

Rubens in a New World: Prints, Authorship, and Transatlantic Intertextuality

by

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ABSTRACT

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In the Viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru, artists produced works that copied, in part or whole, prints by the Flemish artist Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) that had been sent across the Atlantic. Focusing on the period from 1650 to 1775, this dissertation uses this transatlantic frame to reassess how works of art relate to one another across geographic distances and cultural divides, and to rethink the terms of originality, invention, replication, and slavish copying through which early modern authorship has been understood. Rubens serves as a lens through which to understand the much greater range of artists—from similarly renowned painters to anonymous makers—who reconstituted his printed compositions in paint and stone in the Americas. Close examination of “copies,” a term this project seeks to trouble, and their contexts allows for exploration of what copying meant for those who engaged in this type of production and the audiences that viewed the resultant works of art. The various kinds of connectivities established through print transmission and artistic copying are bundled under the mantle of *transatlantic intertextuality*: a system of spatial reference effectuated by the copy and premised upon both the potential for carefully coded relationships of pictorial forms across the Atlantic, and disconnects set up by long-distance print traffic and heterogeneous artistic practices of reproduction.

Three chapters move from Europe through the New World and back across the Atlantic. Chapter one focuses on paintings in Mexico City’s cathedral that derive from Rubens’s prints. It argues that artists in New Spain’s capital considered their familiarity with a European canon, as transmitted in print, central to their self-conception as New World creators. Artists including Cristóbal de Villalpando (c. 1649-1714) and Juan Correa (c. 1646-1716) used pictorial and textual citation to assert a connection to a Europe they knew in black and white. European models of emulation were complicated by the space of the Atlantic that lay between European originals and colonial works of art, and by the practices of New World painters, who evidently made little operative distinction between transformative pictorial citation and so-called “slavish” copying. Charting how the popular imagination of prints evinced a colonial dislocation from Europe, I probe how artists of different ethnicities—Villalpando the creole and Correa the free *mulato*—experienced the intersections of ethnic identity with the geographic distances underscored by the painterly work of copying.

Chapter two explores the repetitious reproduction of Rubens’s compositions in and around Cuzco, Peru. The connectedness of the places that housed such paintings meant that viewers in the Andean highlands had repeat encounters with specific compositions and

families of forms. Through analysis of archival contracts, I suggest that multiplicity became the condition in which the population of Cuzco and the surrounding region came to think about and see paintings: as objects connected to and in relationship with other local objects. Illustrating this sensibility to “the local” in Cuzco revises assumptions about the one-to-one correspondence between European prints and colonial works of art. Revealing a rhizomatic system of reference, I argue that Cuzco’s artists and patrons forged an alternative model of copying and creativity, one in which the copy was always understood as potentially originary. Using seminal theological and catechetical tracts from the period, I further suggest that the semiotic deferral occasioned by multiplied, repeated, and dispersed compositions should be understood within the context of debates about Catholic images and how best to teach Christian neophytes in the Andes.

Chapter three focuses on a single printed composition: Rubens’s *Austroseraphic Heavens*, an allegory of joint Habsburg and Franciscan devotion to the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception. The chapter traces the print’s robust reception in Latin America, where the entire composition was copied and where individual figures were excised from it to produce all manner of paintings and sculptures. Close analysis of New World copies in both New Spain and Peru reveals the function of the original Rubens engraving. In two instances, however, the print’s central figure, a kneeling St. Francis bearing three orbs and an Immaculate Virgin on his shoulders, was extracted and made into sculpted bases for miracle-working statues: the so-called Virgins of El Pueblito (Querétaro) and Tepepan (Xochimilco), both in present-day Mexico. Because they were deemed miracle-working, these icons, which included Rubens’s St. Francis as a constitutive component, spawned their own copies in prints, paintings, and sculptures. This chapter traces the complicated intertextuality that linked this broad range of objects—from icons to allegories—and investigates the different ways in which authorship mattered within this pictorial matrix.

The conclusion looks back across the Atlantic. Focusing on Rubens’s designs for the triumphal entry of the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand into Antwerp in 1635, and particularly on an allegorical arch figuring the mines of Potosí (present-day Bolivia), this coda suggests how transatlantic transmission and intertextuality might help the field of early modern art history explore European pictorial circulation and practices of copying that have remained marginal to art historical discourse.

Table of Contents

Abstract	1
Table of Contents	i
Acknowledgments	ii
List of Figures	v
Introduction: The Colonial Artist, Transatlantic Intertextuality, and the Conforming Copy	1
Chapter 1: Rubens and New Spain's Transatlantic Canon	27
Chapter 2: Rubens in Repeat: Colonial Cuzco and the Aesthetic of Sameness	60
Chapter 3: Pilgrim Impressions, or How Copies Redefine Originals and Origins	115
Conclusion: Emptied Orbs, or Rubens as Subject of Empire	174
Bibliography	183
Figures	209

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List of Figures

- Fig. 1. Unknown Ayacuchan artist, *The Descent from the Cross*, eighteenth century, oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Private collection, Lima, Peru.
- Fig. 2. Unknown artist, *The Descent from the Cross*, 1685-1735, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Catedral de Nuestra Señora de la Asunción, Tlaxcala, Mexico.
- Fig. 3. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Descent from the Cross*, 1612-1614, oil on panel, 420.5 x 320 cm. Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekatheraal, Antwerp.
- Fig. 4. Lucas Vorsterman, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Descent from the Cross*, 1620, engraving, 582 x 435 mm. The British Museum, London.
- Fig. 5. Unknown artist, *The Descent from the Cross*, seventeenth century, oil on canvas, 205 x 160 cm. Iglesia de Santo Domingo, Tunja, Colombia.
- Fig. 6. Unknown artist, *The Descent from the Cross*, eighteenth century, oil on canvas, 104 x 77 cm. Banco Central del Ecuador, Quito, Ecuador.
- Fig. 7. Unknown Artist, *The Descent from the Cross*, 1732, oil on canvas, 109 x 133 cm. Monasterio de Capuchinas de la Santísima Trinidad, Santiago, Chile.
- Fig. 8. Unknown artist, *The Descent from the Cross*, eighteenth century, polychromed wood, unknown dimensions. Iglesia de La Merced, Guatemala City, Guatemala.
- Fig. 9. Unknown artist, *The Descent from the Cross*, eighteenth century, oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Church of St. Cajetan, Goa, India.
- Fig. 10. Cristóbal de Villalpando, *The Triumph of St. Michael*, c. 1686-88, oil on canvas, detail from lower right of canvas. Catedral Metropolitana, Mexico City.
- Fig. 11. Cristóbal de Villalpando, *The Triumph of St. Michael*, c. 1686-88, oil on canvas, 929 x 765 cm. Catedral Metropolitana, Mexico City.
- Fig. 12. Cristóbal de Villalpando, *The Triumph of The Church Through the Eucharist*, 1686, oil on canvas, 899 x 766 cm. Catedral Metropolitana, Mexico City.
- Fig. 13. Schelte à Bolswert, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Triumph of the Church Through the Eucharist*, c. 1647-52, engraving on paper, 640 x 1034 mm. Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België.
- Fig. 14. Baltasar de Echave Rioja, *The Triumph of the Church Through the Eucharist*, 1675, oil on canvas, 840 x 750 cm. Catedral de Puebla, Puebla.

Fig. 15. Theodoor van Thulden, after Peter Paul Rubens, *Laurea Calloana*, 1641, etching on paper, 535 x 606 mm. The British Museum, London.

Fig. 16. Adriaen Collaert, after Maarten de Vos, *The Charge of the Church*, c. 1585-86, engraving on paper, 228 x 292 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Fig. 17. Paulus Pontius, after Abraham van Diepenbeeck, *Thesis Sheet of Claudius von Collalto*, 1645, engraving, 1024 x 689 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Fig. 18. Juan Correa, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, 1689, oil on canvas, 898 x 766 cm. Catedral Metropolitana, Mexico City.

Fig. 19. Nicolás and Miguel Ximénez (?), *The Assumption of the Virgin*, c. 1672-89, stone relief, dimensions unknown, Catedral Metropolitana, Mexico City.

Fig. 20. Schelte à Bolswert, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, c. 1635-58, engraving on paper, 627 x 440 mm. The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Fig. 21. Cristóbal de Villalpando, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, oil on canvas, 225 x 178 cm. Museo Regional de Guadalajara, Guadalajara.

Fig. 22. Juan Correa, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, 1689, oil on canvas, detail. Catedral Metropolitana, Mexico City.

Fig. 23. Schelte à Bolswert, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, c. 1635-58, engraving on paper, 630 x 482 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Fig. 24. Schelte à Bolswert, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, c. 1635-58, engraving on paper, detail from lower-right corner. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Fig. 25. Maarten de Vos, *St. Michael Archangel*, 1581, oil on canvas affixed to panel, 242 x 171 cm. Catedral de San Buenaventura, Cuautitlán, Mexico.

Fig. 26. Cristóbal de Villalpando, *The Church Militant and Triumphant*, 1684-86, oil on canvas, detail. Catedral Metropolitana, Mexico City.

Fig. 27. Juan Correa, *The Four Continents*, c. 1690, oil on canvas, 243 x 563 cm. Banco Nacional de México, Mexico City.

Fig. 28. Juan Correa, *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*, 1691, oil on canvas, 1024 x 689 cm. Catedral Metropolitana, Mexico City.

Fig. 29. Schelte à Bolswert, after David Vinckboons, *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*, 1612, engraving on paper, 430 x 640 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Fig. 30. Juan Correa, *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*, 1691, oil on canvas, detail. Catedral Metropolitana, Mexico City.

Fig. 31. Cristóbal de Villalpando, *The Triumph of the Church Through the Eucharist*, c. 1700, oil on canvas, 216 x 184 cm. Museo Regional de Guadalajara, Guadalajara.

Fig. 32. *Cover of Pal Kelemen, Peruvian Colonial Painting: A Special Exhibition*, N.P., c. 1971.

Fig. 33. Unknown Artist, *The Return from Egypt*, late 17th c., oil on linen, 91 x 122 cm. New Orleans Museum of Art, New Orleans.

Fig. 34. Lucas Vorsterman, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Return from Egypt*, 1620, engraving, 420 x 312 mm. The British Museum, London.

Fig. 35. Unknown Artist, *The Triumph of the Church through the Eucharist*, c. 1690, oil on canvas, 166 x 173 cm. Iglesia de Todos los Santos, Huanquite, Peru.

Fig. 36. Unknown Artist, *Procession of the Eucharist by the Officials of the Church*, c. 1690, oil on canvas, 166 x 168 cm. Iglesia de Todos los Santos, Huanquite, Peru.

Fig. 37. Unknown Artist, *The Triumph of the Church through the Eucharist*, late 17th c., oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Iglesia de San Cristóbal, Cuzco.

Fig. 38. Unknown Artist, *The Triumph of the Church through the Eucharist*, late 17th or early 18th c., oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Convento de Santa Teresa, Arequipa.

Fig. 39. Lázaro Pardo de Lagos, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, 1632, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Iglesia de San Cristóbal, Cuzco.

Fig. 40. Theodoor Galle, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, 1614, engraving, 304 x 194 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Fig. 41. Francisco Serrano, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, c. 1663, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Iglesia de Tinta, Peru.

Fig. 42. Unknown Artist, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, second half of the 17th c., oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Monasterio de Santa Catalina, Cuzco.

Fig. 43. Unknown Artist, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, mid-18th c., oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Monasterio de Santa Catalina, Arequipa.

Fig. 44. Unknown Artist, *The Raising of the Cross*, second half of the 17th c., oil on canvas, 207 x 293 cm. Cathedral of Cuzco, Peru.

Fig. 45. *Chapel of Nuestro Señor de los Temblores*, Cathedral of Cuzco, Peru. Photo 2012.

Fig. 46. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Raising of the Cross*, 1610-11, oil on panel, 462 x 341 cm. Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekathedraal, Antwerp.

Fig. 47. Unknown Artist, *The Raising of the Cross*, second half of the 17th c., oil on canvas, 189 x 272 cm. El Triunfo (Cathedral of Cuzco), Peru.

Fig. 48. Unknown Artist, *The Raising of the Cross*, second half of the 17th c., oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. La Compañía, Cuzco, Peru.

Fig. 49. Jan Witdoeck, after Peter Paul Rubens, *Raising of the Cross*, 1638, 623 x 2070 mm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Fig. 50. Unknown Artist, *The Descent from the Cross*, first quarter of the 18th c., oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Convento de la Merced, Cuzco.

Fig. 51. Unknown Artist, *The Descent from the Cross*, second half of the 17th c., oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Iglesia de San Gerónimo, Cuzco.

Fig. 52. Unknown Artist, *The Descent from the Cross in the Retablo del Señor de Unupunku*, mid-eighteenth century, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Cathedral of Cuzco, Peru.

Fig. 53. Marcos de Rivera, *San Pedro Nolasco Carried by Angels*, 1666, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Convento de la Merced, Cuzco.

Fig. 54. Claude Mellan, *San Pedro Nolasco Carried by Angels*, 1627, engraving, 481 x 344 mm. The British Museum, London.

Fig. 55. Unknown Artist, *San Pedro Nolasco Carried by Angels*, c. 1708-1724, oil on canvas. Iglesia de la Merced, Cuzco.

Fig. 56. Unknown Artist, *Descent from the Cross*, unknown artist, c. 1708-1724, oil on canvas. Iglesia de la Merced, Cuzco.

Fig. 57. Unknown Artist, *Assumption of the Virgin*, unknown artist, 1708, oil on canvas. Iglesia de la Merced, Cuzco.

Fig. 58. Unknown Artist, *The Return from Egypt*, around 1700, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Convento de la Merced, Cuzco.

Fig. 59. Unknown Artist, *The Return from Egypt*, around 1700, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Convento de Santa Catalina, Cuzco.

Fig. 60. Unknown Artist, *The Return from Egypt*, around 1700, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Museo de Pedro de Osma, Lima.

Fig. 61. Diego Quispe Tito, *The Return from Egypt*, 1680, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia, Lima, Peru.

Fig. 62. Schelte à Bolswert, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Holy Family*, c. 1630-45, engraving, 443 x 333 mm. The British Museum, London.

Fig. 63. Schelte à Bolswert, after Gerard Seghers, *The Holy Family*, c. 1635-50, engraving, 549 x 420 mm. Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, Brussels.

Fig. 64. Unknown Artist, *The Holy Family*, second half of the 17th c., oil on canvas, 106 x 170 cm. Cathedral of Cuzco, Peru.

Fig. 65. Unknown Artist, *Holy Family in the Retablo de La Linda*, c. 1712, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Cathedral of Cuzco, Peru.

Fig. 66. Unknown Artist, *The Holy Family with Anna and Joachim*, before 1735, polychrome and gilded wood, unknown dimensions. Iglesia de la Sagrada Familia, Cuzco.

Fig. 67. Unknown Artist, *The Holy Family*, second half of the 17th c., oil on canvas, 289 x 204 cm. Convento de San Francisco, Cuzco.

Fig. 68. Unknown Artist, *The Holy Family*, c. 1689, oil on canvas, 218 x 149 cm. Iglesia de Todos los Santos, Huanoquite, Peru.

Fig. 69. Unknown Artist, *The Holy Family*, eighteenth century, unknown dimensions. Monasterio de Santa Catalina, Arequipa, Peru.

Fig. 70. Unknown Artist, *The Holy Family*, first half of the 18th c., oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Museo Nacional de Arte, La Paz, Bolivia.

Fig. 71. *Cuzco Storefront*, 2012. Calle Hatunrumiyoc, Cuzco, Peru.

Fig. 72. Unknown Artist, *The Adoration of the Magi*, 18th c., oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Iglesia de San Juan Letrán, Juli, Peru.

Fig. 73. Lucas Vorsterman, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Adoration of the Magi*, 1620, engraving, 578 x 435 mm. The British Museum, London.

Fig. 74. Lucas Vorsterman, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Adoration of the Magi*, 1621, engraving, 558 x 733 mm. The British Museum, London.

Fig. 75. Jacob de Gheyn II, *Soldier from the Wapenhandelinge van Roers Musquetten ende spiessen*, 260 x 185 mm, c. 1600-1608, engraving.

Fig. 76. Unknown Artist, *Ángel Arcabucero*, eighteenth-century, oil on canvas, 73 x 54 cm. Private Collection, Sold at Robert Simon Fine Art, 2012.

Fig. 77. Unknown Artist, *The Crucifixion with Don Simon Thadeo Maysondo*, 1770, oil on canvas, 34 x 38 cm. The Roberta and Richard Huber Collection.

Fig. 78. Unknown Artist, *Crucifixion*, second half of the 17th c., oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Monasterio de Santa Catalina, Cuzco.

Fig. 79. Nicolas Guérard, *Plate 29 of Frézier's Relation du voyage*, 1716, etching, 290 x 195 mm. Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Fig. 80. Melchor Pérez Holguín, *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*, c. 1714, oil on canvas, 82.6 x 57.9 cm. The Marilyn and Carl Thoma Collection.

Fig. 81. Johannes Wierix, *Portrait of Frans Floris from the Pictorum Quot Celebrium*, 1572, engraving, 205 x 165 mm. The Courtauld Institute of Art, London.

Fig. 82. Unknown Artist, *Miracle of the Virgin of Pomata on March 29, 1631*, after 1631, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Church of Santiago Apóstol, Pomata, Peru.

Fig. 83. Unknown Artist, *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*, eighteenth century, oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia, Lima, Peru.

Fig. 84. Unknown Artist, *The Way to Calvary*, first half of the eighteenth century, oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Iglesia de la Virgen del Pilar, Lima.

Fig. 85. Unknown artist, *Nuestra Señora de Ocotlán*, polychromed wood. Tlaxcala, Mexico.

Fig. 86. Unknown artist, *The Virgin of Ocotlán atop the Atlas St. Francis*, sculpted stone and plaster, c. 1765-75. Tlaxcala, Mexico.

Fig. 87. Unknown artist, *Facade of La Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de Ocotlán*, c. 1765-75. Tlaxcala, Mexico.

Fig. 88. Paulus Pontius, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Austroseraphic Heavens*, 1632, engraving, 501 x 714 mm (trimmed). Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp.

Fig. 89. Unknown artist, *Nuestra Señora de Tecaxic*, oil and tempera on linen, dimensions unknown. Church of Nuestra Señora de Tecaxic, Tecaxic, Mexico.

Fig. 90. Hipólito de Rioja, *The Immaculate Virgin with the Atlas St. Francis, St. Bonaventure, and St. Juan Capistrano*, second half of the 17th c., oil on canvas, 258 x 207 cm. Location currently unknown. Formerly the Church of Nuestra Señora de Tecaxic, Tecaxic, Mexico.

Fig. 91. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Austroseraphic Heavens*, c. 1631, oil on panel, 53.7 x 78.4 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia.

Fig. 92. Unknown artist, *The Austroseraphic Heavens*, c. 1700, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Iglesia de San Francisco, Acatepec, Mexico.

Fig. 93. Unknown artist, *The Austroseraphic Heavens*, c. 1675, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Iglesia de San Francisco, Cuzco, Peru.

Fig. 94. Unknown artist, *The Austroseraphic Heavens*, 1691, oil on canvas, resized and dimensions unknown. Iglesia de San Francisco, Puebla, Mexico.

Fig. 95. Unknown artists, *Retable of Santo Aparicio*, c. 1794. Iglesia de San Francisco, Puebla, Mexico.

Fig. 96. Unknown artist, *Atlas St. Francis*, before 1685, polychrome wood, 110 cm (height). Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de la Asunción, Tlaxcala, Mexico.

Fig. 97. Unknown artist, *Main Altar Chapel of Third Order*, 1685 and c. 1735. Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de la Asunción, Tlaxcala, Mexico.

Fig. 98. Unknown artist, *Allegory of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception*, c. 1700, fresco. Iglesia de San Francisco, Ozumba, Mexico.

Fig. 99. Unknown artist, *Allegory of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception*, c. 1735-50, oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Iglesia de San Fernando, Mexico City.

Fig. 100. Gregorio José de Lara, *Allegory of the Franciscan Genealogy*, oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Iglesia de Santa María Tonantzintla, Puebla, Mexico.

Fig. 101. Unknown artist, *Allegory of the Immaculate Conception*, c. 1675 and 1755, oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Iglesia de Santa María Magdalena, San Martín Texmelucan, Puebla, Mexico.

Fig. 102. Fabian Pérez de Medina, *The Austroseraphic Heavens*, 1712, oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Iglesia de San Francisco, Ayacucho, Peru.

Fig. 103. A. J. Santero, *Retablo of Our Lady of El Pueblito*, 1822, pine, gesso, and water-based pigments, 46 x 35 x 2.3 cm. Spanish Colonial Arts Society, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Fig. 104. Antonio Onofre Moreno, *True Portrait of the Virgin of El Pueblito*, c. 1761, engraving, 111.5 x 81 mm. Biblioteca Nacional de México, Fondo Reservado, Mexico City.

Fig. 105. Unknown artists, *Nuestra Señora del Pueblito*, 1632-20th century, mixed-media statue, 53 cm (Virgin). Iglesia de San Francisco, El Pueblito (Querétaro), Mexico.

- Fig. 106. Miguel Vallejo, *Our Lady of El Pueblito*, oil on canvas, mid-eighteenth century, dimensions unknown. Museo Regional de Querétaro, Querétaro, Mexico.
- Fig. 107. Unknown Artist, *Copy of the Ex-Voto of Father Andrés Picazo*, after 1769, oil on canvas, 63.5 x 46 cm. Private Collection, sold at auction by Winter Associates, Inc., October 2016.
- Fig. 108. Joseph Mariano Navarro, *True Portrait of the Virgin of El Pueblito*, 1769, engraving, dimensions unknown. Special Collections, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Querétaro, Mexico.
- Fig. 109. Unknown artist, *True Portrait of the Virgin of El Pueblito*, oil on canvas, 214 x 157 cm. Santuario de Nuestra Señora del Pueblito, El Pueblito, Mexico.
- Fig. 110. Unknown artist, *True Portrait of the Virgin of El Pueblito*, 1776, engraving, unknown dimensions. Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico.
- Fig. 111. Unknown artist, *The Virgin of El Pueblito*, late eighteenth century (before 1801), engraving, 118 x 81.5 mm. Biblioteca Nacional de México, Fondo Reservado, Mexico City.
- Fig. 112. Eduardo Tresguerras (attrib.), *Nuestra Señora del Pueblito*, c. 1800, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Iglesia de San Francisco, Celaya, Mexico.
- Fig. 113. Unknown Artist, *Nuestra Señora del Pueblito*, twentieth or twenty-first century, wood, clay and acrylic paint, unknown dimensions. Iglesia de San Francisco Galileo, Querétaro, Mexico.
- Fig. 114. Manuel Galicia de Villavicencio, *Nuestra Señora de Tepepan?*, 1771, engraving, unknown dimensions. Current location unknown, formerly in the Biblioteca Nacional de México, Mexico City.
- Fig. 115. Unknown artist, *The Virgin of Tepepan*, sixteenth century (Virgin and Child) and before 1727 (St. Francis), polychromed alabaster and wood, 57 cm (Virgin) and 64 cm (Francis). Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de la Visitación, Tepepan, Mexico.
- Fig. 116. Francisco Sylverio de Sotomayor, *True Portrait of the Miraculous Image of Nuestra Señora de Tepepan*, before 1727, engraving, 87.5 x 62 mm. Biblioteca Nacional de México, Mexico City.
- Fig. 117. Unknown artist, *True Portrait of Our Lady of Tepepan*, 1730, woodcut, 86 x 60.5 mm. Biblioteca Histórica José María Lafragua, Puebla, Mexico.
- Fig. 118. Unknown artist, *The Virgin of Tepepan*, mid-18th c., stone, unknown dimensions. Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de la Visitación, Tepepan, Mexico.

Fig. 119. José Mariano Farfán de los Godos, *Nuns Shield with the Assumption of the Virgin*, c. 1770, oil on copper, dimensions unknown. Colección Patricia Phelps de Cisneros, Caracas, Venezuela.

Fig. 120. Unknown Artist, *Escudo de Monja*, mid-18th c., oil on copper, unknown dimensions. Private Collection, Mexico. Source: Virginia Armella de Aspe and Guillermo Tovar de Teresa, *Escudos de monjas novohispanas* (Mexico City: Fernández Cueto, 1993), 57.

Fig. 121. José María Vázquez, *Portrait of Sor María Antonia del Corazón de Jesús*, 1814, oil on canvas, 103 x 80.5 cm. Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico City.

Fig. 122. Unknown Artist, *Escudo de Monja*, mid-18th c., oil on copper, unknown dimensions. Private Collection, Mexico. Source: Virginia Armella de Aspe and Guillermo Tovar de Teresa, *Escudos de monjas novohispanas* (Mexico City: Fernández Cueto, 1993), 20.

Fig. 123. Unknown Artist, *Fray Pedro de Gante and His Flock*, mid-18th c., oil on canvas, 281.5 x 253 cm. Museo Nacional de Historia, Mexico City.

Fig. 124. Unknown Artist, *Fray Pedro de Gante and His Flock*, mid-18th c., oil on canvas, detail from right edge of canvas. Museo Nacional de Historia, Mexico City.

Fig. 125. Unknown Artist, *The Austroseraphic Heavens*, eighteenth-century, oil on canvas, 127.5 x 176 cm. National Museum of Mexican Art, Chicago.

Fig. 126. Unknown Artist, *The Austroseraphic Heavens*, eighteenth-century, oil on canvas, detail from lower left of canvas. National Museum of Mexican Art, Chicago.

Fig. 127. José Joaquín Magón, *Crucifixion*, 1754, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Santuario de Nuestra Señora de Ocotlán, Tlaxcala, Mexico.

Fig. 128. Boëtius Adams Bolswert, after Peter Paul Rubens, *Le coup de Lance*, 1631, engraving, 60.2 x 47 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Fig. 129. Juan Bernabé Palomino, *The Holy Family*, 1746, etching and engraving, 323 x 214 mm. Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid.

Fig. 130. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Triumph of the Faith*, 1626, oil on panel, 63.5 x 89.5 cm. Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, Belgium.

Fig. 131. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Triumph of the Faith*, 1627, oil on canvas, 481 x 595 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes, France.

Fig. 132. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Triumph of the Faith*, 1627, oil on canvas, detail from center. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes, France.

Fig. 133. Jacob II Geubels, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Triumph of Faith*, 1625-1633, wool and silk, 490 x 660 cm. Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid.

Fig. 134. Nicolaes Lauwers, after Peter Paul Rubens, *Triumph of the Faith*, c. 1647-52, engraving, 1294 x 900 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Fig. 135. Fig. 133. Nicolaes Lauwers, after Peter Paul Rubens, *Triumph of the Faith*, c. 1647-52, engraving, detail from center. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Fig. 136. Theodoor van Thulden, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Arch of the Mint (Front side)*, 1641, etching, 487 x 303 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Fig. 137. Theodoor van Thulden, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Arch of the Mint (Backside)*, 1641, etching, 487 x 303 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Introduction

The Colonial Artist, Transatlantic Intertextuality, and the Conforming Copy

Two paintings of Christ's descent from the cross—one now in Lima, Peru (Barbosa-Stern collection) and the other in the cathedral of Tlaxcala, Mexico—are divergent in nearly every way (figs. 1 & 2). The former is horizontally oriented, while the latter is stretched to a vertical and lobed gilded frame; the artists of the paintings, neither now known, mixed oil and pigment with remarkably different sensibilities to hue and tone; the Lima canvas, likely made in Ayacucho, Peru during the eighteenth century, sets the scene against an urban backdrop, rendering the biblical tale an earthly happening, whereas, in Tlaxcala, the figures yield to total darkness, producing the effect of a meditative vision.¹ Despite their dissimilarities, however, the paintings share a set of forms. That is, they both feature a cast of characters that we immediately recognize as equivalent: the limp, tortured body of Christ has been released from the crucifix, and a crew of men cling awkwardly to a prominent swath of white fabric with which they barely overcome the forces of gravity pulling the savior to the expectant arms of several female attendants below.

Given these shared forms, we might be tempted to invoke a term common in histories of art, and to call one painting a “copy” of the other. But the paintings, separated by four thousand kilometers as the crow flies over the waters of the Pacific, were completed close to their current resting places. Rather than one being a copy of the other, these two paintings—on two different continents and in what were once the two principle Spanish Viceroyalties in the New World—might be more accurately defined as copies of a single and even more distant source: an altarpiece painted for the Cathedral of Antwerp by the Flemish artist Peter Paul Rubens (fig. 3). The over four-by-three meter painting, completed on a weighty oak panel, is far from a mobile object. Like its counterparts in Mexico and Peru, Rubens's panel painting is fixed in place. As with many of his compositions, however, Rubens collaborated with the printmaker Lucas Vorsterman to produce an engraving of the scene, which thereby reversed the orientation of the composition (fig. 4). The engraving, lightweight and portable, enabled a broad circulation of Rubens's composition. Large slicks of oil paint on panel were transformed into sumptuous swelling lines engraved into a copper matrix, allowing for a repeatable image at comparatively small scale to be sent far and wide.

The story most often told about the outcome of Rubens's printed production is one of the artist's “invention,” fame, and influence. Through the medium of print, Rubens and his printmakers broadcast the artist's designs to a wider audience than could be counted upon to see or visit his “originals” in Antwerp. The print thus became a vehicle for augmenting the artist's pictorial impact and bolstering his ever-more distinguished reputation. This process was carefully choreographed. Rubens worked closely with particular printmakers to produce suitable printed expressions of his painterly designs and he monitored the distribution, sale, and copying of these prints.² The artist garnered a triple privilege—a type of proto-

¹ On this Tlaxcala painting and its dating, see the discussion of the retable in which it is

² A basic, but still useful overview of Rubens and his printmakers, see Arthur M. Hind, *A History of Engraving and Etching from the 15th Century to the Year 1914*, 3rd ed. (New York: Dover Publications, 1963), 126–128; Konrad Renger and Gerd Unverfehrt, ed., *Rubens in der*

copyright—for his printed compositions in an attempt to deter copyists and forgers, and brought sanctions on those who infringed upon his rights in an attempt to ensure that his products led the lives he expected for them on the open market.³

Rubens's prints, however, traveled far beyond the geographic contours most often discussed when charting this kind of carefully controlled intra-European dissemination. The print of Rubens's famous *Descent from the Cross* would end up across the Atlantic, landing in the hands of painters in New Spain and Peru, as we have already seen, who either were contractually tasked or individually chose to create painted and sculpted copies after prints. In the New World, the Flemish artist's printed compositions were used to craft a great range of objects that we might now call copies. Antwerp was positioned, as a well-established merchant city and a Catholic bulwark of Spain's European territories, to produce objects that enjoyed a global reach in the early modern period.

The city's artistic relationship with the globe, however, has only begun to be explored.⁴ The entry on Rubens's *Descent from the Cross* in the *Corpus Rubenianum* Ludwig Burchard is a telling example of earlier scholarship's oversight of global matters; the twenty-six volume (and counting) *catalogue raisonné* of the Flemish artist's expansive oeuvre lists no extra-European entries among the sixty (!) works noted as "copies" of Rubens's composition, spanning from England to France to Belgium to Germany.⁵ We have already seen, however, that if we turn our attention beyond Europe's shores, we can add two more to the list. But this print, like countless others sent across the Atlantic along the trade routes established and controlled by Spain's imperial forces, spawned a far more fantastic number of objects that conform to its composition. The visitor to the church of Santo Domingo in Tunja, Colombia, for example, finds a large vertical canvas featuring Rubens's *Descent*, a painting whose intensities of shadow match the dark moodiness of the composition, as rendered in the swirling moirés of dark lines sent from afar on paper, rather than the tonal exuberances of the spotlighted figures in the "original" oil painting left in the wake of the print's voyage (fig. 5).⁶

Grafik (Göttingen: Kunstgeschichtliches Seminar Göttingen, 1977); Ingeborg Pohlen, *Untersuchungen zur Reproduktionsgraphik der Rubenswerkstatt* (Munich: Verlag Richard A. Klein, 1985); Sandro Pazzi and Giocondo Rongoni, *La scuola di Peter Paul Rubens: opere grafiche della Biblioteca comunale di Fermo* (Casette d'Ete: Grafiche Fiorini, 2001); Nico van Hout, ed., *Rubens et l'Art de la Gravure* (Ghent: Ludion, 2004).

³ The topic is well handled in Paul Huvenne, ed., *Copyright Rubens: Rubens en de Grafiek* (Ghent: Ludion, 2004); on the artist's fame vis-à-vis prints, see Carl Depauw and Hildegard Van de Velde, ed., *Rubens en noir et blanc: les gravures de reproduction, 1650-1800* (Schoten: BAI, 2004).

⁴ On this historiographic shift, see Thijs Weststeijn, Eric Jorink, and Frits Scholten, ed., "Netherlandish Art in its Global Context," Special issue, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 66 (2016); Sandra van Ginhoven, *Connecting Art Markets: Guiliam Forchondt's Dealership in Antwerp (c. 1632-1678) and the Overseas Paintings Trade* (Boston: Brill, 2017).

⁵ A full account of this composition and a list of its European copies is presented in J. Richard Judson, *The Passion of Christ: Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard: Part VI* (Turnhout, BE: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2000), 162–177.

⁶ On this painting, see Gustavo Mateus Cortés, *Tunja : el arte de los siglos XVI, XVII, XVIII* (Bogotá: Litografía Arco, 1989), fig. 134.

Naturally, any number of pictorial effects could be achieved in using the greyscale print to produce an object in a different medium. An artist in Quito, Ecuador, alternatively clad his copied figures in bold swaths of barely modulated color and rendered the sky a flat, luminous blue, offering the same scene of suffering an oddly placid effect (fig. 6).⁷ An even more brightly conceived rendition of the composition, its figures now accompanied by an oversized cartouche and inscription, hangs as part of a series of Christ's Passion that lines the walls of the Monasterio de Capuchinas de la Santísima Trinidad in Santiago de Chile (fig. 7); the honorific text at the bottom of Rubens's print, a dedication to his friend and patron Dudley Carleton, has here been traded for a text about the *painting's* donor, one Don Manuel de Arayndia, and the convent to which he directed his gift.⁸ The artist of a work in Guatemala City took a different path altogether, using the printed model to engineer three-dimensional forms (fig. 8). The sculptural effect of Rubens's original figures, carefully preserved in their transfer to print, thus finds an unexpected realization or literalization in true high-relief, carved into wood and carefully polychromed.⁹

These objects illustrate the range of approaches artists took in reconstituting the printed image in paint, stone, and wood across the Atlantic, and so too the broad geographic swaths that were stitched together through the production of images. With the implementation of prints and the practice of copying after them, one side of the Atlantic came to resemble, in some small way, the other; the New World came into closer conformity with the Old. A single printed composition, such as that of Christ's descent, could create a network of objects stretching across the territories of the Spanish Americas—from what is now central Mexico, through central America, and to various outposts of the Andean highlands. Prints made in Antwerp also traveled the routes of empires to which the city itself never belonged and in the opposite direction across the globe, so that a painted canvas of "the same" Christological scene can be found in the church of San Cajetan in Goa, India, a critical hub for eastern Portuguese expansion (fig. 9).¹⁰ Tracking the global peregrinations of printed compositions can produce closed circuits of mobility; for example, prints made in Antwerp after Rubens's designs made their way to China and served as models for the famed porcelain artists of Jingdezhen, whose livelihoods depended upon a robust export trade of blue painting on

⁷ For basic information on this painting, see Magdalena Gallegos de Donoso, *La Virgen de los Dolores en el arte ecuatoriano. Dolor y sublimación* (Quito: Banco Central del Ecuador, 2006), 52.

⁸ This painting is discussed in depth in chapter 2 of this dissertation, where bibliography is also presented.

⁹ Object published with sparse information in José Guadalupe Victoria, "Présence de l'Art flamand en Nouvelle-Espagne," in *Flandre et Amérique Latine: 500 ans de confrontation et métissage*, ed. Eddy Stols and Rudy Bleys (Antwerp: Fonds Mercator, 1993), 166.

¹⁰ On this copy, see T. P. Issar, *Goa Dourada: The Indo-Portuguese Bouquet* (Bangalore, Issar, 1997), 105. On prints sent to the East and their artistic reception, see Jozef Jennes, *Invloed der vlaamsche prentenkunst in Indië, China en Japan tijdens de XVIe en XVIIe eeuw* (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 1943); Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "The Indian Conquest of Catholic Art: The Mughals, the Jesuits, and Imperial Mural Painting," *Art Journal* 57 (1998): 24–30; Yael Rice, "Lines of Perception: European Prints and the Mughal *Kitābkhāna*," in *Prints in Translation, 1450-1750: Image, Materiality, Space*, ed. Suzanne Karr Schmidt and Edward Wouk (London: Ashgate, 2017), 203–223.

gleaming white ceramic destined for Europe and the Americas. Pieces featuring Rubens's compositions can now be found in collections throughout Europe, the composition having returned to the continent, and thus having closed a loop of transmission in a different material form.¹¹

On the one hand, this scope of pictorial production speaks to Rubens's global reach, impact, or "influence."¹² On the other, it might be seen to dwarf the oversized figure of the Flemish master and his (admittedly large) painting in Antwerp, depending upon how we choose to train our gaze. This study places weight on vast webs of pictorial (re)production, moving past the master in Antwerp to consider those who took up his printed forms and used them to populate a New World with pictures. This, then, is a different kind of story about Rubens, one of transatlantic transits in which the artist acts as something of an absent presence, a specter, and a single piece of a geographically broad and temporally rangy history that transcends accounts of the artist's resounding exceptionality. In the pages that follow, Rubens becomes but one factor in exploring a much larger, transatlantic, and imperial phenomenon: the shipment of prints from Europe to the New World and the ways they were taken up and used by colonial artists and their patrons.¹³

The European print was arguably the single most important force in shaping the artistic landscapes of the Spanish Americas. In the colonial period, European prints flooded the New World, and today Latin American churches and museums are filled with paintings that were copied from or modeled upon these printed sources. This dissertation uses the transatlantic frame forged by the journeys of these printed compositions to reassess how works of art relate to one another across geographic distances and cultural divides and to rethink the terms through which early modern authorship has been understood: originality, invention, imitation, derivation, and the slavish copy. The print, the lightweight object that enabled the transmission of compositions throughout Europe and its colonies, is a protagonist in this account. When prints entered new cultural contexts, both their pictorial compositions and the extensive information included along their bottom edges—about European artists, patrons and places of production—could be understood differently. Within local contexts, New World artists reconfigured printed objects and, in so doing, generated new ideas about what it meant to be a painter or creator.

This project started with two seemingly simple questions: how did Latin American artists who copied from European prints understand this act as part of their artistic practices?

¹¹ One Qing polychrome example of Rubens's so-named *Coup de Lance* is in the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen, inv. 5160; a grisaille tea set of Rubens's iconic painting of St. Ignatius of Loyola is housed in Lisbon's Museu São Roque, inv. 42–46. For a brief description of the latter, produced in the mid-eighteenth century, see *Museum of São Roque: Guide* (Lisbon: Museu São Roque, 2008), 69–70.

¹² See, for example, *Rubens and His Legacy* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2014).

¹³ Questions about the appropriate nomenclature and periodicity have recently been raised by historians of Latin American art. There is a case to be made that the term "viceregal" more adequately describes the political circumstances of the post-conquest Americas and that "colonial" may too easily conflate Spanish and later models of nineteenth- and twentieth-century imperial dominion. Because I draw on post-colonial theory developed primarily within Anglo-Indian contexts, I find utility in foregrounding that comparison implicitly through the use of the term "colonial" and use it, more or less, synonymously with "viceregal."

And how did their audiences conceptualize these acts of copying and the finished works of art resulting from them? Given the project's particular focus on compositions designed by Rubens, these central questions had others lurking behind. First, did colonial artists (and, in turn, their audiences) care about their European counterparts, like Rubens? And, second, if they did, how was their understanding of these European artists shaped from afar by the particular vehicle of print? It turns out that these are not such easy questions to answer. And, perhaps predictably, no single or definitive set of resolutions can be offered for the diverse groups of artists who worked across the two continents controlled by Spain during the viceregal period. Rather, I use these questions as a way to create a framework for understanding fundamental features of transatlantic print transmission during the second half of the colonial period, roughly 1650-1775.

The idea that the circulation of prints and their use as models for artistic production could create relationships between works of art across space is central to this dissertation. One can highlight transatlantic connectivities, but the webs of copies that prints enabled also created inter-regional and even more proximate, local connections that were important, in greater and lesser degree, depending upon the particulars of artistic ambition, devotional exigencies, and patronage concerns. So while I contend that particular viewers and artists consciously connected Latin American copies to European originals, thereby actively thinking through the different kinds of pictorial relationships that prints and the work of copying helped to forge across the globe, I am equally invested in connections that were intensely local in nature. These overlapping networks of relationality are explored through the rubric of what I dub "transatlantic intertextuality," a term more fully introduced below.

As the invocation of "intertextuality" might already suggest, moments in which connections failed to be made across geographies, in which prints and compositions came to circulate at a remove from their author's intentions and outside the contexts and functions for which they were originally conceived, are an important component of this history. Disconnection, disjunction, and inequivalence are as critical to understanding the processes of printed transmission—and, indeed, of any transatlantic, or imperial, phenomenon—as connection and similitude. Transatlantic intertextuality helps pry open the mere truisms that European prints played an important role in Latin America and that colonial painters frequently deployed them as models. I advocate for ways that, even in the face of limited source bases and scanty material survivals in many parts of Latin America, we can come to understand some of the ways that European prints mattered—and for whom they did—during the colonial period. Printed sheets and the colonial copies made from them intersected with a wide range of other histories and cultural phenomena—from indigenous ontologies of devotion to creole self-fashioning. In exploring such intersections, I attempt to define, if only partially, the particular artistic conditions that the European print helped create for the work of colonial Latin American artists and for the viewers who commissioned, or simply came to see, their copies.

The Colonial Artist

Telling a history of transatlantic art that centers on the figure of the artist has been hamstrung by both the methodological paradigms of art history, as practiced until quite recently, and the structural and historical infelicities that so often accompany colonialism. Emerging and maturing in fits and starts over the course of the twentieth century, an art

history of colonial Latin America has often labored under the yoke of particularly Europeanate works, those copied after imported European sources chief amongst them. These kinds of artworks forced the field to draw comparisons between the master works of Europe and the colonial works produced, both literally and figuratively, after them. Through much of the twentieth century, it was thus hard not to feel disappointed by such Latin American works of art, which could only seem belated, “derivative,” and slavish. These labels, and their attendant allusions to near fatal banality, represented analytic dead ends when placed in opposition to a mid-century Anglo-European art history—with a historiographic legacy stretching back to Vasari and Italy’s Renaissance—that still depended upon the virtuoso artist and his claims to genius and invention as principle animating forces.¹⁴ If the field of colonial Latin American art history generally languished through much of the twentieth century, the subfield of colonial *painting*, perhaps precisely because of the unfavorable comparisons to Europe that paintings prompted, fared worst of all.¹⁵

The figure of the artist, particularly the Europeanate painter or sculptor, thus also found an uneasy fit in histories of Latin American art. On the one hand, the artist seemed a necessary conceptual category or, even more fundamentally, a building block for early studies of colonial art. The earliest histories of colonial painting were thus often narrated through a succession of artistic generations set, or shoehorned, into genealogical and artistic lineages.¹⁶ In certain regions of Latin America where the names gleaned from signed canvases were few and accompanying documentation was sparse or altogether non-existent, single artists whose lives were particularly and exceptionally knowable were seized upon and made to stand in for entire traditions. This was often the case in areas of the former Spanish viceroyalties outside of Mexico, such as present-day Bolivia or Colombia, which were quickly being overshadowed by a predominance of studies on New Spain. In turn, such monographic treatments betray particular nationalist orientations.¹⁷

On the other hand, these very same monographically oriented histories reveal the burden of the singular, inventive artist and routinely bluster forth with apologetic interludes

¹⁴ On the ways these historiographic inheritances have shaped the field of colonial Latin American art, see Aaron M. Hyman and Barbara E. Mundy, “Out of the Shadow of Vasari: Towards a New Model of the ‘Artist’ in Colonial Latin America,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 24 (2015): 283–317.

¹⁵ Colonial Latin American painting has only recently received syncretic treatment; see Jonathan Brown and Luisa Elena Alcalá, ed., *Painting in Latin America 1550-1820* (New Haven: Yale University, 2014).

¹⁶ See, for example, the foundational, if posthumously published, Manuel Toussaint, *La pintura colonial en México* (Mexico City: Imprenta Universitaria, 1965).

¹⁷ See, for instance, the monographs on the colonial New Granadan artist Gregorio Vásquez de Arce y Ceballos; see José Manuel Groot, *Noticia biográfica de Gregorio Vasquez Arce i Ceballos, pintor granadino del siglo XVII* (Bogotá: Imprenta de Francisco Tórres Amaya, 1859); see also Roberto Pizano Restrepo, *Gregorio Vázquez de Arce y Ceballos: Pintor de la Ciudad de Santa Fé de Bogotá cabeza y corte del Nuevo Reyno de Granada* (Paris: C. Bloch, 1926). On this historiography, see Yobenj Acuardo Chicangana-Bayona, “El príncipe del arte nacional: Gregorio Vásquez de Arce y Ceballos interpretado por el siglo XIX,” *Historia Crítica* 52 (2014): 205–230. For a comparative case from Bolivia, see Teresa Gisbert and José de Mesa, *Holguín y la pintura virreinal en Bolivia* (La Paz: Librería Editorial Juventud, 1977).

about artists' dependence upon printed models or poor painterly qualifications amidst otherwise triumphantly overconfident accounts. At certain times, such historians have even implicitly lamented the very category of the artist. The godfather of Mexican art history, Manuel Toussaint, for example, would write with frustration and regret of the "infinity of Indian painters" from the sixteenth century whose names were lost to time and whose work blended into an anonymous muddle.¹⁸ How could one properly narrate their histories, Toussaint seems to query, without names and biographies?

As European and American scholars belatedly scurried to join the field, they did not so much address this question, as sidestep the category of the artist altogether. Fueled by the turn to material culture and the identity politics that drove much scholarship of the 80s and 90s across the academy, early Anglophone commentators were most interested in precisely the work of Indian painters and makers who found a fraught position in Toussaint's foundational study. The usually anonymous status of such artists allowed scholars to dispense with the question of singular creation altogether and, with it, the category of "the artist." Such scholarship perhaps unsurprisingly gravitated towards altogether non-Europeanate objects, such as indigenous codices, maps crafted of native materials, and feather-work "mosaics."¹⁹ While these objects were produced under the conditions of European colonialism and necessarily participated in its regimes—to evince land claims in courts, or to meet demands for images for church celebrations—the novel materials and unfamiliar forms of such objects (at least from the perspective of traditional art history) made indigenous contributions abundantly clear, thoroughly unquestionable, and ripe for interrogation. This vein of scholarship reveled in analyzing the artwork itself as a field of cultural negotiations and thus as an index of indigenous agency, resistance, and creativity.²⁰

Where the question of the artist was concerned, embracing anonymously worked, indigenous materials and object-types was a double-move. First, these objects were the products of cultural conditions that only dated back to the conquest and were thus undeniably new, burgeoning forth with the "creativity" of indigenous artists who negotiated the interstices of their recently reconfigured communities. *This* colonial art needed no apologies for belatedness. But second, anonymity was assumed to be the default, if lamentable, category for the majority of this cultural production; scholars were thus allowed to easily circumvent a question about the analytic usefulness, or lack thereof, of the category of "the artist" for writing histories of colonial art.

In turn, both approaches to the colonial artist—either a default embrace of preexisting art historical paradigms of the artist, or their near total avoidance—have allowed the contours of artistic subjectivity during this period to remain, more or less, uninterrogated. That is, there

¹⁸ Toussaint, *La pintura colonial*, 25.

¹⁹ For a recent historiographic overview that breaks these Latin American and Anglophone threads of scholarship into discrete categories, see Aaron M. Hyman, and Barbara E. Mundy, "Painting in New Spain, 1521-1820," in *Oxford Bibliographies of Latin American Studies*, ed. Ben Vinson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

²⁰ The field's focus on hybridity is symptomatic, as discussed at length in chapter two, where extensive bibliography can be found. For a recent reframing of the well-trod idea of the art object as a space of cross-cultural negotiation, see Cécile Fromont, *The Art of Conversion: Christian Visual Culture in the Kingdom of the Congo* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

have been few attempts to probe how artists understood themselves *as* individuals and, how (or perhaps if) their acts of creation figured in such self-conceptions. In one model, creativity and originality are implicitly assumed to be positively valued premises for artistic creation; and, in the other, exactly how these qualities inflect a sense of personhood and authorship does not necessarily have to be addressed because the historian has been liberated from responsibility to particularized, historical individuals altogether.

Probing subjectivity is of course no simple task, and one made harder by the remarkable paucity of written sources related to artists and artistic production in Latin America during the viceregal period. Historians of early modern art in Europe can mine art theoretical treatises, oftentimes robust personal correspondence between artists and their colleagues or patrons, and thick documentation about the quotidian affairs of the homes, studios, and even personal collections of artists;²¹ yet scholars working on art produced across the Atlantic find nearly no cognate sources. There is no way to truly or triumphantly “overcome” this inequality and, of course, colonialism insidiously bestows to history subjects whose lives are in large part unknowable. I suggest, however, that a certain methodological flexibility allows for a suturing of disparate source bases and that a reading of these sources against their grain offers insight into the ways that artists conceived of their endeavors and that their publics came to think about makers and their products. These source bases range from seemingly Europeanate signing practices, to monotonous artistic contracts, to period literature and theological debates that might seem wholly unrelated to artistic manufacture, to the materials and inscriptions of the printed models from which colonial artists worked. But I argue that there is perhaps no more important source than “the copy” itself, that seemingly belated, unthinking, slavishly created work of art, the very symbol of colonial subservience. Taking copies as prime sites of evidence is to make good on art history’s sometimes hollow claims of starting with the object and of using representation as a form of historical documentation.

With this dissertation, I advocate for a critical rethinking of colonial notions of self and authorship as they relate to artistic production in the period. “The copy” is an important entry point for both historical and historiographic reasons. Historically, the shipment of prints from Europe to Latin America and the processes of copying them to make artworks was a crucial feature in determining the course of colonial Latin American art. For not only did the print offer up Europe’s forms for reproduction, but so too did the print and its attendant practices of copying create the circumstances in which to understand what it meant to *be* an artist or creator. In this sense, the copy stands at the center of the processes that constituted the colonial artist and his corpus.

As already illustrated, however, there is a historiographic imperative that early modern art history cannot overlook for much longer. The print and the copy can help address the question about the roles makers will and can play in histories of colonial Latin American art. This issue is particularly pressing in light of art history’s ongoing global reorientation, which

²¹ If we just take Rubens, for example, see Jeffrey M. Muller, *Rubens: The Artist as Collector* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); Ruth Saunders Magurn, ed. and trans., *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1955); Max Rooses and Charles Ruelens, ed. and trans., *Correspondance de Rubens et documents épistolaires concernant sa vie et ses oeuvres, Codex diplomaticus Rubenianus*, 6 vols. (Antwerp: n.p., 1887-1909).

has prompted the discipline to now routinely chart connections across the Atlantic and, more generally, within empires. Such realignments bring with them an attendant imperative to define interpretive parameters and round out local histories so that the work of creators on both sides of the Atlantic can be accommodated with some equity within a single frame.²² Rubens has new “followers.” And new followers to whom Europe-focused scholars are beginning to turn with ever-greater attention. There is thus a need for intelligible methodological frameworks with which to understand colonial makers and the work of copying that securely connected them to Europe and its corpus; but moreover, it has become essential to explore how European definitions of originality, creativity, and emulation were necessarily different (if still at times, just like colonial works of art themselves, Europeanate) on New World soil.²³ Notions of authorship did not seamlessly accompany the travelling printed forms of European author-artists and colonial makers cannot be expected to slot easily into preexisting models and systems of valuation. Apologies, flattenings, and sidesteppings will not serve the field of early modern art history as it takes new shape, for these approaches, which constitute a form of disengagement with this problem, allow for the unwitting reperformance of the same epistemological imperial violences that have rendered colonial makers difficult to know in the first place.

In grappling with the issue of authorship, Rubens comes to play several very different, but equally critical roles in this project. First, there is Rubens the “author.” Here I use author in the Foucauldian sense of the term: as a functional principle by which to limit, choose, and exclude.²⁴ The subject of the transmission of printed European compositions to the Americas is immense and the corpus of colonial works produced after European prints is vast. The online archive of *The Project on the Engraved Sources of Spanish Colonial Art* (PESSCA), which has tasked itself with cataloguing so-called “correspondences” between European printed sources and works of art produced in colonial Latin America, grows quite literally by the day and has reached nearly four-thousand such matches.²⁵ Focusing on works of art produced after Rubensian models narrows this broad corpus of possibilities, hemming in what

²² The literature has already begun to feel vast. For robust accounts, with particular attention to this historiographic turn, see Dana Leibsohn and Jeanette Favrot Peterson, ed., *Seeing Across Cultures in the Early Modern World* (London: Routledge, 2012); Thomas Dacosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Daniela Bleichmar and Meredith Martin, ed., “Objects in Motion in the Early Modern World,” special issue, *Art History* 38 (2015); James Elkins, ed., *Is Art History Global?* (London: Routledge, 2006).

²³ The most important attempt was made to great effect at an early moment of broadening interest in the art of colonial Latin America; see Clara Bargellini, “Originality and Invention in the Painting of New Spain,” in *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life, 1521-1821*, ed. Donna Pierce, et al. (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2004).

²⁴ Michel Foucault, “What is an Author?,” in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon, 1984): 101–120, specifically 118–119.

²⁵ Throughout the dissertation, I cite correspondences simply with their entry number, which can easily be found using the site’s online search function. I thank Almerindo Ojeda, PESSCA’s creator, for his deep engagement with this topic, for his generosity in providing this resource to the scholarly community, and for his consistent collaboration, guidance, and friendship. *Project on the Engraved Sources of Spanish Colonial Art*, <http://colonialart.org>.

might otherwise be an overwhelming abundance of potential examples. Mobilizing Rubens in this way is to use him as an analytic tool. Granting Rubens only a primary role as *limiter* destabilizes the art historical figure of the artist, who is most often and all too unproblematically heralded as an *origin* or a source, and thus as the point of unbridled proliferation itself.

Of course, limiting the colonial corpus to examples that derive from engravings produced after works by Rubens still leaves plentiful material, as has been recognized since the very earliest studies on the use of printed models in the Spanish Americas.²⁶ That prime position relates to Rubens as a historical figure and the achievements of his lifetime. This is Rubens as painter *par excellence* of the Catholic Reformation and vassal of the Spanish Crown who served as a trustworthy diplomat.²⁷ This is the Rubens whose pictorial output defined a new sense of the robust visual language with which a beleaguered and then resurgent Church could communicate the messages of Catholicism, and whose coded allegories set the standards by which to communicate and carefully inflect the messages of Europe's courts and nobility.²⁸ And in these roles, which made him the preeminent painter of

²⁶ Francisco Stastny, "La presencia de Rubens en la pintura colonial." *Revista peruana de la cultura* 4 (1965): 5–35; Santiago Sebastián, "El pintor Miguel Cabrera y la influencia de Rubens," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 43 (1974): 71–73; Gisbert and de Mesa, *Holguín y la pintura virreinal*, 23–24; José Rogelio Ruiz Gomar, "Rubens en la pintura novohispana de mediados del siglo XVII," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 50 (1982): 87–101; Teresa Gisbert and José de Mesa, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Lima: Fundación Augusto N. Wiese, 1982), 101–110; Xavier Moysén, "La pintura flamenca, Rubens y la Nueva España," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas* 20 (1983): 699–706; José de Mesa, "La influencia de Flandes en la pintura del Area Andina," *Revista de Historia de América* 117 (1994): 61–82. Helga von Kügelen penned the most systematic study, which presents an entire biography of Rubens by way of introduction. It is already, less than a decade after its publication, notably out of date, which gives some indication of the dynamic state of the field and the rapidity with which new examples come to light. See Helga von Kügelen, "La pintura de los reinos y Rubens," in *La pintura de los reinos : identidades compartidas : territorios del mundo hispánico, siglos XVI-XVIII*, vol. 4 (Mexico: Fomento Cultural Banamex, 2008), 1009–1078.

²⁷ For a sampling on Rubens and politics, see Hilliard T. Goldfarb, ed., *Titian and Rubens: Power, Politics, and Style* (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 1998); Lisa Rosenthal, *Gender, Politics, and Allegory in the Art of Rubens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Margaret D. Carroll, *Painting and Politics in Northern Europe: Van Eyck, Bruegel, Rubens, and Their Contemporaries* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008). On Rubens and the Catholic Reformation, see Thomas L. Glen, *Rubens and the Counter Reformation: Studies in his Religious Paintings Between 1609 and 1620* (New York: Garland Publications, 1977); David Freedberg, "Painting and the Counter Reformation in the Age of Rubens," in *The Age of Rubens*, ed. Peter C. Sutton (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1993), 131–146; Ilse von zur Mühlen, *Bild und Vision: Peter Paul Rubens und der 'Pinsel Gottes,'* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1998); Cynthia Lawrence, "The Raising of the Cross: The Origins of Rubens's Earliest Antwerp Altarpieces," *Art Bulletin* 81 (1999): 267–296.

²⁸ Allegory is frankly so central to Rubens's art that surprisingly few sources treat this topic critically; for one good account, and related bibliography, see Rosenthal, *Gender and Politics*.

what many still term the Baroque tradition, this is the Rubens whose works circulated more forcefully than any of his contemporaries, in no small part thanks to his much vaster output of printed compositions.²⁹ These historical narratives and, so too, the phrases by which to describe them are *easy*: they are easy on the ear and they flow freely and fluidly from the pen. Because we have told them over and over again.

It is far harder to so succinctly and adequately describe the work of even a single one of the artists who took up Rubens's printed compositions across the Atlantic. If Rubens holds a dominant position for thinking about transatlantic transmission because of his service to both Church and Crown during his lifetime and thus because of the frequency with which his models were deployed on New World soil, he then must also be tasked with playing the role of historiographic actor against which to understand art history's own relationship to the histories of viceregal makers. In this project, Rubens becomes a lens through which to understand the great range of artists—from similarly renowned artists to anonymous “craftsmen”—who remade his compositions in various materials across the Atlantic. Rubens, and artists like him—the consummate “geniuses” of Europe's early modernity—have come to define the standards by which art historians understand the status of painters and the parameters of authorship and intentionality during the period. To see artists in Latin America “through” Rubens is to never lose sight of standard-brand European definitions of authorship, originality, and creativity; and it is thus to recognize how uneasily those definitions—and perhaps categories altogether—fit the histories of colonial makers. But moreover, using Rubens as a historiographic category allows a spotlight to be shined on the exclusions that quickly occur—on European soil as well—from limiting inquiry into processes of artistic production that rise to those heights of fame and fortune. If a scholarly turn to Europe's material and visual cultures emerged, in part, as a response to art histories too singularly focused on author-artists at the expense of “mere” craftsmen or makers, there is an imperative not to impose the same hierarchies of valuation when creating the categories in which to understand artists in the Americas. This dissertation therefore searches for a language, fraught and uneasy and unsure though it may at times seem, to describe the full semantic range of viceregal artistic production.

Transatlantic Intertextuality

Every copy stands in relationship to a model that came before it. The connection between the two can be fleeting or enduring, forgotten or purposefully memorialized. Connection can be a matter of happenstance, of an artist quickly consulting a source to find solutions to pictorial problems, for example, and just as quickly letting the prototype slip from his mind. Or, connection can be carefully engineered such that the copy signals its own status as a follower by means of style, inscription, or juxtaposition with other objects; an artist or

²⁹ Rubens also took a more active interest in designing *specifically* for print and thus produced many compositions that had no role as pre-existing paintings; and the production of prints of his design was more extensive than that of his immediate contemporaries. On the relative production of Rubens and his contemporaries, see Ann Diels, *The Shadow of Rubens: Print Publishing in 17th-century Antwerp* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 65–66; Ann Diels, ‘*Uit de schaduw van Rubens*’: *prentkunst naar Antwerpse historieschilders* (Brussels: Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, 2009), 15–16.

patron can also, however, allow such connections to depend entirely upon an anticipated audience deemed sufficiently knowledgeable to recognize a relationship between copy and original. Conscious disavowal of a source, the fragility of memory, or the violent dislocation of objects or destructions of their original contexts can interrupt linkages between models and copies. These severed connections might later be reestablished, but belated or reconfigured relationships sometimes stand at odds with the intentions of makers and the understandings of their original publics. That full range of relationships between model and copy is interrogated in this dissertation, which is fundamentally concerned with the potential for connectedness that the copy effectuates.

Some of these configurations have become common to art historical research. Scholars have highlighted certain ways in which early modern works of art functioned in relationship with one another: how viewers were primed to spot formal citation and stylistic affinity, and how artists came to expect viewers to create meaning through knowing comparison of originals and copies. Indeed, this kind of emulative citation is a chief rubric through which the claims of early modern European artists have been understood.³⁰ Such a framework relies, however, upon a homogenous visual acuity that is presumed to exist for a given body of, most often, elite viewers. I chart relationships of models and copies across a much broader geography, thereby introducing the distances and delays of empire that placed European models of reference and relation under such pressure that they were often caused to fracture. The even dispersal of knowledge and a sense of enfranchisement to cultures of artistic appreciation and theorization cannot be assumed—a tendentious supposition, even in Europe—across the broad expanses of Spain’s viceregal territories.

In assessing the various kinds of connectivities established through print transmission and artistic copying, this study draws upon models of “intertextuality,” as developed in literary studies. The relationships between European prints and colonial works of art are thus bundled under the mantle of what I call *transatlantic intertextuality*: a system of reference premised equally upon the potential for carefully coded relationships of pictorial forms, and shared knowledge about those forms drawn out across the Atlantic, as upon the fissures and disconnects set up by this long-distance print traffic and the heterogeneous artistic practices of reproduction that this geographic dispersal enabled.³¹ Transatlantic intertextuality complicates established models of artistic reference, such as emulation and citation; but it also exposes

³⁰ In relation to Rubens, for example, see Jeffrey M. Muller, “Rubens’s Theory and Practice of the Imitation of Art,” *Art Bulletin* 64 (1982): 229–247; for a more recent account, more theoretically aligned with this study, see Maria H. Loh, “New and Improved: Repetition as Originality in Italian Baroque Practice and Theory,” *Art Bulletin* 86 (2004): 477–504. I am also indebted to one study that explores relations of originals, emulations, and copies, while notably eschewing the intertextual model taken up in this dissertation: Elizabeth Cropper, *The Domenichino Affair: Novelty, Imitation, and Theft in Seventeenth-Century Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

³¹ Though beyond the scope of this project, a broader model of “trans-oceanic” intertextuality could be conceived to account for recent interest in the transpacific trade and the fantastic range of objects that resulted from viceregal trade with the east through the port of Manila. For a recent historiographic account of the Pacific and its place within Latin American studies and art history, see Dana Leibsohn and Meha Priyadarshini, “The Transpacific: Beyond Silk and Silver,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 25 (2016): 1–15.

less familiar practices of copying and ways that meaning was generated from the sutures and fissures between European sources and the Latin American objects that they directly and indirectly engendered. Every connection and each rupture charted in what follows is pursued with an eye trained on the uneven and contested geographies of the Spanish Empire, which I deem critical for assessing the relationships staged by artworks. For when European models of authorship were stretched across the Atlantic, they became entwined with the imperial ideologies of subjecthood that were attached to these geographic expanses; and when wholly new or non-European models of authorship emerged, they were in large part products of those territorial lengths, of the spaces across which images were transmitted with ever-greater frequency during the early modern world. Every copy has geographies of transmission imbedded within it.

It was, after all, the delusion of empire that spaces could be tethered through acts of mimesis, that distant lands could be brought into orbits of power through resemblance, that one side of the Atlantic could be made to behave like another simply through the propagation and performance of outer trappings. If that dream has long been recognized as an impossibility, it is, nevertheless, one routinely clung to with the full ferocity of imperial might.³² And art has perpetually been made to do its part. Exactly what that means for the artists of the Spanish Empire is often hard to get at. To do so, I propose certain guiding questions: how, generally, did the identities of author-artists and the meanings they pictorially engineered within their artworks travel with these forms during the early modern period? And, in turn, what happens when the transmitted pictorial forms of a given artist entered landscapes with different conceptions of authorship and the creative act, local imperatives through which to understand the semantic content of original and originary forms, and catalysts for subsequent transmission and yet broader circulation? That is, if Rubens shrewdly self-fashioned and carefully coded his often recondite compositions to the theological and political needs of Church and Crown alike, what became of his images, both personal and pictorial, across the Atlantic? And how does attending to both change and similitude, transformation and sameness, help us understand the nature of authorship and transmission in colonial Latin America and, more generally, the early modern world?

From today's scholarly perspective, strange and surprising things happened to "Rubens" in the New World. Modeling their practices on a Europe they knew through print, artists born in the Americas imagined Rubens and his work in unusual ways. His compositions could be repeated so often that they lost their connection to Rubens altogether, becoming consummate colonial works of art. Having shed Rubens, his compositions could even become miracle-working, a status for the religious object often thought to depend, in Europe, upon anonymous production and thus incompatible with authored and autographed artistry. Looking closely at the specificities of copied works of art—artists, patrons, religious orders, architectural contexts—allows an exploration of what "copies," a term this project hopes to both trouble and make more precise, meant for those who produced and saw them. I aim to recapture something of the lived experience of both using prints and making artworks, and gazing upon copies in colonial Latin America. Parsing this experience from the sources

³² My thinking on imperial mimesis and the place of the copy within it has been shaped by Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2004); Natasha Eaton, *Mimesis Across Empires: Artworks and Networks in India, 1765-1860* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013).

that remain for the historian, I argue, hinges on interrogating the strength of connections—the fixity, or lack thereof, of models to copies—forged through acts of using printed sources in the Americas.

Throughout this study, the binary model of European engraving and colonial artwork—a dominant, if often implicit, one for the interpretation of viceregal artistic production related to European sources—breaks down in the face of other objects that modulate connections between printed sources and colonial copies. Connections between multiple New World objects that shared a set of forms by dint of a common European source could be more important than those they had to the European print itself. Repositioning the copy to account for the manifold types of connections that came to exist between European printed models and colonial objects helps to deprioritize European “originals” in service of more thoroughly integrating multi-directional circulation in Latin America with histories of global transmission; that is, of understanding the intersections of the transatlantic transmission (Europe-to-colonies) with inter-regional and even more localized histories of the movement of objects and forms on New World soil. Through careful exploration of original contexts and patterns of commission history, and by cataloguing and sequencing clusters of reproduction, I am able to insert objects between what might at first glance seem to be stable poles of model and copy, and thus to reveal webs, rather than chains, of pictorial reference. In intertextual terms, such a method prizes rhizomatic spread as much as arboreal growth, or filial genealogy.³³

Perhaps because of art history’s sentimental, or even fetishistic, relationship to the author-artist, intertextuality has not often been taken up as an analytic model.³⁴ Of course, it is *precisely* for this reason that such a framework, iconoclastic where questions of authors and originals are concerned, is so appealing for exploring viceregal art, whose historiography, as

³³ Félix Guatarri and Gilles Deleuze, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (London: The Athlone Press, 1987), particularly 3–25.

³⁴ Notably, those studies that *have* used an intertextual model have been within the field of medieval art history, a field traditionally less concerned with the category of the artist than with the *meaning* of works of art; put towards this end, Michael Camille was the first to coin the term “interpictoriality;” see Michael Camille, “Gothic Signs and the Surplus: The Kiss on the Cathedral,” *Yale French Studies* 80 (1991): 151–170. For a subsequent use, see Cynthia Hahn, “Interpictoriality in the Limoges Chasses of Stephen, Martial, and Valerie,” in *Image and Belief: Studies in Celebration of the Eightieth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999). On intertextuality in relation to the medieval author and artist, see Sonja Drimmer, “Visualizing Intertextuality: Conflating Forms of Creativity in Latin Medieval ‘Author Portraits,’” in *Citation, Intertextuality and Memory in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, vol. 2, ed. Giuliano Di Bacco and Yolanda Plumley (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011). If beloved, one still-classic modernist study that draws on intertextuality has not altered the general orientation of the field; see Rosalind E. Krauss, *The Originality of the Avant Garde and Other Modernist Myths* (Boston: MIT Press, 1996). On the place of the artist and the monograph in art history, see Gabriele Guercio, *Art as Existence: The Artist’s Monograph and its Project* (Boston: MIT Press, 2006).

noted, has been troubled by standard definitions of authors and their works.³⁵ Other literary-theoretical, or linguistic, models could be and have been marshaled to help address the same relationships between European sources and colonial copies. Indeed, the field of colonial Latin American art history has more routinely gravitated toward concepts of “translation” to describe how European models became Latin American works of art, though “translation” often serves as a mere, if extended, metaphor rather than a fully developed theoretical armature.³⁶ Both translation and intertextuality, as models, can be used to conceptualize repetitions and reformulations: the “same” text in two or more languages, in the case of translation, or the reappearance of a given passage of text in multiple works, deployed by one author to the next, in the case of intertextuality. Translation, as applied to works of art, might then be deemed not wholly dissimilar from intertextuality. Translation might even seem preferable as, so tells us the first dictionary compiler of the Spanish language, Sebastián de Covarrubias, *to copy* in the early modern Spanish world “sometimes means the *translation* of some original, and the copyist he who makes the copy.”³⁷ More on this below.

But translation unavoidably implies a division, a boundary between one language and the next, which may well prove irreconcilable with the broader aims of scholars of colonial Latin America. This division is often seen as the *advantage* of theories of translation, given their application to problems of “cross-cultural” transmission, which are fundamentally premised upon two (or more) cultures with more-or-less fixed boundaries between them.³⁸ At the same time, however, scholars have come to insist upon the connected nature of the spaces and institutions of empires in seeking full enfranchisement—social, economic and political—for colonial subjects and for regional dynamics within imperial histories.³⁹ In turn, art

³⁵ This dissertation is thereby indebted to, above any other study, to Maria H. Loh, *Titian Remade: Repetition and the Transformation of Early Modern Italian Art* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2007).

³⁶ For alternatively robust considerations of the place of models of translation in the study of viceregal art, see Alessandra Russo, *The Untranslatable Image: A Mestizo History of the Arts in New Spain 1500-1600* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2014); Daniela Bleichmar, “History in Pictures: Translating the *Codex Mendoza*,” *Art History* 38 (2015): 682–701.

³⁷ Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611), 236v. “Algunas vezes significa el traslado de algũ original, y copista, el que saca la copia.”

³⁸ The distinction is made to great effect in one study that explicitly chooses translation, over intertextuality, as a model for looking at artistic relations in order to chart the non-homogeneity of cultural interaction in what we now call “Italy” during the Renaissance; Stephen J. Campbell, and Stephen J. Milner, “Introduction: Art, Identity, and Cultural Translation in Renaissance Italy,” in *Artistic Exchange and Cultural Translation in the Italian Renaissance City*, ed. Stephen J. Campbell and Stephen J. Milner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), particularly 7–8.

³⁹ Within colonial Latin American art history, most such endeavors have taken place within the purview of large exhibitions and scholarly catalogs that bring together researchers specialized in various regions of broad imperial geographies; see, for example, Ronda Kasl, ed., *Sacred Spain: Art and Belief in the Spanish World* (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Museum of Art, 2009); Jonathan Brown and Juana Gutiérrez Haces, ed., *Pintura de los reinos : identidades compartidas en el mundo hispánico : miradas varias, siglos XVI-XIX* (Mexico:

historians would be served to develop frameworks that, through their very language, do not impose or unwittingly suggest clefs within these connected histories.⁴⁰

In coining the term “transatlantic intertextuality,” I attempt instead to foreground the connectivities established by using European models to create colonial copies in the Spanish Empire and, therefore, the fundamentally geographic valences that works of art thereby came to certify. Through the practice of copying after European models, connections were created across both the Atlantic, and the multiple inter-European and inter-colonial trajectories of pictorial transmission. Accounting for the sheer geographic component of these practices is particularly important for art history, a discipline burdened by elite underpinnings and historiography to the extent that it has, until recently, allowed little room for art and its histories produced outside of European aesthetic paradigms and the continent’s early histories of (neo-imperial) collecting.⁴¹ If the discipline continues to vow that one side of the Atlantic is not marginal to art’s history on the other, as recent trends in the field might suggest, then it would be served by describing works of art and the phenomena of transmission through theoretical apparatuses that underscore geography and thus bear witness to the imperial ideologies of rulership, religiosity, subjecthood and, so too, creativity with which geography was (and is still) entangled.⁴²

The Castilian lexicographer Covarrubias’s definition of the copy as a translation glosses the geographic connections that copies can stage more thoroughly than might be estimated at first glance. For to translate, “trasladar,” meant something altogether more capacious in the early modern period and was *primarily* defined as a spatial, rather than a linguistic, practice. In fact, in contemporary parlance the term has lost this linguistic valence altogether. In the author’s own words: “To translate [*Trasladar*], to move something of value from one place to another, like translating the body, or the relics of a saint.”⁴³ Related to the medieval concept of *translatio*, “translation” and the related practice of simply copying were spatial occurrences. Both meant moving something—the metonymic remains of a saint’s body, or the pictorial or textual statement—from one place to another. Just as the saint’s body was moved between different holy edifices one text was moved through its repetition (be that in the same language, merely copied, or translated from one book to the next); copied pictorial compositions moved both through their printed transmission and the practices of their

Fomento Cultural Banamex, 2010); Dennis Carr, ed., *Made in the Americas: The New World Discovers Asia* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts Boston, 2015).

⁴⁰ On connected history, a dominant framework for subsequent imperial histories, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History* (London: Longman, 1993); Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Explorations in Connected History: From the Tagus to the Ganges, Delhi* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁴¹ One seminal text, which marked an important historiographic shift where Latin America was concerned, see Claire Farago, ed., *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450-1650* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

⁴² On geography and the history of art, see Dacosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*. On geography, power, and art historiography, see numerous related essays in Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago, ed. *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

⁴³ Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*, 752r. “Trasladar, passar de vn lugar a otro alguna cosa de consideracion como trasladar el cuerpo, o reliquias de algun santo.”

subsequent pictorial redeployment. Within the contours of this dissertation, it is notable that Covarrubias also makes note of the Latin root *copia*, meaning copiousness or abundance, in his definition of the copy. For through the movement—the physical translation—of European prints sources across the Atlantic and the practices of copying them, the New World was filled with an abundance of connected objects. Transatlantic intertextuality thus emerges as a model to grapple with such messy, recursive, enmeshed understandings of originals, copies, translation, and geography.

Born as they were amidst post-structural and deconstructivist turns, theories of intertextuality are, of course, equally insistent about the potential for disturbances and ruptures of meaning in transmission, and notably in those that complicate or undermine the intentions of authors and their claims to originality.⁴⁴ It should already be clear that I too am interested in such fault lines, the results of the contingencies occasioned by imperial geographies and the uneven dispersal of forms and knowledge across them. What is so useful about intertextual models, however, is that rupture and disconnect occur not at the level of forms themselves, but at the level of their meanings—or rather in the relationship between forms and meanings—which are never stable, always plural, infinitely deferred, and which cannot be contained by authorial intention. For better or worse, the supposed immateriality of the linguistic signifier leads to an analysis of language, in intertextual studies, that is premised upon an equivalence of copies made with often remarkable formal and material divergence—“the same” words produced, for instance, in manuscript calligraphy or through the careful darkening of set typeface with a printer’s ink balls.⁴⁵ Intertextuality has therefore not been free from detractors who decry the impossibility of words to signify irrespectively of the materiality of their inscription and thus free from the necessary visual divergences from one text to the next.⁴⁶

That kind of critique could be leveled against this study, though I consider myself part of the turn to material texts and thus a proponent of “critical” bibliography, and I make great efforts to insist upon the material messiness and imprecision of transmission. However, patrons and viewers in the transatlantic Spanish Empire revealed a surprising tolerance for slippage and difference between models and copies that they deemed sufficiently “the same.” Indeed, the very materialities of transmission across these geographies necessitated this be the case. A large-scale painting by Rubens was condensed into the portable paper print, swirls of paint were transformed into ink held within the swelling, incised lines of the engraver’s copper plate, and then the resulting printed forms were refashioned in oil, tempera, feather, stone, wood, and ivory, across the globe. From the outset, one must then dispense with

⁴⁴ Roland Barthes, *Image-Music-Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978); Foucault, “What is an Author?”; and Barthes’s death of the author, seen more through practice than theorization in the deconstructivist Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989). For a meta-critical account of “the death of the author” in literary studies, see Jane Gallop, *The Deaths of the Author: Reading and Writing in Time* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011).

⁴⁵ For an analysis and critique of this position, see Roger Chartier, *Inscription and Erasure: Literature and Written Culture from the Eleventh to the Eighteenth Century*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

⁴⁶ See, for example, the seminal D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

expectations of replication and carbon copies, premised as these are upon a modern sensibility formed through the replicative potentials of the chromolithograph or the camera.⁴⁷ The connectivities of transatlantic intertextuality were produced by copies that, to our eyes, might seem to exhibit a high degree of pictorial variability.

The Conforming Copy

Yet what, then, *did* make for a consequential intertextual connection between a printed source and a colonial copy? Or, asked more analytically: what was the minimum equivalence deemed necessary for a relationship between an engraved model and a colonial work of art to come into existence and be maintained? Such questions might seem puzzlingly aesthetic or abstractly philosophical and, unlike in Europe, there are no period art theoretical texts to mine for clues and devote entire books to dissecting.⁴⁸ But the beginnings of answers are offered by the most quotidian of sources: the ostensibly boilerplate language of archival documents, and specifically notarial contracts, which structured so much of life for citizens of Spain's empire. Period documentation routinely deploys one very particular word to describe this relationship. When patrons commissioned an artist to produce a work of art following a printed composition, they most often stipulated that this work should *conform* to the engraved model that the artist was given (*conforme a la estampa que recibe*). In the words of Covarrubias, "To conform (*conformar*), is to be in agreement, and of one will...To conform oneself with the appearance of someone, is to bring oneself into proximity with the other (*arrimarse a el*). All of this is simple and there is no need to dwell. This comes from the verb *conformo.as. Conformis, conformitas, conformiter*."⁴⁹

Perhaps unsurprisingly, I respectfully disagree with our period guide that ontologically and epistemologically burdened questions of mimesis are so easy to explain. *Conformar*'s Latin roots are essential here, as they define the relationships of agreement and appearance that go unexpressed in the definition itself. To con-form (*conformis*) is to literally share forms, be those visual (as in appearance) or something altogether more abstract, like behavioral norms. The deployment of this language of shared forms in period documentation reveals the critical link between model and copy (their forms) without denying the potentially divergent expression of those forms, be that stylistic or material, between one thing and the other. Period sources quite notably, in other words, do not speak of *replication*. In asking painters to produce a work that conformed rather than replicated, patrons implicitly acknowledged a difference between model and copy. The painting or the sculpture could never be the print and patrons did not, in fact, long for another printed object. Rather, they needed an object that did similar visual work for them, but in a different scale and medium. And this is how the vast majority of artworks copied from prints functioned in the New World. Forms were repeated and, in turn, shared between two or more objects rather than replicated, such that the objects themselves were, in effect, one and the same.

⁴⁷ I thank Hagi Kenaan for a lively exchange on this topic.

⁴⁸ See the literature on European emulation cited above, note 29.

⁴⁹ Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*, 232r. "CONFORMAR, ser de un acuerdo, y de una voluntad. Conformidad. Conformes. Conformarse, cõ el parecer de otro, arrimarse a el. Todo esto es llano y no ay en que reparar. Vide verbo conformo.as. Conformis, conformitas, conformiter."

I use the term “conforming copy” to describe this operative relationship of shared forms between printed European model and colonial works of art and to thereby mark both a literal and conceptual space between models and copies. Spatiality was also built into this early modern idea of conformity. As Covarrubias notes, “to conform oneself to the appearance of someone else is to bring oneself into *proximity* with the other (*arrimarse a el*).” Conformity thus underscores the potential geographic connectivities, as laid out above, of a transatlantic intertextual model for thinking about copied works of art. Unlike in the case of the copy, however, which involves a literal and physical staging of two repeated sets of forms, the proximities of conformity are conceptual. In this conceptual system two terms, two opinions, two works of art, two types of opinions, or two modes of behavior or self-fashioning were brought into resemblance and proximity; but they were never duplicated and thus never collapsed. Space stood between and marked difference as much as sameness. The term “conforming copy” is meant as an attempt to use the period-specific language of conformity to describe the colonial copy and to continue to mark the literal and conceptual spaces between European printed models and colonial works of art. The gulfs that lay between a printed sheet and a painted canvas become distances as great as those from Europe to its colonies. Insisting, at the outset, upon maintaining this space is a first step in freeing the beleaguered figure of the colonial artist from the implicitly negative, and even condemning, implications of the label of *copyist*.

Scholarly literature on the copying of prints in the Americas is already vast, but there have been few sustained historical inquiries. Given that the field seems to recognize the fundamental nature of print transmission and colonial copying, the absence of a single scholarly monograph on this topic is striking.⁵⁰ The lack of written sources that might address the phenomenon and the particular instances in which a New World canvas or sculpture or

⁵⁰ In addition to the sources specifically related to Rubens, as noted above, see Hanna Levy-Deinhard, “Modelos europeos en la pintura colonial,” *Revista do SPHAN* (1944): 7–66; Santiago Sebastián, “La importancia de los grabados en la cultura neogranadina,” *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura* 3 (1965): 119–133; Agustina Rodríguez Romero, “Imágenes que crean imágenes. Pinturas y estampas francesas en América colonial,” in *Arte y crisis en Iberoamérica : Segundas Jornadas de Historia del Arte*, ed. Fernando Guzmán, et al. (Santiago: RIL editores, 2004); Clara Bargellini, “Difusión de modelos: grabados y pinturas flamencos e italianos en territorios americanos,” in *La pintura de los reinos : identidades compartidas : territorios del mundo hispánico, siglos XVI-XVIII*, ed. Jonathan Brown and Juana Gutiérrez Haces (Mexico City: Fomento Cultural Banamex, 2008); Alex Bohrer, “De Missalen van Plantin en Andere Zuid-Nederlandse Reminiscencies in de Baroke van Minas Gerais,” in *Een wereld op papier: zuid-nederlandse boeken, prenten en kaarten in het Spaanse en Portugese wereldrijk (16de-18de eeuw)*, ed. Werner Thomas and Eddy Stols (Leuven: Acco, 2009); Marta Fajardo de Rueda, “Grabados europeos y pintura en el Nuevo Reino de Granada,” *HiSTORELo. Revista de Historia Regional y Local* 6 (2014): 70–124; Ananda Cohen Suarez, *Pintura colonial cuzqueña: el esplendor del arte en los Andes* (Peru: Haynanka Ediciones, 2015), 16–19; Ángel Muñoz-Muñoz, “La ilustración del libro como generador de modelos. Pintores canarios del barroco y su relación con el grabado,” *Anuario de Estudios Atlánticos* 61 (2015): 1–19; Susan V. Webster, “Materiales, modelos y mercado de la pintura en Quito, 1550-1650,” *Procesos: revista ecuatoriana de historia* 43 (2016): 37–64.

architectural facade came to “match” a European counterpart surely plays a significant role. But so too does the lack of a language that might depart from the notion of a singular, authorial original and its “copy.” The “copy” has thus continued to occupy a particularly uneasy place within colonial art history because it would seem, at face value, to reify a binary of “the West,” seen as originary and inventive, and “the rest” that followed in its great footsteps. The copy too easily speaks of imperial imposition, of unknowing derivation, of belatedness and lack of invention and insufferably monotonous repetition. Mention of the copy thus remains either instinctively and almost totally apologetic, or stridently defiant and, yet, somehow hollow in its claims to viceregal artistic equality and to the creativity of the copy.

