Beyond Borders
Viceregal Crossroads Unveiled

Jaime Eguiguren
Art & Antiques

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Project and Direction

Jaime Eguiguren and Ariel Yu Shi

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Author
Alejandro de Antuñano Maurer
Javier A. Eguiguren
José M. Eguiguren
Jaime R. Eguiguren
Cristina Esteras Martín
Sofía Fernández Lázaro
José Gómez Frechina
Jorge González Matarranz
Annemarie Jordan Gschwend
Ulrike Körber
Elizabeth Kuon Arce
Carlos A. Ponce Ponte
José María Quesada Valera
Cesar Roberto Samanez Argumedo
Ariel Yu Shi
Vivian Velar de Irigoyen
Daniel Vifian López
Luis Eduardo Wuffarden

Publisher
Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques
Project Director
Jaime Eguiguren Molina
Editor
Ariel Yu Shi
Silverwork Consultant
Javier A. Eguiguren Molina
José M. Eguiguren Molina
Graphic Design
Ariel Yu Shi
Translation
Dan Whitcombe, Asti S.L.
Printing
Norprint.pt
Photography
Joaquín Cortés Noriega
Daniel Giannoni
Cuauhtli Gutiérrez
Patricio Pueyrredón
Hector Quinteros
Arturo Sánchez
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Pedro E. Santos

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Jie Qu
Xingguang Shi
Paola G. Valdivieso

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Foreword

Jaime Eguiguren

It has been more than two years since Colnaghi and I staged *Discovering Viceregal Latin American Treasures*, an exhibition that enjoyed a fantastic reception among both museums and collectors. We received the support and recognition of curators and experts, and even sparked the interest of museums that had not previously ventured into the exciting arena of New World art. On this occasion I am presenting *Beyond Borders: Viceregal Crossroads Unveiled* on my own, for reasons that are quite alien to my and Jorge Coll's desires, and with a touch of nostalgia at his absence.

It is my great pleasure to present this fantastic collection which, due to the quality of the pieces included and their high artistic level, is unique of its type, as nothing like it has ever been seen on the Hispano-American art market. Although I have relied on the invaluable help and collaboration of the entire team at Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques, combined with the extensive experience I have acquired throughout the many years of my uninterrupted career, there is one factor that has been key to building up the collection I am presenting here; I have been blessed by luck and, let's be honest, divine providence, enabling me to bring together these magnificent works, something that is unlikely to be seen again in an exhibition of this nature.

More and better viceregal art shows are being held all the time, ever since a few years ago the academic world, shall we say, "discovered" the enormous aesthetic and cultural value of this extraordinarily genuine and unique artistic expression, which came out of Latin America in the 16th century and gradually evolved, over the years, leaving a stamp with a marked predominance of cultural syncretism, closing the gulf between two worlds, and giving form to an authentic cultural expression brimming with life and colour. The fact is that the more we learn about and research Viceregal Art, the more we are attracted to it, to the degree that it transforms into a hypnotic potion that enamours, enabling us to admire its tremendous beauty without purist stylistic criticism: what I would define as "art in its purest form". These considerations bring to mind a pioneering visionary, who decades ago was able to glimpse the enormous potential of American Viceregal Art; I am referring here to Marilynn J. Thoma who, with the unstinting support of her husband Carl, successfully built up an extraordinary collection, and who both to this day continue with the commendable task of raising awareness of Latin American art, actively participating in exhibitions, events and varying publications. From my humble standpoint, and not without considerable effort, I take the Thomas as my example and benchmark in making a contribution to Latin-American Viceregal Art, which I love a little more each day.

Viceregal Crossroads Unveiled focusses on the cultural and commercial exchange that took place between the continents in a distant past. The pieces of Latin-American Viceregal Art we are presenting here are the fruit of cultural influences imported into the Americas through the busy trade routes that had existed between Spain and the New World since 1565, when the Spanish friar Andrés de Urdaneta discovered the *tornaviaje*, or return journey, to New Spain via the Pacific, undertaken by ships known as the "Galeón de Manila" or "Nao de China", which set out from the port of Manila destined for those of New Spain (Acapulco, San Blas, Bahía de Banderas and Cabo San Lucas), giving rise to the first instance of what we now know as globalisation. The collection of Viceregal Art it is our pride to unveil for the first time (most of these are previously-unpublished works) is as extensive as it is painstakingly select; each piece has been included for a reason, whether this be its rarity and quality, or what it represents historically. This is an array of pieces that take us back to an ancient Latin America, through paintings, silverwork, furniture and other items that provide an insight into the habits and customs of those refined societies. These artforms afford us a panoramic vision of the Spanish empire in the Americas, and we have focussed on comparing the influence of European models and styles on painting and the applied arts in the Americas, which were very often the source of inspiration for "mestizo" and "criollo" artists.

The Portuguese was one of the largest empires (and it was the first pluri-continental one), with fleets and armies in all five continents by the early 16th century. The discovery of a maritime route around Africa, providing access to India and the rest of Asia gave the country dominance over trade between Europe and the Far East, intensifying its commercial relations with India, Ceylon and China, to name just three civilisations. One example of the marvels arriving in Portugal from Asia, and which will doubtless be of great interest to readers, is a carved ivory fan nicknamed the "Pangolin Fan", made in Renaissance Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka). It was a diplomatic gift from the King of Kōṭṭē, Bhuvanekabāhu VII, to the Portuguese Queen Catherine of Austria. This exceptional ivory fan represents the globalisation and cross-cultural transfer between Asia and Europe after 1542. Another example of the cultural routes we are presenting here is the fantastic "Chinese Stove-kettle of the Three Worlds", dating from the early 17th century. This piece belonged to the 2nd Conde de Bertiandos, and was displayed at the Palácio dos Biscaínhos in Braga, Portugal. Of the nine surviving pieces of its kind, this is the only stove-kettle, as the rest are all aquamaniles. An extraordinary work, manufactured in China for the Portuguese market, it boasts an ingenious internal system of tubes into which burning coal was introduced to heat the water, and it served as an exact model for silver water heaters known as *pavas hornillo* used to drink "mate" infusion, made in the Peruvian Viceroyalty from the 18th century on. This rediscovery is an artistic find of enormous historical value, as the piece was mistakenly catalogued and thought to have been remodelled at a later date, when in fact it has been perfectly preserved in its original conception, thereby upholding our attribution.

I would like to express my sincere thanks to my dear brothers Javier and José Eguiguren, who have accompanied me throughout my entire career, sharing in professional experiences that have enriched us reciprocally; I would also like to thank Eduardo Cohen for always trusting in my judgement and for his unconditional support; Gonzalo Eguiguren, with whom we share opinions and artistic visions, Francisco Monge, for his friendship and trust; Jorge Coll for passing on his optimism and business vision; Jorge Carroza, for his unquestioning help when needed honoring our friendship; and my very special thanks to Ariel Yu Shi, with whom I have spent months on end given over to completing this challenge, helping each other mutually.

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Introduction

José Gómez Frechina

Beyond Borders: Viceregal Crossroads Unveiled adopts a broad set of geographical and historical coordinates to undertake a selective and investigative retrospective examination (based on a highly varied and notable group of works) of the plastic arts produced in both Central and South America from the 16th-century establishment of the Viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru (with that of New Granada following in 1739 and that of the Río Plata in 1776) until the Independence of the Ibero-American republics in the 19th century. In this we have taken account of the close relations and permanent links with the Old World, the specific characteristics of viceregal art in the Americas, and the multiple cultural connections and bridges that existed through new trade routes with the art of the Far East, giving rise to the arrival and purchase of exotic and sumptuous objects.

Dominance over the oceans, through an increasingly well-prepared fleet, and maritime routes opened up by the Portuguese and Spanish (Fig. 1), were of fundamental importance not just for international trade, but also for the mobility of innovative and exotic artforms, changing fashions and shifts in aesthetic tastes, the ruling classes' new demand for luxury goods, the mastering of new artistic techniques as well as scientific expeditions discovering new species, and so on.

Fig. 1 Matteo Ricci 利瑪竇 (Macerata, 1552 – Beijing, 1610), *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* (坤輿萬國全圖 A map of the view of the countries of the world), 1602; engraving

The maritime expedition led by Ferdinand Magellan and Juan Sebastían Elcano, which resulted in the first circumnavigation of the earth, constituted a nautical, economic, cultural and human milestone. Their expedition, whose goal was to reach the Spice Islands, left Sanlúcar de Barrameda on 20 September 1519, and was completed with the *Victoria*'s return to Spain on 6 September 1522, thereby firing the enthusiasm and financial support of the Hispanic Monarchy and its subjects for new expeditionary challenges. In 1513, the Spanish explorer and conquistador Vasco Núñez de Balboa had already crossed the Isthmus of Panama, discovering the waters of the Pacific Ocean, which he named the Southern Sea, broadening known horizons and distances.[1]

The first objective was to find safe maritime routes that would regularly unite the Pacific Ocean coast of New Spain with the Philippines. A preliminary attempt at locating a return route, or *tornaviaje*, was undertaken by a fleet under Álvaro de Saavedra, which reached Mindanao in 1528, but failed in its attempt to return via the Pacific to Acapulco. In 1541, Antonio de Mendoza y Pacheco, the first viceroy of New Spain, financed a fleet of six ships under Ruy López de Villalobos (Malaga, ca. 1505-1510 – Ambon, Maluku Islands, 1546), which reached the archipelago, christening it the Philippines in homage to the Spanish monarch Philip II, and replacing the earlier name given it by Magellan in 1521 (San Lázaro), but failing in its goal of returning from the Philippines to New Spain via the Pacific.

While on American soil, the Basque sea captain Miguel López de Legazpi (Zumárraga, 1502 – Manila, 1572), who would be the first governor of the Philippines, received Philip II's orders from the new viceroy of New Spain, Luis de Velasco y Ruiz de Alarcón, to establish a return route between Mexico and the Western isles as Admiral of the Fleet. He did so in the company of the highly-esteemed Augustinian friar Andrés de Urdaneta (Villafranca, Guipúzcoa 1508 – Mexico, 1568) as pilot and cartographer, having already participated as an experienced explorer and cosmographer in the Loaísa expedition to the Maluku islands in 1525-1526, where they came up against opposition from the Portuguese who had settled on the island of Tidore (Fig. 2).

On 21 November 1564, the fleet under Legazpi set sail from the port of Barra de Navidad, on the western coast of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, arriving in the Philippines where they expected to be met by perfect conditions for undertaking a safe return journey, or *tornaviaje*, which they succeeded in doing by following the "Kuroshio" current until sighting the coast of California, at which point they followed it south until, on 1 October 1565, they arrived in Acapulco. The expedition thereby achieved the highly-prized strategic goal of the Hispanic Monarchy, in establishing trade with the east of Asia, accessing the market and supply of spices and opening up new markets with goods of enormous commercial potential without having to navigate waters under the control of Portuguese ships.

Legazpi took control of the main islands of the Philippines, establishing his main settlement in the city of Cebu, and soon went on to found Manila on the island of Luzon in 1571, which became the capital of these new territories, giving rise to the formation of a huge commercial emporium that was well connected to the neighbouring areas, it being immediately worth highlighting China, Japan, India, Borneo and other bordering countries.[2]

Fig. 2 Nicolò Billy (1689-1747), *Conquest of the Philippine Islands*, 1698; engraving. M. Rvuiz de Mvrga Press

In a letter from Legazpi to King Philip II, we can observe the archipelago's potential for trade: "*further to the north from where weIare, or almost to the north-east, not far from here, there are large islands some call Luzon and Mindoro, where the Chinese and Japanese come every year to trade, bringing silks, fabrics, bells, porcelain, scents, iron, tin, blankets of painted cotton and other goods. And when they return they take gold and wax. The peoples of these two islands are dark-skinned, and they buy what the Chinese and Japanese bring, trading everything on this archipelago island*".[3]

The Philippines, under the Viceroyalty of New Spain following the establishment of the *tornaviaje* route, offered new possibilities for evangelisation, trade and the resultant transportation of artworks via the *Galeón de Manila* (which was also known as the *Galeón de Acapulco* or the *Nao de la China*) maritime routes, which remained open without interruption until 1815. Part of the merchandise unloaded in Acapulco (including cinnamon and cloves) was transported by land to Veracruz and then put to sea once more on the *Flota de Indias* (Fleet of the West Indies), destined for Seville or Cadiz.[4]

Civil servants, traders, soldiers and missionaries with cargos including animals and native plants set sail from Acapulco, the main western coastal port in the Viceroyalty of Spain, all headed for Manila. But the main merchandise was the silver extracted from the rich mineral deposits of the Americas, though one should not forget the wine, vinegar, cocoa or cochineal from Oaxaca, which was highly prized for dying fabrics. Meanwhile, from Manila, which became a genuine commercial crossroads linking the merchandise of neighbouring China, India, Sian, Japan and the Spice Islands, sent the Americas an array of goods including spices, fine porcelain, ivory, prized lacquer, carpets and fabrics, silks, wax, inlay furniture, folding screens and other lavish items of craftsmanship. Thriving trade markets became firmly established in both Manila and Acapulco, equally dependant on the movements of the fleet.

The kingdom of Portugal was not one to be left behind in this ongoing process of maritime exploration, which started in the time of Prince Henry the Navigator in the 15th century, following the shift in international trade relations that resulted from the 1453 fall of Constantinople into the hands of the Ottomans, along with the discovery of Madeira and the Azores. The Portuguese shared in the Spanish goal of controlling trade and the distribution of spices, using their dominions on the west coast of Africa and Bartolomeu Dias' successful endeavours in rounding the Cape of Good Hope in 1487, with Vasco da Gama's subsequent arrival in India in 1498. Nor should one underestimate the importance of the taking of Goa (future capital of the Portuguese empire in south-east Asia) in 1510 by Alfonso de Albuquerque, who quickly established himself on the Maluku Islands, with their nutmeg and other much sought-after spices; a territory which would soon be contested by the Spanish and, later, by the Dutch (Fig. 3).

The fortuitous arrival of the Portuguese sailors António de Mota, António Peixoto and Francisco Zeimoto in Japan 1543 due to a typhoon that hit when they were on their way to Ningbo introduced the first firearms into Japanese territories, and opened up new and mutually-beneficial trade routes for the Portuguese with new lands, in their desire for trans-oceanic expansion (Fig. 4).

After a series of failed attempts, including the episode of Tome Pires' unsuccessful mission in Beijing with the goal of gaining an audience with the Emperor, the Portuguese set up base in Macau, paying a tribute for the exchange of the silks, porcelains and lacquers that fetched a high price in Lisbon. They quickly established a strategic route to cover the nigh-on 2,000km between Macau and Nagasaki.[5] The Portuguese carracks were painted black with tar to make the hulls waterproof, and were known by the Japanese as *Kurobune*, or black ships. The route from the port of Lisbon to the Far East was made in boats that were known as *Nau do trato* or *Nau da China* (Fig. 5).

The cultural crossover involved in the first coming together of the three continents of Asia, the Americas and Europe thanks to these pioneering Portuguese and Spanish maritime expeditions gave rise to a burgeoning globalisation, with the substantial reduction in distances generated by these new nautical routes, the appropriation of new customs in each of the different lands, the use of diplomacy to guarantee commercial exchange, the introduction of new plants and foods, leading to changes in gastronomy, the discovery of new therapeutic methodologies, and the fluid coming and going of paintings, sculptures, silverwork and a multitude of both luxurious and domestic pieces of art.

Fig. 3 Willem Janszoon Blaeu (Uitgeest or Alkmaar, 1571 – Amsterdam 1638), *Molvcae Insvla Celeberimae* (map), 1630; engraving

Fig. 4 *Arrival of the Southern Barbarians* folding screen, anonymous artist, Japan, Momoyama period (1573-1615). Cleveland Museum of Art, U.S.

In 1524, Catherine of Austria (Torquemada, Palencia, 1507 – Lisbon, 1578), the younger daughter of Philip the Handsome and Joanna I of Castile, married her cousin King John III of Portugal, and from the court and capital of Lisbon she became a major patron of the arts and a keen collector of luxury artworks, wild animals and exotic and marvellous items arriving at the port of Lisbon, from both the country's African dominions and its distant Asian lands. With her taste and predilection for the precious elegance of Oriental pieces of an exotic nature, she played a key role in the way the Habsburgs set about building up their collections in Madrid, Prague, Vienna, Innsbruck and Brussels, mainly through family gifts. The joining of the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns, which lasted from 1580 to 1640, further promoted the dispersion of works arriving in Lisbon.[6]

The elitist act of collecting art in 16th-century Europe, in the midst of the consolidation of the era of discovery, the search for rare *naturalia*, the demand for curiosities and exquisite pieces from the Far East and the Americas, gave rise to the creation of so-called *Kunstkammer*, or cabinets of curiosities. Among Catherine of Austria's gifts, aimed at strengthening family ties within the House of Habsburg, it is worth highlighting the pieces of Ming porcelain, the tortoiseshell bowls from Gujarat, Asian furniture, fine Oriental lacquer, ivory chests and caskets and pieces of rock crystal.

One exceptional piece that resulted from the artistic exchanges between Asia and Europe in the mid-16th century (present in the project we are presenting here), is the so-called "Pangolin Fan", a folding fan made of carved ivory, which received its name on account of the unusual depiction of an Indian pangolin *(Manis crassicaudata)*, or scaly ant-eater, on its handle.[7] This fan, along with other pieces of ivory from the island of Ceylon (modern-day Sri Lanka) was a diplomatic gift from the King of Kotte, Bhuvanekabāhu VII (r. 1521-1551) to the Portuguese court of John III of Aviz and his wife, the aforementioned Catherine of Austria, who was Charles V's little sister, through a diplomatic delegation that travelled to Lisbon in 1642, led by the ambassador and Brahmin chaplain Srī Rāmaraksa Pandita.

Fig. 5 *Portuguese Carracks off a Rocky Coast*, anonymous artist, 1540; oil on canvas. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich (London)

The King of Kotte's gifts the delegation brought to the court of Lisbon included a young Asian elephant by the name of Süleyman, who had been reared in the royal stables and would later be presented to the Habsburg Archduke Maximilian II and sent to Vienna. Other ivory fans carved in the workshops of Kotte that were given to Portuguese monarchs may be found in the museums of Munich, Vienna and Braunschweig. Among the Sinhalese items taken to Lisbon there were also folding ivory fans, sumptuous combs, ivory boxes, perfume sprays, jewels and objects made of rock crystal.

Out of the select group of folding ivory fans carved in the royal workshops of Bhuvanekabāhu VII and taken as gifts to the court of Lisbon, it has been possible (following the dispersion of the Catherine of Austria ones) to track down examples in the collection of Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol (1529-1595) in Innsbruck as well as in the splendid *Kunstkammer* belonging to Emperor Rudolf II (1552-1612) in Prague.

In the happy meeting between Western and Oriental culture brought about by the development and improvement of trade and the transportation of goods, a major role was played by diplomatic channels, as we can see from the early relations between Japan and the Iberian Peninsula through the Tenshô Embassy

Fig. 6 Gaspar Bouttats (Antwerp, 1648-1695/96), *Philip II receiving the Japanese ambassadors*; etching. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid

Fig. 7 Kanō Naizen (1570-1616), *Arrival of the Southern Barbarians (Nanban-jin)* folding screen, ca. 1600. Kobe City Museum, Japan

(1582-1590), promoted by the Italian Jesuit Alessandro Valignano (Chieti, Kingdom of Naples 1539 – Macau, 1606), appointed the Society of Jesus' Visitor to Japan in 1579. The envoy, which included four Japanese Christians, was received by King Philip II in El Escorial in 1584 (Fig. 6) and, in Rome, by Popes Gregory XIII and Sixtus V. Later, it is also worth mentioning the Keichô Embassy (1613-1624), promoted by the daimyō Date Masamune, with the goal of establishing direct trade with New Spain. Having travelled through the Americas, this diplomatic envoy was received by Philip III in a 1615 audience, in the presence of the samurai Hasekura Rokuemon Tsunenaga.[8]

The Portuguese arrival in Japan in 1543 (Fig. 7), and their settling in the south of the country, opened up new horizons for international trade, the introduction of Christianity and the Jesuits' evangelising mission on the island, and well as the cross-border exchange of artworks. The Western foreigners were known as *nambanjin* (barbarians or inhabitants of southern lands), which is the origin of the term for Japanese *namban* art (1575-1635), including folding screens and the East Asian lacquer known as *urushi*, which caught the eye of the wealthy Iberian classes as soon as it arrived in the south of Europe, largely through the port of Lisbon (Fig. 8).

These works of *namban* lacquer use the sap from the *Rhus vernicifera* tree, applying various coats onto a support (normally wooden), polishing each layer using vegetable charcoal to create a profound black shine, and then incorporating *makie* technique with drawings of images and fine particles of gold in specialised workshop in the city of Kyoto, including floral decorative motifs, leaves, animals and geometric figures. The Jesuits in Japan were the first to clamour for these pieces of *namban* art, specifically requesting items intended for religious use, such as triptychs (Fig. 9), shrines, missal stands and boxes for storing the host, whose beauty and exoticism meant they quickly became export goods with the diversification into non-religious items, such as chests, wardrobes, caskets, trays, folding chairs, tables and desks.[9]

The inventories of assets and the terms of the testaments left by members of the House of Habsburg, such as Catherine of Austria, Mary of Hungary, Philip II, his wife Elizabeth of Valois, Don Carlos, Joanna of Austria or Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol, are proof of the early interest in collecting *makie* items made of *namban* lacquer, featuring mother-of-pearl inlay, which were considered items of prestige, and indicating a recognition of the formal refinement of works coming out of Japanese workshops.

Fig. 8 *Triptych*, Azuchi-Momoyama period, 16th-17th century; Japanese lacquerware. Kyushu National Museum, Japan

Fig. 9 *Triptych*, Azuchi. Momoyama period, 16th -17th century; Japanese lacquerware. Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo

Of the select works executed in East Asia (and linked to Portugal's thriving trade relations) included in the scientific project we are presenting here, we should highlight a lacquer missal stand from Macau dating to the second half of the 16th century, which is an exceptional piece in its extreme rarity, bearing testimony to the Jesuits' evangelising and missionary works spreading the Catholic faith.

Fig. 10 *Missal stand*, Japan, 16th -17th century; lacquered wood, mother-of-pearl, gold. Peabody Essex Museum, Salem (Massachusetts)

The liturgical function of this small piece of furniture, which was placed directly on the altar, was to facilitate the reading of holy scriptures. It is an incredibly interesting example of Chinese black lacquer, commissioned by the Jesuits, presenting a hybrid ornamental repertory combining both East and West. It does not feature the typical Society of Jesus monogram (IHS) (Fig. 10) surrounded by an aureole of golden rays, as was often the case for pieces made in Japanese *namban* workshops from the *Momoyama* period (examples in the Cathedral of Tui or in the church of Orloz in Navarre, for instance) but, instead, a depiction of the Archangel Michael in warrior mode, defeating the demon and holding a spear with a cross at the end and the scales for weighing the souls of the dead. The other side features more characteristically Oriental decoration, including peony shrubs in blossom and magpies, with their rich symbolic symbolism.

This early globalisation, which took place throughout the 16th century as a result of the extensive network of new maritime routes and trade relations created by the Portuguese and Spanish Crowns, along with the conquest of new lands and the evangelical missions mainly undertaken by Jesuits, Augustinians, Franciscans and Dominicans, who were establishing permanent contact with the three continents of Asia, Europe and the Americas for the first time, had its consequences. One of these was the cultural clash and fusion of extremely diverse peoples with differing cosmological visions, leading to a gradual acculturation that gave rise to new and interesting artistic expressions.

One exceptional early example of this sort of exchange is the magnificent Chinese stove-kettle (formerly known as *caquesseitão*) depicting a fantastical dragon-phoenix, whose origin and use are being revealed for the first time in this publication, and which was undoubtedly executed in Macau in the late 16th or early 17th century, intended for sale in Portugal. All we need to do today is contemplate this unique and remarkable work from the Celestial Empire, and we can imagine the fascination and emotion that these exotic and sumptuous pieces of *ars orientalis* inspired in the wealthy Portuguese elite classes when they arrived in the cosmopolitan port of Lisbon. The singularly unique nature of this piece lies in the fact that it was the model followed by the water heaters, or *pavas hornillo,* that were used in Peru and Bolivia from the early 18th century on, intended for making and serving infusions of mate (a herb of Paraguayan origin).

During Spain's Golden Age of painting, some of its artists travelled to the Americas, as was the case of Pedro García Ferrer (Alcorisa, Teruel, 1583-1660), who trained in Valencia as part of the circle of the Ribaltas, and who painted a canvas depicting the *Martyrdom of the Jesuits Pablo Miki, Juan de Soan de Gotó and Diego Kisai*, which took place in Nagasaki on 5 February 1597 (Valencia, Museo de Bellas Artes). This 1628 canvas was commissioned for Valencia's Casa Profesa (Jesuit professed house) (Fig. 11). In July 1641, García Ferrer travelled to the Viceroyalty of New Spain, accompanied by Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, the Bishop of Puebla, to take charge of works being carried out on the city cathedral, painting a series of episcopal portraits and other canvases such as the *Assumption of the Virgin* (Fig. 12). He

Fig. 11 Pedro García Ferrer (Alcorisa, 1583 – Toledo, 1660), *Martyrdom of the Jesuits Pablo Miki, Juan de Soan de Gotó and Diego Kisai en Nagasaki*, 1628; oil on canvas. Museo de Bellas Artes, Valencia

remained in Puebla until 1649, when he returned to the Peninsula.

In the overseas process of evangelisation undertaken by the Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians, aided by the creation of burgeoning urban centres with markets, schools and churches, the cult of the Virgin Mary, in her many titles and advocations, played a pivotal role.

One of the pillars of viceregal history in Hispano-America was the cult of the Virgin Mary, which served as a cohesive element in the building of identity, based on numerous advocations, some of which came from the Iberian Peninsula. Here we are presenting an interesting 17th-century example of the *Virgin of Antigua*, the archetypal Sevillian image of the Mother of God, from the Peruvian Viceroyalty, and which features local techniques, in particular *brocatería*. The royal devotion to this Marian image is well known, linked as it was to the defence of the Catholic faith in the face of the infidel. In the Americas, this advocation was quickly linked to cathedrals, with brotherhoods and confraternities including powerful and socially-prestigious members.

Our Lady of the Candelaria, which originated from Tenerife, was one of the earliest and most widespread Marian titles in the American viceroyalties. There are records that Hernán Cortés carried a medal featuring the titular Virgin around his neck.

Another example from the Peruvian Viceroyalty, where we find the old capital of the Inca Empire featuring a Marian advocation from the Iberian Peninsula, is the incredibly rare 18th-century canvas depicting *Our Lady of the Forsaken* of Lima, which is a painted "reproduction" of the free-standing sculpture that disappeared in the 17th century, also known through an engraving. This Marian cult,

with its origins in Valencia, enjoyed a certain popularity in the Americas, as demonstrated by the examples from the church of San Francisco de Paula in Ayacucho or the one from the Cathedral Basilica of the Virgen de la Asunción in Cuzco.

Fig. 12 Pedro García Ferrer (Alcorisa, 1583 – Toledo, 1660), *Assumption of the Virgin*; oil on canvas. Cathedral of Puebla, Mexico

The Dominicans were responsible for popularising the image of *Our Lady of the Rosary* throughout the Americas, represented here by a superb 18th-century painting of a hybrid iconographic nature, also including elements of the Pilgrim Virgin/Our Lady of Mercy, accompanied by Sts. Dominic and Francis of Assisi. The Virgin, dressed in a transparent tulle headdress with little flowers and an exuberant floral dress decorated with gold and pearls, under a baldachin with canopy, and sporting a travel or hunting hat (adorned with pearls and gemstones), is holding a bunch of white lilies and the Infant Jesus, who is grabbing onto her black rosary beads. The two little metal posts flanking the canopy and adorned with roses feature glass lanterns with candles, indicating that the image was intended to be taken on procession.

The monastic order of the Hieronymites, which was founded in Castile in the 14th century, also participated in spreading these Marian cults throughout the Americas, in particular *Our Lady of Guadalupe of Extremadura* from the end of the 16th century on, with the arrival in the Peruvian Viceroyalty of the Hieronymite friar Diego de Ocaña.

Having taken his vows in the Extremaduran monastery of Santa María de Guadalupe, Ocaña travelled to the Peruvian Viceroyalty at the end of the 16th century, arriving in the city of Potosí on 18 July 1600, where he established the cult of Our Lady of Guadalupe, creating a confraternity and a painting reproducing the image of the Virgin from Extremadura. What we are presenting here is a magnificent, replicated version of *Our Lady of Guadalupe of Potosí*, preserved in the church of San Juan Bautista in the famous mining town, with face and hands painted, the rest of the body in carved wood.

The widespread popularisation of the Marian cult in the viceregal Andean region, especially in the bishopric of Charcas (Bolivia) with the indoctrination and evangelisation of the indigenous population by the Dominicans, began at the end of the 16th century with The Virgin of Copacabana (also known as Our Lady of the Candelaria of Copacabana or Our Lady of Copacabana), quickly exerting a direct influence on the development and dissemination of its twin image or formal copy, Our Lady of Cocharcas.

Two good examples of 18th-century Peruvian oil canvases depicting this Marian title and following the iconography of Our Lady of Cocharcas, placing the Virgin under an open baldachin surrounded by high hills, are presented here, one of which is dated and features the following inscription: "*Tota pulcra es Maria ed macula originalis no es ente tu gloria. la milagrosa ymagén de nues señora de Cocharcas año de 1761".* The text included in the phylactery held by the two angels bears witness to the Virgin's purity, free from original sin, and is a partial reference to the Book of Judith and the Song of Songs. This inscription, linked to the Immaculate Conception, also appears in other painted works depicting Our Lady of Cocharcas, such as the one preserved in New York's Brooklyn Museum, dating from a few years later, 1765.[10]

Cocharcas (from the Quechua word *qhuchi*, meaning swamp) is located at more than 3,000m above sea level, between Cuzco and Ayacucho and halfway up the valley of the Pampas river in the District of the Province of Chincheros in the Peruvian Department of Apurimac. It is also one of the major Marian pilgrim destinations, centring on the Shrine of Our Lady of Cocharcas, an outstanding example of Peruvian Baroque.

Thanks to Fernando de Montesinos, a Spanish historian and presbyter, we know the legend and story behind this Peruvian Marian advocation from the end of the 16th century, which he related in his *Anales del Perú 1498-1642*, also included with ample testimony and details in the *Libro primero de los legajos del siglo XVI del Santuario de Cocharcas*.

A native of San Pedro de Cocharcas, the indigenous noble Sebastián Quimichi, the son of Lope Martin and Luisa Asto, and descended from the "Curaca" Chuquisullca, is said to have been playing with other boys his age on the eve of a local festivity, when he was injured in his left hand by a lit agave tree axe, which left him seriously incapacitated. Unable to find a cure, he set out for Cuzco, where he had heard tell of the intercessions and miracles of the Virgin of Copacabana. Travelling as a devote pilgrim, he was completely cured of the dangerous splinters of wood that had pierced his hand and wrist.

With the permission of the bishop, Quimichi begged alms in order to be able to take to Cocharcas an image of the Virgin, and persuaded the Inca sculptor Francisco Tito Yupanqui, who had executed the image of Our Lady of Copacabana on the shores of Lake Titicaca in 1583, to make the copy we now know of as Our Lady of Cocharcas. The Jesuits played a key role in the creation and promotion of the confraternity of this Marian title, aware of the local religious identity and the corresponding consolidation of popular faith and devotion.

As a gesture of gratitude for the miracle and painless cure, Quimichi carried the twin of the image of Our Lady of Copacabana all the way back to his village on his shoulders, aided by other Indians, amid cheers of praise. In the words of Fernando de Montesinos:

> "*Hubo muchas fiestas en el recibimiento de la imagen, danzas, cofradías de toda la doctrina con sus pendones, arcos de y regocijos de fuego. Entró en su casa la soberana Señora por el mes de Setiembre del año 1598; así como la imagen divisó el pueblo, comenzó a llover, estando sereno el cielo, y continuó la lluvia hasta que llegó a la iglesia; que se advierte, por presagio de bienes, en la relación desta historia, que se guarda en aquella santa Iglesia. Pusieron la imagen en el altar mayor, y luego comenzó Dios a obrar por ella grandes maravillas. Al principio se iban pintando los milagros; hoy como son tantos, no se cuida desto*".[11]

The popularity and prestige of Our Lady of Cocharcas increased in the 18th century, with altars dedicated to the Marian title in Cuzco and Lima.

The 1761 version of *Our Lady of Cocharcas* we are presenting here, with its depiction of the Andean landscape, presents an incredibly varied chromatic palette of immensely attractive potency, replete with anecdotal detail, featuring pilgrims, merchants, Indians, Jesuits and a black herald. The polychrome wooden carving appears on an altar with an embroidered frontal and two globe-shaped glass vases with handles. The crowned Virgin is pictured under a canopy held up by four columns, sumptuously attired with lace cuffs and a triangular mantle, while holding a bunch of flowers in her right hand and the Divine Child in her left, the latter holding the orb and blessing the multitude. On the right we can make out the Marian shrine of Cocharcas, with two towers that were completed in 1690, and in the background a group of shops and merchandise. On the left-hand side we see the narrow and plunging path along which pilgrims (some on horseback) are making their way, beset by winged demons in the rocky mountains alongside a river whose current is washing away a pilgrim who has lost his hat.

Other pictorial examples of the sculpture of *Our Lady of Cocharcas* featuring a hilly Andean landscape background with multiple small-scale figures providing an indication of the success of this Marian devotion are preserved in private collections, as well as in the Lowe Art Museum in Miami, New York's Brooklyn Museum, the Blanton Museum of Art in Austin, Texas, and the Museo Pedro de Osma in Lima, to name but a few.

The Marian cult of the Immaculate Conception, introduced into Hispano-America by the Spanish, became particularly popular in the visual culture, with multiple examples in the viceroyalties of both New Spain and Peru.

The dynasty of the Spanish Habsburgs were staunch supporters (along with certain religious orders, such as the Franciscans) of the notion of the Virgin Mary's Immaculate Conception, postulating that she was conceived without original sin. The reign of Philip IV (1621-65) in particular saw an intensification of diplomatic endeavours in the Papacy aimed at creating official dogma upholding this concept, and the subject became a political debate and matter of state importance due to its potential to unify the will of the vast territorial dominions ruled by the Spanish monarchy.

The previously-unpublished 17th-century Peruvian pictorial work we are presenting here bears testimony to the monarchy's desire to promote and export this "immaculist" fervour to its overseas territories. The piece in question is an allegorical canvas depicting St. Francis as "Seraphic Atlas", accompanied by the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, representing the Habsburgs' support for the theological doctrine. The painting is indebted to certain European iconographic models, specifically the grisaille work painted by Rubens in 1632, titled *Austro Seraphicus Coelum* (Philadelphia Museum of Art), an engraved copy of which was made by the Flemish master Paulus Pontius (Antwerp, 1603-1658).

On a formal level, this painting depicting St. Francis as Seraphic Atlas and the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception has close links with other paintings of the same subject from the Peruvian Viceroyalty, preserved in the basilica and convent of San Francisco in Arequipa, in the church and convent of San Francisco in Ayacucho, and in the church of San Agustín in Trujillo.

The abundance of phylacteries with written messages throughout the composition, which enable us to identify the historical figures, along with the Biblical and Latin inscriptions and the inclusion of new elements not present in the original engraved source, suggest the influence of a learned scholar when the image's overall programme was devised. The three spheres or globes held by St Francis on his shoulders, and the fourth one at his feet (absent from the Pontius engraving) represent the four continents: America in the foreground, Europe, Africa and Asia, which is metaphorically portrayed as Eden, with the original sin of Adam and Eve with the serpent. It may be interpreted as the Franciscans' active attempt to evangelise the four continents.

Towards the top of the canvas, the presence of the papal arms of Alexander VII, with the keys, six hillocks and star help us to date this canvas to around the last third of the 17th century, commemorating the *Sollicitudo Omnium Ecclesiarum* bull of 6 December 1661, by which the pope reaffirmed the doctrine and cult of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary.

It is worth mentioning the different readings that were made of the Pontius engraving in the Viceroyalty of New Spain, where the Virgin does not appear with the dragon at her feet as she does in Andean versions, and tends to stick rather closer to the iconographic source. We know of the examples from the church of San Francisco Acatepec in San Andrés Cholula, the chapel of the Beato Sebastián in the convent of San Francisco in Puebla, and Chicago's National Museum of Mexican Art.[12]

Fig. 13 Melchor Pérez de Holguín (Oropeza (Cochabamba), ca.1660 – Potosí, Bolivia, ca.1732), *Adoration of the Shepherds*; oil on canvas. Convent of Santa Teresa, Potosí (Bolivia)

A significant proportion of the pictorial output of the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru were based on European iconographic sources, especially on engravings and prints, often of Flemish origin. One particularly unusual case would be the canvas of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Fig. 13) by Melchor Pérez de Holguín, housed in the Museo Convento de Santa Teresa in Potosí, and painted towards the end of the 17th century, based on an unengraved composition by Pedro Orrente (Murcia, 1580 – Valencia, 1645) (Fig. 14). Good copies of Orrente's works were made by both the artist himself and by members of his active workshop, and some of these must have reached the Americas, as demonstrated by Holguín's painting, which introduced a number of modifications to the original composition by the painter from Murcia, active during the reigns of Philip III and Philip IV.

Fig. 14 Pedro de Orrente (Murcia, 1580 – Valencia, 1645), *Adoration of the Shepherds*. Private collection, Spain

In the pictorial panorama of the Peruvian Viceroyalty of the late 16th century, the arrival on Andean soil of Italian painters played a particularly key role, specifically that of the triumvirate made up of Bernardo Bitti (Camerino, 1548-1610), the Roman Angelino Medoro (1565-1632), and Matteo Pérez de Alesio (ca. 1547- ca. 1616), also known in Italy as Matteo da Lecce, after his place of birth in the south, who brought with them the figurative *maniera* of the Roman school of Counter-Reformist late Mannerism.

After the publication of the monograph on Bitti written in 1974 by the married couple José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert,[13] and the recent details appertaining to his artistic training before setting out for the Andes in 1575, as provided by the scholar Elena Amerio,[14] great strides have been made in our knowledge of this Italian painter and sculptor who arrived in the Peruvian port of Callao on 31 May 1575 during the reign of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo, in the context of great demand for artworks intended to decorate churches, schools and convents, as well as the need to evangelise the indigenous population by visual means (religious images and altarpieces) that reflected the precepts of the Council of Trent.

Having learnt the rudiments of painting in his native Camerino, Bernardo Bitti left for Rome, joining the Society of Jesus as a coadjutor, living in the novitiate of Sant'Andrea al Quirinale and later in the Collegio Romano. A few years later, in 1573, following a request from Father Diego de Bracamonte ("procurador" or extra-official Jesuit

representative of the province of Peru), the Jesuit General Everardo Mercuriano agreed to send Bitti to the Americas to undertake an evangelic mission spreading the word of God through his paintings.

A shipwreck held him up for several long months in Seville and Sanlúcar de Barrameda, where he would certainly have been able to familiarise himself with the art being produced in that area. His *Christ at the Column with Repentant St. Peter* from the church and convent of La Trinidad Carmen Bajo in Quito may be a reflection of this, as it bears close parallels with works on the same subject by Luis de Morales.

In his first years in Lima, Bitti had to broaden his technical knowledge, learning the process for gilding altarpieces and sculpting using *maguey* (a popular material among Indigenous artists), working with glued canvases and gesso, as we learn from the writings of his artistic assistant from Cordoba, Pedro Vargas, who noted: "we had to become more than just painters".

During his extended stay in the Peruvian Viceroyalty, Bitti worked within the prevailing Mannerism, with elongated figures and a highly personal palette, in Jesuit establishments in Lima, Cuzco, Huamango (modern-day Ayacucho), Chuquiago (La Paz), Chuquisaca (Sucre), Puno, Potosí and Arequipa. From his artistic catalogue it is worth highlighting the eight canvases depicting the mysteries of the life of Christ, painted for the main chapel of the church of La Transfiguración in Cuzco, and now preserved in the church of Santo Tomás de Aquino in Rondocan. He left a strong and enduring mark we can see in painters such as Fray Pedro Bedón and Gregorio Gamarra.

The work we are presenting here is a *Holy Family* attributed to the workshop of the Italian painter and Jesuit Bernardo Bitti.[15] Presenting great tonal delicacy, in terms of model it is reminiscent of the ancient Byzantine *Eleusa* icon, focussing on the tenderness between the Virgin and Child. The strong bond between mother and son is expressed visually in the way their faces touch, and how the Infant Jesus' arms are wrapped around his mother's neck. The two holy figures both look out at the viewer.

Fig. 15 Matteo Pérez de Alesio (Lecce, 1547 – Lima, 1628); *Doña Inés Muñoz,* 1592; oil on canvas. Convent of La Concepción, Lima

Fig. 16 Angelino Medoro (Naples, 1567 – Seville, 1631), *St. Bonaventure*; oil on canvas. Basilica-convent of San Francisco, Lima

We find a similar gestural arrangement, with the Child's arms around the maternal neck, in Bitti's *Virgin and Child* from the Thoma Foundation.[16] It is also worth mentioning, on a formal level, the odd way that the Divine Infant's legs cross over each other in Bitti's *Holy Family of the Pear* from the church of San Pedro in Juli (Peru), which is the same as in the work we are presenting here.

Matteo Pérez de Alesio, who labelled himself as a Roman painter, though it would appear that he was actually born in Alezio (Lecce, Apulia), was another émigré painter who crossed the Atlantic from Seville to Lima in search of his fortune. In 1573, during his time in Rome, he joined the Accademia di San Luca, and the next year he painted his *Dispute over the Body of Moses* for the Sistine Chapel, demonstrating his admiration for, and debt to, Michelangelo. After a short time in Malta, where he executed a number of fresco works for the Grand Master of the Order, depicting the siege of the island by the Turkish fleet, he departed for Seville, where the Cathedral chapter commissioned another fresco, an enormous *St. Christopher*, also working for the soldier, poet and patron of the arts Argote de Molina executing an altar painting of *St. James in the Battle of Clavijo*.

When he and his assistant Pedro Pablo Morón arrived in Lima in 1589, he entered the services of Viceroy García Hurtado de Mendoza y Manrique, painting portraits and devotional images. Proof of his skills as a portrait artist is his 1592 canvas of Doña Inés Muñoz de Ribera in Lima's convent of La Concepción (Fig. 15). Alongside the work he carried out at his painter's workshop, he also traded in artworks and got involved in mining projects. He would always continue to undertake pictorial works for the Dominicans and Augustinians. Prominent among his pupils were the aforementioned Morón, the Augustinian Fray Francisco Bejarano, Domingo Gil, Cosme Ferrara and his own son, Adrián Pérez.

The Roman painter Angelino Medoro emigrated to Seville as a young man, where he painted a signed and dated *Flagellation of Christ* (1586) and then, in 1587, he is recorded as working in Colombia, between Santa Fe de Bogotá and Tunja, where he painted a *Virgin of Antigua* and an *Annunciation* for the church of Santa Clara. Before moving to Lima, he painted a *Prayer in the Garden* and a *Pietà* for the Mancipe chapel in the Cathedral of Tunja.

On his arrival in Lima in about 1600, Medoro worked for the Mercedarians and Franciscans at the convent of the Discalced nuns. In 1603, he painted a *St. Bonaventure* for the convent of San Francisco (Fig. 16), and is considered the author of the portrait, post mortem, of St. Rose of Lima (1586-1617), the first Latin American saint to be canonised, by Clement X in 1671. In 1622, Medoro painted his *Miracle of the Multiplication of the Loaves* for the monastery of the Discalced nuns of San José. He returned to Seville soon after, where he died leaving various disciples behind in the Americas, including Pedro Loayza and Luis de Riaño.

News of the great Counter-Reformation fervour shown by St. Teresa of Jesus, the nun who founded the Order of the Discalced Carmelites, quickly reached the Americas, especially in the period prior to her beatification in Rome by Pope Paul V in 1614, and her subsequent canonisation in 1622 by Gregory XV. Teresa Sánchez de Cepeda Dávila y Ahumada (Gotarrendura or Ávila, 1515 – Alba de Tormes, 1582) changed her secular name to Teresa de Jesús, and was described, in the words of the poet Lope de Vega, as: "*a strong woman for the weakness of those who in so many provinces are afflicted by fear*".

Prominent in St. Teresa's iconographic repertory, in its uniquely innovative aspect, is the passage of the Transverberation (such a Baroque notion in its plastic and literary conception), which was one of the scenes chosen by the engraver Luca Ciamberlano (1580-1641) for his *Vita et miracula Beatae Virginis Teresiae*, executed in Rome in 1614 to mark the future Saint's beatification, commissioned by the Discalced Carmelites of the convent of Santa María della Scala and dedicated to Pope Paul V.

A large proportion of the religious imagery devoted to St. Teresa was developed in the years leading up to her beatification and subsequent canonisation on 12 March 1622, along with the Blessed Isidore the Labourer, Ignatius of Loyola, Francis Xavier and Filippo Neri.

Such was the case of the book *Vita B. Virginis Teresiae a Iesu*, published in Antwerp (1613) along with the Flemish engravings of Adriaen Collaert (ca. 1560-1618) and Cornelis Galle (1576-1650), and promoted by Ana de Jesús (Ana de Lobera Torres, Medina del Campo 1545 – Brussels, 1621), who at the time was the prioress of the convent of the Discalced Carmelites in Brussels. Here we observe the early print of the Transverberation (or Ecstasy) of St. Teresa, which served as both inspiration and model for various painters from the viceregal period. There are examples in the Convento del Carmen de San José in Santiago de Chile, in the Carmelite church and convent of Santa Teresa de Jesús in Cuzco, and in the museum of the Del Carmen church and convent in Mexico City, to name but a few.

The 1622 image of the *Ecstasy of St. Teresa of Jesus* by the Flemish engraver Anton Wierix III (1596-1624) was widely used in the American viceroyalties, as evidenced by examples from the Museo Nacional del Virreinato-INAH, Tepotzotlán, the State of Mexico, the church and convent of the Discalced Carmelites in Lima, the Museo de Antioquía in Medellín (Colombia), the Basilica of Nuestra Señora de la Soledad in Oaxaca (Mexico) or the canvas we are presenting here, signed and dated by Damián Muñoz in 1633. Back in Europe, Gerard Seghers also drew inspiration from Wierix in the figure of Divine Love with the "burning dart" for his *Ecstasy of St. Teresa of Jesus*.

Anton Wierix III made another engraving of the *Ecstasy of St. Teresa and the Infant Jesus* in 1622, which served as the source for another painting on the same subject by Francisco Rizi, currently in a private collection, and which also had an impact in South America, as demonstrated by the paintings by Basilio de Santa Cruz Pumacallao in the Cathedral of the Virgen de la Asunción in Cuzco, and the anonymous canvases from the church and convent of San Francisco, also in Cuzco, the convent-church Del Carmen de Cuzco, the convent-church Del Carmen Bajo de San Rafael in Santiago de Chile, the Cathedral of Santa Maria in Trujillo (Peru) and in the church of San Juan de Letrán in Juli (Peru).

Carvings made of *Huamanga* stone were one of the unique features of art in the Peruvian Viceroyalty.[17] This stone got its name from the city Ayacucho, formerly called Huamanga, in the viceregal period, and it is a white calcareous composition that looks like marble, and which due to its extraordinary softness was easy to carve. Its translucent whiteness also made it look like alabaster. We know from the written testimony of Pedro de Ribera and Antonio Chávez de Guevara that it was extracted from quarries in the town of Pomabamba in the late 16th century.

According to the 1626 observations of Bernabé Cobo, as noted by the scholar Francisco Stastny, the first examples of sculptures carved in this stone go back to the early 17th century: "*en la diócesis de Guamanga hay un gran cerro lleno de vetas de finísimo alabastro blanco como la nieve, de que se labran imágenes en bulto pequeñas, muy curiosas y estimadas donde quiera que las llevan; y es tan blanda esta piedra, que remojada en agua la labran con cuchillo*".[18]

The 17th and 18th-century workshops of Huamanga were extremely popular with viceregal Peruvian society, though very few of the artists' names have survived, with Pedro Cervantes, Juan Suárez and Buenaventura Roca completing the short list. An examination of testamentary documents gives an idea of the fate of these Huamanga stone sculptures.

Production, which was sometimes intended for exportation, included the carving of little ronde-bosse sculptures depicting holy figures or saints, and other works in bas-relief with Biblical passages, cycles portraying Christ's Passion or the Life of the Virgin, images of Marian advocations, and so on. They were polychromed, and some were partially gilded. The work we are presenting here is an incredibly beautiful Huamanga stone work from the 18th century, depicting *St. Joaquim and St. Anna and the Child Mary*.

The large number of works painted in the viceregal workshops of Cuzco and Potosí featuring the Child Mary spinning are based on the apocryphal sources found in the Nativity of Mary, the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew and the Gospel of James, or Protoevangelium, specifically chapter 10, which mentions the veil of the temple.

The iconographic source of the *The Child Mary Spinning* or the *Spinning Virgin* may be traced to the context of 17th-century Baroque painting in Seville, which was quite successful at the time due to its intimate and devotional nature. It was often accompanied by a pendant piece depicting the *Christ Child Pricked by a Thorn*, as is the case with the work we are presenting here, and which was definitely painted by the same brush that created *The Child Mary Spinning*.

Enrique Valdivieso observes that these depictions of Jesus and Mary as children act as forebodings of Christ's Passion and death, as the veil the young Virgin is spinning for the temple in Jerusalem is the same one that was ripped asunder at the very moment Christ expired on the cross. An example of viceregal art including this pair of images, the *The Child Mary Spinning* and *Christ Child Pricked by a Thorn*, is preserved at the convent of Santa Teresa in Potosí (Bolivia).

Fig. 17 Theodoor Galle (Antwerp, 1571-1633), *The Adoration of the Magi*, 1616-1618, after Peter Paul Rubens; engraving

In our project, with which we aim to provide a visual representation (and broaden knowledge) of the cultural encounter (and subsequent diverse range of artforms) between Asia, Europe and the Americas, we are presenting another stunningly beautiful previously-unknown pair of works depicting the *The Child Mary Spinning* and *Christ Child Pricked by a Thorn* (undoubtedly intended for private devotion), featuring the floral garlands of Flemish tradition.

One extraordinary example of viceregal furniture we are presenting here is made up of two 17th-century polychromed Andean panels manufactured in a Cuzco workshop, and which would have originally been part of a painted wooden chest. To be exact, they were the front panel and lid of the chest, and they display the most unusual figurative design, the result of cultural syncretism. The polychromy and figurative design are extremely closely linked to the wooden Andean ceremonial cups known as *qeros* in the Quechua and Aymara languages. Executed in Andean cedar, a species native to the Cuzco area, these two panels present a polychromy replete with all sorts of autochthonous natural wildlife, with a powerful symbolic charge, and unique in their genre. These previously-unpublished panels constitute an extraordinary revelation.

One of the most defining features of the Cuzco school of painting during the Peruvian Viceroyalty, and which developed particularly in the 17th and 18th centuries, was the technique of

brocatería or *brocateado.* This refers to the ornamentation (once the painting process had been completed) of the pictorial layer through the application of powdered gold in order to maximise the sense of splendour of the varying Marian works, with their different Virginal advocations, the arquebusier angels executed in an expressive and detailed manner in their spectacular dress, forming part of angelic series or Biblical scenes from the Old and New Testaments.

A good example from the 18th-century Cuzco school of a painting addressing one of the New Testament narratives is the *Adoration of the Shepherds* we are presenting here, illustrating the mixture of European and American styles and techniques featuring highly-elaborate *brocatería* in the clothing of the Magi/Shepherds and Holy Family.

The symbolic episode whereby the Magi accept the Christ Child as the new Messiah appears in the Gospel of St. Matthew (2: 1-12), but we need to turn to the apocryphal gospels for further details regarding the Epiphany, including the names of Melchior, Gaspar and Balthasar, which appear in the Armenian Gospel of the Infancy.

The composition of this canvas is modelled on a drawing of the *Adoration of the Magi* by the Flemish painter Peter Paul Rubens (Siegen, 1577 – Antwerp, 1640), preserved in New York's Pierpont Morgan Library, which was used for the printing of a luxurious "Missale Romanum" in 1613. Rubens' work (ca. 1612-13) was burin-engraved and printed by Theodoor Galle (Antwerp, 1571-1633) in the Officina Plantiniana (Plantin Press), then in the hands of the sons of Jan Moretus.

If we compare the Flemish engraving that came from the chisel of Theodoor Galle (Fig. 17) with the 18th-century Cuzco painting, we gain a further insight into the *modus operandi* of this skilled anonymous Andean painter, who replaced the painstaking folds of the clothing with gilt *brocatería* decoration, introducing a prominent halo of beams in the form of a star on the head of the Virgin.

Fig. 18 Diego de la Puente (Belgium, 1586 – Lima, 1663), *Adoration of the Magi*; oil on canvas. Church of Nuestra Señora de la Asunción, Juli, Peru

It is also worth mentioning the way that St. Joseph's facial features portray him as a much younger man than in the engraving, along with the introduction of the turbans with crowns and the absence of the star that guided the Magi on their long way from the East. We see the same characteristics (simplified, in that part of the accompanying entourage has been eliminated) in another *Adoration of the Magi* from the Cuzco School in the 18th century.[19]

In addition, we would also like to highlight, due to its richness and cultural diversity, the canvas of the *Adoration of the Magi* (Fig. 18) by the European Jesuit Diego de la Puente (Mechelen, Belgium, 1586 – Lima, 1663), active in the Peruvian Viceroyalty following the disappearance of the aforementioned Bernardo Bitti, and housed in the church of Nuestra Señora de la Asunción in Juli, on the shores of Lake Titicaca.

De la Puente, who is recorded as having been active in the Peruvian Viceroyalty, carrying out works at the Jesuit colleges of Lima, Juli, Trujillo, Cuzco, La Paz, Chuquiabo and Wamanga, also followed the Rubens composition as reproduced by the Galle engraving, with some significant modifications that speak of the important Jesuit evangelical mission in the Andes.

It is thus that, in an exercise in recognition of, and respect for, the community made up of the Andean peoples, the figure of Melchior is portrayed as an Inca in local dress, and his entourage is made up of Indigenous warriors with spears. In this case, the Divine Infant is seen in the act of issuing his blessing, surrounded by an aureole of light that is in harmony with the bright star shining above. Another novelty is the introduction of the page who is holding Gaspar's turban with crown, as the latter kneels before the Christ Child.

One of the leading lights of the so-called Cuzco school of the 17th century was the painter Diego Quispe Tito (San Sebastián, Cuzco, 1611-1681) who, of Indigenous origins, belonged to an aristocratic Inca family.[20] His earliest signed canvas, an *Immaculate Conception*, dates from 1627, and we know from a painting sent to Potosí in 1667 that he was then 56 years old, which allows us to conclude, with relative certainty, that he was born in 1611.

Scholars of the work of Quispe Tito categorise him as a follower of the Peruvian artist Gregorio Gamarra (ca. 1570-1642), who in turn followed the Italian painter Bernardo Bitti. Over several decades, Quispe Tito carried out numerous pictorial projects for the church of San Sebastián, with prominent works including the *Doctors of the Church* inspired by the engravings of Aegidius Sadeler (Antwerp, 1570 – Prague, 1629), a *Passion of Christ* cycle, the signed canvas depicting the *Martyrdom of St. Sebastian* and six large-scale lunettes depicting the life of St. John the Baptist, based on works by the French engraver Jean Leclerc (Nancy, ca. 1587-1633).

The final period in Quispe Tito's extensive artistic career would see the creation of the enormous canvas *Four Last Things (Postrimerías)* and the *Last Judgement*, painted for the entrance to the convent of San Francisco in Cuzco in 1675, and the now-incomplete series of the Zodiac with parables and scenes from the Life of Christ featuring extensive landscapes, executed for Cuzco Cathedral, and now preserved in the Palacio Arzobispal.

Another notable work from the Peruvian Viceroyalty's artistic panorama, focussed on the Cuzco area where we also see the *brocateado* effect used to heighten and embellish the clothing of the subjects depicted, is the canvas we are presenting here, *The Double Trinity*, also known as *The Heavenly and Earthly Trinity*.

This anonymous 18th-century *Double Trinity* is modelled on an image by the Dutch engraver Schelte Adamsz Bolswert (Bolsward, 1581 – Antwerp, 1659), and depicts one of Christianity's most basic mysteries. On a horizontal axis, we see the members of the Holy Family, the Virgin, St. Joseph and the Infant Jesus in the middle, on their way back to Nazareth from their flight into Egypt. Mary is leading the Christ Child by the hand, the latter walking with a stick, and acting as the nexus of union with the heavenly trinity as we move up the vertical axis, consisting of Himself, the Holy Spirit and God the Father at the top.

The figure of God the Father, dressed in a robe and mantle featuring *brocatería* in a burst of glory, and characterised as an old man, is crowned by a halo shaped like an equilateral triangle similar to the one seen in the engraving of the same subject by Hieronymus Wierix (Antwerp, 1553-1619). The Holy Spirit, or Paraclete, takes on the form of a dove emanating rays of light and wearing a star-shaped golden nimbus similar to those worn by the Virgin and Christ Child. St. Joseph, meanwhile, whose flowering staff has been replaced by a bunch of lilies, is pictured with a disc-shaped halo. Our eye is drawn to a beautiful landscape featuring flowers, blue-hued mountains, groves of trees and native birds of varying colours.

The body of works selected for our project also include paintings from the republican period in the mid-19th century that look back at the imperial Inca past. One such would be the 1847 painting by Vicente Bargas (Cuzco), a full-length portrait of a *Ñusta* attired in typical noble Inca dress, accompanied by a dwarf page with a feather parasol. Another interesting work would be the *Inca Series, the Kings of Peru*, by an anonymous artist from Cuzco and originating from a Swiss private collection. This series of paintings depicting the Inca dynasty of kings is made up of ten idealised full-length portraits, which are particularly unusual in that the monarchs of the *Tahuantinsayo* (Inca Empire, in the Quechua language) were more often portrayed in half-length format. Of this genre of portrait, featuring Inca rulers, we know of four canvases that were sent to Philip II by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in 1572, with the genealogies of the kings, and which were put on display in Madrid's Alcázar. Many of these series of Inca kings with their insignias of power disappeared as a result of the 1781 uprising led by the "Curaca" Túpac Amaru, which gave rise to a cruel repression by which Inca iconographies were banned.

The importance of mining in the Peruvian Viceroyalty (Fig. 19) combined with an ongoing tradition of metallurgy that dated back to pre-Hispanic times, as well as its symbolism for the society of the Andean region, made it easier for metalsmiths to continue to produce artisan goods in their workshops, taking on new techniques in the art of silverwork, reaching a pinnacle in the 17th and 18th centuries. In this publication, Cristina Esteras Martín has studied a number of pieces, identifying the artistic centres where they were manufactured and their formal characteristics. Of the pieces of Hispano-American silverwork intended for non-religious use, it is worth highlighting a truly remarkable salt cellar in the form of a little tower with a polygonal base, featuring different compartments for salt and pepper, which was rescued from the remains of the galleon *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*, shipwrecked in 1622 in the waters off Florida, and a *Pava hornillo* (stove-kettle water heater) with a spheroid body, made in Potosí between 1725 and 1750.

The lavish ornamentation found on altars featuring silverwork during the viceregal period gave rise to a range of types of frontals, missal stands, tabernacles, altarpiece display steps and ostensoria. Here we have studied a rare portable "solar" monstrance with pieces of enamel from the mid-17th century, a eucharist pelican from Potosí, made in about 1760, which is of great size and artistic quality, and a spectacular series of 18th-century ornamental plaques known as *Mayas*, which feature breathtaking formal decorative repertories.

Feather artwork, with its recorded history and exchange between the pre-Hispanic peoples of the Mesoamerican area (Tula, Teotihuacán and Xochicalco), where it was highly-prized and invested with great symbolic and hierarchical importance of varying natures (religious, martial or civil) also played its role in the visual creative expressions of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, especially in the 16th and 17th centuries, displaying great knowledge and technical skills in the selection of plumage and its combinatory use.

Before the Spanish conquest of Tenochtitlan, there was an intense system of trade and supply, with payments and exchanges made in lavish materials, where multicoloured feathers from varying birds native to tropical regions were omnipresent, in the manufacture of small buckler shields and insignias to fly-swatters, flags, fans, plumed crests and clothing for priests and rulers.

The chroniclers left behind a living testimony with their exhaustive descriptions of the artisans and their products and techniques. The Franciscan missionary Fray Toribio de Benavente, better known as Montolinia (Benavente, ca. 1482 – Mexico, 1569) commented in his 1541 opus *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España* that: "*They already make beautiful images and Roman mosaics in feather and gold*".[21]

The Dominican friar, theologian and defender of the Indians, Bartolomé de las Casas (Seville, ca. 1484 – Madrid, 1565) also left records of the meticulous skills of feather art: "*this is the craft and art that those Mexican people do as well and as perfectly, working with natural feathers, and with the same colours, laid down together, as everything that those and other excellent and most skilled painters are able to paint with brushes".*[22]

The artisans who devoted themselves to featherwork lived in the Amantlan district, in the former Tenochtitlan, and were knowns as "amantecas". They attracted the attention of the Franciscan missionary and historian Fray Bernardino de Sahagún (Sahagún, ca. 1499 – Mexico City, 1590), who wrote about them in his opus the *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* between 1547 and 1569, providing an exhaustive account of their working methods.

Far removed from any European tradition, the technique for making feathered mosaics of vibrant beauty was used by the friars of the Franciscan and Dominican orders to help promote their evangelic mission, introducing Western designs and iconographies. Some of the artists working with feathers started to produce pieces with Christian subjects, including devotional pieces, little portraits or small-scale altarpieces for private worship.

There are records of pieces of featherwork reaching the Iberian Peninsula from an early date, sent to Emperor Charles V by Hernán Cortés, or a shield with a feather mosaic sent to the bishop of Palencia, which would eventually end up joining a mitre with the same feather mosaic design in Innsbruck's Ambras Castle. The popularity of these exotic items in Europe meant they were often displayed in cabinets of curiosities or wonder-rooms.

In his 1590 book, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, the Jesuit missionary and scientist José de Acosta (Medina del Campo, 1540 – Salamanca, 1600) also mentions the art of featherwork:

"In New Spain there are works made from birds with excellent feathers, which in their finery are not to be found in Europe, as can be seen by the feather insignias brought from there, which are quite rightly much esteemed and cause admiration, as they make such

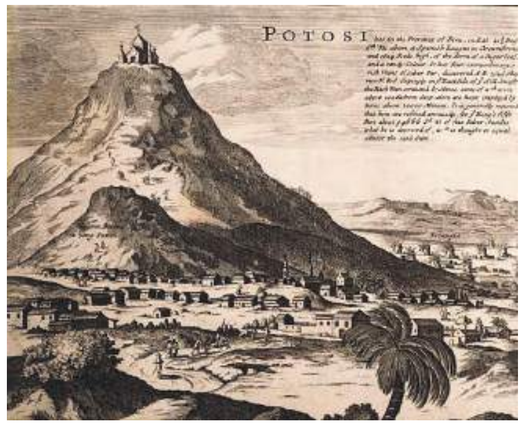


Fig. 19 Herman Moll (1654? – 1732), *Map of South America, Cerro del Potosí*; engraving. London ca. 1715

delicate works from these birds' feathers, and with such realism that they appear painted colours, and which cannot be achieved by brush and oils, they create such impressions, looked at a little from the side, so beautiful, joyful and alive, that they delight the senses admirably.

Some good Indian masters make perfect portraits with feathers of what they see made by brush, and are quite the equal of the paintings of Spain. Prince Philip of Spain's master painter gave him three small vignettes, like records of daily life, made of feathers, and his highness showed them to King Philip, our Lord, his father, and on seeing them His Majesty said that he had never seen such skill deployed in such small figures".[23]

In the process by which awareness of, and recognition for, Novohispanic painting began to grow rapidly in the second half of the 17th century, one aspect that played a major role were works using mother-of-pearl inlay, often simply referred to by art history scholars as *enconchado* paintings.

These *enconchados*, which employed a unique technique of inlaying pieces of mother-of-pearl into the painting's panel, experimented with a number of ornamental approaches in the Viceroyalty of New Spain between 1650 and 1750, and were in high demand among the wealthy and powerful viceregal classes, attracted by the aesthetic qualities of these unusual pictorial works which were undoubtedly reminiscent of the Oriental lacquers arriving on American soil through the new Spanish maritime routes in the Pacific.

The optical effects of these *enconchado* paintings, with their iridescent qualities due to the multiple irregular fragments of mother-of-pearl inlay, which were polished and meticulously fixed with animal glue and then treated with thin, smooth layers of translucent pigment, nuancing the iridescent effects, were incredibly popular at the time.

One other characteristic that speaks for the individual and original nature of these Novohispanic *enconchado* works was the way the inlaid areas were defined and outlined by a preliminary drawing on top of the preparatory pictorial layer, for instance in areas given over to clothing. To this we should add the use of powdered gold to heighten the sense of brilliance, the exclusive use of paint for carnations, with a more painstaking and natural approach taken when depicting faces, the compositional importance of line, with black strokes, an overall yellowish effect and the use of floral ornamentation, with local vegetation and birds in the borders and frames.

Even today, lovers of painting, scholars and the curious are still mesmerised by the magnetic effect of these *enconchados* due to their intrinsic nature, innovative aesthetic and unique combination of American, Asian and European elements in their search to relate historical, Biblical or hagiographical episodes.

Key to the study and systematisation of *enconchado* paintings, and referred to in the earliest reports on this Novohispanic artform, were two independent series depicting the *Conquest of Mexico*, one from the Museo de Bellas Artes in Buenos Aires, signed by Miguel González, and the other, a 1698 series of 24 panels currently preserved in Madrid's Museo de América, which according to a royal inventory once belonged to Charles II, featuring the signatures of Miguel González and Juan González.

The origin of the *enconchado* is closely linked to the González family in Mexico City, starting with Tomás and later his son, Miguel, who took over the family workshop. Although it has been suggested that Miguel and Juan were brothers, the dates do not back that up, and all we know is that they were related and worked assiduously on various projects involving mother-of-pearl inlay paintings. There is a 1662 *Nativity* signed by Juan preserved in the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, and a *St. Francis Xavier embarking for Asia*, also by Juan González, dated to 1703 and currently in a private collection, which more or less establish the artistic time-frame.

A contemporary of Juan and Miguel was the painter Nicolás Correa, the nephew of the renowned Juan Correa, who also produced *enconchados*. We also know that a certain Rodulpho worked in this artform, executing the *Our Lady of Guadalupe* currently preserved in the Museo Casa Natal de Jovellanos in Gijón, and that Agustín del Pino and Pedro López Calderón were also active in the first half of the 18th century.

The González family dynasty, specialists in *enconchado* paintings, were members of the painters' guild of Mexico City, as demonstrated by Tovar de Teresa en 1986, who published two documents from 1689 and 1699.[24] Said records refer to Tomás González de Villaverde as a "master maque painter". And in 2008 Paula Mues Orts identified "Miguel González, the mother-of-pearl worker" among the skilled artisans with their own businesses, in a 1704 document from Mexico City, also referring to him as "A member of the guild of painters and gilders who made a donation to the War of Succession".[25]

Miguel González also executed the 12 *enconchado* panels depicting the *Allegories of the Creed* shared between the Museo Nacional del Virreinato de México in Tepotzotlán and the Patrimonio Artístico of the Banco Nacional de México, where we can confirm that he also used European engravings as compositional source material.

With its early reference to mother-of-pearl inlay paintings housed in the Madrid residence of the Duque del Infantado, it is worth mentioning the book by the Enlightenment scholar and painter Antonio Ponz Piquer (Torás, Castellón 1725 – Madrid, 1792), *Viage de España*: "In the house of the Duque del Infantado… it is worth viewing a cabinet full of medium-sized paintings, with mother-of-pearl inlay and aided with colours, depicting the wars in Flanders, under the command of Alexander Farnese and those of Mexico under Hernán Cortés".[26]

The six panels depicting the Conquest of Mexico are currently housed in the Museo Franz Mayer and the Museo Nacional del Virreinato de México. The Farnesio panels ended up being bought by the Mexican antiquarian Rodrigo Rivera Lake.

One major patron of *enconchado* paintings it is worth mentioning is José Sarmiento y Valladares, Viceroy of New Spain (1696-1701) and Count of Moctezuma by his first marriage, who owned a series of 24 panels depicting the Conquest of Mexico, which was sent to King Charles II in Spain.

Due to the scarcity of Mexican *enconchados*, new pieces are always welcome, as is the case of the ones we are presenting here, depicting the *Flight into Egypt*, the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, the *Virgin of the Apocalypse*, the *Birth of the Virgin* and the *Apostle James the Greater* with its octagonal frame, where the use of mother-of-pearl inlay allows us to broaden and extend our knowledge of the techniques applied, as well as the styles, authorship, iconographic sources and so on.

Two of these Novohispanic *enconchados* linked to Juan and Miguel González (*Flight into Egypt* and *Adoration of the Shepherds*) must have been part of the same thematic cycle, given their frames are the same, decorated with mother-of-pearl inlay featuring floral and bird motifs with volutes in the four corners. The fact that the original frames of these paintings have survived enables us to view the works as a sealed whole or *unicum*, where the painted surfaces are one with the decorative frames executed by the same artists using the same mother-of-pearl inlay technique.

Artistic Dialogues in Cross-continent Connection

Renaissance Lisbon, the Global City Connecting Oceans and Distant Worlds

Annemarie Jordan Gschwend

Lisbon's astrological chart in 1552 determined that the sign of Cancer ruled the upper part of the city, while the Baixa, the lower sector where the Lisbon royal palace, the *Paço da Ribeira*, the main commercial street, the *Rua Nova dos Mercadores* and the Tagus waterfront were situated, was auspiciously in the sign of Aquarius, represented in the zodiacal constellation as Ganymede the Water Bearer beloved by Jupiter.[27] Astrologers regard Aquarius as a visionary sign that showers the world with new ideas, thoughts and endeavours to improve the world. This horoscope boded well for the Rua Nova, its banks, exchange offices and shops in the mid-sixteenth century, as it did for the other key sites in Lisbon, such as at the Tagus docks and Rossio Square, where foreign commodities, luxury goods and exotic fauna and flora were sold (Fig. 1).

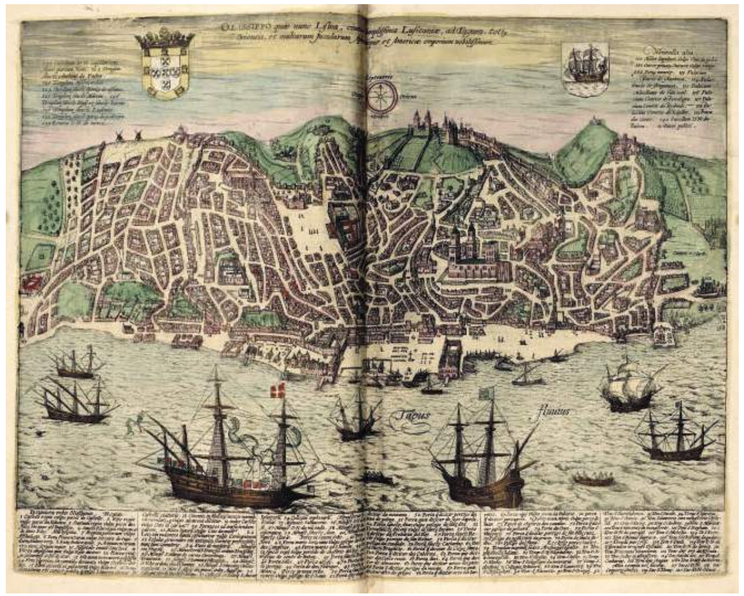


Fig. 1 Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *View of Lisbon* (*Olissippo, quae nunc Lisboa*), *Civitates orbis terrarvm*, *liber primus*, Cologne: Apud Petrum à Brachel, vol. 5-6, no. 2, 1612-1618; paper, hand coloured, 43 cm. Library of Congress, call number: G1028.B7 1612., Washington, D.C.

Foreign visitors like the Venetian ambassadors Vicenzo Tron and Girolamo Lippomano in 1581 and the German student Jakob Cuelvis in 1599 admired the shops on the Rua Nova and the foreign wares for sale, as they did other businesses nearby, including the Rossio market. Informed commercial agents, dealers, Portuguese and foreign merchants with operations in Portugal and strategic networks overseas, dispatched newsletters to royal and elite consumers all over Europe, apprising them of the stock in Lisbon's shops, especially the goods and animals imported from Morocco, West and East Africa, Brazil, Goa, and Portuguese Asia.[28] Renaissance collectors and shoppers were well-informed about Indian goods, jewels and precious stones for sale on the Rua Nova (Fig. 2).[29] Under its long arcade, shoppers on the Rua Nova could, even in inclement weather, buy any imported luxuries their hearts desired: European and Asian textiles, Chinese Ming porcelain, precious stones from Asia, pearls from Ormuz (Hormuz), mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell wares from Gujarat, rock crystals, gems and ivories from Ceylon, or even ivories from West Africa.

A rare 1504–1505 account book of the *Casa da Guiné* (the Africa Warehouse) has survived, recording the names of Portuguese captains and sailors who brought to Portugal ivory spoons and salt-cellars from West Africa, carved in Sierra Leone, perhaps by the Temne and Bulom peoples.[30] One anonymous Spaniard describes the 'curious' ivory spoons which he had seen in Benin exported to Portugal.[31] The high values these ivories were assigned in Lisbon are also documented. In 1504 Diego Lopes, captain of the Portuguese factory (*feitoria*) in São Jorge da Mina, sent six spoons and a salt-cellar to Lisbon, estimated at 700 *reais* (fol. 14r). The captain of the *Espadarte*, Estevão Lopes, returned in March 1505 with eight spoons (220 *reais*), and his shipmate, António Rebelo with seven spoons and a salt-cellar for 570 *reais* (fol. 15v). These sailors and officers had good reason to invest in this Afro-Portuguese ivory production since high profits were expected. Most pieces sold immediately when unloaded at Lisbon's piers.

Fig. 2 Anonymous Netherlandish Painter, *View of the Rua Nova dos Mercadores*, 1570-1595; oil on canvas, 65 cm×95.5 cm. Society of Antiquaries, inv. no. KM 186.1, London

Fig. 3 Sapi-Portuguese artist, *Lidded Saltcellar*, Sierra Leone, 15th–16th century, ivory, 29.8×10.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession number: 1991.435a,b. Gift of Paul and Ruth W. Tishman, 1991, New York

This Sapi-Portuguese salt cellar in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York displays extraordinary workmanship. This artefact exemplifies the convergence of cultures and ingeniously combines European and African aesthetics and forms. Impressed by the immense talent of ivory carvers along the West African coast, Portuguese sailors and traders commissioned such ivories for resale in Lisbon (Fig. 3).

The 1570 estate inventory of the Rua Nova resident and property owner, Simão de Melo, records the exceptional range of luxury goods, jewels and textiles acquired in Asia and the Far East during his service as Captain of Malacca. His inventory reveals that Asian rarities and luxury goods had become, for Lisbon's nobility and patricians, almost ordinary objects, textiles and clothes used or worn daily rather than appreciated as precious items or curiosities reserved for a collector's cabinet or wardrobe.[32]

By the end of the sixteenth century, global rarities had saturated the marketplace, and there was a surfeit on the streets of Lisbon, in the Rua Nova shops and the weekly sales held on Tuesdays in Rossio Square, where Indian textiles and goods could be bought for discounted prices. The best months to buy were from May to August, after the Portuguese fleets returned from Goa, when captains, soldiers and sailors sold their consignments of monkeys, parrots, wild felines, precious stones and *brincos* (trinkets) or *miúdezas*, 'small items', not subjected to Lisbon's customs duties. Men and women, rich, poor, patrician or aristocratic, even the Queen of Portugal, Catherine of Austria (r. 1525-1578) (Fig. 4), stormed Rossio's well-appointed stalls, curious to find bargains.

The India Run, or *Carreira da Índia,* was the most hazardous voyage of its day. Portuguese *naus* or ships were floating communities, worlds of their own, comparable to today's space shuttles. The journey from Lisbon to Goa was the most difficult, hazardous voyage in the then-known world, taking six months to one year, depending on wind and weather conditions. The mortality rate was high; many recruits did not survive the journey, and some fell overboard. Most seafarers could not swim, were uneducated, illiterate and often confused starboard with larboard. The French navigator François Pyrard de Laval (*c.* 1578–*c.*1623) wrote about the disorder on board Portuguese vessels and the shortage of personnel and unqualified officers because the Portuguese crown recruited men from Portugal's rural interior, which resulted in haphazard selection. Each *nau* required 60–70 seamen and the same number of ship's boys, a total of 140 crew.

Shipwrecks were the greatest danger, with losses increasing over time despite accumulated experience since 1498. Poorly stowed cargoes and the overloading of ships accounted for ships sinking or running aground. Lighter cargoes were often stored on the bottom, and the heavy on top jeopardised the ship's balance. Space was a premium. Captains, seamen and officers illegally sold ship space to store merchandise and animals on quarterdecks and vital spaces needed to run the ship. Trunks, chests, wicker baskets, crates, bales and boxes were piled everywhere, adding to the general chaos and lack of organisation. The *Carreira da Índia* lasted for almost three and a half centuries.

The *Bom Jesus* ('Good Jesus') shipwreck found in 2008 off the Skeleton Coast in Namibia, the oldest shipwreck in Sub-Saharan Africa, offers a rare case study of such a commercial *nau*.[33] Departing Lisbon on 7 March 1533 with a fleet of six *naus*, this newly built vessel belonging to King João III was captained by Francisco de Noronha.[34] It never reached the Cape of Good Hope three to four months later. The archaeological finds in Namibia underscore the complexities surrounding financing a Portuguese ship destined for the Lisbon-Goa run. A business consortium of European financiers and merchants, many indeed based in Lisbon, in alliance with the crown, invested heavily in the *Bom Jesus*. Twenty-two tons of copper ingots stamped with a trident, the hallmark of Anton Fugger (1493–1560), the Augsburg banker, destined for the spice trade in Asia and beyond in China and Japan, formed the bulk of the cargo. Surprising was the number of ivory tusks on board earmarked for the markets in Goa, Cochin and Gujarat. Whether these were loaded from stocks in the *Casa da Mina* (the former *Casa da Guiné*) in Lisbon or *en route* along the West African coast (in São Tomé) remains to be determined. Two thousand gold coins from Venice, France, Hungary, North Africa and Portugal, *Portugueses* with the coat of arms of João III, confirm the enormous investments lost with this shipwreck. The quantity of Spanish coins (*Excelentes*) reveals that Spanish investors had a considerable stake. Among the few personal artefacts uncovered of the *c.* 300 lost passengers were the remains of a leather shoe sole belonging to an individual who had almost certainly walked along the Rua Nova dos Mercadores before embarking.

The *Casa da Índia* (India Warehouse) in Lisbon was destroyed in the 1755 earthquake and the subsequent destructive tsunami. Ship logs, books, ledgers or other documents related to the *Carreira da Índia* have not survived, with few exceptions. Two cargo lists have

Fig. 4 Nicolò Nelli, *Portrait of Catarina of Austria (1507-1578)*, Venice, 1568; hand-coloured copper engraving, 335×280 mm. Inscription: *CATHERINA REGINA PORTVGALIÆ VXOR IO*

come to light, one dated 1559 of the ship *Garça* and the other dated 1630, of a fleet returning to Lisbon from Goa under the command of the Viceroy Miguel de Noronha (1585–1647).[35] Despite a difference of eighty years between the two manifests, very little had changed on the India Run for Portuguese aristocrats, captains and sailors who looked forward to making handsome profits on their return to Portugal. A privilege granted since the reign of Manuel I (r. 1498-1521) allowed these men who risked their lives and paid low wages (500 *reais* monthly) to carry certain items for profit (*comércio miúdo*) on the outward and inward legs of the run. The seamen were permitted to bring goods or *miúdezas* not under the monopoly of the crown. These could be smaller luxury goods such as textiles, including silks, pearls, precious stones, fans of all varieties from Asia, China and Japan, Chinese porcelain, carved rhinoceros horns, amber and benzoin. Other more significant merchandise included Asian lacquer wares and portable furniture, available to Portuguese traders and merchants after the conquest of Malacca in 1511. Tax-free goods were stored in personal chests, cabinets and drawers (*gavetas*); smuggling was inevitable. Most who had the chance chose to invest in Asian luxury goods, wild animals, jewellery and precious stones available in Goa, Cochin and Malacca and sold this contraband for enormous profits after docking in Lisbon. The mechanisms involving the order and distribution of goods for merchant-traders in Lisbon beg for a better understanding. How much was regulated by Lisbon's customs officers and the *Casa da Índia* when ships docked? Indeed much of the *miúdezas* trade was unregulated.

The 1559 inventory is remarkable for the names of Lisbon aristocrats, courtiers and patricians (even Queen Catherine), who commissioned officers and seaman heading for Goa to make purchases there on their behalf: jewellery, precious stones, diamonds,

Figs. 5 & 6 *A six-panel Byobu screen depicting the arrival of a Portuguese Ship*, anonymous, Japan, Meiji Period (1868-1912); ink, gouache and gold foil on paper mounted on a black lacquer wood screen, width when open 257 cm. Galerie Zacke, *Asian Art Discoveries*, 20 January 2023, lot 1248, Vienna

Fig. 7 Mother-of-pearl Garniture (salver, candlesticks, ewers, and vase), Gujarat, India, late 16th century; mother-of-pearl plaques secured with brass pins. British Museum, inv. no. OA+.2643.1-2, London

small medicinal commodities (benzoin and musk), textiles, clothes, Chinese lacquerwares, porcelain, shields and Far Eastern folding fans. By contrast, the 1630 cargo inventory in Goa reflects the secondary, parallel trade in which all onboard partook, from the Viceroy Miguel de Noronha to the lowest ship's boy. Noronha's list of goods in 1630 reflects the intense trade with South China and Japan around 1600. His cargo was most exclusive. It included 6 gilded lacquer chests filled with *miúdezas*, two of which contained orders taken from Lisbon residents; a small boat load (*barca*) of Chinese porcelain; 27 writing desks; 2 tables and 3 crates filled with Japanese Namban folding screens or *biombos* (*byobu* 屏風 in Japanese), which depicted on paper in painstaking detail the "strange barbarians" (*nanbanji* 南蛮寺) from Portugal arriving in Nagasaki.[36] In the remarkable screens which have survived, the trained Japanese artists of the Kanō school, based in Kyoto and later Edo, observe through a curious lens the Portuguese *nau* (the black ship or *kurofune* from Goa) filled with seamen, slaves, Jesuit priests, exotic animals, horses and dogs, focusing on the Portuguese merchants who plied their wares (Figs. 5 & 6).

During the early decades of the *Carreira da Índia*, before the Portuguese landed in Japan in 1543 and the Portuguese settlement of Macau was established in 1557, luxury goods were also sourced in Western India from Gujarat, the Malabar coast and the Deccan. Goa became the hub and centre for this trade: translucent tortoiseshell caskets, salvers and vessels with silver mounts, marquetry furniture inlaid with ivory and exotic woods, carved gunpowder horns, delicately worked gold or silver filigree caskets and portable objects and gaming boards inlaid with mother-of-pearl from Gujarat. European pewter, silver, and even wooden forms were models for these superbly crafted bowls, large salvers, plates, cups, spoons, water jugs and ewers. Gujarati craftsmen excelled in the technique: a wooden core is applied with thin pieces of lustrous nacre extracted from the thick inner sides of the Indian Ocean green turbo snail (*Turbo marmoratus*). Delicately cut in myriad shapes, the plaques are decoratively arranged and affixed with tiny brass nails onto the wood base. These exclusive items were primarily created for European royal and elite consumers (Fig. 7).

Queen Catherine became a passionate collector of Gujarati wares. Illustrated here are two folios of an extraordinary list which has survived, recording mother-of-pearl merchandise and Chinese lacquers she bought for her family and court in 1561 (Figs. 8 & 9).[37] Her grandson Sebastian received a small, portable Chinese gold lacquer writing desk, her sister-in-law, Infanta Maria of Portugal, Duchess of Viseu (1521-1577), a writing desk, an enormous platter and footstool, all covered with mother-of-pearl. Infanta Isabel of Braganza, the queen's other sister-in-law, was gifted a large Gujarati chest, writing desk and salver. Choice gilded Chinese lacquers (trays and small chests) and Gujarati caskets, salvers, a mounted bowl, writing desks and large chests (some decorated with false gems) were earmarked for five court ladies. The queen's favourite chapel boy (*moço da capela*), "Fradinho", was given a broken Chinese lacquer tray. At the same time, her chief lady-in-waiting received a folding fan (an *avano lequio*) from the Ryukyu islands.

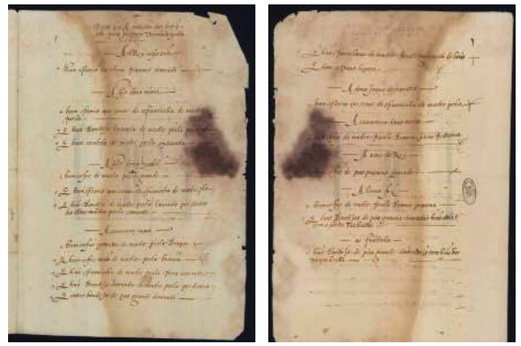


Fig. 8 & 9 Mandate (álvara) of Queen Catarina of Austria ordering her officers to register in her treasury luxury goods recently arrived from Goa, India, 1561. Direção-Geral do Livro, dos Arquivos e das Bibliotecas, Torre do Tombo, Corpo Chronológico I, maço 104, doc. 61, Lisbon

CHINA, JAPAN AND THE RYUKYU ISLANDS IN LISBON

The single most important Asian export which took Renaissance Lisbon by storm was Asian fans. They counted as part of the tax-free, small luxury objects brought back to Lisbon in great numbers. The 1630 Goa cargo list recorded an astounding 19,000 Asian fans (*abanos*) on board, one sailor Diego de Castro having packed 10,000 in his baggage. Of the wide assortment of fans imported after 1511, the ones which fascinated the Lisbon court the most were folding fans from China, Japan and the mysterious Ryukyu Islands. The Portuguese word for folding fan, *leque*, derives from the name the Portuguese gave this archipelago, *Os Lequios*. These islands, located southwest of the southern Japanese island of Kyushu, formed part of an independent kingdom lasting from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century.

In Muromachi Japan, open folding fans represented the high rank of warlords (*daiymõ*), golden fans were carried by priests (*bonzes*), and during the reign of the samurai Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582), fans were given away as highly esteemed presents. Simão de Melo's 1570 post-mortem inventory of his Rua Nova residence records four Japanese fans (*leques de Japão*) in his wardrobe. One was a worked golden fan, probably given as a diplomatic gift to Melo by a high-ranking Japanese, if not Nobunaga himself, during Melo's service as governor and captain in Malacca from 1545 to 1548. Three Japanese black lacquer and gold fans were cited in the 1559 *Garça* manifest discussed above.

Japanese folding fans were introduced to the Lisbon court by Bernard, a convert and disciple of the Jesuit Francis Xavier, who was the first Japanese to visit Europe in 1552. He caused a sensation, and not long after his arrival, Portuguese and Spanish royals and their ladies began carrying and holding Japanese folding fans in their right hands in imitation of Samurai warriors (Fig. 10). As in this portrait attributed to the Portuguese painter Alonso Sánchez Coello, of an aristocratic court lady, who worked and resided during the 1560s, at the court of Queen Isabel of Valois, the third wife of Philip II of Spian (Fig. 11). Fans from Portuguese Asia became *de rigueur* for royal and aristocratic women, and, as in Japan, were adopted as symbols of power, social class and status.

The global trade networks set up by the Portuguese created an ideal platform for exchanging luxury goods, commodities and exotica between oceans, continents and across vast distances. Lisbon was the commercial gateway for Europe and a centre where foreign customs from overseas were readily adopted. The Portuguese court launched new fashions later copied by other European royals and princes. Japanese and Ryukyuan *leques* became the rage in Europe, nowhere more so than at Queen Catherine's court. In 1562 the queen bought 40 *abanos dos lequios*, the first time this word appears in a contemporary document pin-pointing fans from this region.[38] She gifted her favourite court lady in late 1561 with a similar priceless folding fan from the Ryukyu Kingdom. Catherine would buy hundreds of Chinese, Japanese and Ryukyuan fans in subsequent years, which she gave away as exclusive presents to her female relatives and elite court ladies.[39]

Competing with Far Eastern fans for sale in Lisbon's shops and stalls were quantities of Chinese silk and Ming porcelain brought on Portuguese *naus* from Goa by the crate-loads, especially after Macau became Portugal's trading post in 1557. In 1518 alone, 2,369 kilos of Chinese silk were exported from the Malabar coast to Portugal, which would increase over the decades.[40] King Manuel I decreed in 1522 that one-third of the cargo on Portuguese ships on the run between Goa and China must contain porcelain, white silk and damasks earmarked for the Lisbon market). This Ming dish, made for the Portuguese market, displays the IHS monogram of the Jesuit Order, the Portuguese royal arms, and most importantly, Manuel I's personal emblem, the armillary sphere, which came to symbolise his global reach (Figs. 12 & 13).[41]

When Tron and Lippomano visited the Rua Nova shops in 1580, they counted four to six shops specialising in selling 'very fine porcelain wares of various kinds'. Forty years later, seventeen porcelain merchants were registered in Lisbon. The various types, colours and shapes Tron and Lippomano witnessed were not restricted to Ming blue and white but also included coloured, gilded pieces. Most exclusive for the Lisbon market, especially for royal collectors at court, including Queen Catherine, was *Kinrande* or "gold brocade" porcelain dating to the Jiajing period (1522–1566) produced primarily for the Japanese market; exclusive exports to the Lisbon court at this date.

Chinese porcelain, glass and faience were sold on the Rua Nova. Still, these goods were equally sold in shops close by, underneath or near the royal verandahs of the rear sector of the Lisbon royal palace (the *Paço da Ribeira*), above the *Arco dos Pregos*. Royals, aristocrats and merchants in Lisbon were true connoisseurs of Ming porcelain, buying in great numbers and placing orders in Goa, Macau and other centres of manufacture in South China. But few cargo inventories are extant, and no business records or ledgers from the Rua Nova shops have come to light.

Fig. 10 *Portrait of Toyotomi Hideyoshi with a folding fan in his right hand*, anonymous, Japan, 1600; watercolour on silk. Osaka City Museum of Fine Arts, Osaka

Fig. 11 Alonso Sánchez Coello and workshop, *Portrait of a Spanish Aristocratic Lady holding a Japanese folding fan*, c. 1560-1565; oil on canvas, 62.6×55 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. no. P001142

Far Eastern lacquers became the rage by the mid-sixteenth century, exported in great abundance to Portugal. Chinese black lacquer furniture, 'made of ebony wood with finely polished gold decoration', was found pleasing by an Italian tourist visiting Lisbon in 1581.[42] Luso-Asian parade weapons and lacquer wares proudly decorated the interiors of aristocratic homes and are listed in the inventory of the Rua Nova residence of Simão de Melo. The shields are hybrid works of art, with wooden cores made in Portuguese India the lacquer coatings and gilded decor added either in South China, Southeast Asia, or the Ryukyu islands. The manufacture of these shields and a small corpus of surviving lacquers was exclusive,[43] quite distinct from Japanese Namban lacquers for the export market (Fig. 14).[44] I posit that Malacca and Macau were the primary centres where Portuguese agents and foreign merchants accessed Chinese-style export lacquers with black or red grounds with profuse gold decoration.

Queen Catherine's acquisition of lacquer folding tables, caskets, chests and writing desks from the mid-1560s through the 1570s provides a case study of how she operated in Asia and the Far East. Catherine positioned one of her household servants, João de Pedroso, as her principal agent in Malacca and Goa. She copied the commercial and merchant companies from Flanders and Southern Germany, who had their headquarters in Lisbon and secondary offices in Goa. Pedroso was responsible for buying exclusive lacquers and luxury goods for her. He informed the queen of Malacca's marketplaces and cargoes from Macau and Tanegashima (Japan). In August 1562, he shipped three black lacquer folding tables to Lisbon with intricate gold decorations comprising birds, flowers and foliage, possibly manufactured in South China or the Ryukyu. More tables and other furniture followed, as did folding chairs. Catherine later gave away some of her Malaccan acquisitions as exclusive gifts to her Habsburg family in Spain, her grandson, Infante Prince Carlos and Queen Isabel of Valois. By the mid-sixteenth century, Sino-Portuguese commerce had reached such a level of sophistication that orders were probably transmitted by Portuguese merchants and traders to Chinese middlemen for goods made by craftsmen explicitly for export to Portugal, attesting to a well-developed network between the Portuguese and their middlemen along their inter-Asian trade routes.

As in Malacca, Queen Catherine deployed identical strategies in Goa to purchase Indian textiles. One shipment sent to Lisbon in 1559 on the *Nau Castello*, captained by Jacome de Mello, comprised 620 bundles (*corjas*) of clothes, cotton, and assorted cloth, which the queen sold in Lisbon, probably at Rossio square, for the price of 178,000 *reais*.[45] Such bulk acquisitions were indeed supervised by an

Figs. 12 & 13 Chinese (for the Portuguese market), *Ming blue and white dish with IHS monogram, armillary sphere, and Portuguese royal arms*, *c.* 1520-1540; hard-paste porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue decoration (Jingdezhen ware), 9.5×52.7 cm, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession number: 67.4. Helena Woolworth McCann Collection, Purchase, Winfield Foundation Gift, 1967

Fig. 14 *Travelling Namban chest*, Momoyama period, late 16th century; wood with black lacquer with gold *makie* and mother-of-pearl inlay with gilded and engraved copper mounts, width 22.3 cm. London, British Museum, inv. no. 1956,0215.1

agent appointed in Goa on her behalf, and for Catherine, quantity, not quality, mattered for profit and gain. These textiles were packed in large trunks and chests made of exotic woods.

Catherine addressed Portuguese administrators based at key points in Portuguese Asia when necessary to help fulfil her wishes and needs. Letters with lists were sent from Lisbon, and these officials did their best to acquire every object, despite the occasional lack of funds to undertake the queen's shopping. Even vice-regal spouses were on the watch for the newest items available at Goa's shops. Dona Inês, the wife of the Viceroy Antão de Noronha (1520–1569), bought for Catherine in Goa the latest sort of Chinese gilded lacquer candlesticks in which the 'candles are put on top'. The latter export objects were unavailable for sale in Lisbon and were new and unfamiliar to the Portuguese queen.[46] Styles and fashions for jewels, clothes or export wares changed quickly in artisanal workshops in Goa and elsewhere at trade hotspots in Portuguese Asia. Specific Indian items and jewels she had ordered became outdated. As her agent João Pedroso communicated, they were no longer available: 'many of these things are no longer made here'.[47]

As Queen of Portugal, Catherine had an edge, seemingly cornering the market in Goa to obtain the best and the rarest in Asia and the Far East. However, Lisbon's foreign merchant community was undoubtedly not disadvantaged by her exclusive access. They purchased through the same commercial channels and were equally well-informed through their agents, tapping, like Catherine, into networks of foreign merchant communities based in Goa and other critical points in Asia. Portuguese merchants (Christian and New Christian) in Cochin (Kochi) travelled to Malacca to purchase goods from the Far East (especially porcelain and silk), in turn selling Gujarati textiles and other Indian goods prized there. Couriers for agents, intermediaries and court officials in Goa used Portuguese *naus* and land routes to maintain communication and correspondence between Portugal and India.

Catherine did compete with Lisbon's merchants, preferring to source her merchandise, exotica and luxury goods directly in Asia and the Far East through her employees. Despite her competition, she cultivated excellent ties with Italian businessmen in Lisbon. She was close to the Florentine merchant-banker Luca Giraldi while borrowing monies to finance her expenditures from Benedetto Gachone and the Cremonese Giovan Francesco Affaitati, who made his money from the Madeiran sugar trade and from selling Indian commodities and merchandise in Lisbon.

CEYLON ON THE RUA NOVA: ROCK CRYSTALS, PRECIOUS STONES AND IVORIES

Of all the high-end, luxury merchandise João Brandão noted in his 1552 statistics of Lisbon, he specifically mentioned the Ceylonese jewellery and gold buttons available in Lisbon's shops.[48] Years later, the diarist of the Venetian ambassador Antonio Tiepolo was fascinated by the Ceylonese ivories caskets carved with figures and "finely worked gold mounts set with rubies" he had seen for sale in Lisbon.[49] These precious luxury goods underscored global Lisbon's unique artistic and commercial exchange with Ceylon (present-today Sri Lanka).

The first Asian embassy ever sent to Europe arrived in Portugal in 1542. The King of Kōṭṭē, Bhuvanekabāhu VII (r. 1521–1551), sent his Brahman court chamberlain, Śrī Rāmaraksa Paṇḍita, as his ambassador, on a special mission to the Lisbon court. After his return to Kōṭṭē, Śrī Rāmaraksa assumed the role of an art agent, procuring for the Lisbon court luxury ivories, precious stones and jewellery. Many ivories and select jewels were explicitly made for Queen Catherine, intended as prestigious diplomatic gifts for her wardrobe (*guardaroba*) and treasury. On special occasions, formal state banquets and *fêtes* at the Lisbon court, the ivory fans and caskets were taken out of their leather storage cases and admired for their strange amalgamation of Buddhist and Hindu iconography.[50]

Kōṭṭē boasted of a royal workshop where elite ivory carvers and goldsmiths created unique artworks and jewellery.[51] For the 1542 embassy, a corpus of ivory caskets, combs, folding fans, rock crystal objects and jewellery were prepared as royal gifts for the Portuguese court. European models were adopted for the forms of the caskets and combs, while rock crystal jewellery gifted to Catherine was executed in local styles dubbed by the Lisbon court, *ao modo de Ceilão* ('in the fashion of Ceylon') (Fig. 15). Exclusive crystal pieces were received from the Kōṭṭē ambassador: rock crystal spoons and forks; a pair of which once belonged to Catherine is still extant in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.[52]

By 1570, Catherine was acquiring quantities of Ceylonese rock crystal with gold mounts encrusted with rubies: balls, aiglets, thimbles, spoons, forks, knives, rosary beads, jars, bowls, seals and cups brought back from Ceylon and Goa on the ships, *Reis Magos* and *Chagas*, the

Fig. 15 *Sinhalese whistle*, Ceylon, *c.* 1550-1560, rock crystal, gold, rubies and sapphires, width 10.5 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RBK 17524

surplus of which was sold on the Rua Nova and the *Rua dos Ourives de Ouro* ('Goldsmith Street'). After the mid-sixteenth century, ivories were produced in more significant numbers in the court city of Kandy, after the fall of Kōṭṭē in 1565, for the export market in Portugal.[53] These ivories are different in style and manufacture from the earlier ivories destined for Catherine's collection and *Kunstkammer*.

Śrī Rāmaraksa Paṇḍita was responsible for encouraging Catherina to send her court goldsmith, Diogo Vaz, to reside in Goa, where he was stationed for nearly ten years if not more. Two years after the Ceylonese embassy left Lisbon, this Lisbon goldsmith, who had long been in the queen's service, departed for India in 1545 with the fleet of the Portuguese Viceroy, João de Castro (1550-1548). According to his credentials, the goldsmith's specific mission was supervising the commissions of the queen's jewellery in Goa, especially Ceylon. These were to be created by him or local Ceylonese craftsmen in the 'Ceylonese style'. Before completing Catherine' special orders, Vaz would often send to Lisbon for her approval models (or *mostras*) of jewellery pieces he intended to buy or execute for her.

The recommendation letter Catherine had given Vaz in 1545 underscores his qualifications as a goldsmith and a lapidary, as well as his trustworthy 'knowledge of [gem]stones'. Another task allocated to Vaz was the purchase of precious stones, diamonds, and Indian and Ceylonese jewellery in Goa, Cochin and Kōṭṭē, which he sent the queen with Portuguese vessels returning to Portugal on the Goa-Lisbon run. The queen's 1550–1555 inventory names the persons Vaz would recruit in Goa to act as couriers for the queen's jewels and the gifts from Bhuvanekabāhu VII. Each courier returning to Lisbon was compelled 'to put them in her hands' upon docking.[54] In September of 1551, Antonio Veloso arrived from Goa, on the ship *São João* captained by Manuel de Lima, with superb Ceylonese objects for Catherine, among them a large gold bracelet decorated with nine roses, inlaid with precious stones, Bhuvanekabāhu gave Vaz to forward to the queen at the Lisbon court. The king also sent her a gold needlecase encrusted with rubies and a gold thimble encrusted with rubies and turquoise manufactured in his Kōṭṭē workshop, created after German models exported from Nuremberg.

NATURALIA ON THE RUA NOVA

Amber, ambergris, musk (*almiscar*) (essential for seasoning and flavouring foods), and benzoin, a plant from Ceylon used to cure various diseases, were sent in regular shipments from India by Portuguese viceroys in Goa. Medicines made from these, and other pharmaceutical drugs such as camphor and myrobalans, were sold in apothecaries' shops on the Rua Nova. Bezoar stones, imported from Persia, more precisely Ormuz (Hormuz), mounted with gold bands or encased in gold filigree, as well as 'unicorn' (narwhal whale horns) and rhinoceros horns thought to have medicinal properties, were used as remedies against melancholy, plague, epilepsy and poison. Rhinoceros horns were ground into a powder and mixed with wine.

These horns in the Renaissance were expensive and exceptional. Carved horns were widely available in South China and sold in Portuguese Asia. Many examples were exported to Lisbon, some perhaps carved by Chinese artisans based in Goa. Rhinoceros horns were thought to possess supernatural powers. In Lisbon, the Venetians Tron and Lippomano appreciated the rhinoceros horns transformed into vessels and cups with gilded silver or gold filigree mounts, probably sold in and around the Rua Nova. They saw workshops where horns were turned 'on the lathe'. Rhinoceros cups were avidly collected by princely collectors for their royal tables, because of their protective qualities (as antidotes) and for their ceremonial functions. Such highly esteemed vessels were not used but displayed as hybrid works of art where nature, superb craftsmanship and function are amalgamated.

