



ART IN SPAIN AND THE HISPANIC WORLD

Essays in Honor of
Jonathan Brown

EDITED BY

SARAH SCHROTH

Paul Holberton publishing
in association with
Center for Spain in America

COPYRIGHT

© 2010 Paul Holberton publishing and Center for Spain in America
Texts © 2010 the authors

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording or any storage or retrieval system, without the prior permission in writing from the copyright holders and publisher.

ISBN 978 1 907372 00 1

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue reference for this book is available from the British Library

Produced by Paul Holberton publishing
89 Borough High Street, London SE1 1NL
www.paul-holberton.net

in association with

CSA
Center for Spain in America

Designed by Laura Parker
Origination and printing by
E-Graphic, Verona, Italy



SARAH SCHROTH

Editor's Foreword

Art in *Spain and the Hispanic World: Essays in Honor of Jonathan Brown* pays homage to the outstanding scholarship, inspiring teaching, and loyal friendship of Jonathan Brown, the Carroll and Milton Petrie Professor of Fine Arts at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. This volume was conceived during the planning for a symposium held in his honor at The Frick Collection and the Institute of Fine Arts in May 2008.¹ Papers by speakers, after revision, are printed here, supplemented with studies in Spanish and Latin American Art by many of Professor Brown's former doctoral students.² Taken together, these constitute the latest research in an area of art history that Jonathan Brown revolutionized by crossing disciplines and applying new methodologies. His innovative perspective on art-making in Spain is evident in each of the essays in this volume.

In his seminal early book, *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting*, Brown set out his vision of what the field needed—a “contextual art history,” which, he wrote, “seeks to place a work of art in the historical-ideological frame of reference in which it was created and to reveal the way in which it expresses ideas in the compressed, charged language of artistic style.”³ Thus he provided a road map for subsequent scholarship in the field (which departed from the previous approach documenting the life and determining the oeuvre of the painter): know the patron and his taste, the surrounding political, social and historical events, understand the complicated structure of the Spanish court, investigate the type of religious institution that commissioned the work, think of it within the wider context of stylistic traditions of European art, discover the iconographical subtleties and understand attitudes revealed in artistic theory of the period.

EDWARD. J. SULLIVAN

Jonathan Brown and Spanish Art History at the Institute of Fine Arts

Some Observations on the ‘Early Period’

The efforts of Jonathan Brown to increase the visibility of Spanish (and, ultimately, New Spanish) art history at New York University have been nothing less than herculean. In the university’s library catalogues there are close to one hundred items that note Jonathan as author, contributor, or dissertation advisor. His prolific intellectual achievements in the fields of Iberian and Latin American art are well known and are referred to throughout this volume. I had the privilege of being the first Institute of Fine Arts student to receive his doctorate in Spanish art history under the tutelage of Jonathan. I wish to make a few introductory remarks here concerning the state of Spanish art history at NYU in the 1970s and the role he played at that time in making the Institute the premier venue in the United States for studying this field.

Jonathan arrived at the Institute from Princeton in the spring semester of 1973 as a visiting professor to teach a seminar on Jusepe de Ribera. He came in a more official capacity in the academic year 1973/74 as Acting Director of the Institute and Associate Professor, and shortly thereafter he was named Director. The Institute of Fine Arts was an institution that had a long-standing engagement with the art of Spain. The IFA’s founder, Walter W. S. Cook, started his tenure in the Department of Fine Arts at Washington Square in 1926. Later (in 1932) he began the graduate program, opening the Institute’s first venue in a brownstone at the corner of Madison Avenue and 83rd St (moving to 17 East 80th Street several

EDWARD J. SULLIVAN

years later and ultimately to Duke House). Cook taught until his retirement in 1953, gathering a stellar cast of mainly European intellectuals to serve as the first corps of professors. A Harvard PhD with an expertise in Romanesque Spanish art, he became a premier authority on, among other subjects, Catalan panel painting.

José López-Rey was first appointed at the Institute in February, 1945. A committed anti-Francoist, he had been persona non grata in Spain for many years and had done a considerable amount of his early work in Paris. Before being allowed to return to Spain he engaged a team of researchers in Madrid to comb the royal archives for information on the artists with whom he was most engaged—Velázquez and Goya—publishing his monumental (and not un-controversial) catalogue raisonné of Velázquez in 1963. López-Rey produced a number of students, including Earl Rosenthal, Eleanor Tufts, William Jordan and Priscilla Muller, all of whom went on to distinguish themselves in the field. Priscilla, López-Rey's research assistant for the Velázquez book, recalls his insistence on close observation of works of art: "He taught us how to look," she stated in a recent conversation. She also underscored his versatility. While teaching Spanish Baroque art López-Rey also gave lecture courses on such topics as nineteenth-century French painters, Cubism, Picasso, and other early modernist masters.

Jonathan revolutionized the study of Spanish art at the IFA. All of his teaching and research efforts were dedicated to the art of Spain and his courses (the subjects of which broadened over time to include the eighteenth century, Goya, and colonial Mexico) were a clear barometer of the pivotal role that the Institute assumed within the world of Iberian art study. When he first arrived I had been a student at the Institute for a semester. Having previously completed an MA in Spanish and Latin American literature, I was hoping to study Spanish medieval painting, a desire quickly thwarted by the resident medievalist at the time. Jonathan's first seminar on Ribera was nothing short of a revelation. Several of the participants (including myself) had spent considerable time in Spain and thus had some cultural familiarity with the material, but Jonathan (who was stimulated in part to study Spanish art by a gift made to him in his youth of a Ribera print by his art-collecting parents Jean and Leonard) greatly expanded our frames of hispanic cultural reference. He went through the artist's life and work with meticulous thoroughness, charting his changes of residence from eastern Spain to Naples and the effects they had, as well as placing Ribera's art within its historical, social and theological contexts in a completely satisfying way. It was immediately apparent to us that Jonathan took the career of this (then) less-than-famous

JOHN H. ELLIOTT

Monarchy and Empire

The Hispanic World of Jonathan Brown[★]

O ver the course of the last forty years Jonathan Brown has done more than anyone to transform our approach to the art of the Hispanic world between the age of El Greco and Velázquez, and that of Goya. This volume of contributions to the symposium in his honor and essays by former students—a volume that testifies to the character and range of his influence—allows me to pay my own tribute to a friend and colleague who has profoundly influenced my own work and the way in which I have come to see the Spanish past. I met him for the first time in the autumn of 1973, just after I had moved from England to the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, when I heard him give a paper on, who else, Velázquez. We soon got talking, and discovered that our interests—mine as a historian and his as an art historian—were meshed and interlocking. In Princeton, we lived more or less round the corner from each other, and out of our many conversations there emerged a project for a major collaborative enterprise, a “total history” of the Buen Retiro, the pleasure-palace built in the 1630s for Philip IV of Spain by his favorite and first minister, the count-duke of Olivares, whose political biography I was writing at the time. The resulting book, *A Palace for a King*, was published in 1980, and reissued in a revised and more lavishly illustrated edition in 2003.¹

Anyone who has been a joint author will know that collaboration is not the easiest of enterprises. Our friendship survived the test, and has deepened with the

JOHN H. ELLIOTT

years. Although I moved back to England in 1990, we remain in close and constant touch. We have been involved in two major exhibitions at the Prado, *The Sale of the Century*, in 2002, on Anglo-Spanish artistic relations in the first half of the seventeenth century, and, in 2005, *Paintings for the Planet King*, based on our reconstruction of the pictorial decoration of the Buen Retiro palace, and particularly that of its central hall, the Hall of Realms.²

All but one of the twenty-seven paintings commissioned for the Hall survive, and are either hanging, or are stored, in the Prado. Over the past quarter of a century we have jointly campaigned, in and out of season, for the restoration of these works to the room for which they were intended, and which was one of the few parts of the Buen Retiro to emerge relatively unscathed from the Napoleonic Wars and their aftermath. For over a century the Hall has served as the Army Museum, and its restoration to something approaching its original appearance constitutes the final part of the current program for the extension and development of the Prado Museum. Our great remaining ambition is to see the reconstruction effected in our lifetimes.