This study takes, as a baseline assumption, that every copy is a creative redeployment, that every copy requires skill and interpretation, and that, in the process of creating a connection to or a relationship with an original, every copy fundamentally reframes and reconfigures that original. The notion of a *conforming copy* is thus meant to do the same work that might otherwise be achieved through the clumsy deployment of quotation marks: to perpetually figure the “copy” as something other than itself, as something other than the aura-drained substitute of Benjamin’s modernist dystopia, and to re-enchant the work of—and our interest in—the conforming copyist.⁵¹

Landing on the figure of the copyist brings us to a crucial point worthy of clarification. A certain analytic tension results from adopting an intertextual model of authorship and copying, on the one hand, and espousing a post-colonial desire for subaltern recovery, on the other. How does one legitimately deconstruct a European maker, such as Rubens, while bolstering, reviving, or discovering for the first time, the cognate figures of Latin America’s colonial art history? But to see these two aims as, in any way, incompatible is to pay short shrift to both art historiography and post-coloniality, as a condition. Indeed, there is no stance iconoclastic enough to cut Rubens down to the size of mere mortal or simple historical actor, so outsized is his figure.⁵² And, in the meantime, literary studies have already re-birthed their authors after relegating them to the grave.⁵³ Betwixt and between, there is also no discovery great enough—no treasure trove of colonial documentation, or lost works of art, or period texts—that might allow one to truly render the colonial artist an “A”uthor, should that even be desirable; such is the devastation of colonial unknowability and post-colonial loss.⁵⁴ By centering this study on Rubens, I continually foreground those kinds of inequalities between Rubens and his counterparts across the Atlantic, such that the historiographic and conceptual category of “the artist” never falls far from view. The tensions that perhaps result allow us, I contend, to see both the Flemish artist (rather than the Flemish “A”uthor) more accurately and

⁵¹ Walter Benjamin, “Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit,” in *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 1, ed. Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1980 [1935]).

⁵² I am indebted, in this endeavor, to Mieke Bal, *Reading “Rembrandt”: Beyond the Word-Image Opposition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

⁵³ Seán Burke, *The Death and Return of the Author: Criticism and Subjectivity in Barthes, Foucault and Derrida*, 3rd ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011).

⁵⁴ On such inequalities of source base and circumstances of conservation, see Hyman, and Mundy, “Out of the Shadow of Vasari.”

to most adequately narrate the stories—in the forms we can now know them—of his colonial counterparts.

A Note on Loss and Method

Of the many absences and fractures in the historical record, one so insistently impairs the study of printed transmission in Latin America that it is worthy of dedicated mention. That is: the loss of the prints themselves. Though we know that thousands upon thousands of prints were sent to the Americas after leaving Europe's presses, those that survive echo in a chasm of near total absence.⁵⁵ Moreover, it is difficult to assess with any precision the particular range of European prints that ended up in the New World; though inventories and shipment lists related to the transatlantic book trade carefully annotate authors, titles, precise quantities, and prices, the very same lists most often describe prints as lump bundles with no information about artist, subject, or even genre.⁵⁶ The same can be said of last testaments and probate inventories; though we know people owned prints in Latin America, exactly what prints they were looking at and how they used and displayed them remains, and perhaps will forever be, unknown.⁵⁷ This loss comes with certain methodological issues and imperatives that have yet to be explicitly addressed by the field of colonial Latin American art history.

To a great extent, the colonial works of art that derive from European printed sources are one of the most important indexes of the circulation of graphic material in the Americas. Using these works, scholars are able to perform a kind of reverse engineering, matching prints that survive in (primarily) European and American collections to the works of art “they” were

⁵⁵ Three main groups of prints are known to exist, totaling less than five hundred in total. On an album of prints assembled during the colonial period in New Spain, see Clara Bargellini, et al., “Un álbum de grabados antiguos del Fondo Reservado de la Biblioteca Nacional de México,” in *Memorias del Congreso Internacional: Las edades del libro*, ed. Marina Garone Gravier, Isabel Galina Russell and Laurette Godinas (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2012); on an album of colonial-era prints from early Independence-era Mexico, see Aaron M. Hyman, “Patterns of Colonial Transfer: An Album of Prints in Mexico City,” *Print Quarterly* (forthcoming); on a small collection of seventeen engravings that survive in the Museo de Arte Colonial in Bogotá, Colombia, see Laura Liliana Vargas Murcia, “Aspectos generales de la estampa en el Nuevo Reino de Granada (siglo XVI-principios del siglo XIX),” *Fronteras de la Historia* 14:2 (2009): 256–281.

⁵⁶ For recent and robust studies of the transatlantic book trade, particularly from Antwerp to the New World, see César Manrique Figueroa, “Cultural Trade Between the Southern Netherlands and New Spain. A history of Transatlantic Book Circuits and Book Consumption in the Early Modern Age,” PhD diss., Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 2013; Stijn van Rossem, “Het gevecht met de boeken: de uitgeversstrategieën van de familie Verdussen (Antwerpen 1589-1689),” PhD diss., Universiteit van Antwerpen, 2014; Stijn van Rossem, “The Verdussens & the International Trade in Catholic Books,” in *Books in the Catholic World During the Early Modern Period*, ed. Natalia Maillard Álvarez (Leiden: Brill, 2014), particularly 214–245.

⁵⁷ On some uses and display of prints in New Spain, primarily as illustrated in painted representations, see Kelly Donahue-Wallace, “Picturing Prints in Early Modern New Spain,” *The Americas* 64 (2008): 325–349.

used to make in Latin America. Yet prints exist in multiple states and editions; inscriptions and details change from one to the next; and compositions were often reversed in orientation from edition to edition, at which point radical changes in format and layout could also occur. Close scrutiny of colonial works alongside a full range of printed states and editions of a given composition can rule out certain possibilities and, in so doing, can provide both *terminus post-* and *ante quem* for the production of colonial works, which are notoriously difficult to date, and even reveal unexpected trade routes or vectors of transmission. I advocate that this type of research be pursued more rigorously in the field, which has tended to match first-state engravings or etchings (out of convenience and because of greater digital availability) with colonial works of art without any mention of the analytic stickiness of such an operation.

However, some amount of uncertainty must necessarily remain in the pairing of prints and the Latin American objects produced through their use. I recoil from the impulse to match paintings to prints that seem closest, to our eyes, in visual appearance and from the idea that such an operation can be used as historical proof of a particular printed composition that an artist held in his hands.⁵⁸ Such a conviction overlooks the fact that workshop transfer techniques could introduce precisely the kinds of pictorial changes—in particular the loss of visual detail and, most importantly, reversal—that we witness between printed editions. Early modern artists could deploy pricking, pouncing, gridding, incision, and many other processes to reproduce a printed composition on a different support and at a different scale, both for the purpose of copying the composition for their own use in the workshop and to transfer a composition directly onto the support for a finished work of art.⁵⁹ With the prints themselves, the material residue of such workshop practices—the annotations, grids, stains, punch marks, rips, and cut-outs that result from artistic use and hard days spent in the studio—has vanished and nearly no material or documentary evidence of those colonial spaces of production remains on the two continents that were the Spanish Americas.⁶⁰ The shreds that do survive indicate that techniques such as gridding and pouncing were not entirely foreign to colonial artists, and thus indicate some of the ways that printed compositions could be altered through the process of their transfer.⁶¹ Using such a small body of evidence to presume widespread patterns about artistic technique, however, would be a misstep.

I have pursued extensive research with Rubens's printed corpus in the preparation of this dissertation. This means that, in several cases, I have been able to rule out later editions,

⁵⁸ See, for example, a historical account about trade routes based primarily on reversals of printed compositions in colonial works; Agustina Rodríguez Romero, "Redes de imágenes y reediciones de estampas: nuevas aproximaciones al estudio de grabados en Europa y América," In *Las redes del arte: intercambios, procesos y trayectos en la circulación de las imágenes: VII Congreso Internacional de Teoría e Historia de las Artes: XV Jornadas CAIA* (Buenos Aires: CAIA, 2013), 39–48.

⁵⁹ See the classic Carmen Bambach, *Drawing and Painting in the Italian Renaissance Workshop: Theory and Practice, 1300-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

⁶⁰ Extremely little literature addresses this question. For one exception, see Michael Brown, "Gregorio Vásquez de Arce y Ceballos (1638-1711) in Viceregal Colombia: Workshop Practices and the Role of Draftsmanship," *RACAR: Revue d'art canadienne/Canadian Art Review* 38 (2013): 56–70.

⁶¹ See Hyman, "Patterns of Transmission."

or alternate states, that a given colonial artist simply could *not* have been working with. Because I work from the principle that it is often impossible to match European prints and colonial objects with extreme precision, however, I have chosen not to overburden the text and footnotes with lengthy discussions of print history. I thus wish only to note here that this is an important issue with which the field must grapple and to underscore the point that I have not made any claims related to the phenomenological experience of working with prints—such as it is effected by size, orientation, and textual addition—where uncertainty remains about the possible range of options from which colonial artists worked.

Geography, Scope, and Structure

Because I am interested in the necessarily spatial connections that transatlantic intertextual circulation and production created, this dissertation is organized around spaces of varying scales and characters. In what follows, the Southern Netherlands—the printing hub of Spain’s Empire—is triangulated with both principle New World viceroyalties: New Spain and Peru. Very few scholarly monographs have yet attempted to treat art from both viceroyalties, but I believe that the nuances of these artistic landscapes only stand out in sharp relief when placed in a comparative frame. Even within art history as a discipline, this is rare; although, in the wake of a “global” turn, art historians are considering the movement of objects within much broader geographic expanses than in the past, most have not been able to do extensive research in multiple locales, which has precluded a comparative art history that thinks in depth about a variety of cultural contexts.⁶² The social sciences have long recognized the value of comparative work and my method and organization draw from comparative approaches developed for historical and anthropological research in Latin America.⁶³ It rests similarly upon the conceptualization, largely championed in the field of transatlantic history, of the Spanish empire as a shared, connected cultural space that needs to be interrogated holistically.⁶⁴

⁶² One model for this kind of comparative approach is offered by Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *The Spiritual Rococo: Decor and Divinity from the Salons of Paris to the Missions of Patagonia* (London: Routledge, 2014).

⁶³ The following were all important sources for my thinking about this particular project: Marshall Sahlins, “Cosmologies of Capitalism: The Trans-Pacific Sector of ‘The World System,’” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 74 (1988): 1–51; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Explorations in Connected History*; Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, “Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity,” *History and Theory* 45 (2006): 30–50; Byron Ellsworth Hamann, “Inquisitions and Social Conflicts in Sixteenth-Century Yanhuitlan and Valencia: Catholic Colonizations in the Early Modern Transatlantic World,” PhD Diss., University of Chicago, 2011.

⁶⁴ Anthony Pagden, *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination: Studies in European and Spanish-American Social and Political Theory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002); Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005); Tamar Herzog, *Frontiers of Possession: Spain and Portugal in Europe and the Americas* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015).

Over the course of the dissertation, we see the effects of prints that left Antwerp's presses in the broader Latin American world, the empire of the *ultramar*. But these spaces were far from homogenous and, therefore, the dissertation pursues different socio-political and geographic contexts to reveal a range of ways that European prints were received and reconfigured on New World soil. Three lengthy chapters investigate progressively larger spaces (or contexts) within the Spanish Empire. The first centers on Mexico City, the governmental capital of New Spain and, one might argue, the symbolic capital of the New World's economic potential. In this chapter, we will remain almost exclusively within the city's cathedral, the building at the heart of New Spain's missionary enterprises. The second chapter moves far to the South to Spain's other main overseas Viceroyalty, Peru. Rather than remaining in the political capital of Lima, however, we climb into the Andes and wander through the highland city of Cuzco and the broader region of the *altiplano*, which came to depend upon the city's productive artistic workshops. We might still consider Cuzco a type of capital city, but one of a different sort: a cultural center whose status derived from its pre-conquest standing as seat of the Inka empire, and upon whose structures and networks Spain sought to graft its own, charging Cuzco, even further, as a locus of political and missionary import. The third chapter pivots between both viceroyalties, but within what could be considered more "provincial" spaces: sites and regions at varying lengths from Mexico City, Lima, and Cuzco. This spatial framework—capitals of different sorts, centers and "peripheries" within the viceroyalties—serves to underline how different configurations of space necessarily shaped pictorial transmission and transatlantic intertextualities.⁶⁵

The dissertation moves from Europe through the New World and makes a brief return back across the Atlantic. Chapter one focuses on a cycle of paintings derived from Rubens's prints in the sacristy of Mexico City's cathedral (1684-93), and interrogates how ambitious New World artists faced a distance from Europe that was bridged by printed sheets. This chapter moves beyond a question that looms so large and with such seeming unanswerability over the study of transatlantic print transmission that it is rarely even raised: did artists on one side of the Atlantic know of those on the other? Or, did painters in Latin America even care about a Flemish figure named Rubens? I argue that for a group of artists in the capital city of New Spain, their understanding of Rubens and their familiarity with his printed corpus—and, more generally, a European canon transmitted in print—was central to their self-conception as New World creators.

This first chapter orbits around a signature with which Cristóbal de Villalpando (c. 1649-1714) claimed to be the cycle's "inventor." This term, "inventor," was a common one for describing the progenitors of European prints, but was rarely used to sign paintings. Villalpando's definition of his painterly authorship through the terms of printed production, and his liberal use of compositions by Rubens in this space, evince a connection to a Europe he knew mediated through prints. The chapter explores the ways this distance from Europe was experienced by artists of different ethnicities, as I expose that not only did the creole Villalpando copy and quote printed compositions, but so too did the mulatto Juan Correa (c. 1646-1716) in the canvases he created for the space. I probe the intersections of painterly and

⁶⁵ My understanding of these networks and spatial configurations—and their related structures of power—was shaped by Pedro Cardim, et al., ed., *Polycentric Monarchies: How did Early Modern Spain and Portugal Achieve and Maintain a Global Hegemony?* (Eastbourne, UK: Sussex Academic Press, 2012), particularly 217–226.

ethnic identities with the experience of the geographic distance bridged by prints and the work of copying after them. An emulative model of authorship is thereby complicated by the space of the Atlantic that lies between European originals and colonial works of art conceived as responses, but so too by practices of New World painters, such as Villalpando and Correa, who evidently made little operative distinction between transformative pictorial citation and so-called “slavish” copying.

Chapter two explores the dense reproduction of Rubens’s compositions in and around Cuzco (1650-1750). The connectedness of the places that housed these paintings meant that viewers in the Andean highlands had repeat encounters with specific compositions and families of forms. Through an extensive analysis of archival contracts, I suggest that this kind of local multiplicity became the condition in which the population of Cuzco and the surrounding region came to think about and see paintings and other objects: objects connected and in relationship to other local objects. Illustrating this sensibility to “the local” in Cuzco revises assumptions about the one-to-one correspondence between European prints and locally produced objects, the dominant conceptual model for the pictorial transmission of Europe’s forms to and within Latin America. I show that paintings, and many other types of objects, were just as likely to have been commissioned so as to be based on local works of art that already existed in the city as they were to be made using imported European prints. Art historical notions of influence that premise a canonical composition as an origin point for copies falls apart in Cuzco, where multiples of the same composition create a web that constantly defers the search for an “original.” Charting this dissemination, we see Rubens loosed from the forms he had authored, which came to be understood as typical of the highland city itself. In contrast to the emulative practices of the New Spanish artists discussed in chapter one, Cuzco’s artists and patrons forged an alternative model of copying and creativity, one in which the copy was always understood as potentially originary.

I relate the semiotic deferral occasioned by multiplied, repeated, and dispersed compositions to debates about Catholic images and how best to teach Christian neophytes in the Andes, a region “plagued” by an animistic indigenous religiosity and practices of “idolatry” that made the implementation of proper Catholic worship particularly difficult. Indigenous parishioners resisted, or struggled with, the idea that the essence of the Christian divine was not *in* the image, but rather that every image was already a multiple, or a copy, of an absent, divine prototype. In reviewing major theological tracts produced in this period and reading them against local pictorial practices, I stress how reproducibility and multiplicity became potent strategies for combatting this problem, and thus demonstrate an unexpected function that Rubens’s compositions came to satisfy: these functioned not only as didactic paintings of Christian narratives, but also as a much more iconic type of image whose repetition stressed the very nature of—the absent-presence fundamental to—the Christian devotional object.

The third chapter focuses on a single printed composition, an allegory of the joint Habsburg and Franciscan devotion to the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception. The print has alternatively puzzled or misled Europe-focused scholars due to a paucity of European reception history that offers no indication of its original audience or use. However, the print has a robust transmission history in Latin America, where the entire composition was made into conforming copies and where its individual figures were excised from the print and reconfigured to produce all manner of paintings and sculptures, both in New Spain and throughout the Andes, from Ayacucho to sites in present-day Bolivia. I argue that tracing these Latin American works of art and viewing them in concert allows for a reconsideration of

the printed original; that is, we come to understand Rubens's (European) original through networks of colonial copies. This chapter thus suggests a different conception of proper art historical context and argues that Latin American artistic reception and production are fundamentally entwined with Europe's art and, thus, with the potential to write its history.

This third chapter also continues to probe the interstices of artists, copies, and religious images. The central figure of Rubens's allegorical print, a kneeling St. Francis bearing three orbs and an Immaculate Virgin on his shoulders, was routinely extracted from the composition and made into independent paintings and statues, while the entire composition was being copied and transformed across Latin America. Two of the extracted, copied figures were placed below the miracle-working Virgins of El Pueblito (Querétaro) and Tepepan (Xochimilco) and, in turn, these composite sculptures spawned their *own* copies in prints and paintings (c. 1675-1775). Rubens' figure of St. Francis then began to be placed below miracle-working images of the Virgin across New Spain throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, becoming an arbiter of the miracle-working status of these images. This chapter traces the complicated intertextuality that linked Rubens' print, full and partial copies after the composition, the miracle-working statues, and prints of these statues produced in New Spain; and it investigates the degree to which Rubens and his various New World counterparts mattered in this matrix and to whom. Because the European history of miracle-working images has been thought to depend upon *anonymously* produced works, this chapter also explores how the artists of New Spain, who signed their miracle-working images and copies of them, complicate our understanding of the icon tradition.

I have pursued this topic with a conviction that attending to such transformations of images and authorship on New World soil helps us better understand the artistic production of Europe as well. By way of conclusion, I therefore briefly look back across the Atlantic in order to suggest how transatlantic transmission and intertextuality might enable the field to explore practices of pictorial circulation and copying in Europe that have remained marginal to art historical discourse. This short conclusion is meant as a much larger gesture to the fact that, while art historians might view the authorial paradigms of Latin America as novel or strange, it is because the early modern field has generally overlooked similar practices in Europe by privileging high-status authors as those most deserving of sustained historical inquiry. By focusing on colonial art, understudied in the United States until recent years, this project challenges Eurocentric models for thinking about early modern authorship. But the promise of that challenge reaches beyond the confines of Latin America, as an area-specific subfield, and suggests that Latin American art history has a crucial role to play in reconfiguring the discipline.

Chapter 1

Rubens and New Spain's Transatlantic Canon

Introduction

Around 1686, the most famous painter in New Spain signed the final canvas he produced for a cycle in the sacristy of Mexico City's cathedral. "Cristóbal de Villalpando Ynventor, Pintó por su mano" (Cristóbal de Villalpando Inventor, painted by his hand) (figs. 10 & 11). 1686 was an important year for Villalpando. Born and raised in Mexico City, he had reached the heights of his profession: completing his work for the sacristy, he had also been commissioned to paint the massive dome of Puebla's Cathedral and was appointed the first "general overseer" of New Spain's recently reformed guild of painters.⁶⁶ At this charged moment of professional success, replete with potential for self-fashioning, Villalpando signed his name with the most laudatory epithet that he knew; not merely the painter of the canvases that line the sacristy's walls, Villalpando claimed them as his invention.⁶⁷

In signing this painting as "inventor," Villalpando invoked a European model that predicated artistic standing on the notion of invention and the performance of having invented. Yet, in the seventeenth century, terms of invention (*inventor*, *invenit*) were not typically applied to the products of the painterly workshop. Rather these terms were devices of an industry of print in which the act of composition, or invention, was marked off from the manual fabrication of the printed plate and the publication of the print itself.⁶⁸ This chapter takes Villalpando's signature, which defines *painterly* authorship in terms of *printed* production, as its thematic focal point. In deploying a term from printed sources to define his painterly identity, Villalpando betrayed that he, like his fellow artists in New Spain, was responding to a largely paper canon that had arrived from afar. The print—lightweight, relatively inexpensive, and easily transportable—enabled painters on one side of the Atlantic to become conversant with works on the other. But the distances across which these sheets traveled modulated the connection of painters in late seventeenth-century New Spain to those

⁶⁶ Gustavo Curiel, "El gremio y la cofradía de pintores en la Nueva España," in Juan Correa. *Su vida y su obra*, vol. 3, ed. Elisa Vargas Lugo (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1992): 203–222. For overviews of these commissions, see Francisco de la Maza, *El pintor Cristóbal de Villalpando* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1964), 61–83; *Cristóbal de Villalpando: ca. 1649-1714: catálogo razonado*, ed. Juana Gutiérrez Haces (Mexico City: Fondo Cultural Banamex, 1997).

⁶⁷ Not the only artist in New Spain to sign with this moniker, Villalpando's use of the term was singular in its repeated application, and no tradition was established. The only exploration of the topic is Clara Bargellini, "El artista 'inventor' novohispano," in *Nombrar y explicar: la terminología en el estudio del arte ibérico y latinoamericano*, ed. Patricia Díaz Cayeros, et al. (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2012).

⁶⁸ For succinct explanations of these terms, see Michael Bury, *The Print in Italy 1550-1620* (London: The British Museum Press, 2001), 8–9; Evelyn Lincoln, "Invention and Authorship in Early Modern Italian Visual Culture," *DePaul Law Review* 52 (2002/3): 1093–1119; Ad Stijnman, *Engraving and Etching 1400-2000: A History of the Development of Manual Intaglio Printmaking* (London: Archetype Books, 2012), 76.

of Europe, whom I suggest they saw as peers in equal measure to their New World contemporaries, and shaped their abilities to define themselves as painters, as visual authors.

Articulating the contours of painterly ambition in New Spain is no small task. If the term “inventor” expresses a self-conscious claim to originality as the specific vehicle of artistic ambition, this concept has not traditionally been how the history of New Spanish art was understood. In his foundational and celebratory 1964 monograph on Villalpando, Francisco de la Maza wrote, for example, that “One must recognize that Latin American colonial painting is derivative; that it is marginal and secondary within the course of Western art. ... All creation is rebellion, and all schooling is obedience. And we, in the Colony, were obedient. We created very little and copied much.”⁶⁹ This scholarly bias, a type of double-speak in a monograph that otherwise champions Villalpando’s accomplishments, lies latent in more recent scholarship on colonial art, while it, at the same time, reflects commentaries on artistic practices with roots in the very beginning of the colonial period. For example, Fray Toribio de Benavente, or Motolinía, one of the first Franciscans to arrive in the New World, described indigenous artists’ seemingly miraculous abilities to replicate all manners of European images. Commenting on a print, the primary medium that artistically connected one side of the Atlantic to the other, Motolinía claimed that only two years after the Franciscans started teaching art:

...they gave a boy from Texcoco a [papal] bull as an example, and he reproduced it so naturally that the letters he made looked like type, because the first line was large, and below he copied the inscription exactly, without addition or subtraction, an IHS along with an image of Our Lady, all so correctly that there seemed to be no difference from the model...⁷⁰

Villalpando’s signature of invention a century and a half later might strike us as a sign that artists in colonial Latin America were overcoming this history and finally placing themselves on par with their European counterparts. But the differential between the New World and Europe, which was a matter of both literal and metaphorical distance, must be more carefully excavated in order to identify the ways that ambitious artists in New Spain responded to a Europe that they knew in black and white. Motolinía’s assertion that the indigenous copy was indistinguishable from its European model mobilizes a powerful fiction: that copies could collapse distances, whether geographic, temporal, or cultural. At its core, the colonial traffic in prints stemmed from a desire to bring the New World closer to Europe, to make a foreign land into a religiously and artistically recognizable place. This chapter interrogates this fiction by examining the ways that late seventeenth-century artists in the New

⁶⁹ Francisco De la Maza, *El pintor Cristóbal de Villalpando*, 1. “Hay que reconocer que la Pintura Colonial Hispanoamericana es derivada; que es marginal y secundaria dentro del cauce artístico de Occidente... Todo creación es rebeldía y toda escuela es obediencia. Y nosotros, en la Colonia, fuimos obedientes. Creamos muy poco y mucho copiamos.”

⁷⁰ Toribio de Benavente, *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España...* (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1990), book III, 386, emphasis added. “...dieron a un muchacho de Tezcoco por muestra una bula, y sacóla tan a el natural, que la letra que hizo parecía el mismo modelo, porque el primer renglón era grande, y abajo sacó la firma ni más ni menos, y un I.H.S. con una imagen de Nuestra Señora, todo tan al propio, que parecía no haber diferencia del molde...”

World deployed European pictorial motifs and textual conventions, and the ways signatures crystalized their aspirations in so doing. While the rhetoric of invention and painterly self-identification appear to reproduce a resolutely European model, closer examination reveals gaps in the mimetic surfaces of New Spanish art: signing conventions betray reconfigurations in an artistic landscape where invention was in fact bound, paradoxical though it may seem, to the very act of copying.

The cycle of paintings created for the sacristy of the Cathedral of Mexico City, where Villalpando's signature appears, are among the most famous of all New World paintings, consistently heralded as the apex of seventeenth-century New Spanish art.⁷¹ The quality and scale of these works, and their location at this significant site—the roots of a fame unusual among works in Latin America—reflect how the sacristy became a crucible of artistic ambition for Villalpando and his colleague Juan Correa, the artist who completed the final two paintings for the space, and who followed Villalpando's lead in both pictorially and textually citing European sources. The pictorial strategies they employed secured a place for these artists within a transatlantic tradition, while at the same time stressing their difference and displacement from Europe.

By the time Villalpando signed his name, the histories of European and viceregal art were intimately entangled.⁷² Sheets of paper had been crossing the Atlantic for over a century, spawning objects that hewed closely to their printed forms. New Spanish painters encountered their European counterparts not only in foreign prints, but also in New World compositions that filled churches and palaces, in works of art that, to the informed eye, revealed European designs lurking beneath their surfaces. A claim to authorial status on New World soil thereby often entailed articulating a double-response, situating oneself with respect to the canons of both the New World, known intimately and personally, and the Old, known through printed paper that had traversed the geographies of empire. The paintings of the sacristy reveal this dynamic, toggling between local and global concerns.

The stakes of this engagement, however, were not merely artistic. The print's geographic movement reinscribed the dislocations of the Spanish Empire that structured categories of ethnic identity. New Spanish artists, even those of the profession's upper echelon, were far from a homogeneous group. Unlike Villalpando, a creole with established Spanish bloodlines, Correa was a *mulato libre*, an artist of an enslaveable caste who was working as a free man.⁷³ For an artist to appropriate the forms and language of a print in the New World was necessarily to perform the displacements from Europe that rendered early modern citizens of the Spanish Empire ethnically marked, to recognize the impossibility of true proximity, however close the copy. This chapter articulates different types of painterly

⁷¹ The now-standard account is Clara Bargellini, "Sacristía de la Catedral de México," in *Cristóbal de Villalpando*. The paintings' historiographic primacy is evidenced by a newer volume on New Spanish painting that devotes, largely on the strength of the sacristy cycle, an entire section to Correa and Villalpando, the only painters to receive such treatment; see Jonathan Brown, "From Spanish to New Spanish Painting, 1550-1700," in *Painting in Latin America 1500-1820*, 138-147.

⁷² "Entanglement" here owes to Subrahmanyam, *Explorations in Connected History*.

⁷³ María Elisa Velázquez Gutiérrez, *Juan Correa: 'mulato libre, maestro de pintor'* (Mexico City: Círculo de Arte, 1998), 18-19; *Juan Correa: su vida y su tiempo*, ed. Elisa Vargas Lugo, et al., 4 vols. (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1985-1994).

ambition in New Spain, interrogating the ways that colonial distances from Europe—geographic, artistic, and ethnic—were experienced differently by artists of varying proto-racial backgrounds and how these distances and experiences were mediated, performed, and embodied through the work of “copying.”

Seeing *Through* the Work of Art

Across the space of the sacristy from his signature of invention, Villalpando’s massive composition of *The Triumph of the Church* testifies to a deep engagement with a European corpus he knew through prints (fig. 12).⁷⁴ Here Villalpando heavily reworked Peter Paul Rubens’s composition of the same subject—a grand allegory in which a triumphant female figure of the church, born by a chariot, vanquishes ignorance, blindness and evil—which was designed to be woven into a tapestry, and which circulated in several editions of engravings during the seventeenth century (fig. 13).⁷⁵ Villalpando’s own version was but the latest node in a network of repetitions, in different media, that had been generated across the huge geographic expanses controlled by Spain.⁷⁶ Crucially, however, Villalpando did not “merely” copy the printed composition, but instead integrated multiple printed sources to create an even more complicated allegory, one extoling the triumphs of the universal church and addressing the particular concerns of the *cabildo* (ecclesiastical council) of Mexico City’s cathedral.⁷⁷

Although we have little record of its reception in the New World beyond the paintings themselves—few period commentaries on painting in the New World exist, and the prints bearing traces of this artistic practice have all but disappeared—the fame of the composition from which Villalpando drew may well have been understood transatlantically. This model existed in, and indeed emerged in, multiple before it left Europe: Rubens’s initial oil-sketched *bozetto*, the larger and more finished *modello*, the full-scale cartoons his Antwerp workshop created on huge canvases, and the tapestries, woven in Brussels and shipped to the convent of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid, for which these preparatory phases were completed.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ This painting goes by several names in the literature; here I opt for *Triumph of the Church*, in line with Rubens’s model and the other paintings drawn from it.

⁷⁵ The first, illustrated here, was produced by Schelte à Bolswert between 1648–52. Schneevogt, *Catalogue des estampes*, 66–67. Subsequent iterations existed by Cornelis Vermeulen and François Ragot, amongst others, by the century’s end.

⁷⁶ An early cataloging effort, though only for New Spain, appears in Nelly Sigaut, “Una tradición plástica novohispana,” in *Lenguaje y tradición en México*, ed. Herón Pérez Martínez (Mexico: El Colegio de Michoacán, 1989). Though not a complete catalog, see PESSCA, correspondences related to 53a. On the tapestry commission, European copies and prints, see Nora de Poorter, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard: The Eucharist Series*, vol. 1 (London: Harvey Miller-Heyden & Son, 1978), 83–146, 213–219, 222–226.

⁷⁷ On patronage, see Nelly Sigaut, “El concepto de tradición en el análisis de la pintura novohispana,” in *La escuela iberoamericana. Siglos XVI-XVIII* (Mexico City: Banamex, 2004).

⁷⁸ The fullest account of this *Entstehungsgeschichte* is still Nora de Poorter, *The Eucharist Series: Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard Part II*, vol. 1, particularly 35–45 and 83–164.

Flipped once, and reversed again, on wood, on canvas and in thread, this composition's repetitions connected some of the main urban centers of Spain's European territories.⁷⁹ The print from which Villalpando drew connected him to an "original," but one with an unstable point of origin, a morass of related copies varying in composition, medium, and scale across an unstable geography.

The large network engendered by Rubens's *Triumph of the Church* in Europe, however, is made to seem modest when compared to the vast proliferation that this composition, in printed form, would spawn across the Atlantic. Iterations exist from the Andean highlands of Peru and Bolivia, to Guatemala, to Mexico.⁸⁰ The allegory was iconographically suited to the rhetoric broadcasted by the Catholic Church throughout the New World: victory over the paganism of the flocks that had come under its purview a century earlier. Versions of this composition were therefore often displayed in a church's sacristy.⁸¹ In this space of ritual preparation, the allegory chimed a tone of triumphalism, but also renewed encouragement for clergymen donning their vestments before facing the populations of a New World whose commitment to Christian dogma was often in doubt.

Across this vast geography, nearly all these paintings were anonymously produced, close-hewn substitutes that reconstituted the printed image at large scale, in color, with oil on canvas. To this end, New World painters were often commissioned to produce paintings *conforme a la estampa que recibe*—conforming to the print that they were given by their patrons.⁸² Where an artist like Rubens would most often present a sketched bozetto to a patron as an agreement of the final composition,⁸³ the New World artist instead received a printed image. This New World practice of demanding that the final product conform to an imported sheet of paper effectively reversed the flow of European agency; the patron selected the composition from a printed corpus and presented it to an artist reduced to contractual craftsmanship. These types of contracts could render the New World artist an invisible conduit of replication for models imported from soon after the conquest, as the previously

For newer findings and bibliography, see *Spectacular Rubens: The Triumph of the Eucharist*, ed. Alejandro Vergara and Anne T. Woollett (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2014).

⁷⁹ G.P. Mensaert, *Le peintre amateur et curieux, ou Description generale...* (Brussels: P. de Bast, 1763), 7–8; Jean-Baptiste Descamps, *Voyage pittoresque de la Flandre et du Brabant, Avec des Réflexions relativement aux Arts & quelques Gravures* (Paris: Desaint, Saillant, Pissot, Durand, 1769), 97; *Description de la ville de Bruxelles: enrichie du plan de la ville et de perspectives, nouvelle édition, considérablement augmentée* (Brussels: du Jardin, 1789), 9.

⁸⁰ A now-outdated catalog of "copies" after Rubens, including this composition, appears in von Kügelen, "La pintura de los reinos y Rubens."

⁸¹ Sigaut, "Una tradición plástica novohispana."

⁸² For a discussion with relevant published citations, see Almerindo Ojeda di Ninno, "El grabado como fuente del arte colonial: Estado de la cuestión," in *De Amberes al Cuzco*, ed. Cécile Michaud and José Torres della Pina (Lima: Impulso Impresora de Servicios SAC, 2009), 18–19.

⁸³ Peter C. Sutton, et al., *Drawn by the Brush: Oil Sketches by Peter Paul Rubens* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); Julius S. Held, *The Oil Sketches of Peter Paul Rubens: A Critical Catalogue* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); Anne-Marie Logan and Michiel C. Plomp, *Peter Paul Rubens: The Drawings* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), 20–27.

cited passage from Motolinía makes clear. In the pursuit of imperial expansion based upon coercion and conversion, what initially mattered were precisely those models imported from Europe that carried the weight of *European* artists and authors, and the Church and crown that officially endorsed them with privileges.⁸⁴ The colonial dream to recreate the trappings of the metropole in the peripheral spaces of Empire esteemed and promulgated European-ness, however that might be construed at a local level.⁸⁵

When Villalpando's composition of the *Triumph* was completed, well over a century after the conquest and subsequent missionizing efforts, the machinery of colonial copying appeared to be operating more smoothly than ever. In fact, Villalpando's rendition of the *Triumph* followed on the heels of a painting that conformed closely to Rubens's scene, completed in 1675 by Baltasar de Echave Rioja for the sacristy of Puebla's cathedral, just one hundred and fifty kilometers from Mexico City (fig. 14). In Puebla, Echave Rioja was commissioned to paint renditions of not one, but three of Rubens's compositions from the *Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry series, and was obligated by contract to produce canvases "conforming to the prints he was given."⁸⁶ Echave Rioja's contractual fidelity to the print renders his meticulously observed version of *The Triumph of the Church* a strangely hybrid object. Rubens's prints had been modeled upon his bozetto, a step in a chain of artistic production heading towards the particular goal of a tapestry; but Echave Rioja, as contracted

⁸⁴ On privileges and approval, there exists a robust scholarship related to the Iberian Inquisition and censorship. See Mary Elizabeth Perry and Anne J. Cruz, ed., *The Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World* (Berkeley, The University of California Press, 1991); Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999). Here I diverge from attempts to read a space of inventiveness and *ingenium* into early Franciscan treatises, which necessarily sidesteps the passages presented here; see Alessandra Russo, "An Artistic Humanity: New Positions on Art and Freedom in the Context of Iberian Expansion, 1500-1600," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 65/66 (2014/2015): 352–363.

⁸⁵ Local inflection of European art has been hotly debated in colonial Latin American scholarship, leading to such infelicitous terms as "hybrid," and "mestizo." A historiographic overview is presented in Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *The Andean Hybrid Baroque: Convergent Cultures in the Churches of Colonial Peru* (Notre Dame: The University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), 15–44; a fundamental omission is Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn, "Hybridity and its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America," *Colonial Latin American Review* 12 (2003): 5–35.

⁸⁶ Quoted from Francisco Pérez Salazar, *Historia de la pintura en Puebla*, ed. Elisa Vargas Lugo (Mexico City: Imprenta Universitaria, 1963), 178–179. This document only contracts the painter for two paintings, a puzzle in the literature. In turn, scholars often discuss two paintings (the *Triumph of the Church* and the *Victory of Christianity over Paganism*): see Melitón Salazar Monroy, *Pinturas de la Catedral de Puebla* (Puebla, MX: 1946), 3–4; Manuel Toussaint, *La Catedral y las iglesias de Puebla* (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, S.A., 1954), 85. An early source describes all three: Don José Manzo, *La Catedral de Puebla. Descripción artística de don José Manzo, publicada en "El Liceo mexicano," el año de 1844* (Mexico: Talleres de Imprenta "El Escritorio," 1911). The discrepancy is not noted in José Rogelio Ruiz Gomar, "Rubens en la pintura novohispana de mediados del siglo XVII," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 50 (1982): 87–101.

copyist, did not fully adjust the composition to free it from these associations. He therefore maintained Rubens's meta-textual conceit—a tapestry within a tapestry—despite the irreconcilability of this effect in paint. Signing next to the wavy hem of the painted tapestry “Echave Rioja f.” (*fecit*), the artist actually highlights this strangeness, pointing to the faithfulness with which he made the painting conform to its printed model before marking it as his own.

Produced a mere decade later, Villalpando's *Triumph in Mexico City* was in direct dialogue, even rivalry, with Echave Rioja's Puebla painting. The two cities and their cathedrals were in heated competition during the period,⁸⁷ but a personal dimension upped the ante: as baptismal records reveal, Villalpando was a close acquaintance of Echave Rioja, who some believe to have been his master.⁸⁸ Though we know little about workshop structures in New Spain, nor about collections of prints and drawings, it is tempting to imagine a young Villalpando at work in his master's *taller* looking over and discussing the printed works that Echave Rioja impressively enlarged through translation into paint.⁸⁹ Whatever the nature of their interactions, these artists' respective compositions of the *Triumph* reveal entirely distinct pictorial logics. Villalpando refused to conform to Rubens's print, compiling a more iconographically complex ensemble. Yet in deviating from Rubens's and, by extension, Echave Rioja's *Triumphs*, Villalpando did not turn his back on Europe; indeed, he flaunted his creative mastery of the printed canon by seamlessly combining four European sources in the composition. Villalpando preserved, from Rubens's *Triumph*, the allegorical embodiments over which the church's chariot tramples and triumphs, and the iconic *orbis mundi*. But the chariot that leads these human captives, and the horses that pull the group onwards, are drawn from another Rubens composition: the famous *Laurea Calloana* from the series Rubens designed for the *Pompa Introitis Ferdinandi*, a festival book commemorating the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand's triumphant entry into Antwerp in 1635 (fig. 15).⁹⁰ The cart's baldachin and the figure of *Faith* riding on its bow hail from a print by Maarten de Vos in a series extolling the “charges” of the three estates—the tasks appropriate to the church, the nobility,

⁸⁷ It has been argued that Villalpando's sacristy paintings took up Pueblan iconography in order to stage Mexico City more impressively; see Niria E. Leyva-Gutiérrez, “Conflict and Imagery: Saint Michael and Ecclesiastical Power in New Spain,” *Hispanic Research Journal* 15 (2014): 422–444. On the Archangel Michael in Tlaxcala and Puebla, see Eduardo Báez Macías, *El arcángel San Miguel: su patrocinio, la ermita en el Santo Desierto de Cuajimalpa y el santuario en Tlaxcala* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1979), 39–58.

⁸⁸ *Cristóbal de Villalpando*, ed. Haces, 54.

⁸⁹ Juan Correa made two renditions after Rubens's *Triumph of the Church* and one of the *Triumph of the Faith*. For illustrations and basic information, see Juan Correa. *Su vida y su obra*, vol. 2, pt. 2, 382–385.

⁹⁰ Jan Gaspar Gevaerts, *Pompa Introitis Honori...Ferdinandi Austriaci...* (Antwerp: Johannes Meursius, 1641). New Spanish artists decorated arches and carts for such entries, and some argue this provided a forum to evince artistic status; see Paula Mues Orts, “Los siete colores de la Pintura: tratadística y afirmación pública de la dignidad del arte en el siglo XVII novohispano,” *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 99 (2011): 71–110.

and the masses—which ensured a functional society (fig. 16).⁹¹ Finally, Villalpando may have noted the idolatrous temple in the background of de Vos’s print, but closely modeled his own and the heavy architectural plaque lofted by a group of angels in the painting’s upper right on the 1645 printed thesis sheet of Claudius von Collalto, designed by the Flemish artist Abraham van Diepenbeeck (fig. 17).⁹²

Pictorially, thematically, and iconographically, these four prints, all of which herald the roles of church and crown in maintaining world order, were no happenstance selections from which to simply cull useful figures and facilitate workshop production. Villalpando’s Mexico City canvas demonstrates a familiarity with a broad canon that he selectively and effectively chose from. This knowledge may strike some as unremarkable given that visual acuity and familiarity with “the” artistic canon is a baseline of early modern authorship, as it has been defined in Europe.⁹³ But controlling a corpus dispatched across the Atlantic was no small feat. The physical accumulation of sheets of paper dispersed over vast geographies alone posed considerable logistical difficulties, yet these pale in comparison to a more elusive kind of dispersal: in transit, compositions could easily become ripped from their intertextual anchoring, circulating in printed re-editions that shed the names of their inventors and with them their claims to authorship and varying designations of making.⁹⁴ Paintings copied from prints in Latin America could give rise to generations of further copies whose artists likely had little sense of the now-distant printed models from which they obliquely worked.⁹⁵

Yet when the moment came for Villalpando to respond to the Puebla painting, he was able to see *through* Echave Rioja’s New World canvas to the Rubens print lurking behind its completion and, in turn, to reattach Rubens to his own composition. Villalpando wrestled with

⁹¹ De Vos’s print and its insistence on St. Peter’s/the Pope’s role in driving the metaphorical cart of religion was well suited, as Nelly Sigaut has explored, to the concerns of the clergy of Mexico City’s cathedral. See Sigaut, “El concepto de tradición.”

⁹² Karel Gerard Boon, ed., *Andries Pauli (Pauwels) to Johannes Rem: Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts: ca. 1450-1700*, vol. 17, (Amsterdam: Van Gendt & Co., 1976), 163, cat. nr. 49.

⁹³ See Muller, “Rubens’s Theory and Practice of the Imitation of Art,” 229–247; Victor I. Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Meta-Painting*, trans. Anne-Marie Glasheen (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1997); Loh, *Titian Remade*.

⁹⁴ The potential for a slow drift away from printed models worried Europeans as well; Vasari feared that prints might undermine invention through poor production and derivative, market-gearred replications. Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, trans. Gaston de Vere (New Yorks: Abrams, 1979), 705, and 1345.

⁹⁵ Archival evidence suggests this was a common and contractually obligated practice in the Viceroyalty of Peru. On September 23, 1693, the indigenous painters Don Andres Quispe and Pedro Gutiérrez were tasked with producing twelve copies of the composition of Virgin in the Church of Santa Ana in Cuzco. January 22, 1680 Lucas Martinez de Obiedo of Cuzco was contracted to produce thirty paintings of the Virgin’s Coronation, in varying sizes, which conformed to a drawing he was given. In 1636 in Lima, the master joiner Tomas de Aguilar and the master sculptor Pedro Muños de Prado produced a retable based on another in the Mercedarian capilla mayor. ARC, Protócolos Notariales, Legajo 24, 1693, 1104r-1105v; ARC, Protócolos Notariales, Legajo 303, 1680, 60r-61v; AGNP, Protócolos Notariales, Legajo 2051, Joan de Zamudio, 1636, 917r-920v.

a proximate competitor via a distant source, and was competing as much with Echave Rioja as with Rubens. In combining this source with other European compositions that similarly celebrate a church and crown triumphant, Villalpando crafted a metatextual commentary that indexes the sheer scale of printed circulation and his ability to conceptually and pictorially control it. Through the intertextual web he created in carefully recognizing, selecting, and recombining sources, Villalpando visualized a transatlantic canon, and with his signature he inscribed a place within it.

Alternative Entries into a Transatlantic Canon

If New Spanish art has left for posterity the painted indexes of a massive traffic in printed images, a comparable documentary paper trail is more often than not lacking. We do not know why Villalpando did not complete the cycle of paintings that line the sacristy's walls, only that Juan Correa, an artist who had risen to similar prominence, painted the final two canvases. In this task, Correa too marked his ability to see through New Spanish works to the prints that animated them, to engage New World and European canons at once. To do so was to hold the local and the global in productive tension; it was to enter a transatlantic intertextual relationship through art, which became a strategy to articulate a particular and powerful subject position. Correa loaded his signatures with the burden of this engagement no less assiduously, though in markedly different ways than Villalpando. That Villalpando was not the only artist to address the canons of worlds both Old and New suggests that perhaps this type of double-response was one expectation of artistic ambition in late seventeenth-century New Spain.

Where Villalpando's signatures, as we will see, are complicated performances of words and forms coupled into visual riddles, Correa's signatures appear modest. "Juan Correa F^t; año 1689:" with simple gold lettering and the plainest Latin designation of making (*fecit*), Correa's signature is dwarfed in an astoundingly large and visually complicated *Assumption of the Virgin*, the first of his two paintings for the space (fig. 18).⁹⁶ This particular iconography added gravity to Correa's commission. The cathedral had recently been enlarged, refurbished, and, after decades of work and complaint, rededicated to the Virgin of the Assumption. At this time the facade was emblazoned with a striking white-stone relief of the *Assumption*, directly above the cathedral's main entrance (fig. 19). Though scholars have yet to recognize it, the relief is a translation, with the addition of a heavenly cast of angel musicians, of a composition of the subject authored by Rubens as an oil sketch and released in several print editions (fig. 20).⁹⁷ Correa had a powerful model with which to contend: the

⁹⁶ For basic information and iconography, see *Juan Correa. Su vida y su obra*, vol. 2, part 2, 115–118.

⁹⁷ Despite the importance of the monument, scholars have hardly treated these relief sculptures. The most important accounts are: The reliefs were likely created later than the dedicatory date; see Martha Fernández, "Algunas reflexiones en torno a las portadas de la Catedral de México," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 53 (1983): 81–94; Martha Fernández, et al, ed. *La catedral de México* (Mexico City: Fundación Bancomer, 2014), 123–79. Older scholarship only hints at authorship and dates: Manuel Toussaint, *La Catedral de México y el sagrario metropolitano: su historia, su tesoro, su arte*, 2nd ed. (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1973), 63–67, 79–81; José María Marroqui, *La ciudad de México*, vol.

frontispiece for the most important church in the Americas based upon a printed, European composition that we know, from various copies, was well-known to these artists. Villalpando, for example, crafted a finely rendered conforming copy of Rubens' *Assumption*, now in the Museo Regional de Guadalajara (fig. 21). A forged addition to this canvas complicates its dating, but recent accounts place it earlier than his work in the Cathedral, meaning that Correa and Villalpando had worked intimately with Rubens's composition before it was used for the cathedral's facade relief.⁹⁸

Correa relied neither on Rubens's triumphant composition nor upon its local rendition in stone. In a certain sense, Correa did not have the luxury of simply following the Rubensian facade. The wall was too vast to rely upon a composition that featured fewer than twenty figures in a non-setting; but Correa also had to contend with the paintings that already lined the sacristy's walls. Neither solely to Rubens nor simply to the local adaptation of his work on the Cathedral's facade, Correa was responding to a gauntlet laid down by Villalpando in his most impressive paintings to date.

In turn, Correa composed a painting that amplified the complexity of Villalpando's Rubensian assemblage, a work that we might describe as a masterpiece in the original, unsentimental use of the word. Upon its reformation between 1681-83, after nearly a century of inactivity, the painter's guild in Mexico City revived the traditional practice of the masterpiece. The historical haziness around this refounding once again highlights the difficulty in assessing the motivations of artists in New Spain; for though this reorganization offered an opportunity to articulate a particularized and self-aware group identity, the painters simply reused (one is tempted to say copied), in near entirety, ordinances that had lapsed in the sixteenth century.⁹⁹ As part of the reimplemented examination to become a *maestro pintor*, an artist was required to produce a painting demonstrating his technical proficiency: his ability to paint various figures in different postures, beautiful faces, architecture, backgrounds with flora and fauna, variation in light and color, and proper perspective.¹⁰⁰ It is telling that Correa, a master in the guild as of 1687 who had no need to demonstrate these skills, would perform them on a grand scale at a delicate moment following the guild's

3 (Mexico City: J. Aguilar Vera y Compañía, 1903), 258–259. Later accounts follow suit: “La Catedral de México,” ed. Eugenio Noriega Robles, *Artes de México* 182-3 (1960): 1–152, particularly 30; Martín Castellanos Montiel, *Catedral metropolitana de la Ciudad de México: versión histórica, artística y teológica* (Mexico City: Octavio Antonio Colmenares y Vargas, 2009), 60–63. On Rubens's composition and prints, see David Freedberg, *The Life of Christ After the Passion: Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard Part VII* (London: Harvey Miller, 1984), 144–146.

⁹⁸ See *Cristóbal de Villalpando*, ed. Gutiérrez Haces, 198–199, and 375.

⁹⁹ Reuse of these ordinances was first analyzed in Manuel Toussaint, *La pintura colonial en México* (Mexico City: Imprensa Universitaria, 1965), 34–36, 136–139. On the conservatism of guild ordinances, see Juan Francisco del Barrio Lorenzot, *El trabajo en México durante la época virreinal. Ordenanzas de gremios de la Nueva España*, vol. 1 (Mexico City: Dirección de Talleres Gráficos, 1920) 50–53.

¹⁰⁰ Rogelio Ruiz Gomar, “El gremio y la cofradía de pintores en la Nueva España,” in *Juan Correa: su vida y su obra*, vol. 3, 211–212. To this point, these elements have been read in purely religious, iconographic terms; see *Juan Correa: su vida y su obra*, vol. 2, 115–118.

reformation.¹⁰¹ Perhaps this was less a showpiece of his control of these skills than of his abundant capacity to inspect them in the works of other candidates as guild overseer; Correa's *Assumption*—set in dialogue with the facade sculpture, Rubens, and Villalpando, who had served as Correa's own examiner—thus became a bid for the post he would soon occupy.

But, did Correa ultimately understand painterly vocation and self-fashioning as dialogue? He had chosen, after all, *not* to reference the Rubensian model that graces the cathedral's façade. But a poignant quotation in the composition's foreground signals Correa's rejoinder. The foremost apostle, clad in robes of green and red and reaching skyward in shocked disbelief, stands out for the awkwardness of his pose as much in Correa's crowded painting as he did in the context Correa found him: another printed composition of the Virgin's Assumption by Rubens (figs. 22, 23 & 24).¹⁰² Like Villalpando, Correa could visualize the print from which his artistic predecessors, those who had completed the façade's *Assumption*, had worked. In quoting from another, distinct Rubens iteration of the same iconography, Correa revealed at once his capacity to compose and to paint, and his mastery of the paper canon. In choosing a figure specifically from a different Rubens *Assumption*, he marked his knowledge of the broad corpus of printed imagery, rather than simply a single print from which his fellow artists had worked.

The performative force of this quotation coalesces in Correa's signature, placed just below the figure's foot. In the printed source as well, this character appears above names, not that of Rubens as artist and inventor, but those of the print's publisher and its dedicatee. In inserting his name in their place, Correa potently stands in for both, assuming the position of dedicatee, the recipient of this print on the other side of the Atlantic, and its new "publisher," who allows the figure to come to life in pictorial form anew. But Correa took textual reinterpretation a step further. Swathing the youthful, beardless figure in rich robes of green and red, Correa identified him as John the Evangelist, his namesake (San Juan);¹⁰³ through this modulation of the visual quotation, Correa fashioned a pictorial stand-in and entered the space of the painting he authored, a symbolic inclusion that he textually highlights with his signature. Garbed in vibrant robes, arms raised skywards, treading upon the artist's signature at the forefront of the crowded composition, Correa's quotation is designed to be seen. As Villalpando had done in the previous paintings of the sacristy, Correa was manipulating a printed canon into which he pictorially inserted himself.

Villalpando, for his part, engineered a textual entry. Print offered Villalpando a language to define, rather than picture, his painterly identity. It was in relation to these European prints that Villalpando identified himself as a painter and upon them that he modeled his claims to authorship. Both the de Vos and the Rubens prints from which Villalpando drew declare their painters inventors ("P.P. Rub. inuent." and "Martin de Vos invent.>"). So too would Villalpando in his signature on the next and final painting he made for

¹⁰¹ On these artists as guild overseers, see Paula Mues Orts, *La libertad del pincel: los discursos sobre la nobleza de la pintura en Nueva España* (Mexico City: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2008), 219.

¹⁰² On this composition, see Freedberg, *The Life of Christ*, 178–181. On the various print editions, see Schneevogt, *Catalogue des estampes*, 76.

¹⁰³ The hues match those of Villalpando's Evangelist, shown across the space of the baptistery; see *Cristóbal de Villalpando*, ed. Gutiérrez Haces, 202–211, and 376.

the sacristy. As he would come to do on works both big and small, Villalpando signed and defined himself as an inventor.¹⁰⁴

Neither painter had a choice, technically, about whether to sign his works. A stipulation was added to the reused sixteenth-century ordinances of the painters' guild when it was reformed: all guild members were required to sign their completed works before sale or installation.¹⁰⁵ The motivation for this stricture was largely economic, allowing the guild to identify the authors of artworks, assure quality, and sanction works produced outside the guild's regulations.¹⁰⁶ But this stipulation was also racially motivated, for it served to preclude painters of Indian, African or mixed descent, who were not permitted to rise to the master level, from selling paintings.¹⁰⁷ Yet this new regulation also had the, perhaps unintended, consequence of prompting artists to think about how they would sign their paintings, mark their identities, and in so doing describe the work of artistic production. In embodying himself in Rubens's figure as his own pictorial double, Correa cleverly presents himself as a knowing agent through his act of quotation. In espousing European signing practices, Villalpando claimed painterly invention at the rank of Rubens and de Vos. It is hard to know which of these pictorial strategies might have been understood as more ambitious. Distinct modes of pictorial self-fashioning likely coexisted without hierarchy at a moment when these painters, along with the colonial society of New Spain more generally, were charting charged personal and professional identities that hinged upon one's place and sense of that place within an Empire.

“On Wings of Fragile Paper:” a Creole Experience of Distance

Even as Villalpando declared himself a creator in the way he understood European artists to do so, the “inventor” epithet he claimed was still not one that a European artist in the late seventeenth century would have used for a painting.¹⁰⁸ While the signature might seem an act of proximate imitation that brings the artist closer to his European sources, it in fact clarifies his distance, or remove. Villalpando's signature is—seen through a post-colonial lens—a type of inappropriate mimicry, the product of a colonial subject's relationship to empire; the trappings of metropolises might be repeated across the Atlantic, but fundamental differentials would always remain.¹⁰⁹ The product of the colony can never really be mimetic. Instead, mimicry always reveals a difference between the colonial and the European, whether

¹⁰⁴ A list can be found in Bargellini, “El artista ‘inventor’ novohispano.”

¹⁰⁵ For ordinance transcriptions, see Paula Mues Orts, *La libertad del pincel*, 378–392.

¹⁰⁶ Clara Bargellini, “Consideraciones acerca de las firmas de los pintores novohispanos,” in *El proceso creativo*, ed. Alberto Dallal (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2006), 204–205.

¹⁰⁷ Susan Deans-Smith, “Dishonor in the Hands of Indians, Spaniards, and Blacks: Painters and the (Racial) Politics of Painting in Early Modern Mexico,” *Race and Classification. The Case of Mexican America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009).

¹⁰⁸ For the most complete overview of signing practices, see Tobias Burg, *Die Signatur: Formen und Funktionen vom Mittelalter bis zum 17. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Lit Verlag Dr. W. Hopf, 2007), and 423–4 specifically for exceptional uses of *invenit/inventor*.

¹⁰⁹ Homi K. Bhabha, “Of Mimicry and Man,” in *The Location of Culture*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2004).

that difference is the product of an unknowing copyist's failure to understand, the limits of a mimic's knowledge, or a deliberate attempt to undermine the colonial regime through willful reconfiguration and dissemblance.¹¹⁰ Such a conception of mimicry poignantly makes a space for a more complex subject position than that of the un-knowing colonial subject by explicating efforts of the knowledgeable, conversant colonial actor to find a place and a self-definition within the imperial landscape.

Villalpando was a colonial subject who, perhaps, precisely because of his familiarity with the metropole from afar, might have thought he was getting it right and replicating European norms. It is possible that Villalpando was a quintessential mimic man—as Homi Bhabha would phrase it—who was consciously and creatively reworking European signing practices to undermine them from within the logic of a transatlantic world that maintained the binary original/copy as something *geographic*.¹¹¹ Yet, he may also have been adopting these printed terms in an effort to fashion himself (erroneously) after a Europe he knew at a remove. I suggest not foreclosing upon either option and, as such, not looking past the perhaps unpopular idea that the artist was getting it wrong and being “inappropriate,” not collapsing the distance between Villalpando and his European counterparts. To do so would be to deny him the complicated authorial space he inhabited.

This type of scholarly disavowal is a trend in recent work on the artist, and within the modish reception of viceregal art in recent years more generally. Perhaps precisely because of the deep knowledge of Europe that Villalpando paraded in pictorial form, he has proved key to this historiographic push. Certain scholars would like to read the artist as akin to any other provincial *European* artist—say from Murcia, Salamanca or Valladolid. The introduction to the artist's latest monograph frames the methodological goal, noting that “the objective of this comparison is not to detect the influences that these cities had on Mexico, but rather to analyze the conditions of artistic production with the notion of *reducing our idea of the distance* between these peninsular capitals and those of the transatlantic Empire.”¹¹²

That tack would deny Villalpando the distance he actually faced in service of a scholarly endeavor to analytically collapse distance in order to make comparisons. But comparisons across geography need to account for that geography, for the oceans and landmasses that lie between, for the ruptures and recursions in transmission that occur across time and space. Villalpando's sense of distance is something that we should insist on maintaining, on respecting; and that distance, as Villalpando's signature helps make abundantly clear, was precisely the length of the print's journey. However, there was nothing particularly precise about the length of a journey in the early modern world. Sheets of paper, sent from afar, traveled upon circuitous, even haphazard routes. It was at moments of

¹¹⁰ Michael Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

¹¹¹ Bhabha's model of mimicry has come under some scrutiny, while remaining underexplored in relation to colonial Latin American art. My account here draws from recent critiques, such as Eaton, *Mimesis Across Empires*.

¹¹² Jonathan Brown, “Cristóbal de Villalpando y la pintura barroca española,” in *Cristóbal de Villalpando*, ed. Haces, 23, emphasis added. “El objeto de la comparación no es detectar las influencias que se propongan de estas ciudades a México, sino más bien analizar las condiciones previas y puntuales de la producción artística con la idea de reducir la distancia mental entre estas capitales peninsulares y aquellas de ultramar.”

transmission, exchange, and hold-up when prints moved and changed hands, slid from one social context to the next, that the messages they bore, both word and image, could become so easily reconfigured.

In that sense, a concern with space and what happens across it is not of a purely theoretical, historiographic, or even hypothetical nature.¹¹³ Villalpando himself—along with many imperial subjects in viceregal New Spain—was likely thinking, quite intently, about his distance from Europe. Many of the prints from which New Spanish artists worked were labeled with points of origin along their lower edges. Printed objects were tethered to Europe, marked by their departure from printmakers' studios in Antwerp, Paris, Venice, and other capitals of printing even when they ended up around the globe. Prints enabled a geographic imaginary: they prompted artists to think about origins and the long journeys sheets took before reaching them.

In viceregal New Spain, however, thinking about a gap between the New and the Old Worlds was far from a whimsical imagining of far-off lands. It was a charged and contested topic. By the late seventeenth century, a creole class-consciousness of both the conceptual and the geographic distance between New Spain and Europe had emerged. Creoles were imperial citizens—Villalpando counted amongst them—of secure Spanish bloodlines who had simply been born on New World rather than European soil.¹¹⁴ For nearly all intents and purposes, creoles were Spanish, but their place of birth on one side of the Atlantic rather than the other marked their difference from true *peninsulares* and limited their inclusion in the highest ranks of viceregal government and ecclesiastical hierarchy. “Marginalized” might overstate the case, but creole subjects lacked a certain agency as imperial actors because they were marked as “other” by the space of empire. Villalpando's *creoleness*, I will suggest, met with his use of prints that had crossed the ocean to create an experience of identity—both personal and professional—centered upon a distance from a dominant Europe.

By the late seventeenth century, a prominent class of creole elites had come to dominate the intellectual, clerical, and governmental spheres, and argued for greater equality with peninsular counterparts.¹¹⁵ For while creoles dominated the ranks of church and state institutions in number, peninsular Spaniards crossed the ocean to take the highest seats in New World dominions. But if this distance—Spain to New Spain—was bridged by people, paper was the true medium of empire, the transport mechanism by which administrators in Spain made decisions about viceregal territories and by which colonial subjects learned the wishes of a king they would never see.¹¹⁶ Paper was the medium that reinforced both geographic displacement and the power inscribed within that geography.

¹¹³ On the historiographic stakes of geography for the discipline, see DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*.

¹¹⁴ For the most recent broad-sweeping account of creole production in Mexico City, see Stephanie Merrim, *The Spectacular City, Mexico, and Colonial Hispanic Literary Culture* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012).

¹¹⁵ Solange Alberro, “La emergencia de una conciencia criolla: el caso novohispano,” in *Agencias criollas: la ambigüedad “colonial” en las letras hispanoamericanas* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 2000).

¹¹⁶ David T. Garrett, “‘En lo remoto de estos reynos’: Distance, Jurisdiction, and Royal Government in Late Habsburg Cusco,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 21 (2012): 17–43; Bethany Aram, “Distance and Misinformation in the Conquest of America,” in *The Limits of*

The writings of the creole nun and intellectual Sor Juana Inéz de la Cruz grapple with the importance of this material and the places that it connected. In 1680, to mark the arrival and triumphal entry of the new viceroy, the Marqués de la Laguna, Sor Juana and the renowned creole thinker Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora were commissioned to produce triumphal arches, ephemeral monuments that only survive in descriptions penned by these authors.¹¹⁷ But paratext is as revealing of the colonial dynamics between creoles and peninsulares as the textual immortalization of monuments authored by *natives* to welcome a Spanish viceroy who would rule over them. *Romance 37*, a laudatory poem to Doña Maria de Guadalupe Alencastre, the Duquesa de Aveyro, stakes Sor Juana and her dedicatee as poles on either side of the Atlantic. Paralleled lines of the poem's opening stanzas metaphorically embody the Duchess as the Iberian Peninsula itself: "Grand Duchess of Aveyro...Highest honor of Portugal...Venus of the Lusitanian Sea...Great Minerva of Lisbon...Fair Spanish Cybil..."¹¹⁸ Sor Juana then takes her turn, deep in the soil of the New World, rooted mineralogically into the fabric of a place just as newly "discovered" as quickly exploited: "I, my Lady, was born/ in abundant America/ compatriot of gold/ peasant of the metals...from her abundant veins/ [Europe] bleeds the minerals."¹¹⁹

The paralleling of these categories—those of high culture (Minerva and Venus) and mere extraction value (land and minerals)—reveal a hierarchy that Sor Juana goes on to critique. Europeans might send culture to America, but it is an unalienable possession that remains their own despite its dislocation, unlike New World gold, which can simply be taken. Yet regardless of this condemnation, Sor Juana feels the need to write, to curry favor with the powerful heart of an empire she will never truly know. These were not mere laudatory lines, but a bid for a platform from which to air grievances as a disenfranchised, creole nun in New Spain.¹²⁰ The *Romance* is the ultimate form of colonial mimicry, destabilizing colonial rhetoric of flattery by deploying these terms to different ends, and reminding a powerful Iberian patroness of the human costs of Spain's greed and self-importance.¹²¹ Her medium to

Empire: European Imperial Formations in Early Modern World History: Essays in Honor of Geoffrey Parker, ed. Tonio Andrade and William Reger (Surry, England: Ashgate, 2013).

¹¹⁷ Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, *Theatro de virtudes políticas que constituyen a un Príncipe: Advertidas en los marcas antiguos del mexicano imperio* (Mexico City: Miguel Ángel Porrúa, 1986 [1680]). Sor Juana Inéz de la Cruz, *Neptúno alegórico, oceano de colores, simulacro político, que erigió la muy esclarecida, sacra, y augusta Iglesia Metropolitana de México* (Mexico City: Juan de Ribera, 1980). On these designs and texts, see Merrim, *The Spectacular City*, 147–195.

¹¹⁸ Sor Juan Inés de la Cruz, "Romance 37," in *Poemas de la unica poetista Americana, la musa dezima, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz...*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1714), 136.

"Grande Duquesa de Aveyro...Alto honor de Portugal...Venus del mar Lusitano...Gran Minerva de Lisboa...Clara Sybila Española..."

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 137. "Que yo, Señora, naci/ en la America abundante,/ compatriota del oro/ paysana de los metales...de sus abundantes venas/dessangra los minerales."

¹²⁰ George Antony Thomas, *The Politics and Poetics of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz* (Surry, England: Ashgate, 2012), 58–80.

¹²¹ Stephanie Merrim, "Sor Juana Criolla and the Mexican Archive," in *Creole Subjects in the Colonial Americas: Empires, Texts, Identities*, ed. Ralph Bauer and José Antonio Mazzotti (Durham, NC: University of North Carolina Press Books, 2009); Mónica Morales, "La

accomplish this task, to bridge the distance and, in so doing, trouble the epistemological space between New World and Old, was paper. In closing the *Romance*, Sor Juana poignantly meditates on the delicacy of this arrangement, on the fragility of mere words sent across the waves in the face of the flows of power that came consistently in the other direction:

With plume in ink, not in wax,
on wings of fragile paper,
the waves of the sea, I fear not,
upon the sea-foam I tread through the air.
Vanquishing the distance/ for it seemed of grave importance,
the Glory of a dream,
to bestow the gifts of agility.
To the blessed Region,
I come, to where the marks
of your soles call me,
so that there I may press my lips.¹²²

“En alas de papel frágil,” on wings of fragile paper, Sor Juana imagines herself traversing the Atlantic. At once reverential dream, metaphorical journey, humble inversion of Icarus’s hubris,¹²³ and the lived reality of creole subjectivity, Sor Juana inscribes her lines and hopes for the best: that her words, so deeply laden with her identity, will reach the Spanish peninsula and “vanquish the distance” that lies between.

Humbly kissing the feet of the Duchess, the *Romance* ends by metaphorically rendering the hollow expression of bowing to a noblewoman’s feet a geographic act. Sor Juana lays her lips not on feet, but instead upon the earth of the Iberian Peninsula, upon the marks noble feet have left as a topographical embodiment of power. And the pressing of lips takes on a double meaning in the verb “estampar:” not merely to press, but also *to print*. If the bodily imagery of the *Romance* evocatively figures her physical communion with ground on the other side of the Atlantic, the verb *estampar* reminds us that Sor Juana’s journey is a metaphorical one taken on wings of fragile paper, through the stanzas penned and printed upon them. Of course, the experience of most colonial subjects was mediated by paper, contingent as their lives were upon messages delivered from afar.¹²⁴ But Sor Juana suggests that creoles, particularly those whose professional identities intersected with the medium, had

distancia y la modestia: las ‘dos’ caras del Atlántico en los versos de Sor Juana a la duquesa de Aveiro,” *Revista Hispánica Moderna* 63 (2010): 19–33.

¹²² Sor Juana, “Romance 37,” 138. “Con pluma en tinta, no en cera, / en alas de papel fragil,/ las ondas del mar, no temo,/ las pompas piso del ayre./ Y venciendo la distancia,/ porque suele à lo mas grave, / la Gloria de un pensamiento,/ dar dotes de agilidades./ A la dichosa Region,/ llego, donde las señales/ de vuestras plantas me avisan,/ que alli mis labios estampe.”

¹²³ On the trope of Icarus, see Georgina Sabàt de Rivers, *En busca de Sor Juana* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1998), 90.

¹²⁴ Garrett, ““En lo remoto de estos reynos”; Ángel Rama, *La ciudad letrada* (New Hampshire: Ediciones del Norte, 1984); Joanne Rappaport and Tom Cummins, *Beyond the Lettered City: Indigenous Literacies in the Andes* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011).

a particular attentiveness towards that paper at the end of the seventeenth century in New Spain.

Copying after, quoting, and thereby inserting themselves within a European paper canon, artists in New Spain were no less dependent upon *wings of fragile paper*. Yet, if creoles were generally thinking about what it meant to exist at a remove from the metropole of empire and how paper mediated that distance, the distance that creole artists faced was of an even more particular sort—not merely geographic, but temporal as well. In addition to the myriad prints circulating in the New World, Villalpando no doubt drew from one other source when he devised his signature—printed tag cum painterly epithet—for the canvas in Mexico City’s cathedral. This source was not a sheet of paper, but rather a European painting by Maarten de Vos that had crossed the Atlantic and come, despite its painted facture, to function within the economy of a paper canon.

An Object Among Prints

The retablo in the cathedral of Cuautitlán, a small town outside of Mexico City, contains three paintings by Maarten de Vos that were shipped to New Spain soon after their completion around 1581.¹²⁵ Among these, the painting of *St. Michael Archangel* is of particular interest (fig. 25), for it has an unusual signature in the lower right-hand corner: “Mertino de Vos Antv(er)pie(n)cis Inventor et Fecit Anno 1581.” The language, which claims both the mental conception of the composition (Inventor) and its manual execution (Fecit) is a direct Latin parallel to, and equally as strange as, Villalpando’s own (Ynventor, Pintó por su mano).

In a recent set of technical and documentary discoveries, Elsa Arroyo has amply demonstrated that the paintings by de Vos originally formed an ensemble as the main retablo of Mexico City’s Cathedral in its sixteenth-century iteration.¹²⁶ Not only does this mean that Villalpando was familiar with these works, but so too was the general public—both painterly and popular—of Mexico City. These were not just European works, but European works that defined the most important public ecclesiastical space in the New World. And, as Arroyo’s reconstruction suggests, the Triumphant St. Michael—along with de Vos’s signature—stood

¹²⁵ Armin Zweite, *Marten de Vos als Maler: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Antwerpener Malerei in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1980), 200. To his paintings of *St. Michael*, *St. Peter*, and *St. Paul*, a fourth painting of *The Coronation of the Virgin*, was painted by a local artist in De Vos’s style. Diego Angulo, “Martin de Vos en Espana y Mejico,” in *Miscellanea: Prof. Dr. D. Roggen* (Antwerp: Uitgeverij de Sikkel N.V., 1957). On attribution, see César Manrique Figueroa, “Las pinturas de Cuautitlán de Maerten de Vos: Nuevas visiones, nuevas perspectivas” in *Arte flamenco del siglo XVII: Colección del Museo Real de Bellas Artes de Amberes* (Brussels: Bozar Books, 2012); for revised attributions, see “Retablo de la catedral de Cuautitlán fue intervenido para conocer la tradición pictórica novohispana.” Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia. <http://www.inah.gob.mx/es/boletines/1403-retablo-de-la-catedral-de-cuautitlan-fue-intervenido-para-conocer-la-tradicion-pictorica-novohispana>. Accessed July 25, 2016.

¹²⁶ Elsa Minerva Arroyo Lemus, “Cómo pintar a lo flamenco: el lenguaje pictórico de Martín de Vos y su anclaje en la Nueva España,” PhD diss., Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2015, 122–138.

at its pinnacle. This new information allows us to reread Villalpando's final painting for the sacristy as a type of pictorial response to de Vos's *St. Michael*, to a Europe that stood just on the other side of the wall separating these contiguous spaces. At the apex of Villalpando's painterly efforts for the sacristy—the most important private ecclesiastical space in New Spain—he would draw from the work that for many years had stood at the greatest height of its most public forum. Not only does Villalpando's *Triumph of St. Michael* reprise de Vos's saintly theme, but so too its language of signing, translating de Vos—in all senses of the word—into a local idiom.

Yet what are we to make of de Vos's signature, an oddity in the history of European art, to begin with? Of the almost one hundred and fifty paintings that are securely attributed to de Vos and his workshop, only three bear a signature labeling de Vos as “inventor.” In contrast, de Vos and his publishers deployed this term on the majority of *prints* produced after his work.¹²⁷ The painted iteration of this marker, much like Villalpando's own, is anomalous. It is possible that de Vos himself unconventionally added these words, and technical analysis reveals they are indeed original to the period.¹²⁸ However, the signature was more likely appended by a dealer attempting to bring the artist's work to market.¹²⁹ As artists in Antwerp struggled to make ends meet in the turbulent political and economic circumstances of the late sixteenth century, they exploited established shipping routes and connections that took their

¹²⁷ For a complete overview, see Christiaan Schuckman, *Maarten de Vos*, vol. 44 of *Hollstein's Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450–1700*, ed. D. de Hoop Scheffer (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision Interactive, 1996).

¹²⁸ For a report of the technical examination, see Arroyo Lemus, “Cómo pintar a lo flamenco,” 211–213. I do not entertain the possibility that de Vos's painted signature was added in Mexico. None of the other de Vos paintings that ended up on New World soil—including the other two in the retablo at Cuautitlán and two more in Mexico City—have such an addition. Rather, the two other similarly signed works by de Vos are in Spain, suggesting they all acquired this terminology before the *St. Michael* crossed the Atlantic. Moreover, prints modeled on the Cuautitlán *St. Michael*, which circulated in Latin America, uncharacteristically do not describe de Vos's contribution under the rubric of invention, but rather as the *drawer*: “M. de Vos figuravit.” If the signature were added in the New World, an overpainter would likely have utilized the language from the specific print, rather than an abstracted notion of how de Vos “usually” signed, or may have copied the only other signature on his New World works, on *St. John Writing the Book of the Apocalypse*, which reads “MERTEN DE VOS FECIT.” See Zweite, *Marten de Vos als Maler*, 270 & 292–299; Javier Del Campo San José and José Maia Palencia Cerezo, *Erlasene Malerei: Obras Escogidas. Colección Gerstenmaier* (Burgos: Caja de Burgos, 2011), 120–121; Schuckman, *Maarten de Vos*, no. 127 a–d, 224.

¹²⁹ I am grateful to Stephanie Porras for this suggestion and for sharing early versions of articles on the image's global reach. See Stephanie Porras, “Going viral? Maerten de Vos's *St. Michael the Archangel*,” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 66 (2016): 54–78; Stephanie Porras, “‘St. Michael the Archangel:’ spiritual, visual and material translations from Antwerp to Lima,” in *Prints in Translation, 1450–1750: Image, Materiality, Space*, ed. Edward H. Wouk and Suzanne Karr Schmidt (New York: Routledge, 2016).

works abroad.¹³⁰ This period saw the rise of the figure of the Antwerp art dealer, who revived this flailing market by acting as an intermediary for increasingly specialized artists producing large quantities of work for carefully targeted customers.¹³¹ By the time he painted his *St. Michael*, de Vos was well positioned, both professionally and personally, in this burgeoning network,¹³² and his success through these rough years was the result of his ability and willingness to exploit all sectors of both traditional and emerging art markets.¹³³ Among these markets were Iberia and, by extension, the New World.

However, objects in motion presented problems for artists hoping to capitalize on them. If artists or dealers were to guarantee repeat customers and cultivate a foreign clientele, these objects needed to be tethered to their origin points, both geographic and autographic. This challenge had been faced by printmakers from the very beginning, when the products of their presses began to swirl out beyond their grasps; an anxiety of origins led to the elaborate signing practices—to say nothing of privileges—that secured prints to their inventors, their publishers, and their cities of origin.¹³⁴

It may have been precisely in this spirit of controlling the reception of his works abroad that de Vos or his dealers uniquely adopted the language of print to maintain his authorship of these paintings as they traveled.¹³⁵ And yet the signer of De Vos's painting

¹³⁰ Hans J. van Miegroet and Neil de Marchi, “Exploring Markets for Netherlandish Paintings in Spain and Nueva España,” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 50 (2000): 81–111.

¹³¹ See Filip Vermeulen, *Painting for the Market: Commercialisation of Art in Antwerp's Golden Age* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 62–78; Filip Vermeulen, “The art of the dealer. Marketing paintings in early modern Antwerp,” in *Your humble servant: agents in early modern Europe, 1500-1800*, ed. Hans Cools, et al. (Hilvershum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2006), 109–120.

¹³² De Vos's sister Barbara married Marten Alleyns, a successful dealer who served as dean of the painter's Guild of St. Luke from 1576-77. See Vermeulen, *Painting for the Market*, 135.

¹³³ Stephanie Porras, “Marten de Vos as Global Export,” *The Netherlands and the World, 1500-1700* panel, *Historians of Netherlandish Art Conference*, June 6, 2014.

¹³⁴ Metalworkers and other craftsman—familiar as they were with the problem of moving objects—counted amongst the first producers of printing plates and blocks. Albrecht Dürer's famous monogram, for example, is but a smith's mark adapted to print. On the cross-fertilization of craftsman marks and print, see Tobias Burg, “Signaturen in der frühen Druckgraphik,” in *Künstler Signaturen von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Nicole Hegener (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2013).

¹³⁵ One precedent of a painter signing “inventor et fecit” must be noted: fellow Fleming Frans Floris, likely because of his connection to Antwerp's burgeoning print industry, signed eight paintings thusly. Floris's signing likely owes to a similar cross-fertilization between industries of print and painting and, perhaps, to the collaborative nature—so similar to print production—that Floris's large workshop entailed; see Edward H. Wouk, “‘Uno Stupore ed una Maraviglia:’ The Prints of Frans Floris de Vriendt (1519/20-70),” in *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450-1650. Frans Floris de Vriendt*, vol. 1, ed. Ger Luijten (Ouderkerk aan den IJssel: Sound & Vision, 2011), xxxiii–civ. On Floris's studio, see Carl van de Velde, *Frans Floris (1519/20-1570): Leven en werken* (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, 1975): 99–119. On the rare use of “inventor,” see Tobias Burg, *Die Signatur*,

stopped with neither his name nor the marker of “inventor.” “Antv(er)pie(n)cis” was added to signal the physical origin of de Vos, his workshop, and the *St. Michael Archangel* in the broad expanses of an empire—indeed a greater world—through which objects so seamlessly moved.¹³⁶ Such particular localizations were also common on printed surfaces; the title page of a book bore the city of its imprint, and the artists and publishers of a print were often named with their city of employment and, as time went on, with the very street in which to find their shops. Makers in Antwerp, one of the most important trading hubs in early modernity, deployed all manner of marks and labels to index the origins of objects they sent afar.¹³⁷

Yet in the final resting places of objects, these strategies could have unintended consequences. De Vos’s signature became a model for Villalpando to devise his own and allowed the New Spanish artist, more familiar with the language of the print, to erroneously reify his notion of how European painters normally—within their own milieus—signed their works. Consistently confronting a paper canon, Villalpando would have seen nothing particularly odd, perhaps, about this painted signature, which had been engineered specifically to accompany an object from Old World to New. De Vos’s signature was subject to cultural slippage, to being reframed as normatively European by a paper canon that surrounded it in the New World.

particularly 423–424. As with all strong statements, this one needs qualification. Some relatively obscure European painters producing work specifically geared towards an export market used this term and thereby responded to the problem of the moving object I describe here. One example is Abraham Willemsen, a pasticher of his Flemish contemporaries; see Anne W. Lowenthal, “A case of Appropriation: Abraham Willemsen and Peter Paul Rubens. In *Liber Veritatis: Mélanges en l’honneur du professeur Marcel G. Roethlisberger* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2007), particularly 73–76; Marcel G. Roethlisberger, “Le peintre Abraham Willemsen,” *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1988): 253–259.

¹³⁶ The flipside of the moving *object* was the moving *artist* in an era of increased immigration. These artists often signed with their *own* place of origin, staking artistic identity upon physical displacement. For the Spanish, seventeenth-century context, see Karin Hellwig, “Künstleridentität und Signatur in Spanien im 17. Jahrhundert: Vélazquez, Zurbarán, Ribera und Palominos Kommentare im *Parnaso Español Pintoresco Laureado*,” in *Künstler Signaturen von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Nicole Hegener (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2013); Steven F. Ostrow, “Sculptors’ Signatures in Baroque Rome: Some Preliminary Observations,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 77 (2014): 517–544.

¹³⁷ On earlier stamps and makers’ marks, see Hans Nieuwdorp, “De oorspronkelijke betekenis en interpretatie van de keurmerken op Brabantse retabels en beeldsnijwerk (15de- begin 16de eeuw),” in *Archivum Artis Lovaniense: bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de kunst der Nederlanden: Opgedraven aan Prof. Em. Dr. J.K. Steppe* (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1981); Lynn F. Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces, 1380-1550: Medieval Tastes and Mass Marketing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 157–179; Vermeylen, *Painting for the Market*, 131–133. For shipping labels and the export industry, see Alfons K.L. Thijs, *Antwerpen internationaal uitgeverijscentrum van devotieprenten 17de-18de eeuw* (Leuven: Peeters, 1991), particularly 30–33.

As a beautifully painted and signed object from Europe, de Vos's painting was relatively singular in seventeenth-century Mexico. Of course, massive quantities of European wares had been shipped to the New World, as well as a decent collection of small paintings on copper and larger paintings on canvas;¹³⁸ but the majority of European works were of middling quality, painted quickly by workshops and often on fugitive materials, such as *waterverf* on linen;¹³⁹ despite their low survival rate, these works were produced in truly staggering numbers in specialized centers to be shipped across the globe.¹⁴⁰ Moreover, the vast majority of these imported paintings were genre scenes—still lifes and landscapes—and single-figure paintings to serve basic theological requirements.¹⁴¹ This meant that ambitious New World religious painters, commissioned for large compositions with complicated iconography, had few European models of equal stature, few signed paintings, and nearly none by the artists whose names they regularly gleaned from the surfaces of prints. In its singularity, de Vos's painting stood out amongst this material record, creating a direct, painted link to a European artist that did not disabuse Villalpando of the idea of assigning himself the label of inventor.