Tron and Lippomano were impressed by the shops in and around the Rua Nova, where they saw nautilus shells, other shells and coconuts (*noce d'Indie*) mounted in 'diverse forms and fashions'.[55] Mounted and unmounted coco-de-mer (*Lodoicea maladivica*) competed with rhinoceros horns exported from China. They were attributed medicinal powers, able to protect against poison. Once thought to have grown on the bottom of the ocean, these sea coconuts were prized for their natural beauty and scarcity, and were much sought after, brought to Lisbon from Goa by Portuguese sailors.

There is no question that Lisbon had reached its apogee as the centre of global trade by the late sixteenth century. The city had drawn merchants, agents, and intermediaries from all parts of Europe who used Lisbon as a point of departure for their overseas enterprises. Goa, Lisbon's sister city in the east, became the centre of trade in Portuguese India and beyond in Macau and Japan. However, more needs to be learned about the Portuguese inter-Asian trade: how artisanal workshops were set up, precisely where these were located, and how manufacture and production were managed. Traders and merchants in Goa – intermediaries like Queen Catherine's João Pedroso – took orders from Lisbon and rapidly fulfilled them to meet their patrons' desires. These dealers did not only remain in Goa but also travelled along the Asian trade routes. Tapping into their networks, they were kept informed and updated about new objects on the market and where they could be acquired in India and the Far East. A remarkable level of communication existed for the time. Shoppers and consumers in Lisbon, like Queen Catherine, kept track of the luxury markets in Portuguese Asia despite great distances.

Foreign travellers invariably observe Renaissance Lisbon with a shopper's critical eye, commenting that the stores and stalls were full of exotic, foreign luxury goods, jewellery and precious stones. There was much to see and much to buy. But without surviving shop records, particularly for businesses on the Rua Nova and the Rua dos Ourives de Ouro, a more precise understanding of how these objects were bought and sold remains speculative, awaiting further research. At the end of the sixteenth century, Lisbon's position as Europe's foremost global city linking continents, oceans and distant worlds remained unchallenged.

Latin-American Silverwork In Spain's Public and Private Collections

Cristina Esteras Martín

Latin-American silverwork is currently one of the artforms generating the most attention among private collectors, as well as public and private museums, which means the purchase of works from the Hispanic Americas is now one of the objectives by which not only may we share a culture that is common to both worlds, but also recognise the high quality of said works, making them worthy of being displayed alongside the best Spanish pieces.

The collections of Latin-American silverwork that exist in Spain were created at two different times: a first period during which the Americas were the "Overseas Spain" (16th to 19th century), and it was therefore the Spanish who were sending back pieces of silver to the Motherland, or "Metrópoli"; and a second period, which we can date to the 20th and 21st centuries, which has seen the definite emergence of the notion of collecting works of Latin-American origin.

What was permanently sent back from the Americas during the first period consisted of donations and legacies of religious silverwork, which the *indianos* (a colloquial term referring to Spanish émigrés who made their fortunes in the Americas and returned rich) sent to churches, monasteries and other religious institutions, which is why they currently house a large number of Latin-American pieces of that type, both on the Spanish Peninsula and in the Canary Isles, with more pieces concentrated in the areas where there was most emigration (the north of the Peninsula, Extremadura, Andalusia and the Canaries). Today, many of them are on display in diocesan museums where they are housed in the interests of improved preservation and protection from deterioration or loss, as in Bilbao or Santillana del Mar (Cantabria). Other ecclesiastical collections feature exceptional pieces of Latin-American silverwork, such as in the cathedrals of Seville, Palencia, Albarracín (Teruel), Pamplona and Zaragoza; in the parish churches of Santa María, in Guadalajara, Becerril de Campos (Palencia), Lesaca (Navarre), San Juan de Telde (Gran Canaria), Salvatierra de los Barros (Badajoz) or Villarrobledo (Albacete), and in the Conceptionist monastery of Ágreda (Soria) or the Clarist convent of Nájera (La Rioja), to mention just a few. And these religious collections do not, as is logical, only include pieces intended for liturgical ceremonies, but other items belonging to the secular world, which joined these large-scale collections as gifts from devote parishioners. It was as such that Seville Cathedral received the beautiful Mexican dish of gilt silver with enamels (ca. 1670), a donation from Doña Ana de Paiva (Fig. 1) or the table-top brazier, also Mexican (ca. 1540-50) which, transformed into the reliquary of San Miguel de la Cogolla, was donated to the cathedral by its canon Francisco Mateos Gago.[56] Zaragoza Cathedral boasts an impressive dish executed in Potosí, featuring Renaissance decorations and medallions with busts (ca. 1570), which was most certainly not a religious item (Fig. 2),[57] and another example with the same characteristics and origin (Potosí, ca. 1575) was purchased in 1753 by the cathedral administrators Pedro Salbago and Juan Francisco Mendiberri for the confraternity of the Santísimo Sacramento in the church of San Juan Bautista, Malaga.[58] In other words, it was purchased almost two centuries after it was executed: both pieces are punch-marked with a "monetary" seal (denoting Royal taxation)".[59]

One of the most remarkable pieces from the secular world is the silver casket with gold decorations from the church of Ezcaray (Navarre, Spain), which was donated by Pedro Antonio de Barroeta y Ángel in 1763 when, as Archbishop of Granada, he sent it with the intention of it being used as a coffer for the Monument from which to worship the Holy Sacrament on Easter Thursday (Figs. 3a & 3b). That, however,

Fig. 1 *Dish*, unknown silversmith, Mexico, ca. 1670; gift from Ana de Paiva, partially silver-gilt, enamels. Seville Cathedral

Fig. 2 *Dish*, unknown silversmith, Potosí, ca. 1570; silver. Zaragoza Cathedral

Fig. 3a *Casket*, unknown silversmith, Potosí, 18th century, gift from Pedro Antonio de Barroeta y Ángel in 1763, partially-gilded silver. Church of Ezcaray, Navarre

Fig. 3b *Casket*, detail

was not its original function, which was that of a "little casket" belonging to his personal effects that he brought back with him from Peru, where he served as Archbishop of Lima in 1751-1758.[60] The unmistakably Peruvian style of the piece in the ornamental lexicon employed suggests it was from one of the workshops of the Altiplano and, quite possibly, the city of Potosí.

But if that piece is worthy of note, the following is just as remarkable: the famous *Vaso de la Venerable sor María de Ágreda* drinking vessel, by which the nun was administered the viaticum before she died (1665), and in whose Conceptionist convent the piece is currently preserved. The piece is actually a Mexican *bernega*l cup featuring ten *bocado*s (undulating indentations) with a *bezoar* poison antidote stone attached to the bottom of the vessel. It also features a *bernegal con salvilla* or drinking vessel (Fig. 4), with both pieces decorated with fine compositions made up of interlinking vegetal struts. There can be no doubt that this piece was intended for secular and not religious use. It is considered a gift from Philip IV to said nun/confessor, but it may well have come from any of the other distinguished donors who gave some extraordinary Mexican works to the convent in Soria, though we think the gift was courtesy of Sor Francisca [Ruiz Valdivieso], who was a professed nun there,[61] given she lived in Mexico where she had been the chambermaid of Doña Juana de la Cerda during the period when, between 1653 and 1660, her husband the 10th Duke of Alburquerque, was Viceroy of New Spain. In the museum of Jaén Cathedral there is also an unpublished Guatemalan *bernegal* with eight *bocados*,[62] and another with six, also unpublished, belonging to the Santa Capilla de San Andrés in that same city (Jaén, Spain). The fact that these sorts of vessels are to be found in religious collections confirms they were often donated by members of the public as liturgical items.

Fig. 4 *Bernegal con salvilla* (drinking vessel) or Vaso de la venerable sor María de Ágreda, unknown silversmith, Mexico, 17th century; gift from King Philip IV; gilt silver with "bezoar" poison antidote stone. Convento de las Concepcionistas, Madrid

With regard to the acquisition of pieces during the second period, museums and private collectors tend to source them from the domestic or international antiques markets, with pieces of a secular nature being most popular, although occasionally an institution like Madrid's Museo de América will purchase a late 17th-century monstrance from Lima to enrich their collection (Fig. 5). And, as private collectors generally prefer to maintain their anonymity, we can only mention their names when they permit us to do so or they are already known, as is the case of the accredited collections of Várez Fisa (Madrid), Hernández-Mora Zapata (Madrid) or Alorda-Derkensen (Barcelona-London).

Of the public museums we would choose two Madrid institutions on the grounds of the quality and variety of their pieces, and on account of having originally come from private collections. We owe the collection at the Fundación Lázaro Galdiano to José Lázaro (1862-1947) and his wife Paula Florido, with works including two exceptional *jarros de pico* (jugs with pointed spouts), the older of which was made in Mexico (ca. 1620) following the so-called Valladolid model, while the other is based on a style popular at court between 1598 and 1621, but with certain engraved adornments on the body of the vessel that suggest a Peruvian origin, perhaps one of the workshops in the Altiplano (Fig. 6). Now then, the decorative motif featuring the veiled mask with feather headdress is not an exclusively Latin-American element, given similar icons were produced in Europe thanks to Flemish engravers such as *Floris* in 1548 and later, in 1554, with *Cornelis Bos* in his panels of grotesques.

The other interesting Madrid collection is that of the Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, built out of the works brought together by the Count and Countess of Valencia de Don Juan, Guillermo Joaquín de Osma y Scull (1853) and his wife Adela Crooke. The

Fig. 5 *Monstrance*, unknown silversmith, Lima, Viceroyalty of Peru, final quarter of the 17th century; partially silver-gilt, enamels. Museo de América, Madrid

pieces of silverwork included are not only important in their considerable number, but because the majority of them had some use within the house, being non-religious works mainly intended for dinner and cellar services. Of these, twelve are of Hispano-American origin, and the most attractive in terms of age and model is without doubt a Mexican *braserillo* (table-top brazier) whose markings date it to 1550-60 (Fig. 7), and which is a particularly unique piece in its entirely Renaissance lexicon.[63] Nothing like it had ever been found before, neither in Spain nor in the rest of the Hispanic world, so this find was key, as it subsequently allowed for three similar pieces to be located, which confirmed that the model was successful in Mexican workshops. One is to be found in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, another in a private collection, originating from Madrid's Durán auction house, and a third in Seville Cathedral, where it had been turned into a reliquary.[64] It is quite possible that this type of *braserillo* was first produced in Spain, though there are no known examples, and that it was then imported by Mexican silversmiths. This hypothesis gains credibility if we consider paintings as documents, given the piece does invite comparison with one depicted in a painting by *Juan van der Hamen y León*, titled "*Dinner Service*",[65] from a private collection.

Fig. 6 *Jarro de Pico,* unknown silversmith, Mexico, ca. 1620. Museo Lázaro Galdeano, Madrid

Fig. 7 *Braserillo* (table-top brazier), unknown silversmith, Mexico, ca. 1550-60; gilt silver. Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid

That same institution houses other prominent pieces such as a *salvilla* with a star-shaped outline (ca. 1610-20) which belonged to Santa Teresa de Jesús and a *tachuela* cup (ca. 1760), both executed in Santiago de Guatemala. There is also another *salvilla* with a short base and circular dish, but this one is Mexican (ca. 1712),[66] and a cup whose vessel is made of a rhinoceros horn from the Ming dynasty (1600) with gilt silver fittings and blue enamel decoration made in Mexico in about 1623, and a *bernegal* with its *salvilla* (the bezoar stone has been lost) which, thanks to the "monetary" marking on its handle, we can identify as originating from the Peruvian Viceroyalty between 1675 and 1700.[67] It would seem clear that if a collection includes these latter two pieces (a cup made out of a rhinoceros horn and a bernegal that once featured a bezoar stone), then its collectors must have been drawn to objects considered "rare and exotic", given both the rhinoceros horn and the bezoar are closely linked to the search for magical and salutary qualities, extremely popular in 17th-century society, as a means of overcoming fears and difficulties, curing multiple troubles and illnesses, and serving most of all to detect possible poisoning while acting as an antidote to it.

The Latin-American silverwork collection at Madrid's Museo de América is a recent acquisition, resulting from the purchase of works on the domestic and international markets, so it is extremely diverse, including both pieces rescued from the wreckage of the "Nuestra Señora Atocha" galleon, which sank in the Florida Keys in 1622 (bought at auction at Christie's New York in 1988),[68] along with Guatemalan pieces such as a *jarro de pico* (ca. 1575), a gold cup (ca. 1650-70)[69] for after communion, or a pear-shaped jug with a lid, pointed spout and handle featuring the superimposed figure of a female, where the model is clearly influenced by French Rococo forms, but instead of using rocaille adornment there is slanted gadrooning, twisting its profile (Fig. 8), while the lid features a lion at rest, with a heraldic shield further embellishing the work.[70] The piece may be Chilean, dating to about 1760 (possibly Santiago), given it is a stylistic and structural match for two similar pieces from the Colección Apelles, which we would imagine were made in workshops in the capital. There is also a curious 18th-century Guatemalan sanitary syringe and a Peruvian bishop's mitre from the same century, a pair of Mexican ornamental plaques in a Neoclassical style (late 18th century) by the hand of the renowned silversmith *José María Rodallega*[71] and a *mancerina* (the plate on which a *jícara* traditionally rested) with the same Mexican origin dating from between 1823 and 1843.

Fig. 8 *Jug with lid*, unknown silversmith, Chile (?), ca. 1760; silver. Museo de América, Madrid

The Museo de Valladolid has a 17th-century Mexican *bernegal* that is one of the most interesting of those currently preserved (only comparable to the one in the Chicago Institute of Art) as, in addition to still having its corresponding *salvilla*, inside there is the figure of a bird placed on top of an ovoid bezoar (Fig. 9),[72] a feature somewhat reminiscent of the *bernegal* being held by Zurbarán's *San Luis Beltrán* from the Museo de Bellas Artes in Seville, where we can observe the figure of a little dragon sticking out from the vessel and warning the saint of the existence of toxins in the liquid, which according to his biography saved him from dying of poisoning.

Moving on to private collections, the Hernández-Mora Zapata in Madrid boasts various pieces, of which we would highlight an exceptional *jarro de pico* dated to the reign of Philip IV (1621-1640) (Fig. 10), which bears a "monetary" punch-mark that once led us to ascribe it a Peruvian origin, possibly Potosí;[73] a "basilisk" engraved four times on the frieze of the vessel next to the spout (Fig. 10a) turns out to be the icon of the *Amaru* (a mythical winged serpent), an image that takes the Western form of the dragon, though it is not a true dragon but really what the indigenous peoples thought the great serpents that lived in the Antisuyu looked like.[74] It is often depicted on *qeros* and *aquillas* (ceremonial Inca cups),[75] and may also be found

Fig. 9 *Bernegal* (drinking vessel), unknown silversmith, Mexico, 17th century; gilt silver with "bezoar" poison antidote stone. Museo de Valladolid

Fig. 10 *Jarro de Pico*, unknown silversmith, Peru, 17th century; partially-gilded silver. Hernán-Mora Zapata Collection, Madrid

Fig. 10a *Jarro de Pico* (detail of basilisk), Peru, 17th century; partially-gilded silver. Hernán-Mora Zapata Collection, Madrid

Fig. 10b *Casket with basilisk figure*, La Paz, 18th century; painted wood and iron fittings. Museo Casa Murillo, La Paz (Bolivia)

on a wooden casket from the Callaguaya area (La Paz) (Fig. 10b), executed using the *qero* technique.

Among the pieces of silverwork much sought after by collectors we discover *lámparas votivas* (votive lamps) which, in spite of being intended to light up religious altars, were also displayed in private rooms. There are two very special examples in terms of their age and Mexican origin. The first, which bears an inscription reading 1581, was sent from Mexico by Alonso de Salazar (a servant of the 2nd Marquis del Valle, Don Martín Cortés).[76] Another, slightly later piece, belongs to the Alorda-Derksen collection and, like the first one, we know its chronology (1624) and donor, Luis de Milla ("servant of His Majesty"), thanks to its engraved legend, something that was extremely common in these sorts of devotional gifts. The same collection also boasts a beautiful *bernegal* with eight "bocados", decorated with pieces of enamel and thought to have been made in Mexico (ca. 1625-50), along with a dish (a barber's bowl) for personal toilette. (ca. 1640-1665).[77] It is oval-shaped, deep and with a broad rim and multilinear border which, though it is reminiscent of a model that was successful in Spanish workshops (executed in both silver and ceramic along with other materials), was also in great demand in Hispano-American society. It was produced in the Peruvian Viceroyalty, perhaps in Potosí or Santafé de Bogotá, as the "monetary stamp" it was marked with would appear to refer to the government of Philip IV, while its formal structure indicates a chronology between 1640 and 1665.

With regard to the Várez Fisa collection in Madrid, which boasts numerous and exquisite pieces of Spanish silverwork, we would also highlight some splendid Hispano-American works acquired on the domestic and international markets, which excel in their exceptional artistic quality, true to their policy of bringing together the best Hispanic works available on the market. Two works stand out from the rest: a beautiful Guatemalan chalice which, in spite of being a religious piece, simply had to be taken off the antiques market and join a renowned collection on account of its combining a set of truly exceptional qualities (Fig. 11). The fact is that there are few surviving Latin-American pieces from the mid-16th century, and though many were imported from Spain to meet the needs of the burgeoning Hispano-American society, many were also executed here, in Spain, and have sadly disappeared as a result of the vicissitudes of history. It is therefore extraordinary that this chalice should have been preserved in mint condition, that we should also know the name of the artist behind it, the renowned silversmith *Pedro Xuárez de Mayorga* and that, beyond the superb technical *fattura* and structural harmony, its cup and certain parts of the shaft should be covered with richly-polychromed *champlevé* enamel,[78] whose adornments are comparable to the translucent enamel works carried out in the best European artistic centres (Milan, Florence, Venice, Augsburg or Prague). Equally unique, within its genre, is the casket (Fig. 12) almost certainly produced in the silver workshops of Mexico City in about 1650,[79] as this is a non-religious piece (probably originally intended to serve as a jewellery box) of great weight, stupendous technical execution and with abundant Mannerist adornments covering the surfaces of both box and lid. It is, in short, a piece of great ornamental richness in the way the silver is worked, but its real opulence lies in the application of little raised discs of *champlevé* enamel of varying sizes and profiles, forming floral/geometric patterns, and a heraldic symbol alluding to its owner. And at the top it even has a little finial made of rock crystal, an essential material in Mexican 16th

Fig. 11 Pedro Xuárez de Mayorga, *Chalice*, Guatemala, mid-16th century; partially silver-gilt, enamels. Várez Fisa Collection, Madrid

Fig. 12 *Casket*, Mexico, ca.1650; partially silver-gilt, enamels. Várez Fisa Collection, Madrid

Fig. 13 *Salvilla,* Santiago de Guatemala c. 1675; partially silver-gilt, enamels. Várez Fisa Collection, Madrid

Fig. 14 *Dish,* Santiago de Guatemala c. 1675; partially silver-gilt, enamels. Várez Fisa Collection, Madrid

and 17th-century works. From Santiago de Guatemala, meanwhile, there is a *salvilla* with a short base made of gilt silver with six cabochons of an intense blue *champlevé* enamel (ca. 1675)(Fig. 13). Finally, from the Peruvian Viceroyalty, there is a profusely-decorated late-17th-century Baroque dish (Fig. 14).[80]

In the Hispanic Americas, the enduring taste for cups that included bezoar stones inside them lasted considerably longer than it did in Spain (throughout the entire 17th century), gradually disappearing with the arrival of the Bourbon monarchy and the introduction of French fashions that displaced the old customs of Spanish society under the Austrian Habsburgs. From private Spanish collections (we will not mention their names, respecting the express desire of the owners) there are two truly exceptional examples of pieces of this kind: one a Baroque *bernegal* from approximately 1730, executed in pure gold with a conical-shaped cup (with an attachment for the bezoar at the bottom), its round *salvilla* decorated with motifs characteristic of the ornamental repertories of the Peruvian Altiplano (vizcachas, tarucas, herons, etc.) (Figs. 15a & 15b), from one of whose silver workshops it originated;[81] and a beautiful late-18th-century *bernegal* in a Rococo style, executed in Guatemala City by the renowned silversmith *Miguel Guerra* (1773-1802)(Fig. 16),which is impressive in its size, exquisite in its technical work and exceptional in the originality of its formal design. We should also emphasize the peculiar way of anchoring the bezoar by means of an openwork lattice of vine leaves and grapes, an approach that could certainly serve as an essential key to unlocking this artist's personality,[82] as well as that of contemporary Guatemalan silver workshops, as we can observe an identical design on a unique silver frame with a painting of *Our Lady of Sorrows*.

Viceregal society revelled in opulence and excess, and while still imitating the customs and habits of the Motherland, it generated an incredibly varied repertory of objects intended specifically for new American uses, which undoubtedly caught the eye in the Andean and Altiplano regions of Peru and Bolivia. As such, the deep-rooted South American custom of drinking *mate* infusions from Paraguay gave rise to the necessary construction of a series of accoutrements to accompany the ceremony, which are in extraordinary demand throughout the world today. It is true that *mate* cups, *bombilla* straws and the *apartador* (a sort of spoon for keeping the herb away from the straw while drinking) became essential parts of this ritual, but the boxes used for storing the herb itself and the water heaters needed for the infusion process are, due to their original designs, in greatest demand among current collectors, whether Spanish or American. With regard to these heaters, commonly known as *pavas-hornillo*, there is one exemplary piece, with a rectangular body (though eight-sided) dated 1779 and re-marked in Potosí in the 19th century,[83] Moving on to the herb boxes, or *yerbateras* (which in the mid-Andes are also known as *coqueras*), these items are designed with structures ranging from scallop shell-shaped to globular. With a spherical structure, there is one particularly unusual example in the way that the lid is crowned by the figure of a seated lion, bearing a cartouche, and in the opulence of its gold adornments,[84] and another equally paradigmatic piece where the outline of the body is reminiscent of a scallop (*pecten jacobeus*) shell, and with engraved rocaille decoration on the front, plus hybrid creatures embossed on the lid and cast on the legs.[85]

As far as we are aware, Baroque Guatemalan silverwork from the second half of the 18th century produced the most popular dinner service designs. It is true that French and English models were followed, but this was done with such technical and artistic skill that the pieces were not matched by those of any other American silverwork centre. They were impeccably-well executed, and there is one Spanish collection that has a fantastic *compotera* (dessert dish for fruit in compote) with its accompanying *salvilla,*[86] comparable in quality to the one preserved in London's Victoria and Albert Museum, part of the Hildburgh donation. Meanwhile, the great quality of Guatemalan dinner service pieces may also be observed in the *sopera* (soup serving spoon) from the hand of the master silversmith *Miguel*

Figs. 15a & 15b *Bernegal* (drinking vessel with salver), unknown goldsmith, Peru, ca. 1730; gold. Private collection, Madrid

Guerra, which apart from its exquisite *fattura* is also unusual in that it still has its original presentation tray. But if that piece is exceptional, so is the same artist's *kettle with stand and burner* (also known as a *cisterna*) designed to hold a hot drink (Fig. 17),[87] which may have been part of a coffee service. Its value, however, is not just in its peculiar design, but in the fact that it is the only known piece of its kind from the whole of the Americas.

And now we come to another example where a secular piece became part of the liturgical goods of a church, thereby seeing its function distorted as a result of the fervour of a devote donor. Here we have a Guatemalan vegetable serving dish, or *legumbrera*[88] from the Del Rosario church in Corella (Navarre, Spain). The scope of high-quality work from Guatemala included all genres and époques, though it hit its peak during the Rococo period, still going strong at the end of the 18th century. To the abovementioned pieces, from another anonymous collection we should also add an impressive *escribanía*,[89] or writing desk, which features a generous presentation top with a drawer that pulls out to store complementary accessories and pear-shaped inkpots, drying powder (pounce) and quills, which was made by *Manuel Jesús de Ballinas y Gálves*, a Guatemalan silversmith documented between 1780 and 1820.

It would be impossible to mention all the Latin-American pieces in Spanish collections here, due to the obvious space limitations of this publication, but we should bear in mind that there are numerous trays and *salvillas* of varying origins, whether from Mexico (in thick plate or filigree), from Guatemala, with their characteristic square or rectangular *azafates*, with undulating mitred edges, which were always finely adorned with decorative engravings on the upper rim and central bowl;[90] or from the Peruvian Viceroyalty, from where there are various types of *fuente* in private collections, with it being worth highlighting those from the Altiplano (a region of Bolivia), which are easy to distinguish thanks to their animalistic ornamental motifs and dense and exuberant repoussé decoration. These may be of varying sizes and shapes (round, oval, scallop-shaped, and so on), but the rectangular ones with deep troughs where the sides and upper rims feature undulating segments and ogee arches at the corners are the most common, and were produced not only in the former Peruvian territories but also in the workshops of the capital of the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata (created 1776, broken up 1814), as can be seen in a privately-owned tray (*bandeja*) marked Buenos Aires and which, like the ones from the Altiplano, features diverse but not autochthonous vegetal and animal motifs, given it includes parrots, bats, bulls and foxes in its repertory.

Collectors and museum directors who are currently convinced of the great quality of the silverwork produced in the varying artistic centres of the Spanish Americas are looking out for pieces of all kinds, though their preferences lie with those that were intended for non-religious use and, though none are ruled out, the most sought after are those that were not produced by Spanish silversmiths on account of not being associated with their social customs (such as the yerbatera herb boxes or the *pava-hornillo* water heaters). This does not, however, mean they are not interested in obtaining works that invite comparison with Spanish ones although, wherever possible, they would prefer them to surpass the latter in the lavish materials used (gold and silver), in the originality of their design and the rarity and opulence of their ornamentation. In addition, many of these pieces, the "bernegales" for instance, present a greater variety and range of models compared to the few pieces preserved in Spain, so they could serve to help rebuild the catalogue of this genre of artwork. As such, with this praiseworthy purchasing policy on the part of private collectors and museums, we will be able to achieve some major goals related to our knowledge of the history of Hispanic (Spanish and Latin-American) silverwork, while also pursuing the valuable objective of rediscovering our shared past.

Fig. 16 Miguel Guerra, *Bernegal* (drinking vessel), Guatemala, 18th century; silver with "bezoar" stone. Private collection, Madrid

Fig. 17 Miguel Guerra, *kettle with stand and burner*, Guatemala, 18th century. Private collection, Madrid

Crossing the Seas: Religion, Art and Trade

Carlos Ponce Ponte

The dawn of global inter-oceanic trade can be traced back to Columbus' discovery of America in 1492 (Fig. 1). That monumental event opened the floodgates for the European maritime powers to embark on the colonisation of the peoples of the Americas; a region that had previously remained on the fringes of trade relations with Europe, Africa and Asia. Spanish, Portuguese, British, Dutch and French invaders laid the foundations of their rule. Both the Spanish and the Dutch had considerable experience conquering far-flung lands, the Maluku archipelago, for instance, otherwise known as the Spice Islands, located in eastern Indonesia. We should also mention that the English and Portuguese felt a particular attraction for the rich trade in said spices, and from the 15th and 16th centuries on, battles were fought over this highly-prized booty (Fig. 2).

Fig. 1 Sebastiano del Piombo (Sebastiano Luciani) (Italy, Venice (?) 1485/86–1547 Rome), *Portrait of a Man, said to be Christopher Columbus*, 1519 (born about 1446, died 1506), oil on canvas. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

In 1565, an Augustinian friar sailed the Pacific. On board the *Nao San Pedro* (*nao*: a type of carrack), Andrés de Urdaneta completed the *tornaviaje*, or round trip, from the Philippines to New Spain, marking the start of a new era. A bridge of great importance had been built in the commercial, political and cultural relations between the Spanish Empire and the Orient. One that would last 250 years.

The expedition, led by Miguel López de Legazpi (1502-1572), with the nautical guidance of Urdaneta (1508-1568), established a solid trade route connecting the Mexican port of Acapulco with the capital of the Philippines, Manila. This also expanded the network of routes from Seville to Veracruz, then continuing by land to Acapulco, from where the galleons traversing the Pacific set sail.

During the 17th century, this three-sided trade dynamic including Lima, Acapulco and Manila became extremely well developed. A *Hispano-American Pacific* had been established along two axes: one that connected China and New Spain via the Philippines and the Manila Galleons; and a second one that linked New Spain and Peru through various ports in Central America. This structure and its growth was a significant counterweight to the Atlantic trade routes through the West Indies fleets, which joined the ports of Veracruz with those of Seville and Cadiz.

The so-called *Carrera de Indias*, meanwhile, was a complex system of navigation connecting the kingdom of Castile with its viceroyalties in the Americas, playing a fundamental role in overseas intercommunications. This system operated with two expeditions a year, which combined elements of both military and merchant navy: the fleets of New Spain and the galleons of *Tierra Firme* (dry land). The fleets established the connection between Spain and the Viceroyalty of Mexico, while the galleons headed for Panama and New Granada, acting as links with the interior regions of the Viceroyalty of Peru through those territories.

It was in this context that a global communications network was established in the port of Seville (Fig. 3), which transformed it into the main maritime hub on the Iberian Peninsula, and the trade epicentre of Europe. Seville, known as the *Port and Gateway to the Americas,* sent European products such as olive oil and Andalusian wine, as well as fabrics from various European origins, including renowned Flemish textiles and others from the north of France. Another resource was iron from Biscay, necessary for the building of key infrastructures in the New World colonies, along with mercury, fundamental to the silver amalgamation process in Novohispanic mines.

In exchange the port received precious metals from the Americas, mainly silver, an essential part of the consignments destined for Seville. The silver would arrive either as coins or in bars that were then minted. These coins were earmarked for the Royal Hacienda (1776-1787), or treasury, and for private businesses, minus the royal tax (one fifth) known as the *quinto real* or *plata quintada*, and the rest went to merchants. Other dye-oriented products were also imported, such as cochineal or the indigo plant, as well as consumables including maize, potatoes, the Chilean strawberry,[91] passion fruit,[92] coffee, tobacco and cocoa.[93]

On the other hand, the trade routes also reflected the Crown's significant interest in acquiring collections that would bear witness to the wealth and diversity of the material and immaterial assets available in the New World territories. This translated into the shipping of manufactured goods, curiosities and reports with information on the richness and heterogeneity of the different regions.

With regard to the sciences and humanities, the shipment of boxes with curiosities shed light on the geography and biodiversity of

Fig. 2 *Victory of the Dutch-commanded ships over the Portuguese*, 19 May 1605, anonymous; print. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Fig. 3 Alonso Sánchez Coello (Valencia, ca. 1531 – Madrid, 1588) (attr.), *View of the City of Seville*, late 16th century. Museo del Prado, Madrid

the American territories, as well as providing an insight into their pre-Hispanic past. The chronicles of the Indies are an invaluable source, enabling us to explore aspects of the discovery and conquest of the Americas, as well as the native customs and the development of the institutions of the New World. These chroniclers were interested in compiling and interpreting data regarding the nature of the cultures of the Americas, addressing issues ranging from colonisation and evangelisation to the observation of the continent's flora and fauna. It is thus that the chronicles serve not only as tools of historical record, but also as valuable compendiums of knowledge, contributing to a deeper understanding of the diversity and richness of the New World at that time.

One of the most interesting chroniclers was undoubtedly Fray Toribio de Benavente (1482-1569), a Franciscan friar who adopted the name *Motolinía*, which in Nahuatl (an Uto-Aztecan language still spoken today in Mexico and Central America) means "*he who is poor*". His was the earliest Franciscan chronicle, describing the old indigenous culture and the progress of evangelisation in the central part of Mexico. Then there is also Fray Bernardino de Sahagún (1499-1590), another prominent Franciscan friar and Spanish ethnographer, who made a significant contribution to our understanding of Mexican culture prior to the arrival of the Spanish. His magnum opus, titled *General History of the Things of New Spain*, was completed in 1569, written in both Spanish and Nahuatl. It was a monumental work, made up of pictograms, and essential to understanding Nahuatl culture.

We owe a special mention to Bishop Baltasar Martínez Compañón (1737-1797), "most zealous defender of all wellbeing for the Indian race" (Cappa, 1892, p. 24), who directed and supervised the drafting of a codex bearing witness to his time in the diocese of Trujillo, in the Peruvian Viceroyalty, which included more than 1,400 watercolours painted by local artists, documenting diverse aspects of the region's natural and social life. The collection features illustrations ranging from native flora and fauna in the northern part of Peru, to pre-Columbian ruins and artefacts (Fig. 4), as well as portraits of the day-to-day lives of the locals, building plans and city maps.

In short, Martínez Compañón's predisposition for maintaining a distance from the superficial and success-based reading of some enlightenment authors enabled him to avoid the "centre-periphery narrative extolling the Spanish epic as opposed to the surviving elements of the past" (Fernández, 2020, p. 224). It was thus that he provided comprehensive examination of the coexistence of elements of varying origins. Furthermore, despite there being no text to accompany the images, the nine-volume opus the bishop sent to the king of Spain for the recently-created Royal Cabinet of Natural History (1771-1815) "was intended to administer its jurisdiction with the modernisation of lights" (Victorio and Ramírez, 2020, p. 44).

The influx of artistic objects travelling from Spain to the New World during the 16th and 17th centuries was part of an extensive phenomenon of cultural exchange, where the religious and political motives of the Spanish crown played a leading role.

The endeavour involving the spreading of the Christian faith across the vast colonies led to the use of artworks as evangelising tools. This process was based on the fact that Spain acted as a sort of controller of maritime movement, allowing for the faster and safer transportation of goods, facilitating the constant flow of artworks between the continents. In addition, both royal and ecclesiastical patronage were major advantages. The funding provided by these institutions guaranteed the quality of the goods and ensured their safe arrival in a range of New World destinations. This official support underlined the importance granted to the promotion of culture and the Catholic faith in the colonies, which influenced the continuation of this process over the centuries.

It was thus that paintings were the primary form of artwork being sent to the New World. Improved accessibility and profitability made it possible for a large number of paintings to reach the Americas. One example of this activity was recorded in 1586, when a total of 637 paintings were sent in a period of three and a half months (Quintana, 200, p. 106), which shows the sheer scale of this line of commerce. With regard to the subject matter of these works, most were related to the Christian mysteries, which reflects the profound influence of the Church in viceregal society. This group of works was divided into three main categories: iconographies from the life and Passion of Christ; depictions of Marian advocations and iconographies, and portraits of saints.

In addition to facilitating the transactional exchange of items and resources, these transportation networks also gave rise to the mutual transference of influences, which impacted on the production of articles, manufacturing techniques and the development and adapting of local and foreign iconographies. This commercial and cultural exchange led to the generation of multiple artworks that enriched and transformed the societies of the day, marking a key chapter in the history of art and global culture.

One of the results of that exchange was the South American cult of *Our Lady of Copacabana*. With the arrival of the Spanish and Christianity, many native beliefs were modified and adapted to the new context, producing an assimilation and transformation of elements such as the cult of Mother Earth or *Pachamama*, which turned into the Latin American cult of the Virgin Mary.

The sculpture of *Our Lady of the Candelaria of Copacabana* was both admired and renowned due to its extraordinary charm. It was said that the composition and polychromy had the mark of a divine hand, which explained its great beauty in spite of the relative inexperience of its sculptor, Francisco Tito Yupanqui (1550-1616).

It is interesting to note that the Yupanqui carving presents similarities with certain works by the Flemish sculptor Roque

Fig. 4 Baltasar Martínez Compañón (Cabredo, 10 January 1737 - Santafé de Bogotá, 1797), *Self-portrait,* "Trujillo del Perú Codex, Vol I (1782–1785)"; watercolour

Balduque (1500-1561), such as the *Virgin of the Evangelisation* from Lima Cathedral or *Our Lady of Amparo* from the church of the *Santísima María Magdalena*, in Seville. This similarity is evident in the arrangement of the arms and the Virgin's *contraposto* pose, and might suggest the sculpture drew on models that arrived in the Americas in the 16th century. It is therefore possible that it adopted elements from visual models (whether prints of engravings or carvings) of the Virgin and Child that would certainly have arrived in Potosí during said century.

This Marian devotion spread quickly throughout the Peruvian Viceroyalty, with the image being reproduced, copied and imitated on numerous occasions. In 1663, the Augustinian friar Andrés de San Nicolás published his *Imagen de N. S. de Copacabana: Portento del nuevo mundo ya conocido en Europa al Real y Supremo Consejo de las Indias*, in which he provided testimony of how firmly established the Marian title had become in the New World:

> *"Being the image of Our Lady of Copacavana a most beautiful treasure, let the news reach Your Highness, so that it may circulate freely through the kingdoms of Europe and enrich worship of it; not just to cities and places in Spain, but also abroad, for if they enjoy the gold, silver and precious stones sent by that world, then they should not lack in the most excellent, superior and gracious of favours, which Our Lord God provides by means of the effigy of His Mother".* (San Nicolás, 1663, p. 13)

In Fray Andrés de San Nicolás' publication we find one of the earliest portraits of *Our Lady of Copacabana*, which provides an illustration of the Madrid attire and ornamental elements featured on the sculpture compared to local depictions (Fig. 5), indicative of the clear modifications the image underwent when it arrived on European soil.

In the 17th and 18th centuries the *búcaro* manufacturing industry became extremely well developed, as these items were exported to Spain and the rest of Europe, where they were highly prized. *Búcaros* (Fig. 6), which were produced in Jalisco (Mexico), were ceramic containers of varying sizes and shapes made of earthenware and intended to hold perfumed water. In Spain women used to eat bits of the containers themselves in the belief that the material lightened the skin, regulated menstruation, brought on hallucinations and could even serve as a contraceptive. This insalubrious custom was known as *bucarophagia*.

Another prominent example is that of Puebla, where even before the arrival of the Spanish there was a thriving and notable tradition of ceramic goods, thanks largely to the abundance of clay deposits in the area. During the Viceroyalty, improvements in pottery techniques and the expansion of trade routes gave rise to the appearance of craft guilds and contributed to the creation of a white ceramic of a Spanish style, known as *Talavera,* named after its stylistic similarity with the traditional vitreous pottery of *Talavera de la Reina*, in Spain. These Spanish benchmarks, along with Chinese, Italian and indigenous influences, resulting from existing cultural and commercial exchanges, not only served as artistic inspiration, but also helped to establish technical and iconographic models for their own production. This fusion process was the catalyser behind the development of a local style, which consolidated Puebla as the most important nucleus for the production of ceramics in New Spain.

The viability of producing *talavera poblana* was possible due to Puebla's links with Asia and Europe, which guaranteed access to key ingredients such as cobalt blue from China, which was extremely popular on the Spanish market. As the Capuchin friar Francisco de Ajofrin (1719-1789) wrote:

> *"The manufacturing of the locals (rightly considered the most skilled and ingenious in the whole of New Spain) includes [...] dazzling canvases painted in the Chinese style; beautiful, delicate and clean pottery, or clay even finer than that of Talavera; crystal and glass; all sorts of fine weaponry and firearms, which have gained great renown across the whole Kingdom in their delicate balance and meticulous execution."* (Castañeda y Alcover (ed.), 1958, p. 47).

The imitation of blue and white porcelain from the Ming

Fig. 5 Fernando de Valverde. F. Bejarano, *Shrine of Our Lady of Copacabana,* Lima, 1641. John Carter Brown Library

Fig. 6 *Búcaro* (Covered jar), Tonalá (Mexico), ca. 1675–1700; earthenware, 70.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Dynasty (1368-1644) opened up an extensive market for the Spanish and Criollos who had settled in New Spain and even in Guatemala and Peru. Furthermore, the low manufacturing costs meant these items were within the reach of a broader public, including *mestizos* and people on average incomes. In addition, the need to replace traditional earthenware objects and utensils kept the industry active, and stimulated decorative creativity, influenced both by potters and by client tastes (Yanes, 2013, p. 84).

Finding depictions of a two-headed eagle is no chance occurrence in the *Huichol* and *Otomí* Mexican cultures. According to tradition, the eagle was linked to the creation of the universe and mankind, and was considered a sacred entity embodying the guardian spirit of nature (Gómez, 2015, p. 115). Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that its presence pre-dated the arrival of the conquistadors, in clay seals found on the Gulf coast, identifying the image as part of archetypical Meso-American thinking (Bonilla, 2010, pp. 167-174). It even invites comparison with the two-headed eagles of European origin; in reality it is a front-on view of the animal in perspective (Lumholtz, 1986, p. 57). However, it is understood that the appearance of this image came about simultaneously, though with clearly-differentiated meanings. The fact is that by one superimposing over the other, the symbolism underwent a process of reformulation, in which the ideology and cosmic vision of the indigenous peoples predominated.

This helps to understand the versatile use of the image, in which analogy and concordance prevailed over contradiction, shaping the relations the indigenous peoples established between their own beliefs and the images of the conquistadors (Gruzinski, 1994, p. 176). This goes to demonstrate how certain representations, such as Spanish heraldic symbols, went beyond the borders of Europe, spreading to the kingdoms of the New World, where they were reinterpreted and adjusted in accordance with local circumstances. At the same time, one can observe the enduring survival of pre-Hispanic narratives, and the continuation of the "mythogram", or image used as a vehicle containing meanings related to cultural cosmic visions (Leroi-Gourhan, 1971, pp. 188-192).

In pre-Hispanic Mexico there was an artistic technique knowns as *plumaria*, or featherwork, which consisted in the use of hummingbird feathers to manufacture genuine works of art. When the Spanish arrived in New Spain they were amazed by this art, which was adapted to make *emplumados*, many of which were exported to Spain and the rest of Europe. One notable example is the marvellous *St. Michael Slaying the Devil*, which belonged to Rudolph II of Prague (b. 1552 – d. 1612), Holy Roman Emperor, and which is now preserved in the Boston Museum of Fine Art (Fig. 7).

Fig. 7 *St. Michael Slaying the Devil*, Mexico, 17th century; featherwork painting with cut feathers and gilt paper, on paper and copper. Belonged to Rudolph II of Prague (b. 1552 – d. 1612), Holy Roman Emperor. Museum of Fine Arts Boston

On the other hand, the complexity of intercontinental contexts had a knock-on effect in Hispano-America. As such, the pictorial depictions that were transported along the trade routes generated their own resonances in those that were produced on American soil. Whether they travelled via the *Galeón de Manila* or *Carrera de Indias*, references to works by such prominent painters as Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), Francisco de Zurbarán (1598-1664) or Esteban Murillo (1617-1682) found their way to the Americas, causing a significant impact at continental level.

This may be clearly seen in the figure of Peter Paul Rubens and his influential role in the propagation of his works through engravings. As such, the trade route dynamic between Spain and the New World facilitated not only the transportation of prints of engravings to the Americas, but also their consolidation in the tastes of the public as well as their ability to inspire local artists to create new compositions in response to them.

Elsewhere within the context of exogenous traditions, the transference of knowledge of pre-Columbian origin also took form in the early works produced by Mexican workshops and transported to Europe, which also underlined the importance of Novohispanic materials in the execution of artworks of a devotional or processional nature, through the use of maize sugarcane and paper.

We can clearly observe the prominent role of works such as *Cristo de Telde* (ca. 1555) from Gran Canaria; the *Cristo de la Vera Cruz o de Zacatecas* (prior to 1576) from Montilla, Córdoba; and even the early *Santísimo Cristo del Capítulo* (1553) from the church of Santo Domingo de Bornos in Cadiz and the *Santo Cristo de la Cruz* (prior to 1562) from the Ermita de la Cruz in Carrión de los Condes, Palencia. In addition to being linked to the most important confraternities, these *cristos de caña* (cane Christs) from the religious imagery preserved in Spain "speak to us of a search that adapts, generating a greater level of attraction" (Amador, 2012, p. 43).

As well as being reflected in artforms and religious practices, the indigenous Indian legacy also fostered the transformation of the individual devotional image or *Andachtsbild*. Contrary to scene-oriented narrative painting (Szenisches Historienbilder) and hieratic or cultural representational painting (hieratisches oder kultisches Repräsentationsbild), the devotional image evokes emotions, encouraging contemplative reflexion by highlighting the central figure in the scene (Panofsky, 2015 [1927], p. 11). As such, the simplification of scenes and the individualisation of the figures with contemplative ends facilitated the way these images spread and were adapted into diverse contexts.

Considered against that backdrop, with the *Carrera de Indias* it was not only artistic patronage and the religious orders that contributed to the spreading of a particular cult, given the devotees themselves could also become vehicles for paintings, engravings or medallions that fuelled the expansion of devotional propaganda. One case in point would be the Seville cult of *Our Lady of La Antigua,* which was widespread in Spain, attracting a large number of devotees and even being exported abroad, which underlines its importance at the time. Although this Marian title is no longer what it was, thanks to the arrival of prints and publications (Fig. 8) the image continued to be quite popular in the old viceroyalties, especially in the Americas. In the Peruvian Viceroyalty,

Fig. 8 Alonso Carrillo y Aguilar, *Our Lady of La Antigua,*1738; engraving. Universidad de Sevilla

Fig. 9 Anonymous artist, *Our Lady of Antigua*, Peruvian Viceroyalty, 17th century; oil on canvas. Jaime Eguiguren Collection

for example, this Marian advocation was granted a prominent place in Lima Cathedral from 1628 on. Initially, the image was installed in the retrochoir, meaning visitors could see it as soon as they entered the building, as is also the case for its opposite number in the Cathedral of Cuzco. It was subsequently moved to a side chapel, where it is still visible to this day. On this occasion, Jaime Eguiguren is presenting a magnificent example measuring 238x140 cm, executed in the Peruvian Viceroyalty in the 17th century (Fig. 9).

Another factor that sheds light on the importance of *Our Lady of La Antigua* in the viceregal capital is the Marian advocation's patronage of the Universidad de San Marcos, with her altar falling under the protection of the students. The university's students are not the only ones to graduate in front of her effigy, so do the pupils of Santo Toribio, the Colegio Real de San Felipe and the Real Convictorio de San Carlos. In Lima there is even a popular adage whereby to "pasar por la Antigua" means to graduate. The devotional connection of these educational institutions did not just leave a deep mark on their histories, but also eradiated joy and devotion throughout the City of Kings. In the words of the Jesuit historian Rubén Vargas Ugarte (1886-1975):

> *"and the method must be that on said day the Rector and all the Professors and Lecturers come out of said Royal University, accompanied by colleagues, students and all the ministers, all dressed in their caps and tassels and with the music of two hornpipe trios and with whatever accompaniment is possible, and they proceed to the Main Holy Church and Cathedral of this city, where they will be provided with ordinary seating on chairs on the carpeted floor, and there the whole of faculty will attend said festivity, in which one of the learned prebendary doctors must deliver a missa cantata, while another as named by the Rector will preach a sermon, and at the end of the service alms will be collected for the head porter […] and for this festivity the altar must be decorated along with the walls, with all adornment in wax and many scents."*(Vargas Ugarte, 1931, pp. 513-514)

There is no doubt that the arrival of engraved sources served as a basis for the creation of works of art such as paintings, sculptures and engravings that faithfully reproduced them. The prints' reproducibility and ease of transport meant that they came to bear witness to the geographic voyages undertaken by many Marian advocations.

Furthermore, in the pictorial tradition, when Latin American Marian narratives were adapted to Spanish contexts or geographic regions, they underwent modifications. One major example is the depiction of Our Lady of the Forsaken (Virgen de los Desamparados) of Valencia (Fig. 10), patron of the confraternity charged with helping the poor, defenceless, orphans, sick and mad. The sculpture of this Virgin was carved specifically to rest horizontally on the coffins of such unfortunate individuals. Given the bodies of the condemned were not given sepulchre, they were sent to areas where they would decompose and their remains were subsequently put into boxes that were taken on procession along with the image of the Virgin, which was placed over the ossuary or remaining bones. In December 2022, Bancaja Valencia put on an exhibition titled "Salve, Reina del Cel i la terra" to mark the centenary of the coronation of Our Lady of the Forsaken, which included the recreation of how the Virgin was displayed on top of the bones of the dead (Fig. 11).

Fig. 10 *Our Lady of Forsaken of Valencia*, Spain, ca. 1416; glued canvas and wood. Basilica de La Virgen de los Desamparados, Valencia

Jaime Eguiguren is presenting an extremely rare and unique version of *Our Lady of the Forsaken of Lima* from the 18th century. As Daniel Vifian explains in his study of the work: "the painting is of great interest in shedding light on how the original depiction of the long-lost sculpture of *Our Lady of the Forsaken* might have been" (Fig. 12).

As veneration for the image spread, it started to be suggested that placing it on top of funeral caskets should be banned, as the practice seemed unworthy. As a result, the sculpture was installed in *El Capitulet*, a little chapel in Valencia Hospital, and subsequently in the outer chapels of the city cathedral. When the image was displayed

Fig. 11 Recreation showing how Our Lady of the Forsaken was placed on top of dead bodies. Exhibition "Salve, Reina del Cel i la terra", Fundación Bancaja, Valencia

Fig. 12 *Our Lady of the Forsaken of Lima*, Cuzco, 18th century; oil on canvas. Jaime Eguiguren Collection

Fig. 13 Andrés de Islas, ca. 1775/80, *Portrait of Don Francisco Leandro de Viana,* Count of Tepa; oil on canvas. LACMA

vertically, and the cushion supporting its head was removed, the visual effect by which it appeared to be leaning forward, with hunched torso, shoulders and head, led to it being nicknamed *La Geperudeta* (*The Little Hunchback* in Valencian).

The appearance of publications recounting both miracles and mystic events also popularised and reinforced devotional practices. It was thus that certain events came to light that took place in the Americas, such as the apparition of Our Lady of the Rosary of Chiquinquirá, New Granada, known in Spain in 1694 thanks to the work of Fray Pedro de Tobar y Buendía (1649-1713), prior of the Dominican convent of Chiquinquirá and later Church "procurador" in Madrid and Rome.

Migrating Spaniards who returned to Europe having made their fortunes in the Americas, or "indianos" as they were known, also fostered the dissemination of new forms of cultural representations marked by situations that intensified the power relations of faraway lands. One example of this would be the alterations to the portrait of Francisco Leandro de Viana Sáenz de Villaverde, Count of Tepa (1730-1804), painted by the Novohispanic artist Andrés de Islas (ca. 1730-1783) (Fig. 13). Originally, the inscription on the portrait linked De Viana with his post as judge in the Mexican Real Audiencia and the State of the Marquesado del Valle de Oaxaca. However, having taken the position of minister in the Consejo de Indias in 1776 and being named a Knight of the Order of Charles III, the count took the work to Madrid, where the inscription was modified to highlight his direct connection with the king.[94]

These deliberate reinterpretations express a significant interest in documenting major events in the life of the depicted subject, in accordance with the expectations of the varying contexts of the Crown and New World. This phenomenon is exemplified in the ways artistic expression adapted in response to the constantly-developing socio-cultural dialogue, where works of art bore eloquent testimony to a period in which identities were constantly being redefined.

With regard to other artforms, synchronies are recorded in furniture manufactured using American woods employing the *taracea* technique (with its deeply-Oriental roots), combined with *zumaque* (a bituminous paste of calcinated lime and black vegetal dye inlaid in the incisions) (Figs. 14a & 14b). Furthermore, there are records of silk from China being used for liturgical vestments and even as clothing All sorts of furniture featuring mother-of-pearl inlay were manufactured, including lecterns, tables, travelling desks (bargueños), wardrobes and so on, which used a local and unique style to recreate the *namban* style from Japan. Then there were the paintings with wooden supports to which layers of mother-of-pearl were added to make the famous "enconchado" paintings, with the late 17th-century artists Juan and Miguel González being the most prominent exponents of this artform. And a truly vast number of silver pieces made in Bolivia and Peru thanks to the mineral deposits in the Cerro de Potosí mines. The quality of these works, which were mainly sacred ornaments such as chalices, monstrances or niches, were of such a high standard that in subsequent centuries it was thought they were of Spanish origin.

In conclusion, these artworks are a reflection of the different trade routes that existed over the years, and as such they played an important role in the way Western society was constructed at economic, cultural and collective levels. The complexity of these routes meant it was possible for a diverse range of works to exist; pieces which have come down to us through appropriately-documented purchases and transfers, enabling us to track down their histories and their legitimate travels through time and space.

In the final analysis, these works are genuine witnesses of a fascinating journey through history, and they afford us a glimpse of a past in which trade did not just move merchandise, but also identities, dialogues and a sense of otherness. As such, at a distance of some 500 years, this heritage reflects not only the artistic skills of the time, but also the profound reflexions of the artists who left a latent mark waiting to be revealed.

Fig. 14a and 14b *Bargueño or travelling desk,* Oaxaca, ca. 1700; fruit tree woods, pine and cedar, inlay *taracea* decoration with *zulaque* technique. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid

Transcontinental Expressions: Legacy and Syncretism

The Pangolin Fan

A Rediscovered Imperial Ivory Fan from Ceylon

Altar Lectern

A Unique Jesuit Lectern in Chinese Lacquer Mingling Christian and Chinese Visual and Spiritual Concepts

The Fantastic Chinese Stove-kettle of Three Worlds

Long-Fenghuang Stove-Kettle 龙凤火壶
Formerly known as “Caquesseitão”

1

The Pangolin Fan

A Rediscovered Imperial Ivory Fan from Ceylon

Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka), Kōṭṭē, c. 1540-1551
Carved ivory, silver, and carnelian
57×Ø29 cm
Provenance: Portugese royal collection, 16th century
Literature: The "Pangolin Fan": An Imperial Ivory Fan from Ceylon by Hugo Miguel Crespo and Annemarie Jordan Gschwend. Jaime Eguiguren Art and Antiques, 2022)
The Burlington Magazine, The "Pangolin Fan": An Imperial Ivory Fan from Ceylon by Marjorie Trusted. October 2022, 164
Letter from the President Research The 'Pangolin Fan': A Rediscovered Imperial Ivory Fan from Ceylon, Annemarie Jordan Gschwend

GLOBAL TREASURES: CEYLON AND PORTUGAL IN THE RENAISSANCE

Annemarie Jordan Gschwend

A singular, outstanding ivory folding fan, dating to the mid-sixteenth century, has recently been discovered in a private collection and has been nicknamed the “Pangolin Fan” because of the unusual representation of an Indian pangolin (*Manis crassicaudata*), added to the coat of arms on the last register of its upper handle (Fig. 1). Its appearance on this fan is surprising, as pangolins, *azhungu* or *alangu* in Tamil, are not usually represented in Sri Lankan sculpture or painting, nor is it a mammal commonly depicted in South Indian art (Fig. 2). The representation and symbolism of this creature remain to be deciphered. The trajectory of the ‘Pangolin Fan’ equally is a mystery. It was once housed and displayed in the Portuguese royal treasury and the Lisbon royal palace wardrobe. When he conquered Portugal in 1580, Philip II of Spain later stole and took this fan to Spain in 1583, where all traces of its existence were lost.

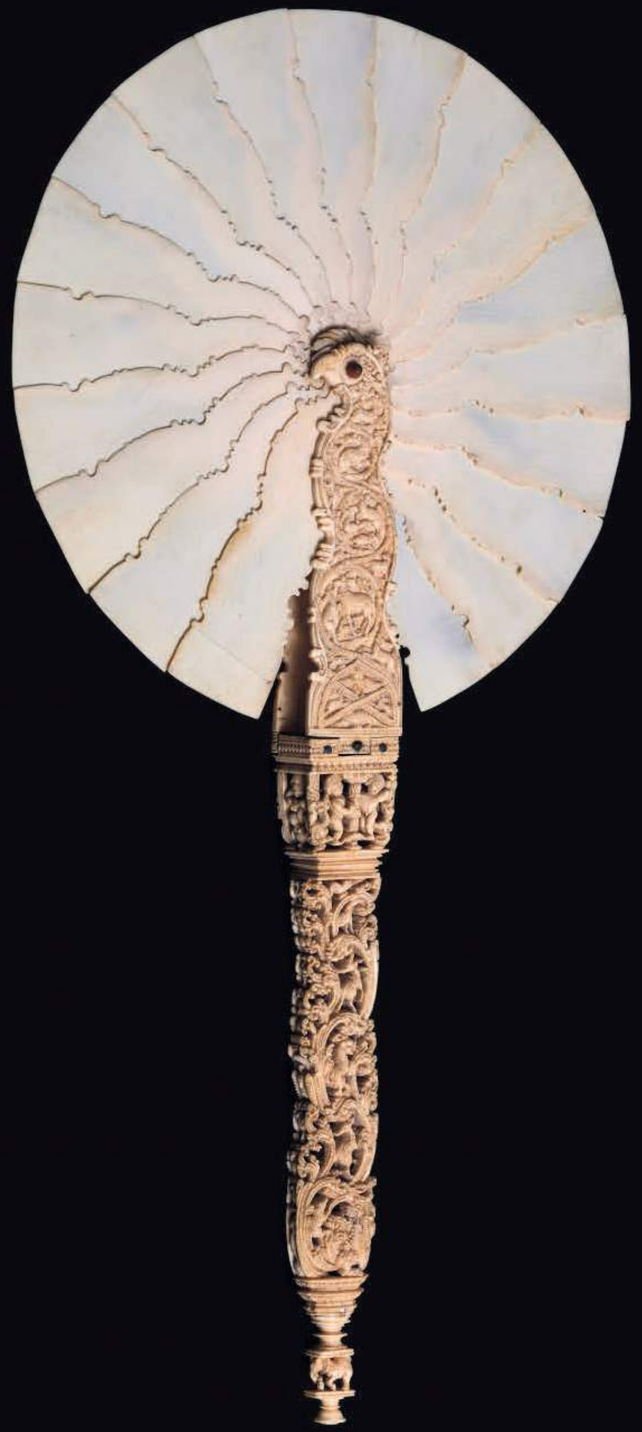
This unpublished fan, hitherto unknown to scholarship, belongs to a small group of exclusive, rare ivory fans made in Renaissance Ceylon, which displays a complex melding of Hindu and Buddhist iconography (Figs. 3-6). Today, the extant fans are dispersed among European public and one private collection. The Portuguese royal family received nine or more fans, together with other imperial ivories, as diplomatic gifts from the King of Kōṭṭē, Bhuvanekabāhu VII (r. 1521-1551), carved in his royal workshops at the height of his reign and under his supervision. The gifting of these priceless imperial fans to specific members of the Lisbon court formed part of Bhuvanekabāhu’s complex political strategies deployed to secure his rule and throne in Kōṭṭē for himself and his grandson and heir, João Dharmapala (r. 1551-1597).

The delegation Bhuvanekabāhu sent in 1542 from Ceylon to Portugal was the first Asian embassy to visit Europe. His ambassador and Brahmin chaplain, Śrī Rāmaraksa Pandita, brought in his baggage a large selection of imperial ivories that fired the imaginations of the Portuguese royals who received them. Despite their exotic carvings and strange imagery, these ivories were greatly appreciated and admired.

Five ivory fans were exhibited together, since the mid-sixteenth century, in 2010 at the international exhibition *Elfenbeine aus Ceylon / Ivories from Ceylon*, guest curated by the author for the Museum Rietberg in Zurich. This exhibition highlighted the unique Sinhalese ivories (caskets, combs and fans) and rock crystals (jewellery, spoons and forks) the Portuguese royal family received from Bhuvanekabāhu between 1542 and 1551. The Zurich exhibition allowed the scholarly and general public to inspect these fans in the round and compare their carving, execution, and stylistic characteristics. This was the first time an exhibition showcased these spectacular Renaissance ivories. Five intricately carved Kōṭṭē fans, shown together in 2010, were commissioned by Bhuvanekabāhu for Queen Catherine, all of them later recorded and minutely described in her inventories.

Fig. 1 *The Pangolin Fan*, folding fan, detail with the pangolin in the schematic coat of arms (bottom field), folding fan, Kōṭṭē, Ceylon, c. 1542-1551; carved ivory, silver and carnelian, 57×Ø29 cm. Portuguese royal collection, 16th century; Jaime Eguiguren collection

Fig. 2 *Taxiderny of a long-tailed African Pangolin (Phataginus tetradactyla),* 1950s-1960s, 80 cm, Bertolami Fine Arts, Web Auction 115: ‘Oddities, curiosities and wonders. Every Object tells a Story’, June 14, 2022, lot 2



Figs. 3-7 *The Pangolin Fan*, folding fan, Kōṭṭē, Ceylon, c. 1542-1551. Jaime Eguiguren Collection

Fig. 8 *Sri Lankan elephant*, Yala National Park, Sri Lanka.

NEW APPROACHES AND METHODOLOGIES

Very little information has come down to us regarding the structure and organisation of Sinhalese royal workshops, how commissions were carried out, who controlled their production supervised by master carvers, what visual sources or models were available, and lastly, how images and motifs circulated. Was Hindu or Buddhist imagery applied according to the specific wishes of the patron, or was the carver, certainly versant with this complex iconography, left to rely upon his imagination and artistic ingenuity? Did copybooks with local designs and patterns, as in artists' and goldsmiths' workshops in Europe, exist?

Hugo Miguel Crespo was the first to implement a new methodological approach to understand better these ivory fans and their intricate carvings (Fig. 7). The nine imperial Kōṭṭē fans gifted to the Portuguese royal family form, in his view, two stylistic groups executed by different, highly specialised Sinhalese craftsmen. Past scholarship has always raised questions concerning where precisely these fans, and the related ivories, caskets and combs, were manufactured in Ceylon. Due to a complete lack of documentation, historians have come up with inconclusive findings. Crespo's research and new classifications of these fans provide a blueprint for better understanding the chronology of these ivory fans and the other ivories, the workshops where they were carved, and the different centres of manufacture located in various key cities on the island of Ceylon. His ground-breaking methodology will change future scholarship and understanding of these ivories, their complex carvings and iconographies. Crespo has dated all nine extant Kōṭṭē fans in the short period of 1542 and 1551.

SOURCING IVORY IN RENAISSANCE CEYLON

The 'Pangolin Fan', with all probability, was carved from the ivory of a deceased Sri Lankan royal or temple elephant. Since the medieval period in Ceylon (5th to the late 15th century), elephants, especially male tuskers native to the island, were reserved as royal property of ruling kings in different kingdoms established across Ceylon. This Asian sub-species is known as *Elephas maximus maximus* (Fig. 8). Sri Lanka elephants are smaller in size than Asian elephants (*Elephas maximus*). Royal stables housed domesticated wild elephants strictly reserved for the use of the ruling prince or king. Anyone caught hunting wild elephants was immediately killed. When the Portuguese discovered Ceylon and began trade relations with different rulers of the island after 1506, they exported locally sourced ivory to Portuguese outposts abroad in Bengal and Pulicat.[95]

It is not documented, nor have records survived, how courts in Renaissance Ceylon obtained their ivory. Sinhalese rulers bred tame elephants for different purposes. Royal elephants were earmarked for ceremonial processions, used as vehicles for the king while travelling or hunting, and even engaged as war elephants. Bred royal elephants were equally integrated into the daily life of more prominent Hindu and Buddhist temples, which kept retinues of elephants deployed for various religious functions, processions and important religious pageants, such as the annual *Esala Perahera* held in Kandy.

When a royal or temple elephant died, the ivory tusks were stored and stockpiled by different Sri Lankan courts, and this reserved ivory was then given to master craftsmen specialised in ivory carving to create combs, smaller round boxes, caskets, and folding fans; the latter highly prized objects commissioned by the king for the use of his family and court, or given away as gifts to élite Buddhist and Hindu monks. This 're-cycling' of ivory was common practice in Ceylon. The ivory grain of the 'Pangolin Fan' is visible, and the soft, mellow, cream colour (or patina) confirms that this folding fan was cut from two or more pieces of a larger tusk.[96]

Extant sixteenth-century Sinhalese ivories, which have survived in private and public collections in Asia and Europe, underscore that royal cities like Kōṭṭē had for centuries been centres of ivory production, deploying ivory, a natural resource in Sri Lanka. Elephants in Ceylon, the exclusive property of ruling kings, provided the ivory carved in royal workshops, recycled from deceased royal tuskers or temple pachyderms.

ROYAL WORKSHOPS, ELITE ROYAL ARTISANS

Many questions regarding the Kōṭṭē ivories remain to be resolved. Ceylonese ivories were executed with incredible skill but with elementary tools: saws, chisels and rasps, and afterwards finely polished with ivory dust and coarse leaves. How long did it take to carve a small casket or a sizeable folding fan measuring one metre in length? Did one skilled carver carry out a royal commission alone, or was it a collaborative effort divided among several master carvers? The transparent blades of the Kōṭṭē fans, in particular, the 'Pangolin Fan', represent sheer virtuosity and masterful technique (Fig. 9). Was this work given to one craftsman who specialised in the execution of the ivory blades?

The ivory carver occupied an essential position in Ceylonese society and was a master craftsman in one of the four guilds (*Paṭṭal Hatara*) or workshops, to which the best painters, gold and silversmiths also belonged. The four were divided as follows: *Ābharaṇa paṭṭala* or Jewelry Workshop, the *Oṭṭuna paṭṭala* or Crown Workshop, the *Rankaḍu paṭṭala* or Golden Sword Workshop (armoury), and the *Siṃhāsana paṭṭala* or Lion Throne Workshop, to which Sinhalese painters and ivory carvers belonged. A place in the *Paṭṭal Hatara* was usually hereditary, with artisans coming from the most prominent families of craftsmen. It was a high position with considerable reward and was much desired.

Crespo determined that accomplished royal carvers, working in the Gampola-Kōṭṭē style, travelled between Sinhalese courts, employed by other kings in Ceylon, such as Māyādunnē, the ruler (*raja*) of Sītāvaka (r. 1521-1578), Sēnasammata Vikramabāhu (r. 1469-1511), who founded the city of Kandy, and his son, Jayavīra Baṇḍāra (r. 1511-1552). All three rulers were related to Bhuvanekabāhu VII and belonged to the same ruling family, the House of Siri Sanga Bo.

Crespo has contextualised the manufacture of the nine surviving fans within the tradition of ivory carving at royal workshops under the direct patronage of the ruling élite. He undertook comparative analyses from earlier and later examples of Sri Lankan ivory carvings, with those made in Kandy in the seventeenth century. Equally, he compared coeval architecture, stone sculpture, and mural painting. Crespo's novel approach to studying the surviving fans enabled him to distinguish two carving styles.

He paired the surviving Kōṭṭē fans dispersed between different European museums, according to their size (in diameter) when the fan blades are opened. The first group he classified as the 'architectural style' because these do not display any European visual elements, and the opulent, ruby-studded gold appliqués on several of these fans suggest they formed part of Bhuvanekabāhu's priceless gifts. Most evident in these fans are carved sections of temples and related structures (perhaps referencing royal palaces), niches, columns, pediments, and other architectonic elements.

One fan rediscovered by Crespo but stolen in 1920 from the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (Kunstkammer inv. 4682) exemplifies best this 'architectural style', as seen in a late nineteenth-century photograph of this fan before its theft (Fig. 10). This now missing fan once belonged to the Lisbon royal treasury and had been gifted by Philip II of Spain to his cousin, Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol (1529-1595), who proudly displayed it for decades in his famous *Kunstkammer* located at Schloss Ambras in Innsbruck.

The Kōṭṭē 'sculptural style' is the second category classified by Crespo, comprising seven fans, which he also pairs together. The 'Pangolin Fan' belongs to this corpus. It is closely related to a fan at the Kunsthistoriches Museum in Vienna (Kunstkammer, inv. 4751), which also once belonged to Archduke Ferdinand II (Fig. 11). These 'sculptural style' fans are deeply carved with an openwork technique, a demanding and time-consuming process which only capable master ivory carvers were able to execute. This detail from the 'Pangolin Fan' depicts vegetal scrolls or 'creepers of life' with deeply carved figures, animals, birds or flowers, adopted from Sinhalese architectural designs, in particular from friezes filled with dancers, musicians, wrestlers, and rows of animals, domestic and wild (Fig. 12).

Fig. 9 The Pangolin Fan, folding fan, Kōṭṭē, Ceylon, c. 1542-1551. Jaime Eguiguren Collection

1578: THE DEATH OF A GLOBAL QUEEN AND COLLECTOR

On February 14, 1578, Catherine of Austria (1507-1578), Habsburg Infanta, and Queen of Portugal died. She had ruled Portugal and its vast overseas empire, which stretched from Lisbon to Malacco and further to Macau, for over fifty years. She evolved into a well-informed and assiduous collector during her reign, assembling the largest *Kunstkammer* ever seen in Europe before the mid-sixteenth century. Catherine began collecting, since her arrival at the Lisbon court in 1525, her global reach affording her the possibility to purchase and acquire luxury goods, rarities, exotica, and textiles from the four corners of the world: Africa, Brazil, India and the Far East. She collected decades before her Habsburg nephew, Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol (1529-1595), whose own *Kunstkammer* displayed at Schloss Ambras in Innsbruck, until today, would later rival hers. Schloss Ambras is considered the 'first museum in the world'.[97] Catherine and Ferdinand II would subsequently be matched by Catherine's great-nephew and Holy Roman Emperor, Rudolf II (1552-1612), whose vast collection and *Kunstkammer* were housed in the Hradčany castle in Prague.

January 14, 2027, will mark the 520th anniversary of the birth of Catherine of Austria, Queen of Portugal (1507-1578), the youngest and posthumous daughter of Juana I of Castile (also named 'Juana la Loca' by nineteenth-century historians) and Philip the Fair (1478-1506). Catherine was the last child of a dynastic union which joined the Burgundian and Habsburg houses with that of Castile and Aragon in 1496. Contemporaries regarded Juana and Philip's union as *the* marriage in the late fifteenth century.

As the youngest sister of Emperor Charles V (1500-1558), Catherine was strategically placed on the Portuguese throne by her elder brother in 1525 as a means for the Emperor to secure political stability in Iberia. By marrying his sister, a woman he barely knew, to King João III of Portugal (r. 1521-1557) in 1525, Charles could rely on family ties and loyalties to protect his interests in Spain and Portugal. His marriage in 1526 to João's sister, Isabella of Portugal (1503-1539), reinforced this security. This double marriage in 1525-1526 reaffirmed a long-standing marriage policy between the Spanish and Portuguese royal houses. Dynastic marriages, such as these Lusitanian alliances arranged by Charles V, provided a platform upon which Habsburg prestige and influence could be extended and consolidated at European courts.

As a marriageable Habsburg princess, Catherine was a valuable political commodity for her brother and the dynasty. Although dedicated to Charles V, Catherine learned to conform to new values and customs, continuously reinforcing her duties towards the Avis dynasty she married into while, at the same time, upholding her status within the Habsburg hierarchy. During her long fifty-three reign, Catherine matured into an astute queen, stateswoman, and politician in her own right - qualities recognised early on by her husband, who granted her his complete trust. In the political arena, Catherine gradually assumed great powers of government during João III's lifetime, and after he died in 1557, she took over the regency of Portugal for five years. Contemporary queen consorts or regents seldom shared such power and political freedom.

From the onset of her reign, Catherine began legitimising her status in her new country through her wealth, power, cultural patronage and collecting, using material objects to articulate prestige and power. She managed to negotiate a unique position for herself, which gave her the independence to govern her household and court with excellent acumen and intelligence. The same talents Catherine would deploy as queen consort and later as regent.

Catherine used patronage and collecting to reinforce her position as a 'merchant queen' of an overseas trade empire: a unique circumstance for a woman of her time.[98] Her collection of Asian and Far Eastern exotica, luxury objects and goods evolved into one which clearly defined her political position at court, reflecting the hierarchy and symbolism of Catherine's rule in Portugal and abroad in Portugal's *Estado da Índia*. The housing of her collection, its organisation, how

Fig. 10 *Ceylonese Folding Fan* (recto, open), Kōṭṭē, Ceylon, c. 1540-1551; carved ivory, and cotton thread, 87×45 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunstkammer, inv. KK 4692 (stolen in 1920; historical photograph SW II 239). Provenance: Portuguese royal collection, 16th century, after 1580, Kunstkammer of Archduke Ferdinand II, Schloss Ambras, Innsbruck

Fig. 11 *Ceylonese Folding fan* (recto, open), Kōṭṭē, Ceylon, c. 1540-1551; carved ivory, horn, copper, and cotton thread, 57.5 33 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunstkammer, inv. KK 4751. Provenance: Collection of Catherine of Austria, Queen of Portugal; after 1580, Kunstkammer of Archduke Ferdinand II, Schloss Ambras, Innsbruck

Fig. 12 *The Pangolin Fan*, detail with vegetal scrolls or "creepers of life", folding fan, Kōṭṭē, c. 1542-1551. Jaime Eguiguren Collection

she influenced its arrangement(s) and the decoration of her quarters in the Lisbon royal palace, the *Paço da Ribeira*, played an equally important role for her. Magnificence and opulence qualify the queen's spaces in this residence.

Catherine's acquisition of luxury objects from Portuguese Asia embodied her social status at the Lisbon court. After arriving in Portugal in 1525, Catherine quickly developed an insatiable passion for global treasures from Portuguese trading posts (*feitorias)* in Africa, Brazil, Asia and the Far East.[99] She was soon shopping for countless mother-of-pearl wares and furniture fashioned in Gujarat, India, as well as Asian and Namban lacquers (chests, coffers, tables, chairs, writing desks and folding screens) made in South China, Japan and the mysterious Ryukyu Islands.[100] By the end of the sixteenth century, Japanese screens (*biombos* or *byōbu*) were exported in quantity to Portugal. This example in the Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis in Porto visualises, through the lens of Japanese artists, the mobility of the Portuguese sailors as they disembark from their 'the black ship' (*kurofune*), recently arrived in Nagasaki from China, unloading commodities, animals and luxury goods – objects which connected worlds and cultures across geographic and temporal spaces. Oriental dress accessories (Chinese and Japanese folding fans) and textiles (silk) took the Lisbon court by storm, where East and West intersected. Catherine obtained Asian folding fans by the hundreds, which she distributed among the ladies of her court.[101]

As seen above, exclusive superbly carved ivories (caskets, combs and folding fans) from Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka) were made especially for the Portuguese royal family as regal gifts, many pieces later detailed in Catherine's multiple inventories. A richly carved ivory casket with bejewelled mounts may have once belonged to the Portuguese queen, today in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (Fig. 13).[102] Carved with Sinhalese animal and vegetal motifs, it includes Hindu iconography; a seated Lakshmi, the goddess of Abundance and the generative power of plants and water, holds lotus blossoms on one side panel. Manufactured in the royal workshop in the Kingdom of Kotte, this small casket was an exclusive diplomatic gift for Catherine. The queen appreciated its high-quality workmanship, exotic imagery, and connections with faraway Asian worlds and kingdoms under her protection and rule. Her *Kunstkammer,* stockpiled with rarities, became an emblem of her global power, underscoring the mobility of luxury objects that reflected the impact of globalisation.[103] Catherine's world was deeply affected by cultural encounters, novel exchanges, and even entanglements with foreign nations, kings, peoples, religions, enslaved West Africans and New World indigenous (Tupinambá in Brazil), which occurred across oceans, continents and geographical borders far beyond early modern Europe.[104]

Passionate about porcelain, an essential component of her collecting, Catherine followed the example and tradition established by her father-in-law, King Manuel I (r. 1495-1521), who bought Chinese porcelain *en masse* for the Lisbon court, especially for his second wife and Catherine's aunt, Maria of Castile (1482-1517). The *Casa da India* ('India Warehouse') in Lisbon registered between 1511 and 1514 692 pieces of porcelain earmarked alone for Queen Maria.[105] Catherine strategically amassed one of the earliest and finest Ming Chinese porcelain collections, including blue and white and the rare, expensive gold-decorated *kinrande* of the Jiajing Period (1522-1566),[106] which she reserved for daily use at her table and the decoration of the queen's quarters in the Lisbon royal palace.[107]

Other rarities in her collection were specimens of *naturalia*: fossilised sharks' teeth, a snake's head encased in gold, heart-shaped jasper stones to stop bleeding, a coral branch to protect against the evil eye, bezoar stones to shield owners against poison, a unicorn's horn (a narwhal tusk) and piles of loose gems and precious stones – diamonds, rubies and emeralds imported from Goa and the Spanish Americas.[108] The queen equally collected *mirabilia*, magical relics

Fig. 13 Carved casket, Kōṭṭē, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), after 1543, carved ivory with gold, glass, rubies, turquoise, and gilt bronze, H: 11 cm, accession no. 1993.29. Bequest of William A. Coolidge

and reliquaries containing sacred bones that reinforced her Christian beliefs while venerating them as talismans for their spiritual force and protection in sickness or childbirth.[109]

Encounters with new worlds offered the Lisbon court unique opportunities to acquire strange, wild animals. Commerce and trade brought these novelties to Europe from global marketplaces. Catherine tapped into long-distance trading networks with the aid of merchants and agents - the more exotic the animal, the more highly prized by the queen. Catherine collected baboons and civet cats from West Africa, large aras (parrots) and small felines and simians (marmosets) from Brazil. She received baby elephant bulls as tribute from the island of Ceylon.[110]

Menageries and aviaries became a fundamental part of the imaging of Renaissance courts. Exotic pets coloured daily life, fêtes and entertainments, playing an essential role in princely collecting. Menageries and aviaries were the extension of the *Kunstkammer* outdoors. The African and Asian animals mirrored in a microcosmic fashion Catherine's collections of rarities indoors, displayed in magnificent gardens planted with imported trees and ornamental flowers from Portuguese Asia and the New World (sunflowers and sassafras). Catherine cultivated a menagerie and garden culture whereby animals and plants equally symbolised her power and prestige, assembled and cultivated to dazzle and amaze.[111]

When Catherine died in February 1578, no *post-mortem* inventory of her collection and wardrobe was compiled; however, an unpublished document in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in Rome provides a small window into the contents of her splendid *Kunstkammer* at the end of her reign. The list, written in Spanish, itemises the ostentatious furniture and luxury goods dispersed from her rooms in the Lisbon royal palace because of political circumstances one year after the queen died. When her grandson, Sebastian, King of Portugal, was killed in Morocco on the battlefield of Alcácer-Quibir (*El-Kasr el-Quibir*) in August 1578, the Portuguese court was forced to deploy Catherine's belongings as part of the peace negotiations, and for the ransom of Portuguese prisoners, the Lisbon court conducted with Moulay Aḥmad al-Mansūr (r. 1578-1603). Transcribed in the Appendix below, the objects, furniture and textiles taken from Catherine's estate and sent to Morocco reflect her predilection for merchandise from Portuguese Asia and the Far East. Al-Mansūr would decorate his new palatial complex in Marrakesh, El Badi, built between 1578 and 1594, with part of Catherine's objects, furniture and textiles. This palace, once described as the 'marvels of marvels', was regarded by visitors as 'a kind of earthly paradise, a wonder of the world, the height of art, it makes you swoon with pleasure and admiration'.[112]

Gujarati furniture (mother-of-pearl folding beds and a table), a Chinese lacquer table and writing cabinet, and Ming blue and white porcelain were presents given to Al-Mansūr. Mounted coconuts from the Maldives, Gujarati tortoiseshell and mother-of-pearls chests, with two large chess boards and an extravagant silk umbrella inlaid with mother-of-pearl and amber with silver rods and topped by two crystal balls, were also sent. The rest comprised Turkish carpets, silver plate, a silver buffet, European weapons, and a Ceylonese sword encrusted with rubies which must have entered Catherine's *Kunstkammer* between 1542 and 1565 when the queen, at the height of her reign, cultivated close ties with the island of Ceylon, especially with the Kingdom of Kōṭṭē.

SINHALESE IMPERIAL IVORIES AND THE LISBON COURT: FUNCTION AND SYMBOLISM

Catherine of Austria cherished the five ivory fans she received from Bhuvanekabāhu VII. She appreciated and comprehended the political and religious ramifications such folding fans represented for the Kōṭṭē royal court. During her reign, she became a seasoned collector with distinctive tastes, fine-tuning her aesthetic sensibilities, as seen above, for Asian and Far Eastern luxury goods - mother-of-pearl wares from Gujarat, Chinese carved rhinoceros horns, Ming blue and white porcelain, Kinrande porcelain, and lacquers from South China, Japan and the mysterious Ryukyu Kingdom. Her *Kunstkammer* housed four Buddha statuettes, most likely originating from the royal temple (Daḷadā Māligāva) in Kōṭṭē. As a connoisseur, Catherine treasured her Kōṭṭē fans, and despite their layered Hindu-Buddhist iconography, which contradicted her Catholic sensibilities, she admired them for their beauty and superb artistry.

At the Lisbon court, the queen transposed the symbolic significances of her Kōṭṭē fans as insignia of Ceylonese royalty, reserving them for state events and fêtes staged by her in the Lisbon royal palace. The many gifts she received from Bhuvanekabā underscore her singular friendship with him. No contemporary queen in Renaissance Europe cultivated such a bond with an Asian ruler. Her fans were displayed on her *dressoir* (buffet) during court dinners and festivities in the Queen's hall, the *Sala da Rainha*, to highlight her particular ties with Ceylon. After Catherine died in February 1578, the layered symbolism of her Kōṭṭē fans had not diminished. One of them, considered a Portuguese crown jewel, was transferred by court officials to the royal treasury for safekeeping but was subsequently stolen by Philip II of Spain after 1580.

Catherine presented her Habsburg relatives with ivories, jewels, rock crystals, and precious stones from the Kōṭṭē court as a form of gift-giving and exchange. Through her relations, she was linked with the Habsburg, Wittelsbach, and Farnese courts in Brussels, Vienna, Innsbruck, Munich and Parma. Her position as Queen of Portugal and its overseas trade empire facilitated the redistribution of prestigious objects from Kōṭṭē, and these transfers within her extensive family network explain how outstanding Ceylonese objects entered royal and princely collections where they have been locate since.

Bhuvanekabāhu's exceptional fans and ivories represent globalisation and cross-cultural transfers between Asia and Europe in the sixteenth century. These ivories uniquely bridged Ceylon and Portugal, highlighting their extraordinary diversity, ingenuity, and superior Sinhalese craftsmanship. These fans symbolise Luso-Sinhalese relations at the height of the Portuguese maritime trade empire and underscore the unique nature of Portugal's artistic, cultural, and political ties with this island, particularly Catherine's relationship with Bhuvanekabāhu. As exotic showcase pieces, these fans represent the extent and global power of the Lisbon court in the mid-sixteenth century, qualifying as quintessential *Kunstkammer* artworks which the Avis, Habsburg, and Farnese courts ever collected in the Renaissance. New research and documents discovered in archives in Portugal, Spain and Austria have mapped out for the first time the multiple histories and trajectories of these splendid Kōṭṭē fans. The scholarly, richly illustrated book published by Hugo Miguel Crespo and Annemarie Jordan Gschwend in 2022 presents a definitive study of these nine Ceylonese fans, which have survived the vicissitudes of time, neglect, war, and even theft.[113]

2

Altar Lectern

A Unique Jesuit Lectern in Chinese Lacquer Mingling Christian and Chinese Visual and Spiritual Concepts

Anonymous Artist
China, Macau, second half of 16th century
Commissioned by members of the Society of Jesus in Southern China
Lacquered and giltwood
28×38×25 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Ulrike Körber

INTRODUCTION

Designed to support liturgical books during Mass and to serve Portuguese Catholic missionaries in the scope of their presence in Asia, this foldable mass book lectern in typology, shape, technique and heterogeneous decorative program reflects the 16th and 17th century Christianization of Asian cultures. Yet it is unique with its archangel scene and polychrome decoration among extant examples of such hybrid ritual objects, collectively referred to as Luso-Asian.[114] This type of lectern originally developed on the Iberian Peninsula, inspired by Muslim *Q'uran* stands. In contrast to Islamic models, which hold the *Q'uran* horizontally, those adapted to Christian practice have shorter feet, and front flaps cut so that the upper front panel and the high backrest can support the missal in a vertical position.[115] These small-size and collapsible stands, common items among Catholic missionaries in Asia, were placed on altars to hold a Bible or other religious texts. Their shapes, methods of construction and assembly, as well as their dimensions vary depending on their origins (India, China, Japan, among other possibilities), but all derive from the same Muslim model.

This unique lectern consists of two assembled wood planks, hinged so that it can be folded flat for transport. The entire surface is covered by a black lacquer coating with gold and polychrome decoration. While its front side depicts themes of a purely Christian and European character, its rear follows a classical Chinese decorative program.

The front of the backrest depicts the Archangel St. Michael dressed as a knight with armor, pauldrons and cape, within a golden sunburst of alternating flaming and straight rays. On his long wavy hair, he wears a headband with a cross. His wings have golden, red and green feathers. Standing on a long-tailed creature of spotted fur – a demon symbolizing Lucifer, the Devil or Evil – he holds in his right hand a spear ending in an astylar cross, which he pushes into the creature's gaping mouth. His left holds an unbalanced scale with human figures in each pan, the lower of which the beast is about to grab by the claws and pull into his gaping mouth. Thus, the archangel appears as both the Defeater of Lucifer and the Weigher of Souls on Judgment Day.

The entire panel is framed by a decorative border of repeating oval and dot motifs within single lines, followed by a thicker gold line along the edge. In the four corner spandrels are branches with red and green fruits and golden leaves. The droplet shaped upper two are likely seedpods, and the lower ones are circular. Between both, on each vertical side is an insect, likely a bee or wasp. The upper fields of the wooden hinge connecting the two planks are decorated with stylized chrysanthemum flowers, while the lower front surfaces depict star and cross-like elements visible only when the lectern is folded.

The upper front panel that supports the missal displays an undulating band with alternating stylized flowers, within double-line borders. Its underside, visible when the lectern is folded, is decorated with symmetrical Renaissance-style scrollwork with dolphin heads; the front edge has a decorative band with consecutive spirals with dots.

The front foot panel displays a fantastic ornament with a circular mask in the center. From the mouth of the latter develop symmetrically on both sides plant motifs with a magpie and strapwork on each side. This scene is framed by a double-line border. Both front and back foot panels have identical cut polylobed arches in their lower part. Though reminiscent of carved lecterns made under Portuguese patronage along the Indian coast, this shape, stems ultimately from Muslim models.

In contrast to the Christian-European motifs on the front, both rear panels display a fully traditional Chinese decorative scheme of auspicious motifs. The upper panel depicts a scene with a longevity stone at the foot, beside a tree peony with flowers in pink, white and gold. On its branches sit three magpies with green-white feather dress, while a fourth magpie sits on the ground between a daylily and an unidentifiable plant. The left top corner displays a pair of bees or wasps. Again, double-lines border along the edges. The rear foot panel, also framed by two gold lines, is decorated with a stylized lotus scroll in the center and a camellia on each side

CHRISTIAN ICONOGRAPHY EUROPEAN RENAISSANCE AND MANNERIST DECORATION AND CLASSICAL CHINESE THEMS

The overall decorative scheme on this lectern is notably rich in its heterogeneous and intercultural composition. The circular golden sunburst surrounding the archangel (asymbol of the victorious Christ[116]) resembles the Christogram, the emblem used by the Society of Jesus. Within a sunburst it contains the IHS monogram, a cross mounted above and three crucifixion nails below. This monogram adorns the center of numerous mass book lecterns, as well as oratories and other Jesuit[117] items manufactured in Asia (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1 Folding Lectern with "IHS" Insignia and Linked Hexagrams in Makie and Mother-of-Pearl Inlay, 16-17th century

In contrast to the usual motif, this missal stand depicts the archangel scene. Might it also derive from a Jesuit commission? Not only the typical sunrays, but also the presence of the archangel himself seem to confirm this assumption.

Saint Michael – the most

popular of Christianity's seven archangels with the most defined personality – is a warrior, a knight, the arch-strategist of the heavenly militias, and the defeater of Evil, Satan, the Devil, depicted variously as a dragon or other horrific creature with devil horns, wings, claws, or a long snake-like tail. Around the world and through the centuries numerous chapels, shrines and churches have been devoted to this archangel (Fig. 2).

With the overall European ornamentation on the lectern's front in mind, the plants in the four spandrels that border the Christogram do not seem to be identifiable European species. This is not surprising considering that the motifs were copied by Chinese artisans to the finished lacquer surface. Sometimes foreign elements were replaced by well-known native ones. However, while the lower two suggest any sort of circular fruit, such as apple or peach, the teardrop shape and coloration of the upper ones suggest the Chinese chestnut (Sterculia monosperma) that originates to the Chinese provinces of Guangdong, Guangxi and Yunnan (Figs. 3&4). Apart from their use in Chinese herbal medicine, it is believed that these nuts can exorcise evil spirits and bad luck.[118] Thus, in the decoration of this lectern, a southern Chinese symbolic plant combines with the Christian motif to enhance the main theme.

Generally, motifs in Chinese art are symbols that convey meaning or messages based on homophones or puns, inherent in the make-up of the Chinese language and script. The principle scene on the rear – the tree peonies with two pairs of magpies – expresses "repeated good news and wealth". The tree peony (Pinyin: mǔdānhuā) – the King of Flowers in Chinese culture – symbolizes "prosperity" and "prestige", as well as "wealth", "royalty", "rank", "status" and "nobility". The combination with a lotus (lián) symbolizes "glory" and "rank", or "connected power and wealth" (Fig. 5).[119]

Magpies (Pinyin: *què*, *xǐ* or *xǐquè*) have many auspicious associations, among them "joy", "stability", "celebration", and "great happiness". Because the character for the word shares the pronunciation with the character for "happiness" (*xǐ*), magpies are considered "good fortune birds" and signal "impending good news". A pair of magpies means "double happiness" while two pairs may signal the classic Chinese delightful wish of "four happinesses" (sweet rain after a long drought; meeting an old friend in a foreign place; the wedding night in the nuptial chamber; the sight of one's name on the golden placard as a successful graduate). As messengers of good news, they are frequently added to a composition to express the wish "to come".[120] Rocks or stones (Pinyin: *shòushí*) denote "longevity" and "solidarity" and, microcosms of the universe, they represent "permanence".[121] Combined with day lilies (Pinyin: *xuāncǎo*) in the phrase xuān shòu yán líng, literally means "day lilies and longevity stone prolonging life".[122] And bees or wasps (Pinyin: *fēng*) symbolizing industriousness, share a homophone with "salary" (Pinyin: *fēng*), and "abundant, plentiful" (Pinyin: *fēng*).[123] Camellias (Pinyin: *cháhuā, shānchá*) – the flowers of the tea plant native to the southern provinces are a symbol of "winter" and of "endurance", due to their early bloom. Additionally, they symbolize "good luck", "longevity" and "prosperity".[124] In all this composition conveys a positive message.

This auspicious scene is not accidental but done intentionally to illustrate unequivocally the optimistic Christian message of salvation. It exemplifies the Jesuit practice of adaptating to the host cultures they intended to convert. Its components are among several flora and fauna motifs that simultaneously carry symbolism in Christian and Chinese culture. For example, the lily symbolizes Christ, "chastity" and "purity", or the Immaculate Conception.[125] Bees and wasps, symbols of industry and tirelessness worldwide, to Christians also represent Christ and his Clemency, and the Virgin Mary. Their appearance in spring symbolizes rebirth and their sting reminds of Christ as a judge.[126] In Christian iconography the peony may allude to the thornless rose, an attribute of the Virgin Mary, the angels and blessed souls in heaven, as well as a symbol of "love" and "purity".[127] The dolphins, often entwined in Renaissance emblems as shown earlier, connote the sacrificial Christ, and are a symbol of "faith", "water" or "fortune".[128]

Strapwork ornaments with ribbonlike elements, scrollwork, grotesque masks, fantastic creatures, or dolphin heads were common in early Renaissance and Mannerist prints in a variety of ornamental variations (Figs. 6 & 7). Their presence in this decoration clearly alludes to European prints and pattern books, either religious or ornamental, which may have served as an ornament template. European Christian art, print and pattern books, were brought to Asia to serve as models for various ornamentations. A material analysis confirmed what its lacquer coating and decorative program already suggested. Typical Chinese materials and techniques were employed in its making. In-depth studies of material samples of lectern have been carried out, confirming its Chinese origin.

Fig. 2 Altar Lectern (detail of front), Macau, China, second half of 16th century, lacquered and giltwood, 28×38×25 cm. Private collection

Fig. 5 Altar Lectern (detail of reverse), Macau, China, second half of 16th century, clacquered and giltwood, 28×38×25 cm. Private collection

HISTORICAL CONTEXTUALIZATION

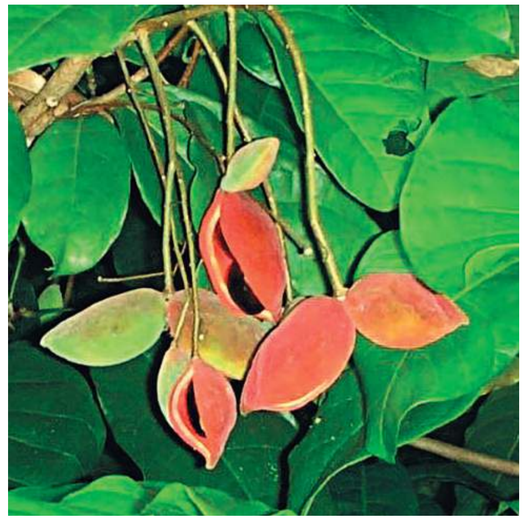
The Portuguese State of India or Portuguese India – a growing network of several coastal presences in port-cities with factories, trading posts, and Portuguese settlements – evolved in consequence to the maritime voyages conducted by the Portuguese crown from the early 15th century onward. It encompassed a territory stretching between the African East Coast and the China Sea, coastal regions of the Indian and Pacific Ocean, including the Japanese archipelago. Interlinked by various maritime trading routes and part of an extensive mercantile network, this structure assured access to multiple different regions and a wide exchange with a myriad of local cultures. The principal goal of this large expansion and progress into maritime Asia was the direct access to the trade of spices and other lucrative merchandise, along two other main intrinsic circumstantial concomitants: the extension of the Crusades against the Muslims and the spreading of the Catholic faith.

From the earliest voyages onward, Catholic missionaries accompanied these voyages, often functioning as intermediaries between the southern Europeans and local rulers. The missionary campaign further was an important tool to gain and maintain the Portuguese crown dominance in these new territories. Under papal patronage[129] the Portuguese King D. Manuel I became the head of the Roman Catholic Church in the Portuguese territories overseas, nominating bishops or licensing religious orders and individual clergy for the passage to Portuguese India.[130] The Franciscans were the first religious order to reach Asia as early as the first voyages (1500/ established in 1511), followed by the Dominicans (1503/1548), whereas almost half a century later the newly formed Society of Jesus – or Jesuits – reached India in 1542, and the order of St. Augustine in 1572.[131] Overall, Catholic missionaries played a significant role as purchasers of all kinds of furniture, imagery and religious utensils. The demand of portable objects and supplies was particularly increased with the growing extension of the Portuguese State of India along with the advance of Catholic missions further into Asia. Beside liturgical textiles, paintings, sculptured images, gold- and silversmith work, the existence of numerous portable liturgical objects and furniture does help to account for the dimension of missionary organization and its rapid progress throughout Asia. These artifacts comprise oratories, mass book lecterns, reliquaries, retable or host boxes, many of which are embellished with the Jesuit IHS-monogram or heraldic devices of different religious orders.

In Asia missionaries faced totally different cultures, artistic traditions and respective attitudes to sacred art.[132] Above all, mainly the Jesuits acted like soldiers in this counterreformist religious venture. They started a visual campaign, by the means of sculptures, paintings, engravings and print media. In the various regions, they met with different preconditions, and with their further progress into Asia, the number of missionaries has increased, as well as the application of new missionary methods adapted to the different host cultures.[133] The principle tool for evangelization used by the Jesuits, was art, including engravings after Italian or Flemish masters, oil paintings, and illustratedreligious books, which functioned as visual representations of the sacred narratives and facilitated the spread of the Catholic faith.[134]

The Society of Jesus became the most active Catholic congregation to proselytize in Asia. Soon after their arrival they established numerous missions on the Indian subcontinent, reaching Japan in 1549, and later China. Macau, where their first residence was founded in 1562, followed by the Diocese in 1575, this port-city became the Jesuit strategic center for the mission in Japan and China, and specialized in the training of missionaries up to the university level. In 1594 Alessandro Valignano founded the St. Paul's College (Colégio de São Paulo) on the hill named after the saint, next to the Our Lady of the Assumption church (Nossa Senhora da Assunção) built in 1565 and rebuilt between 1601 and 1640 as the church known as Mater Dei (Madre de Deus).[135]

Particularly the Jesuits encountered in the dissimilar regions of India, Japan and China sundry conditions and developed a method of accommodation, which facilitated the conversion of the respective heathens.[136] Each cultural sphere required a different method and varying grades of approximation and adaptation, which is manifest in the resulting religious architecture, furnishings and religious implements. They began borrowing symbols from the indigenous arts, and established connections between local and Christian imagery, which led to a diversity of results combining familiar domestic motifs with Christian symbols. To facilitate proselytizing, they adapted Japan and China's ancient lacquer tradition, with its close association with religious ritual. This approachled to the tolerated inclusion of the religious



Figs. 3&4 Chinese chestnut (Sterculiamonosperma)

Fig. 6 Sebald Beham, *Ornament with Two Grotesque Dolphins*, in or before 1531; engraving

Fig. 7 Altar Lectern (detail of strapwork ornaments)

visual imagery of the "other" beliefs into the Roman Catholic context, creating different forms of syncretism. This is illustrated by the lectern's decorative program and the fact that beside announcing a Jesuit theme, the back decoration conveys familiar Chinese auspicious messages.

In China, the Jesuits did not experience the same progress and success as in Japan, with 130,000 converts already in 1579. After initial complications, they learned that instead of representing themselves as Buddhist monks, who did not have a high reputation, they were only accepted by the Emperor and the intellectuals if they would adapt to the local tradition. Therefore, the study of Chinese language, script, and classical texts became an indispensable prerequisite for gaining permissions to establish Jesuit missions in mainland China. By the end of the 1590s the Jesuits themselves had adopted the policy of cultural accommodation towards Confucianism, used the nomenclature of Buddhist monks, behaved like the literati and started to grow their hair and beards.Christian terms and teachings were adapted to traditional Chinese concepts, being presented rather as a moral and philosophical doctrine.[137]

The religious and cultural syncretism in 16th century Macau are exemplified in the ruins of the Jesuit Mater Dei church left by a great

Fig. 8 The Façade of the Mater Dei church in Macau after its restoration in 1993, in Couceiro (1997, p.117)

Fig. 9 Detail of the Mater Dei facade, large volute on the left side of the third order with demon figure and inscription in Chinese characters, in Couceiro (1997, 126)

fire in 1835 (Fig. 8).[138] Nowadays only the imposing staircase and the articulated facade are extant with prominent columns, obelisks, figures in niches and a triangular pediment. Its architecture, as a replica of the Basilica of Bom Jesus in Goa, follows the style of the Italian Mannerism. Its intrinsic sculptural decoration shows a confluence of Christian and Chinese imagery, with a narrative directed to the Chinese. Depicting a very original composition of an imagery where European and Chinese elements merge together, on the left of the third order is a large volute with the figure of a lying demon and an inscription in Chinese characters: "The demon incites man to do evil", underneath a frieze with fruits and a reliquary in the center (Fig. 9).[139] (The depiction of the demon, although with additional horns and bat wings, appears similar to that on the missal stand, both show the same claws, long tails and gaping open mouths full of teeth.

Historic descriptions account for the rich interior of that church. Two chapels and two altars were ones flanking the high altar, one of which was dedicated to Archangel St. Michael. Only one painting from this altar is extant which depicts Archangel St. Uriel with a flaming sword in his right hand and a monstrance in his left (Fig. 10). This painting is attributed to Jacobe Niwa (1579-1638), son of a Chinese father and Japanese mother, and ones a trainee in the Jesuit painting seminary.

Certainly, there was also a painting of Archangel St. Michael, which must have fallen victim to the flames. However, the existence of the altar dedicated to the Archangel St. Michael, as well as the entire iconography of the Mater Dei facade, illustrate the importance of St. Michael, as leader of the archangels, in the role of a fighter in the name of God - a mission which is equivalent to the Jesuit's own understanding.[140]

Fig. 10 Archangel St. Uriel, School of Giovanni Niccolò (1560-1626), attributed to Jacobo Niva (1579-1638), 17th century, Museum of Ruins of St.Paul, Diocese of Macau, in Couceiro(1992, 92)

LUSO-ASIAN LECTERNS

Within this typology of liturgical items, there are many Indo-Portuguese examples with carved wooden structures,[141] as well as lacquered Japanese Namban lecterns.[142] Even more numerous, these commonly display decorations of makie in gold and silver, combined with mother of pearl inlay. Many exhibit the emblem of the Society of Jesus, such as the mass book lectern from the Basilica Pontificada della Santa Casa of Loreto, Italy (Fig. 11).[143]

The quantity of surviving liturgical items embellished with the Christogram reflects the Jesuit practice of putting the arts in the service of faith. However, also a considerable number of examples with a Chinese lacquer coating is known. Among the Chinese-lacquered mass-book lecterns there are several which ornamentations mimic the decorative scheme and techniques of Japanese Nanban lacquerware, combining motherof-pearl inlay with gold decoration (leaf or powder). These are commonly classified as Nanban lacquer.[144]

There is one Chinese lacquered missal stand, of slightly smaller dimension (28.5×29×30 cm) from a private collection that displays the emblem of the Augustinian Order (Fig. 12). Despite of the different religious emblem, the arched section of the foot panel is of identical shape and there are remains of the same decorative band of consecutive spirals and dots on the edge of the shorter front flap. Its gold decoration was produced using solely gold leaf and powder.

In the late 1570s Spanish Augustinian friars from Manila penetrated the interior of mainland China to study Chinese literature. While the first Augustinian house on Chinese soil was established only in 1681, Portuguese Augustinians served in Macau Portuguese between 1586 and 1712. It is likely this missal stand has been produced in or near Macau, the contemporary base for any missionary religious order or congregation to work in China.

