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The Triumphs of Alexander Farnese: A Contextual Analysis
of the Series of Paintings in Santiago, Chile

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Virginia
Commonwealth University.

by

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Acknowledgment

The author wishes to thank several people. I would like to thank my parents for their continual support. I would also like to thank my son José and my wife Lulú for their love and encouragement. More importantly, I would like to thank my wife for her comments on the drafts of this dissertation as well as her help with a number of the translations.

I also wish to thank my teachers Michael Schreffler and Charles Brownell for their patience and guidance.

Very special thanks go out to Lauren Miner for her work on my behalf.

In Cuzco, Perú, a number of people have played a significant role in the completion of this project. Javier Tapia and Rafael Ferrer were key in giving me opportunities and time to work in Cuzco. I must extend my gratitude to Adrián Valer Delgado of the Biblioteca Central de la Universidad de San Antonio Abad as well as to Ana María Gálvez and Julio César Zavaleta of the Museo Histórico Regional-Casa Garcilaso.

In Chile, I am grateful to Juan Manuel Martínez of the Museo Histórico Nacional for giving me access to the *Triumphs of Alexander Farnese* series of paintings and the existing scholarship. Lastly, I would like to thank Father Gabriel Guarda for providing significant information when it was most needed.

Finally, I would like to thank Dr. Joy Bressler and Dr. Joan Plotkin-Han. Their work has made all that I do possible.

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Abstract

THE TRIUMPHS OF ALEXANDER FARNESE: A CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF THE
SERIES OF PAINTINGS IN SANTIAGO, CHILE

By Michael John Panbehchi, Ph.D.

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Virginia
Commonwealth University.

Virginia Commonwealth University, 2014.

Major Director: Michael Schreffler, Associate Professor,
Department of Art History

This dissertation examines a series of nine paintings depicting the battles of Alexander Farnese in Flanders created by the Cuzco School of Painters in eighteenth-century Peru. This research asks why and how paintings depicting sixteenth-century European battles were meaningful in the eighteenth century. Due to an absence of archival documentation on the authorship, production and patronage of the series, the research method is contextual. Starting with a formal and iconographic analysis of the paintings centered on a comparison between the paintings and the engravings upon which they are based, differences in the use of space and the conspicuousness of individual elements representing opposing forces are studied. These issues are then regarded contextually by way of an examination of the visual characteristics of the Cuzco School, the history behind the

creation of the original engravings and the political and social circumstances extant at the time of the creation of the paintings.

Building on previous scholarship, this research shows that attribution to the Cuzco School of painters is likely correct given the formal qualities of the paintings. It is possible that the stylistic characteristics of the Cuzco School, which became very popular, served as a marker of place within the Empire in colonial America.

One of the main contributions of the dissertation is the identification of a seventeenth-century biography of Alexander Farnese, *De Bello Belgico* as the book in which the engravings that served as the sources for the paintings were published. These engravings served as the basis for all of the depictions of Alexander in colonial Latin America. Finally, the paintings were created during the reign of the first Bourbon king of Spain and served to foster a sense of continuity at a time of transition. The series would have been meaningful in eighteenth-century Chile due to its militarization, which continued throughout the colonial period. The use of space and the clarity with which opposing forces are depicted in the paintings left no moral, military or political ambiguities regarding the mission of the greater Spanish Empire.

Introduction

This dissertation examines a series of nine paintings whose subjects have been identified by scholars as the battles of Alexander Farnese (1542-1592), Duke of Parma, grandson of Charles V of Spain, and nephew of Phillip II. The paintings are located in the *Museo Histórico Nacional* in Santiago, Chile and therefore they will be referred to as the MHN series. Famous in his time, Farnese is considered by scholars to be one of Spain's most successful generals, especially due to his success in quashing the Dutch rebellion against the Spanish crown in the mid-to-late-sixteenth-century Netherlands, as well as in the naval battle of Lepanto--off the Greek coast--and in France against the Protestant rebellion against French Catholics. Of his many victories, six are depicted in the series, the earliest of which is the *Victory at Lepanto* in 1571 (fig. 7) and the last painting, which depicts his final battle, the *Expugnation of Caudebec* in 1592, where he was mortally wounded (fig. 26).

Art historians José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert have attributed the series to an anonymous painter of the Cuzco school (a term used by art historians to describe the work of indigenous painters active in the later-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in and around Cuzco, Peru), and date the series to the first half

of the eighteenth century. Documents show the series as having existed in a collection in Santiago, Chile, as early as 1768.¹

This dissertation will explore why and how these scenes from sixteenth-century European history were meaningful in the eighteenth-century Captaincy General of Chile, at the time under the jurisdiction of the Viceroyalty of Peru. The central argument of this research is that though the paintings are conspicuously American, they likely served to foster a sense of closeness with the Spanish crown as well as a sense of continuity at the start of the Bourbon ascension to the Spanish throne, at a time when such closeness was not assured.

Previous Scholarship

Scholarly work on this series of paintings is sparse. The most significant twentieth-century source to consider the series directly is the 1982 edition of *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña* by José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert.² The paintings were not mentioned in the 1962 edition of the same book.³ While Mesa and Gisbert attribute the paintings to the already mentioned Cuzco School, they also identify the engravings by Spanish history painter José de Ledesma and Dutch painter and engraver Romeyn de

¹ José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña* (Lima: Banco Wiese LTDO, 1982), 300.

² Ibid., 300.

³ José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña* (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Arte Americano e Investigaciones Estéticas, 1962).

Hooghe as the sources of the works on which the paintings are based.⁴ Mesa and Gisbert write:

From the engraved series, The Battles of Alexander Farnese, six canvases measuring 1.55 x 0.96 are found in the National Historical Museum in Santiago, Chile, that represent other scenes of the battles of the celebrated Spanish captain. It is curious that among them can be found the Battle of Lepanto. Though Farnese participated in this battle, the victory is attributed to Don Juan de Austria. The paintings, with their brilliant palette, do not equal the quality of the paintings found in Cuzco or Lima. They are attributed to indigenous painters. With regard to the provenance, Chilean art historians date the paintings to 1768, when they appear in an inventory of a Santiago mansion. From there the paintings were transferred to Quillota. The Risopatrón family then donated the paintings to the Santa Lucía Museum of Santiago, Chile in 1874. Their Cuzco origin is evident and they should not be dated to later than the middle of the eighteenth-century.⁵

Among the "Chilean art historians" to whom Mesa and Gisbert refer is likely Eugenio Pereira Salas, professor of history at the University of Chile. He discovered a 1768 inventory, executed by master painter Felipe de los Reyes, of the belongings of Doña María de Ovalle in Santiago, that included six landscapes of Farnese's battles. He also located a painting of the *Allegory of*

⁴ Mesa and Gisbert (1982), 300.

⁵ Ibid. "Proveniente de la serie grabada de las Batallas de Farnesio, se conservan en el Museo Histórico Nacional de Santiago de Chile seis lienzos de 1.55 x 0.96, que representan otras tantas de las escenas guerreras del célebre Capitán español. Es curioso que entre ellos se encuentre la Batalla de Lepanto, en que si bien intervino Farnesio, fue victoria de don Juan de Austria. Los cuadros de brillante colorido no alcanzan, sin embargo, la calidad de los que se conservan en Cuzco y Lima; son debidos a mano indígena. En cuanto a su procedencia, los historiadores del arte chilenos los hacen remontar hasta 1768, en que aparecen inventariados en una 'casona santiaguina' de donde pasaron a Quillota y la familia Risopatrón los donó en 1874 al Museo de Santa Lucía, de Santiago. Su procedencia cuzqueña es evidente y en su data no deben ser posteriores al medio siglo XVIII."

the Battle of Lepanto, which he dated to 1783, in the Santiago church of San Isidro.⁶ Even though it is not certain that these are the same paintings found today in the National Historical Museum, the coincidence in subject matter is striking. While there are nine paintings in the MHN series, only six of them depict battles in which Farnese was actually credited with the victory. This would correspond to the six landscapes discovered by Pereira Salas in the 1768 inventory. *The Expugnation of Valenciennes* is the depiction of a battle that took place when Farnese's mother, Margaret, governed Flanders, and in which Farnese did not take part. While Farnese did participate in the *Victory at Lepanto*, the victory is attributed to Don Juan de Austria, Farnese's cousin and commander of the Spanish fleet. The final painting in the MHN series is a royal group portrait and does not depict a battle.

After 1783, no documentation of the paintings exists until 1875, when they appear in the catalogue of the Museum of Santa Lucía of Santiago, Chile. For the sake of accuracy and completion, a review of the sources that mention the paintings after 1875 is appropriate.

Based on unpublished inventory documents from the *Museo Histórico Nacional*, the painting of the *Victory at Lepanto* first

⁶ Eugenio Pereira Salas, *Historia del Arte en el Reino de Chile* (Santiago: Ediciones de la Universidad de Chile, 1965), 149, 169. The entry in the inventory as cited by Pereira reads: 6 payses de las batallas de Alexandro. While there are nine paintings in the series, six of the paintings depict pitched battles won by Alexander Farnese.

appeared in an exhibition in 1872.⁷ This could not be verified during research for this dissertation. According to similar documents, a number of the other paintings first appear at the *Coloniaje* Exposition of 1873, specifically, the paintings entitled *The Expugnation of Nus*⁸, The Battle of Maastricht (the title used in the document, not the title of the painting)⁹, *The Expugnation of Corbel*¹⁰, and the Taking of Valenciennes (once again, the title used in document, not the title of the painting).¹¹

The 1873 exposition is especially significant. Following a decree in March of 1873, objects that the Chilean government considered to be of historical importance, dating from the time of the conquest to the date of the exhibition, were to be collected and exhibited in September of that year during national holidays commemorating Chilean independence. Among the objects were portraits, furniture and religious items, donated by, among others, The National Museum, the Military Academy, and the

⁷ Museo Histórico Nacional: Pintura y Estampas ``Combate Naval de Lepanto'' No. Inv. 164-(344)63 (Santiago, 24/7/79)

⁸ Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos: Inventario del Patrimonio Cultural ``Triunfo de Alejandro Farnesio'' No. Inv. Inst. (344)65 (Santiago, 16/2/83).

⁹ Ibid., (164)62.

¹⁰ Ibid., (164)68.

¹¹ Ibid., (164)66.

church.¹² Unfortunately, the catalogue of the exhibition of 1873 does not list any of the paintings.¹³ Nevertheless, the objects collected for the 1873 exhibition would eventually constitute the permanent collection of the National Historical Museum, formally established in 1911.¹⁴ MHN inventory documents date the donation of the paintings to the museum as January 1874.¹⁵

In October of 1873, Chilean historian Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, the man responsible for organizing the 1873 exhibition, requested the items be donated permanently to a historical museum he had established on Santa Lucía Hill, a space in the center of Santiago that once served as a prison.¹⁶ In his 1875 catalogue of the Museum of Santa Lucía, he documents the paintings for the first time, and the information provided by Mesa and Gisbert on the paintings in the 1982 edition of *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*¹⁷, correspond to Vicuña Mackenna's 1875 entry:

N. 39. Collection of twelve paintings that depict the wars of Flanders in the time of Philip II.- The plate contained in this entry documents Alexander Farnese's entry into the city of Paris. The quality of the work of this collection is very poor, yet it has the merit of having been created in

¹² Hernán Rodríguez Villegas, *Museo Histórico Nacional* (Santiago de Chile, Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos: Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1983), 18.

¹³ *Catálogo razonado de la exposición del Coloniaje celebrada en Santiago de Chile en septiembre de 1873 por uno de los miembros de su comisión directiva* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta del Sud-América, De Claro I Salinas, 1873).

¹⁴ Rodríguez, 26.

¹⁵ DBAM, (164) 62, (344) 65, (164) 66, (164) 68.

¹⁶ Rodríguez, 20.

¹⁷ Mesa and Gisbert, 300.

Cuzco at the beginning of the eighteenth-century. The plate that depicts the battle of Lepanto, which is located over one of the arches of the salons, is particularly curious. The collection was kept in a pantry in Quillota until January of 1874, when it was donated to the Santa Lucia by don B. Risopatrón.¹⁸

It is evident from this passage that by the late nineteenth-century, Vicuña Mackenna thought that the paintings were created in Cuzco at the start of the eighteenth-century. While there were other examples of painting created in Cuzco during the colonial period found in Chile, Vicuña Mackenna does not say why he feels that the paintings were created in Cuzco. Additionally, the documentation examined for this dissertation does not address the discrepancy between the number of paintings considered by the MHN to comprise the series (nine) and the number given by Vicuña Mackenna (twelve).

The series was next recorded in the catalogue of the Military Museum in Chile in 1909.¹⁹ Because of the 1879 War of the Pacific between Chile, Peru, and Bolivia, which took place due to a dispute over mineral-rich land to the north, the Chilean

¹⁸ *Catálogo del Museo Histórico del Santa Lucia* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta de la República de Jacinto Nuñez, 1875), 14. No. 39. "Colección de doce cuadros que representan las guerras de Flandes en tiempos de Felipe II. - La lamina que contiene este número recuerda la entrada de Alejandro Farnesio en Paris. Esta colección es un trabajo sumamente grotesco, pero tiene el mérito de haber sido trabajado en Cuzco a principios del siglo XVIII. La lámina que representa la batalla de Lepanto sobre uno de los arcos de los salones, es particularmente curiosa. Existía esta colección en una despensa de Quillota hasta enero de 1874, en que fue obsequiada al Santa Lucia por el señor don B. Riso Patron."

¹⁹ *Catálogo del Museo Militar, Segunda edición*, No. 1639 (Santiago de Chile, Imprenta de la Fábrica de Munición I Maestranza del Ejército, 1909), 117.

government supported the founding of a military museum. The project failed, but when the conflict successfully concluded in 1883, it was determined that the National Museum would open a hall of arms dedicated to not only historical weaponry, but weapons that were used in the War of the Pacific. By 1893, a separate military museum was finally established with donations from the National Museum and the Santa Lucía Museum.²⁰ Curiously, the paintings were not transferred to that museum right away, and the 1895 catalogue of the military museum makes no mention of the paintings.²¹ They were not listed until the publication of the 1909 catalogue.

One can only speculate as to the length of time the paintings remained in the military museum, because in 1910 the paintings were once again documented as present in the Santa Lucia complex. In the early twentieth-century, Enrique Conrado Eberhard mentions the paintings in his *Album-guía del cerro Santa Lucia* from 1910.²² While Eberhard uses the museum catalogue entry from 1875 verbatim, he also tells readers how the paintings were exhibited. Located within walking distance of the present *Museo Histórico Nacional*, the *Cerro Santa Lucía* or Sta. Lucía Hill was, and remains, the site of museums and exhibition space. In 1910,

²⁰ Rodríguez, 23.

²¹ *Catálogo del Museo Militar de Chile* (Santiago de Chile, Imprenta Mejía, 1895).

²² Enrique Eberhard, *Álbum-guía del cerro Santa Lucía, Santiago: Descripción e historia completa de este paseo* (Santiago de Chile, 1910), 282.

the paintings were exhibited in the Carrasco Albano library on Cerro Santa Lucía. Eberhard writes:

33. *La Biblioteca Carrasco Albano*- Having come together slowly throughout 1874, this popular establishment to date contains more than two thousand books, many of great merit as can be seen with an examination of the catalogue. The salon is adorned simply but adequately. The shelves are modest and all of the furniture is made of American walnut. The gas lamps, all made in an antique style, are genuine works of art and have cost more than one thousand pesos. Over each cabinet is displayed a plaster, terra cotta or alabaster bust, the gifts of generous donors. The battle paintings that surround the salon represent the wars in Flanders in the time of Philip II, and that which occupies the upper part of the central arch, is a painting of questionable quality of the battle of Lepanto.²³

According to the National Historical Museum catalogue, after Vicuña Mackenna's death in 1886, much of the collection of the Santa Lucía Museum was dispersed and moved into other collections, effectively dissolving it. This changed, however, when Chile's centennial historical exhibition was organized in 1910. At that time, organizers attempted to reconstitute the collection presented at the *Coloniaje* Exposition of 1873. Unfortunately, no catalogue was ever created for the Centennial Exposition, known in Spanish as the *Exposición Centenario Palacio*

²³ Ibid., 282. "Ha ido formándose paulatinamente este establecimiento popular durante el año 1874 i a la fecha cuenta más de dos mil volúmenes, algunos de un mérito sobresaliente, como podrá comprobarse por su catálogo. Se halla adornado este salon con sencillez, pero de una manera adecuada. Los estantes son modestos I todo el mobiliario es de nogal Americano. Las lámparas de gas, todas de un estilo anticuado, son verdaderas obras de arte, I han costado mas de mil pesos. Sobre cada uno de los armarios se ostenta un busto de yeso, terra cota o alabastro, obsequios de generosos colaboradores.

Los cuadros de batalla que rodean el salón representan las guerras de Flandes en tiempo de Felipe II, I la que ocupa la parte superior del arco del centro, es una pintura mas o menos grotesca de la batalla de Lepanto."

Urmenta,²⁴ and only the previously cited inventory documents indicate that the paintings were exhibited at this exposition.²⁵ One could conjecture that the dispersion of the collection in 1886 may account for the discrepancy regarding the number of works in the MHN series due to the possible loss of three of the paintings.

The National Historical Museum of Chile was formally established in May of 1911, born from the 1910 centennial exposition. Its collection was comprised of objects from the Military Museum, the National Museum, and the former Santa Lucia Museum. It is likely that the paintings have been a part of the permanent collection of the National Historical Museum ever since.²⁶

Later articles by historian Luis Álvarez in 1933 and art historian Gabriel Guarda in 1967 also document the series, though neither of these sources contributes anything more than the catalog entry from 1875. Álvarez comments on the poor quality of the paintings,²⁷ and Guarda recounts the circumstances of the donation of the series.²⁸

²⁴ Rodríguez, 26.

²⁵ DBAM, (164)62, (344)65, (164)66.

²⁶ Rodríguez, 26.

²⁷ Luis Álvarez Urquieta, "La pintura en Chile durante el periodo colonial", *Boletín de la Academia Chilena de la Historia*, no. 1 (1933): 253.

²⁸ Gabriel Guarda, "En torno a la pintura 'colonial' en Chile", *Boletín de la Academia Chilena de la Historia*, no. 70 (1967): 136-137.

Though the National Historical Museum catalogues of 1982²⁹ and 2007³⁰ document the paintings, the latest source to consider the paintings is *La pintura como memoria histórica: Obras de la colección del Museo Histórico Nacional*, by Juan Manuel Martínez, from 2007.³¹ While Martínez lists all of the exhibitions in Santiago that have included the paintings (they were exhibited in 1874, 1966-67, 2003, and 2007), he does not list the series as having been exhibited in 1910.³²

Methodology

The examination of the previous scholarship on the MHN series shows that the questions asked in this dissertation are problematized by the absence of firm data on the patrons, painters and audience for these works. Therefore, the approach of this research is contextual. Here, the MHN paintings will be positioned within broader fields of representation: those of the Cuzco School of native Andean painters, the biography of

²⁹ Rodríguez, 20.

³⁰ Juan Manuel Martínez, ed., *Catálogo de la Exhibición Permanente* (Santiago de Chile: Museo Histórico Nacional, 2007), 133.

³¹ Juan Manuel Martínez, *La pintura como memoria histórica: Obras de la colección del Museo Histórico Nacional* (Santiago de Chile: Museo Histórico Nacional, 2009), 22-27.

³² Ibid. The exhibitions are listed as follows: Santiago 1874, Exposición del Museo Histórico del Santa Lucia, Santiago, Chile 1874. Santiago 1966-67, Exposición de Pintura Colonial, Instituto Cultural de Las Condes, Santiago de Chile, diciembre 1966-enero 1967. Santiago 2003, La Guerra de Flandes: las glorias de Alejandro Farnesio, Campus Casona de las Condes, Universidad Nacional Andrés Bello, Museo Histórico Nacional, Santiago de Chile 20 de agosto - 5 de octubre 2003.

Alexander Farnese, the history of battle painting in colonial Latin America and the intervening politics. By considering the Farnese series as the product of the Cuzco School, the formal attributes of the paintings and how the use of the series format contribute to the production of meaning are explored. In this regard, an examination of *De Bello Bélgico* by the Jesuits Famiano Strada and Guillelmo Dondino is key. Commissioned by the Farnese family in the early seventeenth-century, the work is a three-volume history of the wars in Flanders and France during the time of Alexander Farnese. Specifically, the engravings used to illustrate the text and upon which the paintings are based will be compared to the paintings themselves and the meaning of the differences considered. Additionally, the popularity of the book will be considered as the source of images recognizable throughout eighteenth-century Latin America.

The second part of this contextual analysis is a study of the economic and political reality of the greater Spanish empire and the Viceroyalty of Peru, particularly the *Reino de Chile*. It will be necessary to study the first half of the eighteenth-century, because it was a particularly dynamic period in the history of Spain due to regime change. An examination of this period will help to better illustrate the context of the creation of the MHN series, as well as suggest the ways in which the series possibly resonated with the military culture of the eighteenth-century Captaincy General of Chile.

During the conquest, Spain defeated a number of indigenous tribes in Spanish America. The most famous of these groups were

the Aztecs in Mexico and the Inca in Peru, both of which represented advanced civilizations. In Chile, unlike in the rest of the Americas, Spain was involved in a prolonged struggle with the Araucanian Indians to the south. This led Diego de Rosales, the seventeenth-century Jesuit historian, to refer to Chile as *el Flandes Indiano*, or the Flanders of the Indies, due to Spain's similarly long lasting conflict with Protestants in the Netherlands. In addition to this, colonial Chile was continually vulnerable to piracy, for the most part from the Dutch. This serves to reinforce an understanding of Spain's war in Chile as the South American variant of Spain's war in Flanders, as well as an understanding of the significance of Alexander Farnese's military victories.

This method of analysis contributes to a comprehension of the paintings in a number of areas. It was discovered during this research that the engravings that the MHN series was based on were published in the 1681 Spanish translation of *De Bello Belgico*. How the paintings serve as a visual manifestation of the perceived link between Flanders and Chile, the Flanders of the Indies is then explored. This dissertation also reconsiders the authorship and quality of the paintings. Finally, the use of the series as a way of conveying information regarding the history of the Spanish Empire is considered.

Summary of Chapters

Chapter 1: The Paintings

The first chapter of this dissertation examines the paintings systematically by comparing them to the engravings upon which they are based. This survey begins with a description of the paintings followed by a recounting of the history of each battle, drawing from *De Bello Bélgico*, which circulated widely in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Spanish Empire. Each history is followed by the comparison between the paintings and the engravings, and ends with a general summary.

The comparison of paintings to engravings will show that in the paintings there is an emphasis on the enemy. The paintings in the MHN series achieve this by making the flags of the opposing forces conspicuous through the use of color. They are also more clearly drawn in the paintings. Additionally, in the paintings there is more space between enemy forces, which further leaves viewers with a visual sense of opposition. Later in the dissertation, it will become evident that this may have given the paintings a political meaning.

Chapter Two: The Cuzco School and the Production of the Paintings

The second chapter of the dissertation considers Mesa and Gisbert's assertion that the MHN paintings were created in Cuzco at the start of the eighteenth-century.³³ As previously

³³ Mesa and Gisbert, 300.

mentioned, the paintings were identified in this way as early as 1875 in the catalogue of the Museum of Santa Lucia.³⁴ Here, a critical reading of modern scholarship on the Cuzco School is conducted, and the differences between paintings created in Cuzco and paintings that could specifically be attributed to the Cuzco School are considered. An examination of attributes such as canvas size, style and the use of color will show that the paintings are consistent with the product of the Cuzco School of Painters.

The museum catalogues, as well as Mesa and Gisbert, claim that the paintings of the MHN series come from Cuzco without specifying that the Cuzco School created them. While a study of the MHN series as products of the Cuzco School is appropriate, due to the formal attributes of the paintings, later in the dissertation it will be apparent that the issue of authorship may be significant as an indication of place.

Chapter Three: *Magnificenza* and *De Bello Bélgico*

Chapter three positions the series in relation to a broader iconography of Alexander Farnese and the maintenance of his image. Here, emphasis is placed on Farnese's biography and *De Bello Bélgico*, the book that contained the engravings. *De Bello Bélgico* served the Farnese family as a means of self-promotion, a practice known as *magnificenza* that was important to Italian

³⁴ *Catálogo del Museo Histórico del Santa Lucia*, 14.

families in the seventeenth-century, and contributed to the development of their respective iconographies.

While the engravings published in *De Bello Bélgico* mostly depart from the iconography of Farnese that was promoted in Europe, they nevertheless serve as the basis for all of the paintings depicting the battles of Alexander Farnese created in colonial Latin America that were consulted for this dissertation. Though not all battle paintings from this period represent events in the life of Farnese, most of the battle paintings encountered during the course of this research do. The link between the engravings and the Farnese paintings found elsewhere in Latin America underline the significance of *De Bello Bélgico* in the creation of the imagery of empire in viceregal America.

Chapter Four: El Flandes Indiano

The final chapter of the dissertation is a study of the political, economic, and military reality of the greater Spanish empire and the Captaincy General of Chile that was contemporary to the creation of the MHN series. This examination shows that, due to Chile's unique geography and its continual vulnerability to attack, colonial Chileans perceived that closeness to the Spanish crown was in their best interest because Spain served as the ultimate source of funding and military reinforcement. These circumstances indicate why the MHN series may have been meaningful in colonial Chile.

A mention of the political uses of battle series paintings in seventeenth-century Spain starts the chapter. This is followed by an examination the War of the Spanish Succession. Essential elements of this study are the rise of the first Bourbon king, Philip V, to the Spanish throne in 1700 and its implications in the Viceroyalty of Peru.

Following the political analysis, the militarization of colonial Chile is considered. Chapter four ends with a study of how this militarization developed, not only against the backdrop of the perpetual indigenous threat from the south, but also in the face of threats from very same European forces that Farnese had to fight during his time in Flanders.

Likely contributing to the militarization of Chile was the epic poem *La Araucana* by Alonso de Ercilla.³⁵ Very popular in the sixteenth-century, the poem exposed the readership of the greater Spanish Empire to the brutal war that took place there, and contrasted it to the heroic military exploits of Philip II the king of Spain, in Europe.³⁶ As an epic poem, the description of space is significant in that it leaves readers with an expansive sense of empire and the obligation to defend it.³⁷ It will be shown that the literary model of the epic also corresponds to the

³⁵ Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga, *La Araucana* (Bogotá: Panamericana Editorial, 2006).

³⁶ Ricardo Padrón, *The Spacious Word: Cartography, Literature and Empire in Early Modern Spain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 185.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 190.

composition of the MHN series, thus strengthening its ability to create it meaning.

Chapter One: The Paintings

This chapter of the dissertation will examine the individual paintings of the MHN series. As Mesa and Gisbert noted in their 1982 *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, the paintings are based on engravings created by Dutch etcher Romeyn de Hooghe, after drawings by J de Ledesma.³⁸ According to Richard Aste, Romeyn de Hooghe was known as perhaps Europe's most famous illustrator of current events and would use maps and drawings made by artists in situ for his illustrations.³⁹ What Mesa and Gisbert did not mention is that those engravings were published in a book entitled *De Bello Belgico*, a three-volume history of the Spanish conflict in the Netherlands in the sixteenth-century. Jesuit professor of rhetoric Famiano Strada wrote the first two volumes in 1632. While another Jesuit, Guillelmo Dondino wrote the third volume, research has shown that *De Bello Belgico* is associated most closely with Strada.⁴⁰ Specifically, the engravings illustrated Strada's history and were included in the Spanish

³⁸ José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña* (Lima: Banco Wiese LTDO, 1982), 300.

³⁹ Richard Aste, "Art of the Spanish American Home at the Brooklyn Museum," in *Behind Closed Doors: Art in the Spanish American home, 1492-1898*, ed. Richard Aste (New York, The Monacelli Press, 2013), 31.

⁴⁰ Amanda Kennair, "Battle," in *The Plains of Mars: European War Prints, 1500-1825 from the Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation*, eds. James Clifton and Leslie Scattone (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 181.

edition of the book, translated by Melchior de Novar (fig. 1).⁴¹ The inclusion of the engravings in that three-volume work leads me to look to that text as I consider the details of the narratives represented on the MHN canvases.

This chapter argues that the differences between the engraved images and the MHN paintings show that the paintings place a clearer emphasis on the notion of enemy. The paintings do this through the use of space in the composition, as well as by the more conspicuous placement and clearer rendering of the flags. The analysis of each painting begins with the history of the depicted event, as discussed in *De Bello Belgico* and other secondary sources, then examines the differences between the engravings and the MHN paintings, with attention paid to the enhanced visual presence of the enemy in the paintings. In this dissertation, the MHN paintings are studied in chronological order, matching the order in which they appear in Strada's history.