In the sense that many objects were traversing the Atlantic, de Vos's painting, whether in Mexico City's cathedral or in Cuautitlán, was not an object out of place. In the early modern world, things of discrete origins routinely nestled side by side.¹⁴² But de Vos's painting had slipped out of the flow of time and history. For when objects moved, they lost their chronological interconnectivity. This painting in Mexico would stand out, for an artist like Villalpando, more for simply being "European" than for originating from a specific moment in Europe's material history. To state it from a different perspective, if *Rubens* were to gaze upon this strange signature, he may likely have been able to make sense of it by assigning it to a specific, fraught moment in the history of painting in his home city; he was

¹³⁸ Clara Bargellini, "Paintings on Copper in Spanish America," in *Copper as Canvas: Two Centuries of Masterpiece Paintings on Copper, 1575-1775* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Luisa Elena Alcalá, "The Jesuits and the Visual Arts in New Spain, 1670-1767," PhD diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1998, 133–153; Sandra van Ginhoven, "Exports of Flemish Imagery to the New World: Guiliam Forchoudt and his Commercial Network in the Iberian Peninsula and New Spain, 1644-1678," *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (2011): 119–144.

¹³⁹ Hans J. van Miegroet and Neil de Marchi, "El comercio de textiles flamencos y la nueva iconografía en el México colonial 1524-1646," in *Pintura de los reinos*, vol. 3, (Mexico City: Fomento Cultural Banamex, 2008); Alcalá, "The Jesuits and the Visual Arts in New Spain," 126–171.

¹⁴⁰ Hans J. Van Miegroet and Neil de Marchi, "The Antwerp-Mechelen Production and Export Complex," in *In His Milieu: Essays on Netherlandish Art in Memory of John Michael Montias*, ed. Amy Golahny, et al. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006).

¹⁴¹ New archival research is revealing robust export of *secular* works, despite their low survival rate; see Sandra van Ginhoven, "Exports of Flemish Imagery to the New World." Canvases often arrived damaged and their preparation was thus relegated to the workshop: Gonzalo Obregón, "Zurbarán en México," *Revista de estudios extremeños* 20 (1964): 425–438.

¹⁴² Dean and Leibsohn, "Hybridity and its Discontents"; Byron Ellsworth Hamann, "The Mirror of Las Meninas: Cochineal, Silver, and Clay," *The Art Bulletin* 92 (2010): 6–35.

familiar with signing practices and thoroughly acquainted with de Vos's broad-reaching oeuvre. On style alone, he could likely have dated these works and placed them into long lineages in the broader history of Flemish painting and in the specific genealogies of master-pupil relationships.¹⁴³ These relationships stretched through the city's history, inscribed in the guild's registers, hanging on the walls of its churches, and charted by the writers of artistic treatises.

But Villalpando, like any New World artist, came to this painting as an object that had no such intertextual anchoring, and therefore no temporal relationality. Yes, the painting has a date inscribed on its surface, but without a visual culture of the late sixteenth century surrounding it, 1581 does not mean anything particular, beyond a moment in time. In turn, the painting was more notable for its geographic origin than for the date of its production. If anything, it fit into an alternative, New Spanish chronology or history because of its prime position as a focal point of the Cathedral's devotion. When Villalpando evinced his relationship to Europe by drawing on the painting's language, he underlined a geographical relationship to Europe writ large—a sea of prints and a painting that had slipped from its chronological mooring—rather than to a place he knew in real time. In this sense, the distance Villalpando faced as a creole artist was not merely geographical, but also temporal, for he had little access to the historically specific contexts from which objects had emerged and, in traveling, were displaced. And this temporal distance made the paper canon, the bridgers of geographical distance, more homogenous; it made Europe more monologic, totalitarian, and *unknowable*.¹⁴⁴

The same, of course, could be said in the opposite direction. In some of the last lines she would write, Sor Juana registered both anxiety and defiance about the ability of concepts to mean uniformly across diverse geographies, about the limits of the Spanish Empire as a shared cultural space. She boldly questioned her European readers: “When, oh divine Inspirations, sweetest Swans, when did my careless writings deserve your attention?...[And] was *distance* so able to enhance my portrait?...I am not who you think; your pens have given me a different being, and your lips have given me a different spirit; I go among your pens, different from myself, not as I am but as you wished to imagine me.”¹⁴⁵ Sor Juana

¹⁴³ On Rubens's sensitivity to the past art of his city, see Colin Eisler, “Rubens' Uses of the Northern Past: The Michiels Triptych and its Sources,” *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 16 (1967): 43–78. On Rubens as collector, see Kristin Lohse Belkin, Fiona Healy and Jeffrey M. Muller, *A House of Art, Rubens as Collector* (Turnhout, Belgium: BAI, 2004).

¹⁴⁴ We must not entirely rule out that Villalpando potentially drew on art theoretical treatises; one could argue he is playing with Francisco Pacheco's path for young artists, which prescribes “three states of painters”: manual work, the careful arrangement of pieces from other masters, and finally invention. Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura*, ed. F. J. Sánchez Canton, vol. 1 (Madrid: Instituto de Valencia Don Juan, 1956 [1649]), 237, 246–247.

¹⁴⁵ Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, “Romance de sor Juana Inés de la Cruz que trata el tópico de la fama y la cuestión de una escritura propiamente americana,” *Obras completas* (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1997), 73–74, emphasis added. Translated and discussed in Yolanda Martínez-San Miguel, “Colonial No More: Reading Sor Juana from a Transatlantic Perspective,” in *Approaches to Teaching the Works of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz*, ed. Emilie L. Bergmann and Stacey Schlauf (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 2007), 90–94.

acknowledges that her poems and her identity, imbricated as it was with her words and their place of enunciation, would necessarily be read, imagined, and recreated differently across the Atlantic.

Objects and words on the move, out of time, created complicated conditions for artists to inhabit. For Sor Juana, for Villalpando, for de Vos, or even for Rubens. These were conditions premised upon miscommunication, failed transmission, and severed ties rather than upon the seamless movement of objects from one milieu to another. However, the circumstances in which creoles found themselves at the end of the seventeenth century in New Spain were in some ways more fraught, as the stakes of those distances were not merely matters of economics or abstracted knowledge, but of their identity as creole thinkers, as Sor Juana's words highlight. Unlike Sor Juana, however, Villalpando had no industry of reproductive engravings to complete the circuit of transmission and make him known to Europe. His was a transatlantic creole identity that only had the potential to be articulated close to home: global ambitions in a local milieu.

We sense the stakes of such self-fashioning in the extraordinary form of the signature, "Cristóbal de Villalpando Ynventor, Pintó por su mano," at the heart of this chapter (fig. 10). Not only words betray Villalpando's attempts to put his extensive knowledge on display; the complicated forms of his signatures participate in and further complicate semantic content as complex representations in their own right. Caught on leafy branches and swirling in the breeze, the *cartellino* that bears Villalpando's name is at once diaphanous—even ethereal—and paradoxically sturdy enough to bear dark Roman script. Unlike many signed *cartellini* in European paintings, Villalpando's is not a *trompe l'oeil* addition to the painted surface, but is illusionistically integrated into the space of the scene itself.¹⁴⁶ The indeterminate material (is it paper, fabric?) loops into an almost figure eight, flutters upwards, plunges back down, and ducks behind a branch and errant blades of grass. And yet the way Villalpando has inscribed his name undercuts the illusion and sense of spontaneity he worked hard to achieve. Though the scroll folds over on itself, we read the letters on the backside of the material just as clearly as if they were printed on the front. And at a moment of visual juncture, where the branch should interrupt the text, Villalpando has separated the word so that we read every letter of "Pintó." A tension between painterly bravura and overdetermined legibility resides within his illusionistic conceit.

The inscribed signature simulates a scrap of a used print, the textual band at the bottom of a printed sheet, cut loose from its pictorial field, with heavy Roman lettering so reminiscent of set or engraved type. The suggestion of print feels all the more insistent when compared with Villalpando's signature on his *Church Militant and Triumphant*, his first painting for the space (fig. 26). This earlier signature is more restrained: "Xptoual de Villalpando pingebat." As with "Ynventor," it is hard to pin down exactly what this signature in the imperfect tense (*pingebat*) meant for the artist; and the dangers of simply reaching to the cachet that the term carried in early modern Europe, with a legacy stretching back to Pliny

¹⁴⁶ This discussion draws on significant literature on the semiotics of signatures. See André Chastel, "Signature et signe," *Revue de l'Art* 26 (1974): 7–14; Jean-Claude Lebensztejn, "Esquisse d'une typologie," *Revue de l'Art* 26 (1974): 48–56; Omar Calabrese and Betty Gigante, "La signature du peintre," *La part de l'oeil* 5 (1989): 27–43.

and the artists of classical antiquity, should already be clear.¹⁴⁷ Yet in the sheer scope of the words, in variant forms, that Villalpando deployed in his signatures for the sacristy—making (fecit), painting (pinxit), invention (invenit)—it would seem that knowledge is being vaunted, that it was as important to the artist to evince a familiarity with Europe’s textual prototypes as to exhibit his command of its printed forms.¹⁴⁸

In this signature (*pingebat*), however, he packaged text in very different pictorial form. The words are painted “upon” a piece of paper represented within the space of the painting. The sheet’s notable creases suggest it had been folded in quarters before being flattened anew and sewn into a larger volume, whose gutter and spine are indexed by the curl at the sheet’s left edge and two holes for string that would have bound it firmly in place. Anyone familiar with notarial conventions in the New World immediately recognizes such a sheet, so integral to an empire that ran on the careful and coded deployment of paper.¹⁴⁹ Similar sheets—ranging from wills to documents granting power of attorney—were once folded into rectangles of various sizes to traverse the empire and now survive in hundreds of thousands of notary *legajos* that make up the largest portion of colonial documentation from Latin America.

Villalpando’s carefully delineated painted letters suggest, even more strongly than the form of the sheet itself, that he meant for his audience to understand this allusion. Not a Roman script meant for maximum legibility, Villalpando’s choreographed letters replete with baroque serifs evoke the fanciful handwriting of a notarial document. His abbreviated name appears as it would in the documents that included him as a contractual party,¹⁵⁰ the superfluous looping addition to his opening “X,” a type of personalized *rúbrica* displaying true signature style, authenticates the signature as in a legal document.¹⁵¹

It is poignant to read this first signature (*pingebat*), which insists so strongly upon Villalpando’s place within the lettered, legal economy,¹⁵² with his last (*Ynventor*) and its

¹⁴⁷ The fact that we know nothing of this discourse’s translation to New World soil is generally overlooked in the scholarship. See, for example, Bargellini, “Consideraciones acerca de la firmas.”

¹⁴⁸ On the imperfect tense, see the foundational Vladimir Jûren, “Fecit-Faciebat,” *Revue de l’Art* 26 (1974): 27–8. For the original text, see Pliny, *Natural History*, preface, section 26. For well-studied examples, see David Cast, “Finishing the Sistine,” *Art Bulletin* 73 (1991): 669–84; Lisa Pon, “Michelangelo’s First Signature,” *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 15 (1996): 16–21; Patricia Rubin, “Signposts of Invention: Signatures in Italian Renaissance Art,” *The Art History* (2006): 563–599.

¹⁴⁹ Kathryn Burns, *Into the Archive: Writing and Power in Colonial Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

¹⁵⁰ There are many such documents, given Villalpando’s periodic role as overseer of the painter’s guild. See, for one example, ANDF, Testimonial of the Master Painter Exam of Alfonso Álvarez de Urruita, 22 April 1698, volume 57, scribe #13, Joseph de Anaya de Bonillo, ff. 231r-232r.

¹⁵¹ Willibald Sauerländer, “From Stylus to Style: Reflections on the Fate of a Notion,” *Art History* (1983): 253–270.

¹⁵² Though the social statuses of the artists we explore are divergent, I draw here on Susan Webster’s discussions of indigenous signing practices in Quito. See Susan V. Webster, “Of Signatures and Status: Andrés Sánchez Gallque and contemporary Painters in Early Colonial Quito” *The Americas* 70 (2014): 603–644.

claims to invention that placed him squarely into a dialogue with Europe's artistic canon. Resolutely dependent upon paper as both the medium of legal accord and the vehicle that transmitted artworks from afar, these two signatures position Villalpando within the textual and artistic economies of empire and bookend his work for Mexico City's cathedral with the local and global concerns of an imperial subject. They mark him as a colonial painter poised with the knowledge of empire's pictorial forms and artistic conventions, and as a citizen of Mexico City concerned with the notarial documents that structured everyday life.

Una Copia Servil—The Slavish Copy

Correa's personal and professional identities were no less dependent upon the distances of an empire. When Correa signed a guild ordinance in 1693 as "Mulato libre, maestro pintor," he stitched together two distinct social positions.¹⁵³ Unlike Villalpando, a creole, Correa was a mulato of mixed African and European descent. While many mulatos of the period were slaves, subjugated according to the proto-racial demarcations of the seventeenth-century Empire, Correa was a mulato "libre," free to practice and acquire a livelihood from his art. As they did for Villalpando and other creole artists, the displacements of empire and an engagement with a paper canon also fundamentally shaped Correa's artistic identity. Yet as a mulato, Correa faced a distance from New Spain to Africa, as importantly as he did from New Spain to Europe. Though dictated by the conventions of colonial notarial practices, Correa's manner of signing performatively juxtaposes two identities—*mulato libre, maestro pintor*—holding together race and occupation, and inscribing this dual dislocation into his expression of painterly identity.

These dislocations and, in turn, Correa's difference from other ambitious painters in New Spain, were reified by the particularities of the seventeenth-century strictures of the painters guild. When petitions were levied to reform the guild's outdated ordinances, a stipulation was added that guaranteed men of Spanish blood (ostensibly both peninsular and creole) the sole right to practice the art of painting as a master and run a workshop, arguing that the hands of Indians and persons of *casta*, or broken race, would dishonor the profession.¹⁵⁴ Often referred to as the painter of *angels of broken color*,¹⁵⁵ Correa's surprising success as a mulato painter remains unexplained;¹⁵⁶ however, his race, which hypothetically

¹⁵³ María Elisa Velázquez Gutiérrez, *Juan Correa*, particularly 12. Documents related to Correa are well studied, but even when paleography is of concern, scholars have not looked at the relationship between painted and manuscript signatures; see Raquel Pineda Mendoza, "Los documentos de un pintor del siglo XVII," in *El arte en tiempos de Juan Correa*, ed. María del Consuelo Maquívar (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1994). Correa's painted signatures have only been studied to determine authenticity; see Vargas Lugo, "Apéndice I: Dictamen grafológico," in *Juan Correa. Su vida y su obra*, vol. 2, part 2, 507–49. On colonial signatures and authenticity, see Abelardo Carillo y Gariel, *Autógrafos de pintores coloniales*, 2nd ed. (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1972 [1953]).

¹⁵⁴ Deans-Smith, "Dishonor in the Hands," 63–68.

¹⁵⁵ Velázquez, *Juan Correa*, 9.

¹⁵⁶ Individuals of African descent in the high colonial offices have only recently begun to be explored; see José R. Jouve Martín, *The Black Doctors of Colonial Lima: Science, Race, and*

should have precluded him from achieving such status, would thereby have necessarily played a significant role in constituting Correa's artistic identity, acting as a charged factor in his self-fashioning within New Spain's artistic community.

The spatial displacements that undergirded the racial constructs marshaled by the guild were inscribed within painterly production, both materially and iconographically. A *biombo* of *The Four Continents* painted by Correa at the end of the seventeenth century makes the point clearly enough (fig. 27).¹⁵⁷ The form of the *biombo* imitated, or "copied" as period descriptions often declare, Japanese folding screens, brought to Mexico by the Manila galleon that connected it to the East.¹⁵⁸ For his asian-esque screen, Correa depicted four regal couples and their attendants who allegorically figure the main regions of the world, as they were then understood, by meticulously drawing from (or "copying") European prints—a series entitled *Les quatre parties du Monde* and published by François Mazot.¹⁵⁹ Correa, an artist of partial African descent in America, used the paper products of Europe to paint in a format inherited from Asia. This network of overlapping geographies intersecting in Correa's painterly endeavor is reflected in the subject matter of the work itself, the allegorical figures of these very continents. As he painted, Correa allegorically *embodied* the global geography of empire before his own painterly body, a body racially marked by the very distances he bridged in bringing these regal figures into proximity inside the frame of the folding screen. In the materials that had traveled across oceans to facilitate its completion, the *biombo* reinstated, insofar as it represented, the structures of empire that could have left Correa enslaved, and delivered him printed sheets of paper to be copied assiduously. Such power structures lurked, both metaphorically and literally, just beyond the surface of Correa's painting: the obverse of this screen depicts the conquest of Mexico.¹⁶⁰

The pejorative evaluation that colonial artists copied slavishly from European sources has plagued the field of colonial art since its inception amidst a twentieth-century art history that placed a premium upon Renaissance *ingenium*. But the idea of a slavish copy runs much

Writing in Colonial and Early Republican Peru (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014).

¹⁵⁷ María Josefa Martínez del Río de Redo, "Dos biombos con tema profano," in *Juan Correa: su vida y obra* in *Juan Correa: su vida y obra*, vol. 4, Part II, 395–399 and 453–467; *Mexico: Splendors of Thirty Centuries* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991), 422–427.

¹⁵⁸ A 1681 appraisal, for which Correa served as the painting expert, describes a "biombo of ten panels, two-sided, of painting copying that of Japan" (Un Biobo [sic] de diez tablas a dos aseses de la Pintura que remeda a la del Japon). ANDF, "Inventario y avalúo de bienes de Antonia de Villarreal," 1 November 1681, volume 747, notary #114, Pedro del Castillo Grimaldos, ff. 117r-20r. Documents related to Correa were first listed and presented with modernized transcriptions in *Juan Correa, su vida y obra*, vol. 3. I have consulted all documents cited here, and exact transcriptions are given.

¹⁵⁹ A second *biombo* based on these engravings is also attributed to Correa. See Mónica López Velarde Estrada, "Alegorías continentales: contenidos memoriosos," in *Viento detenido: mitologías e historias en el arte del biombo* (Mexico City: Museo Soumaya, 1999).

¹⁶⁰ On space, conquest, and communal memory in *biombos*, including this one, see Barbara E. Mundy, "Moctezuma Reborn: Biombo Paintings in Collective Memory in Colonial Mexico City," *Winterthur Portfolio* 45 (2011): 161–176.

deeper, with origins in the antique world where certain tasks—the so-called *liberal arts*—were reserved for enfranchised citizens of the Republic. The binary of the servile, slavish copy and the free, liberal art—*servil/liberal* (Spanish), *slaafs/vry* (Dutch), *sklavisch/frei* (German), *slavish/liberal* (English), *servile/liberal* (French), *servile/liberal* (Latin)—threads through the early modern period. This binary rests upon the antique notion that the labor of copying is for servile, untutored people, whereas invention and creativity are reserved for free, educated citizens.¹⁶¹ Though the word “slavish” has come to dominate our modern lexicon, at stake in these early modern commentaries was the mere state of being *free* or not. A slavish copy is the product of simple unknowing labor, of indiscriminate and purely manual dexterity, whereas the liberal art is the product of the free citizen’s education in matters of choice, which is developed through the acquisition of knowledge and judgment that serve as requisites for the *ingenium* of invention.

The liberal arts of antiquity did not actually include painting, which was annexed into this category by early modern painters and theorists who forged a connection between painting and the intellectual arts—particularly poetry and rhetoric—in order to claim a new level of social standing.¹⁶² These connections were premised upon the idea that the work of true art required invention.¹⁶³ European art theorists of this period came to stress “mere” copying as a slavish activity, and used that particular word, and the binary of servile and free more generally, to describe it.¹⁶⁴ Correa may well have been thinking intently about this idea of a “slavish copy” as he reconfigured the printed images that passed through his hands. His own pupil José de Ibarra, another artist of mixed, African descent, would lead a group of painters in petitioning for the foundation of a painters academy in the eighteenth century based upon the nobility of the profession; in his petition, Ibarra described the role of the slave in the (potently fictional) antique origins of the idea of painting as a liberal art: “Among the Greeks, slaves were prohibited by public edict from practicing these arts, reserved for nobles...”¹⁶⁵ And Correa himself painted another biombo with a complicated allegory of the

¹⁶¹ Such thinking still undergirds our notion of a *liberal arts* education; Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (London: Duckworth, 1986).

¹⁶² David Rosand, “Ut Pictor Poeta: Meaning in Titian’s Poesie,” *New Literary History* 3 (1972): 527–546; Catherine King, “Artes Liberales and the Mural Decoration on the House of Frans Floris, Antwerp c. 1565,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 52 (1989): 239–256; Clark Hulse, *The Rule of Art: Literature and Painting in the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

¹⁶³ Catherine King, *Representing Renaissance Art c. 1500-1600* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), 26–49.

¹⁶⁴ For a contemporary example involving the European artists explored here, see Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der Schilderkunst* (Soest: Davaco, 1969 [1678]), 195. He would write that “To draw after everything is too slavish (slaevs), indeed impossible: and to record everything to ones memory requires a Rubens.” See also Pacheco’s 1649 discussion about the *liberal* art of painting, juxtaposed with *servile*, mechanical tasks; Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura*, 1–5.

¹⁶⁵ Quoted in Mina Ramírez Montes, “En defensa de la pintura. Ciudad de México, 1753,” *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 78 (2001): 103–128, 119 for this quote.

seven liberal arts, a highly uncommon theme in viceregal painting, that unfortunately survives as a mere fragment.¹⁶⁶

It is difficult to pin down exactly how these discourses about inventiveness circulated amongst painters during Correa's lifetime. At the very least, we must recognize that its connotations would have registered differently for Correa than they did for Villalpando and other creole artists who manipulated and copied after printed imagery. For Correa a discourse on servileness would have had a particular charge; it necessarily resonated differently in the racially heterogeneous landscape of New Spain where painterly vocation, by even the most ambitious painters, rested upon the frequent copying after European prints. The materiality of these prints themselves, which passed routinely through Correa's hands, amplified the associations of prints, copying, and slavishness. The very word for print (*estampa*) in early modern Spanish also signified branding, searing a mark into the flesh of a slave. In the most widely circulating early modern dictionary of the Castilian language, Sebastián de Covarrubias defined the word *esclavo* (slave) by way of the practice of branding, first introduced, he notes, by the *Samians*, who "taking a boat by force, impressed (*estamparon*) this brand upon the foreheads of the Athenians."¹⁶⁷ Facial branding persisted in Spain's colonial empire;¹⁶⁸ and branded flesh came to constitute a type of legal document akin to papers that could be presented in court.¹⁶⁹ Correa's unbranded flesh thus established a proof of his freedom as a *mulato libre*, which he textually asserted each time he signed a document. With a print in hand, but without a brand impressed or printed upon his flesh, Correa was a free man practicing his art whether he was "inventing" or "slavishly copying" after European sources. Regardless of whether he actively dwelt upon the connection or not, the discourse of

"Entre los griegos se prohibieron estas artes a los esclavos por edicto public, y quedaron reservadas a los nobles..."

¹⁶⁶ Sofia Sanabraís, "The Four Elements and the Liberal Arts," in *The Arts in Latin America, 1492-1820*, ed. Joseph J. Rishell and Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2006), 366; Arnulfo Herrera, "Alegoría de la retórica en un biombo de Juan Correa," *La Colmena* 81 (2014): 51–60; María Josefa Martínez del Río de Redo, "Dos biombos con tema profano," in *Juan Correa: su vida y obra*, vol. 4, pt. 2, 453–490. Given the fragmented state, Mues Orts offers an implausibly complicated interpretation, placing the work within a trajectory of colonial painting towards liberality; Mues Orts, *La libertad del pincel*, 226; Mues Orts, "Los siete colores de la Pintura," 103–110.

¹⁶⁷ Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611), 363–364. "que trayendo por armas vna naue, la estamparon en las frentes de los Atenenses."

¹⁶⁸ Joanne Rappaport and Tom Cummins, "Between Images and Writing: The Ritual of the King's Quillca," *Colonial Latin American Review* 7 (1998): 7–32, footnote 22; Tatiana Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Latin America: From Chinos to Indios* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 165–168; Alessandro Stella, "'Herrado en el rostro con una S y un clavo: l'homme-animal dans l'Espagne des XVe-XIIIe siècles,'" in *Figures de l'esclave au Moyen Age et dans le monde moderne: actes de la table ronde organisée les 27 et 28 octobre 1992*, ed. Henri Bresc (Paris: Université de Paris X, 1996).

¹⁶⁹ Nancy E. Van Deusen, *Global Indios: The Indigenous Struggle for Justice in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 125–146; special thanks to Byron Hamann for several archival transcriptions that speak to brands in legal proceedings.

the slavish copy existed for Correa in a bodily way: as an experience of race analogized in the formation of images, the dark imprint of inked lines on paper, etymologically linked to the deformation of human flesh by a searing piece of metal that left its mark. Covarrubias's definition of *estampar*, which evokes the print as verb, points to the language, visual qualities, and materiality of *impression* that link print and branded flesh.¹⁷⁰

Correa lived in a world in which he was continually reminded of branding, the graphic marking of flesh, and the potential enslavement of persons of caste. Documentary evidence suggests he would have been particularly attentive to these matters in the years he worked in the sacristy. In 1688, the year before Correa signed his *Assumption*, he himself sold a slave named Maria, a "black" woman estimated to be around fifty years old, whom he had previously purchased.¹⁷¹ In 1690, Correa's daughter received legal power over a pack of mules marked with two types of brands, which are drawn, much as they would be in the case of proving slave possession, in the margin of the document that confer them to her charge.¹⁷² And in 1691, the year that Correa finished his work in the sacristy, he served as legal witness to a complicated dispute over the ownership and inheritance of a black slave named Juana (the feminized version, one should note, of his very own name).¹⁷³

Yet in the paintings explored, to this point, in the sacristy, there have been no slavish copies. As I have argued, Villalpando and Correa worked from European prints and reconfigured them in fundamental and knowing—one might say cerebral—ways to secure a place for themselves in a transatlantic canon. We should, however, be quite careful in transposing binaries of original and copy, invention and derivation, liberal art and servile activity, from Europe along with its prints. For painters in seventeenth-century New Spain, crafting showpieces that recombined printed sources as an engagement with a transatlantic canon was, perhaps, no less subtle and important than more literal copying of inked compositions. In the second and final composition Correa produced for the sacristy, which abuts his *Assumption*, the artist adapted another Flemish print, rectangular in format, to an oddly shaped canvas that is interrupted by both window and door (fig. 28). *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*, designed by David Vinckboons and engraved by Schelte à Bolswert, provided a source from which Correa transferred, or copied, nearly every figure from the throngs gathered to view Christ's entrance, as well as their basic arrangement against a complicated landscape and city view (fig. 29).¹⁷⁴ We know little about whether Correa chose to use the print and hew so closely to its forms, or whether he was contractually obligated to do so. The printed source had not been identified in the literature and, thus has never raised the problem

¹⁷⁰ Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*, 382.

¹⁷¹ ANDF, "Carta de venta de una esclava negra," 17 March 1688, volume 757, notary #114, Pedro del Castillo Grimaldos, ff. 34v-35v.

¹⁷² ANDF, "Carta de poder para testar de Cristóbal del Castillo, pardo libre, dueño de recua," 26 December 1690, no volume information, notary #114, 98r-99v. For a Mexico City document in which slaves are listed as having the same brands as the owner's mules, see ANDF "Obligación por 400 p.s.," undated 1682-83, volume 27, notary #8, 49v-50v.

¹⁷³ ANDF, "Declaración sobre el depósito y embargo de una negra nombrada Juana, 5 March 1691, volume 4685, scribe # 692, Francisco de Valadés, ff. 24r-25r.

¹⁷⁴ On this print, see Gardien Wuestman, "Meer dan alleen Rubensgraveurs," in *Boëtius en Schelte Van Bolswert naar Antwerpen: Gouden Eeuwgravures naar Bloemaert, Rubens en Van Dyck*, ed. Tjebbe T. de Jong (Bolsward: Titus Brandsma Museum, 2014).

of the slavish copy within a space whose paintings have been championed precisely for their authorial originality.¹⁷⁵

In the same year that Correa would sell his female slave, he painted a slavish copy to complete the sacristy's pictorial cycle. A free artist making slavish copies—and claiming them as his own. Correa did not eschew copying from the European print. Instead, he claimed the copy under the same terms of artistic ambition and as a statement of artistic authority. He signed this second painting for the sacristy similarly as he had his first—“Juan Correa F^t; año 1691”—yet his signature appears even more obviously engineered for our reception (fig. 30): a small figure leans around a tree trunk and holds the piece of paper on which the signature appears, calling the viewer emphatically to Correa's name, inked upon this “sheet” with a dashing rúbrica. Moreover, one—and only one—figure has been significantly altered from the printed model: the character closest to the picture plane on the left-hand side, in dark shadow and with arms stretched and head raised to register disbelief, has been stripped of his heavy beard, spotlighted, and transformed through color into the youthful, red-and-green robed figured of John the Evangelist.

Even in the perfect “copy,” Correa stages his personal inclusion within the scene as witness to a sacred drama just as he had done in the *Assumption*. These signatures neither level difference nor do they impose hierarchy between copy and invention. We need to take a cue from Correa's juxtaposition of these two modes and the ways in which the artist did not distinguish between them or, at the very least, did not in ways that are recognizable via European experience and artistic self-fashioning. We need to allow for the idea that painting on New World soil was not destined to move towards its triumphant liberation from the slavish copy, that the configurations of painterly practice and values in New Spain were different from those of Europe, even if they engaged European terms and forms.

Conclusion: Of Signatures and Searching

After boldly declaring his invention in Mexico City's sacristy, Villalpando frescoed the dome of Puebla's Cathedral, a work heralded by Latin Americanists since the field's inception as the apotheosis of seventeenth-century painting in New Spain. No work of its magnitude and sheer pictorial force, nor any that exploits the medium to such dazzling effect, exists on New World soil. It has seemed unproblematic and unsurprising that Villalpando again signed “Inventor” in large Roman letters across its surface.¹⁷⁶ From a European perspective, these paintings and signatures might signal that Villalpando had come into his own, had realized the scope of his own ambition. But, through a recent discovery, Eduardo

¹⁷⁵ Scholars have noted that the architecture is reminiscent of Flemish imagery, but repeatedly praised the originality of the composition given the canvas's odd format; see *Juan Correa: su vida y su obra*, vol. 2, part 2, 138–41. Failure to identify a source likely owes to the marginal and elusive status of the Vinckboon family in European scholarship; see C. L. van Balen, “Het Probleem Vinckboons-Vingboons opgelost,” *Oud-Holland* 56 (1939): 97–112; I. H. van Eeghen, “De familie Vinckboons-Vingboons,” *Oud Holland* 67 (1952): 217–232.

¹⁷⁶ If difficult to see from the ground, the signature is astoundingly large; a diagram first appeared, along with other illustrations of the painter's signatures, in De la Maza, *El pintor Cristóbal de Villalpando*, 105. For a newer treatment, see *Cristóbal de Villalpando*, ed. Gutiérrez Haces, 218–221, and 381–382.

Lamas-Delgado reveals that the dome is a copy, in nearly every detail, of an oil sketch by Francesco Rizzi that had crossed the Atlantic.¹⁷⁷ And though we have seen how, for the sacristy, Villalpando dazzlingly compiled printed sources to compete with Echave Rioja and the Rubensian model of the *Triumph of the Church*, he also made two very faithful renditions, or conforming copies, of Rubens's printed tapestry design, one now housed in the Museo Regional de Guadalajara (fig. 31).¹⁷⁸

To stress that Villalpando made close copies is not to strip any of his *ingenium*.¹⁷⁹ Far from it. Rather, it is to signal the complications with which the historian of New Spanish art must contend. To look at art in the New World is to be confronted with seemingly irreconcilable statements about originality, invention, ambition, and copying in terms that seem at once familiar and strange from a European perspective. That European perspective, however, *is* a necessary one; we cannot afford to simply claim a mismatch between the two sides of the Atlantic if artists in the period were actively charting proximity in spite of geographic divide. But Correa's and Villalpando's paintings for the sacristy of Mexico City's cathedral, in which they visually and textually articulated their most sophisticated relationships to a transatlantic artistic world, were accompanied by "mere" copies. In Correa's boldly self-referential signature on the *Entry into Jerusalem*, or in Villalpando's self-proclamation as an inventor in Puebla's nicely copied dome, we must recognize that for these artists there was no contradiction in terms.

In an important historiographic turn, scholars now broadly recognize that a *certain* kind of copying was not seen as incompatible with the work of the famed painter in New Spain. Now-canonical articles have suggested that for artists in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century New Spain, copying icons, particularly the Virgin of Guadalupe, was a prime avenue of revenue and esteem.¹⁸⁰ Correa, equipped as he was with an oiled tracing of the sacred image that allowed for particularly careful copies, is a protagonist in such accounts. In contrast to European models of icons and authorship,¹⁸¹ Correa even signed his holy portraits, insisting upon his authorship of perfect copies.

¹⁷⁷ I am grateful to Eduardo for sharing an early version of this essay, Eduardo Lamas-Delgado, "Desde México se piensa mucho en ti: la influencia de la pintura barroca de Madrid en Nueva España," *Archivo Español de Arte* (forthcoming).

¹⁷⁸ For the second, now in a private collection, see *Cristóbal de Villalpando*, ed. Haces, 55 and 370.

¹⁷⁹ On the concept of *ingenium*, see Martin Kemp, "From 'Mimesis' to 'Fantasia': the Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation, Inspiration and Genius in the Visual Arts," *Viator* 8 (1977): 347–398; for updated bibliography and discussion of "inventor" monikers, see Marisa Bass, "Hieronymous Bosch and His Legacy as 'Inventor,'" in *Beyond Bosch: the Afterlife of a Renaissance Master in Print*, ed. Marisa Bass and Elizabeth Wyckoff (Saint Louis: Saint Louis Art Museum, 2015).

¹⁸⁰ Clara Bargellini, "Originality and Invention in the Painting of New Spain," in *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life, 1521-1821*, ed. Donna Pierce, et al. (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2004); Jeanette Peterson, "The Reproducibility of the Sacred: Simulacra of the Virgin of Guadalupe," in *Exploring New World Imagery*, ed. Donna Pierce (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2005).

¹⁸¹ This scholarship departs from European historiography in which the authorial artist is understood to step out from the shadows of the icon to claim a place in history. See Hans

Painters in New Spain, it is now accepted, could become recognized by their publics through their copying of holy images. But despite revealing how certain trajectories of European and New Spanish art in early modernity diverge, such interventions have not yet transformed our understanding of painterly practice, ambition, and fame in New Spain more broadly. These revisionist accounts have not yet impacted the broader study of these painters' practices, leaving the much more normative copies they made after European prints untheorized.¹⁸² As such, a negative valuation of the slavish copy persists in scholarship on viceregal art. In 2004, it was still possible to write: "we find ability and manual dexterity in the work of colonial painters, but rarely any intellectual searching."¹⁸³

The lack of pressure historians of colonial art have placed on the terms of invention and originality outside the icon tradition, I would suggest, stems from the paucity of sources that scholars of New Spanish art face. But this question of unequal documentary bases has major ramifications for the broader discipline of art history in the wake of a "global" turn. It is a familiar notion that within webs of quotation, artists staged relationships—artistic, professional, and personal—with other artworks and artists and, in so doing, staked certain claims for themselves, their patrons, and their artworks. They engineered their own reception.¹⁸⁴ But what happened when intertextual relationships stretched across the Atlantic, or across any other "global" distance? Holding New World artists in the same analytic frame as their European counterparts, a frame these artworks *themselves* define, often feels nearly untenable. We cannot assume that the forms of artistic self-fashioning look the same on one side of the Atlantic as the other;¹⁸⁵ but we also know so little about Villalpando and Correa, compared to the rich lives and authorial intentions we can establish for European artists with robust extant records, that it is difficult to satisfactorily resketch the contours with the assuredness that has come to be expected by the art historical field.¹⁸⁶ A modern notion of

Belting, *Bild und Kult: Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst*, (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1990); Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone Books, 2010).

¹⁸² When ambition has been explored, has been slotted into a normative European narrative that sees a teleology from slavish copying to the liberality of art, a trajectory this chapter resists. See, for example, Mues Orts, *La libertad del pincel*; but such thinking undergirds any attempt to draw a single historiographic arc from the re-foundation of the guild in the seventeenth century to the academy in the late eighteenth century; see, Ilona Katzew, "Valiant Styles: New Spanish Painting, 1700-1785," in *Painting in Latin America*.

¹⁸³ Rogelio Ruiz Gomar, "Unique Expressions: Painting in New Spain," in *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life, 1521-1821* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2004), 50.

¹⁸⁴ The literature on these topics could fill pages. For recent studies with extensive bibliography, see Maria H. Loh, *Titian Remade*; Carolina Mangone, "Like Father, Like Son: Bernini's Filial Imitation of Michelangelo," *Art History* 37 (2014): 666–687.

¹⁸⁵ This problem and its historiographic legacy are treated in Hyman and Mundy, "Out of the Shadow of Vasari." This article also treats Villalpando's supposed "self-portrait," both the desire to find such a Europeanate form of authorial self-actualization, and the impossibility of locating it with certainty. The issue of the colonial self-portrait is well handled in Chincangana-Bayona, "El príncipe del arte nacional."

¹⁸⁶ Take for example the *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, which counts 29 volumes at present with plans for at least one additional volume to appear annually,

historical subjectivity, of intentionality, depends upon paper trails from which the epistemology of the modern subject emerges. And therefore the methodological toolbox of the art historian requires both a quality and quantity of documentation: grist for the mill of history. Art historians now face a challenge in trying to give equal weight to makers and their products from across the globe, while routinely relying upon gross disparities in historical documentation.

This chapter has put pressure on signatures to offer up this type of substance and implicitly advocated for their potential to fill some of the gaps. Here signatures have served as a powerful source to probe painterly aspiration and identity, and the imperial distances upon which these terms depended. In this endeavor, it proves crucial to recognize that though these signatures are Europeanate, they fundamentally differ in their production of meaning from “true” European practices. Any art historical failure to recognize this differential—to be conned by the fictional proximity that copies effectuate—is to collapse the distances of empire. To imply that a difference between the Old World and the New, between the “original” and the copy, reveals a failure or a lack of ambition is to reperform the epistemological violences of those very distances. In the absence of artistic treatises and troves of artists’ letters, however, there are limits to how far we might extend the brief lines of text that our New World artists left for us upon their paintings. We may never be able to specify precisely what inventor “meant” for Villalpando.¹⁸⁷ That uncertainty may strike many as unsatisfying. Yet that is to confront the effects of distances contrived by colonialisms, the types of distances with which the discipline of art history must now routinely contend. If we are to maintain an analytic frame that can accommodate both Rubens and the New Spanish artists who understood their work through the deployment of his forms, we must make a place for a self-fashioning that is allowed to defy the tyranny of an art historical positivism that makes no room for subjects who cannot rise to the standards of Europe’s records. To fail to do so would be to reify the distances and dislocations that pictorial citation and painterly emulation, in New Spain, sought to collapse.

<http://www.rubenianum.be/nl/pagina/corpus-rubenianum-ludwig-burchard>, accessed July 20, 2016.

¹⁸⁷ Some scholars have simply transposed European meanings onto colonial practices in other parts of Latin America; see the treatment of the Andean Diego Quispe Tito in Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, “Between Archaism and Innovation, 1610-1700,” in *Painting in Latin America*, 304–305.

Chapter 2

Rubens in Repeat: Colonial Cuzco and the Aesthetic of Sameness

Introduction

In 1971, The Brooklyn Museum of Art mounted a small exhibition of Peruvian painting from a private collection, which was augmented with a few select pieces from the museum's own collection. To commemorate this event, the museum's curator, Pál Kelemen, produced a short catalog of the show's treasures, which was meant to introduce the art of Peru to a general audience, lamenting that interest in Mexico had overshadowed the viceregal arts of South America. The cover to Kelemen's book features an image of the Holy Family on their Return from Egypt, which he writes about breathlessly in the corresponding catalog entry (figs. 32 & 33). "This is not the rocky dry desert of Asia Minor. The tall palm tree and the dense bushes in dark and light tones make up a lush landscape. In the left distance, a lake gives perspective to the painting. Swans swim on its surface and the tropical birds of the Peruvian *selva* glide overhead, as if watching over the travelers."¹⁸⁸ Kelemen thus imagines a world in which an artist in the Andes localized a scene of Christianity that had been imposed upon indigenous populations by the Catholic Church and Spain's imperial forces. Kelemen implicitly gestures to a creative process of reimagination, the way a foreign set of narratives could be infused with a sense of its new local context. This canvas was thus deemed a worthy frontispiece to a small volume trying to capture the quintessence of Peruvian painting for an American audience, and it is correspondingly described as "typical as any others of the Cuzco circle."¹⁸⁹

Kelemen was unaware that this colonial painting owes its figures to an engraving produced in Antwerp by Lucas Vorsterman in 1620 after a design by Rubens (fig. 34).¹⁹⁰ Pairing the painting with its printed source reframes the unknown artist's lush landscape as the product of relatively faithful transcription, if in reverse, rather than a fanciful reimagination. The palm tree has been extended and made to reach the top edge of the large pictorial field; the already lush foliage of the engraving has been made bushier as a backdrop for the holy figures—though using notably similar bulbous forms to the clouds of the engraving. Bright colors perhaps render the canvas's birds "tropical," but their straight-winged and long-billed forms match the Rubens original. The painting could never be described as a strict replica of the printed composition, but it shares its forms with the printed composition. Once the engraved source is recognized, it is hard to then see the painting, as Kelemen did, as a flight of fancy or a creative, reverse-ekphrasis of the biblical narrative.

The idea that one of Rubens's printed compositions could be defined as a typical product of the artists of Cuzco is not a scholarly misstep to be assigned to the naiveté of early interest in the painting of colonial Latin America. While the painting owes its forms to the engraving produced in Antwerp, it is also entirely typical of the art produced in colonial Cuzco—the Andean cultural capital that was the heart of the Inka Empire before Spanish

¹⁸⁸ Pál Kelemen, *Peruvian Colonial Painting: A Special Exhibition* (n.p., c. 1971), 10–11.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, catalog entry #7. The painting is listed in the Stern/Davis collection, but is now housed in the New Orleans Museum of Art.

¹⁹⁰ Schneevogt, *Catalogue des estampes*, 26, no. 124.

conquest—and the surrounding highlands, which came to depend upon Cuzco’s robust pictorial output. As I will argue here, Cuzco’s productive workshops redeployed this and other Rubens compositions so frequently that their European forms were resignified as emblematic of the local pictorial economy. This chapter attends to the tensions between such global and local trajectories, or patterns, of transmission.

In Cuzco, European prints routinely functioned as part of contractual agreements between artists and patrons. Surviving contracts stipulate that artists were to produce paintings and the other objects “conforming to the print they were given.”¹⁹¹ Even if we recognize that this practice stretched across what is now Latin America and was a basic feature of viceregal artistic manufacture, there is a particular density of compositions that conform to printed models in the Andean highlands. This is not just a matter of large numbers of painted and carved objects that correspond to European printed sources; rather we observe the consistent repetition of specific compositions. The practice of commissioning artists from printed sources seems, in fact, to have been so common that every single colonial-era church in the city of Cuzco and the surrounding valleys contains at least one painting, and often many more, that “conform” to printed models designed by Rubens.¹⁹²

The visual presence of Rubens in the Andean highlands feels, for those who know to look for him, inescapable. To be sure, there are scores of objects that conform to the printed models of other European painters and printmakers; but Rubens holds something of a prime position both for the sheer number of colonial artworks that were modeled upon his printed compositions and for their pride of place. Indeed, the Flemish artist’s impact on colonial Peruvian painting has been acknowledged and rehearsed since the very earliest surveys of the subject.¹⁹³ The visitor to Cuzco encounters Rubens in repeat.

One might therefore assume that artists in Cuzco were continually staring down at imported prints, translating dense webs of engraved lines into painted and carved objects at the behest of patrons. As Leopoldo Castedo wrote in an early account of painting in Cuzco, “Some Spanish-American art historians have dedicated much of their careers to proving that nowhere in America, and therefore nowhere in Cuzco, is a single painting to be found that is not a literal copy of a European [printed] model.”¹⁹⁴ The last will and testament of the seventeenth-century New Granadan artist Baltasar de Figueroa is a document frequently used as evidence of how important, numerous and long-lived printed compositions were in colonial workshops; the artist bequeathed his son “six books of the lives of saints with prints for paintings, plus another book of the lives of the saints with prints for paintings, and a book of

¹⁹¹ Ojeda di Ninno, “El grabado como fuente del arte colonial.”

¹⁹² This project is not conceived as a catalog. For Rubens-related compositions the on-line *PESSCA* archive is most complete source. The fact that Helga von Kügelen’s still-recent catalog is already decidedly outdated, reveals the rapidity with which new examples are coming to light; see von Kügelen, “La pintura de los reinos y Rubens.”

¹⁹³ For example, see Felipe Cossío del Pomar, *Pintura colonial: escuela cuzqueña*, 2nd ed. (Cuzco: H.-G. Rozas, 1929), references are peppered throughout, 125–137 for a paradigmatic discussion; Stastny, “La presencia de Rubens en la pintura colonial,” 5–35; *Pintura virreynal*, (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 1973), 34; Gisbert and de Mesa, *Holguín y la pintura virreinal*, 23–24, a section entitled “La influencia de Rubens.”

¹⁹⁴ Leopoldo Castedo, *The Cuzco Circle* (New York: Center for Inter-American Relations, 1976), 22–23.

architecture, necessary for this art, and more than 1,800 prints.”¹⁹⁵ While this number is remarkable, it stands in stark contrast to the near total absence of information about the workshops of artists in the viceroyalties, particularly in the colonial city of Cuzco, where not a single extant inventory of a painter’s tools has ever been found. In reality, we know very little about how artists in the Andean highlands accomplished their work, nor what exactly they were looking at when they made their works of art. In the previous chapter, an intact corpus in a tightly delimited context provided a way to think about how New Spanish artists looked at objects and how they created their works as visual responses to both European and New World models. It is infinitely trickier to apply that methodology in the highlands of Cuzco, both because it is more difficult to reconstruct the itineraries of artists and because the record of colonial painting that survives in the city is fragmentary.¹⁹⁶

In this chapter, I focus on Rubens in Cuzco and the surrounding region with an eye towards exploring the use of printed models and the transmission of pictorial forms in colonial Peruvian painting, more generally. It is well-established that the European print played a definitive role in the production of art in the city, but the mechanisms by which this occurred have not always been so closely considered. This lack of consideration has necessarily shaped how scholars of Andean art have conceptualized notions of originality and copying. Perhaps precisely because of the repetitive nature of cuzqueñan painting, scholars have sought, even more so than in the case of New Spain, to highlight the creative capacity and agency of colonial artists in the highlands; and they have done so, as discussed below, by routinely underlining the pictorial transformations of printed compositions as evidence of indigenous creativity and resistance to Europe’s models.

Yet such an analytic tack risks reinscribing New World artists within the binaries from which scholars have sought to liberate them. Instead of locating agency at sites of pictorial difference, this chapter contends that pictorial sameness, or conformity, when performed in extreme repetition, could function as a mechanism of resistance to European claims of inventiveness, origin, and originality. Repetition allowed artists to lay claim to Europe’s products, resignify them as typically cuzqueñan, and, therefore, capitalize upon these marketable forms. Rubens became Andean not through formal transformation, nor through the additions of fanciful local details, but rather through the extreme act of his faithful reproduction, which rendered the Flemish artist a product *of* the colonies.

¹⁹⁵ First cited in Guillermo Hernández de Alba, *Teatro del arte colonial: primera jornada en Santa Fé de Bogotá* (Bogotá: n.p., 1938), 46. “los seis libros de vidas de santos con estampas para las pinturas, más un libro de vidas de santos con estampas para las pinturas, más un libro de arquitectura, necesario a este arte; más de mil ochocientas estampas.” These figures have been repeated too often to catalog, but for examples, see Santiago Sebastián, “European Models in the Art of the Viceroyalty of New Granada,” in *Barroco de la Nueva Granada*, ed. Alexandra Kennedy and Marta Fajardo de Rueda (New York: Americas Society, 1992), 23–24; Luisa Elena Alcalá, ed., *Los siglos de oro en los virreinos de América 1550-1700* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 1999), 326; Brown, “Gregorio Vásquez de Arce y Ceballos,” specifically 58.

¹⁹⁶ One need think only of the collapse of the church of San Agustín at the end of the eighteenth century, and the earthquakes and fires that ravaged the city during the twentieth century.

In what follows, I offer a sample of the Andean visual corpus traceable to Rubens's compositions and coordinate this extant visual record with what remains of Cuzco's heavily fractured colonial archive. These written sources reveal modes of pictorial production that prized and, indeed, requested conformity in ways that take us beyond a unidirectional, singular transmission from print to painting. These mechanisms of production, which were driven by the exigencies of a marketplace, stripped Rubens of his *ingenium* and shaped alternatives to the European paradigms of creativity. The marketplace is not here conceived as the sterilized and disenchanting space of capitalist consumption. Cuzco's market responded to religious pressures and dilemmas about how to populate the devotional settings of the Andean highlands with pictures. Pictorial sameness was an appropriate handmaiden to clerical strategies of wrestling with an indigenous epistemology too frustratingly premised upon singularity and of shepherding indigenous devotees into the field of Christian representation. Instead of looking for pictorial difference, sticking with sameness might provide more traction for locating agency and colonial notions of creativity than one might initially imagine.

Belated Arrivals

Manuel de Mollinedo y Ángulo would have last laid eyes on Rubens's grand *Triumph of the Eucharist* cycle in Madrid on 16 June 1672, the day the city celebrated the feast of Corpus Christi and the church of the *Descalzas Reales* was bedecked with their prized tapestries and opened to an elite public audience.¹⁹⁷ On 9 December of the same year, Mollinedo departed Spain from Seville to take up his post as Bishop of Cuzco, never to return.¹⁹⁸ When he arrived, he would have been met with the foreign sights of the Andes, some of which he surely expected—given travel accounts, the reports of ecclesiastical officials, and clerics who returned to the Iberian Peninsula after time in the New World—but many of which he could have never truly dreamed. No matter how well prepared he may have been, the Andes were a world of foreign forms. But one thing Mollinedo surely would have recognized was “Rubens's” *Triumph of the Eucharist* series, the compositions of which had come to line the walls of a building two miles above the sea that had brought the bishop to American soil.

Like Mollinedo, the paintings were new arrivals to the city. On 7 November 1671, the *mayordomos* of the confraternity of the Holy Sacrament in the parish church of the Hospital de los Naturales, Joseph Acensio de Cuadros and Juan de Rivera, commissioned Lorenzo Sánchez de Medina to “make seven canvases, 2.5 *varas* in width and 2.25 *varas* in height, of the History of the Institution of the Sacrament conforming to prints that, for such a purpose, he had received” from these patrons.¹⁹⁹ The contract insists upon the resemblance between the

¹⁹⁷ On their display, see Charles Scribener, III, “Sacred Architecture: Rubens's Eucharist Tapestries,” *The Art Bulletin* 57 (1975): 519–528; de Poorter, *The Eucharist Series*, vol. 1, 55–81.

¹⁹⁸ The life and work of Mollinedo in Cuzco is best presented in Pedro Guibovich Pérez and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, *Sociedad y gobierno episcopal: las visitas del obispo Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo (Cuzco, 1674-1694)* (Lima: Instituto Riva-Agüero, 2008), 15–17.

¹⁹⁹ A *vara* is roughly equivalent to the contemporary “meter.” See Horace Doursther, *Dictionnaire Universel des Poids et Mesures Anciens et Modernes, Contenant des Tables des Monnaies de Tous Les Pays* (Brussels: Imprimeur de l'Académie Royale, 1840), 566–567.

prints and the resultant objects, subsequently repeating that the master painter and resident of the city was to complete these paintings “following, and as it is contained in, the said prints.” Perhaps there was some cause to worry, for this demand of conformity with the European engravings was reiterated yet a third time, slipping into the timeline laid out for the artist’s work. The painter was to complete these large canvases “following the prints, by the end of the month of March of the following year of 1672.”²⁰⁰ That is, these paintings were to be finished with but a small buffer of time for proper installation before the celebration of Corpus Christi, a particularly raucous event in colonial Cuzco.²⁰¹

Though these canvases do not survive, and we do not know exactly how these paintings would have been displayed in a church that has since been rebuilt, it is tempting to imagine Mollinedo gazing upon the canvases in the church’s nave.²⁰² Amidst the chaos and foreignness of the new city, these works would have provided some sort of familiarity, connecting the indigenous parish that Mollinedo came to oversee in Cuzco to a convent at the heart of imperial power in Spain, which received the daughters of Spain’s nobility and decorated elite. It is a rather poetic coincidence that the last celebration of Corpus Christi Mollinedo witnessed in Spain, in 1672, would have been the first at which the residents of Cuzco enjoyed the “same” Rubens compositions, of which its confraternity of the Holy Sacrament could now boast.

The documented commission of these canvases undercuts some of the assumptions made about art making in colonial Cuzco. The contract insists repeatedly upon conformity to printed models, but it does so not out of fear that an indigenous copyist will stray from the doctrinally correct printed sources, complicate the religious pictures and, in so doing, undermine their pedagogical imperatives.²⁰³ For, in this case, the patrons supplying the prints

²⁰⁰ ARC, *Protocolos Notariales*, Lorenzo Messa Andueza, Prot. 222, 1671, ff. 1002r-1003v. “...parecio lorenço sanches de medina maestro pintor morador en esta dha ciudad otorgo y que conseirta con Joseph acensio de quadros y Joan de rrivera gallegos mayordomos de la cofradia del santissimo sacramento fundada en la parroquia del ospital de los naturales de esta ciud. y se obligo de haser siete liensos de dos baras y media de largo y dos baras y quarta de ancho la ystoria de la ynstitucion del sacramento conforme a unas estampas que para el dicho efecto a rresevido de los dichos joseph acensio de quadros y joan de rriuera segun y como se contiene en dhas estampas y todos de ellos a de dar acauados en toda perfeccion segun las dhas estampas para fin del mes de março del año que viene de mil y seis cientos y sesenta y dos...” The contract does not mention the artist’s ethnicity, but this is confirmed from an agreement of his apprenticeship. See José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 2nd ed, vol. 1 (Lima: Fundación Augusto N. Wiese, 1982), 96–97.

²⁰¹ On Corpus Christi in Cuzco, see Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999).

²⁰² A small fragment of a painting of the *Triumph of the New Law* is currently installed in the lower opening in the main retable of the church of San Blas. It is hard to estimate from the size of the fragment, but it appears not to correspond in size to either the series commissioned by the confraternity in the Hospital de los Naturales, nor to be a pendant to the *Triumph of the Eucharist* in San Cristóbal. This would suggest that there was yet *another* series corresponding to the Rubensian composition in colonial Cuzco.

²⁰³ On art and printed models as pedagogical instruments in Cuzco, see Ramón Mujica Pinilla, “‘Reading without a Book’—On Sermons, Figurative Art, and Visual Culture in the

were indigenous actors and the painter a creole master who was contracted to do the conforming work of copying.²⁰⁴ If scholars see the copy, particularly where the print is concerned, as an imperial imposition that shackled the creative freedom of the artist, we must also recognize that this tool was also taken up by native patrons. Binaries of original/copy, European/colonial, Spanish/indigenous break down in the face of contracts, such as this one, that quickly invert the expected roles and subject positions of indigenous and European peoples.

Given that these canvases do not survive in the city, it might be hard to imagine exactly how Rubens's forms were translated onto these canvases. These large paintings were intended to match the grandeur of Rubens's prints—which were grand objects themselves, printed on two attached sheets—but the paintings had to accommodate Rubens's horizontally oriented compositions to roughly square pictorial fields. We do not have to imagine entirely, however, as after Mollinedo arrived in the city and settled into his post, he commissioned a series to match the cycle in the church of the Hospital de los Naturales for the indigenous church of Todos los Santos in Huanquite, located fifty kilometers to the south of Cuzco and only accessed via harrowing Andean paths (fig. 35).²⁰⁵ Roughly a meter smaller in overall dimensions—though nearly equivalent in scale to the paintings for the Eucharist cycle of the Hospital de los Naturales—the *Triumph of the Church through the Eucharist* in Huanquite, for one example, strips the architectural frame from the Rubens original and compresses the figures into the squared pictorial format once shared by the Cuzco canvases (fig. 13). The protagonists of Rubens's allegorical scene are denied all breathing room, stacked up the plane of the canvas and made to fill nearly every interstice.

It is unclear exactly why Mollinedo commissioned the series for Huanquite. On 4 January 1678, in a summary of the works that had been completed to date in his bishopric, he wrote that “In Huanquite, Jaurisque and Omacha little has been done, as these towns are very poor...and have mercenary clerics, all very libertine.”²⁰⁶ In the face of mistreatment and neglect, Mollinedo may therefore have been particularly moved by the confraternity of the Holy Sacrament in this parish and felt that they, like their brethren in Cuzco, deserved a series of canvases celebrating the sacrament. Such work could not have been completed before 1689, at which point the curate of the region reported to Mollinedo, at his request, that the lands of

Viceroyalty of Peru,” in *The Virgin, Saints, and Angels: South American Paintings 1600-1825 from the Thoma Collection*, ed. Suzanne L. Stratton (Milan: Skira, 2006), 41–67.

²⁰⁴ The contract does not mention the artist's ethnicity, but this is confirmed from an agreement to take on an apprenticeship in 1645. See de Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 96–97.

²⁰⁵ For a historical overview of the church and an inventory of its contents, see Carmen Ruiz de Pardo, “La gloria del barroco en Huanquite,” in *III Congreso Internacional del Barroco Americano : actas : territorio, arte, espacio y sociedad*, ed. José Manuel Almansa, et al. (Seville: Universidad Pablo de Olavide, 2001); Carmen Ruiz de Pardo, *Joya del arte colonial cuzqueño: Catálogo iconográfico de la Iglesia de Huanquite* (Lima: Ruiz & Zegarra Comunicaciones, 2004), 28–29 specifically for this painting.

²⁰⁶ These reports, now housed in the Archivo General de las Indias in Seville, are transcribed in Guibovich Pérez and Wuffarden, *Sociedad y gobierno episcopal*, here specifically 134. “En Huanquite, Jaurisque y Omacha se a hecho poco, por ser pueblos pobres...los tienen religiosos mercenarios y todos están muy disipados.”

Huanoquite had not been productive and thus had “few funds, so that the adornment of the church is very minimal.”²⁰⁷ No contract for the cycle exists and we only know of Mollinedo’s patronage because his visage is featured as a donor portrait in one of the other paintings of Huanoquite’s Eucharistic series, which features the Bishop riding in a triumphal chariot holding the Holy Sacrament in a covered monstrance on the feast day of Corpus Christi (fig. 36).²⁰⁸ Set against what looks to be the main square of Cuzco, Mollinedo’s chariot, led by white horses bridled in red, takes its cues from the canvas depicting *The Triumph of the Church* that hangs across the small church’s nave, rendering Mollinedo a mirror image of Rubens’s *ecclesia*, and thus an embodiment of the church that he had come to lead in the region.

It may well be that Mollinedo, like the indigenous *mayordomos*, commissioned a painter to complete these works in Huanoquite according to new impressions of the Rubens prints that he had brought with him from Madrid. Mollinedo arrived at a busy moment of rebuilding after the devastating 1650 earthquake that nearly razed the city; and it is often assumed that the organization and guidance of the Bishop were critical in Cuzco’s rebuilding campaign and efforts to refurbish church and civic interiors, processes in which prints were routinely used.²⁰⁹ It is also quite likely that multiple impressions of Rubens’s *Triumph* series made their way to seventeenth-century Cuzco and to the surrounding region. Several extant canvases conform to the printed series. Another rendition of the *Triumph of the Church through the Eucharist*, for example, hangs high on a wall in the indigenous church of San Cristóbal and maintains the horizontal orientation of the print, while cropping the architectural elements with which Rubens had framed his scene (fig. 37). In the cloister of Santa Teresa in Arequipa, a city connected to Cuzco via important trade routes, one finds a likely later version that leaves the architectural frame intact (fig. 38).

It is entirely possible therefore that Mollinedo had no need for Rubens’s printed “originals.” Mollinedo entered a city that already had a material record of the composition, one whose forms would necessarily have struck the cleric as both decidedly familiar and altogether new.²¹⁰ It is thus notable that Mollinedo would elect for a nearly identical, squared

²⁰⁷ Horacio Villanueva Urteaga, *Cuzco 1689: informes de los párrocos al obispo Mollinedo: economía y sociedad en el sur andino* (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Rurales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas, 1982), 434.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 40–41.

²⁰⁹ Though frequently mentioned in passing, for particular studies, see Isabel Zizold de Ruza, “El Obispo Don Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo mecenas cuzqueño,” *Revista del Instituto Peruano de Investigaciones Genealógicas* 11 (1958): 39–58; Horacio Villanueva Urteaga, “Los Mollinedo y el arte del Cuzco colonial,” *Boletín del Instituto River Agüero* 16 (1989): 209–219. See also, as previously noted, Villanueva Urteaga, *Cuzco 1689*; Guibovich Pérez and Wuffarden, *Sociedad y gobierno episcopal*.

²¹⁰ It is telling that in one of the only articles that discusses painted models as sources for future copies, Stratton-Pruitt assumes these paintings in Huanoquite were made from prints that the bishop *may* have brought from Europe. Stratton-Pruitt treats the copying of a painting of Charles II that Mollinedo brought to Cuzco as part of his small collection, which gave rise to a large number of paintings featuring the king’s image; it is implicitly assumed that this practice was non-normative and that the painting was copied because it represented the image of the king, which thus needed to be disseminated; in this way, the European painting is

format, as in the church of the Hospital de los Naturales, when he commissioned Huanoquite's paintings. He both knew the prime object in Madrid—the sumptuous threads of tapestry that flickered in the candlelight during festive occasions in the *Descalzas Reales*—and would have found a suitable substitute in the colonial city, one that either for reasons of taste or spatial pragmatics was a closer match for the frames he was aiming to fill in the rural indigenous church in the Peruvian highlands. At the very least, it is safe to say that if he did simply commission a painter to copy from Rubens's prints, both he and the painter would already have had the local rendition of these forms in mind, literally before their eyes in Cuzco, as an existing pictorial solution to accommodating these printed compositions to squared canvases. Rubens was a local in the city before the bishop.

Originals, Copies, and the Space of the City

This tale of Mollinedo begins to give a sense of the repetition of Rubens's compositions in the Andean highlands. The allegorical chariot of Rubens's *Triumph of the Church through the Eucharist*, for example, existed in multiple versions in Cuzco, but so too at small religious outposts like Huanoquite and large urban centers like Arequipa, both well beyond the city's boundaries. The routes connecting such places were heavily trafficked and travelers and clerics in the Andean highlands therefore had repeat encounters with specific compositions and families of forms. Local multiplicity and connectedness became the conditions in which the population of Cuzco and the surrounding region came to think about and see paintings and other objects: as objects in relationship to other local objects. Illustrating this sensibility to “the local” in Cuzco revises certain assumptions underpinning methodologies that presume one-to-one correspondence between European prints and locally produced objects, the dominant conceptual model for the pictorial transmission of Europe's forms to and within Latin America during this period.²¹¹ Conceiving of an alternate model for understanding transmission and reception serves to relativize our sense of the European-ness of objects—and, with them, the figure of the artist—that were imposed by the colonial regime through the structures and strictures of the printed page.

In what follows, I argue that Cuzco's patrons and artistic workshops localized European forms through persistent reproduction and, in so doing, severed them from their authors and origins. I draw on both the visual record in the Cuzco region and the documentary sources that are, primarily, housed in the city's regional archives. These two source bases—written and pictorial—do not often precisely align; that is, extant contracts rarely correspond to locatable works of art in the city. This mismatch requires a certain amount of methodological flexibility if one is to understand how the types of contracts we find shaped the visual character of the city, as it is left for us, and the ways that residents of the city experienced the visual fabric of the region and the work of artists in populating it with forms.

prized as exceptional, while local painted compositions are not entertained as sources for production. Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt, “The King in Cuzco: Bishop Mollinedo's Portraits of Charles II,” in *Art in Spain and the Hispanic World: Essays in Honor of Jonathan Brown*, ed. Sarah Schroth (London: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2010), 305–321, particularly 313–316.

²¹¹ Very few studies have suggested any other model. For a brief mention, with no sustained exploration, that paintings may have been copied, see Rodríguez Romero, “Imágenes que crean imágenes,” 77–84; and as cited above, Stratton-Pruitt, “The King in Cuzco.”

The global character of print transmission is thus knit together, in this chapter, with the local instantiations of artistic manufacture and the ways these acts of making were conceptualized by artists and patrons during the period.

We can track repetitions and spatial multiplicities, as we have done in the case of Mollinedo's *Triumph*, by following any number of Rubens compositions. For example, a painted rendition of one of Rubens's famous Assumptions of the Virgin was completed and signed by the master painter Lázaro Pardo de Lagos in 1632, at the behest of the Augustinians for their main church in Cuzco (figs. 39 & 40). This painting hung in San Agustín for over three decades before the indigenous governor and *cacique* Juan Choquetopa came to Cuzco in 1663 to commission the Spanish painter to craft a series to line the walls of the parish church of the small town of Tinta—over one-hundred kilometers from the city—which now features the same composition (fig. 41).²¹² The printed source with which these compositions conform—a printed source, it must be noted, which neither contract mentions—was completed by Theodoor Galle after a design by Rubens and no doubt circulated broadly in Cuzco and throughout the viceroyalty.²¹³ Indeed, the composition had been designed by Rubens for the 1614 *Breviarum Romanum* published by the Plantin-Moretus press, which held a monopoly during this period for all printed liturgical literature sent to Spain's overseas territories.²¹⁴ Rubens's inclusion in such projects was one factor in making him such a renowned and sought-after artist of the Catholic Reformation. As a standard liturgical text, the book would have been found in many religious institutions, where it was put to everyday use by priests who referenced the book to structure their prayers, hymns, psalms and other public readings.

Yet the composition also came to exist in multiple public, painted forms as well, connecting institutions within the city and across the region. The composition was, at least, doubled in Cuzco: a now fragmented version, its Virgin ringed in concentric haloes of putti, is to be found in the Monasterio de Santa Catalina (fig. 42). It hangs just off the city's central square and just steps from the site of San Agustín, which was destroyed by consecutive earthquakes over the course of the colonial period. The displaced canvas from San Agustín,

²¹² Mesa and Gisbert describe the details of this 1663 commission, but do not transcribe the contract from which they glean their information, a document that is now not locatable at the *Archivo General de la Nación* in Lima. See Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 82–83.

²¹³ The contract for San Agustín's canvas, which the painter signed in 1630 is transcribed in Jorge Cornejo Bouroncle, *Derroteros de arte cuzqueño: datos para una historia del arte en el Perú* (Cuzco: Ediciones Inca, 1960), 14–17. A painting of this scene, not included here because the author was not able to gain access to the church, which seems to be modeled specifically on Pardo de Lagos's version (given music-making angels in the same configuration) can be found in the church of Ayaviri, on the shores of Lake Titicaca. For a reproduction of the painting, see von Kügelen, "La pintura de los reinos y Rubens," figure 2, 1012–1013.

²¹⁴ Leon Voet, "Christoffel Plantijn en het Iberische schiereiland," in *Christoffel Plantijn en de Iberische wereld* (Antwerp: Museum Plantin-Moretus, 1992), 77; Jan Materné, "Ex Officina Plantiniana. Antwerpse katholieke kerkdrukken op de Iberisch-Amerikaanse boekenmarkt," in *Vlaanderen en Latijns-Amerika: 500 jaar confrontatie en métissage*, ed. Eddy Stols and Rudi Bleys (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1993): 139–153.

now housed in the small indigenous church of San Cristóbal, thus serves as a reminder that while we still might find Rubens repetitious in Cuzco, what remains for us is but a portion of the paintings that once existed in the city. If all matter yields to time, colonial corpses fare worse than most. But the composition exists beyond Cuzco as well, rendered in oil on canvas, likely sometime in the eighteenth century, to fit a lunette-shaped arch in the Monasterio de Santa Catalina in Arequipa (fig. 43).²¹⁵

By dint of their new contexts, these compositions have been brought into unanticipated local frames of reference. In Cuzco's Cathedral, one finds a painting of the raising of Christ's cross (fig. 44), which has been overshadowed by another figure of Christ with which it shares a chapel: the famous Señor de los Temblores, a venerated miracle-working statue deemed responsible for halting the great tremors that shook, and nearly razed, the city of Cuzco in 1650 (fig. 45).²¹⁶ Since this earthquake, the statue has been the beneficiary of an intense devotion that brings streams of pilgrims, flowers and candles left in veneration, and donations made for prayers answered. But the painting of Christ on the Cross, which was made at some point during the city's rebuilding campaign, is the index of the equally remarkable historical occurrence of printed transmission, decidedly global rather than local in trajectory. The painting shares its forms with an enormous print, engraved after the design of one of Rubens's most impressive, triptych-format altarpieces, originally made for the church of St. Walburga and now housed in Antwerp's cathedral (fig. 46).²¹⁷ The global and the local are thus felicitously juxtaposed, but also sutured, through the coincidence of these two devotional objects, to different depictions of Christ, within the space of the very same chapel.

The binary of local and global, however, flattens a more complicated geographic and pictorial field, as the painting was not necessarily immediately legible as a foreign product to the city. The *Raising of the Cross* in the chapel of Christ of the Earthquakes resonates with other quite proximate objects clustered around Cuzco's *plaza de armas*, or Main Square. Not even one hundred steps away, the churchgoer finds a repetition of the scene, beside the altar in the Iglesia del Triunfo, the spot of the city's oldest religious edifice and now part of the sprawling cathedral complex (fig. 47). The sides of the canvas have clearly been cut down, at a moment subsequent to the painting's production, to fit the narrow space, thus revealing it was not always hung in this location.²¹⁸ The painting was, however, likely in place in the eighteenth century when a new altar was crafted for the space. Thus installed, it would have

²¹⁵ This convent is woefully understudied, which makes dating difficult. For an overview, see Jeremy Blanc, et al., *Santa Catalina: el monasterio de Arequipa* (Arequipa: Bienvenida Editores, 2005).

²¹⁶ Abraham Valencia Espinoza, *Taytacha Temblores Patrón Jurado del Cuzco* (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Andinos, 1991); Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, *Object and Apparition: Envisioning the Christian Divine in the Colonial Andes* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 2013), 97–116.

²¹⁷ For an overview of Rubens's *Raising of the Cross*, see Judson, *The Passion of Christ*, 88–109; for prints after the composition specifically, see Schneevogt, *Catalogue des estampes*, nos. 273–281.

²¹⁸ Jorge Flores Ochoa, et al., *Tesoros de la catedral del Cusco: arzobispado de Cusco Dirección Desconcentrada de Cultura de Cusco* (Lima: Fábrica de Ideas, 2013), 72–74, and 238.

called out, across the square, to yet a third canvas of this scene, which hangs in the Jesuit church of La Compañía (fig. 48). This cluster of three renditions of *The Raising of the Cross* within the plaza of the colonial city stages repetition at the very center of Cuzco.

In one sense, these canvases are a testament to imperial paper trails. Along the routes established by empire, a print published in northern Europe would make its way to a port-city like Seville, board a boat to sail to what is now Panamá, be sent across land to be repacked in the hull of another ship in the Pacific, make its way down along the coastline of South America, to disembark in the viceregal capital of Lima, and traverse a punishing Andean landscape to end up, finally, in a painter's workshop in Cuzco.²¹⁹ Its journey would have lasted—in the most auspicious of circumstances and with the fewest holdups in the many sets of hands through which it passed—well over a year.²²⁰

Given that the paintings in Cuzco's main square appear in reverse of the first engraved edition of Rubens's altarpiece design, published in Antwerp, it is not possible to know whether these paintings in Cuzco followed a subsequent printed edition that reversed the design again and thus appears in the same orientation as the paintings (fig. 49). While viewers on both sides of the Atlantic cared much less about inversion than modern thinkers might imagine, there are theological reasons to reverse such a scene and to thus return the printed composition to the left-to-right orientation that allows a viewer to watch the narrative of the savior's sacrificial elevation unfold as a reader would track the words of a story across the space of the page.²²¹ These paintings may not, however, index theological acts of reinversion; for the painters might have, instead, followed a truly replicative design of the Witdoeck original, a subsequent edition of the print published in Paris by the French engraver François Ragot, who attempted to capture even the quality of single lines of this original and, in the process flipped the composition.²²² The routes that connected Paris to Cuzco, or Ragot to cuzqueñan painters, were as heavily trafficked as those from Antwerp.²²³

In either case, the painter who received this print in Cuzco would have been faced with a truly monumental paper object over two meters in width, printed on three separate sheets that were to be pasted together to unify a composition that Rubens's triptych had

²¹⁹ Classic studies on these trade routes include Pierre Chanu and Huguette Chanu, *Seville et l'Atlantique* (Paris: A. Colin, 1955-1960); Pierre Chanu, *Sevilla y América siglos XVI y XVII* (Seville: Publicaciones de la Universidad Sevilla, 1983); Clarence Henry Haring, *El comercio y navegación entre España y las Indias en la época de los Habsburgos*, 3rd ed. (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1984 [1918]).

²²⁰ Garrett, "“En lo remoto de estos reynos,”” 17–43.

²²¹ In contrast, Agustina Rodríguez Romero claims that each inversion is caused by printed re-edition, such that we might track transmission of prints through their exact painted indexes. Because, in addition to formal desires for directionality, many workshop practices, such as pouncing, could invert a composition, I strongly disagree with this approach. See Agustina Rodríguez Romero, "Redes de imágenes y reediciones de estampas," 39–48.

²²² On these editions, and others that post-date the Cuzco painting, see Schneevogt, *Catalogue des estampes*, 273–274, no. 42.

²²³ On the relationship between French engravings and cuzqueñan painting, and on their shipping networks, see Agustina Rodríguez Romero, "Imágenes que crean imágenes," 77–84; Agustina Rodríguez Romero, "De París a Cuzco: Los caminos del grabado francés en los siglos XVII y XVIII," *Goya: Revista de Arte* (2009) 327: 132–143.

actually perpetually divided. In the cuzqueñan Jesuit version of *The Raising of the Cross*, the painter has accommodated the printed composition to the arched format of a canvas that crowns a portal to the adjacent chapel of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, uncannily returning some of the pictorial effect of the triptych to the scene. Yet the logic of the conforming copy remains the same: despite the extreme change in scale and layout, the painter has maintained all the forms of the “original” composition. As discussed in the introduction, the act of asking painters to produce works of art that conformed to printed sources, patrons implicitly acknowledged a gap between model and copy. In so doing, they set up a relational logic of shared forms that was premised not on replication but on repetition. The canvases that line the walls of the edifices ringing Cuzco’s central square conform as much to one another as they do to the printed original.

Conformity is not frequently the model by which the relationships staged between rival ecclesiastic organizations of a city in the early modern period are characterized. We have become accustomed, on both sides of the Atlantic, to viewing churches and orders in heated competition, commissioning artists to outstrip the accomplishments of their colleagues in producing masterpieces that reached new heights of inventive potential. And, indeed, where *architecture* was concerned, the Jesuits and the Cathedral matched steps in this form of one-upmanship during the same period, building naves to impressive heights and facades as performative showpieces in the ruinous wake of the city’s mid-century tremors.²²⁴ Where painting is concerned, however, equivalence cuts across institutions at the heart of this colonial city and places these institutions into a dialog of parity through formal repetition.

The city’s spaces thus came to share a certain visual character through such compositional echoes, leveling institutions even beyond the elite, Spanish-defined spaces around the plaza, the ultimate symbol of early modern civic identity. In this respect the visitor to Cuzco finds, mirroring Christ’s elevation on the cross, several versions of the savior’s deposition following a Rubensian model. In the Convento de La Merced, just one block from Cuzco’s central square, hangs a painting that conforms to the first edition of the Rubens’s composition of the *Descent from the Cross*, which was engraved by Lucas Vorsterman and published in 1620 (figs. 50 & 4). Less than two kilometers away from Cuzco’s central square, but on the outskirts of the colonial city, a visitor to the city would have found another iteration of the scene hanging in the indigenous church of San Gerónimo (fig. 51). Undercutting a sense of influence based on hierarchy, Cuzco’s cathedral was the latecomer to the composition, only later acquiring a version to be housed in the central niche of one of its lavish retables (fig. 52). In the Cathedral’s *Descent*, the white sheet with which the figures lower the limp body of Christ has become a screen, creating a plane along which the Rubensian forms are flattened and stacked. Given that the earlier canvases of the same scene in La Merced and San Gerónimo appear in the opposite orientation, it is possible that their artists worked from a printed edition subsequent to the Vorsterman original, one of several that flipped the composition. One could make this case particularly strongly for the Mercedarian canvas, which hems in its figures with tight framing and crops the added details of the basin, the crown of thorns, and the *titulus crucis* from the lower right-hand corner, as

²²⁴ Roberto Samanez Argumedo, “Las portadas retablo en el barroco cusqueño,” in *El barroco peruano*, ed. Ramón Mujica Pinilla (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2002), 145–186.

do subsequent engraved editions of the first Vorsterman edition.²²⁵ Yet the San Gerónimo canvas maintains all the features of first engraved version, simply figuring them in reverse.

I want to propose that the patron of the canvas now in the custody of Cuzco's Mercedarians commissioned an artist to complete this painting not by following a printed composition at all, but rather by asking the painter to conform to the local painting that already hung in the city. Given clear stylistic indications that the paintings are not by the same hand, one necessarily existed before the other; moreover, the two stylistically divergent paintings did not leave the shop of some hypothetical renowned Rubens copyist to whom both churches might have turned. Proposing that San Gerónimo's *Descent* served as a model for the Mercedarian composition would undercut certain common assumptions about originals and copies: first, that the printed composition always served as the model from which to commission works of art in Cuzco, works that we might, nevertheless, trace to engraved sources; and second, that lines of influence ran from main ecclesiastical centers of urban power to indigenous *barrio* churches, and not the other way around.²²⁶ Conceiving of the San Gerónimo canvas as an original from which La Merced's painting was copied requires an imaginative leap, to be sure. But not one into which I would ask us to spring blindly. For we have firm evidence that the Mercedarians of Cuzco had paintings copied within their own convent, evidence that gives some indication of the ways they and the artists who worked for them thought about paintings, models, originals and copies, and about the role that European engravings played in the city's artistic production.

Art historians have long recognized that the series of the Life of San Pedro Nolasco in the main cloister of the monastery of La Merced was based upon printed sources.²²⁷ Signed in 1666 by Marcos de Rivera, the scene of the order's founder carried by angels, for example, is an expansion of the European artist Claude Mellan's engraved depiction, accommodated to the space of the large arched canvas, installed on a wall of the cloister's entry level (figs. 53 &

²²⁵ See, for example, Schneevogt, *Catalogue des estampes*, 50, no. 354–355.

²²⁶ The examples presented in this section and the next—and that help define general patterns of artistic copying in Cuzco—thus stand in contrast to European accounts wherein single paintings become models for copying because of the prestige of their patrons. This kind of emulative model of European patronage and collecting does not help us grasp transmission in Cuzco, which seems to have been motivated less by singular originals rendered aura-filled because of their famous creators or patrons. For robust treatments of European examples with particular attention given to artistic commissioning and production, see Megan Holmes, “Copying Practices and Marketing Strategies in a Fifteenth-Century Florentine Painter's Workshop,” in *Italian Renaissance Cities: Artistic Exchange and Cultural Translation*, ed. Stephen J. Campbell and Stephen J. Milner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 38–74; Michelle O'Malley, *Painting Under Pressure: Fame, Reputation, and Demand in Renaissance Florence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), particularly 195–211; Maria H. Loh, “Originals, Reproductions, and a ‘Particular Taste’ for Pastiche in the Seventeenth-Century Republic of Painting,” in *Mapping Markets for Paintings in Europe, 1450-1750*, ed. Neil De Marchi and Hans J. van Miegroet (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 237–262.

²²⁷ Martín Sebastián Soria, “Una nota sobre pintura colonial y estampas europeas,” *Anales del Instituto de Arte Americano e Investigaciones Estéticas* 5 (1952): 72–85.

54).²²⁸ Rivera has amplified the architectural context, transforming the blank walls of Mellan's engraving into the intimate space of a church's choir lined with rich wooden carvings and outfitted with an oversized cantoral lectern. Apparently, however, the entire series had not been completed to satisfaction by 1696, when the Mercedarians commissioned four artists—Gerónimo de Málaga, Lázaro de la Borda, Pedro Nolasco and Bernardo de Velasco—to finish the cycle's four outstanding canvases by copying the prints that they would be given.²²⁹ But this was actually not the main work specified in the contract. Rather, these painters were to make copies, in the short span of five months, of the entire cycle of sixty painted canvases (roughly 3.5 x 1.5 meters) that already lined the cloister's walls. We do not know exactly what became of their copies,²³⁰ but there are no less than six (!) extant paintings that feature the figures Mellan had initially engineered *within* the convent of La Merced alone. To choose but one example, Rivera's positioning of Mellan's figures within an architectural setting of a church's choir might have prompted the Mercedarians to have these figures copied in their very own choir in their adjacent church, set high above the singers and next to a clerestory window (fig. 55).

This contract lays bare the critical mechanism for understanding the repetition of forms—Rubens in repeat—in and around colonial Cuzco. While scholars have recognized the importance of the contractual obligation of painters to European prints, there has been hardly any account of the critical role of *already completed* artworks as source models for future copies, beyond the copying of miracle-working Marian and Christological icons.²³¹ The language of the contract for La Merced underlines the relatively subservient role the European print might be made to play in this painterly economy. And its language serves as a prompt to reconsider the nature of originality in the city and surrounding region that depended upon Cuzco's workshops. For despite the fact that these artists were asked to create four canvases by copying from prints, the contract proleptically conceives of and names these copies as part of the completed series and thus as *originals* for future reproduction: “sixty canvases of the life of Nuestro Padre Señor Pedro Nolasco and the Blessed Virgin of Mercy in the form and manner that they are in the convent of this city and *the originals* that are lacking should be

²²⁸ Anatole de Montaiglon, *Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre de Claude Mellan* (Abbeville, n.p., 1856), 90.

²²⁹ ARC, Protocolos Notariales, Pedro de Cáceres, Prot. 40, 1696, ff. 62r-v.

²³⁰ See Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 133.

