

Painting as a Form of Communication in Colonial Central Andes

Variations on the Form of Ornamental Art in Early World Society

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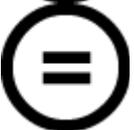
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Abstract

This dissertation offers a meta-synthesis of the history of painting in colonial central Andes from the point of view of the theory of social systems put forward by Niklas Luhmann. Assuming this author's central insight regarding the observation of art as a social phenomenon – namely, that art is a form of communication inasmuch as it triggers a search for meaning that is used as a basis for further communications or behaviors (artistic or otherwise) – this research attempts to answer the question: How did paintings trigger a search for meaning in this region of western South America from the second half of the sixteenth century to the eighteenth century and what societal conditions made this form of communication probable? I propose that, in a peripheral context in which the evolution of art wasn't guided by a differentiated artistic memory, painting constituted itself as communication through the tight coupling of forms in the medium that was made available by the ornamentation of symbols. Even though different modalities of painting could be directed to different audiences according to a primarily stratified differentiation of society, this medium established a common denominator for what could be expected from painting in both sides of the social hierarchy, establishing which variations in painting could be successful in the central Andes during most of the colonial period. Art participated of a sphere of social reality in which every experience or action could be communicated as contingent in the light of transcendence, so that it triggered a search for meaning that was religious proper. Thus a shift in the system of reference of sociocultural evolution has to be expected when comparing the colonial periphery with the European metropolis in this epoch. In the central Andes, “modern” pictures that corresponded to an art that already aimed towards autonomy posed interesting innovations for a program of ornamentation of symbols when proving themselves against a mainly religious and moral representation of the world. What art historical texts highlight as moments of artistic globalism that set the evolution of colonial art in motion – such as the works of the Italian mannerist masters Bitti, Pérez de Alesio and Medoro, and those of Basilio de Santa Cruz Pumacallao – constituted accidents that didn't lead to the formation of social structures in the direction of a differentiated system of art. However, for sociocultural evolution, these were not altogether failed variations, as they were quickly adopted by series of parasitic ornamental systems: heteronomous ornamental systems that were built based on other systems, the internal operations of which already aimed towards autonomy.

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Introduction

Art historical texts published since the third decade of the twentieth century depict the history of painting in the region of the central Andes in western South America from the second half of the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth century as a fascinating case of emergence, apogee and decline of an influential regional tradition in the environment of European art. This is foremost the case of the Cusco school of painting, which had major influence over other centers of artistic production, from Quito to Santiago de Chile. The period that goes from the differentiation of this local school in the last decades of the seventeenth century to the decline of its regional influence towards the end of the eighteenth century is commonly described in such texts as having taken place between two epochs in which the production of paintings in the central Andean region, then centered on the Ciudad de los Reyes (Lima), was seemingly attuned to the evolution of art in Europe: European criteria of artistic evaluation are seen to have been adopted, even if they were not entirely fulfilled in particular cases. Between these phases of artistic globalism, the Andean schools of painting are described as leading a process of provincial regression – in words of Francisco Stastny¹ – from which a

1 Francisco Stastny, "El manierismo en la pintura colonial Latinoamericana," *Letras*, no. 86 (1977): 36.

regional form of painting emerged that turned its back on the European history of art.

This research reconstructs this history from the point of view of the theory of social systems put forward by Niklas Luhmann. Assuming this author's central insight regarding the observation of art as a social phenomenon – namely, that art is a form of communication inasmuch as it triggers a search for meaning that is used as a basis for further communications or behaviors (artistic or otherwise)² – this research attempts to answer the question: How did paintings trigger a search for meaning in this region of western South America from the second half of the sixteenth century to the eighteenth century and what societal conditions made this form of communication probable?

Following Luhmann's theory of sociocultural evolution, this sociological reconstruction of art history emphasizes the mechanisms that steer evolution as a recursive process, in the light of which the events that attract the attention of art historical analyses – including artistic communications as historical events – are reconstructed as accidents, in the sense that they are a source of variation for a system that has yet to determine their structural value.³ In this theoretical context,

2 Niklas Luhmann, *Art as a Social System*, trans. Eva M. Knodt, *Crossing Aesthetics* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 24.

3 Niklas Luhmann, "Evolution und Geschichte," in *Soziologische Aufklärung*, vol. 2, 2nd ed. (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1982), 150-169; Niklas Luhmann, "Geschichte als Prozeß und die Theorie sozio-kultureller Evolution," in *Soziologische Aufklärung*, vol. 3, 1st ed. (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1981), 178-97; Rudolph Stichweh, "Systemtheorie und Geschichte," in *Soziologische Theorie und Geschichte*, ed. Frank Welz and Uwe Weisenbacher (Opladen; Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1998), 68-79; Frank Buskotte, *Resonanzen für Geschichte: Niklas Luhmanns Systemtheorie aus geschichtswissenschaftlicher Perspektive* (Berlin: Lit, 2006), 65-72.

the distinction between European art and other forms of art in its environment – a distinction that fuels this art historical tradition –, can be translated in terms of the distinction between ornamental art forms and art as a social system. This second distinction implies a shift in the system of reference that guides sociocultural evolution from the level of society to that of its functional subsystems.

This step assumes Niklas Luhmann's distinction between two interrelated concepts of ornamentation. An operative concept distinguishes ornamentation from the figurative (representative or illusory) elements of works of art. Correspondingly, it observes ornamentation as the recursive operation with forms that organizes the mediums of time and space or their doubling within imaginary worlds.⁴ This kind of operation is for Luhmann “...*the smallest unit in the artistic process;*”⁵ one that is shared by arts of all kinds. In distinction to this operative concept, a functional one distinguishes ornamentation from the artworks' composition, structure or form, where artistic beauty might be achieved. Assuming this second version of the concept, an ornamented object (that is, an object that is seen to correspond to the operative concept of ornamentation) would be classified by observers as ornamental art if in their reconstruction of it the social function of art – which, according to Luhmann, consists on “...*demonstrating the compelling forces of order in the realm of the possible*”⁶ – doesn't have preeminence over any other function.

4 Luhmann, *Art as a Social System*, 120.

5 Ibid., 228.

6 Ibid., 148.

Unlike observations based solely on the operative concept of ornamentation, this concept of ornamental art forms corresponds to heteronomous ornamental systems in general. However, it is not available as a semantic distinction that might guide the observation of ornamental systems in situations where art has not become autonomous. As such, it is only applied by observers who, having been trained in the observation of autonomous art forms, decide that they cannot assume that the object at hand has been created "*for the sake of being observed,*"⁷ so that it would be expected from them that they let their experience be guided by this object's self-programmed formal combinations. Assuming that sociocultural evolution has led to the replacement of ornamental art forms by autonomous ones, Luhmann argued that this category is only applied in retrospective. For us, it signals other kinds of art in the environment of the social system of art.

This concept of ornamental art has guided the production of art historical narrations about the local school of painting that emerged during the "long eighteenth century" (c. 1680 – c. 1800) in Cusco at least since the third decade of the twentieth century. By means of further distinctions, each text in this tradition has had to make sense of this form that guides its observations. One way in which this has been done – and the only one that is relevant for this research – is by making reference to the social context of art. In this respect, when reading these texts we can distinguish between verifiable events, narrations and the latent theories or models that give them structure. The latter can also be conceptualized

7 Ibid., 117.

as the distinctions that guide the formation of structures in historical narrations. Among these, this research is interested in the models that represent the relation between colonial art (as an ornamental art form) and society in this region. Methodologically, it aims at differentiating the most relevant of such models, evaluating their claims in the light of current historical and sociological research, and reinterpreting them from the point of view of the theory of social systems in relation to the aforementioned distinction between ornamental art forms and the social system of art.

The most influential of these models was presented by José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert in the second edition of their *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña*, from 1982.⁸ While the first edition of their study had put emphasis on the formation of an interregional market of religious images during the first half of the eighteenth century,⁹ the second one saw this as a late event in a process that had been triggered by the separation of the Indian members of the painters' guild of Cusco in the last decades of the previous century. The main consequence of this latter event was recognized in the level of artistic style: according to these authors, the Indian painters' opportunity to practice this trade without Spanish or Creole supervision regarding the artistic qualities of their work would explain the absence of central perspective and chiaroscuro and the preference for decorative values that characterized the Cusco school of painting. In this context, a letter from

8 José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña [Ed. 2]*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Lima: Fundación Augusto N. Wiese, Banco Wiese, 1982).

9 José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura Cuzqueña [Ed. 1]*, 1st ed. (Bueno Aires: Instituto de Arte Americano e Investigaciones Estéticas, 1962).

1688 that implied that the Indian painters had been allowed to separate themselves from the guild was interpreted as the birth certificate of this local artistic tradition.¹⁰ Thus, the thesis developed by these authors recognizes in the Indian painters' separation from the guild a necessary cause of the emergence of the Cusco school and, by extension, of other local schools in the Andean highlands during the "long eighteenth century."

Almost thirty years later, the thesis presented by José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert is still highly influential, specially for works of synthesis and diffusion. However, despite its sustained influence, this thesis has only rarely been confronted against empirical evidence. In this research I attempt to shed new light on this matter by critically assessing Mesa and Gisbert's argumentation. Based mainly on an analysis of the sources used by these authors and on Francisco Quiroz's research on the situation of guilds in colonial Lima,¹¹ I argue that, whereas the Indian members of the painters' guild of Cusco might effectively have separated themselves from this organization around 1688, the historical narration constructed by Mesa and Gisbert around this fact may have overestimated the capacity of this guild to enforce, before this event, the observance of ordinances that are supposed to be identical to the ones approved for the painters' guild of Lima in 1649. In consequence, I think it is a mistake to understand this event as a cause of the Andean traditions of painting and, specially, of the Cusco school.

10 This letter was published in: Horacio Villanueva Urteaga, "Nacimiento de la escuela cuzqueña de pintura," *Boletín del Archivo Departamental del Cuzco* 1 (1985): 11-13.

11 Francisco Quiroz, *Gremios, razas y libertad de industria : Lima colonial* (Lima: Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1995).

Instead of looking at this event in terms of a cause of stylistic evolution, we can ask for the social system that made it probable. In this manner, an alternative model can be constructed that observes this conflict in the painters' guild as just another symptom of a more encompassing social context, in the same level as variations in painterly style.

Mesa and Gisbert's explanatory model is based on a typology that doesn't seem to correspond to the social reality of the viceregal central Andes, as far as it assumes the guild to be an effective administrator of artistic expertise, understood the latter as the evaluation of art according to differentiated artistic criteria. We can observe that such criteria may have been implied in the examinations that were contemplated by the ordinances of the painters' guild of Lima, which are assumed by the authors' model to be valid for Cusco. These examinations were focused on the correct use of coloration, on the achievement of anatomical plausibility and on the construction of perspective. The criteria of correctness here implied may correspond to a context in which art has begun to differentiate itself as a social system; that is, to a situation in which the evaluation of artistic communications has been made dependent on the application of criteria that are only relevant to art. This form of observing art necessarily puts the work in question in the context of an artistic tradition. However, as it has been pointed out, I argue that we shouldn't assume that the guild of Cusco would have enforced the observance of such ordinances before the 1680s.

Based on the typology put forward by Francisco Stastny,¹² we can observe that the guild's role as administrator of artistic expertise is extraneous to colonial peripheries, where the production and appreciation of art doesn't take into account the difference that the work in question makes in relation to an artistic tradition. During the early formation of the main structures of world society, only in artistic centers was variation directed by a differentiated memory; that is, by a "history of art." In peripheries, local artists and audiences did not reject old accomplishments in favor of newer ones, nor did they comprehend their work as establishing a dialogue with the first. A different modality of artistic evolution took place in the peripheries, where stimuli from diverse centers could be integrated with solutions that had become obsolete according to metropolitan experts – a situation that characterizes artistic production in the colonial central Andes according to several authors. According to Stastny, in colonial peripheries (as distinguished from peripheries in general), artistic innovation could also be triggered by the cultural diversity that results from the conquest of non-western civilizations or cultures.

Adapting Stastny's reflexions to the context provided by the distinction between ornamental art forms and a social system of art, I suggest that art worlds in colonial central Andes corresponded to a situation in which the evolution of art wasn't guided by a differentiated artistic memory. There, the function of guilds and academies as administrators of expertise was therefore mostly irrelevant. Artistic

12 Francisco Stastny, "Arte colonial," in *El arte en el Perú: obras en la colección del Museo de Arte de Lima* (Lima: Museo de Arte de Lima, 2001), 83-126.

institutions such as the guild seem to have been coupled to the operations of more differentiated social systems, such as politics and religion, where complementary roles had been established. Thus far they seem to correspond to Niklas Luhmann's typification of occupational and economic organizations in societal systems where religion has assumed the representation of the unity of society; that is, in complex societies that haven't undergone a differentiation based on the operations of functional subsystems.¹³ In this context, variations – including artistic innovations – would have had to prove themselves against a primarily religious representation of the world instead of relying on differentiated criteria.¹⁴

I propose that, in such a societal context, painting constituted itself as communication through the tight coupling of forms in the medium that was made available by the ornamentation of symbols. This step requires us to introduce, in relation to the concept of ornamental art forms, the distinction between sign and symbol as it was adopted by Julia Kristeva¹⁵ and Niklas Luhmann.¹⁶ In this respect, I propose we distinguish between levels of signification. On a first level, an art that is primarily symbolic makes present in the immanent world the transcendental object it represents. This objects' meaning is not constructed each time again through formal combinations, as it occurs with signs according to Julia Kristeva's conceptualization. It is provided by tradition, so that the symbol is anchored in its

13 Luhmann, "Evolution und Geschichte," 154.

14 Ibid., 152.

15 Julia Kristeva, *Le texte du roman. Approche sémiologique d'une structure discursive transformationnelle* (The Hague, Paris, New York: Mouton Publishers, 1979), 25-35.

16 Luhmann, *Art as a Social System*, 167-78; Niklas Luhmann, "Sign as Form," in *Problems of Form*, ed. Dirk Baecker, trans. Michael Irmscher and Leah Edwards (California: Stanford University Press, 1999), 46-63.

given shape. On a second level that highlights the immanent conditioning of this hierophany, ornament becomes decoration, for it has to be distinguished from the symbol in its given form. Ornamental relationships can still establish a dense network, the meaning of which – understood as the achievement of order – would only be apprehended as a result of formal decisions that have to deal with strong contextual limitations. Thus, symbolic art can only be considered ornamental art inasmuch as symbols allow and call for supplementary ornamentation.

Within such contextual limitations, which are established by the symbol's given form, a secondary medium for ornamentation is created. At first, this medium could be exploited to further support religious communications. Thus, in the colonial central Andes one observes that rich ornamentation was seen as having some effect on the efficacy of symbolic images. In this manner, art participates of a sphere of social reality in which every experience or action can be communicated as contingent in the light of transcendence, so that it triggers a search for meaning that is religious proper.¹⁷ Still, as Baxandall observed in reference to the Italian Quattrocento,¹⁸ this medium allowed for the development of ornamentation beyond religious criteria. When this alternative is actualized, the distinction between material substratum and prototype that corresponds to the religious symbol gives way to the distinction between fit and lack of fit that corresponds to

17 Niklas Luhmann, "Ausdifferenzierung der Religion," in *Gesellschaftsstruktur und Semantik. Studien zur Wissenssoziologie der modernen Gesellschaft*, vol. 3 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1989), 259-357; Niklas Luhmann, *Die Religion der Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2000).

18 Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

the operations of ornamentation that constitute the smallest unit in the artistic process. In Hans Belting's terms, the aura of the sacred is replaced by the aura of art.¹⁹

However, the medium made available by the ornamentation of symbols established which variations in painting could be successful in the central Andes during most of the colonial period. Even though different modalities of painting could be directed to different audiences according to a primarily stratified differentiation of society, this medium established a common denominator for what was possible to expect from painting in both sides. This medium could be used for the tight-coupling of forms that show diverging levels of autonomy or ornamental self-programming: from “mere decoration” to pieces that establish different levels of communication: one that corresponds to the symbol in its given form and the other where the exploration of a differentiated medium for art can be undertaken, exposing in this manner the whole piece to rejection if the artificiality of art attracts too much attention, to the point that it overshadows the symbols they are meant to support, as Victor I. Stoichita has observed regarding the problems faced by some of Rubens' works.²⁰

This situation made probable the consolidation of a special case of ornamental art that characterizes the production of the Cusco school. An observer might recognize

19 Hans Belting, *Bild und Kult: eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (München: C. H. Beck, 1990).

20 Victor I. Stoichita has analyzed this problem in connection to some works by Rubens: Victor I. Stoichita, *La invención del cuadro. Arte, artífices y artificios en los orígenes de la pintura europea*, trans. Anna Maria Coderch, Cultura Artística (Barcelona: Ediciones del Serbal, 2000), 76 ff.

that a heteronomous ornamental system uses another ornamental system as medium. Replacing Francisco Stastny's concept of re-archaization,²¹ I propose we call “parasitic ornamental systems” those cases in which, while the host is assumed by another observer to have been created with a history of art in mind, the same observer decides that the same assumption cannot be made in reference to the parasite. Thus, the parasite is seen to have transformed its host into ornamental art. This characterization can be applied to the Cusco school, where pictures that are assumed to have undertaken an at least incipient exploration of a differentiated medium for art were adopted as point of departure for the creation of mostly religious ornamental art.

In this societal context, what art historical texts highlight as moments of artistic globalism that set the evolution of colonial art in motion – such as the works of the Italian mannerist masters and those of Basilio de Santa Cruz Pumacallao – are interpreted as accidents that didn't lead to structure formation in the direction of a differentiated system of art. However, for sociocultural evolution, these were not altogether failed variations, as they were quickly adopted by series of parasitic ornamental systems. The critical point is that a shift in the system of reference of sociocultural evolution has to be expected when comparing the colonial periphery with the European metropolis in this epoch. In the central Andes, such “modern” pictures that correspond to an art that already aims towards autonomy posed

21 Francisco Stastny, “Modernidad, ruptura y arcaísmo en el arte colonial,” in *La presencia de la modernidad artística europea en América*, ed. Gustavo Curiel Méndez, Renato González Mello, and Juana Gutiérrez Haces, vol. 3 (presented at the Arte, historia e identidad en América : XVI Coloquio Internacional de Historia del Arte, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1994), 939-954.

interesting innovations for a program of ornamentation of symbols when proving themselves against a mainly religious and moral representation of the world.

This situation came to an end towards the last decades of the eighteenth century. In this respect, I propose that what has been observed as “a modernist hecatomb”²² amounts to the observation of the works of the Andean local schools according to the form of ornamental art and to their corresponding devaluation in the face of modernity. Ornamental art would have become visible as such for the first time in this region. In those contexts in which it was no longer meaningful to keep these paintings as symbols or as decorations of symbols, they could be replaced with ones that responded to an artistic program of ornamentation. This doesn't mean that other kinds of art wouldn't have survived in the latter's environment, but that they would have continued to be reproduced in contexts where artistic communication wasn't expected: specially among the peasant populations that remained excluded from the operations of the functional systems and in other functional realms, like religion, science and tourism.

22 Ramón Mujica Pinilla, “Arte e identidad: las raíces culturales del barroco peruano,” in *El Barroco Peruano*, vol. 1, Colección Arte y Tesoros del Perú (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2002), 21.

1. Regional traditions of art in the periphery of an emerging world society

As part of a societal system that is continually actualized in interactions all over the Earth, the art system of society has regionally diversified its mode of variation. Noël Carroll has clearly described this situation as a new phase of artistic globalism: “...it does now seem to be the case that the various national and regional centers of serious or ambitious fine art are beginning to be fashioned into a single world – a unified, transnational institution of art.”²³ The situation of non-Western artists has changed dramatically in this context. Instead of triggering variations in the history of art from its outside, they have found themselves, “...incorporated into European art narratives or artistic canons.”²⁴ It is not that criteria for inclusion have changed so that what was once seen as an outsider is now included in art. Take the cubist interest on Negro art as an example: one could explore primitivism when searching for morphological models or for a renewed understanding of semantic constructions, but one would avoid *been* primitive.²⁵ Even today, folklore is excluded from the transnational institution in which the art world has become;

23 Noël Carroll, “Art and Globalization: Then and Now,” *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 65, no. 1 (2007): 138.

24 *Ibid.*, 137.

25 Yve-Alain Bois and Katharine Streip, “Kahnweiler's Lesson,” *Representations*, no. 18 (Spring 1987): 33-68; Robert J. Goldwater, *Primitivism in Modern Painting* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1938); Patricia Leighton, “The White Peril and L'Art nègre: Picasso, Primitivism, and Anticolonialism,” *The Art Bulletin* 72, no. 4 (December 1990): 609-630; Arthur Coleman Danto, “Outsider Art,” in *The Madonna of the Future* (University of California Press, 2001), 242-249.

Noël Carroll does indeed limit his diagnosis to centers of what he calls “serious or ambitious fine art,” even if it is not quite clear in his text how one may operate with this distinction. What is crucial here is that works of art from regions that were once thought of as mere sources of folklore and naivety can today be expected to be included under the same criteria as works of art from the main centers of the art world.²⁶ In this sense we can affirm that we are in presence of an unprecedented regional dispersion of artistic novelty: a fundamental change in the form of artistic evolution that corresponds to the emergence of a world society.

These observations are relevant for a theory of social systems such as the one initiated by Niklas Luhmann, that describes art as an autopoietic subsystem of a functionally differentiated world society. Quite understandably, given that his main interest lay on reconstructing the history of modernity as a peculiar form of societal differentiation and evolution that had its origin in Europe, the analyses of art undertaken by Luhmann were centered on the historical differentiation of the fine arts as a self-evolving system in this region.²⁷ To be certain, the concept of “fine art” (*schöne Kunst*) doesn't appear often in Luhmann's texts on this subject. More often, he would use concepts such as “*Kunst*”, “*Kunstsystem*”,

26 James Meyer et al., “Global Tendencies: Globalism and the Large-Scale Exhibition,” *Art Forum International* (2003): 152-163; Gerardo Mosquera, “Good-bye identidad, welcome diferencia: del arte Latinoamericano al arte desde América Latina,” in *Arte en América Latina y Cultura Global* (Santiago de Chile: Facultad de Artes Universidad de Chile, LOM Ediciones, 2002), 123-137.

27 Luhmann systematized his reflections on art in *Die Kunst der Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1995). This text was translated to English by Eva M. Knodt and published as *Art as a Social System*. In the following I'll be referring to this translation. Other texts by Luhmann on art were recently edited in a single volume by Niels Werber under the title *Schriften zu Kunst und Literatur*, ed. Niels Werber (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2008).

“*Kommunikationssystem Kunst*” or “*Sozialsystem Kunst*”. In a relevant publication from 1986, he was conceptually more precise by making reference to art in terms of “...*das soziale System des Herstellens und Erlebens von Kunstwerken (Kunstsystem)*.”²⁸ However, in the same text we find a reference to this system as the system of “the fine arts”, a concept that belongs rather to the self-description of art: “*Eine gesellschaftliche Ausdifferenzierung der schönen Kunst zu einem Sozialsystem mit eigener Funktionsautonomie...*”²⁹ The use of this term makes it more clear where the frontier should be drawn that demarcates the social domain that Niklas Luhmann was trying to give account of: “the high arts of the West” or “the Western, Renaissance-derived notion of art,” as Jerrold Levinson has called it.³⁰ In this context, Luhmann observed that (western high) art is not only the product of the sociocultural evolution of the societal system – for its operations are made possible by the functional differentiation of society –, but also the product of its own take off as an evolutionary branch in early modern Europe. In Luhmann's words, “*For the art system, ...such a take off – which differentiates the art system from religion, politics, and the economy and initiates an evolution of irresistible structural changes – happened only once in world history, namely, in early modern Europe.*”³¹ He understood the “modernity” of art as the result of a shift in the primary system of reference of sociocultural evolution. As a result of this process, change in art ceased to be steered by mechanisms of variation, selection and re-

28 Niklas Luhmann, “Das Kunstwerk und die Selbstreproduktion der Kunst,” in *Schriften zu Kunst und Literatur*, ed. Niels Werber (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2008), 142.

29 Niklas Luhmann, “Die Evolution des Kunstsystems,” in *Schriften zu Kunst und Literatur*, ed. Niels Werber (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2008), 186.

30 Jerrold Levinson, “Extending Art Historically,” *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 51, no. 3 (Summer 1993): 411-423.

31 Luhmann, *Art as a Social System*, 236.

stabilization in the level of society as a system and specified its own mechanisms as a subsystem of society.

Yet this description implies that other kinds of art have coexisted with the system of art ever since its differentiation, which are specially relevant outside Europe. In this regard, Luhmann passingly mentioned Chinese painting and Indian music as cases regarding to which,

...one cannot speak of evolution [...], nor of structural changes heading toward an ever-increasing improbability. On the contrary, what impresses us in art forms of this kind is the constancy of the perfection accomplished. To be sure, there are developments in Chinese painting that could be interpreted as evolution - especially the shift from a linear and distinctly ornamental style of contours to a spontaneous style that expresses the unity of the brush stroke and the painterly result. But one can hardly claim that such changes lead to the differentiation of a self-evolving art system. Rather, Chinese painting is an indication of what kinds of evolutionary opportunities reside in ornamental art forms;³²

In general, non-European and medieval art forms are regarded from this theoretical standpoint as heteronomous or “functionally unspecific”³³ ornamental traditions whose artistry may only be identified in retrospective. It should be kept in mind that these last observations by Luhmann about Chinese painting and Indian music were done just passingly – in a footnote! Indeed, the category of

32 Ibid., note 78 in chapter 6.

33 Gerhard Plumpe, “Systemtheorie und Literaturgeschichte. Mit Anmerkungen zum deutschen Realismus im 19. Jahrhundert,” in *Epochenschwellen und Epochenstrukturen im Diskurs der Literatur- und Sprachhistorie* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1985), 251-264.

ornamental art used in this passage is not tightly related to this author's analysis of the ornament as a basic operation of art – “modern” or otherwise.³⁴ This problem will be examined in more detail ahead (see chapter 1.5). For the moment, it suffices to point out that these observations by Luhmann are concerned with the other side of the history that he was most interested on reconstructing.

A research program that assumes that the functional differentiation of society coincided with its conformation as a world system³⁵ calls for a more complex analysis of the history of these other kinds of art in relation to the “catastrophe” that a change in the main form of societal differentiation entails.³⁶ Expanding on Luhmann's analysis, these other kinds of art can be seen as having a history of their own in the environment of the system of art. In this respect, the following reconstruction of the history of painting as it was produced and experienced in the South American central Andes from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, that adopts the standpoint of such a theory of social systems, aims at contributing to a better understanding of the situation of these different kinds of art during the early formation of a world societal system.

34 Luhmann, *Art as a Social System*, 115, 120, 216, 227.

35 Niklas Luhmann, “Globalization or World Society: How to Conceive of Modern Society?,” *International Review of Sociology - Revue Internationale de Sociologie* 7, no. 1 (1997): 67-79; Niklas Luhmann, “Die Weltgesellschaft,” in *Soziologische Aufklärung*, vol. 2, 2nd ed. (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1982), 51-71; Rudolph Stichweh, *Die Weltgesellschaft. Soziologische Analysen* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2000).

36 A catastrophe is understood as a change in the form of stability of a system. In the case of social systems, this form is the system's primary form of differentiation. Niklas Luhmann, *Die Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1997), 655, note 103.

1.1 Introduction to the history of painting in viceregal central Andes

The history of painting in the region of the central Andes in western South America from the second half of the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth century presents a fascinating case of emergence, apogee and decline of an influential regional tradition in the environment of European art. This is foremost the case of the Cusco school of painting, which played a major influence on other centers of artistic production, from Quito to Santiago, Chile. The period that goes from the differentiation of this local school in the last decades of the seventeenth century to the decline of its regional influence towards the end of the eighteenth century is commonly described in art historical texts as having taken place between two epochs in which the production of paintings in the central Andean region, then centered on the City of the Kings (Lima), was seemingly attuned to the evolution of art in Europe: European criteria of artistic evaluation are seen to have been adopted, even if they were not entirely fulfilled in particular cases. By following this topic, this section presents a brief introduction to the history of painting in this region during the viceregal period that will serve as a background for a sociological reconstruction of the models that have guided its comprehension in relation to its social context.

1.1.1 Immigrant masters, imported images

From the last quarter of the sixteenth century to the first half of the seventeenth century, the production of paintings in this Andean region was dominated by the influence of three Italian painters that are depicted as having set the evaluative standards for generations to come: Bernardo Bitti (1548-1610) (Image 2 on page 280), Mateo Pérez de Alesio (1547-c.1616) and Angelino Medoro (1567-1633). The constant migration of these painters and of their apprentices across the region may have helped to achieve an important stylistic homogenization, which played against the differentiation of local schools.³⁷ The globalist character of this early phase has been clearly underlined by Jorge Bernales Ballesteros:

...la etapa del manierismo de los maestros italianos significó la incorporación de auténticas fórmulas pictóricas de similar aceptación contemporánea en las capitales más importantes de Europa. Por esos años, en torno a 1590, Lima pudo tener pinturas como las que se efectuaban en Roma, Amberes y Sevilla, de las que estaban muy lejos de tener capitales como Londres o Viena.³⁸

[...the mannerist stage of the Italian masters signified the adoption of authentic pictorial formulas that were similarly accepted at the time in the most important capitals of Europe. During those years around 1590, Lima could have paintings like the ones that were been produced in Rome, Ambers and Seville, which could not be found in capitals like London or Vienna.]

37 Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña [Ed. 2]*, 70; José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, "El Arte del Siglo XVI en Perú y Bolivia," in *Arte iberoamericano desde la colonización a la Independencia*, vol. 1, 2nd ed., Summa Artis. Historia General del Arte (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1985), 318 f.

38 Jorge Bernales Ballesteros, "La Pintura en Lima durante el Virreinato," in *Pintura en el Virreinato del Perú*, 2nd ed. (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2002), 70.

The influence of these Italian masters was later on complemented by an increase in the number of imported paintings. Francisco de Zurbarán played an important role in this respect by sending to Lima at least four large shipments with paintings from his workshop in Seville.³⁹ Based on their rare subject matter and on their low price and quality, some authors have suggested that these paintings may have been specially produced for the American markets.⁴⁰ During the second half of the seventeenth century, besides massive importation of images by secondary Sevillian painters,⁴¹ there was a small market for works produced in the workshops of renowned painters such as Bartolomé Esteban Murillo,⁴² Juan de Valdés Leal,⁴³ and Peter Paul Rubens.⁴⁴ Foremost, there was a market for prints that provided iconographic sources for local workshops.⁴⁵

39 Bernales Ballesteros, "La Pintura en Lima durante el Virreinato"; César Pacheco Vélez, "Zurbarán en Lima," in *Pintura en el Virreinato del Perú*, 2nd ed. (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2002), 265-281; Juan Miguel Serrera, "Zurbarán y América," in *Zurbarán* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1988), 63-84.

40 Yves Bottineau, "Avatares Críticos de Francisco de Zurbarán: Reflexiones e Interrogaciones," in *Zurbarán* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1988), 46; Jonathan Brown, "Mecenazgo y Piedad: El Arte Religioso de Zurbarán," in *Zurbarán* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1988), 30; Duncan Kinkead, "The Last Sevillian Period of Francisco de Zurbarán," *Art Bulletin* 65, no. 2 (June 1983): 308.

41 Duncan Kinkead, "Juan de Luzón and Sevillian Painting Trade with the New World in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century," *Art Bulletin* 66, no. 2 (June 1984): 303-310.

42 Bernales Ballesteros, "La Pintura en Lima durante el Virreinato."

43 José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, "Seis cuadros inéditos de Valdés Leal en Lima," *Anales del Instituto de Arte Americano e Investigaciones Estéticas*, no. 17 (1965): 74-78; Duncan Kinkead, "Vida de San Ignacio de Loyola por Valdés Leal," in *Pintura en el Virreinato del Perú*, 2nd ed. (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2002), 283-301.

44 Juan Manuel Ugarte Eléspuru, "Los Rubens de la Orden Terciaria Franciscana de Lima," in *Pinacoteca de la Venerable Orden Tercera de San Francisco de Lima* (Lima: Casa de Osambela, 1986), 11-46; Juan Manuel Ugarte Eléspuru, "Rubens en la Pinacoteca Franciscana," in *Pintura en el Virreinato del Perú*, 2nd ed. (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2002), 239-263; Francisco Stastny, "La presencia de Rubens en la pintura colonial," *Revista Peruana de Cultura*, no. 4 (1965): 5-35.

45 This topic has been treated extensively in the specialized literature. A database of the correspondences between engravings and Spanish colonial art is currently being developed by the Project on the Engraved Sources of Spanish Colonial Art (PESSCA), which is available at: <http://artecolonial.org>. For a review of this matter, see: Francisco Stastny, "El Grabado Como Fuente del Arte Colonial: Estado de la Cuestión," *Project on the Engraved Sources of Spanish Art*, 2009, <http://colonialart.org/essays/el-grabado-como-fuente-del-arte-colonial-estado-de-la-cuestion>.

1.1.2 Mestizo paintings

After a series of earthquakes seriously damaged the city of Cusco in 1650, the main center of artistic production shifted from the City of the Kings to this city that had hosted the imperial core of the Inca empire until the first quarter of the sixteenth century.⁴⁶ In this setting, in the words of Francisco Stastny, painting in Lima appears to have experienced a “provincial regression”⁴⁷ – one that marks the emergence of a regional style that turned its back on the European history of art (Image 1 on page 280).

At least since the third decade of the twentieth century it has been possible to use the concept of *mestizaje* to indicate the distinction between this regional tradition and European art. A good example is offered by a text published by Ángel Guido in 1942, according to which this tradition of painting, “*...la mestiza, en su gran parte anónima, constituye para nosotros la más interesante producción cuzqueña y digna de ocupar un capítulo más en la historia de la pintura universal.*”⁴⁸ [*...the mestiza, mostly anonymous, is for us the most interesting production of Cusco: one that is worthy of occupying a chapter of its own in the universal history of painting.*] The concept of *mestizaje* underlines the fact that Andean painters made extensive use of European pictorial techniques – such as procedures for color preparation⁴⁹ –

46 Teresa Gisbert, “La identidad étnica de los artistas del Virreinato del Perú,” in *El Barroco Peruano*, vol. 1, 2 vols., Arte y Tesoros del Perú (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2002), 99-143.

47 Stastny, “El manierismo en la pintura colonial Latinoamericana,” 36.

48 Ángel Guido, “Estimativa moderna de la pintura colonial,” in *Redescubrimiento de América en el Arte*, 3rd ed. (Buenos Aires: El Ateneo, 1944), 286.

49 Alicia M. Seldes, “A Note on the Pigments and Media in Some Spanish Colonial Paintings from Argentina,” *Studies in Conservation* 39, no. 4 (November 1994): 272-276; Alicia M. Seldes et al., “Blue Pigments in South American Painting (1610-1780),” *Journal of the American Institute for*

and iconographic sources⁵⁰ but didn't produce images that could be subsumed to any contemporary European style. Thus, it is not so much that the region became isolated from European artistic influences, but that the form of this influence seems to have changed, so that a regional tradition emerged that became alien to it.

Adopting Noël Carroll's scheme,⁵¹ one would say that this regional tradition became one that could only have constituted a source of external influence for European art. For the moment we shall not deal with how this distinction is traced when making reference to actual paintings. It will suffice to observe its adoption as an operative semantic. A clear distinction between these two kinds of art can be found already in a text written in 1788 by Ignacio de Castro, rector of the Colegio Real de San Bernardo in Cusco:

Hay también especial inclinación [de parte de los Indios] a la Pintura y Escultura, y un reciente inglés, cuya obra en orden a la América se nos ha dado poco ha, vertida en italiano, asegura que los cuadros del Cuzco han merecido alguna vez aprecio en Italia. No se puede negar que estos pintores tuvieron algún fuego, imaginativa, y tal cual gusto; pero ignoran enteramente todo lo que es instrucción relativa a este Arte, no saben ennoblecer a la naturaleza, ni hacen la esfera de sus pinceles, sino las Imágenes Sagradas en que reluce más la imitación que la invención;⁵²

Conservation, 38, no. 2 (Summer 1999): 100-123; Alicia M. Seldes et al., "Green, Yellow, and Red Pigments in South American Painting, 1610-1780," *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation*, 41, no. 3 (Autumn - Winter 2002): 225-242.

50 Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña* [Ed. 2], 106-10; Stastny, "La presencia de Rubens en la pintura colonial." See footnote 45.

51 Carroll, "Art and Globalization: Then and Now."

52 Ignacio de Castro, *Relación de la fundación de la Real Audiencia del Cuzco 1788 y de las fiestas que esta grande y fidelísima ciudad celebró este año - Escríbela el Dr. Don Ignacio de Castro*

[...[Indians] also had a notorious inclination for painting and sculpting. Recently, an Englishman whose work about America we have just been able to read in an Italian translation, has affirmed that paintings from Cuzco have once deserved appreciation in Italy. It cannot be denied that these painters had some fire, imagination, and even taste; but they thoroughly ignore any instruction related to this Art, they don't know how to ennoble nature, nor can they draw the sphere with their pencils. They rather create Sacred Images where imitation is more notorious than invention.]

Noël Carroll's scheme results illuminating in this context. On the one side, there is the assertion that paintings from Cusco were valued by a European audience. The reference to Italy, that may be considered one of the most relevant cradles of modern painting, and to an external source – an English observer –, may have been included in this context just to underline this point. On the other side, important emphasis is put on the fact that these paintings were not valued according to the same criteria as images done according to “the Art of painting” – a problem that could have been avoided, it seems, through proper instruction. This distinction is developed through a second one: Cusco paintings are not meant to ennoble nature through *invention*; these are sacred images that *imitate* other images.

1.1.3 Decline of the Cusco school of painting

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, about the same time when Ignacio de Castro, rector of the Colegio Real de San Bernardo in Cusco, wrote this account,

Rector del Colegio Real de San Bernardo... (Madrid: Sebastián de la Paliza, cura propio de Coporaque, 1795), 55.

this regional school of painting was experiencing an irreversible decline.⁵³ In the nineteenth century, the old *mestizo* images from the colonial period had to be distinguished from the images that were done by contemporary painters in the highlands. The memoirs published by two French travelers give us a clear representation of the situation of painters in Cusco in the first half of the nineteenth century. Also, the distinctions that these authors use give us valuable information regarding how these paintings could be understood from a European perspective.

Recounting his travel through Peru and Bolivia in the 1830s, Étienne Gilbert Eugène, comte de Sartiges, wrote that the paintings that decorated the interior of churches in Cusco weren't as brilliant as the colors and the gilding that were used to paint and frame them:

Les tableaux ne brillent que par l'éclat de leurs couleurs et de leur dorure: ils sont pour la plupart sortis de l'ancienne école royale de peinture, où le gouvernement de la métropole entretenait jadis un certain nombre de jeunes Indiens, chez lesquels on avait reconnu des disposition pour le dessin. Il va sans dire que de cette école il n'existe plus que le nom, et que les seuls peintres du Cusco sont des barbouilleurs indiens qui vous vendent pour quelques piastres, les portraits véritables des dix incas de la dynastie de Manco Capac, copie certifiée authentique et d'après nature!⁵⁴

Sartiges' claim, that most of the images that he encountered in churches in Cusco

53 Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña [Ed. 2]*, 218.

54 E. S. Lavandais, "Voyage dans les républiques de l'Amérique du sud," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1851, http://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Voyage_dans_les_r%C3%A9publiques_de_l%E2%80%99Am%C3%A9rique_du_sud.

were done by artists trained in a royal school of painting, has not been corroborated by contemporary historical research. To my knowledge, the last text to mention the existence of an organization in viceregal Cusco that could be described as a school of painting was Juan Manuel Peña Prado's *Ensayos de Arte Virreinal*, published in Lima in 1938. Ever since, the concept of school has been reserved to make reference to the tradition of painting that is seen to be characteristic of this region..

More relevant for our present context is Sartiges' clear distinction between the paintings that he found in the inside of colonial churches in Cusco and the Inca series that some "Indian daubers" seem to have offered him for a few coins: not only the "royal school of painting," but also – and more importantly – the tradition that generated these ornamental paintings had not survived into the nineteenth century.⁵⁵ For Sartiges, the ornamental elements of Cusqueño paintings from the eighteenth century overweighted their artistic value. Another passage of his memoirs, this time dedicated to a description of the churches and convents that he visited in Arequipa, further elaborated on idea. Above every altar, he noted, there was a *retablo*,

...un trophée de colonnes du travail le plus lourd et le plus tortillé, le tout entremêlé de saints en bois ou en pierre inévitablement dorés. Nulle part l'on

55 By failing to note this major difference between a school as an organization (which seems to be what Sartiges meant) and as a local tradition, the translation offered by Teresa Gisbert risks ascribing Sartiges a discourse that isn't his. According to her translation, Sartiges would have written, "*Es demás decir que esta escuela (la cuzqueña) no existe más que de nombre, y que los únicos pintores del Cuzco son embadurnadores indios.*" (Gisbert, "La identidad étnica de los artistas del Virreinato del Perú," 133. Emphasis is mine).

n'a poussé aussi loin la manie des dorures et des paillettes. La robe de saint Luc est brodée d'or ; saint Matthieu, avec sa barbe pointue, son chapeau sur l'oreille et son pourpoint de velours rouge, est également couvert d'étoiles d'or du haut en bas ; dans l'église des Jésuites, on voit une adoration des mages dans laquelle la crèche, l'âne et la paille sont également dorés.⁵⁶

It is quite clear that, for Sartiges, the use of gold as a pigment in painting was outmoded. And reasonably so: according to Michael Baxandall, the use of precious pigments had been replaced by the demonstration of pictorial skill as the primary criterion for the evaluation of paintings in Italy already in the second half of the fifteenth century.⁵⁷ According to Alberti's treatise *On painting*, “...to represent the glitter of gold with plain colours brings the craftsman more admiration and praise.”⁵⁸ Sartiges' insistence in noting how generalized the “*manie des dorures*” was in Arequipa may give us an idea of the profound difference that he drew between himself and the outmoded peoples of the Andes.

Also much to his disappointment, Sartiges couldn't find in these churches and convents paintings from the Spanish school: “*Au milieu de cette exposition, j'espérais retrouver quelques tableaux de l'école espagnole ; mais je n'ai vu que des images peintes, dont la principale fabrique était jadis dans la ville de Cusco.*”⁵⁹ He could only find paintings from Cusco, a city that was also affected by the “*manie des dorures.*”⁶⁰ Sartiges seems to have been expecting another kind of pictorial

56 Lavandais, “Voyage dans les républiques de l'Amérique du sud.”

57 Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, 14.

58 As quoted in *Ibid.*, 16.

59 Lavandais, “Voyage dans les républiques de l'Amérique du sud.”

60 See footnote 54.

dependence in the American viceroalties – one in which the metropolitan models were more clearly recognizable.

In the chronicles of the French traveler Laurent Saint-Cricq (published under the name Paul Marcoy) – who traveled extensively through Chile, Peru, Bolivia and Brazil probably between 1838 and 1846⁶¹ – we learn that by mid-nineteenth century the situation of painters in Cusco had become critical: just two or three painters were left in the city – Sartiges' "Indian daubers," we could suppose –, whose business consisted on sporadically selling series of religious images to dealers and *conductores de tropas*. Saint-Cricq offers a description of the workshop of one of these Indian painters:

...el suelo desaparecía bajo una capa de desperdicios de legumbres, que se disputaban gallinas y cuyes. Un perro de espinazo saliente dormía al lado del artista; un gato negro sin cola y sin orejas, semejante a un ídolo japonés, ronroneaba sobre su hombro mientras él pintaba, acosado por los insultos de su mujer, india retaca y mofletuda, a la que una erisipela había enrojecido la cara, y que le lanzaba invectivas por cualquier cosa mientras hacía hervir su marmita;⁶²

[...the floor disappeared below a layer of waste the chickens and the guinea pigs fought for. A skinny dog slept by the artist; a black cat with no tail and no ears, that looked like a Japanese idol, purred on his elbow while he painted, pestered

61 J.-P. Chaumeil, "Un viajero sin prisa a mediados del siglo XIX. Laurent Saint-Cricq (Paul Marcoy)," in *Viaje a través de América del Sur: Del océano Pacífico al océano Atlántico*, trans. Edgardo Rivera Martínez, vol. 1 (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Banco Central de Reserva del Perú, Centro Amazónico de Antropología Aplicada, 2001), 15-46.

62 Paul Marcoy, *Viaje a través de América del Sur: del Océano Pacífico al Océano Atlántico*, trans. Edgardo Rivera Martínez, vol. 1 (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Banco Central de Reserva del Perú, Centro Amazónico de Antropología Aplicada, 2001), 403.

by his woman: a chubby-cheeked Indian, whose face had been turned red by the erysipelas, and who insulted him for anything while she broiled something in her pan.]

In the illustration that accompanies Saint-Cricq's description (Image 3 on page 281), religious images hang from the walls of a humble workshop – probably paintings offered to the passing clients, or maybe engravings and drawings that could be used as iconographic sources for the production of *imitative* sacred images, as Ignacio de Castro had written half a century before.

Saint-Cricq's opinion regarding these paintings was remarkably consistent with Ignacio de Castro's, even though his academic expectations were more accentuated:

Hablar de los pintores de hoy [en Cusco] de anatomía y de osteología, de estudios según el yeso, las figuras sin piel o el modelo viviente, de perspectiva lineal o aérea, sería para ellos un lenguaje incomprensible y exponerse a recibir de su parte una mala acogida. Esta falta absoluta de las primeras nociones del arte les veda toda creación original y los obliga a recurrir a los lienzos existentes para tomar allí las diferentes partes con las que forman un todo;⁶³

[Talking with today's painters [from Cusco] about anatomy or osteology, about studies based on plaster, skin-less figures or live models, about lineal or aerial perspective, would be for them an incomprehensible language. We would thus expose ourselves to their rejection. This absolute lack of the most basic notions of the art blocks them every possibility for original creation and forces them to recur to old canvases, where they find the parts with which to form the whole.]

63 Ibid., 1:399.

The distinction invention/imitation has here been clarified by using the distinction original/copy. According to these authors, originality can only be achieved by undertaking academic studies. For Saint-Cricq, lacking an academy, the few painters left in Cusco could only compose their paintings by putting together the elements they took from older images.

By the first half of the nineteenth century, the tradition of religious images that had conformed the Cusco school had come to an end. As José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert observed more than a hundred years after Saint-Cricq,

La pintura, probablemente en manos de maestros indios, llega a una simplificación casi infantil, produciendo piezas expresionistas de extraordinaria calidad. Es el fin de la pintura religiosa virreinal, regalada a los pueblos indios, en tanto que las ciudades republicanas traen pintores afrancesados para llenar sus necesidades estéticas;⁶⁴

[Painting, probably in hands of Indian masters, achieved an almost childish simplification, producing expressionist pieces of extraordinary quality. It is the end of viceregal religious painting, which was passed down to Indian towns. Meanwhile, republican cities brought in Frenchified painters to fulfill their aesthetic needs.]

At the same time that this mestizo tradition from the highlands decayed, and after a brief Rococo period that had been favored only by the highest spheres of viceregal authorities,⁶⁵ the elite clientèle, specially in the city of Lima, turned towards French neoclassical academicism.

64 Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura Cuzqueña [Ed. 1]*, 190 f.

65 Mujica Pinilla, "Arte e identidad: las raíces culturales del barroco peruano," 21.

1.1.4 The modernist hecatomb and the creole cosmopolitans

This latter development, which predates the declaration of political independence of South American States, has been described as a modernist hecatomb, for it replaced the old colonial pieces with ones that pretended to follow a more clean, rational and less ornamental style.⁶⁶ This implied a heightened interest on drawing and on academic formation in general,⁶⁷ as we have seen in testimonies by Ignacio de Castro and Laurent Saint-Cricq.

An academy of drawing for the Indian population of the province of Mojos, Bolivia, was founded in the town of San Pedro in 1790.⁶⁸ His director, the painter Manuel de Oquendo, successfully instructed his students in the copy of prints by Annibali Carraci and Charles Le Brun. In 1804, these institutions had been founded in almost every town in this province. In the same spirit, the Sevillian painter José del Pozo is said to have founded an academy of drawing and painting in Lima in 1791.⁶⁹ In 1810, the viceroy Abascal founded another academy of painting in Lima that was run by Javier Cortés, from Quito.⁷⁰

This situation implied a completely different relation between local painters and the European worlds of art. From 1838 to 1850, Abascal's academy was directed

66 Ibid., 21 f.

67 Bernalles Ballesteros, "La Pintura en Lima durante el Virreinato," 64.

68 José M. Mariluz Urquijo, "Las Escuelas de Dibujo y Pintura de Mojos y Chiquitos," *Anales del Instituto de Arte Americano e Investigaciones Estéticas* 9 (1956): 37-51; José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, "Manuel de Oquendo y la pintura en Mojos," *Signo* 5 (1958): 68-73.

69 The historical account of Francisco del Pozo's academy is treated in more detail on pages 135 ff.

70 Francisco Stastny, *Breve Historia del arte en el Perú : la pintura precolombina, colonial y republicana* (Lima: Editorial Universo, 1967), 50.

by the Peruvian painter Ignacio Merino Muñoz, who had completed his artistic formation in Paris. In 1855, Ignacio Merino and Francisco Laso de los Ríos – a former student of Merino at the academy, who had also completed his studies in Paris – represented Peru at the fine arts section of the *Exposition Universelle* in Paris. Regarding their participation, Claude Vignon wrote that,

MM. Laso et Merino, qui représentent le Pérou à l'Exposition universelle, ont envoyé tous deux des portraits remarquables. Ceux de M. Laso [*The Inhabitant of the Cordillera of Peru* (Image 4 on page 281) and *Portrait of Gonzalo Pizarro, One of the Most Famous Conquerors of Peru, Brother of Francisco Pizarro*] sont d'une fermeté et d'une vigueur d'exécution qui frappent à première vue et promettent pur l'avenir. Outre un portrait et un épisode de la vie de Christophe Colomb, M. Merino expose une *Halt d'Indiens Péruviens* qui est d'un assez bon aspect. M. Merino cherche des effets à la Goya, et arrive au moins à le faire voir ; mais son tableau est trop sombre, c'est-à-dire que l'heure à laquelle M. Merino place sa *Halte* n'est pas assez franchement indiquée; ainsi son ciel annonce une heure assez avancée de la soirée, tandis que ses personnages, encore éclairés, feraient croire seulement au déclin du jour.⁷¹

In Vignon's account we can see not only the internationalist orientation of these painters' work, but also that these were observed as pieces of *beaux-arts*. We certainly can no longer refer to these images as corresponding to a form of art that is external to Western fine arts. They correspond to the new cosmopolitan situation of art and art criticism. As Eugène Lauden wrote: “...the spirit of universality which tends to efface distinct characters and to melt away all nuances in

71 Claude Vignon, *Exposition Universelle de 1855. Beaux-Arts* (Paris: Librairie d'Auguste Fontaine, 1855), 111 f.

a yet undecided ensemble[;] these are the new conditions for criticism and for art.”⁷²

However, one shouldn't be so enthusiastic. Readings like these may have been an exception. As Natalia Majluf observed, these paintings by the Creolle cosmopolitans were more commonly valued for their capacity to represent a cultural difference: *“In their search for difference, critics looked not at the paintings on exhibit but at the distant lands they could be made to represent. If the signs of the exotic had to be sought somewhere outside the pictorial frame, it was because the paintings themselves were found to be devoid of significance.”⁷³* This same search for a cultural difference would undoubtedly have been satisfied with picturesque drawings, pre-Hispanic objects and colonial paintings, specially those marked as proceeding from the eighteenth-century school of Cusco. But the context in which this distinction was made, and, therefore, its meaning, had radically changed. I would adventure saying that the observation of the paintings presented by the creole cosmopolitans raises the question of the differentiation of centers and peripheries in a world system of art, and not that of the presence of paintings in the environment of this system anymore. The social processes that lay behind this profound difference in the manner in which these paintings could be observed will be the subject matter of the following pages. Strategically, they will attempt to develop a synthesis of the available literature on this subject from a sociological viewpoint.

72 Eugène Laudun, *Exposition universelle des beaux-arts: Le Salon de 1855* (Paris, 1855), 1-2. Translated by: Natalia Majluf, *““Ce n'est pas le Perou,” or, the Failure of Authenticity: Marginal Cosmopolitans at the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1855,” Critical Inquiry* 23, no. 4 (Summer 1997): 874.

73 *Ibid.*, 884.

1.2 *The centrality of the social context of colonial painting in historical narrations and the need for a systematic review*

It is no surprise that the social context of art has occupied a central position in historical accounts of colonial paintings from the central Andes. A primarily formal history of styles could be attempted only until it became evident that these images showed no concern with the historicity of styles. As Francisco Stastny wrote,

...los artistas virreinales tienden con extraña facilidad a volver al preciosismo manierista de los inicios o, inclusive, a soluciones que recuerdan lenguajes artísticos de épocas de considerable mayor antigüedad... quien observe el panorama desde el lado de Europa tendrá la impresión de estar mirando el arte occidental en un espejo que lo distorsiona.⁷⁴

[...viceregal artists tend with great facility to return to the mannerist preciousness of the beginnings or even to solutions that remind us of considerably older artistic languages... those who observe this landscape from the European side will get the impression of being looking at western art through a distorting mirror.]

In the Hispanic viceroyalties in America, artistic styles could not be distinguished from each other according to the same categories that were assumed by histories of European art. One could, as Jorge Bernales and Ramón Mujica – among several other authors – have proposed, adopt the concept of baroque when making

⁷⁴ Stastny, "Modernidad, ruptura y arcaísmo en el arte colonial," 939. This is a highly consensual observation. See also: Juan Manuel Ugarte Eléspuru, "Introducción a la Pintura Virreinal," in *Pintura Virreinal, Arte y Tesoros del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1973), 22-3; Leopoldo Castedo, "El arte colonial," in *Historia del Arte Iberoamericano*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1988), 207; Mujica Pinilla, "Arte e identidad: las raíces culturales del barroco peruano," 22-24; Roberto Samanez Argumedo, "Las portadas retablo en el barroco cusqueño," in *El Barroco Peruano*, vol. 1, *Arte y Tesoros del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2002), 182.

reference to the artistic traditions of the eighteenth century in this region, but then only with the condition that one didn't imply a set of formal characteristics that these paintings would have shared with baroque paintings from other regions. Whereas Jorge Bernales argued in favor of a concept of baroque in the context of a history of mentalities,⁷⁵ Ramón Mujica understood the baroque as an epoch in which no style excluded another, for each deviation would have been embraced as popular expressions within “...a universal Hapsburg order.”⁷⁶ Neither did Francisco Stastny refer to the formal aspects of a style when noting the Gothic character of local schools of painting in this region. According to him, these were Gothic in their devotional, sentimental and idealistic qualities.⁷⁷ In all these cases, concepts of style have been replaced by ones that make reference to non-artistic phenomena. In their texts one observes that, lacking what seems to have been experienced as a sense of cumulative directionality that could be provided by a history of styles in reference to the European arts,⁷⁸ a representation of the unity of art history in the central Andes was looked for in non-artistic domains.⁷⁹ This left open the question

75 Jorge Bernales Ballesteros, *Historia del Arte Hispanoamericano*, vol. 2, 1st ed. (Madrid: Editorial Alhambra, 1987), 8.

76 Mujica Pinilla, “Arte e identidad: las raíces culturales del barroco peruano,” 27.

77 Stastny, “Modernidad, ruptura y arcaísmo en el arte colonial,” 954. For another version of this argument, see: Francisco Stastny, *Síntomas Medievales en el “Barroco Americano”*, Documentos de trabajo 63 (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1994), 25, <http://www.iep.org.pe/textos/DDT/ddt63.pdf>.

78 This is of course a debatable matter, and so did most authors understand it. As it can be seen in Stastny's observation above (footnote 74), this assertion fulfilled a merely argumentative function in these authors' texts, inasmuch as it provided a counterexample of what they intended to describe. A passage by Ramón Mujica may illustrate this: “Si en el arte europeo ya es problemático definir los límites que fijan el inicio y el final del barroco, en los reinos del Perú los estilos no evolucionan de unos a otros, ni se suceden cronológicamente, ni una tendencia estilística necesariamente se impone o anula a las demás.” Mujica Pinilla, “Arte e identidad: las raíces culturales del barroco peruano,” 22.

79 The historians' representation of the unity of historical processes in narratives is clearest in Chris Lorenz's presentation of the narrative explanatory model of historical hermeneutics: “Es ist seine Aufgabe [of the historian], in einer Erzählung einen Zusammenhang – einen „Gesamtzusammenhang“ - zwischen einer Menge Fakten herzustellen und so ein Bild dessen zu

regarding how to represent the unity of the historical process that was being constructed by historical research on colonial painting in the central Andes, or in other words, how to construct a unified narration of it.

Stylistic analyses of colonial paintings could not be systematized in histories that provided directionality to this process unless one took other contexts into consideration or attempted other analytical strategies. At least since 1922, with the publication of Felipe Cossío del Pomar's doctoral dissertation "Historia Crítica de la Pintura en el Cuzco," one can find texts that complement structural and stylistic analyses of colonial images with hypotheses regarding the influence that the psychological, racial and social contexts had on them. The formal analysis remained however the main concern of histories of colonial painting during the first half of the century.