The engravings in *De Bello Belgico*, and by extension the MHN paintings, correspond to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century conventions in battle imagery, and all but three of the paintings in the MHN series are siege paintings. The most common elements of siege paintings were a panoramic view of the besieged city, a pitched battle that signaled the end to the siege, and

⁴¹ Ibid. Multiple editions of *De Bello Belgico* were published without engraved illustrations. Research led me to many editions of the book, which only contained portraits of the most important historical figures. According to Kennair, it was not until later editions that the work was illustrated with engravings.

explanatory text at the bottom of the work. This explanatory text served as a key to the letter codes placed throughout, which allowed viewers to identify persons, places and events. In the case of the *De Bello Belgico* engravings, the text is located in architectural cartouches at the bottom of the images. In the MHN paintings, this text appears in horizontal bands underneath the images and is now almost entirely worn away.⁴²

Expugnation of Valenciennes: Margarita de Parma Governess

The painting and the engraving entitled the *Expugnation of Valenciennes: Margarita of Parma Governess* are also known in museum documentation as the *Toma de Valenciennes*, or the *Taking of Valenciennes* (figs. 2 and 3).⁴³ The oil-on-canvas painting measures 97 by 155 cm⁴⁴ and depicts Spanish troops laying siege to the city. In the right foreground an artillery squadron fires toward Valenciennes, and in the left foreground troops carrying the Hapsburg flag march toward the river, which separates the city from the majority of attacking forces. On the other side of

⁴² For information on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century battle imagery, see Peter Paret, *Imagined Battles: Reflections of War in European Art* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 39; J.R. Hale, *Artists and Warfare in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 13; James Clifton, "Mediated War", in *The Plains of Mars*, 49. According to Paret, pitched battles required close contact among combatants, represented the climactic end to a siege, and provided viewers with an element of drama.

⁴³ Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos: Inventario del Patrimonio Cultural, *Triunfo de Alejandro Farnesio; Toma de Valenciennes*, No. Inv. Inst. (164)66 (Santiago, 16/2/83).

⁴⁴ Ibid.

the river, in the left middle ground, a figure in black flees the ruin of a small structure. The background comprises a panoramic view of the city, with smoke rising from the buildings. Inhabitants exit from the wooden doors of Valenciennes, and they appear to plead for mercy.

The History

The painting of the siege at Valenciennes is included in the Triumphs of Farnese series, even though Farnese does not participate in the siege, which took place when Farnese's mother, Margaret of Austria, was the governess of the Low Countries. Margaret was the illegitimate daughter of Charles V of Spain. Its inclusion in the series must be attributed to its inclusion in the first book of *De Bello Belgico*, and possibly to the counter-reformation sentiments that the battle, and subsequently the image, communicates. The image also contributes to the larger purpose of enhancing the prestige of the Farnese family, an issue which will be covered in chapter three of this dissertation.

Siege Warfare by Christopher Duffy and Strada's history provide a better understanding of the details of the battle at Valenciennes. According to Duffy, Valenciennes fell while the Spanish military was under the command of the Duke of Alva. The city had strategic value because it is located along the border between France and the Netherlands, and it was the location of intense Calvinist activity.⁴⁵ It was seen as a source of unrest

⁴⁵ Christopher Duffy, *Siege Warfare: The Fortress in the Early Modern World, 1494-1660* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979),

in the Spanish Netherlands, and in 1567, the Spanish monarchy decided that heretical activity there would be put to an end.

Because the city received help from Protestant elements from within France, it was also felt that this would be a way for the Spanish to show how far they were willing to go to suppress rebellion.⁴⁶ Spanish troops gave the citizens of Valenciennes an opportunity to surrender, but instead the citizens decided to hold out. Consequently, according to Strada's account, Hapsburg artillery rained on the city for thirty-six hours non-stop. The city finally capitulated, and the principal parties were executed.⁴⁷

The Images

Elements in the engraving, as well as in the painting, suggest the artist was acquainted with Strada's text. According to Strada, the forces had to determine the depth of the river surrounding the city in order to find the narrowest place to cross. At the lower right of the engraving, artillery bombards the city, with cannons being loaded directly behind the cannons

70. More than just a source for the history of the conflict at Valenciennes, I chose Duffy's work because it deals specifically with the way that siege warfare was conducted, which we will see throughout our examination of the history by Famiano Strada, where the engravings were found, as well as in the images themselves.

⁴⁶ Famiano Estrada, *Primera decada de las guerras de Flandes, desde la muerte del Emperador Carlos V hasta el principio del Gobierno de Alexandro Farnese, Tercero Duque de Parma y Placencia* (Colonia: Bonne-Maison, 1642), 241.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 248.

that are firing between the gabions, cylindrical wicker baskets filled with rubble or earth, used to defend artillery squadrons. The middle ground shows a lone soldier, who appears to be testing the Escalda River to see if it is shallow enough for crossing. Behind him and to his left, troops appear to wait for his instructions, carrying flags and holding up pikes and halberds.

On the other side of the Escalda River, Commander Norcarmius and his troops enter the city as women and children exit, holding branches and pleading for mercy. Strada writes that the townsfolk came out to greet the Spanish troops as liberators because they did not wish their homes be destroyed and their town sacked. Strada's text takes into account Philip II's reluctance to authorize the siege of the city, as he felt that any damage done would exacerbate the problem of rebellion.⁴⁸ Margaret of Austria found a way to take the city while remaining true to the king by forbidding the sacking of homes.

After the fall of the city, Spanish troops searched for Calvinist clergy, which is reflected in the engraving as well as in the painting, as is seen in the escape of heretical clergy, suggested by Strada's history as the identity of the shadowy figures dressed in black in the middle ground. As the siege of Valenciennes progressed, Calvinist preachers managed to escape, aided by rebellious citizens, which is indicated by the explanatory text at the bottom of the engraving (fig. 4).⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Ibid., 244.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 249.

Strada describes Valenciennes clearly. The center of the city is on a hill, and the walls sit at the foot of the rise. In the engraving, buildings appear as though they sit on rising terrain.⁵⁰

Even though the MHN painting follows the engraved image, there are differences. Though Valenciennes represented a French threat to stability in the Spanish Netherlands, the flags shown in the painting are the Dutch tricolored flags and the white, red, and gold Burgundy cross of the Spanish Hapsburgs (fig. 5).⁵¹ The placement of a clearly visible Dutch flag in this painting is indicative of the most prevalent difference among all of the engravings and the paintings in the MHN series. It represents an emphasis on an instantly identifiable enemy. While the Dutch flag in this painting can also be seen in the engraving, the use of color in the painting makes the Dutch flag far more visible, placed in the background before a field of billowing smoke, which raises the visual impact of the flag significantly. One has to look closely to see it in the engraving. As will be explored later in this dissertation, the emphasis on enemy likely gave the

⁵⁰ Ibid., 247.

⁵¹ "Historia de la Armada: La bandera en la Armada," Ministerio de Defensa, Armada Española, accessed November 15, 2013, www.armada.mde.es; George Henry Preble, *History of the Flag of the United States of America and of the Naval and Yacht-club Signals, seals and Arms, and Principal National Songs of the United States with a Chronicle of the Symbols, Standards, Banners and Flags of Ancient and Modern Nations* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1894), 93. According to the website of the Spanish Ministry of Defense, the Burgundy cross is the oldest of Spanish battle flags, and it is still in use in various embellished forms.

paintings a political capital that the engravings alone did not have by lifting the profile of Spain's enemies.

The engraving does not depict an opposing army, though there are plumes of smoke billowing from the walls on the other side of the city, as well as Spanish soldiers and their pikes in the foreground, marching in the direction of the city. There is no explanatory text associated with this smoke from the opposing side of Valenciennes, but on close inspection, there are jagged vertical elements that may be taken to be pikes. The Dutch flag signals a Dutch presence in a French city.

When examining the similarities between the MHN painting and the engraving, it becomes apparent that the painting was cropped during periods of restoration, since the steeple of the church, complete in the engraving, has been cut off in the painting. Additionally, the explanatory text at the bottom of the MHN painting appears to have been cropped as well, because the frame covers part of it. The remaining explanatory text at the bottom of the painting matches the explanatory text in the engraving. It reads:

. . . ería . . . B: Escaldas River C: Valenci . . .
Triumphant in Valenciennes . . . in their hands . . . F:
Flee the cler . . . Expugnacion of . . . G: Pleas of some
citi . . . H: Pleas of the clergy that . . . I: Troops that
entered . . . ⁵²

⁵² DBAM, (164)66. `` . . . ería . . . B: escaldas Rio C: Valenci
. . . Triunphante en Valencianas Re . . . os en las manos F: Uye
los predi . . . Expugnacion de . . . G: Suplicio de algunos ciuda
. . . H: Suplicio de los predicadores que . . . I: guarnición que
entro en . . . ``

This correspondence between the text on the engraving and that on the MHN painting is similar throughout the MHN series.

Victory at Lepanto

The second painting in the MHN series is entitled the *Victory at Lepanto*. The engraving, also entitled the *Victory at Lepanto*, appears in the first volume of *De Bello Belgico*. The painting follows the engraving. Museum documents call this the *Naval Combat of Lepanto* in spite of the title clearly given on the legend at the bottom of the painting (figs. 6 and 7).⁵³ The middle ground of this 97-by-155-cm, oil-on-canvas painting⁵⁴ is filled with a single ship shown in profile, with an exaggerated number of cannons protruding through gun ports on the side. Atop the ship, in the center of the work, Spanish and Turkish troops fight in close quarters. A crowded canvas, the painting depicts at least ten different vessels, along with a number of different flags; some of which display the crescent moon, others the crucifixion of Christ, and other flags showing the cross in red are also prevalent. Armor worn by the Spanish and turbans worn by the Turks differentiate the opposing forces.

The History

Lepanto represents a significant moment in Spanish and European history. It was here in 1571 that Ottoman designs on the

⁵³ Ibid., (344)63 (Santiago, 24/7/79).

⁵⁴ Ibid.

Catholic nations of Mediterranean Europe came to an end.⁵⁵

Lepanto was technically not a victory of Alexander Farnese, but of his mentor and uncle Don Juan de Austria. Farnese's participation, however, raised his credibility as a military commander. The history of the battle is included at the end of Strada's biographical sketch of Farnese's early life, wherein Strada says Farnese showed military ability from an early age, and the battle of Lepanto served as the culmination of his military education.⁵⁶

In Strada's account, Farnese was given permission to fight at Lepanto by his mother, Margaret of Austria, and his uncle Philip II, the King of Spain, while experienced soldiers escorted him to the site of the battle. Farnese's participation began when his ship confronted the Turkish ship of Mustapha, the treasurer of the Turkish fleet, and met with stiff resistance because Mustafa's vessel was loaded with money.⁵⁷

Prince Alexander, at once inflamed with shame and anger, flourishing (as he used to do) a huge great sword, leaped into the Bashaw's galley, and laying about him on both sides like a mad man, by the slaughter of the enemy, opened a way to his soldiers, that were so nettled with the example and danger of their general, as now all the boldest Turkes being slain, the rest would presently have yielded, if the Bashaw of Alexandria, had not come in with a strong galley, whereby the Turks, both strengthened and encouraged, for a while renewed the fight. But one of Alexander Farnese's galleys sending in fresh supplies, when the Turks could no longer stand the fury of the conquerors, Mustapha being in many places run through the body, the Bashaw of Alexandria hurt,

⁵⁵ Henry Kamen, *Empire: How Spain Became a World Power, 1492-1763* (New York: Perennial, 2003), 185.

⁵⁶ Estrada, *Primera*, 438-439.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 440-441.

and soon after taken, Prince Alexander made himself master not only of the treasurers galley, but likewise of the auxiliary ship, with so great pillage for his men, that some of them got 2000 Sultanies (it is a coin of little less value than the Venetian Chechine of gold) others 3000 only out of this galley of the treasurer . . . ⁵⁸

The Images

A comparison between the MHN painting and the engraving shows that the painting emphasizes the enemy in a number of ways. The proliferation of flags, the simplification of the composition, and clearly rendered Muslim turbans achieve, for the painting, what the engraving fails to convey.

The *Victory at Lepanto* is one of two works in the MHN series that does not in some way represent a siege. While all the paintings naturally view a scene from a particular point of view, the *Victory at Lepanto* is most compositionally different from the other paintings. Simply stated, this painting depicts a pitched

⁵⁸ Ibid. "Y como se peleasse largo tiempo con dudoso marte, acometiendo agora, agora repeliendo, ya no pudiendo sufrir mas Alexandro el pudor, y la ira, echando mano de un montante, que havia aprehendido a manejar, se arrojó a la galera enemiga. Aquí luego, con una furia, jugando a entrambas manos el descomunal azero, por el destrozo de los enemigos dexó abierto camino ancho a su gente, tan concitada a vista del exemplo, y del peligro del capitan, que muertes los mas valientes de los Turcos, trataran ya de entregarse los demas: si acudiendo allí con una valiente galera el Baxa de Escandria, reforzados los enemigos, no huvieran renovado la batalla; aunque para poco tiempo. Porque, acudiendo con gente de refresco una de las galeras de Alexandro, sin poder sufrir mas los enemigos el impetu de los vencedores, traspasado con muchas heridas Mustapha, y herido el Baxa de Escandria, luego también hecho prissionero; apressó Alexandro la galera de aquel, y la nave auxiliar destotro: siendo tan grande el pillaje de sus soldados, que a muchos de ellos les cupieron dos mil sultaninos, genero de moneda de igual valor al doblón de oro de Venecia, a algunos hasta tres mil; siendo para ellos aquella nave verdaderamente del thesoro."

battle that takes place at sea on and between ships, with soldiers tumbling into the water. The engraved and painted images are crowned by the image of Alexander brandishing a sword.

Even though some of the text at the bottom of the MHN painting has been cut off, most is well preserved and corresponds to the text in the engraving. In the painting as well as the engraving, the letter B reads: "Flagship from Genova and in it Alexandro Farnese with 300 knights at his expense,"⁵⁹ and the letter C reads: "Alexandro in the attack of the captured flagship from Alexandria that came to the aid of Mustapha."⁶⁰

While the text on the painting and the engraving of the *Victory at Lepanto* match, the painting does not follow the engraving as closely as other paintings in the series. The painting does, however, contain visual elements that identify it as a match, such as the placement of Alexander at the center of the boat upon which he is fighting, his sword held in a fighting position (figs. 8 and 9). In addition, in the foreground of both engraving and painting, two men are seen in the water clinging to a mast, which has presumably been shot from one of the ships. Also, a flag with two crescent moons is flanking the sun above them. The placement of the two ships in the heat of battle is yet

⁵⁹ De Hooghe and Ledesma, *Victory at Lepanto*, 1682, engraving; Anon, *Victory at Lepanto*, c. 1700, oil on canvas. "Capitana de Genova y en ella Alexandro Farnese con 300 cavalleros militares a su costa."

⁶⁰ De Hooghe and Ledesma, *Victory at Lepanto*, 1682; Anon, *Victory at Lepanto*, c. 1700. "Alexandro en el abordo de la Capitana de Alexandria que venia al Socorro de Mustafa presa."

another visual element similar in both the engraving and the painting.

Beyond this, the details in the painting and the engraving are different. In the engraving, the design on the flag with two crescent moons is difficult to see; yet the painting renders it very clearly. There are also five cannons shown on Farnese's ship in the engraving, while the ship in the painting has thirty-three. The painting places the ship in full profile, while the engraving depicts Farnese's ship at an angle, appearing to ram the enemy ship. Generally, the engraving more skillfully conveys the movement of soldiers fighting, as well as demonstrates better rendering of textures, such as the surface of uniforms, the splash of water, and the wood of the ships.

In the engraving, the battle occupies the entire image, crowding the picture plane. The painting shows much more open sea than the engraving does, and the painting clearly renders the battle in the foreground. While other paintings in the series depict events that take place at different times in a single image, this painting depicts a single moment as related by Strada, the climactic moment when Farnese brandishes a sword and rallies his troops.

It appears that the engraving attempts to convey the confusion of battle, whereas individual elements in the MHN painting, such as the profile of the ship, are easily discerned. The prominent display of flags; the conspicuous presence of Turks, identified by their turbans; and the exaggerated number of cannons on Farnese's ship place the painting's emphasis on a

formidable battle with an easily identifiable enemy. This is enhanced by the composition's backdrop of open sea, removing much of the chaos of battle and facilitating identification of the most important visual elements. Conversely, in the engraving, the ships fill the picture plane.

Expugnation of Maastricht

In the *Expugnation of Maastricht*, the third painting of the MHN series, Farnese is seated in a chair, covered by a parasol and carried toward the city of Maastricht by Spanish troops (figs. 10 and 11). An artillery squadron fires from the right middle ground of the canvas, as a mine explodes on the left, throwing casualties into the air. The city of Maastricht covers the middle and the background of the canvas, and is divided by a river. Dutch troops are seen retreating along the bridge connecting the two sides of the city. This painting is oil on canvas and measures 97 by 155 cm.⁶¹

The History

The entry of Farnese into Maastricht is recounted in the second volume of Strada's work, entitled *Segunda decada de las guerras de Flandes, desde el principio del Gobierno de Alexandro Farnese, Tercero Duque de Parma y Placencia*.⁶²

⁶¹ DBAM, (164) 62.

⁶² Famiano Strada, *Segunda decada de las guerras de Flandes, desde el principio del Gobierno de Alexandro Farnese, Tercero Duque de Parma y Placencia* (Colonia: Bonne-Maison, 1642).

According to Christopher Duffy, soon after assuming the governorship of the Netherlands, Farnese attempted to reduce the rebel stronghold of Maastricht, which sat on the Meuse River and served as a rebel provisions depot.⁶³ Farnese followed a specific plan of attack: First, his cavalry swept the area, and then he created siege lines and blockaded bridges. When the initial assault failed, Farnese began a formal siege by initiating a tight blockade. The entry into Maastricht, which took place after a siege of 111 days, was marked by starvation and hardship on both sides. Farnese lost thousands of his underpaid and ill-equipped men in his initial assaults on Maastricht, the city capitulating only when its residents were dying of hunger.⁶⁴

While at Maastricht, Farnese fell gravely ill. Though he was near death, he was able to function in a way that suggested divine intervention. Strada recounts that, in the throes of delirium, Farnese warned his lieutenants of an impending fight among his own troops. Hearing Farnese's warning, his lieutenants were able to pacify the opposing sides of the conflict, which had likely arisen due to poor morale exacerbated by lack of provisions and no pay. Strada writes:

Regiments: admiring and venerating the special providence with which God watched over the Campo Real, since he had sounded a warning from the mouth of a delirious person just

⁶³ Duffy, *Siege Warfare*, 74. Because Maastricht is an example of siege warfare, I will rely on Duffy's explanation of the history of the battle.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

on time, which was necessary in order to avoid the massacre of so many valiant men.⁶⁵

The suggestion of divine intervention is apparent in the above quote, and it is within this context that Strada recounts the entry into Maastricht. Strada says that Farnese, who was thought to be dead, heard the commotion and, inspired by the loyalty of his troops, recuperated. When Maastricht finally capitulated, Farnese wanted to enter on his own. His troops would not let him and instead made him a chair adorned with velvet and gold. They took turns carrying him into the city through a breach in the wall created by artillery.⁶⁶ Farnese entered as part of a procession to the Church of St. Servais, and its inclusion in both the engraving and the painting serves to remind the viewer of the divine counter-reformation mission of Catholic troops.⁶⁷

The Images

The *Expugnation of Maastricht* is a siege painting and follows the engraving. The text at the bottom of the MHN painting is virtually all worn away, but what text remains is an exact match to the text of the engraving, specifically the letter B, which reads "alegria del exercito" or joy of the army. In spite

⁶⁵ Strada, *Segunda*, 122. "Tercios: admirando, y venerando la providencia especial conque mirava Dios por el Campo Real, pues por la boca de un frenetico havia avisado tan a tiempo, lo que era menester para que se evitasse el destrozo de tantos varones esforzados."

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Kinnair, "Battle", 181.

of the match, this painting establishes a much stronger visual opposition between Farnese and the Dutch enemy than other paintings in the MHN series do, through its use of open space and its placement of Spanish and Dutch flags.

The painting depicts the already mentioned seated, armor-clad Alexander accompanied by soldiers and drummers as they approach the city, and it appears as though the battle has reached its climax and is about to wind down. The middle ground shows the breach in the city wall caused by artillery, where a mass of men enters, identified only by the Hapsburg cross. To the right of Farnese, the artillery squadron is still active, with plumes of smoke emanating from the cannon barrels. To the left, two soldiers raise their hats in celebration, while at the lower left we see soldiers rummaging through items that have been sacked. In the middle ground a mine explodes, throwing people into the air. Both the engraving and the painting depict a great deal of activity and communicate the idea of the violence involved in the culmination of the siege. In these images, multiple events take place simultaneously.

The principal difference between the engraving and the painting is that in the MHN painting there is more space between the different events. The painting represents what appear to be an open field between Farnese and his entourage, and the destruction caused by the exploding mine. It does not show the artillery in the foreground, but its presence is made known by the plumes of smoke to Farnese's right, possibly the result of cropping during restoration. The scene depicted in the engraving

looks as if the battle were still raging, because the picture plane is fuller, making the scene more chaotic. The painting suggests the final moments of the siege. While it is impossible to know the intention of the artist, the painting's open spaces suggest a sense of calm associated with the aftermath of fighting and victory.

More significant is that the painting depicts a Dutch flag on the other side of the Meuse River. While the flag in the engraving is barely visible, and its nationality cannot be distinguished, the flag in the painting is clear. In this way the Dutch enemy is made conspicuous in the painting (fig. 12). In addition to the placement of the flag, the juxtaposition of the flag in the background and Farnese in the foreground sets up a visual opposition, which may have been meaningful because it is seen from the point of view of the victors.

Battle of Estemberg

The *Battle of Estemberg* (figs. 13 and 14), the fourth image in the series, depicts a large pitched battle outside of the city walls. Of all the MHN battle paintings, the *Battle of Estemberg* is remarkable in that it does not depict a siege requiring constant artillery bombardment. There are only two paintings in the Farnese series that do this, the other being the *Victory at Lepanto* (fig. 7). In the cases of *Lepanto* and *Estemberg*, Farnese is not the largest figure in the scene and must be found using the letter coding and explanatory text.

In *The Battle of Estemberg*, the middle ground is filled with numerous soldiers fighting and is covered by the smoke of harquebuses. In the left foreground one of Farnese's men leads an attack on a small house as the remaining Spanish troops march to the right of the canvas and toward the combat, carrying flags marked with the Hapsburg cross. This is one of the few paintings in the series where Farnese is shown directly engaged in the fighting.

The History

According to Strada, the battle of Estemberg took place in 1582. Estemberg was the site of the modern city of Steenberg, located forty miles from Rotterdam. As a port, it was of vital importance to the Dutch navy and was protected by a combination of Flemish, French, and Scottish troops. After consulting with his lieutenants, Farnese decided to attack Estemberg, and Strada suggests that Farnese made his decision and acted with speed.⁶⁸

Strada's text makes specific reference to the presence of hidden harquebus-bearing troops in a cottage on the outskirts of the city. The riflemen in the cottage were captured, and Spanish troops easily crushed the enemy encamped before the city walls. The most dramatic moments of the battle occurred when Spanish troops began to flee from rushing French troops. Strada says that Farnese, recognizing what was happening, implored his troops to take heart as the French were, more than anything, searching for

⁶⁸ Strada, *Segunda*, 236.

an honorable way to die. Eventually, fleeing troops were treated as enemy combatants. The battle lasted three hours and some were executed, but over all, the Spanish took very few casualties.⁶⁹ These elements are clearly seen in the images.

The Images

While both the engraving and the MHN painting capture the chaos of battle, the painting not only places an emphasis on enemy; it also takes the liberty of placing a conspicuous Dutch enemy on the canvas. This is significant, as neither Strada's account of the battle nor the engraved illustration of the battle do this.

The principal characteristics linking Strada's history and the images are the description of the violent battlefield, the placement of troops, and the location of the city encircled by walls. Strada says that Estemberg sat on a beach and was accessible by sea. In front of the city walls was an open field where rebel troops had set up camp, bordered by a lagoon. According to Strada's account, there was also a small house where riflemen sat in hiding.⁷⁰

Starting from the left foreground of the engraving, the attack on the small house provides the viewer with the largest figures depicted on the image surface. The most heroic pose in the painting is given to one of Farnese's men, García de Toledo,

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

who leads the attack on the small house as enemy soldiers flee, some crawling on their stomachs. At first glance, the uninformed viewer could mistake García de Toledo for Farnese. To locate Alexander Farnese, in either work, one must use the letter key given at the bottom. While the text at the bottom of the painting is almost completely gone, the placement of the letters within the picture plane is an exact match to that of the engraving. The cartouche in the engraving that contains the explanatory text is replaced in the painting by smoke from the harquebus rifles.

Farnese's figure is small and one among many. He is shown sitting atop a rearing horse, is dressed in armor, and points toward the city in heroic fashion. The letter H places him in the thick of battle. Strada states that Farnese rode into the conflict on the plain that extended out from the city walls, and that he left his visor open so that he could be seen.⁷¹ The suggestion given by the engraving, and subsequently the painting, is that Farnese exposed himself to grave danger. The account and accompanying engraving appear designed to highlight Farnese's valor on the battlefield.

The most significant difference between the painting and the engraving is, unsurprisingly, the proliferation in the painting of flags (fig. 15). While flags are seen in the engraving, most are not detailed enough for the viewer to determine their nationality. The Hapsburg cross in the engraving is seen with relative ease, and at least one flag in the upper middle ground

⁷¹ Ibid.

clearly displays the French fleur-de-lis. In the painting, however, there are at least five tri-colored Dutch flags in the middle ground that surround the figure of Alexander Farnese, which cannot be discerned in the engraving.

The painting provides the viewer with a recognizable enemy, whereas the engraving, as well as the explanatory text, does not single out any of the Scottish, Flemish, or French as principal combatants. If anything, the text describes the French as the most aggressive of the combatants.⁷² While both the French and the Dutch were natural enemies of Spain, the artist chose to highlight a Dutch enemy, the possible reasons for which will be discussed later in this dissertation.

Expugnatio of Nus

The following image in the series, the *Expugnatio of Nus*, was identified in the NMH documentation as a triumph of Alexander Farnese.⁷³ After a study of the engravings, the author of this dissertation identified the subject of the painting as the battle of Nus, which Strada dates to 1586 (figs. 16 and 17).⁷⁴

The center of the foreground of this painting is divided by wicker gabions, and from between them artillery fires on the city. To the right of the artillery squadron, there is a

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ DBAM, (344)65 (Santiago, 16/2/83).

⁷⁴ Strada, *Segunda*, 386.

prominently displayed Spanish flag. To the left of the gabions, Spanish and Dutch forces engage in combat. A prominent Dutch flag is placed in the left foreground, forming an oppositional symmetry with the Spanish flag. On the other side of the Rhine, which separates the foreground from the background, the city is engulfed in flames as Spanish troops enter.

The History

Nus, today the modern city of Neuss, was on the Rhine, close to the German city of Cologne. At Nus, Catholic authorities called on Farnese to aid them in stemming the growing number of Protestants. While the city was not under the jurisdiction of Farnese, he nevertheless understood its strategic value, as it was situated on the Rhine and represented a possible reinforcement route into Flanders from Germany. It took little time for Protestants to learn of Farnese's interest in Nus, and they began to fortify it.⁷⁵

Nus was protected by the city walls as well as by the river that surrounded it. Because of this, a small island was formed upon which two castles were built, serving as additional defenses. Farnese had seen five ways to enter Nus and distributed his troops accordingly. He sent men to occupy the small island with the twin fortifications and took the seemingly strong one with no resistance. When Farnese sent troops to take the smaller fortification, he found Protestant troops had already occupied it

⁷⁵ Ibid.

the previous night. They subsequently defeated Farnese's men and took the Spanish commander prisoner.⁷⁶

Farnese had ordered a two-part artillery barrage, but not before he attempted to take the city peacefully. As Farnese negotiated, men from atop the walls of Nus fired upon Farnese and his men, a serious breach of military ethics. According to Strada, the governor of Nus stated that the city was out of Farnese's jurisdiction, and Farnese, in turn, claimed they were not negotiating in good faith. The evening before the artillery barrage was to commence, Catholic troops spent the evening in prayer, and the Calvinists burned the Spanish prisoners in the plaza.⁷⁷

Strada says that the barrage lasted nine days, and the Spanish slowly caused a breach in the wall of the city, which was followed by combat inside of Nus. As the battle raged, the governor once again tried to negotiate, and Farnese and his men rejected him. When the Spanish finally took control of the city, they killed everyone they encountered as retribution for the violent death of their captured comrades.⁷⁸

The aftermath of the siege was extreme, and Farnese was obliged to write to Philip II to tell him that, at that moment, he had no control over his troops. The governor and a Calvinist minister were both hanged; the governor was bed-ridden at the

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

time, and the Spanish pulled him from his bed and hung him from his window for all to see. Instead of falling to the Spanish, the women of Nus set the rest of the city on fire and were subsequently consumed by the flames themselves. Strada once again suggests divine intervention by saying the one part of the city that was spared was an area where a lone Catholic was living. Much like the way that Strada hints at divine intervention when relating the siege of Maastricht, it is possible that Strada is embellishing the story in an attempt to further legitimize Farnese's mission in the Netherlands.⁷⁹

The Images

The engraving of the encounter is a faithful illustration of Strada's history, as is the MHN painting. More than an emphasis on enemy, these images serve to visualize one of the most engaging narratives of *De Bello Belgico*.

Starting from the left of the foreground of the engraving, Protestant troops are seen attacking the unprotected fortification on the small island, racing toward Spanish troops on the other side of the cartouche, who are shooting artillery from between the wicker gabions.