²³¹ The closest account in the literature is provided by Ananda Cohen-Suarez, who traces a particular composition of the *Baptism of Christ* from a 1582 print, though a 1630 mural painting, to another completed in 1777. Though Cohen Suarez introduces the idea of drawings as intermediaries between compositions and connects the murals along trade routes, she still conceives of the print as the principal vector of transmission, noting “This testifies to the longevity of prints and the great pains taken to conserve (and copy) them for generations after their initial arrival in the Americas.” She then charts the localization of the composition, however, not to its pictorial repetition, but instead to the replacement of the River Jordan with the “local” Lake Titicaca. See Ananda Cohen Suarez, “From the Jordan River to Lake Titicaca: Paintings of the Baptism of Christ in Colonial Andean Churches,” *The Americas* 72 (2015): 103–140, particularly 118. The exception to this rule is the large amount of attention devoted to reproductions of images deemed miracle-working, as discussed below.

copied from the prints that they will be given.”²³² But these “original” paintings needed to be copied from print so that they, along with the cycle’s other fifty-six canvases, could themselves be copied. This contract implicitly speaks of what happened to the European print when it entered Cuzco’s reproductive economy of scale: the print might be a first step towards colonial painted production, but quickly it could be rendered all but irrelevant in the face of works of art now seen as their own originals.

It is thus telling that La Merced’s version of Rubens’s *Descent from the Cross*—itself perhaps a copy of San Gerónimo’s *original*—also shares its forms with another canvas within the space of the order’s own ecclesiastic complex. High above their church’s nave, an arched clerestory canvas formally matches these other two cuzqueñan canvases featuring the *Descent*, stretching the vertical composition to the wide pictorial field (fig. 56). In order to accommodate the figures to the new spaciousness of their setting, the painter has moved the Virgin’s attendant handmaiden to the right side of the central group and coupled her with a companion to render the scene’s female attendants as the Three Marys, a mere allusion in the original engraving. The addition is a clever way of conforming to the composition of the printed original, while logically reorganizing these forms within the broad, odd-shaped canvas whose expanse needed to be filled and visually balanced.

The practice of commissioning works of art to conform to locally produced objects, as evidenced by the contract and paintings from La Merced, was not exclusive to this order and far from an isolated example. On 15 March 1694, the Jesuit rector José Manuel de Elquita commissioned Marcos de Rivera to paint thirteen canvases of different saints for the order’s novitiate in Cuzco. These paintings were to be completed in a variety of ways. In the case of some works, only iconography was specified, leaving the artist to visually interpret iconographic specifications offered by the patron, such as: “one painting of St. Stanislaus on horseback, like St. James, leading an army against the Turks.” Another canvas was to be based upon a print, though interestingly here the artist’s use of the model was assumed, rather than demanded, and moreover he was specifically requested to augment the model he was given: “one [painting] of Saint Xavier in his passage to death, adding *to the print* Christ, the Virgin and angels receiving his soul on high” (emphasis added). Finally, however, a painting of “the fall of Saint Ignatius from a wall in Pamplona,” was to be painted “as it is (*como esta*) on the main altar of the Jesuit church of Cuzco, making the figures larger, given that the canvas is larger.”²³³

²³² ARC, Protocolos Notariales, Pedro de Cáceres, Prot. 40, 1696, ff. 62r-v. “nos obligamos a dar y entregar de la fha en sinco meses al M.R.P. fray Geronimo de Vera Religioso de la orden de nra Señora de mercedes que esta presente o a quien su poder y canse huviere y en su lugar y dho subsediere sesenta lienssos de la vida de N.P.S. Pedro Nolasco y la Virgen santissima de las mercedes de la forma y manera que estan en el claustro del combento de esta ciudad y los originales que faltaren en dhos liensos del claustro para el cumlimto de los sesenta los emos de copiar de las estampas que se les entregaren.”

²³³ ARC, Protocolos Notariales, Joan de Saldaña, Prot. 314, 1694, ff. 186r-187v. “El uno de la cayda de nuestro padre San Ygnaçio del muro de pamplona como esta en el altar maior de la ygleçia del Cuzco poniendo las personas maiores pues es el lienzo maior=el otro de San estanislao sobre un cauallo en el ayre como santiago socorriendo al exercito de los suios contra el turco...Dos lienzos tendidos a lo largo de bara y tres quartas de alto y de ancho o

This commission also illustrates the way that European prints were ushered into a local economy of painterly production and, again, how promptly they might be seen as proper to the city's visual record. For once the painting of St. Xavier on his deathbed had been made following a European print—a painting whose only iconographic differences from the model, it should be noted, were the result of the patron's wishes—such a painting could become a new original, like that of St. Ignatius on the Jesuit's high altar, to be copied in a different scale, for a different audience on the other side of the same city. In this contract, no particular distinction is made between copying from print, copying forms already extant and familiar to the city's audiences, and what we might be tempted to call “painterly invention;” that is, no hierarchy is leveled between reproductive and generative production. But more to the point, the contract implicitly speaks of what could and *would* happen to “inventions” once they entered the city's urban fabric. Inventions were quickly rendered models for future copies, but future copies, as the Mercedarians helped make clear, which were themselves always already originals for yet more copies.

The co-existence of these different models of commission is evidenced as much by the pictorial as the textual records. La Merced's the *Descent from the Cross*, for example, shares the church's space with another, arched Rubensian composition high above the nave. In 1708 Juan de Mesa commissioned a painter to complete two large canvases, one of which conforms to Rubens's *Assumption of the Virgin*, which we saw in the last chapter as a model for the frontispiece of Mexico City's cathedral (fig. 57). This printed composition seems not to have been commonly used in Cuzco; that is, unlike Rubens's scene of the *Descent from the Cross*, we do not find the composition repeated in the city. This rarity, coupled with the donor portrait of the Mercedarian friar Juan de Mesa in the lower right-hand corner, suggests that the patron specifically supplied the unknown painter with a print to which his painting was to conform.²³⁴

It would be easy to assume that the Mercedarians had a distinct preference for Rubens and deliberately commissioned paintings from the Flemish artist's printed compositions for this series, which was completed over a number of years in the early eighteenth century. But as the Jesuit contract makes abundantly clear, there would have been nothing abnormal about commissioning a painter to make one composition following a printed model, and in the same breath asking him to reproduce an already extant painted work. In other words, the *Assumption* could have depended upon an imported printed model, while the *Descent* had already shed its printed model and could be made following, or at the very least seen in relation to, other local iterations of these forms. These contracts scramble originals, origins and copies and thus demand a reconsideration of the reflexive practice of pairing cuzqueñan canvases with printed compositions. For if a painted copy was always seen as a potential future model, the print could quickly be bracketed from such reproductive operations. That is not to minimize the role of prints in Cuzco's painterly economy, but rather to relativize their

tendido dos baras y quarta el uno de San Xauier en el paso de su merte añad.o a la Estampa a xpto la santissima Virgen y angeles en lo alto recibiendo su alma...”

²³⁴ The roundel that indicates the patronage reads: “COSTEO ESTE LIENZO N.M.R. P.M.F. IVAN DE MESA VIC.º G^ERAL DE ESTAS PR^OAS DEL PERV. CALIFICADOR DE LA SVPREMA. AÑO DE, 1708.” On donor portraits in Cuzco, see Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, “Cult, Countenance, and Community: Donor Portraits from the Colonial Andes,” *Religion and the Arts* 15 (2011): 429–459.

linear impact in the work of painters and suggest that patrons thought in multiple ways, both local and global, about the creation of works of art.

In indicating that one already completed work was to be used as a model for another, these contracts also highlight the kinds of relationships that were established through the repetition of forms across the space of the city. It is not possible to know how the painting of *St. Ignatius in Pamplona* was hung in the Jesuit's novitiate—where Cuzco's indigenous cacique elite were educated—but its forms would have perpetually connected it to the order's main retable, to an image stared upon during the services of mass attended by these same young noblemen.²³⁵ Copies of Rubens's compositions in Cuzco set up the same kinds of relational dynamics, uniting the city's spaces and thus complicating many easily assumed early modern binaries. The *Raising of the Cross* and the *Deposition* alone connected edifices at the heart of the city with those on its outskirts, secularly administered institutions with those run by the city's mendicant orders surrounding its *plaza de armas*, and Spanish with indigenous communities.

These repetitions move us through the broader region of Cuzco, as well. We have already seen that Mollinedo's commission for Huanquite set up a relationship between this small, agricultural outpost and Cuzco, the Andean highland capital. In the case of Huanquite's cycle, that relationship is concretized and visualized through the portrait of the Bishop that was included in the series, which serves as a perpetual reminder of its displaced patron whose visage is set against the backdrop of the very city from which these canvases were sent. But I want to underline that the forms themselves set up those relationships; repetitions across the Andean landscape forged an interconnectedness of place that, as I will argue in the next section, viewers in the Andes were primed to see and to consciously engineer through commissioning practices. As the traveler or researcher moves *beyond* the space of the city of Cuzco, and into the hills and valleys of the surrounding region, repetition begins to overwhelm, frustrates the impulse to sort, and quickly outdates even the best efforts to catalog. As the deans of viceregal Peruvian art history, José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, would write with symptomatic exasperation, “[Rubens's] *Descent from the Cross* must exist in no less than fifty versions [in the Andes].”²³⁶ The composition echoes through the Andean hills and connects the cities that reside in their valleys both to one another and, implicitly, to the *originary* object across the sea, in Antwerp's cathedral.

Cuzco's Aesthetic of Sameness: Artistic Contracts and What they Teach Us

The contracts explored in the last section, read in conjunction with many repetitions of Rubens's compositions, helped explain how a visual landscape was created in Cuzco, a place

²³⁵ On the Jesuits and the education of indigenous elites in Peru, see Mónica Alaperrine-Bouyer, *La educación de las élites indígenas* (Lima: IFEA, 2007). Questions of corporate and individual filiation through formal resemblance are beyond the scope of the present project, though would present a promising new line of research for the field. This topic has been explored in relation to cult images in Stanfield-Mazzi, “Cult, Countenance, and Community.” As this chapter suggests, however, formal relationships established through works of art in the city extended to narrative painting.

²³⁶ Gisbert and de Mesa, *Holguín y la pintura virreinal*, 23–24. “que debe existir en no menos de 50 versiones.”

in which viewers had repeat encounters with specific compositions. These commissions not only evince the ways patrons connected works of art through formal affinity in the space of the city, but also how such a framework quickly relativized global and local vectors of pictorial transmission, rendering European printed compositions integral units of the pictorial language developed in the wake of the earthquake of 1650. In what follows, I explore the prevalence of this type of commissioning practice in the city and how it generated what I here call Cuzco's *aesthetic of sameness*, a visual system of repeated families of form that came to define the colonial city and was exported well beyond its limits. It was in this aesthetic of sameness that Rubens became Andean and that we might locate a different type of native resistance to Europe, principally to its claims of invention and origination.

We have seen that paintings copied from prints could immediately become sources for future painterly acts of conformity. In what follows, I present an overview of the commissioning practices in the city of Cuzco to propose that this was how the city's patrons and artists came to think about categories of form more generally. Commissioning practices specifying that an already extant work of art be used as a model for another united painting with other forms of artistic production, which also depended upon this type of copying. There is a pragmatic necessity to place painting into dialog with other art forms when working with archival documents in Cuzco. There are unfortunately few surviving artistic contracts from the city, in contrast to Europe's rich records; from the period examined here—roughly 1650-1750—less than three hundred contracts have been identified.²³⁷ Charting broad patterns of commission and the effects they had on the surviving visual record thus necessitates looking at the relatively small number of contracts for paintings within the broader structures of cuzqueñan art making.

Out of methodological necessity comes a certain analytic purchase. Aggregating contracts for different types of artistic production reveals the consistent identification of existing objects as models for future production and thus evidences a period recognition of formal repetitions both within and beyond the city. Although quantitative analysis and estimates are tricky and deceiving, it is clear that this type of commissioning, which took locally produced works as potential models for future contracted production, was a consistent, and perhaps even dominant, feature of Cuzco's artistic economy, such that retables, tabernacles, relief sculptures, silver liturgical objects, and altar frontals were also commissioned and produced in this way. Exploring broader artistic commissioning practices exposes a period sensibility for and sensitivity to the relationality of objects created within the city, and thus gives a particular picture of the ways that patrons and artists thought about categories of form in Cuzco. Moreover, they reveal that an aesthetic of sameness was a multimedia phenomenon in the region.

When art historians have engaged with the city's notarial source base, it has often been in the service of tracking single works of art, or the movement of particular artists and

²³⁷ For an overview of working with artistic contracts in Cuzco, see Carol Damian, "Artist and Patron in Colonial Cuzco: Workshops, Contracts, and a Petition for Independence," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* (1995): 25–53. On colonial documentation in Cuzco, see Kathryn Burns, *Into the Archive: Writing and Power in Colonial Peru* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).

patrons.²³⁸ There have been few synthetic accounts of commissioning structures and how they might suggest ways of approaching the city's material record.²³⁹ While the types of microhistorical examples presented below are not, in and of themselves, particularly revealing, together they offer a broad sense of how forms came to be repeated in Cuzco and how artists and patrons defined an aesthetic of sameness that was then exported beyond the city's limits. Unfortunately, it is nearly impossible to offer statistical analysis of this kind of data in Cuzco. While several early Peruvian studies attempted sweeping inventories of the records, the attention they brought to the documents has meant that many records (not fully transcribed in these accounts) have gone missing, pages now absent from or misplaced in the archive.²⁴⁰ More to the point, the majority of the surviving contracts specify that artists were to produce their works in accordance with drawings that were either produced by the artist himself or provided by the patron; yet not a single drawing is extant. In several cases, however, contracts specify that drawn models were also based upon and related to existing objects in the city, meaning it is likely that the broad patterns traced in this section might have been even more common than the documentary record now allows us to understand.²⁴¹

On 5 September 1721, Melchor Delgadillo, master carpenter and resident of the city, signed a contract with Captain Don Pedro de Guevara, *mayordomo* of the confraternity of Our Lady of the Miracle in the church of San Francisco. He agreed to make "a niche, like (*semejante*) the niche of Our Lady of the Sweet Name of Maria with a frame itself like that of Our Lady of Remedies, both cults that are in the Holy Cathedral of this city."²⁴² On the one hand, such a contract speaks to one simple way in which patrons could commission works of art that met standards of workmanship and the specificities of their taste; that is, the use of resemblance allowed for a type of contractual shorthand. On the other hand, however, the contract manifests a particular conceptualization of forms as things that could and *should* be

²³⁸ For three excellent examples to this effect, see Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*; Ananda Cohen Suarez, *Heaven, Hell, and Everything in Between: Murals of the Colonial Andes* (Austin, TX: Texas University Press, 2015); Marie Timberlake, "The Painted Colonial Image: Jesuit and Andean Fabrication of History in the *Matrimonio de García de Loyola con Ñusta Beatriz*," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 29 (1999): 563–598.

²³⁹ One exception is Damian, "Artist and Patron in Colonial Cuzco," though this study was principally interested in ethnic identity.

²⁴⁰ The touchstone notarial overview of Cuzco's archives and their artistic contracts is Jorge Cornejo Bouroncle, *Derroteros de arte cuzqueño*. An earlier and more fragmentary account can be found in Jesús M. Covarrubias Pozo, "Apuntes para la historia de los monumentos coloniales del Cuzco," *Revista Universitaria* 46:13 (1957): 105–407.

²⁴¹ ARC, Protocolos Notariales, Pedro Lopez de la Cerda Prot. 140, 1698, ff. 988v-999v; see also Covarrubias Pozo, "Apuntes para la historia," 232.

²⁴² ARC, Protocolos Notariales, Agustín Aguila Morillas, Prot. 18, 1720-21, ff. 411r-v. "Melchor delgadillo Maestro Carpintero ensamblador vecino de esta Ciu.d del Cuzco del piru...con el Cap.n Don Pedro de Guebara maiordomo de nuestra señora del Milagro fundada en el Combento de nro Padre San fran.co de esta dicha Ciud para haserle un Nicho semejante al nicho de nuestra señora del Dulze nombre de Maria con su marco asimesmo semexante al de nuestra senora de los remedios que ambas adbocaciones estan en la ss.ta yglecia Cathedral de esta Ciu.d..."

repeated across the space of the city. Through formal repetitions, the niche installed in San Francisco was set in relation to two different niches in the Cathedral, the three Virgins thus conceptually connected through the frames that surrounded them. The contract names Captain Guevara as the patron, but he represented the confraternity, of which he was a member, that would have collectively decided that it was to the Cathedral that they would turn and to these specific advocations of the Virgin that they would like their own to be related through the production of matching forms.

Such webs of relationality could be more complicated, uniting multiple religious congregations in Cuzco. On 2 September 1693, for example, the master silversmith Andrés Chávez entered into an agreement with the Jesuit Father Antonio Miguel, Rector of the city's Colegio de San Francisco de Borja "to make a silver altar frontal." The luxury liturgical object was to be "four *varas* in width and one and one-sixth *vara* in height from quality pieces of silver that will be shipped in a box from the Royal City [of Lima]...and it should be of the form, workmanship, vessels, garlands, engraved plaques and cartouches for saints, and all the other work and intricacies that the artist has made and finished for the chapel of Our Lady of Solitude in the Convent of Our Lady of Mercy, itself taken from another that is in the Parish of San Blas on the altar of Our Lady of Good Success."²⁴³ Although certain Jesuit saints were to be added to the adornment—Ignatius of Loyola, St. Stanislaus, and San Antonio Abad—and customize the object to the order, nearly all of the object's forms were conceived in relation to other completed altar frontals in two different parts of the city.

That Father Miguel would specify these two different objects—one in the Convent of La Merced and the other in the parish church of San Blas—is telling. Legalistically, the identification of one model alone should have been sufficient to contractually bind the artisan and assure that he reproduce the desired forms for the *colegio*. Father Miguel's mention that the model he had selected was itself made in conformity to yet another object is thus, for the art historian, a felicitous excess of language. This phrasing reveals not only how the Jesuit went about commissioning forms for his institution, but so too how he *thought* about those forms: in relation to one source object, yes, but in relation to a source object that was itself already recognized as a copy. That this object was located in the Convento de La Merced is equally fitting; for just as the paintings of St. Peter Nolasco explored above, this was a generative prime object recognized as a copy at the very moment that it served the function of an original, a new locus of creative potential. In the case of these altar frontals, the relationship of multiples did not occur within the space of a single religious institution, but was rather staged across Cuzco's urban fabric, suggesting less a linear progression from model to copy than a rhizomatic proliferation from model to intertextual web.

²⁴³ ARC, Protocolos Notariales, Pedro López de la Cerda, Prot. 136, 1693, ff. 505r-v. "Andres de chavez mro platero...con el P.e Antonio Mig.l Religioso de la Comp.a de Jesus el R.or del Colegio de Sn fran.co de Borja de hijos de cassiques de esta ciu.d...p.a haser un frontal de plata de quatro b.s de largo y una bara y sesma de alto por piasas de calidad q. se que da lleuar en un cajon al ciu.d de los Reyes...y a de ser en todo de la forma hechura labores jaras fruteros garsas laminas grauadas de S.tos cartelas y toda la demas obra y primores que tiene hecho y acabado el otor.te p.a la capilla de nra S.a de la soledad del conu.to de nra s.a de las Mrds sacado y obrado por otro q esta en la Parroquia de S.n Blas en el altar de nra S.a del buen susesso..."

This commission undercuts, again, some of the basic hierarchies assumed to structure such relational and emulative modeling. In the case of the Jesuit frontal, the prime object was one found in the indigenous parish church of San Blas, overseen by the secular clergy, to which the city's wealthy orders turned and contracted artists to produce objects that matched, as the contract lays bare. This is not an isolated example. On 12 February 1678, the Dominican reverend father and friar Miguel de Barnuevo commissioned Pedro de Oquendo el Mosso, joiner and resident in the city and his officials to craft a cedar tabernacle for the city's Dominican church, of whose confraternities the friar acted as the curate. The patron requested that the artists "make a cedar tabernacle with the frame of the second section completed in alder—a medium orange hue from the cedar—that should be of the size in width and height as the tabernacle in the parish church of San Gerónimo and of the same form and workmanship (*labor*) except that the four columns should be twisted/solomonic (*torcidas*)."²⁴⁴ The Dominican church in the center of Cuzco thus came to rely upon the forms of an indigenous parish church on the city's fringe.

Such contracts could give rise to repetitions within the space of the same religious institution and edifice. On 16 June 1712, the indigenous *mayordomos* of the confraternity of Santiago, founded in the Cathedral—Don Mateo Chalco Chapra, Don Martín Quispe, and Don Francisco Basilio Quispe—commissioned the master joiner Mateo Hurtado Lescano to complete a retable for the confraternity, which was to be installed in their chapel in the cathedral within six months' time. The retable was "to be in the likeness of that which was made for Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception that is in the said Holy Church of the Cathedral without it lacking anything." The patrons then insisted again upon their wishes of conformity, noting "that it should be, as said, as the model, form, and labor of the said retable of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception and it is in this conformity that [the artist] is obligated to make said retable."²⁴⁵ This document is also particularly revealing because these commissioners were themselves artisans; the three *mayordomos* are listed as master chair-makers (*maestros silleros*). This contract flips the roles of makers and consumers, illustrating that through the practice of commissioning works of art from pre-existing models within the

²⁴⁴ ARC, Protocolos Notariales, Lorenzo Messa Andueza, Prot. 231, 1678, ff. 90r-91v.

"Pedro de oquendo el mosso oficial ensamblador morador en esta dha ciudad con lisencia que dijo tener de Pedro de oquendo su padre y Diego Gabriel yndio asi mesmo oficial del dho... con el rreverendo padre fray Miguel de barnuevo...hacer un sagrario de cedro y la armason [armazón—frame] del segundo cuerpo de aliso la media naranja de cedro y a de ser del tamaño de ancho y largo del sagrario de la parroquia de señor san geronimo y la labor o hechura de lo mismo esepito que las quatro colunas an de estar torsidas..."

²⁴⁵ ARC, Protocolos Notariales, Alejo Fernández Escudero, Prot. 101, 1712, ff. 358r-v.

"...Matheo hurtado lescano mro ensamblador en esta dha çiu.d a q.n doi fey conosco=Y otorgo q se consertaba y conserto con el D.or D Pedro cauasa Mollinedo cura de puestas de esta S.ta Ygleçia cathedral con D Matheo chalco chapra D Martin quispe y D fran.co Basilio quispe mros silleros y mayordomos de la cofradia del apostol S.n Santiago fundada en dha S.ra Ygleçia cathedral para efecto de haser un rretablo de Primer cuerpo para la dha cofradia y a de ser y sea a la semejansa de el que esta hecho para nra S.ra de la consepsion q esta en dha S.ta Ygleçia cathedral sin q le falte cosa Alguna...segun dho es al modelo forma y labor del dho Retablo de nra s.ra de la pura y limpia conseps.n y en esta conformi.d se obligo de haser el dho Retablo..."

city, both patrons and artists came to understand its pictorial record as an array of sources for the creation of future objects.

Objects commissioned in this way not only connected institutions within the space of the city and entities within single religious institutions and edifices, but also beyond the city's limits, thus revealing the ways that Cuzco became identified as a local artistic hub with a repertoire of products that could be called upon to populate the region with religious objects. On 10 June 1650, the master silversmith, an indigenous resident of Cuzco's parish of Santiago, agreed to craft a "seat of honor of one hundred or one hundred and ten *marcos* of silver that should be of the form and craft of that in the [Jesuit] college of the city." He was commissioned by the Jesuit rector Juan de Coróba on behalf of the Doctor Don Peón de Ortega bishop of the city of Arequipa, where the work was to be shipped upon completion.²⁴⁶

Such resemblances and repetitions of Cuzco's forms were staged in other urban centers in addition to rural outposts. On 28 May 1664, the curate of the small pueblo of Macari and general vicar of the provinces surrounding the small town—two-hundred and fifty kilometers from Cuzco on the route to Lake Titicaca—entered into a contract in Cuzco. Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, master sculptor and gilder and resident of the city, agreed to travel to Macari, remaining in the town until he and his assistants finished the "retable of the church of said pueblo that will be in the form of the retablo of the confraternity of Our Lady of Remedies that is in the holy Cathedral of this city [of Cuzco]."²⁴⁷

Though we often make distinctions between painters and other types of craftsmen in this period—a distinction forged from a particular brand of art history that followed steps with the self-fashioning of Europe's masters—we have already seen, in the case of La Merced's various renditions of *St. Peter Nolasco Carried by Angels* and the Jesuit commissions of canvases for their novitiate, that painting and painters were part of the reproductive economy in Cuzco. One painting was used to make another and helps account for the highly repetitious visual record that lines the walls of the institutions throughout the city. Indeed, the majority of *all* kinds of artistic and "craft" production was subject to the demand for formal equivalences set up by the patrons in the city and by artists and merchants, as we will see, who began to make works speculatively for patrons recognized as desirous of repetition. This section has thus used archival documents, specifically artistic contracts, which at first might seem formulaic and routine, to reveal how an aesthetic of sameness was forged in Cuzco. Because these contracts cut across hierarchies and professional orientations, they allow us to

²⁴⁶ Joseph Calvo, Prot. 53, 1645-1651, ff. 493r-494r. "don juan ramos yn.o maestro platero natural de la parroquia de santiago desta ciudad...el P.e juan de cordoua rretor del colegio de la compañía de jesus desta ciudad para hacer como se obligo de hacer y que hara un sitial de plata de ciento o ciento y dies marcos de plata que sea de la forma y hechura que el dho colegio desta ciu.d tiene y con la misma elaboreo para el yllustriss.mo señor doctor don peon de ortega sottomayor obispo de la ciudad de arequipa..."

²⁴⁷ ARC, Protócolos Notariales, Lorenzo Messa Andueza, Prot. 209, 1664, ff. 613r-614v. "Joan gutierrez de padilla maestro entallador y dorador rresidente en esta dha ciudad con el Lisenciado Don Diego de bustamante y salcedo cura del pueblo de macari y vicario de la prouincia de orcasuyo del collao cauana y cauaila...un rretablo de la Yglesia del dho su pueblo que a de ser de la gechura del rretablo de la cofradia de nuestra señora de los rremedios que esta en la santa Yglesia catedral de esta ciudad para cuyo efecto a de yr al dho pueblo de macari con sus oficiales..."

understand how a broad swath of the population saw and thought about the repetitions staged throughout the colonial city and beyond its borders.

Cuzco's Rubens and the Challenge to Invention

Through an aesthetic of sameness, a visual landscape in which copies could become originary models for future production, Rubens, as an author, was loosed from the compositions he created. Once unfettered from European prints, the Flemish artist's painted compositions were produced in multiple and came to define Cuzco's pictorial environment in such a way that local artists could capitalize upon them. If, on the one hand, this repetition in the highlands of Peru speaks to the artist's global influence, on the other, it reveals how Cuzco's artists and patrons made European forms their own by conceiving of the city as a repository of forms for future artistic production. Following Rubens on a trail across the Atlantic and through the highlands thus tells us as much about social conditions in Cuzco as it does about long-distance trade and transmission and, in the process, relativizes common conceptions of the impact of the European print and the agency of colonial artists in the Andes.

The redefinition of globally circulating forms as part of a local painterly economy challenges current thinking about authorial agency in the transatlantic spaces of the Spanish Empire. Because scholars have been principally interested in excavating signs of pictorial difference to reveal indigenous or colonial resistance to European hegemony—artistic, cultural, and religious—they have not recognized that the kinds of pictorial sameness and repetition explored in this chapter might paradoxically constitute a form of colonial resistance. Furthermore, in considering pictorial and formal difference the prime site of colonial resistance, scholars have unintentionally saddled colonial makers with the burden of inventiveness from which the field has simultaneously sought to free them. Here, instead, sameness is itself considered as evidence of a robust indigenous resistance that created a condition in which the repetition of forms was desired and in which artists could thus slip out of the Europeanate binaries of originals and copies, and invention and derivation altogether.

In the last section, we saw how contracted artistic production created pictorial and formal repetitions and, in turn, the relational dynamics through which patrons and artists came to conceive of works of art in and beyond Cuzco. Because archival documents do not often line up with extant or traceable paintings, it is sometimes difficult to find “Rubens” in these kinds of contractual production, though such difficulties are themselves perhaps instructive. In certain instances, however, it is possible to extrapolate a printed source for a finished painting that an artist was asked to copy. For example, on 23 September 1693 the indigenous painters Don Andrés Quispe and Pedro Gutierrez entered into an agreement with Álvaro Diez Severino “to paint, with fine colors, twelve canvases of three and one half *varas* in height and two and two thirds *varas* in width of the life of the Mother of God conforming to those in the parish church of Santa Ana,” which unfortunately do not survive.²⁴⁸ The tremendous quantity

²⁴⁸ ARC, *Protócolos Notariales*, Cristóbal de Bustamante, Prot. 24, 1693, ff. 1104r-1105v. “Don Andres quispe prinsipal de la parroquia de señor san Geronimo desta dha ciudad=Y pedro Gutierrez natural del pueblo de tambobamba de la prouincia de cotabambas sujeto a Don Joan quispe guaman maestros pintores...con Albaro diez seuerino dueño de rrequa para pintar con colores finos dose liensos de tres baras y media de largo y de ancho dos baras y dos

of such series produced in Cuzco, nearly all of which feature paintings we can easily trace to Rubensian print sources, however, allows us to imagine certain sources and points to a chain of reproduction from print-to-painting-to-painting that quickly shed its source of origin.

Countless cuzqueñan renditions of the Holy Family returning from Egypt, for example, are extant today, copied from series to series in Cuzco just as this contract specifies: from Santa Ana's walls to the hands of Diego Severino. One finds a particularly nice specimen in the convent of La Merced, which roughly matches the proportions ($3 \frac{1}{2} : 2 \frac{2}{3}$) indicated by Severino and has been lovingly rendered with a rich palette of fine colors, as the patron requested (fig. 58). The scene has been populated with the kinds of "exotic" elements—parrots that perch in the trees and fly in the distance—that scholars frequently point to as evidence of the ways that cuzqueñan painters localized foreign printed compositions and rendered familiar the Christian narratives imposed from afar.²⁴⁹ But as the contract of Diego Severino makes clear, such a composition was already localized through reproduction, which rendered foreign compositions in multiple and turned them into products seen as constitutive of the pictorial fabric of the colonial city.

In the case of the painting of the Return from Egypt in La Merced's convent, there is little reason to believe that the painter would have looked to a foreign printed sheet at all, instead basing his painting, perhaps at a patron's behest, on one of the many that already existed in Cuzco. We find another version of the scene, for example, in the Convent of Santa Catalina, in which the Virgin holds a small rose above her swollen belly, a typical and multivalent symbol of the Virgin (fig. 59). One can track these kinds of small iconographic changes between compositions, illustrating the ways that paintings came to be produced one from another; the Virgin holds the same rose, for instance, in a canvas now housed in the Museo de Pedro de Osma in Lima, its figures traversing the wide landscape that has been stretched before them in an oddly elongated canvas (fig. 60). Pairing the two paintings is not to imply that one necessarily served as the model for the other, but rather that these paintings more generally came to be produced one to the next and in multiple, thus introducing small iconographic variations or changes in setting—to accommodate the figures to new dimensions—that set up affinities between paintings that were loosed from strict, if still easily traceable, relationships with source engravings.

These types of canvases and series were regularly exported from Cuzco during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, capitalizing on the compositions that had come to define

tersias la vida de la madre de Dios conforme esta en la Yglesia de la parroquia de señora santa Ana..."

²⁴⁹ Though critiqued, such remarks are still common in the field. For the idea that *indigenous* iconography was used to localize foreign motifs, reflecting a *mestizo* sensibility, see Teresa Gisbert, *Iconografía y mitos indígenas en el arte* (La Paz: Gisbert y Cia, 1980); for a catalog of "indigenous" elements, though specifically related to architecture, see Teresa Gisbert and José de Mesa, *Arquitectura andina, 1530-1830* (La Paz: Embajada de Perú en Bolivia, 1997), 328. A critique not yet fully explored in the field can be found in Hiroshige Okada, "Inverted Exoticism? Monkeys, Parrots, and Mermaids in Andean Colonial Art," in *The Virgin, Saints and Angels: South American Paintings 1600–1825 from the Thoma Collection*, ed. Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt (Milan: Skira, 2006), 67–80.

the city's pictorial landscape.²⁵⁰ In his work on the series of canvases depicting the life of San Francisco that line the cloister walls of the order's church in Cuzco, Jaime Lara identifies, for example, no less than seven sets of copies that were sent out from the city to outposts spanning from Ayaviri to Santiago de Chile.²⁵¹ Archival records indicate this pattern of transmission was widespread, however, and also not tied to the exigencies of particular religious orders. On 17 July 1754, for example, the painters Mauricio García and Pedro Nolasco, master painters in the city, signed a contract with Don Gabriel del Rincón to paint two-hundred and seventy-five canvases of "various saints of different sizes." Included in the commission were several series of various saints and "two [series] of the life of the Virgin Our Lady with twelve canvases: each one and one-half *vara* in height and one *vara* in width." That is, repetitions were here produced by a single artist, which was not an uncommon practice.²⁵² It was also specified, as in the case of the series copied from the walls of Santa Ana, that these canvases were to be "outfitted with landscapes with pleasing and curious adornments and some of them should be gilded (*brocateados*) with fine gold."²⁵³ Such large

²⁵⁰ The Life of the Virgin was a particularly popular series to have commissioned. For another example, the Indian painter Don Joseph Quispe Uscamayta was contracted to make a series of fifteen canvases of the life of the Virgin for the Spaniard Capt. Don Antonio de la Llorca on 17 November 1712. ARC, Protocolos Notariales, Alejo Fernández Escudero, Prot. 101, 1712, ff. 797r-v.

²⁵¹ Jaime Lara, *Birdman of Assisi: Art and the Apocalyptic in the Colonial Andes* (Tucson, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2016), 124–128. For further work on series and their export from Cuzco, see Gabriel Guarda, ed., *Barroco hispanoamericano en Chile: Vida de San Francisco de Asís según la serie que representa su nacimiento, vida, milagros, santidad, y último trance, pintada en el siglo XVII para el Convento Franciscano de Santiago de Chile y expuesta en el Museo de San Francisco del citado convento* (Madrid: Corporación Cultural 3C para el Arte, 2002), 24–25, 163–177.

²⁵² Many examples of this kind of production in the highlands exist, even beyond Cuzco, in the other cities that received its art. For one example, see Susan Verdi Webster, "El arte letrado: Andrés Sánchez Gallque y los pintores quiteños de principio de la época colonial" in *Andrés Sánchez Gallque y los primeros pintores en la audiencia de Quito*, ed. Raúl Pérez Torres (Quito: Museo de Arte Colonial de la Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana "Benjamín Carrión," 2014), 70–71.

²⁵³ ARC, Protocolos Notariales, Ambrosio Arias de Lira, Prot. 33, 1753-1754, not-foliated (page with modern addition of 1 and III, 2 folios r-v). "Mauricio Garcia y Pedro Nolasco, con D.n Gabriel Rincon...fabricarle unas pinturas de los Liensos y Vidas de Nr Señora y barios santos de diferentes talmaños en esta forma: siento y veinte y cinco liensos de a dos baras de largo y una y media del ancho de rason de tres ps.s y quatro rr.s cada uno que es el presio en q nos hemos ajustado=siento y sinquenta liensos de una bara y media de largo y una de ancho a veinte p.s dosena=sien liensos de a bara de largo y tres quartas de ancho a onze p.s dosena=una vida de S.ta Rosa de doze liensos de bara y media de largo y una de ancho a dos p.s cada lienso=Otra vida de San Antonio con doze liensos de bara y media de largo y una de ancho a dos ps. Lienso=dos vidas de la Virgen N señora con doze liensos: cada una de bara y media de largo y una de ancho a dies y siete rr.s cada lienso=la Historia de David con dose liensos de dos v.s de largo y ancho correspondiente a ôcho p.s cada uno=de modo que todos

numbers of canvases were not absorbed by the city, but rather were shipped and sold along the trade routes connecting Andean cities and missionary outposts. In fact, we know that artists entered into contracts with the express understanding that they be sold outside the city; such was the case, for example, when Simón de la Perea agreed with Juan Galindo “to prepare two dozen small canvases, one and one-third *vara* each, which should be taken to the highland provinces (*provincias de arriba*) where they should be sold...”²⁵⁴

These examples of the Holy Family, products of Cuzco’s aesthetic of sameness, returns us to this chapter’s opening example, to the cover of Kelemen’s book, and thus to an important way that Rubens could come to prototypically signify Peruvian colonial painting. In the case of the specific canvas Kelemen chose, there is even reason to believe that the painter was looking to painted models in the city rather than at the printed Rubens “original” (fig. 33). Kelemen’s own reading actually reflects the multiple origins and patterns of transmission that have thus become imbedded within the work. He was particularly drawn to the two swans that bob in the sliver of lake seen in a deep recessional space on the canvas’s left-hand side. These swans, and perhaps the general elements of the landscape itself, recommend matching the painting less with a Rubens printed original than with a local painting, such as one completed by the indigenous artist Diego Quispe Tito in 1680 (fig. 61). In the background of his scene, whose recessional calibration of brown, green and blue tones owes to the many small Flemish paintings on copper that were imported to the Andean highlands, we find the same pair of swans.²⁵⁵ Indeed, it is odd that Kelemen found the swans a particularly Andean sign, given that the birds are equally at home in the frigid lakes of northern Europe as in those of the Americas, though notably not those of the tropical *selva*. And, yet, here we find these small birds multiplying, repeated between canvases produced in the Andes.

It was through such repetitions that a Rubens composition could come to so potently signify colonial Peruvian painting for Kelemen. The figures, the forms, and even these details have been repeated so persistently that they are immediately recognizable *as* Andean, even if we must also recognize them as Rubensian. The idea that Rubens’s figures could come to be seen as prototypical of the region, and particularly cuzqueñan painting, is not simply a modern phenomenon, and not one occasioned by formal additions, fanciful local detail added to Rubens’s scenes. Rather this resignification resulted from a reconfigured sense of originals

los referidos liensos han de ser apaysados con buenos adornos de curiosidades y algunos de ellos brocateados con oro fino...”

²⁵⁴ They were then to split the gains made on the principal investment. ARC, Protócolos Notariales, Martín López de Paredes, Prot. 155, 1663, ff. 340r-341v. “...para aviar (preparar) dos docenas de liensos pequeños de vara y tercia de largo cada uno y acauados los a de llebar a las provincias de arriba donde sean de vender...”

²⁵⁵ Relatively small-scale paintings on copper were shipped from Antwerp to Peru with some frequency in the first three quarters of the seventeenth-century; as has been consistently noted in the literature, these paintings helped define landscape conventions in Andean painting, more generally. On copper, see Sandra van Ginhoven, *Connecting Art Markets: Guiliam Forchondt’s Dealership in Antwerp (c. 1632-78) and the Overseas Paintings Trade* (Boston: Brill, 2017); on the prevalence of pictorial effects owing to Flemish landscape, see Luisa Elena Alcalá, “Painting in Latin America 1550–1820: A Historical and Theoretical Framework,” in *Painting in Latin America 1550–1820*, ed. Luisa Elena Alcalá and Jonathan Brown (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 54–57.

and copies and a desire for an aesthetic of sameness that populated the city with remarkably repetitious forms, which were then also sent throughout a region that came to understand and to depend upon Cuzco as a reliable production center with a predictable array of products.

In 1732, Don Manuel de Arayndia commissioned a now-unknown artist to paint a series of fifteen large canvases for the benefit of the Capuchin sisters of the order's convent in Santiago de Chile. We know this because a large textual cartouche has been appended to the scene of the *Descent from the Cross* with which the reader is now most certainly familiar (fig. 7).²⁵⁶ This legend reads: "These fifteen canvases of the *Via Sacramenta* were commissioned to be painted by the General Don Manuel de Arayndia for the Convent of the Capuchin Sisters of the Kingdom of Chile in the year 1732." This section of the inscription ends with a small flourish, reminiscent of the closing scribal marks of a fancifully penned letter or royal missive, but after this break of phrase, as if in the place of a signature, the beholder finds: *En la ciudad del Cuzco*, or "In the city of Cuzco."

With no marker to confirm identity, the artist of the composition remains unknown. Rather, Cuzco occupies the position of the maker and takes ownership of these forms, becoming a city replete with coveted compositions and artists known for being able to produce them. In the space of this painting, the city functions as something akin to a brand name; or perhaps we might say that the city acts in the role of the publisher for this image, and does so rather fittingly given the importance of print to this process of transmission. Sent far afield, the painting is nevertheless tethered to its point of origin, undoubtedly, in part, to signal the good taste of its patron, but also to signal to the viewer where she too might buy another such object. In inserting the city's name in place of his own, the colonial artist became unknowable, but so too was Rubens lost in a pattern and scale of transmission that rendered his compositions marketable products of Cuzco's artists. If we cannot forget that the implementation of printed compositions in the landscapes of the Americas was an imposition of Christian morals through imperial force, we also have to recognize how artists capitalized upon that system in making their livelihoods and by turning the inventions of Europe into compositions recognized as local in origin through persistent acts of copying. Though the problems of connoisseurship of colonial art are legion, it is tempting to follow Mesa and Gisbert in a flight of imagination in assigning this painting to the workshop of Mauricio García, the same painter we saw entering into contract with Gabriel del Rincón for the enormous number of single canvases and series to be shipped to other highland sites.²⁵⁷ We could then understand García as a colonial painter who trafficked in forms, who adopted a standard repertoire of compositions that he made his own, but that also already existed in multiple iterations within the space of the city he called home. In the repetition of compositions from painting-to-painting—through the print's entry into the pictorial economy occasioned by Cuzco's aesthetic of sameness—Rubens was put on sale as a product of this colonial city.

To be completely clear, charting the ways the Rubens was rendered local is not a story about colonial ignorance, about prints sent to a new world in which *no one* cared about their

²⁵⁶ For the only account of this painting, see Luis K. Mebold, *Catálogo de Pintura Colonial en Chile* (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 1987), 210–211, 226.

²⁵⁷ Mebold notes in his entry that Mesa/Gisbert (personal communication) assign the painting to the workshop of García. *Ibid*, 210–211. On the problems of connoisseurship, particularly in and around Cuzco, see Hyman and Mundy, "Out of the Shadow of Vasari," 307–309.

origins and their makers. References to paintings supposedly by Rubens pepper colonial inventories, particularly in the capital city of Lima, such as the 1797 inventory of the creole Agustín de Querejazu y Clausulas that lists “a painting of Abraham, its author Rubens.”²⁵⁸ And certain cosmopolitan segments of the colonial population no doubt cared deeply about the wares they could procure through the trade networks that connected highland cities to Europe. In the poetic dialog *De la miscelánea austral*, published in Lima in 1602, for example, the Spanish-born Diego Dávalos y Figueroa stages a meandering conversation between the main characters Cilena and Delio. In La Paz (present-day Bolivia), the highland town at the heart of Andean mining in the period, the two discuss, among many things, the beautiful prints and books that are offered for sale in this colonial city. Delio explains his preference for the Venetian publisher Girolamo Russceli and notes that the prints included in his volumes should not be held in any “lower estimation” than those that the couple had seen together “with the title of *Theatrum orbis*,” Abraham Ortelius’s masterwork, originally printed in Antwerp in 1570.²⁵⁹ When Cilena queries “And why do they give it this name?” Delio responds, “Because it represents all the cities (or more!) of the universe (of those which have names) and it is with such perfection and propriety that anyone who knows one of them seeks out seeing it on the printed page and rejoices in being able to thus find his homeland.”²⁶⁰ All the cities of the universe were thus imagined from an outpost so high above the sea, which brought this couple such an Atlas, that trees barely grow. Delio continues, “...it would not be right to forget those of Michelangelo, and particularly his *Last Judgment* nor the one hundred and fifty-two that are sold as a set representing the life of our Redeemer, worked with such

²⁵⁸ AGNP, Colección Moreyra, legajo 1, d. 31-813, n.f. Disposición testamentaria del Sor Dn Agustín de Querejazu y Clausulas del testam.to que en virtud de su poder otorgo su hermano el Sor Dr Dn Matias Querejazu" Lima 12 de Diciembre 1797. “un lienzo de Abraham, su autor Rubens.” One series, clearly of Flemish origin, survives in San Francisco de Lima; the series was clearly installed by 1674 when it was inventoried as being a “invención de Pablo Rubenio,” a designation repeated in another inventory dated to 1773. For the archival transcriptions, see Benjamin Gento Sanz, *San Francisco de Lima: estudio histórico y artístico de la Iglesia y Convento de San Francisco de Lima* (Lima: Imprenta Torres Aguirre, S.A., 1945), 323–326; for descriptions and reproductions, see Juan Manuel Ugarte Eléspuru, “Rubens en la Pinacoteca Franciscana,” in *Pintura en el Virreinato del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1989), 239–263.

²⁵⁹ Diego Dávalos y Figueroa, *De la miscelánea austral* (Lima: Antonio Ricardo, 1602), 92r. I thank Emily Floyd for introducing me to this wonderful text. On Ortelius’s global reach and reinterpretation, see Mia M. Mochizuki, “The Moveable Center: The Netherlandish Map in Japan,” in *Artistic and Cultural Exchanges between Europe and Asia, 1400-1900: Rethinking Markets, Workshops and Collections*, ed. Michael North (Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2010), 109–134.

²⁶⁰ Dávalos y Figueroa, *De la miscelánea austral*, 92r. “C. Y porque le dierõ esse nõbre? D. Porque figuran todas las ciudades o las mas del vniuerso (de las que tienen nombre) y es con tanta perfeccion y propiedad, que qualquiera que conosce alguna dellas, echa de ver en la estãpa...lo qual alegran y gloriãn los que aciertan a hallar alli sus patrias.”

perfection by diverse makers...that they incite admiration and a desire to *know their authors* (conocer sus autores).”²⁶¹

The characters of this dialogue thus evince one of the principle goals of the reproductive engraving: to incite a desire, on the part of the beholder, to know the original work and value its inventor. But whose handiwork and which author did Cuzco’s workshops prompt a viewer to want to know in recasting Rubens’s compositions so often? Colonial remaking stripped the artist of his product, and the multiplicity of copies created intertextual webs that caused a continual slippage, a persistent deferral of authorial origin. If the Rubens print had been rendered, in part, to augment the author’s fame beyond his home city of Antwerp, it also set in motion a transatlantic occurrence that loosed the author from his forms. It is thus striking that the creole Bartolomé Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela would write from Potosí—in his monumental history of this mining capital—that “In Cuzco one finds *famous brushes* (famosos pinceles), excelling particularly one Indian with the name Tomasillo.”²⁶² After entering a new regional market with its own logics of supply and demand, Rubens’s *ingenium* could be passed off as another maker’s. Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela offers just the first name of a painter—impossible to now identify or attribute with much certainty—but paints a picture in a collective sense, from his perch in Potosí, of the makers of a place, Cuzco, that could be relied upon to send products across the highlands.²⁶³ Though Tomasillo is singled out, it is the artists of Cuzco who are collectively heralded as famous brushes.

Such a potential for the loss, or deferral, of origin was of course the risk that European makers ran from the minute they put their products on the press. No less than Giorgio Vasari worried deeply about this, conceding that prints helped spread the “diverse inventions of the masters,” but lamenting that derivative replications were nothing but “sheets...badly made, more for gain than honor.”²⁶⁴ Copyright, privilege, the signature, and the maker’s mark were thus fraught companions to the printed page, and were all intended to anchor identity to inventions sent on the move.²⁶⁵ That is to say that Rubens could be stripped of his inventions

²⁶¹ Ibid, 92v. “...mas no es justo olvidar las de Micael Angel, particularmente la del juyzio vniuersal, ni las ciento y cincuenta y dos que andan en vn cuerpo, representando la vida de nuestro Redemptor, con suma perfeccion de diuersos artifices obradas, y fuera d estos vemos a cada passo de otros no conocidos algunas, que ponen admiracion y desseo de conocer sus autores” (emphasis added).

²⁶² Bartolomé Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, *Historia de la villa imperial de Potosí*, ed. Lewis Hanke and Gunnar Mendoza, 3 vols. (Providence, R.I.: Brown University Press, 1965 [1705-36]), III, 430. “En el Cuzco hallan otros famosos pinceles, aventajándose a todos un indio comúnmente conocido con el nombre de Tomasillo.”

²⁶³ I here differ with Luis Eduardo Wuffarden in not wanting to assert a specific identity for this artist (he suggests the altarpiece maker, architect, and sculptor Juan Tomás Tuyry Tupac), given that indeterminacy seems the operative conceptual category; Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, “From Apprentices to ‘Famous Brushes’: Native Artists in Colonial Peru,” in *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World*, ed. Ilona Katzew (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Country Museum of Art, 2011), particularly 260.

²⁶⁴ Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, trans. Gaston de Vere (New Yorks: Abrams, 1979), 705, and 1345.

²⁶⁵ Christopher L. C. E. Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome* (Leiden: Brill 2004); for an excellent critical treatment,

well before they left Europe's shores. While the artist guarded his compositions with a triple privilege against copying, copied they were, nevertheless.²⁶⁶

A pairing of prints of the *Holy Family*, both engraved by Schelte à Bolswert after designs by Rubens and Gerard Seghers, illustrate how Rubens became frustratingly stripped of his painted and printed compositions in spite of these proto-copyright regulations (figs. 62 & 63). Rubens's composed his scene of the *Holy Family*—in dialog with a model engraved c. 1600 by Anton Wierix—around 1620, at the behest of Antwerp's *burgemeester* Nicolas Rockox, for a side-altar in the city's Jesuit church.²⁶⁷ Seghers engineered his composition for print before 1631 and denied the Rubensian legacy in which he worked, claiming to be the composition's inventor (“*inven*”), or singular point of origin. Should we choose to indulge a Vasarian impulse towards authorial aura, we might concede that the slight off-centeredness of Rubens's composition, for example, creates a dynamism and energy that the more staid, placid figures of Gerard Seghers's subsequent version of the same composition lacks; we might see, in Seghers's pictorial choices, slight compositional adaptations that made the work his own, a scene made to ride the coattails of Rubens's success and one that thereby diminished the spark of his invention. Taking the credit entirely for themselves, Seghers and Bolswert dedicated their first edition, through a laudatory inscription, to Diego Felipe de Guzmán, the Marquis of Leganés, a man of great political influence who commanded troops throughout the early decades of the seventeenth century in the Spanish Netherlands. When Seghers released a second edition of the *Holy Family*, the print was accompanied by four lines of Latin text in place of the dedication, as illustrated here, ostensibly to market the engraving to a broader, popular market.²⁶⁸ Seghers's was a print made for honor, but then marketed for profit, turning Rubens's invention into a gross product, as Vasari had warned.

In the print's spatial translation across the Atlantic and through the New World workshops that would reconstitute them in paint, intertextual relationships became perforce more attenuated and origin points more complicated to pinpoint. In a transatlantic geography, prints could shed their authors altogether, and another group of makers could profit from their forms. Though both Rubens's and Seghers's versions of the printed composition were copied on New World soil, it was Seghers's composition of the *Holy Family*, which took root in the

see Lisa Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying and the Italian Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

²⁶⁶ Nico van Hout, “Copyright Rubens: Cum privilegiis...” in *Rubens et l'art de la gravure*, ed. Nico van Hout (Ghent: Ludion, 2004), 30–39.

²⁶⁷ Damaged in the fire that ravaged the church in 1719, auctioned off after the expulsion of the Jesuits, the painting ended up at the Metropolitan Museum, New York where it was de-accessioned in the 1980s and subsequently sold twice at auction. For the commission history, see Max Rooses, *L'oeuvre de P.P. Rubens: Histoire et description de ses tableaux et dessins*, vol. 1 (Antwerp: Jos. Maes, 1886), 246–247. On the provenance, see Bryson Burroughs, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Catalogue of Paintings* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1931), 311–312 (entry R82-1), and “Peter Paul Rubens, studio of, The Return of the Holy Family from Egypt, Lot 1239, <https://www.lemperz.com/en/catalogues/lot/987-1/1239-peter-paul-rubens-studio-of.html>, accessed December 12, 2014.

²⁶⁸ F.W.H Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450-1700*. Vol. III (Boekhorst-Brueghel) (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, 1950), 80.

viceroyalty of Peru with particular force.²⁶⁹ There are five works that hew to this composition in Cuzco's cathedral alone. A lovely rendition, replete with the fine colors and gilding that, as we have seen, patrons often requested, now hangs in the *capilla de la platería* (fig. 64).²⁷⁰ These forms echo across the nave to another, more humble version installed in the lower left-hand corner of the retablo of a Virgin that goes by the name *La Linda*, or the beautiful one (fig. 65).²⁷¹ In the cognate position on the right side of the retablo, Segher's composition has been repeated, but its figures have been transformed. In a scene immediately recognizable as its match across the retablo, Anna and Joachim take up the Virgin and Joseph's places and now flank a young Mary, rendering the scene a tribute to the Virgin's own immaculacy that made her a worthy vessel for Christ.

The tabernacle on the main altar of the Iglesia de la Sagrada Familia—another part of the cathedral's tripartite complex—illustrates that the association of Segher's scene with Mary's own immaculacy was not entirely uncommon (fig. 66). In fact, it may have been precisely by looking at the retablo of *La Linda*, not more than fifty steps away, that its makers and patron decided to include the Virgin's parents to help stretch the composition across the tabernacle's wide plane. The polychromed, gilded retablo also demonstrates the ways that compositions could move, and thus be thought of, between media; while one finds routine scholarly reference to prints sources for reliefs, sculptures, and architectural adornment, so too were already completed *paintings* used as models.²⁷² Though the Virgin's parents have been added to this scene, they are rendered as conspicuous appendages both by a lack of spatial integration within the scene and, outside the field, by the city's repetitious pictorial record in which the viewer routinely encountered the main figural, family unit.²⁷³ The composition recurs outside its numerous iterations in the Cathedral. For example, one finds another instantiation in the central stairwell of the city's Franciscan cloister, where a large canvas ringed with typically Flemish flowers and gilded with lavish *brocateado* adornments hangs in a recessed, arched niche for which it was likely expressly made (fig. 67).

Cuzco's prodigious workshops of painters sent this composition further afield, and in great numbers. The composition can be found alongside the series that Mollinedo commissioned for Huanoquite, for example (fig. 68), or high in the hills above Cuzco in the indigenous church of Chinchero. In the convent of Santa Catalina in Arequipa, one finds another version, expanded to fit a lunette-shaped arch (fig. 69); and while we might suspect, given the city's distance from Cuzco, that the scene was copied directly from print, it just as

²⁶⁹ For some examples of colonial artworks that correspond to the Rubens print, see PESSCA 44A and its correspondences.

²⁷⁰ The original location is unknown.

²⁷¹ For information on this altarpiece, the gilding of which in 1712 suggests an approximate date for the canvases, see Covarrubias Pozo, *Cuzco colonial y su arte*, 43.

²⁷² Another example of this scene rendered in sculpted form—as an unadorned, carved wood panel—can be found in the Museo de la Universidad Nacional de San Agustín in Arequipa; see PESSCA 47A/3088A. On the use of prints in architecture, see Susan Verdi Webster, “Masters of the Trade: Native Artisans, Guilds, and the Construction of Colonial Quito,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 68 (2009): 10–29.

²⁷³ The retablo, which is original to the space, was most likely in place in 1735 when we have a description of the completed building. See, Flores Ochoa, et al., *Tesoros de la catedral del Cusco*, 77.

well may have been rendered in conformity with one of the two other canvases of the scene in the same convent, both of which seem to have been produced in Cuzco and shipped along the arduous five-hundred kilometer route connecting the two cities.²⁷⁴ This also raises the possibility that a painting produced in Cuzco served as a model for another in Arequipa, creating a spatial remove from a European print source in Cuzco that underlines both a conceptual distance and the ways that various vectors of local, interregional painted transmission might be considered alongside the dominant trans-Atlantic model-copy paradigm.²⁷⁵ Paintings of this composition, produced in a distinctly cuzqueñan style, would travel further still, ending up at least as far from Cuzco as La Paz, as Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela indicated they would (fig. 70).

At this point, not a single document exists that reveals the exact mechanisms by which these forms came to populate the Andean highlands. The intertextual web—whose density and interconnectedness cannot be overstated—obviously depended upon the printed page, but its breadth suggest an alternative path that this composition took along the roads of the Andes, forms moving from canvas to canvas unmoored from their European origins. More to the point, however, this network helps us assess how people necessarily came to think about and see paintings in the highlands: namely, in multiple and in relation to other *paintings*. The printed composition rendered in paint could become a colonial intertext, referring to other colonial paintings rather than to the printed sheets and the inventions of their European authors.

It is abundantly clear that by the time this same composition was replicated three-hundred years later to be placed on a hotel wall in Arequipa, or for a touristy knick-knack shop in Cuzco, the composition had fully shed Seghers and Bolswert, bore no trace of Rubens and was anything but European (fig. 71). In fact, the very reason a hotel owner or an eager tourist would buy a replica, an early modern knock-off, is because the composition was reproduced so insistently throughout the Viceroyalty of Peru—and the visitor to the highlands thereby encounters the composition in multiple in so many churches—that it has come to prototypically signify the *New World*, has become an icon of colonial art making. Paintings rendered from print, in turn, spawned their *own* copies, and rooted the composition into the local visual idiom more forcefully with every repetition. This process and its resultant multiplicity thus rendered the composition so canonically cuzqueñan that even modern creators must now make their works “conform.”

Finding Agency in Conformity: A New Look at Hybridity

Even more acutely than in the case of New Spanish art, questions of invention and repetition in viceregal Peruvian art have been approached with a post-colonial unease about casting the colonial artist in the role of the slavish copyist. The implicit concern is that by

²⁷⁴ Unfortunately, given lighting conditions and photography restrictions, illustrations of these canvases cannot be provided here.

²⁷⁵ Surprisingly little work has been done on inter-regional artistic economies, and less still on the intersection between global and local vectors of production, as noted in Clara Bargellini, “Painting for Export in Mexico City in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” in *Art in Spain and the Hispanic World: Essays in Honor of Jonathan Brown*, ed. Sarah Schroth (London: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2010), 285–303.

consistently defining colonial artworks as “mere” copies, one incidentally reinscribes the New World artist within a geographic binary of Europe as *inventive* and originary, and its colonies as derivative and repetitive. The roots of such a binary, as we have already seen, stretch back to the years after conquest. Another Franciscan tale, from the friar and chronicler Gerónimo de Mendieta, highlights the analytic traps laid for the scholar. Mendieta offers, as seemingly miraculous fact: “If there are twenty craftsmen, and they set out to make an image, all together, and they divide the figure amongst themselves in as many parts as there are men, and each one takes his piece, and they take them to make in their houses, and after, each one comes with his own piece and to it they add all of the others, by luck the image will remain just as perfect and finished as if only one craftsman had done the work.”²⁷⁶ This kind of commentary stressed a colonial fiction that, in the New World, one could locate artists sufficiently free of creative impulse to personally or locally inflect their copying of Europe’s forms. These were native copyists, Mendieta submits, that reproduced “naturally” and with no inclination towards formal or stylistic alteration, such that their individual pieces of a copied work could be sutured with those of others in order to produce a perfectly finished and unified composition.

Perhaps particularly in Cuzco, where signed works are sparse and names gleaned in archival documents barely suffice to pull singular artists from the shadows of anonymity, scholars have treated European forms and their local expressions with an eye to returning to native craftsmen some of the agency that had so long been denied to them. The field of colonial Peruvian art history has thus made a habit of locating pictorial difference between European models and locally produced artworks as evidence of a local resistance to the effects of European colonialism. Pictorial difference, both formal and stylistic, has been framed as *the* site of artistic agency and religio-cultural resistance; if Europe’s forms were altered or augmented, so the logic goes, it was not only out of a spirit of creative potential, but so too in order to smuggle pre-conquest religious and cultural content into the European pictorial field. Locating something authentically Andean has seemed to necessitate evidence of artistic capacity to modify Christian forms and practices and, in so doing, transform a worldview that had been imposed upon a native landscape. In this short section, I briefly lay out the way that this analytic model has been applied to Cuzco’s pictorial record, and the exclusions that have resulted, before proposing that we might alternatively identify a certain kind of agency in conformity and sameness. In mechanisms of localization, one finds evidence of artists who resisted Europe’s insistence on invention and capitalized on its forms as proper to the colonial outpost. In the next section, I extend this line of thinking and argue that the density of pictorial repetition, which the field has tended to downplay or overlook,

²⁷⁶ Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana*, vol. 3 (Mexico City: Editorial Salvador Chávez Hayhoe, 1945), 56–57. “Si son veinte oficiales, toman a hacer una imagen todos ellos juntos, y dividiendo entre sí la figura de la imagen en tantas partes quantos ellos son, cada uno toma su pedazo y lo van a hacer a sus casas, y después viene cada uno con el suyo, y lo van juntado a los otros, y de esta suerte viene a quedar la imagen tan perfecta y acabada como si un solo oficial la hubiera obrado.” This tale is copied, word for word, in Fray Juan de Torquemada’s account of the New World, suggesting it was both a valued explanation and was widely disseminated amongst European commentators. See Fray Juan de Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana*, 3rd ed. (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, S.A., 1969), 210.

can itself be read against the grain to reveal an indigenous resistance to the very norms of European, particularly Catholic, representation.

Thus far, I have stressed conformity with Rubensian models, but it is easy enough to instead chart dramatic pictorial difference. A painting in the Templo de San Juan de Letrán in Juli—on the shores of Lake Titicaca—for instance follows closely after, if does not quite compositionally copy, one of Rubens's many scenes of the Adoration of the Magi (figs. 72, 73 & 74). In this canvas, however, the painter has transformed the Magus Caspar into an Inka noble.²⁷⁷ The figure is clad in a rich, woven Andean vestment—markedly different from the brocade silk of the gowns of his companions—and crowned with the Inka *maskapaycha*, a red fringe headdress that was the symbol of legitimate descent from Inka nobility and, in the colonial period, came to be reserved for elite community leaders that held prominent positions in local parishes.²⁷⁸ A cast of young indigenous boys trails behind him, sporting woven headbands in their hair. Caspar and his tribe become *Indian* substitutes for the figures of the Indian East, rather than West, as described in the bible and visualized in European engravings.

Such a scene indexes a rich colonial reimagination of the biblical account, though it remains unclear whether that is the result of an artistic will to difference, the behest of an indigenous patron, or deliberate and calculated Jesuit strategies of cultural accommodation in the region.²⁷⁹ This picture is of the sort that has routinely intrigued the field, leading to such infelicitous terms as “hybrid” or “mestizo” and the resultant debates about how to describe a cultural product that seems so thoroughly the result of admixture, of European and indigenous visual elements and systems of thought brought together and made to cohabit.²⁸⁰ These

²⁷⁷ Mesa and Gisbert attribute this painting to Diego de la Puente, a painter born in Mechelen, who crossed that Atlantic and made his career in Peru. This would date the painting to the mid-seventeenth century and make for a fascinating case of cultural negotiation between a Europe-born painter and, if so, the likely Jesuit patrons faced with cultural accommodation. Unfortunately, they offer no evidence to make such an attribution anything but speculative. See Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 113; José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, “Diego de la Puente. Pintor flamenco en Bolivia, Peru y Chile,” *Arte y arqueología* 5/6 (1978): 185–223.

²⁷⁸ On the *maskapaycha* during the colonial period, see Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*, 130–131.

²⁷⁹ On Jesuit accommodation in the region, see Sabine MacCormack, “Grammar and Virtue: The Formulation of a Cultural and Missionary Program by the Jesuits in Early Colonial Peru,” in *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*, ed. John W. O’Malley, et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 576–601.

²⁸⁰ An extensive historiographic overview, in which Dean and Leibsohn (discussed below) are notably absent, is presented in Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *The Andean Hybrid Baroque: Convergent Cultures in the Churches of Colonial Peru* (Notre Dame, I.N.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), 1–43; another useful overview of the use of this (and related) terms in anthropology and archaeology is presented in Matthew Liebmann, “Parsing Hybridity: Archaeologies of Amalgamation in Seventeenth-Century New Mexico,” in *The Archaeology of Hybrid Material Culture*, ed. Jeb J. Card (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2013), 25–49. For a foundational study of the related term “mestizaje,” see Serge Gruzinski, *La pensée métisse* (Paris: Fayard, 1999). Prominent studies on Andean painting have included Gisbert, *Iconografía y mitos*; Carol Damian, *The Virgin of the Andes: Art and*

cases inevitably now lead to hot contestation of how to name and describe these phenomena: hybrid, trans-cultural, syncretic, arte mestizo, arte indocristiano, tequitqui, criollo, ibero-indígena, orden indo-español Americano and, most recently, the Andean hybrid Baroque. Indeed, the *Adoration of the Magi* in Juli might be considered as an emblem of “hybridity,” as a process: burdened as such terms are by theoretical underpinnings whose roots lie in early modern conceptions of racial miscegenation, it is fitting that the three magi and their tribes in the Rubensian painting have been ethnically marked, pictured as the pure colonial castes of European, African, and Indian.

In this sense, if colonial art history has become willing to look at the European print, it has been precisely in the service of overcoming it. To do so, scholars have insistently demanded that Cuzco’s pictorial corpus reveal new forms entirely. The field has shied away from the conforming copy, but in so doing has perhaps unwittingly reinscribed the paradigms of originality and derivation that it has hoped to avoid. In an article titled “Imitation and Invention in the Peruvian Baroque,” for example, Thomas Cummins writes that “what makes any Andean image (or that of any Latin American territory) interesting and novel is its creative re-elaboration and not the identification of European sources.”²⁸¹ Of course finding that creativity necessitates locating the European source, but it also means showing how indigenous artists quickly reconfigured that source through formal addition: clothing figures in colonial attire, adding fanciful local feathers, and populating scenes with lush New World landscapes, replete with local flora and fauna.

To be sure, such work has yielded dividends. It has opened up our understanding of colonial imaginaries, of the negotiations Christianity was forced to enter into in order to find its footing in the Andes and, thus, of the ways that indigenous actors made Christianity their own.²⁸² In the now-common pairing of an engraving from Jacques de Gheyn’s northern European arms exercises with a fancifully dressed and properly jaunty so-called “harquebus angel,” for instance, we witness the creative, inventive capacity to transform Europe’s forms and, so too, evidence of a persistent, indigenous religiosity that prized the European firearm as a potent reminder of the numinous clap of revered thunder (figs. 75 & 76).²⁸³ Finding that kind of creativity, an indigenous will to form and a resistance to Europe’s imposition, would seem to liberate the indigenous artist—or the colonial artist, more generally—from the types of replicative, demeaning molds that friars like Mendieta had shaped for them. It is not uncommon, therefore, to describe European prints and models as the hurdles native artists

Ritual in Colonial Cuzco (Miami Beach, FL: Grassfield, 1995). Though the concept of hybridity has had its detractors, it is still an operative analytic in many studies on Andean art, even those that skirt the term itself, as noted in Susan Verdi Webster, “Review: The Andean Hybrid Baroque: Convergent Cultures in the Churches of Colonial Peru. By Gauvin Alexander Bailey,” *The Americas* 68 (2011): 275–278.

²⁸¹ Thomas Cummins, “Imitación e invención en el barroco peruano,” in *El barroco peruano*, ed. Ramón Mujica Pinilla, vol. 2 (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2002), 26–59, specifically 29. “Lo que hace interesante y novedosa a cualquier imagen andina (o de cualquier territorio latinoamericano) es su reelaboración creativa y no la identificación de fuentes europeas.”

²⁸² See, for one example, Carolyn S. Dean, “Copied Carts: Spanish Prints and Colonial Peruvian Paintings,” *The Art Bulletin* (1996): 98–110.

²⁸³ Ramón Mujica Pinilla, *Ángeles apócrifos en la América virreinal*, 2nd ed. (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1996), 167–171.

overcame to find true liberation; Teresa Gisbert accordingly writes that Diego Quispe Tito, whose *Return from Egypt* we have seen (fig. 61), “followed Flemish engravings in his compositions; but little by little he freed himself from those influences.”²⁸⁴ Indeed, with almost no evidence about true motives, scholars have interpreted a schism between the native and Spanish members of the painter’s guild in 1688 as clear expression of this kind of supposed indigenous desire to be free of European pictorial strictures: to avoid the use of European prints and allow an indigenous *style*—flat, archaizing, ornamented—to surge forth from behind pictorial norms allegedly imposed by masters of pure Spanish blood.²⁸⁵

Skewing the field so emphatically toward a conflictual relationship with Europe, at the formal level, however, sets colonial artists into the very trap of originality from which scholars have repeatedly tried to free them. For such a tack perhaps inadvertently places a premium on and shows a preference for works of seemingly singular pictorial creation, or “inventions” (defined in a typically European way), and has begun to shape a canon of such objects; the symptomatic example of the city’s *Corpus Christi Cycle*, about which so much ink has been spilled that its inclusion now feels *de rigueur* in essays about the city’s art, makes the case well enough.²⁸⁶ If overcoming Europe’s sources, resisting the idea of supposedly passive reception, is what is interesting about colonial art, what do we do with the makers who do *not* live up to these paradigms of “re-elaboration?” That is to say: what do we do with *most* colonial makers and the objects they produced? While we *might* feel comfortable discrediting “mere” craftsmen in Europe, there is a post-colonial imperative not to do the same in the New World.

It has been nearly fifteen years since Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn decried the tyranny of the visible within the analytic models of hybridity, and yet their oft-cited critique

²⁸⁴ Teresa Gisbert, “Andean Painting,” in *Gloria In Excelsis: The Virgin and Angels in Viceregal Painting of Peru and Bolivia* (New York: Center for Inter-American Relations, 1986), 26.

²⁸⁵ In 1688 the Spanish painters drew up a petition to counter the claims of Cuzco’s indigenous artists, who had pulled out of creating a triumphal arch for the Corpus Christi celebrations of 1677. The document was published in Horacio Villanueva Urteaga, “Nacimiento de la escuela cuzqueña de pintura,” *Boletín del Archivo Departamental del Cuzco* 1 (1985): 11–13. Mesa and Gisbert created the account that still serves as a widely accepted and oft-repeated explanation: “from 1688, Indian painters set out on their own path. If they continued copying prints, their aesthetic tendencies were liberated to their own criteria, and began to develop independently, becoming increasingly close to primitive and pre-Hispanic models, as can be judged from the painting in the 18th century.” See Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, vol. 1, 137–138. Excellent recent articles have critiqued the logic of their argument, pointing to their overreliance on the 1649 ordinances of the Lima guild, which renders questionable the extent to which the dissolution of Cuzco’s guild would have had *any* impact on pictorial production; see Fernando A. Valenzuela, “The Guild of Painters in the Evolution of Art in Colonial Cusco,” Working paper des Soziologischen Seminars 01/2010 Soziologisches Seminar der Universität Luzern, June 2010; see also Fernando A. Valenzuela, “La debilidad institucional del gremio de pintores de Cusco en el período colonial: un estudio historiográfico,” *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 1 (2013): 381–402.

²⁸⁶ The classic study is now Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*.

has not transformed the ways we look at colonial painting.²⁸⁷ Their evaluation is poignant in its calls to reconsider the erasures and exclusions that models of visually-focused hybridity premise; it is too easy to overlook the indigenous labor and technology, they remind us, that *built* a Cathedral in Cuzco that may remain resolutely Spanish in visual effect. In a certain sense, I too am calling for a history of sheer labor, of a way of accounting for the technologies and the efforts of the colonial subjects that lined church walls with meters upon meters of oil-slicked canvases. But I also have suggested that we might attend to the ways that the painted forms within these canvases, in and of themselves, were resignified through the process of their continual remaking. The exclusion I wish to spotlight is that of painted forms that might look, to our eyes, simply too European-ate, too close to their models, too unrelentingly repetitious to easily reveal colonial agency or resistance on the part of their makers. But what of that ultimate form of colonial agency: namely, taking possession? Pursuing the patterns of artistic practice and reception I have sketched here allows a subject position between the binary of “mastery” of “mestizaje,” or between colonial imposition and their visible, formal transformation.²⁸⁸

Locating this kind of subject position means that, as a field, we would have to find a way to stick with sameness. What sort of challenge would that pose to both early modern notions of European invention and modern desires for hybridity? As Stella Nair would make the case, in describing a print formally transformed through the act of local painting, “Through a process of mimesis that is particular to the colonial encounter, indigenous artists copied but did not completely replicate European originals. It is in this “slippage” from the original that European models became Andean.”²⁸⁹ But we have already seen that this was not the only way for Rubens to *become* Andean. Do we need such visible signs of difference to understand Europe’s forms as reimagined? As I argued in the last section, we can find a different mechanism of localization and, with it, a different sort of agency altogether. Through literal and insistent conformity, a given composition came to no longer reference a European original, but instead existed within a local web of pictorial reference. And through repetition a group of painters in Cuzco thereby forged a path for themselves to make their livings, and capitalize upon the forms that Europe may have invented, but that the city itself became known, throughout the region, for producing.

Though we might now attach these compositions to distant, printed, European sources we must resist the imposition of “European-ness” onto period viewers who were primed to see these forms as part of the fabric of the colonial city. We might now link a small devotional object commissioned, as the textual band that runs along its base tells us, by Don Simon Thadeo de Maysondo in 1770, to one of the many Northern European scenes produced in the

²⁸⁷ Dean and Leibsohn, “Hybridity and Its Discontents,” 5–35.

²⁸⁸ In re-assigning the supposedly “hybrid” features of the church of San Lorenzo, Potosí to European influence, Thomas Dacosta Kaufmann charts “mastery” and “mestizaje” as *the* binary possibilities; Thomas Dacosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, 272–301. The field of history has more effectively conceived of spaces for colonial actors as go-betweens; see, for example, John Charles, *Allies at Odds: The Andean Church and Its Indigenous Agents, 1583-1671* (Santa Fe, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2010).

²⁸⁹ Stella Nair, “Localizing Sacredness, Difference, and *Yachacuscamcani* in a Colonial Andean Painting,” *Art Bulletin* 89 (2007): 211–238.

wake of Rubens's design for the 1613 Plantin-Moretus *Missalum Romanum* (fig. 77).²⁹⁰ But what does it mean to then recognize that the composition is equally close, in its general syntax and disposition of forms, to any number of large, painted canvases in the region, such as one example that now hangs in Cuzco's Convento de Santa Catalina (fig. 78)? If Plantin became a brand name marketed afar—a brand name that top-shelf Flemish artists, from Rubens, to van Dyck, to the Galles, to the Collaerts, capitalized upon through association and employment—what does it mean for Cuzco's artists to have done the same with the press's forms? In the textual band that names Don Thadeo de Maysondo as patron, we find the words *made in Cuzco* (“echa en el Cuzco”).

It is essential to appreciate that Cuzco's artists collectively took hold of both forms that were sent from afar and what might be considered autochthonous creations. The arquebus angel was, indeed, a creative, inventive elaboration of de Gheyn's engraved model, but it too was immediately copied and widely distributed throughout the viceroyalty. These forms were produced in such remarkable numbers that they would come to line the walls of a Lima estate pictured in Amédée François Frézier's 1714 *Relation du Voyage au mer du sud* to illustrate the following passage (fig. 79): “That City [of Cuzco] is also famous for the vast Number of Pictures the Indians there make, and wherewith they fill all the Kingdom...”²⁹¹ De Gheyn's arms exercise, and Cuzco's angel, made its way back into print, to become illustrative, now for a *European* reader of the creative potential of Cuzco's shops, their ability to populate the viceroyalties with forms that were still recognizable as cuzqueñan. This classification happened through the consistent remaking, multiplication and repetition in paint. If we would like to spotlight creative re-elaborations of prints sent from Europe's presses and ports, we must also recognize that the fate of invention was no different from that of the conforming copy: re-elaborations were sent into a world in which they were already always imagined in multiple.

One seemingly very standard painting serves as an emblem for the kind of subject position I recommend excavating and respecting for artists who worked in the highlands of the Viceroyalty of Peru. In the early eighteenth century, the Andean artist Melchor Pérez Holguín made a painting of St. Luke, who stares out at us, caught in the act of rendering his icon of the Blessed Virgin (fig. 80). Holguín, who lived and worked for his entire career in Potosí—the mining outpost that prized the strings of canvases sent from Cuzco's prolific workshops—has placed a delicate two-hair brush in the hand of the saint, sign of the loving care with which he has attended to the final details of a now-finished painting. In the Christian tradition, to paint St. Luke was always in a certain sense to create a self-portrait or, at the least, to meditate upon the painterly act; Luke was, after all, the first to take up the tools of the

²⁹⁰ Mark A. Castro notes that “This work in the Huber collection is likely based in part on a Northern European print...” See catalog entry 11 in Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt, ed., *Journeys to New Worlds: Spanish and Portuguese Colonial Art in the Roberta and Richard Huber Collection* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2013), 46. The work was most recently published in Erin Kathleen Murphy, et al., *Highest Heaven: Spanish and Portuguese Colonial Art from the Collection of Roberta and Richard Huber* (San Antonio, TX: San Antonio Museum of Art, 2016), 82, fig. 46.

²⁹¹ Amédée François Frézier, *A Voyage to the South Sea, and Along the Coasts of Chili and Peru, in the Years 1712, 1713, and 1714* (London: Christian Boyer, 1735), 175.

Christian painter, and to leave for humanity one of its most important pictures. Whether or not an artist modeled Luke in his likeness, he always modeled him in his craftsmanly station.

Holguín's painterly identification with his subject takes on a different valence, however, when we identify a printed source for his canvas: an engraved portrait of one of Rubens's famed Flemish predecessors Frans Floris (fig. 81). Engraved by Johannes Wierix to be included in Dominic Lampsonius's 1572 *Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies* (Effigies of some celebrated painters, chiefly from Lower Germany), the portrait presents Floris, who meets our gaze, as the epitome of the European inventor. The series, published by Hieronymus Cock at *Aux Quatre Vents*, one of Antwerp's premiere printing houses, celebrates the accomplishments of artists from Northern Europe and attempts to elevate them through engraved image and Latin verse to the heights that Vasari had sketched for their Italian counterparts in his seminal *Lives of the Artists*.²⁹² This series, and Floris's portrait within it, insist upon the standing that artists now expected and the learnedness and *ingenium* that undergirded such claims to this newfound status.

But in rendering Floris's portrait as Luke, Holguín reengineered the engraved picture from within its own logic, turning a product of the technology of printed reproduction into an emblem of reproducibility.²⁹³ The colonial artist has denied the identity of the European inventor in the process of remaking his invention. The female figure in Floris's hand has been transformed from the nude of classical antiquity to the icon of the Virgin Mary; or, in other words, from that potent, blank, gendered signifier of virile Renaissance creative force, to the ultimately repeatable, iconic pictorial statement whose efficacy depended instead upon its conformity to its model. The European inventor was re-presented as a pictorial replicator, and the European composition was now made to evince a logic of pictorial repetition, a logic of sameness, that was most definitively no longer its own. Holguín, in a certain sense, had conformed to the European composition, simply moving the painter's hand to accommodate the added attribute of St. Luke's ox. It was not form, but identity, that Holguín offered up to another maker, yet to another maker with whom he himself shared a symbolic affinity. Holguín thus leveled the identities of the three artists through space and time, collapsing Floris, Luke, and *himself* into a palimpsest.

It is telling that the only commentary on Holguín's picture struggles with how to describe the originality of his act. "Melchor Pérez Holguín, one of the most original of all South American painters...spent his entire career in Potosí. Although Holguín's paintings are often notable for their originality of style and composition, he, like many of his colleagues, *did* use European prints as sources of inspiration" (emphasis added).²⁹⁴ Holguín's logic—along with the environment of an aesthetic of sameness—demonstrates no such distinct

²⁹² On the *Pictorum aliquot* specifically, see Hans-Joachim Raupp, *Untersuchungen zu Künstlerbildnis und Künstlerdarstellung in den Niederlanden im 17. Jahrhundert* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1984), 18–44; Joanna Woodall and Stephanie Porras, *Picturing the Netherlandish Canon* (London: Courtauld Books Online, 2015), 9–14; and in relation to the Netherlandish reframing of Vasari, see Water S. Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's Schilder-Boeck* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 96–172.

²⁹³ On the portrait as signifier of standing and inventiveness, see Ariane Mensger, "Die exakte Kopie: Oder die Geburt des Künstlers im Zeitalter seiner Reproduzierbarkeit," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 59 (2009): 195–221.

²⁹⁴ Stratton-Pruitt, *The Virgin, Saints, and Angels*, 140–141.

tension between the “use,” or copying, of European sources and the painter’s potential to claim the “copy” as original or, indeed, an original. In fact, in crafting this painting the artist has copied the print to create an emblem for creative potential and of pictorial origins. In this painting, Holguín framed originality and invention precisely in terms of their reproduction; he rendered the portrait of the European inventor an icon of the image’s ultimate, and most powerful, reproductive capacity. Can we follow his lead?

Resistance in Repetition, or Reading Pictorial Conformity Against the Grain

It is a truism that the European printed image was implanted in the Americas to instruct Christian neophytes in the ways of the faith.²⁹⁵ This section addresses the role repetition played in this process in the viceroyalty of Peru. The repetition of painted compositions in the highland regions was simply one type of formal repetition that was deployed in the process of implementing the Christian image in the Andes. But why was repetition so particularly useful that it propelled an *aesthetic of sameness* and rendered Rubens repetitious? In an aesthetic of sameness, we find the index of another form of colonial resistance: not to invention, nor to an imposition of Europe’s forms, but to the premises of Europe’s Christian, representational economy altogether. In comparison to a model of hybridity that locates resistance at sites of formal addition and difference, sameness is here instead read against its grain to locate indigenous agency at the heart of paintings that, taken at face value or in singular instantiations, might otherwise seem dogmatically doctrinal and thoroughly Europeanate. In this sense, while the analytic tack of this section is quite different from commentators on hybridity, its aim is not altogether different. As Cummins would have it, the pursuit of so-called creative re-elaboration should be undertaken with “the intention of asking ourselves if there did not perhaps exist a series of Andean conditions that underscored the necessity of changes [introduced to a source composition].”²⁹⁶ Might one turn these terms on their head and query instead: was there a series of Andean conditions that necessitated repetition and sameness?

In answering this question, I turn to the challenge that indigenous systems of representation posed to the implementation of the Christian image in the Andean highlands and show that repetition was a strategy variously employed and understood as particularly suited to addressing these difficulties. Unlike in other parts of the Americas, indigenous “idols” in the Andes were mostly non-representational in nature, and were instead found in the aniconic forms of the Andean landscape.²⁹⁷ Though stones, springs and mountains are most

²⁹⁵ The literature on this subject is vast. See, for accounts related to the Andes, the early Sebastián, “European Models in the Art of the Viceroyalty of New Granada,” 13–38; Mujica Pinilla, ““Reading without a Book;”” and particularly Ramón Mujica Pinilla, “El arte y los sermones,” in *El barroco peruano*, ed. Ramón Mujica Pinilla (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2002), 218–313.

²⁹⁶ Cummins, “Imitación e invención,” 40. “...con la intención de preguntarnos si no existe quizá una serie andina de condiciones que subrayan la necesidad de cambios.”

