



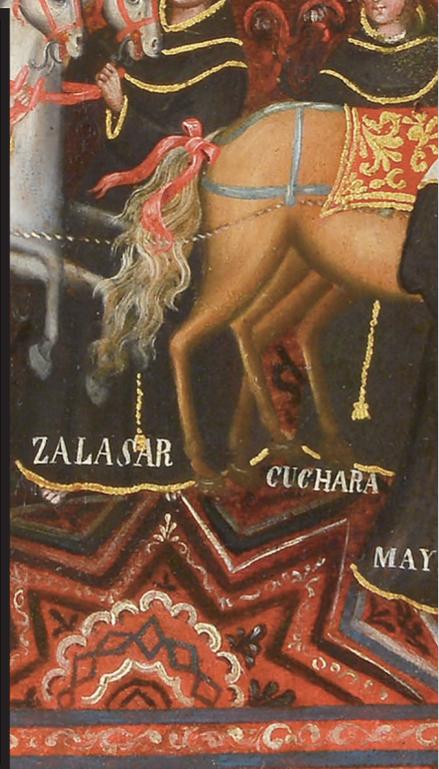
**JAIME EGUIGUREN**  
ART & ANTIQUES

---

Cuzco, 18th century

**The Triumph of the  
Immaculate Conception**

---



...stian de Goyeneche, y Barreda Digno. Obispo de esta Ciudad y Arzobispo Electo de Lima Prelado Domestico de su Santidad a  
 ...s que devotamente Resaren una Sálve delante de esta Imagen en memoria del misterio de su Consepccion y rogaran por la Paz de N.  
 ...Adevocion y peticion dael P. M. F. Mariano Sanches. de la Mesa.

**JAIME EGUIGUREN**

ART & ANTIQUES



El Excmo. Sr. D. D. Jose Sebastian de Covenches y Barrera Digno, Obispo de esta Ciudad y Arzobispo Electo de Lima Prelado Domestico de su Santidad asistente a su Sacro S. Pontificio. &c. Concede 80 dias de Indulgencias a los que devotamente Resaren una Silve delante de esta Imagen en memoria del misterio de su Concepcion y rogaren por la Paz de N. M. la Iglesia Concuerda de los Princes Cristianos. Adevocion y peticion del P. M. F. Mariano Sanchez de la Mesa.

**Cuzco, 18th century**

## **The Triumph of the Immaculate Conception**

**Oil on canvas**

**52 x 61 cm**

**Provenance: Private collection**

# JAIME EGUIGUREN

ART & ANTIQUES

*Daniel Vifian*

Art Historian

## Inscription:

*“El Exmo. El Imol. Sor. D.D. Jose Sebastian de Goyenech, y Barreda Digno. Obispo de esta Ciudad y Arzobispo Electo de Lima Prelado Domestico de su Santidad asistente a su Sacro Sol o Pontificio. Le concede 80 dias de Indulgencias á los que devotamente Resaren una Sálve delante de esta Imagen en memoria del misterio de su Consepccion y rogaren por la Paz de N. M. la Ihlevis y concordia de los Princis Cristianos. A devoción y petición de el p. M. F. Mariano Sanches. De la Mesa.”*