At first one sought for a representation of the unity of history in the individual process of learning: after the Spanish conquest, Amerindian craftsmen had to be trained in the European art of painting, and this required time – a fact that could explain the difference between their paintings and their European models during the first decades of the colonial period. In this context, the concept of *mestizaje* could be used to explain the distinctive features of local paintings during the last

schaffen, „wie es eigentlich gewesen ist“ (Chris Lorenz, *Konstruktion der Vergangenheit : Eine Einführung in die Geschichtstheorie*, Beiträge zur Geschichtskultur 13 (Köln Weimar Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1997), 128.) For a reflexion on this matter from the point of view of the theory of social systems, see: Niklas Luhmann, "Das Problem der Epochenbildung und die Evolutionstheorie," in *Epochenschwellen und Epochenstrukturen im Diskurs der Literatur- und Sprachgeschichte*, ed. Hans-Ulrich Gumbrecht and Ursula Link-Heer (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1985), 11-29.

two viceregal centuries. By doing so, historical narrations were grounded on racial distinctions: mestizos – persons of mixed Indian and Spanish ancestry⁸⁰ – could serve as a symbol of a difference that was observed in the domains of art.⁸¹

This was still an interesting option in the 1940s and 1950s, as writings by Ángel Guido and Felipe Cossío del Pomar demonstrate.⁸² At the same time, an alternative was provided by the distinction between artistic centers and their provinces, as it can be found in texts by Enrique Marco Dorta and Martin Sebastian Soria.⁸³ Instead of looking at cultures and races, one analyzed the situation of the media of diffusion of artistic innovations: great distances implied stylistic and iconographical noise and chronological distortions. Provincial artistic forms could be understood as echoes of metropolitan inventions. This latter framework

80 Since the second half of the sixteenth century, the term *mestizo* signaled a person of mixed Indian and Spanish ancestry. As Jean-Jacques Decoster observes, from the beginning the term had negative moral connotations that identified the mestizo population with notions of illegitimacy and weakness. Correspondingly, they were mostly excluded from the ecclesiastical hierarchy (Jean-Jacques Decoster, “La sangre que mancha: la Iglesia colonial temprana frente a indios, mestizos e ilegítimos,” in *Incas e indios cristianos: elites indígenas e identidades cristianas en los Andes coloniales* (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas, 2002), 256.). They were also in a vulnerable legal situation, for they were not under the jurisdiction of the “*protector de naturales*,” who was responsible for representing the interests of the Indian communities before the Real Audiencia in Lima (José de la Puente, “Notas sobre la Audiencia de Lima y la “protección de los naturales” (siglo XVII),” in *Passeurs, mediadores culturales y agentes de la primera globalización en el Mundo Ibérico, siglos XVI - XIX*, ed. Scarlett O’Phelan Godoy and Carmen Salazar-Soler (presented at the Congreso internacional Las Cuatro Partes del Mundo en Lima en agosto de 2002, Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2005), 248.). By extension, the concept has been applied to cultural forms that are seen as resulting from the contact between European and Indian cultures.

81 This paradigm is discussed in chapter 2.2.

82 Ángel Guido, *Redescubrimiento de América en el Arte*, 1st ed., Serie Conferencias y Textos 16 (Santa Fé: Universidad Nacional del Litoral, 1940); Felipe Cossío del Pomar, *Arte del Perú Colonial* (México - Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1958).

83 Enrique Marco Dorta, “La pintura en Colombia, Ecuador, Peru y Bolivia,” in *Historia del Arte Hispanoamericano*, vol. 2, 3 vols. (Barcelona, Madrid, Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro: Salvat Editores, 1950), 443-494; Martin S. Soria, *La pintura del siglo XVI en Sudamérica* (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Arte Americano e Investigaciones Estéticas, 1956); Martin S. Soria, “La pintura en el Cuzco y el Alto Perú 1550-1700,” *Anales del Instituto de Arte Americano e Investigaciones Estéticas* 12 (1959): 24-34. These alternatives will be discussed in chapter 2.3.

provided what appeared to be a general law that could subsume the American arts as mere cases that were comparable to other provincial expressions. And, as long as this general law wasn't explicitly formulated, analyzed and criticized, it gave space for meticulous iconographical analyses that compared sources and outcomes. At the same time, this law made it unnecessary to complement the results of these analyses with an iconological one, as it was suggested by Panofsky.⁸⁴ Since it seemed not to require one to make as much assumptions regarding the influence of other variables in art (be them cultural, psychological, social or racial in nature) as the theories of mestizaje did, the center/periphery paradigm gave art history a scientific aura as it had never enjoyed in this field of research.⁸⁵

However, while one could match images with their probable sources and outline the trajectory of individual motifs, one still could not give account of the “provincial echoes” in their historical specificity. A footnote in a text published by Martin Sebastian Soria in 1959 provides a remarkable example of this problem:

Rasgo típico de la pintura del Alto Perú y del Cuzco, es la inclusión de pájaros en el cielo y de plantas en perfil a lo largo de la colina. Como los pájaros generalmente no existen en los modelos europeos y se añaden en el Antisuyu deben haber tenido significado especial, quizás mágico para los indígenas. Debo

84 Erwin Panofsky, “Ikonographie und Ikonologie,” in *Ikonographie & Ikonologie : Bildinterpretation nach dem Dreistufenmodell*, trans. Wilhelm Höck (Köln: DuMont, 2006), 33-59.

85 In an extremely rare event, the methodological distinctions that guided the application of this paradigm were presented in an abstract form by Francisco Stastny in 1965. Interestingly, he makes no reference to the center/periphery distinction that guided his own empirical analyses in an early stage. These are reviewed in chapter 4 below. Francisco Stastny, *Estilo y motivos en el estudio iconográfico: ensayo en la metodología de la historia del arte*, Letras 72-73, 1965.

al Profesor George Kubler la observación de que los pájaros abundan en la poesía y la música incaica y colonial. ¿Serán almas o espíritus del cielo?⁸⁶

[A typical trait of paintings from Alto Peru and Cuzco is the inclusion of birds in the sky and of plants in the foothills. Since generally there are no birds in the European models and they are added in the Antisuyu, they could have had some special meaning, maybe a magical meaning, for the Indians. I owe Professor George Kubler the observation that birds abound in Inca and colonial poetry and music. Could they be souls or spirits from heaven?]

This question surpassed the limits of the center/periphery paradigm. In the second half of the 1960s, a solution was found in the integration of the center/periphery paradigm with that of mestizaje. At first, this required to translate a tradition of thought into empirically verifiable arguments regarding the influence of external variables in art. Thus, even when questions of art historical method had to be considered, there was a revival of the central hypotheses that had been put forward since the third decade of the century. Authors like José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, who were specially interested in building a bridge between these two paradigms, adopted during these years a more skeptical tone when dealing with the influence of Amerindian cultures in colonial architecture and painting. The same holds true for texts published by Francisco Stastny, who was even more skeptical regarding such influences and remained closer to the center/periphery paradigm throughout the 1960s and 1970s.

This was the situation of research about the history of painting in the central

86 Soria, "La pintura en el Cuzco y el Alto Perú 1550-1700," 30 f.

Andes in the viceregal period when the Social Histories of Art experienced a revival. These research programs still aimed at reconstructing the range of meaning that artworks had in their context of origin – as one reads in Helena W. Lepovitz's article in the *Encyclopedia of Social History*.⁸⁷ However, after 1968, the determination of art (and of art history itself) by its social context became the primary focus of much research, and not merely an excursus that aimed at complementing the analysis of artworks.⁸⁸

Correspondingly, an increased emphasis on the social context of paintings in the colonial central Andes took place during the 1970s. As a result, in 1982, José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert offered a synthesis of art historical research on the school of Cusco that provided a unified narration of the emergence of this local tradition. This synthesis was explicitly grounded on an analysis of the institutions that determined the production of art.⁸⁹ As their book became the main point of reference for subsequent publications, their thesis regarding the direct effects that the division of the guild of painters of Cusco between Spanish and Indian members around 1688 had on the differentiation of the Cusco school of painting has become commonplace: free from the supervision of the Spanish painters who used the guild's ordinances to impose their aesthetic canon, the Indian painters were free to

87 Helena Waddy Lepovitz, "Art," in *Encyclopedia of Social History*, ed. Peter N. Stearns, Garland Reference Library of Social Science 780 (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1994), 54-5.

88 Norbert Schneider, "Kunst und Gesellschaft: Der sozialgeschichtliche Ansatz," in *Kunstgeschichte : Eine Einführung*, ed. Hans Belting et al., 7th ed. (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2008), 267-296; Jonathan Harris, *The New Art History : A critical introduction* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001).

89 Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña [Ed. 2]*. Their argument will be discussed in detail in chapter 3.2.

create a style that responded to their own sensibility and world-view while continuing to use European techniques and iconographic sources. According to a “strong” version of this thesis, this style, that corresponds to the Cusco school of painting, would have increasingly responded to primitive and pre-Hispanic canons. Let me quote the passage in which Mesa and Gisbert expose their theory – in a “weak” version that does not mention the survival of pre-Hispanic canons – with greatest clarity:

La razón [de la diferenciación de un estilo regional en Cusco a finales del siglo diecisiete] es obvia; hasta entonces los lineamientos generales de la tendencia estética habían sido dados por los españoles y en el caso de los pintores indios como Quispe Tito y Santa Cruz, éstos seguían formas europeas, el primero lo flamenco y el segundo la escuela madrileña; a partir de entonces los pintores indios exploraron un camino propio, si bien siguen la copia de grabados y usan procedimientos técnicos aprendidos de Europa, su tendencia estética está librada a su criterio y ésta se empieza a desarrollar en forma independiente, acercándose cada vez más a una creación no occidental, como se puede juzgar por los resultados del siglo XVIII, que es el tiempo de auge de la pintura local propiamente dicha;⁹⁰

[There is an obvious reason [for the differentiation of a regional style in Cusco at the end of the seventeenth century]; until then, the general aesthetic guidelines had been established by the Spaniards. In the case of Indian painters like Quispe Tito and Santa Cruz, they had followed European forms; from Flanders and Madrid, respectively. Since then, the Indian painters explored their own way. Even though they continued to copy engravings and to use European technical procedures, their aesthetic tendency was liberated to its own criteria and begins to develop independently, getting closer and closer to a non-western

90 Ibid., 138.

creation, as one can see in works from the eighteenth century, when the peak of this local form of painting took place.]

Taken in its fundamental form, Mesa and Gisbert's model poses no innovation. Elements from the center/periphery and the mestizo paradigms have been blended into a unified narration. When doing so, they have adopted lines of argumentation that go back to the 1920s. However, what made their version so uniquely convincing was its grounding in original empirical documentation. The key piece of evidence was a document from 1688, in which we learn that such a division of the guild had probably taken place in recent years. However, as I will argue extensively in chapter 3.2.1, I think that this document's value as a proof of Mesa and Gisbert's theory has been overestimated.

Adopting Mesa and Gisbert's theory at least partially, other authors have continued to explore the social determinations of colonial paintings in the central Andes. When observing images in their context, the concept of function has gained centrality.⁹¹ Already in an article by Mariano Picón Salas, published in 1931, we find a clear statement that the function of these images wasn't art.⁹² In recent decades, several authors have explored in more detail these images' definition as a function of other societal realms, such as religion and politics. Thus, according to Isabel Cruz, colonial images in this region were constructed according to a program of *arte sacra* that anticipated a heightened symbolic experience of the

91 Regarding the history of the concept of function and its use in the observation of artworks in their context, see: Hans Belting, "Das Werk im Kontext," in *Kunstgeschichte : Eine Einführung*, ed. Hans Belting et al., 7th ed. (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2008), 229-246.

92 Mariano Picón Salas, "El medievalismo en la pintura colonial," *Sur*, Invierno 1931.

world, characteristic of indigenous cultures in the Andes.⁹³ These reflections have more recently been complemented by Ramón Mujica Pinilla's analyses of the operation of colonial paintings as symbols – marks that make present within the immanent world the transcendental realm they represent – and as allegories.⁹⁴

Finally, a more ambitious explanatory effort that takes into account the social context of images in the colonial central Andes has continued to be attempted by Francisco Stastny (see chapter 4). Adopting the renowned thesis about the *hacienda* (colonial state) put forward by Pablo Macera,⁹⁵ Stastny argued that local artistic innovation in the highlands resulted from a situation of cultural misunderstanding that responded to the dual structure of colonial society. The *hacienda* functioned as a link between the semi-capitalist world economy in which its produce was traded and the semi-feudal economic and political relations that were reproduced by the local population that worked and lived within its limits. By expanding this thesis, Stastny argued that images were part of the relations between colonial society and its outer environment. As such, imported images responded to a societal and cultural reality that wasn't the one experienced by most of the colonial populations who worked and lived within the haciendas.

93 Isabel Cruz de Amenábar, "Imágenes y Devoción en el Virreinato Peruano," in *Arte y Sociedad en Chile 1550-1650* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 1986), 19-116.

94 Ramón Mujica Pinilla, "El ancla de Santa Rosa de Lima: mística y política en torno a la Patrona de América," in *Santa Rosa de Lima y su Tiempo, Arte y Tesoros del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1999), 53-211; Mujica Pinilla, "Arte e identidad: las raíces culturales del barroco peruano"; Ramón Mujica Pinilla, "El arte y los sermones," in *El Barroco Peruano*, vol. 1, 2 vols., Colección Arte y Tesoros del Perú (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2002), 219-313; Ramón Mujica Pinilla, "Identidades alegóricas: lecturas iconográficas del barroco al neoclásico," in *El Barroco Peruano*, vol. 2, 2 vols., Colección Arte y Tesoros del Perú (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2003), 258-329.

95 Pablo Macera, "Feudalismo Colonial Americano: El Caso de las Haciendas Peruanas," in *Trabajos de Historia* (Lima: Instituto Nacional de Cultura, 1977), 139-227.

Correspondingly, these didn't have the means to comprehend the original meaning of the imported images. Therefore, when local artisans created new images based on their reading of these, it led to the differentiation of archaic local schools of painting.⁹⁶

For almost a hundred years, the social context of colonial paintings in the central Andes has been the topic of academic reflection. In this short account I have only mentioned what I see as the main trends in this literature. But in any given point, several branches can be distinguished. These differentiate themselves not only in the elements that they recognize in the social context of paintings and in the models they build, but also in the manner in which they relate to the art historical tradition to which they belong. Most texts, specially during the first decades of the century, treat this tradition as a common pool of knowledge that they transmit either to new generations of art historians or to a broader public. In comparison, the 1960s was an exceptional decade in which authors adopted a more critical stance. There was an increase in the level of complexity of the proposed models, which included more detailed iconographical analyses and references to external documentation. With the few exceptions I have already mentioned, following José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert's publications from the first half of the 1980s, innovations in this topic have become rare. It is not, however, that it has ceased to occupy a central position in art historical texts, but rather that this theory that depicts the difference between the European and the local traditions in the central

96 Stastny, "Modernidad, ruptura y arcaísmo en el arte colonial."

Andes as a result of the division of the guild of painters in the final decades of the seventeenth century has become a sort of fact, specially when reproduced by popularizing literature (e.g., exposition catalogs) and adopted back again into research. As a result, alternatives that at least in my opinion are worthy of careful attention have passed mostly unnoticed. To overcome these problems we must take a closer look at this still young tradition of research. The models that represent the relation between colonial art and society in this region have to be differentiated and their claims have to be evaluated under the light of current knowledge.

Based on such a critical review, a synthesis of this literature will be attempted. However, such a synthesis of the available literature on the relation between a local tradition of painting and its social context that aims not only at restating what has been published, but at giving a unified account, has to be theoretically driven. Foremost, it has to adopt a unique and explicit point of view regarding how this relation between art and society will be understood. Chapters 1.3 to 1.5 present the theory of social systems as the point of view from which a reconstruction of this art historical tradition will be attempted. Chapter 1.6 will present the methodological framework that will guide the sociological reconstruction of this art historical tradition.

1.3 *The art system of society in the work of Niklas Luhmann*

Niklas Luhmann's writings observe social systems as self-referential systems that reproduce themselves – that is, the distinction between systems and environment – through their own operations in the medium of meaning. Their basal operation is communication, which emerges through the synthesis of three selections in this medium: a selection of an information to be communicated, a selection of a behavior that may convey that information (utterance), and a third selection of the difference between the first two selections (understanding), which is “...*observed, expected, understood, and used as the basis for connecting with further behaviors.*”⁹⁷ This is a self-determining process that continuously and recursively couples self-reference (utterance) and external reference (information), and exposes this communicated meaning to acceptance or rejection. It presupposes the participation of at least two conscious systems (“ego,” the addressee, and “alter,” the utterer), whose thoughts and emotions remain in the environment of social systems.

That communication is the basal operation of social systems – and of no other kind of system – implies that art will be marked as a social phenomenon only if it emerges as communication from the synthesis of information, utterance and understanding. If not, artworks, as part of the environment of society, could be understood from this sociological perspective, as mere themes of communications –

⁹⁷ Luhmann, *Art as a Social System*, 141.

at most. This is a fundamental point that profoundly distinguishes Niklas Luhmann's sociology of art from other alternatives: communication through art is possible as long as it triggers a search for meaning that is used as a basis for further communications or behaviors (artistic or otherwise), no matter if this search actually arrives at something certain:

What matters is that in art, just as in all other types of communication, the difference between information and utterance serves both as a starting point and as a link for further artistic or verbal communications. "What's the point?" – that is the question. There may be no straightforward answer to this question, or answers may have changed in the course of history. This is no objection; rather, it is typical of powerful and significant art. What is at stake in art is not a problem to be solved once and for all but a provocation – the provocation of a search for meaning that is constrained by the work of art without necessarily being determined in its results;⁹⁸

Art is therefore not only a theme but a type of communication. The previous passage insists on a key feature of this social medium: that, to function as such, an artwork must attract attention to its artificiality or arbitrariness, for only then does the question for social meaning arise. Its properties must be able to be observed as decisions that can be attributed to an "alter" who expects a search for meaning by "ego." In Luhmann's words, *"Once someone (no matter who) recognizes, from the manner of presentation, an arrangement that is produced for an observer, a social medium has come into existence..."*⁹⁹ The artwork is attributed to the artist understood as an active decision-maker, and is anticipated by the audience as

98 Ibid., 24.

99 Ibid., 116.

something it has to experience.¹⁰⁰ In this manner does art make available a form of communication that can be understood as a functional equivalent to language. In general, communication through images already posed such an alternative to linguistic communication: the simultaneous presence of the interrelated elements of images allows communication to circumvent the exposition of communicated meaning to acceptance or rejection through the yes/no code that characterizes the use of language.¹⁰¹ In the case of artistic communication, however, it is not simultaneity which provides an alternative to the customary schema of linguistic acceptance/rejection of intended meaning. The observation of an image as art requires one to reconstruct its network of formal combinations step by step. And interpretative hypotheses vary considerably in time. Niklas Luhmann's analysis of verbal art makes it more clear what is here meant: as art, it communicates *"...not through the propositional content of its utterances, but... by virtue of the ornamental structure of mutually limiting references that appear in the form of words."*¹⁰² The basic point is that the yes/no code of language is replaced by the basal code of art, which distinguishes between *"...what fits / does not fit under added conditions of high complexity, that is to say, in the face of self-generated difficulties."*¹⁰³ I will come back to this.

Once each interaction with (through) art is understood as a social system and, therefore, as an episode of society, the door is open to analyze the formation of

¹⁰⁰Luhmann, *Die Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft*, 351-5.

¹⁰¹Cornelia Bohn, "Sprache - Schrift - Bild," in *Inklusion, Exklusion und die Person* (Konstanz: UVK, 2006), 175-205.

¹⁰²Luhmann, *Art as a Social System*, 20.

¹⁰³Ibid., 25.

social structures in art. Artistic communications are not merely episodic but build up a network that is best comprehended in terms of a subsystem of a functionally differentiated societal system. Thus, according to Niklas Luhmann, art is not merely embedded in social structures, but actualizes society by means of its self-referential communicative operations.

By means of the method of functional comparison, Niklas Luhmann described art as presenting the same fundamental structures as other functional realms of society.¹⁰⁴ The social function of the art system, which delimits the problem-solving realm regarding to which all other systems are considered irrelevant, consists in *"...demonstrating the compelling forces of order in the realm of the possible."*¹⁰⁵ Self-organization occurs both in the level of the individual artwork's self-programming and in the level of the art system's autopoiesis, where networks of observations focused on art are established.

Hans Dieter Huber's proposal to distinguish between three levels of system formation in art, namely works of art, their media and social systems (understood as the differentiation of complementary roles), misses this fundamental point, for it mistakes the autopoiesis of communication with the loose coupling of elements that characterizes all media upon which forms are to be printed. Huber

¹⁰⁴Luhmann presented this method as follows: *"...die Gesellschaftsbedingtheit von Befunden dadurch nachweisen, daß und wie sich in völlig verschiedenartigen Funktionsbereichen (Familie und Politik, Religion und Wirtschaft, kognitive Wissenschaft und imaginative Kunst oder normatives Recht) dieselben Grundstrukturen nachweisen lassen. Das Argument lautet dann: solche Koinzidenzen können sich nicht zufällig ergeben; sie können und müssen auf die Form des Gesellschaftssystems zurückgeführt werden."* Luhmann, *Die Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft*, 43.

¹⁰⁵Luhmann, *Art as a Social System*, 148.

correspondingly distinguishes between communication systems and social systems:

Luhmanns Behauptung, das Kunst ein autopoietisches System ist, das auf Kommunikation basiert und nur aus Kommunikation besteht, ist ebenfalls richtig. Nur beschreibt seine Theorie kein soziales System, sondern ist eine Theorie der Mediensysteme. Wenn man davon spricht, dass Kunst ein Kommunikationssystem ist, dann spricht man nicht von einem sozialen System, sondern von einem Kommunikationssystem;¹⁰⁶

In this regard I assume Niklas Luhmann's central insight that communication is the basal operation of social systems. Behavior is not excluded from this model: as long as it triggers a search for meaning, it is a component (utterance) of communication. Roles can then be comprehended as generalized expectations that have been made independent from the observation of persons.¹⁰⁷ According to Luhmann, the differentiation of complementary roles corresponds to an intermediate state in the differentiation of the societal realms that correspond to each symbolically generalized medium of communication.¹⁰⁸ Thus, the presence of roles that are specific to art implies that specific situations for art have previously been differentiated. On the other hand, such roles are a precondition for the constitution of a social system in which, for specific situations, a variety of mutually complementary roles are coordinated in light of a function. As Rudolf Stichweh has pointed out, four such roles can be distinguished in the domain of

106Hans Dieter Huber, *Kunst als soziale Konstruktion* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2007), 47.

107Niklas Luhmann, *Social Systems*, trans. John Bednarz and Dirk Baecker (Stanford (Calif.): Stanford University Press, 1995), 315 ff.

108Luhmann, "Evolution und Geschichte."

art, which are coordinated in the observation of the emergence of order: the role of the artist (leading role), the role of a general public (complementary role) and the roles of amateur and connoisseur (secondary leading roles), which mediate between the other two.¹⁰⁹

In the realm of generalized behavioral expectations, one can further distinguish between roles and the more abstract *programs*. These are understood as “...a complex of conditions for the correctness (and thus the social acceptability) of behavior.”¹¹⁰ These specify criteria for the application of the basal binary codes that translate the viewpoint of the function into a guiding difference. In art, this code consists on the distinction between “...what fits / does not fit under added conditions of high complexity, that is to say, in the face of self-generated difficulties.”¹¹¹ The criteria that specify the application of such basal code are determined by the works themselves as self-programed networks of distinctions.¹¹² In Monroe C. Beardsley's terms one would speak of the “self-creative” character of artworks: “...each individual process that eventuates in a work of art generates its own direction and momentum. For the crucial controlling power at every point is the particular stage or condition of the unfinished work itself, the possibilities it presents, and the developments it permits.”¹¹³ The historicized concept

109Rudolph Stichweh, “Inklusion in Funktionssysteme der modernen Gesellschaft,” in *Inklusion und Exklusion : Studien zur Gesellschaftstheorie* (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2005), 13-44.

110Luhmann, *Social Systems*, 317.

111Luhmann, *Art as a Social System*, 195.

112Ibid., 202-7.

113Monroe C. Beardsley, “On the Creation of Art,” *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 23, no. 3 (Spring 1965): 297. A passage by Vincent Tomas, from 1958, can also be taken to illustrate this point “...we congratulate him [an artist] because he embodied in colors or in language something the like of which did not exist before, and because he was the originator of the rules he

of style may complement the self-programming of artworks by pointing to the establishment of the art system as a network of observations focused on art.¹¹⁴ That is, the system operates through the marking of artworks as successful, so that solutions that they present may be adopted or taken as a point of reference for subsequent artistic communications. In this respect, Luhmann proposed a functional definition of style, according to which,

Die Funktion des Stils ist es, den Beitrag des Kunstwerkes zur Autopoiesis der Kunst zu organisieren und zwar in gewisser Weise gegen die Intention des Kunstwerkes selbst, die auf Geschlossenheit geht. Der Stil entspricht und widerspricht der Autonomie des Einzelkunstwerks. Er respektiert sie und zweigt trotzdem einen Mehrwert ab. Er beläßt dem Kunstwerk seine Einmaligkeit und zieht gleichwohl Verbindungslinien zu anderen Kunstwerken;¹¹⁵

In retrospective, this means that the observer must position each artwork in an artworld: *"...an atmosphere of artistic theory, a knowledge of the history of art..."* as Arthur Danto defined it.¹¹⁶ The distinction between originality (variation) and style is fundamental in this operation, for it urges the observer to oscillate between the direct observation of the artwork as a self-programmed object (operative level of

implicitly followed while he was painting or writing." Vincent Tomas, "Creativity in Art," *The Philosophical Review* 67, no. 1 (January 1958): 1-2.

114Luhmann, *Art as a Social System*, 208.

115Luhmann, "Das Kunstwerk und die Selbstreproduktion der Kunst," 153.

116Arthur Danto, "The Artworld," *The Journal of Philosophy* 61, no. 19 (October 15, 1964): 580.

With time, Arthur Danto has come closer to George Dickie's institutional definition of the artworld as *"...the social framework in which particular works are embedded."* (George Dickie, "What Is Anti-Art?," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 33, no. 4 (Summer 1975): 419.) This social framework consists on *"...a loosely organized, but nevertheless related, set of persons including artists (understood to refer to painters, writers, composers), producers, museum directors, museum-goers... and others..."* who confer the status of candidates for artistic appreciation. (George Dickie, *Art and the Aesthetic : an Institutional Analysis* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), 35-6.) See, for example, Danto, "Outsider Art.," from 1997.

evolutionary variation) and the observation of its positioning in relation to an artistic tradition (structural level of evolutionary selection).

In comparison to other function systems, and because of the self-programming character of artworks, the “intertextual” network of artistic operations results loose¹¹⁷ - which is specially problematic when considering art as a subsystem of a world society (see chapter 1.4 below). Niklas Luhmann argued that this is nonetheless the case of an autopoietic subsystem of the functionally differentiated society: a system that found its evolutionary “take-off” in the Quattrocento with the differentiation of its basal code and crystallized as an operatively closed communicational realm in Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century. The transition from rococo to neoclassicism marked this later moment as far as criteria for inclusion were no longer class-specific but internal to the system.¹¹⁸ At least with romanticism, “...*the only social support of art is that each functional system deals with its own function, claims priority for its own function, and develops no further competencies that point beyond the system.*”¹¹⁹ The evolution of art is thus consistent with the functional differentiation of society. Since the European eighteenth century, the autopoietic operations of function systems, equal in their inequality, guide social structure formation and act as the main form of system differentiation.¹²⁰ Society can no longer ground its differentiation in distinctions that are external to the operations of the function systems. Only art defines what

117Luhmann, *Art as a Social System*, 216; Luhmann, *Die Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft*, 389.

118Luhmann, *Art as a Social System*, 276.

119Ibid., 166.

120Luhmann, *Die Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft*, 733 ff.

art is and what it is not.

1.4 *Art in a world society*

I affirmed above that we are in presence of an unprecedented regional dispersion of artistic novelty on the side of what Noël Carroll calls serious and ambitious fine art and Niklas Luhmann calls the art system of society. I also affirmed that this phenomenon represents a fundamental change in the form of artistic evolution that corresponds to the emergence of a world societal system. This isn't unproblematic and deserves further reflexion before we deal with the difference between this late phase of globalism and previous ones and concentrate ourselves in the analysis of colonial art in the central Andes.

It is clear that the kind of artistic globalism that Noël Carroll describes implies certain level of homogenization of artworks and of their networks. Carroll understood this as the conformation of a transnational artistic language, a *lingua franca* that is characterized by a generalized preference for art forms that are easy to transport (video, film, photography, computer art, performance art, conceptual art), for critical references to social structures, and for formal strategies based on the “...radical juxtaposition, de-familiarization, and the de-contextualization of objects and images from their customary mileus.”¹²¹ From this position, one could

¹²¹Carroll, “Art and Globalization: Then and Now,” 140.

fear that such a *lingua franca* would threaten the possibilities that subaltern centers of contemporary art could still have to construct alternative discourses without returning to the folkloric celebration of regional identities.¹²² Victoria Laurie has given a nice formulation of this problem: “...the Western art world is yet to overcome its egocentricity, treating other cultural sphere as fertile hunting grounds rather than places where contemporary art with distinctively Islamic, Oriental, Latin American or even Eastern European roots is being produced.”¹²³

From the point of view of the theory of social systems one observes that such a *lingua franca* should be understood as a consequence of a more fundamental homogenization: one that marks works of art as elements of communicative systems. We must thus resolve how to describe the art of world society. The observation of global phenomena in this theoretical context is made, in a first step, by reference to the distinction between interactions and societies. As we have seen, communication is recognized as the basal operation of social systems. Interactions constitute minimal social systems, or episodes of societies. Societies are the most encompassing level of social system formation.¹²⁴ This implies that for every communication there can be just one societal system, but it doesn't rule out the historical possibility of a plurality of societies among which communication is either impossible or would have no (or relatively few) consequences.¹²⁵ Therefore,

122 Mosquera, “Good-bye identidad, welcome diferencia: del arte Latinoamericano al arte desde América Latina.”

123 Victoria Laurie, “Dialogue with the Outside World,” *The Australian*, February 2, 2009, sec. The Arts, <http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,25197,24992890-16947,00.html>.

124 Luhmann, *Social Systems*, 406.

125 Rudolph Stichweh, “Zur Genese der Weltgesellschaft. Innovationen und Mechanismen,” in *Die Weltgesellschaft. Soziologische Analysen* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2000), 248;

as Rudolf Stichweh has pointed out, one cannot mistake, “...*the ecological interaction between societies – i.e. societies becoming relevant environment for other societies – with processes of structure formation in one and the same societal system.*”¹²⁶ Niklas Luhmann assumed that the latter would be the case of present-day society: it has become a unique societal system that has by environment everything that is not communication. I think that this assertion overlooks the presence of “lost tribes” on the environment of world society: societies that, for the most part, can only be reached by world society as themes of communication.¹²⁷ However, ours is clearly a society that is actualized in interactions that take place all over the Earth.¹²⁸

As I have already noted, Niklas Luhmann's focus on the western European region is particularly evident in his analyses of the art system of society. Very few references are made throughout his work to problems associated with the position of art in relation to the structures of a world society. Two observations are nonetheless crucial: that the observation of art works from different regions is primarily directed by the code of art and not by cultural comparisons, and that art alliances, movements or groups might provide a mechanism that makes probable the emergence of stylistic meta-programs with independence from regional frontiers.

Luhmann, “Globalization or World Society: How to Conceive of Modern Society?”; Luhmann, “Die Weltgesellschaft.”

126Rudolph Stichweh, “On the Genesis of World Society: Innovations and Mechanisms,” 2004, <http://www.unilu.ch/files/26stwworldsoc.pdf>; Stichweh, “Zur Genese der Weltgesellschaft. Innovationen und Mechanismen,” 247.

127Stuart Kirsch, “Lost Tribes: Indigenous People and the Social Imaginary,” *Anthropological Quarterly* 70, no. 2 (April 1997): 58-67.

128Stichweh, *Die Weltgesellschaft. Soziologische Analysen*.

According to Niklas Luhmann, with the rise of cultural comparisons in the eighteenth century,¹²⁹ art fell under the label of culture along with religion, what required including the exclusion of cultural comparisons in the observation of art.¹³⁰ This is an interesting claim, for it stresses that the self-organization of the art system is achieved with independence from cultural or territorial criteria, so that comparisons between local traditions must be primarily directed by the code of art. This opens the possibility for a penetration of “disembedded” or “decontextualized” structures in localized interactions.¹³¹ It follows that the art system must be described as taking part of the structures of a world society; a point of view that moves to the foreground the problems that specific regions must confront.¹³² From this position, sociological observations aim at revealing the structural value that regional differences, which may be described as the synchronized occurrence of asynchronous levels of development, acquire in the context of a world societal system.¹³³

Niklas Luhmann observed that, given a globalization of the artwork/context distinction, a regional differentiation of contexts wouldn't result surprising: *“Nur die Struktur Werk/Kontext hat sich weltgesellschaftlich durchgesetzt, aber gerade sie ermöglicht nun auch die Differenzierung der Kontexte, die unterschiedliche*

129Niklas Luhmann, “Kultur als historischer Begriff,” in *Gesellschaftsstruktur und Semantik. Studien zur Wissenssoziologie der modernen Gesellschaft*, vol. 4 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1995), 31-54.

130Luhmann, *Art as a Social System*, 212.

131Stichweh, *Die Weltgesellschaft. Soziologische Analysen*, 18.

132Luhmann, “Globalization or World Society: How to Conceive of Modern Society?,” 163.

133Stichweh, *Die Weltgesellschaft. Soziologische Analysen*, 13 f.

Innovationen unterschiedliche Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten bieten."¹³⁴ If the regional differentiation of art is to be expected, what mechanisms are responsible for it and how does art still emerge as a global system? Considering the self-organization of art as a social system, the regional differentiation of contexts must be explained in terms of system-internal mechanisms of evolution: as anchored in the dynamic stability that characterizes the autopoiesis of the system. Applying the distinction between variation, selection and re-stabilization in the observation of the art system, Niklas Luhmann observed that evolutionary variations occur in the level of observations when dealing with the individual artworks' self-programming and are retrospectively selected in the level of intertextual discourse as differences of style, though without forcing structural re-stabilization: styles don't contain recipes for the successful self-programming of artworks.¹³⁵ As Lorenz Dittmann pointed out, "*Stil lässt sich an den schlechten Werken ebenso aufzeigen wie an guten.*"¹³⁶ Neither do selections imply direct additive or causal relations, as many critics of the application of the theory of evolution to the study of art have so clearly defended: Thomas Munro hesitating observation that "*Art is somewhat cumulative*"¹³⁷ anticipates Niklas Luhmann's proposal that "*It is perhaps a unique feature of the art system that the "intertextual" network connecting works produced within the*

134Luhmann, *Die Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft*, 163.

135Luhmann, *Art as a Social System*, 226-35; Luhmann, "Das Kunstwerk und die Selbstreproduktion der Kunst."

136Lorenz Dittmann, *Stil-Symbol-Struktur. Studien zu Kategorien der Kunstgeschichte* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1967), 150. The distinction between structural and stylistic analysis, as presented by Lorenz Dittman (structure not being opposed to ornament), can further illustrate this idea: while the structural analysis takes the work of art as a closed unity and arrives at a critical evaluation, the stylistic analysis looks only for those properties that are characteristic of a group.

137Thomas Munro, "Do the Arts Evolve? Some Recent Conflicting Answers," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 19, no. 4 (Summer 1961): 412.

*system is not very tight...*¹³⁸ This condition would pose a limitation to the arts' potential to differentiate a system: *“Die Bindung, die in einer Kommunikation erzeugt wird, muß für andere relevant sein, und zwar so, daß erst später entschieden werden muß: wofür. Diesem Erfordernis kann die Kunst nur schwer genügen, und ihr Systembildungspotential bleibt deshalb gering.”*¹³⁹

The tightness of this self-evolving intertextual network results specially low when considered in a global context. A first problem relates to the conditions of inclusion in the art system. To recognize variation, those who engage in the observation of art, let them be artists or audiences, require access to up-to-date information regarding the state of the artworld. Conversely, variations need to achieve diffusion to integrate the ranks of “the imaginary museum.” The improbability of such global diffusion of the artworld is evident. It will vary depending on the work's substratum, on the state of development of the media of telecommunication and transportation in each region, and on the also regionally specific development of the institutions of the art world – what may be called an “art industry.”¹⁴⁰ In this level, the difference between core and periphery may prove itself useful for the analysis of the art system of the functionally differentiated world society. Cores are established by the concentration of resources that make

138Luhmann, *Art as a Social System*, 216.

139Luhmann, *Die Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft*, 389.

140The classic analyses presented by Howard Becker show the complexities of these regional institutional art worlds. (Howard Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).) Luhmann's proposal has been criticized for not dealing with this realm of artistic organizations, networks and institutions. See: Huber, *Kunst als soziale Konstruktion*; Erkki Sevänen, “Art as an Autopoietic Sub-System of Modern Society. A Critical Analysis of the Concepts of Art and Autopoietic Systems in Luhmann's Late Production,” *Theory, Culture & Society* 18, no. 1 (2001): 87.

probable the inclusion of persons in artworlds: museums, galleries, exhibitions, theater buildings, libraries, academies, universities, critics, art dealers, specialized contacts and the like, which in turn have a say as to what stylistic traits achieve greater diffusion in regional contexts.¹⁴¹ These factors are likely to lead to the morphogenesis¹⁴² of regional differentiations. And cultural comparisons may be not the last factor to input positive feedback into a deviation-amplifying process.

Conversely, art associations or movements may be seen as conforming a mechanism that counterbalances regional differentiation. In this respect, Niklas Luhmann observed that art alliances, movements or groups consist on loose networks that “...appear to be motivated by the desire to find support in similar efforts for unusual programmatic decisions, so that they do not come across merely as idiosyncratic moves by individuals.”¹⁴³ They can be thought of as transnational networks¹⁴⁴ that make probable the emergence of stylistic meta-programs with independence from regional frontiers. As such, their operations are parallel to the distinction *kollegiale Affinität/kollegialer Komplementarität* of the science system:

Man muß kollegiale Affinität, bei der Kooperation durch eine sehr enge Verwandtschaft in den Problemformulierungen motiviert wird, von kollegialer Komplementarität unterscheiden, die dort vorliegt, wo die Unvollständigkeit der kognitiven Ressourcen eines jeden Forschers Kooperation verlangt. Kollegiale Affinität meint eine Relation, die für ein wissenschaftliches

141Danto, “The Artworld,” 584; Pascal Gielen, “Art and Social Value Regimes,” *Current Sociology* 53, no. 5 (September 2005): 789-806.

142Magoroh Maruyama, “The Second Cybernetics: Deviation-Amplifying Mutual Causal Processes,” *American Scientist* 51 (1963): 164-179, 250-256.

143Luhmann, *Art as a Social System*, 167.

144Ludger Pries, *Die Transnationalisierung der sozialen Welt* (Suhrkamp, 2008).

Kommunikationssystem intern ist; kollegialer Komplementarität bezieht sich auf eine Pluralität (disziplinärer) Kommunikationssysteme, die im Verhältnis zueinander Umwelten sind;¹⁴⁵

Art associations provide an art-internal system/environment distinction that makes probable the emergence of stylistic meta-programs with independence from regional frontiers when such metaprograms are not already provided by other social realms. One might think for instance in the “Boom” of Latin American narrative as a loosely coupled transnational network that shared similar programmatic decisions in the observation of regional Latin American spoken languages as medial substratum for literature.¹⁴⁶ Adopting the distinction drawn by Rudolf Stichweh, we may say that art associations of this sort provide mechanisms of “global interrelation” that direct evolution in the art system towards “global decentralization.”

In conclusion, the core problem that the art system has to resolve is how to make probable that each work of art triggers a search for meaning that is used as a basis for further artistic communications. This is already a highly unlikely situation that is only stressed by present-day globalism. While regional cores may develop, social innovations have been put to work that counterbalance their effect. In this regard, artistic alliances offer a form of transnational epistemic community that deals specifically with artistic programing. Large-scale exhibitions, like Documenta and

¹⁴⁵Rudolph Stichweh, “Globalisierung der Wissenschaft und die Region Europa,” in *Die Weltgesellschaft. Soziologische Analysen* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2000), 111.

¹⁴⁶Fernando A. Valenzuela, “Arte y Entretenimiento en la Nueva Narrativa Hispanoamericana. Sociología del Boom,” in *Observando sistemas: nuevas apropiaciones y usos de la teoría de Niklas Luhmann*, ed. Ignacio Farías and José Ossandón (Santiago, Chile: Ril, 2006), 101-118.

Venice, are yet another clear case of such social innovations: organized by a professional class of curators that travel around the world in search for artistic novelties, these global events may be taken to be the most clear testimony of the artworld's globalism.¹⁴⁷ In James Meyer's words,

Within the new dispensation, it's the curators who travel the most, who see the greatest range of work, who have the broadest sense of practice; the curators whose activity (exhibition) is closest to practice and has the greatest impact on it... Greenberg used to observe that it was impossible to be a truly informed critic if one didn't live in New York. Well, the rules have changed: It's impossible to be informed if you don't *travel* – globally and constantly;¹⁴⁸

Curators feed from the geographical dispersion of artistic novelties, which, as has been noted by Carroll, take advantage of the new techniques of mass communication. One could also think on cases of transnational formal organizations and markets. Of course, all these social innovations deserve more careful research. They lay, however, beyond the limits of this research.

When analyzing the history of art since the sixteenth century from the point of view of Niklas Luhmann's theory of social systems, one should not only put emphasis on the differentiation of art as a social system in western Europe in the context of the functional differentiation of the societal system, but also on the constitution of art as part of the structures of a world society. This means that one should analyze the mechanisms through which this system reproduces itself in a

¹⁴⁷Carroll, "Art and Globalization: Then and Now."

¹⁴⁸Meyer et al., "Global Tendencies: Globalism and the Large-Scale Exhibition."

global scale and the problems that specific regions must confront. Furthermore, when observing this process from the point of view of the peripheries of the world society, it becomes crucial that one gives account not only of the operations of the social system of art, but also of other kinds of art that have continued to reproduce themselves in its environment – a phenomenon that presents itself as the synchronized occurrence of asynchronous levels of development.¹⁴⁹ In the following chapters will attempt to reconstruct the history of painting in the central Andes from last decades of the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth century from this point of view. Before dealing with the art historical texts, I will deal in greater detail with Niklas Luhmann's theory of ornamentation as a social operation, so that we have the theoretical means to observe the difference between the social system of art and other art forms in its environment in the level of the social operations of observation.

1.5 Art and ornament: social system, parasitic ornamental systems and symbolization

The ornament occupies a central position in Niklas Luhmann's analyses of art. As a “preadaptive advance,” it is seen as an operation that, being characteristic of other kinds of art as well, was fundamental for the differentiation of art as a self-evolving social system. To understand how, from the point of view of Luhmann's

¹⁴⁹Stichweh, *Die Weltgesellschaft. Soziologische Analysen*, 13 f.

theory of social systems, one could deal with the distinction between the social system of art and other kinds of art in its environment, we can try to specify what he meant by “ornamental art forms.” This is also a relevant task given the centrality of the concept of ornament in descriptions of paintings and their architectural contexts in colonial central Andes. As I will argue in chapter 2, the concept of ornamental art can indeed be assumed as the central category that articulates this historiographic tradition.

1.5.1 Ornament as mere decoration and as unifying principle

Latent in Niklas Luhmann's *Die Kunst der Gesellschaft* there are two different but interrelated uses of the concept of ornament. Clarifying this distinction will allow us to build a sociological theory of art that incorporates the distinction between the system of art and other kinds of art in its environment.

On the one hand, following a tradition that goes back to Alberti, the ornament is seen in Luhmann's work as mere decoration, in distinction from the artworks' composition, structure or form, where artistic beauty might be achieved. Luhmann observed that the use of this notion of ornamentation since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries indicates that the differentiation of a social system of art was already underway, for the beauty of art had to be distinguished from the beauty that one could find in the world.¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰Luhmann, *Art as a Social System*, 120 ff., 158 ff.

A similar notion of ornamentation is used when distinguishing the non-artistic function of an object from its decoration. In this case, however, the functional redundancy of decoration is not as clear. As Ernst H. Gombrich pointed out, decoration might contribute to a fast recognition of the limits between the functional parts of an object: ornamentation provides a “clarifying articulation.”¹⁵¹

This is connected with a second concept of ornament that Luhmann explicitly introduced in his analysis of art: the ornamental components of an artwork are distinguished from the figurative (representative or illusory) ones.¹⁵² Close to Gombrich's notion of articulation, Luhmann observed that the ornament is the infrastructure that keeps the work of art together: “*It prevents the work from falling apart into isolated figures, on which one can focus or from which one can turn away. The ornament... holds the artwork together, precisely because it does not partake in its figurative division.*”¹⁵³ In this sense, ornamentation may be defined as the recursive operation with forms that organizes the mediums of time and space or their doubling within imaginary worlds. The concept of form used in this definition has been adapted by Luhmann from Spencer Brown's *Laws of Form*: it is (and signals) a distinction between two states (sides, spaces or contents), together with the distinguished states and its implicit context.¹⁵⁴ Correspondingly, Luhmann

151 Ernst H. Gombrich, *Ornament und Kunst : Schmucktrieb und Ordnungssinn in der Psychologie des dekorativen Schaffens*, trans. Albrecht Joseph (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1982), 177, 220 f.

152 In a similar sense, Ernst H. Gombrich insisted on noting that his analysis of the psychology of ornamentation complement his previous analyses of illusion.

153 Luhmann, *Art as a Social System*, 120.

154 The distinction between three explicit aspects and an implicit one has been taken from: Tatjana Schönwälder, Katrin Wille, and Thomas Hölscher, *George Spencer Brown : Eine Einführung in die "Laws of Form"* (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2004), 71 f.

presented the ornament as being created through the mutual limitation of similar two-sided forms, as it can be appreciated in the following passage concerning what he called “ornamental art:”

One form seizes the next, the side produced along with it needs to be filled, distinctions must be established or return back into themselves – and all of this is driven by an internal dynamic that propels the execution of these operations without much consideration of the object. Of course, the material must be receptive to such a dynamic, and it must accommodate the purpose for which one wants to use the material. But the ornament decides for itself what fits and what does not fit. It creates an imaginary space that is stabilized by external factors without being determined by them;¹⁵⁵

This kind of operation is for Luhmann “*...the smallest unit in the artistic process.*”¹⁵⁶

One that is shared by arts of all kinds: “ornamental” or not.

Following this distinction between the ornamental and figurative elements of works of art, Luhmann distinguished between non-figurative and figurative artworks in the context of the social system of art: between those that only use ornamentation to organize space and time directly and those that begin “*...by projecting an imaginary space or time in order to gain a free hand in employing this self-created medium for purposes of ornamentation and representation.*”¹⁵⁷ In both cases, the ornament serves as the guiding principle that keeps the work together. One should distinguish between the “imaginary space” that ornaments in general

¹⁵⁵Luhmann, *Art as a Social System*, 227.

¹⁵⁶Ibid., 228.

¹⁵⁷Ibid., 115.

create and the “imaginary world” that figurative artworks project. Otherwise, the distinction figurative/non-figurative would collapse. In Luhmann's work, one could correspondingly distinguish between the ornament's self-referential closure and the duplication of the differential nature of space and time by intuition or imagination.¹⁵⁸

1.5.2 Ornamental art and parasitic ornamental systems

What characterizes “ornamental art” in the context of the distinctions decorative/structural and ornamental/figurative? In Niklas Luhmann's text, “ornamental art” is simply distinguished from the social system of art of a functionally differentiated society. This opposition makes no sense from the point of view of the ornamental/figurative distinction, which has precedence in Luhmann's analyses. As an operation that provides articulation and meaning, the ornament is present in both sides: both in works of art that are signaled as elements of the function subsystem of art and in those that are not. The concept of “preadaptive advances” allows to solve this problem: *“...the practice of decoration (in the widest sense) appears to be a preadaptive advance, a development that initially served other functions and to which one can return in the course of the art system's differentiation as if art had existed at all times.”*¹⁵⁹ Consequently, the distinction between the social system of art and ornamental art cannot be grounded in the level of the operation of ornamentation as such.

¹⁵⁸Ibid., 113.

¹⁵⁹Ibid., 218. See also: Ibid., chap. 6.iv.

An alternative is posed by the concept of function, which is closer to the realm of meaning of the decorative/structural distinction; that is to say, to the first usage of the concept of ornament in the work of Luhmann. Ornamental (or ornamented) objects may be observed and signaled as though they were created “*...for the sake of being observed*”¹⁶⁰ or, more specifically, for “*...demonstrating the compelling forces of order in the realm of the possible.*”¹⁶¹ Then they are called art, for the social function of art assumes priority. Ornamental objects may otherwise be observed as though they were created “*...as supports for other functional circles.*”¹⁶² In this case, the observation of the ornamental system is still based on a reconstruction of decisions concerning what fits or does not fit (the binary code that guides the operations of the system of art), for one still has to deal with an operation of ornamentation. However, the ornamental system would follow “external orientation.”¹⁶³ Ernst H. Gombrich's observation of a “clarifying function” that is fulfilled by the decoration of “functional” objects corresponds to a situation like this, but doesn't exhaust all alternatives. Understood as a category that encompasses *heteronomous ornamental systems* in general, ornamental art would also include, for example, the utilization of narrative or allegorical paintings within churches: while paintings might be used to articulate different architectural elements, this function might be secondary to its role as media of diffusion of religious communications.¹⁶⁴ The distinction between “ornamental art” and a

160Ibid., 117.

161Ibid., 148.

162Ibid., 140.

163Ibid., 227.

164Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, *The place of narrative* (University of Chicago Press, 1995).

social system of art implies the observation of a hierarchy of functions that guide the construction of the object, and not an option among mutually exclusive functions. In this sense, an ornamented object would be classified by an observer as ornamental art if in his or her reconstruction of the object the social function of art does not have preeminence over any other function.

An analysis of styles can still be attempted in this realm. However, one does no longer assume that variation has come about as an explicit attempt to promote the self-programming of artworks against the background of a history of styles. In this sense, as I have noted above, the “modernity” of the social system of art can be understood as the result of a shift in the primary system of reference of sociocultural evolution: change in art ceases to be steered by mechanisms of variation, selection and re-stabilization in the level of society as a system and specifies its own mechanisms as a subsystem of society.

If we take a function to be a position from which comparisons are made, then the distinction between ornamental art and a social system of art can be treated as an observation of second order: as an observation of an observers' observation as such.¹⁶⁵ An observer might use the social function of art as a point of comparison to introduce the ornamental object at hand in a history of art, regardless of other comparisons that he or she might find fitting. As a symbolically generalized media of communication, art makes it likely that observers proceed in such an unlikely

¹⁶⁵Niklas Luhmann, “Wie lassen sich latente Strukturen beobachten?,” in *Das Auge des Betrachters - Beiträge zum Konstruktivismus: Festschrift Heinz von Foerster*, ed. Paul Watzlawick and Peter Krieg (München: Piper-Verl., 1991), 61-74.

manner; that they assume that the object has been created “for the sake of being observed” and that, in reference to this problem, it is expected from them that they let their experience be guided by this object's self-programmed formal combinations. Furthermore, observers assume that, in retrospective, they shall accept or reject the proposed artistic communication only or at least primarily in reference to such experience.¹⁶⁶ If an observer decides that such assumptions are wrong, he or she can adopt the distinction between ornament and structure to describe the ornamental object at hand as “ornamental art.” Thus, the need for the concept of “ornamental art” appears only in the context of a social system of art. It is, as Luhmann pointed out, a category that is applied in retrospective. It signals other kinds of art in the environment of this system.

There is a first special case of “ornamental art” that I would like to highlight because of its relevance for the study of colonial art in the region of the central Andes: an observer might recognize that such a heteronomous ornamental system uses another ornamental system as medium. In reference to this case, we might assume James Trilling's definition of decoration as “...*the art we add to art... It simply means that one work of art has been added to another, and is therefore physically and visually dependent on it...*”¹⁶⁷ When added to another artwork, decoration transforms it. Every artisan or decorator knows this. I'll call “*parasitic ornamental systems*” those cases in which, while the host is assumed by another observer to have been created with a history of art in mind, the same observer

¹⁶⁶Luhmann, *Die Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft*, 351 ff.

¹⁶⁷James Trilling, *Ornament: a modern perspective* (University of Washington Press, 2003), 23.

decides that the same assumption cannot be made in reference to the parasite. Thus, the parasite is seen to have transformed its host into ornamental art. These parasites are what Francisco Stastny has described as “the re-archaization” of painting in colonial central Andes.¹⁶⁸ That this has systematically been seen by art historians as one of the most characteristic operation of paintings that were produced in the central Andes during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries forces us to ask for the society in which it was made probable. Further observations regarding the religious context of art can narrow down this question.

1.5.3 Ornament and symbolic art

As Niklas Luhmann observed, an art that was primarily symbolic “...searched for a higher meaning in its condensed ornamental relationships.”¹⁶⁹ Its distinction from a form of art that presents itself as a sign and another one that experiments with formal combinations was presented by Luhmann as an evolution in the form of artistic referentiality. It is therefore a distinction that has to be taken into consideration when analyzing the synchronized occurrence of asynchronous levels of development in art.

Niklas Luhmann based his analysis of the transition from symbol to sign mainly on Julia Kristeva's work. Given the abstruse character of Luhmann's discussion of this matter,¹⁷⁰ it is better to introduce these distinctions based on Kristeva's analyses,

¹⁶⁸Stastny, “Modernidad, ruptura y arcaísmo en el arte colonial.” See chapter 4.1 below.

¹⁶⁹Luhmann, *Art as a Social System*, 168.

¹⁷⁰Ibid., 167-78. See also Luhmann, “Sign as Form.”

which can be seen as constructing a dialogue with Ferdinand de Saussure and Walter Benjamin. This will be presented briefly.

The distinction sign/symbol has been drawn with the problem of contingency in mind. Ferdinand de Saussure acknowledged this usage in his *Course of General Linguistics*, published in 1916: unlike the concept of sign, the concept of symbol refers to a semiotic unit that, “...is never wholly arbitrary; it is not empty, for there is the rudiment of a natural bond between the signifier and the signified.”¹⁷¹ The concept of symbol makes reference not to the signifier, but to a link between signifier and signified that is taken as given.

In Walter Benjamin's work from 1927 on the *Trauerspiel*, the Romantic concept of symbol is criticized in similar terms, for it posits the artwork's capacity to realize the unity between the immanent signifier and the transcendental signified object: “...the beautiful is supposed to merge with the divine in an unbroken whole.”¹⁷² This criticism seems to be directed not against the possibility of symbolization as such, but against a self-description of art that does not fully acknowledge that the paradoxical material representation of the transcendental object in the form of the mystery pertains to the domain of religion and not to that of art anymore.¹⁷³ The operations of art had moved towards the allegorical as an unbridgeable gap had been introduced between signifier and signified: “The [allegorical] signifies merely

171 Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, trans. Roy Harris (London: Duckworth, 1983), 68 f.

172 Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, trans. John Osborne (London, 1977), 159 f.

173 Ibid., 160.

a general concept, or an idea which is different from itself; the [symbolic] is the very incarnation and embodiment of the idea."¹⁷⁴ In a world of signs, meaning was no longer self-evident in the experience of reality, but had to be reached out to – though never experienced as a whole – through abstruse semiotic constructions. As noted by Bainard Cowan, "*Transforming things into signs is both what allegory does – its technique – and what it is about – its content.*"¹⁷⁵ The concept of symbol in the self-description of Romantic art would be a sign of a kind of melancholy.

Julia Kristeva restated this in a historicized model.¹⁷⁶ While both Saussure and Benjamin criticized the concept of symbol before assuming its other side – either the sign or the allegory –, Kristeva focused on the passage from symbol to sign as it occurred from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. She adopted the general notion of symbol proposed by Charles S. Peirce – a symbol "*...refers to the object that it denotes by virtue of a law, usually an association of general ideas.*"¹⁷⁷ – as a common ground for both symbols and signs understood as semiotic practices. That is, the symbol is understood as a specific case of symbolic signs. The semiotic practice in which it partakes is a cosmogonic one:

...ces éléments (les symboles) renvoient à une (des) transcendance(s) universelle(s), irréprésentable(s) et méconnaissable(s); des connexions univoques relient ces transcendances aux unités qui les évoquent; le symbole ne

¹⁷⁴Ibid., 164 f.

¹⁷⁵Bainard Cowan, "Walter Benjamin's Theory of Allegory," *New German Critique*, no. 22 (Winter 1981): 110.

¹⁷⁶Kristeva, *Le texte du roman. Approche sémiologique d'une structure discursive transformationnelle*, 25-35.

¹⁷⁷Charles S. Peirce, *Philosophical Writings of Peirce*, ed. J. Buchler (New York: Dover Publications, 1955), 102.

