# Drawing Books and Academic Demands in the Viceroyalty of Peru

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An impressive series of thirty-eight paintings depicting the life of St. Augustine are encountered upon entering the cloister of the Augustinian monastery in Lima. Basilio Pacheco and his workshop from Cusco produced these paintings between the years 1742 and 1746, based primarily on the prints of the Life of St. Augustine made by Schelte a Bolswert in 1640.[1] The third picture of the cycle, which does not depend on Bolswert's prints, generates particular interest (» *Fig. 1*).

In this scene, we witness young Augustine joining the university. The professor speaks from his lectern, addressing an audience of young men or boys sitting around him in a highly decorated classroom full of study objects. In fact it is not necessary for the future saint, on the right, to study as his inkpot is the only one that has fallen down. The sign of his genius is his hat with a feather. Meanwhile, his fellow students, who are not enlightened with God's wisdom, work diligently with their study objects.

To define this scene iconographically causes no difficulties because the observer can read an explanation of the scene inscribed on the bottom of the painting:

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1 Although it was formerly argued that this painting cycle was meant for the monastery in Cusco, this assumption has been rebutted because of the existence of another life cycle of St. Augustine that today hangs in the convent of the Order of Mercy. Benavente Velarde argues first for an installment in Lima due to the donor citations within the first painting in the cycle. MacCormack affirmed the argument and cites other archival documents from this time. See: Benavente Valerde 1995, pp. 156–157; MacCormack 2010, p. 89 and footnote 2 on p. 112; For the life cycle of Cusco, see Estabridis Cárdenas 2009. For the prints, see Courcelle/Courcelle 1972, planches XXXII-LVII; or the "Project for the Engraved Sources of Spanish Colonial Art" (PESSCA) the gallery 3 Bolswert in Lima: The Series on the Life of St. Augustine by Basilio Pacheco on the website: http://colonialart.org [02.01.2017].

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> Having been sent by his parents to the University of Madasco [Madauros], Augustine attended the schools of Democrates for some time, but more for fulfilling the duties of a participant than for needing the doctrine that was dictated there because the saint confesses that he learned the Liberal arts without being taught by another, and this indicates the carelessness while attending the class of his master.[2]

The text mentions its source as the *Confessions*, the autobiographical writings of St. Augustine, where we can read a passage that parallels the inscription on the painting:

> Whatever was written, either of the art of rhetoric, of logic, whatever of geometry, music, and arithmetic, I attained the understanding of it by myself without any great difficulty or any instructor at all, as thou knowest, O Lord my God; even because the quickness of conceiving, and the sharpness of disputing is your gift […][3]

Basilio Pacheco complements the intellectual scene with narrative elements drawn from the *Confessions*: a bookcase is placed behind Augustine with important texts of the ancient world, volumes of Greek, Hebrew and Latin, of Plato, Aristotle and Cicero.[4] The classroom or university room, as a place to learn the liberal arts, is also shown to the spectator. Over the cornice stand seven personifications of the liberal arts: (from left to right) *Pictura*, *Musica*, *Rethorica*, *Arx Logica Artium*, *Aritmetica*, *Astrologia*, *Geometria* (» *Fig. 2*).[5] In addition to the liberal arts mentioned in Augustine's *Confessions*, the two personifications of *Pictura* and *Astrologia* were added on purpose either by the patron who ordered this painting or the painter himself. Almost every personification can be associated with a student or an object in the classroom. Significantly, the personification of *Pictura* corresponds to the two young men in the front row. One boy is pointing at *Pictura* while the other one holds a paper in his hands with drawings of two eyes, lips and a human face (» *Fig. 3*).

2 "Aviendo los Padres de Augustino embiadolo ala Vnivercidad de Madasco cursò algùn tiempo las escuelas de Democrates mas por cumplir con las formalidades de Cursante, que por necesitar la doctrina, que dictaba por q`el S.to confiesa q. aprendio sin enseñansa de otro, las Artes liberales y esto denota aq. descuido conq. asiste ala Aula de su Maestro."

3 Augustinus, Confessions, trans. by William Watts, see Augustine/Watts 1960, vol. 1, pp. 199–200.

4 It is actually possible to read the book titles: "*Parmenidis Opera, De Mensura terre, De Consonantia Vocum, Platonis Opera, Platonis Opera, Precepta Rethorice, Lexicon Hebraicum, Alphabetum Grecum, Rudimenta Latine Lingue, M. Tullius Cicero, Aristotelis Ethicorum, Aristotelis de Celo et Mundo.*"

5 These figures are now hard to recognize without the inscriptions that assist their identification. In their time the personifications were more visible. The best demonstration is the personification of Logic, which is still clearly apparent against the background.