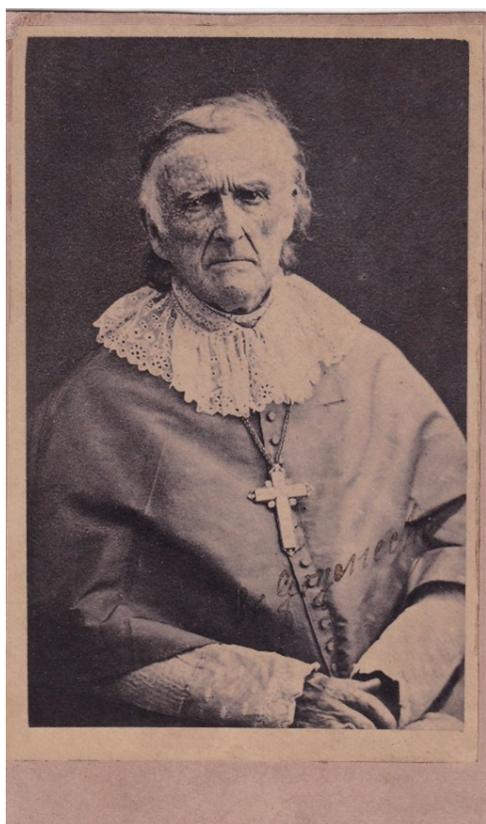


Fig. 1 José Sebastián Goyeneche y Barreda.  
Albumen photograph, 1860s. Private collection.

Few works of art have received special material recognition decades or even centuries after their creation. A close example was the extraordinary event in 1988 when Pope John Paul II placed a golden rose in the hand of Our Lady of Evangelization in the Cathedral Basilica of Lima. A little over a hundred years earlier, in the 1860s, this time in Arequipa, a friar named Mariano Sánchez de Mesa decided to dedicate an eighteenth-century painting of the *Triumph of the Immaculate Conception to the recently ordained Archbishop of Lima, José Sebastián Goyeneche y Barreda* [fig. 1], intervening in the lower area of the work by adding a legend that recorded the praise.

In the monumental book by Pedro José Rada y Gamio, entitled *Archbishop Goyeneche and Notes for the History of Peru*, he recounted how warmly Goyeneche welcomed in February 1849, while still Bishop of Arequipa, the desire of Pope Pius IX to declare the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of Mary:

The graceful lily of the valley, the dawn of love and hope, the incense and myrrh of the perfumed sanctuaries, the delicate, tenuous, and mysterious crystal was to be declared by the authority of Peter's successor, clean, pure, and spotless; and the lord of Goyeneche is moved to the heart, enraptured by the beauty of the incomparable woman, whom not even the brushes of Raphael and Murillo, despite their genius and the richness of their colors, have been able to capture with all the divine grace of her candid contours.<sup>1</sup>

Goyeneche himself declared in an edict of the same year that this was a "so noble, great, and pious object" that he ordered a Mass to be celebrated in all the parish churches of his diocese of Arequipa.<sup>2</sup> It wasn't long before, in the apostolic letter of December 8, 1854, known as *Ineffabilis Deus*, Pope Pius IX declared the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. The greatest celebration of gratitude in Lima

1 Pedro José Rada y Gamio, *Archbishop Goyeneche and Notes on the History of Peru* (Rome: Vatican Polyglot Printing House, 1917), p. 444.

2 Rada y Gamio, *Archbishop Goyeneche*, p. 446.

# JAIME EGUIGUREN

ART & ANTIQUES

was the feast of June 1, 1857, held by the nuns of the Monastery of the Conception, with which the dogmatic definition was solemnized, at the same time as the inauguration of the new portal of their church.<sup>3</sup> A few years later:

*El Gran Mariscal Don Ramón Castilla, Presidente de la República, [propuso a Goyeneche] para Arzobispo de Lima al Congreso Nacional de 1858, y elegido fue presentado a Su Santidad Pío IX, quien lo preconizó en el Consistorio secreto de 26 de setiembre de 1859, recibiendo la investidura del sagrado palio de manos del Ilmo. Obispo de Trujillo Doctor Orueta y Castrillón, el 19 de octubre de 1860 [...].* (Grand Marshal Don Ramón Castilla, President of the Republic, [proposed Goyeneche] as Archbishop of Lima to the National Congress of 1858, and once elected, he was presented to His Holiness Pius IX, who sponsored him in the secret Consistory of September 26, 1859, receiving the investiture of the sacred pallium from the hands of the Most Illustrious Bishop of Trujillo, Doctor Orueta y Castrillón, on October 19, 1860 [...].)<sup>4</sup>