'ressemble' pas à l'objet qu'il symbolise; les deux espaces (symbolisé-symbolisant) sont séparés et incommunicables;¹⁷⁸

In the vertical axis, symbols are paradoxical units that establish univocal and, in this sense, restrictive references to unrepresentable objects. In the horizontal axis, symbols are antiparadoxical in their mutual articulation, for they exclude one another. Since their meaning is fixed before usage, they are subject to quantitative limitations and require repetition. A sign, on the contrary, evokes a collection of more concrete images and potential ideas, the actualization of which depends on the signifying unit's articulation with other signs. The unspecific meaning of the isolated sign is defined by its context. The temporal dimension is enriched, as the present must be thought of as been partially determined by past decisions and as partially determining future states. Thus, the text gives the impression of an open structure that has come to an arbitrary end. Hence the fictional character of artworks.

The operational concept of the ornament introduced by Niklas Luhmann – that is, the second concept of ornamentation that we distinguished in the previous section - is clearly related to an understanding of art as it presents itself on the era of the sign: forms in a network limit each other, and the meaning to which the work arrives depends on the course taken by a self-referential operation of ornamentation. Correspondingly, Luhmann also proposed that works that are produced within the social system of art construct a reality or a world of their

¹⁷⁸Kristeva, *Le texte du roman. Approche sémiologique d'une structure discursive transformationnelle*, 26.

own, which might be called fiction¹⁷⁹ – a concept that is not limited to figurative pieces, since it responds to the ornament's creation of a space of its own. Nowadays, when signs are understood as making no reference to an external signifier, art is seen as an experimentation with formal combinations.¹⁸⁰

Symbolic art, wrote Luhmann, “...searched for a higher meaning in its condensed ornamental relationships.”¹⁸¹ As Ernst H. Gombrich commented, it is hard to see in this realm the limit that separates play from ritual.¹⁸² In the face of this problem, I propose that we distinguish between levels of signification; that is, between different levels in which the operations of communication take place. On a first level, an art that is primarily symbolic makes present, in the immanent world, the transcendental object it represents. This objects' meaning is not constructed each time again through formal combinations. It is provided by tradition, so that the symbol is anchored in its given shape. On a second level that highlights the immanent conditioning of this hierophany, ornament becomes decoration, for it has to be distinguished from the symbol in its given form. Ornamental relationships can still establish a dense network, the meaning of which – understood as the achievement of order – would only be apprehended as a result of formal decisions that have to deal with strong contextual limitations. Thus, symbolic art can only be considered ornamental art inasmuch as symbols allow

179Luhmann, *Art as a Social System*, 142 f; Niklas Luhmann, “Weltkunst,” in *Niklas Luhmann. Schriften zu Kunst und Literatur*, ed. Niels Werber (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2008), 189-245.

180Luhmann, *Art as a Social System*, 176.

181Ibid., 168.

182Gombrich, *Ornament und Kunst : Schmucktrieb und Ordnungssinn in der Psychologie des dekorativen Schaffens*, 179.

and call for supplementary ornamentation. This is a clear case in which ornamentation is applied as support for functional circles other than art.

Within such contextual limitations, which are established by the symbol's given form, a secondary medium for ornamentation is created.¹⁸³ At first, this medium can be exploited to further support religious communications. The donors of precious images, frames or garments – Sartiges' "*manie des dorures*"¹⁸⁴ – might signal their piety and achieve moral recognition. For members of the Inca elite in the colonial system, this could have been a good strategy for achieving inclusion in other social spheres; one that could be reinforced by having oneself portrayed precisely as a converted and pious Inca.¹⁸⁵ This strategy implies that rich ornamentation is seen to have some effect on the efficacy of symbolic images: that it constitutes a sacrifice that might be reciprocated. In this form, art participates of a sphere of social reality in which every experience or action can be communicated as contingent in the light of transcendence, so that it triggers a search for meaning that is religious proper.¹⁸⁶ With the support of art, one communicates within religion. This form of evaluation of a painting's worth that takes into consideration, in the first place, factors like the utilization of precious pigments and the extension of the painted surface, isn't primarily an indicator of opulent consumption, as Michael Baxandall argued.¹⁸⁷ Neither is its observation in the context of religion

183 Regarding the medium/form distinction here adopted, see: Luhmann, *Art as a Social System*, 102 ff.

184 See footnote 56.

185 Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1999).

186 Luhmann, "Ausdifferenzierung der Religion"; Luhmann, *Die Religion der Gesellschaft*.

187 Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy*.

limited to the three functions of educating, recalling and exciting. It can also be primarily a sacrifice or a gift – in Marcel Mauss' sense¹⁸⁸ – through which a relation of reciprocity with the divinity is established.

Still, as Baxandall correctly observed, this medium allowed for the development of ornamentation beyond religious criteria. The distinction between material substratum and prototype, that fuels the form of a symbol, gives way to the distinction between fit and lack of fit. When this occurs, the aura of the sacred is replaced by the aura of art.¹⁸⁹ Some art will remain to be “*...the servant of religion*”¹⁹⁰ as long as one believes in the efficacy of religious symbols. However, as Niklas Luhmann pointed out, “*...the moment the symbol is communicated as a symbol, it raises the suspicion of being a “simulacrum” that exploits the means of visual plausibility to create a deceptive unity.*”¹⁹¹ That is, once the unity between signifier and signified that the symbol brings about is reflected upon as an operation of signification, necessity is replaced by contingency. Allegories achieve this. More generally, the baroque exploration of the limits of the medium that is provided by the decoration of symbols could have triggered the observation of symbols as contingent significant forms and the corresponding iconoclastic movements.

This break with tradition was extraneous to the Hispanic viceroyalties in America.

188 Marcel Mauss, *Essai sur le don : Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2007).

189 Belting, *Bild und Kult: eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst*.

190 Luhmann, *Art as a Social System*, 170.

191 Ibid.

In the viceroyalty of Peru, the biographies of St. Rosa de Lima exacerbate this difference to the point that she became a symbol of the defense of the Eucharistic against the British and Dutch “heretics”¹⁹² and of the use of paintings as media for religious contemplation and for the establishment of reciprocal relations with the represented persons.¹⁹³

This is a good reason to keep the concept of “baroque” when making reference to art in the Hispanic colonies in America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In this region, most art was done within the medium offered by the decoration of symbols. As Pedro Morandé pointed out, this provided a point of contact between the European colonizers and the Amerindian peoples.¹⁹⁴ While a profound distance separated the colonizers' written culture and the Amerindian's oral one, a bridge could be constructed between them based on the public and communal realization of sacrifice, as opposed to the individualization of sacrifice that characterized the enlightenment.

This description is congruent with the observation that art in this region during the colonial period had not been differentiated as a separate social realm and that its history was guided primarily by the evolutionary mechanisms of the social system at large. In the level of society, variations had to prove themselves against a

192Mujica Pinilla, “El ancla de Santa Rosa de Lima: mística y política en torno a la Patrona de América,” 139.

193P. Fray Leonardo Hansen, *Vida Admirable de Santa Rosa de Lima Patrona del Nuevo Mundo (1664)*, trans. P. Fray Jacinto Parra (Lima: Centro Católico, 1985).

194Pedro Morandé, “Etapas del sociologismo latinoamericano,” in *Cultura y Modernización en América Latina. Ensayo sociológico acerca de la crisis del desarrollismo y de su superación* (Madrid: Ediciones Encuentro, 1987), 53-66.

primarily religious representation of the world.¹⁹⁵ The organizations of art, like the guilds of painters, can be expected in this context to have been attached to more differentiated realms, like religion and politics, where complementary roles had been established.¹⁹⁶

This situation can be seen as determining what I have called “parasitic ornamental systems:” the re-archaization (Stastny) operated by colonial paintings in the viceroyalty of Peru on their European sources neutralized the differentiation of a space for the mere exploration of form combinations (understood according to Kristeva's sense of art as a sign) and secured the centrality of the decoration of symbols as a medium for religious communications. The increasing importance of allegorical constructions for an elite audience¹⁹⁷ reflects what Stastny referred to as the “dual” structure of colonial society: a synchronous occurrence of asynchronous levels of development within the same region. However, even in this context, the application of differentiated artistic criteria was an exception until the end of the eighteenth century. As we have seen, it required the differentiation of the complementary roles of artist and art-specific public. This condition might also explain the relevance of an immigrant connoisseur like bishop Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo.

195Luhmann, “Evolution und Geschichte,” 152.

196Ibid., 154.

197Mujica Pinilla, “Identidades alegóricas: lecturas iconográficas del barroco al neoclásico”; Francisco Stastny, “The University as Cloister, Garden and Tree of Knowledge. An Iconographic Invention in the University of Cuzco,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 46 (1983): 94-132.

These preliminary reflections will direct my reconstruction of the art historical tradition of research that has successfully established the Cusco school of painting as a stable object of communication. At this point, our central question can be stated as follows: how did paintings *make* communication or trigger a search for meaning in the central Andes between the second half of the sixteenth century and the end of the eighteenth century and what societal conditions made this form of communication probable? Some methodological considerations are due.

1.6 Sociological reconstruction of art history: methodological considerations

As Rudolf Stichweh has noted, a preference for constructing narrations focused on the point of view of the individuals involved is characteristic of historical research as distinguished from socio-historical research done within the framework of social systems' theory.¹⁹⁸ Whereas historical research is focused on the construction of processes in terms of causal sequences of events, the theory of social systems observes each event as the actualization of an alternative that has been made available by a system. In Niklas Luhmann's terms, this research program is interested in analyzing possibilities: *"...die strukturellen Bedingungen der Kontingenzerfahrung selbst..."*¹⁹⁹ That is, the emphasis is in determining the

¹⁹⁸Stichweh, "Systemtheorie und Geschichte." See also: Buskotte, *Resonanzen für Geschichte: Niklas Luhmanns Systemtheorie aus geschichtswissenschaftlicher Perspektive*, 65-72.

¹⁹⁹Luhmann, "Evolution und Geschichte," 158. See also: Luhmann, "Geschichte als Prozeß und die Theorie sozio-kultureller Evolution."

mechanisms that steer evolution as a recursive process, in the light of which the events that attract the attention of art historical analyses are reconstructed as accidents, in the sense that they are a source of variation for a system that has yet to determine their structural value. This is the general framework that delimits the present sociological reconstruction of art history. The previous considerations have attempted to establish some key concepts in this respect, which guide the methodological strategy that has been undertaken.

In observing this tradition of art historical texts, we can distinguish between verifiable events, narrations and the latent theories or models that structure them. The latter can also be conceptualized as the distinctions that guide the formation of structures in historical narrations. In doing a meta-synthesis of art historical texts, events and narrations could be verified and then formally combined in a new narration that is structured according to another model.²⁰⁰ This methodology is best fitted for confronting the problem of isolation of qualitative findings in target areas.²⁰¹ If we define such target area as the social conditions that have made probable the manner in which paintings triggered a search for meaning in the colonial Central Andes, we can see that findings have become isolated in the sense that new communications are only rarely based on a critical examination of previous ones in the same theme. This doesn't seem to be the case of individual researchers working in isolation, and thereby been unable to construct an epistemological

200Margarete Sandelowski, "Qualitative meta-analysis," in *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Social Science Methods*, ed. Michael S. Lewis-Beck, Alan Bryman, and Tim Futing Liao, vol. 3 (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2004), 892.

201Margarete Sandelowski and Julie Barroso, *Handbook for Synthesizing Qualitative Research* (New York: Springer Publishing Company, 2006).

community. The problem appears to lie in the absence of an explicit thematization of the target area as a problem in reference to which a body of knowledge can be differentiated and, foremost, as a problem that may organize communications but may not be “solved.” In the literature on colonial art it is common to find answers to this problem that resort to explanatory models that privilege particular sub-problems above others: the survival of pre-contact indigenous culture, the control of the means of production, the communication of religious beliefs, or the problems that faced the diffusion of artistic innovation, among others. José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert's model from the early 1980s is perhaps the most clear example of an explanation that is nowadays accepted as final even though its empirical grounding, its relevance in relation to the problems that it aims to solve, and its relation with previous or contemporary literature has rarely been critically examined. Thus far a meta-analysis is relevant to this body of literature.

Would such a combination of results of art historical research answer our central question? Would it suffice to verify events and narrations? For this research, the distinctions that guide the observation or construction of these events as elements in historical narrations are equally relevant, since they provide a source of vicarious observation of colonial paintings from a point of view that is able to distinguish how these images are operatively related to others that aim towards an exploration of formal combinations – a relation that is central to the concept of ornamental art that has been constructed in the previous theoretical sections.

In line with such theoretical considerations, we can trust contemporary expert observers to look for structures within and among these paintings and to make sense out of them. We can further expect them to notice when structures do not arise where they have expected them, and to correct their search for meaning correspondingly. In chapter 1.5 I have constructed the concept of ornamental art in this manner: an ornamented object would be classified by observers as ornamental art if in their reconstruction of the object the social function of art does not have preeminence over any other function. This concept of ornamental art corresponds to a form of observation and not necessarily to a specific semantic distinction or sign: many signs can point to the same observation. Naivety, archaism, primitivism, and decorativeness are all signs that may replace that of ornamental art. In this sense, they are functionally equivalent. However, they guide their users to look for explanations for the operative difference they observe in different directions.

The manner in which the concept of ornamental art has been constructed implies that this art form can only be observed as such in the context of a social system of art, as it has been defined in chapter 1.3. We can say that the concept of ornamental art carries a representation of this system as its own shadow or unmarked side. This implies that ornamental art is invisible as such without the system of art as its other side. Thus, as Isabel Cruz has pointed out, the distinction between arts and crafts doesn't belong to the context of colonial art, but to one in which art already aims towards autonomy.²⁰² For the same reason, only

²⁰²Cruz de Amenábar, "Imágenes y Devoción en el Virreinato Peruano," 100.

communications that observe ornamental art as such can notice how it is *operatively* related to forms of art that at least aim towards autonomy; and, therefore, to test the empirical applicability of the concept of parasitic ornamental systems. Then, from this position of second order observation, one can turn towards those communications for which ornamental art is invisible as such and take notice of the forms that guide their observations. On this level one deals no longer with the art historical texts as experiential data but as communications that are structured as verifiable narrations. Thus, this form of sociological reconstruction of art history is careful not to assume historical research as a mere source of raw data. The distinctions that guide art historical communications are also informative regarding how paintings are structured as communication in comparison (and in operative relation) to what is expected from art forms that at least aim towards autonomy. The historical narrations that attempt to give account of the distinction observed can later on be verified.

In section 1.1.3 we had already seen the concept of ornamental art in operation in the memoirs of Étienne de Sartiges and Laurent Saint-Cricq. In chapter 2 we will see that this concept fuels this whole art historical tradition and, specially, the observation of art in its social context. Each text in this tradition has to make sense of this observational form. One way in which this has been done – and the only one that is relevant for this research – is by making reference to the social context of art. This implies that the specific manner in which the concept of ornamental art is contextualized shows the social context of art under a different light. Therefore,

the (verifiable) events and the narrations in which they gain meaning are shaped differently.

The choice for a chronological analysis and exposition of the social histories of painting from the viceregal central Andes responds to this approximation to colonial art through the distinction between a social system of art and other artistic forms in its environment. This alternative has the advantage of conserving the theoretical context that gives structure to the narrations in which verifiable historical events have acquired meaning. In the light of the previous reflexions regarding the concept of ornamental art that I have assumed, this means that this strategy allows me to coordinate the analysis of art historical texts – taken as second order observers that use the form of ornamental art – with the analysis of the historical sources to which they make reference when attempting to reconstruct how paintings made communication in their context of origin (where ornamental art is expected to be invisible as such) and the kind of society that made this probable.

The criteria applied when attempting to verify events and narrations is quite straightforward. They are resumed by Gaye Tuchman's questions regarding the quality of primary data:

1. Are the data appropriate to the theoretical question being posed?

2. How were these data originally collected, or what meaning were embedded in them at the time of collection?

3. How should these data be interpreted, or what meanings do these data hold now?²⁰³

As it has been noted, such events and narrations will be reconstructed as accidents in relation to the evolutionary mechanism that establish the modality (but not the direction) of change in social systems.

The analysis of the distinctions that structure art historical narrations require a few considerations. In this respect the method of textual interpretation that I followed remained close to the procedure outlined by Jens Rasmussen for a context of radical hermeneutics.²⁰⁴ This procedure consists in three steps that direct the research to methodologically controlled statements regarding the meaning of texts. In a first step of *empirical construction*, the texts that deal mainly with paintings from colonial Lima (Ciudad de los Reyes) and Cusco were read in view of the distinctions they use when observing or making reference to colonial painting from the Viceroyalty of Peru in a context that takes into account the evolution of painting in Europe. Utterances within the scope of these differences were extracted from the texts and related to the historical narrations and events

²⁰³Gaye Tuchman, "Historical Methods," in *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Social Science Methods*, ed. Michael S. Lewis-Beck, Alan Bryman, and Tim Futing Liao, vol. 1 (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2004), 462.

²⁰⁴Jens Rasmussen, "FORUM: Textual interpretation and complexity. Radical hermeneutics," *Nordisk Pedagogik* 3 (2004): 177-193.

that they made reference to. In a second step that corresponds to what Jens Rasmussen calls *hypothetical construction*, these utterances were organized into broader categories that served as hypothesis regarding to how they might be designated. These categories correspond to forms that delimit spaces that are shared by several texts.²⁰⁵ Dependencies were thus recognized among observers. Based on this step, a narration could be constructed that tries to reduce the complexity of the history of this object; that is, of colonial painting in this region as an object of the specific reality of history as a discipline and form of communication. This narration follows a primarily diachronic criteria that aims at reconstructing the context of each text. This already corresponds to the third step in Rasmussen's outline: an interpretation of the sum of the constructed differences.

Two main risks of meta-analyses in general also apply to the one being attempted here. The first risk has been identified as the “file drawer problem” or “publication bias.” It affects the validity of meta-syntheses as the researchers “...*generally are not able to retrieve and include the entire population of studies that were conducted on the topic of interest.*”²⁰⁶ This problem is based on the fact that certain studies have higher probabilities of publication than others and that the researchers may not have access to published ones. The “file drawer problem” will be present in this research, as studies in the different topics go rapidly out of print or are

²⁰⁵The concept of “shared space of observation” has been taken from: Luhmann, *Art as a Social System*, 54. It designates the situation in which several observers select a certain distinction. In such a case, we may say that the form is the observer.

²⁰⁶Hannah R. Rothstein, “File drawer problem,” in *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Social Science Methods*, ed. Michael S. Lewis-Beck, Alan Bryman, and Tim Futing Liao (SAGE, 2004), 388.

published in journals of limited circulation in Peru, Bolivia and Argentina, that have not been digitalized. This is specially the case of studies done some twenty years ago or before that. It is of course difficult to make an estimation of the magnitude of this population.

The body of literature that has been analyzed is composed by texts (books, chapters, articles and catalogs) that make reference to paintings from Lima and Cusco in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Texts about other regions in South America during the same period were also taken into consideration when they were mentioned by the main body of literature that deals with Lima and Cusco. The sample grew primarily by following citations. I began by reviewing the texts included in three classic books in the subject: the survey on South American colonial art published by Damián Bayón and Murillo Marx,²⁰⁷ and the essays included in the two volumes of *El Barroco Peruano*²⁰⁸ and in *Pintura en el Virreinato del Perú*.²⁰⁹ Following their citations I was able to compose a first sample of fundamental texts and authors, which led me to their own sources and points of reference. To have access to important publications on Latin American colonial art, I spent two months as guest researcher at the library of the Ibero-American Institute of the Prussian Heritage Foundation in Berlin. Their collection guards almost every text that is cited by the main literature as been of importance.

207Damián Bayón and Murillo Marx, *Historia del arte colonial sudamericano: Sudamérica hispana y el Brasil* (Barcelona: Ediciones Poligrafía, 1989).

208Banco de Crédito del Perú, ed., *El Barroco Peruano*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Lima, Perú: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2002); Banco de Crédito del Perú, ed., *El Barroco Peruano*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Lima, Perú: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2003).

209Luis Banco de Crédito del Perú, ed., *Pintura en el Virreinato del Perú. El Libro de Arte del Centenario*, 2nd ed. (Lima, Perú: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2002).

This corpus was complemented by texts I found there and in other libraries, which were not cited by the main body of literature. Of course, chance was not absent from this process. The final sample of texts that was consulted starts with the dissertation presented by Felipe Cossío del Pomar at the Universidad del Cuzco²¹⁰ in 1922 and ends in the first decade of the 2000s. An estimation of the value of specific texts is based on my observation of the information they contributed to the tradition: how they made a difference in relation to previous texts. Based on this I have structured the following chapters. The reader will note that after dealing with the decades of 1950 and 1960, I have structured my account based on only three authors: José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert (chapter 3) – who have coauthored the most influential texts in this area – and Francisco Stastny (chapter 4). This decision has been made not without difficulty. Many other authors have published important research in this area during the last decades. However, for the sake of the required argumentative clarity, I have presented their work in dialogue with these three major authors that I see as having established the main directions of research.

²¹⁰Felipe Cossío del Pomar, “Historia Crítica de la Pintura en el Cuzco” (Tesis para optar el grado de doctor en filosofía, historia y letras, Universidad del Cuzco, 1922).

2. Colonial paintings in the central Andes seen through the form of ornamental art

2.1 Mestizo architecture as context for the history of painting

During the twentieth century, communications about mestizo architecture were the main context of reference for communications about paintings in the Viceroyalty of Peru. Not only was the main subject matter defined in a similar manner in both areas of research, but also the subordinated thematic problems that organized these communications were basically the same. Correspondingly, many authors have sought to give account of both artistic forms as part of a common phenomenon. Understanding the historiography of painting in central Andes requires one to take this context into account. For this reason, this chapter presents a brief outline of this body of literature. Chapter 2.1.1 seeks to establish the basic definition of Mestizo architecture as *an innovative ornamentation of obsolete architectural structures*. As intended in the construction of the definitions of ornamental art and parasitic ornamental systems, this definition aims at giving account of the variations that are found in these texts from a position of second order observation. Chapters 2.1.2 and 2.1.3 offer a diachronic organization of the main models that have been used to explain the emergence of this form of

architecture.

2.1.1 Mestizo architecture as innovative ornamentation of archaic structures

The semantic form *arte mestizo* was probably first used in the first decades of the twentieth century.²¹¹ Even if some authors spoke of a mestizo style of painting (*pintura mestiza*) in the 1940s,²¹² this semantic was initially limited to the observation of an architectural style that was characteristic of a broad geographical area that reached from Arequipa to Potosi, including the Collao region and the shores of lake Titicaca between 1650 and 1780 (Image 5 on page 283).²¹³ At least since the 1960s, this semantic form, which implies the observation of a difference between this style and its European contemporary counterpart, has provided a common ground for art historical research.²¹⁴

211The use of the term *mestizo* in the history of Andean architecture has been outlined in: Mario J. Buschiazzi, "El Problema del Arte Mestizo: Contribución a su Esclarecimiento," in *Actas y Memorias del Congreso Internacional de Americanistas XXXVI - 1964*, vol. 3 (presented at the Congreso Internacional de Americanistas XXXVI - 1964, España, 1964), 229-244; George Kubler, "Indigenismo, indianismo y mestizaje en las artes visuales como tradición americana clásica y medieval," *Revista Histórica* XXVIII (1965): 36-44; Mujica Pinilla, "Arte e identidad: las raíces culturales del barroco peruano."

212Ángel Guido, *Estimativa moderna de la pintura colonial* (Rosario: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1942).

213It must be noted that, as an architectural style, *mestizo* art was not assimilated in Lima and Cusco. See: Samanez Argumedo, "Las portadas retablo en el barroco cusqueño," 183; José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, "Determinantes del llamado estilo mestizo y sus alcances en América; breve consideración del término," in *Actas y Memorias del Congreso Internacional de Americanistas XXXVII - 1966*, vol. 3 (presented at the El Barroco en América. Congreso Internacional de Americanistas XXXVII - 1966, República Argentina: Libart, 1968), 224; José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, "Renacimiento y manierismo en la arquitectura "mestiza"," *Boletín de Centro de Investigaciones Históricas y Estéticas* I, no. 3 (1965): 9 f.

214The centrality of this form was documented by the survey conducted by the Centro de Investigaciones Históricas y Estéticas (Universidad Central de Venezuela) in 1963, which aimed at capturing academic opinions regarding the historical and regional peculiarities of Latin American viceregal architecture. Only George Kubler and Ricardo Bobina spoke against the use of the term *arquitectura mestiza* (question 7) due to its racist connotations. However, these authors' description of this architectural form is basically the same. See: Graziano Gasparini,

Luis Enrique Tord has provided a remarkable description of this architectural style, as it can be encountered in Arequipa:

... de los aspectos más sugestivos de la arquitectura arequipeña colonial es el contraste entre las amplias y claras superficies lisas de los edificios y la exuberante concentración de la decoración en el relieve de las portadas. El lienzo soporte común es la porosa textura de los sillares de lava volcánica de cálidas tonalidades blancas y blanco-almendradas. Estas albas superficies contrastan agradablemente con el azul intenso del cielo, subrayando con extremada precisión las líneas curvas de las cúpulas, las quebradas de los remates escalonados de contrafuertes y frontispicios, y los rectos trazos de torres, cornisas y estribos de las bóvedas de cañón. A ello hay que sumar el aprovechamiento de la luz en la proyección de la sombra de los relieves de tal forma que, en diferentes momentos del día, las exornaciones en la piedra encalada subrayan lenta y serenamente las formas antropomorfas, zoomorfas y fitomorfas que adornan las portadas. A determinadas horas pareciera extenderse a la vista un tapiz sólido, sobre un fondo oscuro, en el que se desarrolla un conjunto de diseños de resonancia plateresca cuyo tratamiento planiforme y visual recuerda los textiles indígenas prehispánicos y coloniales;²¹⁵

[... one of the most suggesting aspects of colonial architecture in Arequipa is the contrast between the buildings' wide and pale surfaces and the exuberant concentration of relief decoration on their facades. The common support is the porous texture of volcanic lava in white and white-almond tonalities. These pale surfaces make a nice contrast against the intense blue sky, underlining with extraordinary precision the curved lines of the domes, the stepped coping of

"Encuesta sobre la significación de la arquitectura barroca hispanoamericana," *Boletín de Centro de Investigaciones Históricas y Estéticas* I, no. 1 (1964): 9-42. One might as well add Graziano Gasparini to the opponent's side. See: Graziano Gasparini, "Análisis crítico de las definiciones "Arquitectura popular" y "Arquitectura mestiza", in *Actas y Memorias del Congreso Internacional de Americanistas XXXVI - 1964*, vol. 3 (presented at the Congreso Internacional de Americanistas XXXVI - 1964, España, 1964), 221-227.

²¹⁵Luis Enrique Tord, *Arequipa artística y monumental* (Lima, 1987).

buttresses and facades, and the straight design of towers, cornices and barrel vaults. One must add the use of light for the casting of shadows that underline the anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and phytomorphic motifs on the facades. At moments a solid tapestry seems to emerge against a dark background. The flatted character of its motifs reminds the plateresque architecture and the indigenous pre-Hispanic and colonial tapestry.]

Tord emphasizes the use of carving to decorate the exterior surfaces of buildings in a manner that reminds him of both Hispanic (*plateresque* architecture) and indigenous (tapestry) traditions. These are echoes of a body of literature that had been published since the second quarter of the twentieth century by *americanist* authors like Uriel García²¹⁶, Ángel Guido²¹⁷ and Alfredo Benavides.²¹⁸ An emphasis on decorative qualities is symptomatic of this literature. We may take the classic text by Marco Antonio Dorta, from 1945, as an example:

This style offers nothing new in the solving of structural problems. Nor were the masters of Andean baroque capable of creating effects of spatial composition or

216Uriel García, *El Nuevo Indio. Ensayos indianistas sobre la sierra surperuana* (Cuzco, 1930); Uriel García, "La arquitectura colonial del Cuzco," *Revista de Arte* II, no. 9 (1936): 8-13.

217Ángel Guido is one of the most prominent authors in this tradition. His analyses of Latin-American architecture as resulting from the fusion of Hispanic and Amerindian cultures date back to at least 1925 (Ángel Guido, *Fusión hispano-indígena en la arquitectura colonial / Prefacio de Martin S. Noel* (Rosario: La casa del libro, 1925).). Later publications by Guido on this subject were highly successful. These include: *Eurindia en la Arquitectura Americana* (Santa Fé: Universidad Nacional del Litoral, 1930). and *Redescubrimiento de América en el Arte*. Pointing to a conference published in 1938 (Ángel Guido, "El estilo metizo o criollo en el arte de la Colonia," in *Actas del II Congreso Internacional de Historia de América* (Buenos Aires, 1938), 581-591.), Ramón Mujica Pinilla has claimed that Angel Guido was the first author to use the term *mestizo* or *criollo* to describe some manifestations of colonial Latin American architecture (Mujica Pinilla, "Arte e identidad: las raíces culturales del barroco peruano," 1-2.). I disagree with him. Felipe Cossio del Pomar had already observed architecture and sculpture in colonial Cusco as a result of *mestizaje* in 1922 and 1928 (Cossío del Pomar, "Historia Crítica de la Pintura en el Cuzco"; Felipe Cossío del Pomar, *Pintura colonial : escuela cuzqueña* (Cuzco: Rozas, 1928).) Regarding the use of the term *criollo* in this context, it can be found at least in a publication by Alfredo Benavides, from 1936 (see footnote 218).

218Alfredo Benavides, "Un aspecto técnico del barroco en general y en especial del hispano-aborigen," *Revista de Arte* II, no. 9 (1936): 2-7.

plastic recession, either in their plans or in their richly carved retablo-like frontispieces. They produced completely frontal façades in which the architectural members are lined up in one single plane, serving as a frame for the exuberant decoration put flat on the wall like tapestry. These men were not so much real architects as they were decorators, and in their big ornamental ensembles – church fronts and interiors – they gave the style its truest expression for its true essence is decoration;²¹⁹

In this text, on the other side of ornament there is structure. And both sides are seen as offering an incongruent unity in mestizo architecture: their authors have applied a characteristic form of ornamentation to classical architectural structures of European origin. Mestizo architecture is therefore defined by its experimentation on the ornamental level of uncritically adopted structural forms: *“...sobre el esqueleto tectónico hispano la decoración americana fue imprimiendo su sello hasta alcanzar valores de expresión propia, regional.”*²²⁰ [*...the American decoration put its stamp upon the Hispanic tectonic skeleton until achieving its own regional expression.*] There is a consensus regarding this description, which is based on the distinction between ornament and structure and between innovation and repetition. More problematic has been the question regarding the factors that may explain the historical differentiation of this style.

219 Enrique Marco Dorta, “Andean Baroque Decoration,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 5 (1945): 33.

220 Mario J. Buschiazzi, “El problema del arte mestizo,” *Anales del Instituto de Arte Americano e Investigaciones Estéticas* VI, no. 22 (1969): 84-102. This article had been previously published as: Buschiazzi, “El Problema del Arte Mestizo: Contribución a su Esclarecimiento.” In this text, I’ll make reference to the first. Regarding this affirmation by Buschiazzi, see also: Mesa and Gisbert, “Renacimiento y manierismo en la arquitectura “mestiza,”” 9-10; Graziano Gasparini, “Significación de la arquitectura barroca en hispanoamérica,” *Boletín de Centro de Investigaciones Históricas y Estéticas* I, no. 3 (1965): 45-50.

2.1.2 Formal disintegration and the influence of pre-contact indigenous traditions

In the 1930s, a first successful explanatory model read artworks as political discourses of either Indian rebellion or Spanish dominion. The most clear example of this perspective is the interpretation of the caryatids in the mestizo facade of the church of San Lorenzo in Potosi as “indiatids” (*indiátides*) that symbolized the situation of Indians in an exploitative colonial system: *mitayos* are represented in the form of columns that sustain the colonial edifice (Image 6 on page 284).²²¹ In a more general sense, for Uriel García, whereas the structural definitions of Mestizo architecture represented European oppression, its ornamental systems allowed for an ironic revenge.²²²

In 1948 Alfred Neumeyer proposed an alternative model that made use of the notion of emergence, according to which a unity is more than the sum of its parts. Ornamentation in mestizo architecture, he argued, was achieved through the disintegration of emerging unities in a process of *Formenspaltung* or formal

²²¹Ángel Guido, *Redescubrimiento de América en el Arte*, 2nd ed. (Rosario: Universidad Nacional del Litoral, 1941), 146. José Lezama Lima's renowned reference to the *indiátide* in his essay *La Expresión Americana* from 1969 has led César Augusto Salgado to affirm that the Cuban writer coined the term (“Hybridity in New World Baroque Theory,” *The Journal of American Folklore* 112, no. 445 (Summer 1999): 323.). However, Lezama Lima was twenty years old – and had not begun to publish – when the term was introduced by Uriel García in 1930 (*El Nuevo Indio. Ensayos indianistas sobre la sierra surperuana*, 144.). For an updated discussion of this facade, see: Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, “The Façade of San Lorenzo, Potosí: Issues of Interpretation and Identification,” in *Towards a Geography of Art* (University of Chicago Press, 2004), 276-98., previously published in: Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, “Maîtrise ou métissage ? Vers une interprétation de la façade de San Lorenzo de Potosí,” *Revue de l'Art* 121, no. 1 (1998): 11-18.

²²²García, “La arquitectura colonial del Cuzco,” 9. More about this perspective can be found in: Antonio Bonet Correa, “Integración de la cultura indígena en el arte hispanoamericano,” *Boletín de Centro de Investigaciones Históricas y Estéticas* 12 (1971): 15-16.

disintegration.²²³ The concept had been introduced a decade before by Adolph Goldschmidt. In the latter's terms, *“Der Vorgang besteht darin, dass eine Form, sei es in der Natur, sei es in einem Kunstwerk, von dem Betrachter nicht in ihrem organischen Zusammenhang, sondern nur als eine Summe von Einzelheiten erfasst wird.”*²²⁴ This definition is focused on the observer who disintegrates the form by ignoring its emergence as a unity that is more than the sum of its parts. In Luhmann's terms, the observer overlooks the ornament. According to Alfred Neumeyer's account of mestizo architecture, Indian artists were such observers who disintegrated imported forms by overlooking the ornament. The distinction between ornament and structure is treated by Neumeyer as a difference between two kinds of system: *“While this procedure remains primarily a negative element in architectural structure because the fragmentized units are not recomposed into a new entity, the procedure in the decorative system is from disintegration to integration.”*²²⁵ Indian artists wouldn't have been able to distinguish the structural system as such: closer to Marco Antonio Dorta's and Graziano Gasparini's terms we could say that they were incapable of introducing new spatial concepts in dialogue with the now disintegrated forms. That was a kind of innovation that could only be expected to come from Europe. On the other hand, Indian artisans did participate in the creation of the ornamental or decorative systems of these buildings. In this level – Neumeyer argued –, the reintegration of elements would

²²³Alfred Neumeyer, “The Indian Contribution to Architectural Decoration in Spanish Colonial America,” *The Art Bulletin* 30, no. 2 (June 1948): 104-121.

²²⁴Adolf Goldschmidt, “Die Bedeutung der Formenspaltung in der Kunstentwicklung,” in *Independence, Convergence, and Borrowing in Institutions, Thought and Art*, Harvard Tercentenary Publications (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1937), 1.

²²⁵Neumeyer, “The Indian Contribution to Architectural Decoration in Spanish Colonial America,” 118.

have been realized according to Indian traditions:

To call this technique “primitive” or “barbaric” does not help much. While incision and cutting-out are indeed primitive techniques, they can take on the same high degree of elaboration as any other more “developed” approach, as the case of oriental art on its long road from Babylon to the Alhambra indicates. The same is true for the grooving and beveling technique of the Indians. What remains unchanged during the evolution of technique is a way of seeing things which forces the native craftsman to adopt subconsciously his own manner to the alien design and to modify this alien design until the two have merged into a new entity. Where the stone under the hands of the European carver would have been rounded, with the Indian the edges remain flat. All forms tend to be on the same plane, and flow into each other without accentuated points, as the treatment of the leaves and the chain below indicate. The grooves cut in equal depth create a shadow band of equal darkness which accompanies the lighted surface of the stone with the corresponding dark design. The flowers are not conceived as belonging to botanical reality but are adjusted to a design which is pre-Spanish. While the eye was looking at the European sample (presumably there was one), the mind conducted the artisan's hand into the traditional calligraphy;²²⁶

The ornament was observed by Neumeyer as a place where the survival of pre-Hispanic motifs in colonial architecture was possible.²²⁷ Indeed, pre-contact indigenous designs and ways of working the stone, together with the Indians' nonrecognition of the unity of structural forms, are presented as sufficient causes

²²⁶Ibid., 109.

²²⁷This idea was taken up again in a classical text by Harold Wetthey: “*Mestizo or creole art is the most original contribution of the Hispanic colonial period. Its distinguishing and flavorsome qualities were those of the Indian's heritage. Mestizo is the more accurate term, because this art like the new race was procreated by the crossbreeding of two races. Creole is the term generally employed, although its meaning fails in adequacy, since creole in Latin America refers to a person of European blood, born in the New World.*” Harold E. Wetthey, *Colonial Architecture and Sculpture in Peru* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949), 20.

of the emergence of this regional style.

This explanatory model was severely criticized in the decade of 1960, specially by the American art historian George Kubler.²²⁸ On the one hand, this author's objections were directed against the concept of *arquitectura mestiza*. For Kubler, this concept was misleading inasmuch as it suggested that architectural phenomena had biological causes: "*Mestizo' architecture is a regrettable intrusion from racial diction, and it says nothing about architectural form. It is misleading in suggesting that architecture is subject to biological 'laws.'*"²²⁹ According to him, this concept wrongly suggested that this regional architectural style was produced by individuals of mixed Amerindian and Spanish ancestry.²³⁰

Kubler's objection to the concept of Mestizo architecture found little acceptance in an academic community that wasn't interested in this concept's racial connotation but rather in its reference to a process of cultural syncretism.²³¹ Kubler also raised

228George Kubler and Martin S. Soria, *Art and Architecture of Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions* (Baltimore, 1959), 91 f.; Kubler, "Indigenismo, indianismo y mestizaje en las artes visuales como tradición americana clásica y medieval."

229Gasparini, "Encuesta sobre la significación de la arquitectura barroca hispanoamericana," 30.

230Kubler and Soria, *Art and Architecture of Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions*, 91 f.

231The answer given by Mesa and Gisbert to Gasparini's survey may be taken as an example: "*Bien, si 'mestizo' se entiende como mezcla de productos culturales. Hibridación de formas españolas con indígenas. El término estaría mal aplicado si se entiende por 'arquitectura mestiza' una arquitectura producida por mestizos. Esto es falso pues los monumentos de este estilo fueron construidos indistintamente por españoles, criollos, mestizos e indios.*" (Gasparini, "Encuesta sobre la significación de la arquitectura barroca hispanoamericana," 31.) A similar position was presented by Pál Kelemen two years later: "*Cuando hablamos de arte mestizo no hay alusión racial. Esta palabra, cuando es referida al arte, no plantea cuestión alguna de "raza". En este caso estamos ante el término correcto que define con exactitud, ya sea su uso vernáculo o erudito, la imperecedera cultura que ha resultado de la fusión de dos grandes civilizaciones, la indígena y la*

important critiques in this respect. The thesis of cultural syncretism required one to verify both the effective participation of Indians in the decoration of Mestizo architecture and the presence of pre-contact indigenous motifs in the resulting ornamental systems. The first problem was explored with some success by a few texts by Harold Wethey,²³² José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert,²³³ and Luis Enrique Tord.²³⁴ I have already quoted Alfred Neumeyer's argument regarding the second problem. According to this author, instead of resembling natural models, the flat-edged carving of exterior walls continued pre-Hispanic traditions. However, as it was noted by George Kubler and others, such an influence could not be established with enough certainty. On the contrary, according to Kubler, the data show a gradual extinction of pre-Hispanic motives during the colonial period:

española." (Pál Kelemen, "El barroco americano y la semántica de importación," *Anales del Instituto de Arte Americano e Investigaciones Estéticas*, no. 19 (1966): 1982.) Also according to Graziano Gasparini, this style constitutes a manifestation that integrates different cultures (Gasparini, "Análisis crítico de las definiciones "Arquitectura popular" y "Arquitectura mestiza", 222.)

232Wethey expressed his discontent in this respect: "*Unfortunately few contracts relating to these monuments have been discovered and published. Whatever is known of the artists shows them to have been Indians.*" Wethey, *Colonial Architecture and Sculpture in Peru*, 8.

233Mesa and Gisbert made reference to two documents from the eighteenth century that argued in favor of the Indians's artistic abilities, which would suppose their participation. A first one by Bartolomé de Arzans, from 1714, says that, "*Verdad es que aquellos indios no alcanzaron en sus fábricas el medio punto del arco, y lo hacían como un remate de punta, pero de columnas, basas, capitales, cornisas, frisos, arquitrabes y lo demás con primor lo obraban y finalmente si en aquellos tiempos fabricaban maravillas con su natural ingenio no es mucho que en este se hayan tanto adelantado con el trato español.*" (Bartolomé Arzans y Vela, *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí*, vol. 3 (Providence, 1965), 16.) A second one from his son Diego, from 1736, says: "*cuyas obras fueron mejores que el de las naciones muchas del mundo, y hoy no son menos en la habilidad que muestran para todo, pues todos los oficios mecánicos y aún las artes liberales las tienen ellos, llegando los más a alcanzar con la razón natural (hablo de los albañiles) en un edificio lo que corresponde la latitud, altura y longitud.*" (Ibid. 403). See: José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, "Lo indígena en el arte hispanoamericano," *Boletín de Centro de Investigaciones Históricas y Estéticas* 12 (1971): 35.

234Tord has noted that authorities in the city of Arequipa forced the *encomenderos* of the region to send Indians to work in the reconstruction of buildings that had been damaged by recurrent earthquakes. See: Luis Enrique Tord, "El Barroco en Arequipa y el Valle del Colca," in *El Barroco Peruano*, vol. 2, Colección Arte y Tesoros del Perú (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2003), 174.

The extinction was gradual but its pace changed. In the sixteenth century the rush to European conventions of representations and building, by colonists and Indians alike, precluded any real continuation of native traditions in art and architecture. In the seventeenth century, so much had been forgotten, and the extirpation of native observances by the religious authorities was so vigorous, that the last gasps of the bearers of Indian rituals and manners expired unheard,²³⁵

To be certain, George Kubler did recognize cases of continuation of pre-Hispanic artistic motifs in other colonial manifestations,²³⁶ but he openly criticized Alfred Neumeyer for not analyzing the survival of thematic motifs in mestizo architecture in enough detail.²³⁷

This meant that the concept of *Formenspaltung* – as it had been adopted by Neumeyer – had to be reviewed if it was to survive. By depriving this concept of the reference to racial mixture and cultural syncretism that the notion of mestizaje provided, Kubler came closer to Goldschmidt's dispassionate formalism.²³⁸ Instead of these references, the core/periphery distinction functioned as main theoretical

235 George Kubler, "On the colonial extinction of the motifs of pre-Columbian art," in *Essays in pre-Columbian art and archaeology*, ed. Samuel Kirkland Lothrop (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), 14. Regarding the situation in New Spain, Kubler wrote that, "From the Indian view, everything started as if from zero;...painters had to learn the principles had to learn the principles of European one-point perspective construction as well as the rendering of forms in graduated color to simulate their appearances in light and shade. Any Indian sense of need or problem surviving from pre-Conquest life was driven underground or out of existence. At the same time every evidence shows the Indian craftsmen eagerly turning to learn the superior techniques and representational habits of their European teachers." George Kubler, *The Shape of Time. Remarks on the History of Things* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1962), 58.

236 Kubler, "On the colonial extinction of the motifs of pre-Columbian art," 19 f.

237 Ibid., 16.

238 This characterization of Goldschmidt's history of art belongs to Christopher Wood, "Art History's Normative Renaissance," in *The Italian Renaissance in the Twentieth Century* (presented at the Acts of an International Conference, Florence, Villa I Tatti: Olschki, 2002), 77.

context.²³⁹ Accordingly, cases of mestizo art were explained in terms of

...derivaciones provinciales hechas por artesanos primitivos basadas en fuentes mucho más antiguas y transmitidas desde remotas capitales a través de varias fases intermediarias de simplificación y reducción;²⁴⁰

[...provincial derivations done by primitive craftsmen based on much older sources, which had been transmitted from remote capitals through many intermediary phases of simplification and reduction.]

Here, the disintegration of forms is understood as a recursive process that leads by itself to a simplification of the elements of the original forms. The process was thus implicitly adopted as a general law. Accordingly, this position does not assume that the artists involved in this process are necessarily Indians, but primitive craftsmen – a position that had been explicitly criticized by Neumeyer.

2.1.3 Artistic centers, provinces and peripheries

This debate seemed to come to an end by 1964 at the 36th International Congress of Americanists. In this occasion, a closing discussion concluded that it was not possible to observe with enough confidence the survival of pre-contact indigenous

²³⁹Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann observes Kubler's adoption of the core/periphery distinction as his main contribution to the discussion of the geography of art (Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a geography of art* (University of Chicago Press, 2004), chap. VII.). While DaCosta does note that Kubler adopted the concept of *Formenspaltug* from Adolf Goldschmidt in his text from 1961 (Kubler, "On the colonial extinction of the motifs of pre-Columbian art."), I think it is important to note that he might have been influenced not only by Neumeyer's text from 1948, but also by his colleague Martin S. Soria, who had applied a similar scheme to the analysis of colonial painting in Cusco and the Andean highlands only two years before (Soria, "La pintura en el Cuzco y el Alto Perú 1550-1700.").

²⁴⁰George Kubler, "Ciudades y cultura en el período colonial de América Latina," *Boletín de Centro de Investigaciones Históricas y Estéticas* I, no. 1 (1964): 84.

motifs in colonial architecture.²⁴¹ Besides noting this empirical limitation, several authors argued that the survival of an indigenous tradition was not a necessary condition for the differentiation of what was known as mestizo architecture, inasmuch as this style closely resembled architectural traditions from other continents and epochs. As such, it was part of a more general phenomenon that responded to the formation of artistic provinces.²⁴² In words of Kubler,

...un análisis más cuidadoso sólo advertiría la reelaboración provincial de temas europeos. Las añadiduras 'nativas' son difíciles de probar: el arte en cuestión es caracterizado por la misma prolijidad y formas planas que se repiten en los diseños provinciales y rurales en todas partes del mundo, independientemente de la raza,²⁴³

[...a more detailed analysis would observe the provincial re-elaboration of European motifs. "Native" add-ons are difficult to prove: the art in question is characterized by the same details and flat forms that are repeated in provincial and rural designs all over the world, independently from race.]

241XXXVI Congreso Internacional de Americanistas : actas y memorias; España [Barcelona, Madrid, Sevilla, 31 de agosto a 9 de septiembre], 1964, vol. 3 (Sevilla, 1966).

242See also: Erwin Walter Palm, "Elementos Salomónicos en la Arquitectura del Barroco," in *Actas y Memorias del Congreso Internacional de Americanistas XXXVII - 1966*, vol. 3 (presented at the El Barroco en América. Congreso Internacional de Americanistas XXXVII - 1966, República Argentina: Librart, 1968), 233-240; Erwin Walter Palm, "La ciudad colonial como centro de irradiación de las escuelas arquitectónicas y pictóricas," *Boletín de Centro de Investigaciones Históricas y Estéticas*, no. 14 (1972): 25-30; Graziano Gasparini, "La arquitectura colonial como producto de la interacción de grupos," *Boletín de Centro de Investigaciones Históricas y Estéticas* 12 (1971): 18-31; Graziano Gasparini, "La ciudad colonial como centro de irradiación de las escuelas arquitectónicas y pictóricas," *Boletín de Centro de Investigaciones Históricas y Estéticas*, no. 14 (1972): 9-24; Robert C. Smith, "Comments on the paper presented by Graziano Gasparini," *Boletín de Centro de Investigaciones Históricas y Estéticas* 12 (1971): 39-44; Francisco Stastny, "Un art métis?" in *L'Amérique latine dans son art, L'Amérique latine dans sa culture* (Paris: UNESCO, 1980), 105-114. Much later, María Concepción García Saíz observed that one couldn't discard the hypothesis that motifs suggesting pre-Hispanic origins were purposely introduced by the intellectual authors of these compositions: non-Indian members of religious orders who were interested in the construction of conceptual bridges that could allow native populations to comprehend imported religious traditions (María Concepción García Saíz, "Una contribución andina al barroco americano," in *El Barroco Peruano*, vol. 1, Arte y Tesoros del Perú (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2002), 202-203.)

243Kubler, "Ciudades y cultura en el período colonial de América Latina," 83.

The argumentation developed by the German scholar Erwin Walter Palm²⁴⁴ in the context of the core/periphery distinction is specially interesting in this respect. In 1972, Palm argued that the history of colonial art and architecture could be organized in three phases according to the form that guided the process of stylistic diffusion. In a first phase, the diffusion of European art in the viceroyalty of Peru was led by religious orders that run workshops for native artisans in the hinterland, where European techniques were rapidly adopted. Capital cities took the leading role in a second phase when they, as *“administrators of an imported canon of decorum,”*²⁴⁵ became channels of diffusion of imported models instead of centers of critical reception. The creative role in this history is reserved to the hinterland's reinterpretation of these imported forms in a third phase that stretched from the last quarter of the seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth century. In concordance with George Kubler's description of the process of *Formenspaltung*, the resulting mestizo style is understood as an *“...eco de la provincia que a la vez simplifica y complica las señales que parten del centro.”*²⁴⁶ [*...echo of the province that simplifies and complicates at the same time the signals that come from the center.*] This is still understood as a form of provincial art that, without transforming the architectural system, alienates the surface of construction.

Unlike most common applications of the center/periphery distinction to the study

244Palm, “La ciudad colonial como centro de irradiación de las escuelas arquitectónicas y pictóricas.”

245Ibid., 28 f.

246Ibid.

of Latin American art history at that time,²⁴⁷ Palm's depiction of the history of colonial art as a simple three-phased process implied a distinction between two kinds of provinces – a distinction that closely resembles the one drawn by Arnold Hauser just a couple of years later when analyzing art in relation to “the cultural stratum” of their intended audiences.²⁴⁸ For both Palm and Hauser, the difference between the kind of art that was produced for the provincial elites and the one that was produced for the people in the hinterland (Palm) – or the difference between provincial and folk art (Hauser) – lies on the criteria that guided the appropriation of metropolitan artistic innovation by particular groups in each of these localities.²⁴⁹ Following a model similar to the one used by Jan Bialostocki more than a decade later,²⁵⁰ we can distinguish between artistic centers, their provinces and artistic peripheries – a distinction that would later be fundamental to Francisco Stastny's comprehension of the history of painting in colonial central Andes, as he presented it as late as 1999.²⁵¹ In every case, what characterizes the

247For a short reference to the history of the application of this distinction to the history of art, see DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a geography of art*, chap. 5, 7.

248Arnold Hauser, *Soziologie der Kunst*, 3rd ed. (München: C. H. Beck, 1988).

249Hauser understood folk art as a poor imitation (*Abklatsch*) that destroys, decomposes and simplifies the arts of the cultural elite. The folk is thus observed as a sort of black box that actively selects and decomposes its sources from the fine arts. Despite this dialectic relation, the kind of influence that the fine arts have on the folk arts is seen as a source of creative inspiration that may cause the complete discontinuation of an earlier tradition. The contrary occurs when the fine arts are influenced by the folk arts. In this case, the latter merely pose opportunities for innovation within an artistic tradition. Besides this intrinsic interrelation, both art forms remain distinct inasmuch as they respond to different criteria of evaluation: whereas the cultural elite evaluate “art as art” with regards to “artistic vicissitudes,” it is the external reference of communication which captivates attention in the folk arts. In this sense, Hauser observed that one must not mistake folk art for provincial art, for the first doesn't depend on the taste of the metropolis, even when it receives important and undeniable influences from the arts of the metropolitan or provincial elites. *Ibid.*, 584-604.

250Jan Bialostocki, “Some Values of Artistic Periphery,” in *World Art. Themes of Unity and Diversity*, ed. Irving Lavin, vol. 1 (presented at the XXVIth International Congress of the History of Art, Pennsylvania, 1989), 49-54.

251See chapter 4.4.

provinces is an adoption of the metropolitan canon and not a process of *Formenspaltung*, to use Goldschmidt's concept. The latter would only be characteristic of the peripheral reception of metropolitan artistic forms.

This threefold typology would later allow for an integration of the mestizo and the center/periphery models, as it gave space for rich analyses regarding the criteria that guided the observation of art by specific groups in each locality. The focus could again be on the Indian and Mestizo populations of the hinterland, for whom mestizo architecture was built. For authors like José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert,²⁵² for example, such a survival was made possible by the peripheral situation that conditioned the artists' access to metropolitan innovations through copies of copies. The greater isolation of rural Indian communities in the Viceroyalty of Peru, as compared to the situation experienced by similar communities in the Viceroyalty of New Spain, would explain that Mexican artistic manifestations remained closer to Hispanic sources than Peruvian ones, which partly responded to pre-Hispanic traditions.

There is a clear parallelism between this art historical tradition and the one that deals with painting in roughly the same region and time frame, as it has been outlined in chapter 1.2. In both cases we can observe the same general process that led towards the reintegration of the notion of mestizaje within the framework that had been provided by the center/periphery distinction. Mestizo architecture

²⁵²Mesa and Gisbert, "Determinantes del llamado estilo mestizo y sus alcances en América; breve consideración del término," 225. This problem will be dealt with in more detail in chapter 3.

and painting are in many respects seen as part of a unique phenomenon – specially so in the hinterland, where imported mestizo paintings from Cusco are used to decorate the interior of mestizo architecture, as Sartiges noted.

2.2 Why didn't native artisans learn to paint like Europeans (and produced ornamental art instead)? (1920 – 1940)

From 1920 to 1940, a first discourse structured the history of painting in the colonial period which assumed the point of view of the social system of art as universally valid. From this position, references to the social context of art aimed at confronting the question: Why wasn't the European tradition of painting fully adopted if locally produced images were clearly inferior? Even in their brightest period, when they revealed a skillful application of technical procedures and a correct understanding of the requirements of composition, paintings produced in the Viceroyalty of Peru were mere imitations of European or metropolitan models. This is the common framework that we find in texts published by Felipe Cossío del Pomar (1922)²⁵³ and Luis Álvarez Urquieta (1933).²⁵⁴

A short essay published by Mariano Picón Salas (1931)²⁵⁵ offered an alternative

²⁵³Cossío del Pomar, "Historia Crítica de la Pintura en el Cuzco." This doctoral dissertation from 1922 was published in a revised edition in 1928 (Cossío del Pomar, *Pintura colonial: escuela cuzqueña*). The main arguments presented here are the same in both texts. In this text I quote the 1928 edition.

²⁵⁴Luis Álvarez Urquieta, *La pintura en Chile durante el período colonial* (Santiago de Chile: Dirección General de Prisiones, 1933).

²⁵⁵Picón Salas, "El medievalismo en la pintura colonial."

point of view. Instead of attempting to explain why local paintings from the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries failed as artistic communications, this author merely observed that they resembled European paintings from the thirteenth century. By so doing, his essay anticipated a comprehension of this history in terms of the synchronized occurrence of asynchronous levels of artistic development. While Miguel Solá's text (1935)²⁵⁶ clearly followed Cossío del Pomar's dissertation, in it we can also see a relaxation in the application of external artistic criteria of acceptance/rejection to viceregal paintings. Correspondingly, his reference to exterior determinations of artistic practice didn't aim primarily at explaining artistic failure, but came closer to an attempt to give account of a difference between artistic forms. His adoption of the notions of hieratism and naivety were central in establishing this form of posing the problem, which would be adopted by subsequent authors.

A publication by Juan Manuel Peña Prado from 1938²⁵⁷ shows the influence that Solá's text had. It also allows us to observe how this influence was exerted. I propose in this respect that, with the possible exception of Mariano Picón Salas' review of Cossío del Pomar's text, these texts from the second quarter of the twentieth century treated their external references as part of a common pool of knowledge that they handed down to future generations or to a broader public with only minor variations. In this sense, I see that art historical communications

256Miguel Solá, *Historia del arte hispano-americano: arquitectura, escultura, pintura y artes menores en la América española durante los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII* (Editorial Labor, 1958).

257Juan Peña Prado, "Ensayos de arte virreinal," in *Lima : precolombina y virreinal* (Lima: Artes Gráfica - Tipografía Peruana S. A., 1938), 79-171.

on this subject matter had not yet structured themselves as a scientific program in the symbolically generalized medium of truth. Following Niklas Luhmann, I take this medium to be a constellation of behavioral expectations in which an author aims at triggering, through the communication of his or her experience, a corresponding experience in his or her audience.²⁵⁸ This medium corresponds to a situation in which the acceptance of communicated knowledge as a premise for further behavior is at stake: *“Der besondere semantische Apparat eines Wahrheitsmediums muß nur dann entwickelt und in Anspruch genommen werden, wenn es darum geht, neues, unerhörtes Wissen durchzusetzen; oder wenn man von vorgefundenem Wissen abweichen oder es kritisieren will.”*²⁵⁹ This is not the context of the texts that we are going to review in this chapter. Their intention was neither to establish new knowledge nor to criticize old one. As we will see, the historical narration that they reproduced was still highly dependent from unverified knowledge that had been passed down since Étienne de Sartiges' days.

