Paraguay, see Amédée Francois Frézier, *Relation du voyage de la Mer du Sud aux cotes du Chily et du Perou: Fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 & 1714* (Paris: Chez Jean Geoffroy Nyon, Etienne Ganeau, and Jacque Quillau, 1716), 325. Ibid., 325: “They frequently use herbs from Paraguay, which some calls herbs of “San Bartolomé” (which they claim originate from those provinces). Instead of preparing the tincture separately, as we do when drinking tea, they put the herbs in a cup made of a gourd, inlaid with silver, which they call a mate (...). They drink using a silver tube, at the end of which there is a perforated ampoule with lots of little holes, and that tube they call the *bombilla*.

49 Cristina Esteras Martín, “Silver and Silverwork, Wealth and Art in Viceregal America,” Esteras Martín, “Viceroyalty of Peru: Acculturation and Innovation in Peruvian Silverwork,” in Elena Phipps, Cristina Esteras Martín and Johanna Hecht, *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork: 1530–1830* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 182–192.

50 Javier Eguiguren Molina and José Eguiguren Molina, *Equestrian Silver in the River Plate* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Eguiguren, 2015), 26.

51 Silverware in secular society gave rise to an infinite number of sumptuous objects, including riding gear for horses. For more on this, see Javier Eguiguren Molina and José Eguiguren Molina, *Equestrian Silver in the River Plate* (Buenos Aires: Eguiguren Ediciones, 2015).

52 With regard to the varying types of stirrups, see: A. Ribera and Hector Schenone, *Platería Sudamericana de los siglos XVII–XX* (Munich: Staatliche Museum für Völkerkunde, 1981), 40–47. A. Ribera and and Hector Schenone, *Platería Sudamericana de los siglos XVII–XX* (Munich: Staatliche Museum für Völkerkunde, 1981), 40–47–355.

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