The overall technical and decorative characteristics of this lectern's lacquer embellishment correspond to a larger group of Luso-Asian items of different typologies, secular and religious use, embellished with Chinese lacquer.[145] Many of these items display the same type of decorative friezes, including simple or double-line borders, consecutive spirals with dots, or wavy bands with spirals or stylized flowers.

In all, the formal and technical analysis of this unique missal stand, including its iconography, historical background, the comparison of motifs and similar objects, combined with the material study of its lacquer decoration, it can be concluded that its manufacture was commissioned by members of the Society of Jesus in southern China (likely Macau or its surroundings) in the scope of the Jesuit mission in the Second half of 16th century. In its heterogeneous composition, and presenting such a cross-cultural decorative scheme, it perfectly demonstrates the practice of adaptation that was employed in the Jesuit missionary work on Chinese soil.

Fig. 11 Jesuit Nanban lectern with the Jesuit emblem and IHS monogram, Museo Antico Tesoro Santa Casa de Loreto (Inv. No. C.N. 1221)

Fig. 12 Lectern with the emblem of the Order of St. Augustine, China, end of the 18th century. Private Collection

3

The Fantastic Chinese Stove-kettle of the Three Worlds

Long-Fenghuang Stove-Kettle 龙凤火壶
Formerly known as "Caquesseitão"
China, Ming Dynasty, late 16th century, early 17th century
Cast, beaten, repoussé, chased, engraved and burnished silver
Height 47 cm; weight 5,050 g

Provenance:
Collection of the 2nd Conde de Bertiandos (1818-1874), Palácio dos Biscaínho, Braga;
Marqueses de Alegrete;
Sotheby's, Paris, June 26, 2013, lot 242;
His Highness Sheikh Hamad bin Abdullah Al Thani;
Sotheby's, Paris, Hôtel Lambert, *Une Collection Princière, Volume II*: *Kunstkammer*, October 12, 2022, lot 310

Literature:
Reynaldo dos Santos and Irene Quilhó et al.: Les Trésors du L'Orfèvrerie du Portugal, Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris, November 1954 – January 1955, 43, cat. no. 99, pl. 47;
Reynaldo dos Santos et al. (eds). Exposiçao de Ourivesaria Portuguesa e Francesca, The Ricardo do Espirito Santo Silver Foundation, Lisbon, April-May 1955, 43, cat. no. 112, pl. 55;
Reynaldo dos Santos and Irene Quilhó: Ourivesaria Portuguesa nas Coleccòes Particulares, Lisbon, 1974. Author's edition, 34: "Caquesseitão".

Exhibition:
Les trésors de l'orfèvrerie du Portugal, Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, November 1954 – January 1955, no. 99;
Exposiçao de Ourivesaria Portuguesa e Francesca, The Ricardo do Espirito Santo Silver Foundation, Lisbon, April-May 1955, no. 112;
XVII Exposiçao de Arte Cultura e Ciência do Conselho da Europa, Casa dos Bicos, Lisbon, 1983, no. 9.

Javier A. Eguiguren / José M. Eguiguren / Ariel Yu Shi

CRITICAL ANALYSIS

One of the most abstruse problems European sinology in its origins had to tackle was the interpretation of Chinese mythology, extrapolating putative connections with Western mythology. This methodology proved misguided, as these traditions belonged to two worlds whose roots were practically incompatible, added to which there was the nature of the Chinese language itself, which in the vast area it covered and its linguistic nature, developed into the most complicated in human history. As such, when addressing the extraordinary complexity and dimensions of the "Long" myth (龙 lóng, which is also now transcribed as "Loong"), the creature was translated as Dragon, as understood by Western culture. Another problem arose when the "Fenghuang" (凤凰) bird was translated as Phoenix, given there is no real connection between the two.

In Western mythology the dragon had various interpretations, including violence, aggression and destruction, but the period of interest to our study, by its context, is the Christian world, where the creature has had a largely diabolical meaning, in an apocalyptic struggle between good and evil. We find a range of religious figures, archangels or saints, killing the dragon, or the Virgin of the Apocalypse subjugating a dragon at her feet. On the other hand, in Chinese mythology the Long's symbolism is completely different, having a benign nature, a far cry from the Christian world, and of great richness in its different expressions.

With regard to the Phoenix, its ancient symbolism in the Greco-Roman world referred to death and rebirth, given it rises up from its own ashes or those of its predecessor. This myth was adopted by Christianity as a symbol of Christ's Resurrection.

Referring to the mythological Fenghuang bird, Lyujie Zu describes its nature as follows: *"The divine creature composited with several variant animals is of six-chi tall and having five colors for its plumages including black, red, green, white, and yellow. Fenghuang has its natural divinity of winds and social divinity representing power and value that five virtues can be seen in fenghuang as uprightness, humanity, virtue, honesty, and sincerity. Fenghuang has faced historical change of gender as from yang to yin (generally understood as from male to female) in Chinese connotation. In Confucius' time, fenghuang was mainly used to describe virtuous man, such as shi and king, and it was in the Han dynasty that fenghuang's gender was gradually distinguished, as the male feng with the female huang respectively, symbolizing everlasting love that represented the yin-yang balance. After the Ming-Qing period, the fenghuang was a major symbolization for the female, so that such transformation is unavoidably related to the monarchal power of Chinese empresses in indicating themselves by using fenghuang-elements."*[46] As may be appreciated, the assimilation and simplification of the two mythologies, Long and Fenghuang, only goes to underline their absolute incompatibility and the distance between them.

On studying the bibliography referring to this silver Long-Fenghuang figure, we observe just how limited it is, and that the scholars have had to tackle serious complications. There are about ten known examples, eight of which are aquamaniles and one sole piece, the stove-kettle we are studying here, which used to belong to the former Portuguese collection of the Marquises of Alegrete. At first glance, and observing the similar manufacturing characteristics of each one of the pieces from this series, one would posit that they all came out of the same silver workshop, as none presents any stylistic peculiarity to set it apart from the rest. It should be highlighted that

the majority of similar pieces that have been found either are or have been linked to Portuguese collections. Portugal had an active presence in the south-east of China as early as the 16th century, and its intercontinental trade base in the region was the port of Macao, following an agreement with China signed in 1557 (Fig. 1).

It would be quite reasonable to imagine that these pieces were made in pairs, and in this case the distinctive symbol of the female is the fact that it is carrying its young in its mouth. On analysing this morphology, and without knowing about the benevolent nature of the Long in China, it was assumed that the fantastical creature was "eating" its prey, a conclusion at odds with the nature of these mythological figures (Fig. 2). It is highly likely that, over the years, these pairs were separated, and the female attribute of the baby was lost at some point or exchanged, which explains why one of the horned male specimens might have a bird chick in its mouth, having lost its initial symbolism.

It is worth postulating ancient Chinese origins in iconographic sources linking longs and birds. Their extensive symbolism illustrated the interrelation between the Long (yang 阳) and the Fenghuang (yin 阴) , which were the respective attributes of the Emperor and Empress, the union of which established a balance between the two forces (Fig. 3). A lengthy and complex Chinese mythology has also developed referring to the Long and its young. In Chinese tradition, the Long is a highly auspicious figure, in stark contrast to Western symbolism, which has turned the mythological figure of the dragon into a diabolical beast.

Fig. 1 François Valentin, Leiden (Dordrecht, 1666 – 1727), *De Stad Macao* [View of Macao]; engraving on paper

The stove-kettle we have before us here has a provenance going back many years. It belonged to the 2nd Count of Bertiandos (1818-1874), and was on display at the Palácio dos Biscaínhos in Braga, subsequently passing on to the collection of his descendants, the Marquises of Alegrete, as recorded in the technical file. In 1954 the piece was catalogued in the exhibition "Les Trésors de L'Orfèvrerie du Portugal", as an "aquamanile turned into an incense burner" by the curators Reynaldo dos Santis and Irene Quilhó.[147] A few years later, in 1974, they changed their opinion, now calling the piece a *Caquesseitão* based on a brief paragraph by the traveller and adventurer Fernão Mendes Pinto (Portugal ca. 1510-1514 – 1583) referring to some fantastical creatures he had supposedly seen in the Sumatra region. We should bear in mind that while many of the episodes related by this chronicler are of great historical value, he also had a prodigious imagination, which he poured into his stories, which explains why in past centuries he was mentioned somewhat ironically as a teller of fables:

> *"We also saw here a new, strange type of animal, which the natives call Caquesseitão, with the size of a female duck, pitch black in colour, conch-shaped back, a row of thorns along the spine with the size of a quill pen, bat-like wings, snake-like neck, cockspurs-like claw on the front of the head, a very long tail tinted green and black as the native-born lizards. These flying, jumping animals, hunt monkeys and other animas [that live] on the top of the trees, from which they subsist."*[148]

Fig. 2 *Long-Fenghuang Aquamanile,* China, 17th century; Silver, H 54 cm, L 51 cm. Grand Palais, Le Musée de la Renaissance, Château d'Écouen, Paris

It is clear that this is a fantastical description of the big frugivorous Sumatran bat, known as the Large Flying Fox *(Pteropus vampyrus)*, which is most certainly not carnivorous, showing how the author mixed in either fantastical or invented stories to add spice to his narrative.

Moving on to the piece's wings, and following in the same vein as the two aforementioned authors who described its morphology, the suggestion is that they represent bat's wings. If one observes the wings of said mammal, one clearly notices that they are made up of membranes of skin stretched between the fingers and arms, which act like support ribs in each wing. Birds' wings, on the other hand, have a different composition, with superimposed layers of feathers of varying morphologies, known as coverts, whose quills emerge from each of the bony, jointed sections of the wing. Those depicted in the piece we are studying here are a precise representation of a wing made up of superimposed feathers, as we can clearly observe (Fig. 4). The feathers are basically divided into groups: primary covert, middle covert, lesser covert and scapular, with certain subdivisions depending on species. In conclusion, this design rules out any attribution that might connect it with bats or mythologies relating to marine animals.

Fig. 3 *Panel with Long (dragon), Fenghuang (phoenix) and peonies,* China, Ming dynasty, 16th century; silk and metallic thread tapestry weave (kesi), 36.8×60.3 cm. (A. N. 32.111.1), The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

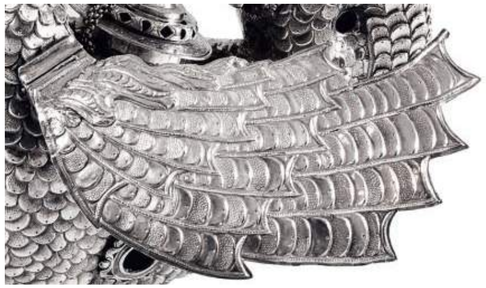


Fig. 4 *Long-Fenghuang Stove-Kettle,* China, late 16th century, early 17th century (detail of the wing)

CHINESE CULTURAL MEANINGS

To get a better idea of the symbolism of the Chinese Long or Loong, which is difficult to understand for anyone not immersed in the culture, we have turned to the in-depth analysis of two scholars, Xu Wen and Chuanhong Chen, who shed light on a range of fundamental concepts relating to this mythology. China was one of the five regions in the history of humanity that gave birth to agriculture, thereby developing an ancient farming culture with its corresponding values. The two authors summarise these Chinese characteristics thus: "*Agricultural civilization shows the spirit of "no pains no gains", and cultivates unity, independence, love of peace, self-improvement, collectiveness, respect for the elderly, love for children, diligence and bravery. The Chinese regard the loong as the god of rain, which represents peace and harmony between beings and nature. This worldview of the loong is of positive qualities, such as being hardworking, energetic, brave, wise, and so on. Thus, these worldviews in the cultural cognition of the Chinese are represented by metaphorical meanings of the loong in Chinese as well… The first worldview* (called 'harmony but difference'), *is the most ancient and profound concept in the spirit of the Chinese nation, which plays an important role in the solidarity and unity of the multi-ethnic groups of China. As early as the Western Zhou Dynasty,* [ca. 1050–771 B.C.] *the Chinese formed the concept of* 'harmony but difference' *and took it as the guiding principle of life. The* loong *is an imaginary animal that combines different parts of many animals into a magic and powerful whole, which manifests the Chinese worldview of 'harmony but difference'.*

> *"In China, the loong, which is supremely sacred, is endowed with most of the traits considered positive by Chinese people. It usually symbolizes God, a legend, success, spiritual nobility, good fortune and an emperor, it also serves as an emblem of nationalism. The different symbolic/metaphorical meanings of the loong are not only manifested in the literary works, folktales, artworks, legends, but also in our [Chinese] linguistic expressions."*[149]

One characteristic of the Chinese mythology of the Long is its divinity and "worship worthiness". For the Western world it is difficult to understand that the Chinese created their own representations of the Loong in accordance with their desires, aspirations and yearnings. As such, when analysing the morphology of the silver Long-Fenghuang we are studying here, we can appreciate the Chinese symbolism of some of its attributes: its head (Fig. 5), with its wide and raised brow symbolises wisdom: its bull's ears (almond-shaped) represent authority: its tiger's eyes (tigers have extremely distinctive eyes, with ample fixed white eyelids and round pupils) symbolise majesty: its (stumpy) lion's nose (wider than that of a tiger, which is longer and thinner) represents health, and its stylised tail, like a goldfish, symbolises flexibility.[150]

Fig. 5 *Long-Fenghuang Stove-Kettle,* China, late 16th century, early 17th century (detail of the head)

Fig. 6 *Long-Fenghuang Stove-Kettle,* China, late 16th century, early 17th century (detail of the feet)

In the *Shuowen jiezi* 说文解字 treatise (1st or 2nd century AD: "*An Explication of Written Characters*"), references to the symbolism of the Fenghuang's morphology include certain symbolic motifs present in the representation of the stove-kettle. It presents the neck of a serpent, the chest of a goose and the tail of a fish. It also presents the marks of a Long in its body, probably represented by the row of spurs running along the perimeter of its body, in allusion to both depictions.[151] The Fenghuang also attacks snakes using its talons and with its wings unfurled. These two characteristics tally with the reinforced feet of the stove-kettle and, we should note, provide an explanation of the system of hinges that makes it possible to keep the wings open (Fig. 6).

TECHNICAL ANALYSIS

The body of the stove-kettle presents the large, winged figure of a Long (or Loong) associated with a Fenghuang, standing firmly on its two anisodactyl feet, made up of four toes the first one of which, the hallux, is pointing backwards. The nails are thick and short, the opposite of those of birds of prey. Its legs have no joints, and the artist has devised a grooved or corrugated section in the union with the body, taking the form of a muscle that bolsters the support of the body. It is thus that both legs culminate in a flat, globe-shaped muscle with little scales that widen toward the upper section.

The head, which is of a fantastical design, corresponds to the morphology of a Chinese Long. It has two curved horns along a vertical axis, suggesting it is a male. The upper, larger horn is of a flamboyant (or flame-like) style, while the lower one is hook-shaped, curving downwards. Towards the back there are two lenticular cavities featuring moulded borders and smooth inner surfaces, which serve as ears. It has large, wide-open almond-shaped tiger's eyes which are wide open, surrounded by fat eyelids and an upper border of stylised feathers. Its snout is not extensive, consisting of a short and striated nasal chamber with plain, pointed gadrooning. The half-open mouth displays large, flamboyant teeth, with surfaces that are alternately burnished or decorated with "picado de lustre" (punchwork a pockmarked effect of burin-engraved dots). Behind, there is a wall with punchwork out of which a fat tongue is seen to emerge, adorned with little engraved scales, curved edges and a retracted tip, to indicate that the creature is drinking. Under the tongue, a cylindrical tube serves as a spout from which to pour the liquid kept inside the main body of the vessel. The head has circular superimposed scales, with borders, chased with straight striations at the bottom and a round dot stamped at the top, some in beautiful bunches.

Out of the middle of the base of the nose a thick tooth-shaped moulding emerges in the form of blunted and curved spikes that go around the entire longitudinal perimeter of the middle of the body, culminating in the lower part of the mouth. They increase and decrease in size as they go round, thereby generating an ornamental equilibrium, at certain points becoming spikes and spurs of greater dimension.

The ornamental motif of the scales is present throughout the whole body, even the wings, consistently alternating between plain scales and those decorated with punchwork markings.

The body has the morphology of a bird, with the broad chest of a goose, evolving into a thick ophidic curled-up tail at the other end. This transformation is executed with a balanced design and to beautiful effect. At the top of the tail there is a round orifice with a border rim into which a thick trefoil lid has been perpendicularly inserted. The latter's two outside leaves are curved, and the decoration intercalates shiny sections with others burnished with curved gadroons, alternating stylized ones with others decorated with punchwork (the latter device also featuring on the outside edge of both faces. The central section has a filigree border. Around the edge there is a tooth-shaped border of curved scales, and on the inside a rim and a plaque lend the piece greater stability. The liquid to be drunk is poured in through the round orifice prior to being heated and served.

There is an earlier piece worth mentioning with regard to its similarities with the three-leafed lid on the tail of the stove-kettle, and that is a jade ornament depicting a phoenix (Fenghuang), with a highly stylized design, from the Liao dynasty (907-1125). It belongs to the British Museum collection, and the head of the mythological creature is crowned by a motif of a clearly analogous design (Fig. 7).[152]

In Chinese mythology, the flower associated with Fenghuang is the peony, mǔdān, 牡丹 , as explained in the description of an embroidery with phoenixes and peonies from the Hunan Museum: *"In Chinese legend, phoenix is known as "king of birds" while peony is "king of flowers". The combination of phoenix and peony symbolizes prosperity, bright future and happiness. People often use the decorations with the motifs of phoenix and peony and wish they will bring good luck to them."*[153]

The symbolism and attributes referred to these flowers in Chinese tradition are very extensive: *"Chinese people have a love affair with peonies which symbolize wealth, honor, peace, royalty, masculinity and feminine beauty. The large, showy and variegated blossoms are favorite themes in Chinese art, poetry and drama. Famous artists through the various dynasties have produced paintings of the peony utilizing this symbolism* (Fig. 8). "[154]

The back of this fantastical creature features a round orifice in the middle, with a moulded cylindrical rim into which the lid is fitted (Fig. 9). This aperture is the mouth or intake of the stove, separate from the body, and into which the burning coals are introduced in order to keep the liquid hot. The stove is made up of a cylindrical body of a greater diameter than the intake, which is perfectlyintegrated and secured to the inside of the piece. It has a star-shaped aperture on

Fig. 7 *Fenghuang (Phoenix) ornament*, Liao Dinasty (907-1127); Jade, H 9.90 cm, W 7.50 cm, D 1.80 cm. British Museum (RN: 1947,0712.489), London

Fig. 9 *Long-Fenghuang Stove-Kettle,* China, late 16th century, early 17th century (detail of the aperture)

Fig. 8 *Embroidered Red Hall Curtain with Fenghuang and Peony Mūdān Design,* Qing Dynasty (1636 - 1912 AD), H 74 cm, W 404 cm. Hunan Museum, China

Fig. 10 *Long-Fenghuang Stove-Kettle,* China, late 16th century, early 17th century (detail of the ventilation tube outlet)

Fig. 11 *Long-Fenghuang Stove-Kettle,* China, late 16th century, early 17th century (detail of the lid)

Fig. 12 *Long-Fenghuang Stove-Kettle,* China, late 16th century, early 17th century (detail of the rampant lion '*suānní* 狻猊')

both sides, which are the entrances for two horizontal tubes that go through the body, providing ventilation. The ventilation outlets are open, and feature moulded borders of stylized leaves and flower buds, which have been soldered to strengthen the entire area, as the mouths of the tubes have been rivetted (Fig. 10).

The central lid which fits onto the orifice on the back is of a domed, multifoil shape (Fig. 11), while its flat edge presents a circular border of stylized leaves with a punchwork background. Rising out of this is a torus decorated with ovals and rhombuses in openwork, leading to a dome with triangular foliated openwork. At the very top there is a rampant lions 狻猊 suānní) (Fig. 12) , which is holding a ring attached to the chain that joins the lid to the handle. We may observe a similar iconography in a Tang Dynasty plate from the collection of the National Museum of China (Fig. 13).[155]

The iconography of the lion in ancient China is complex and its original sources are scarce, the main reason being that the lion is not a native animal of China, unlike the tiger. In this way, although the lion has rich symbolism and the models represented are not historically very realistic, its representation was widely disseminated over the centuries, especially during the Ming dynasty. Zhao Jing provides analysis on the history of the lion in ancient China: "*As a rare large beast, the lion is often associated with bravery, strength, majesty, and victory. It is deeply loved by people in many countries and regions*

Fig. 13 *Lion pattern plate*, Tang Dinasty (618-907 DC); silver gilt. National Museum of China

and has strong cultural symbolic significance. With the opening of the Silk Road in the Han Dynasty, along with the introduction of lions and the introduction of lion images from countries in the Western Regions, coupled with the influence of Buddhism, the image of the lion was widely spread in China, and gradually became a Chinese tradition like the native beast of China - the tiger. Animals with special auspicious meanings in culture are loved by Chinese people. In traditional Chinese art, whether in architecture, sculpture, painting, or various handicrafts, the image of the lion is everywhere."

"The traditional Chinese lion image has gone through a long-term development and change process since the Han Dynasty. Early lion images often resembled tigers, such as a pair of Eastern Han Dynasty stone lions unearthed from Shenjia Village in Xianyang in the Forest of Steles in Xi'an and an Eastern Han Dynasty stone lion unearthed from Shizhuang Village in Xuchang in the Henan Museum. wait. The lions in many Buddhist statues during the Southern and Northern Dynasties were influenced by countries in the Western Regions; after the Tang Dynasty, the traditional Chinese lion image was generally fixed, represented by the

Fig. 14 *The Samarkand Tribute Lion in "Ming Xianzong's Lantern Festival Carnival"* Ming Dinasty, Chenhgua Emperor, 1473. The National Museum of China

squatting lion in Qianling Mausoleum of the Tang Dynasty and the two pairs of white marble lions from the Ming Dynasty in front of Tiananmen Gate. The common features of both are the larger proportions of the head, the round skull, the wide mouth, the big eyes, and the spirally curled mane. The two come from the same origin, with little overall change, reflecting great stability."[156] A famous tribute of two lions sent by Samarkand to Emperor Chenghua which were received in Beijing in the year 1471. Two years later this tribute was represented in the scene of the Lantern Festival parade, and the image of a beautiful lion was presented with an elaborate protocol (Fig. 14).

The handle is solid and undulating, with two tubular bolts fixing it to the nape and tail of the mythical creature. Both orifices are decorated with anthropomorphic vegetal faces. Moving along the handle, at both ends we find two plaques of wide flat leaves at an angle, followed by a curved baluster section, with crest-like volutes, leading to Long's heads, joined in the middle of the handle by a moulded section shaped like a three-rimmed spool (Fig. 15).

On the two sides of the creature's body we find two big, mobile and extendable wings, which are joined to the neck of the Long by hinges. On the back of these there is a system of rods which makes it possible to display the wings unfurled. Where the wings are joined to the body there are two plaques featuring flame-like decoration, with

Fig. 15 *Long-Fenghuang Stove-Kettle,* China, late 16th century, early 17th century (detail of the handle)

moulded burnished sections, superimposed scales and volute-shaped tips. The wing is divided into three overlapping sections of plumage, separated by filigree ribbing to represent the shafts of the feathers, made up of primary covert, middle covert, lesser covert and finally the scapular. As such the wing sections get narrower the closer you are to the body, with plaques featuring uneven edges and internal ribbing made up of stylized feathers and superimposed burnished scales featuring punchwork.

TECHNICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This heater has been executed to the highest standards. Of the nine or ten known examples from the aforementioned series, in its characteristics this is probably the most prominent. To this we can add the fact that this piece has a more complex structure, as the others are aquamaniles, while this one includes an internal stove into which coals have been introduced to keep the liquid warm.

On analysing this function, we should mention that certain scholars from the middle of the last century suggested (without providing a basis for doing so) that the stove element was added at a later date. We emphatically refute this hypothesis, having undertaken an in-depth technical analysis of the section, as we shall now explain.[157]

Firstly, the body shows no sign of having been cut longitudinally in order to attach the stove system. The thick line of spurs that goes right around the middle of the piece is original, without there being the slightest sign of it having been restored or replaced, a task which, in its sheer magnitude (cutting the whole body in half) would have left some kind of visible evidence in the structure of the piece, as well as having been of great technical complexity.

The second possibility one might posit is that in adding the stove at a later date, the back of the Long and the two sides were pierced in order to introduce and solder the three sections of the stove. On carefully analysing the piece, we can observe that the inner cylinder is wider than the mouth of the orifice on the back, which immediately rules out this theory as it could not have been introduced into the body. Making things more complicated still, the stove system is cross-shaped, as explained, including a central circular tube with two arms soldered onto it, ending in the inner sides of the body. The only way of introducing, and then adjusting, this structure with millimetric precision would be to instal it while the entire piece was open in two sections, and then seal the two halves of the body and perfectly solder the mouth of the stove to the Long's back.

Assembly was completed by riveting the circular tubes to thick open frames around the orifices on both sides of the body, which had been previously soldered to increase strength. Once the two parts of the body had been soldered, the moulded row of spurs or blunted spikes that goes around the entire perimeter of the piece could be added. This is the original appearance of the stove-kettle, which it has maintained for some 400 years, with just a few minimal signs of restoration due to its use and handling.

STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE STOVE-KETTLE

The "Peking Market" in Lima

In order to provide new information regarding the Chinese manufacturing origin of this stove-kettle, we need to give a few details about the trade relations between China and the Peruvian Viceroyalty from the end of the 16th century until the early 18th century. The motives behind our study are not to attribute this piece's manufacture to the Viceroyalty of Peru, a hypothesis entertained by some scholars, but to demonstrate that some of the silverwork produced in the Viceroyalty does present Chinese decorative elements that are similar

to those of this stove-kettle, thereby illustrating the shared sources of these designs of Chinese origin. One thing we should make absolutely clear is that the manufacturing techniques of these Asian pieces are quite dissimilar to those of Peru. That they possess shared elements does not mean a shared origin in South America. What we can say is that both the design of the inner stove, the upper aperture with its openwork lid crowned by a lion, the two horizontal tube orifices that serve as ventilation outlets and the mouldings with rings of undulating profile are the same as we find in "pavas con hornillo" -stove-kettles- produced in Peru from the early 18th century on, which allows us to conclude, without any doubt, that the heating system of these kettles was inherited from Chinese stove-kettles like ours. Furthermore, and as mentioned above, the majority of the comparable pieces that have been found are, or have been, connected to Portuguese collections, an indication of how they reached Europe from its settlement in China.

In 2011, Mariano Ardash Bonialian published an outstanding study titled "La Feria de Pekín en el Perú Colonial" ("The Peking Market in Colonial Peru"), demonstrating the astonishing trade links between China and the Peruvian Viceroyalty. These started off as official trade relations, but continued even after the Spanish decrees banning any direct contact between Peru and China, or even trade between Acapulco and Lima (Fig. 16). This ban was unable to rein in the reality of a large-scale unofficial inter-American market, profoundly affecting the exportation of European goods that arrived in Portobello, due to the competitive prices offered by China.[158] The author chose the title "Feria de Pekín", in reference to a term originally coined by Domingo Marcoleta, a civil servant working as Official Agent in Buenos Aires, in his 1745 report to the Consejo de Indias (West Indies Council) in Madrid. In said document, he commented that *"it seems as if the Peking Market has opened in Lima"*. In the words of Marcoleta: *"many of the 18 million pieces of merchandise circulating in Peru were Asian, and that could not be explained by the transactions effected in the old markets of Portobello"*, in other words, via the legal Atlantic route.[159]

The distribution of the taxes charged by the Peruvian Viceroyalty compared to those sent to Castile evolved in the 1730s from a ratio of 55% to 45%, compared to the abrupt change in the 80s, which saw 95% kept back and only the remaining 5% sent to Spain. This high figure included expenses caused by local administration, defence and local, inter-American and global trade, where China played a major role.[160]

From the late 16th century onwards, and largely thanks to the Galeón de Manila, Hispano-America developed a sophisticated system of contraband, which supplied all sorts of luxury goods mainly intended for the "criollo" elite classes, though it would subsequently provide large numbers of items to what we would now call the middle classes. The route taken was the Pacific coast, aimed at the Viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru, with cargos delivered to the east coast of Mexico, in the port of Acapulco.

"*In the 'high society' of Peru one breathed an air of Asian fashion. Having and displaying an array of luxurious Oriental*

Fig. 16 *Plaza Mayor de Lima* [Main Square], before the earthquake of 1687, Viceroyalty of Peru, 1680; oil on canvas. Private collection

Fig. 17 *Tapestry* (fragment), Viceroyalty of Peru, 1680-1720; woven in coloured wools, Chinese silks, and silver-gilt thread. Victory & Albert Museum, London

goods, such as desks, backrests and bed hangings, folding screens, trunks and drawer units with fine illustrations of Asian flora and fauna, detailed porcelain, blankets, fabrics and clothes of fine silk, ivory sculptures and other items, reinforced social prestige and provided a basis for the refined consumption of the elite classes. In their houses, the wealthiest families amassed a multitude of furniture and decorative items from the Orient. These articles may be consulted in the patrimonial inventories of merchants and colonial authorities. It is extremely common to find the phrase 'à la mode' in these inventories, denoting Asian fabrics and furniture."[161]

"In the final decades of the century, the more 'liberal" women of Peru, those who did not belong to the elite class, but who were bold enough to move in the most distinguished circles, wore Chinese silk and Oriental perfumes. They sought to appropriate certain of the consumer habits of the 'chosen ones' in order to mix in their own social circles. In order to fit in with the social consumer fashions, even the nuns of Peruvian convents dressed in silk 'capichola' [silk fabric that forms a cord like a burate] *capes, and preferred to dine in their cells off Oriental porcelain.*"[162]

The influence of Chinese ornamental styles in Peruvian decorative arts may be perfectly appreciated in the beautiful and colourful tapestry belonging to the Victoria and Albert Museum collection (Fig. 17). It presents sumptuous vegetal and animal decoration, with both real and mythological creatures, including a pair of mermaids with guitars, Quesinttu and Umanttu from the Peruvian pre-Hispanic tradition, and widely depicted. Figuring prominently on the central axis we see two one-horned xiezhi 獬豸 , a mythological Chinese creature associated with loyalty and duty. The Chinese origin of these ornamental designs is abundantly clear from the outset.

This consumer explosion in Chinese products had its reasons. Shortly after the fall of the Inca Empire in 1533, the Spanish discovered the silver deposits in the "Cerro Rico" of Potosí, at some 4,000m above sea level, which became the greatest source of silver in the history of mankind, turning the settlement into an Imperial Villa. Its riches not only meant the exponential economic growth of the region and that of various parts of the Peruvian Viceroyalty, but it was also the war chest that paid for the Habsburgs' military campaigns in Europe, not to mention other expenses in Spain.

The chronicles of Potosí that refer to the lavish objects from all over the world acquired by the city's elite classes describe extraordinary quantities, from both West and Far East. The capital, Lima, meanwhile, occupied a prime position when it came to distributing this wealth and the sums spent on these sorts of luxury items. In 1565 a route from the Viceroyalty of New Spain to the Far East was finally established, revolving around the Philippines. This new route gave rise to extensive international trade between the two regions. China, meanwhile, became a keen consumer of silver Peruvian coins from 1571 on, with the founding of Manila, and trade with Hispano-America increased through the purchase of Chinese goods. As such, the main trade destination of Peruvian silver diversified to greater and lesser extents through trade (both official and unofficial, the latter at great scale) along the Pacific route to Acapulco and from there on the Chinese or Manila Nao (carrack ships). As a consequence of the decline of Japan's silver exports in the 17th century, China focussed on Hispano-American silver, which made up a key part of the region's economic growth. To these circumstances must be added the end of the Japanese and Portuguese commercial exchange between 1543 and 1637, after the expulsion of all foreigners (except a port authorized for the Dutch), since in this commercial exchange the Portuguese received an important flow of silver, who entered China from Canton to trade in this Empire. Echoes of that rich exchange can be appreciated in the fact that the current Chinese currency, the Yuan (圓 / 元), comes from the old name for the Spanish silver dollar or piece of eight ("peso fuerte"), which became the standard monetary unit in the old Chinese Empire.[163]

Fig. 18 *He, Bronze Ritual Pouring Vessel*, China, Eastern Zhou, 475-221 BC. Courtesy Ben Janssens Oriental Art Ltd. Collection

CHINESE ELEMENTS IN PERUVIAN SILVERWORK

In the chapter on "Pots, kettles and stove-kettles" from our 2004 publication *The Mate in America*, we provided preliminary critical analysis and cataloguing, where we explained the ways water was heated to make herbal infusions in Europe, with emphasis on Hispano-America. In the 17th century, Europe witnessed a sharp rise in the consumption of drinks in social contexts with varying levels of caffeine: coffee, tea and hot chocolate. Meanwhile, consumption of herbal mate was restricted to South America. Tea and herbal mate infusions needed implements with which to keep the water hot. In Europe the main system that was devised comprised a tea kettle with stand and burner, and some later models also included a tea urn (samovar) with a tap and external heater that was also occasionally incorporated in Hispano-America. But in the Peruvian Viceroyalty the great innovation was the creation of the so-called "pava con hornillo", or stove-kettle, which includes a ventilated heating chamber (the "hornillo") within the body of the vessel or kettle (the "pava"), making it possible to keep water hot.[164]

This system was unknown in Europe, and as far as we can trace them, its origins are to be found in Ancient China (Fig. 18). The most well-known drink originating in China is tea, or "cha", drunk in porcelain bowls in small quantities, the hot water poured from little teapots. But what is of most interest to our study here is another warm drink that was consumed in larger quantities: rice wine with a very low alcoholic content. One model was the wine vessel, some of which served a ritualistic purpose, reminiscent of what we in the West would call a teapot, with or without feet.

There were also other utensils aimed at keeping drinks warm including a range of stove-kettle systems that are reminiscent of the modern-day teapot (Fig. 19).[165] In all models, this utensil included a vessel for the hot water and a tubular stove where the coals were placed, with one or two horizontal tubes attached to the sides which, along with an openwork lid, allowed for the circulation of air. A small kettle with

Fig. 19 *Stove-kettle*, Ming Dynasty (1368-1644); tin. Porcelain collection in Wanjia Town, Chongzhou Sichuan, China

the diluted wine is placed on top of this set, which in this way remains warm. We should emphasize that this system was unknown in the West.

Some of these Chinese models were prism-shaped, very similar to the prismatic "pavas-hornillo" popular in the Peruvian Viceroyalty in the 18th century. We can observe an early image of one depicted in the decoration of a herbal mate box ("hierbera") from the Viceroyalty, which probably originated in Cuzco in about 1740 (Figs. 20a & 20b). In all likelihood it was painted by an indigenous artist, and it features two lids, one for filling it with water, while the other seals the stove. On the back we see the ventilation outlet, which should have been placed on the side.[166]

There is also a series of twelve panels painted on silk belonging

Figs. 20a & 20b *Hierbera* [herbal mate box], Viceroyalty of Peru, Cuzco, ca 1740; polychrome wood and iron. Former Jaime Eguiguren collection, Private collection, Lima

to the Beijing Imperial Palace, titled *Yinzhen's Consorts Partaking in Pleasurable Activities* 胤禛美人图 (Fig. 21), one of which features a scene with a woman reading and drinking tea (see the blue bowl on the right), while we can observe a stove-kettle on the left, with hot water for serving the beverage. The Beijing Palace Museum collection includes a number of silver stove-kettles, and it also has another iconography from the same period, with two versions of a stove-kettle, seen from different perspectives, the second of which is in the Hong Kong Palace Museum.

To date, the earliest cataloguing of one of these pieces appears in Alfredo Taullard's 1941 work *Platería Sudamericana*. One can appreciate the stove system, with one aperture to take in the coal and another for pouring the water. The spout is also influenced by Chinese models.[167]

A second model found in the Peruvian Viceroyalty presents a globe-shaped body with vertical "stove" in the middle. The water is generally filled through an orifice in the lid or via a tubular section to the rear. In the *pava-hornillo* belonging to the Complejo Museográfico Provincia Enrique Udaondo, in Luján (Buenos Aires, Argentina), a beautiful example of this type, we can appreciate the inclusion of a handle with two dragons, and that the piece stands on "*claw and ball*" feet, clearly and directly influenced by Chinese models.

The oldest and most famous representation of this model is the one provided by Amédée Frézier (France, 1682 - 1773) in the engraving depicting three Peruvian ladies drinking mate herbal infusion, published in his 1716 work (Figs. 22a, 22b). The seated lady is drinking the infusion, placed in a silver-mounted calabash or gourd. It should be noted that the depiction is out of proportion, as these items are actually much smaller (D). To one side of the composition there is a jug for the water, while in the foreground we observe the globe-shaped silver stove-kettle "pava hornillo". The stove system can be perfectly appreciated, and is confirmed by the author's description: *"E. pot d'argent pour chauffer l'eau au milieu de la quelle est le feu dans un reservoir G"* (Silver pot (E) for heating the water in the middle of which there is the fire in a reservoir (G)"). This is the earliest known visual representation and description of a stove-kettle executed in the Western world. We can clearly observe the stove system, with one of its two sides front ventilation outlets, the openwork lid of which is chained to the handle, through which smoke is rising; the spout is curved with long-head design and the water charger is on the left and its cover includes a Chinese-designed lion, Suānní, and which the engraver had not been able to recreate with precision.[168]

Another major iconographic source is the painting *A Merry Company on the Banks of the Rímac River* (Fig. 23), where we can see a range of figures from Lima society enjoying a picnic. They are pictured eating snacks while drinking mate with two "pavas hornillos" featuring prominently in the foreground.

One of the most beautiful examples of this type of *pava hornillo* may be found in the collection of the aforementioned Complejo Museográfico in Luján, Buenos Aires (Fig. 24). Here we can observe the same stove system, relying on an inner tube riveted to the frame of the external aperture. The centre lid, with its openwork, is attached to the mouth of a lion (although it looks more like a dog), which serves as a handle for the second side-lid when filling the vessel with water. The curved handle repeats the decoration we saw earlier, with two Longs at the ends.[169]

Fig. 21 *Looking into a Mirror from the series Yinzhen's Consorts Partaking in Pleasurable Activities*, China, 1731, Yongzheng period, 1678 -1735; paint on silk panel, 184×98 cm (one of twelve). Beijing Palace Museum

Figs. 22a & 22b Ladies drinking mate in *Relation du voyage de la mer du Sud aux côtes du Chili*, (detail of *pava hornillo*), Paris, 1716, Amédée Frézier (France 1682-1773); engraving on paper

Fig. 23 *A Merry Company on the Banks of the Rímac River*, Lima, end of the 18th century; oil on canvas. Former collection of the Counts of Guaqui, Brooklyn Museum, New York

Fig. 24 *Pava Hornillo* [Stove-kettle], Viceroyalty of Peru, 18th century; silver, H 41.5 cm. Complejo Museológico Provincial Enrique Udaondo, Luján, Buenos Aires

Fig. 25 *Pava Hornillo*, Stove-kettle, Viceroyalty of Peru, Lima, third quarter of the 18th century; Silver, H 31 cm; L 26 cm. Former Goldeberg de Ursúa collection and The Apelles Collection

Fig. 26 *Pava Hornillo* [Stove-kettle], Viceroyalty of Peru, ca. 1780; silver, H 24.1 cm, L 28.5 cm. Former Jaques Kugel collection; Private collection

Fig. 27 *Pava Hornillo* [Stove-kettle], Viceroyalty of Peru, Lima, 18th century.; silver, H 31.2 cm, L 41 cm. Former Mario Hirsch collection; Private collection

The third variation, commonly associated with the figure of a lion, is the model of most interest to us here, as the earliest examples demonstrate the influence of Chinese decorative arts in the former Peruvian Viceroyalty. The *pava hornillo* from the former Goldeberg-Ursúa collection (Fig. 25), is one of the most sophisticated examples of this type of *pava hornillo*.[170] At first glance, one can observe the influence of Chinese designs in the morphology of the kettle-stove system, intended for making mate herbal infusion. The execution of the lion's head: slanted eyes, flat nose, sunken ears, wide mouth with its tongue sticking out, and pouring spout underneath. The eyes, mouth and ears feature moulded gadrooned borders. The front claws are the same as in the Chinese model, whereas the back ones are somewhat more elongated. The lion's curved tail, which goes from its rump to the nape of its neck, serves as a handle. The tip of the tail features a delicate flower, which is probably meant to represent peony flower blossom. It is feasible that it depicts the same flower from the lid at the end of the Long-Fenghuang's tail, though with

The morphology of the *hornillo* features the same system in both cases; the sole difference is in where the aperture for pouring the liquid in is located: from the top of the curve of the tail in the Long as opposed to the crowned lid of the lion. Both also include a chain system attaching the lid of the *hornillo*, either to the handle, in the first case, or to the lid on the head of the lion in the second.

Another beautiful example is the stove-kettle in the form of a lion from the Jaques Kugel collection, where we can still see the marked Chinese influence in the design of the head (Fig. 26).

A third piece that also takes on the form of a lion is the one from the former Mario Hirsch collection (Fig. 27). It is exceptional in both its size and the lavish ornamentation of the creature's fur. It presents the same model of mouth with tongue sticking out and spout, though here the shape of the nose has taken on a more Western appearance. It has a very original feature: the kettle stove system is above the front legs and its lid is hinged on the neck. But the really remarkable detail in this piece is the same rampant lion (suānní 狻猊) motif crowning the lid of the stove compartment.[171]

We also see certain traces of the double moulding with spurs in the silverwork of the Peruvian Viceroyalty, probably dating to the 18th century. This is the case, for instance, of a container with a shell-shaped body and silver fittings, in the form of a bird looking at the ground. What makes it unusual is that the head and neck of the bird feature a thick moulding made up of spikes, which is reminiscent of the longitudinal row of spurs running around the body of the Chinese stove-kettle we are studying here.[172]

LONG – FENGHUANG STOVE-KETTLE

In her essay analysing a bronze ritual vessel shaped like a bird, auctioned at Christie's in 2018,[173] the scholar Rosemary Scott provides some key insights, shedding light on various of the characteristics of pieces with similarities to the one we are examining here. The Song Dynasty (960-1279) was of particular interest in terms of the collecting of antiquities mostly discovered by farmers. Subsequently, during the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), and as a result of the emergence of new economic groups dedicated to trade in China, there was a considerable increase in interest in owning classical antique pieces, whether originals or reproductions of items depicted in the collections of old printed treatises, many of which were reprinted. Towards the end of the Ming Dynasty and the beginning of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), China witnessed a real boom in the collecting of these sorts of items.[174] One consequence of the expansion of the commercial development between the Far East and the West was that numerous Chinese artworks reached European markets during this time (Figs. 28 & 29).

In the light of all these observations, explanations and adjustments with regard to the history (and comprehension) of this extraordinary masterpiece, *The Fantastic Chinese Stove-kettle of the Three Worlds*, we can understand its title. Manufactured in a workshop in southern China for the Portuguese market, its unique characteristics make it the most important piece in this known series. Its origin and nature are confirmed by the rich and complex symbolism of its design and composition, based on new research into diverse fields of Chinese culture, and access to a wide range of worldwide information networks. China is one of the oldest civilisations in the history of mankind, and the magnitude of its written historical records go far beyond what we can possibly imagine.

As we can infer from the history of this group of aquamaniles

Fig. 28 *Luduan Vessel* 鹅端尊 , Qing Dinasty, early 17th century; bronze inlaid with gold and silver, H 29.9 cm, W 19.8 cm, D 31.5 cm. The British Museum, RN 1891,0617.12, London

Fig. 29 *Fenghuang* [Phoenix] *vessel* 天鸡尊 , China, Qing Dinasty, 17th century; bronze inlaid with silver and gold, H 47.40 cm, W 28.4 cm, D 35.7 cm. The British Museum (RN 1936,1118.43), London

and the stove-kettle we have before us here, the destination port of all these works were Europe, specifically Portugal, whose empire spread far and wide across extensive regions of Africa, Asia and Brazil in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Finally, in order to understand and shed light on some of the unique characteristics of this Long-Fenghuang Stove-kettle, we have also explored the dominions of the Spanish Empire in Peru, and the astonishing and extensive networks that connected China, the Viceroyalty of New Spain and that of Peru, through the trade route of the Galeon de Manila and the silver exports of these two viceroyalties to China. These commercial links with the Americas flaunted each and every type of restriction decreed by the Spanish administration, reaching unprecedented levels. But it was specifically in the Peruvian Viceroyalty where, through old Peruvian silverwork, we can demonstrate how Chinese designs exerted a profound influence on this extraordinary chapter in viceregal decorative arts.

We should highlight the most important detail with regard to the Chinese stove-kettle we are studying here and the known Peruvian models, which is that the latter were all executed in the 18th century, some hundred years after our Chinese piece, which goes to confirm its role as an original source. It is thus that this Long-Fenghuang Stove-kettle now bears unparalleled testimony to the convergence of three worlds: Asia, Europe, and the Americas. The Chinese Empire, the Portuguese trading base in that empire, and the Chinese contribution to the Peruvian Viceroyalty.

On comparing the stove-kettle we are studying here, one can infer that our model was clearly inspired by the Chinese wine vessels found in the ancient dynasties, with particular emphasis on those from the Ming and Qing Dynasties. This beverage, which was made of wine diluted with water, was drunk luke-warm, as it still is today. One of the more striking facts is that the teapots that became popular in the West actually originated from these wine vessels, given in China green tea is drunk in little bowls, where the herb is placed before hot water is poured on top of it and stirred, which is quite different from the way tea is drunk in the West.

In the major collections of Chinese art preserved in museums such as the Beijing Palace Museum, the National Palace Museum in Taiwan, the British Museum or the Victoria and Albert, we can observe pieces that are reminiscent of the one we are studying here. One fundamentally unique factor, however, is that the group of silver aquamaniles and stove-kettle (the surviving pieces number approximately ten) were manufactured in China in the same silver workshop, for the Portuguese market, at a time when in ancient China luxury items were manly manufactured in gold and exports were paid in silver. Historically, in China a higher rate was paid for silver than for gold, and exports were paid for in silver. This cycle culminated in the 18th century, with changes in China's export market, giving rise, at the end of the century, to so-called Chinese Export Silver, which was mainly aimed at the European and U.S. markets.

Having examined the characteristics of this series of Chinese silverwork, both the aquamaniles and the stove-kettle, which various experts consider the most prominent piece in the entire ensemble, we can conclude that this Long-Fenghuang Stove-kettle is a masterpiece of Chinese silverwork from the end of the Ming or start of the Qing Dynasties and, as far as our research has been able to confirm, the most important in terms of its characteristics and type. We can only hope that our research will serve to clear the way for future studies, and they could shed more light on this astonishing chapter in the history of the Decorative Arts in ancient China.

THE SERIES OF AQUAMANILES / STOVE-KETTLES

Seven examples mentioned by Luís Castelo Lopes in his 2008 essay on this serie of objects, some of which were transformed into "perfume-burners".[175] Nevertheless, as we previously indicated, the transformation from aquamanile into stove-kettle is not feasible. According to Hugo Miguel Crespo, there are nine or ten known examples.[176] Both of them claimed there's one of whice was eventually converted into a ewer by having its holes sealed. Even if additional components are known, it is still challenging to determine their whatabouts and whereabouts. According to the in-depth studies we have carried out, it undoubtedly different opinions agree that this our Long-Fenghuang Stove-kettle has retained its originality for more than 400 years, which is undoubtedly the most important of the series.

Female with bird in the mouth
44×47 cm, 4,746 g — Sold in auction 2000 in Lisbon — Exhibted Museo do Oriente 2014-2015 — Mario Roque Collection, Lisbon

Female with bird in the mouth
46.4×50.5 cm, 4,737 g — Left Portugal 1970s — USA private collection Northumberland — Sold by Peyton Wright

Female with birid in the mouth
53×55 cm, 5,875 g — Pedro Costa Collection

Male with bird in the mouth
Converted into aquamanile? — Collection Jose Maria Jorge, Lisbon

?

Left Portugal 1980's — Brazil

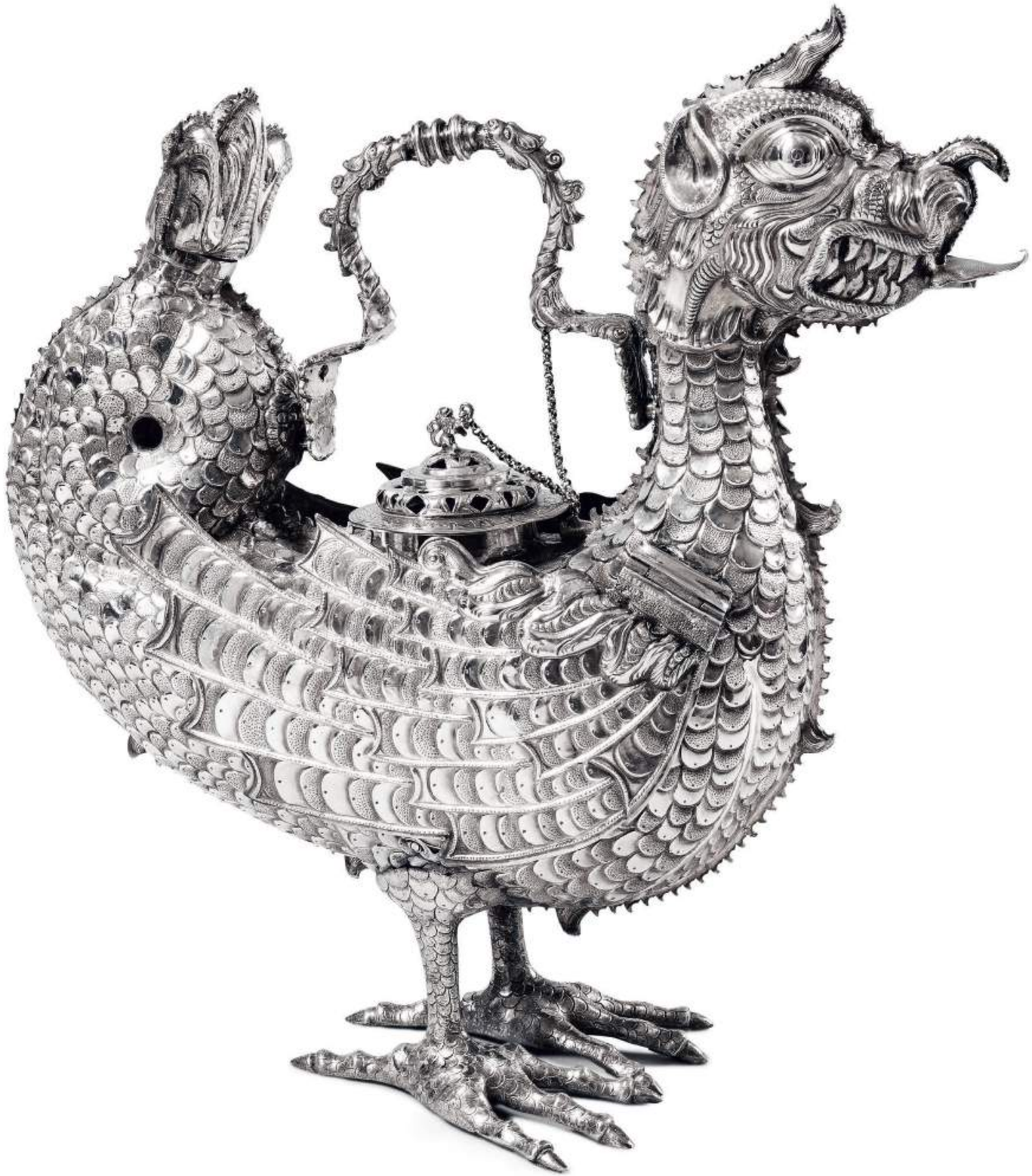
Male with bird in the mouth — Sold in Lisbon 1994 — Whereabouts unknown

Male with bird in the mouth
45×41 cm — Mayer Carl Von Rothschild (1820-1886) — Bequeathed to Musee de Renaissance in 1922 by his eldest Daugher Adele (1843-1922)

Male without bird in the mouth, created no later than 1866, copy of Conde de Bertiandos' 17th-century original — King Fernando II (1818-1885) — Sold in auction 1892

Male without bird in the mouth — Prince Felix Yusupov (1887-1967)

Male without bird in the mouth
47×44.5 cm, 5,058 g — Conde de Bertiandos...(Other Titles) Marquis Alegrete — Exhibited in Lisbon & Pairs 1954-1955, 1983 — Jaime Eguiguren Collection



Blessed and Beloved: The Enduring Appeal of Virgin Paintings

AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA

N.º Enrriq.z Fac.t
NON FECIT TALITER OMNI NATIONI

Mi señora de Cocharcas

LA PORTENTOSA Y MILAGROSA IMAGEN DE Nª Sª DEL SOCORRO A DEVOCI
ON DESO Humilde CAPellán MIGUEL DE SOCRino

MARIA
S. S. DE GUADALUPE

Assumption of the Virgin
Anonymous artist
Lima (Peru), second half of the 17th century
Oil on canvas
210×160 cm
Provenance: Private collection

The Virgin of Antigua
Anonymous artist
Peruvian Viceroyalty, 17th century
Oil on canvas
238.5×114.2 cm
Provenance: Enrique Larreta, Estancia Acelain, Argentina

Our Lady of Cocharcas
Anonymous artist
Cuzco (Peru), 1761
Inscription: "*Totapul cra es maria ed macula originalis no es ente Tugloria la mila grosa y mágen de nues senora de cocharcas año 1768*"
Oil on canvas
83×79 cm
Provenance: Guido and Nelly di Tella, Buenos Aires

Nicolás Enríquez de Vargas
Mexico, 1704-1790
Our Lady of Guadalupe
Oil on copper
85×67 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Madrid

Assumption of the Virgin
Anonymous artist
Cuzco (Peru), late 17th century
Oil on canvas
281×193.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Chile

The Child Mary Spinning
Anonymous artist
Cuzco (Peru), early 18th century
Oil on canvas
83×58.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Buenos Aires

Our Lady of Cocharcas
Anonymous artist
Cuzco (Peru), 18th Century
Oil on canvas
137×94.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Our Lady of the Forsaken of Lima
Anonymous artist
Cuzco (Peru), 18th century
Oil on canvas
164×102.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Our Lady of Socorro
Anonymous artist
Peru, 18th century
Oil on canvas
75.5×57.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Our Lady of the Rosary
Anonymous artist
Cuzco (Peru), 18th century
Oil on canvas
159×129.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Switzerland

Allegory of the Patronage of Our Lady of Guadalupe over New Spain
Anonymous artist
Mexico, 1794
Oil on canvas
84.5×62 cm
Provenance: Private collection, New York

Our Lady of Guadalupe of Potosí
Anonymous artist
Bolivia, 18th century
Polychromed carving in wood and oil on silver plates
145×93 cm
Provenance: Private collection

4

Assumption of the Virgin

Anonymous artist
Lima (Peru), second half of the 17th century
Oil on canvas
210×160 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Carlor Ponce Ponte

This painting is a depiction of the Virgin Mary, dressed in a flowing blue mantle and a robe secured at the waist by a sumptuous cincture. She is looking upwards, her arms stretched out towards a dove that is giving off rays of light, an unquestionable symbol of the Holy Spirit. She is surrounding by *putti* and cherubim who intermingle with the halos and clouds around her as they both accompany and raise her up. At the bottom right of the canvas we observe the Apostles, witnesses to the occurrence, in a landscape of plains and vegetation.

The iconic representation of the passing of Mary was based on a number of sources, ranging from oral tradition to the apocryphal texts of Joseph of Arimathea. It was also informed by the sermons of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, as well as by the doubts put forward by medieval theologians. These conceptual elements contributed to moulding the iconography relating to the Dormition and Assumption of the Virgin, from the Byzantine art of the 11th century through its subsequent dissemination throughout Europe from the 12th century on.

Fig. 1 Angelino Medoro, *Assumption or Virgin of the Angels*, c. 1600. Convento de las Descalzas, Lima

As such, the iconography that we currently associate with the Assumption of the Virgin became consolidated in the 15th century. This depiction portrays the Virgin being lifted to the celestial sphere by angels, while the astonished Apostles gather around the open tomb, thereby fusing two different moments in the same scene (Schenone, 2008, p. 238). The Spanish painter and essayist Francisco Pacheco (1564-1644), who had considerable influence in the painting world, and was a firm believer that art should faithfully represent the episodes from the holy scriptures, addressed this subject in his great opus *El arte de la pintura* (1649), providing guidelines as to how the Assumption of the Virgin should be depicted:

> *"With the moment of s blessed death approaching, God did not fail to heap new favours on his Mother. Her glorious passing was witnessed by the Apostles and disciples, miraculously brought to console her and to bless her, as stated by many Saints"*. (Pacheco, 1990 [1649], 655)

Pacheco was fastidious in his use of numerous learned sources when reaching his conclusions regarding the Virgin's correct portrayal, and was therefore critical of those images in which Mary was depicted as being "held onto" or "grabbed" (Pacheco, 1990, 657) by the angels, arguing that "her glorious body rose without the angels needing to help her, although they all accompanied, assisted and served her" (Pacheco, 1990, 657). These specifications were widely accepted, and were reflected in the religious paintings of the 17th and 18th centuries. However, the *Assumption* versions Pacheco referred to were questioned by theologians and historians, as they were based on apocryphal writings. For these critics, the funeral scene was an invention, so it is quite common to find depictions in which only the angels appear, assisting the Virgin, leaving out the Apostles. Despite this, depictions with the Apostles congregated around the open tomb continued to be commonplace (Sebastián, 1990, p. 139).

Meanwhile, the Marian cult certainly became popular in the Americas, as is reflected in the number of monuments built for her worship, as well as the decoration of their interiors. The liturgical calendars of most churches included the feast days of the Virgin, with the most important ones being the mysteries of the *Assumption* and the Immaculate Conception. As such, the early church of Lima (the modern-day cathedral), located in the "City of the Kings", was consecrated in honour of the Holy Virgin of the Assumption:

> *"The very day of the founding (of the City of Lima), the first stone of its holy building was laid, and the first piece of wood cut for the works was devoutly carried by Pizarro on his shoulders, as was recorded by the Scribe of the Church Council. And as a result of that act, it was recorded that the new temple was dedicated to the blessed Mother of God, in the mystery of her glorious Assumption to heaven"*. (Angulo, 1935, p. 3)

It is thus that, based on the Church Council records, we know that the advocation of the Virgin of the Assumption was not just one of the most revered of Marian titles, but that it also had the distinction of being one of the oldest in the viceregal capital.

Meanwhile, alien to the needs of the indigenous universe, painters in Lima focussed their visual devices and strategies on a continuation of Italian, Hispanic and Flemish influences that went back to the 16th century. This pictorial school, originally seen as backwards-looking, would ultimately forge its own identity from the second half of the 17th century onwards, thanks to local artists undertaking works in religious and iconic locations in the City of the Kings. Artworks bearing testimony to their efforts still survive to this day.[177]

In this context, while the viceregal capital was welcoming in exponents of Italian, Andalusian and Flemish painting, there was also a growing number of local artists, trained in their workshops, who started to undertake the large-scale, anonymous production of artworks that were by no means lacking in quality. Their anonymity may have been intended to avoid conflict with recognised masters who began to feel uncomfortable with the presence of local artists working without their supervision. In an attempt to put an end to this unfair competition, and establish rules to regulate artistic and commercial activities, some artists tried, though without great success, to set up guilds.[178]

With regard to the above, it is likely that our anonymous artist painted this marvellous depiction of the Assumption of the Virgin in the second half of the 17th century. In this masterfully-conceived painting, Mary is uplifted in a burst of glory, with the composition employing an innovative model, given the local context, by portraying the Virgin with both arms stretched out, thereby lending the scene an expression of apotheosis and victory over the earthly sphere. She is pictured wearing a sumptuous robe secured at the waist by a cincture made of gold and featuring emeralds as symbols (respectively) of purity and immortality. She also wears a splendid velvety mantle with deep folds, reminiscent of the successful Italian *maniera* introduced in the late 16th century. The luxury and ostentation of her attire did not go against her humble and austere life as the mother of Jesus, but was a symbolic way of exteriorising her spiritual richness and value.

Furthermore, this painting eschews the angels and the attributes of the Woman of the Apocalypse found in the *Assumption* or *Virgin of the Angels* by the Italian painter and benchmark figure for local artists, Angelino Medoro (1567-1631) (Fig. 1), active in Lima from 1599 to 1625. It is thought Medoro may have based his work on the engravings of Cornelis Cort (1574), with this formula being one of the most widespread among Italian masters (Fig. 2).

In addition, our artist reduced the role of the Apostles, presenting them through a hierarchical perspective in which they are seen as distant witnesses to the miraculous occurrence, in the earthly sphere, which is clearly differentiated from the celestial one. According to the written sources, this event took place on Mount Gethsemane, where Mary had indicated her tomb should be, as the essayist Pacheco reminds us, and depicted here by a simple landscape. In short, the way that the Virgin and the graceful *putti* eradiated by the Holy Spirit preside over this scene is undoubtedly the most outstanding aspect of this uncluttered and yet extraordinary composition. This model distanced itself from the archaic compositions of late Mannerism, adopting its own visual language and starting to shape the Lima School in the mid-17th century. Given the quality and skill our artist displays in this painting, we can have no doubt that he was a great Novohispanic master who we have yet to identify. It is extremely likely that the scene was based on prints of engravings (Fig 3),[179] but also that our unknown artist from Lima selected and decided on the protagonism of the glorious event.

Fig. 2 Cornelis Cort (ca. 1533 – ca. 1578), *The Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin,* 1574; print

Fig. 3 Philips Galle (attr.), after Taddeo Zuccaro, (1547-1612), *Assumption of the Virgin*. Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid

5

The Virgin of Antigua

Anonymous artist
Peruvian Viceroyalty, 17th century
Oil on canvas
238.5×114.2 cm
Provenance: Enrique Larreta, Estancia Acelain, Buenos Aires, Argentina

Sofia Fernández Lázaro

What we have before us here is a beautiful and monumental canvas (238.5×114.2 cm), which was expertly executed, depicting the Virgin of Antigua, a Marian advocation originating from Seville, and extremely popular and influential in the Americas. From an iconographic point of view, the Virginal representation is true to the Medieval model of the oriental Hodegetria in which, as tends to be the case with Byzantine icons, the Virgin is depicted gesturing towards the Infant Jesus as the way to salvation.

The figure of the Virgin is depicted face on and standing against a gold background. The Mother of God is dressed in a long golden robe that falls down, forming a series of vertical creases below the waist. It is profusely decorated with vegetal motifs covering the entire surface of the fabric, in a dazzling show of the skilful brocade effect common to the Cuzco school. On top of the robe, Mary wears a generous mantle which, flowing down from the top of her head, opens over her breast forming wide, geometric folds. Golden on the outside and a dark colour decorated with horizontal bands on the inside, the garment reaches down to her feet, covering her back and arms while revealing the snow-white purity of her face. Slightly tilted towards her left shoulder, the virginal face is depicted as full of sweetness. It is embellished with two large, almond-shaped eyes crowned by the finest of arched eyebrows, one of which leads down to the equally slender and stylised nose. The portrayal of the face culminates in the Virgin's mouth, which is small with fine red lips shut tightly. Her hands, with their elongated fingers, stand out, emerging as they do from the mantle's two large sleeve openings. In her right hand she holds a beautiful rose, which she offers to the Christ Child as if trying to construct, on her own, an entire still life. Meanwhile, she supports Jesus with her left hand, holding him just above her hip and next to her breast. The Infant Messiah is wearing a full-length dark-coloured robe with decorative vegetal brocade. He little hands stick out of the two sleeves, white and slender. His left hand holds a tiny bird, while with his right he is gesturing a benediction. His face shares the same aesthetic and design as that of his mother. His short, light brown hair contrasts with the pale, white skin, onto which two large, almond-shaped eyes have been drawn, and emphasizing the red tone of the lips, once again small and tightly closed.

In the upper section of the canvas, above the aureole that presides over Mary's head, and inside of which we can read the legend AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA, two winged angels are hovering, waiting to crown the Mother of God.

The work clearly draws closely and faithfully on the pictorial model of the Virgin of Antigua preserved in Seville Cathedral (Fig. 1), although it does boast a number of elements belonging to the style of the New Spanish artist, particularly in the execution of the brocade and the deep colours of the angels' clothes. Painted in green tones in the Seville version, as well as in most of the works it inspired, here our artist has chosen to paint them in a maroon colour, in harmony with the rose the Virgin is holding.

The Virgin of Antigua was the most venerated Marian image in 16th and 17th-century Seville,[180] and the physical execution of the Seville Cathedral work dates from as early as the first half of the 15th century, making it the oldest known version. This mural, from which we know all subsequent depictions of the Antigua drew inspiration, possesses an undeniable Italian influence, specifically the Siena School, and it constitutes one of the few examples of early Seville painting.[181]

Fig. 1 Anonymous artist, *The Virgin of Antigua*, 15th century; fresco. Seville Cathedral, Spain

From the second half of the 15th century on, depictions of the Virgin of Antigua proliferated, with the next century giving rise to a multitude of exact copies[182] travelling far beyond the city limits, also taking root in the Americas, as one might well expect given that the Seville of the time acted as a "port and gateway to the Indies".

The verses of Antonio de Solís provide a summary of the entire periegetic literary canon referring to the New World conquistadors' devotion to the Seville Virgin. According to the poet, sailors turned to Mary's intercession as a guarantee of success in their transcontinental endeavours, often specifically opting for the Virgin of Antigua[183] advocation, whose iconographic symbolism as a Hodegetria (person leading the way) was associated with the search for a guide in the intricate labyrinth of seas and rainforests. The naos were filled with paintings and sculptures bearing the image of the Virgin of Antigua, while sailors stuffed their trunks with prints and writers took the opportunity to embellish their books with the most impressive legends.

It was thus that this whole devotional maelstrom gave rise to an epic literature which claimed that "all the great figures from the conquest, Colombus, Hernán Cortés, Alonso de Ojeda, Pizarro, even Bartolomé de las Casas were involved in stories and legends regarding the Virgin of Antigua".[184] However, although the mythical nature of these events calls for prudence on our part, what it does seem possible to confirm is that "where devotion for this Holy Image became most widespread was in the new world of the Indies",[185] with it being possible to identify examples of the propagation of this foreign cult throughout the Caribbean, as well as the viceroyalties of Peru and New Granada, from Lima and Quito to Tunja.[186]

But beyond the role of the Virgin of Antigua as a sailor's guide, a further explanation for the widespread popularity and consolidation of the Marian title in the New World may be found in the symbolic (and miraculous) properties attributed to this image during the Spanish reconquest, with the Antigua being considered an infallible talisman that would guarantee success in the fight against the infidel. In other words, against the Islamic forces in the Spanish reconquest but, by extension, also against the heathen Indians in the conquest of the Americas.[187]

As such, this resignification of the Virgin of Antigua as a symbol of religious struggle and consolidation both justified and promoted a series of specific measures that drove its propagation, such as the permit exemption, granted by the Catholic Monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, to any institution, brotherhood or chapel that honoured said advocation. Thanks to this measure, which verged on the political, the image was designated protector of the earliest metropolitan holy sees within the evangelical process being promoted by the Spanish Crown in its overseas territories and, of course, this included Lima, the city where we believe this monumental portrait was executed.

As was the case with the rest of Latin America, the Seville version made its presence felt in the city of Lima which, as the capital of the Peruvian Viceroyalty, and aspiring to match the magnificence of the world's great cities, threw itself into the task of creating a sort of Sevillian character for itself, a mission for which art would prove a key tool. It was thus that the first half of the 16th century saw the importing of the painting of the Antigua that hangs on the walls of Lima's cathedral, as commissioned by the Archdeacon of Seville, Juan Federegui, in 1544 or 1545[188] (Fig. 2). It was as such that the chronicler Gil González Dávila noted that "the first Church in the empire of Peru, and the first mass said in it"[189] was in honour of the Virgin of Antigua, all fruit of the devotion of Balboa, Rodrigo de Bastidas and Bachiller Enciso, who promised they would found the church of Santa María de la Antigua del Darien[190] if they were victorious over the Indians. Which was how this Marian iconography began to take root, going on to last for many years, as demonstrated by the numerous canvases dedicated to the invocation during the 16th and 17th centuries, a period to which we date this magnificent canvas from the collection of the Argentinian writer Enrique Larreta (1873-1961), housed in his famous Andalusian-style villa, Acelain (Fig. 3).

The way the South American writer's collection came about was closely linked to the numerous trips he made to the old continent, particularly to Spain and Paris. This was a collection formed in the early decades of the 20th century, including artworks and other pieces from the 16th and 17th centuries, fundamentally of Spanish origin. However, it is worth highlighting one lesser-known facet, which ought to be considered among the particularities of the collection, namely Hispano-American works, with this painting of the Virgin of Antigua standing as one of its greatest treasures.

Fig. 2 Anonymous artist, *The Virgin of Antigua*, 16th century; fresco. Lima Cathedral, Peru

Fig. 3 Villa Acelain, Buenos Aires (Argentina)

6

Our Lady of Cocharcas

Anonymous artist
Cuzco (Peru), 1761
Inscription: "*Totapul cra es maria ed macula originalis no es ente Tugloria la mila grosa y mágen de nues senora de cocharcas año 1768*"
Oil on canvas
83×79 cm
Provenance: Guido and Nelly di Tella, Buenos Aires

Daniel Vifian López

Of extraordinary quality, the painting before us here provides an important element regarding the history of the cult of Our Lady of Cocharcas: "*Tota pul cra esmaria ed [sic] macula originalis no es ente[sic] Tugloria lamila grosa y magen de nues senora de cocharcas – año de 1761*", is the inscription we can read on the banner held aloft by two angels above the impressive "baldachin" of *Our Lady of Cocharcas*. The information included is substantial. On the one hand, the Latin prayer at the start relates to the Catholic novena dedicated to *Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception*, written in the fourth century, and which, written correctly, goes as follows: "You are all beautiful, Mary, / and the original stain [of sin] is not in you. You, the glory [of Jerusalem]". On the other hand, as well as providing us a definite dating (1761), it also gives us a name to identify the Virgin; simply "of Cocharcas". Iconographically speaking, it was not always thus, given the holy image was a copy of *Our Lady of the Candelaria of Copacabana*, made by the same artist as this one, Francisco Titu Yupanqui, and taken to Cocharcas after a pilgrimage lasting more than a year. We should note that a very similar painting of *Our Lady of Cocharcas*, with the same information, but distributed between an upper banner and lower cartouche, is housed at the Brooklyn Museum. This is dated later, to 1765 (Fig. 1). We will now go on to examine the iconographic genesis of this Marian advocation.

When, in 1598, Sebastián Martín Astowaraca, better known as "Quimichi", arrived in Cuzco with a copy of *Our Lady of Copacabana*, he "procured […] with all possible diligence, to found the confraternity of *Our Lady of the Purification in his town of Cocharcas*".[191] This quote comes from the *Relación de la imagen de Nuestra Señora que está en este pueblo de Cocharcas* (*Account of the image of Our Lady which is in this town of Cocharcas*), written Pedro Guillén de Mendoza in 1625, in which he identifies what we now know as *Our Lady of Cocharcas* as having originally been that of the *Purification*. This relates directly with *Our Lady of Copacabana* and her Marian advocation, which corresponds to that of the *Candelaria*, whose attributes are two turtledoves and a candle. Both the *Purification* and *Candelaria* share the same symbols. The difference lies in who is carrying the aforementioned candle; if, for example, it is an angel, then it's the former, if it's the Virgin herself, then the latter. This goes back to the Biblical tradition explained in the Gospel of St. Luke 2:22-24, where the Virgin Mary and Joseph had to take Christ to the temple to present an offering, while Mary would also be ritually purified: "and when the time came for the purification rites required by the Law of Moses, Joseph and Mary took him to Jerusalem to present him to the Lord […] and to offer a sacrifice in keeping with what is said in the Law of the Lord: a pair of doves or two young pigeons." Furthermore, in paintings, this scene is always accompanied by a lit candle carried by someone who is not the Virgin;[192] but, as mentioned above, when said object was held by Mary, as with *Our Lady of Copacabana*, then it automatically became a *Candelaria* image.

With regard to the wood carving of *Our Lady of Cocharcas*, in the 1930s Rubén Vargas Ugarte also described it as being a *Candelaria*:

"The image is of a standard size, and does not stand out in

Fig. 1 *Our Lady of Cocharcas,* Cuzco, 1765. Brooklyn Museum

the finesse of its features, but is devout and bears an unquestionable similarity with its twin from Copacabana. She is holding the Child in her left arm, and in the right we find the familiar candle and the castle, along with an olive branch, all in the finest silver threading in which, as is well known, the artists from Ayacucho were highly skilled. She boasts precious gems and a sumptuous crown. She is not placed on top of a crescent moon, as she was often pictured in old images, but the plinth on which she stands is all made of hammered silver".[193]

By "old images", Vargas Ugarte would have been referring to paintings from the 18th century, when the Virgin was pictured with a crescent moon at her feet, as is the case for the work being analysed here. This element was a direct loan from *Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception*, as the text on the aforementioned banner clearly demonstrates: "et macula originalis non es in te". That, in turn, was borrowed from the Woman of the Apocalypse, as described in the Bible: "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." (Revelations 12:1). But the most important contrast with the description given by Vargas Ugarte is the one that distinguishes the Virgin painted in the 18th century: instead of a candle, in her right hand she is holding a bunch of roses. It is not clear at what point *Our Lady of Cocharcas* broke away from the original cult of the *Candelaria* (which originated in Copacabana), but its current name is that of the town devoted to it, being known simply as Our Lady of Cocharcas, as described in the aforementioned banner being held aloft by two angels.

The pictorial model of Our Lady of Cocharcas never changes: in the middle we find a monumental, raised canopy or "baldachin" with the holy image and, to the sides, as a stage setting, two mountain paths: on the left, one that comes down from Ayacucho; and to the right, another one going up towards Cuzco. This composition has understandably been compared to those seen in depictions of the *Flight into Egypt* (Fig. 2), or the equally similar scene in the *Return from Egypt* painted in Cuzco and where, from a central axis with the main figures in the foreground, the painting divides into two deep opposing landscapes, like a sort of letter "U" going into the painting.[194] Returning to the painting of *Our Lady of Cocharcas*, one observes that, on the two mountain paths, a range of genre scenes are depicted based on popular and official stories. As such, both sides of the canvas are populated by pilgrims heading towards the church of Cocharcas. The road where the most typical scenes are taking place is the one on the left. The picturesque Andean *locus amoenus*, focussed on the upper register, is populated by country folk who are welcoming and regaling the travellers, contrasting with the more ominous scenes as we go further down into the valley. A series of little devils from the lower part of the composition are harassing the pilgrims, pulling their horses' feet, making them stumble and finally fall down the ravine.

Fig. 2 *The Flight into Egpyt,* Cuzco, mid-18th century. Brooklyn Museum

Two monks (and a mysterious female figure with banner, red face, as if flustered, who seems to exhale a favourable wind) are trying to stop them. It is highly likely that the scene picturing those who managed to steer their way along the narrow strait unhurt was linked to one (or more) of the Virgin's miracles.

Further down, an apparently temporary camp awaits the victors, only for those who face up to yet another danger: crossing the Pampas river. "The pilgrims are guided across the river in leather vessels by semi-naked indigenous locals";[195] but those who do not receive assistance seem to be struggling enormously to reach the other shore safe and sound. In this area of solid ground, we see a throng of authority figures who appear to be celebrating at the feet of the Virgin's altar. These festivities would have alluded to the inauguration of the church of Cocharcas, which took place on 20 August 1623, attended by the Archdeacon of Huamanga, Franscico de Ore, surrounded by his entourage and sheltered under a parasol as a symbol of the power of his position. Outside the group, a slave dressed in livery is announcing the start of the ceremony by blowing a trumpet. On the far right of all of this, in the corner, we observe a pleasant scene featuring a mill hidden in woodland, which lends a rustic feel, while a monkey is seen playing in front (the significance of this animal is a complete mystery).

The path then carries on, as windy as at the start, but this time in a far more pleasant manner. This atmosphere is briefly interrupted at the edge of town, where we see two figures engaged in a bloody sword fight. Once inside the settlement, trade is the first thing the traveller encounters, a reminder that shrines are not just spiritual, but are also of great economic interest due to the huge influx of people that visit each year. Their centre of activity is around the fountain, in the middle of the square. Finally, in the centre of town, the church of Cocharcas towers proudly over the rest of the buildings. And yet the edifice in its entirely had not been completed in 1623, with other architectural elements being added over the years. One particular landmark feature, which we can see in the painting, was the parapet wall and four annexed chapels at the corners, work on which started in 1650 and took more than a decade and a half to complete. Concluding the narrative, as always, a Jesuit priest standing at the door of the church, welcoming in the pilgrims and receiving offerings (in this case), or preaching the gospel in other paintings.

The complexity of this marvellous painting moves between the historical and the magical, the popular and viceregal officialdom; between the lavish clothing of *Our Lady of Cocharcas* (entirely covered in gilt *brocatería*, adorned with flowers at her feet and little bells above her) and the rural surroundings. The composition's diversity and contrasts, the pious passions and bloody conflicts that take place around the Virgin, work together to form an interrelated whole.

Our Lady of Cocharcas (detail), Jaime Eguiguren Collection

7

Nicolás Enríquez de Vargas
Mexico, 1704-1790

Our Lady of Guadalupe

Oil on copper
85×67 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Madrid

Sofía Fernández Lázaro

The execution of this pretty and delicate *Our Lady of Guadalupe* comes from the brush of the painter Nicolás Enríquez de Vargas (Fig. 1), active in New Spain from the first third of the 18th century, and an artist about whom we currently know little for certain.

Historical scholarship identified his birthplace as the Mexican city of Guadalajara, based on the existence of a considerable number of works by him in the region. However, over the years, and with advances in research, this hypothesis was ruled out, with his birthplace relocated to Mexico City, 1704.[196]

Fig. 1 Nicolás Enríquez de Vargas (Mexico, 1704–1790), *The Return of the Holy Family from Egypt*, 1773; oil on copper. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

In 2001 the researcher Mina Ramírez Montes published major new documentation regarding the artist's life, revealing his marriage to the young Spaniard Micaela Montes de Oca, formalised in 1725 and officiated by the "bachiller", or learned painter, Nicolás Rodríguez Juárez who, given the close personal connection, has been attributed the title of Enríquez's master. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that both artists were members of Mexico's painting Academy, as recorded by a manuscript dated 4 September 1722, undersigned by the cleric Nicolás Rodríguez Juárez, "master qualified in the art of painting, and current supervisor of the academy of that same art in this city"[197] and by his brother Juan, "also a master in said art and supervisor in the aforementioned academy", and undersigned by Nicolás Enríquez de Vargas.[198]

As such, Juárez's influence seems evident in this work by Enríquez; simply executed, avoiding ornamental devices such as floral bands or medallions with the four apparitions, and reminiscent of the *Guadalupe* signed by his master and preserved today in Madrid's Museo de América (Fig. 2).[199] The composition follows the model of this Marian iconography from the shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe, with its tradition as an *acheiropoieton*, meaning an image executed by divine (not human) hand. The MET exhibits a more elaborate Guadalupe with the four apparitions signed by Nicolás Enríquez de Vargas (Fig. 3).

The story of the apparitions goes back to the so-called "Miracle of the Roses", included in the *Nican Mopohua*, which tells of the apparition of Our Lady of Guadalupe to the Indian Juan Diego on 12 December 1531 on the hill of Tepeyac, located on the outskirts of Mexico City, and closely linked, during the pre-Hispanic period, to the cult of Tonantzin, the Aztec goddess of the earth. The legend tells that the Virgin asked Juan Diego to go to Bishop Fray Juan de Zumárraga and request him to build a temple in her honour, leaving her image imprinted on his *ayate* or cloak, bearing material witness to her revelation. The chroniclers of the period picked up on this process of religious acculturation, noting that by the mid-16th century the area had become a pilgrim destination for Indians who, according to the anthropological studies, replaced the cult of the goddess Tonantzin with that of the Christian Virgin, also becoming, over the years, a prominent location for the first "*criollos*".

We must therefore understand the triumph of Our Lady of Guadalupe as a result of the combination of the evangelising process, channelled through the major cult of the Immaculate Conception, which was extremely widespread in Baroque Spain, with the emergence of many other autochthonous Marian advocations that developed out of the context of cultural syncretism.[200] The aurora

of legend that surrounds the birth of the Guadalupe cult, added to the miraculous character it took on in the collective imagination over the years, not to mention the genuinely Novohispanic nature of its iconography, established Our Lady of Guadalupe as the most important Mexican figure of cultural and religious heritage, due to its local and ancestral roots and sufficient symbolic charge to raise up a burgeoning national conscience under its mantle.

As we were saying, it was thus that this original image, in which the Virgin embodied a miraculous episode, was and continues to be one of the most important Marian cults of the viceregal period and, by some distance, "the one that most successfully translated votive fervour into a greater number of possibilities for visual rhetoric".[201] It was also, of course, the one that Nicolás Enríquez chose to depict in this beautiful oil on copper painting, a support the Novohispanic artist favoured on numerous occasions.

Moving on to the composition of the work, which is simple yet enigmatic, the Virgin is depicted full-length and standing, facing the spectator and with her left knee slightly bent, as if wanting to get closer to the worshipper. Conceived of as an indigenous woman, and yet with clearly European features, she presents dark skin, executed in a range of greys also seen in her hands, which are clasped in front of her breast in an act of prayer, thereby imbuing the scene with serene mysticism. The face of the Mother of God, which has been expertly modelled, is tilted slightly towards her right shoulder, guiding the direction of a gaze which, emanating from two dark and almond-shaped eyes, belies a deep well of ancient wisdom and endless compassion. Concluding the composition of the face, we observe two very thin, raised eyebrows crowning the eye sockets, leading down to the nose, which is thin and elongated, in perfect harmony with her lips, which are small and tightly closed.

Under the crown that marks her out as the Queen of Heaven, she wears a dark blue mantle which, dotted with a host of gold stars, wraps the Virginal body in an eternal embrace, draping over her shoulders and cascading down over her feet, which it obscures. This celestial garment covers Mary's head, concealing her wavy, jet-black hair, while also opening up symmetrically on both sides of her body to reveal a pink decorative robe. The latter, which is fastened at the neck by a jewel, falls into folds that go beyond her feet, in a sort of dance guided by the movement of the fine and undulating gilt adornments that cover its entire surface.

Under the Virgin's feet we can make out a silver crescent moon, supporting the body of the Mother of God and raising her up into the firmament as the Queen of Heaven, reminding us that even on the darkest nights the light of faith shines like a beacon. Under the moon we observe a winged cherub who is gathering up the Virgin vestments while worshipping her, with a gaze that is both innocent and tender. As if about to rise up into the kingdom of heaven, the cherub's tricolored wings, which the latter seems to be on the verge of flapping, stand in contrast to the snow-white purity of heaven, consisting of a swathe of fluffy clouds inside which we can see the splendour of the Virgin, emulating sunrays.

The composition concludes with a blue-tinged phylactery located towards the bottom of the work reading *NON FECIT TALITER OMNI NATIONI.*[202] To its left we see a signature, which has survived intact to confirm authorship, with *Nº ENRIQ. FAC.* confirming that the Novohispanic artist Nicolás Enríquez was responsible for this beautiful painting, the *fattura* of which leads us to date it to the second half of the 18th century,[203] a period during which another copper work featuring Our Lady of Guadalupe, with similar characteristics, was also signed by Enríquez.

Fig. 2 Nicolás Rodríguez Juárez de Vargas (Mexico, 1704 – 1790), *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, 18th century; oil on copper. Museo de América, Madrid

Fig. 3 Nicolás Enríquez (Mexico, 1704–1790), *The Virgin of Guadalupe with the Four Apparitions*, 1773; oil on copper. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

8

Assumption of the Virgin

Anonymous artist
Cuzco (Peru), late 17th century
Oil on canvas
281×193.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Chile

Daniel Vifian López

The unveiling of a large-scale painting like that of the Assumption of the Virgin in a private collection in Chile, with its sure and solid drawing moulding the figures, and skilful understanding of space allowing for each body to be arranged in place while simultaneously suggesting the ascending movement of the scene (supported by the falling flowers, which seem to be left in the wake of the passing clouds) should always be taken as an opportunity (through the appropriate in-depth stylistic analyses) to rediscover the work of new talented artists who have fallen into oblivion. Based on a 1618 engraving, the dissemination of which is beyond question, we will now seek to highlight the formal and stylistic features of the painting we are addressing here, in order to facilitate future research with the support of responsible patronage.

Artistic output in the Americas was marked by constant references to European visual sources, such as those provided by engavings produced in the workshops of master painters. The 1952 publication of Martín Soria's article Una nota sobre pintura colonial y estampas europeas (A Note on Colonial Painting and European Prints)[204] initiated a process of searching and cross-checking engravings and paintings in the Americas.[205] Fifty years later, in 2005, the PESSCA project took up Soria's initiative once more, building a Latin American virtual catalogue of visual sources.[206] This tool has made it possible to link our Assumption of the Virgin painting with another eight works (to date) derived from the same engraving between the 17th and 18th centuries.

The genesis of this composition goes back to 1613-14, when Peter Paul Rubens (Siegen, 1577 – Antwerp, 1640) made a drawing of the Assumption of the Virgin (Fig. 1) which, along with another eleven, was intended to illustrate a Catholic book of prayers titled Breviarum Romanum. In the drawing we observe the apocryphal episode in which the Virgin Mary ascends to heaven following the resurrection of her body.[207] The image includes two different moments in the same scene: on the one hand, St. Thomas (standing still on the right-hand side, his arms raised in surprise) as spectator of the ascension; and secondly, the apostles' and three Marys' visit to the tomb where they are astonished to discover the absence of a corpse. The following is a loose and indirect translation from the Greek of the homilies to the birth and dormition of Mary as pronounced by John of Damascus (Syria, 675-749CE):

> *Surprised to find Mary's tomb empty, where all that remained were her funeral clothes, exuding ineffable perfumes, the apostles deduced that God had resuscitated her immaculate body, bestowing it with incorruptibility, and taken it to heaven without waiting for the universal resurrection of the Last Judgement.*[208]

In accordance with this description, one of the apostles is seen examining the funeral shrouds on top of the tomb, while one of the Marys is holding a bunch of flowers, a visual metaphor for the "ineffable perfumes".

In 1618 an engraving was made of the drawing by Theodoor Galle (Antwerp, 1571-1633) (Fig. 2), leading to its rapid dissemination and popularity. The earliest recorded case where this engraving was used as a source for artistic creation came from the palette of the painter Lázaro Pardo de Lago in 1632, still exhibiting certain Mannerist throw-backs in its style and figures.[209] Then, among

Fig. 1 Peter Paul Rubens (Flemish, 1577-1640), *Assumption of the Virgin*, 1613-1614; drawing

subsequent pictorial works there is an anonymous painting from Cuzco, currently preserved at the Convent of the Carmen de San José in Santiago de Chile (Fig. 3),[210] dating from the end of the 17th century (the convent first opened its doors in 1690),[211] which invites close comparison with the painting we are addressing in these pages, particularly in the use of flowers falling from the sky. That might help when it comes to positing a possible date for our painting.

If we move on first to a comparison between the painting we are studying here and its visual source, the Galle engraving, it is worth noting that although there are compositional elements that indicate it must surely have been based directly on said engraving (and not on an intermediary painting), our painting also features certain major additions. Starting with the similarities, the oil work kept the engraving's oblong vertical format, as well as the arrangement of the majority of the figures from the lower register and that of the cherubim who are lifting the Virgin Mary ad astra. From this point on, everything differs, to a great or lesser degree, in favour of the Cuzco painter's creativity. In the earthly sphere of the painting, for example, the individual depicted in profile between the two Marys has now disappeared, whereas another two faces have been added on the right-hand side. These minor modifications were a device aimed at balancing weights and gaps, in accordance with the painter's personal tastes, as was the fact that he also added the winged face of a cherub underneath the Virgin. More important was the replacement of the company of angels in the upper left-hand corner of the engraving with two simple winged cherubim in our painting. In short, the Cuzco work gained greater symmetry.

Despite all the above, the painting's greatest innovation is really the preciosista style so characteristic of the Cuzco school. Rather than a headdress, the Virgin boasts a glorious mane of hair falling down in long, loose ringlets, giving her an almost triangular appearance (almost as if she were a processional figure). Then, in the lower register, instead of the austere and classicist coffin of the engraving, what we find in the painting is not only an embellished and sumptuously decorated version (one might call it Baroque), but one that has also been enlarged (to the point of almost completely obscuring the Mary knelt before it). Finally, throughout the entire painting the cherubim are seen casting and scattering flowers as they rise, alluding to a sort of rhetorical over-abundance of Marian perfumes. The flowers fly, fall and come to rest both on the coffin and the ground. Alongside this hyperbolic device, we should mention that the Virgin has been decorated with a crown of twelve stars, the symbol of the Immaculate Conception.[212] But returning to the flowers scattered by the cherubim, what is interesting is that this is the same additional element our painting shares with the aforementioned anonymous work from the Convent of the Carmen de San José in Santiago de Chile, and that opens up a new set of questions.

If we take into account this parallel between our painting and the one from the Carmelite convent, with both being Chilean works originating from Cuzco, did either of them serve as inspiration for the other when it came to the floral innovation, or was there perhaps another painting that acted as a link between them? In one sense, this question lies at the heart of the two works' chronology, and that borders on speculation. If we limit ourselves to matters of style, the preciosista execution we mentioned earlier, which reaches almost planimetric levels in the funeral clothes, is not easy to date precisely, given there is no study that has set itself the task of untangling the birth and evolution of this underlying characteristic of Cuzco painting. However, in the interests of providing a tentative answer, one might posit a provisional hypothesis, given there does appear to have been a tenuous creative link between our painting and the one from the Carmelite convent. In the light of this apparent iconographic familiarity (but not a stylistic one, we must be quite clear about that), we might date the painting to the late 17th century.

Fig. 2 Theodoor Galle (1571–1633), *Assumption of the Virgin*, 1618; engraving

Fig. 3 Anonymous artist, *Assumption of the Virgin*, late 17th century, Cuzco; oil on canvas. Convent of the Carmen de San José, Santiago de Chile

9

The Child Mary Spinning

Anonymous artist
Cuzco (Peru), early 18th century
Oil on canvas
83×58.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Buenos Aires

Daniel Vifian López

Anyone who moves in the world of art collecting knows that, whether due to the ravages of time or on account of carelessness and lack of interest for material heritage, what was once common is now rare and sought after. Even less common is for a high-quality artwork such as the *Virgin Mary Spinning* we have before us here to have survived and been found in such good condition. With its skilled modelling, the Virgin presents a solid physique, still recognisable under her clothing.

We will now present a critique of its iconographic and stylistic values. Starting with the former, in the Book of James, or Protoevangelium, we read:

> "*Now the priests gathered together, and they said: 'Let us make a veil for the temple of the Lord'. And the priest said: 'Call unto me pure virgins of the tribe of David'. And the officers departed and sought and found seven virgins. And the priests called to mind the Child Mary, that she was of the tribe of David and was undefiled before God: and the officers went and fetched her.*"[213]

The narrative then continues, explaining that the Young Virgin was given the task of spinning purple and scarlet,[214] symbols of her nobility and purity. Based on this apocryphal gospel, along with other passages from the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew regarding the purity of her pious and domestic nature, and also based on the whiteness of her complexion, the Virgin Mary Spinning iconography came into being:

> "*Mary was the wonder of the whole village, for at just three years old she could already walk with such a firm pace, and spoke so perfectly and gave herself up so fervently to divine praises, that nobody would have taken her for a child, but rather for an older person. She was also so assiduous in prayer as if she was already thirty years old. Her face was as brilliant as the snow, so much so that it was hard to look at her. She also devoted herself tirelessly to her tasks with wool, and it is remarkable that what the older women were never able to achieve, she did so at the tenderest age.*"[215]

The Seville-based painter and disciple of Murillo, Juan Simón Gutiérrez (Medina Sidonia, 1634 – Seville, 1718) is attributed with being the artist who created the original painting depicting the *Virgin Mary Spinning* (Fig. 1), the pendant to the *Child of the Thorn* (by the same artist), with both works currently preserved in the Prado. The iconographic subject itself, however, seems to have had a broader context:

> "*[…] it is possible […] to suppose that it was created in the Zurbarán-influenced environment. In fact, Zurbarán executed several versions of the Young Virgin praying, sewing and embroidering, but not spinning. In spite of that, we continue to believe that [the aforementioned pair of works] was created in the mid-17th century in a Seville artistic ambience presided over by the master from Fuente de Cantos. What we know for sure is that these two subjects made up a pair that were incredibly popular with the city's clientele, as hundreds of them were painted.*"[216]

Holding her distaff, spindle and whorl, the Young Virgin is delicately spinning while sat on a friar's chair, her eyes directed at us, in a three-quarter pose. The affable nature of the subject, with its implied melancholy, constitutes a sensitive and empathic approach to a funereal theme: the premonitory death of her future son, Jesus. According to tradition, the temple veil that would be made with the thread she was spinning was the very same one that was torn asunder at the moment of Christ's death on the cross. And that explains why the pair of works mentioned above also includes the image of a child extracting a splinter from his hand, in allusion to the crucifixion. We should bear in mind that the widespread dissemination of the infant

Fig. 1 Juan Simón Gutiérrez (attr.), *Virgin Mary Spinning,* late 17th century; oil on canvas. Museo del Prado, Madrid

iconography of the Virgin Mary and Christ was part of the Counter-Reformation campaigns promoted following the Council of Trent:

> "*According to Church guidance, depictions of the Young Virgin always had to transmit the premonition that she would be the future Mother of God, and that she would undergo the suffering of his future Passion and death, aspects also alluded to when depicting the Christ Child.*"[217]

We need hardly mention that the Americas were far from left behind in this fervour, which lasted well into the 18th century, producing a further body of works following the same model. Given we do not know of any engraving portraying this subject, one of the numerous Spanish paintings must have arrived in the New World at an early stage, thereby serving as source material. Having been executed towards the end of the 17th or beginning of the 18th century, the *Virgin Mary Spinning* we have before us here provides a clear picture of the formative moment of the industry Cuzco's artistic environment was about to become, through the creation of series of paintings, almost identical to each other, but of varying quality levels.[218]

It was thus that, in the face of inter-regional demand, Cuzco painting transposed the original model of the *Virgin Mary Spinning* into a local format. A few words should be dedicated to the clothes. These are faithful to the original, with few variations: a white robe and skirt over a red bodice with a brown mantle on top. The brooch fastening the mantle matches the one securing her hairband. Even the little lock of hair that has worked its way loose of the hairband, falling over her forehead, reflects the Seville painting.[219] Saying all of that, in our work the fabrics have been embellished with decorative borders using the gilt brocade of the Cuzco school. Furthermore, in our version the winged cherubim faces have been replaced by an oval frame of varying floral garlands. To mention just a few examples, the Pedro de Osma Museum possesses one work following the same model, as does the Isaac Fernández Blanco Museum of Hispano-American Art in Buenos Aires (Fig. 2).

It is worth wondering what the intended destination of so many versions of the same subject was. Were they just paintings for monastic cells, or were they mostly aimed at private homes belonging to the lay community? Even harder to ascertain, but just as important, was the *Virgin Mary Spinning* mostly commissioned and purchased as a single work, or as the pendant of the *Child of the Thorn*? Delving even deeper into the possible reason behind the sudden popularity attained by this iconographic model, from a socio-cultural point of view, the sweetness of the young girl, the floral decoration, all contrasting with the intrinsically ominous message, may have been a sign of a gradual change in attitudes towards death: less dramatic but more emotive. In Spain, at least, the iconographic model did not last beyond the first quarter of the 18th century,[220] whereas in the Americas it endured a few decades longer. It was a passing trend within the Latin American Baroque, but one which, seen in a broader context, may have been yet another symptom of the shift towards a less infernal vision of death.

Fig. 2 *Virgin Mary Spinning*, Cuzco (Peru), late 17th century; oil on canvas. Museo Isaac Fernandez Blanco, Buenos Aires

The Child Mary Spinning (detail), Jaime Eguiguren Collection

10

Our Lady of Cocharcas

Anonymous artist
Cuzco (Peru), 18th Century
Oil on canvas
137×94.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Daniel Vifian López

The paintings of *Our Lady of Cocharcas* are closely linked to the genesis of this Marian cult. Accused of presenting a certain Medievalism in their artistic conception, almost like a historical aftertaste, their composition is really the conscious and original product of the two-fold value of a devotional image: although the centre is occupied by a colossal Virginal figure (what is known as *hierarchical perspective* or *proportion*), we observe that said figure only exists in its function as the generator of the little scenes that take place around the edges; that is to say, the pilgrims and their anecdotal nature. The Virgin creates them, and vice versa. It is as such that every one of the *Our Lady of Cocharcas* paintings known today includes scenes which, though similar to each other, ultimately prove different in their nuances and narrative details, to the degree that it is there where the real interest of these works lies. The painting before us here is no exception, as it introduces into the visual narrative a figure of great importance for this Virgin's conception; none other than Sebastián Quimichi (Fig. 1). It is now time for us to start at the beginning.

Fig. 1 *Our Lady of Cocharcas*, detail with Sebastián Quimichi on the summit

According to the *Relación de la imagen de Nuestra Señora que está en este pueblo de Cocharcas*" (*An Account of the Image of Our Lady which is in this town of Cocharcas*), written by Pedro Guillén de Mendoza, in 1598 a copy of *Our Lady of Copacabana* arrived in Cocharcas, now a town in the Apurímac region, but which then fell under the jurisdiction of Huamanga, Ayacucho. The image was transported on a long journey lasting more than a year from the town of Copacabana by Sebastián Quimichi, a descendent of the indigenous chief Chuquisullca. A summarised version of the story leading up to this goes as follows: Quimichi, having been injured in a game, ended up with his left wrist almost useless after it was pierced by a shard of agave wood. To ease the pain, he undertook a pilgrimage to the shrine of Copacabana, recently founded in 1583; and it was on the way that he started his miraculous recovery. In thanks, he decided to take a copy of the Virgin to his village in Cocharcas. The statue he took was carved by the same artist who had executed the much-revered Copacabana image, a certain Francisco Titu Yupanqui. This copy had originally been made for the provinces of Tucumán, but then it turned out that the customer who had commissioned it, the cleric Hernando Camargo, had died. Returning to Quimichi, being a youth of barely 23, his journey was both tortuous and gratifying. He received praise all along the way, but was also imprisoned by the Augustinians on one occasion, suspected of idolatry. Having overcome this obstacle, he obtained a licence from the bishopric to found the confraternity of Our Lady of the Purification (original name of the Marian title) in the town of Cocharcas.[221]

Once the Virginal image had been installed in his town, the cult was accepted and spread quickly. With an intense entourage of pilgrims visiting every year, even to this day, it is one of the artistic representations most often used to illustrate the complex processes of cultural syncretism:

> *Andean belief systems were not completely subsumed into the Catholic faith, and conversely, Catholicism as practiced by the broader colonial population did not take on purely Andean patterns. Instead, the two belief systems were each forced to incorporate the outside influences of the other, resulting in a new colonial Andean religious system.*[222]

The years passed and, by the 18th century, the now-titled *Our Lady of Cocharcas* was picked up by the new pictorial taste for truly representational effigies; in other words, for altar images of great religious and social significance. Its growing popularity, and the desire to have a portrait of the Virgin in both private and ecclesiastical spaces, meant that paintings of *Our Lady of Cocharcas* took on a particular visual composition and arrangement that set them apart from those of other Marian advocations. The model is easy to recognise; it consists of a triangular, sumptuously-dressed and crowned Virgin with the Infant Jesus held in her left arm, and a bunch of roses in her right, occupying the centre of the painting and standing majestically under a giant raised canopy (known as a baldachin) of red brocade, and with little silver bells hanging from the top, all meticulously arranged and decorated with flowers at her feet. She is also pictured in the middle of an open valley alongside the river Pampas, with little background figures going about their business, in almost cinematic motion, making up a series of genre scenes. The Virgin is most certainly, and quite clearly, the star of the show, but the subplot behind her is the pilgrimage which, despite being a European practice, also featured certain local elements, ultimately creating a whole new social and spiritual dynamic. In other words:

> "*Art in the colonial period was not merely an imitation or perpetuation of European or pre-Columbian Andean prototypes or forms, but an empowered visual transculturation reflecting the reality of colonial Peru. The paintings of Our Lady of Cocharcas endorsed the colonial Andean practice of pilgrimage as undertaken by a community united around the common belief in the power of place, lineage, history, and shared rituals*".[223]

The scenes pictured on the margins are appropriately located in the real geography of the church of Cocharcas. Behind the Virgin, "a landscape opens up, framed by the sides of the mountains, the one on the left with the path coming down from Ayacucho, and which leads to Cuzco if you climb up the opposite mountain".[224] Given Western culture compels us to read from left to right, we have to start with the first group of figures on the mountain on that side. One of the most interesting and important features of this painting is that, of the first figures to appear in the top left corner, we can identify one with a rectangular wooden package on his back, wearing a pilgrim's hat and holding a walking stick. This is Sebastián Martín Astowaraca, better known by his pseudonym Quimichi, which means *bearer* or *carrier* in Quechua. This is not his first appearance in a painting. In the Brooklyn Museum he can be observed in the predella of a painting of *Our Lady of Cocharcas*, next to the ecclesiastic authorities (Fig. 2). But, and returning to the iconographic particularities of our painting, in this case Quimichi is being guided and helped by an angel. This angel may have a dual role, of a teleological nature; that of highlighting that it was divine providence that led the work to the shrine and, secondly, combined with that, the role of ensuring Quimichi does not fall off the mountainside as other pilgrims around him on the dangerous path are seen to do.

The scenes taking place on the left-hand side are typical enough; pilgrims arriving at villages on the way, crossing arable land and pastures, and as they progress we see them welcomed effusively by the residents. One picturesque scene features a waterfall, sweetening the itinerary, along with birdsong, represented by one large bird. Some pilgrims have put up tents in which they shelter overnight from inclement weather, while others finally manage to reach the banks of the river Pampas. Typically, here we would see a number of figures trying to cross the river with the aid of semi-naked indigenous locals, but in this case we move straight on to the entourage meeting the church authorities and two slaves with trumpets.