If this happens, it will, I hope, be seen as the logical outcome, and the vindication in visual terms, of an approach to the Hispanic past at which we were both arriving independently before we ever met, but which was both reinforced and enriched by our collaborative enterprise. From the earliest days of my own research career I had a somewhat uninformed interest in the visual and cultural aspects of the history of Habsburg Spain, and indeed my interest in the count-duke of Olivares and his political career was first aroused by Velázquez's great equestrian portrait of him—a portrait that gripped my attention on my very first visit to the Prado as a first-year student at Cambridge University in the summer of 1950 (fig. 1). But it was as a result of my many conversations with Jonathan, and of the research and writing that culminated in *A Palace for a King*, that my eyes were opened to the significance of visual images as documents of the past in their own right, and also to the importance of integrating the history of art and architecture into the wider historical project as a whole.

Art history, like political, social, and intellectual history, has its own traditions and technical requirements, but it also represents one among several possible lines of approach to a past which has for too long been artificially compartmentalized by disciplinary boundary lines. I sensed the need for a more integrated approach to the past as I embarked in the 1950s on the study of seventeenth-century Spain, which I planned to explore from the standpoint of a historian of politics and

MONARCHY AND EMPIRE



Fig. 1
Diego Velázquez,
*Equestrian Portrait of Count-
Duke of Olivares*, 1638
Oil on canvas, 313 × 239 cm.
Museo Nacional del Prado,
Madrid

society. Jonathan seems to have sensed a comparable need to achieve a fuller integration when in the 1960s he embarked, as an art historian, on the study of seventeenth-century Spanish painting. By 1978, when he published his pioneering book, *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting*, an approach that may at first have been implicit was now being explicitly expressed. “The most promising new avenue of approach to the subject,” he writes in the Introduction, “seems to be one that seeks to integrate Spanish Baroque painting with the cultural, social, and political institutions that brought it into being.”³

The fact that, from our very different standpoints, we should have been moving at roughly the same time in a similar direction, is, I think, no coincidence. As far as political, social and economic history was concerned, the French historical school of the *Annales* had a revolutionary impact on the new generation of historians, including myself, which came to maturity in the period following the

PART ONE

Spain: Portraits, Patrons,
and Philosophers

RICHARD L. KAGAN

El Greco's Portraits Reconsidered

It was almost thirty years ago, over dinner in Madrid, that Jonathan Brown asked whether I, as a historian, would have any interest in being involved in exhibition to be called *El Greco of Toledo*. As it happened, I was just then working on various aspects of Toledo's history, and the opportunity to think about the city in relation to its most famous artist was far too tempting to resist. Little did Jonathan imagine that by inviting my participation in this project he would also be taking on another student—myself. I am eternally grateful to him for his historical tutelage and for encouraging me to think about and look at pictures in relation to the historical context in which they were originally produced. And so began a collaboration, and, more importantly, a deep and abiding friendship that endures to this day.

In the 1982 exhibition, Jonathan and I attempted to strip away the myths surrounding El Greco, among them the idea that he was an isolated genius totally caught up in the mystical currents associated with such figures as St. Teresa of Ávila or St. John of the Cross. In its place, we posited the image of an artist who owed his success to a select group of high-minded clerics, nobles, and municipal officials who appreciated his particular brand of highly intellectualized Mannerist art.¹

Since then, a number of scholars, including my friend Fernando Marías, have revised this interpretation by suggesting that El Greco's headstrong personality severely limited his contacts in Toledo. El Greco's patrons, Marías argues, were relatively few, and the number of large scale commissions he landed hardly sufficient to maintain a permanent workshop.² According to this interpretation, El Greco and his

RICHARD L. KAGAN

helpers kept busy by selling the equivalent of mass-produced, off-the-rack religious pictures—mostly saints—to churches, convents, and monasteries in and around the city. In short, El Greco remained a permanent outsider, the quintessential other, more Greek than Toledan, an artist with only a handful of supporters and friends.

In this paper I propose, albeit briefly, to carve through this particular controversy by suggesting that the artist's success in Toledo—and to a lesser degree, in nearby Madrid—depended primarily upon his skills as a portraitist. This success, I will argue, rested upon his ability to execute portraits that were not only artistically innovative but also especially designed to appeal to sectors of Toledan society previously unaccustomed to seeing themselves on canvas.³

Of key importance here are two factors, one artistic, the other sociological. In terms of art, El Greco brought with him to Spain an Italian tradition of portraiture that resembled what Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo defined as “intellectual portraits” that portrayed “reality not as we see it, but as it ought to be seen.”⁴ Translated into the artistic practice of the day, this meant El Greco was less interested in *imitatio* than *inventio*, or painting what the artist interprets reality to be. El Greco's own thoughts on this issue can be found in his commentaries on Vitruvius where he writes that a painter should not attempt to reproduce reality but rather, using his own sense of judgment—*juicio*—to transform that reality into something more beautiful—*hermosura*—a technique that resulted in the elongated figures, or *figure serpentine*, characteristically found in El Greco's religious pictures.⁵ *Juicio* also influenced El Greco's portraits, which, in his opinion, needed to do more than produce an exact physical likeness. Rather they were supposed to convey a glimpse of what Pliny had called the sitter's *anima*, or what Leonardo da Vinci described as “the movements of the mind.” El Greco referred to the psychological dimension of portraiture with such words as *vida* and *grazia*. It follows that El Greco was very critical of those artists whose figures failed to conform to his notions of both *sveltezza* and *grazia*.⁶

Just who these artists were El Greco does not say, but he was probably referring to his fellow painters in Toledo, such as Luis de Velasco and Blas de Prado, most of whom, trained as they were in a Flemish tradition of painting that privileged both imitation and a sense of stateliness or decorum, frowned on the kind of artistic license advocated by El Greco. Miguel Falomir has also suggested that the majority of sixteenth-century Spanish artists were not inclined to paint secular portraits, and in doing so abandoned that particular field to a succession of foreigners who, starting at the end of the fifteenth century, virtually monopolized portrait