In the middle ground on the left, we see Farnese in negotiations with a number of men, above whom are soldiers situated along the top of the city wall. The explanatory text in the engraving says that, as representatives from Nus go out to

⁷⁹ Ibid., 400.

speaking with Alexander, men atop the wall fire upon Farnese and his party. It reads: "I. They go out to speak with Alexander and at that time they fire from the plaza."⁸⁰

The Rhine occupies the central middle ground. To the right appears the breach in the wall caused by Spanish troops and scenes of battle (fig. 18). The city takes up the upper middle ground and is engulfed in flames. The letter N indicates the execution of the Governor of Nus, and the letter M is placed upon the tallest structure within the city and is used to announce Farnese's victory.

However, the painting differs from the engraving in the treatment of the soldiers. In the foreground of the painting, Spanish troops are more conspicuously fighting their Protestant attackers, and there is a reliance on arquebuses that do not appear in the engraving, which shows lances and halberds. In this painting, the emphasis on enemy can be found in the chaos of battle, which is seen in the foreground to the left where there is much smoke, the result of intense close quarter fighting.

Both the engraving and the painting depict different events taking place simultaneously. While the depiction of battle in the foreground of both works places an emphasis on a fight between two opposing sides, the images serve to illustrate the story more than provide an emphasis on enemy. The text that accompanies the images is of particular importance, because given the

⁸⁰ De Hooghe and Ledesma, *Expugnation of Nus*, 1682. "I. Salen a ablar con Alexandro y en este tiempo disparan de la plaza."

particularly violent and tragic nature of the events at Nus, the text may have served to lessen the emotional impact of both images, as well as the story they illustrate.⁸¹

Triumphant Festivities given by Paris to Alexander Farnese for having lifted the Siege

The third of the three-volume work *De Bello Bélgico* is entitled *Tercera decada de lo que hizo en Francia Alexandro Farnese*, and was written by the Jesuit Guillelmo Dondino.⁸² The first engraving from volume three that corresponds to a painting in the MHN series is entitled *Triumphant Festivities given by Paris to Alexander Farnese for having lifted the Siege*, also known as *Triumphant Entry of Alejandro Farnese*, and it depicts the lifting of the siege of Paris. In the painting, the foreground is filled with soldiers on horseback forming a part of a caravan that curves under a triumphal arch and into Paris. At the center of the foreground, Farnese looks out at the viewer from atop his horse (figs. 19, 20 and 21).

The History

This third volume of *De Bello Bélgico* covers Farnese's campaigns in France and the end of his military career. Farnese does return to Flanders, but he is quickly called back to France

⁸¹ Clifton, "Mediated," 49.

⁸² Guillelmo Dondino, *Tercera decada de lo que hizo en Francia Alexandro Farnese, Tercero Duque de Parma y Placencia* (Colonia: Bonne-Maison, 1682).

and dies before he can return to Flanders a second time. Dondino summarizes Farnese's work in France:

After recovering the provinces of Flanders for his uncle the king, only France could make the Farnese name memorable to posterity. There he obliged a bellicose king in command of forty thousand soldiers to lift a tight siege; and after facing resistance, Farnese assaulted and took Lany; saved Paris from the grips of starvation; afterward he returned safely between enemy attacks, while taking casualties. Returning once again to fall ferociously upon Aumala and king Henry, Farnese put Henry at risk of falling prisoner or being killed: Farnese lifted the siege of Rouen twice, he concealed the wound that he received at the taking of Caudebec; and finally, surrounded by enemies, and suffering from a lack of provisions, he recovered from many difficult situations with a defensive retreat that deserved to be counted among his battles and victories.⁸³

The text regarding the lifting of the siege of Paris is limited because the battle took place at Lany, now the modern town of Lagny, located sixteen miles East of Paris. The siege of Paris lasted from the seventh of May to the thirtieth of August, 1590, and was carried out by Huguenot ruler and pretender to the French throne, Henry IV of Navarre, during which time 13,000 people died of hunger in Paris. In order to aid the Catholic cause in France, Philip II sent Farnese with 14,000 Spanish

⁸³ Ibid., 2. "Despues de recobradas para el rey su tio las de las provincias de Flandes; solo el Sena Frances pudo hazer memorable para los siglos el nombre de Farnese. Obligó allí a desistir de un apretadissimo cerco a un Rey belicoso con quarenta mil combatientes a su vista; y haziendo opocicion en vano, tomó por assalto a Lanni; sacó de las gargantas de la ultima necessidad a Paris; despues dio la buelta seguro entre los acometimientos de los enemigos, y aun con daño de ellos. Bolviendo otra vez ferozmente a cargar sobre Aumala al Rey Henrico, le puso en riesgo de quedar prissionero, o muerto: descercó dos vezes a Rhuan, dissimuló la herida que recibió en la toma de Caudebec; y a lo ultimo cercado de enemigos, y oprimido con falta de vituallas, se recogió de tantos aprietos con una retirada defendida con castillos, y guarniciones, y que merecia contarse entre las batallas y las victorias."

troops to relieve the city. While Henry attempted to draw Farnese into an open battle, Farnese decided to take the town of Lany, opening up a crucial supply line to Paris and suffering very few casualties.⁸⁴

The Images

The engraving shows an elderly Farnese in the foreground above the explanatory text. The letter A identifies him as he looks out directly at the viewer. In the foreground at the bottom left, the letter C marks his son, Ranuccio Farnese. Both are on horseback, as are the majority of the figures in the engraving.

The image shows soldiers on horseback with wagons of supplies following a winding road into Paris, the formerly besieged city. As they enter Paris, which is situated in the background, the supply convoy passes beneath a triumphal arch dedicated to Farnese. The inscription centered on the entablature of the arch reads: "Alex Farnesio: D Invincibilis: S Fid. Protectori." An equestrian statue tops the arch, and a shield, flanked by lions and adorned with six fleurs-de-lis, is situated directly beneath it. Atop the entablature on both sides are what look to be war bundles comprised of Roman breastplates, shields, helmets, and flags.

The MHN painting corresponds to the engraving as seen in the placement of both Alexander and his son Ranuccio; the differences

⁸⁴ Robert Knecht, *The French Religious Wars, 1562-1598* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2002), 65.

are ones of detail. The soldiers passing through the arch in the painting do not appear to be armed, though they are wearing armor, whereas in the engraving a number of lances are uniformly pointing up and to the left.

While additional elements in the painting show it is meant to correspond to the engraving, such as the wagon in the middle ground and the people working around it, the painting's composition is cramped, and there is not much room between the part of the convoy in the foreground and the wagons already gone around a bend in the road toward the arch. The wagon in the painting appears static and broken down, but in the engraving its destination is clear.

The arch in the painting contains elements that show it was based on the engraving, yet the roundels of the engraving are depicted in the painting as wreaths. The painting looks to have been cropped from the top, as the frame has cut off the equestrian statue at the top of the arch, which remains intact in the engraving.

This painting is one of two exceptions in this series, in that it is not a battle painting; instead, it depicts soldiers on the march. While the *Triumphant Entry of Alejandro Farnese* is different from the other paintings in the MHN series, it nonetheless represents one of Farnese's victories and is based on an engraving found in the third volume of *De Bello Belgico*.

Celebrated Expugnation of Corbel

The first painting of the MHN series depicting a battle that took place in France is the *Celebrated Expugnation of Corbel* (figs. 22 and 23). Prominent elements in this painting include combat taking place in the foreground, on the bridge leading into Corbel, as well as the approach of a war machine, used to cross the moat surrounding the city, that dominates the middle and background of the canvas. The massing of fighting soldiers on the bridge and the placement of flags in the MHN painting put a significant emphasis on the enemy.

The History

Corbel refers to the modern city of Corbeil, which is eighteen miles from Paris and should not be confused with the town of Corbel in the French Alps. The name of the city is spelled *Corbeil* in the engraving and *Corbel* in the painting. Upon having his plans for Paris thwarted, Henry IV of Navarre decided to split his army and to occupy the smaller towns near Paris. This obliged Farnese to push Henry's troops from outlying areas. Corbel was the one town loyal to Navarre that refused to capitulate to Farnese. Between the twenty-second of September and the sixteenth of October, Farnese laid siege to Corbel.⁸⁵

According to Dondino, Farnese suffered from a shortage of artillery, most of which had been spent forcing the capitulation of Lany. Regardless, Farnese insisted on taking Corbel. Dondino

⁸⁵ Ibid.

writes that Farnese made himself visible to his troops as a way of lifting morale. As there was no forthcoming artillery train, Farnese had to resort to unconventional methods to assault the city.⁸⁶ Dondino gives a description of Corbel:

Corbel, triangular fortress, is founded on the banks of the Seine. Everywhere touched by the river: some rapids ahead, stagnated water in other parts and fed into moats of notable depth and width. It had a garrison of two thousand five hundred men. Among them were seven hundred men under Grangi and one thousand eight hundred Infantry men under Rigou an ardent captain, who having been wounded by artillery had a wooden leg, a beautiful ugliness in a military man.⁸⁷

The width and depth of the water that surrounded Corbel was a significant issue because Farnese decided to attack the city at the place where the water was the deepest and widest, in order to catch its defenders by surprise. Farnese ordered makeshift bridges be built of boats tied together, and he ordered an Italian military engineer to build a war machine that could cross the water as well as take fire from above. Soldiers died while swimming out into the water to test the depth.⁸⁸

On the sixteenth of October, artillery began to rain onto Corbel from nearby houses. Instead of conventional artillery,

⁸⁶ Dondino, *Tercera*, 211.

⁸⁷ Ibid. "Corbel, Fortaleza triangular, esta fundada en la rivera del Sena. Bañala por todas partes el rio: corriendo a delante rapidamnete unas aguas, estancandose otras y entrando en los fossos, en profundidiad y anchura notables. Tenia de guarnicion dos mil y quinientos soldados. En ellos setecientas Coracas que obedecian a Grangi y mil y ochocientos Infantes a cargo de Rigou ardiente capitan, que haviendole llevado una bala de artilleria una pierna suplia su falta con un pie de palo, hermoso fealdad en un varon militar."

⁸⁸ Ibid., 214.

Farnese had the canons fire nails, which would prevent defenders from climbing to the tops of the city walls. He then ordered the war machine into the water. By the time the assault began, the French knew what the Spanish and Italian troops were doing and did all that they could to push the war machine away by trying to burn it with flaming darts, but this proved ineffective. The machine carried other makeshift bridges, and as soon as it crossed the water, the bridges ferried soldiers to the walls of the city.⁸⁹

As the battle began, Farnese ordered his troops to enter where the walls had been breached; he also ordered an assault by way of the stone bridge leading into the city, where the exposed troops engaged in the most violent fighting. The original plan was to attack the bridge as other parts of the city fell in order to divide the defenders' attentions, but unfortunately, as the defenders saw other parts of the city fall, they concentrated their efforts on fighting for the stone bridge. Dondino writes that the French fought as a way of dying, rather than in an effort to win. The fighting grew so desperate that they resorted to fighting with swords, and many of the French jumped off the bridge and drowned. Dondino also claims that villagers, unwilling to agree to more fighting, killed many of the defenders.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Ibid., 217.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 224.

The Images

The narrative of the fighting is significant because it explains much of what is seen in the engraving and the corresponding painting, the most intriguing aspect being the presence of the war machine. The relationship between Dondino's text and the engraving is more precise here than is the case with the other images. Dondino's description provides details about the war machine:

It was for the most part not unlike the type of machines that the ancients called viñas. Erected like a small house, with beams of strong material securely fastened, with squared walls, with a curved roof, all of this covered on the outside by clay and grass, which they call down of the meadow, to weaken the strength of the fire, which would fall on the machine. On the sides, and on the front, the wooden walls were open with many small openings, and with narrow skylights, daylight would enter, and eighty soldiers were given openings from which to shoot while hiding as if they were inside the Trojan Horse (fig. 24).⁹¹

The walls of the city of Corbel dominate the engraving. In the middle ground, we see Italian troops crossing the stone bridge as combatants fall. Beneath the bridge, people are swimming and drowning in the water below, and beyond the bridge is the war machine with small, individual plumes of smoke rising from its roof. In the background to the right, we see more

⁹¹ Ibid., 217. "Era la mole no desemejante al genero de maquinas, que los antiguos llamaban viñas. Levantada a modo de una pequeña casa, con vigas de materia valiente bien trabadas, con paredes quadradas, con techumbre encorvada, todo esto cubierto por fuera con barro, y grama, que llaman pelusa de los prados, para cortar la fuerza de los fuegos, que cayessen sobre la obra. Por los lados, y por la frente, abiertos los muros de Madera con muchas bocas, y con estrechas lumbreras, davan entrada a la luz del día, y salida a todo genero de armas orrojadizas, que desde lo oculto havian de disparar ochenta combatientes armados, escondiendose dentro como en el cavalla Troyano."

evidence of cannon fire coming from houses surrounding the city, which were used as artillery stations. This image depicts masses of soldiers fighting at close quarters. In the middle and upper-middle ground, this engraving depicts soldiers crossing the makeshift bridge, entering the war machine, and attacking the breach in the wall.

The engraving and the MHN painting differ the most in the conspicuous placement of flags and in the number of soldiers depicted. While the engraving shows more men crowding onto the bridge with no visible opposition, the massing of combatants in the MHN painting is not as dense. Because of this, in the painting, soldiers facing each other in combat are easier to see.

The difference in the treatment of the flags in the MHN painting highlights the French opposition to Farnese's troops. While a French flag is seen in the middle ground of the engraving, placed in opposition to the Hapsburg cross, neither flag is conspicuous. In the MHN painting the two flags are clearly rendered above the city wall in oppositional symmetry to each other, unnaturally flying in opposite directions.

The flags shown on the bridge in the MHN painting provide another example of a difference that emphasizes enemy. In the engraving, two Hapsburg Crosses are shown, one near the doors to Corbel and the other in the right foreground about to be carried onto the bridge and toward the city. The MHN painting shows a Hapsburg Cross in the same place on the bridge near the doors to the city. Next to it, however, is a large French flag that does not appear in the engraving at all.

The Corbel painting highlights the correspondence between the written history and the images more than any of the other paintings, as proven by Dondino's description of the war machine and the subsequent illustrations. This correspondence is not fully conveyed by the explanatory text at the bottom of the engraving and painting. The individual red plumes of smoke and fire atop the war machine in the painting indicate that whoever was directing the composition was familiar with Dondino's narrative, wherein it says that defenders from inside Corbel tried to set the machine on fire with flaming darts. A sense of drama comes across in the painting more than in the black-and-white engraving because of the use of color.⁹² Nevertheless, it is the placement of French flags in the painting, in the midst of a proliferation of Hapsburg flags that marks the city as a prize and conveys the message of an overwhelming victory against a visually apparent enemy.

Expugnation of Caudebec

The *Expugnation of Caudebec* is the last of the battle paintings in the MHN series (figs. 25 and 26). This painting is not displayed in the Museo Histórico Nacional with the other paintings of the series, due to its deteriorated condition. The text at the bottom of the canvas is almost completely worn off and illegible. While the left foreground and middle ground of the painting are also almost totally gone, the right foreground and

⁹² Ibid., 224.

middle ground remain, depicting a wounded Farnese with his arms outstretched, his men kneeling at his side as if pleading. Behind the Farnese group on the canvas, Spanish artillery fires and troops stream upward toward Caudebec at the top of the canvas. The left middle ground shows Dutch ships that had come to the defense of the city.

The History

The battle of Caudebec took place in 1592 and is significant because it was at Caudebec that Farnese was mortally wounded, dying a short while later. After the battle at Corbel in 1590, Farnese returned to Flanders, giving Henry IV of Navarre time to regroup and secure much-needed aid from England. Farnese was then called back to France in 1592 to lift the siege of Rouen, from where he moved on Caudebec, which blocked a major supply road.⁹³

Caudebec was walled, but the fortifications were not strong, and Dutch ships had to provide the city with its most important protection. As Spanish troops approached, the ships fired on them from the river. With artillery in place on solid ground, Farnese was able to destroy the Dutch ships and more extensively situate artillery around Caudebec. While scouting proper locations for artillery, Farnese was struck in the wrist by a stray bullet from a harquebus. Farnese's companions tried to convince Alexander to seek attention right away, but he continued to search for proper

⁹³ Knecht, *The French Religious Wars*, 65.

artillery locations with adequate views of the ocean before returning to his tent, leaving his son Ranuccio in command.⁹⁴

The Images

This scene corresponds to Dondino's text. On the left of the image, in both the engraving and the painting, the carnage caused by Dutch ships is evident, as is the placement of Spanish artillery with a view to the water, enabling Farnese's troops to defend themselves.

The engraving is divided in two by the banks of the river, with the text located in the foreground at the bottom left (figs. 25 and 26). At the bottom right, Farnese is seen as having been wounded, surrounded by his son Ranuccio and members of his entourage. Ranuccio is depicted kneeling at his father's feet, imploring him to seek help. The text on the left identifies him with the letter C and reads: "Prince Ranuccio on his knees begs him to retire to cure himself; he does not do it until arranging what was necessary for the siege."⁹⁵ Above the text to the left, the bank of the river is covered with the bodies of combatants. To the right, placed above Farnese's war party, there are wicker gabions, and artillery is aimed at the city of Caudebec, with the capacity to turn and fire at coming Dutch ships. Above the cartouche at bottom left, there is a shipwreck with the Spanish

⁹⁴ Dondino, *Tercera*, 354.

⁹⁵ De Hooghe and Ledesma, *Expugnation of Caudebec*, 1682. "Principe Ranuccio de rodillas le suplica serretire acurar, no lo hizo asta disponer lo necesario al sitio."

Hapsburg flag aloft. In the distance, Caudebec can be seen, as Farnese's troops move toward the city, with a visible breach in the city walls along the serpentine road.

The MHN painting has deteriorated, with paint having chipped off the area depicting the beach and the Spanish ship, on the left side of the canvas. While the text at the bottom of the painting has almost completely worn away, the poses of the figures at the lower right in both the engraving and the painting are identical. A tragic event, Farnese is depicted with his arms outstretched at his sides, not quite perpendicular to his body but lifted enough to render him a Christ-like figure. He is wearing a helmet, a breastplate, and a red sash.

In the lower middle ground, to the upper left of Farnese's entourage, we see the curiously conspicuous figure of a soldier in full armor, vigilantly watching the Dutch ships at the upper left of the canvas. Beneath him and to the right of the explanatory text, we see another figure from the back with his sword raised. The corresponding letter states: "E. The Spanish swear to avenge the blood of Alexander."⁹⁶

The most significant difference between the painting and the engraving is the visibility of the Hapsburg flag that flies above Caudebec in the painting. It is impossible to discern the nationality of the same flag in the engraving. By making the Spanish flag visible in the painting, it sits in opposition to

⁹⁶ Ibid. "Juran los españoles vengar la sangre de Alejandro."

the Dutch flag, which flies above the Dutch ship. Both are located in the upper left of the canvas.

The message of this image is easy to ascertain: the Hapsburg leader is shown as having finally spilled his blood, like Christ, for a sacred cause, leaving his followers to continue the fight. The upright and vigilant soldier in full armor, together with the angry Spaniard seen from the back at the foreground of the painting, communicate a call to continued responsibility. The visibility of the Spanish flag above the city, the destroyed Spanish ship, and the mortally wounded Alexander may have signaled an ultimate victory in spite of much sacrifice, and it served to legitimize the Spanish mission in defense of French Catholics (fig. 27).

Court of Charles V

The final painting in the series, the *Court of Charles V* (fig 28), does not come from the same visual source as the other paintings. Many editions of Strada's work found in Latin America are engraved with the individual portraits of the most important people involved in the conflict in Flanders. In the editions of *De Bello Belgico* consulted for this dissertation, there was no portrait of the entire royal family, and therefore no source from which to draw when considering this work.

Nine people are depicted in the painting. According to documentation provided by the museum, Charles V is seated at the center on a raised platform corresponding to his position, with Philip II seated to his left. The only other specific subject

mentioned is Isabel of Portugal, who, like all of the female members of the court, is standing.⁹⁷ The male members of the court are depicted to the left of Charles V and Philip II, and are also standing. There are letters above all people shown for identification. The text at the bottom of the painting is almost completely gone, and the only legible name is that of Alexander; everything else is lost.

The men all wear armor; Charles V and Philip II also wear red and white cloaks, and both hold thin batons. Charles V lays his left hand on an orb topped by a small cross, indicating rulership. All of the male figures have circular lace collars, except Charles V, who also appears to wear a black beret. This is made evident by the fact that his hair is reddish in color, except the top of his head, which is black.

The armor of the male figures on the right side of the canvas is identical to that of the king. However, they do not wear the cloaks that signify rulership. Of these figures, Farnese is likely the one standing directly behind Philip, as he holds a large baton of authority. At the lower right of the canvas there is a small male figure who is impossible to identify because the text in the foreground of the painting has been worn. The female figure standing directly to the right of Charles is probably Isabel of Portugal, due to her placement within the composition. Without further documentation it is not possible to ascertain the identity of any of the other female figures. It should also be

⁹⁷ DBAM, (164) 64.

noted that this painting probably served a symbolic function, since Farnese was only 13 years old when his grandfather Charles V died, making it unlikely that this was a portrait taken from life.

Curiously, next to the right foot of Charles V sits what looks like a crown that has been tossed to the ground, and Philip II's baton points directly to it. While such a visual motif certainly invites speculation on the power of the Hapsburg kings, the figures in the painting maintain their regal aspect, which would serve to contradict any negative message the fallen crown may have been intended to communicate.

Conclusion

This chapter of the dissertation has shown that the paintings in the Farnese series were based on engravings published in *De Bello Belgico*, a history of the wars in the Netherlands in the sixteenth-century. Mesa and Gisbert, while identifying Ledesma and Romeyn de Hooghe as the artists responsible for the engravings from which the paintings came, failed to indicate how the images were published. This research led to the discovery of the Spanish translation of *De Bello Belgico* by Famiano Strada, and the particular edition in which the engravings were published.

While it is apparent that the engravings, and by extension the MHN paintings based on them, illustrate climactic moments in Strada's text, this chapter has, more importantly, shown that the MHN paintings, compared to the engravings, place an emphasis on a

visible enemy. Though the paintings are not as densely composed as the engravings, both depict soldiers fighting in a seemingly undifferentiated mass. Nevertheless, the open spaces in the paintings serve to create a legible visual opposition between opposing forces. Furthermore, all of the paintings, with the exception of the *Victory at Lepanto*, contain tri-colored Dutch or French flags placed in juxtaposition to the flag of Hapsburg Spain. In the engravings, the Spanish flag can be seen, but the enemy flags are often hard to distinguish. While it is impossible to know the artist's intention in representing these enemy flags so clearly, the effect is a clear reference to an enemy, distinguishable even to those unfamiliar with Strada's text or even the text on the paintings. The significance of a Dutch and a French enemy to an eighteenth-century viceregal audience will be discussed in chapter four of this dissertation.

Chapter 2: The Museo Histórico Nacional Series and the Cuzco School

As noted in the introduction of this dissertation, art historians José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert attribute the Museo Histórico Nacional paintings to the Cuzco School of indigenous painters and date them to the early to mid-eighteenth-century.⁹⁸ While Mesa and Gisbert provide the most complete reference to the paintings, they do not justify their attribution.⁹⁹ In this chapter, the formal characteristics of the MHN series and other Cuzco School paintings will be studied to test their attribution.

The majority of paintings produced in Cuzco during the colonial period were of religious subjects. In the Americas, Christian religious imagery spread almost immediately after the arrival of the Spanish by way of prints as well as paintings imported from Europe. Prints were portable and easily disseminated, and they served as the basis for much of the work of native artists.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña* (Lima: Banco Wiese LTDO, 1982), 300. *The Cuzco School* is the term used to identify indigenous painters in Cuzco who became active in the mid-seventeenth-century and who saw the zenith of its output well into the eighteenth-century. Their style was distinct in that it turned away from academic standards required by the guild system established in the mid-seventeenth-century.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Thomas Cummins, "Images for a New World," in *The Virgin, Saints, and Angels: South American Paintings 1600-1825, from the Thoma Collection* (Stanford: Skira, 2006), 15.

Consistent with a theme seen in the scholarship, art historian Thomas Cummins maintains that artists in colonial Peru moved beyond merely copying European engravings, and instead modified the images by adding or taking away visual elements according to their expressive needs.¹⁰¹ Drawing on Cummin's analysis, the present research, while finding this to be true in some cases, has determined that the conditions of the painting industry in the eighteenth century were similarly responsible for the creation of what came to be known as the Cuzco School.

By considering size, color, the treatment of anatomy, the development of the Cuzco School and the working conditions under which artists were forced to work, this chapter will explain why the paintings of the MHN series look the way that they do, and argue that they were likely created in Cuzco at the start of the eighteenth century, at a time when paintings were mass produced. As stated in the introduction, the purpose of this study is to better understand how and why the MHN paintings may have been meaningful to an eighteenth-century audience in the Viceroyalty of Peru. Going beyond Mesa and Gisbert's attribution, this chapter shows that what has been taken as an established style of painting may have been the simple result of poor working conditions, and that in spite of the non-academic characteristics of the series, the numbers of paintings produced as well as the historical subject matter may have satisfied a demand for such work among wealthy patrons.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

Canvas Size and the Painting Industry in Cuzco

According to documentation provided by the National Historical Museum of Chile, each painting in the MHN series measures 97 centimeters in height by 155 centimeters wide (61 by 38 inches).¹⁰² The painters of the canvases, however, would not have described their dimensions in this way, for in the eighteenth-century, the unit of measurement in the Spanish Empire was the vara. According to the *Dictionary of the Spanish Royal Academy*, the vara is a measurement of length used in different regions of Spain, with different values that oscilated between 768 and 912 millimeters (30 to 36 inches).¹⁰³ While a uniform size of canvas is illogical, in this section examples of the canvas size of various Cuzco School paintings will be examined to see if there are size parameters that are relatively more common than others, and if the MHN series corresponds to them thus strengthening Mesa and Gisbert's attribution of the MHN series to the Cuzco School.

Recent scholarship is consistent in citing data from contracts that consider the size of paintings. Art historian Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt maintains that paintings in a series were

¹⁰² Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos: Inventario del Patrimonio Cultural, *Triunfo de Alejandro Farnesio*, No. Inv. Inst. (344)65 (Santiago, 16/2/83). While I did not measure them myself, a visual examination of the paintings at the museum showed that they were consistently equal in size.

¹⁰³ *Diccionario de la lengua española*, s.v. "vara," accessed March 27, 2014, <http://lema.rae.es/drae/?val=Vara>. "Medida de longitud que se usaba en distintas regiones de España con valores diferentes, que oscilaban entre 768 y 912 mm."

popular in the eighteenth-century and were sold to churches as well as to art dealers. To support her point, she cites the work of the Cuzco historian Jorge Cornejo Bouroncle, which describes a commission from 1754 in which two indigenous painters of Cuzco, Mauricio García and Pedro Nolasco, are contracted by a presumed seller, Gabriel del Rincón, to paint a series of 125 paintings at 2 varas high and 1 1/2 varas wide. In addition to this, there were 150 smaller paintings in the same commission that measured 1 1/2 by 3/4 varas.¹⁰⁴ In another example, Mesa and Gisbert describe a contract where the required sizes of the paintings were "from two and two thirds varas and the small ones of two and a quarter varas and an additional twenty two at a little over one vara."¹⁰⁵

The recently published catalogue of the Thoma collection of South American painting shows that a number of paintings in the collection were created in Cuzco in the eighteenth-century, and that the paintings generally fall within these size parameters.¹⁰⁶ For example, *Defense of the Eucharist by Philip V of Spain*, dated

¹⁰⁴ Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, *The Virgin, Saints, and Angels: South American Paintings 1600-1825, from the Thoma Collection* (Stanford: Skira, 2006), 180, citing Jorge Cornejo Bouroncle, "Arte Cuzqueño," *Revista del Archivo Histórico del Cuzco I* (1951): 286-287.

¹⁰⁵ Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia*, 196. "de a dos baras y dos tercios y los pequeños de dos baras y cuarta y veintidós de a bara y algo mas."

¹⁰⁶ Of the twenty paintings that were created in Cuzco in the eighteenth-century and are included in the Thoma Collection catalogue, sixteen correspond in size to commercially available Cuzco School painting.

1700-1740, measures 64 by 48 inches.¹⁰⁷ Another example from the Thoma Collection is *Our Lady of Mercy*, which measures 62 by 46 inches.¹⁰⁸ This would be the equivalent of 2 by 1 1/2 varas.

Because the MHN series serves as an example of paintings located in Chile that were probably created by Cuzco School painters, an examination of other Cuzco School painting series in Chile from the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries provides other examples, with respect to canvas size. One such series is the *Serie Chica de Santa Teresa* in the Carmelite convent of San José in Santiago, Chile. The smaller of two series depicting the life of Santa Teresa, it is comprised of twenty paintings, is considered complete, and dates to 1694. Each of the works in the series measures 122 by 163 centimeters, or 48 by 64 inches.¹⁰⁹

Another series created by Cuzco painters from the same period is the *San Francisco de Asis* series from 1748, painted by Marcos Zapata. This is the latest of three San Francisco series paintings in Santiago and is located in the *Monasterio de Capuchinas de la Santísima Trinidad*. The sizes of the twenty-four paintings vary, with the smallest paintings measuring 46 by 78 inches and the largest 49 by 89 inches. If one adheres to the previously mentioned definition of a vara, then the largest of these paintings would measure around 2 1/2 to almost 1 1/2 varas,

¹⁰⁷ Stratton-Pruitt, 132.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 168.