In observing the influence of these texts, we can distinguish between verifiable events, narrations and the theories or models that give them structure. In this chapter I will highlight four key events: that the oldest son of Murillo taught painting in an academy in Cusco; that Mateo Pérez de Alesio was trained at the workshop of Michelangelo Buonarroti; that he was the chamber painter of pope Gregory XIII; and that José del Pozo founded an academy of drawing and painting

²⁵⁸Luhmann, *Die Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft*, 336.: *“Alter löst durch Kommunikation seines Erlebens ein entsprechendes Erleben von Ego aus.”*

²⁵⁹Ibid., 339.

in the City of the Kings shortly after 1790. The first event was seemingly forgotten shortly after being included in Juan Manuel Peña Prado's publication from 1938. The second and third events were explicitly confronted against empirical data decades later. Even though the second one is now considered to be probably false as a result of such confrontation, it has continued to be echoed in recent years. The fourth one has continued to be a key event in art historical narrations. I have selected these events because they were highly relevant for the art historical texts reviewed in this section: they establish a direct and personal link between the European history of art and local history. In chapter 2.2.6, a revision of the history of these events will provide experiential data regarding the conformation of art historical communications about this subject according to a scientific program. At the same time, it will demonstrate the necessity of realizing a critical synthesis of these communications that highlight the social context of art.

On the level of the distinctions that give structure to these narrations, this period was highly relevant, as far as it established the observation of colonial paintings as ornamental art. Although this form is already recognizable in Cossío del Pomar's text, it wasn't until Solá's text from 1935 that the observation of colonial paintings was clearly established as an experience of naivety and hieratism and not merely as an observation of unsuccessful artworks.

2.2.1 Felipe Cossío del Pomar

The doctoral dissertation presented by Felipe Cossío del Pomar at the Universidad del Cusco in 1922 observes colonial painting in Cusco in terms of a regional school, the “*Escuela Cusqueña de Pintura*.” This is not understood in Sartiges' sense – which is nonetheless still present in his text –, but as a local tradition that had to be distinguished from contemporary European art. By assuming the criteria of evaluation provided by the social system of art, this text asked why the European tradition of painting wasn't successfully adopted in this region, *given that it was better than what was being produced locally*.

Adopting the most simple form to draw a historical process,²⁶⁰ this text presented a version of the history of the Cusco school of painting organized in three epochs. Art historical research on this subject continued to be bound to this scheme for decades. Indeed, Cossío del Pomar's version of it was assumed almost literally by other texts during the next two decades²⁶¹ and it has continued to be echoed later on.²⁶²

Common to all three epochs in this narration is a reference to the native painters' “realistic tendency.” This is never absolutely unequivocal. Its argumentative role in

²⁶⁰Luhmann, “Das Problem der Epochenbildung und die Evolutionstheorie.”

²⁶¹Alvarez Urquieta, *La pintura en Chile durante el período colonial*, 19; Miguel Solá, *Historia del Arte hispano-americano: Arquitectura, Escultura, Pintura y Artes menores en la América española durante los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII*, 1st ed. (Barcelona, Madrid, Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro: Editorial Labor, 1935), 239 f.; Peña Prado, “Ensayos de arte virreinal,” 166.

²⁶²Late resonances of it can be found in a passage by Erwin Walter Palm, from 1966: Erwin Walter Palm, “El Arte del Nuevo Mundo después de la conquista española,” *Boletín de Centro de Investigaciones Históricas y Estéticas* II, no. 4 (1966): 38. See quotation in page 187.

Cossío del Pomar's text is nonetheless clear: within a general process that is represented by the individual process of learning, a reference to the native artisans' realistic tendency allowed to give account of the fact that, in each epoch, local paintings didn't fulfill the artistic criteria of evaluation in which these artisans were being educated.

According to Cossío del Pomar, paintings from a first epoch denote a complete absence of artistic techniques due to a lack of proficient educators. In this context, the native artisans' realistic tendency made them overlook the “active structures” of the models they followed. Neumeyer's appropriation of Goldschmidt's concept of *Formenspaltung* – as discussed in chapter 2.1.2 – has here a clear predecessor. I propose that we can understand this reference to the “active structures” of models as a reference to composition or ornamentation in a luhmannian sense: it is what keeps the work together. This is congruent with Cossío del Pomar's observation that this realistic tendency was inflected with a primarily religious (a non-artistic) sentiment:

El primer período se caracteriza por los tanteos, imperfecciones y faltas que atestiguan la ausencia de educadores en un arte que tiene necesidad de bases fundamentales. Andan a tuestas en torno de la técnica, e ignoran la perspectiva, el dibujo, el modelado y la anatomía. Su mayor característica es la tendencia hacia el realismo, que perdura a través de todas las etapas de su desarrollo. El sentimiento religioso prevalece en este realismo, que los induce a copiar formas ignorando la estructura activa, sin intervención de la vitalidad. Cuando tratan de ser originales en sus temas, son pueriles y cómicos, desconocen en absoluto las

reglas de la composición;²⁶³

[The first period is characterized by imperfections and flaws that testify the absence of educator in an art that requires basic training. They size up the technique, ignore perspective, drawing, modeling and anatomy. Their most defining characteristic is the realistic tendency, which lasts through all stages of its development. A religious feeling prevails in this realism, which leads them to copy forms ignoring the active structure, without intervention of vitality. When they try to be original in their themes, they are puerile and comic, they ignore everything about the rules of composition.]

A second period begun with the arrival of a group of European painters that introduced the native artists to the Renaissance tradition. This author claimed that an academy of fine arts was established at this point, where a son of the Sevillian master Bartolomé Esteban Murillo would have been appointed as a teacher of painting:

Entonces se fundó, a principios del siglo, una academia de bellas artes que tuvo profesores españoles, entre ellos un hijo de Murillo que, como era costumbre en aquella época, heredó la profesión de su padre, aunque no el talento;²⁶⁴

[Then, at the beginnings of the century, an academy of fine arts was founded, which had Spanish teachers. Among them, a son of Murillo that, as it was usual, pursued the career of his father, although without the talent.]

This is an important event within this historiographic tradition. Even though it lacks reference to a source that could be taken to be independent from this narration, it will be adopted by Luis Álvarez, Miguel Solá and Juan Manuel Peña. It

²⁶³Cossío del Pomar, *Pintura colonial : escuela cuzqueña*, 64 f.

²⁶⁴Ibid., 66.

will not, however, survive the decade of 1930 (see chapter 2.2.6). These may be the last echoes of the historical version that the count of Sartiges adhered to in his memoirs from 1851: according to him, the school of Cusco had been a royal organization in which talented native artisans had been trained in the art of painting.²⁶⁵

As a consequence of the presence of these European masters, native artists would have become familiar with the fundamental principles of the art of painting. However, *"...el realismo de sus tendencias continuó siendo un obstáculo para el desarrollo de sus facultades imaginativas."*²⁶⁶ [But their realistic tendencies continued to be an obstacle for the development of their imaginative faculties.] We can also read this passage in the light of the form/content distinction that highlights art's self- and external-reference in the luhmannian model. As we have seen, in the first epoch, their realistic tendency had forced natives artisans to overlook the active structures of the models they followed. In this second epoch, these tendencies continued to be an obstacle in a similar sense. Cossío del Pomar seems to point out that, even though these artisans had acquired some basic skills, the images they produced continued to lack ornamentation as an operation that creates a world of its own that would have to be distinguished from an *outside world* and which could, from the perspective of ego, be ascribed to the artist as a product of his or her imagination.

²⁶⁵See citation in page 25.

²⁶⁶Cossío del Pomar, *Pintura colonial : escuela cuzqueña*, 66.

This already anticipates Cossío del Pomar's depiction of a third epoch in which this school would have experienced massive improvements. Cusqueño paintings from this last period are regarded as perfect imitations (though with a distinctive “touch”) of European masterworks. However, despite their authors being technically proficient in the art of painting – including the perception and reproduction of composition –, they would not have reached the level of spontaneous creation:

Llegaron en este período a imitar a la perfección las obras maestras, dándoles un sello original; conocieron las leyes de la perspectiva y del dibujo, dominaron la técnica de los empastes y glaciés, aplicándolos sabiamente, obteniendo así transparencias maestras, supieron emplear el arte del claro oscuro, tirando admirables efectos artísticos, y en la composición llegaron a la perfección. En este período nuestros artistas comenzaron a infundir carácter vivo a la línea y dar valor artístico a los tonos, como resultado, más bien de la concepción total de la obra, que como senda propicia para llegar a su parto. No pudiendo comprender los inocentes artificios de los pre-rafaelistas, se inspiran en el realismo verídico y profundo de la escuela flamenca;²⁶⁷

[In this period they were able to imitate the masterworks with perfection, giving them an original touch; they knew the laws of perspective and drawing, they mastered the techniques for fillings and glaciés, applying them wisely, and thus obtaining masterful transparencies. They knew how to use the chiaroscuro, drawing admirable artistic effects. And they reached perfection in composition. In this period our painters began to give life to the lines and artistic values to the tones. This was done as the result of the conception of the whole piece, rather than a way to arrive to its birth. Not been able to comprehend the innocent artifices of Pre-Raphaelites, they were inspired by the

²⁶⁷Ibid., 66 f.

veridical and profound realism of the Flemish school.]

The key abilities that had been absent in previous periods were then achieved: lines were infused with vitality and tonalities acquired artistic value. The elements of the image were subordinated to a whole – an “active structure” that guides composition. The realistic tendencies of native artists are again present, but, in this last epoch, they merely explain a preference for the Flemish school, with its *“...veridical and profound realism.”*

For Cossío del Pomar, if native artists didn't reach in this third epoch the level of spontaneous creation, it was due to changes in the social context of art that would have led to this school's decay and, ultimately, to its disappearance.²⁶⁸ It is possible that in describing this third epoch this author shifted from the observation of the self-programming of artworks to the emergence of “intertextual” structures. Here one observes once again that in this author's work the notion of “realistic tendencies” is related to that of “active structures” or composition. When making reference to the absence of originality (what he calls “spontaneous creation”), he has to make reference to other contextual factors, this time under an ambiguous category of “social conditions,” which he left unexplored.

Unlike his allusion to such social conditions, this author's reference to the native authors' “realistic tendencies” implied the use of racial distinctions that, in the following decades, would give way to theories of cultural mestizaje. Felipe Cossío

²⁶⁸Ibid., 66.

del Pomar claimed that mestizos were the most original and fertile interpreters of South American art during the seventeenth century because they had inherited the best features of Andean and Spanish ethnic groups – the sense of harmony of the first and the creative initiative of the second.²⁶⁹ At this point we find again the distinction between realistic tendencies and imaginative faculties: the best examples of colonial Andean art, specially in the field of sculpture, could be understood as a fusion of Inca canon and simplicity with Spanish fantasy and variety.²⁷⁰

Cossío del Pomar's distinction between racial and social conditions may correspond to the distinction between the self-programming of artworks and their interrelation in the level of the art systems' autopoiesis. It is also possible that the notion of “spontaneous creation” encompasses both – an alternative that will be clearly adhered to by Luis Álvarez Urquieta. In any case, these conditions are meant to explain the frustration of both levels of structure formation: worlds of fiction are (not) created that are (not) new in relation to the system's memory. As such, they reveal this text's structuration as part of the self-description of the

269 *“En los primeros tiempos del coloniaje, la raza mestiza fue el producto, principalmente en el Cuzco, de soldados fuertes y de indios sanos, muchas veces de sangre real; heredaron más las cualidades que los defectos de sus antecesores y en muchos casos se produjo el accident hereux de que nos habla Darwin... Poseyendo la iniciativa creadora del criollo, junto con la fantasía e intuición de armonía con que estaba dotado el indio, el mestizo llegó a ser el intérprete más original y fecundo del arte sud-americano durante el siglo XVII.”* Ibid., 35.

270 *“Acompañando a estos arquitectos, no sólo vinieron artistas escultores y pintores, para adornar los templos; sino que trajeron consigo lienzos originales y copias de los grandes maestros del Renacimiento... Fué en el desarrollo de estas dos artes donde primero triunfó el mestizaje. De estos santos éticos y pobremente tallados; de los adornos platerescos y barrocos, nacieron los maravillosos púlpitos, los retablos, artesonados, encajes de molduras, que son milagros de buen gusto. Y, este prodigio, se debió a la fusión de las dos artes. El arte Incaico le prestó la sana fuerza de sus cánones y de su simplicidad, el arte europeo contribuyó con su fantasía y variedad.”*
According to quotation by Álvarez Urquieta, *La pintura en Chile durante el período colonial*, 18.

social system of art. It will be interesting to see if such a distinction between levels of structure formation in art crystallizes in this art historical tradition. We can expect that the main difficulty will lie in the integration of both levels, for which Cossío del Pomar could have adopted the concept of spontaneous creation. In the literature on mestizo architecture, we can see that such an integration was achieved by Neumeyer by adapting the concept of *Formenspaltung*. When Kubler cleansed this concept from its references to Amerindian cultures – a reference that supplied the means to ask for the meaning of the individual artworks –, this concept's integrative function was lost.

A second edition of Felipe Cossío del Pomar's dissertation from 1922 was published in Cusco in 1928.²⁷¹ This edition reached a broader academic audience in South America. By looking at publications from the decade of 1930, we can reconstruct the dialogue that defined some basic features of the social history of painting in colonial central Andes. I will look at four authors in chronological order that built upon the work of Cossío del Pomar – although they tended not to explicitly acknowledge this common source. These authors wrote from different cities in South America: Santiago de Chile (Mariano Picón Salas and Luis Álvarez Urquieta), Buenos Aires (Miguel Solá) and Lima (Juan Manuel Peña Prado). The book by Miguel Solá, published in 1935 and again in 1958 by Editorial Labor in

²⁷¹See footnote 253.

Barcelona, reached an even broader audience and established itself as a fundamental point of reference for future publications. Indeed, it was through this book by Miguel Solá that the ideas put forward by Cossío del Pomar were published again in Peru in 1938, paraphrased by Juan Manuel Peña Prado.

2.2.2 Mariano Picón Salas

In 1931, the Venezuelan intellectual Mariano Picón Salas published in Buenos Aires, in the first volume of the influential *Revista SUR*, a short but interesting commentary on Cossío del Pomar's book from 1928. For him, even though Cossío del Pomar's book had limited critical value, it constituted a rich source of historical documentation.²⁷² Based on the information provided by this book, he claimed that colonial painting could be understood in terms similar to medieval art in Europe:

No sólo en la técnica primitiva, la frontalidad y el detallismo ingenuo, el carácter narrativo de la pintura, el amor con que trata el episodio sin subordinarlo al conjunto, recuerda esta pintura la de los primitivos europeos. Como los pintores de la Italia del siglo XIII reaccionando contra el rígido arte bizantino para darle a las escenas religiosas mayor intimidad, descubren ya ingenuamente la realidad italiana, los pintores coloniales de El Cuzco visten a la Virgen con el traje de una mestiza rica, o hacen que presida la procesión de Corpus, el Inca Sairi Ttupacc.

El goce moderno del Arte Puro, de la libre invención estética, no corresponde

²⁷² "Recientemente, el escritor peruano F. Cossio del Pomar ha reunido en un libro de rica iconografía (*Pintura Colonial. Escuela Cuzqueña*. H. G. Rozas, editor, Cuzco) algunas de las obras más características de aquella escuela vernácula de pintura. El libro no alivianado de un gran lastre retórico, tiene escaso valor crítico, pero suministra curiosas noticias sobre la vida de los pintores coloniales y un material gráfico propicio al juicio comparativo." Picón Salas, "El medievalismo en la pintura colonial," 164 f.

naturalmente a esta pintura realizada con pasiva honradez de artesano. El pintor (suele ser un lego que bebe la sopa de un convento, o un mestizo que tiene habilidad para otras artes manuales) pinta porque ha ocurrido en la ciudad un milagroso suceso de que conviene a la Religión guardar memoria, o un rico se paga un cuadro religioso a manera de exvoto, o bien el cuadro cumple una didáctica de devoción describiendo en impresionantes episodios las penas del Infierno;²⁷³

[This painting recalls that of the primitive Europeans not only in its frontality and in its naive concern for details, in its narrative character, in the love with which it treats each episode without subordinating it to the whole. Like Italian painters from the thirteenth century, who, reacting against the rigid Byzantine art in their search for more intimacy in religious scenes, naively discovered the Italian reality, did colonial painters in Cusco put the Virgin gorgeous dresses, or made the Inca Sairi Ttupacc precede over the procession of the Corpus.

The modern enjoyment of Pure Art, of free aesthetic invention, does not naturally correspond to this painting that is realized with the passive honesty of the craftsman. The painter (who is usually a layman who drinks from the cup of a convent, or a mestizo who has the skills for other manual arts) paints because something miraculous has occurred in the city, the memory of which Religion is interested in keeping; or a wealthy man pays with a religious painting an exvoto; or the canvas fulfills a didactic of devotion by describing, in horrific scenes, the sorrows of Hell.]

This short essay offered a more clear presentation of the central distinction that has guided the understanding of this local tradition of painting. He observed this as a primitive and naively narrative form that aimed primarily at documenting the presence of the sacred in the world. Thus far was this local tradition similar to that

²⁷³Ibid., 165.

of the “primitive Europeans” from the thirteenth century. This form of painting was distinguished from a “modern” one that was rooted in the Quattrocento and which corresponded to an unrestricted aesthetic experience: the seeds of an Art Pure. Rejecting Cossío del Pomar's theory regarding the influence of the native artists' realistic tendency, Picón Salas merely claimed that this second form of painting didn't take root in colonial Latin American soil because of an unfavorable social context. In this respect, his short essay only offered a list of environmental factors that included: the medieval mentality of Spanish soldiers, Indian superstitions, geographical isolation, and social unrest – all factors that will be taken up again by later publications.

By offering just a short list of environmental factors, this author avoided constructing an explanatory model like the ones that fueled the analyses of his contemporaries. Correspondingly, neither does this text appear to partake of an observation of this regional tradition of painting from a point of view that assumes the priority of the differentiated criteria of the social system of art. However, I see how one could easily read this text as implying such position, insofar as the Cusco school of painting is presented as corresponding to an early phase of the evolution of painting as it took place in Europe: as such, it was one that had not yet achieved the full potential of art, which corresponds to what we understand as its social differentiation. I prefer to avoid this reading and highlight instead the clear presentation of a fundamental distinction as Mariano Picón Salas' contribution to this historiographic tradition. This distinction between two forms of painting, one

– primitive and naive – inscribed in the context of religion and the other aiming towards autonomy, is depicted as the simultaneous occurrence of asynchronous levels of development in different regions of the world. Following Ángel Guido's publications in the 1940s it will be possible to draw this distinction within the same region, be it in terms of the difference between official and mestizo (folk) art or according to the difference between the provincial adoption of European artistic criteria and the differentiation of a local school in the periphery.

2.2.3 Luis Álvarez Urquieta

In a book from 1933, Luis Álvarez Urquieta further developed Cossío del Pomar's thesis of mestizaje, which he complemented with a few observations regarding the lack of communication between the main centers of artistic production in Europe and this region in South America.²⁷⁴ The integration of both forms of analysis was achieved by introducing the figure of the genius, which seems to be nothing more than an adaptation of Cossío del Pomar's notion of spontaneous creation. With it, any reference that there could have been to the distinction between two levels of structure formation in art was lost. The main framework continued to be provided by the self-description of a social system of art. Artworks and traditions were judged according to differentiated artistic criteria. This resulted, as it has already been noted, in a negative evaluation of locally produced paintings as compared with imported ones.²⁷⁵ His analysis was correspondingly guided by the question:

²⁷⁴ Álvarez Urquieta, *La pintura en Chile durante el período colonial*.

²⁷⁵ "Los lienzos realmente valiosos que existían en estos países cuando se proclamaron independientes, vinieron de España, Italia o Flandes, comprados con dinero remesado en

Why wasn't the European tradition of painting successfully adopted, given that it was better than the paintings that were being produced locally?

For Álvarez, a first cause was the fusion of the European tradition – represented by Spain, Italy and Flanders – with Asian and local ones. He called the result of this synthesis “American Art.” This author’s recognition of Asian influences in colonial art in the central Andes, which would have been received from the Hispanic colonies in the Philippines, didn't find much echo.²⁷⁶ It was, however, an interesting observation, as much as it explicitly included an observation of “American Art” in terms of decorative art:

La influencia asiática se caracteriza, principalmente, por el sentimiento decorativo, por las tonalidades del color, generalmente vivo; por el deficiente estudio del claro-oscuro; por la ausencia de expresión de las figuras; por la profusión de los dorados y por la afición de reproducir objetos...;²⁷⁷

[The Asiatic influence is characterized, mainly, by a decorative sentiment, by the generally vibrant tonalities of color; by the deficient study of chiaroscuro; by the absence of expression in their figures; by the profusion of gilding and by their love for reproducing objects...]

This Asian artistic tradition, with its primarily decorative sentiment, is depicted basically in opposition to the Spanish representative tradition.²⁷⁸ In turn, regional South American traditions were characterized – closely following Cossío del Pomar

América.” Ibid., 7 f.

²⁷⁶In this respect, Álvarez Urquieta was strongly influenced by the observations made by Giulio Arístides Sartorio in a letter to the Minister of External Relations of the Government of Ecuador in 1924. See *Ibid.*, 20.

²⁷⁷*Ibid.*, 10.

²⁷⁸*Ibid.*

– by their simplicity and their emphasis on the representation of local customs.

In this framework, to mark a painting as successful requires one to recognize that it satisfies what has been defined as the European or Spanish criteria. In the scheme proposed by Álvarez, paintings inscribed in the resulting “American Art” - the description of which was already done in the same terms used by more recent publications – were not fully successful: the influence of Spanish art wasn't strong enough to neutralize the Asian and local influences:

Esta pintura incipiente, este arte americano adolece, en la mayoría de los casos, de defectos y fallas que se explican. No es únicamente la falta de estudio de la luz, de los matices y de las sombras, o, mejor dicho, de los tonos luminosos y sus contrastes lo que se echa de menos en la pintura colonial americana; es también la deficiencia en la perspectiva y en las proporciones, que son visibles...;²⁷⁹

[This incipient painting, this American art, suffers, in most cases, defects and flaws that can be explained. It is not only an insufficient study of lighting, of graduations and shadows, or, in other words, of the tones of light and their contrasts, what one misses in colonial American painting; but one can also find deficiencies in the representation of perspective and proportion.]

At this point, when trying to explain why the Spanish tradition wasn't fully adopted by local artisans, Luis Álvarez went back to Cossío del Pomar's three-phased narration, which he paraphrased almost literally.²⁸⁰ He introduced, however, some interesting changes. First, he interpreted the latter's rather ambiguous reference to an ideal stage of “spontaneous creation” - a characteristic

²⁷⁹Ibid., 11.

²⁸⁰Ibid., 19.

that would have been frustrated in the third epoch of the Cusco school, according to Cossío del Pomar – as meaning that none of the local artists was a genius. Second, he made a more explicit argument regarding the social conditions that could explain this state of affair: not only were the skills of the immigrant masters critical for the formation of local artists, but also was the possibility to establish communications between the local centers of production and the metropolitan ones, specially in the form of imported models and of spiritual interchange. Without these, local artisans, “...carecían de espacio para los vuelos de la imaginación. Tenían que limitarse a reproducir lo que veían...”²⁸¹ [...lacked enough space for the flights of imagination. They had to limit themselves to reproduce of what they saw...] This could be another echo of Cossío del Pomar's text, which insisted on the local artisans' realistic tendency. Geniality and imagination encompass in this model the two levels of structure formation in art: worlds of fiction are (not) created that are (not) new in relation to the system's memory.

Finally, it is interesting to note how, when adopting some central features of Cossío del Pomar's description of this historical process, Álvarez also adopted references to historical events that, with time, would be forgotten. Among these, I want to highlight the reference to that son of Bartolomé Esteban Murillo who, it was claimed, was a teacher in an academy of painting in this region: “...un hijo de Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, que heredó la profesión de su padre, sin que llegara a pisar las gradas a que ascendió el autor de sus días.”²⁸² [... a son of Bartolomé

²⁸¹Ibid., 10.

²⁸²Ibid.

Esteban Murillo, who inherited the profession of his father, without getting to stand on the steps to which the author of his days ascended.] The author is clearly quoting Cossío del Pomar,²⁸³ the sources of whom we don't know, but may go back to Sartiges' context in mid-nineteenth century.

2.2.4 Miguel Solá

Only two years after Luis Álvarez's publication, Miguel Solá published a new version of Cossío del Pomar's narration of the history of painting in Cusco.²⁸⁴ In this text we find again a clear ascription to the three-phased narrative model that depicts a progression in the natives' pictorial skills throughout the colonial centuries. The critical independent variable in this model is once again the immigration of European painters. The question that guides the observation of the context of art is also why were these painters not fully successful in delivering the European tradition. However, this question is no longer triggered by a previous negative judgment regarding the artistic quality of locally produced paintings. I propose that this decisive insight is indicated by the replacement of Cossío del Pomar's notion of realistic tendency with the notions of hieratism and naivety, which might have been adopted from the essay published by Mariano Picón Salas some years before.

If we take a closer look at each of the three epochs in Cossío del Pomar's model, we

²⁸³See footnote 264.

²⁸⁴Solá, *Historia del arte hispano-americano: arquitectura, escultura, pintura y artes menores en la América española durante los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII*.

can see that interesting innovations have been introduced, some of which will be decisive for subsequent texts. For Solá, the first epoch,

...tiene un intenso carácter hierático, proveniente de su estado primitivo y de su falta de realismo; pero cuando la pintura de esta época se muestra realista, ofrece la más pura ingenuidad, como en la “Concepción de la Virgen María”, que más que todo es un acabado cuadro de costumbres populares del Cuzco;²⁸⁵

[...has an intense hieratic character, which corresponds to its primitive state and to its lack of realism; but, when painting in this epoch present itself as a realistic enterprise, it offers the most pure naivety, like in the “Conception of the Virgin Mary”, which is above all a well finished painting of popular customs from Cusco.]

Cossío del Pomar's insistence on the native artisans' realistic tendency has here been replaced by a reference to a lack of realism. This is no contradiction, for different notions of realism are used by each of these authors when making reference to this epoch. Unlike Cossío del Pomar, Solá opposed realism to hieratism. In this respect, this author adopted some key insights from the short essay that Picón Salas had published in Buenos Aires. Hieratic paintings situate the represented persons in a higher level of reality, in a sense that resembles the sacred/profane distinction. In this sense, most paintings from this epoch are not realistic, meaning that they do not make direct reference to everyday reality. When these paintings from the first period do represent everyday reality, they are naive. This notion of naivety, so difficult to define, will be a constant in the literature on colonial art: I propose that *it signals that the observer has decided that he/she*

²⁸⁵Ibid., 239.

cannot assume that the image was produced according to differentiated artistic criteria or in reference to a memory of art. Hence, in Solá's text, these early paintings are exclusively valued for recording regional customs: for someone who expects partaking in artistic communication through images, these images have lost themselves in a reference to their environment. In this sense, Solá's observations don't merely coincide with Cossío del Pomar's reflexions. By adopting the concepts of hieratism and naivety, they have developed these in a direction that will be highly successful.

According to this narration, the end of the first period coincides with the immigration of European painters, who would have founded an Academy of Painting. Among them, Solá still mentioned the eldest son of Murillo, who would have arrived to Peru in the last years of the eighteenth century. This is probably a typographical error, for a son of Murillo (1617-1682) would have been more than a hundred years old by then. Interestingly, Solá did no longer claim that this son of Murillo was less skillful than his father, as previous authors had done probably guided by the notions of spontaneous creation and geniality.

The final historical period, in which painters in Cusco reached their climax, is again characterized by the imitation of these artists' works. Yet an interesting difference between imitations and their models was drawn by Miguel Solá:

“Los cuadros religiosos están exentos del dolor cristiano, que los pintores cuzqueños no sintieron, como tampoco sintieron el desnudo ni les interesó el

paisaje, que sólo utilizaron como fondo;"²⁸⁶

[Religious paintings lack Christian sorrow, which painters from Cuzco didn't feel, just as they didn't feel the nude. Neither were they interested in landscape, which was only used as a backdrop.]

That these claims about the artists' feelings are both ambiguous and unverifiable tells us a great deal about how Solá understood his intellectual task. The manner in which he dealt with his sources, either bibliographical or external to the historical narrations, is symptomatic of these texts from the second quarter of the twentieth century. Solá's text doesn't seem to have been written anticipating that its readers would assume a critical position in relation to communicated knowledge. Instead, they seem to relate to art historical knowledge as a traditional body of information that they pass down either to new generations of art historians or to a general public. In this sense we can infer that a scientific program of art history had not yet been fully developed in relation to this subject matter. The decisive analyses done by Martin S. Soria in the 1950s seem to have achieved this. Until then, art historical texts on this subject matter were nonetheless highly successful in positioning their communicated knowledge as premise for further communications, even if this didn't require them to make use of the structures that a symbolically generalized medium of truth could make available. The almost literal adoption of Cossío del Pomar's model by both Álvarez Urquieta and Solá indicates that this was the case. In turn, Solá's text was also successful in this manner, as one can see in a publication by Juan Manuel Peña Prado from 1938.

²⁸⁶Ibid., 240.

2.2.5 Juan Manuel Peña Prado

In 1938, Juan Manuel Peña Prado published an essay that paraphrased the same section that Solá seems to have taken from Cossío del Pomar's text. Again, there is no explicit acknowledgment of the sources used. The resemblance to Solá's version of this section is unmistakable:

En la escuela cuzqueña, se distinguen tres períodos: El primero tiene carácter hierático, proveniente de un estado primitivo y de su falta de realismo; pero cuando se muestra realista, presenta un aspecto original, porque más que realista son cuadros de costumbres, como sucede con el lienzo de la Concepción de la Virgen en la capilla de Huarón, de la provincia de Calca. La Virgen está acostada en una *cuja*, atendida por San José, mientras una partera atiende al recién nacido. El segundo período empieza a principios del siglo XVIII, en que se funda la Escuela de la Pintura que tuvo varios maestros españoles, entre ellos un hijo de Murillo. Marca el tercer período la imitación y copia de los grandes maestros europeos, sin dejar los cuzqueños de poner el sello de su originalidad, período en que la pintura alcanzó un gran adelanto, ya tratándose de obras religiosas, históricas, mitológicas o retratos;²⁸⁷

[Three periods can be distinguished in the Cusco school: the first one has a hieratic character that comes from its primitive state and from its lack of realism; but when it is realistic, it results original, since rather than being realistic, these paintings represent customs, like it happens in the canvas of the Conception of the Virgin in the Chapel of Huarón, in the province of Calca. The Virgin is laying down in a *cuja*, attended by Saint Joseph, while a midwife attends the newborn baby. The second period begins early in the eighteenth century, when the School of Painting was founded which had many Spanish teachers, among them a son of Murillo. This third period was marked by the

²⁸⁷Peña Prado, "Ensayos de arte virreinal," 166.

imitation and the copy of the great European masters, without the Cuzqueño painters withholding from putting their original touch. This is a period in which painting made great advances, be it in religious, historical, or mythological paintings or in portraits.]

While the main characteristics of each period in Solá's version are kept intact, Peña Prado introduced minor modifications. There are three interesting changes. First, we are given a more concrete description of an image from the first period – but, unfortunately, not a reproduction of it. Second, while the reference to the School of Painting from early eighteenth century is kept, we are given even less information about Murillo's son. While Cossío del Pomar and Álvarez Urquieta had written that he had been less talented than his father,²⁸⁸ and Solá had claimed that he had arrived to Peru at the end of the eighteenth century – more than a hundred years after the death of his father –, Peña Prado kept just a basic reference to his participation in this institution about which we will never read again. Even this son of Murillo was forgotten by later communications. Finally, Peña Prado didn't adopt Solá's reference to the native artists' experience of Christian sorrow. However, he did claim that native artists could never sincerely portray sorrow – a characteristic that would explain, according to this author, their preference for the work of Murillo:

Sus obras se adaptaron a nuestro medio mejor que las de ningún otro artista, por ese sentimiento de nuestros pintores, ajenos [sic] al dolor, y que cuando lo reprodujeron, jamás fueron sinceros;²⁸⁹

²⁸⁸See quotation in page 112.

²⁸⁹Peña Prado, "Ensayos de arte virreinal," 142.

[Their works were better adapted to our milieu than those of any other artist, because of that sentiment that our painters, alien to sorrow, had. When they did reproduce sorrow, they were never sincere.]

These three changes suggest that this author might have been more concerned than his predecessors with the probabilities of acceptance of this information. However, he still pretended to pass down this version of history without making reference to his bibliographical and empirical sources. And, in some respect, this expectation was met.

2.2.6 Handing over history

While the participation of a son of Murillo in the history of painting in Peru seems to have been ruled out soon after Peña Prado's publication, other elements in this history were reproduced for decades without reference to documents not produced by art history itself. I want to bring attention to three such elements, which are particularly meaningful for a version of colonial art history such as the one held by these texts from the first half of the twentieth century: that the Italian painter Mateo Pérez de Alesio had been an apprentice of Michelangelo Buonarroti; that he was a chamber painter of Pope Gregory XIII before traveling to Lima in 1588 or 1589; and the less controversial claim that the Sevillian painter José del Pozo founded an academy of drawing and painting in Lima after his arrival in 1790. It is outside the limits of this study to follow in detail the history of these claims. However, some brief remarks regarding how this information was treated

by relevant texts in twentieth-century literature will help us understand how knowledge about the history of colonial painting in this region was constructed. At the same time, they will demonstrate the necessity of realizing a critical synthesis of these communications that highlight the social context of art.

An important source for twentieth-century scholars was Ceán Bermúdez's dictionary of painters, published in Madrid in 1800. According to this source, "*Pérez de Alesio (Mateo) [es] pintor y natural de Roma , donde estudió en la escuela de Miguel Ángel Buonarota.*"²⁹⁰ [*Pérez de Alesio (Mateo) [is] painter and natural from Rome , where he studied in the school of Michelangelo Buonarota.*] Ceán Bermúdez mistakenly added that friar Antonio de la Calancha had awarded Pérez de Alesio, in his chronicle from 1638, the title of chamber painter of Pope Gregory VIII (1187).²⁹¹ In fact, friar Calancha had claimed that "Mateo de Alesio" had been the painter of Pope Gregory XIII (1572-85).²⁹² However, Ceán Bermúdez's version was passed down to the texts published by our authors in the first half of the twentieth century. In Miguel Solá's book from 1935 we find that:

290 Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las Bellas Artes en España*, vol. 4 (Madrid: Real Academia de San Fernando, 1800), 75.

291 *Ibid.*, 4:77.

292 This corresponds to a wonderful description that friar Calancha made of an image of St. Augustine by "Mateo de Alesio" that was part of the decoration of the convent of St. Augustine in Lima: "*El arco toral por la parte de la Iglesia está adornado con un grandísimo lienço, que del techo de la Iglesia asta el arco toral baja arqueado, en que está nuestro Padre san Agustín sentado en un trono con un Sol en la mano dando luces a ocho o diez Dotores de la Iglesia, que reciben los rayos en las plumas con que escriven, i todos están en cuerpos gigantes; obra de aquel único i raro pintor Mateo de Alesio, que lo fue del Papa Gregorio Decimotercio. El lienço es fineça del arte i primor del pincel.*" Antonio de la Calancha, *Corónica Moralizada del Orden de San Agustín en el Perú con Sucesos Ejemplares en esta Monarquía*, vol. 2 (Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia, 2009), 173, 200.87.17.235/bvic/Captura/upload/Cronic2.pdf. Regarding Pérez de Alesio's painting in the Sistine Chapel, see: Francisco Stastny, "A Note on Two Frescoes in the Sistine Chapel," *The Burlington Magazine* 121, no. 921 (December 1979): 776-783.

El primero y más ilustre de los pintores que trabajaron en Lima fué Mateo Pedro de Alesio, discípulo de Miguel Ángel y pintor de cámara de Gregorio VIII, nacido en Roma en 1547. Ceán Bermúdez y los archivos de la catedral de Sevilla le llaman Mateo Pérez de Alesio. Después de trabajar en la Capilla Sixtina, llevó a Sevilla el arte de su maestro;²⁹³

[The first and most notorious of the painters that worked in Lima was Mateo Pedro de Alesio, disciple of Michelangelo and chamber painter of Gregory VIII, born in Rome in 1547. Ceán Bermúdez and the archives of the cathedral of Seville call him Mateo Pérez de Alesio. After working in the Sistine Chapel, he brought the art of his master to Seville.]

This reinforced version of Ceán Bermúdez's text was then echoed by Peña Prado, who again failed to cite his source: *“Entre los primeros pintores que trabajaron en Lima, está Pedro Mateo de Alesio, nacido en Roma en 1547, discípulo de Miguel Angel, pintor de Cámara de Gregorio VIII.”*²⁹⁴ [Among the first painters who worked in Lima there is Pedro Mateo de Alesio, born in Rome in 1547, disciple of Michelangelo, chamber painter of Gregory VIII].

Later generations would receive this knowledge almost intact. In 1971, in a text by Ernesto Sarmiento, the reference to Pope Gregory VIII had been corrected:

Mateo Pérez de Alesio fue un pintor romano, quien trabajó en el estudio de Miguel Angel según Ceán Bermúdez, y es muy posible haya sido pintor de cámara del Papa Gregorio XIII;²⁹⁵

²⁹³Solá, *Historia del arte hispano-americano: arquitectura, escultura, pintura y artes menores en la América española durante los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII*, 235-6. This section was left intact in the second edition of 1958, in pages 235 f.

²⁹⁴Peña Prado, “Ensayos de arte virreinal,” 145.

²⁹⁵Note that in Sarmiento's text the number of pope Gregory is back to XIII. He doesn't mention Calancha's chronicle, however. Ernesto Sarmiento, *El Arte Virreinal en Lima* (Lima: Editorial

[Mateo Pérez de Alesio was a Roman painter who, according to Ceán Bermúdez, worked in the workshop of Michelangelo. It is possible that he was a chamber painter of Pope Gregory XIII].

I doubt that Sarmiento used Ceán Bermúdez's dictionary as he claims, since he didn't mention Calancha's chronicle. At the same time, we can observe that the general tone of his version is completely different from Solá's and Peña Prado's. While Sarmiento echoed earlier texts, he seems to have subtly questioned the veracity of their claims.

A year later, José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, after carefully examining the available sources, pointed out that this version of history was probably false.²⁹⁶ They gave four reasons. First, that Michelangelo died in 1564, when Alesio was only 17 years old. Second, that none of Michelangelo's biographers mention Alesio. Third, that in Alesio's biography there are no traces of transmission of Michelangelo's fame, as it occurred to all his known apprentices. And fourth, that none of the biographers who met Alesio in person (Pacheco and Van Mander) mentioned his studies with Michelangelo. However, an unproblematic reference to Alesio's apprenticeship in the workshop of Michelangelo can still be found in a text by Clara Bargellini from 2006.²⁹⁷ The idea that the Italian painter Pérez de Alesio,

Arica, 1971), 64.

296 José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *El pintor Mateo Pérez de Alesio* (La Paz: Universidad Mayor de San Andrés, 1972), 29 f.

297 "Mateo Pérez de Alesio (1540-c.1632), now identified as Matteo Godi da Leccia, born near Volterra in Tuscany, also accompanied a viceroy to the New World, García Hurtado de Mendoza, who took him to Lima in 1590. Matteo Godi had begun his career with Michelangelo in 1560s, was an engraver as well as a painter..." Clara Bargellini, "Painting in Colonial Latin America," in *The Arts in Latin America, 1492-1820*, ed. Joseph J. Rishel and Suzanne L. Stratton (Yale University Press, 2006), 325.

who has been presented as the central axis of the field of painting in the City of the Kings during his stay from c.1589 to 1616,²⁹⁸ had maintained such a direct contact with a central figure of European art history, was extremely attractive. This was specially so in the context constructed by the texts published in the second quarter of the century, which reconstructed the history of colonial painting in the image of an individual process of learning.

Meanwhile, Francisco Stastny carefully analyzed Alesio's authorship of a mural in the Sistine Chapel. This author noticed that Alesio probably begun his mural during the papacy of Pius V and finished it shortly after his death, during the papacy of Gregory XIII. His supposed position as Chamber Painter would have been limited to this contribution.²⁹⁹

A second element in this history that I want to highlight belongs to its other end: to the era of the foundation of academies in the last decades of the eighteenth century. The first of such academies of drawing was, according to the consensual narration – which has forgotten that earlier academy in which, it had been claimed, a son of Murillo would have been a teacher –, the one José del Pozo founded in the City of the Kings in 1791 after abandoning the scientific expedition of Alejandro Malaspina. Until today, to my knowledge, references to this academy lack

²⁹⁸Similar words were used by Estabridis Cárdenas: *"Alesio vivió en la calle Mantas, frente al Convento de La Merced, donde estableció taller y tuvo muchos discípulos entre los que se cuenta, aparte de Pedro Pablo Morón, su hijo Adrián, el agustino Francisco Bejarano, Domingo Gil, Francisco García, Cosme Ferrero y Figueroa y Francisco Sánchez Nieto entre otros, convirtiéndose en el eje de la pintura limeña de entonces."* Ricardo Estabridis Cárdenas, "Influencia Italiana en la Pintura Virreinal," in *Pintura en el Virreinato del Perú*, 2nd ed. (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2002), 133.

²⁹⁹Stastny, "A Note on Two Frescoes in the Sistine Chapel."

grounding in sources produced outside art historical narrations. An important source is again Miguel Solá's text from 1935, where he wrote that:

En 1791 se estableció en Lima el profesor de pintura José del Pozo, individuo de la Real Academia de Sevilla, que formaba parte de la expedición marítima de Alejandro Malaspina. No pudiendo continuar el viaje por falta de salud, solicitó del virrey licencia para establecer una escuela de dibujo, que se abrió el 25 de mayo de ese año en la calle de Santo Domingo. José del Pozo decoró el Tribunal del Consulado y pintó en templos y casas particulares, donde quedan muchas obras suyas.³⁰⁰

[The teacher of painting José del Pozo arrived to Lima in 1791. He was a member of the Real Academia of Seville, and member of the sea expedition of Alejandro Malaspina. When he couldn't continue his journey due to health problems, he asked the viceroy for a license to establish a school of drawing, which he opened on the 25th of May of the same year, in Santo Domingo street. José del Pozo decorated the Tribunal del Consulado and painted in temples and private residences, where many paintings done by him can still be found.]

His wording suggests that he might have followed the entry on José del Pozo in Manuel Mendiburu's *Diccionario Histórico-Biográfico del Perú*: “POZO, D. JOSÉ DEL. - Profesor de pintura, individuo de la real academia de Sevilla, vino al Perú como comisionado para el ramo de dibujo y pintura en la expedición...”³⁰¹ [POZO, D. JOSÉ DEL – teacher of painting, member of the royal academy of Seville, he came to Peru as member of the drawing and painting brunch of the expedition...] Solá didn't cite

300Solá, *Historia del arte hispano-americano: arquitectura, escultura, pintura y artes menores en la América española durante los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII*, 238-9.

301Manuel de Mendiburu, *Diccionario histórico-biográfico del Perú*, vol. 9, 2nd ed. (Lima: Imprenta "Enrique Palacios", 1931), 238. The second edition of this dictionary, which I'm quoting, was published in Lima, with additions by Evaristo San Cristóval, between 1931 and 1935, when Miguel Solá was probably preparing his book.

his sources. Neither did Peña Prado, who wrote that:

En el año de 1791, llega a Lima el pintor español José del Pozo, miembro de la Real Academia de Sevilla y que formaba parte de la expedición marítima de Alejandro Malespina, y habiéndose enfermado y no pudiendo continuar viaje, pidió al Virrey permiso para quedarse y establecer una escuela de dibujo, la que fué instalada solamnemente [sic] el 25 de mayo de dicho año.³⁰²

[The Spanish painter José del Pozo arrived to Lima in 1791. He was a member of the Royal Academy of Seville, and member of the sea expedition of Alejandro Malaspina. Having become sick and unable to continue his journey, he asked the viceroy for permission to stay and to establish a school of drawing, which was solemnly inaugurated on the 25th of May of the same year.]

In the 1960s we find variations of this claim been echoed by several renowned authors, such as Emilio Harth-Terre and Alberto Márquez Abanto,³⁰³ Francisco Stastny,³⁰⁴ and Rubén Vargas Ugarte.³⁰⁵ In 1982, Carmen Sotos Serrano published the most complete text about José del Pozo that we have today.³⁰⁶ However, while she uses a wide range of sources to inform about the different aspects of del Pozo's biography, she resorts to the authority of Rubén Vargas Ugarte regarding the

302Peña Prado, "Ensayos de arte virreinal," 152.

303"POZO, Joseph del. - Sevillano, individuo de la Academia de Bellas Artes de esa ciudad, vino a Lima en 1790 con la expedición científica de Alejandro Malespina, en la corbeta "Descubierta". Quedándose en esta ciudad por enfermedad; falleció en 1821, luego de haber cumplido muchas labores de enseñanza y arte." Emilio Harth-Terre and Alberto Márquez Abanto, "Pinturas y pintores en Lima virreinal," *Revista del Archivo Nacional del Perú* 27, no. 1 (1963): 205-6.

304"...existían en Lima en esos años al menos dos academias hacia las cuales podía dirigir sus pasos un joven aspirante a pintor. La Academia del pintor sevillano José del Pozo, que funcionó de 1791 a 1821; y la Academia de Dibujo y Pintura, fundada por el Virrey Abascal en 1810 y dirigida por el quiteño Javier Cortés." Stastny, *Breve Historia del arte en el Perú : la pintura precolombina, colonial y republicana*, 50.

305Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Ensayo de un diccionario de artífices de la América meridional*, 2nd ed. (Burgos: Impr. de Aldecoa, 1968), 444.

306Carmen Sotos Serrano, "José del Pozo," in *Los pintores de la expedición de Alejandro Malaspina*, 1982, 68-75.

foundation of an academy of drawing.³⁰⁷ In 1982, José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert recurred to Peña Prado as an authoritative source in this respect.³⁰⁸ In their text from 1985, however, they no longer cite their source.³⁰⁹ In 1989, Damián Bayón seems to have followed the encyclopedia that had been edited by Vicente Gesualdo in 1969,³¹⁰ while Jorge Bernales Ballesteros seems to have resorted to Sotos Serranos' account.³¹¹ This information has been repeated, with no traces of its

307 "*Las condiciones personales de Pozo como hombre procedente de la escuela sevillana y perteneciente a la Academia de Bellas Artes, influyeron bastante para que fuera conocido entre la nobleza limeña. Así, una vez en la ciudad de los Reyes, no sintió ningún deseo de volver a España y la vida se le hizo cada vez más grata, lo que culminó con su asentamiento definitivo en dicha ciudad y la fundación de una escuela de pintura en la calle de Santo Domingo, gracias al permiso concedido por el Virrey, con quien mantenía gran amistad, pese a los ruegos que le había hecho Malaspina de que no se le concediera permiso para quedarse en Lima.*" Ibid., 73. Despite the clear resemblance to Solá's version, the only source she cites in this respect is the 1968 edition of Vargas Ugarte's dictionary: "*Según este autor la escuela era privada y comenzó a funcionar en mayo de 1791.*" The information she gives echoes Solá's text from 1935.

308 "[Peña Prado] *Dice cómo en 1791 llega a Lima el pintor español José del Pozo, miembro de la Academia de Sevilla, y que se queda en la Ciudad de los Reyes, fundando el 25 de mayo de dicho año una escuela de dibujo.*" Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña [Ed. 2]*, 259 footnote 5.

309 "*En 1791 se inauguró en Lima la escuela dirigida por José del Pozo, autor sevillano que vino con la expedición de Malaspina (1789); pidió permiso para radicarse en la capital del virreinato y establecer una escuela de arte...*" José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, "El Baroco Tardío del Siglo XVIII en Perú y Bolivia," in *Arte iberoamericano desde la colonización a la Independencia*, vol. 2, 2nd ed., Summa Artis. Historia General del Arte XIX (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1985), 600.

310 This encyclopedia introduces an interesting variation when claiming that del Pozo's academy was officially recognized in 1806: "*Del Pozo fundó la Academia de Dibujo y Pintura de Lima, en 1791, oficializada en 1806.*" (Vicente Gesualdo, *Enciclopedia del arte en América* (Argentina: OMEBA, 1969), vol. 2, 321.) Remember that Francisco Stastny, in 1967, had distinguished between del Pozo's academy and the one that was founded by Viceroy Abascal in 1810. (See footnote 304). Damián Bayón agrees with Vicente Gesualdo's encyclopedia when writing about "Francisco del Pozo": "*Una referencia ahora, aunque más no sea, al pintor y dibujante sevillano Francisco del Pozo (1759-1821), quien llegó a América en la expedición de Malaspina, y se vio obligado a desembarcar en El Callao por razones de salud. Este artista, a la larga, se radicó en Lima y abrió academia de dibujo en 1791, institución que fue oficializada por el virrey Amat en 1806.*" (Bayón and Marx, *Historia del arte colonial sudamericano: Sudamérica hispana y el Brasil*, 245.) This version, however, has not been adopted by subsequent communications.

311 "*En 1790 llegó a Lima el sevillano José del Pozo, formado en la Academia de Artes del Alcázar de Sevilla bajo la dirección de D. José Bruna. Pozo se había embarcado en la expedición de Malaspina como pintor botánico, de tipos raciales y de paisajes; pero causas desconocidas, quizá su temperamento de artista, poco afín a un régimen de vida casi militar, le decidieron a abandonarla. Desembarcó en el Callao dispuesto a vivir de su arte y en 1791 fundó la una [sic] escuela de pintura en Lima en la que mantuvo su estilo personal, fiel a ciertos amaneramientos del barroco final y aun del rococó.*" Jorge Bernales Ballesteros, "La Pintura en Lima durante el Virreinato," in *Pintura en el Virreinato del Perú*, 1st ed. (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 1989), 66. This section wasn't modified for the second edition of 2002 (p. 66). Do note that Bernales'

sources, again in 2003,³¹² 2005³¹³ and 2008.³¹⁴ It is until today a vital part of the core narration of the history of colonial painting in central Andes, which has been handed down at least since our authors from the first half of the twentieth century. Time and again have these communications been accepted as premises for further communication without thematizing their lack of grounding in documents that could be taken to be independent from this narration.

I have made special reference to four elements in the history of painting in colonial central Andes: the participation of a son of Bartolomé Esteban Murillo in an academy of painting founded in Lima in early eighteenth-century – although neither Cossío del Pomar nor Álvarez Urquieta mention precisely where or when this academy was founded –, the training of Mateo Pérez de Alesio in the workshop of Michelangelo and his position as chamber painter of Pope Gregory XIII, and the foundation of another academy in Lima by José del Pozo in 1791. Only the first of

affirmation about del Pozo's temperament was likely based on Sotos' text, where all other information is also to be found: *"La disciplina de un viaje como éste, quizá resultó excesiva para un hombre como Pozo, poco constante en sus propósitos."* Sotos Serrano, "José del Pozo," 72.

312 *"No está clara su formación [la de José Gil de Castro], aunque se apunta que pudo aprender con algún retratista limeño o quizá con el sevillano José dle Pozo, que había fundado en Lima una Academia de Pintura en 1791."* Inmaculada Rodríguez Moya, "Rostros mestizos en el retrato iberoamericano," in *Iberoamérica mestiza. Encuentro de pueblos y culturas* (SEACEX, 2003), 161, <http://www.seacex.es/catalogo.cfm?idExposicion=119>.

313 *"...la introducción del neoclasicismo pictórico se debió a dos artistas españoles de influyente actividad en la capital. Ellos fueron el sevillano José del Pozo, quien abandonó la expedición de Malaspina en 1791 para fundar en Lima una academia privada; y Matías Maestro, arquitecto y pintor..."* Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, "Las Escuelas Pictóricas Virreinales," in *Perú indígena y virreinal* (SEACEX, 2005), 87.

314 *"When Malaspina's ships reached Lima's port of Callao in 1790, Pozo abandoned the expedition, either due to poor health or, according to Malaspina's journal, because the artist was insufficiently prepared for the rigors of naval life; the cabin boy Cordero assumed his duties. Pozo remained in Lima, where his academic credentials mattered more to the limeño elite than his disaffection for military rigor. Hence, Pozo established a private drawing and painting school in 1791, which became Peru's first art school to receive viceregal approval."* Kelly Donahue-Wallace, *Art and Architecture of Viceregal Latin America, 1521-1821* (UNM Press, 2008), 236.

these historical events was mentioned by Cossío del Pomar and Luis Álvarez Urquieta. That they mentioned only this event in sections specialized in Cusco suggests that they thought that the academy of Murillo's son was located in this city. I think that these four events share the same precise meaning in these texts: they mark the establishment of major links between the colonial and the European artworlds. By so doing, they underline the importance of being trained by people who impersonate the European tradition. The son of Murillo – who doesn't even have a name –, Mateo Pérez de Alesio and José del Pozo are depicted as teachers who have been trained in institutions that are seen as relevant to the reproduction of the European canon: the workshops of Murillo and Michelangelo and the Academy of Painting of Seville, respectively. In the absence of painters like these, local artists turned to images left by them and to their imitations until a new artist entered the scene and reformed the state of the art, reestablishing the broken link with history.

The more meaningful each of these elements was in this narration, the more striking it seems to have been for future generations and, correspondingly, the more pressing and easy it may have been to verify its accuracy against external data. In this order, the presence of a son of an internationally renowned master is more relevant than the presence of a minor apprentice of his. In turn, the latter is more relevant than a former member of a modern academy in Seville, even if he was the son of its director.³¹⁵

³¹⁵This was the case of José del Pozo according to Sotos Serrano, "José del Pozo."

In 1941, Elizabeth Wilder, from the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress, published a *Call for pioneers* that declared that Latin American art history was waiting for scholars who could build its most basic foundations as a field of academic research. Not only was this history almost completely absent from colleges in the United States of America, but there was also an urgent and more basic need for cataloging this tradition and making it available for English-speaking audiences. As she drastically observed: "*There are certain essential studies to be undertaken, without which comment on Latin American art will remain amateur fancy.*"³¹⁶ Among these, she included photographic studies, analyses of materials, and explorations of the available documentary evidence.

She specifically mentioned colonial paintings from Cusco as an example of an under-explored field:

Equipped with photographs, documents, and knowledge of materials, the historian of art can begin to speculate fruitfully at a thousand interesting points. In a city like Cuzco in Peru, for instance, the colonial paintings have never even been counted. Who painted all these pictures? How were they taught? What European artists came there? What European models did they follow, and how did they depart from them? How was the iconography of European art varied and extended here, and how do these variations relate to Indian mythology? Finally (and this is the point of organization for the School of Cuzco), to what extent were the painters collected into workshops from which came stock types

³¹⁶Elizabeth Wilder, "Call for Pioneers," *College Art Journal* 1, no. 1 (November 1941): 7.

and compositions? From the background of an essentially popular art, what artistic personalities ultimately emerge? What characteristics can be isolated, to distinguish the school as a whole? What conclusions may be drawn from the whole panorama about the meaning of provincialism in art, the meaning of style itself? None of these questions – here related to a single school and a single technique – none have been answered. Why are the faculties of art not urging their students into this field, which cries for pioneers?³¹⁷

These questions correspond to a different manner of understanding art history that expects communications to be critically assessed regarding their reference to documented experience. An answer to Wilder's questions would not be articulated in this same manner until the decade of 1950, with the publication of Martin S. Soria's analyses. From this point of view, the texts that we have reviewed in this section would probably be considered amateur fancy. They were however highly influential for future generations.

³¹⁷Ibid., 8.

2.3 *Is ornamental art the product of cultural syncretism or isolation? (1940 – 1960)*

2.3.1 Ángel Guido

The beginning of the decade of 1940 marked a shift in the literature on South American colonial painting. For more than a decade, Ángel Guido had been one of the most relevant authors in the americanist perspective, which analyzed Latin American colonial art in general, but specially architecture, in terms of a mestizo tradition.³¹⁸ In 1940, he published *Redescubrimiento de América en el Arte*, a book that was published again in 1941 and in 1944.³¹⁹ This book included the transcription of a conference entitled “Estimativa moderna de la pintura colonial”, that Guido had given at the Biblioteca Argentina (Rosario) on August the 17th, 1940.³²⁰ This text is a landmark in the adoption of the historiographical tradition on mestizo architecture for the appreciation of colonial painting in central Andes. We must understand this text in connection to previous literature on this subject, specially to texts by Felipe Cossío del Pomar and Luis Álvarez Urquieta that observed colonial South American paintings as the fusion of imported (European and Asian) and autochthonous traditions. By observing the mestizo form of painting as an alternative to the European tradition and not as a transitory phase

³¹⁸See footnote 217.

³¹⁹The first two editions (1940, 1941) were published by the Universidad Nacional del Litoral, Santa Fé. The third corrected and extended edition (1944) was published by El Ateneo in Buenos Aires.

³²⁰The text of this conference was also published in a separate edition by the Academia Nacional de Historia in 1942: Guido, *Estimativa moderna de la pintura colonial*. Quotations to this text by Ángel Guido will be made to the 1944 edition published by El Ateneo.

anymore, Guido was able to integrate the notion of *mestizaje* with the position that had been put forward by Mariano Picón Salas and Miguel Solá, who observed a synchronous occurrence of asynchronous levels of development. Ángel Guido was able to do so by understanding *mestizo* painting as folk art, which he distinguished from the official arts of the cultural elites that intended to imitate the arts of the metropolitan centers in Europe. As such, this text will be fundamental for the appropriation of the distinction between provinces and peripheries.