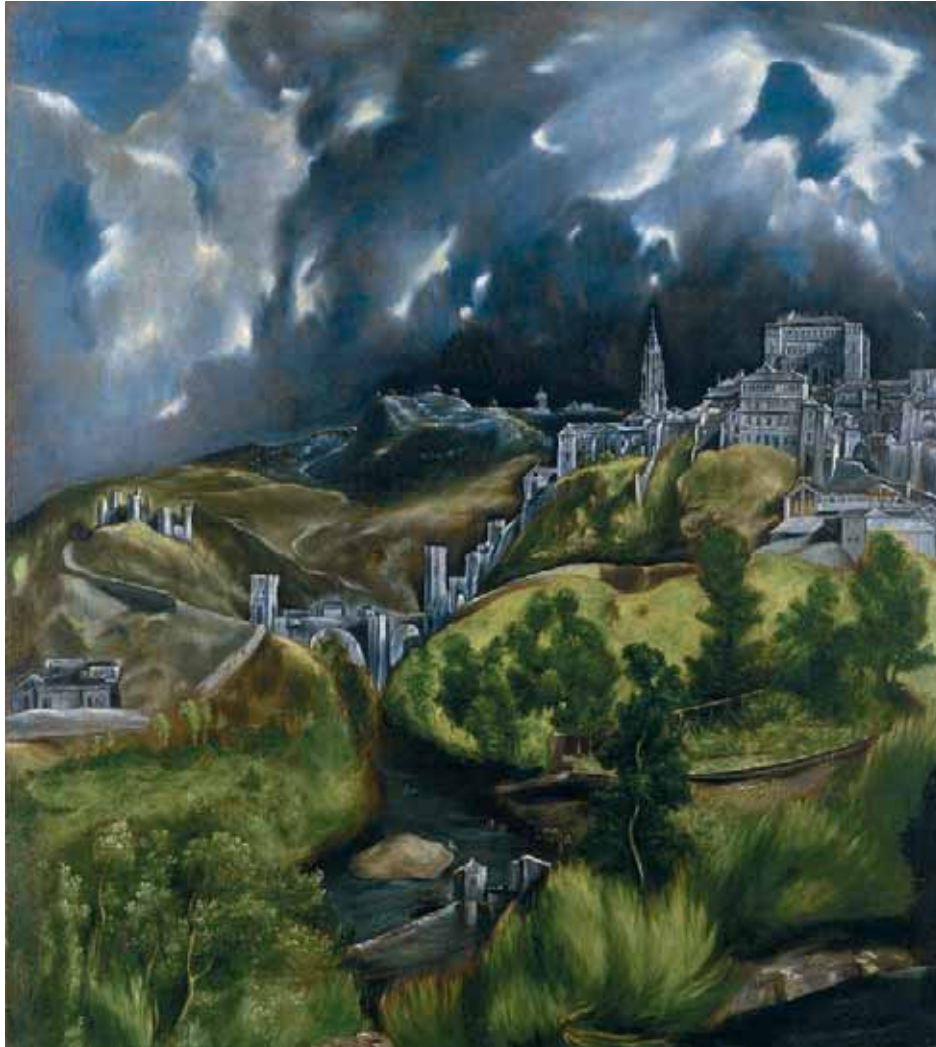


Fig. 1 El Greco, *View of Toledo*, c. 1600
Oil on canvas, 121.3 × 108.6 cm., H.O. Havemeyer Collection,
Bequest of Mrs. H.O. Havemeyer, 1929, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

painting at the royal court.⁷ It was much the same in Toledo, where a series of portraits of that city's archbishops was initially entrusted to the Flemish artist, Juan de Borgoña.⁸ Otherwise, the only portraits produced in Toledo—and the same is true for most other cities in sixteenth-century Spain—occurred within an expressly religious context, either as funerary effigies or donor portraits. It follows that

JESÚS ESCOBAR

Architecture and Justice at the Court of Philip IV

Madrid's Cárcel de Corte, or Court Prison, is one of the best surviving monuments built during the reign of the Spanish Habsburg king, Philip IV (r. 1621–1665). Better known today as the Palacio de Santa Cruz, the building has served for the past century as the seat of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (fig. 1).¹ In the seventeenth century, the Court Prison had holding cells as its original name implies, but served other functions, too. Most importantly, it housed tribunals that were essential to the administration of justice in Madrid. This essay examines the building's design and ornament as a reflection of good government during the reign of Philip IV, an era that has been illuminated by Jonathan Brown's contributions to the history of Spanish art. The expense of Madrid's Court Prison was considerable and assumed during trying economic times for the Spanish monarchy. Thus, the sumptuousness of the building's decorative program, seen especially on the façade portal, is worthy of careful analysis with regard to its intended meaning for visitors, inmates, and passersby alike. As I will illustrate, the Court Prison proclaimed to seventeenth-century Madrileños a message about justice, which is represented by classical architecture, gilded balconies and windows, royal arms, and, most notably, an archangel perched high above the skyline of the city.

Since its selection as court of the Spanish Habsburg monarchy in 1561, Madrid had undergone one of the most dramatic social and demographic transformations of any major city in the early modern period. The physical results of



Marian piety illuminated most recently by Jeffrey Schrader.⁷ But the church was also built to appease the Catalan population during bellicose times.

Of government buildings in seventeenth-century Madrid, the Court Prison, built between 1629 and 1643, was a formidable presence and an exceptional work of civic architecture (figs. 1 and 4).⁸ Its elegance in design led observers to believe it could not have been a prison, except perhaps for the nobility. The words of a corrupt accountant from Toledo imprisoned in 1637, however, illustrate that conditions inside were not befitting a grandee's lifestyle.⁹ The wayward number-cruncher, Diego de la Cruz, was confined to a new cell whose windows were boarded up. The room is "so dark and sad," de la Cruz writes in 1637, "it causes me much melancholy and disconsolation."

In his map of Madrid, Pedro Teixeira depicts the Court Prison and its environs from the rear with a glimpse into its two patios, and a clear view of its framing towers that front the Plaza de Provincia as well as the slate-covered dome and lantern of the prison's chapel, which does not survive (fig. 5). The building's portal, not evident from the vantage point Teixeira takes for his map, is the most distinctive element of the façade's five-part composition, as can be appreciated in fig. 1. Two towers with fanciful turrets anchor the building and frame the two wings on either side of the portal. The building is constructed largely of brick,

STEVEN N. ORSO

On Ribera and the “Beggar-Philosophers”

One of the signal achievements of the Spanish painter Jusepe de Ribera (1591–1652) was his development and popularization of a distinctive pictorial subject: the “beggar-philosopher.” In numerous pictures of this type—both works by his own hand, and works produced under his direction by his studio assistants—Ribera presented ancient philosophers as rough, plebeian figures dressed in tattered garments, pursuing their intellectual inquiries with neither benefit of, nor concern for, material comforts of any sort. This approach was a conscious choice on his part, for his earliest depictions of philosophers do not feature the striking impoverishment for which the subsequent beggar-philosophers are known. What inspired Ribera to change his approach to this subject, and what did he intend his later, more novel conception of the ancient sages to express?

A clue to the thinking behind the evolution of Ribera’s philosophers may lie in the subtle change in characterization seen when comparing two of his paintings of the ancient Greek sage Democritus, the “laughing philosopher” who reacted to the follies of mankind with mirth (as opposed to Heraclitus, the “weeping philosopher” whom the follies of mankind moved to tears). An early *Democritus* (fig. 1) in a private collection depicts the philosopher as a white-haired, smiling old man standing in raking light between a table and a plain backdrop.¹ A few generic props—the paper he holds and the pen, inkwell, and book lying close at hand—suggest his activity pursuing the life of the mind. His wrinkled skin has the coppery tonality seen



Fig. 1 Jusepe de Ribera, *Democritus*, c. 1615
Oil on canvas, 102 × 76 cm., Private collection, London

ON RIBERA AND THE “BEGGAR-PHILOSOPHERS”

in many of Ribera’s early figures, and the painting is generally dated to the artist’s Roman years before he moved to Naples in 1616. Later in conception is the better-known *Democritus* (fig. 2) in the Prado, which Ribera signed and dated in 1630.² Here, too, the philosopher stands in raking light between a table and a plain backdrop. This time his grin is broader, his complexion is ruddier and less metallic, and the blackness of his thinning hair suggests we see him at a younger age than in the first painting. In this instance the philosopher’s props are books, papers, and a compass.