This entire central scene corresponds to 1623, the year of the inauguration (with bells ringing out and trumpets blaring) of the first stage in the building of the church of Cocharcas, led by Father Fernando de Fonseca, the priest there. However, the inauguration took place on 20 August in the presence of the Archdeacon of Huamanga, Francisco de Ore,[225] the main figure in the ecclesiastical group in the painting. It is also surprising, on the right of this celebratory group, to find Sebastián Quimichi once again, now kneeling down exhausted and leaning on a rock, but with his guardian angel pulling him by the hand, urging him on to complete his journey. We need hardly point out that none of this is suggested in the account by Pedro Guillén de Mendoza: with this painting, history has been transformed into Catholic mythography.

Finally, on the right-hand side we observe a whole scene in which the church of Cocharcas is prominently featured. At the door, a priest goes out to welcome the faithful and to spread the teachings of the Gospels.

It is thus that this painting provides various stories from the same account, with varying dates and historical processes, all arranged within relative synchrony. It starts with Sebastián Quimichi, in about 1598, carrying the image of Our Lady of Cocharcas, and that story is then intertwined with various pilgrimage scenes as we move through the landscape, which take place over centuries and are doubtless linked to miracles attributed to the Virgin, as if this were some kind of picturesque narrative. Finally, we find Quimichi juxtaposed with a new story, this one from 1623, relating to the church's inauguration ceremonies. This last scene culminates and concludes with the church now built.

Fig. 2 *Our Lady of Cocharcas on the Altar*, Arequipa School, 18th century. Brooklyn Museum, New York

Detail of Sebastián Quimichi along with the ecclesiastic authorities

11

Our Lady of the Forsaken of Lima

Anonymous artist
Cuzco (Peru), 18th century
Oil on canvas
164×102.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Daniel Vifian López

In addition to being a work of great quality, almost certainly originating from Cuzco, the painting we are examining here is an interesting and highly-important visual document from the 18th century. After the disappearance of the original image of Our Lady of the Forsaken of Lima in the early 20th century, following the demolition of its titular church, all that remained was the engraving published by Héctor Schenone in the volume devoted to the Virgin Mary in his extensive opus *Iconografía del arte colonial* (Fig. 1). To understand the painting being analysed, we will need to go back over the complete history of the cult, from its genesis in Valencia, through its expansion to Peru and the conception of the Lima image, right up to its sad loss.

Fig. 1 *Our Lady of the Forsaken of Lima,* anonymous artist, 18th century; engraving

In about 1380, ten pious citizens of Valencia decided to form a confraternity known as the Mount of Piety, the purpose of which was to care for defenceless children. The initiative was rewarded by King Martin of Aragon, who took the confraternity under his protection. Later, in 1400, it adopted the Virgin Mary as its patron saint, which meant they needed a sculpture at which they could worship. Three artists were hired, who requested they be left uninterrupted for three days while they executed the work. On the fourth day:

"Impatient now with curiosity [...] they decided to force the door, and there they found: oh what a marvel! A beautiful image of Mary, with such a lovely face, and such exquisite symmetry throughout, that one would have said the artists were not men but angels, and their skills had not been learnt on earth but in Heaven.[226]

The arrival of this Marian cult in Peru was not immediate, but we have records of it from the early 17th century. The history of the Our Lady of the Forsaken of Lima devotion is known largely thanks to Father Rubén Vargas Ugarte, who undertook extensive research, particularly with regard to this Marian advocation, for the second edition of his book *Historia del culto de María en Iberoamérica y de sus imágenes y santuarios más celebrados*, published in 1947. The history goes back to 1629, when the Valencia-born Bartolomé Calafe asked permission to establish a chapel dedicated to Our Lady of the Forsaken in the little square (*plazuela*) behind Lima's Governmental Palace, just at the start of the Stone Bridge that still connects with the Rímac district (Fig. 2). Following his death, and that of his wife, their daughters granted the rights to the advocation to the Society of Jesus, donating the site and little chapel to it in 1657. By the end of 1658, the order had taken possession of both, under Father Francisco del Castillo. The first image of Our Lady of the Forsaken was a canvas, but:

> *"Not two years later [in 1660], when Father Castillo was visiting Úrsula [one of Calafe's daughters], he saw an image of the Virgin of the Pillar in her oratory that seemed just right for making one of Our Lady of the Forsaken. He asked Úrsula for it and, with her consent, immediately took it to a sculptor called Tomás de la Parra, so that he could adapt it to its new advocation".*[227]

As tends to be the case with artists from this period, there is little surviving information on the master sculptor Tomás de la Parra y Peralta, other than that a few years earlier, in 1656, he and Pedro Noguera had participated in valuing an Immaculate Conception bust by Bernardo de Robles, executed for the altarpiece of the titular confraternity at Lima Cathedral.[228] However, and returning to the above quote, the person providing the account of Parra's role in adapting and executing the *Our Lady of the Forsaken*, along with all the details regarding the conception of the Marian image, its transportation and installation on the altar, was none other than Francisco del Castillo, in his autobiography titled *Vida admirable y prodigiosas virtudes del venerable, y apóstol padre Francisco del Castillo de la Compañía de Jesús, natural de Lima, Ciudad de los Reyes en la Provincia del Perú* (*Admirable Life and Prodigious Virtues of the Venerable and Apostolic Father Francisco del Castillo, of the Society of Jesus, native of Lima, City of the Kings in the Province of Peru*), which served as one of the main sources of Vargas Ugarte's study. The text describes the image as follows:

> *"So well finished, and perfect, that it might, without exaggeration, rival the original in Valencia, if the latter were not born of the ingenuity and skill of angels, whereas this is the fruit of the study of art, and the ingenuity of the love of men. The Virgin holds the Infant Jesus in her left hand, and like a sceptre, the right holds a bunch of madonna lilies, […]. On both sides, as if drawing on the beauty of her divine face, two innocent children, their hands held towards her, their knees bent, find certain protection in her shadow".*[229]

The image was installed "on a sumptuous tabernacle with great solemnity and only displayed on Saturday during the sung mass, and all this has been a great part of this particular devotion".[230] However, the little chapel soon proved insufficient for the growing cult the image was generating, so in 1669 the Viceroy-Count of Lemos ordered the laying of the first stone of a new church with a greater capacity for worshippers. The building works advanced at great pace.

For the duration of the works, supervised by Brother Diego de la Maza, the image was loaned to the Palace chapel and the Vicereine, Ana de Borja, as a good Valencian, took great pains to honour and worship it. With everything ready for the opening of the new church, which measured 44 yards [*varas*] long and 21 wide, the inauguration date was set for 2 February 1672.[231]

Said inauguration was celebrated with great pomp and circumstance and served as an opportunity to move the image of Our Lady of the Forsaken to its titular altar. And there it remained until 1926, when President Augusto B. Leguía commissioned the French architect Claude Sahut to rebuild the Governmental Palace, which had recently burnt down, resulting (after various years of interrupted works due to changing political circumstances) in the demolition of the church of the Forsaken to make way for an extension to said palace and the subsequent building of an inner garden. The image of the Virgin, as mentioned at the outset, then disappeared.

Francisco del Castillo's laudatory description of the sculpture of *Our Lady of the Forsaken*, as quoted above, tallies with the anonymous

Fig. 2 *Plazuela de los Desamparados*, 20th century; photograph. Archive of the Universidad Nacional Católica of Peru

Our Lady of the Forsaken of Lima (detail of *brocateado*). Jaime Eguiguren Collection

engraving (Fig. 1) and, evidently, with the painting we are studying here. It is likely our work took the engraving as its creative model. The transposition of the image from engraving to canvas lent the faces of both the Virgin and the Infant Jesus a greater sweetness. With regard to their relative chronologies, both works date from the 18th century, possibly the second half, especially if one takes into account the engraving's lavish rocaille decoration, typical of the Rococo period.[232] Moving on to the depiction of *Our Lady of the Forsaken*, in both the engraving and the painting, what we observe is a Virgin standing majestically erect, yet not expressionless but, rather, affable in her interaction with the Infant Jesus. Both are duly crowned and adorned with blazing halos (emphatically so in the engraving, merely suggested in the painting), and dressed in sumptuous clothing, where abundant gilt "brocatería" brocade has been applied to the oil of the painting. The Virgin's mantle is immaculately white, echoing the madonna lilies she holds in her right hand, symbolising her purity. The Infant Jesus, meanwhile, is holding the orb as a sign of his spiritual dominion over the world: he will soon be the *Salvator Mundi*. Finally, completing the composition's triangular formation, as well as providing a nod to the origins of the devotion, we find two "forsaken" children at the feet of the Virgin, one praying to her and the other imploring, in gratitude for her protection and intercession. All of this largely follows the model provided by the original Valencian image, other than the introduction of the clouds over which the Virgin is seen to rise; clouds held aloft in this figurative Heaven by the winged heads of cherubim.

To conclude, given this painting is an 18th-century representation of how the image was displayed from 1660 onwards, it is important to take into account the surroundings where it would have been viewed. The Virgin appears in front of a niche of what one can only assume was the original altarpiece in the Church of the Forsaken. She is flanked on both sides by Solomonic columns with composite capitals, typical of the 18th century, serving to frame the Virgin and a reminder of the Baroque conception of Lima's Marian image. Of the minor differences one can identify between the engraving and the painting, it is worth highlighting the elements that crown the columns: the former employs flaming torches, whereas the latter presents vases with flowers, an idiosyncratic nod towards its possible origins in Cuzco. In short, the painting is of great interest in shedding light on how the original depiction of the long-lost sculpture of *Our Lady of the Forsaken* might have been.

12

Our Lady of Socorro

Anonymous artist
Peru, 18th century
Oil on canvas
75.5×57.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Daniel Vifian López

Originally, this canvas included wooden rods affixed to both the top and bottom edges, as well as a box attached to one of the rods. This was a painting designed to be rolled up and stored in said box, ready to be unrolled any time Our Lady of Socorro was being worshipped, which was quite uncommon, or during Bible readings at mass. This painting was therefore easy to carry, and suitable for taking on pilgrimage. As such, given its itinerant use, the painting ran the constant risk of being damaged in transit. It now stands as a rich, complex work, with rare iconography, personally commissioned by an unidentified chaplain. This is a preliminary analysis of the painting, which requires more detailed research, and opens up a window into a Marian advocation that is yet to be studied in depth. We will now try to look at the symbols included in the canvas in as much detail as possible, starting with:

> *La portentosa y milagrosa imagen de n[uestra] s[eñora] del socorro a dev[oci]on de so homilde capellan miguel de sa[…]*
> ZN

This inscription, which is found at the bottom, is as enigmatic as the painting itself. As mentioned earlier, we do not know who this chaplain (Capellán Miguel) was, or in which diocese he served; the text after the name is illegible, making it unclear whether it was his family name or his place of origin. There are certain anchor points, however, that can help us to partially understand the iconography of the painting he commissioned. Its distant reference is the well-known story of the Marian advocation of Our Lady of Perpetual Help, or Perpetuo Socorro, which goes back to the 15th century. It takes the form of a Byzantine icon of Our Lady and Child looking at the instruments of the Passion, and which got its name because the Virgin saved the merchant carrying the icon from Crete to Rome in a storm. In the same vein, i.e., that of protecting seamen, Father Rubén Vargas Ugarte, in his great 1930 compilation of Marian advocations, noted that the worshipping of an image of Our Lady of Socorro brought by Spanish Franciscan friars began in the port of Huanchaco (La Libertad) in the 17th century, said to grant seamen miracles. Similarly, this Marian cult also started early in the district of Malambo (modern-day Rimac) in Lima, with a church established to that end in 1711. In regard to the image in Lima, Vargas Ugarte noted in 1931 that:

> *Unfortunately, worship waned and, over time, this led to the church being closed to worshippers on account of its state of abandonment. A number of unprincipled persons made the most of this circumstance and, taking advantage of the lack of surveillance from the church authorities, entered the dilapidated shrine and made off with everything of value.*[233]

That was how the Lima altarpiece was lost; however, at some point the cult of Our Lady of Socorro of Huanchaco (now known as Our Lady of the Candelaria of Socorro) spread to Huamachuco (La Libertad),[234] in an image where both the Virgin and the Child in her arms are pictured wearing pilgrimage hats as attributes, something we can also see in our painting. Triangular in composition, the Virgin is arranged over a platform covered in a fine cloth with floral motifs, as if it was a processional image, further elevated with great solemnity by the curtains opened in expectation of her arrival. She is sitting on what appears to be a friar's chair, with a sumptuous cushion at her feet, and is sublimely dressed in a travel cloak, with opulent lace cuffs, detailed golden brocade and multiple decorative flowers. The Infant Jesus, meanwhile, is dressed in the stately fashion of the 18th century, with tight knee-length trousers, high breeches, and a waistcoat under his jacket that is narrow but widens below the hip. With all these characteristics, and the fact that this was a portable painting, we ought to highlight its striking resemblance with the Pilgrim Virgin of Quito (Figs. 1 & 2),[235] of which "in the early 18th century they decided to make and effigy in order to

Fig. 1 *Our Lady of Mercy,* called *"The Pilgrim"*, Peru, 1730's; oil on canvas. Blanton Museum of Art, Texas

collect alms […] and, in the company of the preacher Juan Arroyo and the lay brother Pedro Carrillo, started to make their way through the Viceroyalty of Peru for almost three decades."[236]

The Virgin from our painting is flanked by four kneeling saints who are facing her in an act of devotion which, overall, reflect the image's affinity (or that of the chaplain) with the Franciscan order. Moving from left to right, the first to appear is St. Francis of Assisi, portrayed here in his humblest iconographic version, wearing a habit and with a cross on his shoulder, as his life was considered to be that of an alter Christus. He is followed by St. Joseph, with madonna lilies:

As regards the attributes that distinguish him, he is associated with a flowering staff or a bunch of madonna lilies and the tools of his craft. The first of these alludes to the episode in the temple, when they had to choose Mary's future husband. Some authors interpret this as a sign of his chastity, which was transformed into the madonna lilies that have endured until today.[237]

On the other side, to the right, next to the Virgin we find St. Francis Xavier, wearing a black habit with white surplice and also madonna lilies, once again a symbol of purity. In similar fashion, on the far right we find St. Anthony of Padua in a Franciscan habit, with a staff of madonna lilies. The overabundance of this attribute suggests that its symbolism alludes more to the Virgin than to the saints. In any case, it should be noted that both St. Joseph and St. Francis Xavier are pilgrim saints. The former because of his journey to Egypt and the latter due to his numerous expeditions to the Asian continent, all of which builds on the idea of an image to be carried from town to town.

The painting's iconography is even richer in the lower section. The martyr St. Barbara is pictured to the left with a palm frond in one hand and a tower with three windows in flames in the other (in some Cuzco paintings these embrasures might even house the Holy Trinity).[238] According to the original story told by Jacobus de Voragine in the Golden Legend, the saint had been locked up in a tower by her father, and it was she who ordered a third window to be opened in the tower since "three are the lights that give clarity to this world".[239] This further enraged her pagan father and he finally killed her. On the right side of the painting, diametrically opposite St. Barbara, we find St. Thomas of Villanova, an Augustine friar, presented in pontifical garments. Originally from a wealthy family, his attribute is a bag of money to hand out alms to the poor, which alludes to his desire to relinquish all material possessions.

Any connection there may be between these two saints and Our Lady of Socorro may be clearer in the case of St. Thomas of Villanova, who gave succour (or Socorro) to those in need. The link to St. Barbara, however, isn't as clear. Perhaps it was her defence of the Holy Trinity, or perhaps her role as "special protector against storms and lightning, particularly the one that killed her cruel father",[240] which could link her to the Virgin of our painting, the protector of seamen. This is an issue that may become clearer if there are any future revelations regarding the identity of the chaplain Miguel.

At the centre of this space, between the saints, there is a group of seven naked souls (a cabbalistic number) burning in the fires of Purgatory. They are praying to the Virgin for their salvation. We should emphasize the fact that, in themselves, this advocation of Our Lady of Socorro and that of the aforementioned Pilgrim Virgin of Quito are quite similar to the advocation of Our Lady of Mercy, above all in their protective nature. In fact, the Pilgrim Virgin of Quito is actually "a variation on Our Lady of Mercy".[241] As such, the extent of Our Lady of Socorro's protection was considerable, going beyond death, and it may also have been a multi-faceted image, also used for "demandas de ánimas" (a means to shorten loved ones' time in purgatory through prayer or alms). Furthermore, it would have been ideal for comforting travellers and to serve as a traditional means of collecting alms (used since Medieval times). Finally, we see that the last figures on the left and right of the group of naked souls are a bishop and a king. This would appear to insert this fiery little scene into the category of vanitas vanitatum, by which all is empty and fleeting in the face of death, the great equalizer. This subject was part of a narrative of death as something that is universal across all social classes but which, for the purposes of this pilgrim painting, may have sat rather better, and created less tensions, in a rural setting.

Fig. 2 *Our Lady of Mercy called the Pilgrim of Quito entering Cuzco*, anonymous, Cuzco, ca. 1730–35; oil on canvas. Carl & Marilynn Thoma Foundation, Santa Fe (USA)

Our Lady of Socorro (detail), Jaime Eguiguren Collection

13

Our Lady of the Rosary

Anonymous artist
Cuzco (Peru), 18th century
Oil on canvas
129.5×159 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Switzerland

Daniel Vifian López

The wide-ranging territories of the South American viceroyalties generated some curious and original hybrid iconographies in their undeniable cultural diversity. For instance, the enormous number of virgins populating the Americas gave rise to the extensive volume by Rubén Vargas Ugarte, published as early as 1931 (and with various reprints), the *Historia del culto de María en Hispanoamérica y de sus imágenes y santuarios más celebrados* (*The History of the Cult of Mary in Hispano-America, and that of its most celebrated Images and Sanctuaries*). Thanks to works such as this, which acted as dictionaries, we can clearly observe how the multiple Marian advocations (or devotions) were not water-tight compartments. The painting we have before us here is a Virgin in a pilgrim's hat, with a bunch of lilies in one hand which, in a departure from the norm, is also holding a rosary in an intimate and playful gesture shared with the Infant Jesus. Héctor Schenone, in the volume devoted to Mary from his monumental opus *Iconografía del arte colonial (Iconography of Colonial Art)*, called this relatively uncommon Marian advocation "an exceptional case[:] a loan from Our Lady of Mercy, or the Pilgrim of Quito, is Our Lady of the Rosary, wearing a hunting cap or travel hat".[242] Two advocations with different genealogies and origins that managed to become comfortably intertwined in the 18th century.

On the one hand, the cult of Our Lady of the Rosary dates from a long way back, when the Dominicans raised her up as their patron saint, claiming the Virgin herself gave St. Dominic a rosary: "The advocation of the Rosary is of a universal character in the Catholic world. In 1470 Alanus de Rupe created the Confraternity of the Psalter, later that of the Rosary, which ensured the dissemination of a uniform method of praying".[243] In Peru, it was said that the campaigns to popularise the cult started with the creation of their first convent in Lima, in 1536.[244] The obvious instrument of this act of devotion, and the one defining attribute of the advocation, was the "rosary", a string of beads that served to keep count of Hail Maries and Our Fathers. The Dominicans were the ones who set themselves up as the protectors and official promotors of Marian prayer.

Our Lady of Mercy, established itself as an official advocation, the patron saint of the Mercedarians, in the 13th century, first arriving in Paita (northwestern Peru) as early as the 16th century. Its Pilgrim version emerged centuries later, as an innovative portable travelling icon:[245]

> *A subject curiously more widely disseminated by Cuzco painters than those of Quito, the city from which the image set out by donkey […] in the first decade of the 18th century, undertaking a long journey through Ecuador and Peru until it reached Potosí, collecting alms for the new church of the monastery in Quito.*[246]

It is not clear how it was that the two advocations became intertwined, nor in which convent it first occurred, but the Virgin painted as a processional image, sumptuously attired with lavish decoration, set out to validate her pictorial depiction as an unequivocal and unsullied reality:

> *The attachment felt for certain holy sculptures took shape (particularly from the 16th century on) in the taste for owning paintings and prints in which they were depicted. This is the religious foundation of a pictorial genre (that of the true image or vera effigies), defined by an attempt at faithfully reproducing the original model: mostly dressed Marian images with jewels and enthroned on their altars.*[247]

As such, with her characteristic bell-shaped veil and mantle, the Virgin holds out her right arm, offering protection to whoever prays for her, all the while displaying the richness of her attire, crowned by a radiant halo above a lavish "*montera*" hunting or pilgrim's hat with gold trim, while the rest of her clothes present a host of floral decoration, technically arranged between the oil and the gilt "*brocatería*" brocade on top. Connecting mantle and robe, the black rosary stretches out along both, exceeded in its sumptuosity only by the brooches securing

it. In this depiction, everything is about the clothing, with the Virgin transformed into the hyperbolic richness in which she is dressed.

Given this is the depiction of a possible processional image, the Virgin is arranged in trompe-l'oeil fashion on a platform covered by a fine cloth, on top of which there are various little vases of flowers, adorning the presence of the advocation as if they were the materialisation of her beauty and purity. One might say that, as a synthesis of this floral symbolism, the bunch of white lilies held by the Virgin in her right hand are both striking and delicate. Continuing with the laudatory repertory, Our Lady of the Rosary is flanked by tall candles crowned with delicate glass casing to stop the wax from dripping down, perhaps as a matter of decorum, or alternatively to increase the level of decoration still further, or perhaps a bit of both. The Virgin is pictured sitting down on a throne under a canopy with flowers and little bells running along the edge. As such, everything about her has been arranged so as to present the Virgin in full pomp and circumstance for what we imagine would be a procession from village to village.

There is one final Marian attribute to be added to the above, and that is the crescent moon at her feet, a loan from the Virgin of the Apocalypse. The Book of Revelations (12:1) tells us "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". *The crescent moon frequently appeared in Marian advocations, though it was mostly associated with the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception*.

To conclude our iconographic reading, underneath the platform holding the Virgin we find Sts. Dominican and Francis of Assisi worshipping her. Both in their respective habits, hands clasped together and crowned with halos and embellished with gilt motifs, they look up at Our Lady of the Rosary. It would be remiss not to note that the three figures are arranged in a perfect triangular composition. The presence of St. Dominic is clear: he is adoring the patron saint of his order, while the reason behind St. Francis' presence is the brotherhood between the two orders. This was based on the well-known legend, which held that the two founding saints, along with Pope Innocent III, shared the same dream. It is said that while all three were in the Lateran Basilica, which at the time was falling down, the aforementioned saints acted as pillars in an oneiric vision in which they stopped the church from collapsing. However, neither of the two saints recognised the other in their visions, and the Pope was unable to identify either of them. The story goes on to say that the next day the two saints met and, having both realised who the other man was, embraced each other. Next, and in the presence of the Pope, the orders over which they presided were both declared as the pillars that would save the Church from destruction. The depiction of the two saints together was not unusual in the advocation of Our Lady of the Rosary (Fig. 1). Its different versions, as noted by Héctor Schenone, "include […] the figures or half figures of Sts. Dominic and Francis, the former less often, and that may be observed more frequently in Equatorian and Andean painting".[248]

In 1995 saw the publication of Carol Damian's book titled *The Virgin of the Andes: Art and Ritual in Colonial Cuzco*,[249] the cover of which featured an 18th century painting of a Virgin with a very similar pose, composition, and decorative arrangement. Other parallels include the low canopy and the candles with glass cases aimed at stopping the wax from dripping down. In short, the model is the same. The only absences are the praying saints. The same may be said for a second painting in the Blanton Museum of Art (Fig. 2). Having said all the above, and in spite of this advocation being that of Our Lady of the Rosary, the graphic model was probably Our Lady of Mercy (or the Pilgrim Virgin of Quito). A few years ago, the Peyton Wright Gallery unveiled another Our Lady of Mercy (or Pilgrim Virgin) following the same model, but without the rosary. It also appeared on the cover of its exhibition catalogue, which ran from December 2017 until February 2018, under the title *Art of Devotion*, although said catalogue incorrectly identified it as *Our Lady of Cocharcas*.[250]

Having given the Virgin from our painting a rosary, the advocation changed entirely, which is why Héctor Schenone studied it as a version of Our Lady of the Rosary: but that does not mean the image lost any of its fine naturalness or pilgrim overtones, based as it was on the Pilgrim Virgin. We should bear in mind that the old practice of painting pictures of holy sculptures, in other words images of much-revered altarpieces and altars, so they could travel across the world for evangelical purposes, went back to the very beginning of Catholicism and, we hardly need add, the Americas were part of that process.

Fig. 1 *Our Lady of the Rosary with Saints*, Mexico, 18th century. Brooklyn Museum

Fig. 2 *Our Lady of Mercy*, called *"The Pilgrim"*, Cuzco (Peru), 18th century. Blanton Museum of Art - Austin, Texas

14

Allegory of the Patronage of Our Lady of Guadalupe over New Spain

Anonymous artist
Mexico, 1794
Oil on canvas
84.5×62 cm
Provenance: Private collection, New York

José Gomez Frechina

The 1754 pontifical declaration of the patronage of Our Lady of Guadalupe over the kingdom of New Spain was key to promoting this Marian iconography in the 18th century. After years of waiting, and the patient efforts of the Society of Jesus (particularly the Jesuit priest Juan Francisco López, *procurador* or Church representative for the Mexican province), on 24 April Rome's Sacred Congregation of Rites issued its decree, ratified on 25 May (through the *Non est equidem* papal bull), which also established 12 December as the Virgin's feast day across the entire territory.

This previously-unpublished visual testimony to Our Lady of Guadalupe's proclamation as patron saint of New Spain was painted in the time of Alonso Núñez de Haro y Peralta (Villagarcía del Llano, Cuenca 1729 – Mexico City, 1800), Archbishop of Mexico and Viceroy of New Spain for a few months, as we read in the inscription on the extensive cartouche at the bottom of the painting: "*His Most Excellent and Illustrious Don. Alonso Nuñes de Haro y Peralta of the Council of His Majesty, Knight of the Great Cross of the Royal and Distinguished Spanish Order of Charles III, Most Dignified Archbishop of this Court, grants 80 days of Indulgences to all those Persons who devotedly pray one Salve to this Most Holy Image of Our Lady of Guadalupe, as recorded in his decree of 5 February of the current year, 1794*" (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1 *Allegory of the Patronage of Our Lady of Guadalupe over New Spain* (inscription)

The somewhat jumbled composition of the anonymous painting we are presenting here is closely modelled on a commemorative engraving (84.5×62.2 cm) of the *Patronage of Our Lady of Guadalupe over New Spain* (Fig. 2) commissioned by the Jesuit *procuradores* from the expert chisel engravers from Augsburg, the brothers Joseph Sebastian Klauber (ca. 1700-1768) and Johann Baptist Klauber (1712 — ca. 1787). This became hugely successful and popular in the Americas, judging by the versions painted on canvas or copper by Novohispanic artists such as Juan Patricio Morlete Ruiz (Guanajuato, 1713 — Mexico City, 1771) (Fig. 3), or the Guadalupe from the church of Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Guadalajara, Jalisco, painted by Sebastián Salcedo in 1779 (Denver Art Museum).

A number of figures, most notably King David and St. Peter the Apostle, and child angels, offer crowns to a Virgin of Guadalupe pictured as *Regina coeli* and *Regina sanctorum*, arranged hierarchically at the centre of the composition, with the legend REGINA S.S. OMNIUM underneath her. Above her there is a cartouche with the inscription MARIA S.S. DE GUADALUPE, and on two phylacteries held by angels we read the text from Psalms 147:20 "NON FECIT TALITER OMNI NATIONS" (He has not done the like for any other nation), which became associated with this Marian advocation following the staunch support of Pope Benedict XIV (Bologna, 1675 — Rome, 1758) for this iconography, in 1754.

On the left and towards the bottom we see the seated figure of Pope Benedict XIV with his papal tiara, his hand pointing towards the triumphant Virgin and, on the right, a noble Indian as the personification of New Spain, with the Mexican coat of arms, holding a sceptre and wearing a feathered crown. At the top, three polychrome sections framed by Rococo rocaille depict Our Lady of Guadalupe's most renowned miracles: the first refers to Mexico City, 1737, and the overcoming of the *matlazahuatl* (typhoid fever) epidemic, portraying the saving of the sick following public rogation, with the apparition of the Virgin and the flight of death, personified as a skeleton holding an arrow. The central section narrates the shipwreck episode involving the "Gavilán", under Captain Juan Ruiz de Peralta, caught in a storm in 1751. The crew commended itself to Our Lady of Guadalupe, who then appeared, calming the seas and saving their lives. In thanks, they transported the boat's mast from Veracruz to the Marian shrine. The final miracle sees the Virgin appear in an indoor setting, freeing a Hispanic man from the possession of the devil.

Four more framed scenes complete the allegory, two on each side of the composition, flanking the triumphant image of the Virgin, and depicting her apparitions to the Indian Juan Diego on Tepeyac Hill in 1531, culminating in the bishop being presenting with Juan Diego's "tilma", bearing the impression of Our Lady of Guadalupe, on 12 December 1531. In the work before us here, the corresponding phylacteries were included, but not all of them were filled with text.

Fig. 2 Joseph Sebastian Klauber (ca. 1700-1768) and Johann Baptist Klauber (1712 – ca. 1787), *Allegory of the Patronage of Our Lady of Guadalupe over New Spain*; engraving

Fig. 3 Juan Patricio Morlete Ruiz (Guanajuato, 1713 – Mexico City, 1771), *Allegory of the Patronage of Our Lady of Guadalupe over New Spain*, 1772; oil on canvas. Private collection

15

Our Lady of Guadalupe of Potosí

Anonymous artist
Bolivia, 18th century
Polychromed carving in wood and oil on silver plates
145×93 cm
Provenance: Private collection

José Gomez Frechina

The transoceanic adventures and vicissitudes experienced by the Hieronymite friar Diego de Ocaña on his travels through the Americas as a missionary, evangeliser and spreader of the cult of Our Lady of Guadalupe of Extremadura are known to us through his illuminated manuscript *Relación del viaje de Fray Diego de Ocaña por el Nuevo Mundo* (1599-1605), preserved in Oviedo University Library.[251]

Fray Diego de Ocaña, who had taken vows in the Monastery of Guadalupe in 1588, set off for the Peruvian Viceroyalty as a *demandador* (person responsible for increasing levels of devotion and collecting alms for the Monastery of Las Villuercas), accompanied by Fray Martín de Posada. He was preceded in the post of *demandador* by the Hieronymite Diego de Losal. On their long journey, the two Hieronymites travelled from their monastery in Extremadura to Seville and Sanlúcar de Barrameda, then embarking on a multi-stage journey to Panama. On the way to Lima, the worsening of an illness led to the death of Martín de Posada. In the "City of the Kings" (Lima), Ocaña presented Viceroy Luis de Velasco and Archbishop Fray Toribio de Mogrovejo with the certificate issued by Philip II in 1598 authorising him to take up his post. He arrived in the city of Potosí on 18 July 1600, where he successfully established the cult of *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, creating a confraternity with a painting copied from the Extremaduran Guadalupe, which he describes as follows: "*And I, with great zeal and enthusiasm, took up the oil brushes, which I had never done before, and with the details I had of the illumination, as guided by the Holy Virgin, made an image with such perfection in the same size and dimensions as the one in Spain, which moved the entire town to great devotion…*"(Manuscript, fols. 148 v. -149 r.).[252]

He turned to the elite of Potosí society for emeralds and precious stones with which to decorate the mantle, so his brushwork was limited to the face and hands of the Virgin and Divine Child. In the manuscript relating his American travels he adds: "*The Indians call her 'chapetona' which means new image in the land, and as I painted her a little bit dark, as the Indians are, they said it a lot because it was their colour…*"(fol.163v).[253] The cult of the Virgin grew with the miracle of *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, by which a number of indigenous locals were saved from dying buried in a mine.

Gregorio Gamarra (1570-1642) also painted an *Our Lady of Guadalupe* in 1604, and this work is preserved today in the museum of San Francisco de La Paz (Bolivia). It was inspired by the other common South American source for depicting *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, the engraving by Pedro Ángel which was included in the book *Historia de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* by Fray Gabriel de Talavera,[254] published in 1597. Ocaña is recorded as having taken 300 copies of said book to the Peruvian Viceroyalty. In his illuminated manuscript, Ocaña records six of his paintings depicting Our Lady of Guadalupe in the towns of Panama, Lima, Potosí, Chuquisaca (Sucre), Cuzco and El Valle de Ica. In each he followed the same triangular model decorated with precious gemstones.

The work we are presenting here is an anonymous and unpublished 18th-century version of *Our Lady of Guadalupe of Potosí* in carved and polychromed wood, with the unusual feature of silver plates for the hands and faces of the Virgin and Divine Child, which have been oil-painted and secured with fabrics behind the wooden structure. The top edge of the Virgin's crown is decorated with stars, while the stylised image of the condor and solar disc at the base are a reflection of the *mestizo* overlapping of symbols and cultures: the gilt sceptre in the Virgin's hand which features the two-headed eagle, the crown, the solar disc and the roses also running along the hem of the Virgin's sumptuous mantle.

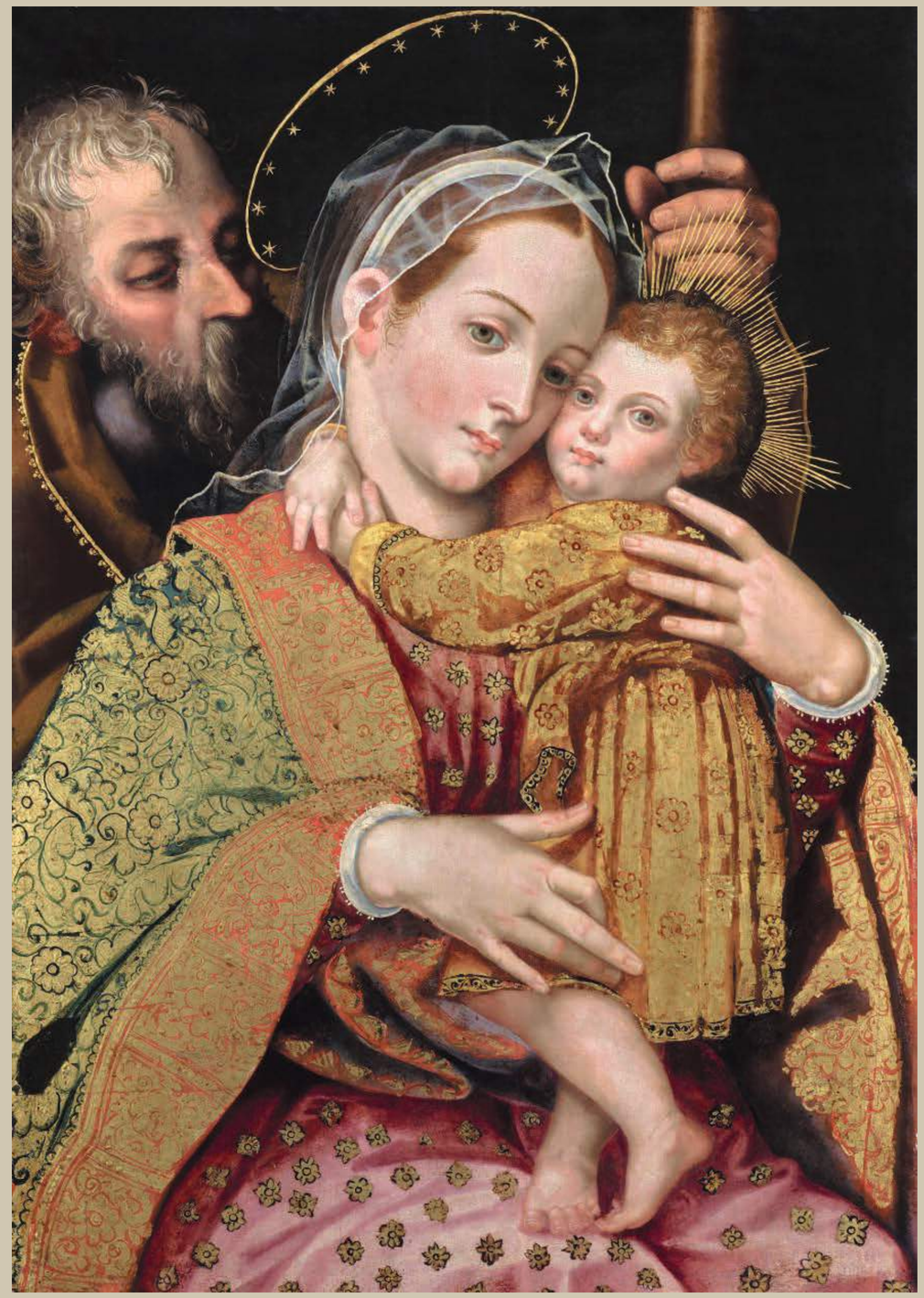
The ostentatious bejewelled ornamentation of the Virgin's clothing, shaped like an isosceles triangle, is reminiscent of the so-called *Manto Rico* (lavish mantle) donated by Philip II for the Extremaduran ronde-bosse image, with diamonds, rubies and pearls. At the bottom of the mantle we observe the crescent moon. Her chest is decorated with various gems, strings of pearls, doves and the Cross of St. James in a circle. Her short cape has a decorative border featuring solar discs and a homogenous grid of pearls with diamond tips and polychrome spherical discs. The middle of her robe is occupied by successive solar discs, condors, an enigmatic rider with lance and plumed hat, and a galleon alluding to the miracles performed by *Our Lady of Guadalope* protecting sailors from shipwreck. Christopher Columbus himself went to the monastery of Guadalupe after his first voyage to the Americas to thank the Virgin for saving his crew from shipwreck. The Infant Jesus with crown shares the Virgin's front-on stance, and is pictured issuing a blessing with his right hand and holding the orb in his left. He is dressed like his Mother, with a long robe and short cape or mantle decorated with Andean lizards, a young llama and a heart with a cross.

This extraordinarily interesting Marian piece on wood depicting *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, and following the models introduced by Diego de Ocaña, is linked the one preserved in the Metropolitan Cathedral of Sucre, painted by Fray Diego de Ocaña himself in 1601. Subsequently, in 1784, the original canvas was covered with a silver and gold plate which obscured the mantle of the Virgin and the Child, with just their faces and hands left visible (Fig. 1).

Our lady of Guadalupe of Potosí (detail), Jaime Eguiguren Collection

Fig. 1 Fray Diego de Ocaña, *Our Lady of Guadalupe of Sucre,* 1601. Catedral Metropolitana, Sucre

Viceregal Flourishes: Paintings and Historical Narratives



ET FILIÆ DE LATERE SVRGENT
I HIT VIDE LONGE VENIENT
EVROPA
AFRICA
MAR
ASIA
Occeano
AMERICA
MAR del
SVR
PHELIPE IV
PRINCIPE DE LAS
ESPERANZAS
MARIA NO PECARON
Subtilis Maranus
Doctor
Ioannes Duns Scoto D
mihi virtutem contra
hostes tuos.

MARIA

SINCHI
ROCCA
INCA
II.

LLOQUE
YUPAN
QUI.NCA
III.

MAYTA
CAPAC
INCA IV.

CAPAC
YUPAN
QUINCA
V

INCA
ROCCA
VI.

YAHUAR
HUACAC
INCA
VII.

VIRACO
CHA.INCA
VIII.

PACHACU
TEC.INCA
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YUPAN
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SINCHI_
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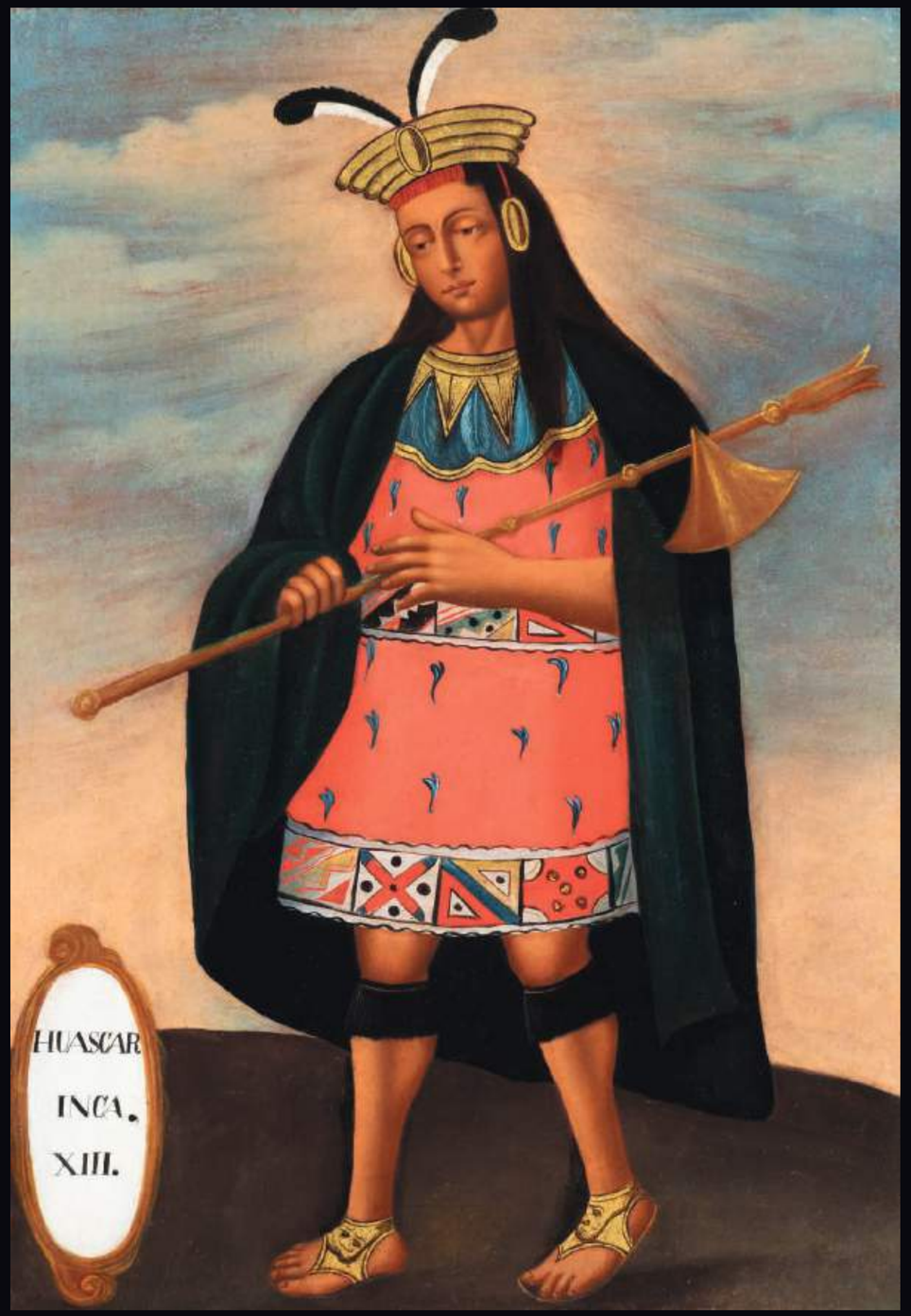
HUASCAR
INCA.
XIII.

V. R. D.
Sor. Maria Josefa d
Sgdo. Corazon d. Jesus
Religiosa d. D. Legicio
Descalsa de N. P. Sn. Jph d
Valencia d. Castilla q. ta
tomo el habito d. religiosa
en el convento d. San
Geronimo d. la Ciudad
d. Puebla a la edad d. 19
años 3 m. ys 12 dias
el dia 1 d. marzo d.
1719

R. de la Sra. Maria
Elisa Ovárido Villanueva
nacida en esta Cd de Mexico
hija legitima de Matias Ovarido
y de D. Elena Villanueva
de Ovarido

R.to DE LA S.ta D.a MARIA ANA PAULA E
hija de los Señores primeros Condes de
y Esposa del S.r D.n José Sanchez y Espi-
de 1757 y murio en Mexico
MORA Y LUNA PEREZ CALDERÓN
Sta. Maria de Guadalupe del Peñasco,
nosa: Nacio en S.n Luis Potosi á 7 de Junio
á 1º de Octubre de 1783.

R.ª de la M.ª María Jose de la Luz hija legítima de D.n Andres Oviedo y de D.ª María
Refugio Moya de Oviedo Nacio el dia 26 de Abril de 1815 Prof.ª Solemnemente en
el convento de S.ta Clara de Puebla á la edad de 17 años 5 meses 5 dias

Circle of Bernardo Bitti
Camerino (Italy), 1548 – Lima, 1610
Holy Family
Peru, early 17th century
Oil on canvas
88.5×62.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Damián Muñoz
The Transverberation of Saint Teresa
Santiago de Chile, 1633
Oil on canvas
140×100 cm
Signed and dated "DAM[IA]N[U]S m[u]ños faciebat anno 1633"
Provenance: Private collection

Saint Martin of Tours
Anonymous artist
Cuzco (Peru), first half of the 18th century
Oil on canvas
124.5×86 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Christ Child Pricked by a Thorn
Anonymous artist
Cuzco (Peru), 18th century
Oil on canvas
110×89 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Vicente Vargas
Active in the mid-19th century, Cuzco
Ñusta
Oil on canvas
102×77 cm
Signed: *Por Vicente Vargas Cuzco 1847*
Provenance: Private collection, Lima (Peru), where it is currently located

Saint Francis as Seraphic Atlas or Austro Seraphicus Coelum
Anonymous artist
Cuzco, Peru, ca. 1650
Oil on canvas
121.8×91.3 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Switzerland

Holy Family or Double Trinity
Anonymous artist
Cuzco (Peru), 18th century
Oil on canvas
216×187 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Switzerland

The Child Mary Spinning
Anonymous artist
Cuzco (Peru), 18th century
Oil on canvas
106×82 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Adoration of the Magi
Anonymous artist
Cuzco (Peru), late 17th century
Oil on canvas
162×112.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Germany

Inca Series: The Kings of Peru
Anonymous artist
Cuzco, ca. 1840/1850
Oil on canvas
60.3×41.8 cm each
Provenance: Private collection, Switzerland

José de Páez
Mexico City 1721 – ca. 1780
Birth of Christ with Angels and Shepherds
Bethlehemite friar medallion
Oil on copper
Measurements: 12×10 cm
Signed: *Jose de Paez Fecit*
Provenance: Private collection, Portugal

Portrait of Doña María Elisa Ovando Villanueva
Anonymous artist
Mexico, ca. 1770-1790
Oil on canvas
95×82 cm
Provenance: Private collection, New York

The Lunch
Anonymous artist
Mexico, mid-19th century
Oil on canvas
64×118 cm
Provenance: Private collection, New York

José María Vázquez
Mexico City, second half of the 18th century – later than 1834
Portrait of Sor María José de la Luz
Puebla, Mexico, 1834
Oil on canvas
117×92 cm
Signed: *José María Vázquez f.*
Provenance: Private collection, New York

Portrait of Sor María José del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús
Anonymous artist
New Spain (Mexico), 1819
Oil on canvas
198×151 cm
Provenance: Private collection, New York

José de Alcíbar
Mexico, 1725/30 - 1803
Portrait of Doña María Ana Paula de Mora y Luna Pérez Calderón
Oil on canvas
107×81 cm
Provenance: Private collection, New York

José Villegas
active in Mexico in the last quarter of the 18th century
The Beato Sebastián de Aparicio Taming the Beasts
Last quarter of the 18th century
Oil on canvas
114×86 cm
Provenance: Private collection, New York

16

Circle of Bernardo Bitti
Camerino, Italy, 1548 – Lima, 1610

Holy Family

Peru, early 17th century
Oil on canvas
88.5×62.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Luis Eduardo Wuffarden

This painting depicts an affectionate Virgin and Child in the foreground. Standing on the Virgin Mary's lap, the future Messiah is holding on to his mother, cheek to cheek, his arms around her neck, while she cradles him with both hands. She has her head turned to him, lost in thought and with a melancholic look, as if sensing the sacrifice he will make. Meanwhile, the Infant Child is looking out at the viewer, inviting us to reflect on the mystery of Redemption. We can see St. Joseph's head appearing from behind, over the Virgin Mary's shoulder, holding his staff (referencing the flight into Egypt) as he looks at the Infant Child. He is depicted as an old, bearded man, in stark contrast with the youth and infancy of his wife and child, and in keeping with European iconographic tradition prior to the Counter-Reformation, which gave more of a secondary role to Christ's putative father. The same can be said for the patriarch's skin tone compared to the extreme paleness of the Virgin Mary and the Infant Child. The three figures take up most of the composition, pictured against a dark background that is only visible at the top and right-hand edges of the painting, allowing viewers to focus their attention on the holy characters.

The compositional outline of this refined "image of piety" follows High Renaissance tradition, arranging the heads of the three figures on a diagonal axis, from left to right. In more than one way, this piece is reminiscent of the devotional air of Rafael Sanzio's celebrated Madonnas, whose harmonious beauty and emotional impact the painters of late 16th century Rome would aim to emulate, driven by the Church's recommendations regarding the orthodoxy and decorum of religious images. Its style and iconography can be directly associated with the "Reformed Mannerism" brought to Peru by Italian masters such as Bernardo Bitti (Camerino, Italy, 1548 – Lima, 1610) and Matteo Pérez de Alesio (Alexio, 1547 – Lima, 1606) (Fig. 1), who were considered the founders of the viceregal pictorial tradition in the Andean region, in contrast with those established in New Spain and other areas of the American continent.

In fact, both the human figures and pictorial quality of the artwork we are examining here invite undeniable parallels with the known production of the Jesuit brother Bernardo Bitti, who settled in the country in 1575. This is clear in certain particular features, such as the straight lines and idealised beauty of the faces, and the fluid use of colour, with smooth and meticulous brushstrokes, which can be seen in the finer details, such as the hair or the translucent veil covering the Virgin Mary's head. The elegant placement of the hands and elongated fingers are also characteristic of Bitti, as is the position of the Infant Child's feet, his legs crossed. According to Francisco Stastny, this type of work was executed after 1592, when Bitti and Alesio are supposed to have first met in Lima.

It was then that the Jesuit painter came into contact, through his colleague, with the most recent form of sacred art promoted by the Counter-Reformation Church. Alesio learned about it directly during his time in Rome, where he came into contact with the renowned models by Scipione Pulzone and Giuseppe Valeriano, the latter being the Society of Jesus' official painter and theorist in the field of artistic imagery. This approach promoted an art that was easily understandable and highly emotional, and would later become a providential tool in consolidating the evangelizing process in the burgeoning Peruvian Viceroyalty, being favourably accepted by varying sectors of local society.

The fact that a wooden support was used would suggest this was executed at an early stage, probably at the start of the 17th century.

Fig. 1 Mateo Pérez de Alesio (Alesio, 1547 – Lima, ca. 1606), *Virgen de la leche* [Our Lady of the Milk] (based on an original by Giulio Romano); oil on copper, 48.3×38.2 cm

The presence of a classical gilt overlay or *brocateado* is problematic, however, because this is more typical of a later, well-established, Cuzco painting tradition. As is common knowledge, this decorative element started to become widespread in the late 17th century, and really became prominent in the first third of the 18th century. Furthermore, the bright and contrasting colours used for the Virgin Mary and Infant Jesus's clothes are a departure from the strict counterpoint of blues and pinks that characterise Bitti's Madonnas. In this painting, the satin-like clothing has green, yellow, orange and pink tones, enriched by the gilt brocade. This is also the case with the folds in the clothes, which don't follow the angular and stiff draping patterns typical of the Jesuit painter.

As such, we may think in terms of two clearly differentiated, superimposed moments for the painting as we see it today. The first, in the early 17th century, which would correspond to the overall composition, faces and hands, and which could be linked to Bitti or his inner circle of influence. And a second, clearly seen in the clothing of the Holy Family, which points to a link with the Cuzco painting produced in the first third of the 18th century, displaying a bright palette that is heightened by decorative patterns with gilt overlay and glazing that suggest shades in the folds of the clothes, with the purpose of evoking a sense of volume. This would not be the only case of its kind; for instance, the *Virgen del Pajarito (Our Lady with a Little Bird)* (Fig. 2), in Cuzco Cathedral, a signed painting by Bernardo Bitti, remained covered by gilt overlay for a long time until it was definitively restored. In any case, this *Holy Family* is an exceptional piece that bears witness to the foundational role the Italian Jesuit master played in Andean pictorial traditions, and the high regard for his work over the years.

Fig. 2 Bernardo Bitti (Camerino, Italia, 1548 – Lima, 1610), *La Virgen del Pajarito* [Virgin with the Child Christ and Little Birds], ca. 1580; tempera and oil on wood panel, 110×78 cm. Cuzco Cathedral, Peru

17

Saint Francis as Seraphic Atlas or Austro Seraphicus Coelum

Anonymous artist
Cuzco (Peru), ca. 1650
Oil on canvas
121.8×91.3 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Switzerland

José María Quesada Valera

This canvas, from the Cuzco School, is based on an engraving by Paulus Pontius (Antwerp 1603-1658) (Fig. 1), itself inspired by an allegorical composition created by Peter Paul Rubens (Siegen, 1577 – Antwerp, 1640) called Austro Seraphicus Coelum (Fig. 2). The work we are addressing here is a recreation undoubtedly painted by an anonymous *mestizo* artist, which is full of detail and features brilliant colouring that captivates the spectator as soon as the eyes take it in. The grisaille painting Rubens executed in about 1631 or 1632 was probably a commission from a member of the Habsburg family, and within a few years an engraving of it was made,[255] prints of which became incredibly widespread throughout viceregal art, as can be seen from the canvas we have before us here.

The compositional axis of the engraving is made up of the figure of the Virgin Mary, who appears to be rising up to heaven and, below her, a kneeling St. Francis of Assisi as Seraphicus Atlas, holding three spheres. The latter are an allusion, depending on the source referred to, either to the three orders founded by St. Francis (the Franciscans, Poor Clares and the Third Order) or to those that observe the Rule of St. Francis (the Capuchins, Conventuals and Recollects). They may also be interpreted, as is the case with our painting, as the three continents where Franciscans carried out evangelical works, Africa, Asia and the Americas.[256] On the right of the saint we find four Franciscan monks, no doubt led by the Scottish friar John Duns Scotus (Duns, Scotland, 1266 – Cologne, 1308), one of the staunchest defenders, through his writings, of the idea of the Virgin Mary's absolute exemption from the stain of original sin, giving rise to the notion of the Immaculate Conception.[257] Said monks are armed with tridents and spears, with which they are seen to be driving back a demon, possibly an allusion to Heresy, into the jaws of Aquilo, the Roman god of the north wind, depicted here in the form of a monstrous crocodile. On the left, on the same level as the kneeling St. Francis, we find four contemporary Spanish Habsburgs, dressed in a fashion that befits their respective statuses: Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand (San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 1609–Brussels, 1641), who at the time the engraving was published was, or had already been, Governor General of the Spanish Netherlands; next to him, wearing a crown, his brother Philip IV (Valladolid, 1605 – Madrid, 1665), King of Spain; just between the two, a child, the son of Philip IV, and at that time the heir to the throne, Prince Balthasar Charles of Austria (Madrid, 17 October 1629 – Zaragoza, 9 October 1646); and behind the king, the Infante Carlos of Austria (Madrid, 1607-1632), another of the monarch's brothers. Finally, the Spanish Habsburgs are accompanied by a group of Franciscan friars. Above their heads we see a carriage driven by angels and drawn by four imperial eagles (in allusion to the symbol of the Austrian Habsburgs), carrying the monarch's predecessors and equally staunch defenders of the Immaculate Conception, the Emperor Charles V, Philip II and Philip III. Finally, on the right above the Franciscans who are combatting heresy, there is another carriage, forming a pair with the other one, this time being drawn by four lions and led by an angel dressed in Franciscan habit. This carriage contains the four cardinal virtues: Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance and Justice.

Fig. 1 Paulus Pontius, *Austro Seraphicus Coelum*, ca. 1640, etching. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Fig. 2 Peter Paul Rubens, *Austro Seraphicus Coelum*, 1631-32; oil on canvas (grisaille). Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia

THE "AUSTROSERAPHICUS COELUM" FROM THE CUZCO SCHOOL

The canvas we are studying here follows the model of the Pontius engraving quite closely, apart from certain differences, some of which are fairly significant. Firstly, the format. Whereas the engraving's composition follows the horizontal axis, ours is arranged vertically. That has a number of consequences: the groups are obviously arranged differently, with there being an additional group of figures above the two carriages and Virgin. On both sides of the central vertical axis of the composition, the Cuzco painter introduced a choir of musician angels not there in the engraving. And, as with the rest of the figures, these are accompanied by phylacteries with texts alluding to the identities of the figures themselves or their characteristics. On the left-hand side, the angels are playing a harp, a wind instrument (possibly a clarinet) a viola da braccio and an organ. On the right, the angels are playing a bassoon, a viola da braccio, a clarinet and a string instrument with a folding pegbox. Each of the phylacteries completes what seems to be a hymn sung to the Virgin Mary.[258] God the Father is arranged in between the two sets of angels, with the papal coat of arms over his head, and pictured descending towards the figure of the Virgin.

Another important change is that the painter has clearly adopted the image of the Woman of the Apocalypse as described in St. John's vision from Revelations, as she is depicted bearing the Infant Jesus at her breast, the latter holding a cross, in allusion to the fact that his sacrifice would lead to Salvation. Logically, the dragon referred to in Revelations is under the Virgin's feet, an apple in its mouth to symbolise Original Sin. And, with a clearly didactic character, the almost certainly indigenous artist has replaced the spheres carried by St. Francis with circles illustrating very specific ideas. The one underneath the dragon represents Adam and Eve, who have already covered themselves in vine leaves, due to the shame they felt having fallen victim to the temptation of the devil transformed into a snake and pictured coiling itself around the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, the fruit of which they have eaten.

Underneath, there are two more circles, transformed into a mappa mundi (Fig. 3), where we can read the names of Europe, Asia and Africa along with their bordering oceans and seas. This representation concludes with a final circle, under St. Francis' feet, where the painter has included the Americas. The rest of the phylacteries denote on the one hand the names of the figures, showing the artist's detailed knowledge of the engraving, and its significance for the Franciscan monk giving the Peruvian painter his instructions, and on the other hand the litanies of the Immaculate Conception.

Our canvas is part of a series of works executed in the viceregal Americas at much the same time as the production of the Paulus Pontius engraving and prints, from the middle of the 17th century on, and which serves as an emphatic demonstration of how widespread this allegory (born in the Spanish Netherlands and Rubens' workshop) had become, as well as the fluid cultural exchange between Spain and the New World. In the final analysis, it was the result of Catholic propaganda in an area at that time torn apart by conflict, serving to justify the defence of the Catholic Church by the Spanish Habsburgs, against the Protestant enemies of the United Provinces, the Calvinist Netherlands, not to mention the rest of the heretical powers fighting against the Catholic alliance during the Thirty Years War (1618-1648). This may explain its success in the context of the viceregal Americas,[259] given the New World was very much a "frontier" region, given over to preaching and evangelisation. It is as such that the Franciscan friars resorted to a language that exalted the Catholic Church through the notion of stainless purity in the Conception of the Virgin, as well as the Franciscans' militant nature when combatting heresy and the devil; in other words their struggle to put an end to the indigenous peoples' pre-Hispanic rites and cults. And what explains the success of this image[260] is precisely that: its didactic value.

The use of brocatería (gold brocade) clearly points to the Cuzco School,[261] as do the work's technique and composition, which link it to the circle of the Cuzco painter Diego Quispe Tito (San Sebastián del Cuzco, 1611-1681). From a formal point of view, the painter responsible for our canvas presents many of the characteristics of indigenous artists who studied at the Cuzco School (Fig. 4). Of particular note is the attraction of popular art with a touch of "naïf" ingenuity in each of the figures, whether profane, religious or divine. The painter has lent his own "Latin American" sensitivity to a subject born of a very different cultural and political context.

When it comes to chronology, our canvas must have been painted some years after the production of the engraving. The fact that it does not mention Charles II, and keeps Prince Balthasar Charles (as featured in the engraving), leads one to suggest that this is a relatively early painting. We should bear in mind that Philip IV died in September 1665, which would mean our canvas would have had to have been executed prior to that date.

Fig. 3 Frederik de Wit, *Nova Orbis Tabula in Lucem Edita*, ca. 1665. Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels

Fig. 4 Diego Quispe Tito (attr.), *Our Lady of the Mount Carmel*; oil on canvas. Brooklyn Museum, New York

18

Damián Muñoz
Chile, active towards the middle of 17th century

The Transverberation of Saint Teresa

Santiago de Chile, 1633
Oil on canvas
140×100 cm
Signed and dated "DAM[IA]N[U]S m[u]ños faciebat anno 1633"
Provenance: Private collection

Daniel Vifian López

This painting depicting the *Transverberation of St. Teresa* may have been linked to the recent canonisation of the saint, in 1622. And we say "recent" because the canvas is signed and dated "DAM[IA]N[U]S m[u]ños faciebat anno 1633" [Damián Muñoz did it in 1633] (Fig. 1).[262] We know little about Damián Muñoz, active in Santiago de Chile towards the middle of the 17th century,[263] and this is currently the only known work by him. In what follows, we will attempt to take advantage of the reading of this signature as a major milestone in Chilean art, shedding light on an artist by whom, in spite of his prolific output, there is only one reliably confirmed surviving work; this one.

Fig. 1 "DAMNS mños faciebat anno 1633" (detail of the signature on the Transverberation of St. Teresa)

Saint Teresa, kneeling below the appearance of the Holy Spirit pictured in a burst of glory in the upper register of the painting, is seen in ecstasy, her hands stretched out to dramatic effect, waiting for the burning spear or dart to be thrust into her breast by an angel. Exhausted, however, by her spiritual ardours, and being held up by two other angels preventing her from swooning, while a little army of angels (four is the number of the synecdoche) scatter a host of flowers on her from the celestial sphere, Saint Teresa is the central figure of the composition, in her brown Carmelite habit and crowned with a radiant halo.

In iconographic terms, the whole composition matches the description the saint herself gave of the mystical experience in her autobiographic *Life*, written in the 1560s:

> *"[…] I saw an angel close by me, on my left side, in bodily form. This I am not accustomed to see, unless very rarely. […] It was the Lord's will that in this vision I should see the angel in this wise. He was not large, but small of stature, and most beautiful – his face burning, as if he were one of the highest angels, who seem to be all of fire: they must be those we call cherubim, their names they never tell me […]. I saw in his hands a long spear of gold, and at the iron's point there seemed to be a little fire. He appeared to me to be thrusting it at times into my heart, and to pierce my very entrails. When he drew it out, he seemed to draw them out also, and to leave me all on fire with a great love of God."*[264]

The scene depicted in the painting is that which takes place just prior to the spear being thrust into the saint's heart, so just before the "excessive" pain that was "so great", yet at the same time of surpassing "sweetness".[265] There are various artistic versions of this precise instant that pre-date our painting[266] but, if we delve a little into the genealogy of the iconographic configuration we have before us, we can trace it back to a few years earlier, to 1613 and plate 8 (Fig. 2) in the published book of 14 plates apparently engraved by the Flemish artists Adriaen Collaert (Antwerp, ca. 1560-1618) and Cornelis Galle the Elder (1576-1650), under the title *Vita B. Virginis Teresiæ a Iesu Ordinis Carmelitarum Excalceatorum Piae Restauratricis* […].[267] The next year, this arrangement of figures, in which one can observe a burst of glory, executing angel and another providing support, was repeated by the Flemish Anton II Wierix (Antwerp, ca. 1596-1624) in an engraving of which there are two known versions, one from about 1614 (Fig. 3) and another from approximately 1622. The second version was reprinted to mark the canonisation, as we can see from the legend reading "S" for saint, as well as the darkening of her habit, in accordance with the Carmelite color.[268]

The Wierix engraving was successful enough to serve as a reference on several occasions for other engravers such as (according to María José Pinilla) the Flemish masters Nicolaes Lauwers (Antwerp, 1600-1652), Jan Baptista Barbé (Antwerp, 1578-1649), and the French engravers Baltasar Montcornet (Paris, 1600-1668) and Melchior Tavernier (Paris, 1594-1665).[269] It is most likely, however, given its greater similarity, as we shall be demonstrating shortly, that our master painter Damián Muñoz used the original source, that is to say the engraving by Anton II Wierix as his point of reference.

It is hard to contextualise the work of Muñoz because of how little information we have on him. However, in a recent study,

Fig. 2 The Transverberation of St. Teresa, 1613; engraving

The Transverberation of St. Teresa (detail of Archangel), Jaime Eguiguren Collection

Alejandro Vera revealed that Muñoz signed a contract in 1633 with the monastery of Santo Domingo in Santiago de Chile, for which he would receive 300 pesos and 8 reals a year, plus board and lodging, during a period of six years, in return for any work the fathers required of him.[270] The fact that this contract and the painting we are addressing here both date from 1633, and given the exclusive nature of the contract itself, mean it is possible that this *Transverberation of Saint Teresa* belonged to said monastery.

Assuming that proved the case, this painting must have been part of the new pictorial, sculptural and architectural project aimed at decorating the church following its destruction by an earthquake in 1595, and during its reconstruction process started in 1606, efforts that ended in catastrophe with the advent of a new and devastating earthquake in 1647.[271] In the light of this hypothesis, what we do not know is what the iconographic programme into which the *Transverberation* would have been inserted may have been like in a Dominican context, given Teresa was a Carmelite, or the location it might have occupied within the church.

Returning to the comparisons between the Muñoz painting and the engraving by De Wierix, what the former took from the engraver was the vertical format, meaning that the distribution of the figures was somewhat crowded. As mentioned earlier, the two works also share the same arrangement of figures: St. Teresa located in the middle of the foreground, flanked on her left by an angel with a spear or huge dart, the point of which is in flames, and identified as Divine Love;[272] and, on her right and behind her, two angels supporting her, which might be identified as cherubim. In the upper section of the scene there are other cherubim arranged among the clouds, scattering flowers at the saint's feet.

We will now turn to the comparative differences. The first of these is the replacement of God the Father with the dove of the Holy Spirit. This is pictured on the central axis of the composition, with the figures arranged in a more rigid symmetry than in the engraving. In addition, Muñoz replaced the architectural backdrop with a landscape, in which the heavenly clouds of the cherubim match those of the proposed new ambience. It is worth wondering whether the dramatic/surrealist nature of the burst of glory, which was previously portrayed as taking place inside a church (faithful to Saint Teresa's autobiographic account), was transposed to a non-architectural outside setting on stylistic grounds, due to the demands of the original iconographic programme, or for both of these reasons at the same time.

The lack of documentation makes it hard to be sure, but when it comes to pictorial matters, the work presents a palette of pastel colours; stiff and volatile fabrics draping the slender figures in a slightly *serpentinato* movement where, in addition, the markedly elongated necks and sweet and melancholic faces all give a stylistic indication that Damián Muñoz, in 1633, was a late Mannerist with clear signs of having studied under, or been influenced by, artists working in the Andean area of Cuzco.[273] As early as 1954, Ricardo Mariátegui Oliva noted the presence of the Cuzco school in 17th-century Chile.[274] In any case, the use of landscape as a background, with its clear roots in Flemish art, goes as far back as the Italian Mannerist painter Bernardo Bitti during his work in the Peruvian Andes.[275] This was what Stastny labelled "hybridisation […] originating from Italy itself".[276] Although the stylistic influence of Andean Mannerism may be beyond all doubt in Muñoz's painting, we currently have absolutely no information regarding either his artistic training or his origin. That said, as Luis Eduardo Wuffarden remarked, "the influence of the Italian founders was to extend far beyond their immediate circles of pupils and imitators".[277]

Fig. 3 Anton II Wierix (1555/1559 - 1604), *The Transverberation of St. Teresa*, early 17th century; engraving

19

Holy Family or Double Trinity

Anonymous artist
Cuzco (Peru), 18th century
Oil on canvas
216×187 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Switzerland

Daniel Vifian López

There are few works of art that provide a comprehensive vision of a society's idyllic landscapes. The countryside opens up before our eyes, lavishly festooned with flowers, with blue-tinged mountains in the background; there are also leafy trees on both sides of the painting, on which marvellous birds are seen to perch, all certain trademarks of the Baroque painting of the Cuzco school with its ever-present Flemish influences. This painting of the *Holy Family* is the expression par excellence of the viceregal *locus amoenus*. In the centre, standing like firm pillars of the Church, we find St. Joseph, the Infant Jesus and the Virgin Mary; meanwhile, completing the group from above like a lintel we find God the Father, his arms stretched out horizontally before his creation. His halo further reinforces the triangularity of the composition: broad and secure at its telluric base, with hope rising. Finally, between God the Father and the Infant Jesus, the Holy Spirit is pictured descending in the middle of the vertical axis, marking the symmetry of the composition (consequently, to reinforce the equilibrium, a winged cherub's head has been arranged on each side).

We started with a description of the environment surrounding the figures in order to contrast it with the work's most remarkable element, or at least the one that most catches the eye, and which became the idiosyncratic hallmark of Cuzco painting: the brocade work, or *brocatería*, particularly using gold dust. This was added soon after the end of the painting process as an exquisitely refined or *preciosista* device, serving to define the work's texture. As such, we observe how it embellishes the trim of the fabrics, invading them with delicate floral motifs. Each halo is also executed as if made of fine filigree, with corresponding geometric forms. The landscape's naturalistic depth competes with the planimetry of the gilt decoration, generating an interplay of contrasts that dates the work's execution to the 18th century.

To talk in depth about the painting of the *Holy Family*, also known as the *Double Trinity* or *The Heavenly and Earthly Trinity*, we need first to briefly address the genesis of its composition. As we can see from the third possible title of the work, it does indeed depict the double nature of Christ, both celestial and earthly. It is likely, however, that the majority of paintings similar to this one were the product of the surge in popularity of the cult of St. Joseph from 1621 onwards, when Pope Gregory XV made the celebration of 19 March, the saint's feast day, obligatory.[278] The cult of Joseph had its own history, the origin of which was linked to the campaigns of the Counter-Reformation: after the Council of Trent, Joseph was considered the last Biblical patriarch and, by the 14th and 15th centuries, he was not only Christ's carer on earth, but according to the arguments put forward by the French theologian Jean de Gerson (1363-1429), both Christ and even Mary owed obedience to him.[279]

Saying that, however, the model of depiction had already become consolidated long before the Pope's decision, as we can confirm, for instance, with the ca. 1605 painting *The Loss and Discovery of the Young Christ in the Temple* by Mateo Pérez de Alesio (currently in the National Museum of Fine Arts in Santiago de Chile): St. Joseph and Mary hold the Infant Jesus by the hand, with the latter seen to dominate the vertical axis made up of God the Father's burst of glory, to which some paintings added the dove of the Holy Spirit in between the two.

The model started to gain in popularity when, between 1616 and 1620, Peter Paul Rubens (Siegen, 1577 – Antwerp, 1640) executed *The Return of the Holy Family from Egypt*[280] which, by 1620, had been engraved by Shelte Adamsz Bolswert (1586-1659). A second version was painted by Gerard Seghers (1591-1651) and also made into an engraving by Bolswert in 1631 (Fig. 1), this being the source of the painting we are addressing here. There we observe a half-length God the Father, leaning forwards, surrounded by cherubim, while the Christ Child walks, almost leisurely, with a crook, in an affable ambience full of tranquillity.[281]

Saint Joseph is holding a bunch of madonna lilies because, throughout history, "as the chastity of Joseph gradually became accepted, certain white flowers that were secularly linked to virginity were chosen, particularly lilies".[282] Furthermore, in contrast to the medieval Joseph, his physical aspect and constitution is no longer that of an old man,[283] but youthful and robust, an important shift marked by the fact that he no longer has to lean on a crook to walk.[284] Now it is the Infant Jesus who holds the stick playfully in his hand (this is not, however, a unique combination, as there are many depictions of the *Flight into Egypt* with an elderly Joseph and a Christ Child with crook). Next to the Messiah, Mary is pictured holding his hand. She is being looked at by both Joseph and Jesus. Within the logic of the earthly trinity, Mary would, by analogy, stand for the Holy Spirit.[285]

In spite of the similarity between this painting and the Bolswert engraving, we cannot rule out the possibility that, dating as it does from the 18th century, it might not have been directly based on it, but instead on one of the many paintings that existed by that point.

There are symptoms of creative independence in our work from Cuzco. We can discern a certain freedom in the specific interpretation of the scene. For example, only one of the Infant Jesus' feet is visible, which would thereby seem to suggest a graceful saunter, with Christ appearing to skip or hop as he moves forward.

The model could easily be reproduced without the artist having access to the original source. From the very outset, the Cuzco school gradually freed itself from outside visual sources through its own procedures regarding the application of colours, and with its own understanding of physiognomy and body postures, even though these were normally rather stereotypical. By the 18th century, while European engravings continued to be used as references, they often tended to serve less as literal quotes than (to continue the metaphor) as something more like footnotes.

Finally, the composition became immensely popular in the 18th century. Works presenting the same elements can be found, for instance, in the Lima Museum of Art (code V-2.0-0027) and in the Joaquín Gandarillas Infante Collection at Chile's Universidad Católica, to mention two cases that are geographically distant from each other. Furthermore, various other examples present the same iconographic elements, but add other figures into the mix, such as saints or donors, or even the Virgin Mary's parents. In short, it is an iconographic ensemble that met the varying demands of its clientele thanks, no doubt, to its strict uniformity and the simplicity with which it manages to express, without intricate allegorical labyrinths, various Catholic dogmas at once.

Fig. 1 Schelte Adamsz Bolswert (1586-1659), *Holy Family with God the Father (Trinity),* 1631; engraving, The British Museum, London

20

Saint Martin of Tours

Anonymous artist
Cuzco (Peru), first half of the 18th century
Oil on canvas
124.5×86 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Carlos Ponce Ponte

This painting depicts bishop Martin of Tours (ca. 316-397) riding a light bay horse, with bridle and stirrups. The rider is portrayed in three-quarter profile, holding in his right hand a longsword with s-shaped quillons. He is wearing military attire that includes a hat adorned with large crests or feathers from the Suri, or Andean ostrich, a detail that reminds us of the attribute of Inca royalty. He is wearing a green tunic with protective shoulder tassels and buskins on his feet. Over it all, he is wrapped in a large red cloak or *paludamentum*, gripped in his left hand.

There is a crippled, bearded man with grey hair at the rider's feet, holding out his left hand to the rider's cloak. In the background, we observe a landscape that features a hillock with dense vegetation.

An essential source in the dissemination of hagiographical tales and legendary lives was the *Golden Legend,* written by Jacobus de Voragine (ca. 1230-1298). Originally a manuscript from 1264, the printing press allowed for its dissemination in the second half of the 15th century. This version was illustrated by the English artist William Caxton (ca. 1420-1492), who captured two prominent episodes in the life of Martin of Tours: the iconic act of benevolence for which the Saint is famously renowned, and his appointment as bishop (Fig. 1) .

Martin of Tours was born in 316 in Savaria (in modern-day Hungary). Sulpicius described him more as a monk than a soldier, very charitable and with superhuman kindness (Saénz and Contreras, 2000, p. 339). While still a teenager, he enlisted in the Roman army under Constatine and Julian, two very different but important reformers in Imperial Rome (27 BC – 476 AD). The best-known episode in his life, which became the most recognisable iconographic representation in art history, took place before his christening, when he was yet to turn 18.

Fig. 1 William Caxton (15th century), *San Martino* (xylograph). "Golden Legend" by Jacobus de Voragine

The story goes that Martin came across a beggar shivering in the cold at the gates of the city of Amiens. Moved by compassion, he cut his cloak in half and shared it with the man in need.

Later that night, Christ appeared to him in a vision and said: *Though still a catechumen, Martin has covered me with this garment.* Over time, Martin would leave the army and be appointed Bishop of Tours, being widely accepted and venerated.

During the Peruvian Viceroyalty, the arts took on a number of iconographic subjects that were disseminated to greater and lesser degrees throughout the territory. Many of them were inspired by known models based on engraved or printed sources. The work of numerous printers in the first half of the 17th century, mainly of Italian, German and Flemish origin, guaranteed the production of prints.

In this regard, the printing company Plantin-Moretus[286] played an essential role. In practice, it monopolised the books printed for the Spanish market, thereby meeting the demand of the Americas. These materials had a range of uses, from being devotional images to becoming a source for the creation of new and authentic iconographies.

The commercial flux of printed works between Europe and the Americas has been extensively documented. By around the second half of the 17th century, 6,636 boxes of books had been sent to the Indies (Navarrete, 1998, p. 82). Among the most-widely disseminated prints were those by Antonius Wierix (ca. 1555-1604) and Hieronymus Wierix (1553-1619), brothers who worked together in the production of prints. Their work included most of the illustrations in the book *Images of Gospel History* (Antwerp, 1593) by the Jesuit priest Jerónimo Nadal (1507-1580), published in several editions between 1593 and 1607 (Stastny, 1995, p. 1).

The use of these printed sources as raw material thus became a determining factor in the pictorial practice of Cuzco; an ongoing exercise in symbolic reworkings and innovations (Stastny, 1981). These creations were mainly intended to serve the evangelical missionary work of the Catholic church, as well as to meet demand in a growing market that extended beyond the limits of the Andean city.

An increase in anonymous production took place during the 18th century to satisfy local demand. This is attested to by the contracts signed with the more prosperous workshops. For instance, that of the painter Mauricio García y Delgado, who undertook to deliver four hundred and thirty-five canvases in a seven-month period (Tord, 1989, p. 176), making him the most prolific painter in the mid-18th century.

In this period, the aesthetics of Cuzco painting were also adopted by the religious and social circles of the Lima market.

Several contracts have been documented that bear witness to the large number of deliveries made to the Viceregal capital. For instance, a contract for the delivery of 82 paintings in June 1713 and for 25 paintings in April 1714 have been documented in detail (Cornejo, 1960, pp. 270-276). In short, "Cuzco had become a true artistic workshop that supplied the breadth of the Viceroyalty and even the faraway lands that make up Argentina, Paraguay, Chile, etc." (Cornejo, 1960, p. 271).

As such, this painting must have come out of one of the workshops established in Cuzco in the 18th century. In this context, the indigenous painter would have first assimilated artistic influences such as Tenebrism, a device introduced into Peru by the Jesuit Diego de la Puente (1586-1663) in about 1630. This technique was undoubtedly used to provide volume and movement to the Saint's large cloak. In its composition, the work must have been inspired by a print, possibly by the Flemish printer Antonius Wierix (Fig. 2), although somewhat removed from it, or with substantial changes.[287]

Our work is unmistakeably linked to the so-called Cuzco school of painting. In this case, the anonymous artist could be mistaken for an artisan painter working on commission; however, despite this dynamic, the work does tell us something about the artist that created it. The artist, who may have lacked academic training, perhaps by personal choice (Mesa and Gisbert, 1982, p. 259), reveals his craft in the proportions, profiles and perspectives, yet shows a natural mastery of *sfumato* and of dramatic *chiaroscuro*, providing a solid portrayal of the horse and faces. As a result, even if the dominant scene is taken up by the rider, the Arcadian background or landscape contains what the art historian Francisco Stastny calls "a dose of fantasy, delicate design, imaginary geography, undoubtedly a peak achievement in American colonial art" (Stastny, 1995, p. 1), recurring themes in 18th-century Cuzco painting.

Fig. 2 Antonius Wierix (c. 1585-1610), *Saint Martin Cutting His Cloak;* print. Biblioteca Nacional de España

The composition must have been based on older models that circulated by means of prints and reinterpretations, satisfying the tastes and needs of the market. However, the printed sources were already somewhat distanced from the known depictions of the specific episode in the life of the saint as described above. These sources took on details that helped illustrate or dramatize the event.

As such, the indigenous artist reproduced the dramatism of the figure of the beggar, turning him for this painting into a cripple, now also of mixed race. This is an unequivocal sign of iconographic appropriation local to the Andes, constructing its own identity. Furthermore, the artist has transformed the portrayal of the saint, originally kind-hearted and serene in giving away part of his cloak, lending him a more agitated appearance. The young Martin of Tours has been turned into a sullen grown-up rider who seems conflicted as he leads his calm horse. This agitation is reminiscent of the image of St. James appearing in the legendary Battle of Clavijo. The anonymous artist seems to be highlighting the kind nature of the military saint, while recalling the presence of another more popularly-worshipped saint involved in the battle against evil and heresy. It is no coincidence that both these iconographic representations are often found together.[288]

Our fascination with Cuzco Viceroyalty painting undoubtedly lies in these diversions from the established models. These apparent contradictions reveal the existence of a complex mental universe, a unique synthesis of its own aesthetic and the need to address and solve political, social and religious issues by means of adaptation, glorification and resistance through images.

Saint Martin of Tours (detail), Jaime Eguiguren Collection

21

The Child Mary Spinning

Anonymous artist
Cuzco (Peru), 18th century
Oil on canvas
106×82 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Christ Child Pricked by a Thorn

Anonymous artist
Cuzco (Peru), 18th century
Oil on canvas
110×89 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Carlos Ponce Ponte

Although as pictorial depictions their agreeable appearance (even to non-religious eyes) made them both popular and widespread throughout the Americas, and they were often seen in conventional interior decorations and stately homes, it is currently no easy feat to find a pair of paintings portraying the *Child Mary Spinning* and *Christ Child Pricked by a Thorn*, two works compositionally intended to be displayed alongside each other. As such, the canvases we have before us here constitute a real find, standing as some of the most beautiful examples of children as portrayed in the Cuzco painting of the first half of the 18th century, closely guarded by their owners so they could be included in our catalogue today.

This new pictorial subject was a reflection of the call of the Catholic Counter-Reformation, which as of December 1563 underlined the importance of the artistic image as a means of taking the true faith to the believers, raising spirits and encouraging devotion. As such, subjects that evoked tenderness or sentiment were considered an ideal and preferred formula for combatting the threat of Protestant iconoclasm.

The Counter-Reformation's main ally was the Baroque language which, in addition to its well-known exuberance and dramatism present in its artistic expression, also contained other symbolic, rhetorical and moralising elements transmitted through contrast and paradox; the presence of infants playing, and yet also demonstrating pain, like the Christ Child, or Mary, who appears to be enjoying herself spinning an object that will remind her of the future death of her son; a foreshadowing with great emotional and symbolic charge that reflects the spirit of the years following the Council of Trent.

Historically, this subject seems to have had its roots in Andalusia in the first half of the 17th century, perhaps in the work of Francisco de Zurbarán (1598-1664), whose "holy childhood" series is well-known, with depictions of the Virgin as a child, cooking or embroidering (Fig. 1), reading or meditating; not to mention the Christ Child hurting himself while making a crown of thorns in a Nazareth workshop.[289]

Fig. 1 Francisco de Zurbarán (Spanish, Fuente de Cantos 1598–1664 Madrid), *The Young Virgin*, ca. 1632–33; oil on canvas. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Although there is no *Child Mary spinning* to be found among Zurbarán's oil works, for some historians the origin of the iconography may be linked to the Seville painter Juan de Roelas (ca. 1572/73-1625), with the one currently preserved in the Museo del Prado also being among the most widely-recognised depictions. It is therefore worth noting that Seville's workshops may well have been the birthplace of these images that became so popular in both Spain and the Americas.

However, the sources on which these paintings drew came from outside the Iberian Peninsula, as did the canonical texts and holy story recognised by the Catholic Church. We are referring here to the Apocryphal Gospels such as the Book of James, or Protoevangelium, and the Infancy Gospel of Thomas, which tell stories from the childhoods of both Mary and Jesus.[290] These include passages such as the one describing the task the child Mary is given by the priests of the temple who, seeing the virtuous sewing skills of the young Virgin, ask her to spin a great veil, which turns out to be the same one that is ripped asunder the very moment at which Christ dies on the cross, thereby representing a premonition of the death of her Son.

Depictions of Mary as a child engaged in domestic tasks also reveal "a strategic device, in line with the affirmation and dissemination of a female ideal guided by the values of domesticity from the earliest years of the modern era (from the 15th to the 18th century)" (Flores, 2021, p. 46). As such, these works were commonly found in convents. Although in such places embroidery was viewed as a regulated activity, it was also recognised that manual tasks were a symbol of virtue that reflected the learning and knowledge cultivated in the privacy of the cloister, thereby linking up with the ideal model of woman as represented by the Virgin Mary. It was thus that, when the finished work decorated a space in the home, it served as a reminder of a talent, present from early childhood, in needlework, which was one of the domestic tasks allocated to women, along with caring for the family and the home, values further ennobled by the life of Mary.

The work we are presenting here, *The Child Mary Spinning*, follows a compositional model that was almost constant in all Andean versions known to date, and which have been preserved in museums and private collections across the globe. Among the best of these, we could mention the one housed in the Museo Pedro de Osma (Fig. 2), which is accompanied by a version of the *Christ Child Pricked by a Thorn* (Fig. 3), of a different quality, in the city of Lima; the one owned by the Carl & Marilynn Thoma Foundation de Chicago (Fig. 4), and the one we are presenting in this catalogue, along with its pendant piece *Christ Child Pricked by a Thorn;* an exceptional pair, particularly given how rare it is to see the two works surviving together after all these years.

Turning now to the formal aspect, our Cuzco master depicted the Virgin child full-length dressed in a broad-sleeved robe with lace, a delicate little red corselet and a short mantle over her shoulders, secured at her chest by a brooch or clasp bearing the Marian monogram. On her head she wears a pretty hairband held by a golden brooch on her right side, while a little lock of hair is seen falling down her forehead in a nod to European depictions. She boasts earrings with gemstones and her figure contrasts with the neutral background thanks to the presence of a series of divergent rays of sun emanating from her head, in the late medieval tradition, a symbolic ornamentation successfully employed in the Americas (Schenone, 1992, p. 800), executed using the *brocatería* method of applying powdered gold onto the pictorial surface as a finishing touch to emphasize the depiction of jewels and brooches and to embellish clothing, this being one of the Cuzco school's most distinguishing features. Between her hands, adorned with a ring and a string of beads wound round three times, she holds the spindle and distaff as the main attributes lending the painting its title. She is sat on a little seat known as a friar's chair, on account of being largely used in convents, which were extremely popular in Spain from the 16th century onwards.

The scene is completed by a garland or floral border framing the seated Virgin. This decorative and symbolic vegetal element has deep roots throughout the Andean world, and it points to a *mestizo* overlap between the indigenous universe and holy Christian imagery from the medieval to the Baroque, where the flower as symbol reached its apogee. It was thus that Bruegel the Elder and Peter Paul Rubens' depictions adopted the compositions we so admire today: Mary in the middle surrounded by a garland of flowers (Fig. 5) This innovative compositional model was born of the union between the floral still life and Christian religious imagery, creating a new formula that was successfully repeated in Europe in the 17th century, spreading throughout the Americas in the following century (Cruz de Amenábar, 2018, 87).

This new floral iconography made it possible to incorporate a multitude of meanings into its decorative use. One such is the symbolism of flora and how it related to the cycle of life, death and resurrection. Furthermore, the abundance of these depictions is linked to concepts of fertility and fecundity (Cirlot, 2005, p. 461). For the Cuzco

Fig. 2 *The Child Mary Spinning*, unidentified artist, Cuzco, 18th century; oil on canvas. Museo de Osma, Lima

Fig. 3 *Christ Child Pricked by a Thorn*, unidentified artist, Cuzco, 18th century; oil on canvas. Museo de Osma, Lima

Fig. 4 *The Child Mary Spinning*, unidentified artist, Cuzco(Peru), 18th century; oil on canvas. The Carl & Marilynn Thoma Foundation, Chicago

Fig. 5 Jan Brueghel the Elder, Giulio Cesare Procaccini, *Garland with the Virgin, Child and two Angels*, ca. 1619; oil on copper. Museo del Prado, Madrid

artist, not exempt from these floral representations, garlands constitute a botanical catalogue that can be identified, with individual significances depending on colour and diversity. The rose, for instance, Mary's symbol par excellence, alluding to her virginity and sacrifice, while flowers in general, due to their short lives, represent the spring and passing beauty.

In addition, apart from the beauty and charm of paintings of children, with their combination of innocence and responsibility, this subject, depicted here in a medium-sized format, has generated new readings. One such is put forward by the art historian Luisa Elena Alcalá, who comments that:

> *Comparing this painting with the version by Zurbarán, we might say that both achieve the same devotional ends, closing the divide between Virgin and spectator by depicting her as a child, but what is important is that they do so in sufficiently different ways to justify each one having her own story.* (Alcalá, 2014, p. 68)

The scholar goes on to note that Zurbarán constructed Mary's identity by depicting objects associated with her virtues of humility and piety, whereas the Andean artist does not invest such items with any interest, instead focussing on the image of a sumptuously-attired Child Mary looking out at the spectator. She is no humble girl but a princess, a "*girl who in spite of her age gives off status and dignity through the real gold of the seat that transmits authority*" (Alcalá, 2014, p. 67). As well as holding the spindle as an "*attribute of great prestige among the Inca and Andean peoples as early as in pre-Hispanic times*" (Alcalá, 2014, p. 67). In short, both painters may agree on the importance of their role as artists, and most of all on how they use their images, yet by presenting them in such different ways they not only reveal their own forms of expression but also their own ways of thinking and addressing reality.

The fact is that *The Child Mary Spinning* is nothing like her 20th-century interpretations, which identified her as an Inca *ñusta* or princess, and which even forced their readings of her clothes in an attempt to conjure up an *lliclla* mantle held in place by a *tupo* pin, both typical of pre-Hispanic dress. In reality, she would be more accurately described as an adaption, on the part of the anonymous Cuzco artist, to the colonial religious and political dictates embodied in the rejection of pre-Hispanic symbols, to which said artist appears to have put up little resistance, aware of where his paintings were going and who was commissioning them (generally religious orders, the homes of the burgeoning Cuzco social elite or the fast-growing commercial market). However, we can still discern the candour of his indigenous brush, which adapts the image in a Cuzco *maniera* through the symbolic use of the giltwork, the proud inclusion of equally Andean elements such as the spindle and distaff, and a subtle seal of authority, which overall expresses a pictorial language steeped in the Andean land and artist.

Moving on to the work's pictorial pendant, we see that the *Christ Child Pricked by a Thorn* comes from the same brush. The child is depicted sitting on a little friar's chair, his face looking down at his injured finger with the crown of thorns he was making on his lap, acting as the attribute from which the painting takes its name.

He wears a robe decorated using the same *brocatería* technique we observe in the friar's chair, as well as in the golden rays of light emanating from his head. The scene points compositionally towards his right,[291] and we observe a garland of flowers (including daisies) framing him against a neutral background. The daisy started to appear in Nativity paintings towards the end of the 16th century as a symbol of the innocence of the Infant Jesus, highlighting an ability to evoke childish innocence in its simplicity (Cruz de Amenábar, 2018, p. 80).

With regard to the scene's possible origin, we turn once more to the work of Zurbarán, depicting profound Spanish devotion in his *Christ Child Pricked by a Thorn*,[292] surrounded by table, book and curtains (Fig. 6). Although *The House in Nazareth*[293] (ca. 1645) is considered a superior version of the subject, they present the same attributes. These are elements which, as with the *Child Mary spinning*, have been omitted by our Andean artist. The Prado Museum does, however, preserve one version that is more similar to that of our indigenous master, which is the pair including the Mary spinning painting mentioned above, both works being listed as anonymous and attributed to more than one artist.[294]

Fig. 6 Francisco de Zurbarán, ca. 1645-1650, *Christ Child Pricked by a Thorn*; oil on canvas. Museo de Bellas Artes de Sevilla, Spain

The fundamental composition, meanwhile, was based on the apocryphal gospels, although "Baroque literature also existed, of less prominence, and very often not published, written by pious monks and friars who recreated passages from Christ's infancy" (Valdivieso, 2008). As such, the philologist Francisco López Estrada notes that Zurbarán, the main exponent of the iconographic subject, may have been inspired by the work of Ludolph of Saxony (ca. 1300-1377), the *Vita Christi* (López, 1956, p. 44).

These episodes and interpretations of the life of Christ as a child are described in a scene involving pain due to the injury caused by the thorn, something that:

> "*accentuates the contrast we also find in the symbolism of the cross, the conjunction between the thesis and antithesis of the notions of existence and non-existence, ecstasy and anguish, pleasure and pain. The crown lends the thorn a malevolent character of complete multiplicity, raising it up as a cosmic symbol in its circular form.*" (Cirlot, 2005, p. 201)

Although there are now few surviving pairs of paintings depicting this subject, the quality of the two works before us here makes them even more exceptional: the *Child Mary spinning* and the *Christ Child Pricked by a Thorn* are examples of an excellent Cuzco artist working in the first half of the 18th century in a workshop where anonymity did not mean any drop in quality or passion for detail.

We might even suggest, without trepidation, that we may be witness to the same brush that created the *Child Mary spinning* from The Carl & Marilynn Thoma Foundation in Chicago, or even the Museo de Osma version. These works reflect the same creative breath, palette, drawing and botanical details which, taken together, point to the same artist, one who had to satisfy the demands of one of the 18th century's most popular subject matters, not only in the city of Cuzco but throughout the Viceroyalty, in the markets of Argentina, Chile, Paraguay and the rest of South America, as well as a late-blossoming clientèle made up of European travellers or scientific expedition members with an inclination for paintings of *Inca origin*.

What is certain is that the exceptional pieces we are presenting here combine all the characteristics that distinguish the Cuzco school of painting: the use of the decorative technique known as *brocatería* which seems to conceal the volume of the bodies and clothes, achieved through a sort of *sfumatura* nuancing evident in the robe of the *Christ Child Pricked by a Thorn*.

Equally, in spite of the use of seemingly illogical vanishing points, and the absence of devices for the "correct" representation of reality on a flat surface which, in the eye of the Academies, at least, do not say much for their pictorial art, it is hard not to succumb to the seductive charm of these images of children engaged in delicate tasks. Furthermore, they invite us to entertain new questions aimed at attaining a deeper understanding of viceregal art. This is a line of questioning that asks why Cuzco's artists of the day chose to reject or adopt certain technical devices aimed at recreating reality, which they had learnt in local workshops run by European masters. It also leads us to wonder how, from the 17th century on, the local masters selectively incorporated these artistic devices into their own innate skill-sets. Considering, for them, nature was not always a reality to be imitated in the Aristotelean sense, but more of a reference point, as shown by the earliest artworks in pre-Hispanic American cultures.

The Child Mary Spinning (detail), Jaime Eguiguren Collection

Christ Child Pricked by a Thorn (detail), Jaime Eguiguren Collection

22

Adoration of the Magi

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

Jorge González Matarranz

The episode of the Adoration of the Magi, or Epiphany,[295] 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.[296] 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*[297] 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.

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

Adoration of the Magi (detail), Jaime Eguiguren Collection

23

Vicente Vargas
Active in the mid-19th century, Cuzco

Ñusta

Oil on canvas
102×77 cm
Signed: *Por Vicente Vargas Cuzco 1847*
Provenance: Private collection, Lima (Peru), where it is currently located

Carlos Ponce Ponte

This canvas depicts a *Ñusta* (Inca princess in the Quechua language), standing full-length, her face captured in semi-profile. She is dressed in traditional noble attire, including a brown *acso* or *anacu* robe with a horizontal band in *tocapu* design along the bottom. On top she is wearing a *lliclla* decorated with *ñucchu* (cantuta) flowers on both front and back, and embellished with hems and a *tocapu* style stripe along the ends. The *lliclla* is fastened across the chest with a large *ttipqui* or *tupo* mantle pin.

The work also features a table with a red tablecloth, on which we see a headdress held in the *Ñusta*'s right hand, in a gesture of legitimate succession and royal ancestry. Although in portraits *Ñustas* never wear these headdresses, its depiction in this case continues to have the same significance. It includes a *llauto*, consisting of fabric cord looped several times around the head; according to the Spanish chronicler Fray Martin de Murúa (1525-1618) each of the threads represented one of the enemies of whoever was wearing the *llauto*. The headdress is also decorated with different coloured beads and the *suntur paucar*, made up of a series of elements such as feathers and banners around a miniature armed *Sapa Inka*, with a tiered pyramid over its head, crowned by flowers. All these elements combined could lead to the headdress being as much as 30 cm tall, identifying the bearer as belonging to a particular ancestral lineage. Finally, the lower section of the headdress features a scarlet *mascapaycha* (tasselled circlet), an unequivocal symbol of nobility, the use of which was closely guarded.

To the left of the *Ñusta* there is a dwarf page, known as a *cumillo*, holding a feather parasol over her head. In the upper left-hand corner of the work we can observe the imperial Inca coat of arms, featuring a rainbow or *kuychi* alluding to an ancestry related to the Sun. Two crowned serpents, associated with the *Amaru,* are pictured flanking an *otorongo*, a sort of jaguar considered a totem. In addition, the top of the escutcheon features the royal headdress, with *llauto* and *mascapaycha*, decorated with *corequenque* (mountain caracara) feathers. Finally, towards the bottom of the work we can observe the artist's signature: *Por Vicente Vargas Cuzco 1847*.

During the 18th century, the arrival of the House of Bourbon and the reign of Philip V (1700-1746) saw a surge in scholarship and the arts with the creation of the *Real Escuela De San Fernando* (1752). As such, with the influx of Italian artists, along with others who travelled to Italy in search of practice and training, the style of court portraiture was defined in this century. It was specifically towards the second half of the century that a trend emerged involving the idealisation and display of symbols relating to either work or leisure. Figures would be depicted in interior spaces featuring grandiose archways and columns, or in lavish palaces accompanied by decorative details such as bookshelves, drapes, mythological paintings, clocks and so on. During this period, portraits following this model were extremely widespread.

This style of portraiture, which was promoted by the Spanish monarchy, was exported to the viceroyalties, and though in the specific case of Cuzco we only have written references to the existence of early canvases with portraits of *incas* and *coyas* (ca. 1570), it was in the 18th century that portraiture developed, due to the particular requirements of the elite classes of Inca ancestry. And this was very much in spite of the ferocious iconoclasm aimed at obliterating any visual memory imposed by the *visitador* José Antonio de Areche in 1781-82 as a result of the 1780 uprising.

Female portraits of *coyas* or *ñustas* are of particular interest, given they are recorded as having existed as early as the 16th century, and all the more eloquently so in the 18th century, for the abovementioned reasons. However, the importance of their depiction stands in contrast with the social mobility they enjoyed in the early years. It is well documented that male Incas from the high castes utilized their wives to guarantee their own survival. This was the case of *Quispe Sisa*, the sister of Atahualpa, when the latter tried to gain the trust of Francisco Pizarro, with whom he wanted to form an alliance, by handing over his 13-year-old sister to the 53-year-old marquis. However, Pizarro still ordered Atahualpa's execution, and remained in alliance with Quispe Sisa (who was then baptised as Ynes) for three years. Their relationship did not include any obligations, as she was considered a lover rather than a wife, but it did lead to the birth of a daughter and a son. Pizarro would subsequently look for a new *inca* companion and handed Ynes over to a young man in his service, Francisco de Ampuero. The portrait of the *Ñusta* from the 18th century copied by Vicente Vargas, has been erroneously considered by some as that of Ynes Quispe Sisa, but said assertions are unfounded, lacking as they are in any academic evidence.

As we can see, in the iconic case of Ynes, the privileges of native women were largely theoretical. They were often forced into successive relationships against their will, as was the fate of the daughter of *Guayna Capac*, Marca Chimpo, the companion of Diego de Almagro, then the partner of his accountant and, finally, wife to Francisco de

Vicente Vargas, *Ñusta* (detail), Jaime Eguiguren Collection

Villacastin, a grant holder and civil servant in Cuzco. It was thus that women were used to safeguard the survival of their elite male counterparts and to establish alliances with the Spanish, but their own preferences were not taken into account.

By the 18th century, far removed from the violent upheavals of the original conquest, ancestral rights were being claimed by a large proportion of women, with many sought out for marriage as a means of accessing their inherited privileges, which bears witness to the acquired importance of female succession in preserving noble lineage. The portrait we are addressing here is more closely linked to this context. The researcher Carolyn Dean links it to Marco Chihuan Topa's gallery of family portraits, though there are marked differences in the heraldic symbols which would indicate they did not belong to the same lineage.

That said, in the 19th century the Cuzco artistic scene witnessed a decline compared to the great moments of religious painting in the 17th century and the nationalist Inca movement of the 18th century (rooted in memorialist interests and aimed at recuperating positions of power, often through ongoing insurrection), and was characterised by the depiction of Incas, caciques and nobles with multiple heraldic symbols. Regarding this issue, the Bolivian scholars José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert comment that there where countless portraits of this nature, even surpassing in number those who represented criollos and Spaniards. It is to this prolific period that the *Ñusta* is portrayed, which inspires Vargas a century later.

The final years of Cuzco's great pictorial art-producing period saw the emergence of artists working in a new context. Despite the birth of the Republic, the economy was still based on the Cuzco system of indigenous tribute, which highlighted the elites as major contributors while their prominence was actually being progressively eroded by the rise of coastal haciendas driven by the cultivation of guano (1841-1875) and, as a result, their role in the dynamic economy was diminishing. Against this backdrop, Peruvian romanticism turned once more to its Inca heritage in a search for national values and visual points of reference, through the reconstruction of identities, remembering lineages, and the diluted ability of local artists to reproduce old portraits of Incas and nobles, thereby meeting the local demand driven by foreigners' curiosity and desire for nostalgic decorative artworks.

It is worth mentioning one theory linking the work of Vicente Vargas with Francis de Castelnau's scientific expedition (1843-1847), and his visit to the city of Cuzco. His research, published in a book titled *Pintura Cuzqueña* (MALI, 2016), confirms that the pictorial work identified as the *Copy of the Portrait of Marcos Chihuan Topa* (1847), which came to light thanks to a 2015 auction, bearing

Fig. 1 Jean Jacques Champin (Sceaux 1796, - Paris, 1860), Series of five prints based on the pictorial work of Vicente Vargas; engraving. Appeared in *Expédition Dans Les Parties Centrales De L'amérique Du Sud, De Rio De Janeiro À Lima, Et De Lima Au Para; Exécuté Par Ordre Du Gouvernement Français Pendant Les Années 1843 À 1847*, 3rd part," Antiquités des Incas et autres peuples anciens" Paris, 1854

the signature of Vicente Bargas, must have served as a source for the French lithographer *Jean Jacques Champin* (1796-1860), being reproduced as *Plate No. 59* in the printed volume *Expédition Dans Les Parties Centrales De L'amérique Du Sud, De Rio De Janeiro À Lima, Et De Lima Au Para; Exécuté Par Ordre Du Gouvernement Français Pendant Les Années 1843 À 1847. Troisieme partie. Antiquités des Incas et autres peuples anciens,* published in Paris in 1854 (Fig. 1).