¹⁰⁹ Luis Mebold, *Catálogo de pintura colonial en Chile* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 1985), 72.

which is consistent with many Cuzco School paintings studied for this dissertation.¹¹⁰

Historian Jorge Cornejo Bouroncle, who copied multiple contracts for paintings that were written by notaries in the colonial period and found in the Historical Archives of Cuzco, cites other examples. These contracts establish a relative pattern regarding the sizing of paintings. In an entry from September of 1700, an agreement states that Gerónimo Málaga, identified as a "master painter," agrees with captain Joseph Antonio Jiménez, to paint and provide twelve finished canvases on the Life of Our Lady, which are to measure 2 1/2 varas wide. He is also contracted to produce thirty smaller paintings at 1 vara in length.¹¹¹ An entry from March 1713 states that Don Carlos Sánchez Medina, also identified as a master painter, is obliged to don Francisco Suasso y Carbajal to paint twelve canvases at 2 1/2 varas wide and 1 2/3 varas long on the Rosary of Elena, the Destruction of Troy, the Temple of Diana and others.¹¹²

A third entry from Cornejo is longer and offers examples of painting of different sizes. In April of 1714, Don Cristobal de Tapia, master painter and resident of Cuzco, agrees with don Felix Cortéz to paint eighteen canvases of various saints. The entry states that all were to be from 2 varas long and 1 1/2 in

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 228-275.

¹¹¹ Jorge Cornejo Bouroncle, "Arte Cuzqueño," *Revista del archive histórico del Cuzco VI* (Cuzco: 1958), 20.

¹¹² Ibid., 34.

width. An additional painting of the Tree of Our Father Santo Domingo was to be 3 varas long and 2 1/2 varas wide. The contract also called for eight landscapes to be 3 3/4 wide and 2 2/3 varas tall, and finally a smaller painting of Our Lady of Soledad to be 3/4 vara high and 1/2 vara wide.¹¹³ A final example from April 1721 involves Agustín de Navamuel, master painter contracted to paint twenty-four canvases of the twelve Inca kings and their *ñustas*, each to be 2 1/3 varas high and 1 3/4 varas wide.¹¹⁴

These examples show that a common size for paintings produced in Cuzco in the eighteenth-century was around 2 varas in width by 1 vara in length. The dimensions of the Farnese paintings are 61 by 38 inches, which would be relatively equivalent to 2 varas in width to 1 vara in length, corresponding to commonly sized commercially available Cuzco School paintings. As stated at the beginning of this section, the length of the vara was not absolute, but in the case of the MHN series, they fall within the parameters of an average size.

Mesa and Gisbert's discussion of the industrial environment surrounding the creation of Cuzco School paintings suggests that the reason for this relative uniformity of size for canvases and stretchers was that it facilitated quick execution; the issues involved are large commissions and low prices. Using the eighteenth-century indigenous painter Mauricio García y Delgado as an example, Mesa and Gisbert show that García would charge two

¹¹³ Ibid., 38.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 49.

pesos per painting while other painters would, up to that time, charge between twelve and twenty pesos per painting. They note that one commission given to García, who was by their estimation a mediocre painter, was for 435 paintings to be completed in seven months. This indicates the presence of large workshops of painters who probably never left Cuzco and who had minimal contact with potential buyers.¹¹⁵ It was probably in an environment such as this that the MNH series was produced.

Regarding workshops in Peru during the colonial period, Mesa and Gisbert write that the labor for those workshops was facilitated by an apprentice system that followed a medieval model. Here, adolescents would be left with a painting master for training. The time required for training fluctuated between six months and four years, with two years being the most common. Mesa and Gisbert claim that the shorter periods corresponded to the start of the eighteenth-century and an exponential growth in demand for paintings.¹¹⁶

A number of factors prompted this growth in demand. According to Mesa and Gisbert, the churches in Cuzco had already become saturated with paintings, particularly under the patronage of bishop Manuel Mollinedo, the bishop of Cuzco and the man responsible for rebuilding Cuzco after the earthquake of 1650. Because of this, painters began to create smaller and less

¹¹⁵ Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia*, 208.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 262, citing Jorge Cornejo Bouroncle, *Derroteros de Arte Cuzqueño; datos para una historia del arte en el Perú* (Cuzco: Ediciones Inca, 1960), 60.

expensive paintings, making them available to a greater number of buyers.¹¹⁷ Historian Leopoldo Castedo adds that Cuzco was suffering an economic decline due to poor agricultural conditions, which led to a growing number of indigenous painters, as painting was seen as an alternate way to earn a living. In spite of the saturation of the market, there was a significant demand for the paintings outside of Cuzco, in places such as Lima and Chile.¹¹⁸

By the mid-seventeenth century, families of artists started to establish workshops, and local schools (with their own characteristics) rose in importance. Prominent families belonged to the painters' guild, which was established in agreement with the *Ordenanzas* of Lima of 1649 and was based on known practices in Spain. The *Ordenanzas* of Lima established rules for the formation of workshops.¹¹⁹ By the end of the seventeenth-century, however, the number of Spanish artists was dwindling, and by the eighteenth-century the art of painting was controlled almost entirely by native Peruvians.¹²⁰

According to the art historian Gabriela Siracusano, at the start of the colonial period, indigenous artists typically began

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 204; Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, *Object and Apparition: Envisioning the Christian Divine in the Colonial Andes* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2013), 146.

¹¹⁸ Leopoldo Castedo, *The Cuzco Circle* (New York: The Center for Inter-American Relations and The American Federation of Arts, 1976), 50.

¹¹⁹ Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia*, 262.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

their careers as hired help in artists' workshops; by the end of the seventeenth century, they made up the majority of artists in the Cuzco art market. The issue was that, from the beginning, local expertise was needed for work requiring any of what were considered mechanical arts, like painting or masonry. Such activity carried a stigma, making participation hard for Spaniards who considered their social standing to be of importance. Though a Spaniard might be lacking in money, to work as a painter was frowned upon. Siracusano says that this did not change until the end of the seventeenth century.¹²¹

Rather than leave indigenous artists in control, merchants took the upper hand by manipulating the art market and influencing the tastes of buyers. Mesa and Gisbert present an example of this phenomenon with the case of Dominican friar Tomás Ojeda. Ojeda, in spite of his religious affiliation, was an unethical art dealer. He contracted master painter Francisco Sánchez to produce paintings worth 344 pesos. Sánchez could not comply with the order, due to time constraints, family problems, and overall poverty brought about by his lowly status. He found himself living in the convent of San Agustín as he was under constant pressure to finish from his employers.¹²²

Mesa and Gisbert note that Sánchez took the job out of financial necessity and that the commission must have been large

¹²¹ Gabriela Siracusano, *El poder de los colores: De lo material a lo simbólico en las practicas culturales andinas: Siglos XVI-XVIII* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2005), 147-150.

¹²² Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia*, 207.

because he was given five years to complete it.¹²³ Mesa and

Gisbert write:

The case of Friar Tomás de Ojeda shows how, in the city of Cuzco indiscriminate art merchants proliferated. At the end of the seventeenth-century painters lose their independence when some caciques such as those of the parish of San Sebastian, Juan de Sicos, first (1698) and Felipe de Sicos, later (1704) would traffic in the work of indigenous painters. In the case of Juan de Sicos, a company was created between cacique and artist that functioned for profit; in the case of Felipe, he is indicated as a merchant without word given to the condition of the work. Mauricio García prefers to negotiate directly with the owners of pack animals, meaning that the work was meant for export. The case of Ojeda brings to us a case of outright exploitation.

These conditions made it so that the artist could not work freely and carefully, rather, they responded to large wholesale contracts, subjecting their production to the demands of active commerce. They are not in a condition to appreciate the reactions and tasks of their clients, rather, they produce in any way that they can, hurried by the short time frames given to them by merchants. Works completed in this fashion were taken to a far away public that would either accept or reject what was given; the majority of the time the buyer would not know who the painter was. The primary attraction was that the paintings were created in Cuzco. In this way, works of art became a manual craft.¹²⁴

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 207-208. "El caso de Tomás de Ojeda muestra cómo en la ciudad de Cuzco proliferan desprejuiciados mercaderes de obras de arte. A fines del siglo XVII los pintores pierden su independencia cuando algunos caciques como los del parroquia de San Sebastian, Juan de Sicos, primero (1698), y Felipe de Sicos, después (1704), trafican con las pinturas de los indígenas. En el caso de Juan de Sicos se hace una sociedad entre cacique y artista, con fines de lucro; en el caso de Felipe tan solo se nos indica que es mercader, sin señalar condición de trabajo. Mauricio García prefiere negociar directamente con los dueños de recuas y así sus obras están destinadas a lo que podríamos llamar exportación. En el caso del fraile Ojeda estamos ya ante un problema de franca explotación.

Estas condiciones hacen que los artistas no puedan trabajar libre y cuidadosamente sino que respondan a grandes contratos al por mayor, sujetando su producción a las exigencias de un active comercio. No están en condición de apreciar las reacciones y gustos de su clientela, sino que producen de cualquier manera, apremiados por los cortos plazos que les otorgan los mercaderes.

Under such circumstances, a relative uniformity in the size of the canvases is understandable, though clearly still open to speculation. While the sources consulted for this dissertation do not provide a solid rule for the size of Cuzco School paintings, the sizes specified in contracts from the period, as well as examinations of different paintings, show that they commonly measure around 2 by 1 1/2 varas. It is possible that this allowed workshops to execute paintings of images that were expected to sell before any contact with buyers was made. Canvases would have been prepared beforehand, enabling artists to work much more quickly.¹²⁵

Color Characteristics of the Cuzco School and the MHN Series

Scholarship on the characteristics of color in the Cuzco School, as well as comparisons with other examples of Cuzco School painting, strengthen Mesa and Gisbert's assertion that the MHN series is of the Cuzco School. As they note, the palette in Cuzco School painting is bright. The use of gradations in color was rare, and flesh colors remained uniformly pink. According to what eventually became a code of painting, landscapes were

Las obras realizadas se llevan hacia un public lejano, que las toma o las deja sin más opción que elegir entre mercadería que los intermediaries ponen a su disposición; las más de las veces, los consumidores no saben quién pintó el cuadro el cual viene con el único aval de haber sido hecho en la ciudad de Cuzco. La pintura se va transformando así de obra de arte en artesanía."

¹²⁵ Ibid., 204.

rendered in blue-green with mountains the color of sienna.

Flowers were predominantly red and white.¹²⁶

Earlier scholarship on the use of color in Cuzco School painting is vague. Historian Alvarez Urquieta states that vivid colors characterize Cuzco painting, along with a noticeable lack of chiaroscuro.¹²⁷ Pal Keleman has also suggested a lack of depth, or flatness, brought about by the native handling of color.¹²⁸

While recent scholarship is more comprehensive in its observation of color, the principal hues mentioned are unfailingly red and blue. Art historian Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt observes the red and blue in the garments that Saint Michael wears in the Cuzco School painting *Saint Michael Archangel*, noting it as characteristic of the use of color in the Andes at this time (fig. 29). Stratton-Pruitt also provides readers with the color characteristics of indigenous Peruvian interpretations of Flemish landscapes, saying that in the foreground brown tones normally predominate, in the middle ground trees and other foliage are often painted in greens, and in the distance the predominant colors are soft blue and grey.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Ibid., 267.

¹²⁷ Luis Alvarez Urquieta, *La pintura en Chile durante el period colonial* (Santiago: Publicaciones de la Academia Chilena de la Historia, 1933), 10.

¹²⁸ Pal Keleman, *Baroque and Rococo in Latin America*, (New York: Dover Publications, 1967), 198.

¹²⁹ Stratton-Pruitt, 190.

Contextually relevant to the present dissertation, art historian Luis Mebold's characterization of the colors used in the Chilean examples of series paintings from eighteenth-century Cuzco is unsurprisingly similar to what has already been mentioned. In describing the *Serie chica de Santa Teresa*, Mebold says that the series is, in places, brilliant; there is the use of vermilion, blue-greens, greyish browns, grey and white and black (fig. 30). In the case of the *Serie via sacra o via cruces*, there is reddish brown and green for lower areas and blue-grey and brownish grey for the upper areas of the paintings, which come with vermilion and blue-green touches (fig. 31). Finally, in the *Serie de San Francisco de Asis*, there are ochers, browns, red earth colors, green and grey, with what Mebold calls the ever-present red and blue touches (fig. 32).¹³⁰

A painting in the MHN series that serves as an example, *The Expurgation of Corbel*, displays the color attributes of the Cuzco School, as established by Mesa and Gisbert (fig. 23). The uniforms of the Spanish troops crossing the bridge into Corbel are predominantly red, blue and blue-grey. Additionally, the atmosphere covering the distant hills in the background is executed in a strong greenish blue. This hue is also present in the water in the moat at the entry into Corbel. The color green alone is used sparingly in this painting--used predominantly, in the series as a whole, to depict areas that are flat and presumably covered with grass. The use of green in the MHN series

¹³⁰ Mebold, 72, 211, 229.

is most prominently displayed in the *Battle of Nus*, where the rooftops are rendered in strong green hues (fig. 17). Plumage on the helmets of various figures in the Corbel painting is painted in red with white, and there is a strong use of brown in the foreground. These characteristics correspond to those of extant Cuzco School paintings, as analyzed by the consulted scholars.

Consistent in the scholarship regarding color is the consideration of why color is handled by indigenous painters in certain ways. The principal aspects of possible indigenous interpretations of color are religious, political and curative. Pereira maintains that color in a religious context served to give the paintings a mystical quality, to identify the images as of another world.¹³¹ The notion of flatness, mentioned by Keleman, likely served to enhance this ethereal effect.¹³²

Echoing Pereira's assessment, Stratton-Pruitt says that adding color to landscapes that were strange to the indigenous eye gave religious scenes a supernatural aspect.¹³³ Teresa Gisbert looked to the landscapes of Diego Quispe Tito, who was active in the mid-seventeenth-century and is considered to be the originator of the Cuzco style of painting, to underline the effect of the use of color. Quispe Tito, using Flemish engravings as a basis for his paintings, would add indigenous touches to embellish the painted versions of these scenes. Angels, colorful

¹³¹ Pereira, 61.

¹³² Keleman, 198.

¹³³ Stratton-Pruitt, 190.

South American birds, flowers and green foliage would leave viewers with a sense of heaven. Gisbert says that the Andean heaven is green (fig. 33).¹³⁴ While it is certain that *Cuzqueña* painting included indigenous touches to European landscapes, it is impossible to know how the painters of the MHN series regarded the use of certain colors, as the execution of the series was likely seen as a business transaction.

Beyond this taste for the otherworldly, color had symbolic capital among indigenous Peruvians. Regarding possible political interpretations of color, seventeenth-century writer, noble and Cuzco resident el Inca Garcilaso de la Vega writes that the Inca wore a braid called an *llautu* that would wrap around his head as a type of headdress. This braid was the width of a finger and was made of many colors. Vassals would also wear a similar braid, but black; color served as an indication of royalty.¹³⁵ Garcilaso says that, as a form of tribute, vassals of the Inca would make clothing, shoes and weapons for Inca soldiers and officers. One of the characteristics of the clothing reserved for nobility was that it would be made of fine wool and of many colors.¹³⁶ This suggests that the use of vivid colors may have served as a reminder to indigenous painters of the power that the Inca once

¹³⁴ Teresa Gisbert, "La identidad étnica de los artistas del Virreinato del Perú," *El barroco peruano*, (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2002), 122.

¹³⁵ Garcilaso de la Vega, *el Inca, Comentarios reales* (Editorial Porrúa, S.A., 1990), 39.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 176.

enjoyed in the face of the contentious relationship that the Cuzco School had with many Spaniards.

Art historian Alicia Seldes also touches upon the possible symbolism of color in the Andes, proposing that colors commonly used in Cuzco School painting--red, blue, green and yellow--were associated with the Inca and represented wealth and spirituality to an Andean audience.¹³⁷ In her 2005 book *The Power of Color*, scholar Gabriela Siracusano supports Seldes's assertion, saying that color in an Andean context signified social order and political hegemony. Siracusano also says that destructive forces in nature such as lightning were not associated with any particular color, so when colors were clear, they signified heightened visibility made possible by the sun. Given this reasoning, colors such as blue, green and red were associated with nobility, as the Inca emperor was believed to be the son of the sun.¹³⁸

Beyond the political dimension of color, Siracusano and Seldes examine the religious and curative properties that color was said to have in an Andean context. The rainbow was seen in Andean culture as a deity, with both destructive as well as constructive properties; its pure colors were regarded as hopeful. The fact that rainbows descend into the earth also gave

¹³⁷ Alicia Seldes et al., "Green, Yellow and Red Pigments in South American Painting, 1610-1780," *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* 38, no. 3 (Autumn-Winter 2002): 226, 231.

¹³⁸ Siracusano, 241.

its colors telluric power, which could be potentially vengeful and was linked to ancestor worship.¹³⁹

The curative properties of color emanate from a source similar to both the Andean as well as Spanish experience. The actions of a pharmacist or doctor and those of a person in a workshop grinding stones such as hematite or plants to make pigments were essentially the same. As an example, Siracusano has found that in an American context, hematite--one of the sources for the color red--was capable of stemming menstrual flow or hemorrhage. The point was that if color had curative connotations, an image could heal the body and soul.¹⁴⁰

Such properties attributed to color probably went unnoticed by most Spaniards entrusted with the destruction of native practices and idols, as color did not take on the form of what was considered a conventional idol.¹⁴¹ This last point leaves interpretive possibilities open with regard to any Cuzco School painting.

The Cuzco School became active over a hundred years after the conquest, making it possible for exposure to European cultural norms to dilute Andean interpretations of color. In her article on cultural hybridity, Carolyn Dean says that collective cultures such as that of colonial Peru were heterogeneous and

¹³⁹ Ibid., 246.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 219-222.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

cultural mixing was the norm.¹⁴² That said, because the Cuzco School consisted primarily of indigenous painters, indigenous interpretation of color was certainly possible and may explain why the MHN series, and *cuzqueña* painting in general, looks the way it does. It is also possible, however, that by the eighteenth-century indigenous painters gave little thought to the symbolism of color, as the completion of commissions appeared to be a far more pressing concern.

While symbolic interpretations of color may have been possible with indigenous painters, the study of the physical properties of the pigments and how they relate to the industry of painting is of greater relevance to the present research. Pal Keleman states that the finest European materials were expensive and indigenous painters would rely on local materials, such as cochineal for red and indigo for blue, in addition to other vegetable-based earth tones. He then claims that, for this reason, painting in the Viceroyalty of Peru never achieved the subtlety of European work.¹⁴³ Once again, cost and speed of execution were likely the intervening issues, rather than symbolic meaning.

A final example of a MHN painting and color is the *Battle of Estemberg*. In this painting the predominant colors are blue, white and red, all three of which can be seen on the flags. The

¹⁴² Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn, "Hybridity and its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America," *Colonial Latin American Review* 12, no. 1 (2003): 5-35.

¹⁴³ Keleman, 198.

landscape to the right middle ground of the painting is a consistent blue-grey with pink elements meant to constitute the beach. The same color is used on the buildings within the city walls. It will be shown that pink was also a commonly used color among painters working in Cuzco. The small house in the foreground is a light brown example of an earth tone (fig. 14). The colors seen in this painting once again correspond to the palette discussed in this section.

In their discussion of the physical make-up of the pigments used in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century South American painting, Alicia Seldes and her colleagues discuss the palette of Marcos Zapata, a Cuzco painter active in the mid-eighteenth-century. After stratigraphic studies of his work, they see his palette as limited, his brush strokes heavy and his mixing of pigments as hasty and unrefined. They maintain that these elements resulted from the need to produce a great volume of work very quickly and to reduce costs.¹⁴⁴

The authors of this conservation study show that some South American painters were aware of the writing of Spanish theorists, such as Francisco Pacheco, regarding the mixing of pigments. By comparing two painters, Mateo Pisarro and Marcos Zapata, they conclude that Pisarro was familiar with the writings of Spanish theorists and implemented their principles. Pisarro was active in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in Jujuy, a province in northwest Argentina that borders Chile and Bolivia.

¹⁴⁴ Seldes et al., "Green," 238.

His most significant work was created under the patronage of Juan José Campero y Herrera, Marqués del Valle de Tojo. According to Siracusano, Pissarro's patron provided him with the best materials because the paintings were meant to represent the patron's political and economic power.¹⁴⁵ This suggests that Pissarro had the time and the resources at his disposal to complete his commissions.

Because of some painters' awareness of contemporary writing on the handling of pigment, it is possible that, in much the same way that the relative size uniformity of Cuzco painting was to an extent due to the need to expedite the production of paintings for a large market, the reduction of the palette of Cuzco painters may have been influenced by the same circumstances--not necessarily the result of a lack of knowledge or ability (figs. 34, 35).¹⁴⁶

An example of the writing and theory likely available to some painters in Cuzco regards the treatment of the flesh, which in Cuzco School painting has been characterized as uniformly pink.¹⁴⁷ Variation in flesh tones in the MHN series appears to correspond with the degree of shadow that the artist wishes to display. Spanish painter Francisco Pacheco provides instructions on how to handle flesh tones, which may have been ignored due to

¹⁴⁵ Siracusano, 114.

¹⁴⁶ Seldes, "Green," 226, 231.

¹⁴⁷ Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia*, 267.

a lack of time and an inability to access all of the materials.

He writes,

For fair flesh, use white and vermilion and a little light ocher; for flesh that is not so fair, use red earth of levanter and ocher, adding more or less according to the variations of the shadows. The appropriate tints are made with bone black, Italian umber, lamp black, spalt, and red earth, and carmine is used as well for some darks. For rosy flesh, use vermilion and carmine, and for those that are less rosy, mix the vermilion with red earth.¹⁴⁸

Without an examination of the chemical content of the pigment of the MHN series, the care that was involved in preparing the color will remain unknown. Siracusano says that in the case of mass-produced painting, the application of color was an automatic practice and not subject to experimentation.¹⁴⁹ What remains is what can be seen and the possible limitations that the colors imply, such as a lack of time and a possible lack of skill. While the MHN paintings are not religious scenes and are probably not meant to communicate a sense of the supernatural, the handling of color in the MHN paintings is consistent with other Cuzco School paintings from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

¹⁴⁸ Francisco Pacheco, "The Art of Painting," *Artists' Techniques in Golden Age Spain: Six Treatises in Translation*, ed. Zahira Veliz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 69-70.

¹⁴⁹ Siracusano, 214.

The Treatment of Anatomy as a Consequence of the Birth of the Cuzco School

The depiction of the bodies of the soldiers in the *Celebrated Expugnation of Corbel* painting is indicative of a work created quickly, in the early to mid-eighteenth-century in Cuzco, and cannot be considered academic. This lack of academic training with regard to the treatment of the body requires an historical explanation, which can be found in the circumstances surrounding the formation of the Cuzco School.

The *Ordenanzas* of Lima, dated the 24 of February 1649, established that the standards to which artists would be held would correspond to the same standards found in other parts of the Spanish empire, particularly Seville.¹⁵⁰ The specific regulatory practices with relevance to this study are as follows:

Article 3: The painter or guildler that is approved and given the title of master must comply in word and works to the following: He must draw a full bodied frontal human figure and another half-profile. He must also draw a figure from the back with symmetry and proper proportions. Likewise, he must also draw the body of a woman and a child. Then, he must paint a canvas with one or more nude figures in oil, fresco or tempera as the work dictates. He will also answer questions on history and the handling and uses of color, tempera and canvases. Upon answering correctly and capably, he will be given the title master, which he can use freely.

. . . .
Article 6: He who wishes to be granted the title master must learn his art for one year with an approved master. Having complied with these demands, he will be given the aforementioned test. . . .

Article 8: No painter or guildler can work from his house without a license approved by the guild inspector and the guild president, much less agree to complete a work, take works to be sold at the plaza or out to the streets under penalty of expulsion from the guild. In the event that

¹⁵⁰ Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia*, 310.

the person continues this behavior, the he will be fined 30 pesos and sentenced to 10 days in jail.¹⁵¹

In the years 1687-1689, a conflict broke out between Spanish and indigenous painters in the painters' guild in Cuzco. Indian painters claimed racial abuse, and petitioned to form their own guild after being excluded from working on a triumphal arch for the Corpus Christi celebrations, the most important religious event in Cuzco.¹⁵² While considering the large number of commissions available at the end of the seventeenth-century, Mesa and Gisbert maintain that the Spaniards and Indians divided them

¹⁵¹ Ibid. The *Ordenanzas* of Lima are reproduced in the appendix of Mesa and Gisbert's book. ``3er-Item, que el pintor o dorador que le 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 espaldas con sus partes y tamaños conforme a la simetria 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 oleo 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. . . .

``6to-Item, que el que quisiere ser aprobado maestro, ha de haber aprendido el tal arte con maestro y ha de haber cumplido la escritura y trabajado un año (por oficial) con maestro aprobado y concurriendo las dichas calidades en el tal, se le harán las preguntas según y como arriba están referidas. . . .

``8vo-Item, que ningún pintor ni dorador, pueda trabajar en su casa sin particular licencia del veedor y alcalde, ni menos concertar obra ninguna, ni sacar a vender a la plaza, ni por las calles, pena de pérdida aplicada para la congregación del santo y si en su reveldia procediere, se le condena en 30 pesos y diez días de cárcel."

¹⁵² Ibid., 137; Carol Damian, *The Virgin of the Andes: Art and Ritual in Colonial Cuzco* (Miami: Grassfield Press, 1995), 48; Stratton-Pruitt, 90; Siracusano, 185.

equally. Nonetheless, many Spanish contracts had to be filled with Indian or mestizo help. The truth was that, in spite of the best efforts of the Spanish contingent of the painters' guild to expel indigenous painters, demand was very high and Indian painters operating outside of the guild were never lacking in commissions.¹⁵³ This reality would lead to the widespread dissemination of painting produced in Cuzco.¹⁵⁴

Ultimately, the 1688 split signaled the development, according to Mesa and Gisbert, of a "non-western" style of painting, characterized by the absence of academic standards, which had been imposed by the guild in accordance with the *Ordenanzas* of Lima. The dwindling numbers of Spanish artists contributed to this development. According to Mesa and Gisbert, a breakdown in professional standards is easily perceived when examining indigenous painting from the eighteenth-century. Indian painters found themselves discouraged by the long process of apprenticeship and the rigorous battery of exams that they had to pass in order to be considered as part of the guild. They were also aware that there was no need to go through with the training because there was never a shortage of work. This was central in the development of what appeared--to Europeans, at least--as a more naïve manner of painting, as well as a drop in prices when

¹⁵³ Ibid., *Historia*, 137.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 272.

control of artistic standards was placed in the hands of market forces rather than purely professional ones.¹⁵⁵

One of the areas where the disintegration of the guild system can be seen is in the rendering of the human form. Returning to the Corbel painting, soldiers lack distinguishable musculature or detailed features. As the *Celebrated Expugnation of Corbel* is a battle scene, there was probably no real need to accurately depict the body. The view of the battle, while close when compared to many battle engravings, is nevertheless meant to be seen at a distance. It follows that a detailed anatomical rendering of the figures in this instance was unnecessary.

The difference in the rendering of musculature and detail is nonetheless apparent. A comparison between the painting and engraving entitled *Triumphant Festivities given by Paris to Alexander Farnese for having lifted the Siege* shows this (figs. 19, 20). As this is not a battle painting, the differences in execution between painters and engraver are clear. In the engraving, the figures are depicted with much more surface detail seen in the intricate folds of uniforms and drapery used to adorn the horses. It can also be seen in a comparison between Farnese's armor in the engraving, which is more ornate than the armor in the painting.

Another point of comparison that signals the use of greater detail in the engraving is the rendering of faces. In the engraving, Farnese, located in the center foreground, is shown

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 204.

more realistically. His face has a serious expression and his beard is more detailed. To the far left of the engraving in the foreground, there is an equestrian figure with a portrait-like countenance. The faces in the painting are almost interchangeable. Moving from Farnese in the center of the painting to the left, it can be seen that not much effort was made to differentiate between the faces of three of the figures on horseback. The exception would be the corpulent figure with white hair to Farnese's immediate left.

The issue of musculature can be seen most clearly in the depiction of the horses. The engraving gives comparatively detailed muscle and joints on the horses legs and bodies. In the painting, the white horse located in the left foreground has no significant suggestion of muscle. The joints are non-existent. The engraving shows the right front leg of the horse lifted, whereas the one in the painting shows the leg curling unnaturally to the left. In addition to this, the same horse in the engraving is depicted from the front and has a thin snout. The painting renders the head unnaturally round.

De Hooghe's engraving uses shadow to create a depth not seen in the painting. The painting shows a group of children to the left of Farnese. While the round-faced figure in the painting suggests a darkening on the left side of his coat, in the engraving it is entirely dark. In addition to this, the painting shows three children, where the engraving only clearly shows one with a partial and darkened view of a second.