What may be the most significant difference, however, is a change in costume. The earlier *Democritus* wears garments that appear clean and intact, with each piece of his ensemble cut from a fabric of a single color—red, brown, black, and white. The later *Democritus* wears tattered, patchwork garments with fraying edges. Their drab, brown and gray coloring leaves the viewer wondering to what extent they are soiled as well. The earlier version of the philosopher appears to have taken some care about how he has dressed—certainly more so than the later version, who seems oblivious to his ragged, shabby appearance. It is this later *Democritus* who typifies Ribera’s “beggar-philosophers”; indeed, to the extent that Ribera’s paintings of learned ancients can be dated, the *Democritus* of 1630 is among the first, if not the first, of that distinctive breed.³

The Influence of Seneca?

What could have prompted Ribera to shift his conception of Democritus from what we might term a “middle-class” or “working-class philosopher” to a “beggar-philosopher”? One possibility is that Ribera was responding to the characterization of Democritus by another ancient thinker, the Roman Stoic philosopher Lucius Annaeus Seneca. It has long been noted that Seneca was a source for identifying Democritus as the “laughing philosopher” and Heraclitus as the “weeping philosopher.” In his moral essay “On Anger,” Seneca writes:

Whenever Heraclitus went forth from his house and saw all around him so many men who were living a wretched life—no, rather, were dying a wretched death—he would weep, and all the joyous and happy people he met stirred his pity; he was gentle-hearted, but too weak, and was himself one of those who had need of pity. Democritus, on the other hand, it is said, never appeared in public without laughing; so little did the serious pursuits of men seem serious to him. Where in all this is there room for anger? Everything gives cause for either laughter or tears.⁴

ELLEN PROKOP

Painting from Memory

A Pietà by Fray Juan Ricci

An addition to the oeuvre of Fray Juan Ricci (1600–1681), a Pietà in the collection of the Hospital de la Venerable Orden Tercera in Madrid (figs. 1 and 3),¹ offers unexpected insight into some of the devotional aspects of his artistic production. When reviewing surviving examples of Ricci's religious paintings, the modern viewer is frequently disappointed by the artist's stiff compositions and occasionally uncertain expression of anatomy. Yet his religious works are not the inferior efforts of a mediocre painter. A complete survey of Ricci's artistic achievements, including the exceptional anatomical drawings that illustrate his most famous artistic treatise, *La pintura sabia*,² clearly attests to his talent (figs. 6–8). Issues other than the artist's ability and command of anatomy must be at play.

Ricci frequently painted the protagonists of his religious works from memory, a technique that literally involved idealization.³ As noted by Mary Pardo, developing and accessing this faculty was an established technique for the early modern artist.⁴ This approach to artistic production certainly was not innovative; art theorists had celebrated for centuries the “divine” creative powers of the artist that allowed him to conceive and perfect his human subject. The masters of the High Renaissance and their Baroque successors re-worked their sources, whether they were living, painted, printed, or sculpted, as they captured them on paper or translated them to canvas, drawing upon their memory, the



Fig. 1 Here attributed to Fray Juan Ricci, *Pietà*, c. 1648–49 or 1659–62
Oil on canvas, 182.9 × 99 cm., Hospital de la Venerable Orden Tercera, Madrid

LISA A. BANNER

Francisco Bayeu's Drawing of the Dove of the Holy Spirit for El Pilar

After receiving the commission from King Charles III, Francisco Bayeu arrived at Zaragoza on May 10, 1775, with drawings and painted sketches (*bocetos*) for the frescoed ceilings at the basilica of Nuestra Señora del Pilar in Zaragoza.¹ To decide the iconography, Bayeu asked that a committee be formed, including the Canon Matías Allué, Bayeu's friend Carlos Salas, and another religious official.² Although the program would be approved and defined by the religious authorities at the basilica, the artist had already begun sketching his ideas for the commission as early as December 14, 1774, and over the next two years made hundreds of drawings.³ According to Francisco Goya, who wrote to Canon Allué at the basilica on March 1, 1775, his brother-in-law "worked incessantly on the studies and sketches for the painting" of the commissioned vault.⁴ One of these studies, executed on blue paper with black and white chalk (fig. 1), is a preparatory drawing for the magnificent dove of the Holy Spirit that occupies the center of Bayeu's *Regina Angelorum* of 1775–76 on the ceiling of El Pilar.⁵

An especially holy place for Spanish Catholics, the basilica of Nuestra Señora de El Pilar was built over the supposed site of the appearance of the Virgin Mary to St. James in Zaragoza on January 2, in the year 40; the jasper pillar on which the Virgin is said to have appeared to St. James remains in the basilica.⁶ After significant expansion and renovation of the seventeenth-century building by architect Ventura Rodríguez, the Cathedral chapter (Cabildo) of Zaragoza needed a new



Fig. 1 Francisco Bayeu, *Dove of the Holy Spirit*, Preparatory drawing for the fresco *Regina Angelorum*, Basilica de Nuestra Señora del Pilar, Zaragoza, c. 1775–76, black and white chalk on blue laid paper, 32 × 52.8 cm. Gift of the Baroness von Pantz, 1972, The Hispanic Society of America, New York

painting program to underscore its refreshed splendor. Francisco Bayeu's project for the decoration entailed a series of ceiling frescoes depicting the Virgin Mary as praised in the *Litania Lauretania* as Queen of Angels, Queen of Apostles, Queen of Prophets, Queen of All Saints (*Regina Angelorum*, *Regina Apostolorum*, *Regina Prophetarum*, *Regina Sanctorum Omnium*). An adjacent fresco depicting the Virgin as *Regina Martyrum*, or Queen of Martyrs, was completed in 1781 by Bayeu's brother-in-law, the young Francisco Goya, and a further three frescoes, *Regina Virginum*, *Regina Confessorum*, and *Regina Patriarchum* were completed by Francisco's brother, Ramón Bayeu, also in 1781.⁷

Francisco Bayeu referred to his sketches in a letter to Canon Allué written on March 10, 1775: "I am finishing two designs for the ceilings of Nuestra Señora and, after Easter, am determined to come to Zaragoza."⁸ Directly above the shrine of the pillar, Bayeu painted the fresco depicting the Virgin Mary as *Regina Angelorum* being crowned Queen of Angels by God the Father and Christ, for which he first

REVA WOLF

Goya's "Red Boy"

The Making of a Celebrity

In 1943, Harry B. Wehle, a curator at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, proclaimed that Francisco Goya's portrait of Don Manuel Osorio de Zúñiga (fig. 1) "is so popular among American art lovers as to require no comment."¹ Indeed, Goya's painting of the strikingly delicate young boy had enjoyed an enthusiastic audience since shortly after its arrival in the United States nearly two decades earlier. Its very fame was considered noteworthy, not only for Wehle, but for numerous other commentators as well. Already in 1931, one writer described the portrait as "much reproduced," while three years later, another remarked that it was "often exhibited."² Just one year after Wehle's assessment, yet another observer noted that this painting, along with a portrait by Holbein owned by the same collector, the banker Jules S. Bache, had "long been favorites of the public."³ Decades later, and having entered the collection of the Metropolitan Museum, Goya's portrait retained its star status. According to a well-known history of the museum published in the 1980s, "judging from the sale of postcard reproductions of this picture in the museum bookstore, it is the Metropolitan's most popular painting."⁴ To fully appreciate how Goya's portrait acquired its extraordinary popularity, we must turn to the interactions between Bache and the legendary art dealer who sold Bache the portrait, Joseph Duveen. Within these interactions is a fascinating story of the promotion of a singular painting.