That same year, perhaps in honor of the archiepiscopal appointment, an old painting was ordered to have the following text added to it, which was probably a *trompe-l'œil* representation of a sumptuous carpet lace:

*El excelentísimo e ilustrísimo Señor Don José Sebastián de Goyeneche y Barreda, dignísimo obispo de esta ciudad [Arequipa] y arzobispo electo de Lima, prelado doméstico de su santidad, asistente a su sacro solio pontificio, etc., le concede 80 días de indulgencias a los que devotamente rezaren un salve delante de esta imagen en memoria del misterio de Concepción y rogaren por la paz de Nuestra Madre la Iglesia, y concordia de los príncipes cristianos, a devoción y petición del Padre Maestro Fray Mariano Sánchez de Mesa.* (His Excellency and Most Illustrious Lord Don José Sebastián de Goyeneche y Barreda, most worthy bishop of this city [Arequipa] and archbishop-elect of Lima, domestic prelate of His Holiness, assistant to His Sacred Pontifical Throne, etc., grants 80 days of indulgences to those who devoutly pray a Hail Mary before this image in memory of the mystery of the Conception and pray for the peace of Our Mother the Church, and the concord of Christian princes, at the devotion and request of Father Master Fray Mariano Sánchez de Mesa.)

The painting, possibly made in Cusco in the 18th century, depicts the Triumph of the *Immaculate Conception*, driven by Franciscan saints and theologians. The defense of the devotion (which later became dogma) was characteristic of the history of the order, with John Duns Scotus as the academic authority par excellence. The iconography of the chariot, for its part, has its roots in Roman antiquity, exemplified by the triumphal entrances of the Caesars after their military campaigns. During its passage through the Middle Ages, the motif was never entirely forgotten and later spread profusely throughout the Baroque period. Within Hispanic culture, the high point came during the *Solemn festivities celebrated in Valencia in honor of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary by the Supreme Decree of Our Lady of Valladolid Pontiff Alexander VII*, as the title of the diligent accounts written on the event in 1663 by Juan Bautista Valda (1612-1669) reads;<sup>5</sup> a publication whose engravings [fig. 2] were the basis of inspiration for the well-known Cusco *Corpus Christi* series, conceived and promoted by Bishop Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo at the end of the 17th century.<sup>6</sup>

3 The entire inauguration ceremony was recounted in: Narration of the celebration with which the monastery of conceived nuns of the city of Lima, capital of Peru, solemnized the dogmatic definition of the Immaculate Conception of the Most Holy Virgin Mary by bull of His Holiness Pius IX on December 8, 1854. Turin: Printing House of the Typographic-Publishing Union, 1858.

4 Rada y Gamio, Archbishop Goyeneche, pp. 480-481.

5 Juan Bautista de Valda. Solemn festivities celebrated in Valencia in honor of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary by Supreme Decree of Our Lady of the Assumption Pontiff Alexander VII. Valencia: Gerónimo Vilagrassa, 1633.

6 See: Carolyn Dean, Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ. Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru. London: Duke



Fig. 2 Juan Bautista de Valda, Solemes fiestas... (Valencia: Gerónimo Vilagrassa, 1633), pp. 462–463.

In the words of Ramón Mujica, “the chariots functioned as theatrical reenactments of the 'kingdom of God' on earth; they were traveling 'machines' oversaturated with signs and erudite biblical references that operated as an artificial memory system. They also synthesized the monarchy's doctrinal agenda into a mass visual policy fostered by the religious orders themselves.”<sup>7</sup> In this sense, the canvas in question, as an allegorical representation, sought to encompass the entire Franciscan history surrounding the defense of the Immaculate Conception through its most important artists, accompanied by a plethora of angels in the upper register, scattering flowers over the procession led by a colossal image of the Virgin as described in the Apocalypse of Saint John, standing on a crescent moon and with twelve stars like a halo around her head. In an imploring attitude for the salvation of the world, the Virgin is being crowned by the founder of the order, Saint Francis of Assisi, in his typology of the Seraphic Father; and, in front of her, the dove of the Holy Spirit holds in its beak a phylactery with the famous antiphon *tota pulchra es amica mea*, which should continue with *et macula non est in te*.