²⁹⁷ On *huacas*, idols, and the landscape, see, Brian S. Bauer, *The Sacred Landscape of the Inca: The Cusco Ceque System* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1998); Lisa Trever, “Idols, Mountains, and Metaphysics in Guaman Poma’s Pictures of Huacas,” *RES*:

frequently cited *huacas*, or idols, of colonial texts, nearly any physical object could be understood as imbued with *camay*, an activating energy or force that rendered the material thing numinous.²⁹⁸ It was thus an arduous task for friars to identify and enumerate all the things that conquered neophytes should *not* revere. These were natural elements easily worshipped covertly and so diverse in type as to be all but impossible for Spaniards to consistently identify and conclusively destroy. A 1584 sermon expresses the frustrating range of idolatrous possibilities in attempting to negate them:

Adore and honor above anything else the true God, who is just one, and do not adore nor have other gods, nor idols, nor *guacas*... Don't adore the sun, nor the moon, nor the comet, nor the stars, nor the morning, neither the thunder, nor the lightening bolt, nor the rainbow, nor the hills, nor the mountains, nor the springs, nor the rivers, nor the sea, nor the ravine, nor the trees, nor the rocks, nor the sepulchers of your ancestors, nor the snakes, nor the lions, nor the bears, nor the other animals, nor the fertile earth: nor should you have any idols (*villcas*), nor *guacas*, nor the figure of a man or sheep made of stone.²⁹⁹

The problem of diversity was perhaps less troubling, however, than that of ontology. It was the singularity of sacred matter and the lack of a representational economy of signs that made the implementation of Christianity so difficult in the Andes.³⁰⁰ An unworked, lithic stone idol simply *was* divinity rather than a representation of that numinous entity.³⁰¹ Since

Anthropology and Aesthetics 59/60 (2011): 39–59; Carolyn Dean, *A Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on Rock* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).

²⁹⁸ On *Camay*, see Gerald Taylor, *Camac, camay y camasca y otros ensayos sobre Huarochirí y Yauyos* (Lima: Institut Français d'Études Andines, 2000); Frank Salomon, "How the Huacas Were: The Language of Substance and Transformation in the Huarochirí Quechua Manuscript," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 33 (1998): 7–17; Tamara L. Bray, "An Archaeological Perspective on the Andean Concept of *Camaquen*: Thinking Through Late Pre-Columbian *Ofrendas* and *Huacas*," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 19 (2009): 357–366.

²⁹⁹ Quoted in Sabine MacCormack, "Art in a Missionary Context: Images from Europe and the Andes in the Church of Andahuaylillas Near Cuzco," in *The Word Made Image: Religion, Art and Architecture in Spain and Spanish America, 1500-1600*, ed. Jonathan Brown (Boston: Gardner Museum, 1998), 105. "Adores y honres sobre todo al verdadero Dios que es uno solo, y no adores ni tengas otros dioses ni ydolos, ni guacas... No adoreys al sol, ni a la luna, ni al luzero, ni las cabrillas, ni alas estrellas, ni ala mañana, ni al trueno, o rayo, ni al arco del cielo, ni a los cerros ni montes, ni alas Fuentes, ni a los rios, ni ala mar, ni alas quebradas, ni a los arboles, ni alas piedras, ni alas sepulturas de vuestros antepassados, ni alas culebras, ni a los leones, ni a los ossos, ni a otros animals, ni ala tierra fertile: ni tengays villcas, ni guacas, ni figura de hombre o ovejas hechas de piedra."

³⁰⁰ This is a main thrust of the argument presented in the already classic Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la Santidad. La incorporación de los indios del Perú al catolicismo 1532-1750*, trans. Gabriela Ramos (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 2003).

³⁰¹ This topic is explored to good effect in Dean, *A Culture of Stone*, particularly 5 and the distinction between representational and presentational stones, 40–41.

the rock and the river were sacred, and not merely re-presented sacral forms, there was little hope of true extirpation. To the absolute consternation of friars, idols were dismantled only to leave a potent material residue that could be worshipped on the spot, or wherever the remnants were disposed, as several famous tales exemplify.³⁰² Matter, unlike its signifier, cannot be destroyed.

Because sacred matter could also exist in seemingly infinite instantiations—boulders, stones, or outcroppings spread out across the landscape—Spaniards encountered a frustrating willingness, on the part of indigenous neophytes, to set Andean “idols” alongside the Christian god and saints through a logic of accretion. Jesuit Pablo Joseph de Arriaga, the most famed extirpator of idolatry, writes in his 1621 *Extirpación de la idolatría del Piru*, for instance, that indigenous populations “believe and say that all that the [Christian] Fathers preach is true, and that the God of the Spaniards is a good God; but that all that the Fathers say and teach is for the Rulers and the Spaniards, and that for them there are their *Huacas*, and their *Malquis*, and their festivals...and thus they say that the *huacas* of the *Viracochas* (supreme Deities) are [just like] the [Christian] images, so that just as they have theirs, we have ours, and this deception and error is very detrimental.”³⁰³

At this moment in his text, Arriaga slips quickly from the problem of accretion and extirpation to the issue of representation. The detrimental error Arriaga underlines is the equation of the *huaca* with the Catholic cult object; that is, the indigenous rocky, material instantiation of the sacred with the Catholic *image*, which should be adored always and only for what it re-presents or, in other words, precisely for what it is not. This semiotic mismatch of Catholic and indigenous economies of the sacred rendered problematic both the process of uprooting native idols, and the possibility of properly implanting and implementing the Catholic image in their place. An Andean worldview premised upon material singularity cut to the very core of the fundamental paradox of Christian veneration: that venerating the image always meant moving past it, negating what was right before the eyes of its beholder. The supplicant is to be instructed by the image and be moved to empathy and identification with its subject only insofar as he can commit to an understanding that the true divine prototype resided elsewhere, always beyond the image.³⁰⁴

The Christian distinction between veneration and worship had always been fraught, periodically causing division and turmoil within the Church. Indeed, at the very moment that Catholicism pushed into American territories, the status of its images came under its most

³⁰² See Pablo Joseph de Arriaga, *La extirpación de la Idolatría en el Pirú*, ed. by Henrique Urbano (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos “Bartolomé de las Casas,” 1999), 31–32.

³⁰³ Pablo Joseph de Arriaga, *Extirpación de la idolatría del Piru*, (Lima: Geronymo de Contreras, 1621), 47. “entienden y lo dizen assi, que todo lo que los Padres predicán es verdad, y que el Dios de los Españoles es buen Dios; pero que todo aquello que dizen, y enseñan los Padres es para los Viracochas, y Españoles, y que para ellos son sus Huacas, y sus Malquis, y sus fiestas, y todas las demas cosas, que les an enseñado sus antepasados...y assi dizen, que las Huacas de los Viracochas son las imagines, y que como ellos tienen las suyas tenemos nosotros las nuestras, y este engaño y error es muy perjudicial.”

³⁰⁴ This paradox is explored to best effect in Joseph Leo Koerner, “The Icon as Iconoclasm,” in *ICONOCLASH: Beyond the Image Wars in Science, Religion, and Art*, ed. Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel (Boston: The MIT Press, 2002), 164–213.

extreme attack in Europe, as Reformation theologians and iconoclastic mobs alike challenged the viability of Catholic customs. Even in Europe, it was difficult for practitioners to maintain a cognitive and emotionally detached vantage point from which to venerate cult objects, which necessarily took material form, and it was unmanageable for church officials to effectively police the relationship between the beholder and the religious image.³⁰⁵ At this same historical juncture, however, Catholic officials faced an even more acute instantiation of the same fundamental problem in the Andes. The materialist affinity toward and presence of Andean idols rendered the distinction between presentation and representation all but unsustainable; divine signifier and signified needed to be forcefully cleaved apart in a mountainous landscape that perpetually collapsed them together.³⁰⁶

In turn, from the earliest catechetical efforts, evangelists in the Andes stressed the modes of signification that were proper to the Christian religious image. The catechism produced by the Third Council of Lima in 1585 made this issue central to its teachings, as it would remain over the course of the colonial period. The following question and its corresponding response were mandated:

Q. Father, how is it that you tell us we should not adore idols, nor *huacas*? Do the Christians not adore images that are painted and made of wood and stone, and kiss them and kneel down before them, and place them to their chests and talk to them? Are these not *huacas* also, like ours? R. Oh, son of mine, Christians do not adore nor kiss images for what they are, nor do they adore the wood, nor the metal, nor the painting: rather they adore Jesus Christ in the image of the Crucifix, and the Mother of God, our lady the Virgin Mary in her image and the saints also in their images: and the Christians know well that Jesus Christ and Our Lady and the saints are alive and in glory in heaven and they are not in these statues and images, which are rather only painted, and thus they put their hearts in heaven where Jesus Christ and the saints

³⁰⁵ On theological debates surrounding the status of images in the Reformation, see Margarete Stirm, *Die Bilderfrage in der Reformation* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, 1977); Carlos M. N. Eire, *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); and for a collection of primary documents, see Jörg Jochen Berns, ed., *Von Strittigkeit der Bilder: Texte des deutschen Bildstreits im 16. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2014). The subject of iconoclasm is vast, but for particularly useful treatments related to the status of images within the church, see John Phillips, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535-1660* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973); Carl C. Christensen, *Art and the Reformation in Germany* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1979), 66–109; David Freedberg, *Iconoclasm and Painting in the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1566-1609* (New York: Garland, 1988); Sergiusz Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts: The Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Lee Palmer Wandel, *Voracious Idols and Violent Hands: Iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich, Strasbourg, and Basel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Norbert Schnitzler, *Ikonomismus—Bildersturm: Theologischer Bilderstreit und ikonoklastisches Handeln während des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1996).

³⁰⁶ Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la Santidad*, 283–86.

are...and they revere the images and kiss them and find themselves before them, and kneel and beat their chests, for what those images represent and not for what they are, in themselves, just as the *Corregidor* kisses the royal seal and provision and brings it to his head not for the wax, nor for the paper, but because it is the royal seal (*quillca*) of the King: and thus you see that should a statue be broken or an image ripped, the Christians do not cry, nor do they think that God has been broken or lost: because God is in heaven and can never perish.³⁰⁷

Much to the dismay of the Church, the problems of idolatry and the deceptive surface of the Christian image did not lessen over the course of colonial expansion. New waves of campaigns to extirpate, or uproot, highland idolatry accompanied precisely the period in which the paintings discussed in this chapter were produced.³⁰⁸ The words of a catechism alone thus proved insufficient. Christian pictures had to participate in these efforts of visual re-education. The picture, in a sense, had to self-theorize its proper viewing. But pictures (plural), I argue, could perform such self-theorization best, enacting the representational deferral necessary for proper viewing of the Christian image by the mere fact of their repetition, multiplicity, and physical dispersal. In what follows I explore Rubensian repetition in relation to visual practices aimed at isolating the dynamics of Catholic signifier and signified and several different period conceptualizations of how multiplicity might help explain the nature of the Catholic image to neophytes. These are not matching strategies, but rather all add up to create a framework in which to understand why repetitions of particular compositions might have been particularly effective in the highlands and the work that they could be made to do for the Catholic Church.

³⁰⁷ *Tercero Catecismo, y exposición de la doctrina christiana*, (Lima: Concilio Provincial de Lima, 1773 [1583]), 258–261. “P. Padre ¿como nos decis que no adoremos ídolos, ni guacas? ¿Pues los christianos no adoran las Imàgenes que estàn pintadas, y hechas de bulto, ò metal, y las besan, y se hincan de rodillas delante de ellas y se dan en los pechos, y hablan con ellas? ¿Estas no son guacas tambien, como las nuestras? R. Los christianos no adoran ni besan las Imàgnees, por lo que son, ni adoran aquel palo, ò metal, ò pintura: mas adoran à Jesu Christo en la Imàgen del Crucifixo, y à la Madre de Dios nuestra Señora la Virgen María en su Imàgen y a los Santos tambien en sus Imàgenes: y bien saben los Christianos que Jesu Christo, y Nuestra Señora, y los Santos estàn en el cielo vivos, y gloriosos, y no estàn en aquellos bultos, ó Imàgenes, sino solamente pintados, y así su corazon ponen en el cielo donde està Jesu Christo, y sus Santos, y así su corazon lo ponen en el cielo donde està Jesu Christo, y sus Santos, y en Jesu Christo ponen su esperanza, y su voluntad: y se reverencian las Imàgenes, y las besan, y se descubren delante de ellas, é hinca de rodillas y hieren los pechos, es por lo que aquellas Imàgenes representan, y no lo que por en sí son, y no lo que por en sí son, como el Corregidor besa la provision, y sello Real, y lo pone sobre su cabeza, no por aquella cera, ni por el papel, sino porque es quillca del Rey: y así vereis que se quebre un bulto, ò se rompa una Imàgen, no por eso los christianos lloran, ni piensan que Dios se les ha quebrado, ò perdido; porque mi Dios està en el cielo, y nunca perece...”

³⁰⁸ On this topic, see Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640-1750* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

Maya Stanfield-Mazzi has explored these concepts with respect to a particular category of Andean picture, which she dubs “apparition paintings.”³⁰⁹ These paintings, as one example from the town of Pomata on the shores of Titicaca illustrates, represent miracle-working statues within the spaces of their churches in commemoration of miraculous acts performed on behalf of faithful devotees (fig. 82). The statue is simultaneously shown within the space of its church and severed from that same space by a bank of clouds; this visual device does the critical work of reminding the beholder that the divine being who works miracles is not the same as the earthly statue he or she finds on the altar. Clouds render the statue an apparition of the prototype in heaven; the divinity is brought into proximity with its earthly representation to underline that it, in fact, perpetually resides elsewhere. This pictorial strategy seems to have been developed in the mid-seventeenth century to deal with the particularly thorny issue of miracle-working statues.³¹⁰ Though all Christian pictures demanded a separation of signifier and signified, objects deemed to work miracles put more pressure on the sensitive issue of proper Christian signification. For how could the particular object, the sculpture of Christ or of the Virgin, be understood to have agential power while remaining, at the same time, a hollow signifier?

The miracle-working image exerted added pressure on proper Catholic veneration, for it insisted too resolutely upon its singularity as a pictorial instantiation. Of course, the miraculous cult object was also the most copied and disseminated type of image—producing robust networks—but these copies always pointed back to a particular original linked to a singular geography, a particular church and place. The presence of the statue as heavenly apparition on the altar visually replaced the original statue on the altar within the space of the picture, cancelling this material instantiation through a cloud-ringed representation of the “original” prototype in heaven. The viewer of the apparition painting is thus offered a visual lesson about how the singular object could function numinously. The statue on the altar disappears before our eyes, momentarily doubled and covered over by its prototype, thus rendered absent through repetition and replacement at the moment of its most efficacious presence.

The miraculous icon, in insisting upon its direct link to the original, had to be spatially and semiotically interrupted for the neophyte or idolatrously inclined viewer.³¹¹ It is thus telling that the ultimate scene of the making of an icon would often be conceived, in Peru as elsewhere, through a similar pictorial strategy and framing as an apparition. An eighteenth-century painting of St. Luke portraying the Virgin—one of the Christian *Ur*-pictures, like Veronica’s veil—visualizes the painterly act as one of semiotic displacement (fig. 83). If St. Luke’s creative act was commonly visualized by way of an apparition, meant to underscore the divine inspiration of the creative act, in this painting the spatiality of that arrangement is brought to the point of collapse. The Virgin sits just atop her representation, the bank of clouds that serve as her heavenly throne barely avoiding the top of Luke’s picture. This semiotic split of signifier and signified is accomplished by means of a cloud bank, as in the

³⁰⁹ The account presented here draws specifically from Stanfield-Mazzi, *Object and Apparition*, 119–136.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 119–136.

³¹¹ The problematic similarity of the miracle-working image and the Andean idol is explored in Sabine MacCormack, “From the Sun of the Incas to the Virgin of Copacabana,” *Representations* 8 (1984): 30–60.

apparition paintings, but this visual mechanism now works in conjunction with a doubling, rather than a replacement, of the holy figure. The viewer is pushed to identify sameness, the mimetic nature of Luke's transcription, and therefore to simultaneously recognize that the Virgin within the space of Luke's canvas is *just* a picture; the viewer visually links representation to prototype through the repetition of conforming copies, and is thus forced to confront and sort the difference between signifier and signified. However proximate these repetitions, one nearly collapsing atop the other, the clouds insist on a separation, they compel the recognition that the prototype will always remain in an inaccessible elsewhere.

One of the conforming copies of Rubens's *Raising of the Cross* reveals how easily paintings could be caught up in the anxiety about singular, material instantiation of the indigenous divine, through their intersections—both literal and figurative—with Catholic strategies of representation in the Andes (fig. 44 & 45). The *Raising of the Cross* in the Cathedral's chapel of *Nuestro Señor de los Temblores* makes one departure from both the printed model and the other conforming copies of the scene in Cuzco. Directly above the tortured, pale, and spotlighted body of Christ, a smaller figure of the Savior rises in a ring of luminous clouds. This painted addition doubles the holy figure, collapsing the temporalities of Crucifixion and Ascension, and thus unfolding the story of Christian salvation within the single painting. As a narrative strategy, there might be nothing particularly notable about this inclusion; indeed, temporal elision was one strategy of early Christian images in Europe, serving to link the stories of the Bible and their narrative progression within the space of the single picture.³¹² Yet the way that this cuzqueñan painting pairs the erection of Christ's cross and the Ascension while only doubling the holy body and staging it in dialog against itself is particularly revealing, as is the positioning of this doubled body at its moment of escape from the space of the picture. The frame fails to contain the light-filled mandorla around the figure of Christ that barely remains hemmed in by the canvas's top edge. The spatial ascension of the doubling and the resultant tension at the frame's edge aligns the painting with the Third Council's calls to resist an overidentification of the signifier with its signified, to "know well that Jesus Christ and Our Lady and the saints are alive and in glory in heaven and they are not in these statues and images, which are rather only painted. The picture thus also asks its viewers to "put their hearts in heaven where Jesus Christ and the saints are," to move beyond the narrative scene by following Christ's rise and escape from the pictorial representation.

This painting thus allows itself to be framed within catechetical concerns and within the heightened Catholic anxiety, in the Andes, about the pictorial collapse of signifier and signified. It does so not only through the repetition of Christ's form, but also through a pictorial strategy that spatially isolates that doubled form within the picture and against its upper border. To be clear, this painting does so via its *non-conformity* with the printed model—through a small moment of the painting's pictorial difference—but one that I stress as an entrée to the ways Rubens's compositions could become wrapped up in the crisis of representation faced by the Catholic Church in the Andes.

³¹² See, for example, Barbara Lane, *Hans Memling: Master Painter in Fifteenth-Century Bruges* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 147–173. For a useful account of the various ends to which such strategies could be put, see Kathryn M. Rudy, "Virtual Pilgrimage through the Jerusalem Cityscape," in *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, ed. Bianca Kühnel, Galit Noga-Banai and Hanna Vorholt (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 381–393.

In what follows, I turn to stricter compositional conformity, and I argue that the doubling produced within the Cathedral's *Raising of the Cross* was also staged through geographic space by the production and distribution of multiple conforming paintings. The production of conforming compositions and a repetitious visual record staged these kinds of visual resonances and semiotic deferrals throughout the city and across the region through which Rubens was staged in repeat. For much as the doubling of Christ's body within the space of this single *Raising of the Cross* instructs its viewers to move their hearts and minds beyond the space of the picture, so too could the entire scene of the tortured body of Christ raised on his cross in being doubled, and indeed tripled, around the square of Cuzco (figs. 44, 47 & 48). If the viewer was pushed to see the repetition of representation in the portrayal of St. Luke painting the Virgin through their spatial proximity within the picture, the viewer in Cuzco was primed to relate forms across the space of the city, as discussed above. When understood in relation to the fraught Catholic image, this mode of viewing compositions and families of form in the region can be framed through the ways that repetitions were calculatedly deployed to cause a continual recognition of the schism between prototype and representation. Repetitions of entire scenes—multiples of conforming copies sent out to create a rhizomatic web—could perform similar work by prompting the viewer to see the object before him in relation to another and therefore to move beyond its singular material surface and pictorial instantiation: in short, to move from the singular to the multiple.

As we have seen, geography played no small part in these webs of conforming copies in the Andes. Copies were positioned through the city, but repetitions were also staged through the region, as canvases were shipped out to outposts and as patrons came to Cuzco in search of particular compositions associated with the city. An eighteenth-century painting with a rather unusual Christian iconography helps excavate some of the work that this kind of geographic dispersal—that is to say the space between “original” and conforming copy, or between conforming copies—could be made to do for the Christian picture in the Andes (fig. 84). In the painting, Veronica has already reached out in mercy to Christ on his Way to Calvary and has wiped his brow of the sweat and grime that had accumulated on his treacherous journey. The picture's textual legend reads: “With an excessive cry, Veronica looked for Christ from whom she took, as her prize, his Holy face.” Veronica reveals to us her veil, but in the place of the single face promised by the text—the ultimate Christian icon of Christ's visage made without the intervention of human hands—the viewer encounters three. The arcane iconography finds few parallels on either side of the Atlantic, though in this instance rarity is less interesting and important than the conceptual framework that this establishes for the Catholic image in this particular Peruvian context.

Period commentaries for this type of painting are equally rare, though no less than the famed Spanish artist and theorist Antonio Palomino helps make some sense of the scene. He does so not in the spirit of explaining such a painting, however, but rather simply in attempting to enumerate the multiple *acheiropoetical* images—eight in total, he claims—that Christ left on earth for humanity's benefit. To account for three of these sacred faces of Christ, Palomino describes “Three sacred effigies of Christ Our Lord impressed during his sacrosanct Passion into the folds of the canvas that this pious woman, communally called Veronica, or Verenice, offered his majesty to dry his wounded, bleeding, and fatigued face.”³¹³ Though

³¹³ Antonio Palomino de Castro y Velasco, *El museo pictorico, y escala óptica...* vol. 1 (Madrid, Imprenta de Sancha, 1795-97 [1715-24], 104. ““La tres sagradas efigies de Christo

some scholars have wished to read the Peruvian canvas for its trinitarian overtones—no doubt part of its significance—Palomino’s description of the biblical event and its resultant images offers a different inflection.³¹⁴ This is a tale about how the Christian picture emerged in multiple to be disseminated. If the creation of the image in Veronica’s veil was God’s way of leaving a picture of the savior for humanity’s recollection and, in so doing, of sanctioning the use of images within the Church, Palomino and this Peruvian canvas highlight how repetition was an integral component of that sanction.³¹⁵

In its formal structure, the Peruvian painting reveals how such repetition stages a conceptual short-circuiting and renders difficult or uncertain, if momentarily, the task of sorting originals and copies and thus of locating divine presence and absence. The visages on the veil meet our gaze, which is forced to dart between three matching sets of eyes. This flicker of uncertainty and the recognition of sameness and multiplicity, ends in a realization that all three faces, despite the immediacy of their effect, are mere representations (within a representation); the three faces only offer *absent* presence once we distinguish them as repetitions of the face of Christ who stares blankly off into the distance or, perhaps, at the images he has left for us. In this picture, the surplus of presence in the veil highlights the ultimate absence of the figure it represents, the holy figure of Christ who will be led off into the distance.

Palomino’s account of this scene of Christian image making is equally revealing in how it describes the aftermath of the scene and, in turn, how the multiplicity staged in this Peruvian painting was fundamentally linked to issues about the dispersal and geographies of the Catholic picture. For Palomino explains that the three faces—*impresas*, or impressed into the fabric of the veil—were made through God’s handicraft so that they could be distributed. The writer thus indicates where his reader might now find these images: one is to be seen in Rome, another in Jaén, having been brought to the city by Saint Euphrasius and the last, he notes, “is said to be in the sea, for some curious reason, but not being able to be certain of the story, I here do not refer to it; but [whatever the reason, it] would not be lacking in providence to serve the goals of that highest, incomprehensible wisdom [of God].”³¹⁶ The text thus leaves the final image unaccounted for, and in so doing sets his reader into a strange position vis-à-vis the Christological *Urbild*. For, of course, innumerable copies of Veronica’s veil had been made in the subsequent centuries, such that Palomino’s refusal to account for the missing face

señor nuestro en su pasión sacrosanta impresas en los tres dobleces del lienzo, que aquella muger piadosa, llamada comunmente *Berónica*, ó *Berenice*, ofreció á su magestad para enxugar su herido, sangriento, y fatigado rostro...”

³¹⁴ Ramón Mujica Pinilla, “Arte e identidad: las raíces culturales del barroco peruano,” in *El barroco peruano*, ed. Ramón Mujica Pinilla, vol. 1 (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2002), 37; María del Maquívar, *De lo permitido a lo prohibido: iconografía de la Santísima Trinidad en la Nueva España* (Mexico City: Porrúa, 2006), 254–256.

³¹⁵ For the most comprehensive overview of depictions of Veronica’s veil, and the still-most compelling account of its theological complexities, see Gerhard Wolf, *Schleier und Spiegel: Traditionen des Christusbildes und die Bildkonzepte der Renaissance* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2002). No account is given of the iconography discussed here.

³¹⁶ Palomino, *El museo pictórico*, 104. “Y la otra no sé con qué fundamento, se dice estar en la mar, por un caso bien extraño, que por no constarme autenticamente, no lo refiero; pero no carecería de providencia para los fines reservados á la altísima, incomprehensible sabiduría...”

of Christ, the absent impression, renders every picture of Veronica's veil that we encounter a potential "original." This was apparently God's wish: Palomino remains steadfast in his belief that loss was a matter of divine wisdom and forethought. Sent forth on a vanished ship, this original could now be found anywhere from Antwerp to the Andes. But even then, original and copy ultimately exist in a fraught relationship, for that lost "original" is itself still only a copy, the absent presence of a divinity residing elsewhere—in Rome and Jaén, but ultimately beyond the image, in heaven.³¹⁷

Reading Palomino's text in concert with the Peruvian painting offers a potent sense of the linkage between the paradox of the Christian image (its absent presence) and the repetition of images, or forms, across worldly geographies. At the moment of their impression these three faces recall the trinity, but these three impressions will be cut up, divided so that they can be dispersed. The destiny of the Christian image, in this account, is its repetition and geographic dispersal. Through saintly peregrinations and the violent waves with which God beset a ship, the image was set upon journeys through time and space; and thus the churches that house these images—from Rome to Jaén to the home of the missing third impression—were linked through their possession of "the same" impressed image. But this surplus of "originals" only serves to reveal the absence within these images, as the Peruvian *The Way to Calvary* so aptly depicts. Both in this painting and in Palomino's description of the biblical scene, the tension between the presence of the signifier and the absence of the signified is revealed by formal repetition and amplified by a geographic dispersal that we must anticipate for the "original" and any future multiples of this holy image.

In attempting to explain the proper mechanics of the Christian image to neophytes, theologians repeatedly drew upon the idea of pictorial, or formal, repetitions dispersed throughout space. The Third Catechism, for example, remarkably linked the basic semiotic problem of proper Christian signification to the multiplicity of forms across earthly geographies. The Catechism asks the Peruvian neophyte to look beyond the surface and material singularity of Catholic representations by analogizing them to the royal seal of the King (*quillca*): Christians "revere the images and kiss them and find themselves before them, and kneel and beat their chests, for what those images represent and not for what they are, in themselves, just as the *Corregidor* kisses the royal seal and provision and brings it to his head not for the wax, nor for the paper, but because it is the royal seal (*quillca*) of the King."³¹⁸

The seal made its way to Peru in multiples, shown to the community with the public proclamation of every royal decree. The seal thus linked community to community in the highlands, which contained multiples of these same impressed forms, collections of the ordinances that each city received from the distant King. For the purposes of the Catechism, this multiplicity and the distances they thus staged were essential in disrupting a materialist

³¹⁷ On the absence of presence in depictions of the Veronica veil, see Victor I. Stoichita, "Zurbarán's Veronika," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 54 (1991): 190–206.

³¹⁸ The material surface of the painting itself also became a fraught site, as the pigments used to craft this Christian system of signs could themselves have idolatrous power and agential potential. On pigments as sacred materials, see Gabriela Siracusano, *Pigments and Power in the Andes: From the Material to the Symbolic in Andean Cultural Practices 1500-1800*, trans. Ian Barnett (London: Archetype, 2011), particularly 128–151; on indigenous resistance through color, see Gabriela A. Siracusano, "Mary's Green Brilliance: The Case of the Virgin of Copacabana," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 45 (2014): 389–406.

affinity to the *thing* itself, to the paper and wax of the document. The multiplicity and formal sameness of the seal undercut its singular material instantiation on any particular, delivered document; the seal matched all the others and created an equivalence between them, and a deferral to an inaccessible physically dislocated “original,” which resided across an ocean. The King’s seal was a perpetually absent original that created repetitions of forms that were linked across geographies and thus physically staged a separation of the signifier from the signified. The deferral of presence to an absent original was occasioned by the repeated instantiation of the seal through time (its display at varying moments of royal decree), across both local spaces (on documents in archives from one town to the next), and imperial geographies (to the matrix of the seal in Spain).³¹⁹ The connectedness of these *representations* of the King highlighted the King’s (and his seal’s) ultimate physical absence; just as his seat was in Madrid, a place that most of these subjects would never see and could hardly imagine, so too were Christ, the Virgin, and the saints unknowably distant in heaven.

The linkage between the seal and Christian images was not purely conceptual. By the early seventeenth century, *quillca*, a sixteenth-century Quechua neologism discussed in greater depth below, came to mean not only seal, but also writing and *painting*. The questions of *quillca*/seal/painting return us to the conforming copies, to the multiplication and geographic dispersal of repeated painted compositions, and of Rubens’s compositions specifically, in and around Cuzco. These paintings came to exist as part of a conceptual matrix in which repetition was deployed to disrupt the idolatrous potential inherent to the singular, but rendered more troubling in the Andes where singularity was additionally troubled because of an apparent and overburdened attachment to the materiality of the object itself. These repeated compositions existed in networks of repetition that donors, patrons, artists, and viewers were primed to see. Effectuated by the European engraving, these paintings set up their own internal logic of relationality when they began to be copied one to the next, but they also occasioned a type of visual deferral demanded by the Third Catholicism’s simile of the *quillca*, the apparition painting’s conceptual disturbance of original and copy, or any of the meditation on the multiplicity, dispersion and absent presence of the icons of the Virgin and of Christ’s visage.

All of these strategies insisted that the viewer link the forms before him to others he had encountered. So too did the repeated, painted composition. It prompted neophyte and committed Catholic alike to connect one painting to another across the space of the city and, in so doing, to move quickly away from the singular surface of the image. So too did the rumors—now only for us to reimagine—that the painting at any given colonial outpost had come from Cuzco, or was a conforming copy of one of the canvases found in its churches. In creating these parallels, I do not mean to posit a causal relationship, nor to suggest that all of these types of repetition are conceptually quite *the same*; that is, I am not suggesting that each conforming copy of a Rubens composition was crafted in order to deal with the basic difficulty of implementing a Christian system of representational signification in the Andes. Rather, I am trying to illustrate how repetition was routinely deployed for the aims of the recently implanted and consistently beleaguered Andean church and, in turn, why an aesthetic of sameness—of repetition and conformity—was a useful salve for frustrated attempts of imposing proper models of pictorial signification in the Andean landscape. These missionary impasses created a representational economy in which sameness was a usable strategy, a

³¹⁹ Cummins and Rappaport, *Beyond the Lettered City*, 211–219.

representational economy that “Rubens” was forced to enter through his printed compositions. Indigenous religiosity made Cuzco’s Christian representational system one necessarily wary of singularity and, thus, of inventions that insisted too performatively upon themselves as origin points and originals.

It is thus oddly appropriate that, in Cuzco, Rubens’s multiples came to routinely sit side-by-side with the many images of Veronica’s veil that dot the altarpieces in the city. In the Jesuit church on the city’s main square, the *Raising of the Cross* (fig. 48) hangs just above a small painting of Christ’s impressed visage, a painting that comes to function both literally and conceptually as the keystone to the entry portal that Rubens’s composition crowns. Tracking the repetitions of such Veronica veils in the city takes us, yet again, across the square and to the city’s cathedral, where two paintings of Christ’s holy face are framed on either side of the Rubens-derived *Descent from the Cross* with which the reader has become familiar (fig. 52). The doubling of the holy visage within the space of the single retable replicates something of the tension that Palomino and the Peruvian *Way to Calvary* thematized so powerfully: one impressed face creates a bilateral deferral across the retable; multiples of the holy visage within the single pictorial field defy an identification of the singular instantiation with its referent and point us, forever elsewhere, to the true “original.” But these veils complicate the repetition even further in presenting the face slightly differently on either side of the retable. Christ lacks his crown of thorns on the left-hand side and his wet hair is held closer to his sweat-drenched face. The Jesuit church’s own Christ matches more closely to the face on the right side of this retable, a prominent jaw line and large green crown of thorns rendering the face more robust within its frame. Yet even the most recently initiated viewer understands the relationship of multiple staged in these instantiations of the holy image around the main square. This is to say that even paintings of the face of Christ are never true replicas from canvas to canvas, but instead exist in relationality—much like Rubens’s compositions—by their status as conforming copies.

It was in the spatial deferral of the multiple—whether Veronica’s veil, the King’s seal, or the printed image painted into repeat—that the Christian image could self-theorize, could foil the neophyte overly invested in the identification of divinity within the space of the singular picture. Through multiplicity, a “Rubens” was thus made to do the work of something much more iconic, the work of an image type with which, in Europe, it shared neither ontology nor mode of address. Of course, this was not true simply of compositions indebted to Rubens, but rather any printed European composition that came to enter Cuzco’s reproductive economy and aesthetic of sameness, which rendered that composition in repeat. Just as the multiples of Veronica’s veil take us from one side of the retable to the next, and across the square, so too is such multiplicity and slippage staged through the space of the city by the conforming copies of Rubens’s paintings. One veil defers our gaze to the next, and Rubens’s *Descent* leads us back out of the cathedral, down the street to the nave of the Mercedarian church, just next door to its convent, and quickly down the valley to the indigenous church of San Gerónimo (figs. 50, 51 & 56). Yet as the exasperation of Mesa and Gisbert’s defeated proclamation about the sheer number of copies—“there must be more than fifty”—suggests, so too beyond the city, towards an absence of presence made to echo through the Andean hills.

The conforming copy caused a semiotic deferral by offering the viewer the opportunity to link the image before him to another he had seen—to one across the space of the city, or just down the valley, or over the hill—and the multiplicity of conforming copies

yielded intertextual webs in which that deferral became a type of infinite regress, a perpetual movement beyond the surface of the image before one's eyes. In this chapter, as in the larger project, I have focused specifically on a *cuzqueñan* corpus that derives from printed compositions by Rubens, exploring the many repetitions of particular compositions—the Raising of the Cross, the Descent, the Rubens/Seghers Holy Family. This kind of repetitiousness is not, however, the sole result of Rubens's transatlantic fame, nor any particular pride of place he might have been afforded in the city. Though defining local webs of pictorial reproduction and repetition is most easily accomplished by following single compositions, and delimiting the focus to a particular corpus—here defined by the Flemish author-artist—what is most important is how a delimited focus primes our attention, more generally, to the great repetitiousness of compositions in Cuzco and to the mechanisms by which these paintings came to exist: or, in short, to the dominant pictorial logic of Cuzco's aesthetic of sameness.

Single paintings produced in conformity to printed models might, at first glance, fail to produce the kinds of re-elaborations and formal slippages into which we can now easily read agency and resistance. But when these conforming copies are taken together and seen within the general pattern of repetitions, within an aesthetic of sameness, they reveal a different type of indigenous noncooperation, or even defiance. If the field of colonial Latin American art, can recognize, rather than shy away from, the monotony of Cuzco's pictorial record, we can find evidence of a different kind of agency and a different sort of indigenous resistance: a resistance to the very categories of Christian semiotics and representation. This is to read sameness against its grain by placing it in dialog with itself and by revealing the work that multiples and geographic dispersal was made to do for the Christian image in and around Cuzco, and thus the corner into which Christianity was backed by an indigenous resistance to the mores of the Catholic picture.

Conclusion: *Quillca* as Painting, Sameness as Authorship

This chapter has stressed unexpected relationships between originals and copies in Cuzco: paintings made to conform with printed compositions that themselves became models for copying; contracts that speak of copies as originals to be copied, yet again; objects made to conform to models, which were recognized as having been modeled on yet other objects. In exploring these isolated instances in concert, I have sought to highlight the conditions of the Catholic picture in the Andes, conditions that prized multiplicity, repetition, and conformity. These conditions allowed for the localization of “foreign” European compositions in a painterly environment that rendered them in multiple and transformed them into objects that were recognized as typical of the region and the city of Cuzco. I have located, in that repetition, a particular type of authorial agency, on the part of colonial makers, to strip Europe of its inventions and resignify them as colonial products. Sticking with the resolute sameness of the pictorial record allowed us to chart how repetition and geographic dispersal served the Catholic Church, revealing its continual frustrations in the face of the particularities of indigenous religion and its resistance to Catholic semiotics of the image.

The multiple became the condition of the image in the Andes and created an inhospitable environment for Europeanate models of invention. Rubens was thus made to inhabit a landscape in which his primacy was not necessarily quite as respected as we might imagine, nor as it was for certain artists in New Spain, as I charted in the last chapter. But

where does this leave the colonial artist? I have suggested that we need to free the colonial maker from the expectation that he live up to a category of inventive re-elaboration that was evidently not operative in the Andes, or at least not quite in a European way. The imposition of Christian conformity, the artistic sharing of forms, set up a creative domain in which artists necessarily had a less proprietary relationship to the compositions that they produced, compositions that served as repositories of forms that slipped quickly from one canvas to the next. Conformity and sameness set up a framework of making in which invention sent an original into a world in which someone else might immediately be asked to make a copy; in which artists were themselves routinely asked to make multiples; and in which teams of master painters and their workshops were charged with producing extraordinary numbers of objects and making conforming copies of works of art within the city. Invention could not have the same standing in a painterly milieu in which it was always already projected into and imagined as part of a future of multiples.

Describing these dynamics is not to relegate the native craftsman to the role of “simple” artisan, nor to deny him a potential to rise to the heights of the “true” (i.e. European) artist. Quite the contrary. For if these dynamics of production sound like a model of intertextuality *avant la lettre*—shared utterances, common language, that slips between authors—we should perhaps not be surprised. Landing in an analphabetic land, both the forms of Christian language (words written on the blank space of the page) and the characters of the Christian visual narratives needed to be made visible to indigenous populations. Both scribal text and oil-painted picture were foreign forms and technologies. Thus the media of imperial Christianity underwent a form of cultural semiosis that rendered script a type of picture, but also rendered *pictures* something akin to the repeatable units of language.³²⁰ The Quechua neologism *quillca*—which we have seen could mean the King’s seal in the Third Council’s catechism—more often was used to simply describe visual and textual production. *Quillca* came to mean both writing and painting.

The earliest definition of the word, in Domingo de Santo Tomás’s 1560 *Lexicon o vocabulario de la lengua general del Peru*, defines the term as book, letter (*carta*), or letter of the alphabet. Yet this same text also linked the alphabetic to the pictorial through the definition of the related verb *quillcani* as “to write,” “to draw,” or “to embroider with colors” and labels a *quillca camayoc* as a painter or a scribe.³²¹ Nearly fifty years later the linkage had grown stronger, such that González Holguín’s 1608 *Vocabulario* still defined *quillca* in terms of writing, but now translated the related noun *quillcanacuna* as “the instruments of writing or painting” and linked the scribe’s quill to the painter’s brush.³²² Both dictionaries relate the

³²⁰ On the notion of *quillca* as aesthetic semiosis, see Galen Brokaw, “Semiotics, Aesthetics, and the Quechua Concept of *Quilca*,” in *Colonial Mediascapes: Sensory Worlds of the Early Americas*, ed. Matt Cohen and Jeffrey Glover (Lincoln, N.A.: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 166–202.

³²¹ Domingo de Santo Tomás, *Lexicon, o vocabulario de la lengua general del Perú* (Valladolid: Francisco Fernández de Cordoba, [1560]), 170. “Quillcani.gui. o quillcacuni.gui—pintar, o escreuir generlamente. Quillcani.gui,—labrar alguna obra con colores generalmente. Quillca cmayoc—pintor generalmente...escriuano, o debuxador.”

³²² Diego González Holguín, *Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Perú llamada lengua Qquichua o del Inca* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1989 [1608]), 301 “Quellcancuna. Escrivanias, y los instrumentos de escribir, o de pintar.”

neologism to the Quechua verb *quellcanni*: “to paint or to write” (*pintar o escribir*) in the former, and “to write, to draw, to paint” in the latter.³²³ The proximity of these practices only increased over the course of the colonial period, such that in the early eighteenth century, when Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela came to praise the Indians of Cuzco for their renowned paintings, as we have seen, he would do so in a section of his text that principally lauded their ability to beautifully craft the letters of the Spanish language.³²⁴

Andean studies has seized upon this coupling of the visual arts with textual production primarily for how it underscores the visuality and materiality of both pre-conquest notational practices and viceregal systems of writing and documentation. The shared terrain of material and visual inscription has been marshaled to defamiliarize the supposedly “abstract,” and thus superior, forms of Western language and level the playing field for indigenous practitioners of non-alphabetic literacies.³²⁵ The field has only begun to recognize that this colonial understanding of the interconnectedness of text and image has as much to teach us about painting as it does about textual production.³²⁶ Through a process of cultural semiosis, in which one media came to be defined in relation to and against the other, the forms of painting (and related arts from drawing to weaving) were turned into something much more like language—component pieces (words, phrases, sentences, etc.) that slipped between copies of books, the scribe’s hand, from one author to another. Like the forms of the king’s seal, those of language (letters and words) were iterable from one text to the next with the potential for infinite production based upon the redeployment of those units.

In an aesthetic of sameness and a market that valued conformity—the sharing of forms between works of art—painting could be described through the terms of a textual economy more aptly than art historians often imagine or take seriously. The coupling of language and pictures in the Andes gave rise to spaces in which pictorial forms, just like those of language, were always already spoken, and were forever continually pushed forward into new utterance. González Holguín’s 1608 *Vocabulario* makes the point well, for it inflects the word *quillca* through the definition of its related verb form: “Quelcar payachispa yachachimi. Enseñar la theologia dictandola.” As Joanne Rappaport and Tom Cummins translate the Quechua: “To teach by having something written down continually.”³²⁷ Or as we might frame it here: to teach by having something painted continually, unfolding in a process in which originals became copies, which were always already new originals.

If the definition of *quillca* has implications for pictorial products, so too must it for pictorial *authorship*. To turn painting into a language of repetitions was, in a certain sense, to

³²³ Ibid, 301. “Quelccani, qquelccacuni. Escribir debuxar pintar”

³²⁴ Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, *Historia de la villa imperial de Potosí*, I, 20.

³²⁵ Cummins and Rappaport, *Beyond the Lettered City*, particularly 191–218.

³²⁶ See the short discussion in Cohen Suarez, *Heaven, Hell, and Everything in Between*, 13–19; see also Carolyn Dean, “The Trouble with (The Term) Art,” 31–32.

³²⁷ Some may find Cummins and Rappaport’s translation of the Spanish overly loose, but it is actually quite in keeping with the valences of related Quechua words presented by Holguín (Quelcarcayani, Quellcaycachani, Quellcapayani, for example), which all suggest writing in excess, repetition, or abundance. González Holguín, *Vocabulario*, 301; Joanne Rappaport and Tom Cummins, “Between Images and Writing: The Ritual of the King’s Quillca,” *Colonial Latin American Review* (1998): 7–32, specifically 20.

free it from Europe's tyranny of inventiveness;³²⁸ it was to allow artists to exist in a space of making and re-making, the type of space for which the West would have to wait until the deconstructionist paradigms of the twentieth century, with their attendant calls to relativize *ingenium* and undercut the fiction of singularity and invention, a call that could never fully be realized.³²⁹ The true challenge we might mount against colonialism, then, would be to excavate a subject-position in which "slavish" copying is powerful enough, when carried out with extreme repetitiveness, to resist Europe's claims to origin and invention; and, more to the point, to reconfigure from within the colonial imposition of the notion of invention altogether. This is not to strip native craftsmen of *ingenium*—not to turn them into something akin to the mechanical, unwilling component parts of the reproductive press—but rather to suggest that in this imposition there existed the potential for a paradoxical liberation. For the artist could exist in a world in which forms were shared rather than guarded and, in turn, where Europe's compositions could be resignified as something other than prime objects. These objects quickly entered the visual fabric of a colonial city in which they were ripe for the picking, exploited by artists who would make an object conform.

³²⁸ Or, perhaps, from its "anxiety of influence." See the classic Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973).

³²⁹ See the classic Rosalind E. Krauss, *The Originality of the Avant Garde and Other Modernist Myths* (Boston: MIT Press, 1996).

Chapter 3

Pilgrim Impressions, or How Copies Redefine Originals and Origins

Introduction

The church of Nuestra Señora de Ocotlán, perched on a hill above the town of Tlaxcala, Mexico, houses a miracle-working statue (fig. 85). During an epidemic, a native shepherd found this Virgin in a hollow tree trunk and it healed his family and loved ones. In the sacred history of the Virgin's cult, penned in 1750, Fray Manuel Loayzaga pauses dramatically in the middle of his description: "the plume in my hand is shaking with the mere memory of how I arrived to her visage, with the singular realization of having come face to face with an impossibility; how impossible is the copy, or transmission of an image so peregrine (*peregrina*) that it betrays as its prime Author either an angel that placed it at the heart of the tree [where it was found] or his Great Omnipotence..."³³⁰ In this strange quote, Loayzaga plays with an eighteenth-century double meaning of the word peregrine: implausibly, unnaturally perfect, on the one hand, and journeying, like a pilgrim, on the other.³³¹ The Virgin's perfection actually revealed her pilgrim voyage, for it made clear that her form could not have been made by human hands. Rather, the image had to have been carved, Loayzaga explains, by God or angels in heaven, which required that the statue be sent to a spot where its future devotees could discover it.

It is ironic that Loayzaga would proclaim the impossibility of copying God's perfectly crafted statue, for the churchgoer finds a stone-and-plaster copy of this pilgrim Virgin on the facade of her shrine (figs. 86 & 87). This copy is not, however, alone. Framed by a fantastically shaped window and stucco curtains, the Virgin rises atop three stacked orbs that rest on the shoulders of an Atlas-like St. Francis. Francis too might be described as a pilgrim image, but one of a different sort. Sent across the Atlantic in printed form, Francis and his orbs were first conceived for an allegorical composition by Rubens that extols the joint Franciscan and Habsburg devotion to the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception (fig. 88). A different Virgin rises atop Francis's orbs in the print, one that was substituted for the Virgin of Ocotlán's sculpted copy when Francis was rendered a statue-base in New Spain. On this facade in Ocotlán, then, two pilgrim images intersect: one sent as engraved, inked lines from Antwerp, and the other sculpted and sent from heaven by God himself.

This was not the only time that the Rubens's image of Francis would come to join a Virgin described as a pilgrim. In the church of Nuestra Señora de Tecaxic, in a small town of the same name in central Mexico, a miraculous painting of the Virgin once drew throngs of

³³⁰ Manuel Loayzaga, *Historia de la milagrosissima imagen de Nra. Sra. de Occotlan, que se venera extramuros de la ciudad de Tlaxcala*, 2nd ed. (Mexico City: la Viuda de D. Joseph Hogal, 1750), 56. "...ya me està temblando la pluma con solo la simple memoria, de que he de llegarle al Rostro, con sola la aprehension de que me he de carar con un imposible; que imposible es la copia, ó trassumoto de una Imagen tan peregrina, que reconoce por su primer Artifice, o un Serafin, que la puso en el corazon del Pino ó à toda la Omnipotencia, que la formó de la medula de un tronco."

³³¹ *Diccionario de la lengua castellana compuesto por la Real Academia Española*, 3rd ed. (Madrid: Impresora de la Real Academia: 1791 [1780; 1784]), 647.

devotees as a result of the object's material incorruptibility (fig. 89).³³² The official history of the cult, written in 1684 by Balthasar Medina, attests that the image is painted on the rough-hewn and unstable material support of a native cloak, or *tilma*, but showed no degradation across time despite poor care and exposure to inclement weather.³³³ The painting of the Virgin of Tecaxic remained unsullied, Medina explains, "because [it] is a *pilgrim impression* of [God] his Holiness; offering the priming of his hand, and the impression of his power; just as nature does to grace, so too do rustic canvases yield to the skill of his fingers."³³⁴ Feats of impossible making and survival, in other words, make clear that the image is an *acheiropoeton*, an image made without the use of human hands. The striking turn of phrase "pilgrim impressions" (*impressiones peregrinas*) couples divine fabrication with divinely mandated voyage: the object's strange, or supernatural, facture reveals her image could only have been made in heaven, necessitating a voyage from a heavenly maker so that the image could work miracles on earth for humanity's benefit.

As in Ocotlán, the act of copying brought one pilgrim object into proximity with another. In a painting that once hung in Tecaxic's nave, the artist Hipólito de Rioja made a composite image by carefully transposing Rubens's atlas Francis from its engraving and copying the shrine's miraculous, pilgrim image of the Virgin to rise atop Francis's three blue orbs (fig. 90). In Tecaxic, two pilgrim *impressions*, and not simply pilgrim objects, have thus come to rest together. Rioja's painting accompanied a wave of Franciscan attention lavished upon the order's pilgrimage sites and miraculous images.³³⁵ Rubens's print, which depicts the order's defense of the Virgin and her Immaculate Conception, was a particularly apt vehicle to visually aid in these endeavors. Yet it was the single figure of Francis, rather than the

³³² To be clear, the sculpture of St. Francis seen below the painting in the figure is a modern addition to the church and was likely crafted in the late nineteenth or twentieth century.

³³³ Juan de Mendoza, *Relacion de el santuario de Tecaxique, en que está colocada la milagrosa Imagen de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles. Noticia de los milagros que el Señor ha obrado en gloria de esta Santa Imagen* (Mexico City: Juan de Ribera, 1684). In the text, Tecaxic's image is thus compared to the more famous Virgin of Guadalupe.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, non-foliated introduction. "porque ambas parecen *impressiones peregrinas* del Altissimo; dando el aparejo de su mano, y las imprimaciones de su poder: para que como la naturaleza à la gracia cedan lienços toscos à primores de sus dedos" (emphasis added).

³³⁵ In fact, Tecaxic's church, as it exists today, is largely a result of such waves of attention and donations and building campaigns garnered in their wake. Before 1664 the temple was a simple *visita* church of Toluca, and it was not until 1664 that inventories of its precious holdings began to be drawn up. AFBNM, v. 137, f. 223r. "De este conv.to no pudo aver inventario de Alajas el año de 1663 porque el de 1664 se dividió de toluca vease el Decreto en el Libro de ellos que comenzo el de 1664 al fol. 19..." On this painting and the potential dating, see Rogelio Ruiz Gomar, "La pintura del siglo XVII en la ciudad de México," in *Novohispania*, vol. 2, ed. Mauricio Beuchot, et al. (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1996), 402; Eugenia Rodríguez Parra and Mario Ríos Villegas, *Catálogo de pintura colonial en edificios religiosos del Municipio de Toluca* (Mexico: Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México, 1984), 91. During a visit to the church (9 October 2015), it became clear that the painting was recently stolen. Both the Toluca branch of the Instituto Nacioal de Antropología e Historia, who oversees the preservation of cultural patrimony in this area, and CONACULTA's main office in Mexico City have been notified.

totality of the printed composition, which became the principal visual trope deployed by Franciscans and the artists working for them in New Spain. The Francis figure was routinely excised from the original print and reconfigured with other objects and images. Francis as orb-bearing Atlas visually communicated the order's robust, self-sacrificing elevation—here both literal and figurative—of the cult of the Virgin, generally, and the local miracle-working images of her form.

This chapter concerns such intersections, which were the result of objects set in motion. In New Spain, Rubens's figure of Francis would be placed below other objects described as peregrine, a potent match of terms given that the intersections here described were only made possible in a world in which objects lived increasingly peripatetic lives before finding their final resting places. In a sense, any printed object in this dissertation might be described as a pilgrim, given that the word could be used, in the early modern period, to define someone who—or something that—had traveled far from his point of origin. Motion and mobility were the fundamental conditions for all early modern people and things, and not simply for objects such as prints, which were expressly made to traverse distances.

The changing nature of the term “pilgrim” offers a gauge for the reconfiguration of distance and territory that came about through global expansion during this period. In his seminal lexicon of 1492, released at the turning point for Spain's imperial ambitions, Antonio Nebrija glossed “pilgrim” as “far from home;” an edition rereleased only three years later described the pilgrim as someone away from “his land.”³³⁶ By the eighteenth century, the conceptual and linguistic trajectory that discovery and colonization had set in place was fully revealed when the Royal Spanish Academy's multi-volume Spanish dictionary defined the pilgrim as one far from his nation or homeland (*patria*).³³⁷ Globality changed the distances people routinely traversed, but so too how the scale of those distances and the motion across them was understood. Increased mobility altered the conception of how one defined his proper context; from home, to land, to nation, the distance one had to travel to be “displaced” and, as such, to be labeled a pilgrim grew swiftly.

The early globalization of the world had as great an impact, of course, on the circulation and displacement of objects as it did people, and the definition of a *pilgrim* accounted for this facet of movement and dislocation. Things, like New Spanish statues of the Virgin sent from a heavenly maker, could just as easily be described as peregrine in a newly expanded world. The increased mobility of objects, I argue here, allowed them to be

³³⁶ In 1492, Antonio Nebrija published his *Lexicon*, the first Latin-Spanish bilingual dictionary. His definitions of pilgrim (both noun and verb) read as such: “Peregre aduerbium. por lexos de su casa./ Peregrinus.a.um. por cosa peregrina,” or Peregre aduerbium. for far from one's home/Peregrinus.a.um. for a *pilgrim* thing.” Antonio de Nebrija, *Lexicon hoc est dictionarium ex sermone latino in hispaniense[m]...* (Salamanca, 1492). His 1495 *Vocabulario* reconceptualized the term as someone “fuera de su trra;” Antonio de Nebrija, *Dictionarium ex hispaniensi in latinum sermone[m]...* (1495). On the edition history, see Byron Ellsworth Hamann, *The Translations of Nebrija: Language, Culture, and Circulation in the Early Modern World* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2015), 12–15. On Nebrija and empire, see Jacques Lezra, “On Contingency in Translation,” in *Early Modern Cultures of Translation*, ed. Jane Tylus and Karen Newman (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2015).

³³⁷ *Diccionario de la lengua castellana compuesto por la Real Academia Española*, 647.

reconfigured and reimagined in ways that challenge notions of authorship and origins, inventions and copies. Objects in motion, or perhaps rather objects displaced, often needed to be carefully tracked and accounted for. The moving picture placed in doubt its own origin point. It raised the questions: where did this come from? Who made this? Or, how might we imagine this object's maker and the acts of making that brought it into being?

The answers to such questions were made more complicated when pilgrim objects intersected, when mobility complicated the trajectories of things by placing them into dialogue or reconfiguring the stories one could tell about their origins. And these questions were particularly acute where the religious object was concerned; for, with movement came the potential for confusion. Images began to travel with more force than could be well managed, and the capacity of objects to work effectively became dubious when they began to circulate in a world where their viewers and users had no knowledge of their histories and were uncertain of their origins. Relics needed to be certified and funneled carefully to newly built churches whose efficacy depended upon them; proper models for images needed to be sent to artists who could reproduce them; and copies of icons of sacred veneration needed to be disseminated to new audiences while remaining tethered to their originals and points of origin, which lent them sacred efficacy.

In what follows, I chart the journeys of Rubens's allegorical composition with its central figure of St. Francis and his orbs to examine its transatlantic transmission and transformation in oil, pigment, stone and other local materials. Until now, the print has been allowed to remain nested in a European world that has been unable to account for its purpose or for its iconography.³³⁸ If the changing nature of the term pilgrim hints at a reconfiguration of one's *proper* context in the early modern world, art historians might take this as an analytic prompt that the full range of spaces through which objects moved are critical to writing their histories. I contend here that by geographically expanding the analytic frame to include the object's reception across the Atlantic as critical, and not supplemental, to the evidence about this European print, one can come to more fully understand what this print *is* and how it functioned for period viewers. Many conforming copies and creative transformations of the printed composition exist in what were once the Viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru; and these New World objects allow us to interrogate the European printed object, its visualities and its function, more fully than has ever been deemed possible. As these introductory tales from Ocotlán and Tecaxic have already revealed, however, the Rubens print was also entirely reconfigured on New World soil, its parts dissected and reconfigured with other local objects. In demonstrating how the excerpted figure of Francis came to be used and reproduced in the New World, I argue that even this process, which at first glance might appear to be a New World deformation of a European original, has something critical to teach us about Europe

³³⁸ This is not to say that the transmission of the composition to Latin America has never been explored. In one synthetic article, Cristina Cruz González importantly inventories some of the objects discussed here in greater detail, but she understands those objects as severed from the original European composition, which simply gave rise to their visual forms. Here I suggest, instead, that this New World reception is critical to understanding the European original. See Cristina Cruz González, "The Circulation of Flemish Iconography in Mexican Missions and the Creation of a New Visual Narrative, 1630-1830," *California Mission Studies Association* 25:1 (2008): 5-34; see also, von Kügelen, "Painting from the Kingdom and Rubens," 1041-1049.

and the transmission of its images, both across the Atlantic and in more circumscribed European geographies.

This line of thinking is enabled by a reconfiguration of the geographic field of early modern inquiry that attempts to align with the actual itineraries early modern people and things undertook.³³⁹ Moreover, it stems from a post-colonial conviction about these spaces: that we might see Europe *differently* and, perhaps, *better* from across an ocean. Now-standard accounts of colonial Latin American art, particularly where printed imagery is concerned, mobilize pictorial difference to engage and evidence local dynamics that are seen to catalyze such differences of iconography, medium, format, etc. I argue here, instead, that these local changes can also reveal features of the original, European printed object and the very nature of its transmission in the early modern period. I pursue that central claim in this chapter through five main sections. In the first two, I trace many “copies” of the Rubens print through both the Viceroyalty of New Spain and the Viceroyalty of Peru to offer a context and reception history for the printed object. Though the printed composition is of European origin, it existed within a transatlantic Franciscan world, and it is only within that broader world that we can now make sense of its function and pictorial dynamics. In the last three sections, I explore intersections of the print’s central figure—St. Francis and his orbs—with cult objects in Mexico, arguing that the confusions about origin points and authorship that such intersections produced reveal the fundamental repercussions of the early modern object’s increased mobility and copying.

A Typology of the Transformative Copy

Rubens’s figure of Francis with three orbs, as it came to be sculpted in Ocotlán and painted in Tecaxic, points to the impressive range of pictorial possibilities that a European print could engender in New Spain, and these particular examples—respectively dating from the second half of the seventeenth century and c. 1765-75—temporally bookend the objects discussed in this chapter. The pairing speaks not only to media transformation—from print to paint, or to stone and stucco—but also to the ways that prints could be deployed in whole or in part, recombined with other iconographies and taken as starting points for entirely different compositions. On the one hand, such pictorial transformations speak to the local contexts in which the printed composition was used and copied. On the other, these formal and iconographic transformations might sometimes offer an unexpected degree of traction in assessing the original, printed object itself. Such reconsiderations of the original are made possible by conceiving of any copy, or derivation, as a valuable commentary on an original. In the case of this engraving, however, this act of interpretation requires creating a typology of visual response to the printed composition; for artists and patrons took up this engraving to make objects that do not conform to, but instead entirely transform the printed model. In this section, I therefore explore what I call “transformative copies” of Rubens’s print: artworks that forge an intertextual link to the original printed image through the act of copying *some* of its forms, but that, at the same time, transform the composition through additions to or reconfiguration of the original iconography. The paintings and sculptures presented here do not amount to an exhaustive catalog of Latin American pictorial responses to Rubens’s

³³⁹ See, for example, DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*.

original printed composition, which span from Mexico to Colombia to Peru to Bolivia,³⁴⁰ rather, they represent a broader typology of the kind of visual work that this print catalyzed in Latin America. The pictorial dynamics of this broader typology, rather than the specifics of any one composition, are essential for reconsidering Rubens's original printed object, as explored in the next section.

That this particular composition, extolling the joint Franciscan and Habsburg devotion to the Virgin, would end up in Latin America should perhaps, for two reasons, come as no surprise. The first is that Franciscans trekked to New World outposts with unparalleled missionary zeal and took with them the tools of their trade, religious prints included. The second is that this composition was engineered specifically for the lightweight medium of print, a composition made to be transported. Rubens's printed iconography emerged in an oil sketch that the artist created specifically for the purpose of producing an engraving, which was completed by Paulus Pontius in 1632 (fig. 91).³⁴¹ As Rubens often did when working on an oil-sketch design specifically for print, he reduced his palette to a muddied grey-scale, focusing solely on the chromatic intensities transmittable in ink on paper.³⁴²

The final product is a print organized around the central fulcrum of a towering Virgin, who is born aloft on three giant orbs that rest upon the shoulders of the kneeling, Atlas-like St. Francis (fig. 88). Francis receives a benediction from a winged crucifix, a reference to Francis's stigmatization, which hovers between the clearly demarcated terrestrial and celestial spheres within the printed space. The scene takes place in the non-space of pure allegory, labeled with a large banderole at the top edge as the Austro-Seraphic, or angelic southern, Heavens. The left side of the scene is dedicated to the great Habsburg defenders of the faith, both past and present. King Phillip IV, Don Carlos, the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand, and the young Baltasar Carlos—the living rulers at the time of the engraving—stand on solid ground and stare up at the Virgin, while Charles V, Phillip II, and Phillip III look on from a chariot in the heavens directly above.³⁴³ The regal chariot is matched by another, on the other side of the composition, which carries the four cardinal virtues. Below, a group of Franciscan brothers—members of the Seraphic order—are led by the thirteenth-century theologian Duns Scotus in driving a devilish character with spears and arrows back into the gaping jaws of hell incarnate.

Banderoles scrawl throughout the scene and labels are carved directly into the ground such that words, as much as figures, orient the viewer's eye. Drawn primarily from the Song of Solomon, these textual additions label the elements of the allegory and serve as keys to the composition's theological content. Francis is labeled as the "SERAPHICVS ATLAS" (seraphic atlas) who supports the Virgin, and Duns Scotus is easily identifiable by the inscription below

³⁴⁰ As attention turns to the relationship between European prints and Latin American objects created from them grows, more objects are discovered and published with frequency. For the most current list, see PESSCA, 377A.

³⁴¹ Schneevogt, *Catalogue des estampes*, 144–145, nos. 69–70.

³⁴² On this sketch, see Julius S. Held, *The Oil Sketches of Peter Paul Rubens: A Critical Catalogue*, vol. 1 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 526–528; on the use of grisaille oil sketches for print design, see Peter C. Sutton, *Drawn by the Brush: Oil Sketches by Peter Paul Rubens* (Greenwich, CT: Bruce Museum, 2004), 27–28.

³⁴³ For a broader iconographic treatment, see Carl van de Velde and J. Richard Judson, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard: Part XXI: Book Illustrations and Title-Pages*, vol. 1 (London: Harvey Miller, 1978), 349–355.

his feet. The words that emanate from Christ's mouth, "VADE FRANCISCE REPARA DOMVM MEAM" (Go, Francis and repair my house), recall Francis's vision of Christ, his favored position as the stigmatized saint, and his founding of the small *Portiuncula* chapel outside of Assisi, which would become the devotional heart of an order whose evangelical commitments led it to populate the far reaches of the globe. Two banderoles pull theological history into the social and political orbit of the print's own temporal and geographic origins, entwining contemporary political concerns with sacred iconography. "VENI AVSTER" (Come South wind)! "AB AUSTRO DEUS" (God will come from the South)! These exclamations herald a pious south and thus gloss Habsburg and Franciscan devotion to the Virgin with a spatio-temporal orientation against a backdrop of political and religious instabilities that plagued Europe and divided the Southern from the Northern Netherlands.³⁴⁴

Given that the print seems so strongly geared towards a local religio-political climate, it is surprising that there is virtually no known European reception history and that its original function thus remains uncertain. For while it is not exactly odd to have a print one cannot fully account for—there are many—it is almost unheard of to have a print, based on an oil sketch by Rubens, which features the rulers of the Spanish Empire and its most important religious order, for which we have no information about its commission, context, or use. The earliest notice was penned in 1767 by François Basan, a print collector and dealer who describes the general layout and labels the print "Un Dessus de These" (the top portion of a thesis print).³⁴⁵ Basan's calculation of the print's function as a thesis sheet—a genre to which we will return—has been either repeated or negated by scholars in the proceeding centuries without any critical engagement.³⁴⁶ This lack of engagement stems from the nearly unbelievable paucity of European evidence about the object: there are relatively few surviving impressions (none of which bears material trace of use); and there are no known European

³⁴⁴ Ibid, 349–55.

³⁴⁵ François Basan, *Catalogue des estampes gravées d'après Rubens, avec une methode pour blanchir les Estampes les plus rousses, & en ôter les taches d'huile* (Paris: Chez J. Dessain, 1767), 124. An etching, dated 1787 and signed by Philip Spruyt, was made once the oil sketch had entered the collection of a certain M. de Marmol in Ghent; this late etching falls outside the scope of the material presented here and will not be discussed. For an early reference to the print, see *Catalogue des tableaux, dessins, sculptures et autres objets rares, lesquels ont été trouvés à la Mortuaire du fameux Peintre, Le Chev. P.P. Rubens, L'an 1640, Orné de son Portrait*, (n.p., 1797).

³⁴⁶ Leo van Puyvelde, for example, flatly rejects the notion in favor of the idea that the print was meant to adorn Franciscan convents in Spain and the Southern Netherlands; see van Puyvelde, "Un tableau symbolique de Rubens." Julius Held seems to echo the point, noting it may have been a Franciscan propaganda print meant to circulate in Spain; see Held, *Oil Sketches*, 526–528. Suzanne Stratton does not entertain the idea, and points to its potential use in a theological treatise. See Suzanne L. Stratton, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 89–91. Recently the print was included in an article about the genre of thesis sheets without apparent need to question or interrogate its function at all; see Gwendoline de Mûelenaere, "Disputatio and Dedication: Seventeenth-century thesis prints in the southern Low Countries," *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 31 (2015): 284–306. The earliest accounts simply rehearse Basan: see, for example, Frank van den Wijngaert, *Inventaris der Rubeniaansche prentkunst* (Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1940), 82.

copies or derivations that might speak of who saw this print and how it was used and understood.

If there is little reception history for the print in Europe, however, the same cannot be said of Europe's overseas territories in the Americas. The print spawned conforming copies and gave rise to entirely reconfigured compositions across what were once the Spanish viceroyalties. A selective sampling constructs a typology of responses, in visual form, to Rubens's composition in Latin America. The most literal response to the print, of course, was the conforming copy. A canvas in the church of San Francisco Acatepec, in the region of Puebla, Mexico, exemplifies conformity in reorienting the horizontal print to the vertical support while maintaining nearly all the figures of the populous allegory (fig. 92). The now-unknown painter minimized the chariots in the upper register, excised the subsidiary cast of Franciscans behind the Habsburg rulers, and compressed the figures into dense crowds that recede towards a significantly elevated ground line. But all of the composition's critical characters have been transferred to the painted iteration, as have the banderoles and inscriptions, which still read as though they are inked text on paper, a gentle recollection of the composition's printed origins.

Another conforming copy in the sacristy of the church of San Francisco in Cuzco, Peru underscores both the geographic reach of Rubens's printed composition, and the formats within which a painting could still be made to "conform" to a printed model (fig. 93). The allegorical composition has been stretched and pulled across a wide canvas expanse with three arched notches along its bottom edge—likely made to accommodate wooden furniture placed below it in the sacristy where it is still housed. New World landscape and birds, including a turkey that locks eyes with Saint Francis, have been made to fill the interstices between now-disparate figural groupings. And yet the composition maintains a strict relationship with the printed model, preserving all of the figures and forms of the original while adapting them to a different medium and format.

Through proximity with other local objects, however, the meanings of the conforming copy could be modulated, altered, or amplified. It is hard to account for the Acatepec painting's vertical reorientation and the objects with which it would have been placed into dialogue given that its original location in the church remains unknown.³⁴⁷ It may have been meant to occupy a framed position in a retable, as does another conforming copy of the print, now housed in the chapel of Santo Aparicio in the church of San Francisco in Puebla, the principle Franciscan church in the region (figs. 94 & 95). Though this painting is more finely executed—with an impressive range of tonal effects in the halo of clouds surrounding the Virgin—the artist has followed the same compositional strategies in transforming the print into a painting that fits in an aperture of the vertically oriented retable. Before being rededicated to Santo Aparicio in the late eighteenth century, this large chapel had been devoted to a Virgin known as *La Conquistadora*. As legend would have it, this statue—still

³⁴⁷ Little scholarly work on the church exists. For an overview, see José Antonio Terán Bonilla and Luz de Lourdes Velázquez Thierry, *Templo de San Francisco Acatepec: Antología del barroco poblano* (Puebla, MX: Gobierno del Estado de Puebla/Secretaría de Cultura, 2010). As a result of fire damage that the church suffered in 1939, many of the paintings have been moved and it is impossible to know where this painting originally hung. Illustration 49, page 109, suggests it likely was not originally hung here, as the walls may have been covered with larger canvases.

housed in the retable below, and likely Flemish in origin—accompanied Cortés to the New World and aided him and his troops in the conquest of Tenochtitlán, at which point it was gifted to the noble Tlaxcalans of the region in recognition of their cooperation with Spanish forces.³⁴⁸ This Virgin and her imperial history reframe the valences of both the unsigned painting—made, as the gold inscription at its bottom suggests, at the behest of Don Martín Calvo Viñuales, *alcalde ordinario* of the city, in 1691—and the Rubens print upon which it was based.³⁴⁹ The small statue below the painting and the stories repeatedly told about her miraculous interventions act as proof of the divine dividends paid through the joint Franciscan and Habsburg defense of the Virgin and the doctrine of her Immaculacy: she would come to work her own acts of defense on *their* behalf, safeguarding the order and the Crown as they pushed into New Spain in search of territory, extractable metals, and souls to save.

The printed composition could, however, also have its meaning altered when its forms were excised and reconfigured entirely, a process that gave rise to objects that, at first glance, seem to bear little relationship to the original. Through the act of material and pictorial conversion, the printed object could be entirely transformed. In Ocotlán and Tecaxic, as we have seen, Rubens's printed figure of St. Francis and his three large orbs was rendered a statue base for local Virgins. In yet another instance, the printed model came to be used to create a polychromed sculpture for the main retable in the chapel of the Third Order in the Franciscan church of Nuestra Señora de la Asunción in Tlaxcala, where it was originally installed in 1685 (figs. 96 & 97).³⁵⁰ In Tlaxcala, however, the three conspicuously blank orbs

³⁴⁸ The sculpture does seem to be of European facture and may have even been crafted in Mechelen, outside of Antwerp; as such, the retable could be seen to represent another intriguing “intersection” of Flemish objects of discrete temporal origins, as will be explored later in this chapter. See Rosa Denise Fallena Montaña, “La Conquistadora: de Malinas a Puebla, trayectoria vital,” in *Ensayos de escultura virreinal en Puebla de los Ángeles*, ed. Pablo Francisco Amador Marrero, et al. (Mexico: Fundación Amparo, 2012); José Guadalupe Victoria, “Présence de l’Art flamand en Nouvelle-Espagne,” in *Flandre et Amérique Latine: 500 ans de confrontation et métissage*, ed. Eddy Stols and Rudy Bleys (Antwerp: Fonds Mercator, 1993), 165.

³⁴⁹ The damages and abbreviated inscription seems to read: “Al [illegible] del Cappⁿ Dⁿ Martín Calvo contador de Acapulco y Al[cal]de hor[di]n[ar]jio de ^{la} Ciudad.” I thank Byron Hamann for his help deciphering this script. Calvo only held the post of *alcalde* in 1691, which dates this painting. On Calvo, see Diego Antonio Bermúdez de Castro, *Theatro angelopolitano; ó Historia de la ciudad de Puebla*, ed. N. León (Mexico: [1908?] [1742]), 262; on his role as *alcalde ordinario*, see Miguel de Alcalá y Mendiola, *Descripción en bosquejo de la Imperial Cesar[e]ja, muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Puebla de los Ángeles*, ed. Ramón Sánchez Flores (Puebla, MX: Junta de Mejoramiento Moral, Cívico y Material del Municipio de Puebla, 1992), 101.

³⁵⁰ In his laudatory chronicling of indigenous deeds in Tlaxcala, Mendoza y Zapata writes, “Today Sunday 7 October of the year 1685 was when they blessed the chapel of the Tertiaries of Saint Francis in the main temple, along with their new retable.” Translated from Spanish translation of original Nahuatl: “Ahora domingo 7 de octubre del año de 1685, fue cuando se bendijo la capilla de los Terceros de San Francisco en el templo grande, junto con su retablo nuevo.”; see Juan Buenaventura Zapata y Mendoza, *Historia cronológica de la Noble Ciudad de Tlaxcala*, trans. Andrea Martínez Baracs and Luis Reyes García (Tlaxcala, MX:

in Rubens's original print have been reconceived as visual fields for interpolation. Each orb comes to represent—quite literally by being figured as—a different branch of the Franciscan order: the male Regulars, the female Poor Clares, and the lay Third Order led by the Spanish King, who appears less as a specific, identifiable ruler than as a generic figure of royal authority.³⁵¹ Though Rubens's Francis with his orbs has been excised from the print, the major elements of the tripartite composition have not quite disappeared; the order and the crown are simply now contained *within* the print's central figure. The Immaculate Virgin is now missing from the reconfigured, sculpted composition, but the depression of the top-most orb indicates it once served as a base for a figure of the Virgin, which it only lost at some point in the mid-twentieth century.³⁵²

Since the writings of Duns Scotus continued to be crucial to the Franciscan defense of the Virgin's Immaculacy, he has been transferred from the print and takes a rightful place with quill in hand at the forefront of the Franciscans. Another identifiable figure has joined the order's ranks: the Spanish mystic and theologian Sor María Jesús de Ágreda stands amongst the Poor Clares, offset through her size, her vibrant blue and white robes, and her framing between Francis's thumb and index finger. While Duns Scotus offered the Franciscan defense of the Immaculate Virgin a legitimacy that stretched back centuries, Sor María Jesús de Ágreda, whose mid-seventeenth-century *Mystica Ciudad de Dios* is a forceful defense of the doctrine, pulled these theological convictions into a charged, post-Tridentine present for the sculpture's viewers in New Spain.³⁵³ Her text had only been published in Madrid in 1670, a mere fifteen years before she came to be painted in Tlaxcala, but this statue indicates that

Universidad Autónoma de Tlaxcala, 1995), 616–617. Given that Zapata only described the feats and deeds of indigenous subjects, in order to bolster their standing, this retable—and the sculpture of Francis—was likely created by local, indigenous artists. On Zapata, see Kelly S. McDonough, *The Learned Ones: Nahua Intellectuals in Postconquest Mexico* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 2014), 63–82.

³⁵¹ Scholars have misguidedly disagreed over the identification of the king, likely meant to serve as a general royal type rather than a specific monarch; the fact that no secure dating had before been suggested has hamstrung their efforts. See, for example, *Mexico: Splendors of Thirty Centuries* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1990), 342.

³⁵² It has long been suggested that the statue once served as a base, given the form of the top-most orb, but it was not clear exactly what type of figure it once held—particularly given the types of sculptural programs explored later in this chapter. Elsa Arroyo Lemus has recently noted an old photograph that shows the complete program in the mid twentieth century; Elsa Arroyo Lemus, “Los retablos de Tlaxcala: tiempo, forma y estructura,” in *Tlaxcala: la invención de un convento*, ed. Alejandra González Leyva (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2014), 179–80. Many thanks to Elsa Arroyo for offering me the archival citation for the photograph that shows the original program; Fototeca de la Coordinación Nacional de Monumentos Históricos el Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City, Estado de Tlaxcala, Tlaxcala, Ex convento de San Francisco, Álbum 10, Tomo 12, folio 20. A photograph included in a 1950 publication suggests the statue was still extant at that date; Fidel de Jesús Chauvet, *Los Franciscanos y sus construcciones en Tlaxcala* (Mexico: Impresa de los Talleres Fr. Junipero Serra, O.F.M., 1950), 33.

³⁵³ Sor María Jesús de Ágreda, *Mystica ciudad de Dios*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Bernardo de Villadiego, 1670).

Sor María was already considered integral to the Franciscan charge to defend the Virgin's Immaculacy in New Spain, and points to just how quickly the order's central positions were communicated through the transatlantic circuits of empire. Thus, while the sculpture maintains the general iconography of the complicated originating allegory—Crown, Order, Scotus, Virgin, Francis—and reorganizes these motifs onto the pictorial surface of the single sculpted figure, it also updates Rubens's composition by including a theologian whose importance and impact in the Franciscan world post-dates the completion of the original print.

The sculpture was likely removed from its niche on the occasion of a yearly procession in honor of the Immaculate Virgin, allowing for a closer inspection of its painted forms, which extend around the edges of the orbs.³⁵⁴ The detailed painting rewards this type of close looking, which is not actually possible when installed in the retable; far from the homogenous masses that they appear to be from a distance, the cast of characters painted on these surfaces reveal the theological and socio-political underpinnings that, in the Rubens print, had acted as the broader compositional frame for Francis and the Virgin. If the depictions of Duns Scotus and Sor María Jesús de Ágreda are small and barely noticeable, Franciscans in New Spain were nevertheless primed to see them, for the two figures serve as pendants to the Francis-Virgin duo across New Spain. Above the entrance portal to the Franciscan convent in Ozumba, for example, the two theologians take their place on either side of Francis and the Immaculate Virgin, here surrounded by fluttering angels that wield the traditional symbols of her Immaculacy (fig. 98).³⁵⁵ These writers kneel on a solid ground line, and reinstantiate the tripartite arrangement of Rubens's original print. As in Tlaxcala, these authors appear with quills in hand, but so too now with books that become signboards for oft-repeated apologetic phrases about the Virgin's Immaculacy: "Potuit, voluit, Docuit Ergo" and "Tota Pulcra est Maria." Even with these textual markers, which to a certain extent became identified with these particular theologians,³⁵⁶ the portrayals of Sor María and Duns Scotus in

³⁵⁴ The freestanding sculpture, like others discussed later in the chapter, was likely processed in a yearly flagellant celebration of the Immaculate Conception, which was annually held on Holy Tuesday and sponsored by a confraternity dedicated to the Virgin, which included members of the Third Order. AFBNM, volume 136, f. 36r, undated (but bundled with documents dated to 1721). "Mas ai otra Cofradía en este Combento de la Virgen María Nra Señora de la Consepion...Item mas El martes Santo sacan una prosesion de Sangre dedicada a Su Consepion Santissima dan de limosna por misa y prosesion trese pesos."

³⁵⁵ Very little has been written about the Ozumba murals, and dating proves difficult. Given the flurry of building activity and artistic production in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Romero de Terreros has dates the mural—an addition to an existing cycle—to c. 1700. The scrolling frame suggests, to me, a slightly later date. See Manuel Romero de Terreros, "El convento franciscano de Ozumba y las pinturas de su portería," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 24 (1956): 9–21; on other painting at the site, see also Guillermo Arce, "Dos pinturas de Ánimas del Purgatorio en la región de los volcanes: Ozumba y Ayapango," in *Narrando historias al pie de los volcanes: Primer ciclo internacional de Conferencias en la Región de los Volcanes, Estado de México*, ed. Moroni Hernández de Olarte, et al. (Mexico City: Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación, 2011).

³⁵⁶ On these phrases, each identified particularly with these figures in the period, see Carme López Calderón, "*Potuit, decuit, fecit*, los Franciscanos y el culto a María," in *Os*

Ozumba, at first glance, appear as generic prototypes of male and female mystics; but the two figures came to be so closely identified through their championing of the Immaculate Virgin that their pairing would have been legible to a Franciscan audience. The many engraving that accompanied editions of Sor María Jesús de Ágreda's very own three-volume tome routinely coupled her with Duns Scotus.³⁵⁷

Given that such engravings often features scrolls of text that pour from the rapt mouths of the two theologians, one such printed portrait may have played a role in the execution of a much more ambitious painting that, again, joined the theologians with Rubens's St. Francis in New Spain (fig. 99).³⁵⁸ Duns Scotus and Sor María sit at neatly laid writing desks in the lower corners of the enormous, arched canvas that hangs in the nave of the Church of San Fernando in Mexico City. They have paused mid-sentence, interrupted from textual production to bear witness to a vision of the Immaculate Virgin born high above them on the shoulders and orbs of Rubens's kneeling Francis, which elevates her into a heavenly sphere filled with the attributes of her unblemished state. The two other volumes of Sor María's *magnum opus* lie ignored at the back of her desk. The paintings that couple Duns Scotus with Sor María reveal how Rubens's composition came to be inflected by later thinking about the Immaculate Conception in Spain and New Spain. Rubens joined Duns Scotus to his Atlas St. Francis, but quickly Duns Scotus came to have such a strong associative connection to Sor María that Rubens's figure of Francis was made to be part of a triad that charted support of the Immaculate Virgin across centuries. This grouping pulled Franciscan defense of the Virgin from the thirteenth-century roots that Rubens had visualized into a moment roughly contemporary with the completion of these paintings.

In other instances, however, the idea of the Virgin's defense was pushed backwards in time and given a longer theological genealogy. In a canvas now in the baptistery in Santa María de Tonantzintla, for example, this defense is pushed to its origin in the bible itself and the writings of John the Evangelist, whom the viewer finds just to the left of Rubens's orb-bearing Francis (fig. 100).³⁵⁹ John the Evangelist is coopted for Franciscan lineage, which becomes the canvas's central thematic: the Immaculate Virgin rendered the literal trunk for the Franciscan family tree that fans out from her form. Of course, the Rubens print had also focused on genealogy, staging a generational defense of the Virgin by portraying the line of Habsburg monarchs who had favored the Franciscan Order and maintained allegiance to the

Franciscanos no Mundo Português III: O Legado Franciscano, ed. Natália Marinho Ferreira-Alves (Lisbon: CEPES, 2013), 225–255.

³⁵⁷ On depictions of Sor María Jesús de Ágreda, see Ricardo Fernández Gracia, “Los primeros retratos de la madre Ágreda. Consideraciones sobre su iconografía hasta fines del siglo XVII,” in *El papel de sor María Jesús de Ágreda en el Barroco español*, ed. Luis Suárez Fernández (Soria, ES: Universidad Internacional Alfonso VIII, 2003), 155–182.

³⁵⁸ The engraving would continue to play a role in New Spain, and a painted conforming copy can be found in the Museo de Santa Mónica de Puebla. For information and description, see <http://santamonicapuebla.wixsite.com/inicio/mistica-ciudad-de-dios>. Accessed December 21, 2016.

³⁵⁹ The canvas likely dates to a refurbishing campaign that took place in the church in the middle of the eighteenth-century; see Julio Glockner, *El paraíso barroco de Santa María Tonantzintla* (Puebla, MX: Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 2016), 27–29; Pedro Rojas, *Tonantzintla* (Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma de México, 1978), 35–37.

doctrine of her Immaculacy. Likely in consultation with the Franciscans who commissioned the painting, the New Spanish artist Gregorio José de Lara has substituted, in Tonantzintla, dynastic succession for theological pedigree and thereby tasked the viewer with sorting a larger and more complicated cast of characters.³⁶⁰ The canvas is, in this respect, a different kind of response to the print than the objects we have seen, which primarily condensed Rubens's print to the single figure of Francis, or stripped the tripartite composition down to three single figures. This genealogical assemblage instead uses Francis as a starting point to build a composition even more complicated and pictorially dense than the original, surrounding the order's founder with a multitude of characters that the viewer must now identify.