The History of an Acquisition

The story begins with Duveen's acquisition of this painting from the French playwright Henry Bernstein in 1925 and his sale of it to Bache in the following year.⁵ When Bernstein privately put the painting on the market in Paris, Duveen, in competition with Agnew's of London, acted quickly to acquire it. Working closely with his Paris office, run by Edward Fowles and Armand Lowengard, and negotiating with urgency and excitement, Duveen, in New York, closed the deal within five days, between November 18 and 22. From the outset, Duveen and his associates believed they had hit upon something truly special. In the first cable about the picture, sent from Paris to New York on November 18, it was described as "one of the most charming pictures we have ever seen by master."⁶ On November 19, another dispatch repeated these same words, noting in addition that "[b]oth of us [Fowles and Lowengard] are very fond of it," and that it is "full of color."⁷ The following day, Duveen received a more pressing message: "Telegraph immediately your views as we may have to take immediate decision as certainly another high offer was made by someone if Gerald [Agnew] has not offered more than 10 [thousand Pounds Sterling]."⁸ Two days later, on November 22, a Paris-New York cable delivered the news that Duveen had succeeded in acquiring the Goya.⁹ Soon, another Paris-New York cable reported that the Goya had arrived at the Paris offices of Duveen—"picture delightful."¹⁰ A dispatch of November 27 conveyed more fully the appeal of Goya's portrait:

It is remarkable in composition and technique, and the subject is most delightful. The picture is full of colour and amusing details. The young boy is quaint and attractive. The picture is signed and dated and ought to be a great success.¹¹

Soon the picture was restored and shipped to New York, where in early November 1926 Duveen sold it to Bache for \$160,000.¹²

Although Bache purchased Goya's portrait and displayed it in his home, it was his daughter, Kathryn Bache Miller—known familiarly as Kitty—who seems to have provided the impetus for this acquisition. Her attachment to the portrait is an intriguing chapter in the story of its celebrity. In his compelling book on Duveen, S. N. Behrman claims that Kitty Miller decided she wanted this picture after having seen it in Duveen's gallery.¹³ Behrman's claim is corroborated in a letter of 1930 that Kitty's mother, Florence Bache (who was divorced from Jules



Fig. 1 Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *Manuel Osorio Manrique de Zúñiga*, c. late 1780s–early 1790s
Oil on canvas, 127 × 101.6 cm.
Jules Bache Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

ROBERT S. LUBAR

“Picasso’s Dark Mirror”★

Look at [Las Meninas], and try to find where each of [the figures] is actually situated. Velázquez can be seen in the picture, whereas in reality, he must be standing outside it. He is turning his back to the Infanta who at first glance we would expect to be his model. He faces a large canvas on which he seems to be at work but it has its back to us and we have no idea what he is painting. The only solution is that he is painting the king and queen, who are only to be seen by their reflection in the mirror at the far end of the room. This implies, incidentally, that if we see them in the mirror, they are not looking at Velázquez, but at us. Velázquez therefore is not painting Las Meninas. The girls have gathered around him not to pose but to see his picture of the king and queen with us standing beside them.

PICASSO TO ROLAND PENROSE, 1958¹

The Artist and his Studio

A network of vectors fans out across the surface of Picasso’s monumental canvas, *The Studio*, of 1927–28 (fig. 1). Positioned within a geometric lattice that links the objects of the composition—to the left, a painter at his easel; in the middle foreground, a plaster bust and a bowl filled with fruit on a tabletop; to the right, a window; and at top center, two frames hanging on a wall—these sight lines direct the viewer’s gaze across the frontal plane of the picture, defining a series of semantic associations and spatial relationships. The angle of the compotier runs parallel to that of the socle on which the plaster bust rests, while its outer limit forms an orthogonal that runs from the right edge of the red



Fig. 1 Pablo Picasso, *The Studio*, winter 1927–28, oil on canvas, 149.9 × 231.2 cm.
Gift of Walter P. Chrysler, Museum of Modern Art, New York

tablecloth to the lower right corner of the background painting, or frame, that hangs on the wall. The left edge of the tablecloth runs parallel to the line demarcating the frontal plane of the artist's body, defined by a rudimentary triangle that is flush with the surface of the canvas, while a second triangular area signifies the figure's extension into depth. The position of the artist is implicated in the space of the studio before him: his *doppelgänger* is present in the form of the plaster bust that sits on the table, while the enclosed yellow frame that demarcates the space in which he works—a kind of picture within the picture—is repeated in one of the rectangular objects that hangs on the back wall. Only the artist's brush, which runs parallel to the angle of the fruit bowl, violates this boundary; it encroaches upon the space of the studio and thereby collapses the distance between art and nature, representation and the real. All surface, Picasso's composition expands laterally from left to right, demarcating an inscribed tableau that must be *read* as much as it demands to be *looked at*. In this *mise-en-scène* of the studio as master site of representation, the position of the artist and the objects of his gaze remain conceptually and spatially ambiguous.

ALEXANDER VERGARA

Patinir and the Art Market

“Look, logo, and knock-off”

Studies of Netherlandish paintings from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the last decades have highlighted the importance of the market both for the way paintings were produced and sold, and for the emergence of new genres. The most important outcome of the recent research project devoted to Joachim Patinir in the Museo Nacional del Prado was to look at the artist from the same viewpoint.¹ In this paper I will summarize the ways in which issues that are key within the artist’s career and work, such as why he became a specialist in painting landscapes and why so many variants exist of his works, come into sharper focus when considered within the context of the marketplace.

Patinir was born in either Dinant or Namur, two neighboring towns on opposite sides of the river Meuse, in what is now southeastern Belgium,² but he is first documented as a painter in Antwerp, in 1515. As far as we know, that is where all his professional activity took place until his death, which probably occurred shortly before June 1524. The first task therefore is to know exactly what we mean by marketplace when talking about Antwerp during Patinir’s lifetime.

Antwerp in the first decades of the sixteenth century is best described as a boomtown. The city had undergone a demographic explosion, and lived an era of prosperity. Around 1500 Antwerp had a population of about 40,000, and was the largest city in the Netherlands, having overtaken Bruges. The growth that the city experienced in the following years was spectacular, reaching 100,000 by about 1560:



Fig. 1 Joachim Patinir, *Charon crossing the River Styx*, c. 1520–24
Oil on panel, 64 × 103 cm., Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

green and the foreground has areas of brown color. In the distance are mountains, and closer to the viewer we typically find large rock formations. Large bodies of water are present in the scenes, and often extend perpendicularly from foreground to background. While the landscape is seen from above, and at an angle, vertical elements in the painting are seen straight on. Small animals, houses, boats, and other such elements appear throughout the picture. Several figures are always present in these paintings, enacting a story, nearly always taken from the history of religion. Sometimes the figures are all small or fairly small. In other cases a main figure or group of figures is rather large and prominent. In every case the landscape occupies most of the space of the painting, and is much larger in comparison to the figures than what had been common in previous paintings.

Only some of the abundant examples of paintings that follow this formula can be attributed to Patinir (for example, figs. 1–2). Others are too distant from his known originals to be associated directly with him or with his workshop (there are dozens of paintings that fit into this category, in museums as well as in private hands).²⁵

As a result of this abundance of Patinir lookalikes, the creative personality of the master is somewhat muddled. In a conversation with Jonathan Brown during one of his visits to Madrid with his wife Sandra, he mapped out for me, in a

PATRICK LENAGHAN

“It shall all be Roman”

Early Patrons of Italian Renaissance Tombs in Spain

As Spain entered the sixteenth century, patrons building funerary monuments made a dramatic decision: they turned away from the Gothic style practiced locally and adopted that of the Italian Renaissance. Elsewhere, I proposed that one continuous workshop under a succession of sculptors—Domenico Fancelli, Bartolomé Ordóñez, and Pietro Aprile—had carved these tombs.¹ Where scholars had previously considered the monuments separately, I argued that after the first one appeared in Toledo, Spaniards turned to that atelier for almost all subsequent projects in the next twenty years. Although the hypothesis explains aspects of the works’ history more coherently, it does little to elucidate the patrons’ motives. In fact, their decision has greater significance since it established a fashion and even a preference for a particular workshop. The logistics and costs involved meant such projects were only undertaken after careful consideration. One had to find an artist, and initially this entailed a search in Italy. Next the sculptor had to secure marble from Carrara because such stone was not readily available in Spain. Then he would carve the tomb in Italy and finally, ship and install it. These considerations only underscore how serious the first patrons were in their commitment to the style and how remarkable this moment was as a turning point in Spanish art history.