This author observed that, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, America didn't offer artworks that could be regarded as been truly successful from the point of view of the European canon:

En términos generales, como en el caso de la arquitectura, América no puede ofrecer durante la colonia obras de jerarquía de artistas españoles o extranjeros capaces de soportar una severa crítica mediante el cortabón estimativo del arte europeo. Por eso, pinturas y catedrales renacentistas o barrocas en América son, casi podríamos decir en general, inferiores a las levantadas en el continente europeo, siempre que se las estime dentro del Barroco y Renacimiento europeos;³²¹

[In broad terms, as it happens in the case of architecture, America cannot offer during the colonial period artworks of the same level as those produced by Spanish or foreign artists, which would be able to undergo severe criticism from the point of view of European art. For this reason, Renaissance and Baroque paintings and cathedrals in America are almost all inferior to the ones produced in Europe, as far as one observes them as part of the same European Baroque and Renaissance periods.]

³²¹Guido, "Estimativa moderna de la pintura colonial," 284.

In this passage it is already evident that Guido had adopted a critical position in relation to previous literature on this subject, specially in relation to the texts by Cossío del Pomar and Álvarez Urquieta, which applied the evaluative criteria of an art that aims towards autonomy to American colonial paintings. For Ángel Guido, this appraisal would be appropriate only for the observation of colonial artworks that imitate metropolitan expressions.³²² This tradition corresponds to the official taste cultivated by the local elite of viceregal authorities. Besides this artistic form, another one emerged from the fusion of Inca and Hispanic traditions:

La segunda corriente, la mestiza, en su gran parte anónima, constituye para nosotros la más interesante producción cuzqueña y digna de ocupar un capítulo más en la historia de la pintura universal. Se trata de la ejecución de lienzos que se cuentan por cientos desde el Cuzco hasta Potosí y que fueron ejecutados por criollos, indios y mestizos. Nos referimos exactamente a esa pintura “mestiza”, connubio feliz de la tónica española con la tónica indígena. / A esta corriente “mestiza” pertenecen cabalmente los llamados “primitivos coloniales”, calificación no alejada, sin duda, de su justa apreciación históricoestética;³²³

[The second – mestizo – tradition, which is mostly anonymous, is for us the most interesting production from Cusco. It deserves a chapter of its own in the universal history of painting. It consists on the production of hundreds of paintings from Cusco to Potosi, which were executed by Creoles, Indians and Mestizos. “Mestizo” painting is the joyful union of the Spanish and the Indigenous accents. / The so-called “colonial primitives” belong to this current.

322He describes this tradition in a form that recalls the text by Cossio del Pomar: *“Respecto a la primera corriente citada, en el Cuzco se imitó con diversa fortuna a los grandes europeos desde Zurbarán, Ribera y Tintoreto hasta Van Dyck y Murillo... La pintura oficial de la primera corriente – apreciada, repetimos, desde una estimativa europea – no posee esa gracia “sui generis” de la pintura seis y setesentista. Tampoco revela un conocimiento profundo del desnudo, un ajuste decisivo en su composición.” Ibid., 286.*

323Ibid., 284.

This classification is certainly not alien to its appropriate historic and aesthetic appreciation.]

As a direct continuation of the literature on colonial architecture, the Cusco school of painting becomes in this text an “*escuela cusqueña mestiza*”³²⁴ that realized “... *the joyful union of the Spanish and the Indigenous...*” Unlike the arts of the colonial elites, this local folk³²⁵ tradition “...*deserves a chapter of its own in the universal history of painting.*”³²⁶

Ángel Guido had completely modified the framework used by his predecessors while still keeping contact with them – specially with Felipe Cossío del Pomar’ highly influential texts. What previous authors had observed as consecutive stages in the evolution of painting in this region was understood by Guido as parallel developments: both artistic currents, the official and the popular, are represented as having been contemporaneously rooted in the European immigration. Guido also insisted on the primitive character of some paintings from colonial Cusco as earlier authors had done. Like Miguel Solá, he used this adjective in a context that implied that differentiated criteria of evaluation must be put aside when engaging in the observation of these paintings. Thus, the concept of ornamental art that had previously been used by Miguel Solá in terms of naivety, had been fully assumed by Guido as the cornerstone of a model that recognizes the coexistence of these two

³²⁴Ibid., 296.

³²⁵The distinction between the official and the folk arts is best expressed by Ángel Guido in the following passage: “*El arte colonial en América – ya lo hemos repetido en varias ocasiones – adopta dos posturas o corrientes vinculadas o desvinculadas entre sí, según los casos. Nos referimos a las corrientes del arte oficial y del arte rústico, popular o campesino. La primera orientada por las autoridades virreinales. La segunda, por el pueblo.*” Ibid., 293.

³²⁶Ibid., 284.

trends: mediocre imitations of European paintings and original mestizo paintings that realize the cultural synthesis of European and Indian world views.

As Héctor Schenone has criticized,³²⁷ a consequence of this framework is that more attention will be paid to mestizo objects than to other manifestations that are seen to resemble European art. In the realm of painting, this is reflected in the literature's preference for paintings from Cusco and Potosi, in detriment of paintings from Lima. Among Cusqueño paintings, the more naive, primitive and decorative works are selected as examples of the local school. Thus, ornamental art had been situated as the preferential object of art historical research.

The distinction made between alien and original forms of art became an important contribution for later publications. The distinction can be expressed as the difference between the imposition – this been implied by Guido's observation of an *official* art – and the creation of style. Future publications will elaborate on this subject of discipline and control in colonial worlds of art, to the point of positioning it as the cornerstone of today's most widely held account of the differentiation of the Cusco school of painting: the emergence of this local school is explained as a result of the institutional liberation of the native painters from the imposition of a European canon.

327Héctor Schenone, "Escuelas Pictóricas Andinas," in *Arte virreinal : óleos y tallas del Virreinato del Perú ; colecciones de Lima y Buenos Aires* (presented at the Buenos Aires: Centro de Artes Visuales del Instituto Torcuato di Tella del 14 de junio al 10 de julio de 1966, Buenos Aires: Instituto Torcuato di Tella, 1966), 20.

The notion of mestizaje wasn't taken up again until the end of the decade of 1950 in a new book by Felipe Cossío del Pomar. The same happened with the idea of a parallel development of painterly traditions in the same region. In the meanwhile one finds variations based on previous models – some of which would have important consequences. I will mention three authors who worked in this tradition of thought during the decade of 1950: Enrique Marco Dorta, Martin Sebastian Soria, and Ricardo Mariátegui Oliva.

2.3.2 Enrique Marco Dorta

An interesting contribution in this direction was made by the Spanish scholar Enrique Marco Dorta in the second volume of *Historia del Arte Hispanoamericano*, published in 1950 under the direction of Diego Angulo Iñiguez.³²⁸ His text is a direct continuation of the literature from the 1930s. However, what is most appealing in it is the explicit adoption of the core/periphery distinction, which had played a minor role in Guido's texts from the 1940s. According to Dorta, the evolution of provincial expressions depended on the evolution of the Hispanic tradition. In his words, “...*todas las escuelas locales americanas son provincias del arte hispalense durante la época colonial.*”³²⁹ [*... all American local schools are provinces of Hispanic art during the colonial period.*] Dorta eliminated the distinction that Guido had been able to draw within the province between official and folk or mestizo art, which would be so important for the comprehension of

³²⁸Dorta, “La pintura en Colombia, Ecuador, Peru y Bolivia.”

³²⁹Ibid., 479 f.

colonial art in later decades.

According to this text by Dorta, art in the provinces may originate innovation under special circumstances. Artistic variation can be triggered either by external factors such as the presence of foreign painters, imported paintings and prints or by an internal strive for novelty. In the case of the Cusco area, external sources of innovation were limited by geographical isolation and internal sources were absent. The result was a continuous state of archaism that is nonetheless recognized as the source of these paintings' greatest charm:

Sin grandes maestros y sin obras de valor superlativo, la escuela cuzqueña tiene su mayor encanto en ese arcaísmo mantenido a lo largo de más de dos siglos, fiel reflejo de una mentalidad colectiva que sigue sus cauces sin que alguna influencia externa o un afán de novedad le señale nuevos caminos o le impulse a buscarlos,³³⁰

[Lacking great masters or artworks of superlative value, the Cusco school's greatest charm lies in this archaism that was maintained for more than two centuries: true reflection of a collective mentality that follows its own currents with neither outside interference nor an eagerness for novelties that could show it new paths or make it look out for them.]

Archaism – yet another form of the concept of ornamental art – is here understood as a state of continuous repetition that neither adopts innovations produced in other regions nor produces its own variations. Unfortunately, this text doesn't elaborate on the conditions that should be met for a “collective mentality” to strive

³³⁰Ibid., 480.

for artistic novelty. One is reminded of Cossío del Pomar's scheme from 1922: an internal variable (realistic tendency) is complemented by a couple of external variables, among which the presence of immigrant painters is the most relevant one. However, unlike Cossío del Pomar, it isn't likely that this author understood this internal variable as a racial characteristic of the native peoples. In fact, in Enrique Marco Dorta's argument there is almost no reference to indigenous factors that could have influenced the history of painting in this region. The only role they play – one that is posed with seeming uneasiness – has been introduced in the form of an inclination for the use of golden backdrops on canvases – Sartiges' *manie des dorures!* –, which had kept their validity in Spain only in the popular taste of local, peripheral schools: “...esa vistosa riqueza de fondos dorados sobre tabla que, tal vez por ser del gusto de los indígenas, se siguió empleando sobre el lienzo.”³³¹ [... that eye-catching richness of golden backgrounds painted on wood which, maybe because of being of the taste of Indians, continued to be used on canvas.] The other variables in Dorta's analysis had also been mentioned by Luis Álvarez Urquieta. Coinciding with the latter, this text assumes that, had there been a greater number of painters, masterpieces and copies informing about the state of art in the metropolis, artistic variation would have occurred. In this manner, the distinction between an artistic metropolis and its provinces articulates a general law. In the light of this law, colonial art from the central Andes can be understood as merely another case of ornamental art, which is to be expected in the provinces where the said external and internal conditions are met. A reference to the

331Ibid., 479.

Amerindian populations would have been redundant in this context.

Thus far Dorta's account of the emergence of the local school of Cusco is an innovative variation of the central narration ascribed by earlier authors from the 1930s. His work can be seen as offering an alternative to the theory of mestizaje that Ángel Guido had proposed in the previous decade. While Guido guided art historical research towards the observation of the survival of pre-Hispanic tradition, Dorta focused on the observation of media of transportation and diffusion. Nonetheless, the latter's model left open the possibility to observe internal variables, which in his text were marked as the presence/absence in a given region of an autonomous strive for novelty. Decades later, this would allow for an integration of both models in a manner that recalls Alfred Neumeyer's text from 1948.³³²

2.3.3 Ricardo Mariátegui Oliva

In 1951³³³ and 1954,³³⁴ the Peruvian historian Ricardo Mariátegui Oliva published a couple of short texts dedicated to the series of the Corpus Christi (Image 7 on page 285) that was painted around 1670-1676³³⁵ and was originally part of the

332Neumeyer, "The Indian Contribution to Architectural Decoration in Spanish Colonial America." See chapter 2.1.2 above.

333Ricardo Mariátegui Oliva, *Pintura cuzqueña del siglo XVII: los maravillosos lienzos del Corpus existentes en la Iglesia de Santa Ana del Cuzco* (Lima: Alma Mater, 1951).

334Ricardo Mariátegui Oliva, *Pintura cuzqueña del siglo XVII en Chile : los valiosos lienzos del Corpus cuzqueño de propiedad de Carlos Peña Otaegui en Santiago* (Lima: Alma Mater, 1954).

335Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy, "El vestido como identidad étnica e indicador social de una cultura material," in *El Barroco Peruano*, vol. 2, Arte y Tesoros del Perú (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2003), 122.

ornamentation of the Parish of Santa Ana in Cusco. These texts are rare exemplars in this tradition. On the one hand, they insist in signaling training, specially under the direction of European painters and in contact with imported paintings and prints, as the main factor that could lead the development of painting. On the other hand, they proposed that the canvases that compose this series are successful examples of the Baroque stylistic program in Heinrich Wölfflin's sense:³³⁶

El barroquismo ha sido expresado rotundamente, habiéndose fundido los elementos en unidad de partes inseparables, que constituye la característica del estilo y de la época ...;³³⁷

[The Baroque character has been fully expressed, having melted the elements in a unity of inseparable parts, what constitutes the characteristic of the style and of the period...]

What he saw as a certain degree of primitivism in the representation of hieratic attitudes, was explained by reference to the native painters' early stage in their formative process: painters were not yet subject to rigid pictorial rules.³³⁸ We can see that while this author attempted to give sense of these paintings in the context of the European history of styles, he still explained the distinction between an art that aims towards autonomy and ornamental art by making reference to the individual formative process. As such, failing to adopt the central insights of Guido and Dorta, Mariátegui temporized the form of ornamental art in the manner of the

336Heinrich Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe : das Problem der Stilentwicklung in der neueren Kunst*, 4th ed. (München: Bruckmann, 1920).

337Mariátegui Oliva, *Pintura cuzqueña del siglo XVII: los maravillosos lienzos del Corpus existentes en la Iglesia de Santa Ana del Cuzco*, 35.

338Ibid.

1930s.

2.3.4 Martin Sebastian Soria

Throughout the 1950s, the German scholar Martin Sebastian Soria, then a professor at the Michigan State University,³³⁹ published a series of texts on Latin American colonial painting that took advantage of Dorta's model and explored its limitations. The metropolis/province distinction allowed him to undertake detailed iconographical analyses that gave account of the influence exerted by metropolitan centers upon the local schools of the central Andes. These analyses were characterized by the application of a scientific program to art historical research that was exceptional in this subfield. This program would have two main consequences for subsequent communications. On the one hand, this subject matter became the object of a differentiated field of expert knowledge. On the other hand, the resulting specialized communications required the publication of popularizing ones that could confront the problem of inclusion of the system of science.³⁴⁰ This later consequence will be explored in more detail in chapter 2.3.5. At this point I'll highlight two results of Soria's research that were relevant for the comprehension of colonial painting as ornamental art: that the artistic centers of reference of this local production were not primarily Hispanic, but Flemish and Italian; and that their iconographic sources were not primarily European

339Dictionary of Art Historians, "Soria, Martin S," in *Dictionary of Art Historians*, n.d., <http://www.dictionaryofarthistorians.org/>.

340Rudolph Stichweh, "Die vielfältigen Publika der Wissenschaft : Inklusion und Popularisierung," in *Inklusion und Exklusion : Studien zur Gesellschaftstheorie* (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2005), 95-111.

masterworks, but *estampes populaires*.

In a book from 1956, Soria offered an outstanding study of the iconographic sources of sixteenth century Latin American painting. Extremely relevant for the study of the history of Andean painting was his discovery, in 1950-1951,³⁴¹ of some paintings done by the Italian Jesuit Bernardo Bitti (1548-1610) (Image 7 on page 285), whom Soria framed as the most important mannerist painter in Peru.³⁴² Bitti's influence was noted by Soria in paintings by Gregorio Gamarra and Lázaro Pardo Lagos (active in Cusco from 1628 to 1669³⁴³), among other non-identified authors. In Pardo Lagos' *Franciscan Martyrs in Japan* (Image 8 on page 285), from 1630, Soria recognized the introduction of a baroque style that departed from Bitti's mannerism. This application of stylistic concepts that refer to the European history of art is meaningful in a model centered on the metropolis/province distinction, as far as provincial art echoes the signals that it receives from the center. However, Soria doesn't seem to have been interested in this kind of analysis, but on carefully determining the iconographic sources of colonial painting.

341 "En 1950-1951, descubrí el arte de Bitti (¿1546-1610?) en Lima, Arequipa, la ribera del lago Titicaca y Sucre." He first published reproductions of these works in 1952 (Martin S. Soria, "Painting and sculpture in Latin America from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century," *Year Book of the American Philosophical Society* (1952): 278-281.). He published a more careful study in 1956 (Soria, *La pintura del siglo XVI en Sudamérica.*), which he complemented in 1959 (Soria, "La pintura en el Cuzco y el Alto Perú 1550-1700.").

342Ibid., 25. To my knowledge, Bernardo Bitti had entered the twentieth-century historiography of colonial painting in central Andes in Rubén Vargas Ugarte's dictionary from 1947: Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Ensayo de un diccionario de artífices coloniales de la América Meridional* (Lima, 1947), 67, 105.

343Soria, "La pintura en el Cuzco y el Alto Perú 1550-1700," 29.

Soria confirmed what had been known at least since the 1920s: local artistic production was based on the imitation of imported images. While copying paintings was a common practice in many regions of this early world society, Soria observed that local copies of European models were even more exact than European copies of the same models. The focus is evidently once again on the lack of artistic evolution and on its causes. For Soria, the cause was quite simple: *“Por lo general los artistas coloniales copiaban más exactamente que los europeos, y en todas partes los buenos artistas suelen apartarse más del modelo que los mediocres.”*³⁴⁴ [In general, colonial artists made more exact copies than Europeans, and everywhere do good artists follow the model more freely than mediocre ones.] Coinciding with Cossío and Álvarez, Soria sees the source of artistic evolution in the abilities of the individual artist. As we have seen, this theme goes back to Felipe Cossío del Pomar's observation of the lack of creativity that local painters seemed to have had; or, more exactly, of their pronounced realistic tendencies in the level of the relation between artworks.³⁴⁵

More interesting is Soria's observation that local painters were not only worse than European ones, but also less demanding in their choice of iconographic models:

Y no sólo se copiaban por todas partes grabados de autores conocidos, sino las estampas europeas anónimas llamadas *estampes populaires*, de Flandes, Francia, Cataluña, Valencia, etc., crean el estilo popular folklórico en el Cuzco, en

³⁴⁴Ibid., 29.

³⁴⁵See above chapter 2.2.1, page 115.

el Alto Perú, y en los demás centros pictóricos de Sudamérica. Así, con excepción de la muy marcada influencia de Zurbarán y su taller desde México hasta Guatemala y de Lima hasta Buenos Aires, casi no existen para la pintura colonial ni fuentes españolas ni fuentes indígenas... La pintura colonial se presenta como hija provincial del arte europeo no-español, salvo la excepción mencionada anteriormente de Zurbarán. Este arte europeo, no-español, venía en su mayoría de Flandes y de Italia.³⁴⁶

[And not only were prints from renown authors copied everywhere, but also did the anonymous european prints called *estampes populaires*, from Flanders, France, Catalonia, Valencia, etc. create the popular-folkloric style in Cusco, in Alto Peru, and in the other pictorial centres in South America. Thus, with the exception of the strong influence that Zurbarán and his workshop had from Mexico to Guatemala and from Lima to Buenos Aires, there were almost no influences in colonial painting from either Spanish or Indian sources... Colonial painting can be seen as the provincial child of non-Spanish European art, with the exception of Zurbarán. Most of this European, non-Spanish art came from Flanders and Italy.]

Here lies in my view the most important contribution done by Soria to this historiographic tradition. Local schools of painting from Cusco and Alto Peru are described as ascribing to a popular-folkloric style that would have been based on an almost exact imitation of popular prints in the medium of oil on canvas. The variations that one can notice respond to this transference from one medium to the other, which is done with no reference to matters of style. The artistic result is, therefore, for Soria as a contemporary observer, “...*ingenuamente primitivo*”³⁴⁷ [...*naively primitive.*]

346Soria, “La pintura en el Cuzco y el Alto Perú 1550-1700,” 29 f.

347Ibid., 31.

It is important to highlight Soria's categorical rejection of theories that see in these paintings the confluence of Spanish and Indian traditions, which had found in Guido their brightest exponent. Neither tradition is seen as having exerted a decisive influence on these local schools of ornamental art. In this context, Soria's reference to the Indian painter Diego Quispe Tito as the most important painter from seventeenth-century Cusco is particularly meaningful. As he noted, the canvas that represents Aries and December (Image 9 on page 286) in the series of the Months that Quispe Tito painted for the Cathedral of Cusco in 1681 is an almost exact copy of an engraving made by Adriaen Collaert in 1585 according to a design by Hans Bol: *Joseph and Mary Arrive at the Inn (Capricorn)*³⁴⁸ (Image 10 on page 286). However, Quispe Tito's copies triggered an important question. Even though Soria explicitly discarded any influence of Indian sources on colonial paintings, he did wonder if Indians might have read these paintings according to a different criteria. He specifically posed this question in relation to the introduction of birds in paintings whose sources included none, as it occurs in works by Quispe Tito.³⁴⁹ Could the birds that were inserted in these images have a magical meaning for the Indians? This question, that would be fully explored by Mujica Pinilla and Teresa Gisbert decades later,³⁵⁰ wasn't confronted by Soria. What's important to highlight at this point is the tacit reinsertion of the problem of mestizaje in a

348The print belongs to the series: *Emblemata Evangelica*. The correspondences between Quispe Tito's and Collaert's series – along with hundreds of correspondences between European prints and colonial art – can be consulted in Internet in the site of the PESSCA project: <http://colonialart.org>

349See quotation in page 39.

350Ramón Mujica Pinilla, *Ángeles apócrifos de la América virreinal*, 2nd ed. (Lima: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1996); Teresa Gisbert, *El paraíso de los pájaros parlantes : la imagen del otro en la cultura andina* (La Paz: Plural Ed., 1999).

context that understands colonial painting as the provincial child of European non-Spanish art. It is interesting that, according to our theoretical framework, by describing these local traditions as popular-folkloric and naively primitive styles, Soria had merely stated that one cannot assume that the primary function of these images was art, nor that they aimed towards autonomy. The question regarding how these images made communication was thus left open. As a possible solution, Soria alluded to a symbolic meaning today lost: that, for Indians, birds mediated between the observable and the unobservable. At the end, one couldn't rule out the influence of pre-contact indigenous heritage in these naive provincial traditions.

2.3.5 Felipe Cossío del Pomar and the popularization of art history

In 1958, a new book by Felipe Cossío del Pomar was published in Mexico and Buenos Aires, which had a direct reach to a much broader audience than his previous works on this subject.³⁵¹ Most of the book deals with architecture and sculpture.³⁵² Yet a short section discusses colonial paintings from the Cusco region. The model that this text developed is centered on the concept of hybridization, which is meant to replace that of *mestizaje* – a concept that had too strong racial

351 Cossío del Pomar, *Arte del Perú Colonial*.

352 As José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert noted, Cossío del Pomar, in his discussion of sculpture, “...admite sin reticencia la influencia asiática.” (José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, “[Untitled review of *Arte del Perú colonial*, by Felipe Cossío del Pomar],” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 39, no. 4 (November 1959): 649.) Here we can recognize the influence of Luis Álvarez Urquieta, who had based his own publication in Cossío del Pomar's dissertation.

connotations, as George Kubler would famously complain a year later.³⁵³ Thus far, this text offers a continuation of the line of thought developed by Ángel Guido during the decade of 1940 – one that had little or no resonance in other texts in the decade of 1950. Hence, one might see this text as a reaction against that new branch of publications that assumed the core/periphery distinction as central category, mostly ignoring the problem posed by the Indian influences on colonial art. As we have seen, this problem wasn't trivial for understanding how colonial paintings made communication. We can add another reason that Latin American authors could have had for rejecting these models: by making ornamental art derivative of the social system of art, these models didn't allow to present colonial art as an alternative to European art: as a symbol of the cultural idiosyncrasy of the region and, by extension, of Latin America.

Cossío del Pomar's arguments did not follow the criteria of validity that had been established by Martín S. Soria. José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert made it clear in their review of Cossío's text that they had expected a more detailed analysis of iconographic influences and a utilization of specialized terminology.³⁵⁴ Furthermore, an acknowledgement of the centrality of Bitti, Medoro, and Quispe Tito was already to be expected. As it turns out, Cossío del Pomar's text wasn't “up to date.” This book was valued for its illustrations and for its intention to reach a broad audience.³⁵⁵ We can observe in Mesa and Gisbert's

³⁵³Kubler and Soria, *Art and Architecture of Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions*.

³⁵⁴Mesa and Gisbert, “[Untitled review of *Arte del Perú colonial*, by Felipe Cossío del Pomar].”

³⁵⁵Literally, Mesa and Gisbert wrote that: “*El libro es inapreciable por la cantidad y calidad de las ilustraciones. Representa un positivo esfuerzo para interesar a un extenso público por el arte virreinal peruano, que es una de las glorias de América.*” *Ibid.*, 650.

expectations that the literature on this subject may have begun to differentiate itself along two lines. One that addressed an informed epistemic community and another one that was meant to reach a general audience; that is, to perform the function of inclusion in art history as a scientific program. Among the later, critical for Andean artistic historiography are volumes that offer a synthesis of current knowledge (for education and for an interdisciplinary public) and exposition catalogs (directed at an artistic – and rarely scientific – public).

As Rudolf Stichweh has observed, the popularization of scientific knowledge may have retroactive effects.³⁵⁶ Pedagogical texts contribute to the systematization of the results of centrifugal research. Popular communications also have an assertive tone that does not correspond to the skeptical tone of science. Furthermore, the popularization of science may have a selective effect, as themes that are attractive for popular publications might be privileged in research.

I think that, in the sub-field of art history concerned with the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the central Andes, the popularization of science may have had retroactive effects in the comprehension of the social context of art. The theories that handle the relation of painting with its social context typically fall outside the scope of the critically-oriented research that has conformed a specialized literature. They tend to occupy a latent position, giving structure to observation without being subject to critical revision. Meanwhile, due

³⁵⁶Stichweh, "Die vielfältigen Publika der Wissenschaft : Inklusion und Popularisierung," 103.

to their structuring function, they do play a more visible role in texts of popularization. Indeed, volumes that offer a synthesis of historical knowledge – typically organized according to political territories and periods – may be regarded as the most fertile (re-)producers of such explanatory models. In turn, texts aimed at a general public often contribute to the diffusion of these models in terms of established facts. Finally, it is possible that texts of popularization have had a selective effect in this area of research, as they emphasize models that are more attractive for a general audience. This may also explain a growing preference for models that highlight the influence of Amerindian indigenous cultures in colonial art. Even though empirical research on this topic has once and again proven it to be extremely difficult to find strong evidence of such influence, it continues to be a key element in the explanatory models adopted by popular communications and to attract historical research. This is not to say that such influences are not a relevant topic for research. On the contrary, it is a pressing matter precisely because it cannot be treated as a fact.

The text published by Felipe Cossío del Pomar in 1958, *Arte del Perú Colonial*, can be seen as a case of popularizing literature.³⁵⁷ As such, it cleverly synthesized the different positions that have been presented so far. I have already noted that it was rooted on the concept of hybridization. Accordingly, this author rejected his earlier proposal of a linear development guided by the native painter's training in the

357For another example of popularizing literature produced during this decade, see the text contained in the catalog: Pan American Union, *The Cuzco school of painting : a selection. June 17 to July 15, 1958* (Washington, D.C.: Pan American Union, 1958).

European tradition.³⁵⁸ Following Ángel Guido,³⁵⁹ this text recognizes the development of parallel traditions of painting in colonial Peru. These can be resumed in two opposite styles: one that copied European models for an elite audience³⁶⁰ and another one in which “...*el indio patentiza su protesta, sus inclinaciones y devociones, su ingenio para armonizar la fórmula cristiana y su pasión tradicional.*”³⁶¹ [*...the Indian expresses his protest, his inclinations and devotions, his ingenuity to harmonize the Christian formula and his traditional passion.*] As it could be expected, the latter “hybrid tradition” is described as a naive style that was extraneous to the laws of perspective, composition, drawing and western aesthetic flavor.³⁶² For Cossío del Pomar, this indigenous expression in colonial paintings was made possible by the weakness or total lack of organizational mechanisms of control of artistic production: native artists, being free from the supervision of the academy, the church and the guild, didn't follow representational programs:

El pintor no supedita su obra a las enseñanzas académicas o al dictado estricto de preceptos morales o religiosos; no obedece a concilios u ordenanzas, crea al

358Cossío del Pomar, “Historia Crítica de la Pintura en el Cuzco”; Cossío del Pomar, *Pintura colonial : escuela cuzqueña*. See chapter 2.2.1 above.

359Guido, *Estimativa moderna de la pintura colonial*.

360It is worth noting a distinction that is made within European sources between naturalism and neoprimitivism. The first consists on the copy of the style of Girlandaggio and Andrea del Sarto. Indian influences in this current are limited to the *estofado*, to the representation of autochthonous flora and to certain racial features like skin tone. The other current is a “*Pintura de tradición hierática y afectación bizantina...*” Following Solá and Peña Prado, Cossío del Pomar claimed that Indians wouldn't have understood the sorrow that characterizes this tradition: “*Misticismo renegrado, obscura monotonía tonal, angustia de ultratumba que mal prende en tierras de América tan llenas de sal pagana. Toda esa tristeza que es incomprensible para el indio y que el indio imita y conduce hábilmente hacia su paganismo.*” Cossío del Pomar, *Arte del Perú Colonial*, 206.

361Ibid., 205 f.

362Ibid., 206.

margen de los moldes que se desprenden de las Sagradas Escrituras y los principios teológicos. Es un arte que deja de lado las fórmulas y desobedece los cánones. El pintor desenvuelve un proceso de creación personal. La forma que elabora es una deducción de sus propios ideales estéticos o de su propia visión; en una palabra, es obra que se funda en conceptos independientes de aquellos impuestos por la iglesia o el gremio y que demuestran el acatamiento o el rechazo del artista a las formas y creencias que prevalecen en la sociedad en que vive.³⁶³

[The painter doesn't condition its artwork to academic teachings or to the dictates of strict moral or religious precepts; it does not obey councils or regulations. He works at the margin of the limitations that come from the Bible or from theological principles. It is a kind of art that leaves formulas aside and disobeys cannons. The painter undergoes a process of personal creation. The form that he creates is deduced from his own aesthetic ideals or from his own vision; in a word, it is a work of art that is founded on concepts that are independent from the ones imposed by the Church or the guild, and that demonstrate the painter's acceptance or refusal of the forms and beliefs that prevail in the society in which he lives.]

In this passage, Cossío del Pomar seems to be reading Ángel Guido's text in the light of his own representation of artists as being potentially revolutionary in a political sense.³⁶⁴ It is the artists' self-expression through art, made possible by weak or nonexistent organizational mechanisms of artistic control, that defines this culturally hybrid form in which an Indian world-view can be recognized.

Ironically, the model proposed by José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert in the 1980s

³⁶³Ibid., 207 f.

³⁶⁴Felipe Cossío del Pomar, *La Rebelión de los Pintores: Ensayo para una Sociología del Arte* (México: Editorial Leyenda, 1945).

echoes this text by Cossío del Pomar, about which they had written that: “*No explica bien las diferencias ni utiliza la terminología exacta.*”³⁶⁵ [*It neither explains well the differences nor does it use the exact terminology.*] As it turns out, this book wasn't valuable just for its illustrations and its ability to reach a broad audience – as these authors wrote in their review –, but for the manner in which it articulated the distinction between ornamental and non-ornamental art in a historical narrative. The question is, of course, if their model can be seen as successfully grounded in verifiable narration of historical events.

2.4 Coda: José de Mesa, Teresa Gisbert and Francisco Stastny

The question left open by Martin S. Soria in 1959 called for an integration of the models of *mestizaje* and core/periphery. The alternative explored by Felipe Cossío del Pomar just one year before couldn't be explicitly assumed by the young epistemic community for it didn't provide enough internal redundancy within a body of expert knowledge: authors that had become fundamental players in the historical narrations were ignored and, perhaps more importantly, the specialized language wasn't used: that is, the theoretical distinctions that gave structure to mainstream narrations were overlooked. In the next chapters I'll discuss the models developed by three authors in response to this problem: the Bolivians José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, and the Peruvian Francisco Stastny, who have

³⁶⁵Mesa and Gisbert, “[Untitled review of *Arte del Perú colonial*, by Felipe Cossio del Pomar],” 649.

authored the most influential publications in this area.

It is rare to find references to the influence of pre-Hispanic cultures or sensibilities on colonial painting during the decade of 1960. In the first edition of their *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña* (1962), Mesa and Gisbert presented the school of Cusco as the consequence of the production of religious images for an interregional market. This can be seen as a development of Martin S. Soria's observation of the centrality of *estampes populaires* for this local tradition. Also in continuation of Soria's work, Francisco Stasty focused on the form of diffusion and utilization of iconographic information.

This was the situation of research about the history of painting in the central Andes in the viceregal period when the Social Histories of Art experienced a revival. After 1968, the determination of art (and of art history itself) by its social context became the primary focus of art historical research, and not merely an excursus that aimed at complementing the analysis of artworks.³⁶⁶ Coinciding with this process, even though the theoretical models that guided research continued to be basically the same, historical narrations that observed the history of painting in colonial central Andes in relation to its social context started to be explicitly grounded on empirical data. With time, this led to the exploration of alternative models. This is particularly the case of research done by Francisco Stasty. Whereas Mesa and Gisbert continued to explain the distinction between

³⁶⁶Schneider, "Kunst und Gesellschaft: Der sozialgeschichtliche Ansatz"; Harris, *The New Art History: A critical introduction*.

ornamental and non-ornamental art by making reference to the distinction between the Indian and the non-Indian populations of colonial central Andes, Stastny explained it by alluding to the dual structure of peripheral-colonial society, which excludes most of its population from modern artistic communications. I see in the second model the opportunity for a dialogue with the theory of social systems. As I will try to demonstrate, Mesa and Gisbert's narration has to be modified in the light of empirical evidence in a manner that puts at risk their main theoretical model. However, their publications offer important insights in the social determinations of colonial painting in this region.

3. José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert: Indians in colonial artworlds

The Bolivian architects José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert have coauthored the most extensive bibliography on viceregal arts in the central Andes. Their earliest publications on colonial painting date to the second half of the 1950s. These were focused on Alto Peru.³⁶⁷ The most remarkable of these early writings is, in my opinion, a history of painting in Alto Peru focused on Melchor Pérez de Holguín (1665-1732), a zurbaranesque painter of the Imperial City of Potosí.³⁶⁸ In 1961,

³⁶⁷Alto Peru corresponds to a region that was part of the Viceroyalty of Peru until 1776, when it became part of the Viceroyalty of La Plata. It roughly corresponds today to the territory of Bolivia.

³⁶⁸José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Holguín y la pintura altoperuana del Virreinato*, Biblioteca paceña : Serie Artes y artistas (La Paz: Alcaldía Municipal, 1956). A revised version of this text was published in 1977: José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Holguín y la pintura virreinal en*

after doing extensive field work in Peru,³⁶⁹ these prolific authors started to publish a series of monographs on painters that worked in this region during the colonial period.³⁷⁰ In 1962, they published the first edition of their most influential work, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña*, which was based on research done in colonial archives and on the existing literature. The relation between these two sources is relevant, for it illustrates the critical stance that was expected from academic literature in the field. An extended edition was published in 1982 under the same title. Compared with the first edition from twenty years before, this version presented one major modification in the comprehension of the social context that supported the emergence of the Cusco school of painting and of other local schools in the central Andes during the “long eighteenth century” (c. 1680 – c. 1800). While the first edition put emphasis on the formation of an interregional market of religious images during the first half of the eighteenth century, the second saw this

Bolivia (La Paz: Libr. Ed. Juventud, 1977). Other articles on colonial painting written by Mesa and Gisbert during this early period include: “La pintura boliviana del siglo XVII,” *Estudios Americanos. Revista de Síntesis e Interpretación* 11, no. 52 (1956): 15-42; “La pintura altoperuana del siglo XVIII,” *Khana. Revista Municipal de Arte y Letras* 2, no. 17 (1956): 200-222; “Joaquín Carabal, un nuevo discípulo de Holguín,” *Cordillera* 2, no. 7 (1957): 52-54; “Nuevas Obras y Nuevos Maestros en la pintura del Alto Perú,” *Anales del Instituto de Arte Americano e Investigaciones Estéticas* 10 (1958); “Manuel de Oquendo y la pintura en Mojos”; “The Painter, Mateo Mexía, and His Work in the Convent of San Francisco de Quito,” *The Americas* 16, no. 4 (April 1960): 385-396; “El pintor Jaramillo y el último manierismo de la escuela limeña,” *Cultura Peruana* (August 1962): 167-170.

369 According to “PUCP | Premio Southern Peru | Semblanza del Arq. José de Mesa Figueroa,” n.d., <http://www.pucp.edu.pe/premio/southern/mesa.htm>.

370 José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Un pintor orureño en el Cuzco : Fray Francisco de Salamanca* (Oruro: Universidad Técnica de Oruro, 1961); *Melchor Pérez Holguín*, 1st ed., Biblioteca de arte y cultura boliviana : Serie Arte y artistas 1 (La Paz: Dir. Nacional de Informaciones de la Presidencia de la República, 1961); *Bernardo Bitti*, Arte y artistas 2 (La Paz: Dir. Nacional de Informaciones de la Presidencia de la República, 1961); *Gregorio Gamarra*, Arte y artistas (La Paz: Dir. Nacional de Informaciones de la Presidencia de la República, 1962); *Gaspar Berrío*, Artes y artistas (La Paz: Dir. Nacional de Informaciones de la Presidencia de la República, 1962); *Leonardo Flores*, Pintores (La Paz: Dir. Nacional de Informaciones de la Presidencia de la República, 1963); *Gaspar de la Cueva*, Escultores (La Paz: Dir. Nacional de Informaciones de la Presidencia de la República, 1963); *El pintor Mateo Pérez de Alesio*; *El pintor Mateo Pérez de Alesio*.

as a late event in a process that had been triggered by the separation of the Indian members from the painters' guild of Cusco in the last decades of the previous century. These historical processes will be discussed in chapters 3.1 and 3.2.1, respectively. The main consequence of this latter event was recognized in the level of artistic style: the Indian painters' opportunity to practice this trade without Spanish or Creole supervision regarding the artistic qualities of their work would explain the absence of central perspective and chiaroscuro and the preference for decorative values that characterized the Cusco school of painting. In this context, a notarial document from 1688 that implied that the Indian painters had been allowed to separate themselves from the guild was interpreted as the birth certificate of this local artistic tradition. Accordingly, these authors interpreted the separation of the Indian members from the painters' guild as a necessary cause of the emergence of the Cusco school and, by extension, of other local schools in the Andean highland. Further publications by Teresa Gisbert have explored the influence of pre-Hispanic heritages on an iconographical level. In chapter 3.2.2 I'll discuss three motifs that have been central to the observation of Andean painting in its social setting: the militias of archangels or *arcángeles arcabuceros*, the representations of St. Mary as a hill or as Pachamama, and the inclusion of birds in copied Flemish landscapes. In chapter 3.3, these discussions will lead back to a consideration of the role of the bishop of Cusco for the period 1673-1699, Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo, as sponsor of the arts.

3.1 Popular images for an interregional market

Since their earliest publications about the Cusco school of painting, Mesa and Gisbert have framed this artistic tradition as part of a broader phenomenon that encompassed several local schools of painting in the highlands, especially in the region that surrounds the lake Titicaca in Alto Peru.³⁷¹ All these schools had abandoned the European canon at the beginning of the eighteenth century, “...*para desembocar en la pintura fácil y atractiva de los maestros populares.*”³⁷² [...to arrive to the facile and attractive paintings of the popular masters.] It is important to have in mind that these authors were active participants in the discussions about mestizo architecture – a style that spread during the same period over roughly the same territory with the important exception of Cusco (see chapter 2.1). Like this architectural style, the popular schools of Andean painting – with the exception of works by Melchor Pérez de Holguín in Potosí – put emphasis on decoration, to the point that objects of decoration, like *brocados*,³⁷³ birds and jewelery acquired the

371 “El fenómeno de la escuela cuzqueña no es único, tiene un paralelo en las escuelas del Alto Perú, sobre todo en la denominada Colla, que florece a orillas del lago Titicaca y en los pueblos altiplánicos.” Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura Cuzqueña* [Ed. 1], 12.

372 Ibid.

373 Pedro Querejazu gives a nice description of this important procedure: “In some paintings of the late Renaissance and early Baroque periods, gilding made of genuine ground gold was applied with both medium and fine brushes. More common during the Baroque period was the gilding technique known as *brocateado*, using gold leaf. There were two variations, the first introducing gilding in low relief on the surface of the painting, and the second without relief. The former was made with ‘size’ prepared with oil, resin, and earth or bole, and the gold leaf was applied while it was still sticky. The second was a mixture or mordiente (mordent) procedure, using a resinous-oily mixture that remained sticky for some time and retained the gold leaf. Gilding on the robes of the figures in Andean painting was often applied in patterns determined by plantillas or stencils. But stencils are flat, and cannot follow the fold of the robes or the contours of the figures. The artists partially corrected the problem by applying glazes of umber or transparent browns to parts of the gilding.” Pedro Querejazu, “Materials and Techniques of Andean Painting,” in *Gloria in excelsis: the virgin and angels in viceregal painting of Peru and Bolivia*; Center for Inter-American Relations, New York, Nov. 12, 1985-Feb. 10, 1986; Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery, Univ. of Texas

same value as the human figure.

The description of this form of painting in terms of a “popular” tradition could have been adopted by Mesa and Gisbert from the work done by Ángel Guido decades before. According to the first edition of their *Historia...*, however, this tradition didn't develop parallel to an erudite or official one, as Guido had claimed, but as its offspring.³⁷⁴ Also unlike Guido's work, Mesa and Gisbert omitted any reference to the influence of Amerindian cultures on colonial art. Their text focused instead on the form of production and circulation of canvases: the change from one form of art to the other – that is, from the erudite to the popular – would have been effected by workshops that participated in an interregional market of religious images.

The change from one form of art to the other – that is, from the erudite to the popular: from an art form that aims towards autonomy to ornamental art – would have been effected by workshops that produced these paintings for an interregional market of religious images.

Following a tradition that goes back to Felipe Cossío del Pomar's doctoral dissertation from 1922,³⁷⁵ Mesa and Gisbert organized this history in three epochs. A first one corresponded to the mannerist period that was initiated by the

at Austin, March 23-May 4, 1986 ; Center for the Fine Arts, Miami, May 19-July 20, 1986 (New York: Center for Inter-American Relations, 1986), 81.

374Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura Cuzqueña [Ed. 1]*, 191.

375Cossío del Pomar, “Historia Crítica de la Pintura en el Cuzco”; Cossío del Pomar, *Pintura colonial : escuela cuzqueña*.

immigration of the Italian masters Bernardo Bitti (1548-1610), Mateo Pérez de Alesio (1547-c. 1616) and Angelino Medoro (1567-1633) in the last decades of the sixteenth century. In mid seventeenth century their influence diminished and gave way to the first signs of a local school of painting. While Lázaro Pardo Lago's work (active in Cusco from c. 1628 to c. 1669)³⁷⁶ presented the last clear traces of a strong influence by the Italian masters (Image 8 on page 285), Juan Espinoza de los Monteros' (active from c. 1638 to c. 1669)³⁷⁷ was seen as making the transition to the early exponents of the popular school of Cusco (Image 14 on page 289). At this point, two Indian painters are particularly relevant, for each one of them represents a different side in this transition: Basilio de Santa Cruz (active from c. 1660 to c. 1699) and Diego Quispe Tito (active from c. 1627 to c. 1681). Santa Cruz (Image 13 on page 288) was seen as the most important exponent of the European form of painting during his period: *"El pintor más importante del siglo XVII es el indio Basilio de Santa Cruz, correcto y europeizado..."*³⁷⁸ [*The most important painter of the 17th century is Basilio de Santa Cruz, correct and European...*] It is worth noting that this painter had been thought to be Spanish³⁷⁹ until Rubén Vargas Ugarte established his Indian origin.³⁸⁰ In turn, Quispe Tito was presented as having established the point of departure of the Cusco school by inaugurating a "rebellious" and "highly original" style based on an almost literal copy of Flemish

376Soria, "La pintura en el Cuzco y el Alto Perú 1550-1700," 29.

377Ricardo Estabridis Cárdenas, "La Virgen entrega el rosario a Santo Domingo de Guzmán," in *Pintura en el Virreinato del Perú*, 2nd ed., Arte y Tesoros del Perú (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2002), 374-375.

378Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura Cuzqueña [Ed. 1]*, 12.

379See, for example: Mariátegui Oliva, *Pintura cuzqueña del siglo XVII en Chile : los valiosos lienzos del Corpus cuzqueño de propiedad de Carlos Peña Otaegui en Santiago*, 246.

380Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Ensayo de un diccionario de artistas coloniales. Apéndice* (Lima, 1955), 50.

prints.³⁸¹ His stylistic innovation is found in his direct recourse to Flemish models instead of the Italian and Spanish traditions, as we have seen in his series of the Months (Image 9 on page 286). The difference between his work and that of his contemporaries in Cusco is attributed primarily to his relative isolation in the town of San Sebastián, outside Cusco:

¿Quién es Quispe en este panorama? Un pintor de pueblo, un tanto al margen del desarrollo artístico ciudadano, que al final logra imponer una nueva modalidad en la pintura cuzqueña. Con él entra lo flamenco...;³⁸²

[Who is Quispe in this landscape? A painter from a small rural town, somewhat in the margin of artistic developments from the city, who is finally able to impose a new modality of painting in Cusco. A Flemish character is first to be found in his work...]

Diego Quispe Tito's almost exact imitation of Flemish prints left him in the margin of regional artistic trends. Turning away from local tradition and topography, but inaugurating a new tradition, he painted large landscapes with scattered citadels that were completely absent in his immediate context, but were characteristic of the prints he followed. In Mesa and Gisbert's description of this two Indian painters we can recognize the influence that the core/periphery distinction continued to exert in the articulation of the form of ornamental art: this art form is characteristic of isolated regions where the signals emitted by the center arrive distorted and devoid of their original chronological order.

³⁸¹Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura Cuzqueña [Ed. 1]*, 12.

³⁸²Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura Cuzqueña [Ed. 1]*, 65; Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña [Ed. 2]*, 141.

According to these authors, a third epoch followed in the history of painting in Cusco, which marked the emergence of a local school of religious images. In broad terms, this local tradition was described as, “...*un conjunto de cuadros anónimos, siempre de tema religioso, las más de las veces sobredorados, con técnica de excesivo linealismo y sin perspectiva.*”³⁸³ [*...a collection of anonymous paintings, always with religious subjects, usually gilded, with an excessively lineal technique and without perspective.*] The crystallization of this form of painting in the first decade of the eighteenth century would have coincided with the emergence of an interregional market for religious images. Mesa and Gisbert cite three important contracts that give evidence of the presence of a broad market of religious images.³⁸⁴ The first is a contract between the painter Felipe de Mesa and the dealer Felipe Sicos, signed on May 8, 1704.³⁸⁵ This was a contract of exclusivity, which obliged the painter to sell all his production to this dealer, who would in exchange provide him with materials and iconographic sources (*estampas* or prints). The profit would be shared in equal parts. A second contract was signed by the painter Mauricio García (Image 16 on page 289) and the dealer Miguel Blanco on March 12, 1754.³⁸⁶ For a total of 278 pesos, the painter would produce 212 canvases in 3 months, following the models provided by Miguel Blanco. 100 pesos (36% of the total) would be paid in advance and the rest would be paid gradually to cover production costs. The

383 Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura Cuzqueña* [Ed. 1], 185.

384 Ibid.

385 “Concierto de Felipe Sicos, Alcalde Mayor de la Parroquia de San Cristobal, con Don Felipe de Mesa, Maestro Pintor; para pintar lienzos chicos i grandes según estampas que se le de.” Published in: Jorge Cornejo Bouroncle, “Arte Cuzqueño,” *Revista del Archivo Histórico del Cuzco* 2 (1951): 284 f.

386 “Concierto de pintura de Miguel Blanco con Mauricio García, maestro pintor, para pintar 212 lienzos de varias advocaciones.” Published in: Ibid., 289-91.

third is a contract between the dealer Gabriel Rincón and the painters Mauricio García and Pedro Nolasco, signed on July 17, 1754.³⁸⁷ The painters were obliged to hand Gabriel Rincón the impressive sum of 435 paintings in a period of seven months during which they were not to attend any other client. The dealer would give them 100 pesos in advance (approximately 9% of the total). He would also make weekly payments of 10 pesos, pay for the transportation of the paintings, and provide the iconographic models to be followed. Based on these contracts, Mesa and Gisbert claimed that popular paintings from Cusco during the eighteenth century had by main context an interregional market of devotional images that were produced in large workshops where one should expect an important intervention by painters other than the masters.³⁸⁸

The religious themes are explicit in the second and third contracts, as they state that paintings were to represent diverse *advocations*. Some series specified in the third contract were to represent the lives of St. Mary (three sets), St. Rosa, St. Anthony, and David. The *estampas* or prints mentioned in the first contract are also very likely to be devotional. These *estampas* are with all likelihood similar to the *estampes populaires* mentioned by Martin S. Soria.³⁸⁹

According to this text, this form of painting, characterized by the use of pale colors and the lack of perspective and chiaroscuro, reached its climax in the middle of the

387“Concierto de Mauricio García y Pedro Nolasco, con don Gabriel Rincón, para pintar cuadros de diferentes adboaciones.” Published in: *Ibid.*, 286-9.

388Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura Cuzqueña [Ed. 1]*, 185, 190.

389Soria, “La pintura en el Cuzco y el Alto Perú 1550-1700,” 29.

eighteenth century. In this context, the painter Marcos Zapata (active between 1748-1764) (Image 17 on page 290) is seen as “... *la personalización de la pintura anónima popular.*”³⁹⁰ [*...the personalization of popular anonymous painting.*] By the nineteenth century, the climax of the Cusco school had come to an end, its naivety having turned into plain primitivism:

En el siglo XIX la ingenuidad se convierte en franco primitivismo. La pintura, probablemente en manos de maestros indios, llega a una simplificación casi infantil, produciendo piezas expresionistas de extraordinaria calidad. Es el fin de la pintura religiosa virreinal, regalada a los pueblos indios, en tanto que las ciudades republicanas traen pintores afrancesados para llenar sus necesidades estéticas.³⁹¹

[In the 19th century, naivety becomes plain primitivism. Painting, now probably in hands of Indian masters, reaches an almost childish simplification with the production of expressionist pieces of extraordinary quality. This is the end of religious viceregal painting, put in hands of Indian towns, while the republican cities bring Frenchified painters to fulfill their aesthetic necessities.]

Only then, at the final decline of the Cusco school of painting, Indian masters from the hinterland make their entrance in this model: recipients of a great tradition of religious paintings, they transform it into an almost childish but expressionist simplification. Meanwhile, republican cities attract painters who follow the neoclassical currents.

It is interesting how these authors distinguish between two forms of ornamental

³⁹⁰Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura Cuzqueña [Ed. 1]*, 190-1.

³⁹¹Ibid., 190-191.

art, and mark the first as a relevant tradition and the second as a childish and primitive simplification of the first. As it can be seen in the previous passage, Mesa and Gisbert ground this distinction in formal characteristics and explain its historical occurrence by reference to the distinction between Indian towns and the elite audience in the republican cities, just like Ángel Guido had done to explain mestizo painting. This last model will later on be adopted by Mesa and Gisbert as their main framework. But then, how can the distinction between a “great tradition” of ornamental art and its “childish simplification” be sustained? I think that the key is in these authors' systematic reference to the appropriation of the neoclassical style, which others have described as “a modernist hecatomb” (see chapter 1.1.4): the appropriation of this style could have implied the observation of the local schools of painting according to the form of ornamental art and its corresponding devaluation in the face of modernity. Ornamental art would have become visible as such for the first time in this region. In those contexts in which a primarily religious observation of the world didn't make it meaningful to keep these paintings as symbols or as a decoration of symbols, they could be replaced with ones that responded to an artistic program of ornamentation. As always, this doesn't mean that other kinds of art wouldn't have survived in the latter's environment, but that they would have been reproduced where artistic communication wasn't expected: specially among the peasant populations that remained excluded from the operations of the functional systems and in other functional realms, like religion, science and tourism, as we have seen in Sartiges' and Saint-Cricq's memoirs in chapter 1.1.3.

Other texts by José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert published during the 1960s and 1970s assumed the same chronological model that they proposed in 1962 and insisted on three key points. First, that the Cusco school of painting was part of a broader phenomenon – that they would later call the Andean schools of painting.³⁹² By insisting on this point, they reinforced the dependence of this field of research on the literature on mestizo architecture.³⁹³ This is connected with the second point, namely that this form of painting is characterized by its lack of perspective and *chiaroscuro*, and by the achievement of a stereotypical form of beauty. As they wrote in a publication from 1968,

Tal es el caso de la escuela cuzqueña, poco amiga del *claroscuro* y deseosa de mostrar una belleza formal totalmente estereotipada. En esto y en su planismo es el paralelo más cabal de la arquitectura andina,³⁹⁴

[That is the case of the Cusco school, which disliked *chiaroscuro* and was eager to show a stereotypical form of beauty. In this respect and in its flatness is this school parallel to the Andean architecture.]

Interestingly, this style was frequently referred to as the consequence of an aesthetic decision: if not as the result of a stylistic decision in dialogue with the European tradition, at least as an aesthetic preference, and not as the mere

³⁹²Teresa Gisbert, *Iconografía y Mitos Indígenas en el Arte* (La Paz, 1980), 104; José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, "Pintura virreinal en Bolivia," *Mundo hispánico* 27, no. 318 (1974): 43.

³⁹³See footnote 213 in page 91. In a text from 1974, these authors insist on the commonalities between the local schools of Cusco, La Paz and the region surrounding lake Titicaca, all of which take a lead in the new style (Mesa and Gisbert, "Pintura virreinal en Bolivia," 43.) In 1980, Teresa Gisbert refers to them as Andean schools of painting (Gisbert, *Iconografía y Mitos Indígenas en el Arte*, 104.)

³⁹⁴Mesa and Gisbert, "Determinantes del llamado estilo mestizo y sus alcances en América; breve consideración del término," 222-3.

consequence of technical insufficiency.³⁹⁵ This is connected to a third point: these authors' increasing concern with the evidence of indigenous influences on these local schools – an issue that had been mostly neglected in the first edition of their *Historia...*, from 1962.

3.2 *Autochthonous sensibilities*

As we have seen, the question regarding the survival of pre-contact indigenous cultures in colonial art had been a pressing issue for several decades, reaching its climax around 1960 in George Kubler's publications³⁹⁶ and in the 36th International Congress of Americanists from 1966. In the realm of painting, it had been a major focus of art historical texts based on the notion of *mestizaje*: among others, this included publications by Felipe Cossío del Pomar,³⁹⁷ Luis Álvarez Urquieta³⁹⁸ and Ángel Guido³⁹⁹ during the first half of the century. In the 1950s, it had been put aside by authors that adopted the difference between artistic centers and their peripheries as core analytical distinction, such as Enrique Marco Dorta⁴⁰⁰ and Martin S. Soria.⁴⁰¹

395 In a publication from 1974, these authors claimed that, "*Se prefiere la pintura carente de perspectiva, las escenas abigarradas y anecdóticas, los rostros de una belleza estereotipada y convencional.*" Mesa and Gisbert, "Pintura virreinal en Bolivia," 43.

396 Kubler, "On the colonial extinction of the motifs of pre-Columbian art."

397 Cossío del Pomar, "Historia Crítica de la Pintura en el Cuzco"; Cossío del Pomar, *Arte del Perú Colonial*.

398 Álvarez Urquieta, *La pintura en Chile durante el período colonial*.

399 Guido, *Redescubrimiento de América en el Arte*.

400 Dorta, "La pintura en Colombia, Ecuador, Perú y Bolivia."

401 Soria, "Painting and sculpture in Latin America from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century"; Soria, *La pintura del siglo XVI en Sudamérica*; Soria, "La pintura en el Cuzco y el Alto Perú 1550-

The latter's work is behind much of Mesa and Gisbert's publications from the 1960s. However, in an article from 1965 on mestizo architecture, Mesa and Gisbert already noted that, *"Es probable que estas diferencias con el estilo de origen se deban a un punto de vista distinto, que responde plenamente a la sensibilidad indígena."*⁴⁰² [It is likely that these differences in the style of origin are due to a different point of view, which wholly corresponds to the indigenous sensibility.] A few years later, they claimed that,

Como se ve en las formas que subsisten en la llamada arquitectura mestiza son renacentistas en general y manieristas a veces, es decir europeas, lo que deriva de la sensibilidad indígena es el arcaísmo que hace que estas formas pervivan tres siglos estatizándose sin dar lugar a un cambio sustancial;⁴⁰³

[As it can be observed in the forms that have survived in mestizo architecture, they are generally Renaissance and seldom Mannerist, that is to say, European. What has derived from indigenous sensibility is the archaism that makes these forms last three centuries without suffering any substantial change.]

They confronted this problem again in 1971, more concerned with the verifiability of their arguments:

Para admitir que los indios empezaron a expresarse con cierta libertad en el siglo XVIII, habrá que demostrar previamente que en este siglo los nativos eran respetados como artistas;⁴⁰⁴

[To admit that Indians began to express themselves with a certain amount of

1700."

402Mesa and Gisbert, "Renacimiento y manierismo en la arquitectura "mestiza"," 9-10.

403Mesa and Gisbert, "Determinantes del llamado estilo mestizo y sus alcances en América; breve consideración del término," 222-3. Note this passages' resemblance to Enrique Marco Dorta's: see footnote 330 in page 149.