If the pictorial results are different, the transformative pictorial logic of Tonantzintla's complications of Rubens's original print are nevertheless in keeping with the paintings and sculptures explored to this point. In working through the visual responses to Rubens's print in New Spain, one gets a sense of the associative potential of the original composition, the way that figures could be swapped into and out of the scene, the way that Francis and his orbs opened easily to a range of related heroic deeds and theological writings of the Franciscans. That not all of the figures in the Tonantzintla canvas are unequivocally identifiable perpetuates the logic with which Franciscan patrons and artists used the Rubens print to make connections to other theological precepts, thinkers, and concepts. This canvas's unresolvedness compounds that associative logic within its own pictorial field by including figures whose identities have to be stabilized by a viewer who, in turn, must make sense of their inclusion within the scene. The visuality and iconography of the original printed composition has been entirely transformed, but not the work it inspired in the audiences who took it up and used it to create other objects.

The kind of relational viewing that Tonantzintla's canvas prompts is demanded even more clearly by another painting featuring Francis and his orbs, which is now installed below the choir loft in the parish church of Santa María Magdalena in San Martín Texmelucan (fig. 101). In this large arched painting, made in the seventeenth century and expanded in the mid-eighteenth century when the church was rebuilt, Francis and his Virgin are surrounded by generic Franciscan types.³⁶¹ The viewer gleans only clues about who the four figures to either side might be: red cardinal's robes and a hat before the figure at far left, a fur tri-corner cap before a jurist who acts as the pendent at far right, and two friars, one holding a quill and the other a palm frond of martyrdom—perhaps portraits, but more likely prompts for future Franciscans to take up their pens and risk their lives in service of the Virgin's honor. There are, of course, ways to extrapolate in order to identify these figures. For example, in the nearby monastery of Huejotzingo, a finely rendered sixteenth-century mural above a doorway

³⁶⁰ The painting is signed, though there are some doubts, based upon style, that this signature is authentic. His authorship would date the painting to c. 1750, at which point he completed another painting for the church's baptistery; see Antonio Rubial García, *Santa María Tonantzintla: un pueblo, un templo* (Mexico City: Universidad Iberoamericana, 1991), 101–105.

³⁶¹ No scholarship exists to help date these additions, but the church was expanded in the mid-eighteenth century at which point new altarpieces were installed. Canvases additions, meant to accommodate the painting to the *sotocoro*, where it is now found, were likely also added at this time.

in the cloister pairs Thomas Aquinas with Duns Scotus—who wears a conspicuously similar fur hat—on either side of a rendition of the Immaculate Virgin. Perhaps the Franciscan traveling from the outpost of Huejotzingo to the smaller convent in nearby Texmelucan was meant to make these connections and identify two of the figures accordingly. But the generic, and uncertain markers of identity in Texmelucan suggest, instead, that the canvas was engineered to allow for such connections without offering resolution, thus creating a supporting cast for Francis and the Virgin over whose identities we, as viewers, must quibble or argue.

If full legibility had been intended for this canvas, labels could easily have been added to the scene. The artist of the canvas in Tecaxic, which we have already seen, added delicate gold inscriptions below the kneeling figures that flank Francis, and are thus identified as St. Bonaventure and San Juan Capistrano (fig. 90). Toting red missionary banners, these figures—after whom several outposts in New Spain took their names—render the Immaculate Virgin, at whom these figures gaze up contemplatively, an emblem of conversion and a source of inspiration for evangelical conviction. This was not the only time that Rubens's composition prompted thinking about the order's evangelical zeal and the ever-greater geographies across which its members made the firm commitment to saving souls. The composition that Rubens engineered followed Franciscans across these geographies and had an even greater reach than has been outlined to this point. Copies spanning from Trujillo and Cuzco, in Peru, to La Paz, in Bolivia, suggest the potency of the Rubens allegory for Franciscans in the central Andes.³⁶²

Unlike in New Spain, where the composition was adapted in medium and subject to a vast variability in size, the print seems to have almost exclusively inspired large-scale paintings in South America. An immense canvas in the sacristy of San Francisco in Ayacucho, Peru, exemplifies South American redeployments of the Rubens print and reveals how geography and missionary scope became important to the Franciscans who there thought about this composition (fig. 102).³⁶³ Completed and signed in 1712 by the artist Fabian Pérez de Medina, the painting might be described as a conforming copy in that it maintains all the original features of Rubens's allegory, reorienting them to a vertical format. The conformity of the copy to its printed model was likely a condition of the painting's donor, the Franciscan *síndico general* Don Alonso García de Araujo, who appears in the painting's lower-left hand corner with his eyes raised in devotion and his finger pointing to the band of text at the painting's bottom edge, which names him.

Yet if the Ayacucho canvas conforms to the printed composition, it also adds other forms and figures and amplifies the original print's allegorical potential by introducing explicitly geographic components. The three orbs atop Francis's shoulders are elaborated into

³⁶² Paintings not illustrated here can be found in the churches of San Francisco in Arequipa, San Agustín in Trujillo, and (a highly reworked composition) in San Francisco in La Paz. See PESSCA 377A/1694B, 377A/3081B. For the briefest mention of the La Paz composition, see Álvaro Pascual Chenel, "Fiesta sacra y poder político: iconografía de los Austrias como defensores de la Inmaculada en Hispanoamérica," *Hipogrifo* 1 (2013): 57–86.

³⁶³ For an overview of Jesuit missionary writing and activity in Peru, which pushed the order into the difficult spaces of Amazonia, see Julián Heras, "Franciscan Missions of Peru," in *Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Studies, 1530–1900*, ed. Joanne Pillsbury, vol. 1, pt. 3 (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 281–283.

globes, spun to reveal views of Asia, Africa, and Europe. Francis balances on yet a fourth, which shows America, rooting the figure into the very continent on which his printed figure came to be painted. Asia, the topmost orb of Francis's triad, however, is not visualized as a landmass at all. While it is clearly labeled as the Asian continent, the orb atop which the Virgin rises instead contains the scene of original sin in the garden: Adam and Eve flanking the tree and the serpent. This element pulls into focus the purpose of the Immaculate Conception, which was to create an unblemished vessel for the Christ child who would redeem humanity from this original sin.³⁶⁴

The Virgin no longer rests directly atop this final orb, however, and instead treads upon a monstrous dragon. A large banderole scrolls through the sky and crosses through Asia, revealing this dragon as the monster of the Apocalypse, which the Virgin would vanquish in a halo of blinding light as evidence of her immaculate power.³⁶⁵ The origins of Christian sin in Eden are thereby enjoined with John's vision of the moment of its final judgment and redemption; the entirety of Christian time is pulled into the frame of a composition that also visualizes the entirety of Christian geography: heaven, hell, and the known continents of the globe to which the church, and specifically the Franciscans, had been sent.

The painting insists upon a legibility not present in the Rubens original. Even more text has been added to the scene: scrolls unfurl through the pictorial space, the Habsburg rulers have been securely identified with additional banderoles that swirl out from their feet and angels carry the symbols of Mary's Immaculacy, framing the arched scene. Pope Alexander VII has joined the deceased Habsburg rulers in their heavenly chariot as a substitute for the generic angel that Rubens had used to balance their chariot into symmetry with the four cardinal virtues. This pope has expressly supported missionary expansion and his inclusion thus both amplifies the geographical reorientation of Francis's blank orbs and reframes the crown's defense, which is here framed not only in terms of their abstract support of theological doctrine, but so too in relation to the missionary potential they created for the Franciscans through imperial expansion.

It seems that this geographic inflection was central to a pan-Andean interpretation of Rubens's print, given very similar compositions—which transform orbs into globes and label the complicated cast of characters—in other important Franciscan outposts in Trujillo and Arequipa.³⁶⁶ The banderoles of text that scrawl through the original Rubens print are thus given a new valence: if victory was to come from “the south,” and if Habsburg defense was to play out below the southern, seraphic skies, the print's arrival and deployment in Ayacucho

³⁶⁴ Another iteration of the composition in the church of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios in Puebla, Mexico, which is clearly based on the Rubens engraving (given the use of the chariots in the upper register), also fills the orb with a scene of the Garden, but with no overt geographic orientation. See PESSCA 377A/1520B.

³⁶⁵ The text, from the book of the Apocalypse, reads: DRACO PROIECTVS IN TERAM ET ADIVVIT TERRA MULIEREM.

³⁶⁶ I am grateful to Almerindo Ojeda for alerting me to the canvas in Arequipa. For a brief treatment of the canvas in Trujillo, now housed in the church of San Agustín, see Ramón Mujica Pinilla, ‘Dime con quién andas y te diré quién eres’. La cultura clásica en una procesión sanmarguina de 1656,” in *La tradición clásica en el Perú virreinal*, ed. Teodoro Hampe Martínez (Lima: Fondo Editorial Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1999), 221–222.

redefine the idea of the *south* as American rather than Netherlandish; geographic divisions are relativized and reinstated when the context for this print is understood as global rather than merely European. It is to this reconfigured context of reception that we shall turn in the next section in service of exploring how a global frame allows us to reassess the aim and function of the printed original.

The Transatlantic Thesis Defense, or Transformative “Copying” as the Work of the Original

The transformations of Rubens’s original printed composition that we have witnessed might be taken as prompts to tell purely local stories. For, in such pictorial transformations, we can surely understand something about New World audiences and contexts. Pursuing the meaning of variations within the local circumstances of their production is the avenue most Latin American art historians have taken, particularly with respect to prints and the works of art they inspired, as addressed in the previous chapter.³⁶⁷ We can interrogate New World objects in relation to their European sources to reveal why local artists and patrons changed and transformed their models; in turn, one can chart the new semantic values that such differences produced within and, so the logic goes, strictly for these new social environments. There is undeniable value to such an approach. But in what follows, I suggest that local, Latin American transformations give us fundamental insight into the European print, the “original” object, and in doing so reveal an audience—a Franciscan order and the artists upon whom they came to depend—that is not confined to a purely local context, but that instead existed within and responded to the concerns of a transatlantic community. If Rubens’s composition was localized through pictorial transformations, these local interpretations were prompted by the pictorial dynamics and force of an original composition, and these transformative copies in Latin America thus help us assess the meaning and function of Rubens’s print in ways that have never before been possible.

To be absolutely clear, such a line of thinking is not meant to supplant interest in local colonial conditions and concerns. Single transformative copies in Latin America, on the one hand, and clusters of objects that treated Rubens’s print in similar ways within particular geographic distributions, on the other, could serve as openings to productively interrogate the social milieus in which these copies came into being. That Franciscans cared to visualize sacred geographies in highland Peru, for example, might be situated with respect to contemporary debates about the “true” location of the Garden of Eden, a hotly contested topic in a quickly expanding world that had ramifications for the status of Indian neophytes and how to most effectively administer catechism.³⁶⁸ As Jesuit writers, such as the Spaniard Antonio de León Pinelo, and self-satisfied creoles boldly suggested that Eden might be found in the deeply unknowable reaches of the Amazons, these Franciscan paintings and their

³⁶⁷ On the stakes of such inquiry beyond Latin America in the early modern period, see Bleichmar and Martin, “Objects in Motion in the Early Modern World,” 604–619.

³⁶⁸ On the reception of these ideas by Latin American theologians and artists, see Ilona Katzew, “La saga de los orígenes: una reinterpretación americanista de dos cuadros de Cristóbal de Villalpando,” *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 99 (2011): 33–70.

patrons insist on a more classical localization of the garden in Asia.³⁶⁹ Or, in contrast, the fact that the majority of the deployments of Rubens's iconographies in New Spain are concentrated around Puebla might be seen as a window onto the order's struggles in the region, in the middle of the seventeenth century, with the bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza who sought to curb Franciscan growth and squelch the order's relative autonomy and power.³⁷⁰ The multiple deployments of Rubens's composition become a resolute communal statement that the Franciscans are the favored order of the Crown, and could thus be seen as a form of protest and a visual corollary to the consistent Franciscan attempts to circumvent local structures and appeal directly to imperial sovereignty. Or, one could contextualize Franciscan use of this composition on either side of the turning point of the year 1700—when dynastic crisis plunged imperial territories into doubt and turmoil—as part of the order's more general strategy of using the Immaculate Conception as a vehicle to forge continuity between the rule of the Habsburgs and their Bourbon successors, who similarly exalted the Virgin and took up immaculacy as an imperial emblem.³⁷¹ The gilded statue in Tlaxcala (fig. 96), made for initial installation in 1685 yet retained when the chapel was expanded and its altar reworked in 1735, would make the point well enough: the generic regal portrait amongst the order's lay sect would have slipped easily between dynastic identifications as they shifted with the turn of the century.³⁷²

Yet the broader range and typology of visual responses to Rubens's print in the Americas also allows us to see the print *itself* anew. Such pictorial reinterpretations of the composition reveal the print's semantic flexibility and iconographic capaciousness, the ways that its component pieces could serve as prompts, opening easily through associative

³⁶⁹ Antonio de León Pinelo, *El paraíso en el Nuevo Mundo. Comentario apologética, historia natural y peregrina de las Indias Occidentales Islas de Tierra Firme del Mar Océano...*, ed. Raúl Porras Barrenechea (Lima: Comité del IV Centenario del Descubrimiento del Amazonas, 1943 [c. 1650]).

³⁷⁰ Cayetana Alvarez de Toledo, *Politics and Reform in Spain and Viceregal Mexico: The Life and Thought of Juan de Palafox y Mendoza 1600-1659* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 69–70, and 206–215.

³⁷¹ See, for example, the account of the Franciscan festival dedicated to the Immaculate Virgin celebrated in honor of King Phillip V in Mexico City in 1711: Pedro Dañon, *Claridad de ojos, apercion de oidos, y verdad de palabras, que manifiestan à vista de el desengaño, las glorias del mayor triumpho, que á influxo de la Concepcion de MARIA SSMA. consiguió en su Octava Nuestro Catholico Manarcha D. PHILIPPO QUINTO (que dios guarde) y con zeloso pecho, festivo culto, y devida Accion de Gracias, mandò celebrar en este Convento de N.P.S.Francisco de México, el dia 15 de Julio de 1711* (Mexico City: Viuda de Miguel de Ribera, 1711).

³⁷² On the architectural context, see Alejandra González Leyva, "De la arquitectura de la evangelización a la secularización y primera reconstrucción del templo," *Tlaxcala: la invención de un convento*. The statue is the only one that seems to have been reused, as it does not match any of the others in style. This stylistic mismatch has caused confusion amongst scholars unaware of the chapel's building history, and has led to such implausible explanations as the idea that the statue was crafted in the Philippines. See Citlali Xochitiotzin Ortega, *The State of Tlaxcala Mexico*, trans. David G. Howard (Mexico: Government of the State of Tlaxcala, 1994), 46.

connections, to consider related themes outside Rubens's pictorial field. If imbedding these changes within local New World contexts yields dividends, it also leaves the original object out of the equation; the printed composition might be the starting point, but through acts of transformation—both at the level of medium and meaning—local artists left the European printed object behind and so too then, analytically, might we. Indeed, some might argue that such shifts are fundamental to the process of translation, inevitable outcomes of a print's movement to and copying within different social contexts and that such translations alienated the original object from its intended context and valences.³⁷³ But what kind of object allowed itself to be so easily reconfigured, to be pictorially transformed? In what follows, I suggest that the breadth of pictorial response that Rubens's print engendered in the Americas offers a fundamental way to understand the printed object and reassess its *own* commission and intended function.

European scholars have quibbled over the iconography of Rubens's composition and have failed to account for the composition's intended use. In parsing its iconography, they have incidentally argued for some of the meanings we find in Latin America. For instance, the idea of the orbs as continents has been proffered, though the fact that there are only three has proved vexing and has led to their alternate geographic interpretation as the Old and New World spheres of Habsburg influence.³⁷⁴ Because the commission and reception of this object have remained uncertain, however, scholars have never found such hypotheses entirely satisfactory. There is no context in which to position the object and therefore no evidence *external* to the print itself that could confirm such interpretations. And these scholars have often imagined that meaning was something exclusive: that there could be only one true solution to the puzzles of the composition.³⁷⁵ Rubens often leads one to think this. He would return to an allegory he created and lay bare a set of one-to-one correlations between symbols and significations.³⁷⁶ So in the case of this composition too, potential meanings have been conceived as singular; but with no evidence to confirm or deny interpretations in whole or in part, the object has languished. The orbs are metonymic for this operation: while they might stand for many things—and the gambit of explanations has been offered—their resolute blankness stares back at us, their meaning remaining unconfirmable.³⁷⁷ The pictorial effect of

³⁷³ See, for one example, Daniela Bleichmar, "Translation, Mobility, and Mediation: The Case of the *Codex Mendoza*," in *Sites of Mediation: Connected Histories of Places, Processes, and Objects in Europe and Beyond, 1450-1650*, ed. Susanna Burghartz, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 240–269.

³⁷⁴ Judson and Van de Velde, *Book Illustrations and Title-Pages*, 349–352; Held, *Oil Sketches*, 526–528.

³⁷⁵ This is particularly true of Judson and Van de Velde, who lay out many potential meanings before suggesting that one would need more information about the object's patron to determine which approach would be *correct*. Judson and Van de Velde, *Book Illustrations and Title-Pages*, 349–352.

³⁷⁶ See, for example, Rubens's letter of 12 March 1638 to Justus Sustermans in which he offers a careful allegorical reading of his *Consequences of War* (Palazzo Pitti, Florence); Magurn, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, 408–409.

³⁷⁷ Some have suggested they stand for the three branches of the Order, though perhaps not the Regulars, Poor Clares and Lay/Third Order but rather the Conventuals, the Recollects and the Capuchins; see Leo van Puyvelde, "Un tableau symbolique de Rubens," in *Beiträge für*

these orbs heightens frustration, as graduated tones across their surfaces draw the viewer close to identify forms that quickly recede into the illegibility of ink and paper. Blankness charges allegory to its full potential, creating screens against which various theories and interpretations must be tested and contested.

Early modern viewers and artists in Latin America, however, visually responded to this object and *made it* mean, and these viceregal Franciscan audiences in Latin America quite obviously allowed several meanings and associations to sit comfortably side by side. These visual glosses are the products of Franciscan discourses about Rubens's print, about its formal structure and its theological content. The typology of visual responses charted in the previous section thus provide a period framework of thought about this object and, in turn, the kind of evidence, external to the print, whose absence has been the key sticking point in settling upon a fully agreeable account of Rubens's object.

Confusion about the composition's meanings has gone hand-in-hand with questions about its function and the context of its production. Scholars have either accepted or rejected Basan's late eighteenth-century appraisal of the engraving as a thesis sheet before continuing on with business as usual; and business as usual has often meant trying to provide a synthetic iconographic account of the composition.³⁷⁸ Logic locks into a standstill and, nested in a strictly European context, there has been no recourse to a reception history that might serve to move these questions forward. Transformative copies, a particular type of visual response, in Latin America thereby allow us to return to the question of the object's function and enable, as never before, a critical treatment of Basan's late eighteenth-century assertion that this print was the top half of a thesis sheet. Yet to do so also requires taking a quick step back. For, what exactly *is* a thesis sheet? It is a question that oddly has never been discussed in any literature on the Rubens print, as if dwelling on the point might disturbingly underline the question, the lack of evidence and, in turn, this object's frustrating unknowability.

Thesis sheets were used to accompany the celebration of a completed course of doctoral study, the capstone feature of which was a public disputation.³⁷⁹ The thesis sheet was

Georg Swarzenski (Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1951); Valentín F. Frías, *Leyendas y tradiciones queretanas* (Mexico: Imp. De la Escuela de Artes de Sr. S. José, 1900), 164. The three vows of the Franciscans (poverty, chastity, and obedience) have been suggested as another solution; see Agnes Mongan, ed., *Rubens Drawings and Oil Sketches from American Collections*, (Cambridge, MA: The Fogg Art Museum, 1956), 36, no. 40. For a geographic interpretation as continents, see Held, *Oil Sketches*, 526–28; for a more abstract notion of geographical spheres (Old World, New World, celestial realm), see Judson and Van de Velde, *Book Illustrations and Title-Pages*, 349–352.

³⁷⁸ See, for an early example, Van den Wijngaert, *Inventaris der Rubeniaansche prentkunst*, 82. Scholars have not been helped by the fact that this genre of print has been poorly understood and, until recently, little studied. For an early account that sought to bring attention to the thesis sheet, see Wolfgang Seitz, "Die graphischen Thesenblätter des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts," *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten* 11 (1984): 105–114.

³⁷⁹ For the best account of the spectacle of the defense, see Louise Rice, "Jesuit Thesis Prints and The Festive Academic Defense in the Collegio Romano," in *The Jesuits. Cultures, Sciences, and The Arts 1540-1773*, ed. John O'Malley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); for non-Jesuit contexts, and particularly on Franciscan defenses, see Véronique Meyer,

comprised of both text and image, often printed on separate sheets, and it guided the disputation by presenting a certain number of written postulates to which the student was to respond by mobilizing visual elements of the print to aid his argument. Such defenses were rhetorical spectacles, which depended upon a picture sufficiently complex to open outwards to the text below and to other intellectual precepts beyond the pictorial field, but also sufficiently specific to suit a particular occasion, student, and area of study (usually theological, philosophical, or legal). The seventeenth-century thesis sheet also placed particular emphasis on the sponsor of the event—often a member of the regal elite—to whom the defense was dedicated and who was honored in the image itself or in an accompanying panegyric text.³⁸⁰

When the practice of accompanying a public defense with a printed sheet was introduced in late sixteenth century, thesis sheets were typically bespoke and tailored through the inclusion of mottos, coats of arms, and other personal devices. The resultant sheets, designed for individual students in consultation with intellectual advisers, were thereby carefully keyed to quite fussy and singular iconographic readings and resulted in equally fussy and complex visual layouts.³⁸¹ By the 1620s, however, it was common for an order or a college to commission well-regarded artists to create a printed composition to which they could append broadsheets to suit the needs of different students who, over the course of subsequent years, would use the same image.³⁸² This kind of image needed to relate to central intellectual thematics of the period and, in turn, relate easily to any number of arguments and textual passages that might be appended below.

As a particular subgenre, the theological thesis print needed to contain certain features to do its job sufficiently. Such an object had to allow for a discussion of theological texts to show off the student's learning; it had to offer a way to praise a dedicatee or patron; and it had to contain certain visual riddles for the student to parse. In short, it needed to be complex enough that it engineered its own transformation. As a critical component of the defense, sheets were distributed to audience members so they too might join in the intellectual festivities, interjecting their own learned plays of word and image.³⁸³

The visual responses to Rubens's print in Latin America draw out and complicate features of the original printed object and, in so doing, reveal precisely the kinds of iconographic openings that would have allowed a student and an audience to exploit the

“Les thèses, leur soutenance et leurs illustrations dans les universités françaises sous l’Ancien Régime,” *Mélanges de la Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne* 12 (1993): 45–109.

³⁸⁰ On heraldry, flattery, and the role of the patron, see Louise Rice, “Pietro da Cortona and the Roman Baroque Thesis Print,” in *Pietro da Cortona: Atti del convegno internazionale Roma-Firenze 12-15 novembre 1997*, ed. Christoph Luitpold Frommel and Sebastian Schütze (Rome: Electa, 1998); de Mûelenaere, “*Disputatio* and Dedication.”

³⁸¹ For a particularly good treatment of this type of thesis print, see Susanna Berger, “Philander Coutius’s *Logicae universae typus* (1606) and the visualization of logic,” *Word & Image* 31 (2015): 265–287.

³⁸² Seitz, “Die graphischen Thesenblätter,” Véronique Meyer, “Les frontispices de thèses: un exemple de collaboration entre peintres italiens et graveurs français,” in *Seicento. La peinture italienne du XVIIe siècle et la France* (Paris: Documentation Française, 1990), 105–123.

³⁸³ Rice, “Jesuit Thesis Prints.”

composition in a defense.³⁸⁴ In Latin America, the riddle of orbs is parsed as the branches of the Franciscan order in Tlaxcala, and alternatively as Franciscan World geographies throughout Peru. Habsburg patrons are praised in conforming copies and through the association of the crown with other objects, such the Virgin of the Conquest in Puebla; but they are also heralded as leaders of the Order's lay sect in the sumptuous statue in Tlaxcala. A pope that lent the order legitimacy joins Habsburg ranks in Ayacucho. In Tonantzintla, one comes to understand the theological precept of Immaculacy differently by the visual localization of Duns Scotus within a genealogy of theological writers and their tenants—both modern and ancient. The consistent pairing of Duns Scotus with Sor María Jesús de Ágreda underlines an associative and intertextual reading of theological texts, one becoming the bolster or the gloss for the other. In Ayacucho's Garden of Eden, the viewer finds a visual discourse about the locus of original sin itself, a postulate that similar copies in other parts of Peru "agree" with through pictorial repetition.

In tracing these visual responses to Rubens's print in Latin America, we come to understand exactly *how* the allegorical composition supplied all of the elements of the theological thesis print. It visualized one of the period's most heavily debated religious doctrines, positioned a theological genealogy of its defense, and praised the entire Habsburg house, here positioned as the Virgin's greatest earthly supporters. The textual additions, culled from New Testament verse and the Song of Songs, only made the print more apt for reuse as a thesis sheet in providing footholds for the baroque feats of rhetorical flourish that could be performed by a student with rigorous textual training. The same features made it a potent candidate for broad transatlantic circulation and for being "copied" in ways that transformed its iconography and meaning.

These Latin American objects are the indexes of how their patrons and artists became participants in something of a transatlantic thesis defense, however seriously we choose to take this metaphor. New World paintings and sculptures index a Franciscan audience, prints in hand, postulating about a European composition—using its forms to make connections to others, ruminating on pictorial riddles and offering interpretations: in short, transforming the way one sees the object through re-performance and interpretation. They make for a chatty conversation. And these objects populate the void between the creation of Rubens's print in 1632, and the only word on its use in Europe in 1767. In turn, transformative practices of copying allow us to take seriously, if not perhaps to confirm beyond doubt, the object's supposed function as a thesis sheet. It is entirely possible that Rubens was commissioned directly from the Franciscans to produce such a thesis sheet, and that the order held the plate (not thought to be extant), having impressions pulled by a local printer when individual students who were in any way connected to the Habsburg house as patrons were ready for a defense. The fact that the Immaculacy was the single most hotly contested topic in the Catholic world would have made the print's central theme particularly apt and adaptable.³⁸⁵

³⁸⁴ On the polysemous nature of thesis sheet iconography, see Gwendoline de Mûelenaere, "Double Meaning of Personification in Early Modern Thesis Prints of the Southern Low Countries: Between Noetic and Encomiastic Representation," in *Personification: Embodying Meaning and Emotion*, ed. Walter S. Melion and Bart Ramakers (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

³⁸⁵ On the theme of Immaculacy in art of the Spanish World, see Stratton, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*; on Latin America specifically, see the seminal Rubén Vargas

And, more to the point, these features made the print equally as potent and topical to Franciscans in the New World, as to those in Europe.

Yet, to conceive of Franciscans on two sides of an ocean as one audience, or to make an analogy between small rooms of European educational performance and giant theaters of transatlantic dominion is a challenge to art history's configurations of context, reception, and evidence. If the discipline has become certain that reception and context have something fundamental to teach us about an object, how broadly should it think about those terms? Stated differently, how earnestly might we take to the idea that reception in Latin America can prove something about a European object? This is a pressing question, if we increasingly insist upon the connectedness of spaces within the Spanish Empire, from Antwerp to the Andes.

These Latin American objects highlight just how connected this world was. Witty visual retorts to the print disallow an easy binary of Europe as originary and learned, and its colonies as facile consumers: derivative, replicative. Latin American viewers and artists thought hard about Rubens's complicated object and their rhetorical dynamics perhaps reveal its function as the orchestrator of a defense, that pinnacle moment of Europe's most learned study and erudition. If we still might not take a painting in Mexico or Bolivia as solid proof of the print's original function, these Latin American objects nevertheless help us stop and ponder the question as never before. And in so doing, they most importantly permit us to *see* this printed object more fully, to understand different facets of this object's visualities, and to diagnose something specific about its pictorial mechanics: the operative mode—transformation—embedded at its core. Stated differently: if we still might not be willing to take Basan at his word, to believe that he gazed upon a still-intact thesis sheet that conclusively indicated the function to which the print had been put, these Latin American objects suggest the kind of visual work that Basan imagined this print producing for a viewer, the kind of visual work he could most easily conceive of and contextualize within the rubric of a defense.³⁸⁶

The transformative copy, the heavy-handed gloss that opens up the original and takes its viewing audience far afield, *is* the work of the thesis print. The transformative copy in

Ugarte, *Historia del culto de María en Iberoamérica y de sus imágenes y santuarios más celebrados*, 2nd ed. (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Huarpes, S.A., 1947), 57–60, and 128–137.

³⁸⁶ It is important to note, however, that the paintings explored here do not have the *look* of a thesis sheet. In my account, each is taken as a single response and these collectively build the kind of discourse that would have been staged in a thesis defense. There *are*, however, objects in Latin America that derive from the Rubens original and that *do* look like thesis sheets. These objects, housed in the churches of San Francisco in Cuzco, La Paz, and Cochabamba (Bolivia) will need to be explored in a future study, as they help make a much stronger case for the use of Latin American objects as “proof” about the European original. Because these paintings are in areas with restricted access and because sufficiently high-quality photographs of these extremely detailed and text-laden works are not yet available for consultation, they have been omitted from this discussion. For the reproduction of the Cuzco painting, by the artist Juan Espinosa de los Monteros, see Teresa Gisbert, “La identidad étnica de los artistas del Virreinato del Perú,” in *El barroco peruano*, ed. Ramón Mujica Pinilla (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2002), 104–106. For the works in La Paz and Cochabamba, see Chenel, “Fiesta sacra y poder político,” Von Kügelen, “La pintura de los reinos y Rubens,” 1044–1045.

Latin America is the fulfillment of the potential deliberately engineered into the European original, a potential that depended upon a connected audience and a student clever enough to exploit that potential. The idea that reception tenders the keys to a text is a tenant of reception theory, as developed within literary studies, and even within a certain strain of the social history of art; and yet this idea has strangely not been taken seriously within a globalizing early modern art history.³⁸⁷ For art historians, I suggest this case study prompts us to take seriously the notion that pictorial redeployment has as much to say about new meanings, or semantic and cultural drift, as it does about originary compositions. The thesis print is an idiosyncratic type of object, one meant to effect its own particularly active and robust reception, but tracking the transmission of Rubens's example through Latin America is meant to illustrate a broader point about the transmission of European prints and objects in the New World: colonial response must be allowed to tell us something not simply about itself, but also about the Europe that it saw. When we allow for this, copies proffer a greater legibility and *visibility* of originals. Most studies have stressed the fundamental irreconcilability of objects and their meanings with the new contexts in which they find themselves and, in turn, the incommensurability or even untranslatability of concepts and objects within empire.³⁸⁸ But if we instead conceive of a truly connected world and of certain audiences that stretch across the Atlantic, colonial art can teach us as much about Europe as about Latin America. This need not only be pursued through symmetrical circulation—that is to say the shipment of objects from the colonies to and through Europe—but rather by attentively looking at the ways one-way circulation from Europe to Latin America makes objects more legible both within the contexts in which they were received and from which they originated.³⁸⁹

From Original to Originary: The Virgin of El Pueblito

Elizabeth Boyd was the first to note the legacy of Rubens's print in Latin America, but she did so via a circuitous route. Boyd was researching a small *retablo*, an object of popular devotion, made and signed by the New Mexican “folk” artist “A. J. Santero” in 1822 (fig. 103).³⁹⁰ Below the Virgin, who takes center stage, we find the now-familiar St. Francis and

³⁸⁷ For foundational works of reception theory, see Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982); Wolfgang Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978). For the classic text of the social history of art, see T.J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers*, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

³⁸⁸ Russo, *The Untranslatable Image*.

³⁸⁹ I thank Byron Hamann for lively and generative exchange on this topic. His claim that tracking colonial translations of indigenous terms and linguistic concepts into Spanish provides certain types of accessibility to originary conceptual frames was an inspiration for this line of thinking. See Hamann, *Translating Nebrija*, 85–107.

³⁹⁰ On the A. J. Santero, see William Wroth, *Christian Images in Hispanic New Mexico: The Taylor Museum Collection of Santos* (Colorado Springs, CO: Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center, 1982), 192; Charles M. Carrillo and Thomas J. Steele, *A Century of Retablos: The Janis and Dennis Lyon Collection of New Mexican Santos, 1780-1880* (Phoenix, AZ: Phoenix Art Museum, 2007), 88–97.

his three blue orbs. Made in New Mexico after the 1810 wars of Mexican Independence, the object speaks to the long temporal impact and geographic reach of Rubens's print, published in Antwerp nearly two centuries earlier. When Boyd first published Santero's small retablo, however, she charted the object to an entirely different printed source and entitled her article accordingly: "A New Mexican Retablo and its *Mexican* Prototype" (emphasis added).³⁹¹ Boyd paired the object with an engraving of the so-called Virgin of El Pueblito, an engraving signed by the Mexico City-based printmaker Antonio Onofre Moreno and designed sometime before 1761 (fig. 104).³⁹² This print corresponds exactly to the distinctive, if heavily damaged, ensemble of A. J. Santero's sculpted, gessoed, and polychromed object: a Virgin rises atop the orbs of St. Francis, angels holding open her heavy robes to reveal the crescent moon of her Immaculacy, the Christ child is found standing at Francis's side rather than cradled in the Virgin's arms, and the entire grouping is set in a doubled frame, one architectural and the other comprised of a textual inscription that runs alongside the stone archway in which the cast is installed. In both the engraving and the retablo, this arching text labels the Virgin as the true portrait of the miracle-working statue of *Nuestra Señora del Pueblito* and indicates that the original statue "is venerated in its sanctuary outside the city of Querétaro [Mexico]."³⁹³

In Moreno's engraving, Boyd thought she had identified the source for the retablo's imagery until, twenty-five years later, she doubled back and traced a more complicated genealogy to Rubens's print.³⁹⁴ When considered carefully, this historiographic trajectory speaks eloquently to the matter of transmission, copies, and originals. For, in a certain sense, Boyd had been correct in both cases: the Rubens image was the prototype for the popular devotional object produced in New Mexico, but so too, and perhaps more accurately, was the Moreno engraving. After all, the prototype that A. J. Santero hoped to copy was the Virgin that Moreno had carefully delineated and labeled in his engraved lines, a statue that by the eighteenth century had become widely celebrated as a miracle-working image. Whatever link the statue's forms ultimately had to Rubens, Moreno was invested in transmitting the power of the original sacred prototype to future communities of viewers and devotees; and that original prototype was not a print sent from Antwerp, but a statue in Mexico that was deemed to have miraculous powers and that had come to include Rubens's figure of St. Francis as a critical component of its forms.

The sculptures on the facade of the church in Ocotlán and in the chapel of the Third Order in Tlaxcala (figs. 86 & 96), were thus not the only instances in which the central figure of Francis and his orbs was excerpted from the Rubens print and rendered a three-dimensional base for local statues of the Virgin. Francis and his orbs were also expressly sculpted to be

³⁹¹ Elizabeth Boyd, "A New Mexican Retablo and its Mexican Prototype," *El Palacio* 56 (1949): 355–357.

³⁹² On Moreno, see Manuel Romero de Terreros, *Grabados y grabadores en la Nueva España* (Mexico City: Arte Mexicano, 1948), 507–509; Kelly Donahue-Wallace, "Prints and Printmakers in Viceregal Mexico City, 1600–1800," PhD diss., The University of New Mexico, 2000, 78–82.

³⁹³ "que se ven. en su sant. extram^s de la ciud. de queretaro." For an overview of the Virgin's cult, see William B. Taylor, *Theater of a Thousand Wonders: A History of Miraculous Images and Shrines in New Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 193–195.

³⁹⁴ Elizabeth Boyd, *Popular Arts of Spanish New Mexico* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1974), 79–81.

placed below two different miracle-working statues of the Virgin Mary. Through the intersection and association with these Virgins, Francis and his orbs would, over time, become endowed with similar supernatural qualities, for as the sacred statues began to be replicated, Francis was visualized as a fundamental component of these miracle-working objects. Through the act of copying, the original Rubens's figure, one of purely allegorical potential, was transformed into an object of miraculous portent; and as part of a miracle-working ensemble Francis came to act as an entirely new point of origin for the production of images meant to channel divine power to new generations of religious supplicants in ever-broader geographies.

As a result of being placed below these sacred statues, Rubens's figure of Francis was implicated in crossed lines of transmission and became part of objects that were themselves defined as new points of origin by dint of their miracle-working status. If the first sections of this chapter looked backwards along chains of reproduction—from transatlantic circulation and reinterpretation to an original printed object (and its oil-sketched design) in Europe—this section points in a different direction by exploring how the act of copying could create new points of origin altogether: copied objects that would themselves become ordinary images for future copying. I use the term “ordinary” rather than original in order to underline the generative potential of these new objects and to distinguish their generative power as objects of miracle-working potential. Unlike in the last chapter, in Cuzco, where “Rubens” as original was refracted into a web that came to broadly define Cuzco as origin, here the miracle-working nature of these new iconic objects rendered them decidedly singular and linked them not to a place, in an abstract sense, but rather to particular altars, in specific churches, in certain sites in New Spain. I argue that this type of *iconic* transformation allows us to see the conditions of the early modern object as being premised upon movement and on copying, and reveals some of the repercussions that mobility and copying had for notions of authorship. Because the moving picture placed in doubt its own origin point, it not only allowed, but also necessitated that objects and their artist-authors be reimagined. This was true on both sides of the Atlantic.

The authorship of the statue group that came to define the Virgin of El Pueblito will be discussed in greater detail below. But according to El Pueblito's official cult history, penned by Hermenegildo Vilaplana in 1761, the statue of the Virgin and a small and separate Christ child were sculpted by the Franciscan friar Sebastián Gallegos in 1632.³⁹⁵ The friar gave these sacred creations to his superior Nicolás de Zamora who, out of sheer desperation, placed them upon the ruined remains of an indigenous temple (the Cerro Pelón) that was still being used for the covert worship of demonic deities. Upon seeing the Virgin in their place, the lapsed Otomí idolaters in Zamora's charge began to weep and were miraculously reconverted to the Christian faith. The Virgin had worked her first miracle, a miracle of reconversion, of clarity and faith brought to the hearts of indigenous idolaters through the mere act of seeing her sacred form.

It is not entirely clear when the statue of Francis was appended to the miracle-working Virgin. The grouping that now exists in El Pueblito is an awkward, modern assemblage that does not match the elegant ensemble seen in Moreno's engraving (fig. 105). Francis seems to

³⁹⁵ Hermenegildo Vilaplana, *Histórico, y sagrado novenario de la milagrosa imagen de Nuestra Señora del Pueblito, de la Santa Provincia de religiosos observantes de San Pedro, y San Pablo de Michoacán*, 2nd ed. (Mexico City: Bibliotheca Mexicana, 1765 [1761]), 14–15.

have been heavily repaired, if not entirely resculpted, in the nineteenth century following the Mexican wars of Independence, and the Virgin and child rise on clumsy, bulbously billowing clouds, a twentieth-century confection.³⁹⁶ The original statue of St. Francis, created to act as a bearer of the miraculous Virgin, was likely installed in El Pueblito between 1686 and 1735. A confraternity founded in the Virgin's honor in 1686 may have commissioned the sculpture around this time. The fact that a similar statue had been erected in the chapel of the Third Order in Tlaxcala just one year earlier, in 1685, may have provided the impetus (fig. 96); at the very least, the Tlaxcalan statue underlines that the broader Franciscan community had already conceived of Rubens's engraved St. Francis as a figure that could function in the round. If not already in the seventeenth century, then the statue was likely joined to the Virgin in 1735, when she was translated from a small chapel, where she had been housed, to a sanctuary built in her honor with the backing of wealthy patrons and devotees from Querétaro.³⁹⁷ It was during this period that the Virgin's cult truly took off and became central to the devotional lives of both the predominantly indigenous churchgoers in El Pueblito and those in the prosperous Spanish city of Querétaro. During this period, the statue began to be routinely processed into the city in times of crisis—droughts, famines, and plagues—which occurred regularly enough that specific instructions for the events and protocols surrounding her procession were included in Querétaro's city ordinances in 1733.³⁹⁸ The cult ultimately

³⁹⁶ A recent account of the Virgin and her shrine puts forth that Francis was sculpted in 1869, but does not list any information to corroborate this dating; Eulalio Hernández Rivera and Fernando Pérez Valdez Godina, *Santuario de Nuestra Señora de El Pueblito* (Mexico: Imprecolor Industrial, 2008), 24. An early twentieth-century source describes the Virgin as still resting directly on the three orbs that, at this point, balanced on Francis's shoulders, indicating a later reorganizing of the grouping, as we now find it; this early account also notes Francis had been resculpted, but dates this to the 1830s-40s; Frías, *Leyendas y tradiciones queretanas*, 163–164. A painting of the statue group dated to 1852 shows the Virgin on a golden base, as she is now displayed, suggesting that perhaps the orbs began to buckle, or were deemed insufficient to supporting her form, around this time; see, Sergio Rivera Guerrero, *Los lienzos de Nuestra Señora de El Pueblito: discursos y recursos iconográficos* (Querétaro, MX: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Querétaro, 2010), 20.

³⁹⁷ An eighteenth-century source speaks to both the confraternity's foundation and to the translation, which had been previously reported by Vilaplana; Joseph Manuel Rodríguez, *Relación jurídica de la libertad de la muerte intentada contra la persona del R.P. Fr. Andres Picazo...Por intercession de Nra. Sra. en su prodigiosa imagen del Pueblito, Extramuros de la Ciudad de Querétaro...* (Mexico City: D. Phelipe de Zuñiga y Ontiveros, 1769), 28–30.

Archival documents corroborate this account, indicating that in 1720 the friars were given permission by the Archbishop of Mexico, Don José Lanziego y Eguilaz, to raise funds for the edification of a new structure for the Virgin, and that the building project was lavishly supported by prominent families in Querétaro; AHPFM, "Provincia, Conventos, El Pueblito, Caja 2, Número 1; and AHPFM, "Provincia, Conventos, El Pueblito, Caja 1, Número 1a.

³⁹⁸ A copy of this ordinance can be found in the Franciscan archives of the Province of Michoacán. These ordinances were clearly important, as the cult's fame grew, and the residents of Querétaro became eager to guard the statue within the city's walls for as long as possible; the Franciscans of El Pueblito had to petition for the enforcement of the ordinance

gained transatlantic fame and thus received papal indulgences throughout the eighteenth century, copies of which were sent from Rome and are still preserved in the archives of the Franciscan Province of San Pedro y San Pablo of Michoacán.³⁹⁹ The cult of El Pueblito brings us to Querétaro, another provincial space outside of Mexico City, far to the north of both the capital city and Puebla, where we have seen many of the transformational copies of Rubens's allegorical print discussed above.

A statue of Francis and his orbs had clearly been placed below the Virgin of El Pueblito by the time of Vilaplana's 1761 publication, as the slim volume included Moreno's engraved image of the miracle-working statue, which may have been designed for the publication, but which also circulated as exceedingly large numbers of loose-leaf prints (fig. 104).⁴⁰⁰ Only two years later, in 1763, the Spanish friar Francisco de Ajofrín verified such an arrangement of the cult statue in a diary he wrote while traveling through the Americas: "The statue of this sovereign image of El Pueblito is about half a *vara*, placed on three orbs, acting as glorious Atlas of the Heavenly Queen, our Father San Francisco."⁴⁰¹ In his text, Ajofrín also makes clear that he had seen Vilaplana's history of the cult statue, the author having personally shown him the printed text (most likely along with its printed image) when the two

and in 1783 wrote directly to the King, who ruled in their favor. AHPFM, Provincia, Conventos, El Pueblito, Caja 3, Números 43, 43bis, and 46.

³⁹⁹ AHPFM, Provincia, Conventos, El Pueblito, Caja 2, Número 25; Caja 3, Números 37bis, 38, 38bis.

⁴⁰⁰ These prints are found in different locations in the surviving copies of Vilaplana's text, a stub suggesting they were printed separately and included in the text at the time of binding. Plate wear and re-engraving or strengthening in the various impressions that survive in these volumes suggest that the print was produced in extraordinary numbers. As accounts of other miracle-working statues indicate, such engravings were sometimes sold not only at these shrines, but also by traveling salesmen; for a period account, see Loayzaga, *Historia de la milagrosísima imagen de Nra. Sra. de Occotlan*, 70–71. Scholars have consistently underestimated the potential number of impressions, even very clean ones, produced by a copperplate engraving. For a corrective, see Karen L. Bowen and Dirk Imhof, "18,257 Impressions from a Plate," *Print Quarterly* 22 (2005): 266–279. The plate wear on New Spanish prints is much more extreme than would have been permissibly printed by the Plantin-Moretus firm, suggesting the numbers could have been even larger for the engravings presented here.

⁴⁰¹ This description comes only two years after the first printed image circulated in Vilaplana's printed account of the holy shrine and its image. Francisco de Ajofrín, *Diario del viaje que hizo a la America en el siglo XVIII el P. Fray Francisco de Ajofrín*, vol. 1 (Mexico City: Instituto Cultural Hispano Mexicano, 1964 [1763]), 143. "La estatua de esta soberana imagen del Pueblito es como de media vara, colocada sobre tres globos, siendo glorioso atlante de la Reina Nuestro Padre San Francisco." Neither confirming, nor disputing the dating of the arrangement, no mention of Francis is made in a 1743 account that otherwise notes the extreme state of finish and perfection of the shrine itself; Esteban de Acosta, *Querétaro en 1743: informe presentado al rey por el corregidor Esteban Gómez de Acosta*, ed. Mina Ramírez Montes (Querétaro, MX: Gobierno del Estado de Querétaro, 1997 [1743]), 140–142.

met at the Colegio de Santa Cruz in Querétaro, the major Franciscan outpost in the region.⁴⁰² Given that Ajofrín felt no need to note a difference between the statue and her engraved true portrait, there is no reason to doubt that Moreno's engraving, included in Vilaplana's history, approximates the original arrangement of the figures in the sanctuary in El Pueblito.

The engraving is less important for the documentary evidence it offers about the display of the miraculous statue of the Virgin upon St. Francis's stack of orbs, however, than it is for the way it figures St. Francis as an integral component of the miracle-working ensemble and its numinous potential. In labeling the entire ensemble a "true portrait of the sacred image" ("V.R. (*verdadero retrato*) de la sagrada Ymg."), the inscription, curving along the architectural frame, makes a critical and implicit claim about the objects it visualizes.⁴⁰³ For the Spanish *ymagen* renders the referent potentially ambiguous, corresponding to both the *image* of the Virgin and the entire *statue* grouping, as it came to be presented in the engraving. Rubens's allegorical engraving had spawned sculpted copies of this figure of St. Francis on New World soil, but Moreno's engraving returned that figure to the medium from which it came. In this process, the figure of St. Francis was incorporated into the *verdadero retrato* of Our Lady of El Pueblito and Francis thus became a defining feature of her miracle-working form. Francis was rendered a component of the true portrait, a piece that was integral to the identification of the Virgin of El Pueblito and, in turn, to her miracle-working potential.

The printed image allowed audiences far vaster than those of Querétaro and its surrounds, to come to know the miraculous statue of El Pueblito along with her attendant St. Francis. On the one hand, these prints were meant to broadcast the important icon and, in so doing, draw attention and funds to the holy shrine where it was housed; the print thus implicitly heralded the Franciscans' careful guardianship of the sacred icon and, in so doing, bolstered the order during a difficult period of religious reforms and censures that threatened the mendicant orders in New Spain.⁴⁰⁴ On the other, the printed true portrait of the cult statue in Pueblito, endowed with the miraculous potential of the original object, was also meant to devotionally aid a broader range of supplicants than those in the proximity of its shrine.

Vilaplana reports on this capacity of printed images—such as the engraving produced by Moreno that was included with his text—to channel the power of the shrine's icon. In a list of the miracles that the Virgin of El Pueblito had performed by the time he wrote his sacred history, the author describes how María de Viscarra, resident of Guanajuato, swallowed a thorn (*espina*) and, in great danger of suffocating, had lost her ability to speak or scream for help. He then narrates how "she asked through [hand] signals, that they give her a print of Our

⁴⁰² Ibid, vol. 1, 139.

⁴⁰³ The inscription reads "V.R. de la Milagrosa Ymg. de N.^a Señ.^a del Pueblito que se ven.^a en su Sant. Extram. de la Ciud. de Queretaro." For an overview of the meaning of "true portrait," and related pictorial practices in the Spanish Empire, see Fernando Quiles, "Between Being, Seeming and Saying: The *Vera Effigies* in Spain and Hispanic America during the Baroque," in *Fiction Sacrée: Spiritualité et Esthétique Durant le Premier Âge Moderne*, ed. Ralph Dekoninck, et al. (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 181–200.

⁴⁰⁴ On the place of El Pueblito in Northern Franciscan campaigns, and for a partial cataloging of objects related to the cult, which was extremely useful to prompt the research undertaken for this chapter, see Cristina Cruz González, "Our Lady of El Pueblito: A Marian Devotion on the Northern Frontier," *Catholic Southwest: A Journal of History and Culture* 23 (2012): 3–21.

Lady of Pueblito, which she had on a small altar. Having it in her hands, she kissed the image with reverence...and coughed up the spine...⁴⁰⁵ In this tale, we not only learn how printed images of the Virgin and Francis became sacred focal points of private devotion on home altars, but also that such printed images could work miracles of their own. Such was the power of the *verdadero retrato* across media, of the image even when it was returned to print. In including this tale, Vilaplana makes an implicit plea for the reader to engage in similar acts of veneration, to take up the print that was included in his volume and incorporate it into their domestic devotional lives. Installed on a home altar, or hung humbly on the wall of a dwelling, the print could work with the sacrality of the original, an original that now included the figure of St. Francis and his orbs.

The engraved ensemble thus came to circulate more broadly and in greater numbers and these printed forms began to generate their own copies. If the circulation of Rubens's print had occasioned the statue to be placed below the Marian icon, once the same figure was returned to engraving, these *New World* printed figures began to spur future acts of copying and created a transatlantic chain of transmission from paint (Rubens's oil sketch), to print, to sacred sculpture, to New Spanish print, and then on to other media. An eighteenth-century painting, signed by the important Querétaro-based artist Miguel Vallejo, for example, seems to have taken its cue from Moreno's first printed true portrait of Pueblito's Francis-Virgin duo (Fig. 106). The artist signed this copy directly below his banderole cum identificatory label for the ensemble, which reads "N.^a S.^a del Pueblito." The label focuses our attention on the place of this Virgin—she is *of* El Pueblito, housed on the altar of her sacred shrine in the small town outside Querétaro. The viewer is thus directed to the origin of the statue group and made to understand that the painting is a copy of an absent original, but an original that could work efficaciously through the copy that Vallejo brought lovingly into existence and signed in an act of authorship and devotion.

All multiples of the sacred, no matter the medium, had the potential for miraculous efficacy, such that the distinctions between them were often blurred. An *ex-voto*, painted sometime after 1769, is illustrative of the ways in which medium came to matter less than maintaining the originary miraculous *form* in the web of copies spawned by the statue in Pueblito (fig. 107). Though the four (heavily damaged) textual cartouches above the narrative scenes, which anchor the painting's corners, describe the events pictured in the canvas, we know significantly more about the particulars of these scenes from a textual account published in 1769. In his *Relación jurídica*, José Manuel Rodríguez explains how the Franciscan friar Andrés Picazo was miraculously spared from death when a madman attacked him in his cell. The vignettes of the *ex-voto* give a shorthand of the narrative, which begins in the top left-hand corner when the friar is accosted in his cell while praying before an image of the Virgin of El Pueblito; the friar then pleads for his safety, but as it becomes clear that he will be mercilessly struck by his attacker, he instead entreats the mercy of the Virgin before which he stands, and finally the Virgin brings the friar back from the brink of death once his attacker has left the cell.

This *ex-voto* clearly shows the friar standing before a painting of the miraculous icon of El Pueblito, which hangs framed on the plain walls of his cell. The corner scenes, which render this token of thanks appropriately narrational, are reduced to small subsidiary vignettes within the overall space of the painting, which is dominated by yet another painted image of

⁴⁰⁵ Vilaplana, *Histórico y sagrado novenario*, 133.

the Virgin of El Pueblito. This repetition of the Virgin, in both the narrative vignettes and within the larger space of the picture, produces a visual conflation and the viewer of the ex-voto thus takes the place of friar Picazo before a painting of the miracle-working icon. In reducing the scenes to the corners and visually insisting upon an equivalence between the miniature, re-presented icons within the narrative cartouches and the larger image of the Virgin, this ex-voto implicitly suggests that the viewer stands before a painting that also has the potential to work miracles; and the ex-voto thus becomes less a token of thanks than a new rendition of the icon, one that imbeds an explanation of its own miraculous potential within the space of its frame.

This understanding of the pictorial field helps make sense of this rather unusual object. For this painting is not, strictly speaking, an ex-voto, but rather a *copy* of the ex-voto that had been made at the behest of Fray Picazo in thanks to the Virgin and that is still housed at the Virgin's shrine.⁴⁰⁶ The copied ex-voto turns itself into a devotional picture through the substitution of medium: the replacement of a *painting* of the icon for the statue. This alteration allows the copied ex-voto to produce a visual slippage between its narrative vignettes and its central, iconic image. The text that circulated the tale of Fray Picazo's miraculous salvation spoke of a different logic of medium and copying. Rodríguez's account informs us that Picazo had been "standing before a statue (*Imagen*) of the Immaculate Conception of our Lady, a copy of that which is venerated [outside Querétaro] and to whom is given the name *El Pueblito*."⁴⁰⁷ And in the original ex-voto, from which this later painting was copied, the Virgin-Francis duo is clearly portrayed as a small-scale sculpture standing on an obviously three-dimensional altar table in the friar's cell. In shifting the medium of the icon that brings the friar salvation, the copied ex-voto makes a bid for its own capacity to do the same miraculous work and yet, more to the point, for the image of the Virgin to work efficaciously irrespective of the medium to which she is transferred. In this same vein, the *Relación jurídica*—which circulated the tale of the friar's tribulations and the Virgin's aid—was often bound with another printed "true portrait" of the Pueblito statue, one engraved by the Mexico City engraver Joseph Mariano Navarro (fig. 108). A set of objects in a range of media thus emerged from the events of the attack and the friar's miraculous rescue—a small copied statue, two ex-voto paintings, textual description, and a print labeled as a true portrait—creating a nexus of representation that foments the idea that the image could and should be copied, and that any medium could channel the divine potential of the original for the benefit of believers who knew of her original.

This kind of reproductive logic served to exponentially increase the speed at which copies of the originary sculpture of El Pueblito were produced, as copies garnered popularity and fame for the Virgin's cult and thus led to yet more copying. As the copied ex-voto, or A. J. Santero's retablo copied from a print, make clear, however, the icon's reproducibility created a range of objects that could all themselves be used as sources for future copying. In the extant material record, one quickly loses the ability to sort chains of production and

⁴⁰⁶ For an image of the original ex-voto, which also measures roughly the same dimensions (60 x 40 cm), see Sergio Rivera Guerrero, *Los lienzos de Nuestra Señora de El Pueblito*, 13.

⁴⁰⁷ Rodríguez, *Relación jurídica*, unpaginated introduction. "puesto en pie, ante una Imagen de la Concepcion Purísima de nuestra Señora, copia de la que se venera [en una corta poblazon, distante poco menos de dos legüas de la Ciudad de Querétaro,]...la que le dà el renombre *del Pueblito*."

reproduction. A painted copy of the statue group in Pueblito illustrates something of the difficulty of identifying sources with absolute confidence (fig. 109). Though the painting now hangs in the Virgin's sanctuary in Pueblito, the inscription in the lower right-hand corner of the painting suggests it was made with the bidding of the Franciscan friar Antonio Pío García to be placed in the church of the Franciscan Third Order (or lay order) in Querétaro. Given the specificities of this commission, the patron may have provided the painter with an engraving to which his work was to conform; for the painting also resembles another anonymously produced and now-rare engraving, dated 1776 (fig. 110). This commission would thus represent an unusual instance in which a printed composition produced in the *New World* was given to an artist as a model for contracted, painted production. Perhaps the painter simply substituted the bright, red curtain for the riotous cast of angels in the printed image and liberated the Christ child from his *rocaille*-cartouche cage, placing him instead on a small stand next to the Francis-Virgin duo, as seen in other representations of the group. The point here is less about identifying a particular source with certainty, but of showing how visual features came to be shared and swapped between all manner of representations as objects showing the miraculous statue grouping began to multiply.

The fact that, in this canvas, Francis also gazes in the opposite direction, inverted in his three-quarter pose with respect to the picture plane, suggests that perhaps the painter was working from yet another printed source, or perhaps another object altogether. Engraved “true portraits” of the Virgin of El Pueblito continued to be produced throughout the eighteenth century, such as another anonymous impression surrounded with similar *rococo* flourishes and curtains, which was included with a printed sermon dedicated to the Virgin and published in 1801 (fig. 111).⁴⁰⁸ The extensive plate wear of the impressions bound in these slim volumes indicates, however, that the engraving was likely completed significantly earlier and that the prints were simply included in, rather than designed for, the sermon honoring Pueblito's cult. These engraved “true portraits” of the Virgin-Francis duo were produced in large numbers and many editions, and the changes between them, reveal a pictorial logic within a closed system of reference in which one printed rendition served as a model for the next while simultaneously referring to all the others. Francis's reorientation—visible most obviously in the direction of his gaze and bare feet—towards one edge of the print and then the other indexes how artists worked from previous printed iterations, rather than from the cult object in El Pueblito or some type of intermediary drawing. All the surviving impressions of the cult image were produced by printers in Mexico City, far to the south of Querétaro, who did not, and did not need, to travel to Querétaro to capture the “original” image. These prints existed within their own internal system of copying, pointing to no particular origin object, but instead registering the basic typology of features by which the Virgin could be identified, a typology that came to be copied by the artists who used these prints to further the power and reach of a miraculous and originary object.

This attention to the printing industry may seem a small point, but it speaks to the geographies of transmission. Unlike in Europe, not every major city of the *New World* boasted of engravers and presses. And the question of geography was intimately bound up

⁴⁰⁸ The print appears in many copies of Francisco Maria Colombini y Camayori, *Querétaro triunfante en los campos del Pueblito. Poema historico sagrado en quatro cantos, de la milagrosa imágen de Nuestra Señora del Pueblito...* (Mexico City: Don Mariano Joseph de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1801).

with the function and potential of miracle-working objects. If these engravings came to be produced in a closed circuit of replication in Mexico City, their purpose was to draw attention to the original cult statue outside Querétaro. Funds and attention were pulled to the Virgin's shrine through the dissemination of her image and, more importantly, the viewer was able to imaginatively transport herself to the originary object in El Pueblito and thus to the site of the object's most efficacious power. The prototype worked miracles through and across these lines of transmission if the viewer could reliably look back across the replica chain to the miraculous potential of the original. It is in this spirit, perhaps, that artists in the late eighteenth-century began to set the Virgin within the landscape from which she emerged. An early nineteenth-century painting attributed to the artist Eduardo Tresguerras, which hangs in the main Franciscan church in Celaya, Mexico, stages the sacred image before a deep, recessional landscape (fig. 112).⁴⁰⁹ The Cerro Pelón, the Otomí mound upon which the Virgin worked her first miracle of reconversion, prominently rises in the middle distance, but the scene continues to recess to a diminutive portrayal of the Virgin's shrine, the site at which she had come to rest.⁴¹⁰ This painted copy asks us to project ourselves back to the originary object by stressing its geographic origin, the point from which the strings of copies that we might encounter in the world had come.

In a theological sense, however, the originary object in Pueblito is not, however, the true "original," not the origin point of the Virgin's miraculous powers. In his painted copy of the Pueblito statue group, which we have already seen, Miguel Vallejo had subtly underlined this point (fig. 106). Though seemingly based on Moreno's 1761 engraving (fig. 104), the painter introduced significant changes to the setting in which the group finds itself; trading a decorative floral border for the print's architectural framing, Vallejo removes any indication of the worldly setting of the figures' shrine and instead sets the grouping in a non-space. The prominent textual cartouche, below which Vallejo signed his name in a garish orange hue, identifies the figures as those of El Pueblito and directs us to imagine her shrine. But the artist simultaneously strips the image of any sense of physical placed-ness; the architectural niche has been replaced with a warm golden light. The hint of clouds below Francis's knees and the shadows around the Virgin's robe, which subtly suggest the presence of clouds outside the picture frame, prompt the viewer to imagine even beyond the originary statue in Pueblito, to transcend that worldly, material instantiation altogether, and instead to focus devotion directly to its holy prototype in heaven.⁴¹¹ Vallejo thus reminds the viewer that the statue in the shrine of El Pueblito was, in fact, only a conduit through which the Virgin in heaven had chosen to work miracles. If the painting extends a chain of replication (from statue to print to painting) in order to meet a new viewer and devotee, it simultaneously forces that viewer backwards along that chain as forcefully as possible, not only through its textual label to the sanctuary outside Querétaro, but also—through a placeless rendering of the statue grouping—past that holy icon and to the heavenly non-space of the *true* original.

In a 1797 sermon dedicated to the divine sculpture, the friar Francisco de la Rocha highlighted the cognitive split that Vallejo's painting more subtly illustrates. De la Rocha

⁴⁰⁹ Rivera Guerrero, *Los lienzos de Nuestra Señora de El Pueblito*, 11.

⁴¹⁰ The question of political geographies, which are in part related to Franciscan reform politics and imperial power struggles, is handled well in González, "Our Lady of El Pueblito."

⁴¹¹ On this tension, at the heart of all devotional images, see Koerner, "The Icon as Iconoclash."

stressed that the object on the altar in El Pueblito, while the originary object for future copying, is but a reflection of an ultimate and unworldly original. If the repeated exclamation points of his text are any indication, the friar bellowed from the pulpit, “upon entering through [the doors of her Sanctuary], we discover on its throne this peregrine (*peregrina*) Beauty.” But he quickly transcended the space of the church, exclaiming, “What it will be to see her divine Original in heaven!”⁴¹² De la Rocha’s sermon and Vallejo’s painting complicate the question of copies and originals by underscoring the theological precept that “original” miracle-working objects were always already understood as copies. The image of the Virgin on earth was seen as a mere index: a *peregrine beauty*, a traveler sent from God, which could nevertheless perform the work of its divine prototype. Much like the Virgins with which this chapter opened, the story of El Pueblito is one of mobility, of a pilgrim original sent from heaven as a sign of God’s favor for New World devotional communities.

Perhaps the fundamental feature linking the various published textual accounts of the Virgin of El Pueblito thus became a rehearsal of the image’s point of origin, and a history of its physical location, both its final resting place and the physical peregrinations it took to arrive at her final resting place. Vilaplana’s history of the Virgin of El Pueblito is eloquent on the point, opening with a chapter entitled “The Temple, site, and origin of the Miraculous Image of our Lady of El Pueblito” (*Del Templo, sitio, y origen de la Milagrosa Imagen de nuestra Señora del Pueblito*).⁴¹³ The 1769 *Relación jurídica*, whose purported *raison d’être* is only to tell of the Virgin’s miraculous intervention on behalf of Friar Picazo, could not resist including as its only subsidiary text a “succinct appendix that gives account of the *origin* of the Sacred Image of Our Lady of el Pueblito and the evolution of her cult” (emphasis added).⁴¹⁴

Published only eight years apart, these accounts offer a consistent history of the cult and the origins of the statue, which would be repeated throughout the century and into the era of Mexican Independence. Vilaplana explains that Father Sebastián de Gallegos “crafted with his own hands this marvelous (*portentoso*) Simulacrum with that of the graceful, and Divine Child, that accompanies [the Virgin], in the year 1632,” and he praises the great artistic skill of this Franciscan friar, “a very ingenious individual, very skilled in the Art of Sculpture, and a true lover of the Holy Virgin...”⁴¹⁵ Over a century after its making, Vilaplana performs the quasi-historical operation of attributing the sacred object to its maker and, through subsequent repetition, this attribution became a fact. In his 1802 *Querétaro triunfante*, Father Colombini includes a chunky footnote in which he explains that, “The Reverend and virtuous Father Fray Sebastián Gallegos...very ingenious in the art of sculpture, and a particular lover of the Holy Virgin Mary, formed this miraculous Image of our Lady of El Pueblito.”⁴¹⁶ Colombini is even

⁴¹² Francisco de la Rocha Manrique de Lara, *La amada del Señor. Sermon panegírico de la Inmaculada Concepción de María Santísima Señora Nuestra, que en la función anual que le celebra ante su Portentosa Imágen del Pueblito...* (Mexico City: Don Mariano Joseph de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1797), 23. “...al entrar por ellas descubrimos sobre su Trono esa peregrina Hermosura. ¡Qué será mirar en el Cielo a su divino Original!”

⁴¹³ Vilaplana, *Histórico y sagrado novenario*, 1.

⁴¹⁴ Rodríguez, *Relación jurídica*, 27–28. “Apéndice succincto, en que se dà razon del origen de la Santa Imagen de Nuestra Señora del Pueblito, y progressos de su culto.”

⁴¹⁵ Vilaplana, *Histórico y sagrado novenario*, 14–15.

⁴¹⁶ Colombini y Camayori, *Querétaro triunfante*, 3–4.

more emphatic about not only the authorship of the image, but also the ends to which Gallegos's Franciscan superior, Nicolás Zamora, had initially put that image:

Oh happy Zamora! Oh fortunate
Gallegos! you can surely sing victory:
Your saintly fervor, saintly care,
Forms the great period of this History:
You who finally had achieved
Giving to Religion great fomentation and glory,
Being one Author of the countenance that I there see,
And the other the instrument of this grand trophy.
Certainly the Omnipotence of the Sovereign God
moved you to such a holy creation.⁴¹⁷

While Colombini maintains the essential attribution of the miraculous Virgin to Gallegos, he complicates this assessment. For on the one hand, the preacher resolutely assigns the work to Gallegos as *author*, while on the other he speaks of Zamora as an essential collaborator, and of God as the ultimate, prime mover of these actions and events. The sermon subtly proposes answers to certain questions that had become essential to consider when tracing the origin points of holy images in New Spain: was man capable of crafting such a holy object? Or, did it have to be sent from heaven as a pilgrim impression? If human making could be framed as divine inspiration, the implantation of a pilgrim form in the mind, heart and hands of a human actor capable of bringing forth a sacred design and its numinous potential, perhaps these conflicting ideas could be held in productive tension.

The facture of the Virgin in Pueblito reveals that these appraisals about the object's authorship are, in fact, even more complicated. The Virgin's incredibly light weight—which made her so easily mobile—owes to her remarkable material makeup: the statue is made of an interior frame of bundled, porous wooden sticks, crafted around a hollow core, atop which the statue's exterior form has been mold-made using corn-stalk paste (*pasta de caña*).⁴¹⁸ Though colonial objects made of *pasta de caña* owe to European technologies of mold making—as has been recently and amply demonstrated—the techniques and materials with which such molds were deployed were resolutely of the New World, with histories stretching into a deep pre-conquest past.⁴¹⁹ It is unlikely, to state it gingerly, that a Franciscan friar at the beginning of

⁴¹⁷ Ibid, 13–14. “¡O Zamora feliz! ¡O afortunado/ Gallegos! bien podeis cantar victoria:/ Vuestro santo fervor, santo cuidado,/ Forma la época bella de esta Historia:/ Dichosos finalmente habeis logrado/ Dar á la Religion fomento y gloria,/ Siendo uno Autor del Rostro que allí veo,/ Y otro instrumento de tan gran trofeo./ Ciertamente os movió la Omnipotencia/ Del Soberano Dios á obra tan santa.”

⁴¹⁸ For discussion of recent technical examination, see Hernández Rivera and Pérez Valdez Godina, *Santuario de Nuestra Señora de El Pueblito*, 20–22.

⁴¹⁹ On *pasta de caña* and its uses in Christian religious objects, see Sara Ryu, “Molded and Modeled: Sculptural Replication in the Early Modern Transatlantic World,” in *At the Crossroads: The Arts of Spanish America & Early Global Trade, 1495-1850*, ed. Donna Pierce and Ronald Otsuka (Denver: Denver Art Museum 2012); Pablo Francisco Amador Marrero, *Tranza española, ropaje indiano. El Cristo de Telde y la imaginería en caña de maíz*.

the seventeenth century would have come to master this technique; and technical examination has revealed the attendant Christ child to be of an entirely distinct facture, and almost certainly created at a different moment entirely.⁴²⁰ Attributing the statue to Gallegos, as author, is but one of the many creative fictions about origin points that such retrospective examination of cult objects engendered in the early modern world. But when New World objects were involved, the logic was somewhat more insidious.⁴²¹ Such triumphant accounts often papered over the efforts of the true artists of these objects, the indigenous craftsmen asked to create images as the tools of their own religious “persuasion” or forced conversion, artists who were then subsequently and easily stripped of their agency and authorship when their works were assigned to men of more distinguished origins.

But what of the attendant figure of St. Francis who became integral to the statue of El Pueblito? If the Virgin came to be labeled a pilgrim beauty, a mobile impression of God’s will that was worked into being, along with the Christ child, through the craftiness of the friar, how does one account for her Atlas bearer? It is likely nothing more than happenstance that the retrospective attribution of the Pueblito statue to friar Gallegos was assigned to the year 1632, the very same year inscribed upon Pontius’s engraving of Rubens’s Austroseraphic allegory that provided the figure who would come to serve as the Virgin’s attendant. Yet this temporal coincidence, allowed the histories of the *making* of these two pilgrim objects—the New World Virgin and Rubens’s St. Francis—to be stranded together long before the objects actually physically intersected, one with the other, on New World soil. Through this intersection, the physical placement of Francis below the miracle-working statue of the Virgin, Rubens too came to work miracles in Mexico. Or rather, Rubens’s *figure* worked miracles; and it did so at the moment that the link to Rubens had been disrupted—when this St. Francis more potently signified in relation to a New World place, and to a particular sacred statue with which it had become entangled.

In theological terms, the statue of St. Francis should *not* or, at the very least, should not have necessarily, been included in reproductions of the iconic object. The Virgin alone, that original object that performed miracles of reconversion amidst idolatrous worshippers, was the true locus of divine potential. But Francis came to be indelibly associated with this Virgin as its most distinctive visual marker; and thus Francis was without exception included as part of the true portraits of this object, and the Rubens figure thus became fundamentally implicated in the original object’s potential to channel divine power. Critically, then, it was not through the simple placement of Francis below the Virgin, but rather through his *replication*—through the potentialities of the engraved plate and the painter’s copy—that Rubens’s saint was incorporated into the sculptural group, recognized as constitutive to its form, and thus became newly originary. The “same” figure was incorporated into a new point of origin, not a European print but a local cult object. While the written accounts of the

(Telde: Ayuntamiento de Telde, 2002); Pablo Francisco Amador Marrero, “Imaginería ligera en Oaxaca. El Taller de los grandes Cristos,” *Boletín de Monumentos Históricos* 15 (2009): 45–60.

⁴²⁰ The Christ is carved of pure wood and has inset, glazed eyes; see Hernández Rivera and Pérez Valdez Godina, *Santuario de Nuestra Señora de El Pueblito*, 24.

⁴²¹ For an excellent treatment of this topic in New Spain, see Jennifer Scheper Hughes, *Biography of a Mexican Crucifix: Lived Religion and Local Faith from the Conquest to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 21–83.

authorship of the miracle-working statue leave Rubens's Francis to the side, the representations of the miracle-working forms do not. Rubens as maker is here lost through acts of making and remaking, his figure rendered an intertext with no stable origin.

The Push and Pull of Origins: The Virgin of Tepepan

The Virgin of El Pueblito, by virtue of her status as a miraculous image, spawned true portraits that could work divine favor. Through the process of the icon's reproduction, Rubens's St. Francis was included as fundamental to the form of this statue grouping. The chain of transmission from European print to the copy it helped generate was severed precisely at the moment that this local reproduction began and rendered the St. Francis newly originary, part of a New world prototype for printed, painted, and sculpted copies. Copies projected the originary image through space and time for the benefit of a wider range of devotees. But these supplicants needed to be able to recognize the holy image, imagine its point of origin, and direct their devotion through the replication to the original locus of divine power in order to profit from its aid. While printed images had the advantage of easily including textual additions to assure viewers of the image's point of origin and the image's status as a "true portrait," not all prints of the Virgin of El Pueblito, nor many of the copies in other media, opted for such an inclusion. The figure of Francis thus became a potent identifier for the statue in El Pueblito; though text most easily identifies a given miracle-working image, few pictorial motifs are more self-assuredly singular than the kneeling Atlas-like St. Francis with his orbs. The unusual iconography that Rubens engineered had become the Virgin's defining feature. Indeed, not a single extant representation of the El Pueblito Virgin *without* Francis and his orbs is known to exist.

The statue, as it now appears, is instructive in this respect. The twentieth-century changes, introduced to consolidate the structurally unstable group, completely altered the visual appearance of the Virgin of El Pueblito (fig. 105). The grouping now bears little resemblance to the many renditions of the Virgin across different media. Where Pueblito's Virgin was once placed directly atop the three orbs balancing above Francis's shoulders, she and the Christ child now rise atop gold pedestals that rest on a self-supporting mass of clouds, painted to a metallic sheen with modern paint. Francis has been stripped of his function as an figure-bearer and no longer does any *physical* work for the ensemble. As already noted, the Francis we now find in El Pueblito, along with his orbs, are post-colonial products and seem to have been sculpted anew in the nineteenth century. The point is worth underlining, for it speaks to the critical role he plays, both now and then, for the icon of El Pueblito. Through the process and duration of the icon's reproduction, Francis's forms became so fundamental to the statue group that it would be deemed incomplete without it; Francis had to be re-formed upon his material degradation, as his image had become both a locus of divine power and a critical *visual* marker of the icon.

From a formal perspective, the twentieth-century reconfiguration of the grouping strangely rendered El Pueblito a *new* point of origin. Future copies of the Virgin would need to reproduce the new visual appearance of the icon. A small, twentieth-century statue in the nave of the church of San Francisco Galileo, for example, shows the sculptural group in its current composite form (fig. 113). Placed against kitschy acrylic silver clouds, this reproduction of El Pueblito's icon is barely held to the chain of reproductions that had been created over the course of the preceding centuries and, ultimately, to Rubens's original

engraving. In fact, the only visual feature or, at the very least, the most easily identifiable feature that links these chains of transmission—modern and colonial—is the figure of St. Francis, his arms raised to support the three stacked orbs. Francis’s orbs, that iconographically ambiguous element of an “original” printed image sent from Antwerp to New Spain, is now the feature that most clearly sutures the visual histories of El Pueblito from the twentieth century to a deeper devotional past.

Through reproduction, Francis and his orbs became a kind of visual shorthand that quickly aided the supplicant in identifying the robed Virgin that rose above him. Rubens’s figure of the kneeling Atlas St. Francis is so distinctive that one hardly needs to inspect the Virgin to secure her identity. It was likely for this reason that Elizabeth Boyd included, in compiling a short list of engravings after the Virgin of El Pueblito, an unlabeled print signed by Manuel Galicia de Villavicencio in the second half of the eighteenth century (fig. 114).⁴²² The fluttering robes of the Immaculate Virgin are obviously different from those normally shown on the figure from Pueblito, but clothing was a non-essential component of most sacred statues and routinely changed with the liturgical calendar, or in response to lavish gifts from confraternities and religious devotees.⁴²³ Moreover, in the web of reproductions generated by the Pueblito icon, and other local cult statues, small formal changes were introduced such that the visual logic of affiliation sometimes feels associative rather than replicative; a flipped figure, or a clumsily rendered or overly stylized icon would not be uncommon. It is thus not illogical that Boyd would see, in Villavicencio’s engraving, a rendition of the Virgin of El Pueblito.

In this printed portrait, however, it is hard to make out any orbs at all. Even this absence is not entirely disqualifying; for at first glance, it appears that the printmaker has simply visualized the orbs’ concealment with a heavy band of clouds that sweeps through the center of the composition, and that localizes the figural grouping—much like Vallejo’s painted copy—to a heavenly realm. But, if one knows the actual source of the image, it is easy to spot the curves of a *single* orb in subtle modulations of engraved lines; unlike the cross-hatching that defines the edges of the clouds, the smooth engraved curves framed between Francis’s hands subtly denote the rounded volume of a single sphere. Not a true portrait of the miraculous icon in El Pueblito, the Villavicencio engraving instead likely represents another miraculous image altogether: the Virgin of Tepepan, a sculpture housed in the Franciscan church of Santa María de la Visitación, high atop a small hill overlooking the valley of Mexico, which was once on the southern shores of lake Texcoco, but which has now been swallowed by Mexico City’s urban sprawl (fig. 115). The visual form of the kneeling St. Francis bearing the heavy load of the Virgin is so distinctive, so seemingly *original* and originary, that it posed little problem, to Boyd, to pull Villavicencio’s engraving into the orbit of El Pueblito; but, in so doing, she crossed two lines of transmission and conflated two different miracle-working icons.

⁴²² Boyd, *Popular Arts of Spanish New Mexico*, 80; Boyd was culling from the images presented in Romero de Terreros, *Grabados y grabadores*, 371 and 550 (for this engraving, now unlocatable). On Villavicencio, see Donahue-Wallace, “Prints and Printmakers,” 84–89.

⁴²³ Susan Verdi Webster, “Shameless Beauty and Worldly Splendor: On the Spanish Practice of Adorning the Virgin,” in *The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Erik Thunø and Gerhard Wolf (Rome: “L’Erma” die Bretschneider, 2004).

According to documents related to the foundation of her shrine, the Virgin of Tepepan was crafted in the second half of the sixteenth century, a dating supported by the facture of the small, polychromed sculpture.⁴²⁴ As period accounts attest, the Tepepan Virgin was deemed miraculous, much like El Pueblito's, for her miraculous acts of reconversion, through which she inspired lapsed indigenous idolaters to re-enter the Christian fold; and her hill-top shrine became heavily trafficked and renowned for its refreshing breezes and impressive vistas of Mexico city across the lake.⁴²⁵ The shrine fell from favor and attention—a process set in motion by religious reforms during the colonial period—but the icon, much like that of El Pueblito, once received streams of visitors from all over New Spain and papal indulgences from across the Atlantic.⁴²⁶ Inventories of the shrine's holdings indicate that devotion to the Virgin was sparked during the 1660s, which spurred the rebuilding of the convent during the 1680s and 90s, and the commission of a lavish series of paintings for the church's sacristy, which were completed around 1721. It was likely amidst this flurry of attention and activity that the Franciscans in charge of the shrine decided to place their sacred Virgin upon the pedestal of Rubens's St. Francis, a dating consistent with the broader use of the figure, as we have seen.⁴²⁷

As in the case of El Pueblito, the Virgin's printed reproduction offers a *terminus ante quem* for this addition. An engraving of the figural group, published in Mexico City by Francisco Sylverio de Sotomayor, was included in Francisco Antonio de Vereo's 1727 *Aurora alegre*, a New Spanish re-edition of Sor María de Ágreda's *Mystica ciudad de Dios* (fig. 116).⁴²⁸ This New Spanish edition of the text—one of whose three volumes, as discussed

⁴²⁴ For a seventeenth-century account of the statue, see Agustín de Vetancurt, *Teatro mexicano o descripción breve de los sucesos exemplares, históricos, políticos, militares, y religiosos del nuevo mundo occidental de la Indias* (Mexico City: Doña María Benavides, 1698), v. 2, 52; on the facture, see Alina C. Ussel, *Esculturas de la Virgen María en Nueva España (1519-1821)* (Mexico City: Museo Nacional de Historia, 1975), 78–79; a 1698 copy of the foundational document dates the church and statue to 1596, AFBNM, nr. 109/1505.1 (though often labeled as 110/1505.1), ff. 1r-2v.

⁴²⁵ Vetancurt, *Teatro mexicano*, v. 4, 132.

⁴²⁶ The foundation document speaks to its status as an indulgenced image, but so too does an inventory of the convent's library from 1722: Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Fondo Franciscano, v. 136, f. 9r, 3894. The only sustained historical treatment of the site and, to a lesser extent, its holy image is presented in Rosa María Rivera Uribe, "Tepepan, arte e historia," master's thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1998. Indeed, Rivera Uribe is the only source that recognizes Pueblito and Tepepan as two importantly connected, but separate iconographies.

⁴²⁷ Inventories of the shrine suggest it was only after the 1660s that the shrine began to attract focused devotion and, in turn, a significant amount of material donations. Marked contrast is seen between the following: AFBNM, v. 37, ff. 77r-83v, #1186 (c. 1664); Biblioteca Nacional de México, Fondo Reservado, Archivos y Manuscritos, "Inventario de la Sacristía, Camarín, Vestidos, plata y alajas de N.S. de Tepepan [sic], MS.941 (1736). On the cycle of paintings, see Rivera Uribe, "Tepepan," 183–274.

⁴²⁸ Francisco Antonio Vereo, *Aurora alegre del dichoso día de la Gracia María Santísima digna Madre de Dios...* (Mexico: Joseph Bernardo de Hoyal, 1727). For information on

above, is a treatise on the Virgin's Immaculacy—included an encomiastic introductory text about the Virgin of Tepepan and thus warranted the inclusion of a true portrait of the miraculous image, which was bound into the book following its title page. The Virgin of Tepepan was apparently deemed so integral to the printed volume that a second edition of the *Aurora alegre*, released only three years later, included a woodcut of the icon—most likely crafted for this sole purpose—which was printed directly on the verso of the title page (fig. 117).⁴²⁹ In a striking reprisal of the intersections that mobility occasioned, these publications brought together, yet again, the figure of the Atlas Francis, now in printed form and below the specific Virgin of Tepepan, with Sor María de Ágreda. In this case, however, intersections were staged not with Sor María's image—as in the large canvas in San Fernando or the murals in Ozumba (figs. 97 & 98)—but rather with the words she had eloquently penned: words printed in Spain and sent across the waves as yet another type of pilgrim impression.

Yet, of course, *this* Francis looks importantly different for bearing one orb directly upon his shoulders rather than hoisting a triad into the air. The prints of the Virgin of Tepepan dispel the notion that this Francis once balanced three orbs and was later modified. In both the engraving and the woodcut, Francis is shown with the lone orb on his shoulders, grasping the edge of the heavy robes of the Virgin above. The statue is slightly less graceful than the printed images, in this respect, and begs the question of why Rubens's original design of St. Francis was modified in crafting the statue base in Tepepan. It is possible that this Francis was designed to elegantly clasp the robes that once dressed the Virgin held above him; as in the prints, Francis thus would have offered a solidity to the Virgin, visually balancing her brocaded adornments.⁴³⁰

A materially-minded perspective coupled with documentary evidence from the shrine suggests, however, that the makers in Tepepan might have indeed originally intended that Francis bear three orbs. As in the case of the statues in Tlaxcala, Ocotlán, and El Pueblito, Francis's hands have been wide-set, turned to reveal his identifying stigmata. But unlike in El Pueblito, where Francis was tasked with supporting a lightweight, mold-made statue of river reeds and cornstalk paste, in Tepepan the figure had to carry the heavy load of a figure carved from a single block of alabaster.⁴³¹ Even in El Pueblito, whose Virgin weighs barely more

Sylverio (often spelled Silverio in the literature), see Donahue-Wallace, "Prints and Printmakers," 52–57.