Three figures stand out as “importers” of Renaissance monuments: the count of Tendilla, King Ferdinand, and King Charles V. They did not, however,

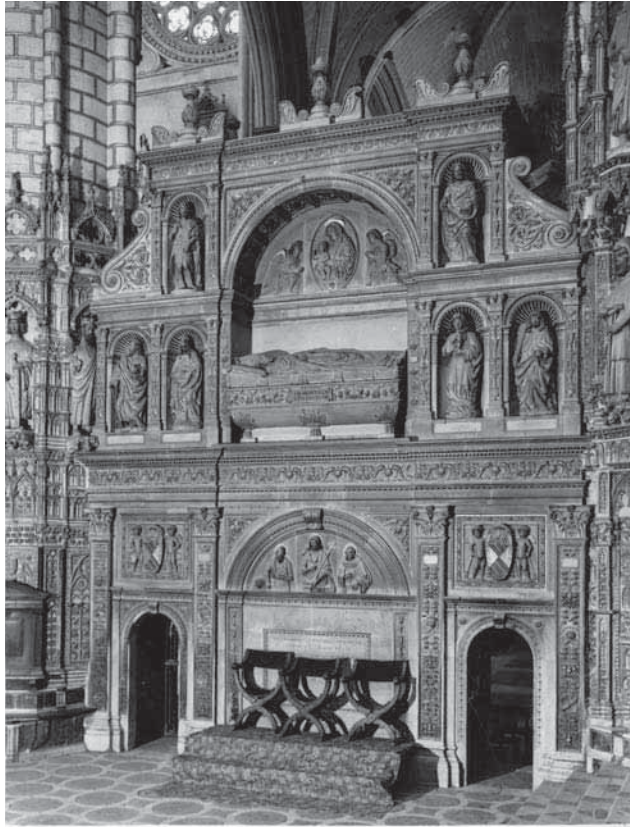


Fig. 1
Domenico Fancelli, Vasco
de la Zarza, and Toledan
school, *Tomb of Cardinal
Pedro González de Mendoza*
(viewed from capilla
mayor), 1503–08
Alabaster
Toledo Cathedral

choose the new style for its evocation of classical antiquity or references to humanist culture; nor can they be considered as learned figures who wished solely to make an aesthetic statement. Instead, they reached their decision out of a combination of personal politics and coincidence. To understand their motives, one needs to examine them in a broader historical and cultural context. What scholars study today as patronage, the construction of buildings and the commissioning of painting and sculpture, comprised only one part of a nobleman's obligations, and it was not necessarily the most important one. He therefore weighed the cost of these projects carefully against all other expenses, such as *mercedes* (rewards to clients), dowries for daughters, and maintenance of an appropriately noble lifestyle. Consequently, he would evaluate artistic undertakings in terms of social considerations: how they corresponded to his public responsibilities and whether their visual magnificence would confer prestige on him by revealing his liberality and preeminent social position.

ANDALEEB BADIEE BANTA

A Commission Gone Awry

Bernardo Strozzi's Frescoes in the Palazzo Lomellino, Genoa*

Bernardo Strozzi (1581/82–1644), one of the most successful and innovative painters active in early seventeenth-century Genoa, is not customarily known for his fresco work. His formidable talent handling a brush is eminently recognizable in his paintings on canvas, exceptional examples of which appear in many American and European collections. Given the large number, high quality, and multiple versions of Strozzi's paintings on canvas, it is not surprising that his efforts in fresco have been treated as secondary. Strozzi's contemporary biographer Raffaele Soprani (1612–1672) expends merely two sentences on his knowledge of the artist's works in fresco, listing only three of the six cycles that Strozzi executed during a period of roughly ten years.¹ Carlo Giuseppe Ratti's later additions in 1768–69 to Strozzi's biography restored two more projects to his oeuvre,² but Soprani's cursory treatment of the artist's career as a frescoist initiated an enduring characterization of Strozzi as primarily an easel painter. Several modern scholars have incorporated Strozzi's frescoes into their discussions of his entire career,³ but a focused, comprehensive study remains to be written.⁴ This oversight may, understandably, have to do with the fact that only three of the six recorded commissions survive in varying states of conservation today. Yet, the re-emergence earlier this decade of one of his most unique and problematic fresco cycles has refocused attention on Strozzi's activities as a decorative painter.



A three-room series of frescoes in Palazzo Lomellino on the Strada Nuova in Genoa was an entirely new discovery in 2000.⁵ Commissioned in 1623 by the Genoese nobleman Luigi Centurione (1597–1659), the Lomellino frescoes were not mentioned by Soprani, Ratti, or in any other historical sources. For decades, the documents for this commission, published in 1983 by the great archivist-priest Luigi Alfonso, were the only clues to its existence.⁶ Although the artist left them incomplete and they suffered considerable damage in the intervening centuries, these frescoes remain Strozzi's most clearly documented commission, albeit one that was fraught with difficulties.

The rediscovery of this cycle has engendered a number of attempts to decipher the meaning of the frescoes' subject and to place them within the context of Genoese history and artistic production.⁷ These efforts have been fruitful and continue to raise further questions about Strozzi's sources and the patron's intentions. This essay, however, will focus on a different aspect of this fresco cycle. Perhaps because the published documentation for this commission provides a relatively complete picture of the events that transpired up to the project's unfortunate end,

LISA A. ROTMIL

Understanding Piety and Religious Patronage

The Case of Anne of Austria and the Val-de-Grâce

Today, as in the seventeenth century, the church and convent of the Val-de-Grâce in Paris (fig. 1) stand as the culmination of Queen Anne of Austria's artistic patronage.¹ Anne of Austria served France as regent from 1643–51.² She was the wife of Louis XIII, mother of Louis XIV, daughter-in-law of Marie de Médicis, granddaughter of Philip II, daughter of Philip III, and sister of Philip IV. She was raised and surrounded by Spanish and French monarchs who were great patrons and collectors. Yet, most studies of the Val-de-Grâce, do not discuss the monument as the queen's project. Rather, aspects of the commission have been examined primarily as part of the *oeuvre* of the various architects, painters, and sculptors who worked on the complex.³ Even those studies that focus on the monument in its entirety do not discuss Anne of Austria's intentions.⁴ Yet the construction and the decoration of the Val-de-Grâce was Anne's largest commission.⁵ Surely, this project, which was primarily planned during the years of her regency, had significance for the queen and the court. Analyzing this project in terms of its patron's aims will afford new insights into previously unexplored areas.