404Mesa and Gisbert, "Lo indígena en el arte hispanoamericano," 35.

liberty during the eighteenth century, we must first demonstrate that in that century natives were respected as artists.]

They alluded in this respect to the testimonies of Bartolomé and Diego de Arzans, from 1714 and 1736 respectively, which indeed make an argument in favor of the Indians' artistic abilities, but didn't make reference to their influence on artistic style.⁴⁰⁵ Nonetheless, without making reference to further documentation that could support their claim, the problem appears to have been settled by next year when Mesa and Gisbert observed that the image of the Virgin of the Candlestick carved by Francisco Tito Yupanqui around 1584 – the Virgin of Copacabana (Images 18 and 19) – corresponded to a peculiar form of Indigenous devotion:

Aunque Yupanqui se inspiró en una imagen española, hay que advertir que existe una gran distancia entre la Virgen de Santo Domingo que le sirvió de modelo y la de Copacabana. Esta distancia se plasma en el arcaísmo de la imagen nativa y su calidad de icono, en ella se advierte que el artista lejos de expresar el humanismo de su tiempo manifiesta una peculiar manera de arraigo indígena. La Virgen está concebida con esa distancia con que debieron ver los indígenas las cosas divinas y que proviene de los tiempos anteriores a la conquista,⁴⁰⁶

[Even though Yupanqui based his design [for the Virgin of Copacabana] on a Spanish image, one must note the great distance that separates the Virgin of Santo Domingo, which he used as a model, and that of Copacabana. This distance can be observed in the native image's archaism and iconic character. Far from expressing the Humanist tradition of his time, the artist manifests his peculiar indigenous traditions. The Virgin has been conceived from the same

⁴⁰⁵See footnote 233 in page 99.

⁴⁰⁶José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Escultura virreinal en Bolivia* (La Paz: Academia Nacional de Ciencias de Bolivia, 1972), 83.

distant position from where the native peoples may have seen divine things, and which comes from pre-Hispanic times.]

Compared to the Spanish original, Yupanqui's archaic image of Saint Mary was seen to resemble an icon: an unrealistic representation of a sacred person. And this was seen as characteristic of pre-contact indigenous religions.

In 1974, Mesa and Gisbert applied these ideas to the observation of colonial painting in the central Andes: the emergence of a mestizo style of painting during the last two decades of the seventeenth century was explained as a consequence of a greater proportion of Indians in the guilds of painters.⁴⁰⁷ Interestingly, while the focus was placed in the same institution, this argument is the exact inversion of the one that would become mainstream after 1981. Meanwhile, the idea that this style corresponded to an indigenous sensibility was reinforced again in 1977⁴⁰⁸ and in 1980, when Gisbert argued that the characteristics of the Andean schools were present in the Cusco school of painting, “...la cual está compuesta en más de un 70%

407 “En el último tercio del siglo XVII la sociedad virreinal se había estabilizado, los artistas italianos y flamencos, tan numerosos a fines del siglo XVI han desaparecido. Los españoles que señorean el arte hasta 1650, empiezan a escasear, en tanto que mestizos e indios son cada día más numerosos en los gremios de pintores. Es entonces que el arte empieza a tomar un giro propio y a diferenciarse notablemente de los modelos europeos. Cuzco, La Paz y la zona del lago Titicaca, son las cabezas del nuevo estilo.” Mesa and Gisbert, “Pintura virreinal en Bolivia,” 43. The year before, Juan Manuel Ugarte Eléspuru had published an introduction to the history of viceregal painting that fully reincorporated the thesis of mestizaje (Ugarte Eléspuru, “Introducción a la Pintura Virreinal.”) Could this text have influenced Mesa and Gisbert?

408 “En pintura, en cambio, todo cuanto significa pintura de caballete es totalmente nuevo y se requiere un tiempo relativamente largo hasta que los artesanos dominen los medios de expresión y la nueva terminología formal basada en moldes europeos. Este proceso es lento y los rasgos americanos, así como la sensibilidad indígena en las formas de expresión, se mantienen hasta fines del siglo XVII que es cuando se manifiesta el “estilo mestizo”, muy significativo en la arquitectura y detectable en la pintura por la presencia de algunos caracteres no occidentales como la falta de interés por la perspectiva y el claroscuro, la tendencia a la estilización y figuras estereotipadas.” Mesa and Gisbert, *Holguín y la pintura virreinal en Bolivia*, 19.

de indios y la que tiene aceptación en todo el continente."⁴⁰⁹ [...the 70% of which is composed by Indians and is popular all over the continent.] While they had presented a similar claim already in 1974,⁴¹⁰ the numerical value that had been associated with it – which does not seem to make reference to an actual quantitative analysis – gave this claim an aura of exactitude that might trigger greater credibility. All in all, in the first years of the 1980s, Mesa and Gisbert seemed to be looking for empirical data in which to ground their interpretation of Andean painting in terms of a *mestizo* tradition that was marked by the influence of Amerindian peoples.

3.2.1 How an institutional conflict led to differences in style

In 1981, perhaps while still preparing the second edition of their *Historia...* that was going to be published during the following year, Teresa Gisbert included a short article in the Chilean newspaper *El Mercurio*, in which she announced a major finding:

...existe un documento fechado en 1688 por el que conocemos las diferencias entre los pintores españoles y los pintores indios de la ciudad incaica. Los malentendidos provocan el retiro de estos últimos, creándose dos grupos paralelos: el de los indígenas, que al parecer se dedicó exclusivamente a la pintura, y el de los españoles, que formaron un gremio común con escultores y doradores.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁹Gisbert, *Iconografía y Mitos Indígenas en el Arte*, 104.

⁴¹⁰Mesa and Gisbert, "Pintura virreinal en Bolivia."

⁴¹¹Teresa Gisbert, "Pintores Hispanos y Pintores Indígenas en la Ciudad del Cuzco," *El Mercurio*, November 29, 1981, sec. Artes y Letras.

[...there is a document dated on 1688 through which we know the differences between the Spanish painters and the Indian painters in the Inca city. The misunderstandings provoked the retirement of the later. Two parallel groups were created: that of the Indians, which seems to have dedicated itself exclusively to painting, and that of the Spaniards, who formed a shared guild with sculptures and gilders.]

This letter from 1688 was interpreted by Gisbert as the first of a series of documents that gave testimony of a gradual decay of the guild of painters of Cusco since the last decades of the seventeenth century. As part of this series, she cited a second document from 1704, through which the *Maestro Mayor* Juan Esteban Álvarez had asked the local authorities that all painters, sculptors and architects should be examined prior to their being given permission to open a shop.⁴¹² According to Gisbert, this restriction could have forced many Indian painters to sell their production through dealers that could reach more distant markets. The main cases that support this hypothesis had already been given account for in Mesa and Gisbert's text from 1962, based on contracts from 1704 and 1754 signed by the painters Felipe de Mesa, Mauricio García and Pedro Nolasco.⁴¹³ Gisbert also cited documents from 1786 that suggest that there were both an *Alcalde* of painters and a *Cacique* of painters and silversmiths in the city of Cusco. The first position was occupied by Ignacio Gamarra, who, according to Ramón Gutiérrez, was also the *Maestro Mayor* of the guild.⁴¹⁴ As mentioned by José de Mesa and

412In 1982, Mesa and Gisbert cited the following document as their source in this respect: Papeles sueltos del Fondo Vega Centeno, Archivo Departamental del Cuzco. Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña [Ed. 2]*, 226.

413See page 173 above.

414Ramón Gutiérrez, "Notas sobre organización artesanal en el Cusco durante la colonia," *Histórica* III, no. 1 (1979): 7. Ramón Gutiérrez cites the following document as his source: Archivo

Teresa Gisbert, Simón de Zevallos signed a document that same year presenting himself as “*Cacique del Gremio de Plateros, Pintores...*”⁴¹⁵ For these authors, this document also suggests that the indigenous painters could have organized themselves in a separate guild after 1688. Finally, according to a document signed by José Berrío, *Maestro Mayor* of the guild of painters and sculptors of Cusco, there was no active painter left in the guild in 1810. Berrío complained that the aforementioned restriction wasn't sufficiently enforced by local authorities.⁴¹⁶ According to Mesa and Gisbert's interpretation, Indian painters would have been able to practice this trade without having been trained in the Western canon that was imposed by the Spaniards' guild.

This argumentative context gave meaning to the petition presented by the Spanish painters to the *corregidor* of Cusco – the representative of the royal jurisdiction in the city council – in 1688: the formation of separate institutions for Spaniards and Indians would have had major consequences in artistic style, for Indian painters would no longer have been required to pass the Spaniards' examinations before being given official permission to practice this trade. Consequently, Indian painters would have begun to practice a more free and expressive style. According to a strong version of this thesis, this style, which corresponds to the Cusco school of painting, would have increasingly responded to pre-contact indigenous canons.

Documental de Cuzco. Archivo del Colegio de Ciencias, leg. 10, Remate de Lienzos. Designación del 21-VIII-1786.

⁴¹⁵Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña [Ed. 2]*, 228.

⁴¹⁶In 1982, Mesa and Gisbert cite the following document as their source in this respect: Papeles sueltos del Fondo Vega Centeno, Archivo Departamental del Cuzco. Informe presentado por José Berrío, *Maestro Mayor del Gremio de pintores, escultores y doradores*. *Ibid.*, 226.

Mesa and Gisbert's arguments in this respect will be discussed in chapter 3.2.1.1.

This finding opened an interesting question: if the emergence of the School of Cusco could be explained as a consequence of this conflict, how could one explain its similarities with other local schools in the Andean highlands? In 1981, Teresa Gisbert proposed that these other local schools, which also presented a high proportion of Indian artists, could have been influenced by the school of Cusco. Commercial routes could have provided the means of diffusion.⁴¹⁷ Two decades later, echoing a publication by Isabel Cruz,⁴¹⁸ Gisbert argued that a similar institutional conflict could have taken place in Potosi, even though she presented no evidence to support her claim.⁴¹⁹

Mesa and Gisbert's interpretation of these documents, specially in its strong version, reinforced the observation of indigenous cultures and sensibilities or, at least, of the presence of dense Indian populations, as causes of the emergence of the local school of Cusco and, by extension, of similar traditions of painting in the highlands. We can clearly see that this interpretation was embedded in a framework that Mesa and Gisbert had received from previous generations and which had been attracting their analytical efforts for more than a decade. These documents, and specially the one from 1688, validated this version of history by reference to historical data.

417Ibid., 25.

418Isabel Cruz de Amenábar, *Arte y Sociedad en Chile 1550-1650* (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 1986), 63.

419Gisbert, "La identidad étnica de los artistas del Virreinato del Perú," 106.

It is interesting that no transcription of the letter from 1688 was included in the second edition of *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña* along with the transcription of the ordinances of the guild of Lima, nor was it made available to the public outside Cusco through any other medium. Horacio Villanueva Urteaga, former director of the Archivo Documental del Cuzco, intended to correct this situation four years later by publishing a transcription of this letter in the first number of the bulletin of the archive.⁴²⁰ However, I have found no reference either to this transcription or to the original document in publications from 1985 to 1995. It was in the latter year that Carol Damian published an English translation of this letter.⁴²¹ After this date, texts that have adopted this narration either mention Mesa and Gisbert as their only source or omit to cite their sources completely. At the same time, versions of this narration have sometimes slightly departed from the one proposed by Mesa and Gisbert in directions that accentuate the influence of Indian artisans in the emergence of mestizo styles.

3.2.1.1 Stylistic consequences of the conflict in the guild of painters of Cusco

We must keep in mind that Mesa and Gisbert's thesis performs a reactualization of an old topic in this art historical tradition. Already in early writings from the third

⁴²⁰Villanueva Urteaga, "Nacimiento de la escuela cuzqueña de pintura." Horacio Villanueva Urteaga, then Director of the Archivo Departamental del Cuzco, found this document in: Papeles sueltos, Corregimiento, Fondo Vega Centeno, and handed it to Mesa and Gisbert (Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña [Ed. 2]*, 137 footnote 53.) I must thank Carrol Damian, who sent me a copy of the original document and of Villanueva's publication.

⁴²¹Carol Damian, "Artist and Patron in Colonial Cuzco: Workshops, Contracts, and a Petition for Independence," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 4, no. 1 (Winter 1995): 23-53; Carol Damian, *The virgin of the Andes : art and ritual in colonial Cuzco* (Miami Beach, Fla.: Grassfield Pr., 1995).

and forth decades of the twentieth century we find the recurrent reference to training as a mechanism that could lead artistic evolution in this region by facilitating the local artisans' adoption of European techniques, even though it could not assure the achievement of artistic originality.⁴²² In this line of thought, Cossío del Pomar had argued that a weak institutional context (one that encompassed not only the guild, but also ecclesiastical authorities) had allowed the Andean artisans to express themselves freely,⁴²³ giving rise to a mestizo style. Similarly, at the heart of Mesa and Gisbert's argumentation is the claim that the fracture of the guild of painters of Cusco had decisive aesthetic consequences: "*The Cuzco school of painting was born.*"⁴²⁴

We can distinguish between a weak and a strong thesis in this respect. According to the weak version, this school of painting presented an alternative to Western art inasmuch as it showed total disregard for the skills that were included in the guild's examinations according to the ordinances of Lima.⁴²⁵ In this version, the emergence of the Andean schools is explained mainly as a result of the absence of an institutionally enforced obligation to undertake extensive training in representational techniques that were key to the European use of painting during

422Cossío del Pomar, "Historia Crítica de la Pintura en el Cuzco"; Alvarez Urquieta, *La pintura en Chile durante el período colonial*; Solá, *Historia del arte hispano-americano: arquitectura, escultura, pintura y artes menores en la América española durante los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII*.

423See quotation in page 163.

424Teresa Gisbert, "Andean Painting," in *Gloria in excelsis: the virgin and angels in viceregal painting of Peru and Bolivia*; Center for Inter-American Relations, New York, Nov. 12, 1985-Feb. 10, 1986; Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery, Univ. of Texas at Austin, March 23-May 4, 1986; Center for the Fine Arts, Miami, May 19-July 20, 1986 (New York: Center for Inter-American Relations, 1986), 27.

425See quotation in page 204.

this period. A strong version of this thesis further observes that, in this situation, the resulting style would have increasingly responded to pre-contact indigenous canons. It is of course this second version that connects most directly with the works of Felipe Cossío del Pomar, Luis Álvarez Urquieta, Ángel Guido, and with Mesa and Gisbert's own publications from the 1970s.

Mesa and Gisbert have alternated between both positions. In 1981, Gisbert presented the strong version of this thesis in *El Mercurio*:

A partir de 1688 los pintores indios emprendieron un camino propio. Si bien continuaron copiando grabados, su tendencia estética quedó librada a su criterio y éste empieza a desarrollarse en forma independiente, acercándose cada vez más a moldes primitivos y prehispánicos, como se puede juzgar por la pintura del siglo XVIII.⁴²⁶

[Since 1688, the Indian painters undertook a path of their own. Even though they continued to copy engravings, their aesthetic tendency was liberated to their own criteria, which began to develop independently, becoming increasingly near to primitive and pre-Hispanic molds, as it can be judged from eighteenth-century paintings.]

However, already in 1982 this argument had been slightly attenuated:

...a partir de 1688 los pintores indios emprendieron un camino propio. Si bien siguen la copia de grabados y usan procedimientos técnicos aprendidos en Europa, su tendencia estética quedó librada a su criterio y ésta se empieza a desarrollar en forma independiente, acercándose cada vez más a una creación no occidental, como se puede juzgar por los resultados del siglo XVIII...⁴²⁷

⁴²⁶Gisbert, "Pintores Hispanos y Pintores Indígenas en la Ciudad del Cuzco."

⁴²⁷Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña [Ed. 2]*, 138.

[...since 1688, the Indian painters undertook a path of their own. Even though they continued to copy engravings and to use technical procedures that had been learned in Europe, their aesthetic tendency was liberated to their own criteria and began to develop independently, becoming increasingly near to a non-Western aesthetic, as it can be judged from the results from the eighteenth-century.]

Both sections are almost identical except for the reference to pre-contact indigenous patterns, which has been replaced in the second passage by a reference to a non-Western aesthetic characterized by the inability to convey perspective and to represent the human body according to laws of proportion.⁴²⁸ This was presented as an authentically naive and spontaneous current that put emphasis on ornamentation.⁴²⁹

According to these authors' argumentation from 1982, a first consequence of the division of the guild was that Indian painters lost access to European sources, what forced them to restlessly repeat the motifs they had at hand. This is presented as the main cause of this school's archaism – a mechanism that had already been described by Enrique Marco Dorta.⁴³⁰ However, Mesa and Gisbert added that the Spanish and Creole painters had also lost contact with the European state of the art. To distinguish both forms of archaism, these authors introduced the reference to pre-contact indigenous traditions. First, they noted that the kind of archaism that characterized paintings done by Indians was in accordance with *“an ancestral*

428Ibid., 271.

429Ibid., 22 f., 226 f.

430Dorta, “La pintura en Colombia, Ecuador, Peru y Bolivia,” 480. See quotation in page 149, above.

sensibility.⁴³¹ Secondly, in their book from 1982 we find the rebirth of an old thesis that had been put forward by Miguel Solá in 1935: that the Indian painters could neither feel nor represent Christian sorrow:⁴³²

Es un arte anecdótico y alegre que hace poco caso de la pintura barroca, por una parte grandilocuente y por otra tenebrista y empastada con gran dominio de la figura. Exponente de esta pintura barroca es Basilio de Santa Cruz cuya obra está hoy bien delimitada y responde a los requerimientos de una sociedad comprometida con los conceptos de una vida como "tránsito" y una muerte como "liberación", considerando el dolor y la ascesis como caminos de rendición. El cuerpo de San Juan decapitado, de Rivera, en la iglesia de Tinta, y la "Piedad" del convento de Santa Catalina, nos hablan de ese mundo que refleja la atormentada alma hispana, contrapuesto al cosmos indígena, más ligado con la naturaleza y el mundo circundante.⁴³³

[It is an anecdotic and gay art that does not correspond much to baroque painting: grandiloquent yet tenebrist and filled with great dominion of [the human] figure. Basilio de Santa Cruz is a representative of this baroque style in painting. His work, which is well known to us, responds to the requirements of a society that understands life as "transit" and death as "liberation", while considering pain and ascesis as forms of surrender. The decapitated body of St. Joseph, by Rivera, at the church of Tinta, and the "Pietà" at the convent of Santa Catalina, speak to us about that world that mirrors the tormented Spanish soul – one that is opposed to the indigenous cosmos, more in touch with nature and the surrounding world.]

For these authors, paintings done by Basilio de Santa Cruz – himself an Indian –

431Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña* [Ed. 2], 24.

432Solá, *Historia del arte hispano-americano: arquitectura, escultura, pintura y artes menores en la América española durante los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII*, 239 f. See quotation in page 130, above.

433Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña* [Ed. 2], 22-3.

according to a baroque program reflect “the tormented Hispanic soul”; one that is extraneous to the indigenous cosmos. The latter, more closely connected with nature and the immediate surroundings than with the affections of the soul, corresponded to the anecdotal and cheerful paintings of the school of Cusco.

A similarly “strong” thesis was presented by Gisbert in 1986: *“The break between Spanish and Indian artists explain why, after a given moment, Cuzco painting became more indigenous and popular in its style, devoted to old and archaic modes and to the use of gold in the 16th century manner.”*⁴³⁴ Two years later, Mesa repeated Gisbert's argumentation from 1981:

...les da expresión de su sentir artístico ante el universo de las formas, que a partir de ese momento adquiere para ellos una visión propia basada en la tradición de las culturas prehispánicas y en lo que los pintores indios del siglo XVI, habían acumulado en la práctica de la técnica y estética europea;⁴³⁵

[...it expresses their artistic feeling in relation to the universe of forms, which, from this moment on, acquires for them a unique vision based on the traditions of pre-Hispanic cultures and on what the Indian painters from the sixteenth century had accumulated based on the practice of European techniques and esthetics.]

In later decades similar arguments have been put forward by Carol Damian (1995),⁴³⁶ María Concepción García (2000),⁴³⁷ and Roberto Samanez (2002).⁴³⁸

434Gisbert, “Andean Painting,” 26-7.

435]José de Mesa, “La pintura cuzqueña (1540-1821),” *Cuadernos de arte colonial* I, no. 4 (1988): 20.

436Damian, *The virgin of the Andes : art and ritual in colonial Cuzco*.

437María Concepción García Sáiz, “Pintura y Escultura Colonial en Iberoamérica,” in *Historia del Arte Iberoamericano*, ed. Ramón Gutiérrez and Rodrigo Gutiérrez Viñuales (Barcelona: Lunweg Editores, 2000), 63-117.

438Samanez Argumedo, “Las portadas retablo en el barroco cusqueño,” 183.

While Samanez passingly claimed that these paintings corresponded to the aesthetic preferences (*gusto* or taste) of the Indian and Mestizo populations, Damian and García Sáiz argued that these images acquire their original meaning in the context of indigenous religiosity, which is rooted in pre-contact indigenous traditions.

This relation between an ancestral sensibility or an indigenous cosmos and the Cusco school of painting was not mentioned by Mesa and Gisbert in the other texts they published between 1985⁴³⁹ and 2002.⁴⁴⁰ Other authors would follow this “weak” version of their argument, such as Isabel Cruz (1986),⁴⁴¹ Carol Dean (1996),⁴⁴² Ramón Mujica Pinilla (2002), Marcus Burke (2006)⁴⁴³ and Donahue-Wallace (2008).⁴⁴⁴ Interestingly, instead of focusing on the absence of perspective and proportion, Ramón Mujica Pinilla described the painterly tradition that is thought to have resulted from the division of the guild as a devotional genre specialized in the representation of sculpted miraculous images.⁴⁴⁵ In turn, Carol

439 “Esta división, que en principio parece determinada sólo por diferencias de clase y de raza con el correr de los tiempos significa también una manera diferente de enfocar el trabajo artístico. El Gremio que comprende a escultores, doradores y pintores españoles se sigue rigiendo por las ordenanzas, por las cuales los artistas estaban obligados a examinarse para ejercer el oficio; en cambio, el grupo de indios rechaza esta modalidad, lo que da lugar aun arte más libre y expresivo.” José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, “El Arte del Siglo XVII en Perú y Bolivia,” in *Arte iberoamericano desde la colonización a la Independencia*, vol. 2, 2nd ed., Summa Artis. Historia General del Arte XIX (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1985), 551.

440 Gisbert, “La identidad étnica de los artistas del Virreinato del Perú,” 110. In this publication, Gisbert includes an almost exact copy of the section cited above: see footnote 427.

441 Cruz de Amenábar, “Imágenes y Devoción en el Virreinato Peruano,” 29. In page 89 she includes an almost exact copy of the section cited above: see footnote 427.

442 Carolyn Dean, “Copied Carts: Spanish Prints and Colonial Peruvian Paintings,” *The Art Bulletin* 78, no. 1 (March 1996): 3.

443 Marcus Burke, “The Parallel Course of Latin American and European Art in the Viceregal Era,” in *The Arts in Latin America, 1492-1820*, ed. Joseph J. Rishel and Suzanne L. Stratton, 2006, 78.

444 Donahue-Wallace, *Art and Architecture of Viceregal Latin America, 1521-1821*, 140.

445 Mujica Pinilla, “Arte e identidad: las raíces culturales del barroco peruano,” 21. Carol Damian has proposed that the popularity of this genre could have been a result of the simplicity of its

Damian has proposed that the popularity of this genre could have been a result of the simplicity of its production.⁴⁴⁶ An interesting exception in this series is provided by María Concepción García Sáiz's discussion of the distinction between European and Amerindian styles, as it may be applied to paintings from the Viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru.⁴⁴⁷ Regarding the latter, this author has noted that Mesa and Gisbert's finding of a division of the guild of painters between an Indian and a Spanish-Creole faction shouldn't be assumed as a solution to the problem posed by this distinction, but rather as opening further questions: given that painters from the Indian faction could have opted to follow contemporary Western values, one should ask what triggered a preference for what would later be called an Andean style. More specifically,

El hecho de que los pintores cusqueños se separen en dos gremios a partir de 1688, uno de españoles y criollos y otro de indios, lejos de clarificarnos la situación, consigue sacar a la superficie nuevos interrogantes en torno a las condiciones específicas que debían darse para pertenecer a uno u otro lado. ¿Era la diferenciación étnica la primordial o tenía también algo que ver el tipo de trabajo que realizaba y la clientela para la que se trabajaba habitualmente?⁴⁴⁸

[The fact that the painters in Cusco separated themselves in two guilds in 1688, a guild of Spaniards and Creoles and another one of Indians, instead of clarifying this situation raises new questions regarding the specific conditions that had to be met to belong to either side. Was this defined by the ethnic differentiation or did it also have to do with the kind of work that was done and

production Damian, *The virgin of the Andes : art and ritual in colonial Cuzco*, 65.

446Ibid.

447María Concepción García Sáiz, "Aproximaciones conceptuales sobre la pintura colonial hispanoamericana," in *Pintura, escultura y artes útiles en Iberoamérica, 1500-1825*, ed. Ramón Gutiérrez, Manuales Arte Cátedra (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 1995), 97.

448Ibid.

with the clientele that was usually attended?]

To what side did a (presumably) Indian painter like Basilio de Santa Cruz Pumacallao belong, when his work responds to the artistic program that was favored in the court in Madrid?⁴⁴⁹ Questions like these, that problematize our current knowledge of this epoch, may be able to revitalize this field of research.

There is one final aspect of Mesa and Gisbert's treatment of the problem of style that I want to call attention to. According to these authors, Andean artists became conscious of the uniqueness of their own painterly style: that is, that a specific semantic distinction was available for them, through which the difference between the Western and the Andean styles could be indicated. This is connected to Gisbert's previous claim that the Andean local schools presented "a deliberate archaism."⁴⁵⁰ But the new claim is stronger, specially because it was inferred from another historical document; this time, from the contract signed in 1754 between the dealer Gabriel Rincón and the painters Mauricio García and Pedro Nolasco. According to the transcription of this contract that was published by Jorge Cornejo Bouroncle in 1951, this document establishes that:

De modo que los referidos liensos ande ser apaisados con buenos adornos de curiosidades y algunos de ellos brocateados con oro fino, esto es lo que dixiere y nos previniere el referido Don Gabriel del Rincon y de colores finos buenos rostros, y aparejados de toda Ley segun costumbre entre los nuestros de

449Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña [Ed. 2]*, 166; Stastny, *Breve Historia del arte en el Perú : la pintura precolombina, colonial y republicana*, 41.

450Gisbert, *Iconografía y Mitos Indígenas en el Arte*, 104.

nuestro arte...⁴⁵¹

[So that the aforementioned canvases shall be landscaped with fine adornments of curiosities and some of them shall be brocaded with fine gold, as Don Gabriel del Rincón said and commanded us and about [them having] good faces [made] of fine colours, and rightly stretched as it is customary among the [masters] of our art...]

Mesa and Gisbert interpreted the reference to “our art” as pointing to the peculiar form of painting that they called *mestiza*:

“Esto indica que los pintores cuzqueños reconocen para su grupo una manera de pintar que los caracteriza y que no se puede definir en los términos conocidos para otras escuelas o para la pintura en general.”⁴⁵²

[This indicates that the painters from Cusco recognized a manner of painting that characterized them as a group and that cannot be defined using the same terminology that is used in reference to other schools or to painting in general.]

However, there is no way to know what it was actually meant by “our art” in this context. One shouldn't rule out the possibility that it merely meant the art of painting, as distinguished from that of sculpting and gilding, for example. In this sense, it would correspond to the traditional acknowledgment that was required from painters in most contracts, as José Guadalupe Victoria has observed regarding the situation of painters in the Viceroyalty of New Spain: that he or she would paint, “...*como se acostumbra e suele pintar*.”⁴⁵³

451Cornejo Bouroncle, “Arte Cuzqueño,” 287.

452Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña [Ed. 2]*, 26. The same argument was included in: José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, “La pintura cuzqueña,” *Armitano Arte* 10 (1986): 86.

453José Guadalupe Victoria, *Pintura y Sociedad en Nueva España Siglo XVI*, Estudios y Fuentes del Arte de México LVI (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1986), 96.

3.2.1.2 Racial conflict in the guild of painters of Cusco

This section reviews the construction of this historical narration in more detail, focusing in the role that has been attributed to the guild of painters. The analysis is organized in three parts: a first one discusses Mesa and Gisbert's interpretation of the Spanish painters' petition to the *corregidor* of Cusco. After recognizing the key assumptions that support Mesa and Gisbert's thesis, a second part reviews complementary information about the operations of the painters' guild in Cusco. Finally, the situation of guilds in colonial Lima, as it has been presented by Francisco Quiroz, is used as an index of the situation of the painters' guild in Cusco.

According to Mesa and Gisbert's main version of this thesis, as it was presented in their *Historia...* from 1982, the painters' guild was a key element in the social context that made possible the emergence of the school of Cusco. Although there is no documented evidence of the foundation of a guild of painters in this city, this institution is explicitly mentioned in the notarial document from 1688. This document contains the answer given by seven non-Indian painters⁴⁵⁴ to the city's *corregidor*, who had decided to allow the Indian painters to separate themselves from the guild: “...desimos que es benido a nra noticia, de que los yndios pintores an presentado peticion en que piden apartarse de nro Gremio, obligandose de haser este año el arco triunfal.”⁴⁵⁵ [...we say that we have received the news that the Indian

454It is possible that there were actually not many more than seven non-Indian painters in the city's guild at the time, for they say: “... con nros compañeros los doradores y escultores que son pocos ellos que no pasan de dies o onse y nosotros somos otros tantos.” Villanueva Urteaga, “Nacimiento de la escuela cuzqueña de pintura,” 12. Mesa and Gisbert have also proposed that they were ten. Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña* [Ed. 2], 270.

455Villanueva Urteaga, “Nacimiento de la escuela cuzqueña de pintura,” 12.

painters have petitioned to separate themselves from our Guild, being obliged to build this year the triumphal arch.] I recognize in this passage a second issue that could have been raised by the Indian painters in a previous petition: that they should be allowed to build that year the painter's triumphal arch for the celebrations of the Corpus Christi with exclusion of the non-Indian painters. According to Mesa and Gisbert's interpretation, however, "*...los indios se niegan a participar en la ejecución del arco.*"⁴⁵⁶ [*...the Indians refuse to participate in the execution of the arch.*]⁴⁵⁷ At this point, however, this is a minor issue. The decision of the *corregidor* in this respect, as it was cited by the Spanish painters, is much more clear:

...a Vmd. pedimos y suplicamos se sirva de mandar se lleve a devida ex.on el auto por Vmd. proveydo en que se sirvio de mandar que los dhos yndios hagan un año el arco triunfal del dia de Cospus y otro año nosotros con dhos doradores y escultores...;⁴⁵⁸

[We ask and beg of you that you see that your ruling be properly executed, in which you command that the said Indians should make one year the triumphal arch for the day of the Cospus [sic] and that the next year we should make it with the said gilders and sculptors...]

456Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña [Ed. 2]*, 137.

457The translation offered by Carol Damian has radicalized this interpretation: "...we announce the news that the Indian painters in the presented petition ask to separate themselves from our group, forcing us to make for this year the triumphal arch." (Damian, *The virgin of the Andes : art and ritual in colonial Cuzco*, 97.). The same interpretation has also been presented by: Cruz de Amenábar, *Arte y Sociedad en Chile 1550-1650*, 88; Gisbert, "La identidad étnica de los artistas del Virreinato del Perú," 122; Wuffarden, "Las Escuelas Pictóricas Virreinales," 84.

458I depart from Carol Damian's translation, who interprets "dhos" as "dos" [two] when it stands for "dichos" [said]: "*We ask and beg of you to send the two Indians to pay one year of triumphant arch in the day of Corpus and another year for us with two gold finishers and sculptors.*" (Damian, *The virgin of the Andes : art and ritual in colonial Cuzco*, 12; emphasis is mine)

This authority had resolved that both parties should not build the said triumphal arch together. It is also clear in this passage that the non-Indian painters were not against this decision. Furthermore, since they wrote that the *corregidor* had given credit to what the Indian painters said and that he had ruled in favor of them, we might also infer – along with the main interpretation of this document – that the Indian painters could indeed have separated themselves from the guild around 1688. However, this remains a working hypothesis requiring further support.

Another section of this letter deals with what has been interpreted as the main cause of this conflict:

...no es bien que esto se nos pague con testimonios fal- /f. lv./ -sos que nos an levantado en descredito y desdoro de nra presuncion por acreditarse y ser admitidos en su pedimento y pues ellos no an dado prueba de lo que an relatado de nosotros deven ser corregidos y reprehendidos severam.te y si lo an provado se nos de traslado para dar nros descargos pues en general nos an desacreditado, siendo así que solos tres o quatro hombres son de los que se nombran por capatazes y de estos el que fuereamos culpados estamos prestos a la rrestitucion de lo que disen ellos que con violencia se les quita y agravia y estamos asi mesmo a pagar la pena si lo an provado y de lo contrario no se debe dar credito...⁴⁵⁹

[...it is not right that this be paid to us with false testimony which has been

⁴⁵⁹Villanueva Urteaga, "Nacimiento de la escuela cuzqueña de pintura," 12. Here I depart once again from the translation published by Carol Damian, which says: "*It is not just that this be paid to us with false testimony which has been raised to our discredit and impediments. They have not offered proof of that which they have said of us and so they should be corrected and reprimanded severely and they have moved away and left us to our duties but discredited by some three or four so called foremen. Because of them we have been accused of being guilty but we are ready to regain our rights without their violence which makes matters worse.*" (Damian, *The virgin of the Andes : art and ritual in colonial Cuzco*, 97 - emphasis is mine).

raised to our discredit and impediments, for they have been given credit and their petition has been admitted and they have not offered proof of that which they have said of us and so they should be corrected and reprimanded severely and if they have offered proof, we should be allowed to present our defense for we have been discredited in general, since there are just three or four men who call themselves capataces and it is them who blame us, we are ready to give back that which they say has been violently taken from them [and to repair the damage] and we are equally ready to pay the penalty if they have proven it and otherwise they should not be given credit...]

According to Mesa and Gisbert, the authors of this letter, in an attempt to avoid the division of the guild, expressed in this passage their willingness to repair the damage that they had admittedly committed. The Spanish and Creole painters in Cusco would have feared that, following the division of the guild, they wouldn't have been able to recruit enough painters to attend the most important clients in a time when commissions were becoming bigger and Spanish and Indian painters had begun to compete on equal terms.⁴⁶⁰

These authors' interpretation of this document, as well as the thesis it was meant to support, assumes that the guild was strong enough to monopolize the granting of the title of master, and that this title was given preferably to non-Indian painters. It further assumes that the guild's prohibition to sell paintings without this title was effectively enforced. Thus, through the operations of the guild,

⁴⁶⁰ "Los españoles se dieron cuenta del peligro que corrían al quedarse sin la mano de obra necesaria para responder a grandes contratos y procuran un entendimiento indicado: 'el que fuéramos culpables estamos puestos a la restitución de lo que dicen ellos... y estamos puestos así mesmo a pagar la pena si lo an provado...'" Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña* [Ed. 2], 137. See also *Ibid.*, 138.

Indians would have been kept in a subordinated position in the workshops that were allowed to sell pictures. The division of the guild would have meant that more Indians would have had access to positions of authority and, foremost, that they would have been able to run a workshop and sell their pictures, given that they wouldn't have been required to receive advanced training in the Western tradition of painting as a condition for their being allowed to practice this trade. The school of Cusco would present the aesthetic consequences of this conflict, as it wouldn't have responded to the Western tradition but to its adoption by the indigenous peoples of central Andes.

Before reviewing these assumptions more closely, I want to call attention to an alternative reading of this last passage. I have already noted that we should not assume that the Spanish and Creole painters were against the separation of the Indian members of the guild. At least it is clear that they were not against the decision of the *corregidor* regarding the fabrication of the triumphal arch for the celebration of the Corpus Christi. I think that this passage contains the main petition that these painters wanted to present to the city's *corregidor*. According to this document, the Indian painters had asked the *corregidor* that the non-Indian members of the guild— including the authors of the document — should pay for what had been violently taken from them (we don't know what this is). I propose that, through this letter, the Spanish and Creole painters merely asked the *corregidor* to carefully review any evidence that could have been presented by the Indians to support this petition and to allow them — that is, the Spanish and

Creoles authors of the letter – to defend themselves. The authors further asked that, should the Indians have presented no evidence in this respect, they should be reprimanded.

Contrary to Mesa and Gisbert's interpretation of this document, I think that we shouldn't assume that, before this conflict took place, the guild had been able to successfully enforce the observance of ordinances that were identical to the ones that had been approved for the painters' guild of Lima in 1649. This assumption not only depart from the content of this key document, but is also very difficult to verify against other historical data. Indeed, further documentation of the situation of guilds in colonial central Andes suggests that it is unlikely that the painters' guild in Cusco would have corresponded to how it has been depicted by Mesa and Gisbert. To support these authors' thesis we require more information about the situation of Indians in the painters' guild and about their effective separation from it, about this institution's ordinances and date of foundation, and about its capacity to enforce the observance of its ordinances prior to the decade of 1680. Since I have already discussed the problem of the Indian painters' separation from the guild, in the following I'll focus on the other three.

A first problem is presented by the absence of documents that deal at length with the ordinances of the guild in Cusco. This problem has usually been solved by assuming that this institution was either an extension⁴⁶¹ or an imitation of the

⁴⁶¹Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña [Ed. 2]*, 137-8; Cruz de Amenábar, "Imágenes y Devoción en el Virreinato Peruano."

guild of painters and gilders⁴⁶² of Lima, the ordinances of which were published in 1649.⁴⁶³ Several authors have provided more details regarding the foundation of this organization in Cusco, which require further proof. Teresa Gisbert has argued in at least two occasions that the painters Francisco Serrano and Marcos Ribera founded the guild in Cusco shortly after 1649.⁴⁶⁴ She has not mentioned her sources in this respect. More recently, Marcus Burke – who has reportedly used Mesa and Gisbert's *Historia...* from 1982 – seems to have mistaken the two guilds when asserting that the guild of Cusco was founded in 1649.⁴⁶⁵ In turn, Kelly Donahue-Wallace has affirmed that “*Painters in Lima and Cuzco... did not publish ordinances until 1647 and 1649 respectively...*”, although she later refers to “*The 1649 Lima painters' ordinances...*”⁴⁶⁶ This confusion reveals that further documentation regarding the history of the guild of painters of Cusco, specially before 1688, is required in order to support this thesis. Without it, we cannot exclude the possibility that this guild was barely a few months old when the Indian's petition was presented to the *corregidor* of Cusco. According to an article by Ramón Gutiérrez from 1979, only since 1674 are the operations of guilds in Cusco documented, which correspond to “*pulperos, tocineros, mantequeros, pasteleros, y panaderos que erigen sus Altares para las fiestas del Corpus Christi.*”⁴⁶⁷ If

462 “...el arte de pintar, dorar, encarnar, y estofar...” “Poder. Nicolás Pérez de León y otros a Bartolomé Luis (Ordenanzas y Constituciones del gremio de pintores de Lima.” Published in: Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña* [Ed. 2], 309.

463 The ordinances of the guild of painters of Lima were published in: Ibid., 309-11.

464 In 1986, Gisbert mentioned both Serrano and Ribera as founders of the guild of painters of Cusco (Gisbert, “Andean Painting,” 23.). In 2002, she only mentioned Serrano (Gisbert, “La identidad étnica de los artistas del Virreinato del Perú,” 110.).

465 Burke, “The Parallel Course of Latin American and European Art in the Viceregal Era,” 73.

466 Donahue-Wallace, *Art and Architecture of Viceregal Latin America, 1521-1821*, 140.

467 Gutiérrez, “Notas sobre organización artesanal en el Cusco durante la colonia,” 2.

the guild of painters wasn't older than that, we can only expect that its division would have had little, if any, consequences in style.

We also require more information regarding the situation of Indians in the guild of painters. They are not mentioned in the ordinances of the guild of Lima, whereas *negros*, *zambos* and *mulatos* were explicitly excluded from it.⁴⁶⁸ However, these ordinances did establish that the *alcandes veedores* [mayors] (two for the art of painting and two for the art of gilding) and the *fiscal* [attorney] of the guild had to be Spanish.

Interestingly, Jorge Bernales Ballesteros has suggested that Indian painters in Lima may also have established a separate guild or a separate *cofradía* [brotherhood], “...pues los más de ellos tuvieron vivienda y taller en Santiago del Cercado.”⁴⁶⁹ [...since most of them had their residency and their workshop in Santiago del Cercado], the latter being the town where Indians were segregated in eastern Lima.⁴⁷⁰ To my knowledge, nobody has taken up Bernales' claim, which would be hard to give account for in Mesa and Gisbert's framework unless one insisted on demographic arguments: that the Indian painters were more in Cusco than in Lima, or that they represented a bigger proportion of the total number of painters in the city, so that the aesthetic effects that are attributed to this situation in Cusco and in the other Andean schools couldn't be generalized to the whole central Andean region,

468 “...que ningún pintor ni dorador maestro (ni oficial) enseñe mulatos, negros, zambos ni otras castas, pena de 20 pesos para la congregación del santo.”

469 Bernales Ballesteros, “La Pintura en Lima durante el Virreinato,” 41.

470 Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, *Espacios de exclusión, espacios de poder: el cercado de Lima colonial (1586-1606)* (Fondo Editorial PUCP, 2006).

including Lima.

A more important problem is posed by the lack of evidence regarding the power of the guild in Cusco. According to the ordinances of the guild of Lima, nobody was to use the title of *maestro artífice* if he or she had not learned this art from an approved master and had not been examined. As it has been noted, this exam is crucial for Mesa and Gisbert's argument:

...que el pintor o dorador que aprueben y le den título de maestro artífice, ha de dar razón así de palabra como de obra, por las preguntas siguientes: ha de dibujar una figura humana de pie entero de pechos y otra de medio perfil y otra de espaldas con sus partes y tamaños conforme a la simetría y al arte; así mesmo un cuerpo de una mujer y de un niño. Luego ha de pintar un lienzo con una o más figuras desnudas y esto se entiende al óleo o al fresco o al temple, como sea conforme al arte; y también responderá de palabra, algunas de las preguntas que se le hicieren acerca de la perspectiva para historias y así mismo del trato y uso de los colores y temples y aparejos de los lienzos, y hallándose hábil y suficiente, se le despachará su título de maestro artífice y podrá usar de él, libremente;⁴⁷¹

[...that the painter or gilder that they [the guild] approve and give the title of master to should answer the following questions in orally and practically: [he or she] shall draw a human figure once from the front, once from the side, and once from the back, with its parts and sizes according to symmetry and art; likewise, a female and an infant body. Then [the painter or gilder] shall paint a canvas with one or more naked figures. This should be done using oils, using soft dispenser, or al fresco, according to art; and [the painter or gilder] shall also answer some questions that will be made to [him or her] regarding [the use of]

⁴⁷¹Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña [Ed. 2]*, 310.

perspective in historias and regarding the use of colours, dispensers and stretchers, and if [he or she] is found skillful enough, [he or she] will be given the title of maestro artífice and will be allowed to make use of it freely.]

These ordinances establish that only licensed masters could practice painting and gilding as a trade. Can we assume that these ordinances were enforced in Cusco before 1688? The few published records that mention the operations of this guild in Cusco – none of which is previous to 1688 – may be taken to speak against this assumption: the document from 1688 that gives testimony of profound internal conflicts and institutional instability; Juan Esteban Álvarez's petition to reinforce the guild, presented in 1704; and a document from 1810, in which the *Maestro Mayor* of the arts of painting, sculpture and gilding, José Berrío, announced that there was no active painter left in the guild.

If we assume that the guild's ordinances were not enforced in Cusco more strictly than in Lima and that the painters' guild was not an exception in the entire population of guilds, we may take the general situation of guilds in Lima as an index of the situation of the guild of painters in Cusco. According to Alfonso Quiroz,⁴⁷² even when the ordinances of the guilds in colonial Lima resembled those in Seville – the ordinances of the painters' guild of Lima do make explicit reference to this city's guild as a model –, these were not enforced as severely as in this city.⁴⁷³ As he noted,

⁴⁷²Quiroz, *Gremios, razas y libertad de industria : Lima colonial*.

⁴⁷³The contrary seems to have been the case in Mexico. See: Manuel Carrera Stampa, *Los Gremios Mexicanos. La organización gremial en Nueva España 1521-1861*, Edición y Distribución Ibero Americana de Publicaciones., Colección de Estudios Histórico-Económicos Mexicanos de la Cámara Nacional de la Industria de Transformación (México, 1954), 237.

El gremio limeño tuvo escasas funciones económicas y limitado poder para negar el ejercicio de los oficios a los no agremiados. En la práctica, el gremio limeño colonial no tuvo una actuación que pudiese ser considerada como gremial propiamente dicha. Los oficios quedaban “libres.” No se practicó una verdadera persecución contra todos los que usaban los oficios agremiados. Tampoco contra quienes comercializaban los productos artesanales al margen de los gremios.⁴⁷⁴

[Guilds in Lima had few economic functions and limited power to deny the exercise of the trade to non-members. In practice, guilds in colonial Lima didn't have a role that one could properly qualify as that of a guild. Trades remained “free.” There wasn't a real persecution of all the people who practiced the trades that had been formed into a guild. Neither were those who commercialized goods in the margin of the guilds persecuted.]

Already in the last decades of the seventeenth century, guilds in Lima did rarely take exams. According to Quiroz, this key procedure in the guilds' ordinances had been forgotten by mid-eighteenth century.⁴⁷⁵ Already this broad description of the situation of guilds in Lima makes it unlikely that the painters' guild of Cusco would have operated in such an effective way prior to the 1680s so that the separation of the Indian members would have produced a change in style of the magnitude that is supposed by Mesa and Gisbert.

Regarding the situation of Indians, Quiroz notes that they were commonly not subject to the ordinances of guilds. Their belonging to a “republic of Indians” allowed them not to pay the taxes and charges that were related to the guild's

⁴⁷⁴Quiroz, *Gremios, razas y libertad de industria : Lima colonial*, 6.

⁴⁷⁵Ibid., 41.

decisions.⁴⁷⁶ Among these were the *alcabala*, a general sales tax,⁴⁷⁷ and the *media anata*, a tax levied on personal income related to the holding of a public office. The latter was applied to artisans in possession of the title of master and to those holding a position of authority within the guild (*alcalde veedor, fiscal*).⁴⁷⁸ Indians were also exempted from charges related to the infringement of the guild's ordinances – such as the requirement of examination. Moreover, it was not rare that Indians were exempted from examinations and visitations by guild authorities and that they were given the title of master informally and *ex post facto* in recognition of their having opened a *tienda*.⁴⁷⁹

Even if Quiroz's research doesn't give evidence of the operations of the painters' guild in colonial Cusco, it does depict a context in which there is no reason to assume that the Indian painters' separation from the latter – what may have occurred around 1688, according to the aforementioned petition – would have been decisive in the formation of the school of Cusco as an aesthetic tradition or in the precarization of the Indian painters' working conditions. Such a causal relation

476A similar claim has been presented by: Gutiérrez, “Notas sobre organización artesanal en el Cusco durante la colonia,” 5.

477During the seventeenth century in Spain, painters were subject to the *alcabala* only when they sold their products directly to the open public: Juan José Martín González, *El Artista en la Sociedad Española del siglo XVII* (Madrid, 1984), 179. As such, it may have been used for signaling painting as a novel and ingenious art distinct from (other) commercial products: Mary Crawford Volk, “On Velázquez and the Liberal Arts,” *The Art Bulletin* 60, no. 1 (March 1978): 69-86; Mary Crawford Volk, “Addenda: The Madrid Academy,” *The Art Bulletin* 61, no. 4 (December 1979): 627. This distinction was reflected in the formation of academies that were to compete with the old guilds: Julián Gállego, *El pintor de artesano a artista* (España: Universidad de Granada, 1976). Thus, regarding the specific situation of the guilds of painters, it is not superfluous to recall that also in Spain this was a time of crisis for these organizations.

478Quiroz, *Gremios, razas y libertad de industria : Lima colonial*, 115.

479Ibid., 63-70.

may be spurious. Like Felipe Cossío del Pomar proposed in 1958,⁴⁸⁰ for all we know, the conflict in the guild probably occurred in a context where the ordinance of the guild, if they were similar to the ones that were approved for the painters' guild in Lima, were not effectively enforced. In such a context, Indian artisans may already have enjoyed high levels of freedom prior to their separation from the guild.

In conclusion, based on the ordinances of the guild of Lima alone, one could expect that the painters' guilds in colonial central Andes played an incipient role as administrators of artistic expertise, since the examinations that they contemplate make reference to criteria of correctness that trigger an at least incipient observation of pictures in the context of an artistic history. However, I have found no evidence to support the assumption that the painters' guild of Cusco would have enforced such ordinances. In the absence of such documentation, we can use the situation of guilds in colonial Lima as an index of the situation of the painters' guild in Cusco, given that we assume that the guild's ordinances were not enforced in Cusco more strictly than in Lima and that the painters' guild was not an exception in the entire population of guilds. In this context, it is unlikely that the Lima ordinances would have been effectively enforced even by this city's guild, especially in what refers to the requirement of practical and theoretical examinations. Even if they were, Indian artisans are likely to have been exempted from them. Therefore, Mesa and Gisbert's thesis has to be corrected in this respect,

⁴⁸⁰Cossío del Pomar, *Arte del Perú Colonial*, 207 f.

until new evidence is found. In chapter 4 I will argue that a theoretical alternative is offered by a luhmannian reading of Francisco Stastny's typology of the geography of art in the early modern period. From this point of view, the relative “weakness” of the guild of painters together with the stylistic characteristics of the school of painting of Cusco can be understood as part of a more encompassing societal context.

3.2.2 Traces in iconography

In Teresa Gisbert's book from 1980, *Iconografía y Mitos Indígenas en el Arte*, we can also observe a gradual return to a model that could include Indian traditions as a relevant factor that influenced the emergence of the Andean schools of painting, including the Cusco school. During the last decades, Mesa and Gisbert had traced this influence foremost in a formal level: linearity, absence of chiaroscuro and of lineal perspective, together with a tendency to include gilding, had all been seen as corresponding to an indigenous sensibility. As we have seen in the previous chapter, in publications after 1981, these authors would limit the consequences of the division of the guild of Cusco to this level.

At the same time, however, pre-Hispanic heritages were found to have influenced painting in an iconographic level. This influence was understood as having taken place in two directions. On the one hand, colonial documents show that specific iconographic innovations could have responded to the patrons' anticipation of the

Amerindian audiences' religious representations. On the other hand, one can assume that religious representations were introduced by the native artists themselves, these motifs having reflected their own religious traditions. In this last case, iconographic variations are understood as the result of processes of cultural syncretism.

Theoretically, both phenomena could trigger each other. Cultural syncretism could result from the clerics' attempt to contextualize, within the Christian tradition, those indigenous symbols that they thought were not directly related to idolatry. Native artists could, in turn, introduce iconographic variations by using symbols that could not be recognized as particularly idolatrous or heretical by ecclesiastical authorities, but which could actualize religious communications according to their own traditions.⁴⁸¹

In the seventeenth century, the suspicion that the latter was actually the case may have triggered ferocious campaigns against idolatry, which seem to have been destined to fail:⁴⁸² after all, a suspicion of this sort could never be completely ruled out. That both sides in this conflict could take advantage from this problem is

481 Jaime Lara, "Cristo-Helios americano: La inculturación del culto al sol en el arte y arquitectura de los virreinos de la Nueva España y del Perú," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, no. 74 (1999): 29-49.

482 In relation to the "extirpation of idolatries," see specially: Pierre Duviols, *La Lutte Contre Les Religions Autochtones Dans Le Pérou Colonial "L'extirpation De L'idolâtrie" Entre 1532 Et 1660* (Lima: Institut Français d'études Andines, 1972); Pierre Duviols, *La destrucción de las religiones andinas (Conquista y Colonia)*, trans. Albor Maruenda (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1977); Pierre Duviols, *Cultura Andina y Represión. Procesos y visitas de idolatrías y hechicerías Cajatambo, siglo XVII*, Archivos de Historia Andina 5 (Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas, 1986); Pierre Duviols, *Procesos y visitas de idolatrías: Cajatambo, siglo XVII; con documentos anexos* (Lima: IFEA Inst. Francés de Estudios Andinos; Fondo Ed. de la Pontificia Univ. Católica del Perú, 2003).

evident in a case from 1610, as narrated by Karen Spalding. On that year, a *kuraka* (highest leader of an Andean community) was accused for idolatry by the local priest, who claimed that the said *kuraka* had led the realization of demonic ceremonies in front of the priest's house, including music, dancing, drinking and sacrificing a ram. In turn, the *kuraka* said that these actions were not idolatrous; that they had been realized according to the Christian festivity of the Corpus Christi, which was going to be celebrated two days later. According to Spalding, this ambiguity allowed the *kuraka* to use the mechanisms of reciprocity with the objective of reasserting his position of authority *vis-à-vis* the local priest.⁴⁸³ In this cultural context, the discovery of Indian idolatry was commonly experienced as a disillusionment, as we can read in the words of Francisco de Avila, from 1609: “...lo que confieso que han hecho con mucha frecuencia delante de mí sin que yo ingenuamente comprendiera su intención.”⁴⁸⁴ [...which I confess they have done with much frequency before my eyes without me realizing what their intention was.]

From the point of view of the theory of sociocultural evolution, all this points to the fact that iconographic variation was subject to the mechanisms of selection and re-stabilization of religion in both sides of the conflict: on the side of the organized Christian religion that had taken explicit decisions on this respect in the 25th session of the Council of Trent (1563)⁴⁸⁵ and on the side of the local Andean

483 Karen Spalding, “La otra cara de la reciprocidad,” in *Incas e indios cristianos: elites indígenas e identidades cristianas en los Andes coloniales*, ed. Jean-Jacques Decoster (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas, 2002), 61-78.

484 Letter to Diego Alvarez de Paz. Quoted in: Duviols, *Procesos y visitas de idolatrías: Cajatambo, siglo XVII; con documentos anexos*, 59.

485 Christian Hecht, *Katholische Bildertheologie im zeitalter von Gegenreformation und Barock. Studien zu Traktaten von Johannes Molanus, Gabriele Paleotti und anderen Autoren* (Berlin: Gebr.

communities. Three analyses proposed by Teresa Gisbert are particularly illustrative in this respect. In going through some key analyses proposed by this and other authors, my intention is to underline that stating the existence of this fundamental conflict is more fertile than the attempt to prove that any given motif actually responded to pre-contact indigenous traditions.

3.2.2.1 *A militia of archangels*

Teresa Gisbert has suggested that the representation of archangels in the form of a heavenly army – the so-called *arcángeles arcabuceros* (Image 15 on page 289) – could have been intended to support the replacement of the indigenous worship of celestial bodies with Christian monotheism.⁴⁸⁶

The fight against polytheism was a cardinal preoccupation of colonial ecclesiastical authorities, as we can observe in the testimony given by the Jesuit Joseph de Acosta in his *Historia Natural de las Indias...*, from 1590:

[a los predicadores evangélicos] esles dificultosísimo de desarraigar de sus [=los] entendimientos [de los indios] que ninguno otro dios hay ni otra deidad hay sino uno y que todo lo demás no tiene propio poder ni propio ser, ni propia operación, más de lo que les da y comunica aquel supremo y solo Dios y Señor. Y esto es sumamente necesario persuadilles por todas vías, reprobando sus

Mann Verlag, 1997). These decisions were adopted in the New World in the Second Council of Lima (1567-8) Mujica Pinilla, "Arte e identidad: las raíces culturales del barroco peruano," 13.
⁴⁸⁶A less detailed version of the same argument was published in: Teresa Gisbert, *La tradición bíblica en el arte virreinal* (La Paz: Los Amigos del Libro, 1987), 28. Pierre Duviols has shown that the controversial drawing that Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti included in his *Relación de las Antigüedades deste reyno del Pirú* has the same catechetical purpose. See: Pierre Duviols, "Mestizaje cultural en dos cronistas del incipiente barroco peruano: Santa Cruz Pachacuti y Guaman Poma de Ayala," in *El Barroco Peruano*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2002), 59-97.

errores en universal de adorar más de un Dios. Y mucho más en particular de tener por dioses y atribuir deidad y pedir favor a otras cosas que no son dioses ni pueden nada, más de lo que el verdadero Dios, Señor y Hacedor suyo les concede.⁴⁸⁷

In this sense, archangels may represent a heavenly army that, under the authority of the only God, rules the heavens, the heavenly bodies and the earth. These elements could then be understood as creatures of God. As Gisbert pointed out, the source of this angelology could have been *3 Enoch*, also known as *The Hebrew Book of Enoc*,⁴⁸⁸ which would have been accessed by the ecclesiastical authorities that guided the production of these images before they entered the recursive loop of imitation and variation that fed the interregional market of religious images.

As it is characteristic of publications by Teresa Gisbert and José de Mesa, the passage that presents this argumentation in Gisbert's book from 1980⁴⁸⁹ was copied in a short monograph by Mesa and Gisbert from 1983⁴⁹⁰ and in an article by Gisbert from 1987.⁴⁹¹ Less detailed versions of this argument were also included in

487 Joseph De Acosta, *Vida religiosa y civil de los indios: (Historia natural y moral de las Indias)*, 2nd ed., Biblioteca del estudiante universitario 83 (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1995), 15.