⁴²⁹ The commissioning of the woodcut would have enabled the publisher to include the image in the printing of the text, rather than buying engravings or commissioning their printing from an outside printer like Sylverio. The publisher may also have sold loose-leaf woodcut prints, though no known impression survives. Francisco Antonio de Vereo, *Aurora alegre del dichoso día de la Gracia María Santísima digna Madre de Dios...*, 2nd ed. (Mexico: Joseph Bernardo de Hoyal, 1730).

⁴³⁰ The practice of clothing the statue, and placing a wig below her crown, was ended in 1970 and these items were divided amongst the residents of Tepepan; Rivera Uribe "Tepepan," 172.

⁴³¹ The analysis presented here relies upon two sets of conservation reports; the statue was restored in 1981 when the Virgin fell from her St. Francis-base during a procession and, again, during a more holistic preservation effort of the shrine in 2005. Materials and measurements specified here are noted in Coordinación Nacional de Conservación del Patrimonio Cultural, Mexico City, "Reporte de la Restauración de la Virgen de la Asunción que se encuentra en el Convento de Santa María Tepepan," 4 September 1981, n.f.; Coordinación Nacional de

than a kilogram, Francis would not stand the test of strength he had been put up to through this arrangement;⁴³² the icon's twentieth-century reassembly no doubt occurred when the figure was buckling under the pressure of the Virgin above him. Such material degradation was the culmination of a century's long problem of physics, of gravitational pull. Rubens's Atlas figure had been designed for the non-space of allegory and the weightlessness of print. Francis's not-so-stable stance and his impossibly unwieldy load—meant to communicate visually a herculean feat of strength—made him a bad candidate for transformation from engraved lines to sculpted form, even if he was routinely employed as such in New Spain.

The makers of the Francis at Tepepan thus cut a potential problem off at the pass, reducing the triad to a single blue orb, which was flattened to accommodate the Virgin's base. But they seem to have done so only *after* planning for a figure who was to bear a much wider load and they thus had to address the visual disjunction of Francis's untethered arms. The Virgin's robes came to serve a double function. The elegantly polychromed Virgin of Tepepan was not originally meant as an *imagen de vestir*, a figure engineered specifically for textile and brocade adornment. Such statues were usually composite designs featuring carefully sculpted and polychromed faces and hands assembled upon unfinished armatures of simple wooden frames, not meant to be seen, that held these figures' robes in crisp lines and made maximally visible their precious fabric robes and lavish added adornments.⁴³³ When statues were smaller, such as in the case of the Virgin of El Pueblito, stiff, short robes could maintain this triangular form without being flattened under their own weight and required no such armature.

In Tepepan, parish priests seem to have developed a novel approach to dressing a figure not initially meant for this purpose and, in so doing, for visually integrating the unmoored arms of the Virgin's bearer. An inventory of the shrine's silver holdings includes an odd entry: "A cloud that serves to raise (*recoger*) the robes of the Holy Image."⁴³⁴ The inventory might be utterly perplexing—particularly given the vague use of the verb "recoger," which might alternatively mean "to gather up"—if it were not for a stone copy of the dressed sculpture on the church's facade (fig. 118). The stone statue conveys a sense of the original appearance of the Virgin of Tepepan, when dressed, and the puzzling cloud of which the inventory speaks: a cloud of silver meant to hold the robes of the Virgin in a stiff sloping line away from her slender form that had not been carved expressly to be adorned in quite this way. The clouds in the printed portraits of the statue grouping, which might there appear as a mere visual symbol of the Virgin's portent, are thus revealed as a critical physical component of the object itself. While the facade statue preserves this unusual technique of material accommodation, it also makes an important change to the figural grouping. Francis here rests his hands directly on the singular globe, and is thus integrated into a more physically stable composition.

Conservación del Patrimonio Cultural, Mexico City, "Restauración de la Virgen de Tepepan," 29 March-28 July 2005, n.f.

⁴³² Hernández Rivera and Pérez Valdez Godina, *Santuario de Nuestra Señora de El Pueblito*, 20.

⁴³³ Verdi Webster, "Shameless Beauty and Worldly Splendor."

⁴³⁴ Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Fondo Franciscano, v. 37, #1261, ff. 444r. "Una nube que sirve de recoger el ropaxe de la Sa Ymagen"

The changes wrought to the Rubensian Francis—changes made to address the physical consequences of attempting to use an immaterial model for a heavy burden—had the perhaps unintended consequence of rendering the saint’s form visually distinct from the others we have seen in New Spain and, thus, of creating a new origin point for visual reproduction. Rendering the icon distinct, however, was no small matter, as explored in what follows; for in addition to assuring the devotional efficacy of copies that could be properly identified by their beholders, it offered the ability to attract significant wealth and prestige to the icon’s shrine and the order that controlled it. Keeping lines of transmission straight in a transatlantic world paid significant dividends of money, fame, and religious converts. Highlighting this movement of people and things *to* Tepepan helps draw out how miraculous images, as points of origin, acted bi-directionally: on the one hand, as we have seen in El Pueblito, they sent images swirling outwards to create broad webs of reproduction; but, on the other, these originary points of reproduction thus became potent focal points to which devotional attention and other objects were pulled. But this operation of attraction could only occur if complicated relationships between reproduced objects—which came to exist in an intertextual matrix—could, to greater or lesser extent, be tracked so that they would point to a single original.

An inventory of Tepepan’s sacristy and *camarin* (the holy space used to dress the statue) from the second quarter of the eighteenth century, lists the sheer quantity, but also the remarkable quality and preciousness, of goods procured by the friars and the donations offered to the Virgin and Francis.⁴³⁵ Some of these entries tabulate objects entirely expected in the shrine of a miracle-working image, if their sheer quantity is perhaps surprising: nine different altar frontals, embroidered cloaks and processional banners, a dizzying array of precious silver metalwork, rings of gold encrusted in amethyst and rubies, over twenty strings of pearls in varying sizes, rings, four silver crowns, reliquaries crafted of silver and gold, mountains of paintings, and eight entire folios (recto and verso) of robes and other textile adornments. Subsequent objects, however, are more unusual, such as “a toothpick crafted of Chinese gold with a red ribbon, placed on the hem of the dress of Our Lady.”⁴³⁶ Other entries testify to local craftsmanship of no-less fantastical forms and materials: “A couple of small earrings, each of gold, with two small crafted squashes composed of two distinct pearls and two diamond tips,”⁴³⁷ a precious conceit of basic, even lowly, New World vegetables rendered luxurious. Other pious donations were formed from distinctly New World techniques and materials: “an inlaid mother of pearl (*concha*) image of Our St. Joseph,”⁴³⁸ “feather-work images” of St. Anthony, St. John the Baptist, San Felipe Neri, and St. Peter of

⁴³⁵ The inventory, as it now exists, is a 1736 copy of an original 1726 inventory. Notes about the original inventory’s objects—thing that have gone missing, for example—are noted in the margin, and additions seem to have been made at several other moments and as late as 1768. Biblioteca Nacional de México, Fondo Reservado, Archivos y Manuscritos, “Inventario de la Sacristía, Camarín, Vestidos, plata y alajas de N.S. de Tepepam, MS.941. Subsequent notes refer to this inventory; folio numbers and original text will be provided when quotations are offered in the text.

⁴³⁶ F. 37v “un limpiadientes de oro de China con un liston encarnado, en la fimbria del Vestido de N. S.a”

⁴³⁷ Ibid, f. 33v. “unos sarcillos pequeños de oro cada uno con dos Calabasitas, compuestas de dos perlas netas cada una, y dos puntas de diamante”

⁴³⁸ Ibid, f. 29r. “una Ymagen de concha, con S.r S.n Joseph”

Alcantara. Perhaps no entry more evocatively reveals an impulse to underscore New World locality through local devotion than that which lists an image of the Virgin of Guadalupe, made of feathers, which was gifted to Tepepan. In this instance, another Virgin, one that had emerged as the symbol of New World Christendom and the divine favor that the Americas enjoyed, was represented in the New Spanish medium par excellence.⁴³⁹

The shrine in Tepepan also, however, contained objects that had been directed from much more distant origins. A large number of objects are said to be “from China,” though the catch-all nature of the term in this period leaves one to wonder about the exact provenance of many textiles and metalwork objects labeled as such. The status of blue-and-white porcelain described in the inventory is more certain: for example, “two Chinese flower vases with their flowers, and two other small ones, one white and the other blue, from China.”⁴⁴⁰ A “bezoar stone set in silver with seven pearls, pinned to the corner of the [Virgin’s] mantle” perhaps arrived from India, either set there with precious filigree (just as many other known examples), or upon arrival in New Spain.⁴⁴¹ Objects made their way to Tepepan after being sent across a different ocean from Spain and Rome, the respective hearts of Empire and Church.⁴⁴² In the camarín, the friars hung two wax *agnus dei* sent from Rome, one featuring the lamb of God and the other depicting Santa Maria del Popolo, one of Rome’s famous icons fabled to have been painted by St. Luke.

The overseas circuits of trade along which these many objects moved to find final resting places in Tepepan were the same routes that had enabled the creation of Tepepan’s miraculous image in the first place. The Atlas figure atop which the Virgin rests was, after all, dependent upon transatlantic mobility, upon the transmission of inked forms on rag paper. That multiple *prints* also came to hang on the walls around Tepepan’s Virgin underlines these circuits of mobility and their potential and highlights the dual function of originary miracle-working images: to extend their sacred potentiality out through reproduction and, in turn, to pull objects back to themselves as loci of divine favor and power. For in the Virgin’s camarín, the friars also placed “two paper prints in black frames: one of St. Raymond, and the other of Our Lady of Tepepan” on either side of a tabernacle.⁴⁴³ Duplicated in printed form within the space of her own sanctuary, the Virgin and Francis become a potent echo, pointing perpetually to how the reproducibility of iconic forms sent far and wide could pull ever greater devotion and, in turn, other material objects into their orbit.

Rubens’s printed St. Francis moved through the routes of empire and was transformed into a numinous object. That process, which entailed a transformation of medium that altered

⁴³⁹ On creole patriotism and devotion, see the classic Jacques Lafaye, *Quetzalcóatl and Guadalupe: The Formation of Mexican National Consciousness, 1531-1813*, trans. Benjamin Keen (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1976); see also Jeanette Favrot Peterson, *Visualizing Guadalupe: From Black Madonna to Queen of the Americas* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2014), 103–158.

⁴⁴⁰ F. 29v. “dos Ramilleteros de china blancos cõ sus ramilletes y otros dos pequeños, uno blanco, y otro azul de china”

⁴⁴¹ F. 33r “una piedra Besual guarnecida de plata, con siete perlas q esta en la esquina manto.”

⁴⁴² A large portion of the textiles are listed as “de España” and several objects, including a painting on copper, are listed as “Roman.” Ibid, f. 26r.

⁴⁴³ Ibid, f. 28v, “dos estampas de papel, una con S.n Ramon, y otra cõ N. S.ra de Tepepan con sus marcos negros.”

the appearance of the printed form, rendered the motif a newly static point, one that inspired future feats of movement for all manner of objects and people who made their ways to her shrine. In theory, it was Tepepan's *Virgin* that became the magnet to which objects were pulled through empire. But, as we have already seen in El Pueblito, once Rubens's figure of the kneeling Francis had become part of the printed, circulating true portrait of Tepepan's icon, he was rendered an inextricable element of the icon. Francis was rendered miraculous by association. A list of the masses endowed at Tepepan indicates the ways that devotion came to be directed both to the miraculous Virgin and directly to the figure of St. Francis. On September 11, 1711 the Spanish Captain Don Juan Miguel de Vertis, knight of the Order of Santiago, gave an impressive lump sum to ensure that masses be sung "in perpetuity" on all Saturdays of the year to the Virgin at her altar. In marked contrast, a humble donation of four pesos was made around the same time; in this instance, the bequest came from an Indian woman, her name not even recorded in the historical record, who wished to endow a single sung mass on the feast day of St. Francis specifically directed "to Our Seraphic Father."⁴⁴⁴ Rubens's figure of St. Francis had made its way across the Atlantic in printed form, had been rendered a figure who, through proximity and replication, came to be seen—if theologically inappropriately—as having miracle-working potential. Francis came to work miracles for devotees, Spanish and indigenous alike, who endowed masses to the icon in hopes of a heavenly reward.

Crossed Lines of Transmission; Origins Redefined

From the extant material record, it is unclear that the image in Tepepan was reproduced at the scale of her Francis-borne sister in El Pueblito.⁴⁴⁵ In inverse proportion, the Virgin's fame and circulation can be gauged by the ways her holy image attracted other objects and representations to her hilltop sanctuary rather than by the reproduction of her own form across a broad geography. But the Atlas Francis—a focal point of devotion circulating as its own originary image within the printed true portraits of the icon—came to be used in other compositions. In this section, I introduce several examples to illustrate the circulation of the lone figure of Francis and explore the complications that occurred when images began to move and spawn great quantities of reproductions, at which point lines of transmission were easily crossed and confused. At a certain threshold, transmission was no longer easily chartable because pilgrim impressions too routinely intersected and were too consistently reconfigured. Transmission thus became a fraught matter. It was at this point of intersection and reconfiguration that origins needed to be policed and defined. As we will see in this section, such acts of sorting often occurred across temporal gaps. Chroniclers reported on images created long before their own accounts, which are thus mixed products of historical excavation and creative reimagination. Understanding geographies of transmission and reproduction was (and still is) complicated by the temporal lags inherent to these processes.

Though there is little evidence that the Virgin of Tepepan enjoyed any breadth of painted reproduction, her Atlas Francis, transformed via material constraint to hold just one

⁴⁴⁴ Both of these endowments can be found in a late eighteenth-century Franciscan report about the state of various outposts: AFBNM, nr. 112/1534.5, ff. 42r-v.

⁴⁴⁵ Indeed the only large-format, extant reproduction I have identified is the sculpture on the facade of her own shrine.

orb aloft, led a healthy afterlife in one particular genre of painted object. A small, circular painting and the ways in which it was used, and expected to *function*, illustrate the intersections and recursions occasioned by this type of mobility and copying (fig. 119). The painting's reflective copper support makes its carefully crafted surface gleam from within, offering the illusion that the central figure of the Immaculate Virgin radiates her own heavenly light. The Virgin is flanked by a familial, biblical cast (her parents, Joachim and Anna on the right, and Elizabeth and Joseph holding the Christ Child on the left), while more recently canonized figures (Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier), positioned below, balance the Holy Trinity, which is visualized here as three identical men that anoint the Virgin with an (oddly absent) celestial crown. Holding the Virgin aloft amidst this crowd is the figure of Francis from Tepepan; his Virgin absent of sculptural robes, his arms have been set directly on the orb, much as they are on the facade of the shrine in Tepepan. The painter of this small object, the Mexico City-based José Mariano Farfán de los Godos, has drawn particular attention to Francis, signing his name in small, carefully delineated script that flanks the figure and is nearly caressed by the folds of robes that hang from his forearms.

Rendered precious in luminous oil, this St. Francis—in his orb-wielding guise from Tepepan's miracle-working duo—would have come quite literally close to the heart of his devotees. The copper roundel is an *escudo de monja*, a pectoral breastplate worn by nuns atop their habits, which was a particular class of object developed in New Spain in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴⁴⁶ The tradition of the *escudo* sprang from broaches worn by Spanish nuns on their shoulders; but these largely decorative objects came to have a religious function in the New World when sumptuary regulations were imposed to limit the lavish use of precious materials and the object-type was converted into a painted copper plaque, often bordered by tortoise shell. Through the transformation of medium, *escudos* were rendered larger pictorial fields filled with painted imagery, which avoided censure while producing the same luxurious and jewel-like effect, as Farfán de los Godo's example beautifully illustrates.⁴⁴⁷

This was far from the only instance in which the Atlas Francis from Tepepan was used on an *escudo* as the pedestal for an ascendant Virgin. Indeed, the motif became so common that Francis likely came to be copied from one shield to another rather than directly from Tepepan's printed true portrait. That said, the nuns who wore these objects atop their hearts would no doubt have recognized the copied Atlas figure and made the connection to its prototype. The libraries of Mexico City's convents housed precisely the kinds of volumes, like Vereo's *Aurora alegre*—a New Spanish re-edition of a Spanish nun's account of Mary's Immaculacy, after all—that included the true-portrait print of Tepepan's Virgin/Francis

⁴⁴⁶ On *escudos* generally, see Virginia Armella de Aspe and Guillermo Tovar de Teresa, *Escudos de monjas novohispanas* (Mexico: Fernández Cueto, 1993); Martha J. Egan, "Escudos de Monjas: Religious Miniatures of New Spain," *Latin American Art* 5 (1994): 43–46; Martha J. Egan, *Relicarios: Devotional Miniatures from the Americas* (Santa Fe, NM: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1993), 55–63; Elizabeth Quigley Perry, "Escudos de monjas/Shields of Nuns: The Creole Convent and Images of Mexican Identity in Miniature," PhD diss., Brown University, 1999.

⁴⁴⁷ The best account of the evolution of the genre is presented in Perry, "Escudos de monjas/Shields of Nuns," 68–91.

duo.⁴⁴⁸ Moreover, the true portraits of Tepepan's and El Pueblito's icons were also being produced and circulating in Mexico City, and were the types of printed objects that nuns used in private devotion and with which they adorned their cells.⁴⁴⁹ Tepepan's St. Francis was not the only of the two that came to be used in the new form of the escudo; one of many extant examples, now housed in a private collection, shows Francis in his three-orbed guise (fig. 120). Perhaps modeled upon the miraculously charged prototype in El Pueblito, or perhaps directly from Rubens's print (or an altogether different intermediary step), Francis found himself on the escudo and, thus, in the devotional milieu of a convent whose nun-viewers were primed to see his form in relation to the miraculous icons that had come to be celebrated widely as signs of God's favor for the New World they inhabited.

These shields would have been habitually worn atop the breasts of Conceptionist nuns, who donned the escudo as part of their vestments at the moment they professed the order and receded into the cloistered spaces of the convent. An early nineteenth-century profession portrait, painted as the assured contours of the empire through which Francis had been sent and transformed were fading, illustrates the arrangement (fig. 121). Francis, bearing a winged Virgin on his orb, is laid atop the heart of Sor María Antonia del Corazón de Jesús, as her likeness was captured by José María Vázquez in 1814.⁴⁵⁰ Francis has here intersected with two new virgin bodies; and we, as viewers, are positioned in the place of a third, the place of Sor María Antonia's fellow nuns who would have gazed upon the adornment as it was processed upon the body of their spiritual sister. The escudos acted as visual repositories of saintly role models, figures whose lives and deeds were well known to these communities of nuns, who could use them as guides for their own pious devotional acts.

Given the circulation of prints, these nuns would have recognized the Atlas-Francis figural units as components of miracle-working icons they knew and could imagine in their respective shrines to the far north (in El Pueblito) and just to the south of the city. In this guise, Francis had the potential to do much more, however, than serve as a simple role model. We must remember that both icons' first miracles were ones of reconversion: miracles worked through a simple fact of seeing that touched the hearts of religious converts. In Vilaplana's account of Pueblito's cult statue and the printed image that circulated with it, the friar underscores that the miraculous sculpture's power is revealed when it "impresses devotional

⁴⁴⁸ Sadly, many of these convent libraries have not come down to us; but, for instance, the lone copy of the 1727 (first) edition to survive in Mexico's Biblioteca Nacional de México (Fondo Reservado, RSM 1727 M4VER) displays the eighteenth-century *marca de fuego* (a brand burned into the edge of the volume's text block, which functioned as an ex-libris) of the Convent of Santa Clara of Mexico City.

⁴⁴⁹ Kelly Donahue-Wallace, "Picturing Prints in Early Modern New Spain," *The Americas* 64:3 (2008): 325–349.

⁴⁵⁰ For robust treatments of the profession portrait genre, see *Monjas coronadas : vida conventual femenina en Hispanoamérica*, (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia/Museo Nacional del Virreinato; Landucci, 2003); Alma Montero Alarcón, *Monjas coronadas : profesión y muerte en hispanoamérica virreinal* (Mexico City: Museo Nacional del Virreinato, CONACULTA Asociación de Amigos del Museo Nacional del Virreinato; Plaza y Valdés, 2008); James M. Córdova, *The Art of Professing in Bourbon Mexico: Crowned-Nun Portraits and Reform in the Convent* (Austin, TX: The University of Texas Press, 2014).

fervor into the souls of all of its parishioners...”⁴⁵¹ This object transcends the normative role of religious art, meant to inspire proper devotion and incite a comportment resonant with saintly virtue, and, instead, its mere sighting has devotional impact and effect. In the case of the escudos, then, Francis had the potential to do more than merely inspire; but moreover, his form was *literally*, physically impressed against the bodies of their viewer-wearers, charting a new potential for the figure that Vilaplana could never have imagined: to impress miraculous potential through contact, through the proximity that copying, circulation and intersections enabled.

Escudos brought painted, holy forms into proximity with the nuns who wore them, there acting as both divine exemplars and as more powerful iconic depictions. In so doing, these escudos offered their wearers a potentially miraculous transformative potential, which was the ultimate aim of art produced for the confines of the convent. For should the nun piously imitate the acts of her spiritual predecessors to a sufficient degree and attain a state of spiritual perfection, she too could be deemed worthy of being pictured, of becoming a new original deserving of a copy. Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, in his *Parayso occidental* of 1682, would write, for example, of the death of the extremely pious Conceptionist nun María Antonia de Santo Domingo in the Convento Real de Jesús María in Mexico City. He informs the reader of both her extraordinary devotion and the equally remarkable transformation of her body in death, which served as proof of its sacrality and demanded its future representation:

A painter was called to depict her [for a death portrait]...but at the same moment half of her face began to disfiguringly swell, so that anyone who saw her would have judged her a monster, while the other half maintained the same perfection and beauty as when she was alive. They returned to the cadaver from the other side, and at this moment, the same thing happened. The painter left astonished and stunned, and the nuns stayed...There was no lack of curiosity, and after a few hours one wanted to see her, and finding her, with the rest of the convent, to have the same beauty as when she lived, discovered to the extreme excitement of all had been caused by a miracle of God...The religious women of the Convento Real de Jesús María knew *each one of their actions should follow the portrait of virtues that M. María Antonia de Santo Domingo executed while living* and this is, without a doubt, the one that the Divine Majesty perpetuated among them for the eternal memory of his faithful servant and praise (emphasis added).⁴⁵²

⁴⁵¹ Vilaplana, *Histórico y sagrado novenario*, 16. “imprimiendo ardores de devocion en los animos de todos sus Feligreses...”

⁴⁵² Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, *Parayso occidental, plantado, y cultivado por la liberal benefica mano de los muy Catholicos y poderosos Reyes de España Nuestros Señores en su magnífico Real Convento de Jesus Maria de Mexico* (Mexico City: Juan de Ribero, 1684), 202r-v. “Llamado un pintor...al mismo punto se le comenzò a hinchar tan disormemente la media cara, que qualquiera que la viese la juzgaria de un monstruo, quedandole la otra media con la misma perfeccion, y hermosura que quando estaba viva. Volvieron el cadaver del otro lado, y al mismo instante sucediò lo proprio. Fuese el Pintor atonito, y asombrado, y quedandolo mas las Monjas (para que no causase horror tanta ferocidad) le cubrieron el rostro con un sudario. No faltò curiosa que despues de algunas hora quisiese verla, y hallandola ella,

Having imitated the pious actions of the role models who appeared atop her body on the escudo she wore, the nun's corporeal form could become a locus through which God chose to work miracles after her death. And with the potent, if horrifying, corporeal signals that Sigüenza y Góngora reports, God revealed that María Antonia's body should become a new prototype, that she should be made a portrait through which future generations of nuns could imitate her virtues. María Antonia, who would subsequently be portrayed, and copied broadly in both pictorial form and textual description, as Sigüenza y Góngora's account makes clear, became a new point of origin, a new inspiring portrait for future nuns to turn their bodies into imitations of her own sacred form.⁴⁵³ These objects—escudos and holy portraits—thus center on a tension verging on paradox within Christian theories of mimesis: should the nun achieve sufficient piety through imitation and turn her own body through mimetic copying into a sacred and divine vessel, she would be rendered not a copy, but a new point of origin and thus a newly originary form.

Another escudo featuring the Tepepan Francis makes a subtle visual argument to this effect, and implicates the Atlas-Francis into these dynamics of spiritual and bodily imitation (fig. 122). Two female figures in this small painting ignore both the viewer and the oversized Virgin who towers above them and, instead, direct their gazes towards the figure of Tepepan's Francis who supports her. Unlike the biblical figures above, these two women are clad in habits, pictured as nuns with whom the viewer-wearer and her sisters most easily chart an affective and imitative connection. Directing their sight at Francis, the pair highlights the potential of his miraculous form, but also the potential of the body that will wear this shield; for it was through their acts of piety and imitation that they earned a saintly status worthy of being pictured. Yet this particular pairing also links its wearer to a transatlantic dynamic: Santa Rosa of Lima, the New World saint *par excellence* looks down at her crucifix, her line of vision extending to St. Francis, whereas St. Gertrude, the thirteenth-century German Benedictine elevated to patroness of the West Indies by Phillip IV, stares at Francis directly and intently. These two figures, rendered symbols of worlds New and Old, take their rightful places to either side of the orb, which they offer a geographical valence in spite of its resolute blankness.

If escudos were ultimately a creole art form—a genre evolved to the New World conditions of sumptuary sanction—their function within this transatlantic world is underlined by this pairing of Santa Rosa and St. Gertrude.⁴⁵⁴ Santa Rosa of Lima had fulfilled the

y todo el Convento con la misma hermosura que quando viva, bien se puede dicurrir qual seria el alboroto de todas con prodigio tanto. Haria Dios este milagro (de que oy se puede dar probanza con infinitas personas) para que sepan las Religiosas del Convento Real de JESUS MARIA deber ser cada una en sus procederes el retrato de las virtudes que la M. *Maria Antonia de Santo Domingo* exervitò viviendo...”

⁴⁵³ On printed portraits of clergy, see Kelly Donahue-Wallace, “Bajo los tormentos del tórculo: Printed Portraits of Male and Female Clergy in Eighteenth-Century New Spain,” *Colonial Latin American Review* (2005): 103–135.

⁴⁵⁴ On the creole politics of escudos, see Elizabeth Perry, “Convents, Art, and Creole Identity in Late Viceregal New Spain,” in *Woman and Art in Early Modern Latin America*, ed. Kellen Kee McIntyre and Richard E. Phillips (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

promise for and potential of the New World to be populated with holy bodies;⁴⁵⁵ through pious acts of imitation she was elevated to saintliness and earned the honor of her own mobility, of circulating in pictorial form far from her hermit-hovel in Lima and throughout the viceroyalties and across both oceans spanned by Spain's empire.⁴⁵⁶ Her inclusion on the escudo highlights the capacity of New World bodies to be sanctified, thus speaking directly to the nun who wore this escudo, of how piety could earn divine potential and, along with it, pictorial mobility and transmission.

That Santa Rosa's gaze connects the body of Christ (in the form of the crucifix she holds) to the saintly Francis's just beyond underlines the religious body's mimetic potential. Francis was indeed singular in the way that his very body was divinely transformed into a worldly double for Christ's. Responding directly to Francis's pious *imitatio Christi*, Christ himself appeared and impressed his own form atop Francis's, marking it with the bloodied wounds that were proof of both men's capacities to act for humanity's salvation. Francis is the ultimate example, but also symbol, of the potency of the imitative act, a saint singular for the way that extreme imitation at the level of comportment rendered him a more literal, corporeal copy.⁴⁵⁷ The visual transformation of his body into the physical re-presentation of Christ both created an impressed index of Christ's original body, while it also rendered Francis newly originary. Time and space folded upon themselves—Catholic typology embodied—origins extended outwards and pulled inwards. And yet, in Francis's lifetime, no one had yet dreamed of the New World—only visible in God's divine plan of the universe—that would exponentially expand the potential for the creation of new copies, new origins, a New world populated with holy forms and bodies.

The routine inclusion of the true portrait of the Virgin-Francis statue of Tepepan in Sor María de Ágreda's *Mystica ciudad de dios* underscores how the New World created the potential for bodies to become involved in such an economy of circulating images. Through pious act and imitation, Sor María de Ágreda's body was rendered holy and circulated in copied representations not merely in death, but during her lifetime as well. In death her body showed the miraculous signs of incorruptibility, the benchmark of sainthood for female mystics in the period, but her canonization only one year after her passing owed to miracles she performed while still living.⁴⁵⁸ Between 1620 and 1623, Sor María routinely preached to and converted the Jumano peoples of Northern New Spain, in present-day New Mexico and Texas.⁴⁵⁹ But the nun never broke her cloistered vows, never left the walls of her convent in

⁴⁵⁵ On New World miraculous bodies and relics, see Antonio Rubial García, "Cuerpos milagrosos: creación y culto de las reliquias novohispanas," *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 18 (1998): 13–30.

⁴⁵⁶ On the hagiography and the politics of representation of Santa Rosa de Lima, see Ramón Mujica Pinilla, *Rosa limensis. Mística, política e iconografía en torno a la patrona de América* (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 2001).

⁴⁵⁷ Hans Belting, "Franziskus. Der Körper als Bild," in *Bild und Körper im Mittelalter*, ed. Kristin Marek, et al. (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2006), 21–36.

⁴⁵⁸ Piero Camposeri, *Incorruptible Flesh: Bodily Mutation and Mortification in Religion and Folklore* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Pilar Jaramillo de Zuleta, *En olor de santidad: aspectos del convento colonial, 1630-1830* (Bogotá: Colcultura, 1992).

⁴⁵⁹ For a useful, introductory set of essays, see Luis Suárez Fernández, et al., *El papel de sor María Jesús de Ágreda en el Barroco español* (Soria, ES: Universidad Internacional Alfonso

the heart of the Iberian Peninsula; instead she was sent to the New World in the form of a miraculous corporeal double, a pilgrim impression. Revered for this miraculous bilocationality, a type of corporeal act of self-mimesis that enabled her presence on both sides of the Atlantic at once, it seems only appropriate that after her sainthood her *representation* would come to routinely intersect with Rubens's figure of Francis, also rendered holy through his journeys as a pilgrim impression both across the Atlantic and through his inclusion in printed true portraits in New Spain. In the routine meetings of Francis and Sor María—high on the wall of San Fernando in a large canvas, or in the book in which Tepepan's miracle-working true portrait circulated—the figures spoke in concert to the ways that images and bodies could be implicated in the spiritual economy that the New World offered by providing a vacuous arena that needed populating and that thus amplified mobility to the fever pitch of global scale.

Sorting Transmission and Defining Authorship

Amidst such seemingly unbridled proliferation—of objects, images, and bodies—replete with the potential for confusion, some Franciscans felt the need to sort the field of New World pictures. In so doing, they expressed a pressing theological concern about origin points. The devotee needed to be able to look back across replica chains and attach veneration to proper sacred prototypes. Such an operation was made more difficult in the early modern period, when the spaces of transmission were broadened and necessitated the production of more objects than ever before. One senses the stakes of such confused circulation in *El Zodiaco Mariano*, a text detailing the history of miraculous Marian images and their shrines in New Spain. The text was started in the late seventeenth century by the Jesuit Francisco de Florencia, but was only discovered in manuscript form and brought to completion by Juan Antonio de Oviedo in 1755. Its creation thus essentially spans the period addressed in this chapter. Though the compendium might primarily be considered a creole bid to promote miracle-working images in the New World, it also shows a marked concern for the proper identification of broadly reproduced and rapidly disseminated images in the Catholic transatlantic realm.⁴⁶⁰

To document these objects and their shrines, Florencia himself became a pilgrim, literally and conceptually zigzagging across the Atlantic in search of the identities, legends, and true origins of the many miracle-working Marian icons that had come to fill New Spain. He consistently points to the confusion of copies and originals in the transatlantic world, while remaining steadfast about the potential to sort and classify them properly: to locate points of origin, trace histories of copying, and attribute such objects to rightful authors. For example, when discussing the Marian icon in the Colegio del Espíritu Santo in Puebla, the

VIII, 2003); on the nun in an imperial context, see Anna M. Nogar, "Genealogías hagiográficas y viajes coloniales: Sor María de Agreda en las Filipinas," *Revista de Soria* 89 (2015): 151–159. This essay is featured in a volume dedicated to Sor María de Jesús and includes up-to-date bibliography.

⁴⁶⁰ Luise M. Enkerlin P., "Texto y contexto del Zodiaco Mariano," *Relaciones* 45 (1990): 63–89; for the Zodiaco mobilized in relation to creole politics, see Stafford Poole C. M., *Our Lady of Guadalupe: The Origins and Sources of a Mexican National Symbol, 1531-1797* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1995).

text notes that “Saint Francis Borgia brought to his chamber the celebrated image, which the evangelist Saint Luke had painted, with the intention of making many copies of this original and distributing them to various parts of Europe in order to foment devotion to the Virgin...[and] Eduardo Mercuriano, who succeeded him in his office and general oversight of the Company [of the Society of Jesus] sent four copies of this original image of Santa María La Mayora to this province [of New Spain].”⁴⁶¹ In Puebla, however, time and distance had led to confusion and, with some distress, the text laments that, “they call [the image] there, with error, el Popolo that which is rather a copy of the image of Santa Maria Maggiore.”⁴⁶² Florencia no doubt raised the concern when he first wrote the text, but his complaints seem to have fallen on deaf ears. The published text therefore doubles down on its insistence that this confusion might be clarified: “these are two distinct images: although it is said, and according to tradition, that that of El Popolo is also of the brush of St. Luke but these two are of divergent contour and posture, and hung in Rome in two distinct churches, very distinct the one from the other.”⁴⁶³ The stakes of these (relatively subtle) formal distinctions are enormous from the perspective of these Jesuits, but so too the distances across which they would have to be maintained.

Such supposedly edifying textual clarifications could themselves introduce confusion, however. Repeating a seventeenth-century account, Florencia and Oviedo inform the reader that the Virgin of Tepepan, for example, was herself simply a copy of another miracle-working statue of the Virgin that was venerated in New Spain: “hearing of the marvels of Our Lady of Remedios (Nuestra Señora de los Remedios), [Fray Pedro de Gante] ordered that an image of the Virgin be made in her imitation, though somewhat larger.”⁴⁶⁴ The resulting image reproduced, at a different scale, the renowned sculpture of the Virgin, which had been notoriously brought from Spain and miraculously aided Cortés in his conquest of Tenochtitlan; and this statue was routinely processed through Mexico City during the viceregal period.⁴⁶⁵ Florencia and Oviedo do not explain why Tepepan would become her own miraculous object, and not simply refer veneration to the sacred prototype of Remedios

⁴⁶¹ Francisco de Florencia and Juan Antonio de Oviedo, *Zodiaco Mariano* (Mexico City: Consejo Nacional Para la Cultura y las Artes, 1995 [1755]), 144. “San Francisco de Borja...llevar a su aposento la celeberrima imagen de Santa María la Mayor, que pintó el evangelista San Lucas, con el ánimo de hacer muchas copias de ese original y repartirlas por varias partes de Europa para más fomentar la devoción de Nuestra Señora...Eduardo Mercuriano, que le sucedió en el oficio y cargo general de la Compañía, remitió a esta provincia cuatro copias de la imagen original de Santa María la Mayor.”

⁴⁶² Ibid, 207 “...llaman allí del Pópulo...con error...no es sino copia de Santa María la Mayor.”

⁴⁶³ Ibid, 144. “...son dos imágenes distintas: aunque se dice, y hay tradición, que también la del Pópulo es del pincel de San Lucas pero son dos de diverso raje y postura, colocadas en Roma en dos distintas iglesias, muy distintas la una de la otra.”

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid, 171–172. “...oyendo las maravillas de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, mandó hacer a su imitación aunque algo mayor una imagen de la Virgen.” For original account, see Vetancurt, *Teatro mexicano*, v. 4, 132.

⁴⁶⁵ Rosario Inés Granados Salinas, “Mexico City’s Symbolic Geography, The Processions of Our Lady of Remedios,” *Journal of Latin American Geography* (2012): 145–173. William B. Taylor, *Shrines and Miraculous Images: Religious Life in Mexico Before the Reforma* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 117–139.

from which she had been copied.⁴⁶⁶ Nevertheless, she broke off from this chain of transmission, and the potential for confusion became enormous. At the time of the cult's renewed promulgation in the late seventeenth century, the Atlas-Francis thus came to do much more than simply elevate the Virgin; he became an essential iconographic element that formally rendered this copy "entirely distinct," a new point of origin for future replication.

Yet Francis's form, in turn, offered itself up for accounting, demanding that it too be sorted in chains of replication and that its origin be defined. At the moment these Virgins of Pueblito and Tepepan began to be replicated, placed atop the Atlas figure of St. Francis and circulated as printed images into an uncertain future, their physical and authorial origin points came to be assiduously policed, rehearsed, and canonized. As already explored for the case of Pueblito, accounting for the authorial and temporal origins of icons made in the New World often and easily overlooked indigenous makers and their roles in crafting sacred images. Tepepan's miraculous statue was no exception. When Florencia and Oviedo write of Fray Pedro de Gante's fascination with the impressive miracles of the Virgin of Remedios, they suggest that he *ordered* an image be made (*mandó hacer*) in the likeness of the Virgin from "a stone that he chose from the quarries."⁴⁶⁷ Given that Pedro de Gante was one of the first Franciscan friars to cross the Atlantic—one of the original apostolic twelve—and founded a school at Mexico City's church of San José de los Naturales to instruct indigenous artisans in making Christian religious objects, this course of events would make good sense.⁴⁶⁸ Writing after Florencia's death, however, the Franciscan chronicler Agustín de Vetancurt noted instead that "the Reverend Fray Pedro de Gante *made* a copy of the Virgin of Remedios from a stone from the quarry of Remedios for the [spiritual] solace of her devotees" (emphasis added).⁴⁶⁹ The divergence in these accounts evinces a quick slippage between oversight and

⁴⁶⁶ Of course, Tepepan was also conceived as a copy in the sense that her divine prototype was in heaven. The dedicatory introduction of the *Aurora alegre* is insistent on the point, and the text opens: "If the living waters of Grace, are in you, Serene Princess [Virgin in Heaven]...where they had their *origin*: it is only just that if Grace comes from the Holy Mother, to the Holy Mother it is returned...To you it returns, Divine Aurora, as one reverently consecrates this *copy*...this miraculous Image, called Our Lady of Tepepan" (emphasis added). But while the text asks us to look backwards along a line of holy replication to heaven, her printed true portraits, including Francis and his single orb, with which this text circulated, sent it further afield. See Vereo, *Aurora alegre*, (1727), unpaginated introductory text. "Si las aguas vivas de la Gracia, están en vos, Serenissima Princesa,...donde tuvieron el origen: justo es que si la Gracia sale de la Madre, â la Madre vuelvan...A vos vuelve, Divina Aurora, y se consagra reverẽte esta copia ... y milagrosa Imagen, llamada nuestra Señora de Tepepam."

⁴⁶⁷ Florencia and Oviedo, *Zodiaco mariano*, 171–172. "de una piedra, que escogió en las canteras."

⁴⁶⁸ Still woefully understudied, on training at San José, see Jeanette Favrot Peterson, *The Paradise Mural Gardens of Malinalco: Utopia and Empire in Sixteenth-Century New Spain* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1993), 50–52; Michael Karl Schuessler, *Foundational Arts: Mural Painting and Missionary Theater in New Spain* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2014), 20, 60 & 74–77.

⁴⁶⁹ Vetancurt, *Theatro mexicano*, v. 4, 132. "Un trasumpto de la Virgen de los Remedios hizo el V.P. Fr. Pedro de Gante una piedra de la cantera de los Remedios para el consuelo de sus devotos..."

making, revealing how easily authorship could be retroactively stripped from native artists and reassigned.

Convoluted fictions of making, however, went further in the cases of El Pueblito and Tepepan. For once the Francis figure was placed below these Virgins and incorporated into the miracle-working images as part of their “true portraits,” Rubens’s Atlas figure could also be retrospectively folded into stories of their making. An eighteenth-century portrait of Pedro de Gante with a flock of his indigenous followers is even clearer about the ways that distinct moments of craft could be collapsed in later appraisals of authorship (fig. 123).⁴⁷⁰ The large oil painting shows the unmistakably pale de Gante, who has pivoted from his desk to gesture towards a group that seems to have interrupted his daily writing. His quills, now at rest, arc gently towards a small statue of the Virgin of Tepepan borne aloft on Francis’s lone blue orb; and the silver cloud that once gave form to her dress offers the air of a figural grouping in the midst of a perpetually unfolding revelation. A small wooden base has been added to the statuette, accommodating a black inky inscription, as if scrawled by the quill before it, which reads: “This holy Image was made by the hand of [the figure] of this true portrait” (fig. 124).⁴⁷¹ The painting and label return the Virgin/Francis duo to its purported maker, but in so doing they collapse the various temporalities of the image’s history and production. Rubens’s engraving, in part responsible for this final miraculous form at Tepepan, was not created until nearly half a century after de Gante’s death. Yet nonetheless, his figure has appeared on de Gante’s desk before his writing implements, those ultimate early modern signifiers of creativity and authorial production, as his own.

In its temporal confusions and visual rhetoric, the painting performs an act of doubled authorial erasure. The canvas visualizes an all-too familiar colonial rhetoric by positioning the particularized, European friar (a “true portrait” befitting his beatified standing) and the mass of unidentifiable indigenous figures as polestars of the composition. These indigenous figures do nothing more than interrupt the creative act, pulling de Gante’s attention from the matters of writing and the divine inspiration that the statue “he” had authored continued to afford him. But we must then recognize that Rubens has also been subjected to an act of erasure, to the infelicities of intertextuality when it was stretched through time and across the Atlantic. In pushing the Francis back through time—to a moment even before Rubens’s birth—the Flemish master has been bypassed, asked to stand aside amidst the crowd of natives whose acts of authorship were also marginalized, reassigned, and forgotten. Rubens as creator has been replaced by another Fleming who actually made his way to the New World, not in mere pilgrim impressions that were indexes of his art, but in the flesh as a matter of his vocation and, so he surely considered it, of his salvation.

⁴⁷⁰ For a basic account of this painting, see *Tesoros del Museo Nacional de Historia en el Castillo de Chapultepec*, ed. María Eugenia de Lara (Mexico: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1994), 135 and 388. The painting is here dated to the late seventeenth century, which is questionable given the uncertain dating of the Atlas Francis. An earlier account dates the painting to the first half of the eighteenth century, and offers more information on de Gante’s relationship with the Virgin of Tepepan. See Francisco de la Maza, “Iconografía de Pedro de Gante,” *Artes de México* 150 (1972): 17–32, particularly 21–23; see also *Los pinceles de la historia: el origen del reino de la Nueva España, 1680-1750*, ed. Jaime Soler Frost (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, 1999), 291–292.

⁴⁷¹ “Esta S^{ta} Imagen fue hecha de mano d este V.R.”

Such temporal confusion had the potential of making even Rubens's own print look belated, after the fact, a mere copy that re-imbedded the sacred figures in a narrative moment of exaltation. This was especially true in the case of *El Pueblito* because not only do Francis's three orbs match those in the print, but so too because the print was signed and dated to the very year, 1632, in which the icon was supposedly crafted by friar Gallegos. The story of making that circulated with the New Spanish true portrait of Francis and his Virgin rendered the date emblazoned next to Rubens's name equally legible as commemoration as it did an indication of origin. And, so too, the signature itself. After all, there would have been nothing irreconcilable, in New Spain, about seeing a signature of authorial standing on a copy of a sacred object, as we have already seen in the bright, vibrant name of Miguel de Vallejo placed just below his careful label on his copy of the Virgin of *El Pueblito*. The reader may remember that ambitious artists in New Spain routinely signed their copies of icons; these were not slavish copyists who made their fortunes on rote repetition, but rather artists for whom reproduction sat side-by-side with inventive authorial performance without any particular contradiction.⁴⁷²

These ambitious artists also set the icon back into narrative contexts, particularly the Virgin of Guadalupe, whose history was thus animated while her image was "simply" copied.⁴⁷³ So there would have been nothing particularly strange about seeing Rubens's printed signature as a mark of good copying—though perhaps its Latin demarcation of "pinxit," or "painted," would have rendered the signature quixotic in the engraving. That is, until, the printed signature was transformed back into paint. For at the same time Francis was being loosed from the print and placed below New Spanish miracle-working Virgins, conforming copies of Rubens's entire composition were still being produced, as evidenced by a large-scale painting now in the National Museum of Mexican Art in Chicago (fig. 125). In this painting, the New World copyist has subsumed his own identity, conforming to his printed model with such tenacity that Rubens's signature was transferred from engraving to the painted canvas—along with the marker of the Flemish artist *as* painter (*pinxit*)—to there be re-imagined as the trace of Rubens the copyist, rather than Rubens the author (fig. 126).

In the portrait of de Gante or the conforming copy of Rubens's signature, one witnesses a temporal effect of pilgrim impressions, of things and people out of place, or far from their origins. Prints were sent across the globe, objects sent from the hands of God to do his divine work, copies swirled out from stable loci, and these all intersected in ways that sometimes not only prompted but also necessitated that origin points be reinforced and, in the process, redefined. These acts of definition, however, most often happened in a future that could never be quite certain about the past; and it was within that temporal space that religious potentiality could be won for objects and the orders that controlled them, but also in which authorial accomplishment could be erased and colonial violence could be enacted with little consequence. So too, within this space, did Rubens become collateral damage to the matters of empire and faith.

⁴⁷² As noted in chapter one, see Clara Bargellini, "Originality and Invention in the Painting of New Spain;" Peterson, "The Reproducibility of the Sacred."

⁴⁷³ See, for example, the impressive range discussed in Jaime Cuadriello, "Tierra de prodigios: La ventura como destino," in *Los pinceles de la historia: el origen del Reino de la Nueva España 1680-1750* (Mexico: CONACULTA-INBA, 1999), 180–227.

For who in eighteenth-century New Spain could keep all of these objects sorted and separate? By the time the statue of a Virgin atop the three-orb bearing Francis was placed on the facade of the church of Ocotlán c. 1765–75 (fig. 86), the rather generic Virgin was most easily recognizable because of her St. Francis and thus made for a visual affinity as much with the miracle-working statue of the Virgin inside her shrine as with the statue of Francis just down the road in the chapel of the Third Order in Tlaxcala, or with any of the paintings that had come to line the walls of regional churches in Puebla, or with the divine Virgin and Francis of El Pueblito and the prints of their image.⁴⁷⁴ If the reader strains to keep lines of transmission and points of origin firmly fixed in her mind, the challenge indeed mirrors the historical problem that rapid circulation and the proliferation of pilgrim copies set in motion and that period accounts such as that of Florencia and Oviedo sought to counteract.

Certain Franciscans, particularly those familiar with the “original” print by Rubens, could perhaps have kept all of these objects properly categorized and identified. Franciscan friars were traveling around New Spain with rapidity and had access to the rich holdings of monastery libraries, replete with the books that spoke of and visualized these Virgins in printed form; and by the late eighteenth century they could draw on the compendia authored by Vetancurt and Florencia and Oviedo, alongside texts that chronicled particular sites. In 1689, around the time that the miraculous Virgin of Tepepan was placed atop Francis and his lone orb, for example, the three friars in permanent residence in the shrine’s adjacent monastery had “occupied different honorific posts within the [Franciscan] province” and, amongst the three, had been stationed in towns on both sides of the Atlantic (Seville, Tampico, Texcoco, the port town of Vera Cruz, Tlatilulo, and Mexico City) and obviously all stopped, for intervals of varying lengths, at other Franciscan garrisons between their stints as these scattered outposts.⁴⁷⁵ They had come to see and know quite a lot about the sites and objects that the Franciscans of a transatlantic community collectively oversaw. But the average devotee, however one wishes to define her, circulated with quite a bit less frequency and had a much more circumscribed access to written and pictorial sources. The potential for confusion was great.

Tellingly, scholarship has performed the types of entanglements that result from crossed lines of transmission. Boyd traced the importance of Rubens’s print in Mexico via a circuitous quarter-century’s long journey, from an object in her care in New Mexico to the engraving in Antwerp. Having honed in on the Atlas-Francis as the key iconographic feature of El Pueblito’s Virgin, she confused a print of Tepepan’s duo. Indeed, the Virgin of Tepepan has herself been published simply to illustrate the transmission of the iconography associated with Pueblito, her identity as a separate cult statue glossed over or forgotten.⁴⁷⁶ In some instances, scholars have attached various steps of the iconographic development I have outlined here: the mural in Ozumba has been connected, for example, to the canvas and the canvas in San Fernando, but stripped from the web of other objects with which they find consonance.⁴⁷⁷ In others, many objects have been assembled, but the relationships between

⁴⁷⁴ A small engraving circulated in Loayzaga’s account of the image and, as he himself tells us, as loose-leaf sheets sold by peddling merchants; Loayzaga, *Historia de la milagrosissima imagen de Nra. Sra. de Occotlan*, 70–71.

⁴⁷⁵ AFBNM, nr. 109/1505.1, f. 1r. “ocupado La Prou.a en diferentes puestos honrrosos”

⁴⁷⁶ Cruz González, “The Circulation of Flemish Prints in Mexican Missions,” 14.

⁴⁷⁷ Romero de Terreros, “El convento franciscano de Ozumba.”

catalogued objects left uninterrogated or uncertain.⁴⁷⁸ To overlook Boyd's slow tracking of transmission, or to dismiss misattributions of origins as errors in fact is, I think, however, to miss a more important point. As Florencia and Oviedo make clear, holding objects in transmission as entirely distinct was easier said than done. Modern scholarship has thereby simply revealed itself as another victim of the early modern conditions of the object: movement and copying. This chapter has worked hard to hold intertextual web of authors, icons, prints, and copies in clear focus. This type of archaeological operation of sifting and sorting might help us get to something historical, but it is not something fully historical in and of itself. For while we might sort the authored work of art, the divine and miracle-working icon, and both their slavish and re-performative copies, these categories were not distinct and objects slipped between them through mobility and copying; and this process *did* allow origin points to be re-imagined and reconfigured. If taken a step further, then, the art historical operation of tracking circulation and reproduction leads to a historical narrative about authored compositions that can be copied, animated, made sacred, and be returned to the world of the mundane, to other authors; and it thus reveals the historical conditions created by transmission. Recognizing these categorical slippages is important because fluidity is not the rubric within which authorial painters, copies, and sacred images have usually been understood, as explored by way of conclusion.

Conclusion: The Indulged Work of Art

In the last quarter century, the field of early modern art history has been reshaped by two transformative lines of thinking. First, Europe's boundaries have been expanded to include or juxtapose geographies once marginalized from the telling of art's history. A new focus on little-recognized places and the ways these geographies shape a more holistic understanding of art's potential during this period represents the global reorientation of the discipline out of which this dissertation emerged. At the same time that "the global" was gaining currency, however, early modernists rewrote the basic trajectory of Europe's artistic production during this period, a project undertaken with a desire to define the relationship between the miraculous "image" and the authored work of "art."

Hans Belting's 1990 *Bild und Kult* (translated four years later as *Likeness and Presence*) set the stage, arguing for an epochal rupture. Belting claims there was a rift, around the year 1400, between the era of the image and the era of art, and he thus offered a new way of periodizing the trajectory of early modernity. The icon's potential to offer devotees unmediated access to the divine was interrupted, Belting asserts, when the figure of the artist stepped out of the icon's shadow, siphoned the religious potential of the cult object in service of self-fashioning, fame, and fortune and, in so doing, ushered in an era of the work of art.⁴⁷⁹

Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood built upon this thesis, repackaging binary "eras" as dialectical "modes" of image making: the substitutional and the performative.⁴⁸⁰ The substitutional mode offered up an image untethered in time—icons that slipped across replica chains, standing in for the original. We have seen such operations in Mexico: not only in the ways that subsequent painted, copied and sculpted renditions of Pueblito and Tepepan could

⁴⁷⁸ Cruz González, "Our Lady of El Pueblito."

⁴⁷⁹ Belting, *Bild und Kult*.

⁴⁸⁰ Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*.

function *as* the original, but also how the Virgin of Pueblito (recomposed into notably different form after Francis's orbs collapsed in the twentieth century) is paradoxically still understood as "the original" statue. In Nagel's and Wood's schema, "performance" becomes the counter-part to substitution, premised as it is upon invention, innovation and, therefore, a link to a single individual at a historical moment. Once tied to an individual author and a point in time, the copy can only be belated, *after* the artwork and not the artwork itself. Nagel and Wood turn the binary into a dialectic. They claim that the author-artist grasped that if he could gesture to the obscurity of the origins of icons—their extreme repeatability and lack of temporal positioning—he could heighten awareness of origin points themselves. Faced now with a public who saw the work of art as anchored in time, it could be anchored to an individual, artistic self. The first artists to chart this new system of artistic valuation and to create a desire for authorship did so by creating works in which self-reflexive gestures towards the repeatability of icons and their temporalities make the viewer think about originals and copies. Standing before such a work of art, we come to want the original. And just as soon as we do, we have admitted that we cannot suspend our disbelief about the fiction of substitution, which is the supposed sameness across replica chains. We begin to care about the origins of objects in time, and therefore about the people who authored them.

For art historians who have quite a bit to say about copied objects—a substitutional model in which objects stand in for one another—Nagel and Wood have surprisingly little to say about copies of authored works of art. And here they are symptomatic of the field. Once the substitutional image has given way to the authorial performance, there is seemingly nothing worth interrogating. Any copy of the authored artwork is simply late to the game, pure derivation. Copies of authorial paintings are tied to the early modern emergence of the art market where original authored works and their derivative copies were judged and then arranged in a hierarchy by a class of viewers increasingly equipped to do so: "Connoisseurship was a monster created by a new culture of art."⁴⁸¹

But copies, as we have seen, were not just products for markets willing to absorb large numbers of derivative works as almost good enough. Once sent on the move, copies could quite easily slip out of the small spaces that concerned themselves principally with authors and their products; and this meant that their origin points could and would be reimagined. Those slippages are products of the conditions of the early modern picture, broadly defined. They are not simply products of colonial innocence: of images sent to unknowing publics who reimagined them. And it is here that the two dominant strands of inquiry about early modern art in the last twenty-five years might be thought together. Transmission, mobility, and intersection—and our ability to track the lives of pilgrim objects—might, in other words, trouble narratives that stay within Europe's borders and carve that history into distinct temporal divides.

In a study about the Virgin of El Pueblito, Cristina Cruz González realized the potential of Rubens's Atlas Francis to move in this direction, and gestured to the way that the figure moves teleologically in the opposite direction of Belting's schema through global circulation: the authorial "art" object was rendered a potent "image" through its movement across the Atlantic.⁴⁸² Crossing the Atlantic and entering some *other* space in which Rubens falls out of the frame, his authored work of art was returned to an era of images to work

⁴⁸¹ Ibid, 282.

⁴⁸² Cruz González, "The Circulation of Flemish Iconography in Mexican Missions."

miracles. The problem with such a reckoning—a simple reversal of Belting’s narrative—is that it does little to interrogate the premises on which fundamentally European narratives have been written. Applying a teleological binary to a different geography by simply flipping its fundamental terms, leaves those fundamental terms implicitly intact. For Cruz González, the challenge of the global turn is thus one of temporality and not ontology. This nostalgic return of art to the agential status of the image, while tantalizingly triumphant, risks relegating the New World to a deep past, to an era of the image from which it cannot escape and out of which authors, as fully recognized individuals, cannot fully emerge. These are standard and insidious tropes of the colony’s eternal belatedness, its consignment to the “waiting room of history.”⁴⁸³

It is true that in viceregal New Spain, intersections of the printed Francis with other pilgrim objects, or impressions, brought into proximity these two distinct pictorial modes: acheiropoeitical or divinely inspired icons of the Virgin placed atop and, therefore, into dialogue with the authored figure of St. Francis, a work of *art* that was product of the creative spark and the “genius” hand of an artist in his workshop in Antwerp. While early modern art history has seen these modes as irreconcilable or, at the very least, in deep tension, here the products of such modes are mutually constitutive, one literally becoming the bolster for another. And if the Francis that accompanies the Virgins of El Pueblito and Tepepan seems, at face value, to flip the model of “image” and “art” through its circulation, the material culture with which this motif was surrounded undermines the binary altogether. The problem that emerges in claiming that “art” moves and is returned to the latent potency of the image is that this thinking is built upon an assumption that the figure of the author-artist falls entirely away in the process and that the authored artwork thus became authorless through movement and copying. But Rubens did not *always* fall away and, what is more, New World author-artists joined his side. Indeed, the entire Rubens allegory was painted to line the walls of churches, and reconfigured into authorial statements signed by other artists; the Francis figure was liberated from the print and rendered as three-dimensional sculptures that would never be endowed with miraculous potential; copies of printed true portraits of new miracle-working origin points were redeployed in escudos that were *signed* directly next to Francis’s miracle-working form. Rubens and his works were made to inhabit a reconfigured field in which circulation led not to the complete alienation of authors, but instead to chiasmic intersections and the redefinition of origins. That process of redefinition became all the more critical and complicated when compositions were implicated with the category of the divine. A range of objects—from copied works of art with original signatures, to signed, miracle-working copies, to objects unhinged from their makers and reattached to others—came to coexist in an intertextual web of “art” objects and miraculous “images” that entwined these categories to the extent that Europe’s schematic and teleological binarization does not so much crumble as fold in upon itself, much like Christian time itself.

I have pointed repeatedly to the fact that ambitious artists in New Spain routinely copied and signed icons, whether those of El Pueblito and Tepepan or the Virgin of Guadalupe. Yet that practice still isolates the efficacious icon from the work of art, even if the authors themselves were crossing these categories and producing both. So as to avoid tacitly reinscribing yet another binary, I offer an intermediary example. Even full narrative, authored

⁴⁸³ Dipesh Chakrabarty, “The Muddle of Modernity,” *The American Historical Review* 116 (2011): 663–675.

paintings on New World soil could be efficaciously agential. As we have come to understand them, the terms of “image” and “art” imply certain fundamental distinctions between large figural paintings—objects of art—and more-often-than-not single-figured icons, or images.⁴⁸⁴ The excerption of an iconic figure from Rubens’s multi-figured allegory seems to present no challenge to that division. But another painting produced from a Rubens print complicates such expectations (fig. 127). The large canvas of Christ’s crucifixion hangs in the ante-sacristy in the church of Ocotlán.⁴⁸⁵ Signed and dated to 1754, the Pueblan artist José Joaquín Magón redispenses the figures of Rubens’s vertical *Coup de lance* to a huge, arched horizontal surface (fig. 128).⁴⁸⁶ The composition could hardly be described as a conforming copy, its group of figures having been transformed through the rotation of the group into line with the picture plane and its subsidiary cast made sparse. But, taken together, the lance bearer, the Virgin, and Christ himself make identifying the printed source and connecting the canvas to the famous brush of Antwerp simple enough. The surface of this painting bears the signature of a different artist; however, just below it we read a longer inscription in the same golden lettering as the artist’s name: “The Very Illustrious Archbishop Bishop of Puebla concedes 80 days of Indulgence to those who pray a Pater Noster in front of any canvas [of those in this cycle].”⁴⁸⁷ It is unclear why the Bishop of Puebla granted indulgenced status upon this Rubens copy and the others in the cycle completed by Magón (several of which draw from other Rubens prints). More to the point is that the authored print, rendered a differently-authored painting, could be implicated in the direct potential for salvation as an indulgenced image no less effectively than a single figure excerpted and transformed into an iconic original. It is fitting that this painting is housed in the very same church whose facade is emblazoned with Rubens’s St. Francis, who serves as the base for a copy of the shrine’s miracle-working Virgin. Authored artworks, acheiropoetical images, copies all appear slightly askew once these once migratory images have come to rest at this single site.

When one pushes Belting’s and Nagel’s and Wood’s models into a transatlantic world, they become attenuated to the point of collapse. On the one hand, this failure should come as little surprise; critiques of Eurocentrism are often based upon the inapplicability of historiographic models designed for art history’s birthplace to the zones it has only recently decided to turn its undivided attention.⁴⁸⁸ On the other, the transatlantic world was a

⁴⁸⁴ One understudied exception to this, remarkable in the ways it exists at the heart of the Franciscan enterprise, is Barroci’s altarpiece for the headquarter church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, outside of Assisi; see Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, “Images of a Miracle. Federico Barocci and the Porziuncola Indulgence,” *Artibus et Historiae* 27 (2006): 9–50.

⁴⁸⁵ On the decoration of the camarín and the ante-sacristy, see Marina E. Kaplan, “Ocotlán y la Estética del Barroco,” *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 56 (1986): 53–76.

⁴⁸⁶ Schneevogt, *Catalogue des estampes*, 48–49, nos. 33–38.

⁴⁸⁷ A heavily damaged sheet, pasted to a roundel in the paintings lower right-hand corner seems to present the original dispensation. The original inscription on the canvas reads: “El Ill^{mo} S^r Arzob^o Obp^o de la Puebla, y EL S^r DE CISAMVSV AVXILIAR concede 80 dias de Indulg.^a ã los que rezaren un Padre nuestro delante de qualquier lienzo de estos.”

⁴⁸⁸ My thinking here is shaped, for example, by the terminological and temporal mismatches underlined in Carolyn Dean, “The Trouble with (The Term) Art,” *Art Journal* 65 (2006): 24–32; Atreyee Gupta and Sugata Ray, “Responding from the Margins,” in *Is Art History Global?*, ed. James Elkins (New York: Routledge, 2007), 348–357.

fundamentally interconnected place and Christianity provided one of the most powerful engines that drove and, then, maintained these connections. It thus might strike us as not just slightly odd that models meant to encompass histories of the religious image in early modernity would flatten so easily under the weight of geography. Perhaps the problem is not with “the transatlantic” or with the cultural ranginess that a global framework demands, but with these models themselves.

A brief look back across the Atlantic suggests an alternative path to claiming cultural mismatch. An engraving produced in Madrid by the Spanish printmaker and publisher Juan Palomino presents a composition with which the reader is now well familiar, having featured prominently in the previous chapter (fig. 129).⁴⁸⁹ At first glance, one might chalk the composition up to the way that prints—as Vasari decried—stripped the inventions of their authors, and led to simple, subsidiary replication. But the inscription incised along the bottom edge tells quite a different tale, speaking of its own status as a *reproduction*, not of a Rubens print, but of a painting venerated in the parish church of San José in Granada, Spain. This painting, dependent as it was on the transmission of a Rubens original, was itself endowed with eighty days of indulgence for those who stood before it and prayed both a Pater Noster and an Ave Maria, to match. Its status as a point of divine favor made this painted copy newly originary, such that the print by Palomino, the yet subsequent reproduction, could similarly claim to aid those who used it in their devotion. The authored work of art, Rubens’s painted composition for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp, was set in motion through Bolswert’s engraving to be returned to the status of an image, numinous once more; the newly originary painting then occasioned Palomino’s engraving, which sent the composition on future journeys.

How different is this example, in the end, from those explored in the New World in this chapter? To some extent, that question is too large for the scope of this dissertation. But it begs for a more robust theorization of transmission and reference within the global context: a model that could be turned back at Europe, to more “familiar” early modern locales, for a different sensibility to transmission and geography that might revise our ideas about periodicity and the religious efficacy and agency of objects across a broader range of material culture and viewing communities. At stake would be nothing less than breaking up Europe as a homogenous category, long the goal of post-colonial critics and cultural historians alike.⁴⁹⁰ Could art history provide a toolkit for such a project? Is this the promise of the discipline’s global turn? For art does not actually have to be transported to a new part of the globe for it to become global, nor does it have to travel for its authors to become alienated; objects are always already on the move, even when they are close to home.

⁴⁸⁹ On the relatively understudied printmaker, see Natividad Galindo, “Algunas noticias sobre Juan Bernabé Palomino,” *Academia* 69 (1989): 237–276.

⁴⁹⁰ Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, 2nd ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).

Conclusion

Emptied Orbs, or Rubens as Subject of Empire

This dissertation has explored prints that were produced after the works of Peter Paul Rubens, their transit to and throughout Latin America, and the ways that local artists in both the Viceroyalty of Peru and the Viceroyalty of New Spain used these prints to make all manner of objects, from large-scale stone reliefs to small paintings on canvas. At times, Rubens remained potent in his printed images, and his authorial status conferred a canonical weightiness to the insubstantial medium through which his compositions traveled across the Atlantic. In other instances, Rubens was loosed from his creations through local patterns of transmission and reproduction that conferred their own legitimacy upon his forms by the sheer fact of their multiplication. Single figures or component pieces of Rubens's compositions took on lives of their own on New World soil, becoming independent and newly originary objects. These different configurations of printed transmission and the unpredictable degrees to which Rubens came to matter (and not matter) in the process reveal something of the texture of specific New World artistic environments—from Mexico City, to Cuzco, to regions outside such large, urban centers—and the contours of creativity and artistic self-fashioning in these places.

Tracing these trajectories is to see Rubens in *the* New World, in a new place. But it is also to see him from *a* new world, a new methodological world that has opened up for the discipline of art history precisely by attending to such expanded geographies and the connections that were staged across them. This dissertation has consistently underscored the discipline's historiographic journeys and, principally, the ways that a recent global turn has expanded the geographies deemed suitable for serious art historical investigation. As art history continues to chart frontiers beyond the reaches of its traditional purview, new possibilities emerge, but not merely by uncovering fresh material and little-considered artists to be carefully trailed and documented. In this expanded sphere, the standard art historical toolkit often proves of little use; its application is necessarily provisional, or makeshift, and results in exclusions and misanalysis. As suggested at the end of the last chapter, such methodological misfits and the seemingly surprising results of tracking and explaining transatlantic intertextualities might lead to a powerful revisionist gaze that could be trained upon both Europe's objects and the art historical modes of analysis that have become standard for exploring them.

What, in other words, happens when we turn to look back across the Atlantic? One way to answer this question would require following objects across the ocean in this other direction. If Rubens's prints played such important roles in the Americas, surely all manner of Latin American things figured in the life and art of Rubens. Narrating those trajectories would be to complete a circuit of transatlantic transmission, to insist upon a back and forth between Europe and its newly "discovered" World and to thus underline a global circulation. For example, we now know that one of the most vibrant and important dye-stuffs used in Europe during the early modern period as a steadfast and brilliant hue of red was *grana cochinilla*, or cochineal; this crucial good was produced by grinding a small insect that thrives on Latin

American cacti and that was harvested in astonishing quantities to be exported to Europe.⁴⁹¹ Spain's monopoly on this dyestuff, which was particularly coveted by cloth dyers and merchants, made it the envy of even its most dismissive rivals. Chemical analysis, however, has revealed that Flemish artists, and particularly painters, were also using the pigment and as early as the 1580s, when Maarten de Vos painted his *St. Michael the Archangel* (fig. 25). As we have seen, this painting was quickly shipped off from Antwerp and came to adorn the Cathedral of Mexico City; and recent technical investigation confirms the presence of cochineal, thus revealing that the painting enabled the vibrant red powder of cochineal to complete a circuit of transatlantic voyages, its first in the hard exoskeleton of a bug and its return suspended in linseed oil atop canvas.⁴⁹²

Because invasive sampling is required to test for the presence of cochineal, very little analysis of this type has been performed on Rubens's own painted corpus. However, it is clear that his intimate and professional milieus depended upon the New World commodity. No less than Rubens's own father-in-law Daniël Fourment, father of the painter's second wife Helena, was a prominent silk merchant, and thus part of a cloth industry that had come to resolutely depend upon this dye-fast colorant. During a stint in Genoa and after relocating to England, Rubens's precocious assistant Anthony van Dyck painted the brilliant hues of just these types of luscious fabrics to such effect that he became a sought after portraitist; and, to do so, he routinely deployed cochineal.⁴⁹³ Because of the ways cochineal had come to surround Rubens, it is tantalizing to imagine his conversations—as for many other reasons—with the court painter Diego Vélezquez during the Fleming's second sojourn in Spain. While in Madrid, Rubens took the opportunity to visit the royal painting collection, over which Velázquez held guardianship, and there he was particularly taken with the works of Titian, who had come to emblemize a Venetian tradition of painting principally defined by a sensual use of color.⁴⁹⁴ In Madrid, Rubens engaged in making emulative copies after several of Titian's works, amplifying the luminous effects of the pigments he set upon his canvases in layers upon layers of oily glazes.⁴⁹⁵ The fact that both Titian and Velázquez routinely used cochineal sets a compelling scene: having traveled to the heart of an empire to which Rubens (we must remember) was also a subject, the Flemish artist gazed with his colleague upon the works of their shared artistic forefather, works that were literally marked by the product of a transatlantic trade that would take Rubens's own works—though, notably, as greyscale printed substitutes drained of that very color—to the other side of an ocean.⁴⁹⁶

Even so, for the globally minded art historian, Rubens remains a recalcitrant author-artist. Over the course of his career, Rubens betrayed seemingly little interest in a world

⁴⁹¹ For an overview of cochineal's cultivation in the Americas and a concise account of its trade to Europe, see Elena Phipps, *Cochineal Red: The Art History of a Color* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2010).

⁴⁹² Elsa Arroyo Lemus, personal communication.

⁴⁹³ For an overview of cochineal in painting, and particularly in the works of these artists, see Barbara C. Anderson, "Evidence of Cochineal's Use in Painting," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 15 (2015): 337–366.

⁴⁹⁴ On Rubens's second trip to Spain, see Alejandro Vergara, *Rubens and His Spanish Patrons* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 57–112.

⁴⁹⁵ On Rubens and emulation, see Muller, "Rubens's Theory and Practice of the Imitation."

⁴⁹⁶ On cochineal at the Spanish court, see Hamann, "The Mirror of Las Meninas."

beyond Europe's shores. This particular kind of insularity is discordant with Rubens's typical image as an artist so concerned with questions of politics and power, and whose fame depended, in no small part, upon his role as an artist-diplomat between Europe's major rulers during the first half of the seventeenth century.⁴⁹⁷ Reigning over empires, these rulers were, of course, deeply invested in global matters. Yet in his voluminous correspondence, Rubens mentions the greater Atlantic world on only two occasions, and both times with respect to ships of Spain's flotilla and the cargo they were to bring from the New World to Europe.⁴⁹⁸ Unlike many of his Flemish counterparts, who imagined the regions of a rapidly expanding world and carefully depicted the marvels that flooded Europe via Antwerp's harbor, Rubens's art seems unconcerned with the bounty of the globe.⁴⁹⁹

Even at the representational, or iconographic, level, the *literal* globe seems to have concerned Rubens quite little. One design for Rubens's *Eucharist Tapestry Series* for the Descalzas Reales, whose compositions have been discussed throughout this dissertation, serves to illustrate the point. The bozetto—that is, Rubens's own, original pictorial conception—for *The Triumph of the Faith* features the figure of Faith riding on a triumphal cart (fig. 130). The female allegorical protagonist raises a chalice with a Eucharistic wafer and her attendant barely manages to anchor a large and unwieldy wooden cross; with these essential implements of the Catholic faith, the two figures frame a large globe that rests in a golden stand. Given the careful attention to coded symbols and attributes throughout the compositions in this series, this globe is notably ill-defined. The hazy green-blue barely

⁴⁹⁷ For excellent overviews of Rubens's role as diplomat and his social positioning, see Michael Auwers, "Peter Paul Rubens: The Infanta and her Painter-Diplomat," in *Isabel Clara Eugenia: Female Sovereignty in the Courts of Madrid and Brussels*, ed. Cordula van Whye (London: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2011); Michael Auwers, "Ambition and Ambivalence: Peter Paul Rubens as a Diplomat," in *The Age of Rubens: Diplomacy, Dynastic Politics and the Visual Arts in Early Seventeenth-Century Europe*, ed. Luc Duerloo and Malcolm Smuts (Turnhout, BE: Brepols, 2016).

⁴⁹⁸ In a series of three letters to Jacques Dupuy from 22 October, and 5 and 12 November 1626, Rubens laments the news of a missing ship carrying gold and silver; and on 22 April 1629 he writes, again to Dupuy, of a ship that had recently arrived to the Iberian Peninsula from Peru and one more that had gone missing after leaving New Spain. See Magurn, *The Letters*, 147–152, 154–155, and 297–298.

⁴⁹⁹ For counter-examples to Rubens, see Ernest B. Gilman, "Madagascar on My Mind: The Earl of Arundel and the Arts of Colonization," in *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, and Empire in Renaissance England*, ed. Peter Erickson and Clark Hulse (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000); Nadia Baadj, "A world of materials in a cabinet without drawers: Reframing Jan van Kessel's *The four parts of the world*," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 62 (2013): 202–237. One exception might be the limited references in his altar-piece commissions for Antwerp's Jesuits, dependent as these were upon the hagiography of the order's founders, who missionized in the East. See the recent Stephanie Schrader, ed., *Looking East: Rubens's Encounter with Asia* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2013), particularly the essay about the Jesuits by the editor; as a counter-point, see Thijs Weststeijn and Lennert Gesterkamp, "A new identity for Rubens's 'Korean man': Portrait of the Chinese merchant Yppong," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* (2016): 142–169.

allows the orb to register as a globe at all, its uniform tones failing to provide even the slightest indication of landmasses, let alone their particular shapes. In fact, only the golden base, typical for the display of both terrestrial and celestial globes during the period, and the armillary sphere that is held by the allegorical embodiment of Astronomy, who trails behind the chariot, make it clear that the globe was not simply meant as a generic and symbolic *orbis mundi*. Together, the armillary sphere and the globe chart the heavens and the earth and served as important tools for the navigation of a world across which ships and travelers now routinely moved. But Rubens's globe, hazy and blank as it is, would serve such a purpose poorly.

It is certainly not the case that Rubens had little access to representations of the globe. Indeed, the artist himself owned two.⁵⁰⁰ We might also remember, from the dissertation's second chapter, Cilena and Delio in La Paz marveling over the accuracy with which all the cities of the universe had been laid out in Ortelius's 1570 world atlas, published in Antwerp; or, we might note that some of the most accurate terrestrial and celestial spheres were also being produced in the Southern Netherlands, that the Plantin-Moretus press, just down the road from Rubens's own home, was printing maps that would be cut and pasted around wooden frames and set within mounts to spin and delight viewers with a sense of their place within a world visualized as if from a remove.⁵⁰¹ In *The Triumph of the Faith*, however, Rubens manifested little interest in such matters.

When Rubens's workshop enlarged the composition, under the master's close supervision, to create a modello that could be used as a template for the Brussels weavers who crafted the final luxury object, the change they introduced was tonal rather than formal (figs. 131 & 132). In this iteration, the globe takes on a ghoulish green, a chromatic allusion to land rather than its actual depiction or delineation. When these designs arrived at the tapestry manufacturers in Brussels, weavers were thus left to guess at the shapes of the landmasses with which they were to populate expanses of ocean. The resulting "continents" are oddly lumpy and nondescript, as is true of all the globes in the series (fig. 133). But this deformation pales in comparison to the topographical consequences of transforming Rubens's original bozetti into prints. When Nicolaes Lauwers engraved *The Triumph of Faith* for the series he would publish, he did not so much as hazard a guess at the globe's forms (figs. 134 & 135); thick cross-hatching covers the sphere's entire surface, simultaneously filling the globe with graphic marks and thereby, at a representational level, resolutely emptying it. If throughout this dissertation we have witnessed chains of pictorial transmission break down across broad world geographies, we here, instead, watch geography itself collapse and vanish through a pattern of transmission from bozetto, to modello, to tapestry and to engraving.

Rubens's painterly disinterestedness in the globe matters quite little, of course, for our ability to frame him as a product of the empire to which he was a subject, and to understand his art as the result of a globality that was a fundamental condition of the seventeenth century. Rubens's prints helped create entire pictorial worlds across an ocean that he, at least in his art, largely turned his back on; it would appear that he thought little of Latin America, a place where colonial artists both forged self-definitions through their knowledge of his compositions sent across the Atlantic in printed form and, alternatively, transformed these

⁵⁰⁰ Muller, *Rubens: The Artist as Collector*, 23.

⁵⁰¹ For a hefty overview of this broad topic, see P. C. J. van der Krogt, *Globi neerlandici: The Production of Globes in the Low Countries* (Utrecht: HES, 1993).

compositions into products recognized as robustly local. Methodologically speaking, it would matter little whether Rubens dwelled upon the New World, upon a place that this dissertation has revealed him to have become an intractable component.

For someone who has devoted a number of his adult years to tracking the Flemish artist through Latin America, however, Rubens's lack of attention to the New World would be personally disappointing. It *would* be; but it is not. In the last decade of his life, Rubens betrayed an intimate familiarity with Latin American geographies and mobilized them to quite personal effect. In 1634, the artist was placed in charge of the designs for the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand's triumphal entry into Antwerp, which took place the following year. For the event, which symbolically marked the beginning of the Infante's reign over the city, Rubens designed an impressive range of ephemeral arches, yielding an urban stage set of carefully coded allegories; and Latin America was the crux of this baroque spectacle.

Such an entry was intended, of course, to flatter a future ruler, and created occasion for a city to boast of its most accomplished citizens (Rubens himself amongst them) and of the sumptuous displays it was capable of mounting in honor of a noble dedicatee. But a triumphal entry was also a pact between a civic body and its future sovereign and thus an opportunity to deliver certain messages about civic expectations, appeals, and complaints.⁵⁰² Ferdinand's 1635 entry into Antwerp was no exception, but the archway that most pointedly underlined the city's contemporary anxieties most certainly was. For the archway funded by Antwerp's mint, Rubens conceived less an architectural showpiece than a mountainous spectacle; and these designs were memorialized in the form of etchings made to accompany Gaspar Gevaerts's *Pompa Introitis Ferdinandi*, a written account of the festival published in 1641 (figs. 136 & 137). Rusticated columns and archways give rise to a rocky outcropping, and the ensemble is offered geographical valence by two reclining river gods from whose urns water flows forth. The iconography of the river god was no foreign feature to Antwerp, itself a city on a river; indeed, the city was often allegorically embodied (as in other arches of the triumphal entry) through the pairing of a young maid, Lady Antwerp, with a languid, bearded gentleman standing in for the River Scheld. The two rivers on Rubens's arch of the mint, however, are labeled "Peruvius" and "Rio de la Plata" and thus transport us far to the south and reveal the mount they frame to be the *Cerro Rico* of Potosí: the richest silver mine of South America, located in present-day Bolivia, which was the major source of Spain's imperial wealth and power during the viceregal period.

In 1974, in the only substantial scholarly account of the designs for *The Arch of the Mint*, Elizabeth McGrath dissected the complex iconographic program that Rubens had assembled.⁵⁰³ The arch, she explained, is a discerning acknowledgment of the riches that Spain was extracting from New World soil, of the abundance—figured in the central niche of the arches front side—to which Spain had laid claim. On the arch's verso, Rubens asks the viewer (and ruler) to dwell upon the labor that produced such surfeit. Rather than reveling in the abounding fictions about a mount so plentiful that trees growing on its slopes had silver-stained roots and that metal emerged of its own volition, Rubens visualized laboring bodies tunneling into the rock, at left, and emerging forth, at right, with loads of precious ore. Where

⁵⁰² For a classic account of these spectacles and this dynamic, see Roy Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1984), particularly 42–62.

⁵⁰³ Elizabeth McGrath, "Rubens's Arch of the Mint," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974): 191–217.

abundance had sat peacefully with her cornucopia on the arch's recto, Vulcan straddles his anvil and wields his mallet to turn base material into useable delights. Befitting a design for Antwerp's mint, all manner of antique and contemporary coins adorn the mount as swags, metal traded for verdant foliage and fruit. As McGrath amply demonstrated, the arch thus not only displayed Rubens's typical facility with ancient mythology and philosophy, but also his awareness of contemporary sources about New World practices and geographies. For this monument, he enlaced imperial symbols with the figures of Minerva, Jason, Hercules and Vulcan, on the one hand, and New World miners, river gods, and tunneling chinchillas, on the other. The particular motifs that Rubens selected betray the particular sources from which he gleaned information about a world he never visited—Johann Theodor de Bry's *Americae* (1590-1601) and the friar José de Acosta's *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (1588-90)—books that had been in his library for over twenty years by the time he came to design the mint's showpiece.⁵⁰⁴

Yet the monument is in equal parts a measure of Rubens's erudition as it is an acknowledgment of both his own and his fellow Antwerp citizens' precarious position as subjects to the whims and wills of an imperial regime and the rulers that gazed upon their city from afar. The riches of Potosí only served to underscore, by way of contrast, the lamentable financial condition in which Antwerp found itself, a condition that several other arches in Ferdinand's entry explicitly address. By this point, Spain had been draining the city's coffers for decades and, more importantly, the Dutch Republic held control of the Scheldt's access point to the North Sea, meaning that Antwerp could no longer celebrate the port that once made it such a pivotal imperial possession, nor depend upon the streams of goods and revenue that once flowed into the city. Picturing Potosí revealed Spain as a cruel mother, one who unflinchingly drew monetary potential from her overseas colonial children without diverting even the most meager of scraps to her struggling progeny north of the Iberian Peninsula.

McGrath's iconographic interpretation of this monument has been so satisfying that subsequent studies have felt little need for more than passing mention.⁵⁰⁵ Where the arch's meaning is concerned, I too have little to add, and my contention is rather one of emphasis. What is so arresting about this design is not only the impressively recondite coding of New World allegory, but also the *choice* to have deployed these geographies to relay such messages after a lifetime of paying little regard to the world across the Atlantic. This choice, of course, was not entirely Rubens's own. The corporate body of the mint itself no doubt played a role; yet it has never been noted that the master of the mint at this time was Hieronymous II Verdussen, who held this post from 1629-36, but who is much better known as heir to his father's publishing house, one of Antwerp's most important and a chief rival to the more famous Plantin-Moretus firm.⁵⁰⁶ During this period, the Verdussens had their eyes

⁵⁰⁴ Max Rooses, "Petrus-Paulus Rubens en Balthasar Moretus. (I)," *Rubens-Bulletijn: Bulletin-Rubens* 2 (1883): 176-211, specifically 189. This lists Rubens receiving, from Balthasar Moretus on 25 October 1613, De Bry's "1 Indiae Orientalis hist. libri 10 cum figuris po. 2 vol...Indiae Occidentalis America partes 9 f. po. 2 voll..." the ninth volume of which was a printing of Acosta.

⁵⁰⁵ Anna C. Knaap and Michael C. J. Putman, *Art, Music, and Spectacle in the Age of Rubens: The Pompa Introitis Ferdinandi* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2013), 19–22. This volume also provides a useful, contextualized overview of the entry itself.

⁵⁰⁶ These dates are noted in van Rossem, "Het gevecht met de boeken," 33.

set on the markets of the Iberian Peninsula and its overseas possessions in the New World and routinely challenged the nearly crippling privileges held by Plantin-Moretus, which gave the firm a near monopoly on supplying Spanish territories with printed liturgical materials.⁵⁰⁷ For Verdussen, the New World was not simply an abstract figure for mines and flowing silver, but a very real potential for trade and commerce that had been created by imperial expansion. His discussion with Rubens about the design for the mint was necessarily, in this sense, one about global citizenship and imperial subjecthood, about the potentials and problems of being residents of a port city in Europe, and about a world across the Atlantic that Rubens was to picture and to which Verdussen longed to send his printed materials. Rubens may have, at times, rendered the globe blank, pictorially emptying the earth's surface, but here he revealed his city's intimacy with the conditions of the geographies he had effaced.