Said volume includes five lithographic prints depicting two Inca nobles, now identified as Alonso Chihuan Topa and his son Marcos Chihuan Topa, with the latter being clearly linked to the canvas signed by Vargas (Fig. 2). Furthermore, two portraits of unidentified *coyas* and an image of the first bishop of Cuzco, Vicente Valverde, complete the series . These reproductions of anonymous canvases painted in the 18th century must have been commissioned at the same time, each presenting similar formats to each other, but of lesser scale than the originals (life-size portraits), perhaps to make them easier to transport, and omitting certain elements the client considered unnecessary or confusing (Fig. 3). This can be observed in the male portraits, where the extensive biographical cartouches have been deleted and replaced with merely typological titles at the bottom, such as Inca prince or princess, in contrast to the portrait of the clergyman from Toledo, who is clearly identified as *Valverde 1er Eveque de Cuzco*.

It is only now, however, that the sole known work by the artist Vicente Vargas is joined by another portrait (Fig. 4), depicting the so-called *Ñusta*, inspired by an anonymous canvas measuring 205×124 cm and currently housed in Cuzco's Museo Inka (Fig. 5).

This portrait, which is also signed by the artist and dated 1847, is undoubtedly linked to the aforementioned commission, but on the judgement of the clients it was not selected to be taken on the expedition back to France along with the rest of the works, which were then reproduced by Champin as lithographs.

Everything would indicate that this portrait, perhaps along with others, remained in Cuzco, from where it had originated, as is further suggested by its good state of preservation, the result of a local climate which is not harmful to paintings.

So then, the discovery of the painter Vicente Vargas, whose artistry we can recognise in the only works of his to have been identified to date, serves to corroborate the artistic context of mid-19th-century Cuzco, where he was perhaps the only figure to stand out in an artistic panorama subject to commercial demands and featuring artisans lacking in talent with the brush.

Although both paintings identified as being his were specific commissions, we know that the artist's works also reveal his purpose. In other words, not only did he reproduce a pre-existing model, he also took the opportunity to invest it with a message it then preserved. As such, in the portrait of the *Ñusta,* Vargas provided an exact copy of the *tocapu* design and the royal headdress (*suntur paucar*, *llauto* and *mascapaycha)*, serving as a clear expression of royal lineage. The painter then used a fine brush to replace the unidentified coat of arms of the original work with the known representation of imperial Inca heraldry, and reinforced the iconography by introducing the sacred *ñucchu* or cantuta flower, an element of great symbolic potency held in the princess' left hand.

As such, the work we are addressing here presents great quality in its detail. The unacademic aesthetic typical of painting prior to the existence of art schools shows that the local artist was aware of its archaic nature; what Mesa-Gisbert described as an escape from reality. Furthermore, the painting reveals its clear link to a series of paintings that served as a source for the illustration of a scientific, narrative and taxonomical vision of the American continent in the 19th century.

It was thus that Vargas must have caught the eye of the members of Castelnau's expedition, as an artist of local renown and quality that set him apart from his Cuzco contemporaries. As noted by the French traveller and expedition member Laurent Saint-Cricq (1815-1887), known as Paul Marcoy, in his work *Travels thorough South America*, when he encountered a picturesque painter (whom he nicknamed the *Raphael of La Cancha)* plying his trade in a workshop littered with alcohol, animals and filth, the aforementioned conditions made it impossible for him to entrust him with any sort of commission, despite his professional skills.

Naturally, the painter stood out in the local context as an unstinting follower of the Cuzco school, perhaps the best exponent of the portrait revival of the mid-19th century, and whose work, which was unknown until the appearance of these portraits, bears testimony to great artistic skill and renown. His work therefore caught the eye of the expedition members, who found in it a quality that was rare in the midst of the less than promising artistic scene described by the chronicles. It was thus that, in his pictorial work, he served at that time and place as an original source for the dissemination of printed images of South American Inca princes and nobles in the work published by Francis de Castelna.

Fig. 2 Vicente Vargas, *Portrait of Marcos Chihuan Topa*, Cuzco, 18th century, oil on canvas

Fig. 3 *Portrait of Marcos Chihuan Topa*, anonymous, Cuzco, 18th century; oil on canvas

Fig. 4 *Portrait of Ñusta*, anonymous artist, 18th century; oil on canvas. Museo Inca, Cuzco

24

Inca Series: The Kings of Peru

Anonymous artist
Cuzco, ca. 1840/1850
Oil on canvas
60.3×41.8 cm each
Provenance: Private collection, Switzerland

Luis Eduardo Wuffarden

This dynastic series of the Inca kings, comprising ten canvases with effigies of the Tawantinsuyu monarchs, was executed in the second quarter of the 19th century in a workshop in Cuzco, former capital city of the Empire. It is one of the few sets of paintings executed during the republic that show the Inca kings full-length, since most pieces at the time preferred the half-length format. It is highly likely that the artist was a descendant of one of the *panacas* or *panakas* of the Cuzco empire (a *panaca* was a family made up entirely of descendants of a Sapa Inca), inheriting the Andean pictorial techniques that existed prior to independence. That is why both the style and iconography of these paintings echoes, to a great extent, one of the most original genres of viceregal Andean painting, the origins of which can be found in the first era of Spanish rule.

Indeed, the physical appearance of the old Peruvian kings had sparked the curiosity of both the European public and the burgeoning *criollo* society as early as the 16th century. Because there were no effigies or portraits from the time, since Inca art showed no interest in realistic representation, viceregal painters had to construct their physical appearances out of the reports of the first chroniclers or from oral recollections by the indigenous nobility. This is how the earliest paintings depicting the Sapa Inca (heads of the Inca monarchy) in chronological succession appeared, modelled on the European monarchic dynasties. These colonial series include the canvases painted in Cuzco at the behest of Viceroy Toledo, which were sent to the Reales Alcázares in Madrid in 1571, and the genealogical sets commissioned by the descendants of the Inca *panacas* two centuries later. This was a way for the members of the indigenous nobility to prove their imperial lineage, and demand the Spanish authorities grant them the privileges owed to their rank in the context of the so-called "Inca national movement" in the 18th century.

As such, the south Andean *curacas* (Inca governors or magistrates) promoted an extensive cultural movement that had great repercussions, and which is known as the "Inca Renaissance" in the world of art history, a process that would end abruptly with the defeat of the rebel *curaca* Tupac Amaru in 1781. Once the uprising had been cruelly quashed, all images, clothing or symbols referring to the old monarchy were banned, with harsh sentences meted out for failure to comply. The systematic destruction of icons that followed these measures explains the extreme scarcity of viceregal paintings that include Inca themes. Only a few survived through their association with Christian symbols, like the succession of Incas and Spanish kings devised by the priest Alonso de la Cueva; others remained hidden or were re-painted so as to avoid suspicion from the colonial authorities.

Fig. 1 *Manuela Tupa Amaru*, anonymous, Cuzco, ca. 1777; oil on canvas. Museo de Arte de Lima

This is the case of the portrait of *Manuela Túpac Amaru*, currently housed in the Museo de Arte de Lima, which had been covered for almost two centuries by a representation of the Señor de los Temblores, and which was accidentally found and restored in the 1970s (Fig. 1).

We would have to wait until the Independence era to witness a resurgence of new Inca iconography. By then, Inca figures had taken on a gravitating symbolic value, since the emergence of an independent republican state was a call to reverse the effects of Spanish rule. It therefore makes sense that it would vindicate the memory of the former "natural lords" humiliated by the Conquest.

Inevitably, this entailed turning to colonial graphic sources, while at the same time redefining the repertory in a significant way, based on the emerging political reality. This explains the absence of any reference to the Spanish Crown or the religion of the *conquistadors* in this type of painting.

As such, the artistic workshops in Cuzco, which had followed colonial traditions, worked hard on the production of paintings that referenced the Inca past in the figure of their former monarchs, which then became identified with the South-American nations freed from Spanish rule. These representations were subsequently displayed in the republic's civil ceremonies, while also being purchased by travellers coming from North America and Europe, who would take them as proof of their visit to the capital of the former empire, convinced they represented some sort of *vera effigies*.

As a result, this type of painting is frequently found in the United States or in European countries, some of them linked directly to certain expeditions or specific travel journals, among them the renowned book *Expédition dans les parties centrales de l'Amérique du Sud, de Rio de Janeiro à Lima, et de Lima* published in France by Francis de Castelnau, who provided an ironic description of Rafael de la Cancha, one of the Cuzco painters of the time who alternated devotional imagery with Inca portraits (Fig. 2).

From a historical point of view, the fact that this artistic output reached its peak during the years of the Peru-Bolivian Confederation (1836-1839) is significant. Led by Marshal Andrés de Santa Cruz, the son of an Aimara chief, this political project aimed to restore the borders of the so-called "Great Peru", and its obvious point of reference was the territorial expansion of the Inca empire.

Some of the last members left over from the old indigenous

Fig. 2 Eduard Riou (France 1833 – 1900), *Workshop of Rafael de la Cancha*, "Expedition in the central parts of South America, from Rio de Janeiro to Lima, and from Lima", Francis de Laporte de Castelnau, 1850; engraving on paper

noble classes, such as the master painter Marcos Chillitupa, would be precisely the ones commissioned to execute these paintings, as they were considered the most suited to this task. It was at this time that series of half-length Incas proliferated, the most famous example of which would be the folding screen signed by Chillitupa, dated 1837 and housed in the Museo de Arte in Lima (Fig. 3).

As Natalia Majluf suggests, this was probably a piece of architectural ephemera used in Cuzco during the public welcoming ceremonies for Santa Cruz, a hypothesis that is further bolstered by the inclusion of mythological motifs, which were frequent on such occasions.

After Marshal Santa Cruz was defeated at the battle of Yungay in 1839, and the subsequent disintegration of the Confederation, local demand for these Inca series gradually decreased, but remained constant among travellers and scholars. This interest was often linked to the building up of the first systematic collections of pre-Hispanic objects.

Fig. 3 Marcos Chillitupa Chávez, *Genealogy of the Incas,* Cuzco, c. 1837; oil on canvas, 195×75 cm. Museo de Arte de Lima

At the same time, travellers such as Castelnau commissioned copies of colonial portraits to illustrate their publications. It is likely the series we are examining here was executed around that time, the 1840s. This format allows us to imagine what the well-documented dynastic galleries executed during the previous century were like, since they had practically disappeared as a result of the iconoclastic campaigns following the great uprising. There are only a few remaining series like this one, and it may be considered the closest to the one currently housed at the Musée de l'Homme in Paris.

Unlike the portraits of colonial *curacas,* dressed in a mixture of indigenous and Spanish clothing, and standing in courtly interiors, these depict the pre-Hispanic Incas in "old-style" attire and standing in idealised open spaces. In this case, for instance, the background suggests the outline of a mountainous terrain by means of schematic brushstrokes, while the low and undulating horizon contributes to accentuating the prominence of the main character over the natural setting. The cloud formations in this case add an unusual veristic appearance that stands in contrast with the smooth blue backgrounds commonly found in the half-length Inca series.

Another interesting detail is the local painter's emphasis on "copper-like" colouring, the straight, black hair, and the smooth, beardless appearance of the faces, which highlight their ethnic identity.

The facial features, however, are pretty generic and impersonal. In this regard, the case of Yahuar Huaccac ("he who cries blood") stands out, as he is distinguishable thanks to the red tears rolling down his cheeks (Fig. 4).

Modelled after court portraits, each character is accompanied by an elliptical cartouche at the bottom (sometimes to the left, sometimes to the right) that includes the ruler's name and their number in the dynastic succession: *Sinchi Roca Inca II*; *Lloqque Yupanqui Inca III*; *Maita Ccapac Inca IV*; *Ccapac Yupanqui Inca V*; *Inca Rocca VI*; *Yahuar Huaccac Inca VII; Viracocha Inca VIII*; *Pachacutec Inca IX*; *Tupac Yupanqui Inca XI*; and *Huascar Inca XIII.* Clearly, the founder of the dynasty, Manco Cápac, the tenth ruler, Amaru Inca Yupanqui, and the twelfth ruler, Túpac Yupanqui are missing. As is common in these Cuzco series, the thirteenth and last Inca included was Huáscar, probably leaving out his brother Atahualpa, who the Cuzco *panacas* traditionally labelled as "illegitimate" or a "traitor."

In each case, the position of the person depicted follows set canons that have not changed much over time. Apparently, this pattern was set in 1725 by the iconographic programme of *La Sucesión de los incas y reyes españoles del Perú*, attributed to Alonso de la Cueva, of which a print was made (Fig. 5). In the Museo Pedro de Osma is exhibited an Anonymous painting of the late 18th century that is inspired by the print of Alonso de la Cueva. (Fig. 6)

This, in turn, served as a model for several paintings that could be found in places of worship frequented by the indigenous population. In accordance with this prototype, the position of the faces (face-on, profile, three-quarter profile), the inclusion of the imperial sceptre or *tupayauri,* and different elements of clothing are repeated from one series to the next, with slight variations.

Republican versions made a clean break from the colonial models with regard to headdresses. These saw a return to the model from the Cueva engraving, which had been modified by the colonial painters who had used the same print as a source for their compositions. Everything seems to point to the fact that the headdresses included in the print followed a literal interpretation of an excerpt from *Comentarios reales* by Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, in which he refers to an emblem of power called the *llautu,* a plait "of many colours and the width of a finger, slightly narrower. These plaits went around the head four or five times, like a garland." It is likely that the Cuzco artists and members of the indigenous nobility who commissioned these artworks discarded this typology, considering it a fantasy far removed from historical fact. They preferred using strips of fabric, like headbands with gemstones, crowned with feathers or emblems, as seen in colonial representations. The same can be seen in the Corpus Christi series, in which the Cuzco *curacas* at the time of Bishop Mollinedo are dressed like their ancestors, and celebrate the triumph of Christianity, while proclaiming their loyalty to the House of Habsburg.

These Incas, however, mark a return once more to the model seen in Cueva's print, as is particularly clear in the headdresses, shaped like crowns, topped by two black and white feathers from a *corequenque*, a sacred bird of the Andes. Beneath that, we see a red chaplet sticking out. This is the *mascapaicha,* the main emblem of the *Sapa Inca*. They wear *uncus* with imaginative *tocapu* designs, Andean heraldic emblems, with stripes placed along the bottom border of the garment and around the waist, and decorations resembling the symbolic *cantuta* flower. Each cloak, or *llacolla,* like a Roman chlamys, has a different colour, perhaps linked to the legend of each ruler. The war shield, rectangular in shape, includes the *Ulancha* or royal pendant, and the rulers hold the *topayauri* or golden pike-shaped sceptre in one hand.

The rulers are wearing large round ear flaps, and they protect their shoulders and shins with pieces made of precious metals representing the heads of lions (or pumas), elements which are clearly inspired by the Roman imperial tradition. All these metallic additions are executed by applying gold leaf, continuing with the colonial *brocateado* tradition (applying powdered gold to the final pictorial layer) that is so common in viceregal Cuzco paintings, which helps to underline the historical and backwards-looking nature of this singular republican artistic genre.

Fig. 4 *Yahuar Huaccac Inca* ("he who cries blood") detail; oil on canvas. Jaime Eguiguren Collection

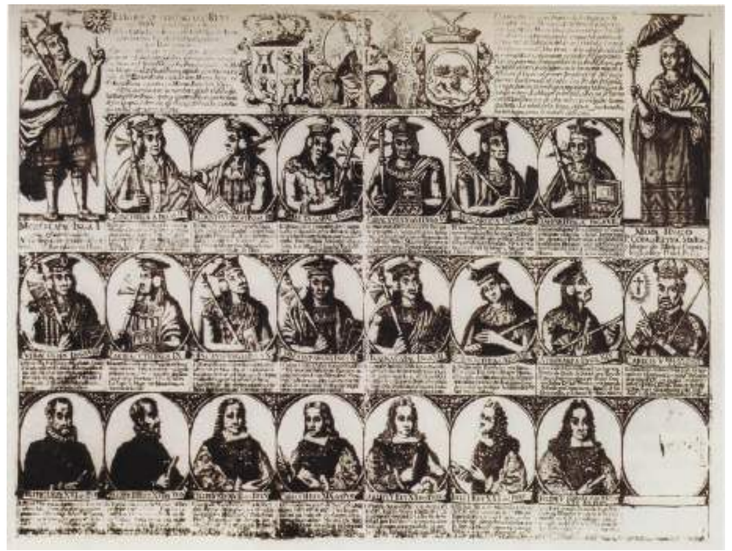

Fig. 5 Miguel Adame (active 1699-1731) (attr.), *Efigies de los incas o reyes del Perú;* engraving composed in Lima by Alonso de la Cueva Ponce de León (1684-1754)

Fig. 6 *Efigies de los incas o reyes del Perú* [Effigies of the Incas or Kings of Peru], anonymous, late 18th or early 19th century; oil on canvas. Museo Pedro de Osma, Lima

25

José de Páez
Mexico City 1721 – ca. 1780

Birth of Christ with Angels and Shepherds

Bethlehemite friar medallion
Oil on copper
Measurements: 12×10 cm
Signed: *Jose de Paez Fecit*
Inscription: GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO, ET IN TERRA PAX HOMINIBUS BONAE VOLUNTATIS
Provenance: Private collection, Portugal

Alejandro de Antuñano Maurer

This remarkable Mexican "pectoral shield" by José de Páez depicts the birth of the Infant Jesus, in a scene presided over by the white dove of the Holy Spirit (the third part of the Holy Trinity, completed by the heavenly Father and Jesus Christ). Under the dove, God the Father, holding the word in his left hand, suggests that not only are we under his constant care, but also in the safety and protection of his marvellous power. He also holds a brush, to express the Glory of the Kingdom of God, because as a painter he is applying brushstrokes throughout all eternity. His right hand is making a gesture of bestowing divine protection. On the right-hand side we observe an angel holding a phylactery with the Christian legend that traditionally reads as follows: *GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO, ET IN TERRA PAX HOMINIBUS BONAE VOLUNTATIS,* meaning: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to people of good will". This legend refers to the annunciation of the shepherds, who are located on the lower right-hand side of the painting.

From left to right, the central scene depicts the Holy Family. First of all, St. Joseph, who in 1732 had been declared Patron Saint and protector against earthquakes in Mexico City and New Spain. The scene is completed by the newborn Christ Child, who is being held by his mother the Virgin Mary, and adored by a pair of angels.

Fig. 1 José de Páez (attr.) (Mexico 1721 – circa 1790), *Nun's Badge with the Immaculate Conception and Saints;* oil on copper, diameter 17.8 cm. LACMA

Páez's composition is extremely ambitious, executed with great skill, as is reflected in the masterly way he has arranged the work in such a limited space. The execution of the faces, with deep sweetness and delicate beauty, the loose brushwork in the angels' clothes, the way the figures are grouped together and the look of devotion they are all directing towards the newborn Infant Jesus all tell us that this is the work of a true master. José de Páez occupies a prominent place in New Spanish painting, as one of the most celebrated painters of his century, alongside the likes of Miguel Cabrera, José de Alzíbar and Francisco Antonio Vallejo. In this "pectoral shield", the painter reveals an ease of execution without bravado that led him to tackle, freely, one of the subjects most loved by 18th-century New Spanish families.

José de Páez had the benefit of the very best opportunities for an artistic education available in his environment. This had an impact on the refined nature of his art, and its unquestionable quality. And, as rightly observed by the now-departed Guillermo Tovar de Teresa, chronicler of Mexico City, Páez represented an aesthetic and a vision of the world that we are now learning and understanding better in order to discern his finesse and his accent of devote softness, because there is no questioning the restrained sophistication of his oeuvre.[298]

He was an extremely prolific artist throughout his career, leaving an enormous legacy of extraordinary works executed in the second half of the 18th century. He was born in Mexico in 1720, the son of a schoolteacher, Baltazar de Páez, from whom he learnt the art of painting, both in oil and on copper. He was an artist who executed large-scale paintings, but he also displayed the ability to paint works of much smaller dimensions, such as the Nuns' Shields (or badges) of viceregal Mexico. In other words, Páez moved between large-scale paintings and smaller works, such as shields painted on copper (Fig. 1), and is therefore listed under the category of canvas and copper painters, according to the regulatory *Ordenanzas de Doradores y Pintores*.

When José de Páez was commissioned to undertake the range of nuns' shields we know of today, he already enjoyed a well-earnt reputation that meant he was one of the most widely-recognised painters in 18th-century Mexico. By then, in the Lower Cloisters of the church of San Fernando in Mexico City, he had painted his *Life of St. Francis Solanus* (1764). In the church of San Ildefonso, also in Mexico City, he painted a canvas depicting *The Death of St. Rosalia*, while the city of Guadalajara also boasted work by the painter, with the archbishopric featuring a number of life-size paintings of *Jesus Christ*, as well as a *St. Christopher*. In addition, he also executed a *St. Gertrude* and a *St. Anthony* for the church of Belén. Surviving examples of works by Páez are both numerous and varied, and it would be a lengthy task to list his entire catalogue, so let us conclude here by mentioning the Choir of the church of Santo Domingo, in Oaxaca, which houses *Four Angels* that are both signed and of exceptional quality.[299]

HOW NUNS' SHIELDS CAME ABOUT

In the profoundly religious viceregal Mexico, very young women, having become novices at one of the various convents existing at the time (whereby they renounced the outer world and entered, generally, as cloistered or enclosed nuns) would indulge in one final display of luxury, touring (by carriage where possible) parts of the viceregal cities in lavish attire, crowned, carrying children and little "estofado" statues of the saints they worshipped. In addition to the sumptuous clothing, one feature of particular note were little shields or badges secured on their chests, commissioned from artists by the future nuns' families. These highly-prized shields were kept by the nuns as the sole material treasure allowed in the privacy of the enclosed nunnery.

In almost all the nunneries throughout the vast region of New Spain, such as in Mexico City, Villa de Guadalupe, Villa de Carreón, Valladolid, Querétaro, San Miguel El Grande, Lagos de Moreno, Oaxaca, San Cristóbal de las Casas or Mérida, oil canvases have survived depicting novices proudly displaying their nuns' shields (Fig. 2).[300] It is worth highlighting that these shields were also made for male religious orders, as is the case of the one we have before us here. These shields are extremely rare, and were used by the friars of *The Order of the Brothers of Our Lady of Bethlehem*, founded by Pedro de San José de Betancur, better know as the Santo Hermano Pedro in 1656 (Figs. 3&4).

En 1674 los primeros Betlemitas llegaron a la Nueva España desde "Madre patria", hospedándose en el Hospital del Amor de Dios, que le pertenecía al arzobispado. Aunque la fecha en que se inauguró el hospital varía en algunos escritores, la de 1675, es la más segura, puesto que es la consignada en la *Crónica Mexicana Bethlemítica,* como la fecha de fundación de la casa de México. Para junio de 1681, se había puesto la primera piedra de su iglesia, y los Betlemitas consiguieron

Fig. 2 Anonymous artist, *Sister of the Immaculate Conception,* 18th century; oil on canvas, 104×73 cm. Museo Nacional del Virreinato, Mexico City

para la misma, imágenes y diversos enseres, y así, su templo se convirtió en un gran centro religioso que gozó de la preferencia de la sociedad novohispana. El sostenimiento del hospital, en un principio fue a base de limosnas, puesto que los Betlemitas no podían tener bienes, por lo cual nunca se caracterizó la orden por su riqueza. El Hospital de Nuestra Señora de Belén de México, se destinó a convalecientes de todas las clases sociales y por ello se constituyó en un auxiliar de los hospitales ya establecidos. Tenía una sala para indios, a donde iban los enfermos dados de alta en el Hospital real de indios. El Hospital de la Ciudad de México de Nuestra Señora de Belén y el de San Francisco Xavier, quedaron suprimidos en 1821 con la independencia de México.

Fig. 3 *Pedro de San José de Betancur*, friar medallion on the cowl, 18th century; paper engraving

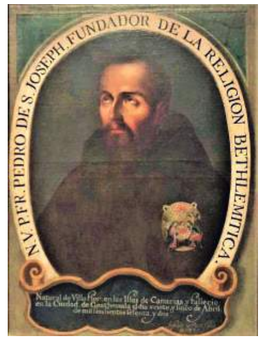

Fig. 4 José de Páez, *Pedro de San José de Betancur*, 1769; oil on canvas. Banco de Mexico, Mexico DC

As mentioned above, José de Páez was a prolific artist. It is impossible to deny the quality of the shields made by him that we know of and which, given their styles, refinement and colouring, have been granted a privileged place in Mexican art.

These are works which now form part of the country's rich pictorial heritage from the viceregal period and are essential points of reference for understanding the social situation of the Novohispanic viceregal women who wore such shields, and the diversity of viceregal society overall. New Spain, let us not forget, was a colony of Peninsular Spain, it was one more kingdom ruled by Castile, to which it owed allegiance, and it was in this context that, throughout the viceregal period, works of exceptional quality were produced, such as those that have been presented in the pages before you here: works that are now included in the private and museum collections of Mexico City and the rest of the world.

José de Páez represented an aesthetic and a vision of the world; a view of a distant and different world, yet one still close to us in its sensitivity and the way it captured the religious devotion of 18th-century society.

26

Portrait of Sor María José del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús

Anonymous artist
New Spain (Mexico), 1819
Oil on canvas
198×151 cm
Provenance: Private collection, New York

José Gómez Frechina

A symbolic reflection of the social hierarchies and importance of religion in Novohispanic society in the 18th and 19th centuries, portraits of nuns, with all the pomp, circumstance and religious symbolism of the elements involved in women taking their vows, gave rise to a unique genre of painting known as *Monjas Coronadas* or "crowned nuns".

These crowned nun portraits include cartouches containing information about their depicted subjects, and are of vital importance in identifying the nuns, with their age, parents and the community they were entering, as is the case for the apparently-unpublished painting we are examining here: *"V(erdadero) R(etrato) D(e) Sor Maria José d(el) Sgdo Corazon d(e)) Jesus. Hija lexma de Dn Ignacio Escarcega y de() D(o)ña Isabel Valencia d(e) Escarcega tomo el habito d(e) religiosa en el convento d(e) San Jeronimo d(e) la ciudad d(e) Puebla a la edad d(e) 19 años 3 meses 12 dias el dia 1 d(e) marzo d(e) 1819".* ["True Portrait of Sor María José del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús. Legitimate daughter of Ignacio Escarcega and Isabel Valencia de Escarcega, who took the habit in the convent of San Jerónimo in the city of Puebla at the age of 19 years 3 months and 12 days, on 1 March 1819."]

The legitimate daughter of Ignacio Escarcega and Isabel Valencia de Escarcega took her vows as a Hieronymite nun in the convent of San Jerónimo in Puebla de los Ángeles, which started out as the Colegio de Niñas Vírgenes de Jesús María school, founded by Father Hernando Jerónimo de Santander, and later taken over by four Hieronymite nuns in 1597. The church was consecrated in 1635. Eighteenth-century chronicles tell us that the nuns living in the convent suffered from terrible epileptic fits, but that all of the victims were cured immediately after carrying the image of Our Lady of Guadalupe in procession around the cloisters.

In this excellent portrait depicting a young woman taking perpetual vows in her mystical marriage to Christ, the nun is presented full-length in all her Hieronymite finery, looking directly at the viewer with the rug and neutral background against which her figure is set serving merely as spatial references. This work, along with other similar paintings from the time, bears testimony to the prevailing tastes for Baroque aesthetics among a section of viceregal society at the start of the 19th century in New Spain.

Sor María José del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús is wearing a wimple and white robe, with the dark mantle and scapular of the Hieronymite order. Her head is covered in a lavish black veil with floral adornments and pearls. The edging of her mantle, with its gold thread and pearls, speaks of the importance of clothing in the crowning ceremony, as do the two splendid wide decorative strips boasting golden embroidery and the monograms of Mary and Christ. A large rosary with black beads, ending in a crucifix with a *trompe l'oeil* effect, stands out against the nun's pleated scapulary. On her mantle, there is an embroidered image of St. Jerome with a lion listening to the Judgement Day trumpet. The image of St. Jerome also appears on the mantles of several other Hieronymite nuns, as in the case of the *Retrato de Sor Juana de la Cruz* preserved in the Museo de América in Madrid (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1 *Sor Juana de la Cruz*, anonymous artist, Mexico, 18th century; oil on canvas, 105×80 cm. Museo de América, Madrid. The cartouche with biographical information was added later

On her head she wears a crown of chased silver with a great floral adornment that includes a variety of flowers, generating considerable chromatic effect. She is holding a lit candle in her left hand, symbolising the light of faith. It is decorated with golden drip collars onto which a crown of flowers is attached, on which the symbol of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary features prominently. In her right hand, over her wedding ring, she is holding a free-standing sculpture/ of a lavishly-dressed Infant Jesus on a plinth, reminiscent of the Holy Infant of Atocha. It is worth noting the similarity between this Infant Jesus, holding a staff and wearing a hat, and the one that appears in the portrait of *Sor María Anna Josefa de Señor San Ignacio*, a Conceptionist nun from the convent of San José de Gracia in Mexico City, painted by José de Alcíbar in 1793 (Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest).

The palm frond, made of silver like the crown, and with floral decorative motifs, and the representation of the Lamb of God, reflect the more austere features of the new Neoclassical style. The silver palm frond is secured by her belt under the scapular, the same as we see in the 1815 portrait of *Sor María Vicente de Santo Domingo* from the Museo de Guadalajara.

On her chest we observe a shield that is common to the Conceptionist and Hieronymite orders, which in this case depicts the Annunciation of the Archangel Gabriel to Mary. This is also the case in the many (more widely-known) portraits of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz.

The are other known examples of crowned nuns from the convent of San Jerónimo in Puebla de los Ángeles, such as *Sor María de Guadalupe depicted with St. Barbara*, painted by Juan Villalobos in 1727 (Museo Nacional de Historia, Mexico City) (Fig. 2), *Sor Lugarda María de la Luz Álvarez de Palacios* from 1739 in the Museo Nacional del Virreinato in Tepotzotlán (Fig.3), *Sor María Josefa de Santa Gertrudis* in a private collection, and the 1801 painting of *Sor Joaquina Mariana de San Agustín*, also in a private collection.

This type of portrait, commissioned by the nuns' wealthy families (who had to provide the young women with a hefty dowry and pay for the coronation ceremony celebrations) bears witness to the privilege and social rank of these members of Novohispanic society. Given their social relevance and importance, these portraits would be displayed in prominent places in the home. The portrait of this beautiful girl dressed as a crowned nun is undoubtedly one of the finest and most impressive known works of its kind. More than two hundred years after she was immortalised in this canvas, we can but think of the great sacrifice, inspired by faith, to wich María del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús was induced.

Fig. 2 Juan Villalobos (Puebla, 17th-18th centuries), *Sor María de Guadalupe with Santa Bárbara*; oil on canvas. Museo Nacional del Virreinato, Tepotzotlán (Mexico)

Fig. 3 Francisco Javier Salazar?, *Sor Lugarda María de la Luz Álvarez de Palacios,* 1739; oil on canvas. Museo Nacional del Virreinato, Tepotzotlán (Mexico)

27

Portrait of Doña María Elisa Ovando Villanueva

Anonymous artist
Mexico, ca. 1770-1790
Oil on canvas
95×82 cm
Provenance: Private collection, New York

Jorge González Matarranz

Eighteenth-century New Spain witnessed a real boom in portraiture as a self-affirming statement by a society with a strong cultural identity. Within the elite classes, we can distinguish between the nobility and high-ranking civil servants, both dominant groups that could not resist the temptation to show off their power.[301]

Furthermore, the huge growth in industry, particularly mining, fostered the emergence of a new class of *criollo* citizens and Spanish immigrants who, lacking in aristocratic titles, made every effort to obtain titles of minor nobility, offering favours to the Crown. The members of this new elite class would apply themselves to creating a public persona that bore visual testimony to their lineage. As part of this socio-economic phenomenon, they started to decorate the interiors of their stately homes with their own portraits, painted to be looked at by visitors, as a reflection of the luxurious lifestyles surrounding them.

In New Spain, a portrait was not the pictorial expression of an individual or specific body, but that of a symbol. Not an artistic object of a private nature, but an image intended to take part in public life, like a socio-political proclamation, because having your portrait painted was a way of reaffirming your social status.[302]

However, and notwithstanding its late arrival, 18th-century Novohispanic portraiture is firmly positioned within the Baroque. Not so much in terms of style, but in its concept of the portrait as what one can conceal; less a depiction of the body than that of the persona. And through it the viceregal elite underscored both its identity and its place in high society.

Fig. 1 *Portrait of Doña Juana Leandra Gómez de Parada,* anonymous artist, Mexico, ca. 1770-1785; oil on canvas. Private collection, Mexico

Iconographically, the composition of these elite portraits repeated itself almost to the point of stereotype. They depict the subject standing, three-quarter length (or bust), with certain recurring pictorial elements, such as curtains, coats of arms, explanatory cartouches and a range of objects that allude to social status: an inkpot for an intellectual; a tiara for an archbishop; a command staff for a viceroy, and so on. These would be combined with luxury items designed to impress, including watches, fans, books and astrolabes.

When depicting a woman, the subject's body was transformed into a display cabinet, the means of showing off her wealth.[303] We need only observe the image of Juana Leandra Gómez de Parada (Fig. 1) to see quite clearly the degree to which the individual and specific female body disappears behind a profusion of indicators relating to the social standing of her persona, from the family coat of arms to the opulence of the fabrics.[304]

The growing ease with which raw materials could be imported fuelled the high demand, among the social elites, for top-quality fabrics in which to exhibit themselves in society. The cloths came mostly from Europe (Spain, France, etc.), but also from further afield, like China and India. As such, ostentation expressed through clothing and domestic furnishings became a necessity and not mere vanity.[305] The most sought-after material was silk brocade with floral decoration, so typical in late 18th-century Europe, followed by velvet, lace motifs or transparent fabrics often threaded with silver.

The lady depicted in this portrait is a clear example of all of the above, as her very portrayal is a reaffirmation of her high social status. Furthermore, the accompanying cartouche tells us her name and family background:

> *"R[etrato] de la Sra. Maria Elisa Ovando Villanueva nacida en esta Cd. de Mexico hija lexitima de Matias Ovando y de Dª Elena Villanueva de Ovando".* (Portrait of Señora María Elisa Ovando Villanueva, born in Mexico City, legitimate daughter of Matías Ovando and Doña Elena Villanueva de Ovando.)

Fig. 2 Andrés Islas (Mexico 18th century), *Portrait of Doña Ana María de la Campa y Cos*, 1776; oil on canvas. Banco Nacional México collection

Cartouches of varying lengths and sizes were key to Novohispanic portraiture. Some were just simple inscriptions against neutral backgrounds, with nothing more than the name of the subject, while others were short, framed biographies including descriptions of the person's professional position and socio-political importance. In portraits of women the main references tended to be limited to parents and husband.

The face and hands of Doña Maria Elisa Ovando Villanueva seem to emerge from an elaborate robe that directs the viewer's eyes towards the image. By 1770, French women's fashion had taken hold definitively in New Spain, emulating the clothes worn by influential figures such as Madame Pompadour as a sign of sophistication. This fashion was mainly centred around the use of the *robe à paniers*, made up of a very tight fixed bodice on top of numerous petticoats which, in turn, were arranged on top of a cage that lent volume to the hips, like an upside-down funnel. Novohispanic ladies did not hesitate to wear such dresses when being painted, as can be seen by the *Portrait of Doña Ana María de la Campa y Cos* (Fig. 2), executed by Andrés de Islas in 1776.

In the case of María Elisa Ovando, the dress is a combination of silk brocade with floral decoration on an ochre background, and strips of colour, complemented by elaborate white lace flounces stuck to the collar and sleeves. The aforementioned search for ostentatiousness in portraiture meant that the subjects would dress in all their finery, including jewellery and other precious adornments, present here in the form of pearl bracelets on both wrists, while rows of pearls also feature on her bodice and floral headdress, along with rings, pendants and earrings with precious gems, reinforcing the subject's obvious superiority and distinction. Finally, as a touch of local colour, on her left temple we can just make out a "chiqueador", or fake mole, a cosmetic accessory that was widespread among women in 18th-century New Spain, in this case almost entirely concealed behind María Elisa's voluminous hairstyle, known in France as a *pouf*, created by Marie Antoinette's hairdresser, and popularised by the queen herself from 1775 on.

By the date at which this work was painted, the portrait had fallen somewhat out of fashion in Spain and the rest of Europe, but not so in the viceroyalties, where artistic trends tended to be a few years behind.[306] The fact that Doña María Elisa was depicted three-quarter length and standing in an interior space closed off by the curtain behind her creates a visual correlation between the image of this lady and the tradition of royal political portraits. In addition, the absence of any element referring to official duties distances her from the typical aura of the male portrait, inviting a different sort of interpretation, given it was a different set of attributes that served to embody ideas relating to the role of women of her class.

In her left hand, Doña María Elisa is holding a finely-decorated fan. Such items were imported from Asia, but once in New Spain they were then adorned with a range of motifs (*fêtes galantes*, mythologies, political events, and so on). While also highlighting the sophisticated tastes of their owners, in Hispano-America these fans also took on powerful connotations; they could certainly help to keep a lady's face cool, or serve as something for her hands to hold at a social event, but when opened up fully, the fan could also be used to hide her eyes, or protect her from being approached by those she wished to avoid.[307] In this case, the closed fan, according to pictorial convention, denotes the lady's honesty and rectitude, this being the formula used in the majority of women's portraits at the time, as is the case, for example, of the *Possible Portrait of María Manuela Josefa de Loreto Rita Modesta Gómez de Cervantes y Padilla* (Fig. 3), painted by Miguel Melchor de Herrera in about 1782.

This painting of Doña Maria Elisa Ovando Villanueva is therefore a beautiful example of Novohispanic portraiture from the last decades of the 18th century, when fashion and ostentation came together to create a veritable image of cultural identity.

Fig. 3 Miguel Melchor de Herrera (San Cristóbal de la Laguna, Spain, 1696 – Mexico after 1765), Possible *Portrait of María Manuela Josefa de Loreto Rita Modesta Gómez de Cervantes y Padilla*, ca. 1782; oil on canvas, Museo Franz Mayer, Mexico City

28

José de Alcíbar
Mexico, 1725/30 - 1803

Portrait of Doña María Ana Paula de Mora y Luna Pérez Calderón

Oil on canvas
107×81 cm
Provenance: Private collection, New York

Alejandro de Antuñano Maurer

This oil painting of Doña María Ana Paula de Mora y Luna Pérez Calderón is extremely realistic, with an intense, rich and vibrant hue, and undoubtedly depicts a theme that was very present among the 18th-century Novohispanic elites. The family of Doña María was highly prominent in viceregal society, mainly in the city of San Luis Potosí. Following the Bourbon reforms of 1786, Charles III issued the Royal Ordinance on Administrations, dividing the Viceroyalty of New Spain into 12 *Intendencias* or administrative regions, the largest of which was San Luis Potosí. It comprised the provinces of Texas, Nuevo Santander and Coahuila, Nuevo Reino de León and the districts of Charcas, Altamira, and Catorce. The city of San Luis Potosí was of great importance in 18th-century New Spain (modern-day Mexico); rich gold and silver deposits made mining its main industry.

The father of Doña María was Don Francisco Mora Luna, Count of Santa María de Guadalupe del Peñasco. Born in Mexico City on 29 May 1719, he died in his family estate, the Hacienda del Peñasco, in 1788. Her mother was Doña Ildefonsa Pérez-Calderón León Carrillo, also born in Mexico in 1724. They descended from European Spaniards and so, having been born on the American continent, were known as *criollos*. *Criollos* were part of the dominant classes in a diversified viceregal society, holding wealth and power and enjoying great social standing. At the time, together with the people from Spain, they made up the elite society of the Viceroyalty of New Spain. Most of the agricultural property and local trade was controlled by them. It should be pointed out that significant groups of *criollos* were the driving force behind the pro-independence movements in their respective colonies.

Doña María married Don José Sánchez-Espinosa in 1774 in the Hacienda del Peñasco, where she had been born. Their children were José Mariano Sánchez-Espinosa Mora, who inherited his father's title, José Joaquín Sánchez-Espinosa Mora and Josefa Sánchez-Espinosa Mora. The Hacienda del Peñasco held a dominant position within the regional economy of San Luis Potosí in the 18th century. Like many *haciendas* at the time, agriculture and livestock farming were its main sources of income.

This beautiful portrait by José de Alcíbar follows a formal composition, using a bold and lively palette. The harmony in the arrangement of the visual elements is typical of Alcíbar. Doña María is depicted looking serious and solemn, her face expressive, adding a sense of dignity and authority to the portrait; that of a lady who was a member of the social elite of her day. This is the reason why, accompanying the family coat of arms, there is a proud and detailed description of her place and year of birth, the name of her parents, wedding and date of death, which reads:

"Rdo. DE LA Sa. Da. MARIA ANA PAULA DE MORA Y MUNA PEREZ CALDERÓN hija de los Señores primeros Condes de Sta. Maria de Guadalupe del Peñasco, y Esposa del Sr. Dn José Sanchez y Espinosa: Nació en Sn Luis Potosi á 7 de Junio de 1757 y murió en Mexico á 1º de Octubre de 1783". ["In memory of Doña MARIA ANA PAULA DE MORA Y MUNA PEREZ CALDERÓN, daughter of the Counts of Sta. Maria de Guadalupe del Peñasco, and wife to Don José Sanchez y Espinosa: Born in San Luis Potosi on 7 June 1757, she died in Mexico on 1 October 1783."] It is likely it was her grieving widower who commissioned the painting, hoping to preserve her memory forever. This is why we can still enjoy the mastery and art of this renowned painter 200 years on and appreciate the noble beauty of the lady portrayed.

Our painting incorporates realistic details, from the subject's clothes to the objects and other elements it depicts, such as the detailed precision of the textures on the curtains and lavish attire, or the white shawl covering her shoulders, with its pale blue edging and a border of pink rhombuses. Two tasselled pompoms hanging from the ceiling and the trellis in the background, halfway down the painting, add further circularity to the composition.

In this oval portrait Doña María is framed from the waist up, surrounded by deep red curtains that heighten her figure, with the coat of arms and cartouche being just as prominent as she is. She has been painted inside a parlour in the *hacienda,* thereby achieving a realist intimacy that is closely in line with the style of the time. Alcíbar chose additional elements to further decorate the composition,

Fig. 1 José de Alcíbar, *Portrait of Doña Maria Ana Paula de Mora y Luna Pérez Calderón* (detail)

Fig. 2 José de Alcíbar, *Portrait of the Zevallos Family* (detail of the child Anna María). Private collection, USA

such as a velvet-upholstered armchair on which the subject is sitting, her colourfully-executed lavish clothing, the jewellery adorning her, the fan she is holding in her right hand, the handkerchief in her left hand, the *chiqueador* or fake mole on her left temple, coincidentally placed in the same place as the one we observe on Anna María Zeballos, a girl who features in one of the two family portraits painted by the artist. The master's genius is clear in both faces. (Figs. 1&2). In addition, here he includes two watches fastened to either side of Doña María's dress, the meaning of which may well be a reference to the timeless world and finite nature of life, as a sort of *vanitas*, given that the protagonist of this exquisite piece died at an early age. One of the watches clearly displays an inscription with the name of the city where it was manufactured: London. This portrait should be considered one of the great Mexican paintings of the late 18th century.

The expressive face, which isn't looking at the viewer but to the right, has a gaze that seems to go beyond time. Her body and hands are executed with great dexterity, with the additional grace afforded by her jewellery and the hues and designs of the refined fabrics that make up her elegant clothing.

As mentioned earlier, the lady uses a *chiqueador* or fake mole attached to her left temple, a sign of beauty in fashion among 18th-century society. This piece of black paper or canvas appeared in many portraits. Dabbed in grease or some other adhesive substance, it was placed on the temple as a homemade headache remedy, with basil sometimes added on account of its relaxing properties.

José de Alcíbar was one of the founders and a director of the Academia de Pintores (Academy of Painters) established in Mexico City in 1753. He had a long, prolific career, producing a diverse body of work with a very personal and unmistakable style, far removed from the influences of many of his contemporaries. His religious works, his caste or *casta* paintings and his civil and ecclesiastical portraits all have a clearly-defined *criollo* origin, revealing from the outset the spirit of this exceptional painter: kind and elegant in his compositions; lavish and vivid in his use of colour; sumptuous and complex in his adornments and giltwork, especially in his exceptional portraits of nuns, such as his 1777 *Sor María Ignacia de la Sangre de Christo* (Fig. 3), which is undoubtedly one of the most famous of its type, currently housed in the Museo Nacional de Historia,[308] or the one of *Madre María Ana Josefa de San Ignacio: religiosa profesa en el Convento del San José de Gracia* (Fig. 4), which is preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest.

Alcíbar was a prolific artist, and his art evolved constantly. He touched on all the subjects available at the time: religious, civil and ethnic portraits, as in the case of his *Pintura de Castas* (Caste Painting). He painted the aristocracy, a series of Mexican castes, he painted portraits of nuns and prelates, and he filled the spiritual world of the 18th century with hope for the devout salvation of the soul.

Alcíbar's works are some of the most prized treasures in museums and private collections. These include the Museo Nacional de Historia Castillo de Chapultepec, the Museo Michoacano de Morelia, the Colegio de Guadalupe in Zacateca, where there is a painting of Our Lady of Guadalupe dated 1758, the Museo del Prado in Madrid, which houses a portrait of Martín de Mayorga (Fig. 5), as well as the Museum of Fine Arts of Budapest, which has the aforementioned portrait.

Fig. 3 José de Alcíbar, *Sor María Ignacia de la sangre de Christo*, 1777; oil on canvas. Museo Nacional de Historia, Mexico

Fig. 4 José de Alcíbar, *Madre María Ana Josefa de San Ignacio*; oil on canvas. Szépmûvészeti Múzeum, Budapest

Fig. 5 José de Alcíbar, *Don Martín de Mayorga*, Caballero del Orden de Alcántara; oil on canvas. Museo del Prado

29

The Lunch

Anonymous artist
Mexico, mid-19th century
Oil on canvas
64×118 cm
Provenance: Private collection, New York

Jorge González Matarranz

The particulars of everyday life became a matter of recurring interest in the pictorial imagery of 19th-century Mexican *costumbrismo*, with the tastes of the day favouring a variety of trades and traditions.

This scene depicting peasants at lunch is a faithful reflection of this. What we see here is a group of people sitting around a table, chatting while they eat. It could be the entrance to a private home or, more likely, a *ranchería.* The diners are taking a break from their working day. On the table there is a bowl of fruit, which is about to be joined by a second one containing watermelon, a sign that the meal is coming to an end. There is an empty wine bottle, and the diners are drinking out of earthenware jugs, commonly used for coffee. Meanwhile, three women continue with their everyday chores, either milking a cow, winnowing grain or carrying hay to the stables. In between these two scenarios, a young girl seems to be amusing herself with a small dog, which starts playing with her when he sees her holding an apple. In the foreground there are chickens busy trying to find any crumbs that may have fallen off the table during lunch. As such, the painting recreates a scene that is almost pastoral, filled with natural life and harmony.

In the distance, two snowy peaks appear on the horizon. Their characteristic outlines are easily recognisable. To the left, the volcano Iztaccíhuatl, "the white woman", elongated and with numerous peaks. To the right, we can glimpse the volcano Popocatépetl in among the trees and vegetation, with its conical and symmetrical peak. Both volcanoes, reaching in excess of 5,000 metres above sea level, are symbols of the country, located close to the States of Mexico and Puebla, which would place this scene and its characters in a rural part of that region.

In Mexican painting, the *costumbrista* genre appeared in the second decade of the 19th century. Several foreign artists were sent to Mexico on scientific missions, commissioned to document the natural wealth and staggering archaeological and cultural heritage of the newly-independent nation. This was the case of the German Carl Nebel, the Italian Claudio Linatti and the English Daniel T. Eggerton, among others.[309] Europe learned about Mexican customs and ways of life through their work. Their Mexican contemporaries took on the tradition, extending and enriching it. Although most Mexican *costumbrista* paintings were anonymous, Manuel Serrano is one prominent name we could mention. His extensive production and varied subject matter focussed on the lives of the Mexican cowboys, or *charros,* and the residents of Mexico City. Another artist of note was José Agustín Arrieta, from Puebla, a painter of everyday life scenes, common people and opulent still lifes, who focussed on Mexicans on the streets and in the *haciendas,* the ones he felt were the essence of Mexico: *mestizo,* unique, diverse, irreverent.[310]

Because of its similarities with the painting being examined here, we might highlight Serrano's canvas *Truhanes en una venta (Rogues at an Inn)* (Fig. 1), a peasant scene that takes place at the entrance to a rustic room with *adobe* walls and a tiled roof, with a wooden table around which a group of common people are engrossed in the card game being played. Similarly, one of Arrieta's most prominent *costumbrista* works is *Escena de pulquería (Pulque bar scene)* (Fig. 2), which depicts a social gathering of both men and women, where they are toasting and having fun, surrounded by barrels of *pulque*[311] and pans filled with Mexican *platillos.*

Fig. 1 Manuel Serrano, *Truhanes en una venta* [Thieves Playing Cards], signed; oil on canvas, Museo Nacional de Historia Castillo de Chapultepec, Mexico City

The aforementioned Carl Nebel was one of the artists who travelled to Mexico with the aim of providing an account of lands that were then unknown to the European public. His training as an architect and engineer afforded him the skills for precise drawing, something he would improve in his engravings. After his first trip to Mexico, he executed a set of fifty lithographic prints, which he coloured by hand, and would publish years later in a book titled *"Voyage pittoresque et archéologique dans la partie la plus intéressante du Méxique"*, covering the period between 1829 and 1834 (Fig. 3).

Fig. 2 José Agustín Arrieta (1803-1874), *Escena de pulquería* [Scene of a Pulque Store], 1850, signed; oil on canvas. Museo Soumaya, Fundación Carlos Slim, Mexico City

His chronicles of everyday life, and descriptions of people and social customs and hierarchies, are one of the most interesting graphic examples for studying the Mexican *costumbrismo* that would come later. A wealth of ethnographic information can be extracted from his texts and lithographs, paying special attention to one specific topic: clothing across the different social classes.

Linked to this idea of Nebel's, and in regard to the characters in this painting, they can all be analysed individually based on what they are wearing. In the case of the two male figures, their clothing would suggest they are *charros,* ranchers used to a life spent on horseback. Their work clothes are characterised by including tight long trousers with adornments at the sides, a white shirt and, generally, a short jacket on top that includes adornments or embroidery, and perhaps a coloured blanket used as a cloak known as *zarape*, and a hat with a wide brim and boots. Nebel defined their clothing in the following terms:

> *"There is no doubt this attire is perfectly tailored to the rider's comfort. The large hat for shade, the blanket or serape covering his back, the leather falling over the saddle, unfolding as needed to protect his legs from water, and finally the boots, and even the wooden stirrups […] a perfect fit for his fate".*[312]

The women, meanwhile, are depicted wearing traditional dress known as *china poblana,* due to its association with the city of Puebla. This was generally made up of four main garments, varying according to location and social class. Over the bosom, a low-cut white shirt, which might include frayed or embroidered adornments; below, a long skirt known as a *castor*, which could be plain or embroidered in a variety of colours; a petticoat known as a *fondo*, decorated with lace edging that would stick out at the ankles; and, finally, a belt around the waist holding the whole outfit together. Usually, women would wear flat shoes or sandals, and, depending on their status, accessorise their attire with beads and jewellery worn as earrings and necklaces, and they would plait their hair with coloured ribbons.[313] This is how the different women in the scene are dressed, adding other commonly-used garments, such as the *rebozo de bolita,* a shawl to protect themselves from the cold, and also used to carry their babies.

For all the above reasons, the most significant characteristic of this painting is its value as an ethnographic document, a reflection of Mexican rural culture in the 19th century, recounted and depicted without artifice by local artists and painters who truly understood the traditions of their country.

Fig. 3 Carlos Nebel (1802 - 1855), *Rancheros and Poblana;* pair of lithographic prints, hand-coloured on paper, as part of the album "Viaje pintoresco y arqueológico sobre la parte más interesante de la República Mejicana, en los años transcurridos desde 1829 hasta 1834". Mexico, Imprenta P. Renouard, 1840

30

José Villegas
active in Mexico in the last quarter of the 18th century

The Beato Sebastián de Aparicio Taming the Beasts

Last quarter of the 18th century
Oil on canvas
86×114 cm
Provenance: Private collection, New York

José Gómez Frechina

Sebastián Aparicio de Prado, the son of Juan Aparicio and Teresa de Prado, was born in La Gudiña (Ourense) in 1502. Having worked in a number of trades related to agriculture and livestock, he set out for New Spain in 1535, settling in La Puebla de los Ángeles. He excelled in the haulage business, using ox-drawn carts, and as a roads inspector, thereby making his fortune. After some years he sold his fleet of carts and became an "hacendado", or landowner, going on to devote himself to agriculture and raising livestock.

A childless widower, he donated his fortune to the Clarist convent in Mexico City, and took his vows as a novice in the monastery of San Francisco in the viceregal capital on 9 June 1574, in spite of his advanced years. From there, he was sent to the monastery of Santiago de Tecali for a year and, finally, in 1577, he entered the convent of Las Llagas de Nuestro Seráfico Padre San Francisco in Puebla as an almoner. He quickly earnt a reputation for holiness, due to his close ties with the people and his work as a cart driver, collecting fuel and provisions for the convent and the poor. The Galician friar died on 25 February 1600 in the convent in Puebla, and was awarded the title of Venerable by Pope Clement XIII in 1768. Pope Pius VI would later beatify him for his missionary work in the Viceroyalty of New Spain, on 17 May 1789.

The previously-unpublished canvas we are examining here, *The Beato Sebastián de Aparicio taming the Beasts* bears the remains of a signature that one can make out as reading José Villegas. The scholar Manuel Toussaint noted that the painter Villegas took on an apprentice in 1675, and that he executed a *Crucifixion* in Mexico cathedral (*Arte colonial en México*, UNAM 1962, p.119).

In this narrative painting with its broad landscape, Villegas stuck faithfully to the print by the Italian engraver Giovanni Girolamo Frezza (Canemorto, 1671 – Rome, ca. 1748) (Fig. 1), a rare iconographic example before the 1789 beatification of the cart-driving Franciscan, which itself led to further portraits, such as the engravings by Pietro Leone Bombelli (Rome, 1737-1809). The latter took note of the Frezza model for his engraving of the holy friar, surrounded by animals, with the title "Current state of the Site, known vulgarly as the Ranch of St. Aparizio".

Fig. 1 Giovanni Girolamo Frezza (Canemorto, 1671 – Rome, ca. 1748), *The Blessed Sebastián de Aparicio taming the beasts*; engraving

In our painting the elderly friar is pictured by a tree, with his mantle and hat hanging from a branch, caught in the act of blessing an ox, which in a sign of obedience is kneeling to the surprise of some men with dogs in spiked collars. A Chichimeca Indian kneels before the friar with his quiver, arrow and bow on the ground, witnessing his power over the wild animals who become docile at his feet. Prominent iconographic elements identifying the Blessed Sebastián Aparicio include the cart, oxen and jug with madonna lilies in the foreground, referring to a passage from the friar's hagiography, recorded by Diego de Leyva in 1687: *"The last time the venerable father went to Puebla (Sunday 20 February) he arrived at a house in the San Antonio neighbourhood [...]where he asked a woman if, for the love of God, she could spare a little water, because he was beset with thirst, and the lady sent a servant to give it to him, and when the latter saw that it was for a friar, she took the water in the very jug from which her mistress drank, and gave it to the venerable father, who drank it and said: "be with God, my sisters, for I am now going to the infirmary to die". And with that he left, and the mistress started to chide and reprehend the servant for having given water in her jug to that old and dribbling friar, and in a rage she told her to throw it into the animal yard, because she would not drink from it ever again. And this the servant girl did".* Having heard of the death of the ancient friar, the woman went to get her jug back, and found it intact and with a madonna lily in it, the symbol of his purity.

In the chapel dedicated to the "Conquering Virgin" in the convent of San Francisco de Puebla, there is a large-scale canvas depicting various episodes from the life of the Blessed Sebastián Aparicio by the painter Miguel Jerónimo Zendejas. The latter also follows (though in a simpler form) the composition seen in Frezza's hagiographic engraving.

Another anonymous depiction of the friar taming beasts, again inspired by prints of the Giovanni Girolamo Frezza engraving, is preserved in the church and art gallery of the Society of Jesus and San Felipe Neri in Guanajuato, Mexico (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2 Anonymous artist, *The Beato Sebastián de Aparicio taming the Beasts*, Mexico, 18th century; oil on canvas. Church and art gallery of the Society of Jesus and San Felipe Neri, Guanajuato (Mexico)

31

José María Vázquez
Mexico City, second half of the 18th century – later than 1834

Portrait of Sor María José de la Luz

Puebla (Mexico), 1834
Oil on canvas
117×92 cm
Signed: *José María Vázquez f.*
Provenance: Private collection, New York

Jaime Eguiguren

A portrait of the crowned nun Sor María José de la Luz, who is dressed in fine and lavish jewels and flowers. She is a young, beautiful *criolla* woman, contentedly looking out at the viewer, her sweet gaze expressing a candid joy and conveying a peace of mind and excitement at her mystical wedding with Christ in the convent of Santa Clara, Puebla, at the age of 19 years, 3 months and 8 days.

The cartouche located at the bottom of this crowned nun portrait includes all the information required to identify the subject at this transcendental moment in her life, and reads as follows: *"R(ecuer) do de la M(adr)e Sor Maria Jose de la Luz hija legitima de D(o)n. Andres Oviedo y de D(oñ)a Maria Refugio Moya de Oviedo Nació el dia 26 de Abril fr 1815. Profeso Solemnemente en el convento de Sta. Clara de Puebla a la edad de 19 años, 3 meses 8 dia. Jose Maria Vazquez"* [A memento of Sister María José de la Luz, legitimate daughter of Andrés Oviedo and María Refugio Moya de Oviedo, born on 26 April 1815, who took her solemn vows in the convent of Santa Clara in Puebla at the age of 19 years, 3 months and 8 days. José María Vázquez"] The cartouche not only clarifies who Sister María José de la Luz was the legitimate daughter of, but also explains that she took her vows at the age of 19 in the convent of Santa Clara in Puebla.

This colourful and beautiful portrait executed by the skilled and consummate artist José María Vázquez presents the young woman in half length. The subject is set against a neutral background stripped of all decoration, thereby focussing the viewer's attention solely on her. Sister María José de la Luz is pictured wearing a black wimple and a dark blue mantle that contrasts with her gold jewellery and emeralds, as well as with the fine adornment of pearls set into the fabric covering her hair. On her chest, like a wide collar, the Instruments of the Passion are presented in silver-thread embroidery. Also on her chest, she is wearing a nun's shield with a tortoiseshell frame and a portrait of St. Clare of Assisi, patron saint of the monastery that would house her and the first woman to write a set of guidelines for women leading religious lives, moving away from the traditional monastic rules. She is holding a lit candle in her right hand, with a frame of flowers, symbolising the light of faith and hope. In her left hand, she is holding a crucifix adorned with beautiful flowers and framed with one of the three powers that symbolise the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Finally, on her head she wears a large crown of vibrantly-coloured flowers, in harmony with the rest of the whole wonderful floral arrangement, which confers a singular and unique identity to this portrait, typical of the festive and joyful nature of Hispano-American traditions.

Enough works by José María Vázquez have survived to the present day for us to be able to speak of his mastery as a painter. As early as 1985, Cristina Esteras Martín wrote a study about the artist,[314] in which she mentions several signed works by the painter that could be found in Madrid. Toussaint[315] states that he was one of the first artists from Mexico's Academia de San Carlos to be awarded a "pensión" (a sort of artistic stipend), where he obtained the title of "Académico de Mérito". One his works, *The Last Supper,* can be viewed in Mexico Cathedral; the Museo Nacional de Historia houses his portrait of *Don Pedro Garibay*, Viceroy of New Spain (Fig. 1), with the features of a tired and ageing man, depicted with a naturalism that was uncommon at the time. In his portrait of *Sor María Antonia del Corazón de Jesús* (Fig. 2), the subject is presented without the traditional floral arrangements characteristic of novices taking their vows because it was executed five years after she had entered the community. The composition follows the austere tastes of the new Neoclassical style that had become popular in Novohispanic viceregal society. His portrait of *Maria Luisa Gonzaga Foncerrada y Labarrieta* (Fig. 3) also stands out because, though portrayed indoors, a beautiful landscape with a fountain can be seen through a window, in the style of the Renaissance painters of the *cinquecento.*

Fig. 1 José María Vázquez, *Virrey de Nueva España Pedro de Garibay a los 79 años de edad*; oil on canvas. Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico

At the time of publication, the beautiful portrait of Sister María José de la Luz we are examining here is considered the last known painting executed by José María Vázquez, dating from circa 1834.

Fig. 2 José María Vázquez, *Portrait of Sor María Antonia del Corazón de Jesús*; oil on canvas. Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico

Fig. 3 José María Vázquez, *Portrait of Maria Luisa Gonzaga Foncerrada y Labarrieta*; oil on canvas. Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico

Crafting Brilliance: The Radiance of Enconchado

Miguel González
Active in the 2nd half of the 17th century
The Apostle James the Greater
Mexico, 17th century
Oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel
84×70 cm (framed); 56×40.6 cm (unframed)
Provenance: Private collection

Miguel González
New Spain, late 17th century – early 18th century
Assumption of the Virgin Mary
Oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel
65×88.8 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Madrid

Nicolás Correa
Mexico, ca. 1665 – after 1696
Virgin of the Apocalypse
The Birth of the Virgin
Oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel
110×78 cm each
Provenance: Private collection, New York

Adoration of the Shepherds
Flight into Egypt
Unidentified artist
Mexico, last quarter of the 17th century
Oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel
45×65 cm (framed)
30.5×37.5 cm (unframed)
Provenance: Private collection

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Miguel González
Active in the 2nd half of the 17th century

The Apostle James the Greater

Mexico, 17th century
Oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel
84×70 cm (framed)
56×40.6 cm (unframed)
Provenance: Private collection

Sofía Fernández Lázaro

Miguel González, a "*skilled craftsman in the art of painting*",[316] is currently considered an indisputable benchmark figure and pioneer of the mother-of-pearl inlay technique, known as *enconchado*. He was born in 1662 to a family of artists. His father, Tomás González de Villaverde, a *"master maque painter"*,[317] ran his own workshop in Mexico City, which is probably where Miguel undertook his first commissions, becoming a leading light in one of the most unusual chapters of New Spanish art in the modern era, at just the same time as the work of renowned artists such as Cristóbal de Villalpando, Juan Correa or the Arellano family.

However, little else is known about the life of this *enconchado* master, with scholars of art history not paying him much heed until well into the 20th century, despite the fact that a considerable number of his works have survived to vouch for him as an original artist and a leading eminence, along with his close relative Juan, of this unique artistic style which, while drawing on oriental influences, developed in an entirely New Spanish fashion.

To judge by its exceptional iconography (St. James the Greater, patron saint of Spain), the work we are presenting here was probably commissioned by a private individual of Spanish origin, and it is also likely that it was intended for domestic use, as the light qualities of this sort of mother-of-pearl inlay work are an invitation to close inspection, where the iridescence and meticulous detail can be appreciated to the full.

This previously unpublished *enconchado* depicts James the Greater as its sole protagonist, in line with Counter Reformation norms regarding his portrayal. The Saint appears as a medieval pilgrim, full-length, standing up and facing the viewer, his left foot pushed slightly forward, barefoot, lending the scene a subtle dose of movement that alludes to pilgrimage. His is portrayed as solid and forthright, his back straight and gaze fixed on the horizon, creating a sort of visual metaphor for personal self-improvement and the spiritual fortitude necessary to tackle the challenges that crop up along life's highway.

Depicted as an elderly man with pale skin, St. James boasts a softly-flowing mane of almost golden brown hair, with tufts of white around the corners of his mouth leading to his thick, three-toned beard, which almost conceals his fine, red, tightly-sealed lips. His saintly face is crowned by two large black eyes which, under fine and slightly raised eyebrows, seem lost in a gaze beyond the spectator, capturing the profound faith and devotion implicit to his mission. We find an analogous portrayal, with refined features, in the *Guadalupe* signed by Miguel González in 1692, and preserved today in Madrid's Museo de América (Fig. 1). This similarity in *fattura* is particularly visible in the figure of St. Joaquim, who appears in the medallion in the top left corner, with physiognomic features that are incredibly close to those of our St. James, strongly suggesting that Miguel González was the artist responsible for the beautiful and unpublished *enconchado* work we are presenting here.

Moving on with our description of the Saint, we come to his body, which is almost entirely covered in a long robe with a mantle on top. The pilgrim's clothes take up almost all our attention thanks to the sort of mosaic they form, constructed out of multiple layers of mother-of-pearl inlay, which are imbued with movement by a succession of fine black lines applied by brush. Equally striking is the painstaking decoration of the clothing, which appears to be populated by a sea of dots, combined with volute-shaped motifs, all golden, lending it an even greater level of iridescence and brilliance.

Following the iconographic norms for depicting James the Greater as a pilgrim, he is pictured with all his canonical attributes. If we start at the top, we find his pilgrim's hat, hanging round his neck and falling down his back, and which would appear to follow the most orthodox model, being cone-shaped and pointed. We then come to his left arm, from which his pilgrim's bag is hanging, while his left hand holds a book, in allusion to his gospel and his role as messenger of the Christian faith, a particularly symbolic dimension in this New Spanish *enconchado* given the evangelising function of the visual arts in the New World. One final distinctive element of Spain's patron saint is the pilgrim staff in his right hand, with a gourd hanging from the top. This attribute, which is practically the *sine qua non* of the Apostle James' pilgrim iconography, has a dual dimension, both spiritual and practical. Spiritually, the long staff carried by the pilgrim alludes to God's support as a spiritual guide on the road of life, as well as the practical need for, and benefits of, helping each other along the way. The gourd, meanwhile, used as a container for water or some other liquid, alludes to our connection with nature and our basic needs as we move through life.

The painting's background is stripped of compositional elements, eschewing any scenes or landscapes that might evoke the way of the pilgrim and his spiritual journey. Instead, in a display of originality and technical skill, González has enveloped the Saint in a sort of frame within a frame, surrounding the figure of James the Greater with a perimeter border festooned with flowers made out of little pieces of mother-of-pearl inlay combined with stems and foliage painted by brush, skipping between red, green and gold, the traditional colours of *enconchado*. We can find a similarly original background featured in a mother-of-pearl inlay work depicting *Guadalupe* housed at the Museo de América in Madrid (Fig. 2), whose authorship is currently unknown.

The work's final compositional element is the frame itself; comprising a perimeter border featuring a black background decorated with mother-of-pearl inlay, populated by an elegant and meticulously-executed repertory of plants, flowers and birds, all of which are covered by a subtle layer of red, green and golden pigments, instantly reminiscent of the subtlety of *Namban* lacquer. Of particular interest in our painting is the octagonal geometry employed by González in his design of the frame, a departure from the rectangular model generally found (with greater or fewer variations) in the majority of surviving *enconchado* works. It is worth noting, as Soria Ocaña does well to observe in her detailed study of *enconchado* frames, that "*the fact that the frame technique is the same as the "enconchado" paintings indicates that the two parts of the work are closely linked*"[318] and both, as such, the work of the same artist.

In addition to the conquistadors themselves, many of whom belonged to the Order of St. James, or Santiago,[319] the main institutions in charge of the dissemination of this iconography were the various religious orders (Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians and Jesuits) which, each with its own precise evangelical role, did not stick merely to the act of converting, but participated in the development of a new society, using the visual arts as a tool for direct and immediate action in a process of acculturation that still endures to this day.[320]

As mentioned above, when they arrived in New Spain, the religious orders brought with them the cultural marks and traditional features that identified the Old World, with the figure of St. James the Greater, Apostle of Christianity and patron saint of Spain prominent among the icons of popular worship and devotion, and the "first Catholic saint to arrive with the Conquistadors".[321] We can thus argue that, if St. James is linked to the history of Spain, he is also linked to that of the Americas, and to that of Mexico.

In short, we can conclude that this *enconchado* depiction of St. James the Greater stands before us as testimony to the globalisation of trade which, under the flag of the Manila Galleon, linked Asia, the Americas and Europe in a three-way voyage of influences and allegories that lives on to this day.

Fig. 1 Miguel González, *Guadalupe*, signed and dated 1692; oil and mother-of-pearl inlay on panel. Museo de América, Madrid

Fig. 2 Anonymous, Guadalupe, end of the 17th century – start of the 18th century; oil and mother-of-pearl inlay on panel. Museo de América, Madrid

The Apostle James the Greater (detail), Jaime Eguiguren Collection

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Miguel González
New Spain, late 17th century – early 18th century

Assumption of the Virgin Mary

Oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel
65×88.8 cm
Provenance: Private collection, Madrid

Sofía Fernández Lázaro

In the late 17th century, the Viceroyalty of New Spain went through an artistic and cultural period that was highly complex and enriching, the fruit of the constant influx of people, objects and ideas arriving on the American content via the Manila Galleon maritime trade routes, in a two-way exchange phenomenon known as the *tornaviaje*. Out of this convergence of cultural and stylistic influences, which fused indigenous, European and Oriental knowledge, a unique artistic expression was born, which we now know as "enconchado" or mother-of-pearl inlay painting, reflecting the local artists' remarkable taste for originality.

Works featuring mother-of-pearl inlay were characterised by the use of pictorial techniques taken from the European tradition, combined with the materiality and technical approach of Oriental nacreous and lacquer decoration (*maque*), thereby obtaining a surface populated with a particular glittering shimmer.

From a technical point of view, the increased efforts of the scientific and research community mean we now know that *maque* painters mostly executed sketches prior to the final execution and that, in general, these did not differ much from the final composition. On top of this preparatory drawing they would use animal glue to apply the pieces of mother-of-pearl, doing so in a studied and premeditated fashion, as "we always find them in the figures' clothing, in architectural elements and certain decorative pieces".[322] Once the mother-of-pearl sections had been inlaid, the master moved on to the detailed task of drawing the figures and objects, subtly outlining their forms with the tip of a brush laden with India ink, thereby attaining an interplay of saturations and volumes reminiscent of Oriental art. Next the painter applied the pictorial layer, generally comprising a reduced chromatic palette moving between yellow tones for the background and architecture, and greens, blues and reds for the clothing. Its application, which was equally subtle, using transparencies and glazes, meant that, like a magical trick, the underlying iridescence of the mother-of-pearl shone through, mesmerising and astonishing the spectator. Finally, to protect the work, but also fulfilling an aesthetic purpose, the composition was covered with a layer of yellowish varnish, obtaining a greater colour saturation and thereby producing a noticeable increase in the chromatic contrast of the surface.[323]

Fig. 1 Anonymous, *Assumption of the Virgin Mary*; oil and mother-of-pearl on panel, 17th-18th century. Museo Franz Mayer, Mexico

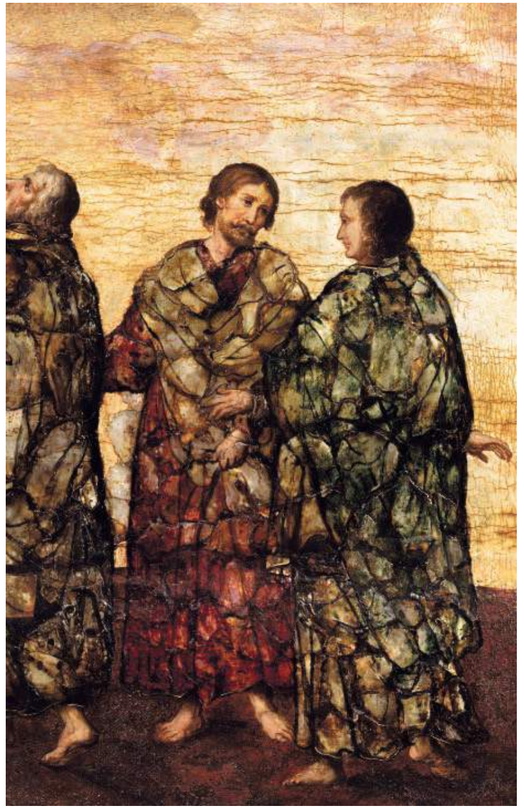
Of the increasing numbers of known examples of *enconchado* works, we find both profane and religious subjects, some forming part of large series, like the previously-unpublished depiction of the *Assumption of the Virgin Mary* that we are presenting here, and which almost certainly belonged to a large series portraying episodes from the Virgin's life. This was probably also the case for the small mother-of-pearl inlay panel depicting the same iconography, but of inferior pictorial quality to ours, preserved in Mexico's Museo Franz Mayer (Fig. 1).

This majestic and excellently-preserved panel depicting the Assumption is medium-sized and of a horizontal, or landscape format, ideal for being displayed in a chapel or private oratory[324] given, as Sonia Ocaña rightly points out, *enconchado* paintings are made to be viewed up close, at a distance from which the shining mother-of-pearl may be best appreciated.

The composition of the scene divides the painting into two narrative sections along the horizontal axis. In this, it joins the *Assumption* from Madrid's Museo de América in using one or more engravings linked to Rubens as a model.[325] Awash with iridescence thanks to the nacreous ocean bathing its pictorial surface, the *Assumption of the Virgin Mary* captures the very essence of devotion and transcendence, transporting us to a universe of symbolism and spirituality brimming with meticulously conceived and executed details.

In the upper area of the panel we find the Virgin Mary, resting on a swathe of ethereal and vaporous clouds, just as she is being taken, body and soul, to heaven by a cohort of adolescent angels arranged symmetrically, smiling, two on each side of the Mother of God. They boast colourful wings and wear light, long red and green tunics, which flutter in the breeze. Similar to them, but smaller and bare-chested, are the cherubim accompanying them on this celestial journey, surrounding the Virginal image and appearing from between the clouds, some full-length, others with just their little heads showing.

The Virgin, a matronly and noble-looking young woman, is dressed in a bluish mantle and pink robe, both garments "woven" with a succession of carefully-applied layers of mother-of-pearl. Surrounded



by a modest aureole, she emanates a splendour made up of subtle radiating glimmers, particularly accentuated at the level of her face, as if attempting to underline her celestial status. She is crowned by a tiara of roses underneath which her beautiful long brown mane flows down in fine, wavy locks that open up as they fall onto her shoulders like a theatre curtain, offering up to us the most serene and radiant of faces. Her head is slightly tilted towards the heavens, guiding her course with the gaze of her dark and almond-shaped eyes,[326] which seem to go beyond the limits of the earthly realm. Her perfectly-traced nose and mouth are testament to the skilled draftsmanship of the artist, who was worthy of being called painter. The Virgin's body is outlined with soft curves, a device used by the artist as a counterpoint to the rigid incisions of the mother-of-pearl. The Marian depiction concludes with her white hands which, delicately clasped together over her breast, are an invitation to prayer, connecting the divine and human worlds.

In the lower section of the composition, clearly separated by a virtual horizontal line in the gold-tinted section, we find the figures of Mary Magdalene and the twelve Apostles, arranged on varying planes of depth around the empty tomb. Mary, the only woman in the group, is seen face-on in the centre of the composition, raising her face up to the heavens while holding the shroud in which the body of the Mother of God was wrapped. She is joined, in a sort of group hug, by three apostles, two of which are beardless. Of these, the youngest is probably St. John, who is holding up the heavy stone lid of the vacant tomb, provoking looks of astonishment in his companions who, stunned and overjoyed, are witnesses to the miracle. On their right we observe three more apostles, standing and full-length. The first, who is closest to the tomb, looks like an old man, with long hair and grey beard, looking up towards the heavens, accompanying the Virgin in her passing into the divine sphere. Behind him, two apostles appear to be talking; one of them standing out with long light brown hair and moustache, pictured face-on, and somewhat removed from the emotional mood of the rest of the group. The majority of the apostles appear on the left of the panel. The first ones, those nearest the tomb, are seen kneeling down, with their backs to us, helping to lift off the heavy stone lid. Behind them, standing up, three bearded apostles of a certain age are lost in prayer, two of them looking towards the heavens, in contrast to the third apostle's reverential downwards gesture.

The skilled drawing of the faces and hands is of particular note, presenting a wide range of positions and expressive poses. This vouches for the courage and quality of Miguel González as a draftsman, with this meticulous depiction of details serving as the artist's signature given, according to the guild regulations, he had to accredit his skills in drawing, colouring and, most of all, in the *fattura* of beautiful faces and bodies when decorating his works.[327] It is thus that we can confirm that this presumed relation of Juan González took all these technical matters extremely seriously in his most prominent works, showing that his link to the guild was not just for appearances, but that he made every effort to adapt his work to its requirements.

As a defining characteristic of this sort of piece, the composition is further embellished through the use of mother-of-pearl in the clothes of the Apostles, summoned by the divine power to witness this prodigious occurrence. The chromatic palette, as tends to be the case with *enconchado* paintings, is limited to the glazed use of yellows, greens and reds which, intermingled, create a visual contrast between the earthly hues and the sepia and golden tones reserved for the divine sphere.

As noted earlier, throughout the execution of the entire scene the artist subtly displays his meticulous and detailed pictorial technique, revealing his skill in rendering textures and shades of light. Each fold of the fabrics, worked using the tip of his brush, each strategically-placed dot of light; they all go to envelop the spectator in a mystical dance that helps to make up for the difficulties of perspective inherent to this sort of artform, instead regaling us with what is most certainly a mature work by Miguel González, whose popular workshop enjoyed a more than deserved reputation.

In short, this painting of the *Assumption of the Virgin Mary* stands before us as a majestic example of the virtuosity of a New Spanish painter who drew on the influences reaching him from overseas, and wove his own language to reproduce a complex iconography which, developing over the years through a profuse and heterogeneous ensemble of oral legends and apocryphal texts of varying linguistic/cultural origins, had to wait until 1959 to be defined as dogma by Pope Pius XII; a fact that did not, however, stop it from blossoming through both Spanish and Novohispanic artistic representations from the 18th century on (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2 Anonymousm, *Assumption of the Virgin Mary*; mother-of-pearl inlay, Mexico 17th or 18th century. Museo del Prado, Madrid

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Nicolás Correa
Mexico, ca. 1665 – after 1696

Virgin of the Apocalypse

Oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel
110×78 cm
Provenance: Private collection, New York

Sofía Fernández Lázaro / Jorge González Matarranz

There is little currently known about Nicolás Correa, a painter whose remarkable artistic qualities deserve more than a few documentary notes largely ignored by scholars of art history. We know he was born in approximately 1665 into an artistic family of "mulatto" origin. We also know that he inherited his profession from his father, José Correa, and that like his uncle, the eminent and renowned painter Juan Correa, he was a member of the guild of painters and gilders. Although his recorded output is scarce, the technical quality, skilled draftsmanship and creative originality of his works call for us to focus more attention on an artist who combined the traditional devices of his craft with the "enconchado" technique, thereby earning himself a place in the history of this unusual artform.

Indeed, as Ocaña Ruíz suggests, we need to recognise that Juan and Miguel González were not the only prominent painters who devoted a large proportion of their careers to works featuring mother-of-pearl inlay. The fact is, as this previously-unpublished *Virgin of the Apocalypse* demonstrates, that not all surviving *enconchado* paintings of worth were by the González family, as Nicolás Correa, who was active at the same time, also executed some notable works with a seal and characteristics that set them apart from theirs.[328] Furthermore, the fact that Nicolás Correa was working in *enconchado* painting at the same time as Juan and Miguel González leads Ocaña to postulate the possibility that the two families may have been linked.[329] A reciprocal connection that would explain Nicolás Correa's skills at the mother-of-pearl inlay technique and, in turn, the attention paid to the pictorial aspect we find in the work of Juan and Miguel, which may have been learnt from the Correas. However, and despite Nicolás Correa and Miguel González both being mentioned in the "Donation from the guild of painters and gilders for the War of Succession" of 1704,[330] we are still unable to demonstrate the nature of this hypothetical connection, as it is not recorded in any reliable documentary source.[331]

On this occasion, Correa chose the iconographic depiction of "The Woman of the Apocalypse", one of the most popular of the visions related by the author of the Book of Revelations[332] on the Greek island of Patmos.

As such, this panel, which almost certainly belonged to a larger series depicting the episodes of the Life of the Virgin, in the same sequence as the *enconchado Birth of the Virgin* also included in these pages, narrates the episode in which the *Mulier amicta sole*[333] is pursued by a dragon who wants to devour the child she is waiting to give birth to. The male Child is finally taken up to God's throne where he was to rule all the nations, while she waits and is fed in the desert for a time. Meanwhile, St. Michael and his angels fight the followers of the dragon who, once defeated, pursues the Woman, but she manages to escape thanks to two great eagle's wings that sprout from her body.

The *enconchado* painting before us here stays close to the Revelations text, portraying various events at the same time, arranged through a division of the compositional space into two differentiated planes: the upper one, identified with the celestial sphere, and the lower one, with the earthly sphere. We observe the same device used in the canvas depicting the *Virgin of the Apocalypse* by Cristóbal Villalpando (Mexico City, ca. 1649-1714), painted for the sacristy of the Cathedral of Mexico (Fig.1), and considered by many art history scholars to be the pinnacle of this sort of iconographic work from the Viceroyalty of New Spain.[334] As such, if we look at the compositional design and specific execution of some of the figures, it seems clear that Nicolás Correa drew inspiration from this apocalyptic model, a fairly likely hypothesis if we take into account that between 1684 and 1688 Villalpando was involved in the decoration of the cathedral construction works, along with Juan Correa, Nicolas' uncle; together they completed a complex visual programme depicting the Life of the Virgin.[335]

Fig. 1 Cristóbal de Villalpando (Mexico City, ca. 1649-1714), *The Virgin of the Apocalypse*, 1685; oil on canvas. Mexico Cathedral

In the middle of the composition we see the image of the Virgin Mary, arranged to face the viewer, standing in an ample skyscape of clouds, out of which we see a crescent moon emerging. The Mother of God, with her long, wavy hair, raises her face to the heavens, her almond-shaped eyes gazing towards the journey to salvation being undertaken by her newborn son, while clasping her hands together over her chest in prayer. The Virginal figure is dressed in a fine and elegant red robe "woven" out of mother-of-pearl inlay, onto which the Novohispanic artist has applied a thin coat of a reddish pigment to which he had added, using the tip of his brush, an array of fine volute-shaped decorative gilt motifs. Mary's blue and visibly-mobile mantle rests on top of her robe, grabbing our attention. Here again, Correa has inundated the upper garment with iridescence thanks to the mother-of-pearl inlay and a host of gilt details all over the surface, which draw aesthetic parallels with those of the clothing of the angel who appears in the *enconchado* panel *Joseph's Dream* (Fig. 2), signed by Correa and which recently appeared on the art market.[336] Behind the Virginal body the sun peeks out timidly, announcing that we are witness to the image of the Virgin as *Mulier amicta sole.*

Closest to her, the Virginal figure is surrounded by three cherubim carrying elements associated with the Litany of Loreto, such as the madonna lilies of purity and the mirror of justice. Behind them,

though granted greater protagonism, an orchestra of musician angels appears, dressed in light and airy mother-of-pearl clothing and entirely given over to their celestial concert. The way the angels are executed is of a similar *fattura* to the cohort of angels from the aforementioned *Birth of the Virgin*, suggesting the importance of drawing in Correa's work, which is even more evident in his purely pictorial oeuvre, with one prominently similar example being *The Mystical Marriage of St. Rose of Lima,* where the artist took delight in his drawing of angels and cherubim (Fig.3). The heavenly plane concludes, in the upper left corner of the panel, with a bust of the Eternal Father, dressed in pink, contemplating two angels who are carrying the infant Son of God, wrapped in swaddling clothes, away from danger and to Him.

In the lower part of the panel we see St. Michael and his warrior angels fighting against the seven-headed dragon. Portrayed at the same scale as the Mother of God, the Archangel, who is clearly based on Villalpando's apocalyptic model, appears soaring above the battle scene, as if readying himself to deliver a decisive blow. He is depicted as a *princeps militiae angelorum*,[337] with a shield on his left arm while brandishing the victorious sword in his right hand. At his feet, on the ground, there are three winged soldiers, dressed in mother-of-pearl fabrics and armed with spears and swords, busy ensuring the defeat of the forces of evil that appear in the form of a beast with seven flaming heads, a clear allusion to the seven deadly sins.

Finally, and as a key compositional element, on the right of the

Fig. 2 Nicolás Correa (Mexico, ca. 1665 – after 1696), *The Mystic Marriage of St. Rose of Lima, 1691*, 17th century, signed; oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel. Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico

Fig. 3 Nicolás Correa (Mexico, ca. 1665 – after 1696), *Joseph's Dream*, 17th century, signed; oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel. Private collection

panel we observe the presence of a young, bearded St. John, who is contemplating the scene from a distant (though privileged) spot, on the Isle of Patmos, where he was exiled by the Emperor Domitian for preaching. Following the codified norms for his depiction, the evangelist appears standing up, with his face raised towards the vision of the Woman of the Apocalypse, preparing to take note of his canonical testimony with a pen and book, iconographic attributes that identify him. The eagle, his symbol in the evangelical tetramorph, is seen behind him, also bearing witness to the cosmic battle. The execution of the saint's face, with its amiable features and concealed psychological charge, once again allows us to identify a consistency within the work of Correa, in this case particularly in the similarities with the face of Christ in the signed canvas titled *The Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes*, currently preserved in Madrid's Museo de América (Fig. 4).

The vegetation surrounding the scene, rich in ochre tones as is often the case with this sort of work, alludes to the desert of John's narration, generating an interplay of contrasting light, which contributes to embellish the panel, while also respecting the normal approach to depicting landscapes in *enconchado* paintings.

The Immaculate Conception-related subject of the Virgin of the Apocalypse became extremely widespread in New Spain, as it did in the rest of the Hispano-American viceroyalties, from the second half of the 17th century on, becoming a metaphor for the triumph of Catholicism, regenerated in the New World.

Although the original depictions of this iconography on American soil suggest their debt to the model created by Rubens between 1623 and 1624, the fact is that it has not been possible to prove any direct connection, as we are yet to discover any print of this work in the overseas territories.[338] Instead, the different compositional approaches taken invite us to conclude that the visual translation of this iconography drew inspiration from various formal sources, with some of these becoming canonical benchmarks for dissemination. We would, as commented earlier, highlight the iconographic type devised by Cristóbal Villalpando for Mexico Cathedral and argue that, being the most effective expression of the symbolism, it ended up becoming established as a referential model in the second half of the 17th century in the artistic centres of Mexico City and Puebla de los Ángeles. An indication of the acceptance of this model is the painting of the *Apocalyptic Virgin* that Miguel Cabrera designed for the decoration of the stairway of the Colegio de Propaganda Fide de Guadalupe, in Zacatecas, whose similarities with Villalpando's work, according to Doménech García, were not due to any proclivity for a supposed Rubens engraving, but because the painter from Oaxaca took note, as Nicolás Correa probably did too, of Villalpando's composition.[339]

However, and beyond the stimulus for Novohispanic artists of the modern era that this iconographic model would have been at a creative level, given its compositional richness, the artistic acceptance and proliferation of the Woman of the Apocalypse in the viceregal catalogue of visual arts is a reflection of a historical/political fact, and that is the fundamental role its symbolic depiction played in the context of the Counter-Reformation and its particular viceregal mission. As such, this Marian representation became an image capable of symbolizing the Novohispanic Church thanks to its ability to bring the region's past, present and future together, transforming into a reflection of the triumph of the Church and a unique society whose destiny had been set aside by God within the history of salvation.[340]

To conclude, this previously-unpublished panel depicting the *Virgin of the Apocalypse* (which we are presenting here alongside another painting by Nicolás Correa, the *Birth of the Virgin*), as a symbol of the evangelic salvation of the New World, is a painstakingly meticulous example of *enconchado* painting, which enables us to continue to write the history of this particular artform, within which we can set aside a place, due to his pictorial quality and technical skill, for the name of Nicolás Correa, now worthy of sitting side by side with those of Juan and Miguel González. Because, as Ocaña Ruíz quite rightly points out, Correa's work was of such a quality that we can conclude Juan and Miguel did not have a monopoly over the production of *enconchado* works of fine *fattura.*[341]

Fig. 4 Nicolás Correa (Mexico, ca. 1665 – after 1696), *The Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes*, 17th century; oil on wooden panel. Museo de América, Madrid

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Nicolás Correa
Mexico, ca. 1665 – after 1696

The Birth of the Virgin

Oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel
110×78 cm
Provenance: Private collection, New York

Sofía Fernández Lázaro / Jorge González Matarranz

As a major axis of Christian doctrine, the representation of *The Birth of the Virgin* has been a recurring pictorial theme in the iconographic repertory over the centuries, first in Europe and, later, in the Americas, too. This scene serves as a confirmation of the immaculate conception of Mary, the arrival of new life and the coming into this world of the Mother of God.

The sources of this event, which lack any biblical or historical foundation, are scarce and short on information, deriving solely from the apocryphal texts. The main reference can be found in the Protoevangelium of James (V: 2):

> *And so her [Anna's] pregnancy came to term, and in the ninth month Anna gave birth. And Anna said to her midwife, "What is it?" And the midwife said, "It is a girl!" And Anna said, "My soul is magnified this day!" And she laid down her child.*
> *And when her days were completed, Anna cleansed her flow of blood. And she gave her breast to the child and gave her the name Mary.*

Even more succinctly, the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary (*Liber de infantia Salvatoris*) (V: 2) or the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew (IV: 2) briefly mention the event, echoing the same idea.

This Marian episode has been depicted in paintings since Medieval times. One of its earliest representations appears in an illuminated manuscript housed in the Vatican Apostolic Library,[342] dated to the end of the 10th century. Some time later, in the 13th century, Pietro Cavallini executed a mosaic depicting the scene on the walls of the apse of the Basilica of Santa Maria in Trastevere, Rome. Years later, in 1305, Giotto would paint his own version in the Scrovegni Chapel, inserting the Birth within a cycle dedicated to the Life of the Virgin. Despite the age of these images, the iconography relating to the Birth of the Virgin Mary was always clear and specific as regards the arrangement of the characters and the setting of the scene, which is surprising considering the lack of sources that document it. This is still true centuries later, with versions from the Rennaisance and Baroque sticking to the same formula, with many more examples available from those periods. These include the one by Juan de Borgoña in the chapterhouse of Toledo Cathedral, from ca. 1510, another by Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, whose 1603 painting is currently housed in the Museo del Prado (P001038), and one by Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, who executed a painting for the Concepción Grande chapel in Seville Cathedral in 1660, currently housed in the Louvre (MI 202).

The vertical format of this Novohispanic work closely follows the proposed continuous narration; that is to say, the composition presents several scenes within the same pictorial space, in which the viewer can observe the sequences taking place one after the other, with a clear separation between the earthly and heavenly worlds.

After the birth of Mary, St. Anne is seen resting on a lavish wrought-iron bed with a red velvet canopy. A concerned maid insists she drinks to keep up her strength. Sitting at the foot of the bed, St. Joachim helps out with their daughter's first bath, while also keeping an eye on the mother. Three women, the midwives, are taking care of the newborn Mary, who is already dressed in swaddling clothes. Another maid is busy washing a cloth, possibly used during labour and, next to her, a silver ewer and wash basin indicate this is Mary's first bath,[343] the water for which is being warmed up in the background, where we find two more women in charge of this task in the kitchen. The final episode takes place next to the bed, where another young woman is carefully preparing the cot for the newborn to rest in later. Meanwhile, a burst of glory occupies the upper area of the scene, alerting us to the presence of a group of musician angels who, with harp and lute, recognise Mary as a divinity, and symbolically deliver little bouquets of flowers.

Unlike the Nativity of Christ, where after a divine labour Mary delivers a clean, bloodless, radiant child, St. Anne's labour is rather more commonplace, with the pain suffered by a first-time mother, exhausted from her efforts, and surrounded by assistants at all times. This Novohispanic depiction provided an authentic recreation of the look and feel of childbirth for any well-to-do family in New Spain. It is decorated in detail and includes the types of furniture and belongings found in such homes.

Increased wealth in the American viceroyalties during the second half of the 17th century, which came from agricultural production,

Fig. 1 Nicolás Correa (Mexico, ca. 1665 – after 1696), *The Wedding at Cana*, signed, 1696; oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel. The Hispanic Society of America, Inv. No. LA2158, New York

Fig. 2 Nicolás Correa (Mexico, ca. 1665 – after 1696), *The Presentation of Jesus in the Temple*, signed; oil on canvas. Private collection, Madrid

mining and metallurgy, stimulated the manufacturing of luxury items, common among colonial exports from the 16th century on. Such items typically included fine ceramics, feather mosaics, lacquer, objects made using tortoiseshell and, more luxurious still, *enconchado* works (paintings on a wooden panel with mother-of-pearl inlay), an artform that lies somewhere between the pictorial and decorative.

The Viceroyalty of New Spain was quick to pick up on the delicate technique used in *enconchado* paintings due to its intense trade with the Philippines. *The Galeón de Manila's* yearly trip carried a precious cargo of luxury items between Manila and Acapulco, transforming the cities into global markets for beautiful products, and filling the coffers of both Spain and its overseas territories, while introducing a variety of new artistic techniques.

Thin layers of mother-of-pearl of different sizes were placed over a base layer of plaster and animal glue, onto which (mainly oil) paint was applied. Both devotional and historical paintings were executed using this method, following the model of Japanese *namban* lacquer. Occasionally, they would take the form of large folding screens.[344] By using thin layers of paint, the mother of pearl remained visible, giving the works a character and luminosity never seen before. The exotic nature of the artform and the skill of the colonial painters have made these works extremely popular among European collectors.

Some of the Novohispanic artists of the day were attracted to this new artistic technique, which could be easily adapted to traditional paint work. Juan González and Miguel González, prolific *enconchado* artists, as well as Nicolás Correa and Pedro López Calderón[345] are among the most renowned artists who used the technique.

The career of Nicolás de Correa (Mexico, ca. 1665 – after 1696) is only partially documented, with just a few of his works known, with scholars of art history having paid more attention to his renowned uncle, Juan Correa (ca. 1646 - 1716). Nicolás, a mulatto, was a member of the guild of painters and gilders, and in spite of how few signed works by him have survived, the high level of his artistry justifies our considering him a competent and creative master painter[346]. Several of his paintings can be seen in prominent public museums[347] and private collections, and their personal style enables us to link them with the *Birth of the Virgin* being studied here.

From a compositional perspective, the interior scene, which is a faithful portrayal of a high-society room, is similar to that depicted in his signed *enconchado* painting *The Wedding at Cana* from the Hispanic Society of America (Fig. 1).[348] The abundance of detail in everyday objects, the refinement in the treatment of fabrics and embroidery, and the use of perspective to seek depth in the different planes are replicated in both. Also worth mentioning is the kind expression on the characters' faces and in their poses, with psychological nuances, as well as near-impossible postures and turns of the neck, a clear trademark of his style, even if they could be considered somewhat stereotypical, with similar models found in other paintings of his. The same can be said about the panel titled *The Presentation of Jesus at the Temple* (Fig. 2), an example of a traditional painting that compositionally repeats the idea of an indoor scene with a multitude of planes, a tiled floor that heightens the scene's perspective, and a variety of characters surrounding the sacred event.

An anonymous *enconchado* painting from a private Mexican collection, which depicts the same subject and presents marked technical and pictorial similarities, has appeared on the market (Fig. 3).[349] Although it is based on a different compositional source, the similarities with the work of Correa are once again evinced in the execution of the figures, easily comparable to those in the painting being examined here, since they represent the same subject. The faces of St. Anne, St. Joachim or the midwives are reflected in this work, as are the gestures and poses of the remaining figures. These examples prove how the limited number of known works by Nicolás Correa can be linked to a personal style of significant pictorial quality, and a benchmark in Novohispanic *enconchado* painting, even if an in-depth study of his body of work is lacking.

This work is clearly a masterpiece, not only in comparison to the rest of the religious imagery executed by this distinguished and talented painter, but also compared to the best *enconchado* paintings known. The mother-of-pearl inlay painting we are presenting here, the *Birth of the Virgin Mary*, is paired and exhibited alongside another work by Nicolás Correa, *The Virgin of the Apocalypse*.

Fig. 3 *The Birth of the Virgin*, Anonymous, New Spain, late 17th century; oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel. Private collection

35

Adoration of the Shepherds

Unidentified artist
Mexico, last quarter of the 17th century
Oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel
45×65 cm (framed)
30.5×37.5 cm (unframed)
Provenance: Private collection

Sofía Fernández Lázaro

As one of the favourite subjects in the history of Christianity, the "Adoration of the Shepherds" has been one of the most frequently-recurring depictions in the Baroque iconographic repertory, and this extends to the New World. This fascinating enconchado painting is a rare example of this predilection, standing as a fragment of a past heritage inherited by the present, and serves as a reflection of the viceregal era of New Spain, where masters interwove faith and art, developing a new artistic genre that was the fruit of their own experimentation, "with a maque effect produced by inlaying pieces of mother-of-pearl into the panel, lending what has been painted a special transparent effect".[350]

The panel, which is rectangular and landscape format, presents a scene that shifts between the nocturnal serenity of the Biblical episode and the radiant iridescence of the pieces of mother-of-pearl of which the composition is made up, transporting the spectator to a place that is overflowing with spirituality. At the centre of the scene, serving as the primary compositional axis, we find the Infant Jesus, naked and lying in a rustic crib made of sheaves of straw. His childish face is depicted with the sweetness and humility required by the Biblical story. His pale complexion shares the innocence of a face that seems to look beyond the physical realm, as if trying to make contact with each of the witnesses to the scene.

To the left of the painting, next to the newborn Christ, we find the Virgin Mary, looking at her child with tenderness, forging a spiritual connection. The Virginal figure is leaning slightly towards the Child, while clasping her hands in front of her breast in a clear sign of prayer. The Virgin's face, crowned by a dark halo, presents fine and delicate features that contrast with the exuberance of her clothing consisting, as it does, of little pieces of mother-of-pearl inlay.

Fig. 1 Juan González, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1662; mother-of-pearl inlay painting. Smithsonian Institution, Washington

As we move further to the left, we come to St. Joseph, sitting behind the Virgin, as if watching over the grandiosity of this divine happening. With fine facial features, long brown hair and two-pronged beard, he is seen gazing at the Child with reverential respect as he leans in towards him, holding his blossoming lily staff. Joseph's clothes, both robe and mantle, are made up of a mosaic of mother-of-pearl inlay imbued with movement thanks to soft black outlines applied by brush.

In accordance with the earliest Spanish depictions following the Council of Trent, to the right of the composition two shepherds are arranged around the manger, while a third one seems to be approaching from afar. In the foreground, one shepherd who appears to be somewhat older leans his face towards the Child with a mix of wonder and devotion (as in the case of Melchior in the Epiphanies). His clothes, once again made up of beautiful pieces of mother-of-pearl, are of a similar fattura to those of the young shepherd on his right, just behind the manger. The young shepherd, who has long hair falling behind his shoulders, is holding his hands together over his chest, an expression of his respect and genuine sense of admiration. The last shepherd is seen approaching the scene from the upper right corner of the composition, carrying a lamb and sharing his section of the painting with a mule and an ox, who are pictured looking in on the scene from behind some sober and evocative architectural remains, texturized thanks to loose brushstrokes that remind us of the enconchado genre's oriental influences.

The vegetation, made up of sketchy plants, adds a touch of life and dramatism to the surroundings, contrasting with the soft and almost monochrome palette of colours employed in the landscape. In addition, the scene includes a basket in front of the manger, the same compositional element to be found in the enconchado painting of the same subject signed by Juan González in 1662, and belonging to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington (Fig. 1), or in the anonymous Adoration of the Shepherds preserved in Madrid's Museo de América (Fig. 2).

The final compositional element is the frame, which is probably where we can best appreciate the oriental influences of this artistic maniera of New Spanish fattura and Japanese origin. These enconchado frames drew deeply on the art of Japanese lacquer known as namban, where ornamentation was created by inlaying gold mother-of-pearl figures onto a black background, in an interplay of contrasts in light and floral designs. (Fig. 3) In line with this dynamic of influences, the frame of our enconchado painting is made up of a rectangular decorative border[351] featuring painted mother-of-pearl inlay depicting flowers, birds and volute-shaped motifs. This sort of phytomorphic and zoomorphic decoration may be found in the frames of other enconchado paintings portraying religious subjects, with particularly close similarities identified in Miguel González's Life of Christ series from the Museo Nacional del Virreinato, (Fig. 4). González was a seminal figure in the world of enconchado art, and it is clear the artist behind our Adoration of the Shepherds would have been familiar with his oeuvre. We must underline the importance of the frame as a fundamental and intentional part of the whole work, and it is thus worth noting that the studies carried out to date of paintings with frames would appear to confirm that the latter were executed in the same way as the pictorial surface and, in conclusion, we would posit that the same artists were responsible for both enconchado pictures and frames.[352]

The iconography of the Adoration of the Shepherds has undergone a journey of devotion and evolution through the history of art, becoming a transcendental artistic narrative as the bearer of such an important message of humility. From the roots of its conception in the literary sources to its flourishing in the expression of Baroque exuberance, this visual depiction has been moulded by literary voices that evolved in step with time and context, acquiring multiple layers of meaning.