Anne of Austria led a devout life. She prayed often and attended Mass regularly. She was charitable, confessed frequently, and surrounded herself with pious individuals. Religious observance constituted a significant portion of her daily life. She supported numerous religious institutions in France.⁶ Her direct involvement



Fig. 1
Val-de-Grâce, Paris

with the Benedictine convent of the Val-de-Grâce dates from 1621, after the convent was moved to Paris by royal order.⁷ From then the Val-de-Grâce became the primary site of Anne's religious observance. She usually visited the convent twice a week, dining with the members of the order on Fridays. During the holidays she would remain at the convent for a few days, staying overnight in her private rooms.⁸ Following her investiture as regent in 1643, Anne commissioned a new church complex, in fulfillment of a vow she had made before Louis XIV was born.⁹ The monument, which was largely completed before her death in 1666, was composed of a church, convent, two royal apartments, and a royal tomb. The queen's personal involvement with the project has never been doubted. Claude Dulong notes that Anne met with François Mansart in her apartment at the Val-de-Grâce to review the plans he had drawn.¹⁰ There is evidence that she discussed aspects of the commission with Gianlorenzo Bernini and that Pierre Mignard showed her the *modello* for the cupola on August 11, 1663.¹¹ Amédée Boinet states

PART THREE

Colonial Art in Latin America

CLARA BARGELLINI

Painting for Export in Mexico City in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

We are accustomed to thinking of the New World as a place that imported artworks from Europe, especially paintings, in significant numbers. Indeed, the fact is irrefutable. What is also true, however, and much less known, is that after 1600, Mexico City, the capital of New Spain, was exporting large quantities of paintings to the rest of the viceroyalty, and would eventually send them even to other Spanish territories. The exports would continue for 200 years, thus replicating the polarity of center-periphery (Europe-New World) within the New World itself, with Mexico City as the center and much of the rest of the viceroyalty as periphery. I became aware of the extent of this phenomenon while studying the art and architecture of the Franciscan and Jesuit missions in what is now northern Mexico and southwestern United States.¹ Despite the enormous distances from the capital, the difficulty of access to some areas, and the vicissitudes of time, there are still some remarkable colonial paintings throughout what was once northern New Spain. In contrast to some objects at the former missions, these canvases were generally not produced locally or even regionally, with many signed by artists from Mexico City. This paper examines two classes of paintings that were regularly exported northward from Mexico City in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One type was part of a relatively standard process of production; the second involved the creation of a particular kind of painting made specifically for export.

There were three main campaigns of mission activity in northern New Spain. First, Franciscans from Mexico City went north to New Mexico in the late sixteenth century. The Jesuits were active in the northwest from 1592 until their expulsion in 1767. Beginning in the late seventeenth century, the Franciscans from the Colleges of Propaganda Fide at Querétaro, Zacatecas and Mexico City went west, north, and northeast. After 1767, they also replaced the Jesuits at many of their former missions in the northwest. Finally, they founded the missions of Upper California between 1769 and Mexican independence in the 1820s. I shall consider first the Franciscan efforts, and then concentrate on the Jesuits in the northwest.

Paintings for Worship

Basic provisions for missions were supplied systematically. Besides liturgical objects, vestments, musical instruments, books and tools, paintings of patron saints were invariably part of initial shipments to northern missions from Mexico City. These paintings were considered indispensable for worship and were thus provided for by royal funds, and identified as “*del rey*” in inventories.² We have detailed information concerning these paintings for the Franciscan missions in New Mexico at their initial founding,³ and after their 1692 re-founding, subsequent to the Pueblo revolt.⁴ None of the early seventeenth-century images in either painting or sculpture survive, but we know that they were of very good quality. Indeed, one was a painting of Sts. Anthony and Diego, sent in 1614 by the viceroy, Diego Fernández de Córdoba, marqués de Guadalcázar. It was registered as having been painted by “Manuel de Chaves,”⁵ which is probably none other than Manuel de Echave, the son of the famous Baltasar de Echave Orío.⁶ The existence of works by Luis Juárez in Zacatecas, probably from a 1625 altarpiece for the first Jesuit church there,⁷ and two paintings possibly by Sebastián López de Arteaga at the cathedral of Durango, are indicative of the quality of works that were sent north from Mexico City in the first half of the seventeenth century. At the end of the century, between 1692 and 1696, the viceroy, conde de Galve, sent standard supplies to twenty-two new or reconstructed missions in New Mexico, and these again included a painting for each site. Since a few of these canvases do survive, or can be seen in old photographs, and they are painted by Juan Correa, it is reasonable to assume that in the 1690s the missions were officially supplied with paintings commissioned in bulk from Correa.⁸

More than seventy years later, in Upper California, the systematic supply of paintings, as well as sculptures, in the Franciscan missions was again the rule. For

PAINTING FOR EXPORT IN MEXICO CITY

Fig. 1
José de Páez, *St. Louis of
Toulouse*, c. 1771
Oil on canvas, 120 × 91.4 cm.
Mission church of San Luis
Obispo, California



these, we have shipment lists,⁹ but also the specific recommendations of the founder of the California missions, Fray Junípero Serra himself, who stipulated, in 1771, that the Franciscan habit of St. Louis of Toulouse should be visible in a painting that was commissioned from José de Páez (fig. 1). The Franciscan cord should also be clearly shown, and he should be wearing his mitre and a flowered cope, while his royal crown and scepter should be at his feet.¹⁰ This painting was being sent with others to places where it was fairly certain there would soon be a church to receive them. In other words, these were not missions as exploratory advances, but rather a combination of evangelization, colonization, and military occupation. Thus, the paintings were for the missionaries themselves and for the colonists, as well as appropriate, in the missionaries' views, for new converts. In such

SUZANNE L. STRATTON-PRUITT

The King in Cuzco

Bishop Mollinedo's Portraits of Charles II

In 1671 Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo Ortiz de Luenga, then parish priest of the sanctuary of La Almudena in Madrid, was named bishop of Cuzco by Pope Clement X. Mollinedo arrived in Lima in December 1672, and in early 1673 an inventory was taken of the paintings and other belongings he had brought with him. Among the paintings were several by noted artists, including:

A large painting of the king, may God keep him, and another of the Queen Our Lady both by Don Sebastián de Herrera [Barnuevo]; a St. Francis by the Greek [El Greco], a *vara* high; another painting of Christ and Our Lady by the same, a Magdalene a half *vara* high by the same, a Magdalene a half *vara* high by [Eugenio] Cajés ... a portrait of Don Pedro Fernández del Campo by Juan Carreño [de Miranda].¹

At some time between 1667, when Sebastián de Herrera Barnuevo was appointed painter to the royal court in Madrid, and 1671, when he died, the artist created an image of Charles II at eight or nine years of age (fig. 1) that became the prototype for other versions, including, undoubtedly, this portrait of the boy king painted in Cuzco (fig. 2).



Fig. 1
Sebastián Herrera Barnuevo,
Charles II as a Boy, c. 1667–71
Oil on canvas, 190 × 108 cm.
Private collection,
Barcelona

The numbers of royal portraits found in Spanish America today are limited, but there must have been many, for during the colonial period they are recorded in government buildings, religious houses, and in private collections. It is notable, therefore, that several extant paintings of Charles II were created in Cuzco during his reign (1665–1700), which was almost exactly contemporaneous with the bishopric of Mollinedo in Cuzco (1673–1699).

Manuel de Mollinedo was born in Madrid at an unknown date. He studied at Alcalá de Henares and became the *Examinador Sinodal y Visitador* of the Archbishopric of Toledo. He graduated from the Colegio de San Jerónimo in Lugo as a Doctor of Theology. In Madrid he was appointed to the *Consejo de su Majestad* and as

LUISA ELENA ALCALÁ

“Where do we go from here?”