Verdussen's chief concern about the New World is related, of course, to the central historical thematic of this dissertation: namely, transmission of, or the potential to send to these far-off lands, books and all manner of printed things, like the etchings and engravings that artists used to make art across the Atlantic. With those imagined trajectories in mind, it is striking to note the terms with which Rubens described the achievements of his designs for Ferdinand's entry, including the mint's arch: in December of 1634, the artist wrote to his friend Nicolas Peiresc, "I believe you would not be displeased at the invention and variety of subjects, the novelty of the designs and the fitness of their application."⁵⁰⁸ Invention, variety, novelty: those were the metrics by which Rubens judged his ingenium and, in turn, his work. When we, as art historians, have considered the work of Rubens and his contemporaries, we have thus tended to do so—with more or less self-reflexivity—through a related rubric. Although the discipline's interests have indeed expanded to allow for considerations of alternative ways that art mattered in the lives of early modern people, the basic tenants of novelty and technical capacity have been left largely intact. To a great extent, such evaluations are the "right" ones to make. It is fair to judge the makers of the past through the terms that they set out for themselves, and doing so rigorously allows an excavation of certain period understandings of works of art and their histories.

The biography and intentions of a maker, however, sometimes have quite little to do with the afterlives of the things they create. Reception does not hinge on personal proclivities. To a large extent, this project has therefore treated Rubens as an author-function rather than as an authorial artist proper, and has watched his products slip quickly away from the artistic ideals he might have hoped for them. Taking this approach is not to strip Rubens of his subjectivity, but rather to insist that it not be extended beyond him and applied to other makers, or that his sense of accomplishment and self-definition does not obscure our view and comprehension of alternatives to these models. Some of those alternatives existed across the Atlantic; and it is therefore fitting that both of the compositions explored in this conclusion would end up in Latin America and find themselves in the hands of artists. In Mexico City, we watched Villalpando take up and transform Rubens's *Laurea Calloana*, another one of the etchings included in Gevaerts's *Pompa Introitis Ferdinandi* (figs. 12 & 15); and, in Cuzco, we witnessed both the indigenous mayordomos of the city's Hospital de los Naturales and the bishop Manuel de Mollinedo y Ángulo commission series of paintings that were dependent—more or less directly—on Rubens's designs for the Eucharist tapestry series (fig. 35). As

⁵⁰⁷ On these privileges, see *ibid.*, 53–81.

⁵⁰⁸ Magurn, *The Letters*, 393.

explored in these chapters, none of the makers and viewers involved in those projects prized novelty and invention as the absolute benchmarks of their creative endeavors and self-conceptualizations, at least not as Rubens had deployed these terms, nor as art historians have come to understand them.

This dissertation has explored various ways to use “the copy” to interrogate and to excavate these alternative artistic self-conceptualizations of New World artists and their publics. Because the imperial regime, from the very beginning of its occupation of Latin America, depended upon the medium of print to connect two sides of the Atlantic, the subjectivities (both personal and professional) of colonial makers and viewers were thus bound to printed transmission. European prints created the conditions for the work of the Latin American artist. But the print could not, of course, prescribe how its adoption and redeployment would be understood; nor could Europe predict or truly dictate the development of the New World pictorial economies that came to depend upon printed images. Tracking the connections of transatlantic intertextuality has, in turn, led us in unfamiliar directions. In the first chapter, we took up the very term “invention”—much as Villalpando had himself—and saw it exist in a world that nested the novel and the copied side-by-side with little contradiction. This was an urban world of New Spain’s viceregal capital city in which artists used emulative citation as a mechanism of artistic self-positioning within a transatlantic sphere. In the second chapter, by contrast, artists in the former-Inka center of Cuzco severed ties to that broader imperial realm, though not by turning their back on Europe’s forms, but by reproducing them so insistently that they were resignified and recognized as local in origin. This was a highland world in which the copy was recognized as generatively originary and in which rhizomatic proliferation yielded a place that was understood to be as potent an origin point as any given artist. In chapter three, we saw that the singular authorship of Rubens’s figure of the Atlas St. Francis was actually critical to define across broad regional swaths of New Spain, but that once this figure was placed below the Virgins of El Pueblito and Tepepan, it was no longer to Rubens that artistic credit was offered up. Divine intersections not only made it easy to overlook the Flemish artist’s authorship, but also made it imperative to reconceptualize that authorship entirely. And yet, almost paradoxically, the Franciscan audiences and artists of both New Spain and Peru remade the Rubensian allegory from which Francis came in such nuanced ways that we can now understand the Rubens original—and perhaps even the artist’s original intent—in ways never before thought possible. This was a divinely sanctioned world that made both radical connection and near total rupture equally plausible outcomes of inter-regional transmission. This is a new world, or indeed worlds, from which to see Rubens.

Copies after Rubens’s compositions, however, also abound in Europe. One finds them in churches that lie off the beaten path, and in the exhibition spaces and storerooms of regional museums, and in private collections, and in all manner of less easily overlooked locations. Moreover, spates of objects—from derivative prints to luxury porcelain—can be traced back to Rubensian designs. As this dissertation has shown, copies are the products of mobility and of a varied range of desires for the connections that copying enables; and they are thus potent sites of art historical entry, rather than dead-ends of derivation, forgone conclusions. From the vantage point of Latin America, it is difficult to feel comfortable easily classifying the artists who produced these objects as mere slavish copyists, or considering their works of art too facile to warrant serious consideration. If we, in turn, look back to

Europe from the New World with a newfound sensitivity to the potentials of charting transmission, we might begin to uncover as many cognates as differences.

I have developed the concept of transatlantic intertextuality with the conviction and hope that it might allow the field of early modern art history, broadly conceived, to explore related practices of pictorial circulation and copying in Europe that have remained underinterrogated or misinterpreted because they moved quite far—in both literal and figurative terms—from the ideas and ideals of the authorial artists who have been art history's focus since its disciplinary inception. Latin American art history has more of a methodological gesture to make than to claim a mismatch with Europe and its paradigms; and European art history has more of a challenge to contend with than simply an expanded corpus, which might too assuredly be bracketed as enticingly strange or sumptuously exotic. Charting completed circuits of transatlantic shipments—the transits of cochineal, or the circulation of knowledge about imperial mines—is thus only one way to look back across the Atlantic. Art history's newly exoticized, or self-estranged, *gaze* must be trained back at the continent if the global turn is to bear fruit; we must allow it to make Europe look strange and to reveal the objects and practices and artists that have been hiding in plain sight. The “discovery” of those things in Europe should actually come as no surprise. Early modern Europe was, in equal measure, defined through printed transmission, lags of communication across distances, inequalities of contested and shifting boundaries of power, and religious pressures and struggles: the main thematics of the transatlantic intertextuality this dissertation has explored. Truly recognizing and respecting historical globality necessitates that no part of the globe be allowed to remain separate or detached from world systems; that no geography be allowed to claim exceptionality; that no continent's artistic cultures be allowed to remain so categorically distinct from a colonial world.

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Abbreviation of Archives

AGNP	Archivo General de la Nación del Perú; Lima, Peru
AFBNM	Archivo Franciscano, Fondo Reservado Biblioteca Nacional de México; Mexico City, Mexico
AHPFM	Archivo Histórico de la Provincia Franciscana de Michoacán; Celaya, Mexico
ANDF	Archivo General de Notarías del Distrito Federal; Mexico City, Mexico
ARC	Archivo Regional del Cusco; Cuzco, Peru
PESSCA	Project for the Engraved Sources of Spanish Colonial Art, colonialart.org

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Figures



Fig. 1. Unknown Ayacuchan artist, *The Descent from the Cross*, eighteenth century, oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Private collection, Lima, Peru.



Fig. 2. Unknown artist, *The Descent from the Cross*, 1685-1735, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Catedral de Nuestra Señora de la Asunción, Tlaxcala, Mexico.



Fig. 3. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Descent from the Cross*, 1612-1614, oil on panel, 420.5 x 320 cm. Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekathedraal, Antwerp.



Fig. 4. Lucas Vorsterman, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Descent from the Cross*, 1620, engraving, 582 x 435 mm. The British Museum, London.



Fig. 5. Unknown artist, *The Descent from the Cross*, seventeenth century, oil on canvas, 205 x 160 cm. Iglesia de Santo Domingo, Tunja, Colombia.

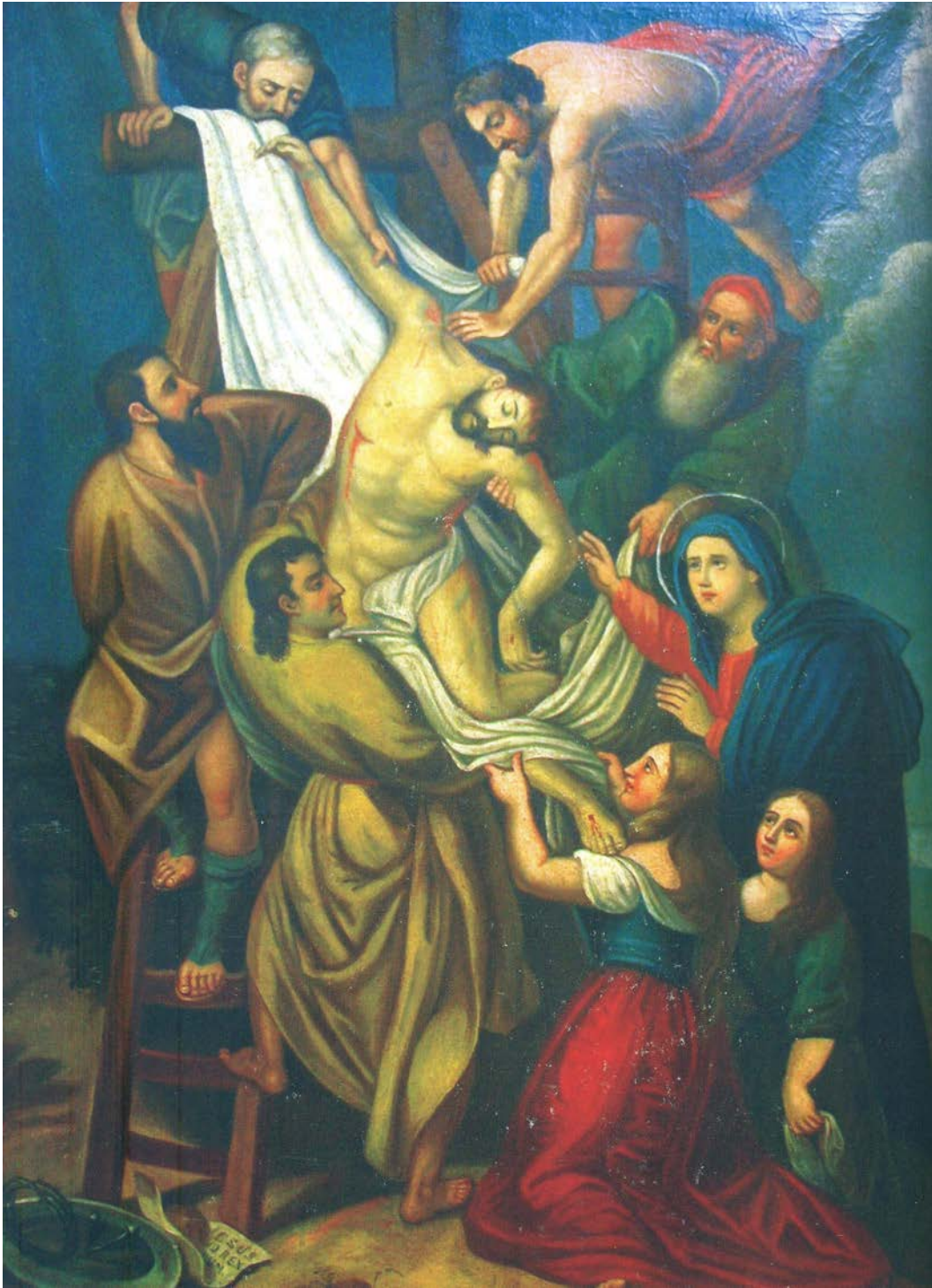


Fig. 6. Unknown artist, *The Descent from the Cross*, eighteenth century, oil on canvas, 104 x 77 cm. Banco Central del Ecuador, Quito, Ecuador.



Fig. 7. Unknown Artist, *The Descent from the Cross*, 1732, oil on canvas, 109 x 133 cm. Monasterio de Capuchinas de la Santísima Trinidad, Santiago, Chile.



Fig. 8. Unknown artist, *The Descent from the Cross*, eighteenth century, polychromed wood, unknown dimensions. Iglesia de La Merced, Guatemala City, Guatemala.



Fig. 9. Unknown artist, *The Descent from the Cross*, eighteenth century, oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Church of St. Cajetan, Goa, India.



Fig. 10. Cristóbal de Villalpando, *The Triumph of St. Michael*, c. 1686-88, oil on canvas, detail from lower right of canvas. Catedral Metropolitana, Mexico City.



Fig. 11. Cristóbal de Villalpando, *The Triumph of St. Michael*, c. 1686-88, oil on canvas, 929 x 765 cm. Catedral Metropolitana, Mexico City.



Fig. 12. Cristóbal de Villalpando, *The Triumph of The Church Through the Eucharist*, 1686, oil on canvas, 899 x 766 cm. Catedral Metropolitana, Mexico City.



Fig. 13. Schelte à Bolswert, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Triumph of the Church Through the Eucharist*, c. 1647-52, engraving on paper, 640 x 1034 mm. Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België.



Fig. 14. Baltasar de Echave Rioja, *The Triumph of the Church Through the Eucharist*, 1675, oil on canvas, 840 x 750 cm. Catedral de Puebla, Puebla.



Fig. 15. Theodoor van Thulden, after Peter Paul Rubens, *Laurea Calloana*, 1641, etching on paper, 535 x 606 mm. The British Museum, London.



Fig. 16. Adriaen Collaert, after Maarten de Vos, *The Charge of the Church*, c. 1585-86, engraving on paper, 228 x 292 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Fig. 17. Paulus Pontius, after Abraham van Diepenbeeck, *Thesis Sheet of Claudius von Collalto*, 1645, engraving, 1024 x 689 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Fig. 18. Juan Correa, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, 1689, oil on canvas, 898 x 766 cm. Catedral Metropolitana, Mexico City.



Fig. 19. Nicolás and Miguel Ximénez (?), *The Assumption of the Virgin*, c. 1672-89, stone relief, dimensions unknown, Catedral Metropolitana, Mexico City.



Fig. 20. Schelte à Bolswert, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, c. 1635-58, engraving on paper, 627 x 440 mm. The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Fig. 21. Cristóbal de Villalpando, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, oil on canvas, 225 x 178 cm. Museo Regional de Guadalajara, Guadalajara.

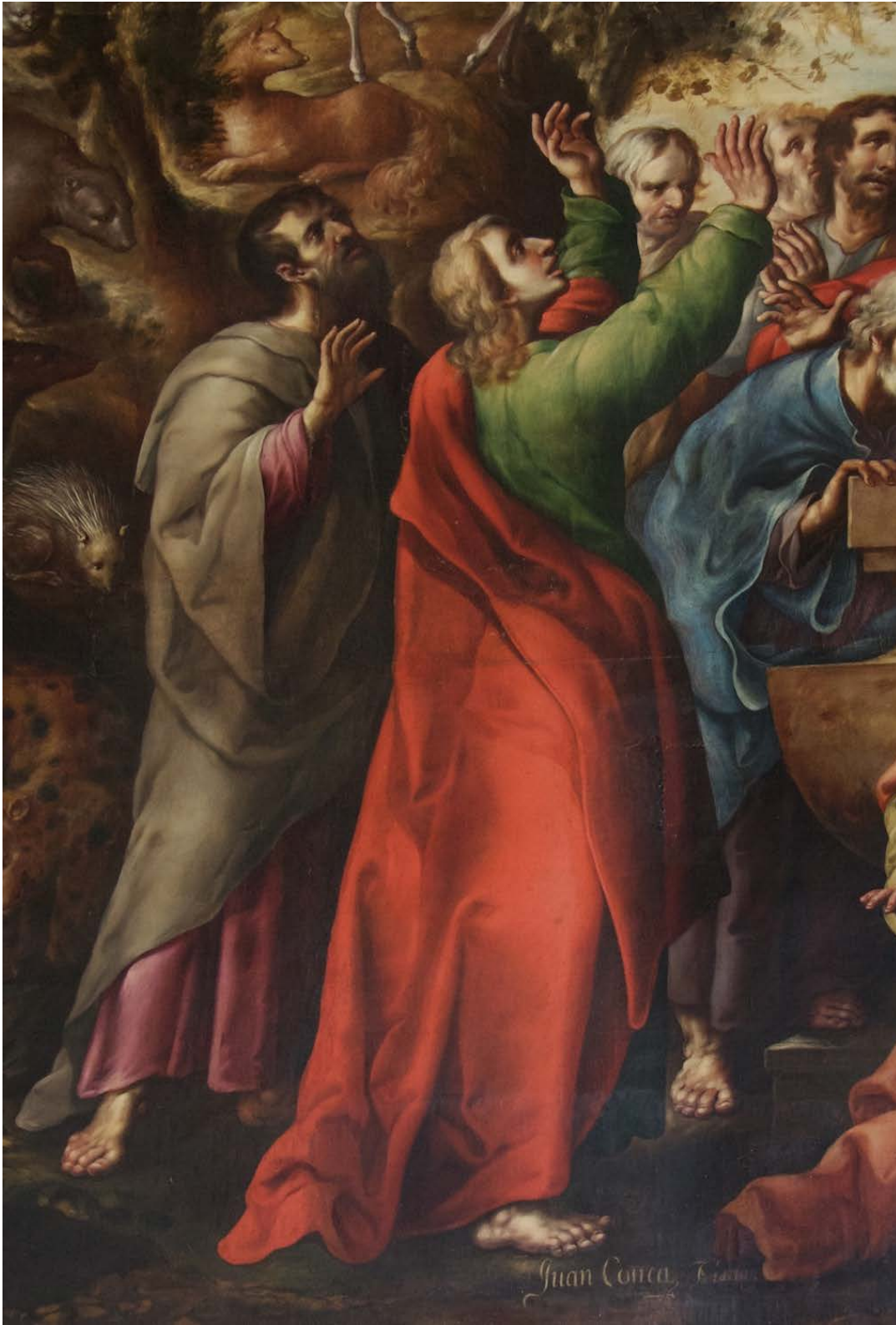


Fig. 22. Juan Correa, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, 1689, oil on canvas, detail. Cathedral Metropolitana, Mexico City.



Fig. 23. Schelte à Bolswert, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, c. 1635-58, engraving on paper, 630 x 482 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Fig. 24. Schelte à Bolswert, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, c. 1635-58, engraving on paper, detail from lower-right corner. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Fig. 25. Maarten de Vos, *St. Michael Archangel*, 1581, oil on canvas affixed to panel, 242 x 171 cm. Catedral de San Buenaventura, Cuautitlán, Mexico.

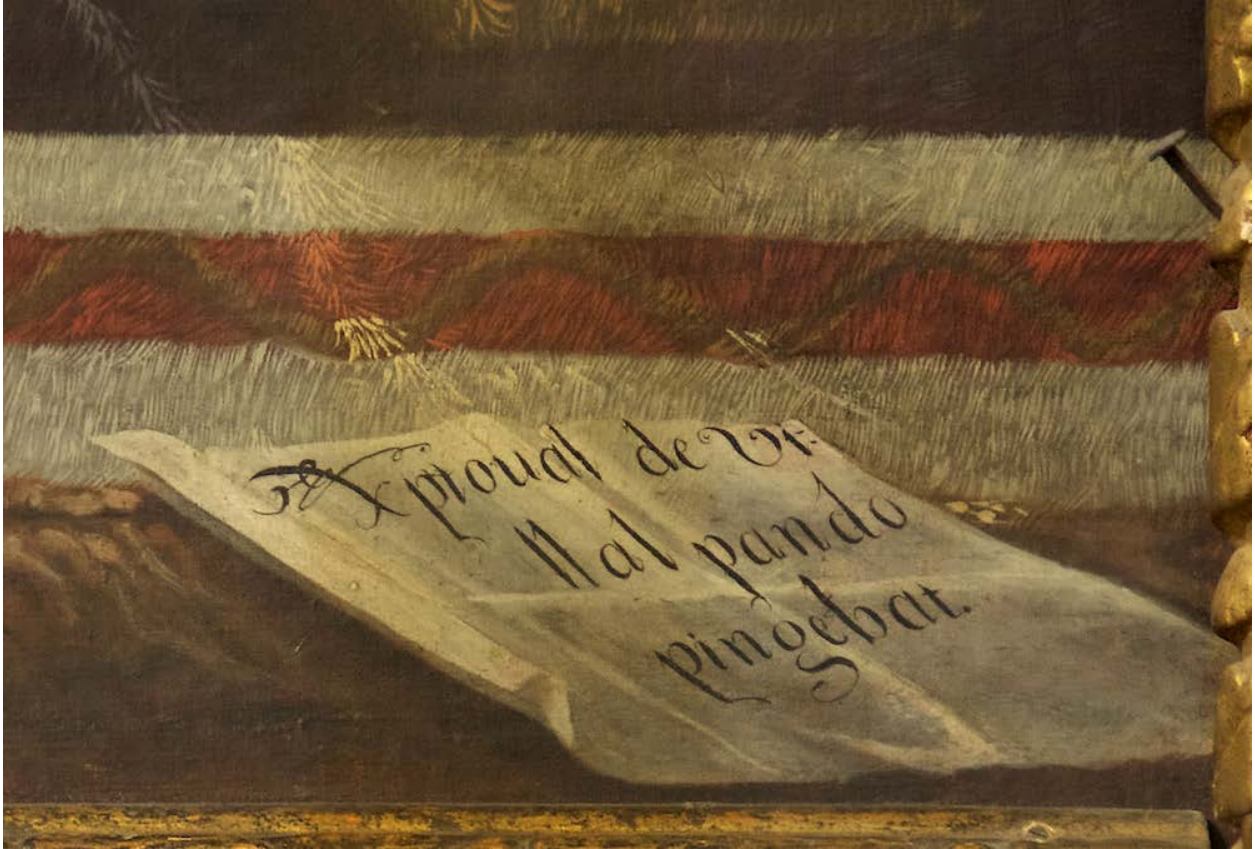


Fig. 26. Cristóbal de Villalpando, *The Church Militant and Triumphant*, 1684-86, oil on canvas, detail. Catedral Metropolitana, Mexico City.



Fig. 27. Juan Correa, *The Four Continents*, c. 1690, oil on canvas, 243 x 563 cm. Banco Nacional de México, Mexico City.



Fig. 28. Juan Correa, *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*, 1691, oil on canvas, 1024 x 689 cm. Catedral Metropolitana, Mexico City.



Fig. 29. Schelte à Bolswert, after David Vinckboons, *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*, 1612, engraving on paper, 430 x 640 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Fig. 30. Juan Correa, *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*, 1691, oil on canvas, detail. Cathedral Metropolitana, Mexico City.

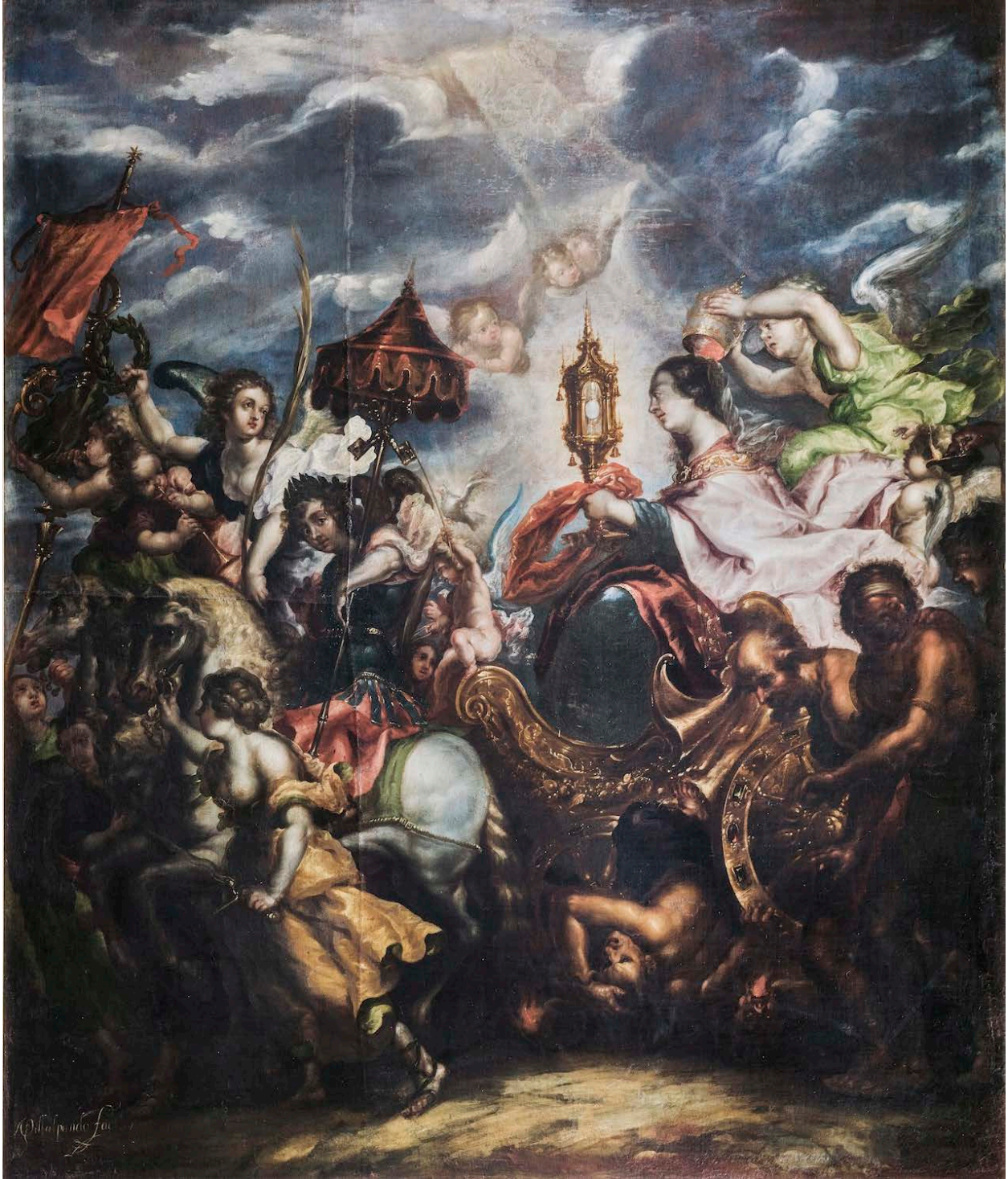


Fig. 31. Cristóbal de Villalpando, *The Triumph of the Church Through the Eucharist*, c. 1700, oil on canvas, 216 x 184 cm. Museo Regional de Guadalajara, Guadalajara.



Fig. 32. Cover of Pal Kelemen, *Peruvian Colonial Painting: A Special Exhibition*, N.P., c. 1971.



Fig. 33. Unknown Artist, *The Return from Egypt*, late 17th c., oil on linen, 91 x 122 cm. New Orleans Museum of Art, New Orleans.



Fig. 34. Lucas Vorsterman, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Return from Egypt*, 1620, engraving, 420 x 312 mm. The British Museum, London.



Fig. 35. Unknown Artist, *The Triumph of the Church through the Eucharist*, c. 1690, oil on canvas, 166 x 173 cm. Iglesia de Todos los Santos, Huanquite, Peru.



Fig. 36. Unknown Artist, *Procession of the Eucharist by the Officials of the Church*, c. 1690, oil on canvas, 166 x 168 cm. Iglesia de Todos los Santos, Huanquite, Peru.



Fig. 37. Unknown Artist, *The Triumph of the Church through the Eucharist*, late 17th c., oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Iglesia de San Cristóbal, Cuzco.



Fig. 38. Unknown Artist, *The Triumph of the Church through the Eucharist*, late 17th or early 18th c., oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Convento de Santa Teresa, Arequipa.



Fig. 39. Lázaro Pardo de Lagos, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, 1632, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Iglesia de San Cristóbal, Cuzco.



Fig. 40. Theodoor Galle, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, 1614, engraving, 304 x 194 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Fig. 41. Francisco Serrano, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, c. 1663, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Iglesia de Tinta, Peru.



Fig. 42. Unknown Artist, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, second half of the 17th c., oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Monasterio de Santa Catalina, Cuzco.



Fig. 43. Unknown Artist, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, mid-18th c., oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Monasterio de Santa Catalina, Arequipa.



Fig. 44. Unknown Artist, *The Raising of the Cross*, second half of the 17th c., oil on canvas, 207 x 293 cm. Cathedral of Cuzco, Peru.



Fig. 45. *Chapel of Nuestra Señora de los Temblores*, Cathedral of Cuzco, Peru. Photo 2012.



Fig. 46. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Raising of the Cross*, 1610-11, oil on panel, 462 x 341 cm. Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekathedraal, Antwerp.



Fig. 47. Unknown Artist, *The Raising of the Cross*, second half of the 17th c., oil on canvas, 189 x 272 cm. El Triunfo (Cathedral of Cuzco), Peru.

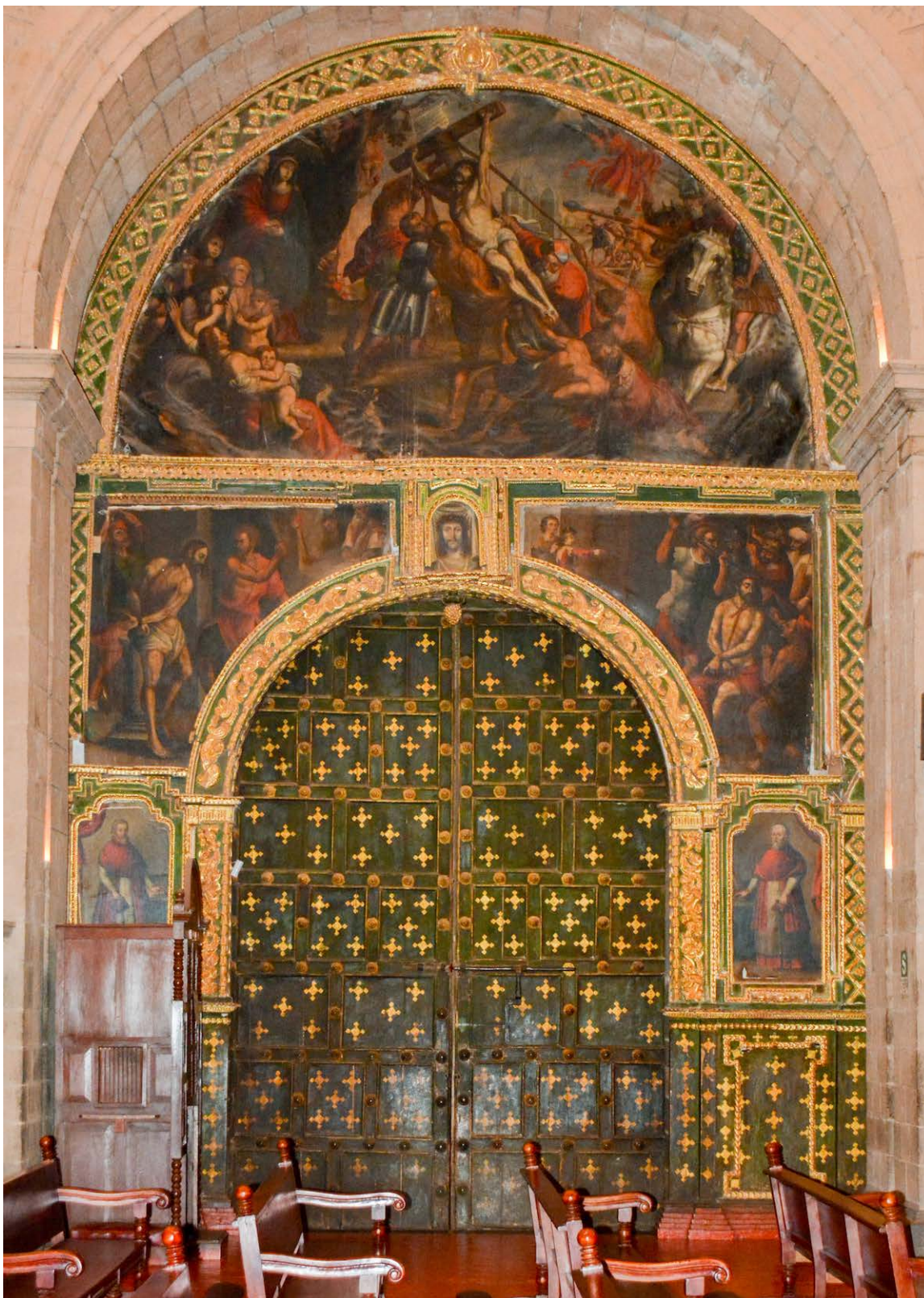


Fig. 48. Unknown Artist, *The Raising of the Cross*, second half of the 17th c., oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. La Compañía, Cuzco, Peru.



Fig. 49. Jan Witdoeck, after Peter Paul Rubens, *Raising of the Cross*, 1638, 623 x 2070 mm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



Fig. 50. Unknown Artist, *The Descent from the Cross*, first quarter of the 18th c., oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Convento de la Merced, Cuzco.



Fig. 51. Unknown Artist, *The Descent from the Cross*, second half of the 17th c., oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Iglesia de San Gerónimo, Cuzco.

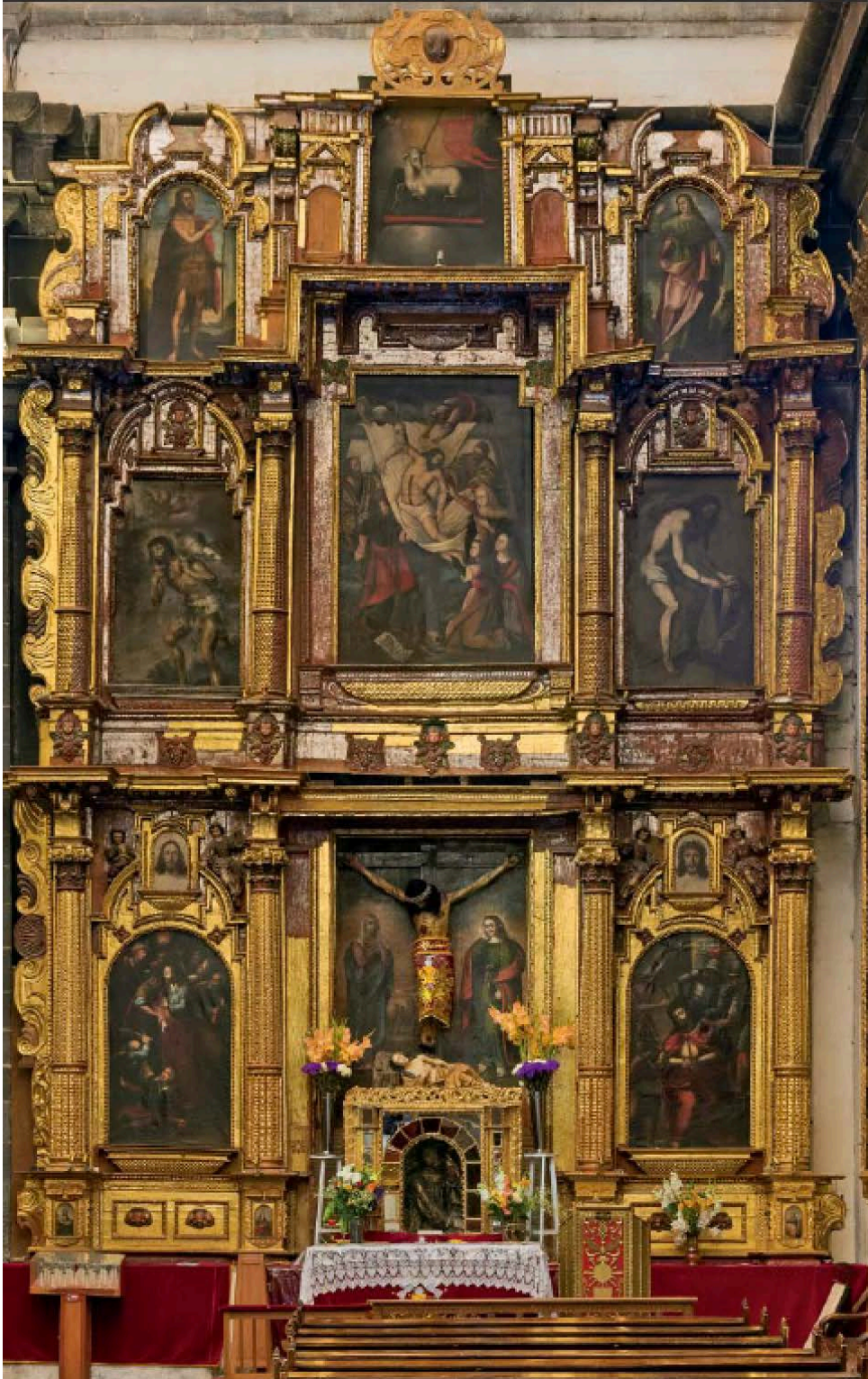


Fig. 52. Unknown Artist, *The Descent from the Cross in the Retablo del Señor de Unpunku*, mid-eighteenth century, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Cathedral of Cuzco, Peru.



Fig. 53. Marcos de Rivera, *San Pedro Nolasco Carried by Angels*, 1666, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Convento de la Merced, Cuzco.



Fig. 55. Unknown Artist, San Pedro Nolasco Carried by Angels, c. 1708-1724, oil on canvas. Iglesia de la Merced, Cuzco.



Fig. 56. Unknown Artist, *Descent from the Cross*, unknown artist, c. 1708-1724, oil on canvas. Iglesia de la Merced, Cuzco.



Fig. 57. Unknown Artist, *Assumption of the Virgin*, unknown artist, 1708, oil on canvas. Iglesia de la Merced, Cuzco.



Fig. 58. Unknown Artist, *The Return from Egypt*, around 1700, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Convento de la Merced, Cuzco.



Fig. 59. Unknown Artist, *The Return from Egypt*, around 1700, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Convento de Santa Catalina, Cuzco.



Fig. 60. Unknown Artist, *The Return from Egypt*, around 1700, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Museo de Pedro de Osma, Lima.



Fig. 61. Diego Quispe Tito, *The Return from Egypt*, 1680, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia, Lima, Peru.



Fig. 62. Schelte à Bolswert, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Holy Family*, c. 1630-45, engraving, 443 x 333 mm. The British Museum, London.



Fig. 63. Schelte à Bolswert, after Gerard Seghers, *The Holy Family*, c. 1635-50, engraving, 549 x 420 mm. Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, Brussels.



Fig. 64. Unknown Artist, *The Holy Family*, second half of the 17th c., oil on canvas, 106 x 170 cm. Cathedral of Cuzco, Peru.



Fig. 65. Unknown Artist, *Holy Family in the Retablo de La Linda*, c. 1712, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Cathedral of Cuzco, Peru.



Fig. 66. Unknown Artist, *The Holy Family with Anna and Joachim*, before 1735, polychrome and gilded wood, unknown dimensions. Iglesia de la Sagrada Familia, Cuzco.



Fig. 67. Unknown Artist, *The Holy Family*, second half of the 17th c., oil on canvas, 289 x 204 cm. Convento de San Francisco, Cuzco.



Fig. 68. Unknown Artist, *The Holy Family*, c. 1689, oil on canvas, 218 x 149 cm. Iglesia de Todos los Santos, Huanoquite, Peru.



Fig. 69. Unknown Artist, *The Holy Family*, eighteenth century, unknown dimensions. Monasterio de Santa Catalina, Arequipa, Peru.



Fig. 70. Unknown Artist, *The Holy Family*, first half of the 18th c., oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Museo Nacional de Arte, La Paz, Bolivia.



Fig. 71. *Cuzco Storefront*, 2012. Calle Hatunrumiyoc, Cuzco, Peru.



Fig. 72. Unknown Artist, *The Adoration of the Magi*, 18th c., oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Iglesia de San Juan Letrán, Juli, Peru.



Fig. 73. Lucas Vorsterman, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Adoration of the Magi*, 1620, engraving, 578 x 435 mm. The British Museum, London.



Fig. 74. Lucas Vorsterman, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Adoration of the Magi*, 1621, engraving, 558 x 733 mm. The British Museum, London.



Fig. 75. Jacob de Gheyn II, *Soldier from the Wapenhandelinghe van Roers Musquetten ende spiessen*, 260 x 185 mm, c. 1600-1608, engraving.



Fig. 76. Unknown Artist, *Ángel Arcabucero*, eighteenth-century, oil on canvas, 73 x 54 cm. Private Collection, Sold at Robert Simon Fine Art, 2012.

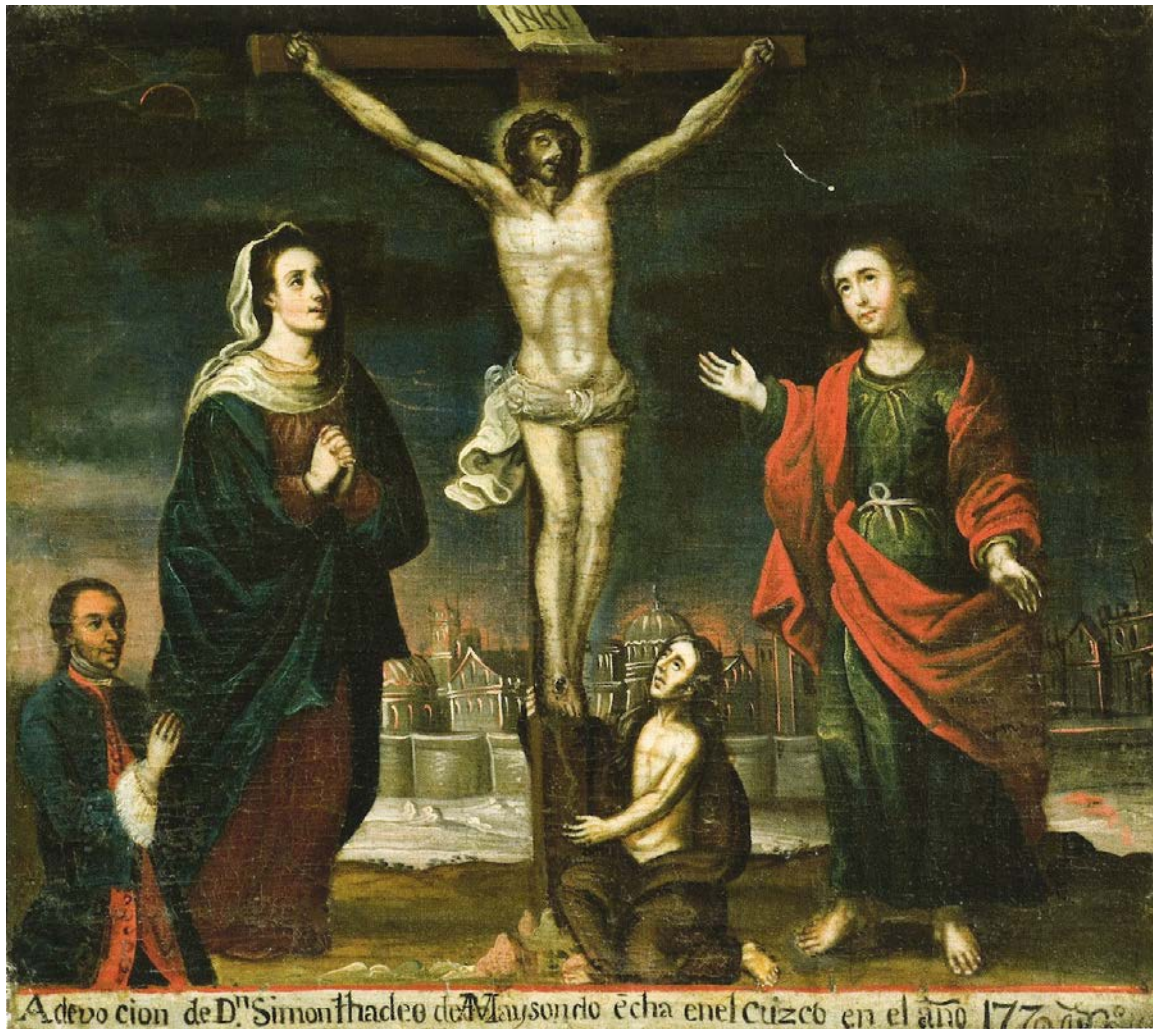


Fig. 77. Unknown Artist, *The Crucifixion with Don Simon Thadeo Maysondo*, 1770, oil on canvas, 34 x 38 cm. The Roberta and Richard Huber Collection.

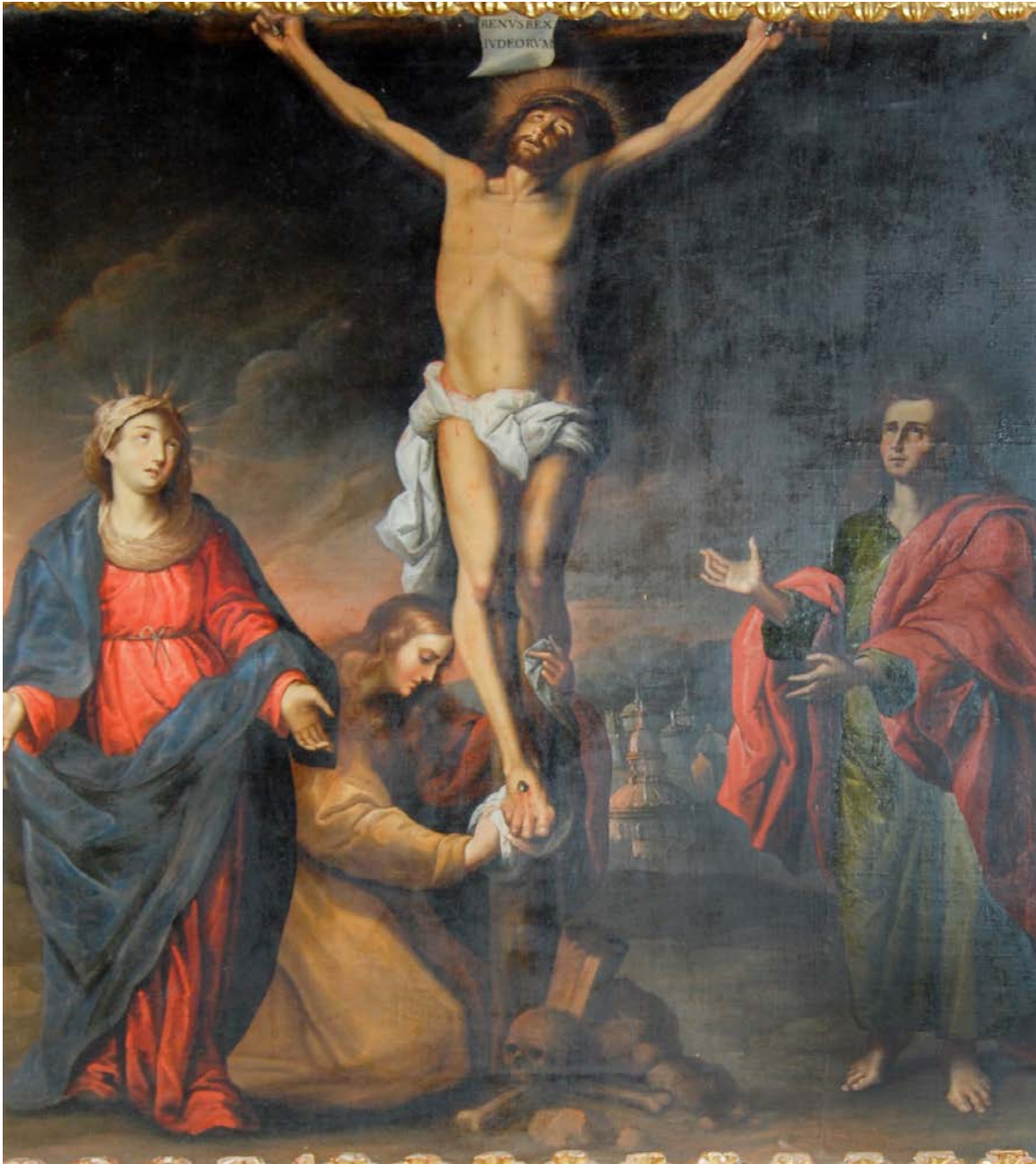


Fig. 78. Unknown Artist, *Crucifixion*, second half of the 17th c., oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Monasterio de Santa Catalina, Cuzco.

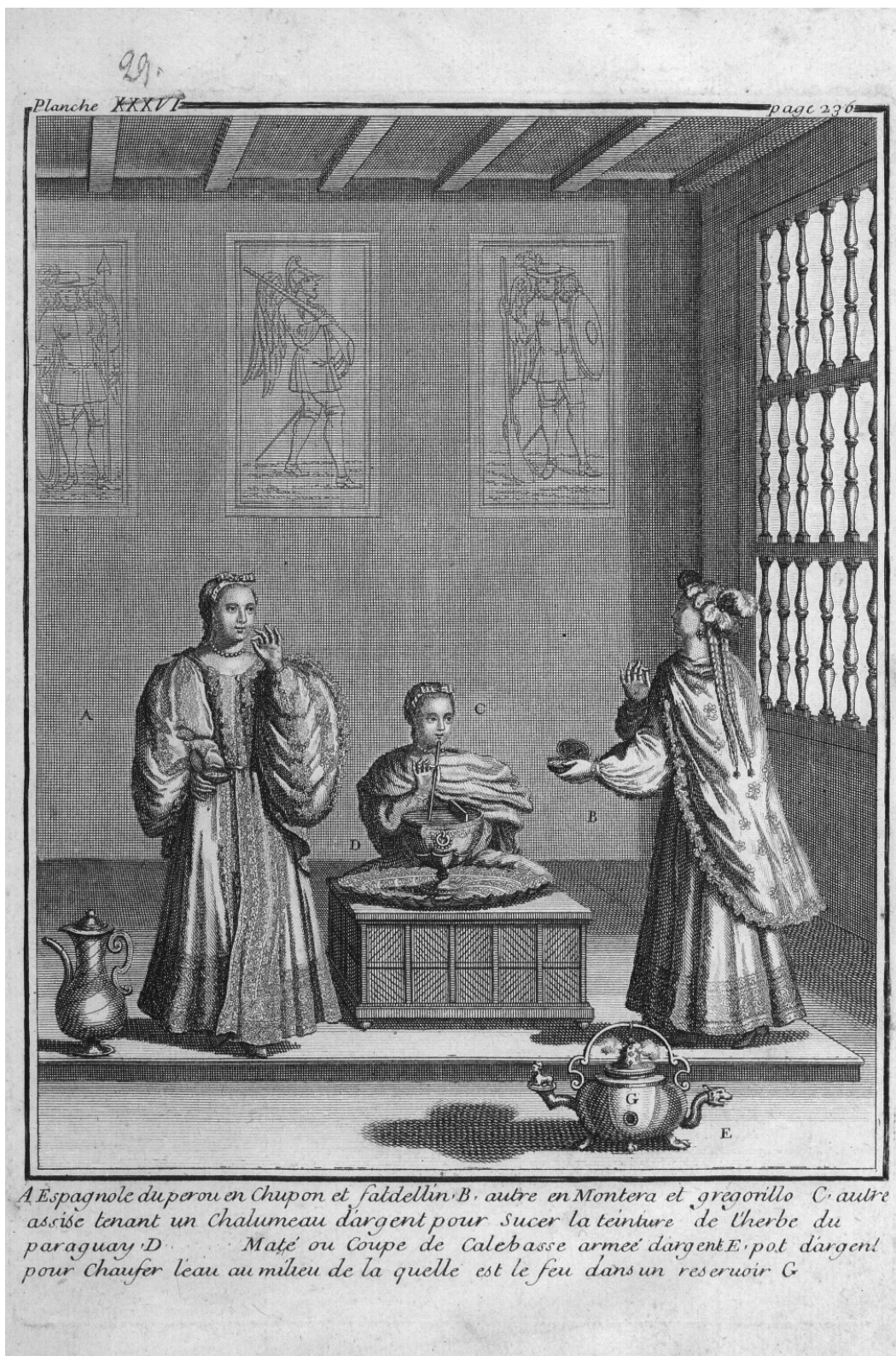


Fig. 79. Nicolas Guérard, *Plate 29 of Frézier's Relation du voyage*, 1716, etching, 290 x 195 mm. Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Fig. 80. Melchor Pérez Holguín, *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*, c. 1714, oil on canvas, 82.6 x 57.9 cm. The Marilyn and Carl Thoma Collection.

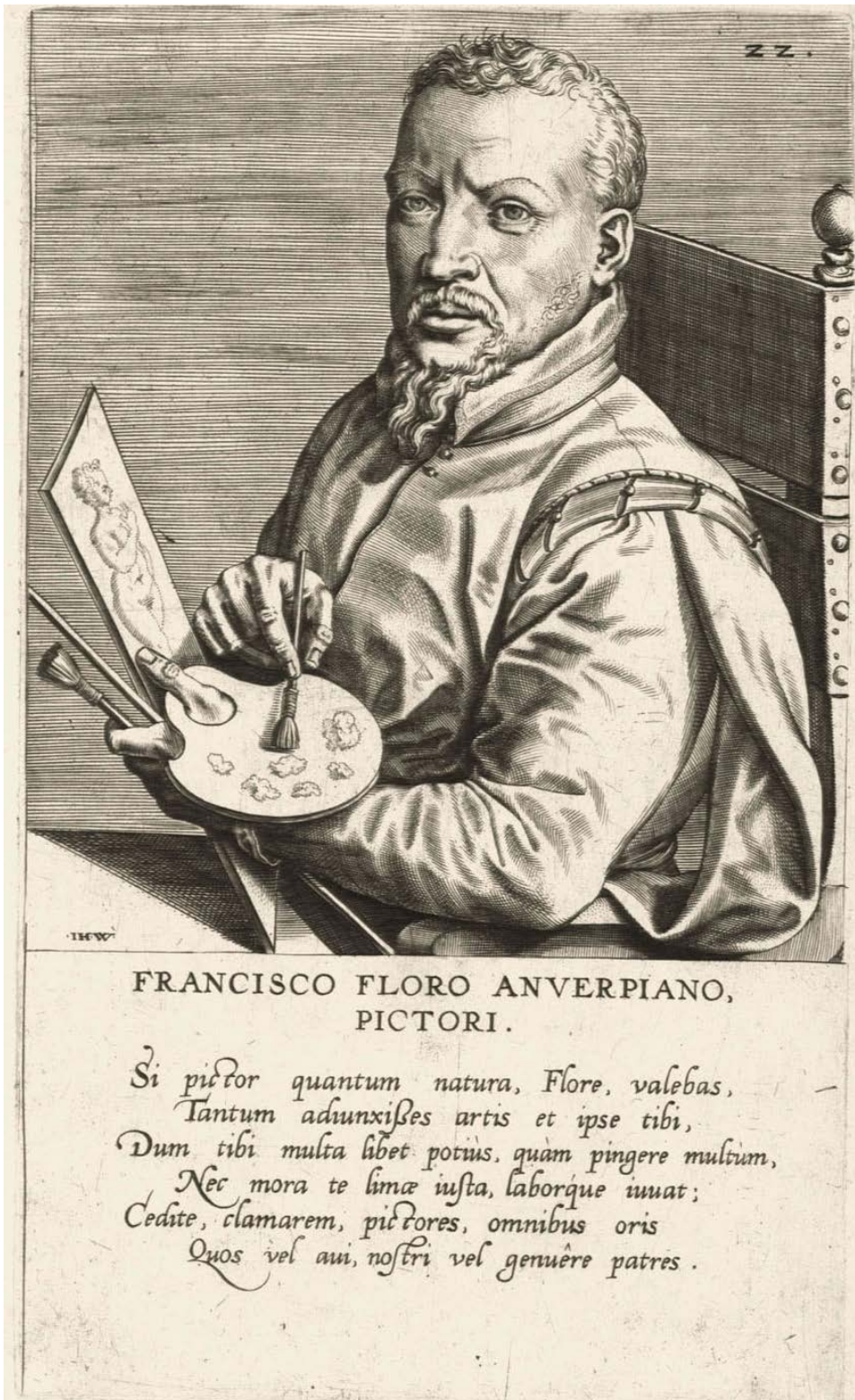


Fig. 81. Johannes Wierix, *Portrait of Frans Floris* from the *Pictorum Quot Celebrium*, 1572, engraving, 205 x 165 mm. The Courtauld Institute of Art, London.



Fig. 82. Unknown Artist, *Miracle of the Virgin of Pomata on March 29, 1631*, after 1631, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Church of Santiago Apóstol, Pomata, Peru.



Fig. 83. Unknown Artist, *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*, eighteenth century, oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia, Lima, Peru.



Fig. 84. Unknown Artist, *The Way to Calvary*, first half of the eighteenth century, oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Iglesia de la Virgen del Pilar, Lima.



Fig. 85. Unknown artist, *Nuestra Señora de Ocotlán*, polychromed wood. Tlaxcala, Mexico.



Fig. 86. Unknown artist, *The Virgin of Ocotlán atop the Atlas St. Francis*, sculpted stone and plaster, c. 1765-75. Tlaxcala, Mexico.



Fig. 87. Unknown artist, *Facade of La Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de Ocotlán*, c. 1765-75. Tlaxcala, Mexico.



Fig. 88. Paulus Pontius, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Austroseraphic Heavens*, 1632, engraving, 501 x 714 mm (trimmed).

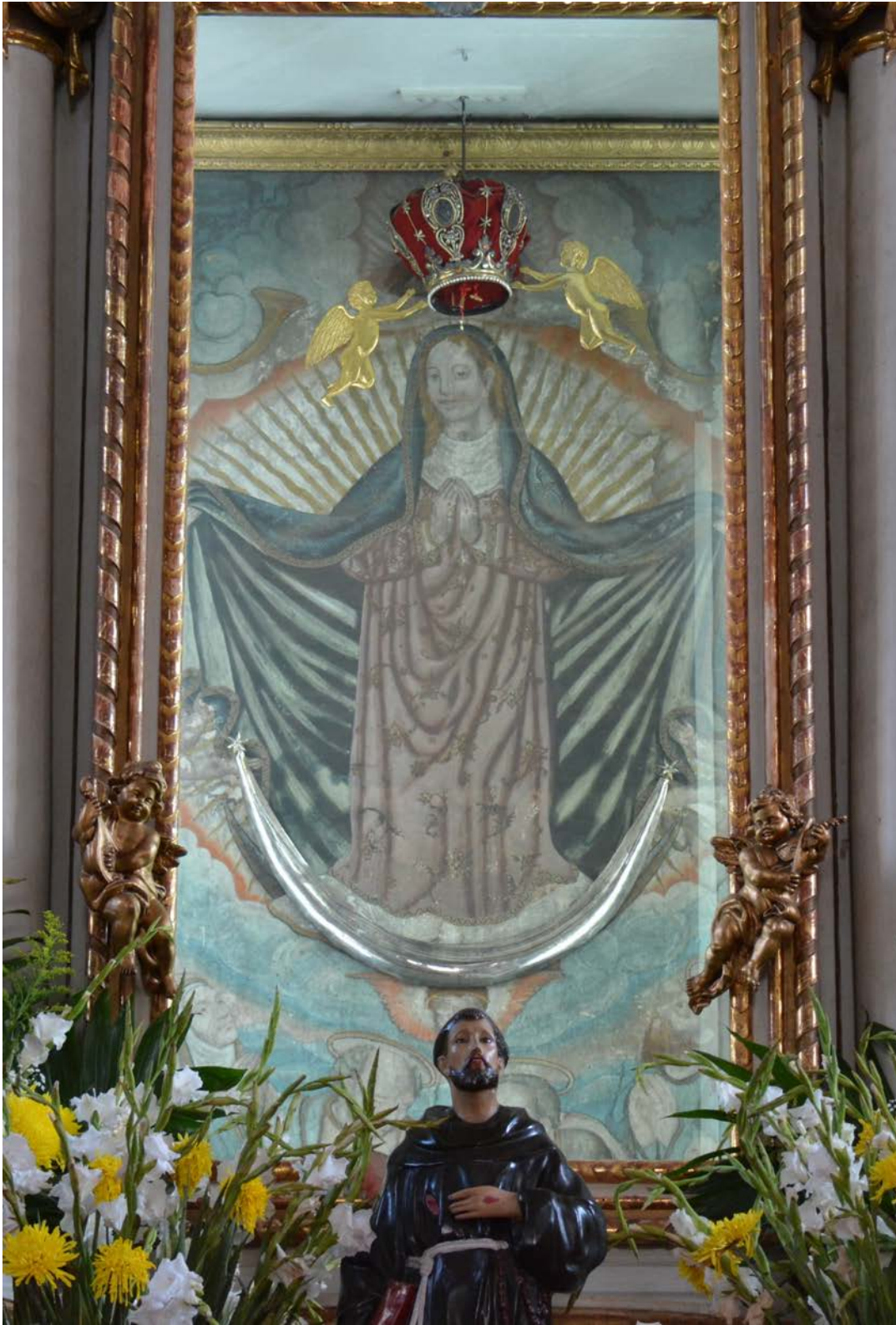


Fig. 89. Unknown artist, *Nuestra Señora de Tecaxic*, oil and tempera on linen, dimensions unknown. Church of Nuestra Señora de Tecaxic, Tecaxic, Mexico.



Fig. 90. Hipólito de Rioja, *The Immaculate Virgin with the Atlas St. Francis, St. Bonaventure, and St. Juan Capistrano*, second half of the 17th c., oil on canvas, 258 x 207 cm. Location currently unknown. Formerly the Church of Nuestra Señora de Tecaxic, Tecaxic, Mexico.



Fig. 91. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Austroseraphic Heavens*, c. 1631, oil on panel, 53.7 x 78.4 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia.



Fig. 92. Unknown artist, *The Austroseraphic Heavens*, c. 1700, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Iglesia de San Francisco, Acatepec, Mexico.



Fig. 93. Unknown artist, *The Austroseraphic Heavens*, c. 1675, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Iglesia de San Francisco, Cuzco, Peru.



Fig. 94. Unknown artist, *The Austroseraphic Heavens*, 1691, oil on canvas, resized and dimensions unknown. Iglesia de San Francisco, Puebla, Mexico.



Fig. 95. Unknown artists, *Retablo of Santo Aparicio*, c. 1794. Iglesia de San Francisco, Puebla, Mexico.



Fig. 96. Unknown artist, *Atlas St. Francis*, before 1685, polychrome wood, 110 cm (height).
Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de la Asunción, Tlaxcala, Mexico.



Fig. 97. Unknown artist, *Main Altar Chapel of Third Order*, 1685 and c. 1735. Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de la Asunción, Tlaxcala, Mexico.



Fig. 98. Unknown artist, *Allegory of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception*, c. 1700, fresco. Iglesia de San Francisco, Ozumba, Mexico.

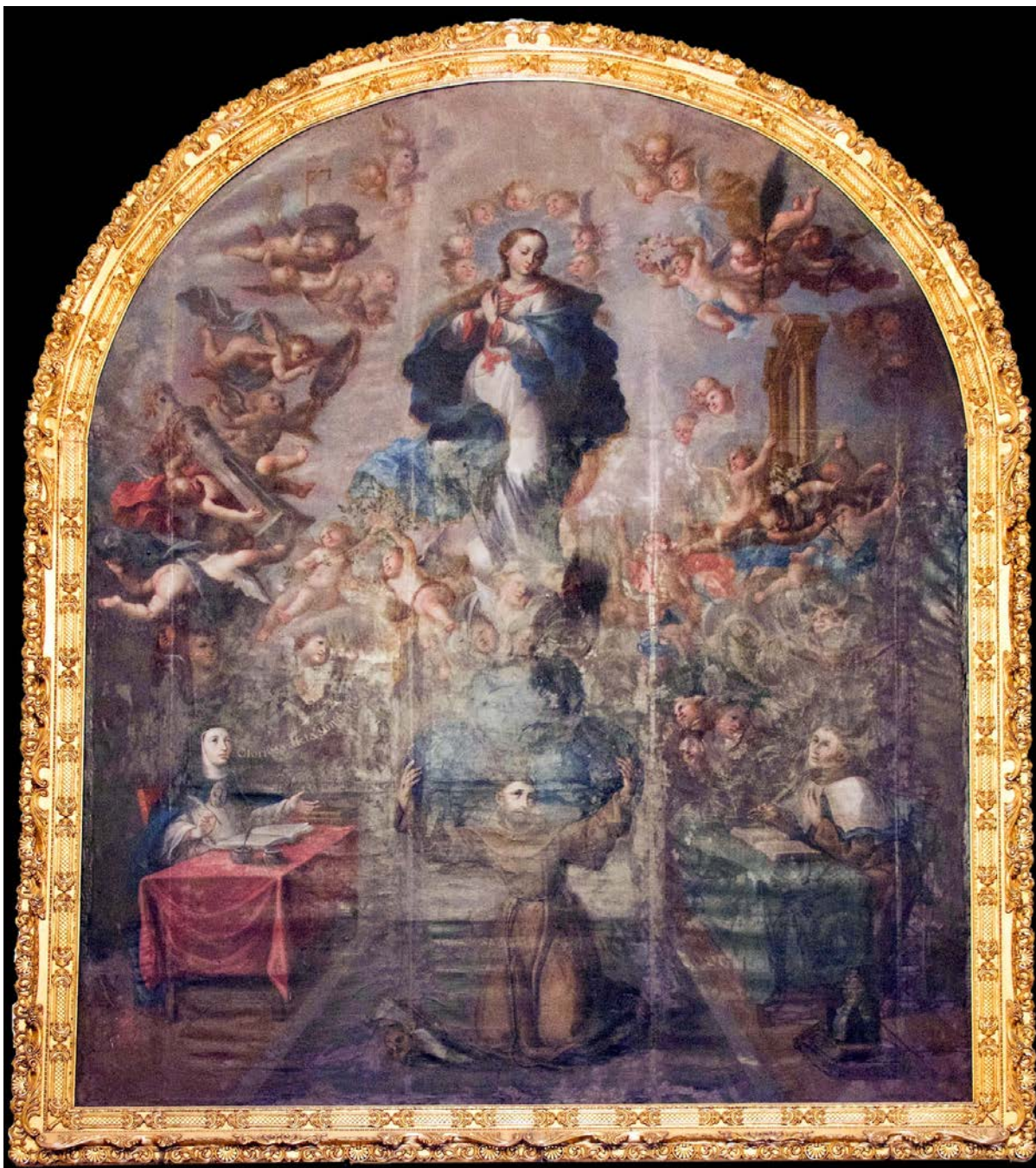


Fig. 99. Unknown artist, *Allegory of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception*, c. 1735-50, oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Iglesia de San Fernando, Mexico City.



Fig. 100. Gregorio José de Lara, *Allegory of the Franciscan Genealogy*, oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Iglesia de Santa María Tonantzintla, Puebla, Mexico.



Fig. 101. Unknown artist, *Allegory of the Immaculate Conception*, c. 1675 and 1755, oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Iglesia de Santa María Magdalena, San Martín Texmelucan, Puebla, Mexico.



Fig. 102. Fabian Pérez de Medina, *The Austroseraphic Heavens*, 1712, oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Iglesia de San Francisco, Ayacucho, Peru.



Fig. 103. A. J. Santero, *Retablo of Our Lady of El Pueblito*, 1822, pine, gesso, and water-based pigments, 46 x 35 x 2.3 cm. Spanish Colonial Arts Society, Santa Fe, New Mexico.



Fig. 104. Antonio Onofre Moreno, *True Portrait of the Virgin of El Pueblito*, c. 1761, engraving, 111.5 x 81 mm. Biblioteca Nacional de México, Fondo Reservado, Mexico City.



Fig. 105. Unknown artists, *Nuestra Señora del Pueblito*, 1632-20th century, mixed-media statue, 53 cm (Virgin). Iglesia de San Francisco, El Pueblito (Querétaro), Mexico.



Fig. 106. Miguel Vallejo, *Our Lady of El Pueblito*, oil on canvas, mid-eighteenth century, dimensions unknown. Museo Regional de Querétaro, Querétaro, Mexico.



Fig. 107. Unknown Artist, *Copy of the Ex-Voto of Father Andrés Picazo*, after 1769, oil on canvas, 63.5 x 46 cm. Private Collection, sold at auction by Winter Associates, Inc., October 2016.



Fig. 108. Joseph Mariano Navarro, *True Portrait of the Virgin of El Pueblito*, 1769, engraving, dimensions unknown. Special Collections, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Querétaro, Mexico.



Fig. 109. Unknown artist, *True Portrait of the Virgin of El Pueblito*, oil on canvas, 214 x 157 cm. Santuario de Nuestra Señora del Pueblito, El Pueblito, Mexico.



Fig. 110. Unknown artist, *True Portrait of the Virgin of El Pueblito*, 1776, engraving, unknown dimensions. Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico.



Fig. 111. Unknown artist, *The Virgin of El Pueblito*, late eighteenth century (before 1801), engraving, 118 x 81.5 mm. Biblioteca Nacional de México, Fondo Reservado, Mexico City.



Fig. 112. Eduardo Tresguerras (attrib.), *Nuestra Señora del Pueblito*, c. 1800, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Iglesia de San Francisco, Celaya, Mexico.



Fig. 113. Unknown Artist, *Nuestra Señora del Pueblito*, twentieth or twenty-first century, wood, clay and acrylic paint, unknown dimensions. Iglesia de San Francisco Galileo, Querétaro, Mexico.



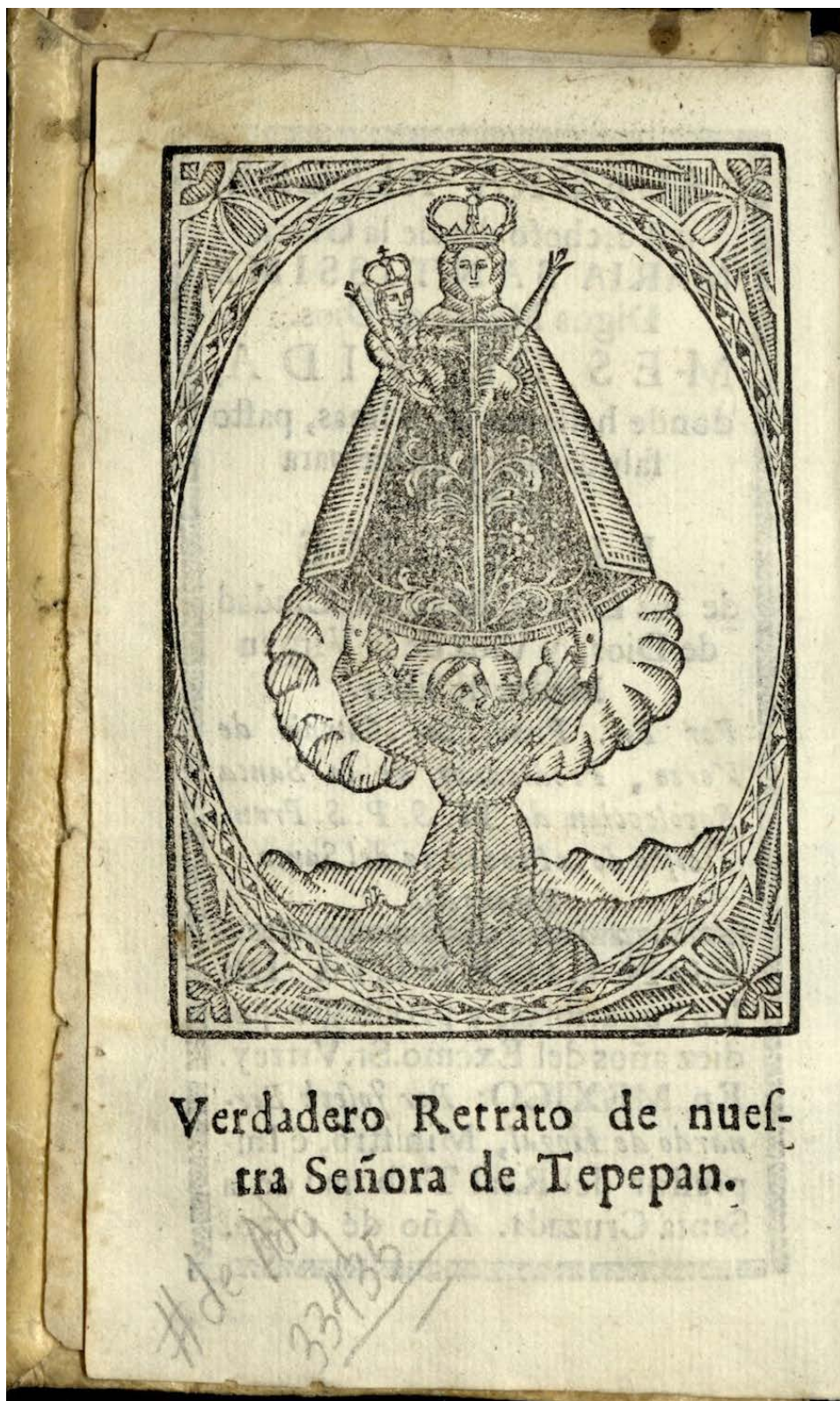
Fig. 114. Manuel Galicia de Villavicencio, *Nuestra Señora de Tepepan?*, 1771, engraving, unknown dimensions. Current location unknown, formerly in the Biblioteca Nacional de México, Mexico City.



Fig. 115. Unknown artist, *The Virgin of Tepepan*, sixteenth century (Virgin and Child) and before 1727 (St. Francis), polychromed alabaster and wood, 57 cm (Virgin) and 64 cm (Francis). Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de la Visitación, Tepepan, Mexico.



Fig. 116. Francisco Sylverio de Sotomayor, *True Portrait of the Miraculous Image of Nuestra Señora de Tepepan*, before 1727, engraving, 87.5 x 62 mm. Biblioteca Nacional de México, Mexico City.



Verdadero Retrato de nuestra Señora de Tepepan.

Fig. 117. Unknown artist, *True Portrait of Our Lady of Tepepan*, 1730, woodcut, 86 x 60.5 mm. Biblioteca Histórica José María Lafragua, Puebla, Mexico.



Fig. 118. Unknown artist, *The Virgin of Tepepan*, mid-18th c., stone, unknown dimensions. Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de la Visitación, Tepepan, Mexico.



Fig. 119. José Mariano Farfán de los Godos, *Nuns Shield with the Assumption of the Virgin*, c. 1770, oil on copper, dimensions unknown. Colección Patricia Phelps de Cisneros, Caracas, Venezuela.



Fig. 120. Unknown Artist, *Escudo de Monja*, mid-18th c., oil on copper, unknown dimensions. Private Collection, Mexico. Source: Virginia Armella de Aspe and Guillermo Tovar de Teresa, *Escudos de monjas novohispanas* (Mexico City: Fernández Cueto, 1993), 57.



Fig. 121. José María Vázquez, *Portrait of Sor María Antonia del Corazón de Jesús*, 1814, oil on canvas, 103 x 80.5 cm. Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico City.



Fig. 122. Unknown Artist, *Escudo de Monja*, mid-18th c., oil on copper, unknown dimensions. Private Collection, Mexico. Source: Virginia Armella de Aspe and Guillermo Tovar de Teresa, *Escudos de monjas novohispanas* (Mexico City: Fernández Cueto, 1993), 20.



Fig. 124. Unknown Artist, *Fray Pedro de Gante and His Flock*, mid-18th c., oil on canvas, detail from right edge of canvas. Museo Nacional de Historia, Mexico City.



Fig. 125. Unknown Artist, *The Austroseraphic Heavens*, eighteenth-century, oil on canvas, 127.5 x 176 cm. National Museum of Mexican Art, Chicago.

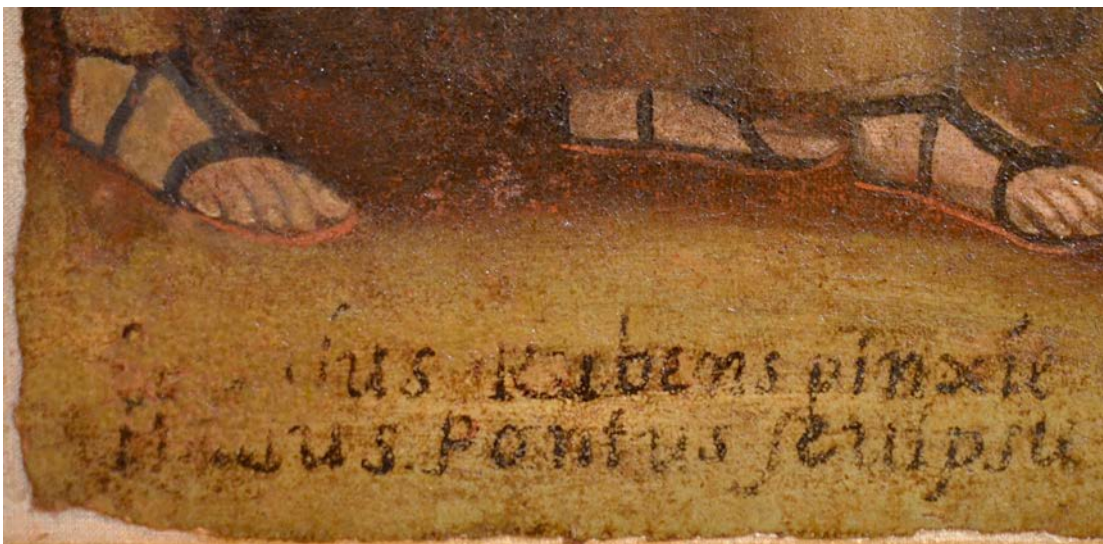


Fig. 126. Unknown Artist, *The Austroseraphic Heavens*, eighteenth-century, oil on canvas, detail from lower left of canvas. National Museum of Mexican Art, Chicago.



Fig. 127. José Joaquín Magón, *Crucifixion*, 1754, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Santuario de Nuestra Señora de Ocotlán, Tlaxcala, Mexico.



Fig. 128. Boëtius Adams Bolswert, after Peter Paul Rubens, *Le coup de Lance*, 1631, engraving, 60.2 x 47 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



Fig. 129. Juan Bernabé Palomino, *The Holy Family*, 1746, etching and engraving, 323 x 214 mm. Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid.

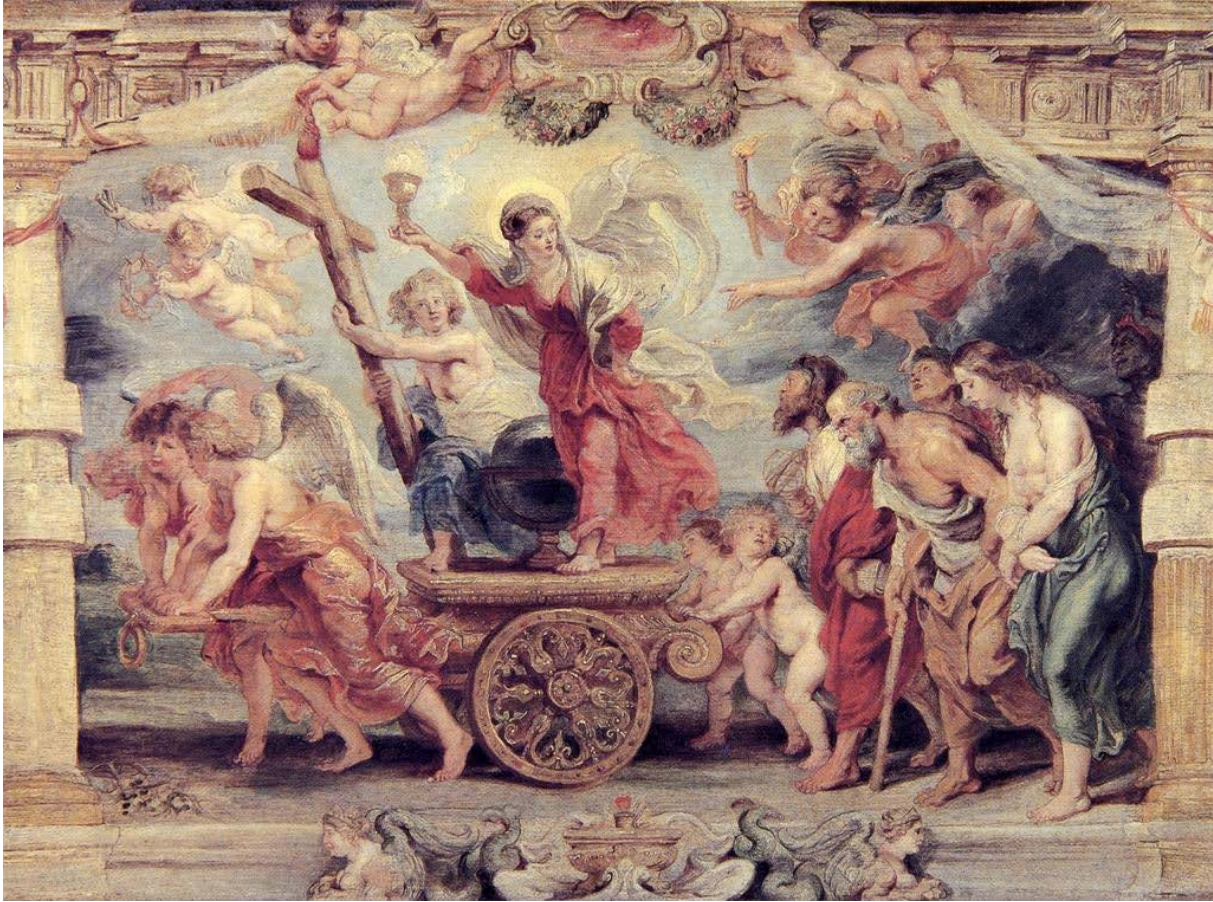


Fig. 130. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Triumph of the Faith*, 1626, oil on panel, 63.5 x 89.5 cm. Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, Belgium.



Fig. 131. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Triumph of the Faith*, 1627, oil on canvas, 481 x 595 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes, France.



Fig. 132. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Triumph of the Faith*, 1627, oil on canvas, detail from center. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes, France.



Fig. 133. Jacob II Geubels, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Triumph of Faith*, 1625-1633, wool and silk, 490 x 660 cm. Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid.



Fig. 134. Nicolaes Lauwers, after Peter Paul Rubens, *Triumph of the Faith*, c. 1647-52, engraving, 1294 x 900 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Fig. 135. Fig. 133. Nicolaes Lauwers, after Peter Paul Rubens, *Triumph of the Faith*, c. 1647-52, engraving, detail from center. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Fig. 136. Theodoor van Thulden, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Arch of the Mint (Front side)*, 1641, etching, 487 x 303 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