On a luxurious carpet that more closely resembles a mosaic, and between a frame of smooth-shafted Corinthian columns supporting what would also be a classicist semicircular arch (all of which perhaps indicates a late 18th century), the procession moves pompously from left to right. The first to appear is an upright Saint Anthony of Padua (1195–1231), holding his typical lily in one hand and a lit candle in the other, possibly to enlighten those living in the darkness of heresy. Pushing the carriage is a Spanish friar who lived in Peru, who stood out as a “very prolific writer, achieving fame in Europe as a champion

University Press, 1999.

<sup>7</sup> Ramón Mujica Pinilla, “The Pillars of Hercules at Charcas,” in *The Art of Painting in Colonial Bolivia*, ed. Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2017), 108.

# JAIME EGUIGUREN

ART & ANTIQUES

of the Immaculate Conception.”<sup>8</sup> His name was Pedro de Alva y Astorga (1601/02–1667), of whom it is sufficient to know one of his last publications from 1644, entitled *Monumenta antiqua Inmaculatae Conceptionis*. Then, on the first wheel, Alexander de Hales (1185–1245), an English theologian of the Bonaventuran line, known as the Irresistible, sets it in motion. In the line of Scotist thought, the second wheel is the Portuguese theologian Francisco de Macedo (1596–1681). Immediately afterward, four figures lie crushed beneath the wheels, defeated in their own heresy. One of them is carrying a book, and one cannot help but find some resemblance to Martin Luther.

The figure of the vanquished is rooted in classical Roman antiquity itself, widely disseminated during the Baroque period, especially at the hands of Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) and his *Triumph of the Eucharist* (1625), whose model spread rapidly, soon being replicated by painters such as the Sevillian Cristóbal López (1671-1730) [fig. 3], reaching the Peruvian viceroyalty as an already codified model, ready to be modified according to very diverse circumstantial needs, such as the Bolivian painting of the *Triumph of the Immaculate Conception* in the Thoma Foundation [fig. 4], or the painting that concerns us produced by the Franciscan order of Arequipa. What was special about this work was not only that it highlighted the historical role of the order in devotion to the Immaculate Conception, but also that it was reused about a century later, when its theological efforts became dogma.

Continuing with the description of the painting, the quadriga pulling the chariot is duly escorted, first, by the Italian preacher Bernardino de Siena (1380 – 1444), accompanied by a theologian named Salazar, who could be Lope de Salazar y Salinas (1393 – 1463), a Spanish Franciscan reformer. They were followed by the Italian Antonio Bonito de Cucharo (1487 – 1510), who wrote the book *Elucidarius virginis: de conceptione incontaminata virginis gloriose in 1507*. Finally, we see the disciple of Duns Scotus, the French theologian Francisco de Mayronis (1288 – 1328), and the also French Nicholas of Lira (1270 – 1349).

Although not all the theologians and saints depicted in the canvas were equally committed to defending the Immaculate Conception, it was necessary for the Franciscan order to unify its position by



Fig. 3 Cristóbal López, *Triumph of the Immaculate Conception*. Oil on canvas, 18th century. Private collection.

<sup>8</sup> Fray Diego de Córdoba Salinas, *Franciscan Chronicle of the Provinces of Peru* (Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1957), p. 1022.