Throughout the first twelve centuries of the Christian era, artistic representations of the "Adoration of the Shepherds" played second fiddle to the prominence of the "Adoration of the Magi" episode, the latter being identified with the supreme Epiphany destined to transmit a fundamental message to the faithful: Christ's public introduction to humanity. This tale, addressed by the canonical gospels, particularly the Book of Luke,[353] cloaked the iconography of the "Adoration of the Shepherds" in a generalised silence until its gradual recovery in the 12th and 13th centuries. It was then that, in the context of certain ascetic movements promoted by lay Christians and monks in defence of evangelical poverty, and casting aspersions on the obvious ostentation of the clergy, that the artistic depiction of the "Adoration of the Shepherds" began to grow substantially, and its symbolic humility with it.[354]

Depictions of this iconography also reached the Viceroyalty of New Spain, bringing a second series of influences into play, that of the Old Continent during the Conquest. Art was a powerful vehicle in the evangelical process, and visual representations of certain Christian iconographies served as a means of communication between the colonising and colonised cultures.

However, the creatively exceptional nature of this enconchado painting could not be understood without the progressive freedom enjoyed by the guild of painters in New Spain throughout the 17th century.[355] Far from limiting themselves to preserving the European pictorial tradition, they drew inspiration from it, absorbed and reinterpreted it in a syncretic exchange, thereby constructing their own artistic identity.

In short, we can conclude that our Adoration of the Shepherds was born of this unique interplay of influences, encapsulating on its surface the essence of a three-way fusion, where the knowledge of local artists embraced that of the European Academies and the evangelical function of art arriving from an old world, with the iridescence and brilliance of oriental artistic subtlety; a legacy, an indelible caress from the past.

Fig. 2 Anonymous, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, 17th century; mother-of-pearl inlay painting. Museo de América, Madrid

Fig. 3 Anonymous, *Namban Chest*, 16th century; wood and mother-of-pearl. Museo de Navarra, Pamplona

Fig. 4 Miguel González, *Saint Andrew*, 1651?; omther-of-pearl inlay painting. Museo Nacional del Virreinato, Mexico

35

Flight into Egypt

Unidentified artist
Mexico, last quarter of the 17th century
Oil and mother-of-pearl on wooden panel
45×65 cm (framed)
30.5×37.5 cm (unframed)
Provenance: Private collection

Sofía Fernández Lázaro

This magnificent depiction of the *Flight into Egypt* stands as a glorious example of *enconchado* painting, a hybrid artistic technique combining the oil and tempera of the painting "with a maque lacquerware process involving the insertion of pieces of mother-of-pearl into the panel, lending the painting a particular transparent and oriental appearance".[356]

This panel, of average size and rectangular composition (wider than it is tall) provides an original depiction of this Christian iconography. The scene takes place in dramatically-contrasting surroundings, from the serenity of the pictorial background to the intensity of the figures and vegetation. In the centre of the composition we find the protagonists of the Biblical story, outlined in black with a brush, reminiscent of the delicate qualities of oriental painting. On top of these outlined shapes, successive layers of mother-of-pearl have been applied, carefully arranged, intended to evoke the iridescence of the figures' clothing, and lending the painting intensity and emotion thanks to this original and potent use of light and materials.

The painting depicts the Holy Family at the moment of their flight. The Virgin Mary, who is at the forefront of the composition, is seen riding on the back of a donkey, looking forwards with a serene and understanding gaze. In her arms, perfectly swaddled and embraced, she carries the Infant Jesus. The Virgin is portrayed as sumptuously attired, in robe and mantle, in both soft and delicate tones, and yet oozing iridescence thanks to the effect of the mother-of-pearl, which can be discerned under the soft and reddish pictorial layer.

Towards the right we find Joseph, on foot, a protective look on his face and strong hands, guiding the donkey from the rear. The composition, simple but replete with meaning, suggests the trust and unity of the family in the face of adversity. St. Joseph is pictured with a robust figure and bearded face, serene expression, yet attentive, as if trying to underplay the urgency of their escape. Crowned by a circular halo, the Father of God wears a mantle and robe, once again woven together by sections of mother-of-pearl.

The surroundings in which the Holy Family is depicted are equally serene and enveloping, thanks to the peaceful and luminous sky, with two large trees framing the scene. The landscape, with softly rolling hills and tranquil vegetation, creates a welcoming scenario that contrasts with the challenge facing them. The light is soft and golden, bathing the Holy Family with a divine aura. The chromatic palette, limited as tends to be the case in mother-of-pearl "enconchado" paintings, is made up of warm and harmonious colours.

The final compositional element is the frame itself, a feature that is indivisible from the work, and whose technical characteristics are worthy of admiration. The frame of this *Flight into Egypt* has been executed as a perimeter border populated with flowers, leaves, birds and volute-shaped decorative motifs, of exactly the same fattura as seen in another *enconchado* work presented in this book, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, which suggests that we may be before two paintings from a larger series relating the episodes of Christ's infancy. We find an identical execution in *The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* in Madrid's Museo de América (Fig. 1).

Moving on to the iconography, we see the master opted for one of the most frequently-recurring episodes from Christ's childhood in the history of art, in which he recounts the Holy Family's journey into Egypt, fleeing the persecution decreed on all new-born babes in Bethlehem, after Herod found out about the birth of the *king of the Jews.*

From the original literary sources, through their interpretation in varying cultural contexts, this iconography has been expressed in a range of styles and forms, generating a considerable *corpus* of artworks. As such, it is essential to explore said literary sources and the evolution of their depiction across different historical and artistic periods.

The literary sources behind this iconography may be found in the apocryphal gospels, such as the "Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew" and the "Infancy Gospel of Thomas". These texts, though they are not part

Fig. 1 *The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, series on the Life of the Virgin, unidentified artist, end of the 17th century; oil and mother-of-pearl on panel. Museo de América, Madrid

of the Biblical canon, narrate the succession of events surrounding the flight of the Holy Family, providing the narrative basis for the artistic construction and depiction of its iconography.

> *"After they [the magi]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, and 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 by night and left for Egypt".*[357]

As mentioned earlier, the *Flight into Egypt* iconography has been tackled by numerous artists over the years, and there are some extraordinary examples from the middles ages to the present day. As such, for instance, in the Roman catacombs the early Christians depicted this scene as a symbol of divine protection in times of adversity. It continued to evolve over the passing centuries, and in the Gothic period the figures were lent a greater degree of humanisation, with more elaborate expressions. Later, in the Renaissance, the *Flight into Egypt* was taken on with increased verve, where a softness of form and richness of detail revealed the burgeoning technical skills. Later, with the arrival of the Baroque, artists introduced an expressive dramatism into their depictions, and there were many who put all their technical skill and virtuosity into visual representations of the iconography. The Spanish Baroque also left its mark on the *Flight into Egypt*, with Golden Age artists combining its spirituality and tenderness to paint innovative and moving compositions which (along with other pieces from other parts of the European continent) arrived in the New World through the marine channel for exchange into which the Atlantic had transformed.

Fig. 2 Cristóbal de Villalpando, *Flight into Egypt*; oil on canvas, 17th century. Templo de Santo Domingo, Mexico

One example of this assimilation of concepts and techniques can be found in the way the *Flight into Egypt* was tackled by the painters of New Spain. On the one hand, focussing on the conceptual reinterpretation of the iconography, we see how this integration of autonomous elements into Christian repertories was a constant factor, with it being worth highlighting the version of the *Flight into Egypt* by the New Spanish painter Cristóbal de Villalpando (Fig. 2) who, despite respecting the guidelines provided by the essayist, Pacheco,[358] distanced himself from the official model by transforming the desert landscape of the canonical version into a woody glade.

On the other hand, if we turn to the reinterpretation of the scene from a material perspective, we see how the iconography served as a source of pictorial inspiration for the masters of the art of *maque*, with there being at least three other known paintings of the *Flight into Egypt* that use mother-of-pearl inlay. It is particularly worth highlighting one from a private collection that has the same frame as our "enconchado" painting (Fig. 3).

As one can clearly observe in the beautiful work we have before us, the mother-of-pearl inlay technique reveals an intricate dance between the skills of the New Spanish painters and the mysteries of the Orient; an encounter melding the iridescent reflection of Japanese mother-of-pearl with the brushstrokes of the local masters, creating works which seem to attempt to capture light itself in their surfaces, so it is no surprise that our eyes turn to Mexico City when searching for the birthplace of this visual embrace.[359]

In the early 17th century, the metropolitan capital displayed a majesty to rival the European courts, and featured the intermingled echoes of the Asian continent, the academic and Christian tradition of Europe and the creative ingenuity of local artists. This universe of cultures speaking to each other, thanks to the Manila Galleon trade route, reached the major European capitals, filling halls and churches with treasures from the New World, reminding us of how important and necessary the interchange of influences has been, leaving indelible marks in the palette of history.

Fig. 3 Miguel González (attr.), *Flight into Egypt*; oil and mother-of-pearl on panel, late 17th century. Private collection

Legacies of Opulence: Viceregal Silver and Gold

Montagu Jekn Cholmeley
August 6th 1802.
Elizabeth Cholmeley
Sept. 19th 1803.
Henry Daniel Cholmeley
April 6. 1810.

Gold Wine Vessel (*Bernegal*)
Santiago de Guatemala (Antigua), early 18th century
Molded, cast and engraved gold
Maximum height 5 cm; diameter of the lip 9 cm; diameter of the base 4.8 cm
Provenance: Antonio de Cavero y Lataillade, Madrid

Pendant Pyx (*Relicario para viático*)
Probably Ouro Preto (Brazil), ca. 1725-1750
Gold, shaped, embossed, chased and stipple with burnished punchwork
Inscription inside the base of the case: "+MEMENTO DOMINE DAVID"
Case: height 13.2 cm; width 8.6 cm
Pyx: height 3.4 cm; width 5.5 cm
Weight 84 gr; gross weight 355 g
Provenance: Christie's, New York, 1993; Carlos Alberto Cruz - The Apelles Collection, Chile & England

Farinheira
Probably Ouro Preto (Brazil), mid-18th century
Gold, shaped, embossed, chased and stipple with burnished punchwork
Import gold hallmark into France: Oval with owl (since 1893)
Goldsmith's or owner's monogram on the center of the base: VA
Diameter 17.2 cm; height 8.2 cm; weight 274 g
Provenance: Carlos Alberto Cruz - The Apelles Collection, Chile & England

Silver-Gilt Christening Bowl on Salver with Foot
Nueva Guatemala de la Asunción (Guatemala City), 1797
Gold-plated and filigree silver, raised, shaped and cast
Goblet: height 9 cm; width of the mouth 14.5 cm; diameter of the base 7 cm
Salver: height 5 cm; width of the plate 25.8 cm; diameter of the base 12.5 cm
Provenance: Antonio de Cavero y Lataillade

Gold Beaker
Santiago de Guatemala (Antigua), ca. 1565
Shaped and repoussé gold
Height 9 cm; diameter of the lip 8 cm; diameter of the base 5.5 cm
Marks on the base
Provenance: Antonio de Cavero y Lataillade, Madrid

Jícara
Audiencia de Charcas (Bolivia), ca. 1770-1780
Carved calabash and moulded repoussé gold
Height 13.8 cm; width 5.7 cm; weight 203 g
Provenance: Private collection

Jícara
Viceroyalty of New Granada, late 18th century
Head: Ebony from the Colombian Caribbean (Caesalpinia ebony), gold and silver
Body: Calabash (Crescentia cujete) and silver
Height 16 cm; width 5.8 cm; weight 230 g
Silver support in shape of tripod from later period
Provenance: Private collection

***Mate* cup with *Bombilla* (Drinking Straw)**
Audiencia de Charcas (Bolivia), late 18th century
Cast, hammered and chased silver; chased gold
Height 9.7 cm; maximum diameter 3 cm; *bombilla* lenth14 cm
Weight of *mate* 170 g; weight of *bombilla* 15 g
Provenance: Private collection

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Gold Wine Vessel (*Bernegal*)

Santiago de Guatemala (Antigua), early 18th century
Molded, cast and engraved gold
Maximum height 5 cm; diameter of the lip 9 cm; diameter of the base 4.8 cm
Marks: Printed marks next to the brim of the mouth, on opposite sides: convex shell with six radial ribs and profiled silhouette and a floral crown with three points. Zigzag assay gouge
Literature: Cristina Esteras Martín, *Masterpieces of Guatemalan Silver and Gold, Sixteenth to Nineteenth Century* (Eguiguren Ediciones, 2016); Javier Eguiguren and José Eguiguren, *A Brief Historical Survey* (Buenos Aires: Eguiguren Ediciones, 2016), 40–41; Javier Eguiguren and José Eguiguren, *Silver & Gold: Masterpieces of The Americas* (Buenos Aires: Eguiguren Ediciones, 2018), 12-15
Provenance: Antonio de Cavero y Lataillade, Madrid

Cristina Esteras Martín

A small-scale wine vessel in the shape of a semi-sphere, supported by a low, conical base; both the receptacle and the base are ornamented with two continuous lines along the edge of the base and the mouth. The handles form a 'C' shape and are attached to the lip and the stem of the vessel. The figure of Santiago on horseback (Matamoros) surrounded by a halo of light occupies an entire interior of the vessel.

Although incomplete, the piece is stamped with two marks; one which is the manufacturing location ("Real Caja de Guatemala") and one which identifies that the mandatory tax has been paid ("quinto real"). The first marking is a very small[360] scallop shell (pilgrim shell), the morphology of which has changed from the one that was used primarily in the sixteenth century; in later manifestations, the shell is pictured without the auricles or the square frame[361] but within a frame which follows the contour of the shell. The second of the two marks takes the form of a three-pointed crown with a frame that follows the silhouette of the crown.[362] Both marks are small in size when compared with those used to mark silver. Moreover, unlike the marks on silver objects, those used to mark gold objects do not change in iconography, but instead become smaller over time. Therefore, the marks on older objects are much larger and the date can be approximated from the size of the mark.[363]

The *bernegal* (wine vessel) diverges in structure from the most common known forms of similar vessels known as "de bocados". It has a simpler form and a more simply ornamented exterior in comparison to earlier examples of Guatemalan metalwork. Conversely, the interior of the vessel, which shows Santiago killing the Moors against a large sun, exhibits exquisite engraving finesse and elegant design, making this piece an outstanding example of the skill of Guatemalan engravers. Aside from the aesthetic beauty of the object and the contrast between the simplicity of the exterior and the adornment of the interior, the vessel is also outstanding in how the anonymous artisan molded the gold so that the metal decreases in thickness towards the brim of the mouth. This wine vessel is, without a doubt, a work of great material value and artistic uniqueness, dating to the early eighteenth century.

37

Farinheira

Probably Ouro Preto (Brazil), mid-18th century
Gold, shaped, embossed, chased and stipple with burnished punchwork
Import gold hallmark into France: Oval with owl (since 1893)
Goldsmith's or owner's monogram on the center of the base: VA
Diameter 17.2 cm; height 8.2 cm; weight 274 gr
Provenance: Carlos Alberto Cruz - The Apelles Collection, Chile & England

Javier A. Eguiguren / José M. Eguiguren

A highly important and very rare *farinheira*, in the form of a bowl with circular bumped ornate décor of scrolls, shells, *rocailles* and smooth cartouches with irregular contours. Four bouquets are directed towards the center of the circular base, their contour enhanced and, in the center, fine engraved flowers. The branches are united by delicate garlands with leaf motifs.

The *farinheiras* were very thin bowls that were used throughout Brazilian territory to eat *farinha*, a purée of manioc flour. Very a thin structure, it allowed easy dislodgement of purée. The heirs of the former *tamboladeiras* (*tembladeras* in Spain) in silver with two handles were in use as the most luxurious tableware in Brazil, during the 17th century and beginning of the 18th century where silver was very scarce and expensive in comparison to Hispanic possessions. In the first decades of the 18th century, with the discovery of gold in Brazil and the expansion of its economy, the *tamboladeiras* underwent an evolution. They lost the two handles and transformed *farinheiras*, the only typology in Viceroyal America. Known gold *farinheira* are extremely scarce in museums and private collections.

The *Capitanía de Minas Gerais*, whose ancient capital was Vila Rica, now Ouro Preto, was the most important center of gold production in Colonial Brazil since its discovery in 1699. At the height of the gold boom in mid-18th century, there were 110,000 people in Ouro Preto, compared with 30,000 in Rio de Janeiro and 50,000 in New York at the end of the century. In 1760, half of the gold production in the world came from Brazilian origin. Also, with the discovery of diamonds in Minas Gerais State in 1730, Brazil became the world's largest supplier of diamonds over the course of 150 years.

As in Potosi silverware was used elsewhere in abundance. In this region of Brazil, all of the elite's dinnerware was prepared in gold. An example of that golden era of Brazilian orfevrerie is this extraordinary and delicate piece of Rococo design, made to a high standard by an anonymous and masterful goldsmith. To catch a glimpse of this colossal exuberance of gold in old Brazil, its destination was reflected in what may be a unique aspect of global orfevrerie: the rich and extensive jewelry of the Brazilianfemale slaves that lasted until the 19th century.

38

Pendant Pyx *(Relicario para viático)*

Probably Ouro Preto (Brazil), ca. 1725-1750
Gold, shaped, embossed, chased and stipple with burnished punchwork
Inscription inside the base of the case:"+MEMENTO DOMINE DAVID"
Case: height 13.2 cm; width 8.6 cm
Pyx: height 3.4 cm; width 5.5 cm
Weight 84 gr; gross weight 355 g
Literature: *Christie's New York*, April 22nd (1993): # 396
Provenance: Christie's, New York, 1993; Carlos Alberto Cruz - The Apelles Collection, Chile & England

Javier A. Eguiguren / José M. Eguiguren

A very rare masterpiece in South American orfevrerie. This pyx housed the Eucharist that was taken to give communion to the sick. Its extraordinary wealth can be observed, the achievement of a complex and delicate execution, undoubtedly by a famed although anonymous goldsmith.

The box mounted on a short gadrooned base with a phytomorphic guard that is opened like a flower with five petals in wedges that join together with a crown with a cross. The embossed scenes beneath a frame, scallops and grapes which represent the Mystic Lamb, the Pelican and Jesus sleeping with an angel. A long chain binds the whole set on both sides. On the central part, a Sacred Heart and legend. In the interior of the pyx, a box with lid, hemispherical shape, with rinceaux and scallops and a finial with small fruits, surrounded by filigree leaves. Its shape recalls the old examples of *pomanders*, used in Europe to carry aromatic substances.

When stylistically analyzing this ciborium, we believe that it, in terms of cataloguing, its origin is Brazil, given the ornamental resemblance with the *Brazilian farinheiras* and various gold and silver objects from that region. That said, it is also reasonable, given its importance, to attribute origin to Ouro Preto, the great center of production of gold and silver in the 18th century in the former Portuguese domain of Brazil and the largest in America.

In 1699 gold was discovered in the Doce River, in the *Capitanía do Espíritu Santo*, nuggets of black gold –*ouro preto*- due to the presence of a layer of dark iron oxide. This huge discovery gave rise to the founding of Vila Rica, now Ouro Preto, in 1711. In 1720, it became the capital of the *Capitania de Minas Gerais*, a region that had a veritable explosion of discoveries of gold mines at the beginning of a century, which were joined by others in Brazil's hinterlands.

The climax of gold mining in Brazil occurred from 1739 to 1779. The leading producer was always Minas Gerais. The foundry houses of Minas Gerais were located in Vila Rica, Sabará, S. Joaõ del Rei, and Vila do Prince; they received the gold in powder form, weighed it and separated out a "*quinto*" (the fifth) as tax for the Crown and then continued the process of turning it into bars.

39

Silver-Gilt Christening Bowl on Salver with Foot

Nueva Guatemala de la Asunción (Guatemala City), 1797
Gold-plated and filigree silver, raised, shaped and cast
Goblet: height 9 cm; width of the mouth 14.5 cm; diameter of the base 7 cm
Salver: height 5 cm; width of the plate 25.8 cm; diameter of the base 12.5 cm
Marks: two on the interior of the base of the salver: Santiago on horseback between two volcanos in a square frame with beveled corners and a royal 'de busto' crown
Inscriptions: on the reverse of the plate in Spanish script: "Recuerdo de Pedro Ordóñez a John y Maria Cholmeley Dios bendiga a tus Yjos venideros Año de 1797 +" [Souvenir from Pedro Ordóñez to John and Maria Cholmeley May God bless your forthcoming children Year 1797 +"]; in the interior of the goblet in English "Montague John Chomeley / August 6th, 1802" "Elizabeth Cholmeley/Sep. 19th 1803", "Henry Daniel Cholmeley / April 6, 1810", "Charlotte Maria Cholmeley Baptised Sep. 2, 1804", "Frances Cholmeley Baptised August 5th 1807", "James Harrison Cholmeley Baptised March 2, 1808", "Henry Daniel Cholmeley / April 6, 1810".
Provenance: Antonio de Cavero y Lataillade

Cristina Esteras Martín

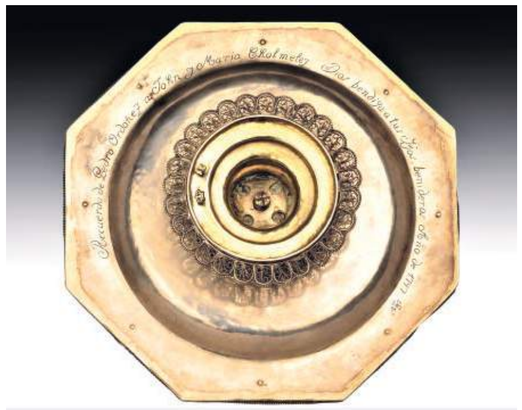
A bell-shaped goblet formed by a spheroid body, an oblique neck with an octagonal profile supported on a slightly recessed circular base and a tapered pedestal. It is complemented with an octagonal salver, with a flat and wide seat to fit the base of the goblet. The base of the salver is circular and finished with twenty-eight filigreed gadroons. Both the glove and salver are decorated with filigreed natural compositions, six-petalled rosettes and triangular compositions.

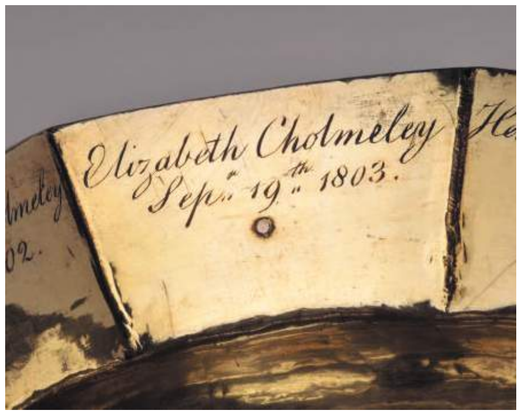
Around the foot of the salver are semicircular scalloped shapes and pearl molding. In addition to the rivets that secure the filigree to the goblet, there is a curious joint with a pin and a ring placed between the body and the neck.

The two precise marks on the inside of the foot of the salver confirm that it was created in Nueva Guatemala de la Asunción (Guatemala City). This version differs from the marks of location previously discussed. While it retains the image of Santiago on horseback between volcanos, in this version, he has his sword raised above his head. The 'de busto' crown is the same as in the previously mentioned examples but it, and the image of Santiago, are larger[364] than those used between 1770 and 1790.

There is no known extant piece with similar characteristics to establish a stylistic comparison to determine the artist, but it is reminiscent of the wine vessel (*bernegal*) in this exhibtion (Fig. 1) which was so popular in the Hispanic world, including Guatemala.[365] The octagonal form of the mouth of the goblet and the plate[366] is similar to the work produced in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, when polygonal shapes were extremely popular in silver designs. Therefore, it is possible that the piece was created before 1797 and only marked in 1797 when it was leaving Guatemala. But, because there is no documentation to confirm this speculation, the dating remains as 1797.

Fig. 1 *Gold Wine Vessel (Bernegal),* Santiago de Guatemala (Antigua), early 18th century





40

Gold Beaker

Santiago de Guatemala (Antigua), ca. 1565
Shaped and repoussé gold
Height 9 cm; diameter of the lip 8 cm; diameter of the base 5.5 cm
Marks on the base: flat scallop shell with auricles, and the royal crown, zigzag assay gouge. This gold drinking vessel has a tapered shape, lipped opening and molded base. The center of the vessel is decorated with four diamond-shapes intertwined in a composition of plants and natural elements, surrounding a round mirror. The edges of the design finish with four circles, reminiscent of the points of a crown.
Literature: Cristina Esteras Martín, *Masterpieces of Guatemalan Silver and Gold, Sixteenth to Nineteenth Century,* (Eguiguren Ediciones, 2016); Javier Eguiguren and José Eguiguren, *A Brief Historical Survey* (Buenos Aires: Eguiguren Ediciones, 2016), 36-37; Javier Eguiguren and José Eguiguren, *Silver & Gold: Masterpieces of The Americas* (Buenos Aires: Eguiguren Ediciones, 2018), 8-9
Provenance: Antonio de Cavero y Lataillade, Madrid

Javier A. Eguiguren / José M. Eguiguren

Two very clear marks on the surface of the base confirm that this object was created by the metalworkers of Santiago de Guatemala (Antigua). The first of these marks is the same variant of the scallop shell which is described on the aforementioned jewelry box.[367] The second mark, also similar to the one seen on the jewelry box, shows a royal floral crown with three points,[368] which ensures that the objects passed through the colonial fiscal controls and the required tax (el "quinto") was paid. Between these two marks there is an engraved zig-zag (an assay scrape). These marks confirm that the drinking vessel was manufactured in Antigua, especially when compared with another similar vessel which was published in 1994,[369] leaving little doubt to its Central American origin. The marks pertaining to the location and taxation support this, but the absence of a goldsmith's signature prevents a more precise dating of the vessel. However, the structure and style of the piece strongly suggest that is was created between 1560 and 1570.

There are two similar drinking vessels extant (one in a Guatemalan private collection) which may be used in the future to provide comparisons to catalogue and identify others, of Spanish, Guatemalan or Hispanic origin. Furthermore, vessels of similar forms coincide with contemporary English examples, suggesting that this goblet model was a common design for drinking vessels of the era.

If mid-sixteenth century metal work from the Hispanic world in general and Guatemala in particular is already rare and unusual, than the well-preserved, high quality gold (approximately 22 carats) of this drinking vessel is something truly extraordinary. To that end, this rare example made with precious materials and its high-quality craftsmanship becomes a paradigmatic and exceptional work for its age and value.

Gold Beaker (detail of marks). Jaime Eguiguren Collection

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Jícara

Audiencia de Charcas (Bolivia), ca. 1770-1780
Carved calabash and moulded repoussé gold
Height 13.8 cm; maximum width 5.7 cm; weight 203 g
Provenance: Private collection

Javier A. Eguiguren / José M. Eguiguren

This is a container crafted from the shell of the fruit of the *morro* or *güira* calabash tree. According to Batres Jauregui, the term *jícara* is derived from the Nahuatl word *xicalli*, meaning cup, and the term is used throughout the whole of Hispano-America. They were originally used for drinking chocolate, and were embellished with silver bases.[370] This *jícara* presents excellent quality and design which, along with its chronology, combine to make it an example of great importance and rarity.

The body is made out of an egg-shaped *nuez de morro* calabash with incised phytomorphic decoration featuring six oval figures with floral ornamentation that occupy much of the surface of the cup. Some of them are partially obscured by the gold clasps joining the two horizontal gold bands. The top of the gourd is crowned by a horizontal, tooth-shaped border.

The *jícara* is mounted on an impressive support crafted entirely in finely-chiselled gold, made up of two gold bands at top and bottom, linked by three vertical clasps. The cup rests on a tiered circular base featuring vertical radial striations that then culminate in a little cylindrical shaft.

The upper band presents a wide, plain mouth at the lip, with an undulating double strip of cord-like filigree in the middle, and a polylobed design at the bottom. This ornamental model is repeated, in inverted form, on the lower band.

With regard to known pieces presenting similar stylistic and morphological characteristics, we could mention a pair of coconut and gold *jícaras* catalogued in *El Mate de América*. These were executed in the Audiencia de Charcas (Upper Peru) at the end of the 18th century, where we can observe the transition of the influence of Gallic Rococo in the base, alongside Neoclassical festoons and geometric or pearled borders. The functional similarities between these cups is quite evident, serving as they did for drinking chocolate or *mate* herbal infusions (Fig. 1).[371]

Another piece, from a slightly later date, enables us to appreciate the similarities between *jícara* bases. This example, again in coconut and gold, and dating from Bolivia in the second quarter of 19th century, presents a Neoclassical ornamental design, though it also features chiselled floral borders around the rim that were influenced by Romanticism (Fig. 2).[372]

To conclude, we would mention one further piece, which is not a *jícara* but a *mate*, as it is especially relevant in terms of stylistic analysis. The design is extremely similar, particularly the base, which is of the same size. A full-page photo of this coconut and gold *mate* appears in the book titled *Platería Sudamericana de los siglos XVIII-XX* (Munich, 1981)(Fig. 3).[373] In his book *El Mate de Plata*, Guiomar de Urgell describes the same piece, where the upper and lower setting is joined by vertical clasps, and the cup stands on a short cylindrical tiered base, inviting parallels with the *jícara* we are studying here.[374] It was also displayed at the exhibition held at the Metropolitan Museum: "The Colonial Andes. Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830".[375] Said *mate* is documented in detail because it is from an excellent period and presents superb quality.

Fig. 1 *Pair of coconut and gold jícaras*, Audiencia de Charcas, late 18th century. Private collection

Fig. 2 *Coconut and gold jícara*. Bolivia, 2nd quarter of the 19th century. Mate en America, Eguiguren & Vega, 2004. Private collection

Fig. 3 *Coconut and gold "mate"*, Upper Peru, last quarter of the 18th century. Private collection

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Jícara

Viceroyalty of New Granada, late 18th century
Head: Ebony from the Colombian Caribbean (Caesalpinia ebony), gold and silver
Body: Calabash (Crescentia cujete) and silver
Height 16 cm; maximum width 5.8 cm; weight 230 g
Silver support in shape of tripod from later period
Provenance: Private collection

Javier A. Eguiguren / José M. Eguiguren

This is an egg-shaped recipient made of *nuez de morro* calabash or gourd. Its entire surface features *sgraffito* work including incised vegetal decoration in the form of continuous scrolls and geometric lines towards the top. The moulding at the mouth is a plain band, while the support at the bottom ends in a piece of cast and chiselled silver ornamentation in the form of a corolla with six leaves, culminating in a little silver pendant.

The cylindrical silver lid is slightly convex, and fits on top of the cup thanks to a flat inner lip of plain burnished silver. The edge of the lid presents a small moulding all around its circumference. Fitted to the top of the lid there is a plinth made of finely-decorated gold featuring a crown of feathers, and resting on top of that there is the head of an African male made of dark wood with beautifully-carved features, a skill also displayed in the hair.

This *jícara*, or cup with lid is an example of refined goldwork, while the Afro-Caribbean man's head has been carved with great delicacy and originality, combining to produce what is a piece of exceptional rarity.

It is extremely unusual to find a *jícara* or *mate* cup from the viceregal Americas that features the head of a black man. In our research, we have only been able to catalogue two. The first is a silver "mate" from the Peruvian Viceroyalty from about 1780 (Fig. 1), whose lid is shaped like the head of a black man with hoops hanging down, as appears in the book *El Mate en América*.[376] The second is this *jícara*.

Slavery is a shameful practice that has existed throughout human history since time immemorial. It was the most common method of obtaining cheap labour for the economic development of societies. In the region that became the Viceroyalty of New Granada, certain indigenous cultures used it, especially in times of war, and it was a system that extended throughout a number of parts of the Americas. After the conquest of the varying indigenous cultures, a considerable number of African slaves were introduced into the conquered areas. In the case of the Viceroyalty of New Granada, these black slaves were introduced almost as soon as the Europeans arrived.

Fig. 1 Silver "*mate*", Peruvian Viceroyalty, ca. 1780. Private collection, Buenos Aires

The role of slaves in the Viceroyalty, as elsewhere, was not simply a question of hard labour in mines or plantations, but also included a range of domestic and artisanal jobs. Although it has never been possible to establish the exact number of the black slaves introduced into New Granada over more than three centuries, we can be certain there were no less than 250,000. Slavery would not be abolished in Colombia until 1851, with Ecuador and Venezuela following suit in 1854.

During both Conquest and Viceroyalty, many black slaves worked as tailors, blacksmiths, bakers, carpenters, shoemakers, silversmiths and in other crafts that could earn them social recognition as well as their freedom. The chances of them being successful in trade activities were slim, which explains why the artisan crafts were the most viable way of becoming an essential section of society in the growing urban hubs.[377]

There are very few studies addressing the professions carried out by Afro-Caribbeans in New Granada. María Cristina Navarrete suggests the need to undertake a more detailed study in this field, commenting: *"the absence of any study of a certain depth addressing the involvement of blacks in colonial artisan crafts calls for the urgent undertaking of historical works of this kind"*.[378]

The importance of the role of Africans in the economic development of New Granada was fundamental, as they constituted the primary workforce in many sectors. Afro-colonial artisan work is an area that has not been researched, and we would stress that blacks should not be seen merely as cheap labour working in mines and suchlike, but that in a social context of varying changing dynamics, they were involved in many of the trades generally available to colonial society as a whole.[379]

Although working with precious metals was not widespread among Afro-Caribbean artisans, there were some who made a living from gold and silver. Gradually, black and "mulatto" artisans began to work for Spaniards and *mestizos*, as well as for other free blacks, and then there were those working independently as artisans, with some even becoming master silversmiths. One example recorded as residing in the Santo Toribio district of Cartagena de Indias was the "mulatto" Domingo Quevedo, who was a silversmith that had passed his official apprenticeship and was therefore now qualified to practise and teach his craft.[380]

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Mate cup with *Bombilla* (Drinking Straw)

Audiencia de Charcas (Bolivia), late 18th century
Cast, hammered and chased silver; chased gold
Height 9.7 cm; maximum diameter 3 cm; *bombilla* lenth14 cm
Weight of *mate* 170 g; weight of *bombilla* 15 g
Provenance: Private collection

Javier A. Eguiguren / José M. Eguiguren

This *mate cup* is made up of two sections; the first is the round main body of the drinking vessel itself, executed in plain, burnished silver on three cabriole legs with acanthus leaf motifs at the top. The second is the upper section, made of gold, which takes the form of an open mount covering a good part of the silver cup. This section of repoussé gold features vegetal motifs, plain cartouches and an undulating border. There are also three successive garlands with leaf motifs and a central flower. The mouth of the cup, which takes the form of a ring, is also separated from the body of the cup by a semi-circular-shaped moulding.

The *bombilla* straw is made of gold and shaped like a cylindrical tube. The filter at one end is egg-shaped and it culminates in little chased leaves of openwork.

Created in 1559, the Real Audiencia de Charcas, a region also known as Upper Peru, corresponded approximately to modern-day Bolivia, with its capital in the city of La Plata (known today as Sucre). Consumption of *mate* herbal infusions probably started in Potosí in about 1630 and spread throughout the 18th century. The drinking vessels known as *mate*s made in this region present varying similarities with Peruvian models, and their characteristic variations enable us to establish specific types.

Of particular note is the exceptional splendour of Potosí silverwork which, in general terms, lasted from the mid-16th century until the early years of the 19th and the start of the wars of independence. Throughout that lengthy period, the alternating cycles of economic growth and contraction were reflected in both silver production and its aesthetic aspects.

In the city of Potosí and its area of influence, there were numerous silver workshops offering products both locally and throughout the whole Viceroyalty, transforming the region into a major centre for the exportation of silverwork. Many of these workshops were initially run by Spanish masters and then *criollos*, as well as by other foreign silversmiths exercising their craft, belonging to the guild of artisans, with silversmiths enjoying the greatest prestige. There were also *mestizos*, indigenous locals and black slaves working with them, and some of these would ultimately qualify as skilled artisans themselves.

With regard to the dissemination and exportation of models originating from Potosí, the chronicles indicate that Upper Peruvian trade in *mates* reached as far as Buenos Aires, involving a return journey lasting some eight months. In the second half of the 18th century, due to the steady decline of the Potosí economy, some silversmiths emigrated to Buenos Aires, which had been named the capital of the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata in 1776, and they took their knowledge and experience with them when travelling to the emerging city.

Upper Peru included a number of other important centres for silverwork production, such as Cochabamba, Oruro, La Paz and the Lake Titicaca region, along with others that were more remote in the plains, such as Santa Cruz de la Sierra and the Jesuit missions of Moxos and Chiquitos.

In the model of *mate* we have before us here, we can clearly discern French Rococo influences, along with Neoclassicism in the gold garlands. Such pieces made of gold are extremely rare. The *Complejo Museográfico Provincial Enrique Udaondo* in Luján, Argentina, has a pair of gold *mates*, made in the Audiencia de Charcas in about 1780, with similar ornamentation to the one we are studying here (Fig. 1).[381]

Another piece of a Rococo design, also made in the Audiencia de Charcas in about 1780 but made of silver, is listed in *El Mate en América* (Fig. 2).[382] In terms of its technical quality and exquisite design, this *mate* is extraordinarily interesting. Having been executed in the Audiencia de Charcas, it has survived to the present day in its original state and can therefore be considered a piece of great historical and aesthetic value, quite apart from its rarity.

Fig. 1 *Gold mate with bombilla,* Audiencia de Charcas, ca. 1780. Complejo Museográfico Provincial Enrique Udaondo, Buenos Aires

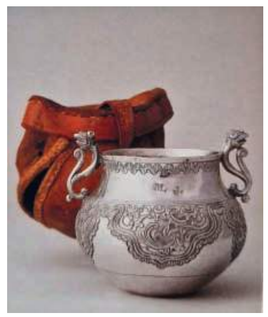
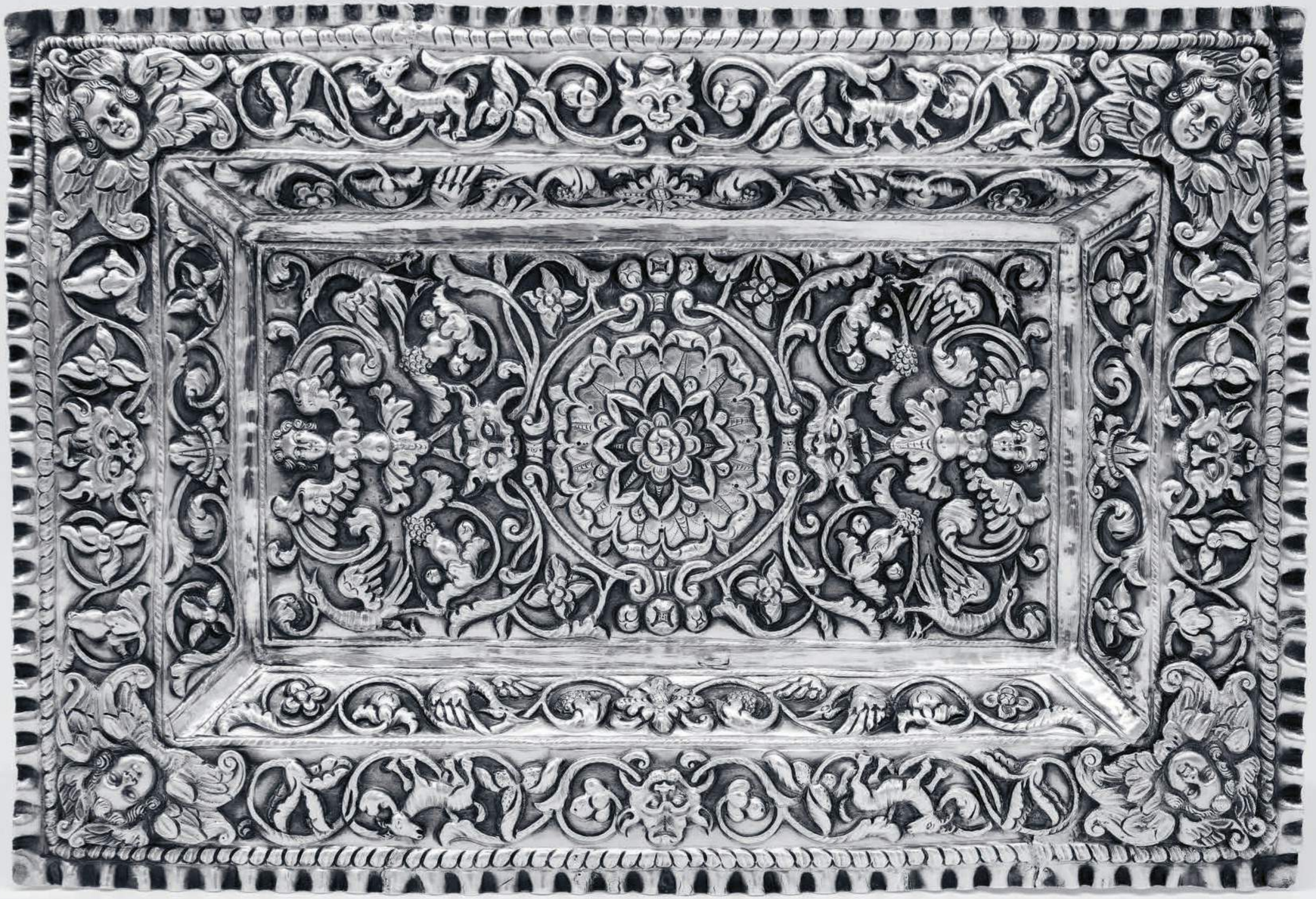


Fig. 2 *Silver mate.* Audiencia de Charcas, ca. 1780. Private collection



Frame with Painting and Mirror

Peruvian Viceroyalty, Potosí (Bolivia), ca. 1780
Chased and repoussé silver featuring openwork; with wooden structure
Height 133.5 cm, width 122.8 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Eucharist Pelican

Peruvian Viceroyalty, Potosí (Bolivia), ca. 1760
Cast, repoussé, chiselled and engraved silver
Height 102 cm; width 94.5 cm; depth 47 cm
Weight 11.750 kg
Provenance: Private collection, Argentina

***Confitera* (Sweet Box)**

Real Audiencia de Charcas (Bolivia), second half of the 18th century
Cast, chased, repoussé and partially-gilded silver
Height 32 cm; width 27 cm; depth 24 cm
Provenance: Church of San Nicolás de Bari, Buenos Aires; Former Nelly de Guglialmelli collection, Buenos Aires; Private collection, Argentina

Pair of Ornamental Plaques *(Mayas)*

Peruvian Viceroyalty, Altiplano, La Paz? (Bolivia), ca. 1725-1750
Repoussé and chiselled silver with "picado de lustre" punchwork
64.5×47.4 cm each
Provenance: Private collection

Monstrance with Enamels

Peruvian Viceroyalty, Altiplano (Bolivia), ca.1650
Cast and chiselled gilt silver with enamel cabochons
Height 63; diameter of "sunburst" 22.8 cm; weight 4,325g
Provenance: Private collection

Votive Lamp

Lisbon (Portugal), second half of the 18th century
Molten silver, repoussé and chiselled
Height 120 cm; maximum width 43 cm
Marks: Lisbon contrast mark, mid 18th century and IMS stamp from unidentified silversmith
Provenance: Antonio Pérez-Valiente de Moctezuma, Buenos Aires

Pair of Lanterns

Jesuit Missions of Paraguay, second half of the 17th century
Beaten, cast and repoussé silver with openwork and punchwork
Total height 144 cm (including shaft); lantern: 37.5×Ø21.4 cm; weight 2,450 g / 2,465 g
Provenance: Private collection

***Pava-hornillo* (Stove-kettle)**
Peruvian Viceroyalty, Potosí (Bolivia), ca.1725-1750
Cast, burnished and engraved silver with *picado de lustre* punchmarks
35×29.3 cm; weight 2,319 g
Provenance: Private collection

Holy Water Font
Peruvian Viceroyalty, Bolivia, 18th century
Partially gilt silver, cast, worked, chased and polished
39×23.8×12 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Manuel Ordóñez?
Active in first half of th 18th century
Four Ornamental Plaques (Mayas)
Peruvian Viceroyalty, La Paz (Bolivia), ca. 1725-1750
Repoussé, chiselled and punch-marked silver, with wooden rod
Height 56.5×36.7 cm; weight 1,755 g / 1,615 g / 1,800 g / 1,790 g
Prvenance: Private collection

Tray
Peruvian Viceroyalty, Potosí? (Bolivia), ca. 1720
Beaten, chased and repoussé silver with openwork
Length 44 cm; width 30.2 cm; height 4 cm
Weight 1.375 g
Provenance: Private collection

Four Ornamental Plaques *(Mayas)*
Peruvian Viceroyalty, Moxos? (Bolivia), ca. 1725
Repoussé and chiselled silver
Height 83 cm; maximum width 42 cm
Weight 2,645 g / 2,380 g / 2,435 g / 2,585 g
Provenance: Private collection

Tray
Peruvian Viceroyalty, Altiplano (Bolivia), ca. 1725-1750
Beaten and repoussé silver
Length 40 cm; width 27 cm; height 3.5 cm
Weight 1,135 g
Provenance: Private collection

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Frame with Painting and Mirror

Peruvian Viceroyalty, Potosí (Bolivia), ca. 1780
Chased and repoussé silver featuring openwork; with wooden structure
Height 133.5 cm, width 122.8 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Cristina Esteras Martín

This is a vertical rectangular-shaped frame, presenting a markedly convex profile. The middle of each of the four sides is decorated with an oval cartouche with dissymmetric repoussé outline. Further similar motifs are to be found at the corners, this time superimposed. In addition, there is a sort of ribbon moulding, arranged in loops that compartmentalise the surface of the frame into sections. Above the frame we find three rocaille motifs surrounding a semi-circular arch housing a piece of glass with a mirror finish depicting the Coronation of the Virgin Mary[383] by the Holy Trinity (Father, Son and Holy Ghost). Along the upper half of the two lateral sides of the frame we also find two wings of wavy rocaille, again featuring repoussé silver with openwork. Both the painting and the frame are mounted on a wooden support structure in order to lend consistency to the pieces.

The great richness of the silver mines of the Americas, and particularly those located in the Peruvian Viceroyalty (the most important of which were in the Cerro de Potosí) (Fig. 1), meant that silverwork could be used to decorate both churches and homes, with the metal used to fashion all sorts of pieces intended to meet the needs of both religious and non-religious worlds. The inclusion, in this frame, of a religious painting as well as a mirror might lead to confusion regarding its true purpose, as using a mirror to occupy the largest section invites one to posit that this was its primary function, whereas it is the painting at the top that gives us a more accurate indication; namely that the work was originally meant to include two paintings, the existing "Coronation of the Virgin" along with another, larger, painting that was at some point replaced by the mirror. Said painting would probably have featured some other subject from the Marian iconography, perhaps the "Immaculate Conception" or the "Dormition of the Mother of God",[384] so we can conclude that the frame was intended to house two devotional paintings.

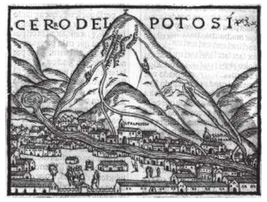

Fig. 1 Pedro Cieza de León, *Cerro del Potosí*, 1553; engraving

Fig. 2 El Greco, *The coronation of the Virgin*, ca. 1592; oil on canvas. Museo del Prado, Madrid

With regard to the surviving scene, the "Coronation", one extremely interesting point is the *verre églomisé*[385] technique used in its execution, which as far as we know was unusual among Peruvian painters from the Viceroyalty. What we have here is a painting that is markedly popular in certain aspects (such as the clouds on which the figures rest), but which also shows a clear preoccupation for said figures, following a triangular composition reminiscent, for example, of that employed by El Greco in the Prado's painting of "The Coronation of the Virgin" (Fig. 2). Our painting would appear to be the work of an artist from Potosí, perhaps one of the later followers of Gaspar Miguel de Berrio.[386]

With regards to the silverwork, this is of a decidedly Rococo style, and characterised by the peculiar helicoidal or spiralling movement of the mollusc shells we have identified in other known pieces, such as a Maté cup from the Museo Isaac Fernández Blanco in Buenos Aires, or in the sacrarium from the Nelly Arrieta and Carlos Blaquier collection in the same city.[387] These works, and others we have unveiled on various occasions, present a fattura and visual decoration that serve as a distinctive seal, leading us to conclude that they came out of Potosí, the most important silver-mining centre in the Viceroyalty, whose silver workshops were up to the job of meeting the huge argentine demands of an extremely opulent population.[388]

Although this may well need to be modified slightly in the future, we would date the piece to some point around the 1780s, as it was at this time that said style of pieces really became popular among the master silversmiths of Potosí, and when rocaille adopted the so-called "butterfly" model. This rocaille design[389] is specific to Potosí, and we can see it both towards the bottom of the frame from the Museo Isaac Fernández Blanco (Fig. 3) as well as on the top of a coca or herb box (*coquera* or *hierbera*) from a private collection in Argentina.[390]

The sheer structural scale of the frame, combined with its meticulous craftsmanship and the motifs in the worked silver, not to mention the original *églomisé* painting, bear testimony to the singular nature of this highly attractive piece, which once again goes to show that the Rococo silverwork of Potosí is, of all those found in Peru, the most creative, and graced with the greatest character and personality.

Fig. 3 *Silver frame*, Potosí (Peruvian Viceroyalty), ca. 1780. Museo isaac Fernandez Blanco, Buenos Aires

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Eucharist Pelican

Peruvian Viceroyalty, Potosí (Bolivia), ca. 1760
Cast, repoussé, chiselled and engraved silver
Height 102 cm; width 94.5 cm; depth 47 cm
Weight 11.750 kg
Literature: *Los Tesoros de la muy Noble Iberoamérica*, (Buenos Aires: Museo de Arte Hispanoamericano Isaac Fernández Blanco, 1982)
Provenance: Private collection, Argentina

Cristina Esteras Martín

This is the *ronde-bosse* depiction of a pelican standing upright on an eight-sided base; it presents a rectangular format (though its corners have been chamfered creating a further four, shorter, sides), smooth edges and is tiered, while the convex plinth is adorned with naturalistic motifs (buds, leaves and intertwining leaves), with a double ogee arch design on each of the four shorter sides. The bird itself stands on a platform, and its powerful claws gripping onto the surface. Its body is amply-proportioned and oval-shaped, open in the front of the chest where we find a wide door with a mirror that opens on two hinges. Inside the cavity there is a space for storing the cup of the consecrated host, which explains why the door has a lock and key to secure it. The pelican's body is meticulously covered in little feathers, all identical and the same size. Its tail is rounded and hangs down, while its wings are unfurled and completely erect, opening out to form a semi-circle with its plumage arranged in six rows and its shoulders transformed into a bulbous body with feathers like fish scales, and shooting leaves in scrollwork. The neck, which has been superimposed onto the main body, is long and shaped like a truncated cone, the head is very slightly tilted to one side, with its curved beak shut. Its eyes are made of red glass, and it boasts a plumed crest that fans out backward. Both the neck and head are covered with similar feathers to those found on the body.

This is a large sacrarium or tabernacle in the form of a bird, in this case an idealised pelican, given it is not an accurate depiction of its real body, as was often the case in these sorts of pieces.[391] Its function was to serve as a "Eucharist Container" during the festivities celebrating Easter Thursday (when it was arranged on the "monument")[392] and Corpus Christi, days when the Holy Form was venerated, stored in a sacred vessel. And that is why a pelican was chosen, given tradition uses this animal as a symbol associated with the Eucharist. The legend of the pelican was one of the most widespread during the Middle Ages, and it holds that the bird would peck at its own breast to draw blood with which it would then nourish (or revive) its own young. This story could easily be given a Christian transposition, whereby God was the real pelican, who suffered and died for mankind in order to give them life, in spite of their sins, thereby becoming the symbol of Christ the Redeemer as represented in the Eucharist.[393]

This scene of the pelican feeding its chicks was extremely common in Spanish silverware, featuring in all sorts of pieces from tabernacles and monstrances to eucharist chests and portaviatica, and may even be found in compositions on the Cross. One of Spain's oldest pelican tabernacles is the one preserved in the Benedictine monastery of San Paio de Antealtares (Santiago de Compostela), executed in 1644 by an anonymous silversmith from the pilgrim city, which shows that this sort of imagery was used in early Spanish silverware.[394] But where eucharist containers in the form of pelicans really proliferated was in the Peruvian Viceroyalty, and in that extensive area under the churches of the Sierra and Altiplano.

We know of numerous comparable pelican pieces preserved in the cathedrals of Cuzco, Sucre, Santa Cruz de la Sierra (Fig. 1) (originating from the Jesuit Mission of San Pedro, in Moxos, although it is preserved today in the Museo de Arte Sacro, Santa Cruz de la Sierra) and Arequipa (work attributed to the Arequipa silversmith, Marcos del Carpio, dating from circa 1760) which, along with the one from the monastery of Nuestra Señora del Prado, in Lima (possibly executed in said city) are two of the most impressive and attractive

Fig. 1 Marco del Carpio, *Eucharist Pelicanca*, 1760, Jesuit Mission of San Pedro, Moxos (Bolivia). Museo de Arte Sacro, Santa Cruz de la Sierra

ones to have been published to date. Furthermore, other pelican pieces are housed at the Moquegua Jesuit College,[395] in the Andean church of Santo Tomás de Chumbililcas (Cuzco department/region, currently disappeared),[396] in the church of Sicasica (Bolivia),[397] in that of Santa Catalina in Lima and a decontextualised piece from the Museo Pedro de Osma, also in Lima.[398] They may also be found in the basilica of Santiago Apóstol in Natá de los Caballeros (Panama) and in the monastery of Las Madres Conceptas, in Loja (Ecuador), while there are also records of another pelican tabernacle with lights (like a "centillero") in the parish church of Seclatás, in the province of Salta (Argentina).

But, as is only logical, the *corpus* of these sorts of pieces is not solely to be found in the religious buildings of the old Peruvian Viceroyalty, but also in Spain, where many churches were the recipients of donations from Spaniards (known as Indianos) who had emigrated to Peru and now wanted to show their gratitude to their native parishes by sending gifts back. It is worth mentioning the piece sent from Lima to the parish of Ochandio (Vizcaya, Spain) in 1766 by Domingo de Zaldíbar (and currently housed in the Museo de Arte Sacro, Bilbao)[399] (Fig. 2). The fact we know the date this piece was sent gives us an approximate idea of the decade in which other similar pelicans were being sent.

Fig. 2 *Eucharist Pelican*, Lima (Peru), 1776. Museo de Arte Sacro, Bilbao

But useful examples for establishing the chronology and variety of types of pelican tabernacles are not limited to churches and museums, also cropping up in international commerce. And as such it is worth mentioning two pieces that appeared at Sotheby's New York, one going under the hammer on 27 April 1990,[400] and the other on 24 November 1992.[401] The first is the only one we know of which bears inscriptions indicating not only the date (1756), but also its place of origin (Oruro) and the names of both the donor (Juan de Ríos) and the silversmith who made it (Pedro Cueva, with signature). These legends read as follows: "*Pedro Cueva Obro este Pellicano Ano D. 1756*" and "CONSAGRA ESTA OBRA UN DEVOTO ADn JUAN RIOS EN LA VILLA DE ORURO" (Fig. 3).[402] This work therefore provides an excellent definition of the type of bird depicted in Upper Peru, as well as the design of plinth, which matches those of the bases of the monstrances executed in the Altiplano region: a cross-shaped section with claw feet and body taking the form of a hybrid creature with human head, geometric body and three-feathered crest on the top of the head.[403]

Our pelican matches the abovementioned piece in its way of rendering the neck, head, beak and splayed crest (shaped like a scallop shell), but it differs in the execution of the pedestal, which does not have little feet, instead resting directly on its octagonal base, and includes the unusual motif of a plinth with chamfered corners featuring double ogee arches. The formal structure and technical execution of the plumage would undoubtedly have led us to classify our piece as originating from Upper Peru, but of the workshops from that region we would favour one of those in Potosí, given we know of an unpublished water heater from there that features (and this is no coincidence) identical double ogee arches at the corners of the base. Furthermore, when this pelican was exhibited in Buenos Aires in 1982, from a private collection, it was also described as being from Potosí.[404]

The Baroque style of our pelican indicates it was executed in the 1750s or 1760s, given the naturalistic decoration of the plinth with its fleshy vegetal foliage. This dating is also borne out by the dates of the other documented pelicans mentioned above. Such as the one from church in Ochandio (1756) or the one auctioned in New York in 1990.

There are many aspects of the majestic piece that make it an extraordinary artwork, from its impressive size (compared with all other known pieces, which are smaller)[405] to the fact that the body was worked in cast silver, and did not feature the wooden support structures seen in other pieces, onto which the plates were nailed, a highly effective method which does, however, mean a drop in the cost of the piece by reducing the amount of silver used. Its plasticity, and the movement of the wings, make it a unique piece, given they constitute a departure from the normal model in their elevated arrangement as well as the odd design of the shoulder. A piece of these formidable characteristics is worthy of having come out of Potosí, the most opulent city with the most silver in the entire Peruvian Viceroyalty.

Fig. 3 Pedro de Cuevas, *Eucharist Pelican*,1756, Oruro (Bolivia)

46

Confitera (Sweet Box)

Real Audiencia de Charcas (Bolivia), second half of the 18th century
Cast, chased, repoussé and partially-gilded silver
Height 32 cm; width 27 cm; depth 24 cm
Provenance: Church of San Nicolás de Bari, Buenos Aires; Former Nelly de Guglialmelli collection, Buenos Aires; Private collection, Argentina

Javier A. Eguiguren / José M. Eguiguren

The piece we are presenting here is a silver, polylobed, globe-shaped sweetmeat box, or *confitera*. The middle section is richly decorated with rocaille and phytomorphic designs coming out of a central cartouche with a border made up of "s" figures. This houses the latch attaching the lock to the lid, on top of which we observe a broad moulding with uneven edges adorned with rocaille, volutes and *treillage*. There are two central strips, with a Rococo pattern similar to that of the front, culminating towards the rear of the sides in a plain cartouche of asymmetric design. At the bottom, and running around the entire perimeter of the piece, there is a superimposed openwork apron with edging made up of little mirrors towards the top, underneath which there is a row of "c" shapes and a lower border of stylised leaves. The upper border presents a row of plain mouldings, which is complemented by the same design seen on the lower edge of the lid. The piece features four generously-proportioned superimposed cabriole feet with tubular scrolls at the bottom. Where they join the main body they present a complex design consisting of a cartouche made up of two "c" figures and a perimeter of scales and curved stamen motifs. The lid has a curved, polylobed profile with two main sections, which have an ornamental design that is much the same, with variations, as that of the body of the piece, separated by a band featuring decoration. At the top of the dome, and on both sides, there are three angels with unfurled wings carrying gilt phylacteries, two of which are inscribed, with text reading "Laudate pueri dominum" and "Laudate nomen Domini".

Some twenty years ago we published a critical analysis titled "Tipología de la *Hierbera",* in which we studied the functions of a diverse range of models of silver boxes of considerable volume, manufactured in the former territories of the Viceroyalties of Peru, the Río de la Plata and the Capitanía General of Chile.[406] This text clarified some old and erroneous attributions where this sort of container was classified as a *Crismera* (a Chrismatory is a liturgical container housing three vessels for storing holy oil, or chrism). This confusion was due to the fact that many *hierberas* (boxes for herbs) featured keys for locking jars containing cinnamon or clove, which were extremely expensive spices used to perfume infusions.

In this piece, reason for our study, the figures and inscriptions led to erroneously catalog it as a Chrismatory because presents a variant on the lid, on which there are three angels carrying phylacteries, two of them with inscriptions: "Laudate pueri dominum" (Children, praise the Lord); and the other continues the same sentiment of worship: Laudate nomen Domini (Praise the name of the Lord). Most likely this *confitera* has belonged to a convent of nuns and that is the reason why it has on the lid the angels with phylacteries praising the Lord.

Another important point was the mistake, going back to the 1970s, whereby these old silver boxes from the Peruvian Viceroyalty were labelled as *hierberas,* and therefore in theory intended to store the crushed *mate* leaves used for making the infusion that bears their name, drunk from *mate cups* through a perforated metal straw known as a *bombilla*. It was also thought that these lavishly-ornate boxes were used for storing cocoa leaves, an error we cleared up by showing that, whereas cocoa was consumed by Indigenous people living in the high mountain areas, for cultural reasons this custom was not popular with the white population during the viceregal period, and certainly not as a social ritual.[407] Unfortunately, this mistaken concept was widely accepted and popularised by various publications in Buenos Aires in subsequent decades.

This piece was one of those classified in our study, where we opted to list it as an *hierbera* for fine herbs brought from Europe or Asia. Twenty years after having come to that conclusion, we feel that it would be more accurate to catalogue it as a *confitera,* and the main reason for doing so is the fact that it has no inner divisions that would enable users to separate the *mate herb* (or Paraguayan Herb) from the sugar which was always used to sweeten the infusion. We therefore now opt to classify it as a *confitera*, or container for sweetmeats (confectionary made up of candied dried fruit and nuts), which was traditionally popular on the Iberian Peninsula, and whose consumption spread to the Hispanic viceroyalties.[408]

In 1611, Sebastián Covarrubias provided the following definition*: "Confite, a sweet confectionary made of almond, hazelnut,*

Fig. 1 Peter Paul Rubens (Siegen, 1577 – Antwerp, 1640), *Charles V and Empress Isabella of Portugal*, c. 1528, after Titian (1490 – 1576); oil on canvas. Palacio de Liria, Madrid

pine nut or any fruit or seed covered in sugar. Confitera: … the box in which [the confites] are stored. "[409]

One of the greatest royal collections of silver *confiteras* belonged to the Empress Isabella of Portugal (Lisbon 1503 – Toledo, 1539). The inventory transcribed by Cristina La Orden Gil,[410] the drafting of which was ordered by Charles V (Fig. 1) in Valladolid, and dated 3 July 1551, includes six gilt silver *confiteras* with varying ornamental motifs. Their weights varied between approximately 9,200g and 2,070g. Also mentioned in said document are two silver *confiteras* that had been melted down to make two gilt silver candlesticks weighing 143 marks the pair, which equates to approximately 33,900g. As we can see from the description of these pieces, they were all of great importance, not just in their weight, but also in their artistic qualities.[411] The heaviest one is described as follows:

> *"An entirely gilded confitera with its lid open, bearing the coats of arms of Castile and Portugal, weighing 39 marks and two ounces and five eighths, at eleven ducats the mark."*[412]

There are various documentary references to the consumption of these sweets in Spain, as well as the silver boxes used to store them. The enigmatic and controversial traveller, adventurer and writer Madame Marie-Catherine Le Jumel de Barneville, Baroness D'Aulnoy, (1651-1705) recorded one interesting detail in her book *Relation du voyage d'Espagne*, published in Paris in 1691 (Fig. 2).

The Spanish preference for this form of confectionary was noted by the Baroness on her visit to the Madrid palace of the Príncipes de Monteleón in 1679 (Figs. 3a & 3b[413]), one of the city's most luxurious residences, where she had the rare honour of being included in a gathering of noble Spanish ladies. In her eighth letter, which she dates 29 March, she mentions that she has been invited to visit the young Princesa de Monteleón, Doña Juana Pignatelli, aged 13 at the time and recently married to her cousin Don Nicolás Pignatelli. Her description provides an invaluable record of this women-only

Fig. 2 Pierre-François Basan, after Élisabeth-Sophie Chéron, *Marie-Catherine Le Jumel de Barneville*, Baroness D'Aulnoy; print. Bibliothèque Nationale de France

Fig. 3a Pedro Texeira, *Nueva impresión de la Topographia de la Villa de Madrid descripta por Don Pedro Texeira* [New print of the topography of the Village of Madrid described by Don Pedro Texeira], 1656; print

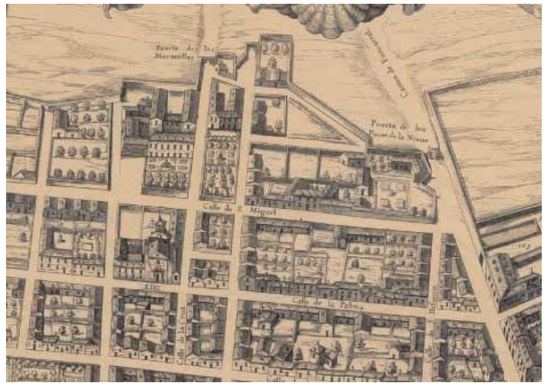

Fig. 3b Pedro Texeira, Map of Madrid (sec. IV, detail), including Palace of Monteleón

Fig. 4 Gaspar Miguel de Berrío (Potosí, c. 1706 – c. 1762), *Zerro Rico e Imperial Villa de Potosí*, 1758; oil on canvas. Museo de Charcas, Sucre (Bolivia)

gathering, which was an extremely intimate affair.

> *"In the house of the princess they gave us agreeable refreshments, where 18 serving girls arrived carrying silver trays full of dried fruit sweets including apricot, cherry, plum and other fruits wrapped individually in gold paper with the corners cut into tassels. To me this seemed quite excellent and extremely clean, as the sweets could be picked up and carefully unwrapped before eating so as not to get one's fingers dirty, and they could also be set aside for later without dirtying one's pockets. There were ladies who, having stuffed themselves with these sweets until they were fit to burst, would take out a handkerchief they had about them for this purpose, and fill it with sweets. Although this might seem an abuse to all the rest, they make as if nobody has noticed, such are their manners, that when they have all taken provisions they are asked if they would like any more, as if nothing has occurred. Those who do this then take their handkerchiefs and tie them with a cord around their hoop skirts."*[414]

This brief paragraph is probably the only record of this sort of Madrid gathering of 18th-century noble women. Beyond the opulence of the invitation, with its drinks, cakes and clay (ground up from "búcaros de Indias", or ceramic water jars, eaten because their perfumed fragrance was thought to have medicinal properties, in a practice known as bucarophagy), we should highlight one further detail, which is the gilt paper wrapping in which the sweets were served, and which was probably as costly as the *búcaros* brought from New Spain.

Gustavo Curiel provides information regarding the extraordinary legacy left by the Marquess of San Jorge, Doña María de Guadalupe Retes Paz, after her death in Mexico City in 1695. Her goods and assets included both artworks and silverware. She displayed her silver on sideboards featuring tiered shelves on which the extraordinary pieces were arranged, known as some of the most sumptuous in Mexico. One of the most surprising pieces mentioned is a gilt silver *confitera*, and there was also one display cabinet with a glass front (popular during the dynasty of the Austrian Habsburgs) which also included a small *confitera*.[415]

> When referring to these boxes we would make the *following observations:* [416] *"Some similarly shaped models were used as 'confiteros' or sweetmeat boxes. In Chile for example, the Inventory of the Count of Quinta Alegre in 1804, cited by Dario Ovalle Castillo, mentions "A confitera of modern facture with three highly decorated pipes (sic), divided in the middle and with a lid and key."*[417] *In the Viceroyalty of the River Plate, Nelly Porro documents three confiteras between 1787 and 1803, one of them with 'its components, lock and key.'"*[418]

Pedro Vicente Cañete y Domínguez (Asunción del Paraguay, 1754 - 1816), provides further testimony relating to the popularity of these sweets in the old city of Potosí (Fig. 4) towards the end of the 18th century, included among other observations about the famous city and the "Cerro Rico" region. When referring to eating habits in Potosí, he mentions a comment made by a sugar merchant in the city, who claimed that two female *confite* manufacturers bought a total of 14,000 to 15,000 *pesos* of sugar a year, in order to make *dulces de confitería* (i. e., sweetmeats). This astronomic quantity is a reflection of the wealthy city residents' predilection for this form of confectionary.[419]

To conclude, the only iconographic source from the Peruvian Viceroyalty that we have been able to locate to date is the painting *A Merry Company on the Banks of the Rímac River* (Fig. 5), from the Brooklyn Museum collection in New York. On the lower right-hand side of the work, we observe a lavish gilt silver *confitera*, with sweets inside, and which the participants of this riverside picnic are enjoying while drinking mate infusion. It seems likely that the box depicted here had not previously been linked to its function as a *confitera.*

Fig. 5 *A Merry Company on the Banks of the Rímac River* (detail), anonymous, Lima School, late 18th century; oil on canvas, 66×90.2 cm. Brooklyn Museum, New York

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Monstrance with Enamels

Peruvian Viceroyalty, Altiplano (Bolivia), ca.1650
Cast and chiselled gilt silver with enamel cabochons
Height 63; diameter of "sunburst" 22.8 cm; weight 4,325g
Provenance: Private collection

Cristina Esteras Martín

A portable monstrance of the solar variety, this piece presents a square base, resting on four little angel heads with concave palmettes extending from the top. There is a cast chambranle or decorative border, with openwork featuring scrolls and little flower buds, while the convex body acts as a plinth. The shaft, which is in the form of a baluster, is made up of a cylindrical pedestal, which is slightly recessed, followed by a cylindrical body from which the central section or "knot" emerges. This takes the form of an egg-shaped vase crowned by a thick cylindrical moulding. On top of that there is a truncated cone-shaped section, crowned by a dual turned plate. The "sunburst" contains a circular box edged with pearls, giving off fourteen straight and flat rays joined by a network of little "c" motifs. The rays feature little heads of cherubim with their wings unfurled, topped by six-pointed stars. At the top of the monstrance there is a cast cross,[420] and a slightly larger angel than the others has been superimposed just where the sunburst meets the shaft. Inside the glass case (*viril*) we find a crescent moon displaying the Consecrated Host to the faithful. The base, shaft and sunburst are adorned with *champlevé* opaque enamel cabochons of a blue/turquoise colour forming a geometric pattern with silver-coloured edges. They appear superimposed on top of plaques of different sizes and shapes: circular, trapezoidal, oval and serpentine ribs.

The schematic formal characteristics of this piece (in particular with regard to the design of the sunburst) lead one inexorably to the old Peruvian Viceroyalty, where there were many silver workshops, but the absence of any inscription relating to a donation (with or without date) and, above all, the lack of any of the official marks such pieces were supposed to have, makes it very difficult to establish an exact provenance. However, the key to classifying the piece comes to light when we cross-check our monstrance with others of definitely Peruvian origin. As such, on examining its structural model, we see that it matches various comparable ostensoria from the church of Nuestra Señora de los Dones in the little town of Embid de la Ribera (Zaragoza, Spain),[421] the Seminary of San Atón (Badajoz, Spain)[422] or the one auctioned at Sotheby´s New York in 2000.[423] But it is the monstrance housed at the *Metropolitan Museum of Art*, also in New York, a gift from Padre Urraca in 1649 (Fig. 1),[424] that really confirms this model had already become consolidated before the second half of the 17th century, also telling us that our monstrance must date from some point not so far from the middle of that century. And though it is not a monstrance, one might also compare designs with the reliquary of St. Januarius preserved in the church of the Compañía de Arequipa (Peru).[425] It is also quite possible that this model of Peruvian monstrances had its source in works executed in Seville (Spain) in the early decades of the 17th century.

Fig. 1 Diego de Atienza (attr.)(active in Lima by 1645), *Monstrance*, Peru, 1646/9; silver gilt with enamel, cast, chased, and engraved

Having established the piece's chronology by comparison, how might one identify the artistic centre in which it was executed, given the broad extension of the Peruvian Viceroyalty? Two aspects of the piece point to the upper echelons of the Viceroyalty of Peru:[426] first, the decorative vegetal border that surrounds the base; and second, the figurative motifs on the legs, which are more hybrid than angelic (with their palm frond crests), immediately ruling out any Lima workshop where neither device was used.[427] Instead, we have to look to the Sierra (Cuzco and Arequipa), and particularly to the area currently part of Bolivia[428] (from Santa Cruz de la Sierra to Puno and La Paz, and from Sucre to the distant Potosí).

But what really catches the eye in this monstrance is the presence of enamel cabochons, lending it an extraordinary ornamental richness and a splendid chromatism in which the blue palette of the vitreous matter lends colour and contrast to the gilt silver. Executed using the *champlevé* technique, it follows the tastes of other Peruvian pieces featuring enamel, in the floral geometric design of the silver plaques holding the enamel cabochons, although in the latter it tends to be translucent whereas in the former we find a predominance of intense blue (almost navy blue), emerald green and a light or honey-like yellow. In our piece, however, the only tone used is an opaque turquoise blue, and this unique quality sets it apart, as there is currently no other known monstrance featuring enamel with these characteristics. Only the great monstrance known as "La Lechuga" (Fig. 2), from the former Jesuit church of San Ignacio (Bogotá)[429] makes use of this colour of enamel to cover the mantle of the angel sculpted on the shaft.

Fig. 2 *Monstrance,* José de Galaz, Colombia, 1707. Banco de la República, Bogotá

Style-wise, the piece transitions between the Mannerist design of the shaft and base and the Baroque approach used for the sunburst, which was imagined as a loose lace mesh but would eventually become the true calling card of monstrances made in the Peruvian Viceroyalty.

In short, a work which by its very age is an extremely rare piece, and all the more so in its extraordinary state of preservation[430] (even the fire-gilding is impeccable). When one also considers the unique and original coloration of the enamel, the monstrance becomes a truly extraordinary example of its genre, and would be a much-valued addition to a select private or public collection.

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Pair of Ornamental Plaques (*Mayas*)

Peruvian Viceroyalty, La Paz? (Bolivia), ca. 1725-1750
Repoussé and chiselled silver with *picado de lustre* punchwork
64.5×47.4 cm each
Provenance: Private collection

Cristina Esteras Martín

Oval plaque with undulating profile, and a smooth, flat border. It boasts repoussé decorative motifs maintaining a bilateral symmetry along its axis. Crowned by a scallop shell, the central space is occupied by a pelican, its wings unfurled, picking at its own breast (Fig. 1) (transformed into a heart with two intertwined ropes around it), over an oval cartouche with an IHS monogram). The monogram has a cross above it, and below it three nails linked to Christ's martyrdom. At the bottom we find the anthropomorphic figure of a "foliage man" (Fig. 2), whose lower extremities have been converted into a short skirt made of leaves. He is flanked by a pair of birds of prey with long necks and open beaks. A flat ribbon with filigree style edging (which we also see in the vegetal stems) acts as a horizontal axis crossing the middle of the plaque, finishing at each end in a grotesque head from whose mouth plants sprout. All this decoration is accompanied by thick foliage that spirals into buds, stems and leaves that cover the entire composition. The decorative technique used throughout is repoussé relief with a chiselled finish.

Thanks to the abundance of mines rich in silver throughout the region, churches in the Peruvian Viceroyalty would commonly adorn their altars with beautiful silver pieces (frontals, steps, tabernacles, eucharistic containers, etc.). The radiance afforded by this noble metal, intensified by the reflected light from candles (particularly larger altar candles), created not only the splendid impression of great wealth, but exerted an emotive and persuasive effect on the faithful, especially during the height of the Baroque period. Ornamental silver plaques were placed on these altars, arranged on the tiered steps around the tabernacle, as substitutes for vases with fresh flowers. They were popularly known as *mayas* since the notion of a "floral" or "flowery" plaque refers to "May", which is the month when flowers bloom. Similarly, they are also known as *mariolas* or *marioletas*, a term used for the figures that so profusely adorned Baroque altarpieces.

There are several types of ornamental plaques, from those shaped like vases to the more widespread oval, almond-shaped ones, with the different outlines providing greater or lesser movement. What sets them apart is the wide variety of religious motifs that appear in the central area, such as the Tiara of St. Peter, the monogram for Mary (MAR) or IHS (Fig. 3) accompanied by a cross and nails, as well as others that are of a more naturalist and figurative nature, like herons, grotesque heads, "green" men, "a vegetable Atlas" and "foliage men", themes that were taken from European sources that arrived in Peru in the form of prints, engravings and book covers. What we had not seen until now, however, is the hierarchical representation of a Eucharistic Pelican as the central subject, which is what makes this plaque particularly important. Its iconography clearly references the bird that picks at its breast in order to feed its chicks with the blood that spurts out, thereby becoming a symbol of Divine love.

The Pelican appearing as a eucharistic allegory in these ornamental plaques is perfectly justified, given they were put on display next to the tabernacle containing the pyx with the consecrated host (body of Christ). The other element found in the cartouche, the

Fig. 1 *Ornamental plaque* (detail of pelican), Peru, ca. 1725-1750

Fig. 2 *Ornamental plaque* (detail of "foliage-Men"), Peru, ca. 1725-1750

monogram reading IHS (*Iesus Hominum Salvator*), suggests the plaque belonged to the Society of Jesus, as this is the seal the Jesuits used as a monogram for the name of Christ. This would seem to indicate that these *mayas* belonged to a Jesuit temple, but it is hard to ascertain which, given the profusion of mission workshops throughout the Peruvian Viceroyalty where such plaques were executed. Establishing their origin would be an impossible task considering they bear no inscription attesting to the place where they were manufactured, and come with no reliable documentation. Furthermore, given the fact that they are lacking in the standardised punchmarks indicating their workshop of origin, we will have to rely on decorative analysis alone to guide us in classifying them.

The choice of most of the decorative motifs clearly points to the plaques' Andean origin: the metamorphosised mascarons, the herons and the hybrid figure of the young man dressed in a skirt of leaves, turned into an "Atlas" holding the cartouche bearing IHS, are common themes from the decorative repertory. Furthermore, the language and syntax are clear expressions of the Baroque style popular in this region (Bolivia): the compositional approach, which contributes to a sense of *"horror vacui"*, confirms the particular sensibilities of the silversmiths of this region of the Peruvian Viceroyalty.

When comparing the shape and decoration of our pieces with other plaques, it is important we focus on the scallop shell at the top. This is a motif we have also identified in a pair of plaques originally from the Jesuit Missions of Moxos (Bolivia), currently housed in the Museo de Arte Sacro in the cathedral of Santa Cruz de la Sierra; that they originated from the church of San Pedro in Moxos explains their iconography,[431] and that is why they are considered to have been manufactured in the artistic workshop of that mission. Two pieces from the former collection of Muñiz Barreto[432] and one from the former collection of Celina González Garaño, who donated it to the Isaac Fernández Blanco City Museum in Buenos Aires,[433] are also similar to these pieces. Similarly, there is another pair of plaques owned by Nelly Arrieta de Blaquier and Carlos Pedro Blaquier (Buenos Aires)[434] that are practically the same as the ones we have just mentioned, with a minor variation: the crossed keys appear with an inverted head, which would suggest they do not belong to the same set. Another pair of *mayas* in the Antonio Viana collection in La Paz (Bolivia), which were attributed to Potosí[435] are also crowned by scallop shells that splay out. Assuming these hypothetical places of origin are all correct, then these *mayas* can all be linked to the geographical axis that runs across Bolivia from La Paz (in the Altiplano) to Santa Cruz de la Sierra (in the tropical plains east of the Andes) and, therefore, our pair of ornamental plaques could be catalogued as originating in any of these workshops. The motifs that appear trapped in the foliage (herons, grotesque masks and the man with a plant skirt[436] coming out of the leaves), however, are highly characteristic of the silver workshops of La Paz, and it is to there that we will tentatively posit our plaques' place of origin, without ruling out either Oruro or Potosí, which also used the same ornamental vocabulary. As regards their chronology, we can easily date them to the second quarter of the 18th-century, a brilliant Baroque period in this area of the Peruvian Viceroyalty.

These are undoubtedly the most beautiful ornamental plaques ever published, standing out not only because of their compositional harmony and rich Baroque ornamentation arranged around the vertical axis of symmetry, but also because of the excellent technical execution that includes dramatic repoussé work, with a range of textures obtained by the fine chiselling of the reliefs, which were burnished and highlighted against an appropriately matt background. In short, this is an excellent piece due to its skilful design and sure execution, with the beautiful Pelican providing great plasticity and outstanding artistry.

Fig. 3 *Ornamental plaque* (detail of IHS monogram), Peru, ca. 1725-1750

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Votive Lamp

Lisbon (Portugal), second half of the 18th century
Molten silver, repoussé and chiselled
Height 120 cm; maximum width 43 cm
Marks: Lisbon contrast mark, mid 18th century and IMS stamp from unidentified silversmith.[441]
Literature: Adolfo L. Ribera and Héctor Schenone, *El Arte Luso Brasileño En El Río de La Plata* (Museo Nacional de Arte Decorativo, 1966), 40, Fig. 18; María José Goulao Machado, *A Puerta Falsa de América: A Influência Artística Portuguesa Na Região Do Rio Da Prata No Período Colonial*, vol. II (Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 2005), 249.
Exhibition: *El Arte Luso Brasileño en el Rio de la Plata*, Museo Nacional de Arte Decorativo 1966
Provenance: Antonio Pérez-Valiente de Moctezuma, Buenos Aires

Javier A. Eguiguren / José M. Eguiguren

This is a silver votive lamp, the structure of whose body expands in line with its varying internal diameters, taking on a polylobed shape, heightened in its main section by a trilobed body with rococo-style decoration comprising large repoussé rocaille motifs that culminate in three adjoining cherubs, their wings extended. The three repoussé cartouches display eucharistic allegories: a vine, ears of wheat and a monstrance. The ears of wheat will turn into bread, which represents the body of Christ; the bunch of grapes alludes to the wine that symbolises his blood; and the monstrance symbolises the eucharist.

This main section has a neck with gadrooning that expands towards an inverted cup decorated with acanthus leaves, which housed the oil lamp. The lower section repeats the same outline as the cup, inverted, and culminates in a plain moulded finial.

Each of the cherub heads is held aloft by chains from which the lamp is suspended. These are formed of four large links comprised of an "S" and an "X", each interlinked with decorative plaques in the shape of a flower at each end. The entire lamp hangs from an inverted body shaped like a cup with contoured outline, decorated in three rococo-style sections. It culminates in a finial and ring, onto which the hanging chain is attached.

Votive lamps are part of the ensemble of items associated with mass in the different traditions of the Catholic liturgy, the function of which as an offering to God is to burn or give off light. In Christianity, it lights up the Holy Sacrament and, in the past, was frequently found next to the tabernacle in chapels. The most prominent examples were executed in silver, with elaborate decoration.

In Brazil there was a two-way exchange with Portuguese society from a very early stage. These influences also extended to the Spanish territories in the Río de la Plata. The Spanish and Portuguese were the oldest groups present in the Río de Plata, and the migratory flow was continuous.

One extraordinarily important process in the decorative arts was the exchange of sumptuous items between Europe, Africa, Asia and the Americas, each with their own respective styles and influences. This began at the start of the 16th century, as the globalisation of Portuguese trade routes expanded between the different imperial territories. In the Atlantic area, a large volume of artistic goods moved between the regions that would finally make up the Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata.

Although, in theory, only Spanish citizens could settle in the Spanish territories of the Americas, and Portuguese citizens were banned from entering them, their presence was actually ongoing. They used different loopholes to stay in Buenos Aires, as countless records demonstrate. One of these loopholes was to marry the daughters or granddaughters of Spanish conquistadors or early settlers, thereby obtaining citizenship and becoming part of the Rio de la Plata society. Many of these Portuguese were wealthy tradesmen, smugglers or craftsmen, such as carpenters and, quite often, silversmiths. Portuguese artisans could be found living in Buenos Aires as early as the 16th century, their numbers increasing constantly during the viceregal period.

Most of the Portuguese were of European origin, though many claimed they had lived in Brazil for a few years before migrating to the Rio de la Plata. A census carried out in Buenos Aires in 1644 found that 10% of the population were Portuguese, some of whom had started families with women from the Buenos Aires social elite. As such, 76% married women of high social status in the first half of the 17th century.[437] The number of Portuguese citizens living in Buenos Aires was so high in the 17th century that it looked more like a Portuguese colony.

Given the Rio de la Plata's geographical remoteness from the Pacific axis during the viceregal period, there was a lot of activity between the Portuguese and Brazilians, with both trade and smuggling with Brazil taking on great importance. Portuguese and Luso-Brazilian art was extremely highly regarded, being used to decorate the homes of the elite, public buildings, churches and convents. Over time, these became sought-after collectors' items, especially silverware, furniture and sculptures.

The importance of the wealth that existed in Argentina was showcased in the exuberant and renowned exhibition *Arte Luso Brasileño en el Río de la Plata*, held in 1966 at the Museo de Arte Decorativo, curated by Adolfo Ribera and Héctor Schenone. Its comprehensive catalogue included six silver votive lamps, including our piece, which was exhibited and catalogued.[438] One of these lamps belonged to the Convent of the Discalced Carmelites in Buenos Aires, currently in the collection of the Museo de Arte Hispanoamericano Isaac Fernández Blanco in Buenos Aires (Fig. 1),[439] and another belonged to the former Monastery of the Capuchin Nuns, also in Buenos Aires. Our lamp is said to have belonged to the convent of St. Catherine of Siena, which was the first monastery for women in Buenos Aires. These brief notes bear witness to the links between both regions, and the artistic wealth that the Luso-Brazilian world provided to the southern regions. At the start of this century our lamp was included in María José Goulão's study of Portuguese art in the former lands of the Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata.[440]

Fig. 1 Votive lamp, Brazil, second half of the 18th century. Museo de Arte Hispanoamericano Isaac Fernández Blanco, Buenos Aires

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Pair of Lanterns

Jesuit Missions of Paraguay, second half of the 17th century
Beaten, cast and repoussé silver with openwork and punchwork
Total height 144 cm (including shaft); lantern: 37.5×Ø21.4 cm; weight 2,450 g / 2,465 g
Literature: *Tesoros de América: Tres siglos de la platería Iberoamericana* (Buenos Aires: Museo de Arte Hispanoamericano Isaac Fernández Blanco, 1983), no. 116
Provenance: Private collection

Cristina Esteras Martín

Of a cylindrical shape, these lanterns feature a main body with convex outline, followed by a tiered section and finally, at the top, a dome with two cast metal rings to attach it. The front of each of the lanterns includes a little semicircular flap like a little doorway that swings open on two cast metal hinges and is closed by a latch. The door is decorated with the depiction of a monstrance flanked by two six-petalled flowers and two volute-shaped branches maintaining bilateral symmetry and leaving the background surface nuanced by *picado de lustre* punchwork. The back features an "S" with a nail through it between two counterposed facing vegetal "S" symbols. The decoration of the rest of the cylinder is a combination of naturalist subjects (flowers and leaves enveloped in "S" shapes) with other geometric motifs (rhombuses, ovals and circles) executed in openwork, along with little perforations across the entire surface. There are more horizontal rhombuses and ovals on the top, but here we also find vertical gadroons along the dome. The pieces are attached to a long-braided shaft sectioned into five parts by six cane mouldings, which is screwed into the base of the lanterns.

There are various terms to describe these sorts of lighting devices, though the most common are *farol, linterna* and, less frequent, *lámpara veladora*. Those we are addressing here, however, are most closely linked to the *farol* model, in this case used specifically for illuminating processions dedicated to the Holy Sacrament, a function entirely borne out by the iconography featured on them: an ostensorium,[442] symbol of the Eucharist. In addition, the fact that these lanterns include said image, accompanied by the aforementioned monogram made up of an "S" with a nail going through it, standing for "es-clavo" (S-nail in Spanish, which sounds exactly the same as the word "esclavo", or slave), links them to the Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento (Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament), suggesting they were the property of a (yet to be identified) church where said brotherhood existed. Various types of *farol* lanterns existed, from cubic or polygonal designs to cylindrical ones like ours, presenting different styles depending on the technique and decoration used, as dictated by the period when they were executed and the artistic centres in which they were produced. The geometric motifs and the naturalistic ones on the pieces in front of us here point to the second half of the 17th century, when enduring Mannerist elements of geometric abstraction (rhombuses, ovals, and circles) fused with emerging vegetal designs (opposing flowers and entwined leaves). This is how we would date the pieces in this case.

With regard to place of origin, it is not yet possible to identify one specific centre, as there is a lack of other similar works of certain provenance with which to compare, contrast and establish a reliable attribution.

In terms of their design and chronology (2nd half of the 17th century), they cannot be attributed to the Jesuit missions of Moxos and Chiquitos: the first Jesuit mission founded in Moxos was *Nuestra Señora de Loreto* in 1682, while the first one founded in Chiquitos was San Francisco Javier in 1691. As such, considering the early design of the lanterns, we would say the attribution posited by the Isaac Fernández Blanco Museum in its catalogue "Chiquitos)" is incorrect, as the design of the pieces is clearly not an 18th-century one.[443]

We do know of a pair of lanterns that are similar to the ones analysed in this study, and they belong to the collection of the Museo del Cabildo y de la Revolución de Mayo, Buenos Aires (Fig. 1), donated by descendants of Martín de Álzaga (Spain, 1755 – Buenos Aires, 1812). The museum curators have linked their chronology: ANNO GRATIAE 1642 to the end of the Guaraní wars against the Portuguese *bandeirantes*, suggesting they were executed in one of the *reductions*, or Indian settlements, to the north-east of the Paraguayan Jesuit missions, which seems quite reasonable.[444] The *bandeirantes* systematically invaded the Paraguayan Jesuit missions of Guayrá in order to capture and enslave Indians. The Jesuits were in charge of the defence of the missions and the organisation of these Guaraní armies, and they militarised the Indians, training them in the use of firearms, thereby creating an efficient system of defence which led to the Portuguese *bandeirantes*, being expelled from the area in 1641. Once the military conflict had terminated, the Jesuits reorganised the old Guairá "reductions" into 20 Paraguayan missions within the area of influence of the River Paraná, whose defence was thereby more efficient, and that is where they relocated the Guaraní peoples from villages which, for strategic reasons, were abandoned.

Given these observations and conclusions, the origin of our *farol* lanterns would seem, in their design and chronology, to match those produced by the extraordinary silver workshops in the Paraguayan Jesuit missions, very much active between 1609 until the Order was expelled in 1767, and from which various pieces of silverwork still survived into the 19th century in some of these old "reductions".

Fig. 1 Pair of silver lanterns, Jesuit Missions of Paraguay, 1643. Inscription: *ANNO GRATIAE 1642.* Museo del Cabildo y de la Revolución de Mayo, Buenos Aires

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Pava-hornillo (Stove-kettle)

Peruvian Viceroyalty, Potosí (Bolivia), ca.1725-1750
Cast, burnished and engraved silver with "picado de lustre" punchmarks
35×29.3 cm; weight 2,319g
Provenance: Private collection

Cristina Esteras Martín

This water heater presents a spheroid body, bulging out in the middle, above which there is a flat platform followed by a square plinth with bevelled corners featuring double ogee arches. At the top, we find a cylindrical opening covered by a lid adorned with wedge-shaped openwork to facilitate ventilation, as the opening is used to introduce hot coal that is then arranged in a circular recipient inside the body of the piece. In the middle of the latter we find two circular orifices on opposing sides (with leaf motifs around them), which serve as air vents. With regard to decoration, the upper and lower sections of the main body feature bands populated by intertwining flowers and leaves engraved on top of a *picado de lustre* punchwork background, something we can also observe on the convex area of the lid. The spout is long and curved, with a palmette superimposed on the end. On the other side of the piece, we find a protuberance shaped like a truncated cone, with a hinge that operates a little lid adorned with gadroons through which water is poured. Sticking out from the top of opposing sides of the main body are two cast metal floral motifs with two figures, their backs turned to each other, depicting "vegetal men"(Fig. 1). The water heater's curvilinear handle goes from one "vegetal man" to the other, and at the bottom of the handle itself we find two opposing "foliage angel" (Fig. 2) figures, while the top of the handle features a floral finial. The water heater rests on an elevated support, made up of a long shaft shaped like a truncated cone on top of a round base, the latter featuring a smooth flange and a convex plinth, which once again presents the decorative device of four moulded double ogee arches.

Given this piece has a spout, conduit for pouring water into it, an inner recipient for holding hot coal and two side openings to act as vents, we can be certain that its function was none other than that of a water heater (or combination of kettle and thermos). In other words, like a jug, but arranged in such a way as to keep the liquid extremely hot. This is therefore conceived of as a particularly ingenious device,

Fig. 1 *Pava Hornillo* (detail of the "vegetal man")

Fig. 2 *Pava Hornillo* (detail of the "foliage angel")

part of the extremely widespread social ritual throughout the Peruvian Viceroyalty of preparing and drinking the extremely hot herbal maté infusion in living rooms or other places that are not near the stove. This sort of piece was given a range of names, from herbal infusion "water heater", simply "heater", *pava* or *tacho*, though it is now most commonly referred to as a *pava-hornillo*, probably because *hornillo* means little oven, while *horno pava* refers to the large bellows found on certain metallurgical ovens.

It is not meant to be heated directly on the stove, as we can clearly see by its raised base, instead serving as an independent object. The pot (*pava*) is also a brazier (*hornillo*), thereby combining the two essential functions of this sort of water heater, facilitated by the insertion of a circular recipient to hold the hot coal, linked to an upper opening with a lid, plus an orifice on each side for ventilation and to keep the coal burning. It was thus that the water, in contact with the coal, would come out of the spout at near boiling point. This piece would have formed part of a set made up of a "*mate*", into which the water was poured, mixing with the herbal infusion, and the "*bombilla*", a sort of straw used to drink the infusion.

These pieces could adopt varying models: with a rectangular/eight-sided body, imitating animal figures (turkeys, lions, bulls, etc.), or a more globe-like form,[445] as seen in the piece we are analysing here. There are various known examples of the latter model, once part of prominent Buenos Aires collections, since decontextualised, such as those of the Muñíz Barreto collection,[446] the one belonging to Alfredo Hirsch, the one belonging to Celina González Garaño (Fig. 3) (now in the Isaac Fernández Blanco Museum), that of the Díez Andino family[447] or the one belonging to Nelly Arrieta de Blaquier and Carlos Pedro Blaquier.[448] Further pieces may also be found in monasteries, such as the Dominican monastery of Santa Catalina in Cuzco (Peru). But this globe-shaped model was immortalised in *A voyage to the South-Sea and along the coasts of Chili and Peru in the years 1712, 1713 and 1714*, by Amédée Françoise Frézier (1682-1773), 1717 (Fig. 4), where we observe three Spanish ladies in Peru engaged in the ceremony of drinking mate herbal infusion from Paraguay (plate 36) and, on the floor in the foreground we can clearly see a round-bodied "*pava*".[449] Saying that, whatever shape they may be, these "*pavas*" are exclusively from Peru and Bolivia, being linked to a social custom that did not exist anywhere else in the Americas.

Fig. 3 *Pava Hornillo*, Peru, second half of the 18th century. Formerly Celina González Garaño collection. Museo Isaac Fernández Blanco, Buenos Aires

Fig. 4 Amédée Françoise Frézier, *Peruvian ladies drinking maté, A voyage to the South-Sea, and along the coasts of Chili and Peru*, 1717

The originality of our *pava*, compared to other examples that are box- or animal-shaped is that it has not one, but two, lateral vents providing the *hornillo* with ventilation. And, in contrast to the pieces listed above, instead of insulating legs, ours has a single base also preventing the heat from damaging surfaces. And these singular characteristics are what lead us to describe this "*pava*" as extraordinarily unique, as we only know of one other unpublished piece from a private collection presenting the same characteristics.[450]

The provenance of these water heaters has not been precisely catalogued, being pieces that have been taken out of context, and often widely dispersed. They are generally attributed to the silver workshops of Lima, the Peruvian Sierra, the Altiplano (modern-day Bolivia) and even Chile, but without identifying any specific centre. The widespread lack of any standardised silverwork markings in the Peruvian Viceroyalty adds enormously to the challenges of pinpointing a particular workshop. However, on this occasion we are certain that the "*pava*" was executed in the city of Potosí, and we reached this conclusion having discovered not only the structural parallels with the aforementioned unpublished piece, but also based on the fact that the decoration at the base of the spout is clearly "butterfly rocaille",[451] as used by the silversmiths in the Cerro Rico (Potosí) area. A further aspect pointing to said city lies halfway between the decorative and the structural, namely the moulded double ogee arches on the plinth and lid, which match those from the base of a pelican-shaped eucharist container we also believe came out of Potosí.

The work's dating, to about 1725-1750, is borne out by the intertwining leaves on the main body and lid, and the anthropomorphic figures on the handle and just below it.

If these *pavas* are among the most unique and attractive pieces of Peruvian silverwork, the one we are unveiling here is all the more so, breaking as it does with known models, and offering a new design, which we have been able to attribute to Potosí, confirming that in this city of abundance and luxury new and original pieces were created, enriching the brilliant art of viceregal silverwork.

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Manuel Ordóñez?
Active in first half of th 18th century

Four Ornamental Plaques (*Mayas*)

Viceroyalty of Peru, La Paz (Bolivia), ca. 1725-1750
Repoussé, chiselled and punch-marked silver, with wooden rod
Height 56.5×36.7 cm; weight 1,755 g / 1,615 g / 1,800 g / 1,790 g
Prvenance: Private collection

Cristina Esteras Martín

These are "floral" plaques with an almond-shaped structure, though their edges undulate, with the upper and lower sides following a convex pattern. The outer perimeter has a border featuring rope-like filigree festooned with little radial leaves. In the central area we find an oval medallion with the same leaf motif as found along the edges, and in the middle the seated depictions of the four Evangelists accompanied by their respective attributes: Matthew with the winged man (angel) (Fig. 1); Mark with the lion (Fig. 2); Luke with the ox (Fig. 3), and John with the eagle (Fig. 4), each holding the corresponding open book of the Gospels. There are two repeating ornamental motifs: a pair of birds (herons) and another pair of "foliage-men" (Fig. 5). The herons are standing on vegetal stems, almost in-flight pose, their wings unfurled, heads upright and beaks open: the hybrid figure (half man, half flora) is depicted with arms raised dressed in a shirt and a long skirt of leaves wrapped around. Among the fallen leaves there are interweaving flat ribbons shaped like the letters "c" and "s", some crowned by a serpent's head (Fig. 6), with two flowering buds serving as the compositional axis of symmetry. There are little vegetal shoots (like rolled up vines) distributed across the whole background surface in delicate punchwork.

Like many of their kind, these four ornamental plaques were stripped of the wooden frames that protected the silver plate on the back,[452] as it was necessary to make them consistent so they could be fixed to the altar steps or predellas. These sorts of plaques served to embellish the tabernacle (sacrarium) and replace the vases with natural flowers. They are popularly known as *mayas*, as the "floral or florid plaque" refers to the month of May, which is when flowers bloom. They are also known as "mariolas" or "marioletas", a term used to describe these figures that would so profusely adorn Baroque altarpieces.[453] Once installed on altars, they fulfil the function of embellishing it, but also seek the Baroque effect of intensifying the reflection of light from candles on the silver. And as is commonplace with these sorts of ornate pieces, they were worked on in relief mostly using a repoussé technique, though the motifs of the front were completed by chiselling.

Fig. 1 Manuel Ordoñez? *Four Ornamental Plaques* (detail of Saint Matthew), La Paz, Bolivia (Viceroyalty of Peru), ca. 1725-1750 (detail)

Fig. 2 Manuel Ordoñez? *Four Ornamental Plaques* (detail of Mark), La Paz, Bolivia (Viceroyalty of Peru), ca. 1725-1750 (detail)

Fig. 3 Manuel Ordoñez? *Four Ornamental Plaques* (detail of Saint Luke), La Paz, Bolivia (Viceroyalty of Peru), ca. 1725-1750 (detail)

Fig. 4 Manuel Ordoñez? *Four Ornamental Plaques* (detail of Saint John), La Paz, Bolivia (Viceroyalty of Peru), ca. 1725-1750 (detail)

Although structurally these plaques are oblong-shaped, their curvature at top and bottom makes them unique (there are currently no known examples matching them). And if we turn to their ornamentation, we note that both the entirely naturalistic lexicon of abundant blooming along with the figurative motifs draw closely on subjects that were widespread in the Altiplano region comprising both Peru and Bolivia. It is not unusual to come across the motif of the "foliage-man", derived from sources of European grotesques popularised through prints and reinterpreted in Baroque Andean artwork, and which became widespread throughout all the arts, from architecture and sculpture to painting and silverwork. In floral plaques, as with any comparable piece (lecterns, altar frontals and steps, etc.), it would be used as a primordial motif, as occurs in the six *mayas* the Marquis of San Antonio (Don Manuel de Saldaña y Pineda), Superintendent of the Royal Mines of Huancavelica, donated to the Sacramental Brotherhood of the temple of Santa María de Mesa, in Utrera (Seville).[454] With regard to this icon, depicted from the front, we would highlight the particular manner of working the (extremely abundant) hair, in segments of concentric circles, the round face with its serious expression and arms and torso covered by a shirt.

Another motif of importance within the ornamental composition are the two herons facing each other which, raising their heads and with their long beaks open, are trying to reach the flower seeds to feed themselves. Their presence amongst the thick vegetation is not just a Baroque decorative device, it also contains a more complex symbolism alluding to the Eucharist, represented in the form of birds of Paradise which, amidst the lush foliage, are feeding on seeds from a sort of "eucharistic tree", providing the soul with sustenance. It is therefore worth bearing in mind that the "mayas" are what watch over the sides of the tabernacle which contains the Eucharist.

A wide range of motifs were used to populate the central areas of "mayas", from the monogram for Mary (MAR), the IHS accompanied by the three nails of Christ's martyrdom, the "vegetal kanephoros" ("foliage man"), the Tiara of St. Peter, or the two-headed eagle, but it was not at all common for said space to be given over to depictions of human figures,[455] which makes these plaques featuring the four Evangelists all the more important.

It is difficult to ascribe these sorts of pieces to any specific artistic centres, as they rarely feature punchwork, and when they do it tends to be with the *quinto* tax stamp, and not with any mark denoting a town or artist. As such, all we can do is classify them in terms of style, and thereby establish an approximate date of execution. It would be both complicated and risky to venture a definite place where they were made, although on this occasion a small decorative detail not found in other areas gives us the key: the punchwork shoots (barely perceptible amid the profuse repoussé decoration) become the clue to identifying these works as having originated in the Bolivian silversmith workshops of La Paz.

A lectern from the parish church of Calamarca[456] and another from the former collection of M. Ballivián (La Paz), the altar steps from the churches of Laja[457] and El Carmen (La Paz), or the remains of plaques from the Museo Murillo (La Paz), to mention a few examples, confirm our suggested classification.[458] And, as the aforementioned altar steps from El Carmen are linked to the circle of the altar frontals from the temple of San Agustín de Viacha (1735) and to that of Santiago de Calamarca, both being the work of the La Paz silversmith Manuel Ordóñez,[459] we would suggest our plaques were executed by the same master silversmith, though only tentatively, pending documentary confirmation.