488 "These are the names of the rulers of the world: Gabriel, the angel of fire, Baradiel, the angel of the hail, Ruchiel who is appointed over the wind, Baraqiel who is appointed over the lightnings, Za'amiel who is appointed over the vehemence, Ziqiel who is appointed over the sparks, Zi'iel who is appointed over the commotion, Za'aphiel who is appointed over the storm-wind, Ra'amiel who is appointed over the thunders, Ra'ashiel who is appointed over the earthquake, Shalguel who is appointed over the snow, Matariel who is appointed over the rain, Shimshiel who is appointed over the day, Lailiel who is appointed over the night, Galgalliel who is appointed over the globe of the sun, 'Ophanniel who is appointed over the globe of the moon, Kokbiel who is appointed over the planets, Rahatiel who is appointed over the constellations." Hugo Odeberg, ed., *3 Enoch or The Hebrew Book of Enoch* (Cambridge University Press, 1928), Part II: 37-8.

489 Gisbert, *Iconografía y Mitos Indígenas en el Arte*, 86-7.

490 José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Los Angeles de Calamarca* (La Paz: Compañía Boliviana de Seguros, 1983).

491 Teresa Gisbert, "La pintura en Potosí y la Audiencia de Charcas (hoy Bolivia)," *Cuadernos de arte*

a short article by Mesa and Gisbert in 1986⁴⁹² and in another book by Gisbert from 1987.⁴⁹³ The entry written by Teresa Villegas de Aneiva on “Asiel Timor Dei (arcángel arcabucero)” for the exposition organized by Unión Latina in 1996 witness the depersonalization of this knowledge that is no longer attributed to communications by Gisbert.⁴⁹⁴ More recently, other authors have sought a similar argumentation, without following Gisbert's texts. Typically, their readings of angels are connected to Soria's key question regarding the symbolic meaning of birds in Andean cultures.⁴⁹⁵

Here we can clearly observe the presence of the fundamental conflict that I have tried to portray above. The hypothesis that this motif was introduced as part of an ecclesiastical strategy that anticipated local beliefs, and its counterpart, that it was broadly adopted by the indigenous populations because it could be interpreted in the context of these beliefs, resulting or not in true conversion, may never be confirmed or ruled out. More importantly, just like it occurred to observers in the seventeenth century, we won't be able to solve the last problem. Consequently, we are forced not to include in our models of sociocultural evolution assumptions in either direction. It must suffice to state that both alternatives were actually

colonial I, no. 3 (1987): 27-8.

492 Mesa and Gisbert, “La pintura cuzqueña,” 88.

493 Gisbert, *La tradición bíblica en el arte virreinal*, 28.

494 Teresa Villegas de Aneiva, “Asiel Timor Dei (arcángel arcabucero),” *El retorno de los ángeles : barroco de las cumbres en Bolivia*, 2009, <http://dcc.unilat.org/VirtualeMuseum/Datas/oeuvre.asp?l=Es&e=anges&o=200>. See also the catalogue of this exposition: Unión Latina, *El retorno de los ángeles : barroco de las cumbres en Bolivia* (Paris: Union Latine, 1996). Interestingly, Mesa and Gisbert don't present this argument in their contribution to the catalog.

495 See, for example: Mujica Pinilla, *Ángeles apócrifos de la América virreinal*; Jerónimo José Granados, *Bild und Kunst im Prozeß der Christianisierung Lateinamerikas* (Münster ; Hamburg ; London: LIT Verlag, 2003).

possible *and* that this opened the field for conflicts and negotiations.

3.2.2.2 St. Mary in the sacred landscape

A second motif analyzed by Teresa Gisbert consists on the representation of Saint Mary as part of the sacred geography and, more specifically, as a sacred hill (Images 20 and 22). According to Gisbert, this iconographic variation may have fulfilled a function similar to that of the militia of archangels. However, the argument that she developed in this respect is less straightforward.

Before reconstructing her argumentation, it must be noted that, even though this motif plays an important role in the tracing of indigenous influences in colonial art, the literal representation of Mary as a sacred hill seems to have been extremely rare. Gisbert cites only three cases, all of which present Mary's body blended with the Cerro Rico of Potosi: the canvas at the Casa de Moneda de Potosí, from 1726 (Image 20 on page 292), a second one from 1720 currently in a private collection,⁴⁹⁶ and a replica of the first one, that Gisbert says she saw in a market in La Paz. In the last painting, the Inca, the sun and the moon had been removed.⁴⁹⁷ We can add a fourth canvas currently at the Museo Nacional de Arte in La Paz. In the latter, the Pillars of Hercules – a symbol of the domains of Charles V – have been added to each side of the hill (Image 22 on page 293). Therefore, we can say that this motif, in which Mary is literally represented as a hill – more specifically, as the Cerro Rico de Potosi –, seems to have been not only rare, but

⁴⁹⁶The author doesn't specify the owner.

⁴⁹⁷Gisbert, *Iconografía y Mitos Indígenas en el Arte*, 17.

also unique to this region in southern central Andes.

Two other motifs have been interpreted in relation to this first one: one in which the mother of Jesus is depicted above a mountain or a hill,⁴⁹⁸ and one in which the garments of Mary are depicted as a triangle that frames her and her child (Images 21 and 23) – a form that has been read as resembling a hill.⁴⁹⁹

All these motifs have been seen as indicators of the survival of elements of Indian cosmology in colonial art. Basically, these images have been understood as a testimony of an identification of Mary with Pachamama, the “earth mother.”

I find a first clear presentation of this idea, that has too often become a matter of common sense⁵⁰⁰, in Gisbert's book from 1980. Teresa Gisbert's main claim is that, *“María engloba en sí muchas cosas, entre ellas la Madre Tierra y por ende el espíritu*

498As examples of this form, Gisbert mentions a canvas, held at that time at the Parish of Copacabana (Potosi), attributed to Juan Francisco de la Puente (1658), and a drawing attributed to Francisco Tito Yupanqui (c.1583), published by Viscarra.

499That this interpretation wasn't rare in the decade of 1980 is suggested by Gisbert in a text from 1987: *“Esta Virgen, como muchas otras, ostenta manto triangular en el que algún investigador ha querido ver la imagen de una montaña; efectivamente la Virgen de Sabaya que tiene esta forma de manto sustituyó al monte Sabaya...”* (Gisbert, “La pintura en Potosí y la Audiencia de Charcas (hoy Bolivia),” 20.). A thorough analysis in this direction has been published in: Carol Damian, “The Virgin and Pachamama - Images of Adaptation and Resistance,” *Secolas Annals - Journal of the Southeastern Council of Latin American Studies* XXIII (March 1992): 125-137; Damian, *The virgin of the Andes : art and ritual in colonial Cuzco*.

500A catalog published by Museo Nacional de Arte of La Paz, for example, describes illustration 22 as follows: *“Esta extraordinaria pintura de la Virgen Cerro es producto de la simbiosis cultural que se da entre mitos indígenas y dogmas de la Iglesia católica. En este caso la Pachamama o Madre Tierra y la Madre de Dios se funden en una sola imagen.”* (“La Virgen del Cerro,” *Museo Nacional de Arte*, n.d., <http://www.mna.org.bo/rb-32.html>.) The catalog of the collection of the Casa de Moneda in Potosi presents illustration 20 as follows: *“The Virgin Mary is portrayed on Potosí Mountain (also called Cerro Rico). The mountain represents Mother Earth or the Indian Pachamama. It is a sybiosis [sic] of two cultures and two religions around the Holy Trinity, including the sun and the moon.”* (Edgar Bustamante Delgado, ed., *Tesoros del arte virreinal: Casa de Moneda de Potosí* (Barcelona: Bustamante Editores, 1996), 124.)

de las montañas.”⁵⁰¹ [*Mary encompasses many things. Among them, she encompasses the Earth Mother and, therefore, the spirit of the mountains.*] Her argumentation can be reconstructed in six steps: 1) Based on sixteenth and seventeenth-century chronicles, Gisbert assumed the existence of two pre-Hispanic cults: the cult of the hill of Potosí,⁵⁰² and the cult of Pachamama at Copacabana, in the shores of lake Titicaca.⁵⁰³ 2) Gisbert attributed the design of the motif that depicts Saint Mary in the form of the hill of Potosí, the earliest versions of which was probably done around 1720, to the allegorical “lucubrations” of the Augustinian friars Calancha and Ramos, who resided in this region in 1610 and 1619, respectively.⁵⁰⁴ 3) This identification would have been adopted by local communities by blending the cult

501 Gisbert, *Iconografía y Mitos Indígenas en el Arte*, 21.

502 In this respect, Gisbert quotes a footnote in Antonius de Egaña's *Monumenta Peruana*: “... a la parte sur el cerro rico que se llama Potochí, de una muy hermosa hechura, que parece hecha de mano y muestra ser como un montón de trigo en el color y talle, aunque él, en sí visto y andado, es áspero y desabridísimo y no tiene la hermosura que muestra de lejos; y por esto, o porque a las minas llaman coya en lengua de los indios, que quiere decir “reina”, llaman a este cerro por excelencia Reina” Antonius de Egaña, *Monumenta Peruana*, vol. 4, Monumenta missionum 7 (Romae: apud “Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu”, 1586), 688. This is in turn a quotation of: *Relaciones II*: 99, 117. We can add another reference to this local cult, which can be found in a letter sent by Pablo J. De Arriaga to C. Aquaviva in 1599: Pablo Joseph de Arriaga, “El P. Pablo Joseph de Arriaga [Ex Commiss.] Lima 29 de Abril 1599,” in *Monumenta Peruana*, vol. 4, Monumenta missionum 7 (Romae: apud “Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu”, 1599), 687-8.

503 This reference to a cult of Pachamama in Copacabana is taken from a chronicle from 1621: Alonso Ramos Gavilán, *Historia del Santuario de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana* (Lima: Ignacio Prado, editor, 1988). See also: Verónica Salles-Reese, *From Viracocha to the Virgin of Copacabana: Representations of the Sacred at Lake Titicaca* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997).

504 “La relación plástica Virgen-Cerro se basa en las elucubraciones de Ramos y Calancha en torno al problema. Ambos agustinos, cronistas del Santuario de Copacabana, estuvieron en Potosí. Calancha hacia 1610 y Ramos en 1619. La parroquia de Copacabana de la ciudad Imperial dependía de los agustinos y es muy posible que en su erección tuvieran parte los citados religiosos. El espíritu manierista vigente a principios del siglo XVII y la desmedida afición que tenían por el “jeroglífico” y la alegoría literaria hacen que a través de una serie de símiles se identifique a María con un Monte. Ramos dice: “María es el monte de donde salió aquella piedra sin pies ni manos que es Cristo” y añade refiriéndose a Cristo: “esto es sin resistencia en las manos ni huía en los pies... es piedra cortada de aquel divino monte que es María.” Gisbert, *Iconografía y Mitos Indígenas en el Arte*, 19. Ramón Mujica Pinilla dates image 20 to 1726 (Mujica Pinilla, “Identidades alegóricas: lecturas iconográficas del barroco al neoclásico,” 311.) This author alludes to the same text by the Augustinian friar Ramos de Gavilán as the source that reveals the origin and meaning of this metaphor.

of the hill with that of Saint Mary. 4) It spread from Potosi to Copacabana – Saint Mary been identified with a different hill in each location: Pucarini and Sabaya (Image 23 on page 294), for example.⁵⁰⁵ 5) Since the hills are made out of earth or soil, the identification of Saint Mary with a hill would have allowed for her identification with Pachamama, the earth mother,⁵⁰⁶ despite the distinction that local communities made between Pachamama and the Apus, the spirits of the mountains.⁵⁰⁷ 6) Local communities would have adopted this identification by blending the cult of the earth mother with that of Saint Mary in Copacabana.⁵⁰⁸

Even though it does make reference to external documents, this argument isn't empirically grounded step by step. In my opinion, Teresa Gisbert's core claim, that Saint Mary was identified with Pachamama and the Apus in the eighteenth century, lacks sufficient empirical grounding. A brief survey of the literature shows that the identification of Saint Mary with Pachamama was highly controversial when Gisbert made this argument, and still is. While one shouldn't ascribe contemporary religious representations to colonial Andean communities, one can assume that it

505 See footnote 506.

506 *"La identificación de María con un monte, sea éste Potosí, Pucarini, o Sabaya, es simultánea a su identificación con la Madre Tierra. María sustituye a los espíritus de las montañas identificándose con la tierra que es la materia con que éstas están hechas."* Gisbert, *Iconografía y Mitos Indígenas en el Arte*, 21.

507 *"Es necesario advertir que de acuerdo a la trasposición verificada en tiempos virreinales, la Virgen es identificada con la Pachamama en tanto que, por otro lado, se la hace aparecer cerca de los montes sagrados sustituyendo a los ídolos que en ellos se adora. La tradición muestra que los montes, achachilas o apus, son divinidades masculinas y locales en tanto que la Pachamama es una divinidad femenina y universal; ambos están bien diferenciados. Esta antigua diferencia no parece mantenerse en el proceso de aculturación al cristianismo ya que hay una progresiva sintetización, lo que implica eliminar los dioses dispersos y menores en beneficio de una sola divinidad. Por eso María engloba en sí muchas cosas, entre ellas la Madre Tierra y por ende el espíritu de las montañas."* *Ibid.*

508 *"Esta identificación con la Tierra se dio más fácilmente en Copacabana donde la Pachamama tenía culto establecido..."* *Ibid.*

is not likely that from an earlier identification of St. Mary with Pachamama and the Apus, a differentiation would have occurred that was consistent with diverging religious traditions. In 1982, M. J. Sallnow observed that, for the community of San Salvador, near Cusco, pagan deities and Christian apparitional shrines coexisted, each fulfilling a different function. These communities maintained not only the distinction between these traditions, but also the distinction between Pachamama and the Apus.⁵⁰⁹ In 1987, José González Martínez reported that, when asked regarding how they would explain their children who the Virgin was (*"Si un hijo suyo le pregunta quién es la Virgen ¿qué le diría?"*), and what it meant that the Virgin Mary is also our mother (*"¿Por qué decimos que la Virgen María es también nuestra madre?"*), five peasants from Puno, in southern Peru, made a spontaneous relation between Mary and the earth and/or with Pachamama.⁵¹⁰ Merlino and Rabey corroborated Sallnow's findings: there is a coexistence of both traditions in the same individuals.⁵¹¹ This claim has also been supported by Verónica Salles-Reese: the cult of Saint Mary did not replace that of Pachamama. This author further claims that a syncretization of Pachamama with Saint Mary is theoretically impossible due to their opposing qualities: *"...unlike the Mother of Christ, the Indian deity is not virginal, chaste, pure. The union of these two feminine deities results in a*

509M. J. Sallnow, "A Trinity of Christs: Cultic Processes in Andean Catholicism," *American Ethnologist* 9, no. 4 (November 1982): 740.

510José Luis González Martínez, *La religión popular en el Perú: informe y diagnóstico* (Perú: Instituto de Pastoral Andina, 1987), 113-6. This identification was not found in Cusco. Both questions are likely to have triggered in the interviewed person a search for authoritative and traditional answers. The second question is specially tendentious for it explicitly assumes that the interviewed shares the interviewer's beliefs, which are sanctioned by authority. In my opinion, this makes González findings in Puno much more relevant.

511Rodolfo J. Merlino and Mario A. Rabey, "Resistencia y hegemonía: Cultos locales y religión centralizada en Los Andes del Sur," *Sociedad y Religión* 10/11 (1993): 146-166.

set of internal contradictions that are impossible to reconcile."⁵¹² For Salles-Reese, because of this contradiction, Saint Mary could not assimilate all of Pachamama's functions. Saint Mary did, however, "...replace other deities in the Titicaca region and slowly appropriated their functions."⁵¹³ She had, for example, the power to produce rain to water the fields, which was the function of the idol Copacati. In this sense, this author observes that, "As the miracles of the Virgin of Copacabana took root in Andean culture, these other idols lost their relevance: the huacas were silenced forever."⁵¹⁴ Finally, Ana María Mariscotti de Görlitz supports the contending position; that is, that a synthesis did occur. However, she doesn't offer any reference to empirical data.⁵¹⁵ These observations indicate that Gisbert's claim cannot be done in such general terms. An identification of St. Mary with Pachamama could indeed have been made in some regions, but this is clearly not something that one could assume as a general phenomena, as Gisbert did in her analysis.

Regarding the argumentation presented by Gisbert, it didn't provide enough evidence in which to ground this interpretation of images of Saint Mary, even in those rare cases when her body has been blended with the hill of Potosi. This author insisted on this line of argumentation again in 1987. In reference to the Virgin of Sabaya (Image 23 on page 294), she has claimed that,

⁵¹²Salles-Reese, *From Viracocha to the Virgin of Copacabana : Representations of the Sacred at Lake Titicaca*, 38.

⁵¹³Ibid., 171.

⁵¹⁴Ibid.

⁵¹⁵Ana María Mariscotti de Görlitz, "Götter- und Heiligenkult in den Zentral-Anden," in *Kosmos der Anden : Weltbild und Symbolik indianischer Tradition in Südamerika*, ed. Max Peter Baumann (München: Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1994), 42-78.

Esta Virgen, como muchas otras, ostenta manto triangular en el que algún investigador ha querido ver la imagen de una montaña; efectivamente la Virgen de Sabaya que tiene esta forma de manto sustituyó al monte Sabaya...;⁵¹⁶

[This Virgin, like many others, has been dressed with the triangular cloak that some researcher has identified with the image of a mountain; the Virgin of Sabaya that has this shape did in fact substitute the mount Sabaya...]

It seems that this information could be attributed to no specific element within a network of scientific communications. Teresa Gisbert reinforces this popular interpretation of the triangular depiction of Saint Mary even though she doesn't offer any argument to support it.

As Verónica Salles-Reese has noted, Gisbert's analysis of the *Virgen-Cerro* motif was also weakened by her reference to local audiences distinct from the ecclesiastical authorities who left written testimonies.⁵¹⁷ In this sense, Gisbert's analysis of the *Arcángeles Arcabuceros* is stronger, specially if one limits it to the Christians' observation of idolatry. Even though he didn't cite Gisbert's text from 1980, Ramón Mujica Pinilla has limited in this sense this analysis of the *Virgen-Cerro*, expanding it at the same time towards an analysis of colonial political discourses.⁵¹⁸ Other authors have published texts that reproduce Gisbert's core ideas. Carol Damian, for instance, has claimed that,

The one consistent feature that appears as a dominant stylistic and

⁵¹⁶Gisbert, "La pintura en Potosí y la Audiencia de Charcas (hoy Bolivia)," 20.

⁵¹⁷Salles-Reese, *From Viracocha to the Virgin of Copacabana : Representations of the Sacred at Lake Titicaca*, 32.

⁵¹⁸Mujica Pinilla, "Identidades alegóricas: lecturas iconográficas del barroco al neoclásico," 311.

iconographic trait in Cuzco paintings of the Virgin is the triangular shape of Mary's dress, a reference to the shape of a mountain and, especially, her role as Pachamama, the Earth Mother. Whether the subject relates to her role as protector of the earth, the moon deity, or a royal queen, the Cuzco Virgin is most frequently dressed in an elaborately decorated dress of triangular form. It appears not only on canvases but on murals and statues as well.⁵¹⁹

Based on this assumption, Damian explored in much more detail the different forms in which this syncretization could be expressed in colonial images. Jerónimo José Granados has also followed this interpretative model:

...kann man auch innerhalb der Ikonographie in Peru oder in Bolivien eine Verschmelzung zwischen Maria und der pachamama feststellen. Z.B. kann man eine Darstellung der Maria in einem Berg sehen. Der Potosí-Berg war eine der Silberquellen der Indianer und wurde deswegen verehrt. Der Berg dient als Bekleidung der Jungfrau Maria. Diese Darstellung widmet sich aber auch gleichzeitig eindeutig dem Pachamama Glauben. Es handelt es sich um die Verehrung der Erde unter den Indigenen.⁵²⁰

There is, however, a key distinction between these later texts and Teresa Gisbert's *Iconografía y Mitos Indígenas en el Arte*: they adopt a stronger position regarding a process of syncretism. In 1980, Gisbert's argumentation in this respect remained hesitant and put more emphasis on the role of ecclesiastical authorities.

3.2.2.3 The Antisuyu as Paradise

In 1959, Martin S. Soria observed that, while providing almost exact copies of

⁵¹⁹Damian, *The virgin of the Andes : art and ritual in colonial Cuzco*, 50.

⁵²⁰Granados, *Bild und Kunst im Prozeß der Christianisierung Lateinamerikas*, 117-9.

imported prints, Andean paintings include birds that are not present in their models.⁵²¹ The same observation was echoed by Kelemen in 1969.⁵²² In 1982, Mesa and Gisbert added that this phenomenon coincided with the introduction of parrots and monkeys in mestizo architecture.⁵²³ Regarding these birds, Soria asked, “*are they souls or spirits from heaven?*” In 1999, Gisbert answered that these were angels, messengers from heaven.⁵²⁴ I would like to go over this third thesis.

El Paraíso de los Pájaros Parlantes, from 1999, is a rare text in Gisbert's production, even though it is related to her reflexions in *Iconografía y Mitos Indígenas en el Arte*, from 1980. What is most rare about it is that it makes no reference to the division of the guild of painters in Cusco, although it deals with iconographic changes that the author claimed took place around 1660.⁵²⁵ The main thesis I want to discuss here goes as follows: in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there was the belief that the biblical paradise could be located in the Inca Antisuyu in eastern Peru, between the jungle and the Andes, where parrots abound. This belief can be found in Antonio de León Pinelo's *El Paraíso en el Nuevo Mundo*, from 1656 – which wasn't published until 1943.⁵²⁶ Adopting this belief, Andeans further equated the Paradise with an orchard and searched in the local flora and fauna for

521 See quotation in page 39.

522 Pál Kelemen, “The Colonial Scene: A World Transplanted,” in *Art of the Americas: Ancient and Hispanic. With a comparative chapter on the Philippines* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1969), 273.

523 Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña [Ed. 2]*, 272.

524 Gisbert, *El paraíso de los pájaros parlantes : la imagen del otro en la cultura andina*.

525 This date is proposed by: Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña [Ed. 2]*, 272. In her book from 1999, Gisbert says that this change took place towards the end of the 17th century: *El paraíso de los pájaros parlantes : la imagen del otro en la cultura andina*, 173.

526 Antonio de León Pinelo, *El Paraíso en el Nuevo Mundo* (Torres Aguirre, 1943).

signs of this connection with heaven.⁵²⁷ Hence birds were seen as angels.

I find several problems in this argument, which I resume in four steps. Gisbert's claim that birds were seen as angels was grounded in an anonymous sermon included in the *Doctrina cristiana y catecismo para la instrucción de los indios* from 1584, from which she quotes that in paradise, a place of eternal dwellings and gardens full of flowers, our bodies will be lighter than eagles, shinier than the sun, more subtle than the wind, and more beautiful than the sky: they will be like angels.⁵²⁸ From this, Gisbert infers that souls are associated with both birds and angels, and that heaven (or paradise) is represented as a garden full of flowers. Gisbert concludes that paintings from the Cusco school – specially those that continue Quispe Tito's tradition – are representations of paradise: gardens full of flowers and birds. However, from this quotation alone, one cannot infer that souls and angels are represented as birds (eagles) more than they are represented as the sun, the wind and the sky. In my opinion, the sources are being forced to fit Martin S. Soria's hypothesis.

I also find problematic the claim that the Christian paradise was equated with the Inca Antisuyu. It is certainly not enough to point to León Pinelo's text, for it does not give us any information regarding how spread this belief was. Gisbert argues that the Colla people of the arid highlands associated the concept of happiness

⁵²⁷Gisbert, *El paraíso de los pájaros parlantes : la imagen del otro en la cultura andina*, 150.

⁵²⁸Ibid., 151. I have not been able to find this section in the original version (published by Antonio Ricardo in 1584) of *Doctrina cristiana y catecismo para la instrucción de los indios...* (Ciudad de los Reyes: Antonio Ricardo, primero impresor en estos Reynos del Perú, 1584).

with the image they had of the Antisuyu, the eastern lands, where medicinal plants – including coca – were brought from. These are, “*...tierras calientes pobladas por chunchos, regadas por caudalosos ríos y llenas de vegetación.*”⁵²⁹ [*...warm lands populated by the Chunchos, watered by plentiful rivers and filled with vegetation.*] Thus, the people of the arid highlands – where Andean paintings were made – associated the Christian paradise with the Antisuyu, and populated the first with the flora and fauna of the latter. However, even though one may assert that the birds and the flora present in these paintings corresponded with such a region, one cannot yet affirm with enough certainty, based on these sources alone, that this is an image of paradise.

Gisbert further argued that, corresponding to their angelic nature, these are birds that talk. To support this claim she mentions four sources. First, a text by Cardinal Julio Sartorio de Santa Severina (c1590), which says that birds, which are angels according to Salomon, are messengers; second, a fragment of Sarmiento de Gamboa's chronicle, according to which a parrot was regarded to have the ability to predict the future; third, the tradition according to which the Inca Manco Capac had another such a bird; and fourth, Ramos Gavilán's notice that a bird that had never been seen in Cusco had announced that all the rites and ceremonies of the local peoples were going to perish. In my opinion, these sources are not sufficient to support her claim.

⁵²⁹Gisbert, *El paraíso de los pájaros parlantes : la imagen del otro en la cultura andina*, 151.

Based on these grounds, Gisbert affirmed that the Andean paintings that include elements of flora and fauna that are not present either in the artists' geographic context or in the iconographic sources that he or she used, are meant to “...compatibilizar la doctrina cristiana con la religión de tiempos prehispánicos.”⁵³⁰ [*...make christian doctrine compatible with the religion of pre-Hispanic times.*] This would have been intended from both sides in this relation: since the *curas doctrineros* – priests who teach the Christian doctrine – and the local *kurakas* were important clients of these paintings and could have had major influence in their iconographic design, Gisbert concludes that they, “...parecen ser los responsables de este cambio que induce a un rechazo de la modernidad de su tiempo.”⁵³¹ [*...seem to be responsible for this change that leads to the rejection of the modernity of its time.*] Do note that this argument aims mainly at the iconographic level of Andean paintings. In this level, neither the Spanish members of the guild nor the separatist Indian painters, and not even this institution as administrator of the European canon, would have played a role in the emergence of the Andean schools of painting, but the patrons' intentions to adapt some elements of the Christian tradition to pre-Hispanic religion.

In going through these three key analyses my intention has not been to demonstrate their falsity. I propose that the attempt to prove that any given motif actually responded to pre-contact indigenous traditions is destined to experience the same luck as the campaigns against idolatry. Such campaigns were

⁵³⁰Ibid., 154.

⁵³¹Ibid., 173.

unsuccessful not because their intuition was false, but rather because it could not – and still cannot – be proven not to be false. This fundamental uncertainty is characteristic of the colonial context in this region. I propose that stating the existence of this state of uncertainty is more fertile than the attempt to prove that any given motif actually responded to pre-contact indigenous traditions. On the one hand, colonial documents show that specific iconographic innovations could have responded to the patron's anticipation of the Amerindian audiences' religious representations. On the other hand, one can assume that religious representations were introduced by the native artists themselves, these motifs having reflected their own religious traditions. Furthermore, on a theoretical level, one must admit that both phenomena could have triggered each other. From the point of view of the theory of sociocultural evolution, all this points to the fact that iconographic variation was subject to the mechanisms of selection and re-stabilization of religion in both sides of the conflict: on the side of the organized Christian religion that had taken explicit decisions on this respect in the 25th session of the Council of Trent (1563) and on the side of the local Andean communities.

3.3 Adorned with all possible decency: the role of the bishop of Cusco, Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo

When switching to a model that focused on the stylistic consequences of the division of the guild of painters in the last decades of the seventeenth century and

on the iconographical variations that resulted from the utilization of paintings in the context of religion, the importance of the emergence of an interregional market of religious images during the first half of the eighteenth century diminished. Now one had to integrate this last phenomenon into a more general process. This was achieved by including one last player in this narration. In this respect it has been argued that, between 1730 and 1750, artisans in Cusco saturated the local market of paintings, which had been fueled by the restoration of the city after the earthquakes that occurred in 1650 and by a major patron of the arts: the bishop of Cusco for the period 1673-1699, Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo.

Bishop Mollinedo's role as sponsor of the arts in Cusco had been emphasized already by authors in the 1940s⁵³² and 1950s.⁵³³ Later on, Francisco Stastny had mentioned him as a relevant importer of European paintings and engravings: the prelate brought to Cusco a collection of more than forty images that would serve as models for important painters, such as Basilio de Santa Cruz.⁵³⁴ In their second *Historia...*, Mesa and Gisbert offered a more complex account of Mollinedo's influence in the history of painting: he would have been responsible for the introduction of the decorative baroque style that was favored in the king's court in Madrid in the second half of the seventeenth century.⁵³⁵

532Diego Angulo, *Historia del arte hispanoamericano*, vol. 1 (Barcelona, 1945), 196.

533Isabel Z. de Ruzo, "El obispo Don Manuel Mollinedo y Angulo Mecenaz Cusqueño," *Revista del Instituto Americano de Arte* 9 (1959): 81; Horacio Villanueva Urteaga, *Apuntes para un estudio de la vida y obra de Don Manuel de Mollinedo, obispo Mecenaz del Cuzco* (Cuzco: Editorial Garcilaso, 1955).

534Stastny, *Breve Historia del arte en el Perú : la pintura precolombina, colonial y republicana*, 41. A list of Mollinedo's collection has been included in: Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña [Ed. 2]*, 119-20.

535Mesa y Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña [Ed. 2]*, 119-23.

According to these authors, Mollinedo was, “...*hombre moderno... que estaba en la avanzada de los sistemas y gustos de su época; no fue ciertamente un conservador en materias artísticas.*”⁵³⁶ [...a modern man who was part of the avant-garde of his time in what refers to systems and tastes; he surely wasn't conservative in artistic matters.] At court, he would have witnessed the last period of Velázquez. In his collection of paintings, Mesa and Gisbert observe a preference for Italian painting from early seventeenth century and for contemporary artists such as Carreño de Miranda, Herrera and Barnuevo.⁵³⁷

In these authors' works, the utilization of painting as a substratum in which worlds may be constructed that respond to an internal program – gaining what Niklas Luhmann generally described as 'an objectivity of their own'⁵³⁸ – is already unmistakable.⁵³⁹ As Javier Portús has observed, compositional programs were still experienced – at least primarily – in this Baroque era in the form of an objective judgment that took into consideration formal and narrative dimensions. In this sense, “judgment” had priority over “taste.”⁵⁴⁰ This is the kind of consideration that

536Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña [Ed. 2]*, 121 f.

537Ibid., 119.

538Luhmann, “Weltkunst.”

539Victor I. Stoichita has analyzed Velazquez works as cases of *métapeinture*. Paintings are drawn within paints, inviting the observer to see the painting as world that has a logic of its own, which includes its surroundings. Stoichita, *La invención del cuadro. Arte, artífices y artificios en los orígenes de la pintura europea*. See also: Victor I. Stoichita, *El ojo místico. Pintura y visión religiosa en el Siglo de Oro español*, trans. Anna Maria Coderch (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1996); Victor I. Stoichita, “Bild und Vision in der spanischen Malerei des Siglo de Oro und die lateinamerikanische Volksfrömmigkeit,” in *Theatrum mundi. Figuren der Barockästhetik in Spanien und Hispano-Amerika. Literatur-Kunst-Bildmedien*, ed. Monika Bosse and André Stoll, Bielefelder Schriften zu Linguistik und Literaturwissenschaft (Bielefeld: Aisthesis-Verlag, 1997), 31-42.

540Javier Portús, “La Imagen Barroca,” in *Barroco*, ed. Pedro Aullón de Haro and Javier Pérez Bazo (Verbum Editorial, 2004), 299-348.

we have found crystallized in the ordinances of the painters' guild of Lima.

Upon arriving to Cusco in 1673, Mollinedo initiated what he described as a “...reforma⁵⁴¹ no sólo en las costumbres de los súbditos, sino también en los templos y cosas tocantes al culto y servicio de Dios...” [...reformation, not only of the customs of the [King's] subjects, but also of the temples and of everything that is related to the cult and service of God...] This was accomplished mainly through several “visits” that he and his assistants undertook throughout the bishopric.⁵⁴²

For Mesa and Gisbert, this amounts to a modernization of the arts in Cusco through the imposition of a baroque program in architecture, sculpture, painting and other artistic expressions. As these authors observe, this stylistic program was referred to by Mollinedo and other contemporary observers as what was fashionable: what was “*al uso*.”⁵⁴³ This meant that “deformities” had to be corrected “with all decency.” Thus, we read in Mollinedo's instructions for the redecoration of the church of San Jerónimo, “...que la iglesia se reteje por de fuera, y por de dentro se blanquee y adorne con toda decencia posible quitando toda deformidad.”⁵⁴⁴ [...that the church be [closely woven] on the outside, and whitened and adorned with all possible decency on the inside, removing all deformity.] Paintings were part of this

541 Waldemar Espinoza Soriano, “El esplendor artístico de Cusco en la segunda mitad del siglo XVII,” in *Ensayos: Sociedad, Religiosidad y Arte en el Perú* (Lima: Grupo Historiem, 2001), 64.

542 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 Francés de Estudios Andinos, Instituto Riva-Agüero, 2008).

543 Mesa and Gisbert cite Gaspar de la Cuba, who in 1692 wrote that: “...que se hagan pinturas de lienzos con marcos de cedro dorados “*al uso*” para la capilla mayor, en todo el cuerpo de la iglesia.” Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña [Ed. 2]*, 122.

544 Quoted from the “Libro de Fábrica de la Parroquia de San Jerónimo, Cuzco”, f. 16v and 17, by *Ibid.*, 123.

general decoration of sacred spaces. As he wrote in 1678 in relation to the church of Nuestra Señora de Belén, Mollinedo aimed at, “...*adornar toda la iglesia de cuadros de pintura con sus marcos dorados de realce.*”⁵⁴⁵ [...*decorating every church with paintings with embossed gilded-frames.*] His references to paintings are always followed by a reference to their frames, which suggests that both elements could have had equal decorative value in this baroque program. This is what we have presented as the medium that is made available for the decoration of symbols that is characteristic of ornamental art. However, that “deformities” had to be corrected “with all decency” and according to “*al uso*” may signal not merely that this prelate had a particular preoccupation for what was fashionable, but, above all, that this medium was expected to be used by a form of art that aimed towards autonomy, for deformities would have had to be identified based on a self-referential decorative program in the realm of painting. That they are signaled as “deformities” insinuates also the consideration of such internal programming in terms of an objective judgment that could be shared by anyone who was informed of the state of the art. This expectation alone would set the kind of art that he supported apart from the kind of ornamental art that was usual in this region.

Mollinedo's influence on local art history was exerted through a selected group of artists that seem to have been his main providers of artworks. Among these, Mesa and Gisbert cite the painters Basilio Santa Cruz, Antonio Sinchi Roca and Marcos Rivera.⁵⁴⁶ The first in this list is specially relevant. According to these authors,

⁵⁴⁵Espinoza Soriano, “El esplendor artístico de Cusco en la segunda mitad del siglo XVII,” 68.

⁵⁴⁶Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña [Ed. 2]*, 119.

direct access to Mollinedo's collection of images would have allowed Santa Cruz to produce artworks that responded to the stylistic program that was favored in the court in Madrid. In this manner, unlike any other author in the viceroyalty – with the important exception of the Italian masters Bitti, Pérez de Alesio and Medoro –, Santa Cruz offers a sense of stylistic contemporaneity between Cusco and important artistic centers in Europe:

Es realmente sorprendente la modernidad de Basilio de Santa Cruz, quien en todas sus composiciones y manera de pintar está perfectamente al día; si echamos una mirada general a la pintura peruana anterior y posterior a él veremos que - en cuanto a cronología -, siempre se halla atrasada con respecto al movimiento pictórico contemporáneo español y europeo. Con Basilio de Santa Cruz se alcanza simultaneidad como en ningún otro período. Si analizamos sus composiciones, su manera de pintar y su estilo nos damos cuenta de que corresponde al estilo de algunos pintores de la corte española, que son sus estrictos contemporáneos;⁵⁴⁷

[The modernity of Basilio de Santa Cruz is really astonishing. He is up-to-date in all of his compositions and in his form of painting. If we take a look at all previous and subsequent Peruvian painting, we will see that it is always backward in relation to contemporary pictorial movements in Spain and Europe. With Basilio de Santa Cruz, simultaneity was achieved like in no other period. If we analyze his compositions, his form of painting and his style, we see that they correspond to the style of some contemporary painters in the Spanish court.]

Most of Santa Cruz's work (1663-1693) was done before the famous division of the guild of painters of Cusco. In this narration, this painter represents a last point of

⁵⁴⁷Ibid., 166.

synchronization between painters in Europe and in Peru before the emergence of the Cusco school of painting.

In connection to our previous considerations on the form of decorative and symbolic art, we can observe that he was asked to use the medium made available by the decoration of religious symbols for the incipient exploration of "*...the compelling forces of order in the realm of the possible.*"⁵⁴⁸ That is, the medium of the decoration of religious symbols acted as substratum for the early exploration of the potentialities of a differentiated medium of art. This was, however, a historical exception. An accident, indeed, that would not lead to the generation of structures in this region, but would have consequences in the realm of ornamental art proper, as paintings by the Indian Basilio de Santa Cruz would be available for copying and formal disintegration for the centuries to come. As we will see based on Francisco Stasty's analysis of the work of the immigrant Italian masters, this was no unique accident.

⁵⁴⁸Luhmann, *Art as a Social System*, 148.

4. Francisco Stastny: the medievalization of art

In going through the whole corpus of texts on the social history of painting in the colonial cities of Cusco and Ciudad de Los Reyes, and in their surrounding areas, from the 1922 to the present, my focus is on the distinctions that guide the construction of historical narrations. The first question with which I confront each text is, basically, what is it that is being explained and what assumptions are being made that structure this explanation? This corresponds to a position of second-order observation which lies at the heart of a social systems-theoretical approach to a sociology of art. Based on this question, two analyses gain urgency when confronted by the question regarding what have we learned about society while doing this exercise. These two analyses correspond to the two faces of this book. First, we gain access to the sociocultural evolution of art history as a discipline. Second – and firmly grounded in an analysis of the character of this discipline –, we gain access to the sociocultural evolution of colonial painting as a form of communication. This latter analytical step corresponds to a meta-analysis of art historical texts that is explicitly guided by a social systems-theoretical approach.

My first thesis is that these texts are structured based on the form of ornamental art: in this level this is not meant to refer to the form of the artistic objects themselves, but to the form that guides the observation of these objects. This form

is made possible – and even imposed – by the differentiation of art as a functional subsystem of world society. The application of this form in the context of science leads to important conflicts that I have tried to reconstruct in some detail. In this regard, my second thesis tries to be a sociological alternative to the art historical narrations in which it is based. This second thesis will become clearer in this last chapter on the work of Francisco Stastny.

Based on my revision of his work and on what I have found throughout this art historical tradition, I propose that we reexamine the thesis of the peripheral character of painting as a form of communication in this region and the accompanying thesis of its primarily religious context. Regarding the first, we can observe that the evolutionary mechanisms of painting in this region during the colonial period were different from those that guided painting in the centers of the art world in western Europe, where the models of local Andean paintings were produced. This means that, across the ocean, different criteria, applied by different institutions, guided the variation, selection and re-stabilization of communication through this medium. Thus, European attempts at generating inclusion through images were necessarily redefined across the ocean and the Andes. The previously introduced concept of parasitic ornamental systems is aimed at describing this phenomenon (Section 1.5.2). In the colonial central Andes, paintings were valued according to a religious representation of the world. At this point, and in close connection to previous reflections on the relationship between ornament and symbolic art (Section 1.5.3), I observe that Pedro

Morandé's thesis⁵⁴⁹ on the cultural substratum that allowed the construction of social structures in this region during the colonial period, which included all social groups in this societal context (Europeans and castes), can be specified to the case of painting: in all groups prevailed the utilization of painting for the decoration of symbols.

When observed in relation to the form of ornamental art, Francisco Stastny's work is articulated by his concept of "medievalization." His earliest work in the 1960s continued in the direction set by Martin S. Soria: prints were signaled as the umbilical cord that connected the region of central Andes with the main centers of artistic production in Europe. As Soria had observed, even though these sources were imitated with great detail, the result was naive and primitive, profoundly different to the source. This is described by Stastny as a "medievalization" of the source – a concept that echoes a text by Mariano Picón Salas from 1931.⁵⁵⁰ In this chapter I'll expose how this medievalization, which can be understood as the transformation of art into ornamental art, was constructed as a problem by Stastny and the theoretical solutions that he has arrived to. Chapter 4.1 will expose the core problem of medievalization. Chapters 4.2 and 4.3 further explore this problem in relation to two different historical processes that Stastny has analyzed from this perspective: the influence of prints that reproduce works by Rubens and the influence of the immigrant Italian painters from the last quarter of the

549Pedro Morandé, *Cultura y Modernización en América Latina. Ensayo sociológico acerca de la crisis del desarrollismo y de su superación* (Madrid: Ediciones Encuentro, 1987).

550Picón Salas, "El medievalismo en la pintura colonial." See chapter 2.2.2 above.

sixteenth century. Finally, chapters 4.4 and 4.5 will discuss the theoretical solutions that this author has arrived to.

4.1 *Imported art and its medievalization*

In continuity to Martin S. Soria's work, Francisco Stastny's earliest publications put emphasis on the function of prints as media of diffusion of iconographic information. Early on, Stastny pointed out that in some periods of "artistic expansion", these models were modified by Andean workshops according to their own aesthetic preferences. However, like Enrique Marco Dorta had done in 1950,⁵⁵¹ these aesthetic preferences were treated by Stastny as a sort of black box about which there is little to be known with enough certainty. In an article from 1966, he called this "the human factor" and passingly observed that, in the Andean region, it corresponded to the high proportion of mestizo and native populations that, "*...con su considerable herencia precolombina y colonial, ha recibido los estilos modernos con mucha mayor dificultad.*"⁵⁵² [*with its considerable pre-Hispanic and colonial heritage, has received the modern styles with much greater difficulty.*] The pre-Hispanic and colonial heritages of these populations would somehow have intervened in the process of adaptation of imported images, resulting in a highly

⁵⁵¹Dorta, "La pintura en Colombia, Ecuador, Peru y Bolivia." See chapter 2.3.2 above.

⁵⁵²Francisco Stastny, "La pintura en sud américa de 1910 a 1945," *Anales del Instituto de Arte Americano e Investigaciones Estéticas* 19 (1966): 11.

stylized and ornamental pictorial language.⁵⁵³

However, Stastny's main emphasis was on the form in which European iconographic sources were made available to local workshops. For, as he observed,

Es evidente... que los factores decisivos para la transformación cultural y estilística de los países sudamericanos – en conformidad con su posición histórica – son los medios y las facilidades de comunicación que permiten su vinculación con los centros del mundo exterior;⁵⁵⁴

[It is evident... that the media and the facilities of communication that allowed for their connection to the centers of the outside world are the decisive factors in the cultural and stylistic transformation of the South American countries – in conformity to their historical position.]

Unlike Mesa and Gisbert, Stastny had not yet taken the leap towards a theory that could integrate the influence of “internal” factors, which could have led him at this point to make assumptions about native populations. Indeed, in an article from 1974,⁵⁵⁵ he openly criticized the point of view that saw in the hypothetical survival of pre-contact indigenous motifs and autochthonous sensibilities a cause of the emergence of local artistic forms. Adopting George Kubler's argumentation from the previous decade, Stastny observed that it has not been possible to recognize the survival of pre-Hispanic motifs with enough confidence. In the previous chapter I have developed a similar argument in reference to Teresa Gisbert's work.

553Ibid., 10 f.

554Ibid., 11.

555Francisco Stastny, “¿Un arte mestizo?,” in *América Latina en sus artes*, ed. Damián Bayón (México City: Siglo veintiuno, 1974). A French translation of this text was published by UNESCO in 1980: Stastny, “Un art métis?.” All references will be made to the latter.

Regarding the influence of an autochthonous sensibility, Stastny stressed that Indian painters had been trained under the supervision of European masters and that they produced a form of art that was in accord with the most refined artistic aspirations of the viceroyalty:

Les artistes qui participèrent à l'élaboration de ces œuvres, bien qu'ils fussent parfois d'origine indienne ou métisse, étaient forcément des individus entièrement acculturés, qui avaient commencé très tôt à apprendre leur métier dans l'atelier d'un maître européen et y avaient longtemps travaillé. Dans la mesure où leur éducation provinciale le leur permettait, ces artistes adhéraient totalement aux idéaux esthétiques et aux aspirations artistiques "savantes" de la vice-royauté.⁵⁵⁶

Therefore, following Kubler, Dorta and Soria, the distinction between the source and the outcome was not explained by reference to any invariable characteristic of the native populations, but to the characteristics of artistic provinces. However, unlike these authors, Stastny has seen in this provincial adaptation of metropolitan sources a more fundamental problem.

Based on the work of Giulio Carlo Argan on the "*stampa di traduzione*" of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,⁵⁵⁷ Stasty later observed that the importation of images, specially engravings and copies of successful paintings, aimed not merely at the religious conversion of native populations, but at "*...hacer llegar a todos lo mejor de la tradición histórica, estética y evangélica de la civilización de*

⁵⁵⁶Ibid., 109.

⁵⁵⁷Giulio Carlo Argan, "Il valore critico della stampa di traduzione," in *Studi e note dal Bramante al Canova*, Biblioteca di storia dell'arte 1 (Roma: Bulzoni, 1970), 157-165.

*Occidente.*⁵⁵⁸ [...letting the best of the historic, aesthetic and evangelic tradition of western civilization reach everyone.] This implies that, to be successful, a copy had to be able to reproduce the idea or the most profound meaning of the original image, so that it could be expected that, through such copies, even individuals from distant regions would be made participants of the kind of communication that the original image made possible. In this sense, engravings and paintings that reproduced successful images were “*...instrumentos de democratización del saber...*”⁵⁵⁹ [...instruments for the democratization of knowledge...]. Using a distinction from the theory of social systems, we can say that prints fulfilled a function of inclusion in the communicational systems that were gaining predominance as main form of societal differentiation in Europe. This will become much clearer when we present Stastny's analysis of the influence that the work of Rubens had in the colonial central Andes. At this point, I want to emphasize the problem that is implied by the local form of adaptation of these sources: their formal disintegration – to use Goldschmidt's concept⁵⁶⁰ – indicate that strategies of inclusion were systematically frustrated even when these sources were, in Stastny's words,

...el punto de contacto con los fundamentos de su arte. Verdadero cordón umbilical que unía a América con Europa y a través del cual llegaba el plasma

558 Francisco Stastny, “Ulises y los mercaderes. Transmisión y comercio artístico en el Nuevo Mundo,” in *Passeurs, mediadores culturales y agentes de la primera globalización en el Mundo Ibérico, siglos XVI - XIX*, ed. Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy and Carmen Salazar-Soler (presented at the Congreso internacional Las Cuatro Partes del Mundo en Lima en agosto de 2002, Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2005), 829. See also: Stastny, “Modernidad, ruptura y arcaísmo en el arte colonial,” 951 f.

559 Stastny, “Ulises y los mercaderes. Transmisión y comercio artístico en el Nuevo Mundo,” 829.

560 Goldschmidt, “Die Bedeutung der Formenspaltung in der Kunstentwicklung.”

que alimentaba las corrientes artísticas del Nuevo Mundo.⁵⁶¹

[...the point of contact with the foundations of its art. True umbilical cord that united America with Europe and through which the plasma arrived that fed the artistic currents of the New World.]

The frustration of strategies of inclusion occurred in two forms that Stastny would later call “the archaization” and “the re-archaization” of art,⁵⁶² which is a distinction that gives more density to his earlier descriptions of a process of “medievalization.”⁵⁶³ On the one hand, prints from the late Middle Ages or the early Renaissance were still used in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On the other hand, contemporary models were transformed in a manner that recalls the representational system of the late Gothic period. This description coincides with what I have referred to in previous sections as the formation of “parasitic ornamental systems” (section 1.5.2).

For Francisco Stastny, this process of medievalization corresponds to the Gothic world-view that prevailed in colonial central Andes. This has been presented in two manners. First, this author presented this in relation to Dagobert Frey's analysis of the transition from the Gothic to the Renaissance.⁵⁶⁴ In Gothic images, space is not represented as having its own, independent geometric reality, but as being indissolubly associated with time in narration: space is given existence and

561 Stastny, “La presencia de Rubens en la pintura colonial,” 18. See also: Francisco Stastny, “La Pintura Colonial y su Significación Artística,” *Fanal*, 1966, 14.

562 Stastny, “Modernidad, ruptura y arcaísmo en el arte colonial,” 953 f.

563 For example, in: Stastny, “El manierismo en la pintura colonial Latinoamericana,” 36.

564 *Gotik und Renaissance als Grundlagen der modernen Weltanschauung* (Augsburg: Benno Filser Verlag, 1929).

content in time. This dependency would have been broken by the Renaissance representation of the world: time and space began to be treated as independent dimensions. Thus, whereas Gothic images are structured according to a sequentiality that must be read, the Renaissance image allowed for an instantaneous comprehension. Stastny's argument of the "medievalization" of art is grounded in this description:⁵⁶⁵ a Gothic representation of the world seems to have prevailed in colonial central Andes, which guided the adaptation of imported images. Here, the emphasis on rhetorics⁵⁶⁶ and on narrative structures overshadowed any other criteria of observation.

In a later publication, Stastny affirmed that the re-archaization of art was done according to the devotional aspect of the *international Gothic*, which put emphasis on the sentimentality of evangelic history and in the representation of an idyllic world⁵⁶⁷ – a description that recalls early publications by Miguel Solá⁵⁶⁸ and had been further developed by Isabel Cruz, according to whom sacred images made use of easily recognizable marks, put emphasis on narrative structures, and exacerbated pictorial elements that could trigger an affective or emotional response of devotion, anticipating the characteristic mentality of native

⁵⁶⁵Stastny, *Síntomas Medievales en el "Barroco Americano"*, 25.

⁵⁶⁶As rhetorical weapons, allegories were used to defend antagonistic positions in colonial society, leading to the generation of novel iconographies. See: Francisco Stastny, "Jardin Universitario y Stella Maris. Invenciones iconográficas en el Cuzco," *Historia y Cultura* 15 (1982), <http://museonacional.perucultural.org.pe/fp15.shtml>; Stastny, "The University as Cloister, Garden and Tree of Knowledge. An Iconographic Invention in the University of Cuzco"; Francisco Stastny, "El arte de la nobleza inca y la identidad andina," in *Mito y Simbolismo en los Andes. La Figura y la Palabra*, ed. Enrique Urbano (Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas, 1993).

⁵⁶⁷Stastny, "Modernidad, ruptura y arcaísmo en el arte colonial," 954.

⁵⁶⁸Solá, *Historia del Arte hispano-americano: Arquitectura, Escultura, Pintura y Artes menores en la América española durante los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII*.

populations.⁵⁶⁹

The problem of the medievalization of art in the colonial central Andes has been constructed by Francisco Stastny based on an analysis of two historical processes that deserve closer attention: the influence of prints based on the work of Peter Paul Rubens, and the influence of the immigrant Italian artists Bitti, Pérez de Alesio and Medoro during the last quarter of the sixteenth century. I will present each of these processes separately.

4.2 Prints as strategies of inclusion

According to an influential text by Francisco Stastny, from 1965, Peter Paul Rubens was a key reformer of engraving as a medium for the dissemination of painting, who worked closely with engravers trying to adapt this medium to his own style of painting.⁵⁷⁰ He also made simpler designs for illustrating religious texts. Either through these illustrated texts or through lesser copies of the prints that were produced in his workshop, Rubens' designs were made available for a broad audience in South America that could not have experienced his canvases directly. Prints were, in Stastny's words, the umbilical cord that connected America and Europe.⁵⁷¹ They supported religious devotion and education⁵⁷² and were an

⁵⁶⁹Cruz de Amenábar, "Imágenes y Devoción en el Virreinato Peruano," 75 f.

⁵⁷⁰Stastny, "La presencia de Rubens en la pintura colonial."

⁵⁷¹Ibid., 18. See also: Stastny, "La Pintura Colonial y su Significación Artística," 14.

⁵⁷²Stastny makes reference to the illustrated frontispiece of Friar Juan de Torquemada's

invaluable source of iconographic models for local workshops. I think that Stastny's claim regarding the function of inclusion that prints could fulfill must be attenuated in sight of the kind of prints that were made available to local workshops in this region: these are either simple religious illustrations or lesser copies of the engravings that had been prepared under the supervision of Rubens for the diffusion of his designs among an elite audience in Europe. However, as this author has pointed out, these "*estampes populaires*" incorporated in each period the changes that took place in the systems of representation, in reflection of an epoch's mentality and world-view.⁵⁷³

For Stastny, in their selection of sources and in their adaptation, local artists in the central Andes demonstrated a preference for the representation of dream-like landscapes filled with pleasant details. One kind of beauty was preferred over another and convention was preferred over reality: "*Prefiere notablemente la hermosura a la belleza; y la convención a la realidad.*"⁵⁷⁴ Fairness (*hermosura*) is the kind of beauty that is to be found in the pleasant details of ornamental pieces. Stastny has also referred to it as, "*...una fácil belleza terrestre*" [*...a facile earthly kind of beauty*] and as "*...una perfección puramente formal*"⁵⁷⁵ [*...a purely formal*

Monarquía Indiana as an illustration of the didactic use of paintings in the context of religious sermons: "...se ve a un fraile franciscano enseñando a un grupo de indígenas en el ábside de una iglesia. Con un puntero en la mano el religioso señala hacia una pintura que cuelga de la pared. Por su gesto se comprende que está explicando la lección con ayuda de las imágenes del cuadro." *Ibid.*, 11. Graziano Gasparini published an interesting article on the rhetorical function of baroque art in the American colonies: Graziano Gasparini, "Barroco, Arte Instrumentalizado," *Revista Nacional de Cultura (Caracas)*, no. 200 (1971): 35-51..

573Stastny, "Modernidad, ruptura y arcaísmo en el arte colonial," 941 f.

574Stastny, "La presencia de Rubens en la pintura colonial," 25.

575Stastny, "La Pintura Colonial y su Significación Artística," 19; Stastny, *Breve Historia del arte en el Perú : la pintura precolombina, colonial y republicana*, 42.

perfection.]

This kind of beauty was perfected through the constant repetition and progressive simplification of a reduced number of archetypes or motifs:⁵⁷⁶

El arte colonial era un arte apegado a su tradición, repetitivo, que no buscaba innovaciones estilísticas, sino que tendía más bien a una depuración cada vez más refinada de los mismos motivos. Nunca se produce esa renovación refrescante y vigorizante de las formas por la vuelta a la naturaleza y la imitación de la realidad, leitmotif de las revoluciones artísticas en Europa;⁵⁷⁷

[Colonial art is attached to its tradition. It is repetitive. It doesn't search for stylistic innovations, but tends towards a progressive simplification of the same motifs. It never occurs the refreshing and invigorating renovation of forms that results from the observation of nature and the imitation of reality, which is the leitmotif of artistic revolutions in Europe.]

Once again the focal point is on the absence of the kind of variation that one expects from non-ornamental art. A similar argument had been made by Dorta: as a result of its isolation and lack of strive for novelty, a local school becomes static (see chapter 2.3.2). According to this early text by Stastny, the emergence of the Cusco school of painting is understood as the consequence of the absence of the Italian masters, which coincided with the massive importation of Flemish prints:

La llegada masiva de estampas y la desaparición de los pintores italianos del horizonte artístico traerá como consecuencia, a comienzos del siglo XVII, un momentáneo desapego de los modelos manieristas y una aceptación sin límites

⁵⁷⁶Stastny, "La Pintura Colonial y su Significación Artística," 19-20; Stastny, *Breve Historia del arte en el Perú : la pintura precolombina, colonial y republicana*, 42-4.

⁵⁷⁷Stastny, "La presencia de Rubens en la pintura colonial," 19.

de las enseñanzas que traen consigo los grabados flamencos;⁵⁷⁸

[The massive entry of prints and the disappearance of the Italian painters from the artistic horizon will produce, in the beginning of the XVII century, a momentaneous detachment from the mannerist models and the total acceptance of the teachings that the Flemish engravings bring with them.]

While the mechanism of production of paintings would have remained unaltered, its point of reference would have shifted toward these Flemish engravings. Among the latter, there would have been a predominance of reproductions of the highly influential designs made by Rubens.

Of course, the painter Diego Quispe Tito (Images 7 and 11) is seen as the main author who introduced this shift:

...un maestro provinciano, sin sólida formación académica; pero cuyas deficiencias de diseño y poca sutileza en el uso del color, están ampliamente compensadas por el valor expresivo que obtiene a través de deformaciones ingenuas de perspectiva y cierto amaneramiento altamente emocional en el trazado de sus figuras;⁵⁷⁹

[...a provincial master with no solid academic formation; but whose deficiencies in design and scarce subtlety in the use of color are compensated by the expressive value he acquires through naive deformations of perspective and certain highly-emotional mannerism in the drawing of his figures.]