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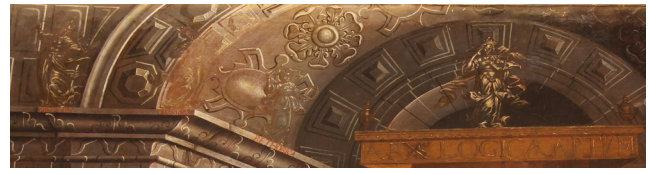


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**Fig. 1** Basilio Pacheco, *Augustine going to university*, 1742–1746, oil on canvas, cloister of St. Augustine, Lima (Author's photography with the courtesy of the Order of St. Augustine, Lima).

**Fig. 2** Detail of Fig. 1: Personifications of the liberal arts (Pictura, Musica, Rethorica, Arx Logica Artium).

**Fig. 3** Detail of Fig. 1: Two students showing a paper with drawings of two eyes, lips and a human face.

The scene of *Augustine going to university* is rarely depicted in the history of art. There is no other case of this image type known in the Viceroyalty of Peru.[6] Due to the fact that the scene was also not part of Bolswert's prints, we must ask why the patrons wanted this particular event of Augustine's life to be retold in the convent of Lima. The patrons are known because Pacheco portrayed them in the first painting of the cycle, next to the genealogical tree of the Augustinian Order (» *Fig. 4*). On the right we see Friar Roque de Yrarrasabal y Andia, who was the Augustine provincial of Peru during the time these paintings were created; and on the left, Friar Fernando de Luna y Virues, the prior of the Augustinian convent in Cusco who commissioned and financed the painting cycle. The inscriptions corresponding with both figures start with the formula "Portrayal of…" and enumerate their titles.[7] The text reports that both earned a doctoral degree in theology at the University of San Marcos in Lima. It appears that the erudition of the patrons motivated them to order that a university scene be included in this painting cycle. Friar Fernando de Luna y Virues, who commissioned the cycle in Cusco, could have worked out the program for this specific picture based on the *Confessions*. But why did he wish to add painting or drawing to the liberal arts?

Basilio Pacheco could also be responsible for the iconographic variation in the painting by inserting the idea or demand that painting or drawing belongs to the liberal arts. Fortunately, he also immortalized himself in this life cycle of St. Augustine, in the scene in which the saint is buried. Basilio Pacheco appears in the role of a donor, next to his signature in golden letters (» *Fig. 5*). He altered Bolswert's print by placing himself instead of the beggar figure. In a proud presentation the setting was changed to stress the origin of the painted cycle. Instead of reusing the city landscape from the print (of the antique city of Hippo), Cusco's cathedral and Main Square serves as a background.[8]

Former scholars interpreted the painting *Augustine going to university* as a visual record of a local classroom in the Viceroyalty of Peru because the religious Orders did

6 For images of St. Augustine in Latin America, see Schenone 1992, vol. 1, pp. 92–118. In Europe there is only one fresco (*Augustine going to university*) painted by Ottaviano Nelli (c. 1400). Nelli painted this picture more than 300 years before Pacheco; the pictures do not correspond iconographically. See Courcelle/Courcelle 1965, Planche LXXVII. In most depictions of Augustine participating in the education system, he was brought to the grammar school by his parents and not to university, see the volumes of the Courcelles.

7 Inscriptions: For the prior of the province (left): "Retrato de N.R.P. Mro F. Roque de Yrarasabal, y Andia, natural dela Villa de Deva; de la Prov.a de Guipuscua, sita enla gran Cantabria. D.or Theolog.o y Cated. de Visp. de Dogmas de N. o.P. S.n Aug.n en la R. U. de S.n Marcos. Calificad.r del S.o Ofi.o y Pri.or Prov.l de esta Prov.a dl Per.u en cuio religioso gobierno se pinto esta Vida y colocò en la forma q està." Prior of the convento of Cusco (right): "Retrato del N.R.P. M.o F. Fernando de Luna y Virues, D.or Theolog.o en la R.l Univ.ad d. S.n, Marcos, Califi.or del S.to Oficio, y Vic. o Prov.l dela Prov.a de Arriba. Exam.or Sinodal de Arzobipado de la Plata, Prior del Conv.o del Cusco, donde mando pintar esta Vida asu costa."