These differences between painting and engraving show that De Hooghe was more exacting in his execution of the engraving. The painting appears more naive and its lack of detail and verisimilitude is possibly due to a lack of training or just as likely, a lack of time.

A European painting from the late seventeenth-century serves as a comparative example of battle painting. Francesco Monti, known as Brescianino, worked for the Farnese family from 1673 to 1695, and he died in 1703.¹⁵⁶ His painting entitled *Battle with White Horse in the Center and City with Tower in the Background* depicts a battle seen closely, yet the faces of the combatants are undefined. With the exception of the large central figure on the black horse and the musculature of the horses depicted large in the foreground, the other figures are rendered without exacting detail. The mass of men fighting on horseback to the left in the middle ground communicates the chaos without accurately depicting the individual soldiers (fig. 36). Of course, the farther away certain figures are, the lesser the detail, such as the wagon at the right middle ground.

While a lack of detail that corresponds to movement in battle can be seen in Brescianino's painting, the *Celebrated Expugnation of Corbel* painting, like the *Triumphant Festivities given by Paris to Alexander Farnese for having lifted the Siege* painting, contains examples of carelessness. A detail from the

¹⁵⁶ Giancarlo Sestieri, *I Pittori di Battaglie: Maestri italiani e stranieri del XVII e XVIII secolo* (Roma: Edizioni De Luca, 1999), 650.

Corbel painting shows riflemen without completed hands. There is also a figure seen about to fall from the bridge, which makes no anatomical sense. His arms and legs appear to form a type of square and no head is discernable. This suggests that, beyond the possible ability of the painter, this painting was hastily executed (fig. 37).

In the case of the Corbel painting, the need to depict events may explain this possible neglect of academic standards. Other examples in the series also indicate a lesser degree of importance afforded to precise anatomical detail. In the case of the MHN series painting entitled *The Court of Charles V* (fig. 28), the head of each figure is larger than what is indicated by the size of the body. That the bodies and heads do not correspond may also indicate the participation of multiple artists. Given the awarding of large commissions, it was common for more than one artist to work on a given series.¹⁵⁷ The case of the royal group portrait is telling, given the static nature of the figures; the lack of believable detail strongly suggests the industrial conditions under which the series may have been created.

The Cuzqueño Style as a Choice

When describing Cuzco-style painting, Mesa and Gisbert cite the text *Relación del Cuzco*, written by the priest Ignacio de Castro in 1788, to better understand how it was received:

¹⁵⁷ Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia*, 196.

There is also a special inclination toward painting and sculpture; and recently an Englishman, whose work on America, recently translated into Italian, assures that the paintings of Cuzco have at times been deserving of appreciation in Italy. It cannot be denied that these painters have some fire, imagination and a sort of taste; but they ignore completely anything to do with instruction regarding this art, they do not know how to ennoble nature, nor do they give their brushes scope other than to paint sacred imagery in which the most apparent quality is imitation rather than invention.¹⁵⁸

De Castro's thoughts highlight two co-existing standards of painting: the indigenous style described as "non-western" by Mesa and Gisbert, and an academic style understood by de Castro to be of greater merit. To de Castro, Cuzco painters were imaginative yet incapable of "ennobling" nature. He also regarded their predilection for painting devotional images as an activity given to imitation rather than to invention.¹⁵⁹

The effect of the de Castro citation is to give Mesa and Gisbert an opportunity to discuss indigenous aesthetics and claim that de Castro does not understand indigenous painting. Mesa and Gisbert say that, to the Cuzco painter, nature did not matter and merely served to reference the subjects depicted. Indigenous

¹⁵⁸ Ignacio de Castro, *Relación del Cuzco*, (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1978), 61. "Hay también especial inclinación a la Pintura, y escultura; y un reciente Ingles, cuya obra en orden a la America se nos ha dado, poco ha vertida en Italiano, asegura que los Quadros del Cuzco han merecido alguna vez aprecio en Italia. No se puede negar que estos Pintores tienen algun fuego, imaginative, y tal qual gusto; pero ignoran enteramente todo lo que es instrucción relativa a este arte, no saben ennoblecer a la naturaleza, ni hazen la esfera de sus pinceles sino las Imagenes sagradas en que reluce mas la imitación que la invención."

¹⁵⁹ Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia*, 259.

sensibility valued escape above all else.¹⁶⁰ Mesa and Gisbert also maintain that indigenous painters were given to an archaic tendency in drawing and were fully conscious of this. Indeed, when tracing the development of drawing skills, Mesa and Gisbert look to Guaman Poma de Ayala, the sixteenth-century Andean noble and author of *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno*. Written around 1613, *Crónica* was a description of life in the Andes, directed to the king of Spain. Of importance to understanding the character of Andean drawing are Poma's illustrations. Poma had a linear style, which made no attempt at verisimilitude either in the rendering of the human form or in the case of perspective (fig. 38).¹⁶¹

The *Ordenanzas* of Lima of 1649 imposed a style of painting that was standard in seventeenth-century Western Europe. As has been said, the Lima standard entailed a battery of tests designed to ascertain the ability of an artist to depict the human form with a high degree of realism. This is precisely the environment that was rejected by the indigenous artist. As market forces overtook the guild as the caretakers of professional standards, the academic method of artist formation found itself progressively unnecessary. Mesa and Gisbert go a step further and identify this tendency toward stylization, rather than realism,

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Ibid. While Poma's drawings are invaluable to modern scholars, without knowing more about the influence that Poma may have had on artists in the early seventeenth-century, it is problematic to use his drawings as an example of an Andean tendency in art. It is possible that Poma drew to the best of his abilities and that this may say nothing of Andean artists in general.

as an example of indigenous aesthetics, referring to ceramic designs from the pre-Colombian Nazca, Inca and Tiahuanaco cultures, which are much more symbolic than realistic.¹⁶²

Gabriela Siracusano takes up the idea of art as more symbolic than realistic. She points out that, in the Andes, there were engravings as well as examples of Flemish and Spanish painting. There were also books on methods. Her point is that native Peruvian artists had ample opportunities to learn to paint in an academic manner.¹⁶³ The work of Basilio Santa Cruz Pumacallao, an indigenous Peruvian painter active in the mid-seventeenth-century, proves this. Because of his academic style, Basilio Santa Cruz was assumed to be a Spaniard. It was not until the mid-twentieth-century that scholars learned he was an indigenous painter, after finding documents containing his full name, which is indigenous.¹⁶⁴

Mesa and Gisbert claim that by 1661 Santa Cruz was already a master painter, which means that he had become a master before the implosion of the guild and would have had to receive academic training.¹⁶⁵ His most significant work was done under the patronage of Bishop Mollinedo, the bishop of Cuzco from 1673 to 1699. Santa Cruz was commissioned to decorate the Cathedral of

¹⁶² Ibid., 270.

¹⁶³ Siracusano, 156.

¹⁶⁴ Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 77-78.

¹⁶⁵ Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia*, 161.

Cuzco, and the paintings date to 1693. One of the best examples of his work is the painting of *La Magdalena* (fig. 39). Here there is greater depth in the use of color as well as a more careful rendering of the musculature of Mary Magdalene. Another example of his work is the painting of *La Virgen de Belén*, in which Bishop Mollinedo is shown kneeling at the altar in front of the virgin and looking out toward the viewer (fig. 40). Surrounding the virgin and the altar are scenes that tell the story of how the miraculous statue of the virgin arrived to Cuzco and the legend of Selenque, a Cuzco resident who saved the statue from falling to the ground as it was carried to its final location.¹⁶⁶ While *La Magdalena* and Mollinedo's portrait in *La Virgen de Belén* are realistic, the figures in the scenes that surround Mollinedo and the virgin in the Belén painting are not executed with the same detail, and they resemble human figures seen in later Cuzco school painting. Nevertheless, Santa Cruz worked for Bishop Mollinedo, and probably did not suffer the unbearable conditions felt by most indigenous painters at the start of the eighteenth-century.¹⁶⁷

Siracusano reaches the conclusion that much of what is known as indigenous "folk art" was ultimately the result of the choice of the artist.¹⁶⁸ While it is impossible to know the

¹⁶⁶ For a transcription of the narrative relating the arrival of the Virgin, see Victor Angeles Vargas, *La Basílica Catedral del Cuzco* (Lima: Industrialgráfica S.A., 1999), 132.

¹⁶⁷ Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia*, 163.

¹⁶⁸ Siracusano, 156.

intentions of artists in seventeenth-century Peru without corresponding documentation, the case of Santa Cruz Pumacallao shows that ethnicity alone is an insufficient indicator of painting style.

This tendency toward "folk art" was aided by the post-Tridentine demands on the execution of Christian images, which sought no innovation, looked only to preach and were intent on reminding indigenous congregations that the images were not huacas, but representations of deities, with no power in and of themselves.¹⁶⁹ Siracusano notes that the Quechua term *quillca* signified both writing and painting and that they both responded to the need to indoctrinate and to persuade, rather than to create realistic art.¹⁷⁰

The Corbel battle scene provides an example of a tendency toward stylization, specifically the rendering of smoke created by gunpowder and emanating from rifles, war machines and the aftermath of explosions (fig. 23). At the bottom right of the canvas appears what looks like a sharpshooter crouched down at one end of the bridge, firing his weapon toward the walls that encircle Corbel. The red flash at the end of his rifle is surrounded by the corresponding smoke, which the artist imagines as a clear and repeated spiral. This pattern is repeated in the

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 157. Huacas were objects mostly from nature such as rocks, which were lightly modified by humans and were considered to be sacred in and of themselves. Siracusano considers this to be an example of reflexive power--as opposed to transitive power, which entails mere representation, such as a Christian image.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

middle register on the right side of the painting, which shows Farnese's forces attacking the city. In the center of the canvas, puffs of smoke cover a war machine that crosses the moat toward the city walls. The multiple spirals of smoke create a visual rhythm, which enhances the drama of the scene while leaving notions of verisimilitude behind.

The lack of verisimilitude touches many aspects of the MHN paintings. Because the MHN series consisted of battle scenes, elements of drama can be expected. Color in the MHN series, however, is not used to create drama. As the use of color and the treatment of the bodies do not favor life, they are decorative. Considering the notion of space, the MHN paintings do give an illusion of depth, though the architectural elements are not painted with the same degree of realism as is seen in the engravings upon which the paintings are based. The treatment of the buildings in the Corbel painting displays a flatness that can be seen in the Guaman Poma drawing (fig. 38).

While observers such as de Castro would be inclined to see the attributes of *cuzqueña* painting as an example of innocence due to a lack of training or skill on the part of indigenous painters, Mesa and Gisbert see it as intentional. It was a way for artists to differentiate their work from that of those more closely influenced by European trends, and to obey the needs of the market. Mesa and Gisbert also claim that artists remaining in the guild system, who were more likely to have received academic training, participated in the execution of paintings that

displayed the formal qualities of the Cuzco School. Simply, art merchants had influenced the tastes of the buying public.¹⁷¹

While there is no way to know the intentions of the artists of the Cuzco School, the abandonment of European academic standards may, indeed, have been a conscious choice for some, provided that they had received academic training. The conditions under which many Cuzco School artists worked, however, argue against the idea that the formal characteristics of that School's paintings were entirely intentional. For painters such as Mateo Pisarro or Basilio Santa Cruz Pumacallao, who had abundant time, resources and the opportunity to experiment with the finest materials, the idea of an intentional turn away from verisimilitude is easy to accept. Painters who had to complete enormous commissions in limited time, however, leave one doubting the extent to which they were conscious of the creation of a Cuzco style.

Possible Ownership

The rise in demand for paintings and the popularity of paintings produced in Cuzco brings a number of possibilities regarding ownership into focus. This research has found that an elite member of colonial Chilean society likely commissioned or purchased this series. Historian Richard Aste in his chapter on the collection of Spanish colonial art at the Brooklyn Museum

¹⁷¹ Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia*, 270.

says that elites in the New World, unable to rise to positions of power normally reserved for Peninsular Spaniards, would maintain their status by purchasing luxury goods meant to be displayed. Among these goods were collections of paintings. One of the examples Aste gives is of a wealthy native Peruvian woman, Ñusta Doña Isabel Uypa Cuca, who collected both European and locally created paintings in order to establish her place in colonial society.¹⁷²

Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt comments further on the pervasiveness of painting and the buying habits of the elite by writing that the number of paintings belonging to wealthy clients would have been significant and that popular subjects of painting would have been religious as well as secular. Citing an inventory of a wealthy member of colonial Chilean society in the early seventeenth-century, she found fifteen paintings depicting the story of the Kings of France, twenty-seven portraits of kings as well as four viceroys of Peru, in addition to numerous religious paintings.¹⁷³ Stratton-Pruitt writes that the elite in colonial America emulated the tastes of the elite in Seville, preferring works created in Europe. Like their Spanish counterparts, they also preferred profane subject matter, such as landscapes or the

¹⁷² Richard Aste, "Art in the Spanish American Home at the Brooklyn Museum," in *Behind Closed Doors: Art in the Spanish American Home, 1492-1898* (New York: The Monacelli Press, 2013), 20.

¹⁷³ Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt, "Paintings in the Home in Spanish Colonial America" in *Behind Closed Doors: Art in the Spanish American Home, 1492-1898* (New York: The Monacelli Press, 2013), 106.

depiction of historical events. In contrast, the working classes exhibited a preference for religious subjects and did not buy paintings in a series.¹⁷⁴ Interestingly, Spanish clergy was also inclined to purchase non-religious subjects. While the clergy was responsible for collecting many paintings of saints, they were also inclined to collect landscapes.¹⁷⁵

The majority of paintings that still exist from the colonial period are of religious subjects. According to Stratton-Pruitt, this is due to the fact that more religious paintings were created and that such subject matter would have been more carefully preserved. The number of secular paintings from the colonial period is very low, because most would have been lost to deterioration.¹⁷⁶

Given this information, it is possible that the MHN series was created at the bequest of a wealthy patron because it has survived as a series and follows the wealthy habit of buying in numbers. In addition to the number of paintings, the subject is profane, which would also have attracted an elite buyer.

Though the paintings were not created in Europe, it has been established that painting produced in Cuzco had become very popular. This means that it is also possible that the series was

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. ,109; Francisco Manuel Martín Morales. "Aproximación al estudio del mercado de cuadros en la Sevilla barroca (1600-1670)." *Archivo hispalense: Revista histórica, literaria y artística* 69, no. 210 (1986): 149.

¹⁷⁵ Morales, "Aproximación", 153.

¹⁷⁶ Stratton-Pruitt, "Paintings", 110.

created on speculation and sold along the trade route that existed between Peru and the Captaincy General of Chile. The trade route facilitated the movement of provisions and troops meant to service the ongoing war with the Araucanian Indians to the south and the Dutch on the coast.¹⁷⁷ Military activity in colonial Chile will be covered in chapter four of this dissertation.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to go beyond Mesa and Gisbert's assertion that the MHN series is comprised of early to mid-eighteenth-century paintings created by the Cuzco School, and understand why the paintings look the way that they do and what this may have meant. Issues of canvas size, color and the treatment of anatomy as corresponding characteristics have been discussed against the backdrop of the conditions within which the painters had to work. While the scholarship maintains that the visual characteristics of the Cuzco School were the result of a conscious choice on the part of indigenous artists, I assert that it is just as plausible that the MHN series looks the way that it does because the paintings had to be completed very quickly due to a very high demand. This would have left artists little time to consider the symbolic messages conveyed by certain colors or the otherworldly aspect generated by the flatness of the images.

¹⁷⁷ Juan Marchena Fernández, *Ejército y milicias en el mundo colonial Americano* (Madrid: Editorial Mapfre, 1992), 78.

Regarding the question of size, multiple examples show that the MHN series corresponds in size to commercially available Cuzco School paintings in the eighteenth-century and that the relative uniformity in size was likely caused by the need for quick production, in response to an almost uncontrollable demand for paintings.

The palette of the MHN paintings also represents the general characteristics of Cuzco School painting. As an example, the *Expurgation of Corbel* uses red and blue. Earth tones such as brown are present in the foreground and blue-green is seen in the distance and in the water. Without a scientific study, the materials from which the pigments came remain unknown. Nonetheless, the palette is bright and limited, which is a characteristic seen in Cuzco School painting. While scholars have considered the possibility that color may have been symbolic to Andean painters, this research argues that, like the issue of size, this limited palette was due in large part to the need to quickly execute large numbers of paintings, and that any sort of symbolism was probably not considered.

The treatment of the body and the general lack of verisimilitude are seemingly the results of the separation of indigenous painters from the painters' guild in Cuzco in 1688. No longer having to adhere to the standards established by the *Ordenanzas* of Lima, indigenous painters decided to forgo years of arduous training in an apprentice system and obey the demands of the market by producing work as quickly as they could. Sources consulted for this dissertation give no evidence of indigenous

painters receiving academic training at all after 1688. Many scholars see this as the birth of an American style. While the decorative nature of Cuzco School painting may have been a stylistic choice for some, it is unlikely that the lack of verisimilitude was always a conscious aesthetic choice, given the time constraints and sizes of commissions with which painters had to contend. The MHN series, while maintaining the drama of battle paintings, provides the viewer with enough examples of flatness in color and anatomical incongruities to indicate that the paintings were produced in Cuzco, and were possibly created under the same time and labor constraints as were common in the early to mid-eighteenth-century.

Finally, in spite of the non-academic aspect of painting created in Cuzco during the time discussed in this chapter, the works were a response to a large demand. The MHN series are comprised of battle paintings, which wealthy clients would have found desirable. This indicates that a wealthy patron who sought to buy a series as a way of establishing social status may have commissioned the paintings. Because the visual characteristics of the Cuzco School had become popular, it is also possible that the series was created on speculation.

Chapter Three: *Magnificenza* and *De Bello Bélgico*

As demonstrated in chapter one, the iconography of the MHN paintings was based on engravings by Romeyn De Hooghe found in the 1681 Spanish translation of *De Bello Bélgico*, a history of the wars of Habsburg Spain in Flanders and France written by Famiano Strada, a member of the Jesuit order. This chapter examines *De Bello Bélgico*, centering on its production, publication history, and the ideas it was designed to convey. This examination of *De Bello Bélgico* sheds light on the ways in which the MNH series and other series of paintings based on the engravings by Romeyn De Hooghe produced meaning in the eighteenth-century Americas.

Written Accounts and *De Bello Bélgico*

Though images of Farnese did not proliferate until almost one hundred years after his death, Ranuccio Farnese commissioned writers to record the deeds of his father. When Alexander Farnese was alive, he wanted accounts to be kept of his work. The available books were made possible due to the work of Farnese's assistant Cosimo Massi, who recorded Farnese's deeds in Flanders. According to scholar Roberto Sabbadini, Farnese's relationship with Spain was adversarial, and Massi's involvement with Farnese was marked by an awareness of the need to communicate with the crown carefully and selectively.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁸ Roberto Sabbadini, "L'uso della memoria; I Farnese e le immagini di Alessandro, duca e capitano," from *Il perfetto*

Eventually, Ranuccio asked the Jesuits to provide a writer who could also tell the story of his father's time in the Netherlands. Wanting ever more prestige, Ranuccio knew that to limit the Farnese story to visual imagery would also limit the story of his father to the inner circles of power, and he wanted to enhance the prestige of the family beyond. Ranuccio was aware that in order to do this he would have to resort to a textual retelling as well.¹⁷⁹ This task fell to Jesuit professor of rhetoric Famiano Strada and resulted in the creation of *De Bello Belgico*.

Ranuccio's decision to ask a Jesuit to write the history is unsurprising. The relationship between the Farnese family and the order was well established. The Farnese pope, Paul III, officially recognized the order in 1540.¹⁸⁰ The founder of the Jesuits, Ignatius of Loyola, served as one of Margaret of Parma's confessors¹⁸¹ and when she gave birth to Alexander Farnese on August 27, 1545, it was Ignatius of Loyola who baptized him.¹⁸²

capitano; immagini e realta? (secoli XV-XVII); atti dei seminari de studi, Georgetown University a Villa "Le Balze," Istituto di studi rinascimentali di Ferrara, 1995-1997, ed. Marcello Fantoni (Roma: Bulzoni, 2001), 179-180.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 4.

¹⁸¹ Jean Lacouture, *Jesuits: A Multibiography* (Washington, DC: Counterpoint, 1995), 149.

¹⁸² Charlie R. Steen, *Margaret of Parma: A Life* (Boston: Brill, 2013), 40.

De Bello Belgico is a three-volume work. The first two volumes are *De Bello Belgico, the First Decade from the Death of the Emperor Charles V to the Beginning of the Governorship of Alexander Farnese, Third Duke of Parma and Placencia*; and *The Second Decade from the beginning of the Governorship of Alexander Farnese Third Duke of Parma and Placencia*. While Famiano Strada is the author of the first two volumes, Jesuit Guillelmo Dondino is the author of the third, originally written in Latin, in 1671. According to art historian Maria Rosaria Nappi, Dondino's volume was entitled *Historia de Rebus in Gallia Gestis ab Alexandro Farnesio*. It appears that this third volume of *De Bello Belgico* was added as a way of completing Farnese's story. In the introductory materials, included before the start of volume 3 and Dondino's text, only Famiano Strada is mentioned; Dondino appears only in his own introduction to the work, but not in the notes of the publisher, the translator or the censors involved in the Spanish translation.¹⁸³

Nappi traces the history of the publication of *De Bello Belgico*: The first volume was originally published in 1632 and the second in 1647, both in Latin; the Italian translation of the first volume appeared in 1638 and the second in 1648.¹⁸⁴ A search

¹⁸³ Guillelmo Dondino, *Tercera decada de lo que hizo en Francia Alexandro Farnese, Tercero Duque de Parma y Placencia* (Colonia: Bonne-Maison, 1682).

¹⁸⁴ Maria Rosaria Nappi, "Characteristics of the Iconography concerning Alexander Farnese," in *Fasti Farnesiani: un restauro al Museo Archeologico di Napoli* (Italia: Electa Napoli, 1988), 100.

of *De Bello Belgico* in available databases finds that additional publications are numerous. According to Amanda Kennair, from the first edition in 1632 to the mid-eighteenth-century, there were more than seven editions published in six languages.¹⁸⁵

Publications in French appeared in 1645, 1651, 1675 and 1739. In English there were two main editions of the book, one published by Humphrey Mosley in 1650 and the other by Samuel Thompson in 1667. The first Spanish translation of all three volumes appeared in 1681 and was published again in 1682.

De Bello Belgico was the source cited by all of the readings consulted on Alexander Farnese for this dissertation. Though Strada's work is likely the most important on the subject of Farnese's time in Flanders and France, it is not the first, nor is it the only work on this topic. Nappi lists the histories of Farnese which existed in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that she considers to be the most important, aside from *De Bello Belgico*: *De Leone Belgico* by Michael von Aitzing, published in Cologne in 1586, while Farnese was still active; *Assedio e Riacquisto di Anversa fatto dal Sereniss, Alesandro Farnese Principe di Parma* by Cesare Campana, published in Vicenza in 1595; and *Guerra di Fiandra* by Giuido Bentivoglio, which was published in Cologne in 1633.¹⁸⁶ In addition to Massi's notes, the

¹⁸⁵ Amanda Kennair, "Battle," in *The Plains of Mars: European War Prints, 1500-1825 from the Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation*, eds. James Clifton and Leslie Scattone (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 180.

¹⁸⁶ Nappi, 100.

publications by von Aitzing and Campana may have served Strada as sources. *De Bello Belgico* predates *Guerra di Fiandra* by one year.

Not all editions of *De Bello Belgico* were illustrated. Many had maps and portraits. Kennair states that battle imagery did not appear until later editions were published.¹⁸⁷ This research has shown that Baur, Gemignani, Courtois, Michelangelo Cerquozzi and Jan Miel illustrated the first edition of the second volume, published in 1647, with battle imagery.¹⁸⁸

Magnificenza

Strada's work is the product of the process of *magnificenza*. In Italy the practice of *magnificenza* was considered a duty amongst prominent Italian families during the Renaissance,¹⁸⁹ and was the process by which a type of mythology was created through painting, sculpture, and architecture--as well as through published histories--that would serve to legitimize a family's right to rule and communicate power and wealth.¹⁹⁰ In the quattrocento and cinquecento, an important part of *magnificenza* was the practice of depicting heads of prominent families as

¹⁸⁷ Kennair, 180.

¹⁸⁸ Famiano Strada, *Famiani Stradae, Romani e Societate Iesu De Bello belgico decas secunda ab initio praefecturae Alexandri Farnesii Parmae Placentiaeque ducis III an. MDLXXVII usque ad an MDXC. Cum privilegis*. (Rome: Ex Typographia Haeredum Francisci Corbelletti, 1647).

¹⁸⁹ Helge Gamrath, *Farnese: Pomp, Power and Politics in Renaissance Italy* (Rome: Analecta Romana Instituti Danici, 2000), 17.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

having military prowess, known as *il perfetto capitano* or the perfect captain.¹⁹¹

Roberto Sabbadini describes the Farnese family as military men who would work for many differing city-states in Italy. He also says that the Farnese family understood the futility of acting in a military way on one's own. They knew that in order to secure the prestige and power of the Farnese name, they would have to do so under the sponsorship of one of the great powers, such as Spain. It follows that the mythology and iconography that developed around the Farnese family, and Alexander Farnese in particular, was the result of this process.¹⁹²

¹⁹¹ Sabbadini, 156.

¹⁹² Ibid. Sculpture and painting were an important part of the legitimizing process of *magnificenza*. The most important paintings of Alexander are by Giovanni Evangelista Draghi, though painted images of Alexander did not appear until almost 100 years after his death. The Farnese family engaged in *magnificenza*, aware that they had to preserve their links with Spain. Sculpture appears much earlier with his funerary monument in 1593. All of these works, both in painting and sculpture depict Alexander as a Roman general. As the perfect captain he was most often depicted controlling the field of battle without directly participating in the fighting. For information on the development of Alexander Farnese's iconography in Europe, see: Maria Rosaria Nappi, "Characteristics of the Iconography concerning Alexander Farnese," in *Fasti Farnesiani: un restauro al Museo Archeologico di Napoli* (Italia: Electa Napoli, 1988), 81; Elisabeth Oy-Marra, "Aspetti della rappresentazione del "perfetto capitano" nell'arte Italiana del Quattro-Cinquecento" from *Il perfetto capitano; immagini e realta? (secoli XV-XVII); atti dei seminari de studi, Georgetown University a Villa "Le Balze," Istituto di studi rinascimentali di Ferrara, 1995-1997*, ed. Marcello Fantoni (Roma: Bulzoni, 2001); Roberto Sabbadini, "L'uso della memoria; I Farnese e le immagini di Alessandro, duca e capitano," from *Il perfetto capitano; immagini e realta? (secoli XV-XVII); atti dei seminari de studi, Georgetown University a Villa "Le Balze," Istituto di studi rinascimentali di Ferrara, 1995-1997*, ed. Marcello Fantoni (Roma: Bulzoni, 2001); Helge Gamrath, *Farnese: Pomp, Power and Politics in Renaissance Italy* (Rome: Analecta Romana Instituti Danici, 2000); Stefano Pronti, *Alessandro*

The maintenance and promotion of a family line was a political and social reality in sixteenth-century Italy. Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor and King of Spain, realized that he had the power to bestow titles and prestige via land grants and marriage onto Italian nobility, and for this reason he adopted a position that promoted instability in Italy, with an end toward fostering competition among contending families for the favors of the king. Such circumstances assured a link between virtue and military ability in the visual depiction of members of important families.¹⁹³

The case of Alexander Farnese, however, is an exceptional one. The connection between the Hapsburg dynasty and the Farnese family began in 1537, when Pope Paul III, a Farnese, secured the marriage of an illegitimate daughter of Charles V of Spain, Margaret, to Ottavio Farnese. Their son, Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma and Piacenza, was born in 1545 in Rome.¹⁹⁴ Charles accepted the marriage because of the Farnese family's usefulness as military men. According to historian Helge Gamrath, Charles V regarded this union as a way of enlisting the Pope's religious, political and economic aid in Charles's war against Germany.

Farnese: condottiero e duca (1545-1592) (Piacenza: Tip.Le.Co. editore, 1995).

¹⁹³ Sabbadini, 158.

¹⁹⁴ Famiano Estrada, *Primera decada de las guerras de Flandes, desde la muerte del Emperador Carlos V hasta el principio del Gobierno de Alexandro Farnese, Tercero Duque de Parma y Placencia* (Colonia: Bonne-Maison, 1682), 241.

Charles also created a duchy for Margaret, and Parma and Piacenza were considered appropriate.¹⁹⁵

The Farnese's relationship with Charles V of Spain is a crucial point. Because the duchy was created in the sixteenth-century, it was considered controversial, and the Farnese family was regarded as new by the standards of other, more prominent Italian families.¹⁹⁶ Thus, it is likely that the Farnese family saw the promotion of Alexander's fame as necessary, not only because it was the accepted practice in Italy, but because of the family's relatively sudden change in social status.¹⁹⁷

After Alexander's death, the process of *magnificenza* was perhaps even more important given the damage that had been done to his reputation in the last years of his life. According to historian Henry Kamen, Alexander was blamed for the defeat of the Spanish Armada as well as misuse of money in Flanders. While the Armada debacle showed that Spain was not invincible, it also opened Farnese up to criticism, particularly from Spaniards who saw him as suspect because he was Italian.¹⁹⁸ In order for the Armada's mission to work, one of the Spanish ships had to have picked up Farnese and ferried him across to England, to then engage the English in a land battle. For the English and the

¹⁹⁵ Gamrath, 198.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 201.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 198.