Themes and Comments on the Historiography of Colonial Art in Latin America

In 2006, I attended a conference in Philadelphia entitled “The Power of Images: Images of Power in Colonial Latin America” celebrated in conjunction with the exhibition *The Arts in Latin America, 1492–1820* at the Philadelphia Museum of Art.¹ At the round table discussion of the closing session, the moderator raised the question: “Where do we go from here?” Answers came in, part and parcel, but, to the best of my recollection, there was no single, completely satisfying reply. Open-ended discussions are what round tables are about, and in posing this question the moderator fulfilled her role brilliantly. Since then, the question has stayed with me, continuously begging reflection although perhaps not always in the ways imagined.

What fascinates me most about the closing question is the assumption that is built into it. Namely, who is this “we”? Answers will invariably be conditioned by how the “we” is defined. Nonetheless, I am quite certain that this “we” was innocently posed in an effort to embrace all the attendees at the conference. In the room there was gathered a heterogeneous group of scholars: historians, anthropologists, ethnographers, specialists in Latin American colonial literature, music and art history, both of the pre-Hispanic and colonial periods. Judging by the audience then, the moderator’s “we” addressed the group under the umbrella of Latin American studies. And yet, I wonder the extent to which individually, each attendant at the conference felt well described by this comprehensive “we.” The

JULIE A. SHEAN

Flagellum Jesuitarum

The Revival of Palafox's Portraits in Eighteenth-century New Spain

Retrato que de Palafox tienen los carmelitas descalzos de Puebla de los Ángeles con la inscripción 'flagellum jesuitarum', es para Palafox un monumento de infamia y para los carmelitas de aquel país documento de su poca reputación.¹

Portraits of Juan de Palafox y Mendoza (1600–1659) appear so frequently in the collections of museums and churches in Mexico, especially in Puebla, that his face is one of the most easily recognized in the field of Spanish colonial art. This current situation belies the historical fact that throughout the colonial period he was a very controversial figure. Indeed, for more than one hundred years the Mexican Inquisition banned his portraits, and thousands of them were collected and destroyed. It was only after 1759, when the campaign for Palafox's sainthood won the support of King Charles III, that viceregal artists began to paint his portrait openly again, borrowing emblematic motifs from officially commissioned European engravings. In this essay, I will very briefly outline Palafox's career in New Spain and then discuss how his iconography was suppressed by his enemies only to be later revived by regalist patrons increasingly interested in identifying the cause for his sainthood with their own political agenda.

In 1639, a talented young member of the Council of Indies and protégé of the count-duke of Olivares, Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, was honored with two



Fig. 10
Miguel Jerónimo Zendejas and José de Nava,
Biblioteca Palafoxiana, 1773
Engraving
Biblioteca Palafoxiana, Puebla

Fig. 11
Retablo de la Madonna di Trapani, c. 1770–73
Gilt wood with tecali marble
Biblioteca Palafoxiana, Puebla



JEFFREY SCHRADER

The House of Austria as a Source of Miraculous Images in Latin America

An enigma distinguishes one of the principal miraculous images of Peru, the Lord of the Earthquakes (fig. 1) in Cuzco, from its European counterparts and links it to colonial America. According to tradition, the sculpture came from Spain as a gift of Charles V (r. 1516–56).¹ This wisdom has prevailed for generations, despite evidence that American sculptors fashioned the statue. Moreover, the Lord of the Earthquakes is not unique for its legendary provenance. Even a cursory overview of Latin American shrines yields a recurring theme: various statues of Christ crucified or the Virgin Mary are said to have been donated by the ruler of Spain, usually Charles V but sometimes another member of the House of Austria. More rarely, the tales credit the Habsburgs' predecessor, Isabella the Catholic. No other historical figures bestowed such gifts on the Americas. Despite the grounds for scepticism, these accounts resonate with the logic of an era in which Church and monarchy bolstered each other. Sacred imagery accordingly was widely associated with the royal family, even though no sovereign from Spain ever set foot in the Americas.

The Lord of the Earthquakes has been dated to either the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and its characteristics have prompted comparisons with a European crucifix now in the cathedral of Burgos.² The *Christ of Burgos* (fig. 2), tentatively dated to the fourteenth or fifteenth century, came to be the most powerful image



Fig. 1
The Lord of the Earthquakes,
16th or 17th century
Cuzco Cathedral

of Christ in early modern Castile, if not the whole Iberian peninsula. People from far and wide directed appeals to it for favors in surmounting a variety of challenges. The Habsburgs notably included him among the images invoked for assistance in 1562, when the crown prince hovered between life and death after an accident.³ The statue in Burgos is partly made of wood, a common medium for such images, and the presumed European origin of the crucifix in Cuzco implied the use of wood as well.

In the 1970s, however, restoration measures prompted an examination of the Peruvian statue and the publication of the findings. Among the materials used to make the Lord of the Earthquakes were llama hide and maguey, items used by

ELEANOR GOODMAN

Portraits of Empire

Notes on Angels and Archangels in the Spanish World*

In the mid-seventeenth century, the Jesuit missionary priest Antonio Ruiz de Montoya (1585–1652) displayed a painting of the seven archangels as he and his fellow priests approached an Inca community. The unnamed creator of that image is arguably less important than the subject itself, and the religious and political meanings it held for those who carried it into this settlement. Ramón Mujica Pinilla suggests that Ruiz de Montoya was deliberately presenting himself and his cohorts as part of an angelic army and that they “intentionally conflated the Holy Roman Empire of the Habsburgs with the Messianic Kingdom of Christ on Earth.”¹ The Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries in the Spanish colonial world frequently asserted this association between heavenly and earthly armies,² and it was also a connection the Spanish monarchs themselves emphatically endorsed. The evolution and meanings of angel and archangel imagery in New Spain has been the subject of much thoughtful inquiry over the past decades, no doubt in part because the extraordinary angels holding guns—harquebusiers to be more specific (*ángeles arcabuceros*)—are so visually and iconographically intriguing (fig. 1). But few scholars focusing on this New World phenomenon have linked this visual imagery in any significant way to the importance of archangels for the Spanish Habsburgs themselves in Madrid, the locus of their power.³ The Spanish royal family’s particular interest in the subject is demonstrated in part by a number of

ELEANOR GOODMAN



Fig. 1 Anonymous, *Archangel with Harquebusier*, c. 1680
Mural painting, 160.5 × 110.5 cm., Church of Calamarca, La Paz

LISA DUFFY-ZEBALLOS

“And my sheep know me”

Colonial Transformations of the *Divina Pastora de las Almas* in the Art of the New World

Religious painting during the colonial period is often conservative with little variation to the European models, yet when such iconographical innovations occur, they often reflect a process of acculturation as the image is integrated into New World societies. One example of this transmutative process is the case of the Capuchin cult of the *Divina Pastora de las Almas*, an early eighteenth-century Sevillian devotion to Mary as the mother of the Divine Shepherd. Among the diverse religious communities of the Americas, however, the bucolic simplicity of the advocacy proved such an effective instrument of devotion, other religious orders assimilated pastoral motifs into their own cults, creating unorthodox hybrids of the *Divina Pastora* with the cults of the Rosary, Carmel, and Mercy. In their hands, the Divine Shepherdess assumed various roles as the mother and guardian of missionaries, protector of the newly converted, the mystical bride, and the celestial Jerusalem.

In 1703, Fray Isidoro de Sevilla from the Convento de Capuchinos in Seville was inspired to conceive of the Virgin dressed as a shepherdess as an image to promote widespread devotion to her cult (see fig. 1). Fray Isidoro dictated the details of his vision to an artist of the Sevillian School, and this painting became the official archetype of the cult. Although the Capuchins retained some control over the representation of the image in Spain, the greatest innovations were



Fig. 2 Alonso Miguel de Tovar, *Divina Pastora*, 1732
Oil on canvas, 85 × 65 cm., Convento de Capuchinos, Seville