Again, it is in the unskilled deformation of imported models – determined by the

578Stastny, "La Pintura Colonial y su Significación Artística," 18; Stastny, *Breve Historia del arte en el Perú : la pintura precolombina, colonial y republicana*, 39.

579Stastny, *Breve Historia del arte en el Perú : la pintura precolombina, colonial y republicana*, 40.

artist's provincial position and lack of academic formation – that these paintings acquire their autochthonous character. Ruben's influence on Quispe Tito is evident in his *Return from Egypt*, from 1680 (Image 11 on page 287). As noticed by Francisco Stastny,⁵⁸⁰ the central figures correspond to an inversed copy of an engraving made by Lucas Vorsterman the Youngest (1620) after a design by Peter Paul Rubens (Image 12 on page 287).⁵⁸¹ The Holly Family from Vorsterman's engraving has been surrounded by two diverging landscapes, suggesting that this painting was constructed by adding parts from diverse compositions. Juan Espinoza de los Monteros (Image 14 on page 289) is also presented as leading this transition. Finally, Basilio de Santa Cruz (Image 13 on page 288) would have introduced more changes due to his access to novel rubenian engravings and to Spanish paintings, that would have been imported to the region either through large shippings (e.g., Zurbarán) or by private collectors, such as the bishop Mollinedo.⁵⁸²

In these early writings, Francisco Stastny managed to update the model that we found in texts from the 1920s and 1930s. This model had been passed down by Enrique Marco Dorta and Martin S. Soria. This latter author seems to have had the strongest influence on Stastny during this period. Like these authors had done in the 1950s, Stastny left the problem of the influence of Amerindian traditions on

580Stastny, "La presencia de Rubens en la pintura colonial," 19.

581Stastny cites as a possible source of this inversed copy an engraving by Francis Van den Steen (c.1625-1672): *Return from Egypt*. Engraving after Lucas Vorsterman, 1620, after Rubens, *The Return from Egypt*, Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, CT. See: <http://colonialart.org/correspondences/20a-63b>

582Stastny, *Breve Historia del arte en el Perú : la pintura precolombina, colonial y republicana*, 41. See chapter 3.3 above.

colonial painting in a parenthesis and focused on how iconographic information reached and was recursively transformed in this region. His insistence in pointing out that this transformation had been done according to ornamental or decorative criteria is unmistakable. However, much like those previous authors, the appropriation of the core/periphery distinction seems to have relieved Stastny from the necessity to further explore the conditions that determined this reconstruction of imported sources.

4.3 Mannerism and the Italian masters in the Andes

Intending to avoid a simplistic explanation of the history of colonial painting in central Andes that would regard it as a mere result of the copying of Flemish engravings, beginning in 1969, Francisco Stastny's attention shifted towards the period before the emergence of local schools of painting in the second half of the seventeenth century. Instead of focusing on the influence of engravings as sources of iconographic information, he analyzed the role played by the immigrant artists Bernardo Bitti, Mateo Pérez de Alesio and Angelino Medoro in the history of painting in central Andes, and on their relation with artistic developments in sixteenth-century Italy.

As we have seen, the Jesuit Bernardo Bitti (1548-1610) was the first of these three to arrive to the region. His arrival in Lima in 1575, when he was 27 years old,

responded to organizational requirements of the Company of Jesus.⁵⁸³ Correspondingly, he was frequently transferred to different establishments that this order administered in Lima, Cusco, Juli, Chuquisaca and Arequipa, making his work available to artists all over the region.

Mateo Pérez de Alesio (1547-c.1616) arrived to Lima around 1588-9. In 1590, after making a portrait of the Viceroy García Hurtado de Mendoza, he was already in a position to call himself "*Pintor de su Señoría el Virrey.*"⁵⁸⁴ In 1583, Pérez de Alesio could have painted *La Virgen de la Leche*⁵⁸⁵ (Image 25 on page 295), which Francisco Stastny saw as the head of a highly popular series of images with the same motif. Many authors, including Stastny, affirm that this is one of the images in the collection of de la Maza that, according to Friar Leonardo Hansen, were regarded as miraculous by St. Rosa de Lima.⁵⁸⁶ Alluding to this painting, Stastny has argued that Pérez de Alesio had an indelible influence on Bernardo Bitti, who was in Lima for a short period from 1592 to 1593 (Image 24 on page 295).⁵⁸⁷ Bitti had been working in remote regions of the Viceroyalty of Peru for the last ten

583 Estabridis Cárdenas, "Influencia Italiana en la Pintura Virreinal," 114-28.

584 Ibid., 131.

585 The authorship of this painting is controversial. For our purpose in this section it would suffice to note that Francisco Stastny attributed it to Mateo Pérez de Alesio. The painting was made on a cooper sheet where a copy of Raphael's *Holly Family with an Oak Tree* (Museo del Prado) had been engraved. Damián Bayón adds that this engraving has been signed *Matheus P.F. Romae Anno Dni 1583* (Mateo Pérez Fecit... Anno Domini 1583) (Bayón and Marx, *Historia del arte colonial sudamericano: Sudamérica hispana y el Brasil*, 105.) This has been confirmed by Ricardo Estabridis (Estabridis Cárdenas, "Influencia Italiana en la Pintura Virreinal," 135.) Mesa and Gisbert have claimed otherwise, noting that there's an exact duplicate of this painting in Sucre that has been signed by Pedro Pablo Morón, apprentice of Pérez de Alesio (Mesa and Gisbert, *El pintor Mateo Pérez de Alesio*, 112.)

586 See pages 272 ff.

587 Francisco Stastny, "Pérez de Alesio y la pintura del siglo XVI," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* VI, no. 22 (1969): 32.

years and had left Italy in 1573 still young and inexperienced. Pérez de Alesio, on the other hand, had departed from Seville to Lima at age forty. For Bitti, who had been in America for the last seventeen years, the work of Pérez de Alesio would have been highly innovative, for it responded to the stylistic innovations that had taken place in Rome during the last decades.

4.3.1 High Maniera and Counter-Maniera

This step in Francisco Stastny's argument, which he first developed in a conference paper in 1976,⁵⁸⁸ is based on Sidney J. Freedberg's text about sixteenth-century painting in Italy (1971).⁵⁸⁹ Freedberg's account of this period in art history allowed Stastny to accurately situate his object in a much broader context than previous enterprises. He claimed that painting in this region during the last decades of the sixteenth century and before the emergence of local schools in the last quarter of the seventeenth century,

... se inscribe en la lógica de un movimiento artístico común a todo el ámbito de influencia de una iglesia comprometida con la lucha contrarreformista, dentro y fuera de Europa;⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁸Francisco Stastny, "Maniera o contra-maniera en la pintura latinoamericana," in (presented at the Coloquio sobre la Dispersión del Manierismo, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1976). His argumentation is fully developed in an article from 1977: Stastny, "El manierismo en la pintura colonial Latinoamericana." All references are made to this version. In 1981, it was published as a book: Francisco Stastny, *El manierismo en la pintura colonial latinoamericana* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1981).

⁵⁸⁹All references to this text will be made to its third edition from 1993: Sydney Joseph Freedberg, *Painting in Italy, 1500-1600*, 3rd ed., Pelican History of Art (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993).

⁵⁹⁰Stastny, *El manierismo en la pintura colonial latinoamericana*, 28.

[...is inscribed in the logic of an artistic movement that was common to all territories under the influence of a church that was engaged in the fights of Counter-reformation, inside and outside Europe.]

According to Freedberg, the Roman Counter-Maniera style from the third quarter of the sixteenth century provided devotional images and illustrations to the Counter-Reformist Catholic Church.⁵⁹¹ This style is understood by Freedberg in opposition to the Florentine high Maniera, which was dominant in that region from 1535 to 1575.⁵⁹²

To evaluate the importance of Francisco Stastny's contribution, we must first present this distinction. The high Maniera, which Freedberg exemplifies in the works of Agnolo Bronzini (Image 26 on page 296), Francesco de' Rossi (Salviati) and Giorgio Vasari, is characterized by “... *an evident effect of conscious artifice - indeed of artificiality - not only in form but in the character of content.*”⁵⁹³ These highly stylized and purposely artificial images had replaced the classical aim for pictorial plausibility with a new kind of intense convincingness that was achieved through the interrelation of formal elements. This resulted in the confrontation of

591 Freedberg warns against understanding this as a causal relation between religion and art: “*Counter-Maniera and the Counter-Reformation came to be reciprocal to one another, and a similarity of terms for them is thus informative, but the style of art must not be thought of as no more than a function of the movement in religion.*” (Freedberg, *Painting in Italy, 1500-1600*, 429.). One should not read a causal relation between the two, specially if one observes that the decrees of the Council of Trent, which called for an instructive use of images, could have been understood as a mere restatement of tradition. See in this respect: Hecht, *Katholische Bildertheologie im zeitalter von Gegenreformation und Barock. Studien zu Traktaten von Johannes Molanus, Gabriele Paleotti und anderen Autoren*. See also: Mujica Pinilla, “Arte e identidad: las raíces culturales del barroco peruano,” 9, 12. A similar argument has been made in relation to New Spain by Elisa Vargas Lugo, “La expresión pictórica religiosa y la sociedad colonial,” *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* XIII, no. 50 (1982): 61-76.

592 Freedberg, *Painting in Italy, 1500-1600*, 430.

593 Ibid., 422.

two systems of references within high Maniera images: one that was inaugurated by the image itself in its formal interrelations (content) and another one that was implied by its religious theme (subject). Instead of being treated as a subject matter to be illustrated, the latter acted as just another distinction – a *symbol*, writes Freedberg – in the network of distinctions that determined the meaning of the image. Correspondingly, content and subject matter had to be distinguished from each other in order for the image to make communication.⁵⁹⁴ Freedberg's reading of Agnolo Bronzino's *Pietà* (Image 26 on page 296) is done in these same terms, as he observes that *"Art does not narrate the tragedy but replaces it."*⁵⁹⁵ This distinction between content and subject, that is accomplished by a high Maniera image, requires a trained observer: *"Unless the viewer brings to the painting the refinement of sensibility, the wit, and the sophisticated resource that the work of art contains beneath its mask, it will not deign to make communication."*⁵⁹⁶

The distinction between content and subject that calls for such a refined observer was suppressed by the Roman Counter-Maniera – a style that Freedberg found most exemplary in the work of Girolamo Muziano⁵⁹⁷ (1532-1592) (Image 27 on

594Ibid., 425 f.

595 *"Bronzino imposes on the inescapable tragedy of the subject the discreet suppressions required by the high Maniera's code, muting grief until its tenor is diminished and acceptable and endowing its bearers with such beauty of countenance, attitude, and ornament that it irradiates their paled residue of feeling, and then stands before it in our contemplation like a mask. An absolute technique asserts at the same time the intense plastic presence of the scene and the aesthetic factors that transform it. Colour, cold and luminous as ice, symbolizes what has been made of passion. Both this form and colour, in the intensity of sheer aesthetic sensation they produce, transcend illustrative meaning and in part displace it. Art does not narrate the tragedy but replaces it."* Ibid., 435.

596Ibid., 426.

597Ibid., 658.

page 296).⁵⁹⁸ This was a dissenting style that, unlike the high Maniera, sought “...clarity in formal order and legibility in content...”⁵⁹⁹ while continuing to use the descriptive vocabulary of the Maniera. By suppressing the construction of meaning through formal interrelations and by bringing the conventional meaning of the reproduced motif as subject matter to the foreground, these paintings were welcomed “...to the aims of a religious art that was intended to be less art than illustration.”⁶⁰⁰

Trained artists could switch between both modalities of images depending on what was required of them:

...despite its increasing role, the Counter-Maniera of the third quarter of the Cinquecento did not change the fact of the continuing pre-eminence of high Maniera in this time: high Maniera and Counter-Maniera prospered side by side. The choice between them was sometimes a temperamental one, but the same painter might find it practicable according to occasion to work in either mode – the best proof of the essential affinity between them which we have stressed. The determining occasions came to be – more or less generally, but without any rigid scheme – those of patronage and purpose. Secular subjects and painting of which the primary purpose was decorative (whether or not in a religious place) tended to follow the aesthetic of the high Maniera; works of devotion and some large-scale religious illustration tended towards the Counter-Maniera's more sober style. But the formulae of high Maniera endured well towards the end of

598At the Convento de Santo Domingo, Lima, there is a large anonymous copy on canvas of this painting by Muziano. Mesa and Gisbert proposed that Mateo Pérez de Alesio would have painted it shortly after 1592 for the Aliaga chapel in the Iglesia de Santo Domingo. Ricardo Estabridis Cárdenas has noted, however, that this image has been painted on a 19th-century French canvas. See: Banco de Crédito del Perú, *Pintura en el Virreinato del Perú*: 132, 398. To my knowledge, its striking resemblance to Muziano's painting has not yet been addressed.

599Freedberg, *Painting in Italy, 1500-1600*, 429.

600Ibid., 485.

the century in Rome, with not much adulteration.⁶⁰¹

Freedberg explains this difference of style as a response to purpose, which could be either decorative or devotional and illustrative, independently of its placement in a primarily religious context. This stylistic decision was up to the patrons, even when an artist could be a specialist in (or have a preference for) one of these two modalities.

4.3.2 The use of art for religious illustration and propaganda in the central Andes

The Counter-Maniera style was, according to Francisco Stastny, the style of the images done by Bernardo Bitti in central Andes before 1592, for this was the program in which he had been trained in the decade of 1560. During his stay in Lima in 1592, Bitti would have been exposed to the work of Mateo Pérez de Alesio that corresponded to a new Anti-Maniera style: a program of *arte sacra* that, continuing the search of the Counter-Maniera, put more emphasis on the plausibility of the represented realm. This was a missionary art that Freedberg identified as Counter-Reformation propaganda.⁶⁰² Indeed, according to Stastny, Pérez de Alesio's *Virgin of the Milk* (Image 25 on page 295) would be a synthesis of two designs made by Scipione Pulzone, whom Freedberg regards as the creator of this style.⁶⁰³ A third Italian immigrant, Angelino Medoro, who worked in this region

601Ibid., 430.

602Ibid., 658.

603Stastny, "El manierismo en la pintura colonial Latinoamericana," 15. Stastny, "Pérez de Alesio y la pintura del siglo XVI." Stastny, "Ulises y los mercaderes. Transmisión y comercio artístico en el Nuevo Mundo," 821.

during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, is also seen as having continued to work in this sober and mostly illustrative style, even when his earlier work in Spain demonstrates an interest in the Maniera.

These observations posed Stastny an important question: What can explain a preeminence of images in the Counter- and Anti-Maniera styles both in the Viceroyalty of Peru and in the Viceroyalty of New Spain? Francisco Stastny's main answer can be expected from Freedberg's framework: these images were intended for an unrefined audience for whom high Maniera images wouldn't have made communication: the native populations that had to be incorporated in Christianity and the Spanish immigrants whose world-view was more in accord with the Middle Ages than with the Renaissance.⁶⁰⁴

This situation would have been common to New Spain and Peru. However, in a second phase, the main artistic centers in both regions would have followed different directions:

A diferencia de lo que sucedió en Nueva España, en la Ciudad de los Reyes no se dió una transferencia tan ininterrumpida del estilo pictórico entre maestros y discípulos. Todo lo contrario, la generación siguiente de artistas americanos mostró una fuerte regresión provinciana en relación a los modelos italianos. La diferencia de mentalidad y de clima social y religioso fue tan grande, que se percibe una especie de "medievalización" en el arte de estos primeros pintores;⁶⁰⁵

⁶⁰⁴Stastny, *El manierismo en la pintura colonial latinoamericana*, 25 f. At this point of Stastny's argumentation, the influence of Mariano Picón Salas is unmistakable. See chapter 2.2.2.

⁶⁰⁵Ibid., 36.

[Unlike what happened in New Spain, no direct transfer of pictorial style between masters and disciples occurred in the City of the Kings. On the contrary, the following generation of American artists shows a strong provincial regression in relation to the Italian models. The difference in mentality and social climate was so big, that the work of these first painters resembles that of the Middle Ages.]

In the absence of the Italian masters, few painters continued to work in the Counter-Maniera style in the central Andes. Stastny gave two examples of the interruption of this style. A first example is the work of Friar Pedro Bedón (1556-1621), who may have learned his craft in Lima under the influence of Bernardo Bitti (between 1576-1586) and of Mateo Pérez de Alesio (around 1588).⁶⁰⁶ Despite his training, Bedón is seen as a painter who expressed himself, “*...en un lenguaje plano, anatómicamente inconsistente y que produce primitivas imágenes de piedad.*”⁶⁰⁷ [*... in a flat and anatomically inconsistent language and who produces primitive images of piety*]. A second example of the interruption of style is the work of Gregorio Gamarra (Image 28 on page 296), who worked in Potosi, La Paz and Cusco, and was therefore exposed to the work of Bitti. According to Stastny, Gamarra followed only the most graphic and flat traits of Bitti's style. Beginning in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, in the absence of the Italian masters, the influence of Flemish prints guided the production of painting in all the central Andean region. The style became primitive or archaic in its flat and anatomically inconsistent language, departing from contemporary European art.

⁶⁰⁶Stastny, “Pérez de Alesio y la pintura del siglo XVI,” 42 f.

⁶⁰⁷Stastny, *El manierismo en la pintura colonial latinoamericana*, 36.

In the context of the theory of sociocultural evolution, one could ask: Why were artistic structures that had crystallized in Europe during the previous centuries rejected by evolution in this region of western South America? In the 1960s and 1970s Stastny had not yet seriously attempted to explain this phenomenon. Using the same strategy as Felipe Cossío del Pomar and many others, he merely alluded to an unbridgeable "*difference in mentality and in social and religious atmosphere,*" which, as we have seen, would later be explained by reference to a Gothic representation of the world.

4.4 The form of evolution in colonial peripheries

In more recent work, Stastny has proposed a solution to this problem that can be presented in relation to the theory of sociocultural evolution and to the theory of social differentiation. I'll treat each aspect separately.

As we have seen, Stastny's work since the 1960s has reconstructed the history of painting in this region during the colonial epoch based on the distinction between artistic centers and their provinces. When using this distinction, he has been careful not to portray artists in the periphery as passive adopters of imported artwork: colonial artists adapted these sources according to their own needs and aesthetic preferences. Stastny's early work didn't analyze this process thoroughly. Since the late 1990s, the appropriation of a more complex distinction allowed him

to further elaborate the notion of active peripheries, which is focused on the form of artistic change in this region and, consequently, on a theory of evolution.

In 1972, Erwin Walter Palm had constructed a narration of the history of art and architecture in the colonial Hispanic America based on the distinction between centers and two types of provinces.⁶⁰⁸ In a similar manner, in 1986, Jan Bialostocki used the distinction between provinces and peripheries to signal the latter's potential for artistic originality.⁶⁰⁹ A decade later, Stastny adapted this distinction in the context of a fourfold typology that aimed at giving account of painting as it was produced in colonial Central Andes.⁶¹⁰ Stastny distinguishes between artistic centers, provinces, peripheries and colonial peripheries as they presented themselves in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. According to this typology, only in artistic centers the production and evaluation of art was primarily guided by an observation of the difference that the object in question made in relation to an artistic tradition. Roles of expertise are highly relevant in this situation, specially when providing a link between artists and clients. The institutions that administer expertise, like guilds and academies, enjoy therefore a prominent position in the artistic field. Artistic change in the nearby provinces

608Palm, "La ciudad colonial como centro de irradiación de las escuelas arquitectónicas y pictóricas."

609Bialostocki, "Some Values of Artistic Periphery." Bialostocki drew this distinction from the work of Ljubo Karaman. For a brief analysis of Bialostocki's indebtedness to George Kubler, see: DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a geography of art*, 233-5.

610Stastny adopted Bialostocki's distinction in a text from 1999 ("Temas clásicos en el arte colonial hispanoamericano," in *La Tradición clásica en el Perú virreynal*, ed. Teodoro Hampe Martínez (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Fondo Editorial, 1999), 243, http://sisbib.unmsm.edu.pe/BibVirtual/Libros/historia/Trad_clas/caratula.htm.) Two years later, he introduced the category of "colonial peripheries." (Stastny, "Arte colonial," 94-6.) The following exposition is based on this latter publication.

depended on stimuli received from their center of reference and was limited to mere variations of imported prototypes and to decorative details. Artistic peripheries, which are defined by their location in the geographical limits of a cultural area, received stimuli from several centers of artistic innovation. In this context, local artists and audiences didn't reject old accomplishments in favor of newer ones, nor did they understand their work as establishing a dialog with the first. On the contrary, stimuli from diverse centers could be integrated with solutions that had become obsolete according to metropolitan experts – a situation that characterized artistic production in the colonial central Andes.⁶¹¹ Stastny has further argued that, in colonial peripheries (as distinguished from peripheries in general), artistic innovation could also be triggered by the cultural diversity that results from the conquest of non-western civilizations or cultures. Such would have been the situation in colonial central Andes, where,

...se estableció con el tiempo un fértil diálogo de oponentes que produjo notables innovaciones iconográficas y valiosos experimentos formales, particularmente en las artes del Cusco y la sierra sur;⁶¹²

[...with time, a fertile dialogue among antagonists was established, which produced significant iconographic innovations and valuable formal experiments, particularly in the arts from Cusco and the southern sierra.]

Within colonial peripheries, centers and peripheries may again be distinguished.

611Stastny, "Modernidad, ruptura y arcaísmo en el arte colonial," 939; Ugarte Eléspuru, "Introducción a la Pintura Virreinal," 22 f.; Castedo, "El arte colonial," 207; Mujica Pinilla, "Arte e identidad: las raíces culturales del barroco peruano," 22-4; Samanez Argumedo, "Las portadas retablo en el barroco cusqueño," 182.

612Stastny, "Arte colonial," 96.

According to Francisco Stastny, Lima, Cusco and Arequipa would have become relevant centers of artistic production in this colonial periphery. The two first are the most relevant for a history of painting. Each of them occupied different positions in this geography of art:

...la Ciudad de los Reyes aportó las novedades derivadas de Europa y de los artistas inmigrados; mientras que el Cusco reelaboraba las propuestas y buscaba su asimilación a la realidad americana. Cada uno, por otro lado, se comportó como centro regional con sus tributarios y provincias dependientes en lo artístico: Lima, con proyección hacia la costa norteña y los Andes inmediatos, Cusco, volcado a la sierra sur y centro-sur, y con relaciones recíprocas con lugares en el Altiplano hasta la ciudad de la Paz (el Colla y el Alto Perú).⁶¹³

[...the City of the Kings contributed the novelties were derived from Europe and from the immigrant artists; while Cusco re-elaborated these proposals and tried to assimilate them to the American reality. Each of them, on the other side, acted as a regional centre with its own tributaries and provinces that depended from them for artistic matters: Lima had influence over the northern coast and the nearby Andes, [while] Cusco had influence over the southern and south-central sierra and had reciprocal relations with localities from the Altiplano to the city of la Paz (Colla and Alto Perú)]

Stastny's typology, as applied to this region, resembles an open-system model, with an input in Lima, where European novelties arrive, and an output in Cusco, where these novelties are blended with past solutions and adapted to "the American reality." Each of these centers irrigates its surrounding areas, where further innovations might occur.

⁶¹³Ibid., 85.

From the point of view of Niklas Luhmann's sociological theory, Stastny's characterization of the situation of artistic centers corresponds to a form of art that already aims towards autonomy. The differentiation of art-specific criteria of evaluation allow for the self-programming of individual artworks and for their positioning in a still loosely coupled network of intertextual relations.⁶¹⁴ In this context, art has begun to constitute itself as a branch of sociocultural evolution by differentiating its own mechanisms of variation, selection and stabilization. The observation of innovations starts to be focused on the level of the artworks' self-programming: on their ability to construct a reality of their own. Solutions to this problem that are considered successful can be adopted in the context of new artworks. In retrospective, this process can be signaled by the historicized concept of style, which highlights the distinction between both levels: stylistic marks don't ensure success. Stastny's characterization of artistic provinces clearly presents a situation in which this condition of autonomous artistic operations is not met: stylistic marks are sufficient to ensure success when the public aims at merely adopting and imitating the life style of the metropolis. Instead of evolution, one might rather speak of fashion, for the marking of novelty occurs on the level of style rather than on that of the self-programming of individual pieces. Peripheries, meanwhile, remain on the margins of this process. Here, the cumulative and self-referential character of differentiated artistic evolution is absent, together with the adoption of stylistic novelties. As Francisco Stastny so graphically described it,

⁶¹⁴Luhmann, *Art as a Social System*, 226-35; Luhmann, "Das Kunstwerk und die Selbstreproduktion der Kunst."

...los artistas virreinales tienden con extraña facilidad a volver al preciosismo manierista de los inicios o, inclusive, a soluciones que recuerdan lenguajes artísticos de épocas de considerable mayor antigüedad... quien observe el panorama desde el lado de Europa tendrá la impresión de estar mirando el arte occidental en un espejo que lo distorciona.⁶¹⁵

[...viceregal artists tend with great facility to return to the mannerist preciousness of the beginnings or even to solutions that remind us of considerably older artistic languages... those who observe this landscape from the European side will get the impression of being looking at western art through a distorting mirror.]

Niklas Luhmann distinguished three cumulative levels of differentiation of social realms that are useful for understanding the situation of the institutions of art in these contexts.⁶¹⁶ In a first moment, situations are differentiated which correspond to the utilization of specific media of communication. In art, situations provide frames that signal the observers that it is expected from them that they let their experiences be guided by the self-programming of artworks. Art-specific situations allow for the differentiation of the specific complementary role provided by an artistic public that *"... could no longer be integrated via a stratification of households."*⁶¹⁷ As Rudolf Stichweh has pointed out, the differentiation of leading and complementary roles in art (artist/public) was accompanied by the formation of secondary leading ones (amateur and connoisseur) that mediate between the other two. Finally, a system of art is constituted when, *"...für spezifische Situationen eine Mehrheit unterschiedlicher Rollen für komplementäres Zusammenwirken*

615Stastny, "Modernidad, ruptura y arcaísmo en el arte colonial," 939.

616Luhmann, "Evolution und Geschichte."

617Luhmann, *Art as a Social System*, 239.

*ausdifferenziert sind und dadurch eine besondere Funktion erfüllen...*⁶¹⁸ This artistic function, which delimits the problem-solving realm in reference to which all other systems are considered irrelevant, was defined by Luhmann as: *"...demonstrating the compelling forces of order in the realm of the possible."*⁶¹⁹

Stastny's observations regarding the function of guilds and academies as administrators of artistic expertise in artistic centers would correspond to at least the second level of differentiation in Luhmann's scheme: that is, to a context in which art-specific roles have been differentiated. In the operational level, this implies that art has differentiated a basal code that guides its operations with independence from other social realms, so that an artistic expertise is meaningful. An extreme example of guilds of painters assuming a role as mediators of artistic expertise is offered by Maarten Prak's analysis of guilds in the Dutch golden age. Painters' guilds in the Netherlands not only specified conditions of membership that implied such differentiated criteria of evaluation (e.g. three years of training in a local master's workshop) but also assumed an active role in the formation of audiences through showrooms, lectures and publications.⁶²⁰

We have observed that differentiated artistic criteria were implied in the examinations contemplated by the ordinances of the painters' guild of Lima, as far as they were focused on the correct use of coloration, on the achievement of

618Luhmann, "Evolution und Geschichte," 154.

619Luhmann, *Art as a Social System*, 148.

620Maarten Prak, "Guilds and the Development of the Art Market during the Dutch Golden Age," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 30, no. 3 (2003): 247 ff.

anatomical plausibility and on the construction of perspective. Based on Mesa and Gisbert's thesis, one would hypothesize that these ordinances were effectively enforced in Cusco throughout the seventeenth century. According to the previous reflexions, this hypothesis implies that the differentiation of art in this region would have reached at least the intermediate level in Luhmann's scheme, in which leading and complementary roles are to be found. In Stastny's typology, Cusco would have constituted itself as a major center of artistic production, as distinguished from artistic provinces, peripheries and colonial peripheries. Furthermore, the Indian painters' separation from the guild around 1688 – an event that is commonly interpreted, as we have seen, as triggering the emergence of the *mestizo* school of painting – would be a cause of artistic *dedifferentiation*, for criteria of evaluation specific to art would have become redundant. However, the previous analysis (section 3.2.1) show that the role attributed to the racial conflict that took place within the painters' guild of Cusco around 1688 by both the weak and the strong versions of Mesa and Gisbert's thesis isn't supported by historical documentation. With all probability, the situation of artistic production in the colonial central Andes during this period corresponded more closely to Stastny's characterization of artistic peripheries. In Luhmann's framework one observes that in such a context painting had not differentiated complementary roles that operated with independence from the form of stratification of society at large in reference to a specific form of communicational expertise. In conclusion, the Indian painters' separation from the guild of Cusco around 1688 cannot be interpreted as having triggered the emergence of the local school of mestizo

painting because the societal conditions that would have made such a consequence possible were absent.

In the light of a luhmannian reading of Stastny's theory we can see that the thesis of the consequences of the division of the guild of painters in Cusco makes the wrong assumptions. Guilds in colonial peripheries don't have a role as administrators of artistic expertise, for such a mediating position is irrelevant in a context where artistic evolution has not yet begun to be guided by differentiated evolutionary mechanisms: as Stastny observed, in the colonial peripheries, change in art is not primarily directed by a differentiated artistic memory. As this author observed, even though guilds adapted the Sevillian ordinances, they remained in close relation to their corresponding religious brotherhoods (*cofradías*).⁶²¹ Based on research done by Quiroz on the guilds of Lima, we can also observe that such brotherhoods were soon replaced by the figure of the *Maestro Mayor*, who responded directly to the viceroy and not to the assembly of the members.⁶²² The final picture is closer to the description done by Niklas Luhmann of economic organizations in the context of advanced civilizations. Like these, guilds are coupled to the more differentiated systems of religion and politics: *“Sie sind religiöse Bruderschaften bzw. Defensiv- und Einflußbündnisse im Verhältnis zu anderen Funktionssystemen und gewinnen nur daraus (und nicht aus ökonomischen Erfolgen!) die Fähigkeit, Konkurrenz und Produktionsweisen, Rekrutierungs- und*

⁶²¹Stastny, “Modernidad, ruptura y arcaísmo en el arte colonial,” 950.

⁶²²See pages 205 ff.

*Ausbildungsfragen im wirtschaftlichen Bereich zu regeln.*⁶²³

A situation in which the selection and re-stabilization of ornamental variation is done in relation to moral and religious definitions also determines the absence of other mediating roles in art. Stastny mentioned in this respect the case of Manuel Saramiego, who wrote in Quito in 1795 the only treaty on painting that was published in this region during the viceregal epoch. This text has the same spirit as the medieval treaties on painting, which provide pragmatic recipes but no theoretical reflections on the art of painting, as one would expect from its European contemporaries:

...el autor [ha] excluido todo tema que tenga que ver con los fundamentos teóricos de las artes y del mérito de la pintura como profesión liberal en una época en que, incluso en Quito, habían llegado noticias de los esfuerzos oficiales por crear academias y revalorizar la labor artística;⁶²⁴

[...the author [has] excluded any theme related to the theoretical foundations of the arts and to the merit of painting as a liberal profession in an epoch in which, even in Quito, notices had arrived regarding the official efforts that were being done to found academies and to reestablish the value of the artistic labor.]

This kind of treaty could be expected from a context in which the mechanisms of variation and selection have not been differentiated in art. As Niklas Luhmann observed, this occurs through the introduction of historical stylistic concepts. In observing a style, one has to distinguish between the level of the artworks' self-

623Luhmann, "Geschichte als Prozeß und die Theorie sozio-kultureller Evolution," 154.

624Stastny, "Modernidad, ruptura y arcaísmo en el arte colonial," 950.

programming and their interrelations in “imaginary museums.” Treaties like the one published by Samaniego, on the contrary, expose programs that are expected to assure the success of artistic communication *given that the externally imposed criteria are met.*

Thus, when paintings by Vicente Carducho arrived to the City of the Kings in mid-seventeenth hundred, which denote an exploration of the language of painting, they did not lead to the formation of stable expectations or social structures. As observed by Francisco Stastny, the *Final Judgement* cycle painted by Carducho's workshop for the Cathedral of Lima denote an exploration of the difference between Italian mannerist idealization and Flemish mimesis as a means to represent the distinction between levels of reality: the immanent and the transcendental dimensions of the world.⁶²⁵ As such, we can observe that, by making reference to the history of painting in this manner, they contain a theoretical reflection about the status of painting as a form of communication and an explicit preoccupation for the construction of meaning through formal interrelations.⁶²⁶ This work was related to Carducho's *Diálogos de la Pintura*, from 1633 – a copy of which was available in Lima in 1659.⁶²⁷ Carducho's *San Diego en Éxtasis* (Image 29 on page 296), at the refractory of the Third Franciscan Order of

625Francisco Stastny, “Vicente Carducho y la escuela madrileña en América,” in *Sobre el Perú: homenaje a José Agustín de la Puente Candamo* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Facultad de letras y ciencias humanas, 2002), 1296.

626Victor I. Stoichita has published a thorough analysis of paintings from the Spanish Golden Century in relation to the tradition of self-conscious paintings, including a reference to Vicente Carducho in: Stoichita, *El ojo místico. Pintura y visión religiosa en el Siglo de Oro español*, 90-93.

627Stastny, “Ulises y los mercaderes. Transmisión y comercio artístico en el Nuevo Mundo,” 42. According to Teresa Gisbert, a copy of this text was found in the library of Santiago Rosales in Lima in 1759. Gisbert, “La identidad étnica de los artistas del Virreinato del Perú,” 110.

Lima, also offered local artists an example of technical solutions by using a unique vanishing point behind and above the levitating saint⁶²⁸. A few imitations of these works were done by local painters who found in them an opportunity to demonstrate their virtuosity. But, as Stastny observed,

Experimentos virtuosos de este tipo no señalaron el camino por el cual prosiguió la pintura limeña posterior, pero no dejaron de ser una experiencia que ayudó a definir, precisamente por exclusión, la ruta del futuro.⁶²⁹

[Virtuoso experiments like these did not signal the road that painting in Lima would follow. They did, however, help define, by exclusion, the route of the future.]

As it has been observed, imported images constitute accidents in a new context in which they have to prove themselves once again against the mechanisms of sociocultural evolution. In every instance, the artistic exploration of the media made available by the decoration of symbols is forgotten. What remains is mere decoration in support of a symbol.

4.4.1 The ornamentation of symbols in the colonial periphery

Before observing Francisco Stastny's grounding of the process of medievalization in the dual structure of colonial peripheral society, I want to make some final

⁶²⁸These paintings may have been sent to Lima in accordance to Vicente Carducho's testament, in order to be sold: Juan José Martín González observes that: "*Vicente Carducho deja dispuesto en su testamento de 1630 que se envíen a su cuñado Gaspar Astete 'unas pinturas a la ciudad de Lima para que me las feriase.'*" Martín González, *El Artista en la Sociedad Española del siglo XVII*, 179.

⁶²⁹Stastny, "Ulises y los mercaderes. Transmisión y comercio artístico en el Nuevo Mundo," 840.

remarks on the relation between ornamental art and symbolization in this colonial periphery. We can adopt here David Freedbergs' definition of symbolic images as cases in which, *"...the image, properly prepared, set up, adorned, and decorated, becomes the locus of the spirit. It becomes what it is taken to represent."*⁶³⁰

Like Ramón Mujica has observed, many colonial images would operate as symbols in this sense, just like Byzantine icons and European *arte sacra*. Once again, this kind of image is distinguished from the pictorial tradition that emerged in the European Renaissance:

Aquí reside la diferencia entre la estética renacentista europea y la teología barroca del icono hispanoamericano. La primera, obsesionada con la perspectiva o la "extensión infinita" dentro del "espacio figurado" del cuadro, busca que el observador ingrese a la pintura. En la segunda, como en los antiguos iconos bizantinos o en el arte sacro europeo, las figuras irradian la luz celeste de un mundo transfigurado, literalmente se "salen" del cuadro - o cobran vida sobrenatural - irrumpiendo en el espacio empírico de lo humano;⁶³¹

[Here lies the difference between the European esthetic of the Renaissance and the Baroque theology of the Hispanic-American icon. The first, obsessed with perspective or the "infinite extension" within the "figurative space" of the canvas, wants the observer to enter the painting. In the second one, like in the ancient Byzantine icons or in the European sacred art, the figures irradiate the celestial light of a transfigured world, they literally "come out" of the painting – or acquire supernatural life – burst in the empirical space of humanity.]

⁶³⁰David Freedberg, *The Power of Images. Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 31.

⁶³¹Mujica Pinilla, "El ancla de Santa Rosa de Lima: mística y política en torno a la Patrona de América," 147.

In his analysis of symbolic art in this region, Mujica put emphasis on the Spanish and Creole audiences of symbolic images. Based on an analysis of Hansen's biography of Saint Rosa de Lima,⁶³² this author reconstructed an “iconic theology,” which can be resumed in three steps.⁶³³ First, the symbol partakes of the divine nature of the prototype, making it present in the immanent world. Second, images were not intended to trigger piety or mere sentimental devotion, but to allow cognition of a transcendental dimension. The image was a theological discourse; one – and this is the third point – that was more perfect than *written* theological discourses, for the immediate contemplation that the image offers is free from the errors and limitations of language.

Consequently, unlike European *arte sacra*, questions of artistic style were almost entirely disregarded by both rural and urban artists. This sets the context for what we have observed in several instances as accidents that don't yield structure formation in the colonial periphery. In this sense, for Mujica, colonial artworks were not provincial but peripheral – an observation that coincides with Stastny's concept of medievalization:

Integrada al sistema monárquico hispánico, la sociedad virreinal no tenía una mentalidad provinciana sino periférica. Esto significaba que pese a tener acceso a las innovaciones artísticas europeas que llegaban al Nuevo Mundo por vía del comercio de cientos de estampas y grabados que difundían las ideas artísticas y los preceptos estéticos y formales de las composiciones flamencas, alemanas,

⁶³²Hansen, *Vida Admirable de Santa Rosa de Lima Patrona del Nuevo Mundo (1664)*.

⁶³³Mujica Pinilla, “El ancla de Santa Rosa de Lima: mística y política en torno a la Patrona de América,” 145-7.

italianas o españolas, los artistas rurales y urbanos del Perú prefirieron interpretarlas sin reglas, normas o estilos artísticos fijos.⁶³⁴

[Integrated in the Spanish monarchic system, the viceregal society didn't have a provincial mentality, but a peripheral one. This meant that, despite having access to the European artistic innovations that arrived to the New World through the commerce of hundreds of *estampes* and engravings that disseminated the artistic ideas and the esthetic and formal precepts of Flemish, German, Italian, or Spanish compositions, rural and urban artists of Peru preferred to interpret them without rules, norms or fixed artistic styles.]

As Mujica observes, the centrality of symbolic art corresponded to a sacramental representation of the natural world. In 1986, Isabel Cruz had already pointed out that the cultural context of the seventeenth century was one in which the entire world took the form of an allegoric representation where each object or event acquired meaning when related to a transcendental order.⁶³⁵ That is, a world in which the system of religion represents the whole of society. In connexion with Cruz, Ramón Mujica argued that the “symbolic cosmology” that he reconstructed, which was akin to Franciscan thought, was reinforced both in Spain and in Peru through the exercises written by Friar Luis de Granada, 500 copies of which were printed in Lima in 1607.⁶³⁶ The similarities between biographies of St. Francis and those of St. Rosa de Lima would support this claim: just like crossed roads reminded St. Francis of the Crucifixion,⁶³⁷ St. Rosa de Lima uncrossed the crossed sticks or straws that she found on the ground, for she feared that other people

634Mujica Pinilla, “Arte e identidad: las raíces culturales del barroco peruano,” 8.

635Cruz de Amenábar, *Arte y Sociedad en Chile 1550-1650*.

636Mujica Pinilla, “El ancla de Santa Rosa de Lima: mística y política en torno a la Patrona de América,” 71.

637Ibid., 67.

might accidentally step on such a powerful symbol.⁶³⁸

Ramón Mujica further observed that, within this shared iconic theology, there were important differences depending on the intended audiences and contexts of appreciation. In cities with a greater presence of illiterate Indian and Mestizo populations, such as Cusco and Puno, images were included in the strategies of christianization undertaken by the Catholic church. These paintings put emphasis on the representation of religious dogma and of episodes from the lives of saints.⁶³⁹ According to Mujica, a different situation would have taken place in the private chapels of the Spanish aristocracy, where a more intimate relationship with images was favored.⁶⁴⁰

We can see that the latter would have corresponded to the immediate social context of St. Rosa in Lima, as narrated by Friar Leonardo Hansen:⁶⁴¹ images of St. Mary and her Child triggered visions in which the prototypes communicated with the saint. Some images would even undergo physical transformations – such as weeping, sweating or bleeding – that expressed this presence.⁶⁴² Hansen narrates

⁶³⁸Hansen, *Vida Admirable de Santa Rosa de Lima Patrona del Nuevo Mundo (1664)*.

⁶³⁹Mujica Pinilla, "El arte y los sermones," 247.

⁶⁴⁰Ibid.

⁶⁴¹Hansen, *Vida Admirable de Santa Rosa de Lima Patrona del Nuevo Mundo (1664)*, 195-216.

Hansen seems to have based his account on the declarations made by Gonzalo de la Maza, owner of the miraculous images, in the process of beatification of St. Rosa. These have been published in: Luis Millones, "Declaración de don Gonzalo de la Maza (o de la Masa) año 1617," in *Una partecita del cielo. La vida de Santa Rosa narrada por Don Gonzalo de la Maza, a quien ella llamaba padre* (Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 1993), 145-209.

⁶⁴²These are signs, in William Christian's sense: "...phenomena that can be independently verified by the senses. They can be seen by anyone who looks, felt by anyone who touches." William Christian, *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981), 8.

how, on April 15th of 1617, at the private oratory of Gonzalo de la Maza, an image of the face of Jesus, painted by Angelino Medoro, begun to transpire in response to St. Rosa's prayers. It is highly interesting that Medoro's role in this narration is merely that of an expert in the causal chains of the immanent world who could verify in a first instance the supernatural character of what was happening.

The miracle certainly set this image apart from others in Gonzalo de la Maza's collection, to the point that it was decided that it should be placed in a public building. However, paintings could be expected to "behave" in this manner. According to Hansen's narration, St. Rosa assured de la Maza that many other paintings in his chapel were miraculous in a similar manner. As an example, Hansen mentions two images of Mary with her Child – one of which many authors believe is Pérez de Alesio's *Virgen de la Leche*⁶⁴³ (Image 25 on page 295). Therefore, this was not a rare event, but one that corresponded to how images could be dealt with.

4.5 Artistic and social archaism in a world society

Based on the work of Pablo Macera on the *hacienda* (colonial estate),⁶⁴⁴ Francisco Stastny has developed a theory of the relation between the form of artistic communication and the form of societal differentiation. Macera's thesis was that,

⁶⁴³See specially: Stastny, "Pérez de Alesio y la pintura del siglo XVI," 70.

⁶⁴⁴Macera, "Feudalismo Colonial Americano: El Caso de las Haciendas Peruanas."

"...whereas the internal economy of the hacienda was non-monetary, externally it was a part of the money economy of its time."⁶⁴⁵ Feudal forms of social relation survived within the hacienda, where *yanaconas* and *arrendatarios* worked the land of the *hacendado* basically in exchange for the right to live in it.⁶⁴⁶ Specially relevant for Stastny's analysis of the history of art was Macera's observation that the political and ecclesiastical authorities of the viceroyalty gave the *hacendado* high levels of autonomy in the administration of his domains. Thus, internally, the hacienda allowed for the reproduction of "archaic" forms of economic production and political control.⁶⁴⁷ On their external front, however, *haciendas* participated in the money economy as their production aimed at supplying regional markets. Those who administered the haciendas and sold their product in these markets occupied thus a key position in the coordination of both kinds of economic behavior and, correspondingly, in the integration of mestizo and Indian populations in the global society.⁶⁴⁸ In this manner, "archaic" forms of social relation coexisted with

645 Magnus Morner, "The Spanish American Hacienda: A Survey of Recent Research and Debate," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 53, no. 2 (May 1973): 211.

646 Whereas *yanaconas* and their descendants were permanent members of the states, *arrendatarios* worked for the estate under a variety of arrangements. They were commonly offered land and the payment of their tribute in exchange for their labor. Colonial estates could also receive grants of *mitayos* or contract wage laborers, although these cases were less common. A schematic presentation of these types, based on Macera's work, was published by Karen Spalding in "Hacienda-Village Relations in Andean Society to 1830," *Latin American Perspectives* 2, no. 1 (Spring 1975): 114-5.

647 "...el hacendado colonial no pudo, llegado el caso, movilizar aquellos recursos humanos y todo el potencial económico de su dominio para obtener poder político como sí lo hubiera hecho un señor feudal [...] Desde este punto de vista la hacienda no llegó a ser un feudo a plenitud al menos en lo que toca a sus relaciones con el Estado y la sociedad global. Pero por eso mismo el feudalismo de la hacienda fue todavía más acentuado en lo que llamaríamos su frente interno, pues la autoridad central, satisfecha con la obediencia, neutralidad o indiferencia políticas del propietario rural, no se sintió necesitada de intervenir dentro de las haciendas para eliminar un enemigo de su poder absoluto y eminente." Macera, "Feudalismo Colonial Americano: El Caso de las Haciendas Peruanas," 141.

648 Building upon Pablo Macera's analysis, Pedro Morandé (Morandé, "Etapas del sociologismo latinoamericano," 182.) and Carlos Cousiño (*Razón y Ofrenda. Ensayo en torno a los límites y perspectivas de la sociología en América Latina*, 150-1) have argued that the *hacienda* was

“modern” ones and were in fact a result of the process of modernization led by European societies.

Pablo Macera's thesis was adapted by Francisco Stastny to further elaborate his own analysis of the history of painting in colonial Central Andes. Stastny argued that whereas the internal organization of the Hispanic American colonies, including not only the economic structure but also *“...the world of learning and thought [and] the technologies at their disposal...,”*⁶⁴⁹ was semi-medieval, their external relations with Spain, *“...were centred around a semi-capitalist mining economy of exploitation, based on an ideology along the lines laid down by the triumphant post-Tridentine Church, and supported by forms of artistic expression which reinforced ecclesiastical policy.”*⁶⁵⁰ Imported paintings and prints responded to this external environment: a social situation completely different from the one experienced by the general population of the colonies, specially in peripheral areas where haciendas enjoyed high levels of autonomy from the State and the Church. For Stastny, a fundamental contradiction took place between such images and this archaic social environment, that triggered the production of local adaptations:

The inherent language of a work of art requires it to reflect the ideological and social environment within which it has evolved. American artists were, therefore, presented with a paradoxical situation when, because of their colonial relationship with Spain, they were confronted with post-Tridentine

relevant not only for the social integration of native populations, but also for the emergence of a Hispanic American culture.

649Stastny, “The University as Cloister, Garden and Tree of Knowledge. An Iconographic Invention in the University of Cuzco,” 95.

650Ibid.

religious imagery in the form of prints which arrived from Europe, and which they had to use as a starting-point to create an artistic language suited to their own semi-feudal society. This contradiction between modern prototypes and an archaic social environment, perceptible in most Latin-American pictures, explains the frustrated nature of many of these works.⁶⁵¹

The most visible result of this situation was the creation of an artistic language in Cusco and in the rural hinterland, where the knowledge that was required to reconstruct the original meaning of imported prints and paintings – to trace the distinction between content and subject, according to Freedberg's analyses – wasn't made available to most of the local population.⁶⁵²

When analyzing such a dual structure from the point of view of a theory of culture, Pedro Morandé observed that a point of communication between both sides was made possible on the level of religious ritual, of the religious legitimation of labor and of the festive dilapidation of economic resources.⁶⁵³ Based on the previous discussions we have arrived to a similar observation in the domain of painting: even though a dual structure can be recognized, there is a common denominator for what is possible to expect from painting in both sides, which is made available by the medium of the decoration of symbols. This medium can be used for the tight-coupling of forms that show diverging levels of autonomy or ornamental self-programming: from “mere decoration” to pieces that establish different levels of communication: one that corresponds to the symbol in its given form and the

651Ibid.

652Stastny, *Síntomas Medievales en el "Barroco Americano"*, 23.

653Morandé, “Etapas del sociologismo latinoamericano,” 173.

other where the exploration of a differentiated medium for art can be undertaken – exposing the whole piece to rejection if the artificiality of art attracts too much attention.⁶⁵⁴ These forms of communication that single ornamented objects actualize include different types of audiences. Following J. S. Freedberg we could call these the unsophisticated and the sophisticated observers. As we have seen, it is not likely that paintings, imported or not, would have been approached from a point of view that distinguished between “content” and “subject” in the manner of the sophisticated observer. But paintings that take this level of structure formation into consideration were imported and even produced locally. For sociocultural evolution, these were not altogether failed variations. The critical point is that a shift in the system of reference of sociocultural evolution has to be expected when comparing the colonial periphery with the European metropolis. In the central Andes, such “modern” images would have posed interesting innovations for a program of mere decoration of symbols in a region of society in which religion assumed the representation of the whole.

654 Victor I. Stoichita has analyzed the problems posed by Rubens' piece in this respect in: Stoichita, *La invención del cuadro. Arte, artífices y artificios en los orígenes de la pintura europea*, 76 ff.

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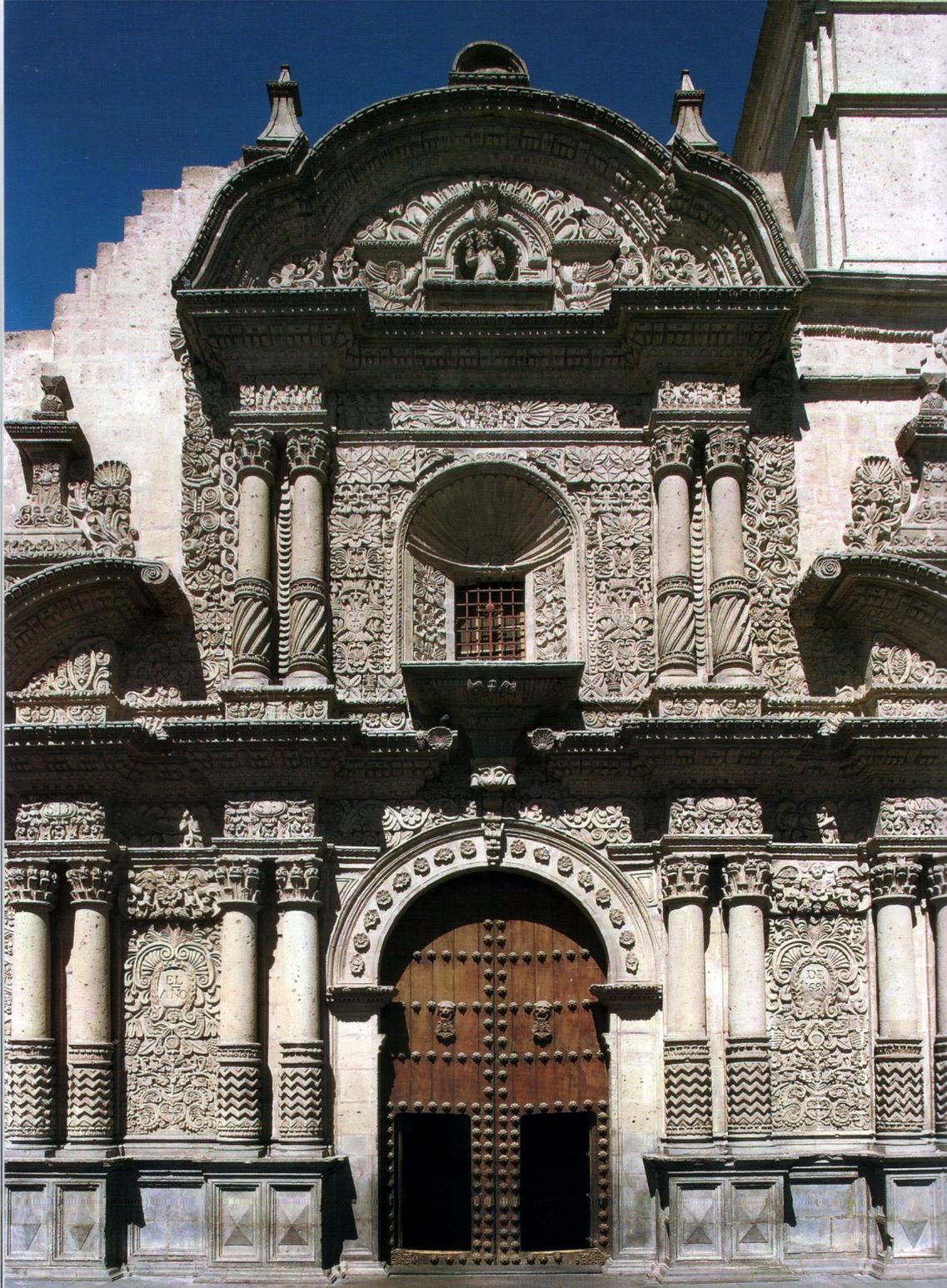


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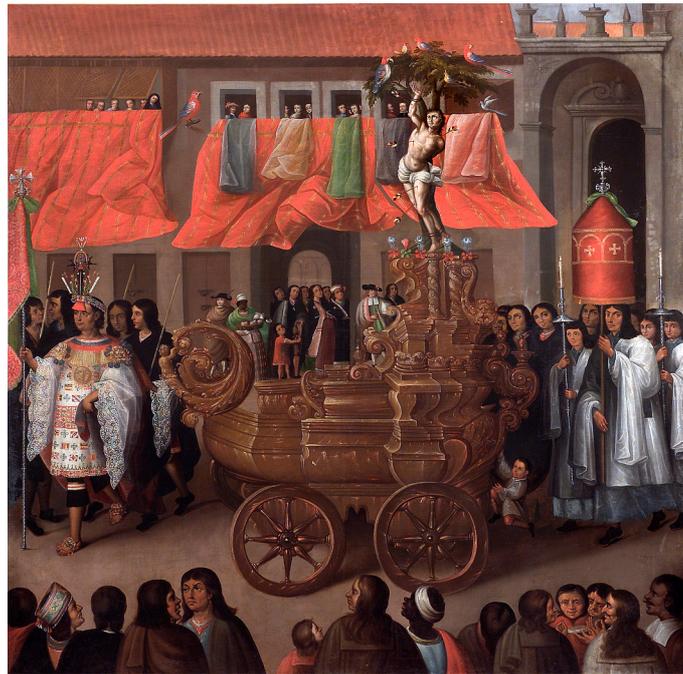


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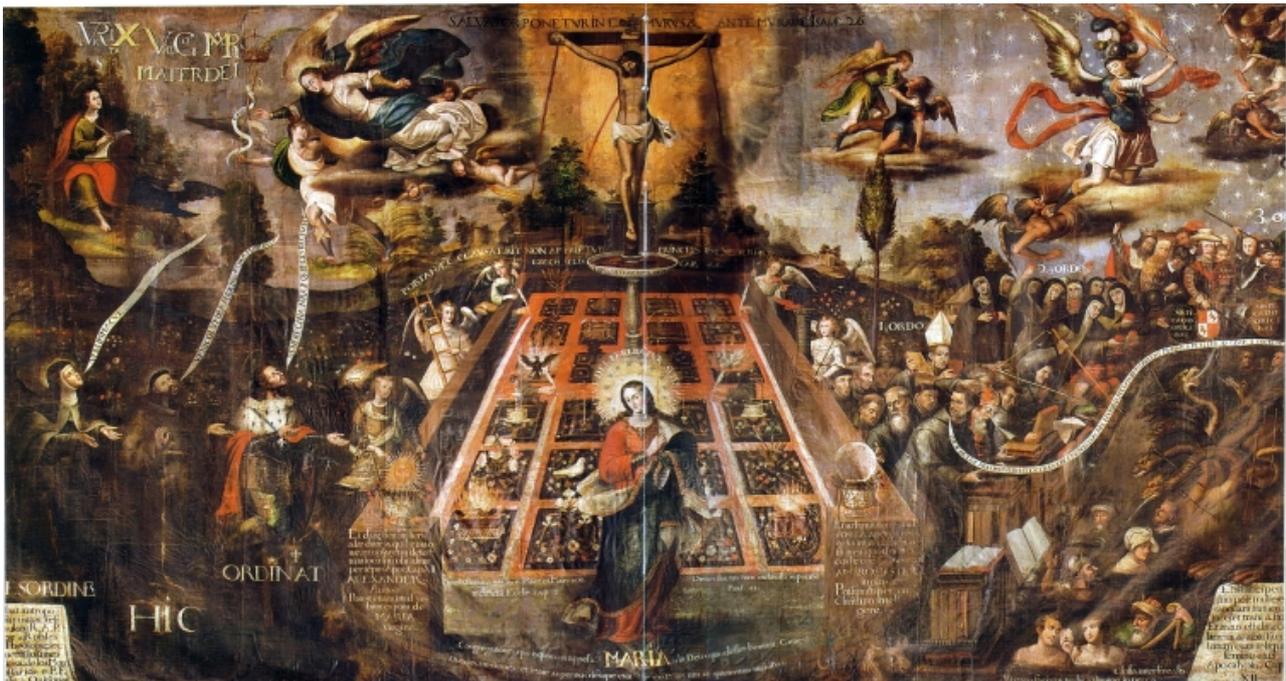


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