¹⁹⁸ Henry Kamen, *Philip of Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 276.

Dutch, it was simple to blockade Farnese on the beach while the Armada sailed by. The plan failed. Though Philip II understood that Farnese was not to blame, circumstances created enemies for Farnese, many of whom had much greater access to the king.¹⁹⁹ Doubt lingered as to whether Farnese had done all that he could to reach Spanish ships. Against the plan from the start, Farnese was accused of half-heartedly participating in the operation because he did not want to risk the lives and morale of his troops.²⁰⁰

Because of the defeat of Spanish Armada, Farnese found his status vis-à-vis the Spanish royal house greatly diminished. In spite of all of Farnese's successes, his work in Flanders was seen as a drain on sparse funds. Sabbadini writes that the crown saw Farnese's work as expensive without justifiable returns. In addition, the Spanish felt that Farnese was more inclined to put self-interest, as well as the interests of his Italian compatriots, before those of the crown. Before Farnese's death in France, it had been planned to replace him with another Spanish commander, because Philip II felt that troops were developing a loyalty to Farnese that would rival their loyalty to Spain.²⁰¹

Farnese's contentious relationship with Spain meant that *De Bello Belgico* was created as a history of the wars in Flanders

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567-1659* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 228.

²⁰¹ Sabbadini, 177.

and France and not meant to be a biography. Yet, as has been already stated, this source is cited by all of the readings consulted regarding the life and iconography of Alexander Farnese. Thus, Farnese's biography is inextricably linked to the wars in Flanders, and the paintings in the MHN series preserve what audiences know and consider most relevant about his life.

De Bello Belgico's status as an example of *magnificenza* can be perceived in the introductory material provided by the censors and the translator of the Spanish edition, as well as of Strada himself. Here, Strada compares Alexander Farnese to warriors from antiquity and at the same time promotes his work. Dedicated to Odoardo Farnese in 1632, he writes,

Therefore, your grandfather Alexandro (You already know that they used to call him that) Camilus of the Belgians: the conqueror of cities, renewing himself with the name Demetrius: Alexander, that Roman, sober and victorious over anger: what fires would not be ignited by your generous desire for military praise, that Alexander alone gathered with a glorious mixture of past ages?

Neither will my annals fear, because your highness continually brings up before ones eyes the deeds of Alexander (deeds truly deserving of the awakening of the desire of Themistocles for the trophy of Alcibiades), annals that must lack novelty in the presence of your highness; thus, in these ancient things that they distinctly propose goes the desire to imitate them, here they are all represented, brought together by my pen: with more truth and certainty, than or with pompous words, or a servile style, such as that of Theodulo; whose history, charged with exaggerated flattery anciently threw Alexander of Macedonia to the river.²⁰²

²⁰² Estrada, *Primera*, introduction. "Pues, vuestro abuelo Alexandro (Ya saveis que le llamavan assi) Camilo de los Belgas: aquel conquistador de ciudades, renovandose en el sobrenombre de Demetrio: aquel Romano, pero sobrio y vencedor de la ira, Alexandro: que incendios no exitará en esta vuestra indole generosa de deseos de las alabanzas militares, que el solo recopiló en si con mezcla gloriosa de muchas edades passadas?

"Ni, porque V.A. traiga continuamente delante de los ojos

Here, Strada associates Alexander Farnese with Camilus and Demetrius, and Strada mentions Themistocles and Alcibiades. He also states that the entire mentioned military prowess culminates in the person of Farnese. The linking of the most prominent members of a prominent Italian family with ancient military heroes was the most common practice in *magnificenza*, and it happens here.

The introductory material also indirectly acknowledges the friction that existed between Spain and the Farnese family. In the translator's introduction to the Spanish edition, Melchor de Novar says that *De Bello Belgico* had been translated in many other languages and that Spanish was the one that was missing. He also says that, while there may be elements in *De Bello Belgico* that would offend Spanish sensibilities, this should be to the work's credit, as a balanced account.²⁰³

De Bello Belgico's status as a carefully balanced history of the wars in the Netherlands and not a biography is a perception reinforced by the censor. The censor Alonso Nuñez de Castro writes:

Well, he knew how to unite what was newsworthy with what was true; the subtle with the eloquent and the gift of wisdom

las hazañas de Alexandro(dignas verdaderamente de que le inquieten el sueño de Themistocles el trofeo de Alcibiades) temeran por esso mis anales, que les ha de faltar en su presencia toda la gracia de la novedad: pues estas antiguas cosas que esparcidamente proponen va el deseo de imitarlas, aquí se las representaran todas recogidas por mi pluma: mas con verdad y seguridad, que, o con pompa de palabras, o con estilo servil, como el de Theodulo; cuya historia cargada de desmedidas lisonjas arrojó antiguamente al rio el Alexandro de Macedonia."

²⁰³ Dondino, *Tercera*, introduction.

with that of language: in the detailed description of the provinces, cities and plazas in the work; in the faithful narrative of the encounters and battles; in the verisimilar exhortations of generals and corporals; and in the praise of those who stood out in these events for their valor and prudence, without excessive praise for these, nor in hatred for those who were complicit in the disturbances that caused this war.²⁰⁴

Both the censor and the translator make note of the impartiality of *De Bello Belgico*, yet Strada's own dedication to Alexander's grandson Odoardo is effusive in its praise of Alexander. This would indicate that Strada was aware of the purpose of his work, as an example of *magnificenza* employed to promote the Farnese name and open regarding his desire to imitate ancient history in his account of the wars in Flanders.

This section shows *De Bello Belgico* was likely the result of the process of *magnificenza*. In the case of the Farnese family, the need to engage in this process was particularly important due to the then-recent rise in prominence of the family and to the damage that had been done to Alexander Farnese's name after his death.

²⁰⁴ Ibid. "Pues, supo unir lo noticioso con lo verdadero; lo sutil con lo facundo y el don de la sabiduría con el de lenguas: en la puntual descripción de las provincias, ciudades y plazas de que trata; en la fiel narrativa de los encuentros y batallas; en las exortaciones verisimiles de los generales y los cabos; y en los elogios de los que por su valor, y prudencia se señalaron en estos successos, sin exceder ni en la lisonja a estos, ni en el odio a aquellos que fueron complices en los disturbios, que ocasionaron esta guerra."

***De Bello Bélgico* in the Americas**

Ranuccio's strategy aimed at enhancing the fame of the Farnese name beyond the Spanish court had clearly worked. Today, there is a seventeenth-century copy of *De Bello Bélgico* in Latin at the Jesuit library at the Universidad San Antonio Abad in Cuzco. The Jesuit library was turned over to the university in the eighteenth-century, upon the Jesuit order's expulsion from the Spanish empire. A non-illustrated copy of the very same book is held at the Biblioteca Nacional del Peru in Lima, and there are copies of Cesare Campagna's book and multiple editions of Guido Bentivoglio's history of the wars in Flanders available in the Biblioteca Nacional de Chile in Santiago, where the Farnese series is exhibited. The National Library of Chile also has a Spanish translation of *De Bello Belgico* published in 1701 and the French translation published in 1675. At the time this research was conducted, the provenance of the volumes in Lima and Chile remained unknown.

While Mesa and Gisbert say that battle painting was rare in the work of the Cuzco School, battle paintings do appear in Latin America, starting in the seventeenth-century. They identify paintings depicting the battles of Farnese in Potosí, Bolivia, as an example.²⁰⁵ While there are battle paintings in the collection of the Casa de la Moneda in Potosí, this research has discovered

²⁰⁵ Mesa and Gisbert, 300.

that those particular paintings depict the battles of Charles V of Spain, and not Farnese.²⁰⁶

The previous error aside, most of the other examples of battle painting found in South America during the present research depict the battles of Farnese and come from the same source. Mesa and Gisbert write:

A series of paintings dedicated to the battles from the period of Philip II and the triumphs associated with them, are found dispersed in different parts of Peru, the greater number of which were painted in Cuzco. The most important of them are the following, *The Battle of Aumala*, *The Dike of Couvesten*, and *the Expugnation of Nus*. The first two paintings are in private collections in Lima and Hamburg, Germany and the last is in the Regional INC of Cuzco. The protagonist and victor of these conflicts is always the great general and governor of Flanders, Alexander Farnese (1545-1592), who, because of his triumphs, became a national hero. The source of this series of battles is the drawings by Spanish engineer Ledesma, which were later engraved by the Dutchman Hooghe.²⁰⁷

Mesa and Gisbert also identify receipts listing volumes about Farnese as present in Cuzco at the end of the seventeenth century:

the engravings that serve as the basis for the series are documented as being in Cuzco at the end of the seventeenth-century. In effect, in a receipt that José Montero de Espinosa carried to the "upper provinces" according to his

²⁰⁶ Personal communication with the director of the Casa de la Moneda, Potosí, Bolivia, Julio Ruiz Ortiz. 2 June, 2011.

²⁰⁷ Mesa and Gisbert, 300. "A las batallas del período del Rey Felipe II y a los triunfos en ellas habidos se dedica una serie de cuadros pintados sobre lienzo que se hallan dispersos en varios sitios del Perú, buena parte de los cuales fueron pintados en Cuzco. Los más importantes son los siguientes: 'Batalla de Aumala,' 'El Dique de Couvesten' y la 'Expugnación de Nus,' los dos primeros en colecciones particulares en Lima y Hamburgo (Alemania) y la última en la Regional del INC en Cuzco. El protagonista y vencedor de estas lides es siempre el gran general y gobernador de Flandes, Alejandro Farnesio (1545-1592), quien por sus triunfos se convirtió en héroe nacional. La fuente de esta serie de batallas son los dibujos hechos por el ingeniero español Ledesma, que posteriormente grabó el holandés Hoogs."

father, Antonio Montero de Espinosa, appear: "seven sets of books about Alexander Farnese at thirty pesos for each one".²⁰⁸

Aside from the edition written in Latin and found in what was the Jesuit library in Cuzco, none of the other editions consulted in South America for this dissertation were illustrated. The engravings in the Latin edition do not match the engravings that served as the basis for the MHN paintings, nor do they match any of the other examples of Farnese paintings studied for this project.

Three different examples of paintings in Latin America that depict the battles of Alexander Farnese in Flanders and France and were based on the engravings found in the 1681 Spanish translation of *De Bello Belgico* were located during the course of this research. The first are the Farnese *enconchados*, which were found in Spain and brought to Mexico by collector Rodrigo Rivero Lake.²⁰⁹ *Enconchados* are painted and lacquered panels often adorned with pieces of mother-of-pearl that were produced in the seventeenth and eighteenth-century viceroyalty of New Spain by artists who may have been Asian, and who traveled to the Americas

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 300. "Los grabados que originan la serie están documentados en el Cuzco a fines del siglo XVII. En efecto, en un recibo de mercadería que lleva José Montero de Espinosa a las 'provincias de arriba' por cuenta de su padre, Antonio Montero de Espinosa, aparecen: 'Siete juegos de libros de Alejandro Farnese a treinta pesos cada uno.'"

²⁰⁹ Rodrigo Rivero Lake, *La vision de un anticuario* (México: Américo Arte Editores, 1998), 250.

from the Philippines. Enconchados were popular in both New Spain and peninsular Spain in courtly circles.²¹⁰

In her study of the Conquest of Mexico *enconchados*--examples of which are found in Mexico and Buenos Aires--Maria García Sáiz says that *enconchado* paintings were a common gift from the viceroy to the king of Spain. When examining the case of the Conquest of Mexico *enconchados* that belonged to the last Hapsburg king, Charles II, in the late seventeenth-century, she studies the wording in an inventory taken after his death, used to describe them. The inventory says, "parece cosa hecha en Indias," or "it looks like something made in the Indies." Though found in Spain, the paintings were of American origin.²¹¹ Her research led her to find documentation regarding two other series of *enconchados* in the *Casa del Duque del Infantado* in Madrid; one was a conquest of Mexico series, and the other was of the wars in Flanders under Alexander Farnese, which are now in the Rivero Lake collection.²¹² The two *enconchado* paintings published in the Rivero Lake collection catalogue correspond to the MHN paintings: they are the *Lifting of the Siege of Paris* and the *Battle of Lepanto* (figs. 41 and 42). Farnese's placement in the foreground in the Paris painting and the line of soldiers

²¹⁰ María García Sáiz, "La conquista military y los *enconchados*: Las peculiaridades de un patrocinio indiano" from *Los pinceles de la historia: El Nuevo origen del reino de la Nueva España, 1680-1750* (México: Museo Nacional de Arte, 1999), 112.

²¹¹ Ibid., 109.

²¹² Ibid., 114.

passing beneath the triumphal arch on their way into the city correspond to the engraving found in Strada, and by extension the MHN painting.

In addition to the *enconchados*, three additional Farnese battle paintings in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in the Museo Larreta de Arte Español have been found. Two of the three paintings match MHN paintings and are from the same engraved source. The paintings that match are the *Expugnación of Caudebec* (fig. 43) and the *Expugnación of Corbeil* (fig. 44). The third painting in the Larreta collection, *La gran retirada del Incomparable Duque de Parma*, is not represented in the MHN collection, but is still based on an engraving published in the third volume of the Spanish translation of *De Bello Belgico* of 1681 (figs. 45 and 46). Simply, the paintings in the MHN series do not represent all of the engravings in *De Bello Belgico*; there were more engravings than paintings. This suggests the possibility that some of the paintings of the MHN series may have been lost.

Mesa and Gisbert also mention the *Expugnación of Nus* in the Cuzco Regional Museum, claiming that the painting in Cuzco is superior to the one of the Battle of Nus in Chile (fig. 47).²¹³ A comparison between the MHN painting and the one in Cuzco reinforces the idea that the dissemination of *De Bello Belgico* is responsible for the proliferation of Farnese images in the Americas. *The Expugnación of Nus*, from the Museo Regional del Cuzco is, according to Mesa and Gisbert, a Cuzco school painting.

²¹³ Mesa and Gisbert, 300.

While there are differences between this painting and the MHN painting, the similarities are much more apparent: the handling of human figures is similar, and the handling of fire and smoke is identical (figs. 48, 49, 50, and 51). The versions are so similar that it may be possible that the same artist worked on both the painting in Cuzco and the one from the MHN series. It is also likely that another artist was responsible for the placement of text in the Cuzco painting, as this represents the most pronounced difference between the two works. These observations suggest that many Cuzco School paintings were the products of workshops and multiple artists, as Mesa and Gisbert claim and as was covered in chapter one and two of this dissertation.²¹⁴

The paintings in Buenos Aires, while clearly from the same engraved source, were painted by another artist and do not share the characteristics common to the Cuzco School. The tonal quality of the paint and the more academic handling of the human body make this apparent. This is particularly the case of the *Expugnation of Caudebec*. In this painting, even the explanatory text is of a completely different appearance; in the Buenos Aires painting, the text is placed in a squared architectural element. Neither the engraving nor the MHN painting shares this.

Finally, the *enconchados* are an entirely different medium and were likely created in the viceroyalty of New Spain by artists from the Asia. Together, the existence of Farnese paintings that come from the same source and yet were created

²¹⁴ Ibid.

under such different conditions and in diverse locations attests to the influence of *De Bello Belgico* by Famiano Strada, where Romeyn de Hooghe's engravings were published.

All of the discussed examples of Farnese paintings in Latin America were based on the same set of engravings. When considering the meaning that the images conveyed, it is important to remember the role of prints in the history of painting in colonial Spanish America. As was mentioned in chapter two, engravings were portable, mass-produced, and became pervasive throughout the Americas from the start of the colonization. While most of the engravings were of religious subjects and were used as devotional aids, another use of these prints was that native artists would base their paintings on them. The result of this, according to Thomas Cummins, was that a common visual culture was quickly created in colonial Spanish America. Cummins states that books and prints had agency and allowed viewers to imagine themselves participating in a single culture.²¹⁵

Considering the pervasiveness of books on Alexander Farnese in the viceroyalty of Peru and the influence of the engravings used to illustrate *De Bello Belgico*, it can safely be argued that imaging of Farnese's time in Flanders and France also contributed to the creation of a common visual language in colonial Spanish America.

²¹⁵ Thomas Cummins, "The Indulgent Image: Prints in the New World", in *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 204.

Conclusion

This chapter of the dissertation shows that illustrations from the 1681 Spanish translation of *De Bello Bélgico* were possibly the source for all of the Farnese paintings created in Latin America. The commissioning of *De Bello Belgico* was due to the process of self-promotion common among prominent Italian families during the Renaissance, known as *magnificenza*. The visual element of *magnificenza* was the depiction of the perfect captain, which showed important persons in a military context, but above direct participation in battle. It also linked prominent members of a family to famous ancient Greek and Roman warriors, in an attempt to legitimize their right to rule. The images in *De Bello Belgico* do not, for the most part, correspond to the visual attributes of the perfect captain, as they were meant to document Strada's narrative. This written account does, however, preserve the history of the most famous member of the Farnese family. In Strada's dedication to Alexander Farnese's grandson, Odoardo, he praises Alexander in much the same way that the paintings of the perfect captain would, and thus shows his history to be yet another example of *magnificenza*.

Finally, this process of *magnificenza* likely led to the widespread dissemination of books on Alexander Farnese, the most important of which was *De Bello Bélgico*. While the book was originally published in Latin, the Spanish translation came relatively late, due to a contentious relationship between Alexander Farnese and Spain, brought on by the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Because Charles V of Spain created the duchy of

Parma and Piacenza for his illegitimate daughter and her husband Ottavio Farnese, the rise in the family's social status was seen as controversial. This, together with Alexander's tarnished reputation, probably compelled the Farnese family to engage in this process with particular vigor. Ultimately, *magnificenza* served as the impetus behind the creation of the Spanish translation of *De Bello Belgico*, the engravings of which would serve as the basis for all of the paintings depicting the battles of Farnese in Latin America. That it contributed to common visual culture is particularly intriguing when considering examples of Farnese paintings created in such diverse locations, from Mexico to Peru, from Chile to Buenos Aires.

Chapter Four: The Flanders of the Indies

The purpose of this chapter of the dissertation is to contextualize the MHN series by examining the political and social reality of the greater Spanish Empire in the first half of the eighteenth-century, with an emphasis on the Captaincy General of Chile and the Viceroyalty of Peru. This chapter explores how the paintings could have produced meaning in the eighteenth-century Captaincy General of Chile and argues that because of circumstances particular to colonial Chile, the subject of the paintings can be understood as an expression of continuity with the Hapsburg past at the time of the Bourbon ascent to the Spanish throne.

José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert claim that the purpose of the MHN series was to cultivate closeness with the Spanish realm.²¹⁶ This was a common purpose of battle painting and, in the case of the MHN paintings specifically, a true statement. This chapter will expand upon Mesa and Gisbert's understated claim and argue that the paintings were meaningful because the subject of the series conveyed a familiar message while people living in colonial South America had very different opinions regarding dynastic change. To say that the paintings were meant to signal closeness to Spain does not consider the explosive political context extant at the time the MHN series was created.

²¹⁶ José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña* (Lima: Banco Wiese LTDO, 1982), 300.

Chapter four will explore the political, economic and religious climate in the Spanish Empire during the reign of Philip V, with attention given to colonial Chile's unique military and geographical circumstances. These circumstances would lead historians to dub Chile the Flanders of the Indies and would contribute to the possible power that the series had in creating meaning, which will be examined throughout the chapter.

During the reign of Philip IV of Spain, the Prime Minister, the Count Duke Olivares, undertook an exhaustive program meant to glorify the king. This included the commissioning of literary works and battle painting, which served as propaganda. Battle painting was meant to suggest a willingness to fight and to legitimize Spain's mission abroad. The historical content of battle painting was not as important as the message conveyed. Often works that depicted Spanish victories were reversed before the paintings were finished. This function of battle painting in Spain would likely have made the MHN series more meaningful, given the political environment in the greater Spanish Empire, as well as the militarism in the Captaincy General of Chile, which had progressively grown more acute from the start of its colonization.²¹⁷

²¹⁷ For information regarding the development of battle painting in Spain and colonial Spanish America in the seventeenth century, see Jonathan Brown and John H. Elliott, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980); Michael Schreffler, *The Art of Allegiance: Visual Culture and Imperial Power in Baroque New Spain* (University Park: The Pennsylvania University Press, 2007); Javier Portus Pérez, "La convivencia con la imagen en el barroco hispánico," in *Barroco Andino: Memoria del I encuentro*

Philip V: A Spanish Bourbon King in an Italian World

In 1700, Philip V of Spain, grandson of Louis XIV of France, was the first Bourbon to ascend to the Spanish throne. His claim came from his grandmother, Maria Teresa, daughter of Philip IV of Spain. The last Hapsburg king of Spain, Charles II, died in 1700 without producing an heir. Though there were other legitimate Hapsburg pretenders to the throne, Charles II, on the advice of the Council of State in Madrid, chose Philip. Members of the Council felt that Philip, the Duke of Anjou, would have had strong enough backing to maintain the integrity of the Spanish Empire without unifying it to France.²¹⁸

Historian Henry Kamen, in his biography of Philip, describes Spain as incapable of defending itself; the empire brought in little money and had no real standing military. Philip, greatly aided by his grandfather, also discovered an administrative ineptitude. An example of this ineptitude was the easy avoidance of tax collection in both Spain and the colonies. Upon assuming the title of king, the War of the Spanish Succession began, pitting Philip, a Bourbon, against the Archduke Charles, youngest son of Leopold I, the Holy Roman Emperor, and a Hapsburg pretender to the throne. The War of the Spanish Succession brought an end to the many privileges enjoyed by Spanish nobility, foremost of which being the avoidance of taxes.

internacional (La Paz, Bolivia: Viceministerio de Cultura de Bolivia, 2003).

²¹⁸ Henry Kamen, *Philip V of Spain: The King who Reigned Twice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 3.

In fact, because of the deplorable state of the Spanish economy, the war was paid for almost entirely by France.²¹⁹

The War of the Spanish Succession formally lasted from 1702 to 1714. European powers had long observed the situation in Spain and had agreed that, in the event of a power vacuum, no single dynasty should inherit an empire so vast. When the French Bourbons took power in Spain, an alliance was formed between Britain, Holland and the Holy Roman Empire, trying to place Archduke Charles on the Spanish throne. They hoped that the simple fact that Charles was a Hapsburg would sway public opinion in Spain. It did not, for reasons that will be discussed later, and Philip remained the first Bourbon king of Spain.²²⁰

The start of the eighteenth-century represented a sea change in what was known as the Spanish Empire. While France managed the war on behalf of Philip, a Frenchman who could not speak a word of Spanish, Philip quickly understood that the French were willing to sacrifice what he felt were important parts of the Spanish Empire in order to establish peace in Europe. In the Treaty of Rastatt of 1714, France--without Spanish representatives present--ceded all of Spain's Italian territories, as well as the southern Netherlands, to the Holy

²¹⁹ Ibid., 35.

²²⁰ Henry Kamen, *Empire: How Spain Became a World Power, 1492-1763* (New York: Harper Collins, 2003), 439.

Roman Emperor. The British gained control of Gibraltar, as well as sole rights to the slave trade with the Americas.²²¹

Spain's position vis-à-vis France was bound to create tension between the two countries, and Philip's choice of queen seemed to exacerbate the conflict. Philip V was married twice. Fourteen years after Philip became king, his first wife died, and he married Elizabeth Farnese in September of 1714.²²² The influence of Elizabeth would be hard to overstate, and the whole of Europe became alarmed at the growing Italian influence in Philip's court. Though Philip essentially operated as a proxy for his grandfather Louis XIV, particularly at the start of his reign, Elizabeth ensured that the Italian influence was great.²²³

Italian influence was already on the rise in Spain before Philip married Elizabeth, and in spite of Philip, France remained very unpopular in Spain. With regard to the Italians, the opposite was the case. In 1713, an Italian, Carmine Caracciolo, 5th Prince of Santo Buono, had been chosen as the viceroy of Peru, and the new inquisitor general, Cardinal Guidice, was also Italian. One of the most important generals to the Spanish crown was the duke of Popoli, and in February 1714, the marquis of Castelrodrigo, from Milan, was named governor of Madrid.²²⁴

²²¹ Ibid., 446.

²²² Kamen, *Philip*, 95.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ Ibid.

As was discussed in a previous chapter of this dissertation, it was considered a duty on the part of the Farnese family to engage in *magnificenza* in order to ensure its reputation, and there is no reason to suspect that this was not the case with Elizabeth, particularly when one considers that Philip's relationship with France had cooled after Spain lost all of its Italian territory in the war.²²⁵

The crown and the literate society of Spain knew the importance of Elizabeth and her illustrious family. Upon assuming the throne as queen, she was given, as a gift, a history of her family, entitled *Indice de las glorias de la Casa Farnese, o resumen de la heroycas acciones de sus principes, que consagra a la augusta reyna de Las Españas Doña Isabel Farnese*. Dated 1716, the book was written by Don Luis de Salazar y Castro, Commander of Zorita, Senior Legal Council of the Order of Calatrava, of the Council of Military Honors of his Majesty and Senior Chronicler of Castile and the Indies. The book is significant for two reasons. For one, the biographical sketch of Alexander Farnese III, the captain general of the Low Countries, is the longest of all of the entries in the book, and Salazar y Castro acknowledges that Alexander is the most important of Elizabeth's family members. Second, Salazar y Castro shows great respect for Alexander. Salazar y Castro admits that he does not have much to add to what he considers the excellent histories written by Strada and Dondini, and he includes his debt to other

²²⁵ Ibid., 110.

biographers, who he regards as more independent sources, coming to the conclusion that, as a man and as a leader, Alexander was of the first category, comparing him to Alexander the Great.

Salazar y Castro comments:

All of the others who in their time took up the pen either to write general history or to praise particular great men, hold Alexander Farnese in the highest regard, from whom they received his virtues; but we always considered him unfortunate, or better said, unfortunate to posterity in not having his deeds told by a Quintus Curtius, who without doubt would show him to us as superior to the other, his, Alexander the Great.²²⁶

Such words indicate that the author is conscious of having to rehabilitate Alexander Farnese's name. It is important to recall that before Alexander's death, he had been accused of corruption and was to be replaced. He also took much of the blame for the failure of the Armada, even though Philip II understood that Alexander could not be held responsible.

Philip, while conspicuously French, felt betrayed by France because of the 1718 invasion of Spain by France and other allied powers. After the war, Philip built a navy and used it to invade Italy in an attempt to take back lost territory. Though Spain lost, Philip participated in a 1729 alliance between Britain,

²²⁶ Luis de Salazar y Castro, *Indice de las glorias de la Casa Farnese, o resumen de la heroycas acciones de sus principes, que consagra a la augusta reyna de Las Españas Doña Isabel Farnese* (Madrid: Francisco del Hierro, 1716), 95. "Todos los otros, quien en su tiempo, y despues, tomaron la pluma, o para la Historia general, o para los particulares elogios de los hombres insignes, ponen al grande Alexandro Farnese en el alto lugar, que le adquirieron sus virtudes; pero siempre le consideramos desgraciado, o por mejor decir, desgraciada la posteridad, en que no tenga por relator de sus proezas a Quinto Curcio, que sin duda nos le mostraria superior a otro su Magno Alexandro."

France and Spain, which allowed Philip to occupy Parma, at the permission of European powers, and ensured the succession of his son, the infante Charles, to his Italian possessions.²²⁷ In addition, the Holy Roman Emperor renounced his claim on the Spanish throne.

In general, France was wary of the presence of a Farnese in the Spanish court and felt that Spain was controlled, in essence, by the Italians. As queen, Elizabeth brought many from Italy to help her. She had little choice; Philip suffered from significant psychological problems, and it was up to Elizabeth to manage the daily functioning of government.²²⁸

The previously discussed history is relevant to this dissertation because the dates of the War of the Spanish Succession and the return of Spain's Italian territories correspond to the spike in demand for paintings created in Cuzco. The rising Italian influence in Spain, as well as a queen who was a Farnese herself, would have given the MHN series meaning in the eighteenth-century, through the relationship of the subject to the queen. As will be seen, the issue of representing loyalty through the paintings may have been more complicated than would have been expected earlier in this research.

²²⁷ Kamen, *Philip*, 175.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 124-125.

1700-1750: The Notion of a Universal Monarchy Grows Weak

The fifty-year span that corresponds to the creation of the MHN paintings encompasses an active time in the Spanish colonial world. Based on what is known of the early part of Philip's reign, the Hapsburg subject of the paintings would have been meaningful within the first fourteen years. Had the paintings been executed after Elizabeth Farnese's 1714 ascension to the throne, then the meaningfulness of the paintings may have come to include an homage to her most famous relative. That the two enemies present in the paintings are French and Dutch and that they correspond to the text from which the engraved images themselves derived, may reflect the recognition of the Dutch as natural enemies of Chile, as well as an established dislike of the French.

Had the paintings been created during or soon after the War of the Spanish Succession, they may have been created for religious reasons. In *Guerra de religion entre príncipes católicos: El discurso del cambio dinástico en España y América (1700-1714)*, historian David González Cruz says that the war took on decided counter-reformation characteristics. This is of particular importance to this research, as Alexander Farnese and his battles were the products of the war in the Netherlands, and precisely the Counter Reformation.²²⁹

²²⁹ David González Cruz, *Guerra de religion entre príncipes católicos: El discurso del cambio dinástico en España y América (1700-1714)* (Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa, 2002), 23.