These four plaques help enrich the artistic catalogue of silverwork in La Paz, a city with one of the most active artistic centres in the Peruvian/Bolivian Altiplano during the first third of the 18th century. Its technique and profuse embossed decoration, as well as the artistic lexicon employed, allow us to date it to the second quarter of the 18th century.

Fig. 5 Manuel Ordoñez? *Four Ornamental Plaques* (detail of "Foliage-men"), La Paz, Bolivia (Viceroyalty of Peru), ca. 1725-1750 (detail)

Fig. 6 Manuel Ordoñez? *Four Ornamental Plaques* (detail of "Serpent's head"), La Paz, Bolivia (Viceroyalty of Peru), ca. 1725-1750

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Tray

Viceroyalty of Peru, Potosí? (Bolivia), ca. 1720
Beaten, chased and repoussé silver with openwork
Length 44 cm; width 30.2 cm; height 4 cm; weight 1.375 g
Provenance: Private collection

Javier A. Eguiguren / José M. Eguiguren

This is a rectangular tray with a sunken bowl and sloping sides. It has a wide rim with perimeter edging in openwork featuring "c" motifs, with two cord-like filigree borders framing the central ornamentation of said rim.

Small fruits, four huge strawberries with stylized rocaille motifs in each corner, and vegetal scrolls with rocaille motifs make up the decoration on the bowl's rim. In the middle of the upper long side of the rim we find a *foliage man* (Fig. 1), his arms extended, emerging out of the bowl and crowned by a basket of fruit. He is flanked by two birds who are pecking at fruit. The two shorter sides of the rim feature the figures of two musicians, one of them playing the trumpet (Fig. 2), the other a drum (Fig. 3). A stylized representation of a "green man," smaller than the one on the other side and accompanied by two other similar guitar-playing figures, is in the center of the lower long side. Small, smooth plates have been welded onto the back of the tray's wide rim to reinforce specific spots where fractures have developed over the years. The long sloping side above the bowl features the bottom part of the foliage man, with scrolls arranged as decoration, which we also find on the opposite sloping side. The two shorter sloping sides display a central element in the shape of a stylised lyre, accompanied by birds pecking at fruit. The bottom of the bowl has a central cartouche featuring stylised long "s"-shaped parchments around a central coat of arms with a royal crown and the initials of its owner "*C.E.A.*" (Fig. 4), flanked by two rampant lions that are also crowned. There are two birds to the sides of the cartouche, similar to those described above, surrounded by foliage. In the top corners we see the figures of two children with Phrygian hats. In the lower section, two stylised fish-like figures whose tails end in a small scroll heightened with rocaille motifs facing the corners. These iconic figures stand out and could be considered to be linked to two pre-Incan female mythological figures from Lake Titicaca associated with fertility, *Quesintuu* and *Umantuu.*[460]

Fig. 1 *Tray*, (detail of "Foliage Man")

Fig. 4 *Tray*, (detail of coat of arms)

Fig. 2 *Tray* (detail of man playing the trumpet)

Fig. 3 *Tray* (detail of man playing the drum)

The 17th and 18th centuries were an extraordinary period for the decorative arts across the vast Andean territories. Artists created works of great originality that displayed syncretism between European and indigenous models in both their public and religious works. As such, this display tray includes elements of Andean flora and fauna alongside ornamental shapes and fantastical creatures, such as the foliage man. Artists re-purposed the forms of European Mannerism and the Baroque in an unmistakably Andean style, applying them to luxurious art objects. Real and fantastical decorative patterns abundantly adorned both civil and religious silverware, with the two occasionally overlapping.

There is great visual wealth and originality in the design of this tray. It follows in the tradition of models executed in the countless silver workshops in the Viceroyalty of Peru and the Rio de la Plata. Its decorations include original elements, probably because the workshop where it was created was far from the major centres, in the vast expanses of the Altiplano.

We know of a tray from Upper Peru features guitarists at each of its corners, and where the bowl also includes two cherubs with forked fish-like tails ending in scrolls (Fig. 5).[461]

Compared to other examples of South American silverware, this type of display tray is extremely rare in both museum and private collections. An analysis of 20th century catalogues and publications including such models clearly shows that there are very few examples, and these belong to museums and collectors.[462]

Fig. 5 *Silver tray,* Potosí? ca. 1725, mark: Royal crown with spots trimming, heraldry: Crown of thorns and five wounds. Grupo BBV & Banco Continental, Madrid

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Four Ornamental Plaques (*Mayas*)

Peruvian Viceroyalty, Moxos? (Bolivia), ca. 1725
Repoussé and chiselled silver
Height 83 cm; maximum width 42 cm
Weight 2,645 g / 2,380 g / 2,435 g / 2,585 g
Literature: Cristina Esteras Martín, *Plateria del Perú Virreinal (1535 – 1825),* (Madrid – Lima: 1997), 155
Provenance: Private collection

Cristina Esteras Martín

With an oblong shape, these four plaques feature a flower vase resting on a semicircular body decorated with a two-headed eagle surrounded by vegetal motifs and a border festooned with little scallop shells. The spheroid-shaped vase, which stands on a plinth, has a mascaron at the bottom, is adorned with decorative passementerie hangings and includes a pair of large vegetal handles on its sides. The upper section features a plaque with undulating edges in the middle of which we find a medallion reading IHS, just above the depiction of a "foliage-man" (Fig. 1) with a wide open skirt of loose leaves. He is holding on to two horns of plenty, on top of which there are two herons. The plaque is crowned by three fleshy flowers in a bunch, with two similar flowers at the bottom. Due to their considerable height, the plaques were reinforced with a metal rod which must have been attached to another wooden structure by which they were secured to the altar steps.

These sets of steps, or *gradas*, were placed on either side of the sacrarium in the altars of the Peruvian Viceroyalty,[463] and were adorned (thanks to the abundance of silver sourced locally) with decorative plaques depicting floral arrangements emulating the natural vegetation, most often adopting almond-shaped structures and less commonly the form of flower vase we see here. The ornamental motifs would always include stems, leaves and pomegranate flowers, often intertwined with birds (herons) and other peculiar motifs from the Baroque repertory used in the Peruvian high plains, the Bolivian region of Santa Cruz de la Sierra and the Jesuit Missions of Moxos and Chiquitos. It is particularly on account of this ornamentation that they were popularly known as "mayas", from the word for May (when flowers bloom), used as synonymous with "ornamental" or "floral" plaques, by imitating a perennial herbaceous plant.[464]

Two of the motifs chosen for inclusion in the ornamentation are worth particular mention: the "foliage-man"[465] and the two-headed eagle (Fig. 2),[466] though that does not mean the rest are less significant or important, as the herons, the "green" mascaron and the naturalist elements underline the Baroque tastes generated in the Altiplano region of Peru and Bolivia, reaching as far as the aforementioned missions of Moxos and Chiquitos. With regard to the two-headed eagle, this is a transposition of the image of the "eucharistic pelican", a symbol of divine love, visible in the iconography here, depicted with a heart on its breast containing two of its chicks, recalling the Christian tradition by which it would pick at its own breast and use the blood to feed its young.

We first unveiled these four ornamental plaques in 1997,[467] though there is also an incomplete plaque that is somewhat similar (just the body of the vase) preserved in the Museo Catedralicio of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.[468] This leads us to suggest they may have been created in the same silver workshop, possibly in San Pedro de Moxos, given most of the silverwork from the Santa Cruz cathedral originated from that mission.[469] The additional fact that the plaques include the letters IHS (*Jesus Salvador Hominum*) also vouches for their Jesuit origin, given the order was linked with that monogram.

The work of an anonymous artist, these should be classified as utterly Baroque pieces, despite the restrained balance of the relief, and the still-prevailing desire to keep surfaces free of adornment. They date from around 1725, though it is difficult to specify a precise date as we do not know the identity of the artist behind these splendid ornamental plaques.

Fig. 1 *Foliage-man with breasts* (detail), Moxos? (Bolivia, Peruvian Viceroyalty), ca. 1725

Fig. 2 *Two-headed eagle* (detail), Moxos? (Bolivia, Peruvian Viceroyalty), ca. 1725

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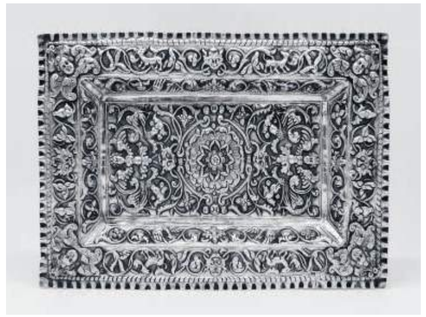

Tray

Peruvian Viceroyalty, Altiplano (Bolivia), ca. 1725-1750
Beaten and repoussé silver
Length 40 cm; width 27 cm; height 3.5 cm; weight 1,135g
Literature: Historia general del Arte en la Argentina, vol. Academia Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires, 1983; Platería del Perú Virreinal, 1535-1825, Madrid-Lima, Grupo BBV and Banco Continental, 1997
Provenance: Private collection

Cristina Esteras Martín

A silver tray presenting a rectangular shape, incorporating a trough with a wide flat rim around it and filigree edge.[470] The bowl in the middle is flat and the piece rests on it. In the middle we find a tondo featuring a flower inside, with eight radial petals that are completely open, bordered by a rope-like moulding, which is being bitten by two hybrid mascarons with stems emerging from their mouths, along with leaves and pomegranate buds that spread over the entire surface. The four corners are taken up by herons, while the decorative effect is completed by a pair of little angels with large wings unfurled to form volutes, with bare chests and vegetal skirts under their bellybuttons serving to mark a bilateral symmetrical axis balancing the ornamental composition. The sloping sides of the trough feature a continuous decorative border made up of a wavy stalk whose volutes enclose four-petalled flowers and pomegranates, with the two longer sides once again including birds. On the flat upper surface surrounding the trough, we once again find the motif of the serpentine stalk, ending in flowers and leaves, but now the decorative effect is increased with a pair of dogs on each of the longer sides and four mascarons in the middle of each of the four sides, harmonising with the symmetry established in the trough or bowl, plus four little cherub heads, one at each corner.

This model was extremely successful, becoming archetypal, and there are many trays with these characteristics still surviving today, well known for their rectangular shape, flat bottom and trough in the middle,[471] although there were also varieties with chamfered corners, resulting in eight-sided profiles.[472] In general, this type of tray was intended for non-religious use, though there have been a few isolated examples indicating that the purpose was also a religious one.[473]

The decorative lexicon chosen for our piece is what one would expect for work coming out of the Peruvian Altiplano (modern-day Bolivia). In that repertory full of naturalistic motifs, flowers and pomegranate fruits are extremely common, as well as grotesque masks (Fig. 1), or mascarons, "foliage-angels" (Fig. 2), with their human torsos and vegetal lower extremities, and herons that appear almost on the point of taking off, opening their long beaks and straining to pick at the fruit. We also occasionally find animals such as dogs, deer (tarucas) and viscachas (rodents from the Puna region).[474]

We once again find two figurative motifs that are extremely widespread in pieces from the Altiplano, namely "green man" masks and the "foliage-angel, both of which were the result of adapting European grotesque images that arrived in the Viceroyalty in the form of engravings, prints and the title pages of books. The mascaron is represented with a wild face and almost diabolical expression, its hair transformed into leaves and its jaws opening out into two big volutes, in such a way that it is transfigured, losing its human condition and mutating into a grotesque.[475]

With regards to the angel motif, with its long "vegetalised" wings and no arms, its bare torso (much like that of a woman with breasts hanging down) and its little skirt made of three leaves worn well below the bellybutton, this also belongs to the category of grotesque in its combination of human mixed with vegetal, distancing itself from the traditional depiction of angels. Its indigenous features are reflected in the way the round face is portrayed, with its serious expression produced by pronounced eyebrows and eyes in gaping sockets. One particular oddity about the head is the way the hair is made up of clumps of concentric circles.[476] The heads arranged at the corners of the flat outer rim present a similar type of face and angel hairstyle, only this time the clumps of hair fall down over their foreheads and there are twice as many wings.

The undulating rhythm of the vegetation, the fleshiness of the flowers, the heightened effect of the repoussé adornments, the same decorative repertory and the nuancing of the flat surfaces allowing the motifs to stand out more prominently, all point to this being a Baroque piece dating from the second quarter of the 18th century. Its generous size and weight, and the plasticity of its ornamentation make our tray an exquisite example of its genre, both in its delicate fattura and its original composition and chosen subject. As the piece is lacking in context (as are the other surviving examples), and with there not being any other works of its type reliably linked to specific workshops, we can but tentatively suggest its place of origin as the silversmith workshops of the Altiplano in the former Peruvian Viceroyalty, possibly one in Potosí or perhaps La Paz.

Fig. 1 Tray (detail of grotesque mask), Altiplano (Bolivia), ca. 1725-1750

Fig. 2 Tray (detail of *Foliage-angels*), Altiplano (Bolivia), ca. 1725-1750

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Holy Water Font

Peruvian Viceroyalty, Bolivia, 18th century
Partially gilt silver, cast, worked, chased and polished
39×23.8×12 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Vivian Velar de Irigoyen

This font is made up of a silver plaque divided into various areas. The silver plaque supporting the semi-spherical recipient that holds the holy water resembles a single-body, three-section altarpiece topped by a high and ornate crown. The three sections are divided by two Solomonic columns. The central section features a highly pronounced and decorative scallop-shaped niche housing a ronde-bosse figure of the Virgin, kneeling with her hands clasped together in prayer. Mary is wearing an impressive crown with a cross at the top and is covered by a generous cloak adorned with stars, four-leafed flowers and delicate festooned borders. Her long flowing hair falls gently down her back. Above the niche we find the crowned blazon of the Virgin. Both the Virgin and her shield have been executed in gilt silver, thereby emphasizing, and pointing to the importance of Mary's presence in the piece.

In the center of the niche, and below the blazon, we find a depiction of the Holy Spirit, with its wings unfurled and a tail of attractive plumage. It is gazing tenderly towards the Virgin, just below it. At Mary's feet we observe three winged figures with indigenous features, almond-shaped eyes and long manes of hair. The side sections are simulated and are decorated with scrolls and counter-scrolls adorned with phytomorphic and foliate elements, flowers and buds. Two sumptuous and well-turned Solomonic columns with sgraffito ornamentation, a capital and extremely ornate base separate the central section from the two side ones.

The crown, which is of a complex structure, is made up of a series of plant scrollwork, pomegranates, buds and varying depictions of angelic figures, from cherub heads to winged, full-length angels. In the middle of the crown we find the main motif, a little relief of the Infant Jesus on a plinth, in the act of blessing and with the orb in his left hand, watched over by winged angels and surrounded by garlands of flowers. On his head he wears a halo made up of rays. His magnificent figure would appear to be supported by two major scrolls.

In the outer upper corners of the central plaque, two winged angels decorously sat on clouds hold plant ornaments in their hands, the angel on the left is wearing a circular crown and the one on the right would appear by be holding a palm leaf or elongated plant element.

The concave bowl for holding the holy water is attached to the lower section. This spherical font is scallop-shaped at the bottom and has a simply molded lip. The bowl fits into a silver band decorated with incisions that resemble leaves, and which is attached to the plaque via arabesque openwork culminating in human heads. The outer edge of the entire piece is finished in a delicate openwork border. Of the secondary decorative motifs that further embellish the work, it is worth highlighting the braided cords, little reliefs and punch-marked surfaces that cover almost the entire piece, generating a sense of *horror vacui*.

It is also worth highlighting the excellent state of preservation and the skill of the silversmith, who was able to work the material, alternating areas of great volume with other, flat, ones, thereby attaining a dynamic surface of great richness. Furthermore, one's eye is drawn to the depiction of a great number of figures, such as the Virgin and the Infant Jesus, sculptured almost ronde-bosse, and the variety in the depiction of the different angelic figures with their varying poses and indigenous features, all of which transforms the font into a piece of great beauty and attractiveness aimed at converting the faithful, as well as being a clear example of the complex phenomenon of syncretism taking place in the Americas during the process of evangelization.

Viceregal Treasures: Exploring Artistic Diversity

INRI

INRI

Saint Benedict of Palermo
Brazil, 18th century
Carved polychrome wood, *sgraffito* and *estofado* work, cross and halo in hammered and incised silver
36×20 cm
Provenance: Private collection

***Hierbera* (Yerba Mate Box)**
Jesuit missions of Moxos or Chiquitos, Bolivia, ca. 1770
Carved cedar and cocobolo wood Cast, chased and repoussé silver
H 20.2 cm, D 27.8 cm, W 24.6 cm
Provenance: Private collection

The Antisuyu Panels
Anonymous artist
Cuzco (Peru), first half of 17th century
Polychromed wood, Andean cedar (Cedrela angustifolia)
53×96 cm; 48×96 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Ginés Roca
Madrid, 1783
Signed and dated *GINES ROCA ME HIZO A 83*
Wood, polychromy, metal strings
Provenance: Private collection

Psaltery
Case
Viceroyalty of Peru, 18th century
Polychromed wood, iron fittings
85×50×22 cm

Descent from the Cross
Unknown artist
Ayacucho, Peru, late 17th century
Carved Huamanga stone, encaustic polychrome, gold leaf estofado
31.5×24 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Pedro de Mena
Ayacucho (Peru), 17th century
The Virgin Child with St. Anne and St. Joachim
Signed "Pedro Đ Mena"
Carved Huamanga stone, encaustic polychrome, gold leaf estofado
50×40×6 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Vessel
Pasto (Colombia), 17th century
Carved wood with barniz de pasto
19×10×9.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection

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Saint Benedict of Palermo

Brazil, 18th century
Carved polychrome wood, *sgraffito* and *estofado* work, cross and halo in hammered and incised silver
36×20 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Vivian Velar de Irigoyen

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.

Our beautiful and expressive free-standing sculpture of Saint Benedict the Moor, or Benedicto de Palermo as he is called in Brazil, is depicted standing on a plinth as a young man with exquisite and dulcet features that also allude to his African heritage. He is dressed in the long-sleeved Franciscan habit, secured at the waist with the typical rope belt, and a short cape or pelerine with a high neck and a triangular hood falling down his back. We can also observe the saint's attributes: the cross and bunch of roses.

Benedict's habit presents vertical folds towards the top, whereas the lower part is lavishly decorated and infused with movement, being hitched up at the front by his left hand, which is also holding a pot containing roses against his body. In his right hand he is holding a straight, simple and austere silver cross, which as mentioned earlier is one of his attributes. The saint boasts a head of hair with delicate and pronounced curls, crowned by a silver halo with rays of light featuring floral motifs. Under his habit we can make out two feet in sandals resting ethereally on a cushion.

It is worth highlighting the great expressiveness of the young face, with its half-open mouth and soft, deep gaze communicating both surprise and humility, perhaps in wonder at one of the miracles attributed to him. One of these is alluded to by the flowers the saint is hiding in the folds of his cloak; it was said he often gave the poor and meek food from the convent stores, and on one occasion was reprimanded by a superior. But, when he opened up his cloak, a bunch of roses fell to the floor.

The traditional Franciscan belt, consisting of a rope with three knots, is highlighted in gold to emphasize the saint's intercession in difficult births, a mediation he effected by means of his belt.

It is also worth mentioning the work's skilful gilding, along with the sgraffito and estofado work on the clothing, which combines beautiful floral motifs that stand out against the expressive sgraffito of subtle lines executed with great dramatic effect. The lower hem of the cloak and the edges of the pelerine are also highlighted with gold leaf, and decorated with round punchmarks and both linear and plant ornamentation.

As mentioned earlier, attention is drawn to the saint's miracles through great use of polychromy, as may be seen in the bunch of roses with its varying tones of red, and in the gold leaf applied to the Franciscan belt with its three knots, which stands out against the dark Franciscan habit that attempts to simulate brown flannel.

Throughout the 18th century, Brazil underwent a major period of economic splendour due to the exploitation of its gold and diamond mines in the Minas Gerais region. This wealth attracted both European and local artistic talent, and gave rise to a Baroque era of great importance, with a particular blossoming of the art of sculpture. However, given the majority of works prior to the 20th century were unsigned, any attempt to attribute them faces various obstacles, though that has not stopped a number of names coming to the fore. It is important to point out that this artistic style did not reach the country until well into the 18th century, largely through Portuguese émigrés, and that it quickly adopted very particularly characteristics, above all in the wealthy Minas Gerais area, as mentioned above.

This sculpture belongs to the Brazilian school, as is clearly demonstrated by the saint's features.

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. 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 Sts. Elesbaan, Benedict of Palermo, Anthony of Catalagirona, Moses the Hermit, Iphigenia and Melchior, all of African origin. 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.

St. Benedict of Palermo was venerated, and his virtues, goodness, charity and excellence were exalted to illustrate the Christian predisposition of blacks and those of mixed race. In his hagiographies, much of the focus is on his poverty, obedience, chastity, proclivity for fasting, humility, prayer and also his many miracles, mostly aimed at children, and both rich and poor men and women. Particular emphasis is given to medical subjects such as the healing of the blind and his intercession in childbirth complications. In building up this Christian model based on a black saint from Sicily, the intention was to portray him as an example for the African population to follow, which would serve as a tool for their social integration.

Kaleb of Axum, Brasil, second half of 18th century, 120×105×50 cm. Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos, Recife, Pernambuco, Brasil

Saint Benedict of Palermo, 17th-18th century. Igreja do Madre de Deus, Lisboa, Portugal

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Hierbera (Yerba Mate Box)

Jesuit missions of Moxos or Chiquitos, Bolivia, ca. 1770
Carved cedar and cocobolo wood. Cast, chased and repoussé silver
Height 20.2 cm; Depth 27.8 cm; Width 24.6 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Javier A. Eguiguren / José M. Eguiguren

This is a container with a body made up of a carved cedarwood box in the shape of a scallop shell and polylobed sides. Both the lid and the sides of the main body include sections that have been intricately carved in cocobolo wood attached to the box. This is a common characteristic of the models of *hierbera* that came out of Moxos and Chiquitos, serving to create an original and rich visual effect.

The front side of the box presents its main ornamentation. The round silver lock, which was manufactured later, is flanked on both sides by the upright figures of two angels with their wings unfurled. Behind them, we find a broad relief section decorated with rinceaux, framed by two mouldings of stylised leaves that go around the entire perimeter of the box. Prominent on both sides of the back are the figures of a lion and a bird. Also of note on the rear is a central cartouche bordered by symmetrical scrollwork. Running around the entire ensemble are two mouldings with vertical grooves, the upper one belonging to the lid, while the lower one is part of the actual box itself.

The lid is convex and features radial ornamental gadrooning, with alternating plain and carved designs, a device that generates a highly decorative visual effect. On the front we observe the raised head of an angel, and below that the latch connected to the lock. What is most striking, however, is the extensive decoration on the back of the lid, where we find a bevelled plaque featuring the figure of a "green" man or "atlas" with his arms raised and holding a large scallop shell. He is flanked by two birds, probably parrots, which are eating wild fruits. Running around the edge of the lid there is a border of horizontal leaf motifs which rests on the moulding we described earlier.

The box has four spherical silver feet, with moulding of radial gadrooning. There are variants of wooden *hierberas* without feet, while others have carved wooden feet shaped like "Atlantes" attached to the main box. This device of round feet is common to many catalogued models.

In chapter IX, of our book *El Mate en América*, addressing types of *hierbera*", we used meticulous research to establish the function these boxes originally had: they were intended to store *mate*, also known "Paraguayan herb", which was produced in the country's rainforest plantations and exported right across the Andes, as an energy drink thanks to its caffeine content. In Peru its use became more elaborate, including filters or the *bombilla* tubular straw, and as society in the Peruvian Viceroyalty had particularly sophisticated tastes, not only sugar was added to the infusion, but also cloves and cinnamon, expensive spices at that time. As such, boxes for storing "Paraguayan herb" would have locks for security, and the insides would be divided into sections for mate and sugar, and other smaller compartments with the bottles or little silver jars used to store the spices.[477]

With regard to the erroneous classification of "hierberas" as boxes for storing coca leaves ("*coqueras*", or coca boxes), we undertook extensive research into the history of this attribution, the conclusions of which are summarised in the aforementioned chapter. Culturally, in the Hispano-American world, chewing coca leaves with a little lime (calcium carbonate) was never a popular pastime among the elite classes, which rejected the practice as being associated with the indigenous and *mestizo* world and hard physical work carried out at altitude. To this observation, we should also add that there were regions, such as Lima, Santiago de Chile or the Río de la Plata, where coca consumption was unknown.[478] By the late 18th century, coca started to become popular in Bolivia and Peru as a medicinal infusion taken by groups of Hispanic origin.[479] Our critical study shed light on the late and erroneous classification of these containers, which originated in publications from the third quarter of the 20th century in South America, and museums have gradually started to effect the necessary cataloguing corrections.

Wooden *hierberas* of this variety tend to be of much the same design, intricately carved, and their historical bibliography places their workshops of origin as belonging to the Jesuit "reductions", or indigenous missions of Moxos and Chiquitos. The Society of Jesus started its activities in the late 17th century, creating the Moxos and Chiquitos missions in Bolivia, and these were active until 1767 when the Society itself was expelled from all Spanish territories (Fig. 1).[480]

We can find another hierbera with extremely similar characteristics in the collection of the Museo de Arte de Lima (Fig. 2),[481] and it is one of the most beautiful examples presenting this morphology.[482] We should bear in mind that the Jesuits traded in all the goods they produced at their "reductions" throughout the entire Peruvian Viceroyalty, including those in Paraguay and the Rio de la Plata.[483]

Fig. 1 *Hierbera*, Upper Peru, 18th century; wood, silver and iron

Fig. 2 *Hierbera*, Moxos and Chiquitos, ca. 1770/1780; cocobolo and silver. Museo de Arte de Lima, Peru

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The Antisuyu Panels

Anonymous artist
Cuzco (Peru), first half of 17th century
Polychromed wood, Andean cedar (Cedrela angustifolia)
53×96 cm; 48×96 cm
Provenance: Private collection

PAIR OF ANDEAN PANELS, A PAINTED NARRATIVE

Elizabeth Kuon Arce / Cesar Roberto Samanez Argumedo

These two exceptional painted panels were part of a wooden chest from the region of Cuzco in the Viceroyalty of Peru (Fig. 1), as we will show later. Over time, the piece was disassembled and only the front and top panels survive today. The polychromed scenes they present display symbolic narratives through several compositions that we will try to read and interpret. Art history and contemporary ethnography will help us in our efforts.

The process of cultural change that took place following the encounter between the original, autonomous civilisation rooted in the Andes and the incoming European culture, beginning in this area at the start of the 16th century, involved a complex interaction of concurrent cultural processes known as acculturation.[484]

Acculturation is a specific form of socio-cultural change within a general process of change.[485] In this meeting of cultures, its structure was determined by the political and social inequalities that channelled the flow between the cultural elements arriving from overseas and those that already existed on American soil. The result was a range of adjustments, including the assimilation of the dominated group by the more powerful party with which it came into contact. This led to an exchange of elements which, over time, gave rise to a later culture that was different.[486]

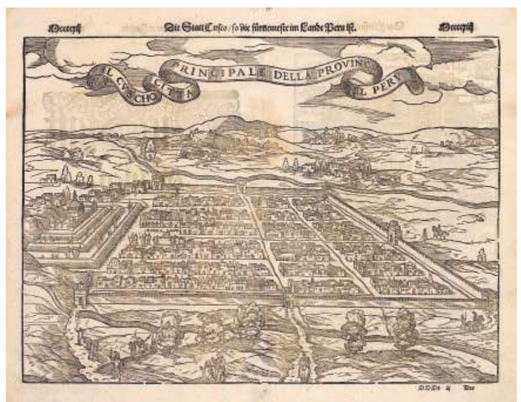

Fig. 1 *Il Cuscho Citta Principale della Provincia del Peru*, 1574, Sebastian Munster (Published) Basel; engraving

In this context, among the different cultural elements arriving in Peru from Europe (Italy, Flanders, Germany, Spain) and Asia we find furniture in all its varied expressions, and which decisively influenced the new day-to-day life of those arriving from the Iberian peninsula to the recently-created Viceroyalty of Peru. It also influenced the ways and customs of the native population, which had to adapt to a new lifestyle and all that entailed. This new lifestyle would become established at the end of 16th century, once the conflicts that arose between the Spanish *conquistadors* at the start of this period had subsided.

It is worth noting that the contact between these two worlds, which took place more than five hundred years ago, meant that the original peoples have now inherited a countless number of items of material cultural heritage, whose origins can be traced back to the "age of discovery". Many factors accumulated over time, however, have led to others being lost forever. One way of contributing to the rescue and preservation of cultural heritage is research, which adds to our understanding of it. In the case of the creative expressions executed by the natives of the southern Andean region of the Viceroyalty of Peru in the field of architecture, research into church archives and interpretations made on site afford us some understanding and explanation following years of heated debate.

Gaubin A. Bailey, one of the most prominent researchers of the so-called *Mestizo* Style or "Andean Baroque", which characterised architecture in the southern Andes in the 17th and 18th centuries, argues that this style constituted one of the most original and vigorous manifestations of the meeting of two cultures.[487]

Native and *mestizo* artists skilfully and wisely mixed European Renaissance and Baroque forms with sacred and secular Andean symbols. They presented local flowers, birds, animals and plants on the façades of churches, later extending this to domestic architecture and the functional arts. In *Códice Trujillo del Perú*, Baltazar Martínez de Compañón, the bishop of Trujillo, splendidly illustrates "the amazing animals of the New World" (Fig. 2).

The indigenous contribution to the style can be seen in the sculptural incorporation of figurative and astral symbols, plants and

Fig. 2 Baltazar Jaime Martínez de Compañón (1782–1785), *Códice Trujillo del Perú (detail).* Biblioteca del Palacio Real de Madrid

animals, as well as Andean ways of life and rituals. In this social, ethnic and religious context, altarpieces, paintings and images were also conceived and executed with very similar convictions and symbolism, even if they have little formal affinity with the stone carvings from the same one religious repository.

The Andean art we are referring to follows certain guidelines with regard to symmetry; propositions linked to the duality *Hanan/Urin* (up and down), which can also be found in wooden ceremonial cups and textiles. These are frequently divided into parts in order to group different topics together or to highlight certain parts over others.

This is why we postulate that the conception and execution of these painted chests, of which we sadly have very few examples, was very close to all other applied arts executed in this social context and in Cuzco in particular, which became a great hub for artistic production.

Fig. 3 *Painted chest*, Cuzco, 17th century. Hotel Monasterio, Cuzco (Peru)

ARTISTIC WOODWORK: A BACKGROUND

Created in 1543, the Peruvian Viceroyalty, was the largest and wealthiest territory under the Spanish crown for over 200 years. It initially covered extensive regions of South America that are now part of ten independent republics. Its cultural dominance is clear from the universities, royal colleges and printworks that existed in that area of the continent.

Many prominent master builders and artists arrived in the Americas from Spain and Italy, settling in the "City of the Kings", the viceregal capital that would later be known as Lima. There, they trained apprentices and skilled workers, most of whom were *mestizos* and natives, as well as young black men, who spread artistic techniques and knowledge across the Viceroyalty. In this city, the headquarters of the Viceregal Court and the administrative centre for Catholic doctrine, cabinet-makers and specialised carpenters created altarpieces, chests of drawers, pulpits, choir stalls, gateways, coffered ceilings and other accessories required for Catholic mass and worship.

Between the 16th and 18th centuries, Spain spread artistic traditions across the viceroyalties in the New World, through the work of specialists, such as joiners, sculptors, engravers and other craftsmen, who made the stunning liturgical furniture of viceregal churches possible.[488]

After an initial period of wars with the resisting natives, followed by civil wars among the *conquistadores,* viceregal authorities promoted the building of cathedrals and buildings representing the Spanish government. At the start of the 17th century, artists from the circle of Juan Martínez Montañés travelled from Seville to the City of the Kings, charged with executing the cathedral choir stalls.[489]

Similar stalls, altarpieces and religious furniture were also executed in Cuzco, Huamanga, Chuquisaca and other important cities throughout the vast viceroyalty. Master carpenters, joiners and *estofado* experts arriving from Spain to build religious furniture and decorations passed on the skills of the craft to their apprentices, and artistic woodwork spread as civil society began to demand it. Many items of furniture were executed resembling pieces brought from Europe. Others, however, were executed under the artistic interpretation and tastes of *criollos* and *mestizos,* who commissioned the work from local craftsmen.

Over time, native and *mestizo* artists acquired enough skills and independence to make a name for themselves with their own work, executing their own creations, linked to their own surroundings and traditions. From the mid-18th century onwards, general tastes swung towards canvas paintings produced by members of the Cuzco School and other regional schools, substituting works that were considered European. Similarly in applied arts, preferences shifted towards creations associated with local traditions and Andean imagery.

Spanish furniture, which had initially served as a model for the requirements of the Spanish, *criollos* and *mestizos*, gradually transformed. Benches, tables or wardrobes initially destined for churches and convents were adapted to the tastes of these new clients. The same can be said for cabinets, chests, writing desks and other furniture, which were initially executed based on Spanish models, and now gave way to interesting and eye-catching local variations. At the Monasterio Hotel in Cuzco we find a fine chest that was painted on the inside in the 17th century, a true example of the Cuzco artists' technique and imagination (Fig. 3).

In terms of their meticulous execution and artistic quality, it is worth highlighting *bargueño* travelling desks. Used to store valuable items, they had small doors at the front and drawers of different sizes inside. They were generally rectangular in shape and of a medium size, making them easy to carry with handles on the sides.[490]

Some portable writing desks and cabinets with drawers featured surfaces covered with marquetry or intarsia inlay. They stand out for their refined representation of urban scenes and buildings in perspective. One of these is housed at the Museo de Charcas in Sucre (Bolivia), which has been analysed in detail by a paper on the Baroque.[491] This

Fig. 4 *Chest,* Cuzco, 18th century; repoussé leather and polychromed wood. Private collection, Peru

type of *bargueño* was re-interpreted by carpenters in the Viceroyalty of Peru using the *taracea* inlay technique, producing outstanding pieces with a localised slant.

The use of functional containers to store or carry goods was quite widespread. Those embarking on long sea journeys to the New World would take chests, trunks and portmanteaux (Fig. 4) built using a wooden structure and external leather covers. This outside material could be *repoussé* or polychromed. The *bargueño* exhibited at the Museo de Osma in Lima is a clear example of painted Cuzco furniture (Fig. 5).

Fig. 5 *Bargueño*, Cuzco, 18th century; polychromed and gilt wood. Museo Pedro de Osma, Lima

BACKGROUND HISTORY OF PAINTED WOODEN CEREMONIAL DRINKING VESSELS: THE *QEROS*

It is pertinent for us now to explain the artform used in wooden drinking vessels, or *qeros,* because the way in which they address topics and represent figures is very similar to what we find on our chest panels.

Centuries-old documents referred to these ceremonial objects as *bebedores de palo* (wooden drinking vessels), *vasos de palo* (wooden cups), *cálices de madera* (wooden chalices) and *vasos pintados de colores* (colour-painted cups). According to Inca specialists, they were executed in pairs following Andean principles of duality: man/woman or up/down, along with complementary opposites implied by that duality, and were intended to be used in rituals. *Qero* is a word meaning wooden cup in the *Quechua* and *Aymara* languages, which were the two most-common native languages in the Inca empire. The term appears in an important vocabulary list of the Quechua language that dates from as far back as 1608. (Fig. 6)

Fig. 6 *Pair of qeros.* Cuzco, early 16th century. Museo Inka, Universidad Nacional de Cuzco, Peru

Qeros are the most significant precursors of the use of paint on wood in the Inca territory, the origins of which go back to the early pre-Inca periods of the *Pukara* (500 BC – 400 AD) and *Tiawanaku* (1500 BC – 1187 BC) cultures in the Andean south, continuing through coastal Peruvian cultures, and then in the *Wari* culture (600 BC – 1000 AD) north of Cuzco, and was a technique later adopted by the Incas in the 14th century.

These vessels were sacred objects for religious "ceremonial toasts" during that period, as well as special gifts that the Inca and the nobility offered to the lords of the conquered lands incorporated into their territories. The sacred nature of these objects was noted by the *mestizo* Cuzco chronicler, Inca Garcilaso de la Vega: "[…] *because the Sapa Inca had touched them with his hand and lips, the kurakas had them in great esteem, as something sacred* […]."[492]

These pieces with highly symbolic content were executed in the 15th and 16th centuries, just before the encounter with the Europeans, and they comprised a skill that was fully developed during the viceregal period in the 17th and 18th centuries, with Cuzco at the centre of the production and use of these objects.[493]

The first wooden *qeros* (there were others executed using clay, gold, silver and stone) had incised geometric decoration, with a predominance of squares, rectangles, rhombuses and zig-zag patterns, with discreet touches of colour. The Inca *qero* that is housed at the Universidad Nacional de Cuzco presents the earliest use of varnish. It was found in an archaeological site in Ollantaytambo, Cuzco, in 1934 (Fig. 7). They are mainly cylindrical with an enlarged diameter at the mouth, adopting a bell-like shape. Others are feline heads carved in wood and similarly painted, with an opening to be used as a cup.

Fig. 7 *Inca qero,* Archaeological site of Ollantaytambo, Cuzco, ca. 1530; wood with incisions and polychromed mountain bears. Museo Inka, Universidad Nacional del Cuzco, Peru

The polychromed vessels that include figurative scenes were first painted after the arrival of the European settlers. Horizontal compositions abound, dividing the external space into two or three levels with differently-coloured lines. The main scene presents a variety of subjects, including figures of people, animals, plants and other decorative elements. The central section has geometric designs and *tocapus,*[494] while the lower section generally includes native flowers and birds and, in some cases, human heads.

Materials and Technique

Seventeenth and 18th-century ceremonial cups were usually executed in ligneous material. The Andean woods used for carving were the *chachacoma* (*Escallonia resinosa*), occasionally *Andean cedar* (*Cedrela lilloi*) and, less frequently, the *lambrán* (*Almus jorullensis*) of European origin, better known as the white alder tree.

As regards the painting techniques used, there is 400-year-old information from the Jesuit chronicler Bernabé Cobo, who pointed out, while referring to wooden ceremonial vessels, that: *They paint them on the outside with some sort of shiny varnish in different colours.*[495] Vegetable resin made it possible to affix colour to the surface of these polychromed vessels. On this subject, the use of chemical analysis means we can say that:

> […] *the resin was obtained from the Elaeagia pastoensis plant from the Rubiaceae family (Mopa Mopa). The resin was prepared by using heat and mixing it with saliva, as shown by the sophisticated analyses carried out […]. The Mopa Mopa plant currently grows in the region of the Putumayo river in Colombia, and craftsmen nowadays use it to polish decorative objects made with wood. This varnishing technique from Pasto (Colombia) was highly appreciated from the 16th century onwards to execute chests, trunks, bargueños and even on wooden frames used for paintings on copper panels or canvases* […].[496]

Some of the pigments used are mineral-based, such as the red colour obtained from a neutral mercury sulphide; others come from leguminous plants, and there are some whose stems and leaves provide colours defined as shades of blue and green. The use of colour increased after the Spanish conquest, when polychrome techniques in incised drawings and the representation of multi-coloured scenes became more diverse, because indigenous painters were banned from painting

murals, panels and fabrics in the 17th century.[497] Although their original function was ceremonial, after the Spanish conquest these cups became the custodians of Inca nationalist traditions in the 18th century, as a form of resistance art against the newly-arrived foreigners.

The valuable iconographies featured on these vessels continue to offer ways of understanding the ideology and mentality of Andean cultures, especially if we consider the written documents now available to help us interpret the messages painted on them.

There is a very rare wooden chest in the Museo *Casa de Murillo* in La Paz (Bolivia)[498] executed using the same technique as the one used for *qeros*. The characteristic way that human figures are presented in Cuzco vessels, with their bodies, arms and legs painted frontally and their faces either in profile or from the front, but without either foreshortening or perspective, is the same as we see in this piece. This item of furniture measures 47 cm long, 24 cm wide and 20.5 cm deep. Motifs include dragons, Incas, Spaniards and cherubs in amongst a wide range of decorative elements. (Fig. 8) Its decorative subject is linked to the conquest of Antisuyu, in the upper rainforest known as *Yungas*, with five scenes represented on the four sides and lid. It should be pointed out that the scenes on both our chest and the one housed in La Paz include a crane, a snake coiled around a palm tree and a mythical forest character, naked and holding a club. Similarly, the lid includes a dragon with a feline head showing its fangs, its tail long and coiled. It has a snake-like body, webbed wings and only two legs. Teresa Gisbert, a researcher who has studied this chest, posits that a chronological approximation can be made based on the clothes used by the three hunters that appear on the front panel: they are dressed according to 16th-century fashion, wearing Philip II-style ruffs and hats.[499]

Fig. 8 *Casket*, Cuzco, 18th century; polychromed and gilt wood. Museo Casa de Murillo, La Paz (Bolivia)

PAIR OF ANDEAN PANELS

The pair of Andean panels, motive of our study, were part of a wonderful chest from the first half of the 17th century in the south Andean region, executed in the Cuzco area, which at the time was the most important hub of artistic and manufacturing production in the southern Andes, meeting the demands of the Viceroyalties of Peru and The Río de la Plata. Relatively recently, the chest was disassembled to display its front panel and lid, allowing us to admire the wealth of its decoration. This item of furniture from the Viceroyalty of Peru is undoubtedly an outstanding example of *mestizo* imagery, on which the artist was able to showcase his skill.

The central figure of the front panel is a Crucifixion (Fig. 9) and the top panel, which was the lid, features a narrative divided into eight rectangular scenes (Fig. 10). The original chest was medium-sized and of rectangular proportions, with an approximate height of 50 cm, a length of 100 cm and a depth of 50 cm. It was executed in *Andean cedar* (*Cedrela angustifolia*) wood, a native species from the Cuzco area, belonging to the mahogany family and growing in areas located between 2,000 and 3,500 metres above sea level. The smooth cover that remains suggests a simple chest with smooth sides, following the models of some of the Spanish chests of the same period.

As might be expected, the front panel shows there was a metal lock, as used on this type of furniture at the time. Similarly, it must have included hinges at the back. The side panels may have had iron handles to transport it more easily.

A laboratory study would be required to reliably determine the wood of the frame, the painting technique and pigments used and other material features. We would venture a guess, however, that the paint used was an oil paint used directly on the wood, with vegetable pigments, coloured soils and minerals, materials that are easily found in the southern Andean territory, and which were used in other artworks.

The presence in the Cuzco region of artists and craftsmen dedicated to the visual and applied arts led to a continuous and prolific production of these cultural elements. The city established itself as the most important hub for easel painting, beyond the borders of the Viceroyalty of Peru. Thanks to the presence of outstanding Italian and Spanish masters there since the end of the 16th century, many native and *mestizo* painters were trained, executing the large numbers of artworks required for spreading and imposing the new faith.

We would submit the hypothesis that the painting of this chest was commissioned by its unknown owner in the most important production centre, where the most experienced artists were working; that is to say, Cuzco. We also believe that he must have owned inherited lands on the eastern side of the Andes, and that along with his wife he wished to own painted furniture that reflected their everyday life, hopes and fears in scenes that narrated those parts of their reality. It is highly likely that, with help from a member of the clergy, the symbolic-religious scheme was arranged alongside the narration the owner wanted to convey on his own chest.

General description of the panels

Both panels, of equal size, contain painted scenes separated by borders that meet at spheres at the centre and hemispheres at the sides, thereby dividing the composition into quadrants. To describe the scenes, we have allocated Roman numerals to them, counting clockwise from the top left, for both the front and top panel.

The panels are framed on all sides by a continuous frieze border decorated with volutes and foliage with red edging along both sides. This type of volute is an element that appears frequently in Spanish silverwork from the early 17th century.

Fig. 9 Front panel with central image of the Crucifixion

Fig. 10 Top panel with eight narrative scenes

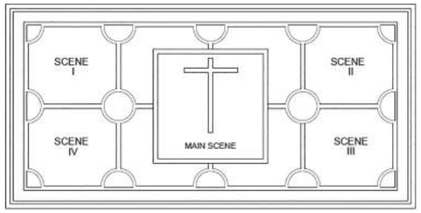

Fig. 11 Layout of the scenes in the front panel

Scenes on the front panel (Fig. 11)

A crucified Christ dominates the central scene, presiding over the composition. Mary is standing to his left and Mary Magdalene is kneeling, her arms around the cross. Behind her, we observe a crane. Trees can be seen on both sides in the foreground, as well as brambles (*Rubus ulmifolius*). Given its prominent position, this is clearly the most important scene in the entire piece, which means it will be the most easily seen. At the foot of the cross, we see a skull and crossbones. At the top we see a dark sky with agitated clouds, warning us of a storm. The main scene is framed by a red border that is mainly surrounded by floral decoration. At the base of this section, we see a vase at each side and two trees with thick branches (Fig. 12).

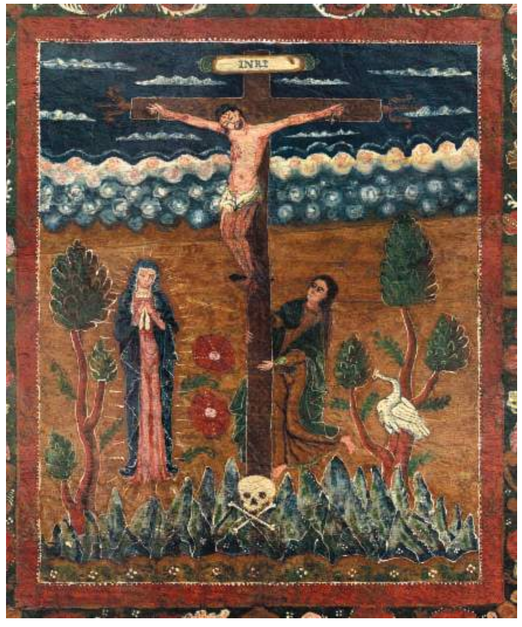

Fig. 12 Front panel, Main Scene

I) A symmetrical scene with a palm tree (*Arecaceae*) at the centre. On the left side, a rampant lion with a light-brown coat. The top and bottom are decorated with leaves and flowers, the latter being predominantly red. To the right, there is a man wearing a hat that is crowned with feathers. On his left hand he is holding a round shield with radial decorations, while his right hand is attacking the lion's head with a spear. A dog, located beneath him, is jumping towards the same prey (Fig. 13).

II) The central element is some sort of palm tree, its leaves arranged radially, dividing the scene in two. On the left side, a saddled horse in profile, its reins tied to the tree, but no rider. On the right, we see the rider leaning back, pointing to the top of the palm tree with a weapon. He is wearing knee-length baggy trousers and stockings, a dress coat with a belt, a ruff around his neck and embroidered cuffs on his shirt. His hat, hanging from a branch, has a ribbon around the crown, and red and white feathers in a plume. Behind it, we see a hunting dog, poised to capture the same prey. Both the horse and the hunter are surrounded by dense plant decoration, with disproportionately-sized foliage and flowers (Fig. 14).

III) There is a river represented along the bottom part of the scene that extends to scene IV on the same panel. It includes fishes and ducks. To the left at the top, there is a man wearing baggy trousers and a dress coat, carrying a sling in his right hand. At his feet, a shepherd dog is taking care of a flock of sheep we can see in the bottom right-hand corner. The flock is inside a pen, but outside the pen, at the top, we see a big wild cat carrying the prey it has captured on its back, the shepherd and his dog looking on helplessly. Beyond the pen we see a dark, cloudy sky. On the shepherd's side we see the façade of a stone church, with a straw vegetable roof made of Peruvian feather grass or *ichu* (*Stipa ichu*), with steps leading to the atrium, a gable roof with round windows, and a house at the back (Fig. 15).

IV) At the bottom of this scene, the aforementioned river we could see in scene III, with the same animals. Two buildings stand out: from left to right, a church with a gable roof over a stone atrium with stairs, and at the back we see what looks like a chapel. Close to the river and opposite the church we see a square building with a courtyard at the centre. The gaps between the stonework have been painted on the outside walls. In the background we can see a huge viscacha, a rodent typical of the Andean mountains that feeds on *ichu*. Between the temple and the square building, we see a Spanish man wearing a hat and covered in a cloak. White birds can be seen behind him, flying towards the religious buildings. There is sparse vegetation, with large flowers and leaves (Fig. 16).

Fig. 13 Front panel, Scene I

Fig. 14 Front panel, Scene II

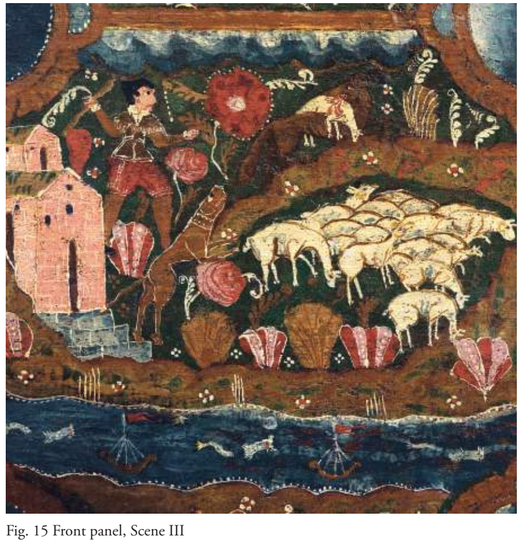

Fig. 15 Front panel, Scene III

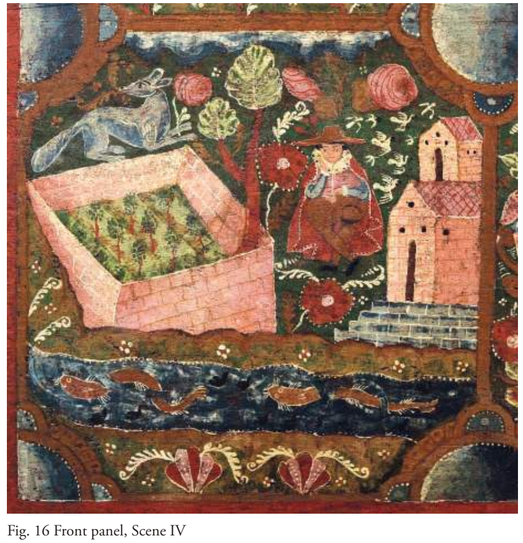

Fig. 16 Front panel, Scene IV

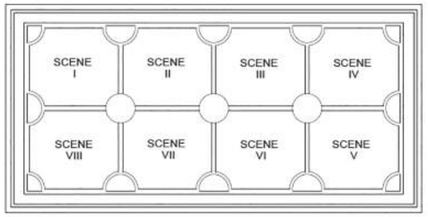

Fig. 17 Layout of the scenes in the top panel or cover

Scenes on the top panel or cover (Fig. 17)

I) At the centre of the first scene, we see a palm tree with large leaves at the top. Four large roses stick out among the foliage. There is a red bird over the tree, looking down. A snake coils around the trunk, its head to the right and its tail extending towards the border of the scene. To the left, two black creatures stand out, standing next to each other on their hind legs, their tongues out, looking to the right where we find a wild man with a club in his right hand, ready to fight them. Towards the top, we see stormy clouds looming (Fig. 18).

II) The centre of this composition features a hillock on which there is a religious building with stone walls, gable roof and a tower rising above it to one side. On the right, there is a man wearing knee-length trousers and stockings, and a helmet on his head. In his left hand he is leaning a weapon over his shoulder, followed by a black dog. The background is covered in vegetation, and, to the left, there is a large flower on which a bird with coloured plumage is perched. Under the flower, a viscacha has its head turned completely to the right side of the scene (Fig. 19).

III) There are three people in this scene. The one at the centre is carrying a shield in his arm and a sword in his right hand; he is dressed in Spanish fashion and is fighting an Amazon native who is barefooted, his face painted, dressed typically, wearing a feathered headdress. He is carrying a weapon in the shape of a paddle, threateningly, to defend himself from the Spaniard and the dog behind him. There is a bird perched on one side of the flag. On the far left of the scene, there is another man dressed like the one in the previous scene (II), with whom he seems to be communicating in sign language. Behind him, we see a house, apparently made of wood, for domestic use (Fig. 20).

IV) This scene is linked to the previous one (III), with two Amazon natives holding bows and arrows ready to shoot, dressed like the native described in the previous scene. The three natives have eye-catching tattoos on their legs, arms, necks and faces. A bird with coloured feathers flies above them. A palm tree divides the scene into two, a large bird perched on its branches. To the right, we see a wooden house on irregular terrain. Over the roof we see a coiled snake, next to which there is a big crouching cat. The sky, covered in clouds, is threatening a storm (Fig. 21).

V) A tree with large branches dominates the composition at the centre of the scene. Over it, there is another black creature trying to escape a hunter, a dog and a native man holding a club threatening to catch it. The hunter is dressed in European fashion and is holding a firearm, poised to shoot the wildcat. Over the hunter, we see a simple adobe house, with clay tiles over a gable roof. In the foreground, to the left, in front of the hunter and his dog, we see a fantastical animal, aggressively poised. On both sides of the scene, we see pineapple trees (*Ananas comosus*) (Fig. 22).

VI) This scene is dominated by a carved stone fountain with two bowls and water flowing down. This decorative element has been idealised, placing it on top of a stone building with arched doors. A crane and a dog are close by, ready to drink from it. To the right, there is an elegant man dressed in Spanish fashion, wearing an embroidered cloak and hat adorned with feathers, feeding a bird by hand, while a dog with a studded collar is waiting for food. To the left, a woman in a long dress, her head covered in a veil, is also feeding a bird with a long tail. The cloud-covered sky is threatening a storm (Fig. 23).

VII) A rider on a white horse, accompanied by his dog, is hunting some sort of deer that is running towards a hillside with a tiered slope, up which another antlered animal is seen climbing. At the top, to the right, there is a house with a gable roof. There is a big cat that looks like a striped tiger also wanting to reach the deer being hunted by the man on horseback. Like in the other scenes, the sky looks stormy (Fig. 24).

VIII) A palm tree in the foreground and at the centre divides the composition into two. A bird is perched on it. On the right side, there is a lion attacking a goat, while it is itself being attacked by a man dressed in Spanish fashion, carrying a sword in his right hand, a shield in the other. A hunting dog, located behind the tree, is also attacking the beast. We find a viscacha (*Lagidium peruvianum),* resting on two gigantic flowers, behind the lion. On the opposite side, behind the man, there is a single-floor adobe house with gable roof (Fig. 25).

Fig. 18 Top panel, Scene I

Fig. 19 Top panel, Scene II

Fig. 20 Top panel, Scene III

Fig. 21 Top panel, Scene IV

Fig. 22 Top panel, Scene V

Fig. 23 Top panel, Scene VI

Fig. 24 Top panel, Scene VII

Fig. 25 Top panel, Scene VIII

ICONOGRAPHIC READING AND APPROXIMATIONS TO INTERPRETING THE PAINTED SCENES

Based on the study of time and place presented above, we will now attempt to make sense of the not-always-apparent symbolic dimension of the representations in these extraordinary and singular panels, as far as possible.[500]

Territory and landscape

The land that these panels depict is located in the eastern mountain range of the Andes (Fig. 26), which descends towards the Amazon basin in the southern Andes and includes part of the Cuzco region, with altitudes varying between 6,364 and 500 metres above sea level. On this descent, we pass through natural regions, forming part of the vertical landscape and its eco-levels, with varying climates, flora and fauna, along with different human settlements. These eco-levels are the *Quechua,* at approximately 3,000 metres above sea level, the Peruvian *Yungas* at 2,000, and the Amazon basin, at an average altitude of 500 metres above sea level. The variety of bush and tree flora increases as we descend, thanks to increased temperatures, humidity and more abundant rainfall.[501]

There are several references to this territory known by the Inca (14th-15th century): for instance, they describe *Antisuyo* as a fertile

Fig. 26 Panoramic view of Machu Picchu, Cuzco

but wild region, with abundant flora and fauna. The evangelical brothers spreading the Christian faith equated this territory with paradise, as described in the Bible, and referred to it as "the garden", with the sole purpose of converting the natives.

The tropical forests with dense vegetation (rainforests) in the *Yungas,* along with the horizontal nature of the Amazon, with no mountains to be used as reference, always made the Andean natives wary and apprehensive, preferring not to occupy the region. The number of insects, reptiles, ophidians and aggressive animals gave rise to fear and a feeling of insecurity. Furthermore, there was the warring nature of the Amazon natives, who over time started to attack and raid the Spanish colonisers, *mestizos* and natives during the viceregal period.

We believe that, in order to understand the narrative of our painted chest, we must understand the nature of these regions, locally known as "the mountain and the rainforest".

Given the cultural landscape that appears in the painted scenes and the appearance of a single couple (the elegantly dressed lady and bearded man with embroidered cloak) (Fig. 23 Top panel, Scene VI), we can infer they must have owned land inherited from their forebears who, in turn, had received the land by Royal dispensation, as "land gifts" granted to those who contributed to consolidating the Conquest. The crane drinking water from the fountain represents the wife's virtue: spirituality, femininity, wisdom and cunning. They are both feeding birds, alluding to their generosity with their fellow beings.

Prominent in the visual conception of both of these panels is the main scene on the front panel which, portraying the Crucifixion (Fig. 12), stands in contrast with all the other scenes, which bear no direct link to the Catholic faith. We interpret this as a way for the owner of the piece to reassert his Catholicism at a time when the actions of the Inquisition against heresy were particularly severe. This scene is of great historic and symbolic value, displaying cultural syncretism in the interpretation the *mestizo* artist made or, rather, a process of transculturation and *mestizaje* between the two cultures.

Underneath this scene, the eye is drawn to a river flowing along the bottom of this panel, as it also does in the top panel, a course of water that must have existed as a border to their property. The artist includes fish and ducks to heighten this representation. The allusion to water, as a source of life and Divine energy, the fertility of the land and all living beings, is highly suggestive.

The scattered houses are built using *adobe* and are covered in tiles, which means they are located in the eco-level known as the *"sierra"* ("mountains") or *Quechua.* This is clear because in the *Yungas* and the Amazon basin, buildings did not feature these materials due to the intense rainfall. Similarly, the religious buildings with stone masonry and tiled roofs (front panel IV and top panel II) are located in the *"sierra"*.

The scene that includes a prominent building with a fountain in the courtyard suggests we may be looking at the property belonging to the couple who owned the chest (Fig. 23 Top panel, Scene VI).

Symbolism of the Fauna and Flora

A lion is represented twice in this composition. This animal, which was introduced into the indigenous Andean world by means of prints and paintings, represented a beast that was feared by both native and Spanish people. Oddly, in both sequences where this animal appears, they are confronting the Spanish characters, who use weapons and hunting dogs to attack them – clearly, Spanish people were more capable of defending themselves from such a feared beast. The terror felt for this animal by the natives is symbolised in a print by Guamán Poma de Ayala in his *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno* (ca. 1615) (Fig. 27), the text of which reads: "POBRE DE LOS IN[DI] OS: DE SEIS ANIMALES Q[VE] COME QUE TEMEMEN LOS POBRES DE LOS YNDIOS EN ESTE RREYNO" [sic] ("POOR INDIANS: THE SIX ANIMALS FEARED BY THE POOR INDIANS IN THIS KINGDOM"). This drawing also contains a plethora of animals, each with its name linked to a political position in the viceregal administration: the snake, the mayor appointed by the king; the tiger, the Spaniards who owned the tavern; the lion, the messenger; the fox, the father of doctrine, etc. In scene I of the front panel, the Spanish man holding a sword and a *rodela* (a small 16th-century iron shield like a buckler) is valiantly defending a goat that is being attacked by a lion. (Fig. 28)

Fig. 27 *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno*, ca. 1615, Guamán Poma de Ayala (San Cristóbal de Suntuntu, 1534 - Lima, 1615); print

Appearing in both representations that contain lions, we have a palm tree dividing the scene in two. The palm tree is a symbol of growth and success, and represents the victory of the spirit, attributes which the owner considers he possesses.

Fig. 28 A man defending a goat (front panel)

The owners of the farmhouse are constantly under threat, either from the imaginary big black cats described earlier, the coiled snake, the wild man, the lions or the *chunchu* natives. Most of the scenes are set in the *Yungas* or upper rainforest, on the eastern side of the Peruvian Andes, that boast a large variety of palm trees, flowers and vegetation.

As regard the presence of hunting dogs, which are Spanish bulldogs -a bull-mastiff and Spanish mastiff mix- (Fig. 29), they are generally presented next to a Spanish man. The native population feared these fierce dogs more than a regiment of arquebusiers. There are period chronicles describing the atrocities committed by these fierce animals on the unprotected locals of the new continent.

For the ancient native peoples, viscachas are messengers of the Andean gods, and mediators between them and humans. On the topic of the appeasement of the *chunchus,* the presence of the viscacha indicates that said peace was achieved through the mediation of the Andean gods. There is an ideological background to the viscacha portrayed over the house with a courtyard, close to the church with an atrium, referencing the co-existence of two beliefs: the Catholic faith and the traditional native religion (Fig. 16 Front panel, Scene IV).

Fig. 29 Hunting dog (front panel)

The shepherd protecting his flock next to the loyal shepherd dog is a metaphor that suggests that he defends his flock against any danger, and the proximity of the church behind him reminds us of Jesus Christ, guiding and caring for his flock. The person commissioning this work, represented as the heroic shepherd and landowner, carries a sling in his right hand to protect his sheep, who symbolise the believers of the Church (Fig. 15 Front panel, Scene III).

A mythological being from the collective Andean imagination

In the foreground of scene V on the top panel, we see a fabulous being from Roman antiquity, which then spread across the Americas during the Renaissance and Mannerist periods. The legendary snake called *Amaru* (Fig. 30), synonymous with the dragon, was part of Inca religious imagery, and there was a temple devoted to it in Cuzco, the *Amaru-cancha,* on which the Jesuits built a church. This was a fabulous creature, with two bird's legs, dragon wings, a coiled snake's tail, feline face and pointy ears. A *qero* from a later date, from the 18th century, features a similar *Amaru.* (Fig. 31) This mythological Andean creature was included in some woodenceremonial vessels. In the narrative of the time, these beings represented evil and the enemy. The fact that this *mestizo* artist, creator of our wonderful panels, should place this feared mythological being co-existing in harmony with the Spanish hunter is quite intriguing.

In the same scene, behind the *Amaru*, we see the wild man holding a club. This character is derived from the wild men represented in the European Renaissance, and symbolises beings that were completely removed from civilisation. Their bodies are covered in hair and their gaze express ignorance and barbarity. (Fig. 32)

We would suggest that whoever came up with these scenes and composed the narrative, included in them a number of elements from their own existence in the Andean regions, far from the *Yungas.*

Fig. 30 *Amaru* (The legendary snake, part of Inca religious imagery) (top panel)

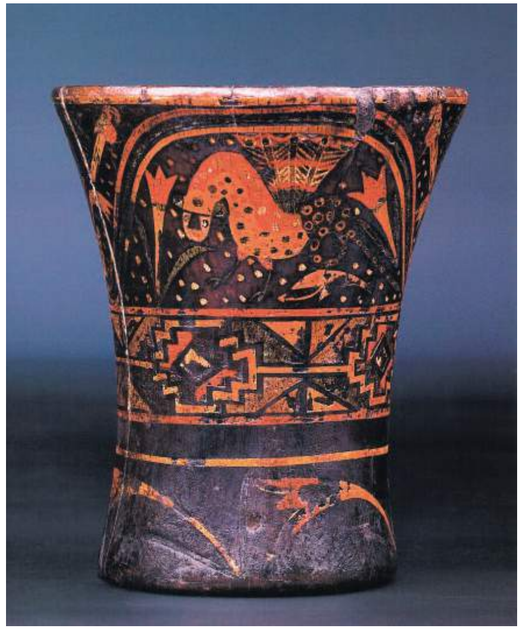

Fig. 31 *Qero*, with the Amaru and a central section decorated with tocapus, 18th century; polychromed wood. Museo Inka, Universidad Nacional del Cuzco, Peru

Fig. 32 The wild man (top panel)

Shunchus of Antisuyu

From pre-Hispanic times, ethnic Amazonian groups were given the name *chunchus*. The word means wild, uncivilised and clumsy. They were also known for their extreme aggressiveness. They are represented in ceremonial *qeros* with their traditional clothing, a short tunic known as a *cushma*. They are crowned with plumage and have face paint, tattooed legs, and are armed with bows and arrows, as represented in consecutive scenes (III and IV) on the top panel. (Fig. 33) The *Museo Inka* in the *Universidad Nacional del Cuzco* has an image on display that represents the *chunchu* dancers, who are headed by the standard bearer, carrying the *wifala.* (Fig. 34) Viceregal *qeros* depicted Amazon natives dancing with colourful feathered headdresses, carrying a flag known as a *wifala.* This was the idealised image that could be found in the staging of their rituals in the 17th century. This scene most likely recalls an older peace agreement whereby the Amazon natives symbolically handed their flag, the *wifala,* to the Spanish people.

Fig. 33 The Chunchus with bows and arrows (top panel)

Fig. 34 *Painted representation of the chunchus dancers,* ahead of the dancers, the standard bearer carries the *wifala*. Museo Inka, Universidad Nacional del Cuzco, Peru

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Psaltery

Ginés Roca

Madrid, 1783

Signed and dated *GINES ROCA ME HIZO A 83*

Wood, polychromy, metal strings

Case

Viceroyalty of Peru, 18th century

Polychromed wood, iron fittings

85×50×22 cm

Provenance: Private collection

Vivian Velar de Irigoyen

Psalteries are stringed instruments belonging to the zither family, with a bridge for direct action. They are played by striking the strings using flexible bows or by plucking them with the fingers or some kind of plectrum. They have received a range of names over the ages and across different countries. For Mediterranean countries, the term Dulcimer tends to be used for instruments that are struck, and Psaltery for those that are plucked. There are no historical references prior to the 12th century, and the psaltery's iconographic sources reappear once again in 16th-century Western Europe. The instrument as it became known from the 18th century onwards originated in the Alpine area of latter-day Germany, and spread from there to the rest of Europe, with characteristics specific to each country, according to the expert Dr. Elena Vazquez, curator at Madrid's Museo del Traje.

The psaltery we have before us here is flat-profiled and of a trapezoidal shape, with two round apertures in the surface of the soundboard, like ears, which are decorated with gold openwork rosettes featuring phytomorphic decoration. These would normally be made of card or gilt parchment. The one on the right is further away from the side edge than the one on the left. The strings are made of metal and are fixed to the side edges, which are angled, by the hitch pins on the left and by the tuning pins on the right.

The lid of the psaltery leaves most of the wood it is made from visible, and presents a delicate undulating ornamentation made up of a garland of pink flowers with foliage. The undulating garland runs around the psaltery and the openwork rosettes. On the right-hand rosette we find a beautiful bird, its wings unfurled, boasting pink and sky-blue plumage, carrying a cartouche in its beak with the inscription: *GINES ROCA ME HIZO A 83*. The sloping side edges are decorated in bole or red lacquer, with intertwining ornamental motifs applied in gold leaf.

Dr. Elena Vázquez who, as mentioned above, is an expert in musical instruments at Madrid's Museo del Traje, explains that it is rare to find psalteries signed by their authors, with the Madrid-based Ginés Roca being one of the few known luthiers from the period. There are four known surviving works with his signature, which are preserved at Madrid's Museo Nacional de Antropología in Madrid, the Monastery of Santa Ana, the Monastery of the Encarnación in Ávila, and also the instrument signed in 1784 currently housed at the Musik & Teatermuseet in Stockholm. The marvelous piece we have before us here would be the fifth, made in Madrid in 1783, and whose case was specially made for this instrument of Spanish origin in the Viceroyalty of Peru. Roca's psalteries do not have cases, so we assume they were commissioned works.

The musical context in which psalteries were used in 18th-century Spain was that of the festivities and popular forms of revelry enjoyed by the wealthy and upper classes. They were also commonly used in a religious setting, forming part of nuns' dowries when they entered convents. Their repertoire included minuets, fandangoes, popular melodies and sacred music. The growing popularity of the guitar led to the psaltery falling into disuse in the 19th century.

Our psaltery's case is of a trapezoidal shape, and it is our belief that the instrument made by Ginés Roca was a commissioned work that travelled to the Viceroyalty of Peru, where skillful artisans constructed the case and then decorated it with ornamentations that represent an entertaining and exquisite fête galante made up of musical and hunting scenes.

The closed case is dark green with garlands and bouquets of various flowers in a range of tones of red across the whole surface. Its iron fittings include a rosette and clasp, and hinges that join the lower body to the upper lid. Once the case is open, the lower part that houses the psaltery also presents floral decorations on a light sky-blue background, a folding flap at the front and a little red box at the back to store the bows and any other implements needed to play the instrument. The inside face of the lid boasts exquisite decorations depicting a fête galante in a bucolic setting in the rural surroundings of what is probably Cuzco. In the middle, and against a light background, a couple dressed in the Spanish fashion of the upper classes are engaged in a lively dance, surrounded by an orchestra of musicians whose instruments are a small piano or clavichord, a violin, harp and guitar. The musicians are sitting on simple seats with arms, in the style of monk's chairs. Around the edges of the lid we find hunting scenes in a bucolic setting with cloudscapes, mountain ranges, ducks swimming and a deer about to be shot, all immersed in thick vegetation. The hunters, who are dressed in Spanish fashion, are carrying rifles. The agitated leaves of the trees accompany the scene. A range of flowers and garlands decorate the musical fête galante. The decorative elements on psaltery cases indicated the sex of the musician, and from the scenes depicted here we can deduce that the owner of this one was a male with a passion for hunting, music and dance.

It is also worth noting the excellent state of preservation of this musical instrument of Spanish origin, and its fantastical Viceroyalty case, which together go to make up an exceptional work in terms of the large number of cultural indicators it brings together, with the process of transculturation being at the heart of this beautiful piece.

Psaltery, Italy, ca. 1750. Museo del Traje, Spain

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Descent from the Cross

Anonymous artist
Ayacucho (Peru), late 17th century
Carved Huamanga stone, encaustic polychrome, gold leaf estofado
31.5×24 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Vivian Velar de Irigoyen

This dramatic sculpture depicts Christ's Descent from the Cross, inspired by the Peter Paul Rubens work painted for Antwerp Cathedral in around 1612, whose importance in the Americas was of considerable note, as evidenced by the large number of pictorial and sculptural works executed during the Viceroyalty. We can also identify irreplaceable sources of inspiration in the numerous Flemish engravings and prints circulating in the Viceroyalty of Peru, of which those by Hieronymus Wierix (1548-1624)(Fig. 1), Cornelis Galle (1576-1650) and Lucas Vorsteman (1595-1675 were both widespread and highly influential. The Descent from the Cross is a scene from the Passion cycle, taking place between the Crucifixion and the Lamentation over the Dead Christ. It is the moment at which the body of Jesus is unnailed and taken down from the Cross by Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, who use a ladder to undertake said task, and then wrap Christ's dead body in a shroud.

Since the middle ages, there have been four types of representation, depending on how the scene is arranged. In our beautiful Huamanga relief, Christ has already been freed from the Cross, his inert body being supported by Joseph and Nicodemus with the help of a couple of ladders. The rest of the figures present include the Virgin Mary, St. John, Mary Magdalene, the Virgin Mary, St. John, the Three Marys and others. The artist's introduction of a number of characters lent the scene great dramatic and sentimental expressivity through a series of devices. The Cross and Christ occupy the center of the scene, around which the rest of the figures are arranged, linking up with each other through looks and gestures, thereby making up a semi-circle loaded with dramatism.

The scene takes place on a series of rocks that serve to support the Cross. It is worth highlighting the skill of the artist, who successfully generated a sense of volume and depth in his carving using low, half and high relief, as well as his notable imaginative capabilities, introducing variations in the spatial arrangements of the figures, which do not precisely follow the known engravings and prints. In the lower middle area we find the Virgin Mary, distraught and wrapped in a blue cloak, lost in thought and prayer. Mary Magdalene, her red hair caught by the wind, kisses Jesus' feet sweetly. St. John the Apostle helps with the descent, and tenderly embraces the legs of Christ. The holy women and the rest of the figures are disconsolate as they witness the sad scene. In addition to the artist's gifts as a carver, we should highlight the expressivity attained in the varying figures, as well as the skillful anatomic details and the naturalism achieved in the representation of the clothing identifying each of the characters. The accomplished expressivity of Christ's face and his inert body evoke a feeling of sorrow, piety and faith in the spectator. This sentiment is reinforced by the phylactery over the Cross bearing the inscription INRI, the initials of the Latin sign Pontius Pilate ordered to be fixed above the head of the Crucified "IESVS NAZARENVS REX IVDAEORVM", according to St. John's Gospel.

The artist also showed his talent using the encaustic technique,[502] which was taken from Spanish art, to distinguish the figures' clothing and to reinforce their sentiments and expressivity. In certain parts, the quality and beauty of the marble-like Huamanga stone comes out, its opalescence and translucence standing in contrast to the polychromed areas.

The little Huamanga stone relief and ronde-bosse works executed during the period of the Viceroyalty were a vehicle for the Catholic dogmas and rulings of the Counter-Reformation, which had reaffirmed the function of the image as an instrument of faith. Huamanga stone sculpture established a repertory of subjects, where the most common ones included the life of Christ, Marian scenes with the Immaculate Conception being the most popular, and the lives of the saints which, relating to the different religious orders, fulfilled a missionary function, whether these were American or the beacons of virtue proposed by the Church. These works also portrayed subjects that put forward a new, kinder and more sentimental form of piety by reclaiming, for example, the figures of St. Joseph, St. Joseph and the Infant Christ, the Holy Family, scenes of the Nativity and the Flight to Egypt, among others.[503]

As mentioned earlier, the episode of the Descent from the Cross is part of the Passion cycle, as narrated by the four Gospels and other texts from the early middle ages. The first representations of the Descent date from the 9th century and are expressions of great sobriety. Due to Byzantine influences, the Virgin and St. John were introduced on either side of the Cross. From the 13th century onwards, more figures were included, giving rise to a considerable dramatic charge. Mary Magdalene, the other Marys, Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, to name but a few. The ladder appeared in the 11th and 12th centuries. During the Renaissance and Baroque, the Descent, along with the rest of the Passion iconography, became popularized, leading to compositions of heightened dramatic effect.

Fig. 1 Hieronymus Wierix (1548-1624), *Descent from the Cross*; engraving

62

Pedro de Mena
Ayacucho (Peru), 17th century

The Virgin Child with St. Anne and St. Joachim

Signed "Pedro Đ Mena"
Carved Huamanga stone, encaustic polychrome, gold leaf estofado
50×40×6 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Vivian Velar de Irigoyen

Exceptional relief work in *piedra de Huamanga* (Huamanga stone) depicting a moment of great intimacy and tenderness in which the Infant Mary holds out her arms towards her parents, a moment of introspection within the Holy Family. The Virgin is sat on her mother St. Anne's lap, who is holding her in her arms. St. Joachim looks at her tenderly while holding Mary's little hand in his. The work depicts an intimate domestic scene portraying the love between the Infant Mary and her parents.

The episode takes place at an ambiguous location combining both inside and outside spaces. It appears to be set in a patio flanked by attractive trees, where the perspective has been completely distorted. St. Anne is sat on a high-backed chair, and behind them we find the rest of the buildings making up the rural homestead. Two angels are accompanying the tender scene, one of them bearing a bird, to symbolize St. Joachim, and the other a bouquet of beautiful flowers. The presence of these two angels undoubtedly alludes to the apocryphal gospels, the Protoevangelium of James, which tell us that St. Joachim and St. Anne, being old, had no children. An angel appeared to St. Joachim, who had retired to the desert in despair, telling him to meet Anne at the gates to the temple of Jerusalem. Meanwhile, another angel was announcing to Anne the news of her pregnancy. Joachim and Anne meet at the Golden Gate of the Temple, and there an angel brings them together in a tender embrace.

Fig. 1 Schelte Adams Bolswert (1586-1659), *The Virgin Child with St. Anne and St. Joachim*; engraving

Above the domestic scene we see God the Father pictured in an opening of the heavens, in a posture of benediction, and with the orb in his left hand. Underneath Him, a choir of angels playing various instruments accompanies the beautiful and tender moment. To enliven the scene, the artist has included a little cat and a dog that is trying to play with Mary. The master carver was able to generate a sense of volume by using low, half and high relief, as well as by applying encaustic polychrome to differentiate between the varying locations, clothing and other details. The devices drawn from Spanish religious imagery, along with the polychrome, *sgraffito* and *estofado* were well known by the sculptors of Huamanga stone.[504] We can observe the beautiful *sgraffito* work in the clothing of the Holy Family, and the gold-leaf gilding on top of red bole which covers the stone in its entirety, and on top of which pigments were applied using the encaustic technique. The paved floor would appear to be made up of little pieces of gold leaf and with a completely distorted perspective, lending the work the desired depth. The tiles of the canopy over St. Anne and the roof of the homestead building have been undertaken and embellished with thin golden lines of *sgraffito*.

The translucence and opalescence of Huamanga stone can be observed in the beautiful faces of the heavenly figures, angels and other characters, thereby heightening their divine nature. The varying motifs making up the composition, such as the aged faces of St. Joachim and St. Anne, the appearance of God the Father, the clothing and the physiognomy of the Child Virgin, were taken from the enormous number of prints circulating throughout the Viceroyalty of Peru, such as those of engravings by Schelte Adams Bolswert (1586-1659) (Fig. 1), Karel van Mallery (1571-1635) and Philip Fruytiers (1610-1666), which served as a source of inspiration for the precious Huamanga carvings (Fig. 2).

Finally, it is worth mentioning the excellent state of preservation of our exceptional relief, its unusual size and the fact that it is signed by Pedro de Mena, a master Huamanga stone carver, the activities of whose highly illustrious workshop deserve far more exhaustive research.[505]

Fig. 2 *The Birth of the Virgin*, Huamanga, 17th century; carved Huamanga stone. Museo Pedro de Osma, Peru

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Vessel

Pasto (Colombia), 17th century
Carved wood with barniz de pasto
19×10×9.5 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Sofía Fernández Lázaro

This beautiful bowl is a lobed vessel made of carved cedarwood, profusely decorated using the exquisite Pasto Varnish (*Barniz de Pasto*) technique. The outer surface is decorated in accordance with the *horror vacui* style so popular in European Baroque works. It has been executed with a rich and varied palette, where the layers of *mopa mopa* resin alternate with gold and silver leaf, lending the surface a beautiful iridescent colouring that emanates a golden glow. The decoration is arranged into three horizontal bands or registers, with the middle one being the most sumptuously ornate. It presents a dense floral design throughout. The central register features a pattern with a range of alternating motifs. On each of the wide and narrow sides we can observe a bird with open wings and a sharp beak, its talons resting on a branch with a flower looking like a carnation at the end of it, all framed by phytomorphic scrollwork in varying colours and with several layers of *mopa mopa* resin, alternating with glorious gold leaf. The bird motif alternates with depictions of squirrels standing on their hind legs, appearing to be revelling in the fragrance of a great fleuron towering

over their heads. The two main figures in this scene, the bird and the squirrel, are surrounded by profuse decorative elements including varying flowers, some inspired in Asian lacquerware, such as carnations and peonies, alongside other native flowers.

All these early-17th-century designs depicting hunting animals, and both real and mythological creatures, draw on 16th-century European sources, such as bestiaries, engravings, drawings and illuminated manuscripts, which were an inexhaustible font of inspiration for Andean artists.

The Pasto varnish has been applied in very thin semi-transparent layers, one on top of the other, building up a varied chromatic range. We can make out an extremely rich palette, including yellows, reds, greens and blacks, colours formed by adding vegetable or mineral pigments to the *mopa mopa* resin once it had been cleaned of all impurities.

The flower petals, plant motifs and the squirrel hides have been Depicted in great detail through slender graffito incisions in black resin and the superimposing of layers to attain a great range of colours. This exquisite Pasto varnish technique results in beautiful tones of red, orange and yellow in an attempt at rendering the sumptuous hues of the petals of the varying flowers standing out against the dazzling gold leaf background. The flowers themselves, meanwhile, are surrounded by extensive scrollwork in bluish green and silver leaf, alternating with the varying layers of Pasto varnish, depicting the lush Andean tropics.

The lower and upper bands present vegetable and floral scrollwork emerging from baskets located in the middle, and on the two shorter sides of the bowl. This motif is highly decorative, being made up of thin horizontal lines of layers of Pasto varnish. The trailing plant motifs that emerge stand out against a light background, and extend across the entire lower and upper registers of the vessel, presenting

the intense sense of movement typical of the *horror vacui* style.

The sumptuous and exquisite decoration of the beautiful bowl we are presenting here would indicate that it was part of the household furnishings of some member of the colonial elite, and would have been used to hold liquids, either fresh water or some other beverage.

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 fibres. 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. Codding explains in his vision of decorative arts in Latin America,[506] 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 barnish), 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 civils 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.[507] The scientific name for the tree is *Elaegia 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 in 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 Pasto varnish, identifying the use of a number of colouring 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.

Storage and Display: Inlaying Mastery in Furnituring

Writing Cabinet with Drop-down Front
Peru, 17th century
Wood, mother-of-pearl, tortoiseshell
86×74×41 cm
86×74×52 cm (open)
Provenance: Private collection

Table with Enconchado Inlay
Peru, 17th century
Wood, tortoiseshell and mother-of-pearl
Diameter 71 cm; height 72 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Shrine
Peru, late 17th century
Wood, tortoiseshell, mother-of-pearl, silver, bone and mirrors
Height 60.1 cm; width 35.3 cm; depth 28.4 cm
Provenance: Private collection

***Bufetillo* (Travelling Desk)**
Peru, 17th century
Wood, mother-of-pearl, tortoiseshell, iron locks, brass, metal thread
Height 40 cm; width 60 cm; depth 32 cm
Provenance: Private collection

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Writing Cabinet with Drop-down Front

Peru, 17th century
Wood, mother-of-pearl, tortoiseshell
86×74×41 cm
86×74×52 cm (open)
Provenance: Private collection

Sofía Fernández Lázaro

The piece we have before us here is a wooden writing cabinet or secretaire with a drop-down front panel. The latter is secured towards the top of the middle, where there is a lock fitting. With the front panel down, we can see a structure made up of little drawers or compartments arranged on two horizontal levels, to the left and right, on either side of a central recess. The lower section of the piece, which really sets it apart within this genre of writing cabinets with drop-down fronts, comprises a series of drawers arranged on three vertical levels: two smaller drawers on the first and third levels, and one drawer, twice the size of the others, on the central level. Another striking feature, underscoring the uniquely creative nature of this piece, are the two curvilinear side wings from which the supports for the fold-down panel slide out.

In addition to these highly unusual features, another of the cabinet's more interesting characteristics is its ornamentation, as it combines the decoration found on the sides, which are painted to imitate oriental lacquer, with the aesthetic of the front of the piece, which has been executed using an inlay marquetry technique known in the Americas as enconchado, which was most widespread in the viceroyalties of Peru and New Spain (Mexico). The outside of the drop-down panel is decorated with a central rectangular section made up of a tortoiseshell plaque with mother-of-pearl inlay, depicting a garland of four-pointed stars and flowers. This central section is surrounded by a thin rectangular wooden frame leading onto a second, larger border, once again featuring tortoiseshell and mother-of-pearl inlay with floral garlands throughout. This sort of decoration based on garlands may also be found on the base structure of the front of the piece, contrasting with the undulating lines, full of movement, with inlay decoration, adorning the drawers and wings, presenting an abundance of leaves, flowers and arabesques. Finally, of its unique characteristics, it is worth highlighting the inscription that has been preserved, and which may be found on the back of the cabinet, reading "Soi De Don Ysidoro Flores" ("I belong to Don Ysidoro Flores") (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1 Writing Cabinet with Drop-down Front (detail of the back, "Soi De Don Ysidoro Flores"). Jaime Eguiguren Collection

Apart from telling us who the owner of this exemplary and previously-unpublished cabinet was, this beautiful inscription acts as a sort of window, to paraphrase Gaston Bachelard's Poetics of Space, onto the social memory of the period. Although, in terms of their storage capacities, writing cabinets or secretaires were intended to make their owners' lives easier, there is also no denying they were devised as status symbols aimed at providing necessary recognition for a social elite that was as privileged as it was select. We can therefore conclude that, beyond its aesthetic and technical history, the study of furniture in the Latin American viceroyalties involves a sociological angle, given these sorts of pieces, as luxury items, provide a reflection of the culture, way of life and even way of thinking of the society that produced and enjoyed them.

We need only consult the documentation from the period, mainly legacies and wills, to realise that these writing cabinets were the most luxurious pieces of furniture of their day. Executed in the most expensive and lavish materials, owning them was synonymous with wealth and power:

> *"[…] in their execution the best materials were used, and the most modern and innovative techniques of the time. […] the obsession with collecting things made these cabinets incredibly useful for storing the items their owners had accumulated: precious gemstones, geological samples, shells, manuscripts, coins, medals […]. In terms of value, the splendour of these cabinets put them on the same level as their contents".*[508]

While their function meant they were preferably kept in libraries or studies, these writing cabinets were also often found in places where visitors could see them, such as living rooms or bedrooms, as they were also intended to demonstrate their owners' wealth and refined taste, at all times a reflection of the foreign influences deemed superior to the native ones.

As such, in the Latin American viceroyalties, these pieces of furniture were used to express the status and aspirations of a burgeoning society that looked to imperial Spanish tastes and the aesthetics of the refined and advanced Asian society for its own recognition. And these are the aspirations we can observe in this beautiful writing cabinet, following a model that was popular back in the mother country, but whose forms and decoration undeniably drew on Oriental tradition.

As is the case with our cabinet, the most popular form of decoration was tortoiseshell and mother-of-pearl inlay on a wooden base. Decorative furniture and boxes with tortoiseshell and mother-of-pearl inlay from the Portuguese colonies in India, or the Philippines, Japan and China, were among some of the most highly-coveted items sent to the Americas on the Manila Galleons, serving as inspiration for the interior decoration of the homes of the major Criollo families, whose material legacy, honouring their aspirations of recognition and prominence, is on display today in the most important museums and collections across the world (Figs. 2 & 3).

Furthermore, in addition to the huge quantity of exotic and luxury items that left their mark as they sailed the Pacific-Atlantic trade route, we know that a considerable number of Oriental artisans settled in the Viceroyalties of both New Spain and Peru, and our conclusion is that it was in the latter that our beautiful writing cabinet was executed some time prior to 1700.

Fig. 2 *Enconchado trunk,* 17th century; wood, mother-of-pearl, tortoiseshell. Jaime Eguiguren Collection

Fig. 3 *Box*, ca. 1700; wood, mother-of-pearl, tortoiseshel. Hispanic Society of America

All of these contrasting influences and styles meant that pieces of Asian origin found their surfaces being covered in tortoiseshell and mother-of-pearl from the Peruvian Amazon and Caribbean. This gradually gave rise to an aesthetic which, despite being markedly "mestizo", bears an undeniably local, autochthonous and viceregal stamp.

But beyond our cabinet's decorative inlay technique, which as commented earlier draws on an Oriental aesthetic, what really makes this Peruvian piece stand out is its approach to form. Although such writing cabinets used to store items were popular back in Spain, the definition of its lines and compositional elements (the lower section with drawers, the curvilinear wings and the greater width of the drop-down panel) take us back to Asia once more, specifically to China. Both in terms of line and composition, this model was widespread in China, and though there are few known surviving pieces with this sort of aesthetic in the viceroyalties, their existence is evidenced by both our piece and the lacquered New Spanish writing cabinet with its Chinoiseries preserved in the Hispanic Society of America (Fig. 4).

The writing cabinet we are examining here was probably made in Lima or in one of Peru's coastal regions in the last third of the 17th century, and commissioned, as we saw from the inscription, by Don Ysidoro Flores, one of the first members of a family who, having travelled from Spain to Quito (Viceroyalty of Peru, 1542-1717) in about 1650, reaped the rewards of his efforts, leaving his heirs a status that would result in them becoming the Marquises of Miraflores in 1753.[509]

In short, to do this fascinating work justice we need to approach it from three different angles: in terms of technique, as an example of the virtuosity and assimilation of local artisans; from a historical perspective, as testimony to the extensive exchange of ideas, tastes and products helping to consolidate viceregal society, and which by extension are a reflection of its multiculturalism; and finally, from a sociological point of view, as a reflection of the aspiration and success of Don Ysidoro Flores, a Spanish colonial settler who found his fortune in the Americas.

Fig. 4 *Box,* ca. 1700; wood, mother-of-pearl, tortoiseshell. Hispanic Society of America

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Table with Enconchado Inlay

Peru, 17th century
Wood, tortoiseshell and mother-of-pearl
Diameter 71 cm; height 72 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Sofía Fernández Lázaro

What we have here is an object of unquestionable value from both an artistic and historical point of view. This is an exceptional table, executed using a decorative technique known as "enconchado", which would have adorned the "sala de estrado" (room with a raised platform on which furniture was arranged in an oriental style) of some major Viceregal or Spanish palace.

If we pay attention to the work's construction from a compositional perspective, we see a wooden structure divided from top to bottom into four different parts. Firstly, we have the tabletop itself, which is round with a 71-centimeter diameter. Next we come to the stem, made up of an octagonal cross-section, which widens at the bottom forming a semi-curved eight-sided foot. Finally, and serving as the base, there is an ensemble of eight lion's claw feet with balls located on the apex of each of the eight sides of the bottom of the table.

With regard to its technique of construction, the most notable material aspect of the table we are presenting here is its use of inlay. As such, the artist has chosen to employ a range of different exotic woods and tortoiseshell to create shapes and backgrounds, and mother-of-pearl to generate attractive contrasts and to trace out the ornamental motifs.

The marquetry adorning the entire visible surface of the table includes beautiful and abundant decoration featuring geometric and highly idealised floral motifs that are perfectly symmetrical throughout the composition.

As such, the viewer is first struck by the beauty of the tabletop, with its exquisite and abundant mother-of-pearl inlay on a tortoiseshell background. Respecting the round shape of the surface, the master artisan has devised a perfectly-symmetrical decorative composition coming out of a fleuron located in the middle which, in perfect harmony with the rest of the piece, comprises eight little petals. From here, another eight larger petals emerge, the insides of which are adorned with phytomorphic motifs arranged, once again in line with the overall decorative pattern, in a symmetrical fashion. This second series of larger petals is crowned with scroll motifs and a little chain of semicircles concluding the compositional foreground, giving way to the outer border of the tabletop, also featuring mother-of-pearl inlay. The tabletop has a 10cm skirt running along the entire diameter, lending the composition further dynamism and sumptuous élan.

As we move down the stem, designed in the geometrical form of an octagonal prism, we find that each of its eight sides is decorated with a sort of vertical garland made up of mother-of-pearl inlay. Finally, when we get to the bottom, in the continuation of the stem where it widens providing a sense of movement in its convex curving of each of its eight sides, we observe more symmetrical decoration made up of phytomorphic mother-of-pearl motifs. Concluding the ornamental composition are the eight lion's claw feet with balls, this time without any inlay decoration, leaving the wood exposed.

These types of pieces of furniture, known on account of their decorative inlay technique as enconchados, are the result of the cultural exchange that characterised the artistic panorama of the Latin American viceroyalties in the 17th and 18th centuries, in particular that of Peru (Fig. 1), where we can identify this exceptional piece as having been executed.

As such, "concha" inlay constituted the main channel for Latin American expression, whereby one series of homegrown cultural elements fused with others arriving from the Pacific trade routes and the influences, tastes and requirements of the European colonial settlers. It is, therefore, if one will forgive the term, an undeniable

Fig. 1 *Enconchado cabinet*, Peru, 18th century. Museo Pedro de Osama, Peru

example of the "mestizo" art that became widespread in Peru.

It is thus that we can contextualise this beautiful inlay table as bearing material and unavoidable testimony to the exchange of influences between Asia and the Americas, in which the trade route between Manila and Acapulco played a major role once the Philippines had been colonised by the Royal Spanish fleet in 1565. The commercial exchange between the two regions was constant from that time onwards, with the Manila galleons transporting a huge quantity of exotic products such as silks, porcelain, ivory, pearls and other luxury items to the port of Acapulco. This trade route also brought the first pieces executed in mother-of-pearl to Peru, whose luxurious and exceptional qualities were the wonder of the colonial elites. It was as such, and given the burgeoning demand for this sort of exotic, luxury items, that a hybrid artform came into being, whereby technical elements of traditional oriental marquetry were adapted to the aesthetic tastes and skills of Latin American artisans, while also being combined with imported western decorative artforms.

Pieces of furniture were the most popular items among colonial settlers and the viceregal elite classes, due to the sumptuous appeal of their material components and the sophistication of their elaborate techniques, so we can identify an extensive array of objects including boxes, baskets, chests, trunks, cabinets and tables, all of which made the journey to the old continent as part of the furnishings brought back by returning families who had successfully sought their fortunes in the Americas (Fig. 2).

The above should help to explain how the aesthetic nature of this item, at the time a far cry from anything previously seen in Europe, transformed this both local and exotic artform into an object of desire for major European collectors, with it being by no means unusual to find visitors marvelling at such exquisite pieces of mother-of-pearl inlay furniture in major international museums including New York's Hispanic Society of America, the LACMA in Los Angeles, the National Museum of Viceroyalty (Tepotzolán), Mexico City's Franz Mayer Museum or Madrid's National Museum of Decorative Arts, to name just a few (Fig. 3).

Fig. 2 *Enconchado table*, Peru, 18th century. Museo Pedro de Osama, Peru

Fig. 3 *Chest,* Perú, 18th century; wood, tortoiseshell, inlaid mother-of-pearl. LACMA

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Shrine

Peru, late 17th century
Wood, tortoiseshell, mother-of-pearl, silver, bone and mirrors
Height 60.1 cm; width 35.3 cm; depth 28.4 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Vivian Velar de Irigoyen

This shrine is designed as a Renaissance-style cupola that stands on four smooth round legs; the model was probably taken from European examples found in prints arriving in the Americas as part of the project to evangelise the New World. This type of furniture was manufactured not only in the Viceregal Americas but also in Brazil, using different techniques and following Portuguese fashions (Fig. 1). The interior includes sophisticated decoration made up of mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell inlay known as *enconchado* decoration, clearly influenced by the Orient, showcasing a checkerboard design on the floor. Other materials are also used in the decoration, such as bone, silver and bronze. The outer side panels are decorated with a tropical wood inlay that displays geometric figures set against a dark background. The intricate design includes a rectangle at a centre boasting a floral motif that would appear to be a *kuuantuta* flower, the quintessential flower of the Andes, surrounded by a vegetal garland. The back panel has no decoration and is a simple wooden cover, which would suggest this piece was intended to be viewed from the front, and therefore up against a wall which would have covered that side.

This rare and elaborate niche combines formal elements of European architecture with Peruvian woodworking features, also incorporating oriental decorative techniques. As mentioned above, the shrine is highly architectural in conception: it includes four columns with smooth shafts and gilt bronze capitals standing on plain rectangular plinths. These columns display the utmost virtuosity in their execution, making this unusual piece stand out in its use of tortoiseshell and fine inlay made of silver threading and pearls. The top culminates in a faceted semi-spherical dome crowned by a faux truncated arrow tip decorated with volutes. It is further embellished at the front and on the dome with ormolu winged cherubs. There is a range of decorative motifs, including a variety of plant and geometric elements such as ovals, squares, rhombuses and foliage. The caramel tones and shiny background of the tortoiseshell serve to heighten the mother-of-pearl and bone decoration in the different geometrical motifs, arabesques and garlands intertwined in intricate designs that exhibit clearly eastern influences. The inside of the shrine reminds one of an elaborate miniature imperial parlour: the walls are covered in silvered mirrors from the period, reflecting the liturgical object intended to be displayed in it.[510] The mirrored walls shimmer, lending a depth to the inside of the space, and this would surely have caught the eye of *criollos* and natives alike, sparking their fascination and generating a sense of magic. Flemish-style fluted ebony mouldings separate the different panels and cover the walls. The floor has a checkerboard design that combines deep red tortoiseshell squares with others made of bone, onto which *sgrafitto* floral motifs have been applied, forming garlands. Overall, the piece showcases the great imagination of the anonymous artist who designed it. The shafts of the columns are decorated with silver threading running down and tiny rhombuses with *sgrafitto* floral motifs that look like vine tendrils and shoots.

Fig. 1 *Shrine*, Brazil, 18th century; carved, gilt and polychromed wood. Private collection

Fig. 2 *Our Lady of Copacabana,* Titicaca, 18th century. Private csollection

These shrines were exceptional items of liturgical furniture intended for the evangelical tasks that the church was carrying out. As mentioned earlier, they could serve to house precious religious items that were essential to spreading the faith. These pieces were manufactured in different materials, with a predominance of those built in silver, like the one presented in the 18th-century painting *Our Lady of Copacabana* from Upper Peru (modern-day Bolivia) (Fig. 2). There are also some beautiful examples in carved and gilded wood. The piece presented here, however, executed in mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell, is definitely a rare example and bears witness to the connection between Asia and the viceregal artistic traditions in the Americas. This small piece probably belonged in the chapel of a wealthy viceregal family and may have been accompanied by other items of *enconchado* furniture, highlighting the social standing and good taste of their owners. Viceregal items of furniture were accompanied by silver objects, porcelain and silks brought from Asia on the Manila Galleon, as well as the exquisite Cuzco paintings that adorned the walls of their sumptuous parlours.

Mother-of-pearl, tortoiseshell and ivory objects and pieces of furniture were primarily manufactured for the European market in Gujarat, a Portuguese colony in India, from the start of the 16th century and into the 17th century. In the second half of the 16th century, Portuguese tradesmen took these objects to Japan as part of the Namban trade. Due to the intense Pacific trade, local artisans in Manila started manufacturing their own versions to be exported to Mexico on the Manila Galleon, and from there to the Spanish colonies in the Americas. Workshops were set up in the Peruvian Viceroyalty and New Spain to manufacture these highly-sought-after items of furniture and other objects featuring *enconchado* decoration in the 17th and 18th centuries, as well as large wardrobes with decorative crestings, tables, chests, jewellery boxes, coffers and cabinets, and religious objects such as lecterns and shrines, like our exquisite piece.

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Bufetillo (Travelling Desk)

Peru, 17th century
Wood, mother-of-pearl, tortoiseshell, iron locks, brass, metal thread
Height 40 cm; width 60 cm; depth 32 cm
Provenance: Private collection

Vivian Velar de Irigoyen

This elegant and refined *bufetillo* or travelling desk is a European-style item of furniture that comprises a prismatic box, an upper lid and a folding, drop-down front panel, resting on four carved, turned and striated spherical-shaped legs. The rectangular body is built out of cedar and other tropical woods that are abundantly ornamented with mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell inlay known as *enconchado* decoration. Its oriental influences are clear, dynamically displayed throughout the entire surface. There is a symmetry across all its sides, creating delicate sets of floral and geometric elements, both stylised and naturalistic. The front panel and upper lid are similarly adorned on their outer-facing sides, with a central rectangle in the middle of which we observe a design of stylised floral motifs, abundant foliage, petals and corollas surrounded by a floral border at the corners, consisting of volutes and counter-volutes made with metal threads. Despite the extensive stylisation, flowers that could be carnations and the characteristic bell-shaped cantuta can be made out. The fact that this tubular flower is present bears witness to the process of syncretisation and the survival of old customs from Inca rituals. Kantuta, in the Quechuan language, is the sacred Inca flower that grows in the Andean regions of Bolivia and Peru.

The eye-catching iridescence of the mother-of-pearl, set against the translucence and the beautiful grain with golden reflections of the thin layers of tortoiseshell, stands out in this profuse and leafy decoration. The side panels display the same type of adornment but contained in a central square displaying the same floral motif. The folding front panel has wrought iron fittings at the top that reveal a beautiful interior when opened. The interior comprises a fixed wood panel and four small drawers with handles surrounded by Chinese-style striated dark wood moulding. The front and top panels are attached to the body by thin iron hinges. The fixed panel and drawers have similar decoration with floral and geometric elements. The fixed panel at the top is the front side of a compartmentalised inner drawer used to keep writing materials or other personal effects. The inside of the front folding panel and the top lid have simpler geometrical decorations, composed of a rectangle inside of which we find rhomboid shapes with floral motifs. On both lids, the rectangle is surrounded by a border composed of chained hexagonal motifs. The inside of the desk presents inlay made with fruit tree woods in different tones that form geometric designs and subdivisions with small drawers, as mentioned, to store writing materials or other personal effects.

Our travelling desk is another example of the connection between Asia and the viceregal artistic tradition. Members of the wealthy viceregal society enjoyed adorning their homes with this type of furniture and other *enconchado* items, as well as silverware and objects that used noble materials that came from Asia on the Manila Galleon trade routes. Among these exotic and refined items, a travelling desk would not only be a useful piece of furniture designed to store[511] and keep objects or to write, but was also representative of the social standing of its owners, members of the elite classes and the aristocracy.[512] They were displayed in the most prominent areas of the home, in the parlour or study, to be admired, as they were clear examples of their owners' power or wealth.

The Philippines became part of the Kingdom of Spain in 1565, with the capital city established in Manila. The Crown entrusted their administration and rule to the Viceroyalty of New Spain, and Philip II ordered the setting up of a fleet to connect Acapulco and Manila. The fleet was known as the "Galeón de Manila" or "Nao de la China", and operated between 1565 and 1815, facilitating trade on a large scale in both directions between the Pacific and Mexico. The ships carried silk, furniture, porcelain, ivory, pearls and other sumptuous objects from the East. On their journey back, the ships would carry lead, silver, wine and other goods to satisfy the needs of the Spanish population in Asia. A large warehouse was built in Manila to house the goods destined for Acapulco coming from Persia, India, Indochina, China and Japan. These products also reached the Rio de la Plata thanks to an alternative fleet based in El Callao. They were transported to Upper Peru from there, and continued their way to Salta, La Rioja and Cordoba, before reaching Buenos Aires.