# JAIME EGUIGUREN

ART & ANTIQUES



Fig. 4 Triumph of the Immaculate Conception, Peru or Bolivia, late 17th–18th century. Oil on canvas. Thoma Foundation.

including all its prominent thinkers, even though historical discourses had not been so homogeneous. Francis of Mayronis, for example, a fervent Immaculate Conception believer, had first studied with Saint Bonaventure (1217/18–1274), who is known to have opposed the belief. The truth is that Bonaventure's importance to the order outweighed his ideological stance, which is why he was placed on the Marian chariot, leading the triumphal procession. But the one who directs and guides it is John Duns Scotus, the subtle doctor, the most tenacious defender of the Virgin. He holds the main bridle of the chariot, which both angels and all the other Franciscans firmly hold fast. In his other hand he holds a pen, like Saint Bonaventure, Saint Bernardine and Mayronis, as a sign of their joint academic and doctrinal work. From the pen of Scotus, moreover, emanates an arrow that subdues heretics, and on it one reads *recuit, potuit, ergo*, which means “it was convenient to do it, [God] could do it, then...”, to which one should complete with *fecit*, that is, “lo hizo” (he did it), a phrase with which the belief in the Immaculate Conception was supported, and a phrase with which Pius IX supported the dogma in 1854.

**Mg. Daniel Vifian López**

Art historian

National University of San Marcos /

University of Bern

daniel.vifian@gmail.com

+51 912 275 728

# JAIME EGUIGUREN

ART & ANTIQUES

## Comments on the text added by the Archbishop of Lima, José Sebastián de Goyeneche y Barreda

The inscription on this painting provides significant evidence of the devotional practices and ecclesiastical dynamics of the 19th century in the viceregal and early Republican era. In it, **Bishop José Sebastián de Goyeneche y Barreda** (1784–1872), a figure of notable relevance in the Peruvian Church and later Archbishop of Lima, granted **eighty days of indulgence** to those who recited a Hail Mary before the image depicted, in memory of the mystery of the Immaculate Conception and with the additional intention of praying for the peace of the Church and the harmony of Christian princes.

The text reflects the continuity of a deeply rooted tradition in Catholic religiosity: the granting of indulgences linked to the contemplation of images, altars, or relics. Since the Council of Trent (1545–1563), this type of practice had been reaffirmed as a means of strengthening popular piety and encouraging prayer for collective causes, such as the peace of Christendom or the safeguarding of orthodoxy. The formula used in the inscription, explicitly referring to "days of indulgence," refers to language inherited from the Baroque period, in which the faithful were conceived as obtaining temporary relief from the pains of purgatory proportional to the time allotted.

The text also highlights the social and political dimension of devotional practice. The indulgence is not limited to individual salvation, but rather directs prayer toward the common good, calling for the peace of the Church and the unity of Christian princes. This intention reflects the persistence of a universal horizon of the Catholic faith, where the spiritual and the political were closely intertwined.

The fact that the concession was granted "at the devotion and request" of a local religious leader, Father Mariano Sanches de la Mesa, further suggests the interaction between the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the initiative of religious orders or communities that promoted specific images, seeking to increase their prestige and devotional appeal through the official granting of indulgences.

In the 19th century, when nation states in Latin America were undergoing processes of consolidation and secularization, this inscription acquired added value as an echo of a traditional religiosity that clung to the practices of the Ancien Régime. The persistence of indulgences as an instrument of devotional promotion demonstrates the strength of continuity in Catholic culture, even in times of political and social transformation.

In short, this text inscribed on the painting is not just a devotional note, but a historical document that illustrates the interaction between episcopal authority, Marian worship, and instruments of Catholic piety in the 19th century, constituting an extension of the practices established during the viceregal era.

*Jaime Eguiguren*



El Exmo. El Ilmo. Sr. D. D. Jose Sebastian de Goyeneche, y Barreda Digno, Obispo de esta Ciudad y Arzobispo Electedo de Lima Prelado Domestico de su Santidad asistente a su Sacro Solio Pontificio. &c. Concede 80 dias de Indulgencias a los que devotamente Resaren una Salve delante de esta Imagen en memoria del misterio de su Concepcion y rogaren por la Paz de N. M. la Iglesia y Concordia de los Principes Christianos. Adevocion y petition del P. M. F. Mariano Sanchez, de la Mesa.