Cruz maintains that no sooner had the Hapsburg Archduke Charles laid claim to the Spanish throne than Philip V and the Bourbon faction accused the Hapsburgs of fighting a war promoted by Protestant powers. The Hapsburgs countered that Philip merely wanted to cloak a political issue in religious terms. Philip, however, was yielding to necessity. The final wish of King Charles II, the last of the Hapsburg kings of Spain, was that the crown reduce the amount of money asked of its subjects, with the exception of money raised in defense of the Catholic faith. Couched in these terms, clergy began to publicly ask the archduke to yield to the Bourbon line, because to not do so would damage the Catholic cause, due to a lack of money. Because Philip claimed to be defending the church, it made it easier for him to raise funds necessary to defend his reign.²³⁰

During the War of the Spanish Succession, the Hapsburg Archduke Charles had enlisted troops from all over Europe, many of them German, Dutch and English. These troops were quickly accused of desecrating Spanish places of worship. While the practice of desecrating churches was not limited to the forces of the archduke, the actions of these troops were enough to aggravate an extant counter reformation sense of injury, of which Philip and his supporters were able to take advantage. Cruz writes,

If on this point one considers that traditionally the Spanish philosophy was to regard as illicit, alliances with auxiliary troops comprised of heretics in the event that they damaged the Church, then it should not be surprising

²³⁰ Ibid., 26.

that Philip's publicists exaggerated the description of the outrages committed by allied officers and troops in order to justify their assertion that Charles of Austria did not comply with what was required to assume the Spanish throne.²³¹

Had the MHN paintings been created early in the eighteenth-century, then any attempt to represent the counter-reformation would have been meaningful to both the Bourbons and Hapsburgs as Farnese was a Hapsburg and because the Bourbons linked Archduke Charles with Protestants.

While pro-Bourbon elements in the Viceroyalty of Peru may have intended for these paintings to rekindle counter-reformation sentiment, it is also possible that pro-Hapsburg elements in the viceroyalty may have intended them to function in the opposite way. In 1704, authorities in Chile discovered that four ships had set sail from London to the South Sea, and with propagandistic help from the English governor of Jamaica, it was thought that the intention of these ships was to act in favor of the Hapsburg archduke.²³²

In another telling example from the War of the Spanish Succession, Mateo Ibañez de Peralta, nephew of the governor of Chile, traveled to Spain, where he took to the Hapsburg cause.

²³¹ Ibid., 161. "Si en este punto se considera que la filosofía tradicional española estimaba ilícitas las alianzas con tropas auxiliares herejes en el caso de que dañasen a la Iglesia, no debe sorprender que los publicistas felipenses exageraran la descripción de ultrajes cometidos por los oficiales y soldados aliados para así justificar que Carlos de Austria no cumplía con los requisitos exigibles para ostentar el Trono de España."

²³² Gabriel Guarda, *Flandes Indiano: Las fortificaciones del reino de Chile, 1541-1826* (Santiago, Chile: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 1990), 10.

Upon Archduke Charles's defeat, in 1710 Ibañez went to London, where he proposed the conquest of Chile to the English parliament.²³³ Clearly, to such pro-Hapsburg elements in Chile, the paintings would have served as a reminder of the past glories of the Hapsburgs, as Alexander Farnese was one of the great military minds of the Hapsburg line and a grandson to Charles V. While pro-Hapsburg readings of the paintings were possible, and may have even been their intended purpose, it is likely that in Chile pro-Bourbon elements would have appropriated their message. Simply, Philip V, a Bourbon, won. Regardless of the contentiousness of the period, the MHN series would not have lost its power to convey meaning.

Eighteenth-Century Latin America: Reforms and Widely Different Realities

Most of the studies of the Bourbon period in Latin America begin just after the death of Philip V in 1750 and deal primarily with the effects that the Bourbon reforms had on daily life in colonial Latin America. In the eighteenth-century, Chile found itself in a different position than the other colonies. Bourbon reforms were handled differently in places such as the newly formed Viceroyalty of New Granada, which comprised northern South America. What follows is an examination of different scenarios in different parts of the empire where economic problems are highlighted, followed by an examination of the elite classes in

²³³ Ibid.

the Viceroyalty of Peru, in order to better understand the power of the paintings to provide a sense of continuity in the face of diverse social realities in the colonies.

The reforms most problematic for the Creole population, and by extension the popular classes, had to do with tax collection. While no new taxes were ever really established, the collection of taxes became streamlined, making the collection process much more effective. The attendant problems are easily predicted. In America, the threat of piracy and invasion signaled the obvious need for a very strong defense, which in turn required an infusion of money. The economies of certain colonies made this a difficult proposition.²³⁴

In "The 'Rebellion of the Barrios': Urban Insurrection in Bourbon Quito," Anthony McFarlane explains the elite reaction to Bourbon reform. The year of the Quito insurrection was 1765, right after the period when the MHN paintings were created. He states that the insurrection was provoked by the Caroline reforms of the late eighteenth-century. Philip V's biography, however, shows us that the issues facing Quito were the same ones that were facing Philip V from the start of his reign. Before McFarlane's reconstruction of the rebellion, scholars had understood the event as a local affair caused by poverty in the barrios. McFarlane also touches upon the political culture as it

²³⁴ Anthony McFarlane, "The 'Rebellion of the Barrios': Urban Insurrection in Bourbon Quito, 1765," in *Riots in the Cities: Popular Politics and the Urban Poor in Latin America, 1765-1910*, eds. Silvia M. Arom and Servando Ortoli (Wilmington: SR Books, 1996), 198.

was, and as it was changing at the time of the rebellion. A comparison between Bourbon political reform and out-going Hapsburg practices is necessary.²³⁵

By 1739, Quito was a part of the newly created Viceroyalty of New Granada. The royal administration needed to generate revenue in order to maintain the military establishment in Cartagena, a coastal town that bore the primary responsibility of the defense of the viceroyalty from piracy.²³⁶ Irregularities found by the viceroy in colonial Quito's treasury and system of tax collection mirror those found elsewhere in the empire. Simply, the system was rife with examples of tax evasion.²³⁷ In order to raise money, royal officials instituted a sales tax, and the government established a monopoly on the production of liquor. This greatly riled the population. Unsurprisingly, a newly imposed sales tax inflamed the passions of the popular classes, while the government monopoly on liquor enraged hacendados, or landowners with large property holdings, as it deprived them of income.²³⁸

Because the MHN paintings were likely the property of the elite class, it is important to understand the ideology of the elites. Politically, the Bourbons drastically limited the power of the cabildo, which was a sort of city council. There was also

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Ibid., 201.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Ibid.

the *cabildo abierto*, which was larger and similar to a type of congress. The existence of this body was, according to McFarlane, the reflection of the Creole elite's belief that the community should be allowed to represent its interests directly to the crown, and thereby share in the deliberations of government when they touched on matters of pressing local concern.²³⁹

Spaniards and, more importantly, Louis XIV of France regarded the *cabildo* as a significant source of problems affecting the collection of income and administrative operations. The elites enjoyed too many privileges, which constituted too many exemptions from taxes and service and which contributed to the decay of the Spanish Empire. Louis XIV understood that he had to guide his grandson in the total reformation of the Spanish system.²⁴⁰ To Creole elites, Bourbon reform impacted their economic well-being and greatly curbed their ability to negotiate with the crown.²⁴¹

In another case regarding economic hardship in Spanish America, Lance Grahn, writing about New Granada during the reign of Philip V, says that the production of Spanish textiles and goods failed to meet growing demand. American remittances of silver declined, and warfare in the period was almost constant. This required new taxes. In addition, merchants from the Spanish city of Cadiz restricted the flow of goods to the Americas in

²³⁹ Ibid., 214.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Ibid., 217.

order to boost prices, which resulted in a need to engage in smuggling, more often than not facilitated by local authorities themselves. The purchase of contraband was not a question of profit as much as survival.²⁴²

These two examples from northern South America highlight the differences seen between the Viceroyalty of New Granada and Chile. The early eighteenth-century was a time of transition, and the prospect of taxation is never a popular one, yet Jacques Barbier, the most important scholar of the Bourbon reforms in Chile, says that the reforms did not cause undue hardship in Chile. In fact, the opposite was true. This raises the possibility that the influence of Elizabeth may have prompted the creation of the paintings or that the MHN paintings were possibly not received in the same way in the Captaincy General of Chile as would have been the case in the rest of the Viceroyalty of Peru, Mexico or elsewhere in Latin America.²⁴³

The Bourbon reforms were a necessity. It is surprising that Spain managed to have any empire, when one considers the state in which Spain and its holdings found themselves. The reason for discussing the Bourbon reforms is that they suggest the possible

²⁴² Lance R. Grahn, "An Irresoluble Dilemma: Smuggling in New Granada, 1713-1763," in *Reform and Insurrection in Bourbon New Granada and Peru*, eds. John R. Fisher, Allan J. Kuethe, and Anthony McFarlane (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), 124.

²⁴³ Jacques Barbier, "Elites and Cadres in Bourbon Chile," in *Administrators of Empire*, ed. Mark Burkholder (Brookfield: Ashgate Publishing, 1998), 94.

ways in which the paintings could have created meaning.²⁴⁴ On the one hand, the paintings may have functioned as an example of the Italian influence brought by the queen of Spain and the Italian viceroy. On the other, they could have represented a Hapsburg past adversely affected by the Bourbon reforms regarding tax collection and a curtailing of participation in the political process.

Existing literature about the reign of Philip V in colonial America is sparse. Indeed, the present research has uncovered but one article that outlines Philip V's policy regarding the sale of administrative and judicial offices to Creoles in the New World. These sales are of importance in that they indicate the degree of closeness on the part of some Creole families to the Spanish Empire. Far from a statement of protest, it is possible that the MHN paintings represented the power of the Spanish crown in the Viceroyalty of Peru and specifically the Captaincy General of Chile.²⁴⁵

In "Creole Appointments and the Sale of Audiencia Positions in the Spanish Empire under the Early Bourbons, 1701-1750," historians Burkholder and Chandler assert that the bulk of the scholarship on Bourbon-era government in the New World focuses on the exclusion of Creole families from positions of power in the

²⁴⁴ Kamen, *Philip*, 35.

²⁴⁵ M. A. Burkholder and D. S. Chandler, "Creole appointments and the Sale of Audiencia Positions in the Spanish Empire under the Early Bourbons, 1701-1750," in *Administrators of Empire*, ed. Mark Burkholder (Brookfield: Ashgate Publishing, 1998), 74.

Americas, thus fostering an environment of resentment and, ultimately, rebellion. It is important to consider, however, that this was not always the case among Creole families, particularly in the Viceroyalty of Peru.²⁴⁶

Burkholder and Chandler state that Philip V was inclined to sell offices--specifically the offices of judges, mayors and prosecutors--during times of war and the resulting cash shortages. This was certainly the case at the start of Philip's reign, from 1701 to 1711, and again from 1739 to 1750. The text is adamant that the Council of the Indies--the administrative body of the Spanish crown that administered the affairs of the Americas--was against the sale of offices, and that while Philip in principal agreed, the cash shortage that plagued Spain--which was inherited from the Hapsburgs--left Philip with little choice. The authors point out that this did not indicate an absence of discrimination; wealthy Americans had to pay for their positions, whereas peninsular Spaniards did not. Nevertheless, by the end of Philip V's reign, forty percent of administrative positions in colonial government were in the hands of Creoles. The authors say that the number may have been even higher, as the birthplaces of administrative officials were often not mentioned, except under extraordinary circumstances. The Council of the Indies claimed that the need for cash was such that the price of high offices fell and that their sales did not benefit the crown in any way because they did not bring in sufficient revenue. The council

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

preferred that the crown more adequately administer the colonies, one of the more important aspects of which being to optimize their ability to collect taxes.²⁴⁷

Of relevance to the present research is that in the time that Philip spent selling offices, the most vulnerable areas of the empire were located on the Atlantic side of the empire, as well as along the route of the Manila Galleon. For this reason, Creole-purchased appointments were almost non-existent in Hispaniola in the Caribbean, the Viceroyalty of New Granada, or the Atlantic side of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, in present-day Mexico. Peninsular Spaniards, who were considered free of local interests, were responsible for administering these areas, considered to be most vulnerable to piracy.²⁴⁸

Creole appointments were far more abundant in Guadalajara on the Pacific side of Mexico, Quito, Lima, Chacres, present-day Bolivia and Paraguay, and colonial Chile. Appointees served at the pleasure of the king, and an appointment to a post in Chile, for example, would lead to a greater post in Lima.²⁴⁹ It was a career stepping-stone for a wealthy Creole. Burkholder and Chandler also found that there were far more wealthy and ambitious men in Lima than in places such as Santo Domingo, which were, as has been said, far more vulnerable to attacks from pirates. The highest prices paid for positions came from the

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 84.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 87.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

Viceroyalty of Peru and were sold on a case-by-case basis. Additionally, the amount paid, far from being something meant to be kept quiet, was considered financial service to the crown and would have been proudly made public.²⁵⁰

Though the main period of Bourbon reforms is beyond the scope of the present research, the contextualization of later reforms requires an understanding of earlier circumstances, which are relevant to this dissertation. According to Jacques Barbier, the Bourbon reforms were not viewed negatively in Chile, due to the particular economic and military realities that the colony faced.

In Chile, the military subject matter of the MHN paintings may have corresponded to the military obligation and sacrifice necessary to reorganize and strengthen the military capacity of the colonies. At the same time, the MHN paintings may have served to keep alive the memory of the queen's most illustrious relative, known for his military exploits.

Barbier's view of the administration of Chile during Bourbon rule deviates from Burkholder and Chandler's more general analysis. Barbier, like Burkholder and Chandler, takes issue with the notion that the restriction of public office from Creoles fomented unrest. He also decries the lack of a true political history of the early Bourbon period, though in his informed

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 90.

opinion, the effects of Bourbon reform would have varied from region to region. He states,

Indeed, if the general effect of the Bourbon reforms was to force the Creole elite permanently out of positions of political power, if they prevented it from creating primary interpersonal relations between itself and the administrative cadres, then the Chilean case was aberrant in the extreme. An examination of marital patterns demonstrates that in Chile the period of Bourbon reforms was characterized by an increasingly high degree of interrelation between the elite and the administrative cadres. At the same time, far from being forced out of office holding, the elite benefitted from the opportunities created by the phenomenal extension of the bureaucracy during this period, and came to value government posts and relations with officials more than ever before.²⁵¹

Barbier, instead, recognized the creation in Chile of power-sharing structures that existed from the time of the Hapsburgs and left locals, as well as peninsular administrators, with interlinked interests. The two principal issues he presents are the purchase of titles of nobility and the securing of *mayorazgos*, or land entitlements that would ensure the land holdings of single, prominent families. This practice took place in the time of the Hapsburgs, and it continued into the Bourbon period. The second major point is the marriage patterns of elites before 1755, which corresponds to the period when the MHN paintings were likely created. The presented pattern says that elite Chilean families either married amongst themselves, married into the first families (families of the conquistadores, the first to come to Chile) or, in very large part, secured marriages

²⁵¹ Barbier, 94-95.

to government officials or their families, thus maintaining ties to Spain and the prestige of their families.²⁵²

Barbier's study of the sale of public offices gives political and social context to the MHN paintings. Government posts were indeed attainable, yet many Chileans did not want them, as these posts would have pulled members of elite families from their business concerns. Positions in government required years of arduous training, and as officials served at the pleasure of the king, those positions often necessitated a great deal of travel, requiring those officials to work far from home. Posts were sold before 1755, yet they were sold at a great disadvantage to the local elite. For this reason, Barber says that honorary titles were highly prized by elite Chileans in the early eighteenth-century, because they were hereditary and required no real responsibility. Examples given are encomiendas, titles of nobility and knighthoods in military orders.²⁵³

Such conditions mean that the MHN paintings may have been created as a means establishing associations with the Empire. If honorifics were important to elite Chileans at the start of the eighteenth-century, then counter-reformation scenes could have been an expression of solidarity with the king, particularly after the War of the Spanish Succession became a conflict with fabricated religious overtones. The Bourbons positioned themselves as the defenders of the faith in the face of a

²⁵² Ibid., 95.

²⁵³ Ibid., 105.

Hapsburg enemy that Philip claimed to be in league with the English and the Dutch and, by extension, the Protestants.

The MHN paintings came into being during a dynamic yet little-understood period in the history of colonial Latin America. The circumstances of the creation of the paintings could have been radically different within the span of just a few years. What appears certain is that, regardless of the possible reasons for the creation of the series, it would have been easy to appropriate the content of the paintings in agreement with the political persuasion of whoever the viewer may have been. In other areas of the empire, a pro-Hapsburg interpretation may have been prevalent. Regardless of contending interpretations, the series would have certainly served as an element of continuity during a difficult time in the history of the Empire as an expression of loyalty to Philip V. As a visual representation of the defense of the church against Protestants, the paintings would have communicated a familiar message. The irony is that Alexander Farnese was a Hapsburg and Philip, through marriage, appropriated the Farnese name and saw its rehabilitation.

A Military Mindset

It must be remembered that the MHN paintings are battle pieces and Cuzco School paintings are filled with images of warfare. Unfortunately, this theme has not been taken up independently in the scholarship. What characterizes most Cuzco School battle images is that they always appear in a religious context. Included in these battle scenes are supernatural beings

such as Santiago Matamoros or St. James the Moor Slayer. In the case of the MHN paintings of the early to mid-eighteenth-century, the scenes are of European history, executed by Cuzco School painters during a period of extensive military reform.

By the start of the reign of Philip V, mercenaries had come to dominate the military, which the Bourbon king completely restructured, turning it back into a profession. For this reason academies were created that were meant to cater to people wanting to be engineers or artillery officers. Officers serving in the military were also more firmly tied to a particular place. Relations between the military and locals were strengthened, and the rise of Creole officers was augmented.²⁵⁴ It may also be worth mentioning that as Philip built a professional standing army, it was difficult to recruit Spanish soldiers. Many of the men that formed Philip's reconstituted professional force were foreign, and the majority of them were from Belgium, which Kamen describes as the army of Flanders reconstituting itself.²⁵⁵

While the MHN paintings do depict an obvious enemy, they do not totally reflect extant political conflict. A conspicuous omission regarding the identification of enemies on the MHN paintings is the absence of the flag of England, which could be explained by a number of reasons. First, trade with England was essential to the economic survival of the colonies. It is also

²⁵⁴ Juan Marchena Fernández, *Ejército y milicias en el mundo colonial Americano* (Madrid: Editorial Mapfre, 1992), 94.

²⁵⁵ Kamen, *Empire*, 451.

true that, throughout his reign, Philip found himself continually having to come to uncomfortable accommodations with the English, most pointedly in his attempt to secure Spain's Italian holdings. In addition, the powers involved in the conflict in Flanders and France were the Dutch and the French. While the English certainly played a role in sending troops to the aid of Protestants, they do not conspicuously appear in the images.²⁵⁶ In spite of the fact that Philip was French, France was still Spain's natural enemy, and the French invasion of Spain in 1718, during Philip's reign, did not help matters. Much more locally, the Dutch managed to occupy the Chilean Island of Chiloe for a short time in 1643, making Holland and, by extension, Dutch protestants a natural enemy of the Captaincy General of Chile.²⁵⁷

As already seen in Jacques Barbier's article, it had been customary for Chilean elites in the Hapsburg and early Bourbon periods to maintain their ties with Spain through the purchase of titles and land grants. While government posts were available for a prohibitive price, elites tended to prefer titles and membership in military orders. This is unsurprising as the military tradition in Chile was, by the time of the creation of the MHN series, already long and arduous. Gabriel Guarda writes,

During the Spanish period, Chile was the arsenal of America. Its strategic enclave to the south of the continent, at the mouth of the straight, constituted a barrier to access to Peru. Powerful garrisons had to defend it from the constant pirate attacks. Within its borders, the indomitable Araucanian people not only repelled the Spanish, who

²⁵⁶ Kamen, *Philip*, 35.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 124.

attempted to cross into their territory, but would attack them bursting into areas designated as peaceful. 'Flandes Indiano' or the Flanders of the Indies, was what P. Rosales called the Chile of the 1600s', recognizing much more than a legal comparison between his army and the army of Flanders, the sole mention of which meant perpetual war to Spaniards.²⁵⁸

While it is logical to link the vulnerability of the Chilean coast--as well as French, English and particularly Dutch piracy--to the notion of Chile as the Flanders of the Indies, the war with the indigenous Araucanians was likely just as responsible. In his article 'Cultural Change and Military Resistance in Araucanian Chile, 1550-1730,' Robert Padden characterizes the war as brutal, with the indigenous people engaging in cannibalism, not because the practice was native to their culture, but because they had studied the Spanish so well that they understood the psychological effect cannibalism would have on the Spanish. More importantly, the Araucanian Indians did not constitute a nation with any centralized organizational structure. If one group of Indians fell, then others would take their place. Often, groups of Indians wishing peace would find themselves terrorized by other Araucanian groups. For their part,

²⁵⁸ Gabriel Guarda, *Los laicos en la cristianización de América* (Santiago: Universidad Católica de Chile, 1988), 142. 'Durante el período español Chile fue la sala de armas de América. Su estratégico enclave al sur del continente, a la boca del Estrecho, lo constituía un antemural del Perú. Poderosas guarniciones debían defenderlo de constantes agresiones piráticas. Dentro de sus límites el indomable pueblo araucano no solo rechazaba al español que quisiese penetrar las fronteras de su estado, sino lo atacaba irrumpiendo en las zonas de paz...' Flandes indiano' llamó el P. Rosales al Chile seiscientista, reconociendo más que el hecho legal de la equiparación de su ejército al de Flandes, lo que la sola mención de aquel estado europeo, en perpetua guerra, significaba para España.'

the Spanish erred in continually seeking one decisive battle that would signal an end to the Araucanian conflict. Much like the wars in Flanders, the single decisive battle never came.²⁵⁹

The link between Chile and Flanders was made that much more tangible in Alonso de Ribera, the governor of Chile at the start of the seventeenth-century. Ribera was not only a veteran of Flanders, but it is likely that Farnese knew de Ribera personally. Ribera felt that the war with the Araucanian Indians would not last long, and he decided to concentrate on the vulnerability of Chile's enormous coast to the threat of corsairs and pirates.²⁶⁰ (Because he was a veteran of the wars in Flanders, his enemies were French and Dutch.) This, of course, turned out not to be the case, as the conflict with the Araucanians was felt into the nineteenth-century.²⁶¹

Nevertheless, the war in Chile, particularly in the minds of many of the viceroys in Lima, was of little importance, due to constant problems regarding funding.²⁶² The king of Spain would offer money for the defense of Chile but left most of the decisions to the viceroy, as he was considered to be closer to the reality of the conflict in the seventeenth-century. Because

²⁵⁹ Robert Charles Padden, "Cultural Change and Military Resistance in Araucanian Chile, 1550-1730," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 13, no. 1 (Spring 1957): 110.

²⁶⁰ Juan Eduardo Vargas Cariola, "Los Austrias y el ejército de Chile," *Revista Chilena de Historia del Derecho*, no.9 (1983): 358.

²⁶¹ Guarda, *Laicos*, 142.

²⁶² Vargas Cariola, 360.

of its geography and the brutal threat posed by indigenous peoples, Chile was one of the few places with a standing army throughout the seventeenth-century. What prompted the viceroy to action had to do with the threat of leaving armed soldiers in Chile without pay and thus exposing the viceroyalty to mutiny.²⁶³ In spite of the poor opinion held by many in the seventeenth-century, who viewed Chile as too provincial, the viceroy found himself continuing to fund the war in Chile simply because of the economic gain benefitting Lima merchants as they supplied troops headed to fight in Chile. An added incentive was that the viceroy was able to rid Lima of what were considered undesirables--unemployed veterans of the wars in Europe who would have been sent to Chile to fight.²⁶⁴

The economic advantages were not limited to merchants from Lima; merchants from Santiago were also capable of making their products available to the market produced by the conflict. The other principle point to be made is that by the end of the sixteenth-century, colonial Chile was left exempt from taxes by the crown. Chile, as it was claimed by the cabildo of Santiago, was a land of war, and the majority of its citizens were frontier people who had to risk their lives and property on a continual basis to confront the indigenous threat. It was for this that Philip II exempted them from the payment of taxes. Put bluntly, it was not in the colonial Chileans' interest that the wars come

²⁶³ Ibid., 361.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 364.

to an end, even though by the mid-seventeenth-century the worst of the conflict had passed.²⁶⁵

Most of the defense of the Americas during the colonial period relied on the use of militias made up of colonial citizens. The presence of a standing army in many parts of the empire was, for the most part, symbolic.²⁶⁶ These militias normally corresponded to merchant's guilds; militias in the interior and along the border were different. Their job was the immediate defense of land, and work was shared. Militias in the cities, however, had everything to do with prestige. Titles were sold, and most members of commercial guilds held some sort of military rank. This was certainly the case in the Captaincy General of Chile.²⁶⁷

Initially, soldiers coming from Europe had no way of integrating back into established society, which left them with the option of becoming professional soldiers. It is important to note that of the soldiers sent to the Americas from Europe, seventy percent were veterans of Flanders in the seventeenth-century.²⁶⁸ Of all of the destinations in America, the majority of soldiers from Europe either stayed in the Caribbean or went to

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 369.

²⁶⁶ Fernández, 58.

²⁶⁷ Ibid., 105.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., 68.

Chile.²⁶⁹ Fernandez's quote on the nature of the conflict in Chile is worth repeating directly:

As we have indicated before, the other great focal point to where troops recruited in Castile and Andalucía were sent was Chile, steeped in an air of war due to the conflict on the border, and where from the start of the seventeenth-century it was decided to apply tactics and logistically the most modern military strategy: the formation of tercios and companies, specific regimentation, the establishment of forts and garrisons: a border armed as it was in the Low Countries. Chile was known in the end as the Flanders of the Indies because over the land was superimposed a European martial structure transplanted to the New World.²⁷⁰

Fernandez goes on to say that while the majority of recruits sent to fight in the Captaincy General of Chile came from Peru, the colonists living in Chile never ceased to demand recruits from Spain, as they were perceived to be of far better quality.²⁷¹ He also maintains that many from Andalucía submitted themselves to the draft in Spain specifically in order to pass on to America. It was easy in southern Spain to find soldiers to fight in America, as economic hardship made it beneficial to leave Andalucía. The problem faced by colonial governments was a desertion rate of about fifty percent. Yet these very same

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 78. "Como antes indicamos, el otro gran foco donde se enviaron soldados levados en Castilla y Andalucía fue Chile, envuelto en aires de guerra por el conflicto de la frontera y donde, desde principios del siglo XVII, se decidió aplicar táctica y logísticamente la más moderna estrategia militar: formación de tercios y companies, reglamentación específica, establecimiento de Fuertes y guarniciones: una frontera armada como en los Países Bajos. Chile acabó por denominarse el Flandes indiano, ya que sobre el territorio se superpuso una estructura de guerra europea transplantada al Nuevo Mundo."

²⁷¹ Ibid.

soldiers were responsible, in large part, for the establishment and cultivation of the border regions. They were also responsible for a significant portion of the commerce along the trade route, which existed between Peru and Chile.²⁷² As the Farnese series is comprised of Cuzco School paintings, the paintings, if they were not specifically commissioned, would likely have originated on this trade route.

The purpose of this discussion of the military culture of the Viceroyalty of Peru is to show that European battle scenes may also have been meaningful because of a long-standing military culture peculiar to colonial Chile. The fact that one of Chile's early governors was a veteran of Flanders--as were a high percentage of soldiers sent to fight in the Captaincy General of Chile of the Viceroyalty of Peru--can serve to justify an interest in the wars of the Low Countries depicted in the MHN paintings. It is also worth mentioning that the presence of such paintings may have served to enhance the prestige of a possible owner, by proclaiming loyalty to Spain and belonging to a shared military tradition, which possibly entailed membership in an honorary military order.

***La Araucana*, Verse Cartography and Epic Space**

This long-standing military tradition in colonial Chile was likely fostered by the sixteenth-century epic poem *La Araucana*, which scholar Ricardo Padrón says is the first successful

²⁷² Ibid.

European literary text to deal with American subject matter.²⁷³ The final chapter of Ricardo Padrón's book *The Spacious Word: Cartography, Literature and Empire in Early Modern Spain* discusses *La Araucana* at length. His study covers the importance of maps in the imaging of empire as well as what he calls a prose and verse cartography.²⁷⁴ Padrón writes that Charles V of Spain and his son Philip II were aware of the symbolic value of maps.²⁷⁵ The purpose of world maps was to serve not only as a means of understanding geography, but as a way of presenting, to the king and to viewers, an image that represented easily apprehensible space, a prize capable of being won.²⁷⁶

La Araucana was written by Alonso de Ercilla (1533-1594), a Spanish soldier and member of the court of King Philip II of Spain.²⁷⁷ The work is divided into three parts and comprises thirty-seven cantos; the longest of which has over one-hundred stanzas.²⁷⁸ According to Padrón, *La Araucana* is an example of verse cartography and specifically recounts the war between the Araucanian Indians and the Spanish in Chile at the start of the

²⁷³ Ricardo Padrón, *The Spacious Word: Cartography, Literature and Empire in Early Modern Spain* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2004), 185.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ Ibid., 8.