Furniture and other items featuring *enconchado* decoration were highly valued by wealthy members of viceregal society. These sophisticated items were inspired by the pieces of furniture, trunks and other objects with mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell inlay that were mainly manufactured for the European market in Gujarat, a Portuguese colony in India from the start of the 16th century and into the 17th century. At around the end of the 16th century, Portuguese tradesmen took these objects to Japan, where they were copied for the Namban trade (南蛮貿易 *Nanban-bōeki*, "Trade with the southern barbarians") with Portugal and Spain. Due to the intense Pacific trade, local artisans in Manila manufactured their own versions to be exported to the Spanish colonies in the Americas, where they were very popular; true testimony to the acceptance of Asian influences by colonial society. Workshops were set up in the Peruvian Viceroyalty and New Spain to manufacture these highly-sought-after items of furniture and other items featuring *enconchado* decoration in the 17th and 18th centuries; large wardrobes with decorative crestings, tables, chests, jewellery boxes, coffers (Fig. 1), as well as religious objects.[513]

Fig. 1 *Box with table,* Peru, 18th century. LACMA

Notes

1 For an overview of the entire period, see C. Martínez Shaw and M.A. Alfonso Mola, *Europa y los nuevos mundos: siglos XVI-XVIII* (Madrid: Síntesis 1999).

2 See Díaz-Trechuelo and L. López, *Filipinas la gran desconocida (1565-1898)* (Pamplona: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 2001).

3 eds. A. Salvador Bernabéu and C. Martínez Shaw, *Un océano de seda y plata: el universo económico del Galeón de Manila* (Seville: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas 2015), 27.

4 W. Lytle Schurtz, *El galeón de Manila* (Madrid: Ediciones de Cultura Hispánica, 1992).

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6 A. Jordan, *A rainha coleccionadora Catarina de Austria* (Lisbon: Circulo de Leitores, 2012).

7 H. Miguel Crespo and A. Jordan Gschwend, *The "Pangolin Fan": An Imperial Ivory Fan from Ceylon. Artistic Confluence and Global Gift Exchange between Sri Lanka and Renaissance Portugal* (Portugal: Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques, 2022).

8 *En busca del sol naciente: Las embajadas Tenshō (1582-1588) y Keichō (1613-1617)* (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte de España, 2013).

9 Y. Kawamura, "Lacas Namban en los museos de España: estado actual," *Revista de Museología*, no. 65, 2016, 18-27. *Lacas Namban: Huellas de Japón en España*, exhibition, 13 June - 29 September 2013, Museo Nacional de Artes Decorativas.

10 Oil on canvas, 198.8×143.5cm; Accession number 57.144 Bequest of Mary T. Cockcroft, by exchange.

11 F. de Montesinos, *Anales del Perú*, Victor M. Maurtua, vol.II (1906): 141. (There was much celebraton on receiving the image: dances, confraternities of all doctrines with their pennants, flower arches and rejoicing with fire. The sovereign Lady entered her home in September 1598, and as soon as the image was in sight of the town, it started to rain, despite the sky being calm, and it continued to rain until the image reached the church which is mentioned, as a good omen, in the relating of this story, that she keeps in that church. They put the image on the high altar, and then through her God started to work great miracles. At first they would paint the miracles, but now there have been so many they do not take such care.)

12 2000. 34, gift from David and Mary Healy.

13 J. de Mesa and T. Gisbert, *Bitti: un pintor manierista en Sudamérica*, (La Paz: Universidad de San Andrés, 1974).

14 E. Amerio, *Demócrito 'Bernardo' Bitti: SJ. Un pintor de las Marcas hacia el Nuevo Mundo* (Lima: 2018), Sílex 8, no.2, 17-42 and conference in the Museo Nacional del Prado, "Más que pintores: la circulación de artistas italianos en el Virreinato de Perú (siglos XVI-XVII)". 5 February 2022.

15 Oil on wooden panel, 65×45 cm.

16 Oil on wooden panel, 43×28 cm.

17 N. Majluf and L. E. Wuffarden,*La piedra de Huamanga: Lo sagrado y lo profano* (Museo de Arte de Lima, 1998).

18 F. Stastny, *Las artes populares del Perú*, (Madrid: 1981), 167, (in the diócesis of Guamanga there is a great hill full of seams of the finest alabaster, white as snow, from which they carve little free-standing images, that are very odd, and highly prized wherever they take them: and this stone is so soft that when soaked in water they carve it with a knife).

19 Christie's, New York, 22 Nov 2017, lot 133, oil on canvas, 141×103.5 cm.

20 See C. Pastor de la Torre, "La Escuela Pictórica del Cuzco," in *Perú: Fe y Arte en el Virreynato* (Lima: Cajasur, 1999), 57-73.

21 A. J. Arroyo Urióstegui and I. Pérez Rentería, "Arte plumaria novohispano: Una reflexión plástica," *Diseño y Sociedad*, no.27, 2009, 36-39.

22 Arroyo Urióstegui Pérez Rentería, 36-39

23 *Library of Spanish Authors, Vol. 73*: *Obras de D. José de Acosta*, eds. P. Francisco Mateos (Madrid: Atlas, 1954), 132.

24 G. Tovar de Teresa, "*Documentos sobre enconchados y la familia mexicana de los González,*" in *Cuadernos de Arte Colonial,* no.1, 1986.

25 P. Mues Orts, *La libertad del pincel. Los discursos sobre la nobleza de la pintura en la Nueva España,* (Mexico: Universidad Iberoamericana-Departamento de Arte, 2008), 395.

26 A. Ponz, *Viage de España*, Vol V (Madrid: 1776), 331-332.

27 Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Mémorias Históricas, III, Cod. 675, fols. 1–15.

28 For wild animals in royal menageries and stables in Renaissance Lisbon, see Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, The *Story of Süleyman*: *Celebrity elephants and other exotica in Renaissance Portugal* (Zurich-Philadelphia: Pachyderm Productions, 2010); Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, "Global Animals: Collecting and Pagentry / Animais Globais: Coleção E Ostentação," in *A Cidade Global: Lisboa No Renascimento / a Global City: Lisbon in the Renaissance,* ed. Annemarie Jordan-Gschwend and K.J.P. Lowe (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional / Casa da Moeda, 2017), 192–203 and 324–29.

29 Hugo Miguel Crespo, *Jewels from the India Run* (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 2015). *Choices* (Lisbon: AR|PAB, 2016).

30 Lisbon, Direção-Geral do Livro, dos Arquivos e das Bibliotecas (hereafter DGLAB), Torre do Tombo (hereafter TT), Núcleo Antigo 799.

31 Lisbon, Biblioteca da Ajuda (hereafter BA), Ms. 51-IX-25, fol. 14. "[...] de alli [Benin] traen unas cucharas de marfil muy curiosas que ellos hazen que se pueden ver" / "[…] from Benin they bring some very curious ivory spoons that they make there [which] can be seen".

32 Hugo Miguel Crespo, "Global Interiors on the Rua Nova in Renaissance Lisbon", in Jordan Gschwend and Lowe, 120-139 and 255-261.

33 Bruno Werz, 'Saved from the Sea: The Shipwreck of the Bom Jesus (1533) and its Material Culture', Jordan Gschwend and Lowe, 88-93.

34 Portuguese ships on the India run left Lisbon at the end of March or beginning of April, reaching the Malabar coast at the end of September. Ships left Goa at the end of December or early January, arriving in Lisbon in June.

35 Pedro Pinto, "Um Olhar Sobre a Decoração Efémero no Oriente: a Relação dos Bens Embarcado em Goa em 1559 para o Reino, o Inventario dos Bens do Vice-Rei D. Martim Afonso de Castro, Falecido em Malacca, em 1607, e a Relação da Entrada do Vice-Rei D. Jerónimo de Azevedo em Goa, em 1612", in *Revista de Artes Decorativas*, 2 (2008), 237–54; Jordan Gschwend and Lowe, 262-66.

36 These screens made in pairs were designed to divide interiors into different spaces, covered in paper surrounded by a thin lacquer frame. The details in these biombos provide rare visual records of the Portuguese in the Far East in the late sixteenth century.

37 Lisbon, DGLAB, TT, Corpo Chronológico (hereafter CC) I, maço 105, doc. 61.

38 Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, "The Art of Collecting Asian Folding Fans at the Lisbon Court", in *The Art of Collecting*: *Lisbon, Europe and the Early Modern World (1500-1800),* ed. Hugo Miguel Crespo, Lisbon: AR|PAB 2019, 34-53 (with previous bibliography).

39 Jordan Gschwend, 34-35

40 Mathew, K. S., Portuguese Trade with India in the Sixteenth Century, New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1983, 133.

41 Manuel I was granted the device of the armillary sphere by his predecessor King João II (1455-1495). This scientific instrument became associated with the Portuguese discoveries, royal power and global rule. As a personal emblem, it symbolised Manuel's authority across his widespread overseas trade empire, from Lisbon to Macau. And as his device, armillary spheres were ubiquitously displayed in Manueline art, architecture, decorative arts and illuminated manuscripts during and after his reign.

42 Jordan Gschwend and Lowe, 244-245.

43 Körber, Ulrike. "The 'Three Brothers': Sixteenth-century Lacquered Indo-Muslim Shields or Commodities for Display", Jordan Gschwend and K. J. P. Lowe, 212-225.

44 This chest is modeled upon a European wooden prototype, having adopted the curved top, handle and hinges.

45 Lisbon, DGLAB, TT, Núcleo Antigo, 797, fol. 114r.

46 Lisbon, DGLAB, TT, CC I, maço 108, doc. 19 (1564).

47 Lisbon, DGLAB, TT, Gaveta 11/8/13 (30 December 1564).

48 João (de Buarcos) Brandão, Grandeza e Abastança de Lisboa em 1552, edited by José da Felicidade, Alves (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte), 1990, 60.

49 Jordan Gschwend and Lowe, 2015 (note 9 above), 244-245.

50 Hugo Miguel Crespo and Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, The 'Pangolin Fan': An Imperial Ivory Fan from Ceylon. Artistic Confluence and Global Gift Exchange between Sri Lanka and Renaissance Portugal (Montevideo: Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques, 2022).

51 Hugo Miguel Crespo, 'The Plundering of the Ceylonese Royal Treasury, 1551–1553: Its Character, Cost, and Dispersal', in Gems in the Early Modern World. Materials, Knowledge and Global Trade, 1450-1800, edited by Michael Bycroft, and Sven Dupré (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019, 35-64).

52 Annemarie Jordan Gschwend and Johannes Beltz, eds. Elfenbeine aus Ceylon: Luxusgüter für Katharina von Habsburg (1507-1578) (Zurich: Museum Rietberg, 2010), 92, cat. 36a and 36b. Consult online: https://www.khm.at/objektdb/detail/87549/?offset=0&lv=list and https://www.khm.at/objektdb/detail/87550/?offset=1&lv=list (accessed 5 August 2023).

53 Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, 'Carved ivory jewellery box', Francesca Galloway - Autumn 2021 (London: Francesca Galloway, 2021), 5-8, cat. 2.

54 Lisbon, DGLAB, TT, Núcleo Antigo 794, f. 149v.

55 Lisbon, Biblioteca da Ajuda, Ms. 46-IX-5, fol. 263v, in Commentarii per Italia, Francia, Spagna e Portogallo overo relazione del viaggio de Signori Cavalieri Tron e Lippomani eletti ambasciatori dalla Republicca Veneta al Re Cattolico per complimentare Sua Maestà per la conquista di Portogallo l'anno MDLXXXI, Lisbon, Biblioteca da Ajuda, Rerum Lusitanicarum, V.

56 The two pieces are studied by Cristina Esteras Martín, "La platería mexicana en España. Arte, devoción y triunfo social," in *Artes de México*, no. 22, Mexico, 1993-1994, 42 and 44.

57 See Cristina Esteras Martín, "Platería", *Jocalias para un aniversario* (Zaragoza: CAI, 1995), cat. no. 13.

58 It bears an inscription, but this does not indicate the place of purchase: it does however feature a "monetary" mark (in Esteras Martín, "La Fortuna del Perú: la plata y la platería virreinal", *Perú indígena y virreinal* (Barcelona: SEACEX, 2004-2005), fig. 260.

59 Regarding this mark, see Cristina Esteras Martín, "Más interrogantes sobre el marcaje de la platería Latinamericana: "Los cuños monetarios". *Anales* (Madrid: Museo de América, no. 8, 2000).

60 For more on this piece see Cristina Esteras Martín, *Platería del Perú Virreinal: 1535-1825* (Madrid: BBV, 1997, cat. No. 133 and "Silver and Silverwork …" cat. no. 133.

61 It was studied by Cristina Esteras Martín, "Sobre bernegales mexicanos del siglo XVII," *Estudios de Platería* (Murcia: San Eloy, 2004) Universidad de Murcia, 2004, 160-162, and in "Un Arte Nuevo para un Nuevo Mundo. Aculturación e innovación" when it was exhibited in *La Materia de los Sueños: Cristóbal Colón*, (Valladolid: SEACEX, 2006-2007), 298, fig. 263-A-B.

62 Re-marked in Madrid by the Court silversmith and marker Juan de Orea (1677-1693). Particularly original is the superimposed flower with engraved petals we can see at the bottom of the cup.

63 It was published by Cristina Esteras Martín, *Orfebrería hispanoamericana: Siglos XVI-XIX* (Madrid: Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, 1986), no. 1.

64 All four are addressed by Esteras Martín, Cristina: "Platería hispanoamericana en el Museo Victoria y Alberto, de Londres", *Estudios de Platería* (Murcia: San Eloy, Universidad de Murcia, 2006), 202-204.

65 It appears in Jordan, WB. and Cherry, P.: El Bodegón Español de Velázquez a Goya, Madrid, Ediciones El Viso, 1995, fig. 34.

66 The three were first published by Esteras Martín, Cristina: Orfebrería hispanoamericana…., cat. nos. 14, 41 and 24. They are listed under inventory nos. 3354, 3272 and 3266.

67 Inventory nos. 3308 and 3286. See Cristina Esteras Martín, "Un arte Nuevo para un Nuevo Mundo…", no. 262, 302-303. For "monetary" marks, see Esteras Martín: "Más interrogantes sobre el marcaje de la platería americana. Los cuños monetarios". *Anales*, (Madrid: Museo de América, no. 8, 2000), 29-43.

68 There are various pieces of silver (a dish which had pieces of enamel, a salt cellar, jug with spout, brazier, incense burner, instrument case), and some gold pieces (gold bar, chain for the chest and a pair of dress adornments and a neckless, both with emeralds.

69 Cristina Esteras Martín, "La platería guatemalteca, una trayectoria de excelencia", *El País del Quetzal: Guatemala Maya e Hispana* (Madrid: SEACEX, 2002), 155 and 444-445 and La Platería en el Reino de Guatemala. Siglos XVI-XIX. Guatemala, 1994, no. 23.

70 This was first published by Esteras Martín, "La Fortuna del Perú: la plata y la platería virreinal" and "El esplendor de la platería" Perú indígena y virreinal, (Barcelona: SEACEX, 2004-2005), 117, fig. 6. It is listed under inventory no. 2001/03/07.

71 Listed under inventory nos. 2006/03/, 2001/03/15, 2000/03/03, 2001/03/05 and 2001/03/16.

72 For both pieces, see Esteras Martín, "Sobre bernegales mexicanos…", 150-154, plates 1 and 2.

73 Cfr. Esteras Martín, *Platería del Perú Virreinal…*, no. 9.

74 The Tawantinsuyu (or Inca Empire) was divided into four parts, in accordance with the four points of the compass. To the east, where the sun rises, was the "Antisuyu", a warm land of well-being and abundance, similar to the Paradise described by Christians.

75 These are ceremonial cups from the colonial Inca period, executed in wood or silver. The jug was first published by Esteras Martín, Cristina: Platería del Perú Virreinal…, no. 9. For qeros see Flores Ochoa, J., Kuon Arce, L. and Samanez Argumedo, R.: Qeros. Arte Inka en Vasos Ceremoniales. Lima, 1998; for the Amaru serpent see Gisbert, Teresa: El Paraíso de los pájaros parlantes. La imagen del otro en la cultura andina. La Paz, 1999, 88-95.

76 Cristina Esteras Martín, "El oro y la plata americanos, del valor económico a la expresión artística", *El Oro y la plata de las Indias en la época de los Austrias*, (Madrid: Fundación ICO, 1999), 419, cat. no. 246.

77 See Cristina Esteras Martín, *La Colección Alorda-Derksen: Platería de los siglos XIV-XVIII* (Obras escogidas). Barcelona-London, 2005, nos. 22, 23 and 34.

78 Cristina Esteras Martín, *La platería de la Colección Várez Fisa…*, 54-58, cat. no. 11(A).

79 This was studied at one point by Cristina Esteras Martín, *La platería de la Colección Várez Fisa …*, 138-142, cat. no. 51.

80 Esteras Martín, nos. 77 and 59.

81 Esteras Martín, *La platería del Perú Virreinal …*, cat. no. 42, 164-165.

82 For more on this silversmith, see Cristina Esteras Martín, "Miguel Guerra, platero de Guatemala (1773-1802)", in *Cuadernos de Arte Colonial* (Madrid: Museo de América, no. 8, May 1992), 5-27, and "La Platería en el Reino de Guatemala …", 264-265, cat. no. 112 and "La platería guatemalteca, una trayectoria de excelencia, " *El país del Quetzal: Guatemala Maya e Hispana* (Madrid: SEACEX, 2002), 160.

83 A photograph of it appears in Cristina Esteras Martín, *Marcas de platería Hispanoamérica: Siglos XVI-XX* (Madrid: Ediciones Tuero, 1992), fig. 3, no. 345.

84 Datable to about 1770-80 (Esteras Martín, "Silver and Silverwork…", 187, cat. no. III-34).

85 Datable to about 1775 and published by Esteras Martín, *Platería del Perú Virreinal…*, cat. no. 75.

86 The piece and its mark were published by Esteras Martín, *Marcas de platería Hispanoamericana…. ,* fig. 21, no. 272.

87 See Esteras Martín, "La platería guatemalteca, una trayectoria de excelencia", cat. no. 289.

88 In García Gainza, C., and others, Catálogo Monumental de Navarra. I. Merindad de Tudela, Pamplona, 1980, 110.

89 Cfr. Esteras Martín, *La platería en el Reino de Guatemala …*, 268, cat. no. 114.

90 Two such examples are in Esteras Martín, *La platería en el Reino de Guatemala …*, 164-167, cats. no. 61 and 62.

91 After its domestication and acceptance in Europe, the Chilean strawberry (Fragaria chiloensis) became a Marian symbol (Schneider, 2003).

92 The "maracuyá" (Passiflora caerulea) would go on to become known as passion fruit on account of its links with the Christian symbolism regarding Christ's Passion.

93 An extensive debate existed regarding the uses and effects of consumable goods such as tea, coffee, chocolate and tobacco, which led the medical authorities to ask for them to be regulated (Lavedán, 1796).

94 Katzew, 2020, 24

95 Jayadeva Tilakasiri, 'Ivory Carving of Sri Lanka', Arts of Asia, 4, 4 (July-August 1974), 42, stated that ivory from Ceylon 'excelled all other varieties in the density of texture and delicacy of tint'.

96 Other examples, also carved in Ceylon, mostly in Kandy, during the 17th and 18 centuries, demonstrate similar grain, soft colour and patina and can be found in the following museums. It should be noted that the examples below are carved from Sri Lankan ivory. See Portrait of the Sinhalese King Sri Vikrama Raja Sinha (r. 1798–1815), early 19th century, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/75586?sortBy=Relevance&what=Ivory&ft=Sri+Lanka&offset=0&rpp=40&pos=1; *Ivory plaque depicting St Nicholas of Tolentino*, ca. 1650, V & A Museum, London, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O310877/st-nicholas-of-tolentino-relief-unknown/; *Ivory plaque with a Temple Dancer*, 18th century, Kandy, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/789044?sortBy=Relevance&what=Ivory&ft=Sri+Lanka&offset=0&rpp=40&pos=2 (accessed 7 August 2023).

97 Website: https://www.schlossambras-innsbruck.at and Instagram: https://www.instagram.com/schlossambras.innsbruck/ (accessed 31 July 2023). More recently, Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, 'Treasures for Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol: Italy, Portugal, Spain and the Ambras Castle Kunstkammer', Archduke Ferdinand II of Austria. A Second-Born Son in Renaissance Europe, edited by Jaroslava Hausenblasová and Silva Dobalova (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2012), 431-446.

98 For a select bibliography, Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, 'Queen of the Seas and Overseas. Dining at the Table of Catherine of Austria, Queen of Portugal', Royal and Princely Tables of Europe. Commissions and Gifts. European Royal Tables - International Symposium Acts, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, December 12-14, 1996 (Lisbon: Instituto Português de Museus, 1999), 14-43; "Portuguese Royal Collecting after 1521: the choice between Flanders and Italy," *Cultural Links between Portugal and Italy in the Renaissance*, edited by K. J. P. Lowe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 265-293; "Images of Empire: Slaves in the household and court of Catherine of Austria," *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, edited by Thomas Earle and Kate Lowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 155-180; "Catherine of Austria: a Portuguese queen in the shadow of the Habsburg court?" edited by Darlene Abreu-Ferreira, and Ivana Elbl, Women in the Lusophone World in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period. Portuguese Studies Review, 13, 1-2 (Fall-Winter 2005), 173-194; "Verdadero padre y senor: Catherine of Austria, Queen of Portugal (1507-1578)," and "Ma Meilleur Soeur: Leonor of Austria, Queen of Portugal and France (1498-1558)," *Royal Inventories of Charles V and the Imperial Family*, edited by Fernando Checa (Madrid: Fernando Villaverde Editores: Madrid, 2010,

vol. 3), 2545-2598 and 2983-3166; *Catherine de Áustria: a rainha colecionadora* (Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 2017); Sabine Haag, Dagmar Eichberger and Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, eds., Women. The Art of Power. Three Women from the House of Habsburg (Innsbruck-Vienna: KHM Museumsverband, 2018).

99 For global shopping in Renaissance Lisbon, consult the award-winning 2015 book and the catalogue of the 2017 exhibition curated by Annemarie Jordan Gschwend and Kate Lowe, held at the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon, which highlighted Catherine as a global collector. Cf. Annemarie Jordan and K.J.P. Lowe, eds., The Global City. On the Streets of Renaissance Lisbon (London: Paul Holberton, 2015)., Also, Jordan Gschwend, 'Olisipo, emporium nobilissimum: Global Consumption in Renaissance Lisbon', The Global City. On the streets of Renaissance Lisbon, edited by Annemarie Jordan Gschwend and K.J.P: Lowe (London, Paul Holberton, 2015), 120-161; *A Cidade Global: Lisboa no Renascimento* (Lisbon: Casa da Moeda/ Imprensa Nacional, 2017); Jordan Gschwend, 'Shopping dans la Lisbonne de la Renaissance: La Rua Nova dos Mercadores', Comptoirs du monde – Les feitorias portugaises (XVe-XVIIe siècle), edited by Fernando Antonio Baptista Pereira and Jean-François Chougnet (Paris: Editions du Patrimoine, Centre des Monuments Nationaux, 2022), 8-12.

100 Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, 'The Lure of Cipango. East Asian Decorative Arts and Lacquer in Portugal, Spain and Austria (1511-1598)', Os Construtores do Oriente Português, edited by Jorge Flores (Porto: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1998), 195-228; Oliver Impey, Christiaan Jörg and Cynthia Viallé, Japanese Export Lacquer, 1580-1850 (Amsterdam: Hotei Publishers, 2005); Jordan Gschwend, 'The Art of Collecting Asian Folding Fans at the Lisbon Court', The Art of Collecting. Lisbon, Europe and the Early Modern World (1500-1800), edited by Hugo Miguel Crespo (Lisbon: AR-PAB 2019), 34-53.

101 Kristopher Kersey, 'The Early Modern Fold: Pleated Media in Japan's Encounter with Europe', Making Worlds: Global Invention in The Early Modern Period, edited by Angela Vanhaelen and Bronwen Wilson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2022), 25-57.

102 Sri Lanka, Kotte, after 1543, carved ivory with gold, glass, rubies, turquoise, and gilt bronze, H: 11 cm, accession no. 1993.29. Bequest of William A. Coolidge. The choice to depict Lakshmi may have been intentional, as this goddess, as bestower of beauty, well-being, power, and wealth, may have been symbolically associated here with the Portuguese queen.

103 Angela Vanhaelen and Bronwen Wilson, "Introduction," *Making Worlds: Global Invention in the Early Modern Period*, edited by Angela Vanhaelen and Bronwen Wilson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2022), 3-21, at 3-8.

104 These issues addressed recently by Peter Burke, Luke Clossey, and Felipe Fernández-Armesto, 'The Global Renaissance', Journal of World History, 28, 1 (2017), 1–30; Carina Johnson and Ayesha Ramachandran, eds., 'Multiplicities: Recasting the Early Modern Global', Modern Philology, 119, 1 (2021), especially their 'Introduction - The Jaguar's Beer: Critical Approaches to Multiplicity in the Early Modern World', 1-12, and Zoltán Biedermann, '(Dis)Connected History and the Multiple Narratives of Global Early Modernity', 13-33. Portugal's encounters, connected histories and mobility of goods are discussed in Subrahmanyam Sanjay, Courtly Encounters: Translating Courtliness and Violence in Early Modern Eurasia (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2012).

105 Teresa Canepa, 'The Iberian royal courts of Lisbon and Madrid, and their role in spreading a taste for Chinese porcelain in 16th-century Europe', Chinese and Japanese Porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age, edited by Jan van Campen and Titus Eliens. (Amsterdam: Wanders Uitgevers, 2014), 17-18; *China and Japan and their Trade with Western Europe and the New World, 1500-1644* (London: Paul Holbeton, 2016).

106 This bowl may have originated from Catherine's collection and wardrobe in Lisbon. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunstkammer, China, Jiajing Perdiod, c. 1555, H: 7 cm, inv. no. KK 2673. Bottom: 富贵家 |Fùguì jiā qī, 'riches and honour'.

107 Kinrande is a style of porcelain popularised in China during the Ming Dynasty and a popular export to Japan, distinct for its dazzling, intricate and gold leaf decoration. It was called 'gold brocade' in reference to textiles woven through with gold thread to produce a luxurious gold pattern on a coloured ground. These wares were of fine quality, with a thin, even glaze. The Japanese-influenced decoration patterns included floral patterns such as chrysanthemums and were found predominately in red, blue and golden colours. Kinrande was first exported to the Lisbon court, where Catherine collected her outstanding pieces, some of which have survived in the Schloss Ambras Kunstkammer. Cf. Linda Rosenfeld Pomper, 'Kinrande porcelain from the Spanish colonial trade networks', Post-Medieval Archaeology, 49, 1 (2015), 182-188. Also, Cinta Krahe, Chinese Porcelain in Habsburg Spain (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2016).

108 The diamond trade, diamond cuts, and cross-cultural exchanges in jewellery design and manufacture between India and Portugal during the height of the Mughal Empire have been studied by Hugo Miguel Crespo. Drawing upon unpublished Portuguese records and inventories, he has unravelled the fascinating interaction between Portugal and India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Goa, the Portuguese enclave in India, emerged as the foremost centre of the gemstone trade network between Asia, and Europe, attracting gem dealers, cutters, and jewellers. See Hugo Miguel Crespo, Jewels from the India Run (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 2015) and Crespo, 'Indian Diamonds and the Portuguese during the Rise of the Mughal Empire', Diamonds Across Time. Facets of Mankind, edited by Ushar Balakrishnan (London: The World Diamond Museum, 2020), 175-218.

109 Charles Freeman, Holy Bones, Holy Dust. How Relics Shaped the History of Medieval Europe (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

110 Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, *The Story of Süleyman: Celebrity elephants and other exotica in Renaissance Portugal* (Zurich-Philadelphia: Pachyderm Productions, 2010).

111 An exhibition on Habsburg menageries and exotic gardens, including those established by Catherine of Austria at the Lisbon royal palace, was curated by Annemarie Jordan Gschwend at Schloss Ambras, Innsbruck, in 2014. Consult the author's essays and catalogues entries in Echt tierisch! Die Menagerie des Fürsten, edited by Sabine Haag (Innsbruck-Vienna: KHM Museumsverband, 2015).

112 Henry de Castries, Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc. Archives et bibliothèques de France, vol. 4 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1913), 572-574, at 574: 'C'est une sorte de paradis terrestre, une merveille du monde, le comble de l'art, il fait pâmer de plaisir et d'admiration'.

113 Hugo Miguel Crespo and Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, *The "Pangolin Fan": An Imperial Ivory Fan from Ceylon. Artistic Confluence and Global Gift Exchange between Sri Lanka and Renaissance Portugal* (Montevideo, Uruguay: Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques, 2022).

114 The term Luso-Asian is generally applied to people of mixed ethnicities from the miscegenation of native Portuguese with multi-ethnic indigenous Asian cultures and their descendants, who still retain cultural aspects of their Portuguese ancestors such as the Portuguese language, the Roman Catholic faith, including distinctive elements of domestic, civic and religious Luso-Asian architecture, as well as Luso-Asian cuisine, and finally art. The term has also been used by various scholars to designate artifacts of heterogeneous character that emerged from the Portuguese presence in Asia. It functions as a preamble for the diversely distinctive artistic and craft creations fruit of the Catholic European presence in Asia under Portuguese patronage, Moreira & Curvelo (1998), Körber (2019).

115 Cf. Flores (1998, 34), Moreira & Curvelo (1998, 543-44), Canepa (2009, 262-266).

116 Mendonça (2010, 96).

117 The Society of Jesus was a religious congregation founded in 1534 in Paris by Ignatius de Loyola and some co-founders, among which was Francis Xavier, later responsible for the missions in India and Japan. Solely for men, this religious congregation was approved by Pope Paul III in Rome in 1540 and was inspired by a military structure. Their aims were the renewal of the clergy, combating Protestantism and converting non-Christians to expand the Roman Catholic faith, cf. Bailey (2007, 169).

118 I kindly acknowledge Julie Chang for this information and her assistance in identifying this plant.

119 Welch (2008, 34, 36), Osselt (2011, 92, 196-97).

120 Welch (2008, 77), Osselt (2011, 188-89).

121 Welch (2008, 64), Osselt (201vv1, 188-89).

122 Welch (2008, 26).

123 Welch (2008, 91), Osselt (2011, 172-73).

124 Welch (2008, 23), Osselt (2011, 174-75).

125 Impelluso (2003, 85-89), Battistini (2005, 108).

126 Impelluso (2003, 334), Werness (2006, 40).

127 Impelluso (2003, 118-127).

128 Impelluso (2003, 350), Werness (2003, 142).

129 The papal bull Ineffabilis et summi from 1497, issued by Pope Alexander VI, permitted the Portuguese crown the evangelization of populaces eastern from the Cape of Good Hope, cf. Correia (2011, 58).

130 Boyajian (2008, 30).

131 Bailey (2007, 169), Curvelo (2009, 32), Correia (2011, 61), Lopes (2011, 121).

132 Cf. Flores (1998, 33-39), Pina (2001), Brockey (2001; 2007), Osswald (2003), Bailey (2004; 2007), Curvelo (2007a), Correia (2011), Lopes (2011).

133 Pina (2001), Bailey (2007), Lopes (2011).

134 Bailey (2007, 170).

135 Cf. Silva (2000, 87), Curvelo & Bastos (2001, 427-28), Bailey (2007, 171), Curvelo (2007a, 351; 2007b, 275).

136 Brockey (2001; 2007), Pina (2001), Curvelo (2007a, 235ff; 2007b,280), Bailey (2007; 2009), Lopes (2011), Correia (2011).

137 Cf. Pina (2001, 63-66), Colla (2009, 218).

138 Cf. Couceiro (1997), Moreira & Curvelo (1998, 568), Silva (2000, 87), Bailey (2007, 171), Curvelo (2007a, 351, 359; 2007b, 275), Lopes (2011, 292-298).

139 Couceiro (1997, 127).

140 Curvelo (2008, 67).

141 Körber (2019, 206).

142 Impey & Jörg (2005), Canepa (2009, 262-266).

143 Körber (2019).

144 Körber (2019, 2017), Körber et al. (2016).

145 Cf. Körber (2019).

146 Lyujie Zhu, "Fenghuang and Phoenix: Translation of Culture". International Journal of Languages, Literature and Linguistics, Vol. 6, No. 3, September 2020, 122-128. The study includes an extensive bibliography.

147 Reynaldo dos Santos and Irene Quilhó et al.: "Les Trésors du L'Orfèvrerie du Portugal", Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris, November 1954 – January 1955, 43: "99. AQUAMANILE transformé en brûle-parfums; style oriental. XVIIe siècle. H 0.47 m, L. 0.445 m. Planche 47."

148 Fernão Mendes Pinto. *Peregrinaçam* (Lisbon: Pedro Craesbeck, 1614), fol. 14.

149 Xu Wen and Chuanhong Chen. "Cultural conceptualisations of Loong 龙 in Chinese Idioms". Southwest University. Review of Cognitive Linguistics 19:2 (2021), 563-589. John Benjamins Publishing Company, 580-581. https://doig.org/10.1075/rcl.00096.wen 582-583 and 564.

150 Wen and Chen, 581

151 Britannica, The Editors of the Encyclopaedia. "Fenghuang". *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 12 June 2023, https://www.britannica.com/topic/fenghuang. Accessed 9 September 2023.

152 https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_1947-0712-489 © The Trustees of the British Museum.

153 Hunan Museum: https://www.hnmuseum.com/en/zuixintuijie/embroidered-red-hall-curtain-phoenix-and-peony-design

154 Peonies and China – Smithsonian Libraries and Archives / Unbound (si.edu)

155 Source: https://m.thepaper.cn/newsDetail_forward_10165886 and: http://www.uscntv.com/yishu/61379.html

156 Zhao Jing: Misunderstandings in ancient Chinese lion images: Starting from Zhou Quan's "Lion Picture" in the Ming Dynasty, in: https://www.thepaper.cn/newsDetail_forward_10165886. Original source and title: The Gift of Samarkand: A Comprehensive Study of the "Lion Picture, in: "The Palace Museum" *Journal of the Academy*, Beijing, Issue 11, 2020.

157 Reynaldo dos Santos and Irene Quilhó et al.: Les Trésors du L'Orfèvrerie du Portugal, Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris, November 1954 – January 1955, 43: "99. Aquamanile transformé en brûle-parfums; style oriental. XVIIe siècle. H 0.47 m; L 0.445 m. Planche 47."

158 Mariano Ardash Bonialian, *La "Feria de Pekín" en el Perú colonial: Una mirada imperial sobre el comercio y consumo de bienes asiáticos (1680-1740).* UNSAM-CONICET, Year 7 No. 13. December 2011, Edamen Utraque Europa, 109-137.

159 Ardash Bonialian, Quotes the document: "Nueva Representación que hace a Su Majestad Domingo de Marcoleta, apoderado de la ciudad de Buenos Aires (1750)," *Documentos para la historia Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Compañía Sudamericana de Billetes de Banco), Vol 5, 153-156

160 Bonialian, 110-111.

161 Bonialian, 117

162 Bonialian, 120. Quotes: Martín, Luis, Las hijas de los conquistadores. *Mujeres del virreinato del Perú.* (Spain: editorial Casiopea, 2000), 297-298 and 340.

163 José M. Lancho Rodríguez and José L. Lancho de León. El fin del "Galeón de Manila" y el colapso económico de dos imperios. Exhibition: "El Galeón de Manila: La ruta española que unió tres continentes" (Madrid: Museo Naval, 2016), 209.

164 Javier A. Eguiguren & José M. Eguiguren, Pots, Kettles and Stove-Kettles," in *The Mate in America* (Buenos Aires: Eguiguren & Vega Ediciones, 2004), 204-217.

165 Source: https://www.sohu.com/a/574831135_121124389

166 Eguiguren, 5 and 212.

167 Alfredo Taullard, *Platería Sudamericana* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Peuser, 1941), photo no. 102.

168 Amédée Frezie Relation du voyage de la mer du Sud aux côtes du Chili, du Pérou et de Brésil, fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 & 1714. Ouvrage enrichi de quantité de planches en taille-douce (1716) Paris, chez Jean-Geoffroy Nyon, Étienne Ganneau et Jacques Quillau, 236, lam XXVI.

169 Javier A. Eguiguren and José M. Eguiguren, *El mate en América* (Buenos Aires: Eguiguren & Vega Ediciones, 2004), 213, fig. 192.

170 Eguiguren, 203, fig. 184.

171 Adolfo L. Ribera and Héctor Schenone, *Platería Sudamericana de los siglos XVII-XX*, Hirmer Verlag Münche, 1981, 337-338. Museo de Arte Hispano Americano Isaac Fernández Blanco: *Tesoros de America: Tres siglos de platería iberoamericana*, Buenos Aires: 1983, cat. no. 268, pl. 268. An example with minor variations appears in José Antonio Lavalle and Werner Lang, *Arte y Tesoros del Perú*, (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1974), 142-143.

172 María Jesús Sanz, *La orfebrería hispanoamericana en Andalucía occidental* (Seville: Fundación el Monte, 1995), 140-141. "Naveta: Monasterio de Santa Paula de Sevilla"; H 26 cm; L 13 cm.

173 Christie's: "A rare gold and silver-inlaid bronze archaistic bird-form ritual vessel", Zun, Ming dynasty, 17th century. Fine Chinese Ceramics and Works of Art, Auction 15487, 15 May 2018. https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-6140075#accordion_special-notice

174 Rosemary Scott. "Heavenly Good Fortune – An Archaistic Inlaid Bronze Bird", in: Alain R. Truong. A rare gold and silver-inlaid bronze archaistic bird-form ritual vessel, Zun, Ming dynasty, 17th century. Christie's, 2018. http://www.alaintruong.com/archives/2018/05/02/36371426.html

175 Luís Castelo Lopes, "O Fantástico na Ourivesaria - O Caqueseitão," *Actas do II Colóquio Português de Ourivesaria*, Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Escola de Artes, (September de 2008): 141 a 149.

176 Hugo Miguel Crespo, *Comprar o Mundo [Shopping for Global Goods]* (Lisboa: AR-PAB, 2020)

177 The series of large-scale canvases on the life of St. Francis of Assisi is considered one of the greatest examples of painting in Lima. These canvases were painted in about 1671, and were intended for the cloisters of the convent of San Francisco in the capital. The artists responsible were Francisco de Escobar (active 1649-1676), Pedro Fernández de Noriega (1686), Diego de Aguilera (1619-1676) and the slave Andrés de Liébana.

178 In Las Escuelas pictóricas virreinales (2005), Luis E. Wuffarden addresses the emergence and development of local artistic schools.

179 There are numerous prints depicting the Assumption of the Virgin with the characteristics of the work before us here. Some notable examples include: *Assumption* by Niccolò Nelli, Assumption by Cornelis Bloemaert and Tota pulchra by Philips Galle, though there are others where the protagonism is shared between the earthly and heavenly spheres.

180 José María Medianero Hernández, "Copias de la Virgen de la Antigua en Japón" in *Laboratorio de Arte,* 9/1996, 323.

181 Enrique Valdivieso, *Historia de la pintura sevillana, siglos XIII al XX* (Seville: Guadalquivir Ediciones, 1986), 23.

182 José María Medianero Hernández, "La gran Tecleciguata: Notas sobre la devoción de La Virgen de la Antigua en Hispanoamérica", in *Actas II jornadas de Andalucía y América*, 367

183 Manuel Serranyo Ortega, "El patronato de la Virgen de la Antigua en los descubrimientos geográficos en el Nuevo Mundo", in *Actas del Congreso de historia y geografía hispanoamericanas* (Seville: 1914), 473-490.

184 Medianero Hernández (1984, 370).

185 Gabriel Aranda, *Vida del venerable Fernando Contreras* (Seville: 1692), 396

186 Medianero Hernández, " "La gran Tegucigalpa..." (1984, 365-380).

187 José María Medianero Hernández, *La pintura trecentista en Andalucía* (Seville: Faculty of Geography and History of the University of Seville, 1987), Vol. II, 348-352 and Appendix Doc. No.2.

188 Gloria Cristina Flóres, "La Virgen de la Antigua en la Catedral de Lima: culto y ceremonias en la Universidad de San Marcos", in *El mundo de las Catedrales* (San Lorenzo del Escorial, 2019), 665.

189 Medianero Hernández, "La gran Tegucigalpa..." (1984, 369).

190 Serrano Ortega (1914, 473-490).

191 Ángela María Concha and Edgar Villafuerte Acuña, "Documentos para la historia eclesiástica de Apurímac: Análisis histórico al documento de la peregrinación de Sebastián 'Quimichi'. Siglo XVI." *Riqch'ariy*, no. 1, 2020, 172.

192 See, for example, Ricardo Estabridis Cardenas, "La vida de la Virgen en la Iglesia de Jesús María y José", in La imagen de María en el arte del Perú (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1990), 50-51.

193 Rubén Vargas, *Historia del culto de María en Iberoamérica y de sus imágenes y santuarios más celebrados*, second edition (Editorial Huarpes, 1947), 562.

194 Emily Engel, "Visualizing a Colonial Peruvian Community in the Eighteenth-Century Paintings of Our Lady of Cocharcas", in *Religion and the arts*, vol. 13, no. 3, 2009, 312.

195 Héctor Schenone, *Iconografía del arte colonial: Santa María* (Buenos Aires: Editorial de Universidad Católica Argentina, 2008), 353.

196 De la Paz Castañeda, Alba Lucero: *El pintor Nicolás Enríquez: La flagelación, 1729* (Madrid: UNAM, 2014), 7

197 Mina Ramírez Montes: "En defensa de la pintura. Ciudad de México, 1753" in *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, No.78, 2001, 105.

198 Ramírez Montes, 105.

199 Various authors, *Discovering Viceregal Latin American Treasures* (Madrid: Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques, 2021).

200 Inmaculada Rodríguez Moya, "Devoción y nación: El retrato de donante en los virreinatos americanos" in *NORBA revista de arte*, no. 38, 2018, 110

201 Sergi Doménech García, *La imagen de la mujer del apocalipsis en Nueva España y sus implicaciones culturales*, PhD thesis, Universitat de Valencia, 2013, 231

202 Translated from the Latin [He has done this for no other nation]

203 Regarding Nicolás Enríquez: "The dates of his paintings range from 1730 to 1768... and he was still

working in 1787," *in* Manuel Toussaint, *Pintura colonial en México*, ed. Xavier Moyssen (Mexico: IIE/UNAM, 1982), 187.

204 Martín S. Soria. "Una nota sobre pintura colonial y estampas europeas", *Anales del Instituto Arte Americano e Investigaciones Estéticas*, 1952, no. 5, 72-85.

205 See Fernando Valenzuela, "Introductory Note," *Una nota sobre pintura colonial y estampas europeas.* Kaypunku, 2016, Vol. 3, no. 2, 323-329.

206 Almerindo Ojeda di Ninno, "La reconstrucción histórica del arte colonial a través de sus fuentes grabadas: el caso PESCCA," *NORBA Revista de Arte*, 2020, Vol. XL, 175-184.

207 For more on this apocryphal story and its sources, see Aurelio de Santos Otero (trad.). Los evangelios apócrifos. (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1965), 303-352.

208 José María Salvador González, "La iconografía de la Asunción de la Virgen María en la pintura del Quattrocento italiano a la luz de sus fuentes patrísticas y teológicas", in *Perspective contemporane asupra lumii medieval.* (Romania: University of Pitesti, 2011), 238.

209 He was even referred to as the "last of the Mannerists from the Cuzco school" in Teresa Gisbert and José de Mesa, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*. Tomo I. (Lima: Fundación Augusto N. Wiesse), 72.

210 *Chile mestizo: tesoros coloniales* (Santiago de Chile: Centro Cultural La Moneda, 2009), 129.

211 Eugenio Pereira Salas, *Historia del arte en el reino de Chile*. (Santiago: Ediciones de la Universidad de Chile, 1965), 44-45.

212 The model is a closer match for the Virgin of Revelations: "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." (Revelations 12:1).

213 Aurelio de Santos Otero (trad.), *Los evangelios apócrifos* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2005), 64.

214 Santos Otero, 64.

215 Santos Otero, 83.

216 Enrique Valdivieso, "Una Virgen Niña hilando y un Niño de la espina de Juan Simón Gutiérrez", in *Laboratorio de Arte,* no. 15, 2002, 395. Also see Nerea V. Pérez López, La santa infancia en la pintura barroca sevillana, PhD. Thesis (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2016), 292-293.

217 Enrique Valdivieso, "La santa infancia en la pintura barroca sevillana", in *Boletín de la Real Academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras: Minervae baeticae, revista anual de filologías hispánicas*, no. 36, 2008, 9.

218 Teresa Gisbert and José de Mesa devote a whole chapter to Cuzco's "Industrialised painting" in their most iconic book: "Towards the middle of the [18th] century, artistic exportations increased with quantities of paintings never seen before, characterised by relatively discreet dimensions. This constituted a phenomenon we can explain as follows: local artists had saturated all the temples in Cuzco and its surroundings with large mural canvasses […] and, lacking in major commissions, they started to produce paintings intended for private individuals and distant towns […]. In its showiness and, particularly, its low prices, Cuzco painting was in great demand, which the painters of the Inca city had to satisfy." Teresa Gisbert and José de Mesa, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*. Tomo I. (Lima: Fundación Augusto N. Wiesse, 1982), 204.

219 On the other hand, Teresa Gisbert and José de Mesa have attempted to identify features of Inca nobility in all her clothing: "one cannot ignore the notion that these depictions of the Young Virgin contain some symbolism or significance with regard to the Inca coyas [princesses] of antiquity". Gisbert and Mesa, Historia de la pintura cusqueña, 305. In addition, on the same page they make a stylistic distinction that is difficult to understand between the so-called Cuzco and Potosí schools: "the difference between the versions by the Cuzco and Potosí schools lies in the fact that the latter are less rigid, presenting greater movement". This enthusiastic statement must surely have come about without knowledge of the original Seville model, as they barely mention Zurbarán's Young Virgin Sewing preserved at New York's Metropolitan Museum. It is difficult to ascertain whether this was the first time that this assertion was made, but there is no doubt the authority of the two authors would have meant a large number of people accepted it.

220 Enrique Valdivieso, "Una Virgen niña hilando...," (2008, 396).

221 Ángela María Concha and Edgar Villafuerte Acuña. Documentos para la historia eclesiástica de Apurímac. Análisis histórico al documento de la peregrinación de Sebastián 'Quimichi'. Siglo XVI." *Riqch'ariy*, no. 1, 2020, 167-174.

222 Emily Engel: "Visualizing a Colonial Peruvian Community in the Eighteenth-Century Paintings of Our Lady of Cocharcas," *Religion and the Arts*, vol. 13, no. 3, 2009, 301.

223 Engel, 300-301.

224 Héctor Schenone, *Iconografía del arte colonial. Santa María.* (Buenos Aires: Editorial de la Universidad Católica Argentina, 2008), 353.

225 Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Historia del culto de María en Iberoamérica y de sus imágenes y santuarios más celebrados,* second edition (Buenos Aires: Editorial Huarpes, 1947), 557-558.

226 Juan de Villafane, *Compendio histórico en que se da noticia de las milagrosas y devotas imágenes de la Reina de los Cielos y tierra, María Santísima*. Madrid: Manuel Fernández, 1740, 193.

227 Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Historia del culto de María en Iberoamérica y de sus imágenes y santuarios más celebrados*, 2nd edition (Buenos Aires: Editorial Huarpes, 1947), 612.

228 Emilio Harth-Terré, *Escultores españoles en el Virreinato del Perú*. (Lima: Editorial Mejía Baca, 1977), 147.

229 José de Buendía, *Vida admirable y prodigiosas virtudes del venerable, y apóstol padre Francisco del Castillo de la Compañía de Jesús, natural de Lima, Ciudad de los Reyes en la Provincia del Perú*. (Madrid: Antonio Román, 1693), 288.

230 "Letras Anuas de la Provincia del Perú de los años 1660 y 1661 y parte de 1662 (1662 ca.) [Manuscript]." In *Peruana Litterae Annuae* (Rome: Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu), Peru 16, tome 5, fol. 63.

231 Vargas Ugarte (1947, 615-616).

232 Héctor Schenone, *Iconografía Del Arte Colonial: Santa María* (Buenos Aires: Editorial de Universidad Católica Argentina, 1992). Observes that the author of the engraving was a certain F. Huberti, possibly Franz Huybrechts, but he was active in the mid-17th century.

233 Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Historia del culto de María en Iberoamérica y de sus imágenes y santuarios más celebrados*, 2nd edition (Buenos Aires: Editorial Huarpes, 1947), 542.

234 See Nanda Leonardini and Patricia Borda, *Diccionario iconográfico religioso peruano* (Lima: Rubican Editores, 1996), 271.

235 Leonardini and Borda, 285.

236 Francisco Montes González, "Memoria gráfica y transferencia devocional: La peregrina de Quito." *CAIANA*, Buenos Aires, 16, (2020): 69.

237 Héctor Schenone, *Iconografía del arte colonial* (Buenos Aires: Fundación Tarea, 1992), 491).

238 Schenone, (1992, 172).

239 Santiago de la Vorágine, *La leyenda dorada*, 2 (España: Alianza Forma, 1997), 900.

240 Schenone (1992, 172).

241 Leonardini and Borda (1996, 285).

242 Héctor Schenone, *Iconografía del arte colonial: Santa María* (Buenos Aires: Editorial de Universidad Católica Argentina, 2008), 500.

243 Schenone, 496.

244 See Nanda Leonardini and Patricia Borda, *Diccionario iconográfico religioso peruano* (Lima: Rubican Editores, 1996), 269-271.

245 Leonardini and Borda (1996, 276-278 and 285).

246 Schenone (2008, 438).

247 C. Rodríguez Morales, "Virgíneo Pudor: Sobre Las veras efigies de La Virgen de las nieves," in *María, y es la nieve de su nieve: Favor, esmalte y matiz* (Spain: Caja Insular de Ahorros de Canarias, 2010), 13.

248 Schenone. (2008, 496).

249 Carol Damian, *The Virgin of the Andes: Art and Ritual in Colonial Cuzco*, (Miami Beach: Grassfield Press, 1995).

250 25th Annual Art of Devotion – Historic Art of the Americas. Albuquerque: Peyton Wright Gallery, 2017. It appeared in Francisco Montes González. "Memoria gráfica y transferencia devocional: La Peregrina de Quito." Caiana, no. 16, 2020, 73.

251 Account of the journey of Fray Diego de Ocaña through the New World (1599-1605). See online: https//digbuo.uniovi.es/handle/10651/27859. Eds. López de Mariscal, Blanca and Madroñal, Abraham, Fray Diego de Ocaña, *Viaje por el Nuevo Mundo de Guadalupe a Potosí, 1599-1605*, (Madrid: Iberoamericana 2010).

252 Ocaña (2010, fols.148v-149r).

253 Ocaña (2010, fol.163v.

254 Gabriel deTalavera, *Historia de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, consagrada a la soberana magestad de la Reyna de los Angeles, milagrosa patrona de este sanctuario*. (Toledo: Tomás de Guzmán, 1597).

255 An engraving of the canvas was made by Paulus Pontius, and tends to be dated to around 1640. See Schneevoogt, C. G. Voorhelm (1873): Catalogue Des Estampes Gravées D'après P.p. Rubens: Avec L'indication Des Collections Où Se Trouvent Les Tableaux Et Les Gravures...Paris. (Inv. no. 144.69)

256 Dómenech (2013), 377, note 441.

257 For a study of the theological importance of Juan Duns Scoto in the origin of the Immaculate Conception, see POMPEI, Alfonso, OfmConv (2005): "Giovanni Duns Scoto e l'Immacolata Concezione", Commentarium OFMConv, Rome, no. 102, 130-150.

258 "Conceptio tva dei genitrix virgin gaudium anunciavit universo mundo", in other words, "Your virginal conception by God presaged the joy of the whole world".

259 See the following link: https://colonialart.org/artworks/377A

This website, devoted to the iconographic study of viceregal art, includes numerous representations inspired by the engraving Paulus Pontius made of the Rubens composition.

260 Addressing the success of these images there is a highly-detailed study examining the impact of the depiction of the Woman of the Apocalypse in the New World. See the bibliography: Doménech (2013). This is an unpublished doctoral thesis. Of particular interest to our study are pages 374 et seq.

261 Pedro Querejazu Leyton, "La pintura colonial en el virreinato de Perú," in *Pintura, escultura y artes útiles en iberoamérica: 1500-1825* (Madrid: Manuales Arte Cátedra, 1995), 163-169.

262 In the past the signature was attributed to Juan RodrígueLeytonz Samanez, thanks to the misinterpretation of the abbreviation "DAMN" as "De mano de", or "From the hand of", and the part of the signature that reads "Smños" was incorrectly read as "Smanos", which was taken to be a shortened form of Samanez. As noted, the reading was carried out by José de Mesa, as appears in Isabel Cruz de Amenábar's Arte y sociedad en Chile 1550-1650, Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 1986, 296.

263 Eugenio Pereira Salas, "Historia del arte en el Reino de Chile," Universidad de Chile, February 1, 1969, 64-65.

264 Works of Saint Teresa of Jesus. Vol I. Book of Life, edited and annotated by Father Silverio de Santa Teresa. Burgos: Tipografía de El Monte Carmelo, 1915, 234.

265 Silverio de Santa Teresa, 234.

266 María José Pinilla Martín, "Iconografía de Santa Teresa de Jesús." PhD Thesis, Universidad de Valladolid.

267 Adriaen Collaert and Cornelis Galle, *Vita B. Virginis Teresiæ a Iesu Ordinis Carmelitarum Excalceatorum Piae Restauratricis. Illustrissimo Domino D. Roderico Lasso Niño. Comiti de Añover. Serenissimi Archiducis Alberti Œconomo supremo &ca. Dicata*. (Antwerp: Apud Adrianum Collardum et Cornelium Galleum, 1613), plate 8.

268 Pinilla, 213.

269 Pinilla, 213-216.

270 Alejandro Vera, *The Sweet Penance of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 16-17.

271 Pereira Salas (1969, 9-10).

272 Pinilla, 214.

273 In Lima, meanwhile, other than in cases such as those of the painter Leonardo Jaramillo and the murals in the Capilla Villegas, by the 1620s there was not much left of Mannerism after its wholesale shift towards the Baroque. See José Chichizola, *El manierismo en Lima* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1981), 159-175; and Francisco Stastny, *El manierismo en la pintura colonial latinoamericana* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1977). 37

274 Ricardo Mariátegui Oliva, *Pintura cuzqueña del siglo XVII en Chile: Los valiosos lienzos del corpus cuzqueño en propiedad de D. Carlos Peña Otaegui en Santiago* (Alma Mater Distribuidores, 1954).

275 See, for example, his reliefs in Cuzco's Museo Regional.

276 Stastny (1977, 30)

277 Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, "The Presence of Italian Painters, 1575-1610." In *Painting in Latin America, 1550-1820*, eds. Luisa Elena Alcalá and Jonathan Brown (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 273.

278 The feast dedicated to the cult of St Joseph appears to have started between 1480 and 1550, decades in which various cities, kingdoms and dioceses started to take on 19 March as the official date for its celebration. See L. Fréchet. "La fête du 19 mars", in Estudios Josefinos, no. 35, 1981, 624-641.

279 It has been suggested that the ideas of Gerson, on seeing Jesus, Mary and Joseph as an earthly trinity, may have served as inspiration for the Double Trinity ensemble. See Carolyn Wilson, "La imagen de san José en una selección de las pinturas coloniales en colecciones bolivianas," in Stratton-Pruitt, *El arte de la pintura en Bolivia colonial* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2017), 155-187.

280 Some have argued that the Flight into Egypt was the compositional origin of the Holy Family. See Irma Barriga Calle, *Patrocinio, monarquía y poder: el glorioso patriarca señor san Joseph en el Perú virreinal* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Instituto Riva-Agüero, 2010), 132.

281 It is worth noting the "in European painting [the subject of the Double Trinity as a religious counter-offensive from the 17th century] never reached the widespread popularity it enjoyed in the New World, but it did maintain its character as pious religious imagery linked to prints and illustrated books". Cited from Francisco Stastny Mosberg. Síntomas medievales en el "Barroco Americano", *documentos de trabajo No. 63, Serie Historia del Arte No. 1* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1993), 17.

282 Sandra de Arriba Cantero, *San José: Revista Digital de Iconografía Medieval*, Vol. V, no. 10, 2013, 58.

283 St. Joseph's depiction as an old man is derived from the apocryphal gospels, where he is described as already married with children. See translated by Aurelio de Santos Otero, *Los evangelios apócrifos* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2005), 63-64 and 174.

284 "The first assessment of the saint as an active and virile man comes from the Italian Dominican Isidoro Isolano who in Pavia, 1522, published his Summa de donis Sancti Josephi […]." Cited from Héctor Schenone, *Iconografía del arte colonial* (Buenos Aires: Fundación Tarea, 1992), 489. For a more detailed analysis of St. Joseph's virility, see Antonio Moreno Almárcegui, La devoción a San José ¿Un nuevo modelo de virilidad? El caso de España. Siglos XV al XVIII. Cauriensia, vol. IX, 2014, 245-285.

285 Louis Réau, *Iconografía de La Biblia: Nuevo Testamento* (Barcelona: Serval, 2002), 156-157.

286 Christoffel Plantijn (Christophe Plantin) (1520-1589) and Jan Moerentorf (Jan Moretus) (1543-1610) were renowned Flemish printers that started large-scale printing in Europe, keeping their business running for three hundred years, until 1876. It currently houses the Plantin-Moretus museum in Antwerp, Belgium, and has been declared a World Heritage Site.

287 The Art Museum in Lima (Peru) houses an anonymous painting of Saint Martin of Tours from the 18th century. In this painting, the artist faithfully followed the composition printed by A. Wierix which, as noted by L.E. Wuffarden, has an elegant and theatrical air to it which was intended for the Cuzco elite.

288 Mural painting on the façade of Molino Inca, property of the Flores Escalante family, in Distrito de San Cristóbal de Acomayo, Cuzco (Peru).

289 Julián Gallego has a critical study of the life and work of Francisco de Zurbarán titled Zurbarán 1598-1664 (1976, Polígrafa). It includes a catalogue of works and chronologies with main events, and the mention of commercial agreements regarding his own pictorial output and that of his workshop.

290 Enrique Valdivieso, "La Santa Infancia en la pintura barroca sevillana," Boletín de La Real Academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras: Minervae Baeticae, *Revista Anual de Filologías Hispánicas*, no. 36 (2008): 9–27.

291 The position of the Boy in the Cuzco composition is the reverse of the Child Mary Spinning, indicating that the two works were intended to be displayed next to each other, perhaps on either side of an embrasure, altarpiece or chapel.

292 Three versions exist of this work, and here we are referring to the oil canvas painted ca. 1645 measuring 128×85 cm and currently preserved in the Museo de Bellas Artes in Seville.

293 The work presents a grown Child with his mother. It is housed in the Cleveland Art Museum in the US.

294 The two works belonging to the Museo del Prado, gifted by Maria de los Dolores Hernández y Márquez, widow marchioness of Cabriñana del Monte, in 1894. They are listed as anonymous, but were once attributed to Pedro Núñez de Villavicencio (1644-1695) and subsequently to the Cadiz painter active in Seville, Juan Simón Gutiérrez (1643-1718).

295 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.

296 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.

297 Bárbara Belda Lindo, *La técnica de la brocatería en las pinturas de la escuela cuzqueña* (Valencia: Universidad Politécnica de Valencia, 2013).

298 Guillermo Tovar de Teresa, *Repertorio de Artistas en México*, Vol III. (P-Z). Mexico: Grupo Financiero Bancomer, 1997), 26

299 Manuel Toussaint, *Pintura Colonial en México* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Imprenta Universitaria, 1965), 177 and 178.

300 Various Authors, *Monjas Coronadas: Vida conventual femenina en Hispanoamérica*. (Mexico: Museo Nacional del Virreinato, 2003).

301 Inmaculada Rodríguez Moya, *El retrato de la élite en Iberoamérica: siglos XVI a XVIII* (2001), 79.

302 According to Rodríguez Moya, "all of this was possible due to the growing secularisation of society, as well as the popularistion of Enlightenment ideas, which once again put man at the centre of the world". Rodríguez Moya, 32.

303 For male portraits, on the other hand, the main requirement was to underline the power and influence of the subject, as well as his merits and possible titles of nobility.

304 There are dozens of examples to corroborate this notion of portraiture. See the Portrait of María Josefa Tobio y Estrada, by Andrés López, dated to about 1788 and belonging to the Museo Franz Mayer (Mexico City).

305 David Martínez Bonanad, "Recepción Y Asimilación en América del traje y los textiles europeos: Mestizaje y moda en la nueva imagen de la sociedad novohispana," in *Barroco iberoamericano: Identidades culturales de un imperio*, vol. 2 (Santiago de Compostela: Andavira, 2013), 402.

306 Elsaris Núñez Méndez, "El retrato Civil Femenino: Imagen y representación de la mujer cristiana en la Nueva España (Siglo XVIII)," in *Barroco iberoamericano: Identidades culturales de un imperio,* vol. 2 (Santiago de Compostela: Andavira, 2013), 224.

307 Elsaris Núñez Méndez (2013, 226-227).

308 Manuel Toussaint, *Tres siglos de pintura colonial mexicana* (Mexico: Editorial Polis. 1939), 285-289.

309 Arturo Aguilar Ochoa, "La influencia de los artistas viajeros en la litografía mexicana (1837-1849)", in *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, no.76, 2000, 113-115.

310 Rodrigo Gutiérrez Viñuales, "El paisaje y las costumbres en la pintura iberoamericana. Artistas viajeros y costumbristas americanos del XIX," in *Pintura, escultura*

y fotografía en Iberoamérica, siglos XIX y XX (Madrid: Cátedra, 1997), 166-168.

311 A thick, white alcoholic beverage obtained by fermenting agave juice, this is a traditional Mexican drink of pre-Hispanic origins.

312 Carlos Nebel, *Viaje pintoresco y arqueológico sobre la parte más interesante de la República Mejicana, en los años transcurridos desde 1829 hasta 1834* (Mexico: Imprenta P. Renouard, 1840), 18.

313 María del Carmen Vázquez Mantecón, "La china mexicana, mejor conocida como china poblana", in *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, No.77, 2000, 126.

314 Cristina Esteras Martín, "Una pintura inédita del mexicano José María Vázquez en Madrid. Aportaciones al estudio de su obra," in *Archivo español de arte*, no. 229 (Madrid: Consejo superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Departamento de Historia del Arte Diego Velázquez, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1985).

315 Manuel Toussaint, *Arte colonial en México* (Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas de la UNAM, 1948).

316 Sonia I. Ocaña Ruíz, "Nuevas reflexiones sobre las pinturas incrustadas de concha y el trabajo de Juan y Miguel González," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas XXXV*, no. 102 (2013), 126

317 Ocaña Ruíz, 126

318 Sonia I. Ocaña Ruíz, "Marcos enconchados: Autonomía y apropiación de formas Japonesas en la pintura vovohispana," *Anales eel Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas XXX,* no. 92 (2008), 119.

319 A sizeable group of conquistadors belonged to the Order of Santiago, most prominently Gonzalo de Córdoba, Pedro de Alvarado, Jorge Manrique, Francisco Pizarro, Hernán Cortés, Calderón de la Barca, Alonso de Ercilla, Hurtado de Mendoza, Don Juan de Austria, Álvaro de Bazán, San Francisco de Borja, Álvaro de Luna, Francisco de Quevedo and Diego Velázquez, among others.

320 Anna Sulai Capponi, "El culto de antiago entre las comunidades indígenas de Hispanoamérica: Símbolo de comprensión, reinterpretación y compenetración de una nueva realidad espiritual," *Imaginario* 12, no. 3 (2006), 250

321 Sulai Capponi, 253

322 Estefanía Rivas Días and Andrés Escalera Ureña, "Un ejemplo de pintura enconchada, la Virgen de La Redonda: Estudio radiográfico," *Anales del Museo de América*, no. 10 (2002), 293.

323 María Soledad Arcelus de Diego, *Estudio de los barnices en la pintura colonial* (Mexico: INAH, 1995), 39.

324 Alfonso Rodríguez de Ceballos, "Uso y funciones de la imagen religiosa en los virreinatos americanos," in *Los siglos de oro en los virreinatos de América (1550-1700)* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la conmemoración de los centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 1999), 102.

325 María Concepci María Concepci, *La pintura colonial del Museo de América (II): Los enconchados* (Madrid: Ministerio de cultura, 1980), 98

326 From the last years of the middle ages, when dealing with the iconography of the Assumption or the Immaculate Conception, the eyes of the Virgin would generally be directed downwards in the latter, whereas in the Assumption she would be gazing towards the heavens with her arms outstretched.

327 Manuel Toussaint, *Pintura colonial en México* (Mexico: UNAM, 1990), 224.

328 Sonia I. Ocaña Ruíz, "Nuevas reflexiones sobre las pinturas incrustadas de concha y el trabajo de Juan y Miguel González," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas XXXV*, no. 102 (2013), 130

329 Ocaña Ruíz, 134

330 Ocaña Ruíz, 134

331 Ocaña Ruíz, 135

332 St. John's Book of Revelations tells of how, through the "angel of the Lord", various of the truths about the Church, its most immediate present and near future, were revealed to the Saint. The episode relating to the Woman of the Apocalypse is narrated in Chapter 12, but the image's iconographic construction includes references to other chapters. Doménech García, (2013, 44).

333 The "Woman clothed in the Sun" reflects a model of Marian iconography from the Netherlands and Germany.

334 Sergi Doménech García, *La imagen de la mujer del apocalipsis en Nueva España y sus implicaciones culturales* (Valencia: Universitat de Valencia, 2013), 175.

335 Doménech García, 175

336 La Suite auction house, 4/3/2021, lot 78.

337 Prince of the host of angels

338 Doménech García (2013, 171).

339 Doménech García (2013, 180).

340 Doménech García (2013, 532).

341 Sonia I. Ocaña Ruíz, "Enconchados: Gustos, estrategias y precios en la Nueva España," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas XXXVII*, no. 106 (2015).

342 Vatican, Apostolic Library, Vat. gr. 1613, fol. 22.

343 This event corroborates the metaphorical importance for all newborns to undergo the baptism sacrament.

344 Sonia I. Ocaña Ruíz, "Nuevas reflexiones sobre las pinturas incrustadas de concha y el trabajo de Juan y Miguel González," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas XXXV,* no. 102 (2013), 137).

345 María Concepción García Saiz and Juan Miguel Serrera, "Aportaciones al catálogo de enconchados," *Cuadernos de arte colonial 6* (May 1990), 66-72.

346 Sonia I. Ocaña Ruíz, "Enconchados: Gustos, estrategias y precios en la Nueva España," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas XXXVII*, no. 106 (2015), 76.

347 The Multiplication of the Loaves and the Fishes (Madrid: Museo de América, inv. 1981/10/1), The Mystical Marriage of St. Rose of Lima (1691; Mexico City, Museo Nacional de Arte, inv. 3066), *Our Lady of the Rosary and St. Dominic of Guzmán* (Querétaro, Museo Regional, inv. 1055764).

348 Rafael Romero Asenjo and Adelina Illán Gutiérrez, "Escenas de la vida de cristo, una serie pictórica realizada por Nicolás Correa: Las singularidades de un conjunto técnicamente excepcional," in *Tornaviaje: Tránsito artístico entre los virreinatos americanos y la metrópolis,* ed. Fernando Quiles García, Francisco Pablo, and Martha Fernández (Enredars-Andavira, 2020), 11-12

349 Latin American Art, Christie's London, 13 November 2020, lot 70.

350 Manuel Romero de Terreros, *Las artes industriales en la Nueva España* (Mexico: Pedro Robredo, 1923), 38

351 Antonio Bonet was quite right to note that the decorative border of this work is reminiscent of tapestries from 16th- and 17th-century Brussels. For further information see Antonio Bonet, "Un biombo del siglo XVII," *Boletín del INAH, no. 21* (September 1965): 36.

352 Sonia I. Ocaña Ruíz, "Marcos enconchados: Autonomía y apropiación de formas japonesas en la pintura novohispana," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas XXX,* no. 92 (2008), 117

353 "And there were shepherds living out in the fields nearby, keeping watch over their flocks at night. An angel of the Lord appeared to them, and the glory of the Lord shone around them, and they were terrified. But the angel said to them: 'Do not be afraid. I bring you good news that will cause great joy for all the people. Today in the town of David a Saviour has been born to you; he is the Messiah, the Lord. This will be a sign to you: You will find a baby wrapped in cloths and lying in a manger'". Luke 2: 8-12.

354 José María Salvador González, "Iconografía de la adoración de los pastores en la pintura italiana bajomedieval: Una mirada bucólica a la existencia del pobre," *Eikon/Imago 1* (2012), 1.

355 Ocaña Ruíz, *(2008,* 125)

356 Manuel Romero de Terreros, *Las artes industriales en la Nueva España* (Mexico: Pedro Robredo, 1923), 137.

357 Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew 2: 13-16

358 The artist respects and reproduces the basic elements of the iconography, depicting the Virgin riding a donkey, dressed in a blue mantle, pink robe and palm headdress, and with the Infant Jesus in her arms. Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura* (Cátedra, 1990).

359 This compelling argument is, to date, no more than a likely hypothesis given, as is so often the case when studying artistic works that emerged from the Latin American viceroyalties, we come up against a lack of reference work or scientific rigour. Mother-of-pearl works are no exception in this regard and, although we have witnessed growing efforts by researchers and museums to study and disseminate this peculiar art form with both a local stamp and *mestizo* aura, we must once again draw attention to just how little we currently know about the origin of this artistic expression. For more information, seeSonia I. Ocaña Ruíz, "Enconchados: Gustos, estrategias y precios en la Nueva España," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas XXXVII*, no. 106 (2015).

360 Measuring 3×4 mm.

361 It is possible that the end of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century saw another variant of the semicircular scallop shell is shown without the auricles, with radial ribs of fir recent lengths. This mark can be found on a pair of candlesticks and a "Crown of the Virgin" in private collections. Esteras Martín: *La platería en el Reino*…, (1994, 68-73), no 14 and 15.

362 A very small size, measuring 4×5 mm.

363 We can take the example of another gold object; the cup in the collection of the Museo de América, Madrid, in which the crown which denotes taxation has the same form but a larger size (measuring 5×7 mm). Given this we can date the piece to the third quarter of the seventeenth century, see Esteras Martín: L*a platería en el Reino*…, (1994, 444-445), no 306)

364 The mark of location measuring 7×7 mm and that of taxation measuring 7×8 mm. This variation of the location can also be found on a sugar bowl, a mancerina and a plate in the collection of the Museum Franz Mayer, Mexico City, see Cristina Esteras Martín, *La platería del Museo Franz Mayer* (Mexico: Museo Franz Mayer, 1992). 90-92 and Cristina Esteras Martín, *Marcas de Platería Hispanoamericana* (Madrid: Ediciones Tuero, 1992), 279 to 281).

365 The most important and original is the bernegal of Miguel Guerra, created around 1790 , Cristina Esteras Martín, *La platería en el Reino de Guatemala, siglos XVI-XIX* (Guatemala: Fundacion Albergue Hermano Pedro, 1994), 264-265, no. 112.

366 In a certain way, it is reminiscent of the "bocados", a Mexican glass from the first half of the nineteenth

century in the collection of Lawrence Anderson and who published it in El arte de la platería…, Esteras Martín, Fig. 26.

367 Measuring 4×4 mm.

368 Measuring 3×5 mm.

369 See Cristina Esteras Martín, *La platería en el Reino de Guatemala, Siglos XVI-XIX* (Guatemala: Fundacion Albergue Hermano Pedro, 1994), 58-59, no. 8. In this study, there are several examples in which the same variants of the scallop shell and the crown appear: for example, a Holy Water Vessel (no. 1), a processional cross (no. 4), three tabernacles (nos. 7, 10 and 12), a drinking vessel (no. 8), a tabernacle (no. 10) and a peaked jug (no 11. In other pieces, the scallop shell appears on its own, as is the case with a chalice (no 6) or, conversely, the scallop shell without the crown as in the case of a censer (no. 9). In some examples, these two marks are accompanied with a quadripartite marking (such as in nos. 1 and 5) or in complete absence of the mark denoting taxation (nos. 3, 9 and 12). Furthermore, these two marks appear on a processional cross in the National Museum of History, Mexico City (In Cristina Esteras Martín, Marcas de Platería Hispanoamericana (Madrid: Ediciones Tuero, 1992), 261), on a peaked jar in the Museum de America, Madrid (which is mentioned in the article: "El coleccionismo de platería Americana en España," in *Artigrama*, Zaragoza, no 24 (2009), 271, fig. 7) and in many other pieces, both published and unpublished.

370 Josefina Alonso de Rodríguez, *El arte de la platería en la capitanía general de Guatemala I Glosario*, Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala (1980): 227.

371 Javier A. Eguiguren and José M. Eguiguren, *El Mate en America* (Buenos Aires: Eguiguren & Vega, 2004), 106, Fig. 94

372 Javier A. Eguiguren and José M. Eguiguren, *El Mate en America* (Buenos Aires: Eguiguren & Vega, 2004), 60, Fig. 50.

373 Alfredo Taullard, *Platería Sudamericana* (Buenos Aires: Peuser, ltda., 1941), 271, Fig. 322

374 Guiomar de Urgell, *El mate de plata* (Buenos Aires: Asociación Amigos del Museo Municipal de Arte Hispanoamericano" Isaac Fernández Blanco", 1988), 71, Plate II in colour and plate 6.

375 Cristina Esteras Martín, "Acculturation and Innovation in Peruvian Viceregal Silverwork," in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830* (New York: Metropolitan Museum Of Art; Yale University Press, 2004), 351, Fig. 147

376 Javier A. Eguiguren and José M. Eguiguren, *El Mate En América* (Buenos Aires: Eguiguren & Vega, 2004), 119, fig. 106.

377 Gina Alexandra Herrera Agudelo, *Participación, presencia y prácticas de los artesanos afrocoloniales en Cartagena de Indias (1770–1810)*, Bogotá, Pontifica Universidad Javeriana Faculty of Social Sciences, (February 2009): 41

378 María Cristina Navarrete, "Los artesanos negros en la sociedad cartagenera del siglo XVII," *Historia y espacio* (1994): 7 – 25, Cali, 10.

379 Herrera Agudelo, (2009, 3)

380 Herrera Agudelo, (2009, 47)

381 Javier A. Eguiguren and José M. Eguiguren, *El Mate en América* (Buenos Aires: Eguiguren & Vega, 2004), 30, fig. 29

382 Eguiguren, 45, fig. 36

383 This is an episode, within Catholic and Orthodox Christianity, in the cycle of the life of the Virgin Mary. The story tells us that she went up to heaven in body and soul, and that there she was crowned by Christ, God the Father or by the Holy Trinity. The Coronation of the Virgin is significant in that it proclaims the royal nature of Our Lady as Queen of the Universe, and the main foundation for said royalty is her divine maternity.

384 This is the normal partner piece to accompany the Coronation, and depicts the Virgin recumbent, dressed in a shroud and covered in bedclothes. The term "Dormition" is used to commemorate the sweet death of the Virgin, along with her subsequent resurrection and glorification in heaven as the Mother of God.

385 A French term derived from the decorator Jean-Baptiste Glomy, who was responsible for the revival of the technique, which consists in applying gold leaf to the rear of a piece of glass, which may then also be combined with a painting. This is, then, a process consisting in adapting both a pictorial design and gilding to the rear of a piece of glass in order to produce a mirror finish.

386 For more on painting in Potosí, see Teresa Gisbert and José de Mesa, H*olguín y la pintura virreinal en Bolivia* (La Paz: Librería Editorial Juventud, 1977).

387 See Cristina Esteras Martín, "Maté cup" and "Sacrarium", in *The Colonial Andes Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2004), nos. 144 and 111.

388 The historian Bartolomé Arzans de Orsua y Vela provides an account of the enormous opulence and wealth of Potosí in his *Historia de la villa imperial de Potosí* (Edición Lewis Hanke and Gunnar Mendoza. Brown University Press, Rhode Island, Mexico, 3 vols, 1964-1965).

389 Dissymmetric decoration imitating stone and shell edging, and characterised by a sort of style that predominated in the reign of Louis XIV.

390 In Cristina Esteras Martín, Platería Del Perú Virreinal, 1535-1825 (Madrid-Lima: Grupo BBV y Banco Continental, 1997), no. 77, 238-239 with photo.

391 The pelican is an exotic bird characteristic of Egypt, which lives on the banks of the Nile, and it is, perhaps, the fact it was unknown to many artists (silversmiths) that explains their having reinterpreted its real morphology. In this case it looks more like a chajá, a large-scale bird (measuring some 75 cm from beak to tail) which inhabits much of South America. It is considered a symbol of the pampas, which is why in Argentina the "pelicans" featured in the Eucharistic Containers are identified with them, being referred to as such.

392 And therefore, occupied a high position, with its size calculated in perspective, taking into account the fact it would be seen from below.

393 Of the more moralising bestiaries including the "pelican", it is worth consulting "El pelícano" in Santiago Sebastián, *El fisiólogo atribuido a San Epifanio: seguido de el bestiario toscano* (Madrid: Ediciones Tuero, 1986), Chapter 8, 53-57.

394 It weighed 20 marks and for its execution the silversmith charged 500 reales (Cfr. In Mariel Larriba Leira, "A ourivería", *Santiago: San Paio de Anteltares* (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1999), 237-246; and Ana Pérez Varela, "El sacro pelícano del Monasterio de San Paio de Antealtares", in *Universos en Orden: las órdenes religiosas y el patrimonio cultural iberoamericano. X.M* (Santiago de Compostela: García Iglesias dir), vol 1, tome I, 245-271, plate 2.

395 All of these are mentioned and studied in Cristina Esteras Martín, *Arequipa y el arte de la platería: siglos XVI-XX* (Madrid: Ediciones Tuero, 1993), no 16; and Cristina Esteras Martín, *Platería del Perú virreinal, 1535-1825* (Madrid-Lima: Grupo BBV y Banco Continental, 1997), no. 49.

396 See Cristina Esteras Martín, "La platería barroca en Perú y Bolivia," in *Barroco Iberoamericano de Los Andes a Las Pampas* (Barcelona: Lunwerg Editores, 1997), fig. 132, 172.

397 Here the pelican serves as a sort of "centillero" or seven-stick candelabrum, used specifically to display the Holy Sacrament (in Teresa Gisbert and José de Mesa, *La tradición bíblica en el arte virreynal*, (La Paz: Editorial amigos del Libro, 1989), fig. 17).

398 On display in one of the museum cabinets.

399 Raquel Cilla López and Juan Manuel González Cembelín, *Museo Diocesano de Arte Sacro: Guía de La Colección* (Museo Diocesano de Arte Sacro, 2008), 258-259. Having been sent from the capital of the Viceroyalty, it is considered to have been executed in silver workshop in Lima, but this is by no means certain, as everything left Peru by the Lima port, and the piece seems to have more in common with the pelicans from the Andean and Upper Peruvian workshops.

400 Auction catalogue lot no. 326.

401 Auction catalogue lot no. 92.

402 In the upper regions of Bolivia, some 3,735 m above sea level, north of the Uru Uru and Poopó lakes.

403 These are a reinterpretation of the phytomorphic angels that feature on practically all of the pieces that include plinths (monstrances, reliquaries, etc.) in the Altoplano (modern-day Bolivia).

404 It featured in the exhibition *Los tesoros de la muy noble Iberoamérica* (Buenos Aires: Museo de Arte Hispanoamericano Isaac Fernández Blanco, 1982), no. 220. It was mistakenly catalogued as being from the early 17th century.

405 Including the impressive one from Arequipa cathedral, which measures 90 cm, making it 12 cm shorter than ours.

406 Javier A. and José M. Eguiguren Molina, "Typology of the "Hierbera" in *The Mate in America* (Buenos Aires: Eguiguren & Vega, 2004), 190-203.

407 José Antonio Lavalle and Werner Lang, *Platería Virreinal*. Banco de Crédito del Perú, Lima, 1974, 150.

408 Lavalle and Lang: *Platería Virreinal,* 200.

409 Sebastián de Cobarruvias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez Impresor, 1611). First Part, Vol f. 159r.

410 Cristina la Orden Gil, *Inventario de Isabel de Portugal*, AGS, PTE, leg. 30, doc. 19. Lexicographic edition and study. Doctoral thesis, Universidad de Valencia, 2020.

411 Orden Gil, *Inventario de Isabel de Portugal*, Inventory of the jewellery, silver and personal effects of the Empress, which the Emperor ordered to be distributed amongst their children, 231 and 277-278.

412 Orden Gil, *Inventario de Isabel de Portugal*, 277.

413 The Monteleón palace was located on the Calle San Miguel, on the left of the Calle de la Cruz and the Puerta de las Maravillas, with its back to the city wall.

414 The Baroness D'Aulnoy: Account she wrote of her travels into Spain in 1679. [French edition, 1691] Juan Jiménez, Madrid, 1891, 110-111.

415 Gustavo Curiel Méndez. "El efímero caudal de una joven noble. Inventario y aprecio de los bienes de la marquesa Doña Teresa Francisca María de Guadalupe Retes Paz Vera (Cuidad de México, 1695)", in *Anales del Museo de America* (Madrid, 2008), 65-101.

416 Javier A. and José M. Eguiguren Molina, *The Mate in America*

417 Darío Ovalle Castillo, *La platería colonial en Chile*, 50

418 Nelly R. Porro and Estela R. Barbero, *Lo sunturario en la vida cotidiana del Buenos Aires colonial*. Phrisco-

Conicet, Buenos aires, 1994, 74-75.

419 Pedro Vicente Cañete, *Guía histórica, geográfica, política, civil y legal del gobierno e intendencia de Potosí*, Editorial Potosí 1786-1789, 1952, 145.

420 No Peruvian monstrance has a cross at the top of it, just the sunburst from which the beams emanate, so if certain pieces do have crosses at the top that is because they were added later. Furthermore, in this cross we can observe cast rings under the crossbeam, intended for hanging something from them, which would never have been there had the monstrance really had the cross at the top.

421 See Manuel Trens, Las Custodias Españolas (Barcelona: Liturgica Española, 1952), no. 91 with photo.

422 It originally belonged to Badajoz Cathedral, and was then deposited at the city seminary, Cristina Esteras Martín, *Platería Hispanoamericana: Siglos XVI-XIX* (Badajoz: Caja de Ahorros de Badajoz, 1984), no. 9 with photo.

423 Auction catalogue, 24 October 2000, lot no. 154.

424 It joined the museum collection when donated by Michael F. Friedsam in 1931 (as revealed and studied by Cristina Esteras Martín, "A Peruvian Monstrance of 1649," Metropolitan Museum Journal, no. 29 (1994).

425 In Cristina Esteras Martín, *Platería del Perú virreinal, 1535-1825* (Madrid-Lima: Grupo BBV y Banco Continental, 1997), no. 10, 98 and 99 with photo.

426 This geographical term refers to the area including the Collao "meseta", since its creation in 1542 until 1776 when it became part of the Viceroyalty of the River Plate. Sometimes it is used as synonymous with Upper Peru, being a term used in the years of the 19th century to identify the Altiplano region (including Sucre and Potosí), which would become part of Bolivia as of 1830.

427 They never have these sorts of edging, and the feet are not figurative, but of a vegetal nature. See examples in Cristina Esteras Martín, *Platería del Perú virreinal, 1535-1825* (Madrid-Lima: Grupo BBV y Banco Continental, 1997), nos. 10 and 11.

428 Esteras Martín, no. 15, 108 and 109; and Cristina Esteras Martín, *Orfebrería hispanoamericana: siglos XVI-XIX* (Madrid: Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, 1986), nos. 15-19.

429 It is currently preserved in the Museo del Oro belonging to the Banco de la República, in Bogotá. Executed in the Colombian capital by the silversmith of Spanish origin José Galáz between 1700 and 1707, see Fajardo Marta Fajardo, *Oribes y plateros en la Nueva Granada* (León: Universidad de León, 2008), 70.

430 It even preserves the original nut used to secure the shaft inside the base.

431 They are dedicated to St. Peter, as they are accompanied by the tiara and crossed keys that are a representation of this Apostle. See Pedro Querejazu and Elizabeth Ferrer, *Potosí: Colonial Treasures and Bolivian City of Silver* (La Paz: America's Society Art Gallery in association with Fundación BHN, 1997), fig. 42.

432 Reproduced by Antonio Pérez-Valiente de Moctezuma, *Colección Gustavo Muniz-Barreto* (Buenos Aires: Plantié, 1960), nos. 296 and 296, 78 and 79.

433 In Adolfo Luis Ribera, *Catálogo de Platería* (Buenos Aires: Museo Municipal de Arte Hispanoamericano "Isaac Fernández Blanco," 1970), no. 139, plate 12.

434 Esteras MartínCristina, "Acculturation and Innovation in Peruvian Viceregal Silverwork," in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830* (New York: Metropolitan Museum Of Art; Yale University Press, 2004), 98a, b).

435 Querejazu and Ferrer, *Potosí: Colonial Treasures and Bolivian City of Silver* (1997, no. fig. 43).

436 With this posture, arms outstretched holding the IHS cartouche, he takes on the role of Atlas. The idea of this motif originates in the grotesque creatures of European Mannerism, which reached Peru by means of printed sources from the circle of Flemish artists Floris and Bos; although in this representation it is closer to the image found in the print by the Flemish Master J.W. of 1530-1540, as well as the Grotesques (1532) by Master Perino del Vaga. What characterises this figure as being Peruvian-Bolivian are its peculiar facial features and its hair, worked into segments of concentric circles.

437 Nora Siegrist, "Portugueses en el Río de la Plata en las Órdenes Terceras religiosas. San Francisco y Santo Domingo. Siglos XVII-XVIII", *Cuadernos de ideas,* vol. 14, no. 14, 2020. Universidad Nacional de La Plata, Argentina. DOI: https://doi.org/10.24215/23139048e03

438 Adolfo L. Ribera and Héctor Schenone, *El arte luso brasileño en el Río de La Plata* (Museo Nacional de Arte Decorativo, 1966),Cat. 40 Fig. 18.

439 Ribera and Schenone, cat. #110, plate 11.

440 María José Goulao Machado, "A Influência Artística Portuguesa Na Região Do Rio Da Prata No Período Colonial" (Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 2005), Tome II, 249.

441 Fernando Moitinho de Almeida and Rita Sofia Carlos da Fonseca, *Inventario de Marcas de Pratas Portuguesas e Brasileiras*, (Imprenta Nacional. 1994). Contrast marks from unidentified Lisbon assayer from 1750-1770, L-26; and contrast mark from unidentified silversmith, L-325.

442 From the Latin ostendere: "to show" the host, once consecrated, for the adoration of the faithful (Catholic believers).

443 That is how they were classified when they were displayed in the exhibition titled Tesoros de América, Tres siglos de platería iberoamericana. Museo de Arte Hispano-Americano Isaac Fernández Blanco, Buenos Aires, 1983, no. 116, with a photo of one of them.

444 Adolfo L. Ribera attributes them to Itatí (Corrientes) founded in 1615. Said town is located on the south bank of the River Paraná, looking out over the wide territories of the Paraguayan Jesuit missions on the north side of the river. vol. II, 353. In all of the Franciscan bibliography consulted regarding the town there is no mention of a silver workshop, so we suggest the silverwork its church had in the 17th century originated from Paraguayan settlements. The Indians in this town worked as cattle and agricultural farmers, and they had carpentry workshops and iron smitheries in the mid-17th century. Ref: Svriz Wucherer and Pedro Miguel Omar (2013). "Las reducciones de Itatí y San Ignacio Guazú hacia mediados del siglo XVII. Una mirada comparativa." XIV Jornadas Interescuelas/Departamentos de Historia. Department of History at the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters. Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, Mendoza.

445 Examples of this sort of water heater may be found in Cristina Esteras Martín, *Platería del Perú virreinal, 1535-1825* (Madrid-Lima: Grupo BBV y Banco Continental, 1997), 70 & 71; and Esteras Martín Cristina, "Aculturacion and Innovation in Peruvian Viceregal Silverwork," in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830* (New York: Metropolitan Museum Of Art; Yale University Press, 2004), 140, 141, 143 and 143.

446 Gustavo Muniz Barreto, *Platería Colonial* (Buenos Aires: Plantié, 1960). no 233, 39 and Alfredo Taullard, *Platería Sudamericana* (Buenos Aires: Peuser, ltda., 1941), fig. 105.

447 Taullard, (1941, no. 106).

448 In Esteras MartínCristina, "Acculturation and Innovation in Peruvian Viceregal Silverwork," in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830* (New York: Metropolitan Museum Of Art; Yale University Press, 2004), no. 141.

449 We see the same *pava* in the scene depicting the "Criolla lady from Lima" that appears in Hipólito Ruiz, *Relación histórica del viaje hecho a los Reinos de Perú y Chile*, (who was the director and first botanist on the scientific Royal Expedition to the Peruvian Viceroyalty, which took place between 1777 and 1778), (Madrid: CSIC, 2007). The *pava* appears once more in Plate 36 of the Colección general de trajes de España, published in Madrid in 1777.

450 I got the chance to examine it in 2017. The body, spout and neck by which the water goes in are a perfect match, though the body is hexagonal and the plinth, instead of being convex, is made up of little blind arches decorated, alternately, with floral motifs. The similarities between them are such that the strips of cast metal at the base of the handle (now trefoiled) are identical, with vegetal composition and two hybrid figures, their backs to each other.

451 This also appears in pieces like the herbal infusion/coca box formerly in the Buenos Aires Capuchin convent (now in a private collection) or the maté cup and frame preserved in the Isaac Fernández Blanco Museum, also in the Argentinian capital, Cristina Esteras Martín, P*latería del Perú virreinal, 1535-1825* (Madrid-Lima: Grupo BBV y Banco Continental, 1997), nos. 77, 69 and 79).

452 Bearing testimony to this are a wooden rod and the presence of nails with which to attach it.

453 Emilio Hart-Terré, "Escultores españoles en el Virreinato del Perú", in *Anuario de Estudios Americanos, XXXVII* (1980): 681.

454 Here the motif is transformed into a "kanephoros" by having a basket of fruits (offerings) balanced on her head. It bears an inscription denoting the gift, and is datable to about 1750 (Orfebrería hispanoamericana en Andalucía Occidental. Seville, March-April, 1995, no. 52, 130-133).

455 Examples include the plaque preserved in the Museum of the Cathedral of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, dedicated to St. Stanisław Kostka (Ed. Archdiocese of Santa Cruz, National Commission for Sacred Art. Santa Cruz, 1983, with photo on 34-35); or those of Cadiz Cathedral in Spain, with the image of St. Joseph inside a medallion (in Orfebrería hispanoamericana en Andalucía Occidental. Seville, March-April 1995, no. 51 with photo).

456 Town in the La Paz region, some 54 km from the capital.

457 Town located in the Andean Province of the La Paz region, 35 km from the capital.

458 Our archives contain photos of all of these pieces, taken personally during research we carried out in 1980 and 1981.

459 In José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, "El Arte de la Platería en la Diócesis de La Paz", *Revista de Arte y Letras Khana*, La Paz, vol. I, nos. 3 and 4 (1954): 53-72.

460 Paola Revilla Orías, Quesintuu y Umantuu: Sirenas y memoria andina. Runa [online]. 2012, vol.33, no. 2, 133-155. Available at: <http://www.scielo.org.ar/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1851-96282012000200002&lng=es&nrm=iso>. ISSN 1851-9628.

461 Cristina Esteras Martín, Platería del Perú virreinal, 1535-1825 (Madrid-Lima: Grupo BBV y Banco Continental, 1997), 142-143.

462 Adolfo Luis Ribera and Héctor Schenone, *Platería Sudamericana de los siglos XVI-XX*. Germany, 1981. Cat. 238, 233.

463 These sorts of ornamental plaques were not exclusive to Latin America, also being used to decorate altars on feast days, and particularly during the month of May, in both Andalucia and the Canaries. They would occasionally feature a light (candle), therefore transforming into candelabras.

464 With radial leaves lying down in a circle, thick, somewhat furry, narrow at their base, and wide and rounded at the other end. The term is often used as synonymous with "floral plaque" because the word "maya" comes from May, the month when flowers bloom.

465 This depiction comes from the use of a European engraving as source material, which in this part of the Peruvian Viceroyalty became a real hallmark in silverwork and painting, sculpture and architecture. This grotesque figure can at times be pictured wearing a little skirt of leaves below the bellybutton as seen in the work by the Flemish master J.W., from 1530 to 1540.

466 This symbol evokes the Austrian Habsburg coat of arms, but that is not what it means here. The subject is not common in "mayas", though it can be found, for example, in the four that are preserved in the altar of the Royal Chapel of Seville Cathedral, dated 1757, and possibly originating from Huancavelica (Peru). See Orfebrería hispanoamericana en Andalucía Occidental. Seville, March-April 1995, no. 53, 134-137; and Cristina Esteras Martín, "La Fortuna del Perú: La plata y la platería virreinal, el esplendor de la platería," in *Perú indígena y virreinal* (Barcelona: SEACEX, 2004), Figs. 249-252, 236).

467 Cristina Esteras Martín, *Platería del Perú virreinal. 1535-1825* (Madrid-Lima: Grupo BBV and Banco Continental, 1997), no. 37, 154-155.

468 Archdiocese of Santa Cruz, *National Committee for Sacred Art* (Santa Cruz: 1983), with photo on 48-49.

469 "National Committee for Sacred Art", 13. The artworks created here were the result of the missionary efforts of the Jesuit brothers between 1675 and 1767, the year they were expelled and their moveable goods were dispersed when they were not simply destroyed by those that replaced them. In 1792 there were still 17,626 silver frames in churches in Moxos. The local production of silverwork was truly remarkable in its volume and quality, supplying not only the missions but also the diocese of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

470 A photograph of it appeared in Ribera, Adolfo Luis: "Platería", in *Historia General del Arte en la Argentina, Academia Nacional de Bellas Artes*, Buenos Aires, (1983): vol. II, 403; years later it was studied by Cristina Esteras Martín, Platería del Perú virreinal, 1535-1825 (Madrid-Lima: Grupo BBV y Banco Continental, 1997) no. 33, 146-147, with photo.

471 Trays of this structural format may be seen in Cristina Esteras Martín, *Platería del Perú virreinal*, 1535-1825, (Madrid-Lima: Grupo BBV y Banco Continental, 1997)nos. 31 and 32; and Cristina Esteras Martín, "La fortuna del Perú: La plta y la platería virreinal; El esplendor de la platería," in *Perú indígena y* virreinal (Barcelona: SEACEX, 2004), nos. 280 (belonging to Pamplona Cathedral, Spain) and 281 (in a private collection). A famous example is the one belonging to Charles III of England, in the Royal collection since 1825 (Carlton House. The Past Glories of George IV's Palace. Exhibition, The Queen's Gallery, Buckingham Palace. London, 1991-1992, no. 173).

472 One example from a Spanish private collection (see Esteras Martín, *El esplendor de la platería…*, no. 283).

473 Examples in private collections: one presents a Franciscan shield with "the five wounds", another depicts a pelican with its young. See Cristina Esteras Martín, *Platería del Perú virreinal*, 1535-1825 (Madrid-Lima: Grupo BBV y Banco Continental, 1997) nos. 32 and 33, and a third one features the figure of St. John the Baptist, a tray from the former Lima collection of Adela Lupp de Lamb, housed today in the Denver Art Museum, in Esteras Martín, Cristina: "Tray," in *The Colonial Andes Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2004), no. 128, 333-34).

474 See the splendid pair of circular dishes in the Gilbert Collection, Timothy Schroder and Angeles County, *The Gilbert Collection of Gold and Silver* (New York, N.Y; Los Angeles, Calif.: Los Angeles County Museum Of Art, 1988). no. 147, 543-545 with photos. They were erroneously classified at Portuguese pieces dating from circa 1660, but are without doubt of Peruvian/Bolivian origin.

475 The human face converted into a mask through the insertion of vegetable stems offers up limitless potential for fantasy, as evidenced in the examples collated by Sales Meyer in the Handbuch der Ornamentik. Leipzig, 1992, 11th edition, fig 62. It also has a direct connection to the mascarons that appear on the title page of Chronicon AB, engraved by Daniel Hopfer for Johan Miller, Augsburg, 1516. This type of grotesque mask is common in European architectural decoration, with one of many Spanish examples being that of the old Hospedería San Bartolomé, in Salamanca.

476 A similar depiction may be seen in the lower third of the columns at the main entrance to the church of San Francisco de Cajamarca, Peru (ca. 1699-1737). The fact is that this motif is characteristic of Flemish Mannerists such as Frans Floris (Antwerp, 1519-1570), Cornelis Bos (1510-1566) and others.

477 Javier A. Eguiguren and José M. Eguiguren, *El mate en América* (Buenos Aires: Eguiguren & Vega, 2004), 190-203.

478 Eguiguren, 194-197

479 Magdalena Cajías de la Vega, *La coca en la historia de Bolivia: Encuentro, Revista Boliviana de Cultura (*Fundación BHN, 1995), Year V, no. 11.

480 Adolfo Luis Ribera and Héctor H Schenone, *Platería sudamericana de los siglos XVII-XX* (Germany: Hirmer Verlag, 1981), Cat. 177, 55, Colour plate XXIII.

481 Ricardo Kusunoki and Eduardo Wuffarden, *Arte colonial: Colección Museo de Arte de Lima* (Lima: Asociación Museo de Arte de Lima, 2016), 212-213

482 Eguiguren, (2004, 194), Fig. 174

483 Kusunoki and Wuffarden, *Arte Colonial: Colección Museo de Arte de Lima* (2016, 201)

484 Thomas Barfield ed., *Diccionario de antropología* (Mexico: Siglo XXI Editores, 2000), 1.

485 Jorge A Flores, Elizabeth Kuon Arce, and Roberto Samanez Argumedo, *Pintura mural en el sur andino: Colección arte y tesoros del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1993), 189.

486 Barfield, Thomas, (2000, 1).

487 Gaubin Alexander Bailey, *El barroco andino híbrido, Universidad de Notre Dame*, (Arequipa: El Lector, 2018), 23.

488 José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Escultura virreinal en bolivia,* vol. 29 (La Paz: Academia Nacional de Ciencias de Bolivia, 1972).

489 Rafeal Ramos Sosa, "La grandeza de lo que hay dentro: Escultura y artes de la madera," in *La Basílica Catedral de Lima: Colección arte y tesoros del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2004), 132–45.

490 María Campos Carlés de Peña, *Un legado que pervive en Hispanoamérica: El mobiliario del virreinato del Perú de los siglos XVII y XVIII* (Spain: Ediciones El Viso, 2013), 115-118.

491 Teresa Villegas de Aneiva, "El mueble virreinal: Un ejemplo manierista," in *Manierismo y transición al barroco: Memoria del III encuentro internacional sobre barroco* (La Paz: Unión Latina, 2005), 141.

492 Garcilaso de la Vega, *Inca: Los comentarios reales de los Incas*, ed. José Durand Flores (Lima: Universidad Mayor de San Marcos, 1959) [1609].

493 Jorge Flores Ochoa, "Arte de resistencia en vasos ceremoniales inka: Siglos XVII-XVIII," in *Una vida en Los Andes* (Cuzco: El Cuzco Resistencia y Continuidad, 2020), 15-72.

494 These are Inca symbols found on Inca fabrics and artistic objects such as qeros. Using geometric decorations and generally polychromed, they are part of a graphic communication system that conveys different types of information. There is still a variety of hypotheses being studied in this regard.

495 Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del nuevo mundo: Obras del P. Bernabé Cobo*, Books I and II (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1964), 242.

496 Jorge Aníbal, Elizabeth Kuon Arce, and Roberto Samanez Argumedo, *Qeros: Arte inka en vasos ceremoniales* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1998), 49-50.

497 Aníbal, Kuon Arce and Samanez Argumedo (1998, 48-49).

498 Piece from the area of Charazani, Bolivia.

499 Teresa Gisbert, *El paraíso de los pájaros parlantes: La imagen eel otro en la cultura andina* (La Paz: Universidad de Nuestra Señora de la Paz, 1999), 88-95.

500 Ramón Mujica, "Identidades alegóricas: lecturas iconográficas del Barroco al Neoclásico," in *Barroco peruano 2: Colección arte y tesoros del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2003), 251.

501 Rainer Hostnig, ed., *Carabaya: Paisajes y cultura milenaria* (Lima: Nerit Olaya Guerrero, 2010), 17.

502 José Antonio de Lavalle and Werner Lang, *Arte y Tesoros del Perú* (Lima: Editorial Ausonia–Talleres gráficos, 1980), 16.

503 Lavalle and Lang, 9–33.

504 Lavalle and Lang, 16.

505 Lavalle and Lang, 9 – 33.

506 Mitchell A. Codding, "Decorative Arts in Latin America," in *The Arts in Latin America, 1492- 1820* (Philadelphia Museum of Art, Yale University, 2006)

507 Luis Eduardo Mora Osejo, *El barniz de pasto*

508 Phyllis Bennett Oates, *Historia dibujada del mueble occidental* (Madrid: Hermann Blume, 1984), 82.

509 Christian Büschges, "Linaje, patrimonio y prestigio: La Nobleza Titulada de La Ciudad de Quito En El Siglo XVIII," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 56, no. 1 (1999): 124

510 For more on enconchado furniture, see Sara Bomchil and Virginia Carreño, *El mueble colonial de las américas y su circunstancia histórica* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1987), 418- 420

511 Juan Manuel Martínez, *El arte de guardar: Colección Jaime Gandarillas Infante, arte colonial americanox* (Santiago de Chile: Centro de Extensión Pontificia de la Universidad Católica de Chile, 2016), 6.

512 For further notes on the customs of colonial society, see Jorge F. Rivas Perez, "Domestic Display in the Spanish Overseas Territories," *Behind Closed Doors: Art in the Spanish American Home, 1492-1898* (Brooklyn: The Monacelli Press, 2014), 49-103.

513 For more on oriental influences and enconchado furniture, consult Sara Bomchil and Virginia Carreño, *El mueble colonial de las Américas y su circunstancia Histórica* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1987), 418- 420

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