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ Ibid., 44, 52.

²⁷⁸ Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga, *La Araucana* (Bogotá: Panamericana Editorial Ltda., 2006).

conquest. Padrón says that the poem was very popular.²⁷⁹ Beginning with the publication of the part one in 1569, *La Araucana* appeared in at least twenty-two editions between 1569 and 1776. Ercilla himself corrected the first nine editions before his death in 1594.²⁸⁰

La Araucana is significant because it became an integral part of how the empire understood Chile. It also uses poetry to describe the known geography of the world, thus laying it out in an apprehensible way and suggesting the possibility of a universal monarchy. Because *La Araucana* is a literary work, it relies on toponyms to convey its message and trigger memories and extant associations.²⁸¹ Padrón writes,

From the tradition of the learned epic, Ercilla inherits a poetic form powerfully embedded in the discourse of travel, movement, and displacement but one that also aspires to a kind of geographical encyclopedism that can in some way be called cartographic. This inscribes both a triumphant cartography of empire and a critical counter-cartography of imperial desire.²⁸²

While describing Chile and the brutal war that took place there, Ercilla juxtaposes the descriptions of battles taking place in Chile with battles in Europe. According to Padrón, the descriptions differ in that the European battles are more heroic with the treatment of the principal participants, such as Philip

²⁷⁹ Padrón, 44.

²⁸⁰ Frank Pierce, "The Fame of the Araucana" in *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 59, no. 3 (1982): 230.

²⁸¹ Padrón, 186.

²⁸² Ibid.

II, and were meant to glorify the empire. Additionally, in the poem's descriptions of conflict in the Old World, the notion of open space is clear. Chilean battles, however, are shown to be more confined and brutal.²⁸³ At issue is the notion of space in epic literature, which relates not only to verse cartography but also to the compositional characteristics of the MHN paintings, especially when compared to the *De Bello Belgico* engravings.

Padrón maintains that Ercilla's poetic handling of space corresponds to basic characteristics of the epic, as defined by Thomas Greene.²⁸⁴ Greene writes,

The first quality of the epic imagination is expansiveness, the impulse to extend its own luminosity in ever widening circles. It contrasts in this respect with both the comic and tragic imagination. . . . Tragic space, on the other hand closes in to hedge and confine. It permits at best fragments of knowledge, clearings of light, islands of felicity. The space beyond the clearings remains shadowy and unknowable. But the epic universe is there to be invaded by the human will and imagination. Epic answers man's need to clear away an area he can apprehend, if not dominate: and commonly this area expands to fill the epic universe, to cover the known world and reach between Heaven and Hell. Epic characteristically refuses to be hemmed in, in time as well as space; it raids the unknown and colonizes it. It is the imaginations manifesto, proclaiming the range of its grasp, or else it is the dream of the will, indulging in its fantasies of power.²⁸⁵

This quote is relevant to stanzas describing the aftermath of the battle of San Quentin (which took place in 1557 between France and Spain) and the battle of Lepanto, as well as the entire canto

²⁸³ Ibid., 187.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., 199.

²⁸⁵ Thomas Greene, "The Norms of Epic," *Comparative Literature* 13, no. 3 (Summer 1961): 194.

twenty-seven (known as the *mappa mundi* episode) that describes the geography of the known world.

Canto 18, stanza 28, speaks of Philip II at the battle of San Quentin.

But from the pious king great clemency
had dulled the savage arms,
and with quick remedy and diligence
all of the furor was extinguished;
finally, without more defense and resistance,
within San Quentin he took lodging,
with the key to France already in hand,
all the way to Paris the road open and flat.²⁸⁶

To Ercilla, the battle of San Quentin is a violent but honorable conflict, and Philip II is a pious and willing defender of the defeated. More importantly, Philip has the key to France in hand with the road to Paris flat and open. The expanse is there to be conquered with no moral confusion to impede him.

In the case of Lepanto, the admiral of one of the Turkish ships gives a speech in an attempt to lift the morale of his men before a battle that he feels destined to lose. Canto 24, stanza 36, is as follows:

"To me it seems that I can gloriously see
the ripples and mortality at your hands
and that intervening sea ever growing,
dyed in red blood the color grey.
So, open and break through those people,
cast down at once the Christian power
taking possession in a single blow
of all from the Ganges to Chile and from pole to pole."²⁸⁷

²⁸⁶ Ercilla, 385. "Mas del piadoso rey la gran clemencia / había las fieras armas embotado, / que con remedio presto y diligencia / todo el furor fue apagado; / al fin, sin más defensa y resistencia, / dentro de Sanquintín quedó alojado, / con la llave de Francia ya en la mano, / hasta Paris abierto el paso llano."

²⁸⁷ Ibid., 500-501. "»Ya me parece ver gloriosamente / la riza y mortandad de vuestra mano / y ese interpuesto mar con más

In this stanza the enemy reminds the reader of the expansive power of the Spanish empire and of the moral need to defend it.

The battles of San Quentin and Lepanto are juxtaposed with scenes of brutality that took place in Chile in the battles of Penco and Millarpué. Here, the Spanish are not depicted as heroic; the opposite is the case. An example of the brutality in Chile can be seen in two stanzas recounting an incident after the battle of Millarpué in which the author Ercilla takes part. When Ercilla attempts to spare the Araucanian warrior Galvarino from execution, the warrior appears. Canto 26, stanzas 24 and 25, read,

So, it was Galvarino of whom I speak,
of whom I spoke in the previous canto,
who as an example and a lesson
had his hands cut off in the name of justice,
and who with his customary boldness,
uncovered his hidden hostility,
and with neither respect or fear of death
spoke, looking at all, about this predicament:

“Oh false, detestable people,
unworthy of the glory of this day!
Fill your insatiable throats
with this my abhorrent blood.
For though savage and fickle destiny,
upset the Araucanian monarchy,
dead we may be, but not defeated,
nor our free spirit oppressed.²⁸⁸

creciente, / teñido en roja sangre el color cano. / Abrid, pues,
y romped por esa gente, / echad a fondo ya el poder cristiano /
tomando posesión de un golpe solo / del Gange a Chile y de uno al
otro polo».”

²⁸⁸ Ibid., 545. “Era pues Galvarino éste que cuento, / de quien
el canto atrás os dio noticia, / que porque fuese ejemplo y
escarmiento / le cortaron las manos por justicia, / el cual con
el usado atrevimiento, / mostrando la encubierta inimicicia, /
sin respeto ni miedo de la muerte / habló, mirando a todos, desta
suerte: // «¡Oh gentes fementidas, detestables, / indignas de la
gloria deste día! / Hartad vuestras gargantas insaciables / en

To Ricardo Padrón, such a display would represent the opposite of expansive space. The indigenous warrior has taken the moral high ground after having suffered an atrocity and has promised to die before accepting Spanish rule.²⁸⁹

As a way of dealing with space directly, Ercilla describes the road to Arauco in canto 28, stanza 54.

The road to Purén leads straight
toward the entrance to the state;
later it moves obliquely for a long while,
the road tightening between two rough mountains,
and which then becomes so narrow
that two men standing shoulder to shoulder can hardly pass,
and which becomes narrower still,
by the stream that accompanies it.²⁹⁰

The Spanish in this stanza are on their way to what they think is the center of Araucanian power and the final decisive battle that never comes. This example is tragic and the opposite of epic expansiveness.²⁹¹

This pairing of European and Chilean scenes make the MHN paintings much more understandable. Padrón claims that the mention of European battles serves to legitimize the battles in

esta aborrecida sangre mía. / Que aunque los fieros hados
variables, / trastornen la araucana monarquía, / muertos podremos
ser, mas no vencidos, / ni los ánimos libres oprimidos."

²⁸⁹ Padrón, 202.

²⁹⁰ Ercilla, 584. "Es el camino de Purén derecho / hacia la
entrada y paso del Estado; / después va en forma oblica largo
trecho / de dos ásperos cerros apretado, / y vienen a ceñirle en
tanto estrecho / que apenas pueden ir dos lado a lado, / haciendo
aun más angosta aquella via / un arroyo que lleva compañía."

²⁹¹ Padrón, 214.

Chile.²⁹² Because *La Araucana* is a sixteenth-century text and was very popular, the association between Chile and Flanders becomes logical.

However, the MHN paintings do not correspond directly to *La Araucana*, in that the series of paintings is comprised entirely of European battles without reference to the Chilean conflict. While Ercilla moves between Europe and Chile throughout the poem, firmly establishing his colonial point of view, the MHN paintings remind viewers of their American origins by way of their formal qualities, as was discussed in chapter two of this dissertation.

The compositional characteristics of the MHN series, however, correspond to the principles of epic, as outlined by Thomas Greene and mentioned in Padrón's study. When compared to the *De Bello Belgico* engravings, space in the paintings appears much more expansive and the cities much more apprehensible. This point can be seen in the engravings and subsequent paintings of the battles of Lepanto and Maastricht, covered in chapter one of this dissertation (figs. 6, 7, 10, 11). More importantly, the conspicuousness of enemy flags leaves no doubts as to the mission of the Spanish in Flanders and France, as it renders the opposing side apprehensible. The descriptions of European battles in *La Araucana* also correspond to the notion of epic in a way as to exalt empire; the MHN paintings can be seen as performing the same function.

²⁹² Ibid., 202.

What is perhaps the most significant canto of *La Araucana* is the twenty-seventh, *mappa mundi* episode. In this canto, Ercilla, with the help of Chilean sorcerer Fitón, looks through a crystal ball. The voice of Fitón then tells Ercilla what to see and gives a summary of the geography of the known world, which covers the entire canto of sixty-one stanzas. As an example, Ercilla writes about the Mediterranean in stanza 8.

 "Look at the Mediterranean sea laid out,
 that separates Europe from Africa,
 and the Sea of Cortes indicated by the other hand,
 that Moses opened its waters with his wand;
 look at the Gulf of Ormuz and the Persian sea,
 and though in places the land is not clear,
 you will see toward the uncovered strip of land,
 the two Arabias, Happy and Desertic.²⁹³

This part of Ercilla's poem is comprised of a series of toponyms, which serve to trigger memories and associated meanings.²⁹⁴ Within this stanza, Ercilla not only travels but also gives readers a sense of the size of this expanse by mentioning the Sea of Cortes, located on the west coast of Mexico, together with the Mediterranean. While the mapping of America involved the creation of such memories, familiar place names would serve to trigger extant memory.²⁹⁵ Thus, the names of the individual paintings in the MHN series would have exercised the memory of likely colonial

²⁹³ Ercilla, 555. "»Mira el tendido mar Mediterráneo, / que la Europa del África separa, / y el mar Bermejo en punta la otra mano, / que abrió Moisés sus aguas con la vara; / mira el golfo de Ormuz y mar Persiano, / y aunque a partes la tierra no está clara, / verás hacia la banda descubierta, / las dos Arabias, Feliz y Desierta."

²⁹⁴ Padrón, 151.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

viewers, conjuring associations with an expansive empire personified by the heroic actions of Alexander Farnese.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the MHN paintings are a visual manifestation of loyalty to Spain. Throughout Chile's colonial history, the elites had reason to wish to associate themselves with Spain, beginning with their tax-exempt status. Their desire to receive peninsular troops, regardless of the actual quality of the soldiers themselves, attests to the desire to maintain a level of prestige, which--due to economic as well as military concerns--maintained a distinctly martial aspect. There were threats; the Araucanian Indians were a genuine threat to colonists on the frontier, and the threat of piracy always existed along Chile's coast. The Dutch, a natural enemy from the time of the Counter-Reformation and a conspicuous enemy in the paintings, occupied the Chilean island of Chiloe for seven months in 1643.²⁹⁶ Given these circumstances, the paintings would have likely been meaningful, regardless of whether a Hapsburg or Bourbon was on the throne. Though these paintings do not depict local events, by the seventeenth-century, Chile was known as the Flanders of the Indies. Because of Chile's particular military history, events in Spain from the start of the eighteenth-century must have been relevant to colonists living there. The idea that Chile was remote and dangerous likely promoted close ties with

²⁹⁶ Guarda, *Flandes*, 13.

Madrid. This is not to say that the issue of the dynasty of the king would have not been important; it simply means that both camps could have seen the paintings as meaningful in a way relevant to their cause.

In the final analysis, the paintings served as a statement of loyalty to Spain, regardless of the dynasty that the king represented. Alexander Farnese was a Hapsburg, and in the paintings, the Hapsburg cross is conspicuous. Yet, the events depicted in the paintings come from the counter-reformation, which Philip V had appropriated as his own, as a response to Protestant troops fighting on behalf of the Hapsburgs in the War of the Spanish Succession. In addition to this, Alexander Farnese's reputation had suffered after his death, and the appearance of Farnese paintings in the eighteenth-century in South America may be the result of the restoration of his place in history, given the fact that Elizabeth, the queen of Spain was a Farnese.

The influence of Italians in Spain had been on the rise before Philip married Elizabeth. Philip was particularly troubled by the loss of his Italian territories, first among them Parma and Piacenza. Following the War of the Spanish Succession, counter-reformation battle painting celebrating the deeds of Alexander Farnese is logical not only as a statement of loyalty, but as a visual example of continuity before the backdrop of dynastic change.

Finally, *La Araucana* established an association between Chilean and European battles. Ercilla's manner of describing the

battles in Europe follows the patterns of epic literature and shows European battles, as well as the geography of the world, in an expansive way. This corresponds to the composition of the MHN paintings, when compared to the engravings. Like Ercilla's poem, the MHN paintings depict open space and easily identifiable enemies, providing a clear understanding of Spain's imperial mission in the world.

Conclusion

The aim of this dissertation has been to explore how and why the nine paintings comprising the MHN series may have been meaningful in a colonial Latin American context, particularly in the Captaincy General of Chile where the paintings today are housed and exhibited.

During the course of research for the first chapter, it was discovered that the visual source of the MHN paintings was the engraved illustrations of *De Bello Belgico*, the three-volume history of the wars in the Netherlands and France. When considering the difference between the engravings and the paintings, the engravings tended to fill the picture plane while the paintings took the same scenes and composed them with more space shown between opposing forces. The paintings also depict the enemy much more clearly by making opposing flags--Spanish and Dutch or French--conspicuous. This is the case with all of the paintings, with the exception of the *Victory at Lepanto*. The effect is to create a clear visual opposition between forces.

While it is impossible to know what the artist or artists intended, the composition in the paintings is significant. By taking into account the description of space from the point of view of epic poetry, covered in chapter four, the possible effect of this use of space and the conspicuousness of the enemy in the MHN paintings is apparent. The cities that Farnese besieges are apprehensible, and the enemy defending those spaces comes to represent opposition that must be brushed aside. Further, any

moral ambivalence is lost, given the heroic positioning of elements representing the might of the Spanish Empire. Together, the compositional characteristics of the MHN paintings indicate one of the ways in which the paintings may have created meaning.

When considering the formal qualities of the MHN series, it becomes clear that the paintings were of the Cuzco School, through an examination of the size of the canvases, the relative uniformity of the use of color as well as the non-academic treatment of the human form. Different from the prevailing opinion in the scholarship, it was shown that while the output of the Cuzco School was recognizable, the characteristics of the Cuzco style were likely the result of impossible work conditions stemming from a sharp rise in demand for paintings, and not really an aesthetic choice. The resultant industrial aspect of production caused a drop in prices and created a taste for non-academic painting that looked like it was produced in Cuzco. It was also shown that the rise in demand was possibly also fueled by the tendency on the part of wealthy patrons to collect paintings in numbers as a way of establishing social status.

In the epic poem *La Araucana*, which introduced colonial Chile to the greater Spanish Empire, Alonso de Ercilla creates expansive space by providing cartography in verse used to describe the known geography of the world. More importantly, he juxtaposes descriptions of Europe with those of colonial Chile, thus reminding readers of his point of view and adding to the idea of the universality of the empire. The formal qualities of the MHN series sit in juxtaposition to its subject matter. Like

Ercilla's return to descriptions of Chile in his poem, the MHN series' American attributes serve as a reminder of place within an expansive empire.

Following the discussion on Cuzco School painting, this dissertation then explores why artists may have chosen these particular battles. *De Bello Belgico*, the book from which the engravings come, was an example of the Italian practice of *magnificenza*, which entailed the self-promotion of prominent Italian families. This process normally meant that families would have iconographies developed around their most important members, as well as histories written recounting their deeds.

In the case of Alexander Farnese, this process of self-promotion was important due to the negative circumstances that surrounded him upon his death. This prompted the Farnese family to engage in *magnificenza* with particular vigor and resulted in the commissioning of *De Bello Belgico* by the Farnese family. Because of the mentioned issues regarding the legacy of Alexander Farnese, the Spanish translation of the book was not published until 1681. In this edition, the engravings that served as the basis for the MHN paintings were published.

Books about Alexander in Cuzco in the colonial period are documented. Nevertheless, it is a testament to the effectiveness of the Spanish translation of *De Bello Belgico* that all of the battle paintings depicting Alexander Farnese consulted for this dissertation were based on the engravings published in these volumes. Examples of these paintings are found from Mexico to Buenos Aires. The majority of all battle painting consulted for

this dissertation had the battles of Alexander Farnese as its subject, and *De Bello Bélgico* played a role in the imaging of empire in colonial Spanish America in the eighteenth-century.

It was shown that battle painting in the Spanish Empire served to promote the Spanish monarchy even in the face of dwindling fortune. Because there is a lack of information regarding the provenance of the MHN series, there is no reason to believe that these paintings would have served a different purpose.

The dates of the MHN series correspond to the reign of Philip V, the first Bourbon king of Spain. While the celebration of the exploits of a Hapsburg would seem contraindicated, Philip's queen for the majority of his reign was Elizabeth, a Farnese. It would thus be reasonable to assume that the queen would encourage the rehabilitation of the reputation of her most famous family member. Additionally, the MHN series depict scenes from the Counter-Reformation. The fight against Protestants was a cause taken up by Philip V as the Archduke Charles, the Hapsburg pretender to the Spanish throne, employed Protestant troops in the War of Spanish Succession, which was fought to remove Philip from his throne. Because of contending opinions regarding who should be the rightful king of Spain, the MHN series would have served as an example of continuity at a politically dynamic time.

The need to express loyalty was particularly true in the case of Captaincy General of Chile. Different from other areas of the Spanish Empire, colonial Chile was at once considered provincial and a theater of perpetual war, a characterization

also assigned to the conflict in Flanders. This resulted in the militarization of what was the southern part of the viceroyalty of Peru. Obligated to fight the Araucanian Indians in the south and Dutch pirates along the coast, colonial Chile was given a standing army comprised in large part of veteran soldiers from Europe. For this reason, the Spanish monarchy was seen as a consistent source of money. Under such circumstances, the MHN series would have been very meaningful, given colonial Chile's military history.

Finally, the first indication that Spain would have had of the carnage that Chile represented would have come from Alonso de Ercilla's sixteenth-century poem, *La Araucana*. Within this poem are descriptions of epic space, as discussed in chapter four. Within the context of the poem, epic space is designed to communicate the notion of Spain as a universal empire. This expansiveness served as an indicator of what the monarch had within his grasp. Ercilla creates links between open space and the heroic actions of the king, thus rendering his descriptions of European battles as expressions of loyalty. By extension, the open spaces and conspicuous representations of opposing forces in the paintings also can be seen as elements that convey loyalty to the monarchy. This view of heroic and correct action in *La Araucana* is noted in the figure of Farnese himself. Ercilla writes in canto XXIV, stanza 26:

The valiant Prince of Parma,
who traveled aboard the Genovese ship
that split the turbulent and foamy sea,
throws himself hurriedly amidst the squadron.
From the furious storm of confusion and smoke
the thick black cloud impeded my eager vision

and so there were many there that I did not know.²⁹⁷
Thus, a turbulent sea yields to the arrival of the valiant Prince of Parma, Alexander Farnese.

The central question posed by this dissertation is how and why the MHN series would have been meaningful. The composition and style of the paintings have been shown to constitute some aspects of how the paintings acquired meaning. In addition to the formal qualities of the paintings, the history of the wars in Flanders and France, *De Bello Bélgico* has been shown to have been ubiquitous in the colonial period, and also played a role. This suggests that Alexander Farnese's story would have been well known, considered an example of a history shared by all in the Spanish Empire and would have constituted a reason that the paintings were meaningful.

Perhaps the most significant factor in the creation of meaning in the paintings was the political environment extant at the time they were created. Thus, paintings depicting battles in Flanders directed by as famous a person as Alexander Farnese would have resonated in a place known to the greater Spanish Empire as the Flanders of the Indies.

Following the research done for this dissertation, a logical next step would be a comprehensive study of militarism in Andean

²⁹⁷ Alonso de Ercilla, *La Araucana* (Bogotá, Panamericana Editorial, 2006), 503. "El príncipe de Parma valeroso / que iba en la capitana ginovesa / hendiendo el mar revuelto y espumoso / se arroja en medio de la escuadra apriesa / La confusión y revolver furioso / y del humo la negra nube espesa / la codiciosa vista me impedía / y así a muchos allí desconocía."

painting and the symbolic capital it may have enjoyed. While the MHN paintings are considered almost a curiosity in the present scholarship, military images that include supernatural elements, such as angels and saints, abound in colonial Latin American painting. Such a study must include an exploration of the possible uses of such imagery on the part of religious orders as educational tools. This would specifically entail an examination of the role that the Jesuits may have played in the dissemination of military history.

The completeness of the series and the condition of the paintings suggests that a religious order may have cared for them. The Jesuits may have even possessed the series, since the authors of *De Bello Bélgico*, Famiano Strada and Dondini, were Jesuits. Even more compelling was the presence of a Jesuit vineyard, windmill and retreat house in Quillota in the early eighteenth century. As stated in the introduction, the paintings were kept in Quillota before they were donated to what would become the National Historical Museum of Chile.²⁹⁸ Finally, a detailed comparative study of battle painting in general and its uses throughout the Spanish Empire would contribute to the scholarship by highlighting possible similarities and differences that existed within colonial Spanish America.

²⁹⁸ Gustavo Valdés Bunster, *El poder económico de los jesuitas en Chile, 1593-1767* (Santiago: Imprenta Pucará, 1985), 47.

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Appendix

Fig. 1. Title page of the first volume of the Spanish translation of *De Bello Belgico*, entitled "First Decade of the Wars of Flanders, from the Death of Charles V to the beginning of the Government of Alexander Farnese, Third Duke of Parma and Placencia, written in Latin by P. Famiano Estrada, the Company of Jesus," 1682.

Fig. 2. Romeyn de Hooghe and José de Ledesma. *Expugnation of Valenciennes Margarita de Parma Governess*, 1682. Engraving.

Fig. 3. Anon. *Expugnation of Valenciennes*, c. 1700. Oil on canvas, 97 x 155 cm. Santiago, Chile, Museo Histórico Nacional.

Fig. 4. Anon. Detail, *Expugnation of Valenciennes*, c. 1700.

Fig. 5. Anon. Detail, *Expugnation of Valenciennes*, c. 1700.

Fig. 6. De Hooghe and Ledesma. *Victory at Lepanto*, 1682. Engraving.

Fig. 7. Anon. *Victory at Lepanto*, c. 1700. Oil on canvas, 97 x 155 cm. Santiago, Chile, Museo Histórico Nacional.

Fig. 8. Anon. Detail, *Victory at Lepanto*, c. 1700.

Fig. 9. Anon. Detail, *Victory at Lepanto*, c. 1700.

Fig. 10. De Hooghe and Ledesma. *Expugnation of Maastricht*, 1682. Engraving.

Fig. 11. Anon. *Expugnation of Maastricht*, c. 1700. Oil on canvas, 97 x 155 cm. Santiago, Chile, Museo Histórico Nacional.

Fig. 12. Anon. Detail, *Expugnation of Maastricht*, c.1700.

Fig. 13. De Hooghe and Ledesma. *Battle of Estemberg*, 1682. Engraving.

Fig. 14. Anon. *Battle of Estemberg*, c. 1700. Oil on canvas, 97 x 155 cm. Santiago, Chile, Museo Histórico Nacional.

Fig. 15. Anon. Detail, *Battle of Estemberg*, c. 1700.

Fig. 16. De Hooghe and Ledesma. *Expugnation of Nus*, 1682. Engraving.

Fig. 17. Anon. *Expugnation of Nus*, c. 1700. Oil on canvas, 97 x 155 cm. Santiago, Chile, Museo Histórico Nacional.

Fig. 18. Anon. Detail, *Expugnation of Nus*, c. 1700.

Fig. 19. De Hooghe and Ledesma. *Triumphant Festivities given by Paris to Alexander Farnese for having Lifted the Siege*, 1682. Engraving.

Fig. 20. Anon. *Triumphant Festivities given by Paris to Alexander Farnese for having Lifted the Siege*, c. 1700. Oil on canvas, 97 x 155cm. Santiago, Chile, Museo Histórico Nacional.

Fig. 21. Anon. Detail, *Triumphant Festivities given by Paris to Alexander Farnese for having Lifted the Siege*, c. 1700.

Fig. 22. De Hooghe and Ledesma. *The Celebrated Expugnation of Corbel*, 1682. Engraving.

Fig. 23. Anon. *The Celebrated Expugnation of Corbel*, c. 1700. Oil on canvas, 97 x 155 cm. Santiago, Chile, Museo Histórico Nacional.

Fig. 24. Anon. Detail, *The Celebrated Expugnation of Corbel*, c. 1700.

Fig. 25. De Hooghe and Ledesma. *Expugnation of Caudebec*, 1682. Engraving.

Fig. 26. Anon. *Expugnation of Caudebec*, c. 1700. Oil on canvas, 97 x 155 cm. Santiago, Chile, Museo Histórico Nacional.

Fig. 27. Anon. Detail, *Expugnation of Caudebec*, c. 1700.

Fig. 28. Anon. *La Corte de Carlos V*, c. 1700. Oil on canvas, 97 x 155 cm. Santiago, Chile, Museo Histórico Nacional.

Fig. 29. Anon. *Saint Michael Archangel*, late 17th to early 18th century. Oil on canvas. Santa Fe, New Mexico, Peyton Wright Gallery.

Fig. 30. Anon. *Santa Teresa guiada por los Angeles*, c. 1694. Oil on canvas. Santiago, Chile, Convento del Carmen San José.

Fig. 31. Anon. *La Veronica*, 1732. Oil on canvas. Santiago, Chile, Monasterio de la Santísima Trinidad.

Fig. 32. Marcos Zapata. *La Profecía*, 1748. Oil on canvas. Santiago, Chile, Monasterio de la Santísima Trinidad.

Fig. 33. Diego Quispe Tito. *Los desposorios de la Virgen*, c. 1667. Oil on canvas. Potosí, Bolivia, Museo de la Moneda.

Fig. 34. Marcos Zapata. *King Solomon*, 1764. Oil on canvas. Jujuy Province, Argentina, Cathedral Humahuaca.

Fig. 35. Attributed to Mateo Pisarro. *Virgin of the Rosary of Pomata*, 1690. Oil on canvas. Jujuy Province, Argentina, Church Casabindo.

Fig. 36. Brescianino. *Battaglia con cavallo bianco al centro e sfondo di citta con torre*. 80 x 120 cm. Private collection, Giá Reggio Emilia.

Fig. 37. Anon. Detail, *Celebre Expugnación de Corbel*, c. 1700. Oil on canvas. Santiago, Chile, National Historical Museum.

Fig. 38. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Manco Inca pega fuego al Cuyusmango," *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno*, 1615.

Fig. 39. Basilio Santa Cruz Pumacallao. *La Magdalena*, 1693. Oil on canvas. Cuzco, Peru, Cathedral of Cuzco.

Fig. 40. Basilio Santa Cruz Pumacallao. *La Virgen de Belén*, c. 1693. Oil on canvas. Cuzco, Peru, Cathedral of Cuzco.

Fig. 41. Juan y Miguel González. The Battles of Alexander Farnese: Triumphant Festivities given by Paris to Alexander Farnese for having Lifted the Siege, 1690-1697. Enconchados. Novo-Hispano, México.

Fig. 42. Juan y Miguel González. *The Battles of Alexander Farnese: Victory at Lepanto, 1690-1697*. Enconchados. Novo-Hispano, México.

Fig. 43. Anon. *Expugnation of Caudebec*, 18th century. Oil on canvas. Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Fig. 44. Anon. *Expugnation of Corbeil*, 18th century. Oil on canvas. Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Fig. 45. De Hooghe and Ledesma. *La Gran Retirada del Incomparable Duque de Parma*, 1682. Engraving.

Fig. 46. Anon. *La Gran Retirada*, 18th century. Oil on canvas. Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Fig. 47. Anon. *La impugnación de la ciudad de Nus*, 18th century. Oil on canvas. Cuzco, Peru.

Fig. 48. Anon. Detail, *Expugnation of Nus*, c. 1700. Oil on canvas. Santiago, Chile.

Fig. 49. Anon. Detail, *La impugnación de la ciudad de Nus*, 18th century.

Fig. 50. Anon. Detail, *Expugnation of Nus*, c. 1700.

Fig. 51. Anon. Detail, *La impugnación de la ciudad de Nus*, 18th century.

Vita

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