8 Mesa/Gisbert 1982, p. 202.

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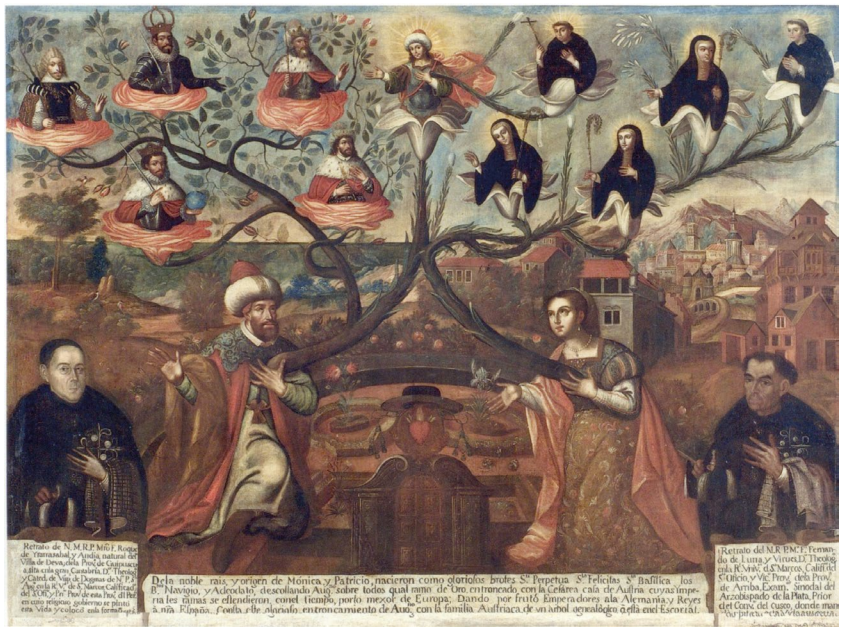


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**Fig. 4** Basilio Pacheco, *The genealogical tree of the Order of Saint Augustine*, 1742–1746, oil on canvas, cloister of St. Augustine, Lima (MacCormack 2010, p.89, Fig. 1).

**Fig. 5** Basilio Pacheco, *Augustine's funeral*, 1742–1746, oil on canvas, cloister of St. Augustine, Lima (MacCormack 2010, p. 89–118; p. 90, Fig. 2).

offer education for the elite.[9] In the specific case of the Augustinian Order in Lima, there is an allusion to real circumstances. The Augustinians founded a college in their convent in the year 1612, which they called "university." However, it was only for their friars and not for the elite of young men.[10]

An alternative reading of the painting *Augustine going to university* will be proposed here by framing the picture in the context of artists' education, their status within society, as well as the role the church played in the artistic production within the Viceroyalty of Peru. In the first part, the article will briefly summarize what is known so far about the painter's education related to drawing in the art centers of viceregal Peru. In the second part, a new aspect of drawing education will be added by arguing that drawing books arrived; a new genre invented by artists for persons who wanted to practice that art. The following case studies will reflect on the impact of these specific books by analyzing how individuals transferred and shaped drawing books' content into their artworks. In doing so, this article will contribute further considerations about the painter's (self-) representation and his profession in the Viceroyalty of Peru. Finally, the last part will outline the fundamental stages in the development of informal art academies in Hispano-American countries in order to propose a different reading of the picture *Augustine going to university* and to rebut José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert's assumption that academic demands were not present in Cusco during the period of the Viceroyalty.[11]

## Painters' education in drawing

The painter's education, as well as the organization of the artists' workshop in general, is in large parts still a puzzle or enigma for Latin American art historians due to the fact that today almost no records of workshop activities exist – like account books, tools for certain techniques or other materials. So far, previous studies which reconstruct the painter's working conditions in the art centers of Viceroyal Peru from archival notes can provide some information about trainees.[12]

After the conquest and settlement, painters came from Europe to Peru. They worked in cooperation with religious institutions, opened workshops in different urban centers and trained apprentices. Contracts of apprenticeship do not differ substantially

9 The Courcelles locate this classroom in the seventeenth century while MacCormack sees in the picture a depiction of an eighteenth-century classroom. Courcelle/Courcelle 1991, p. 30; MacCormack 2010, p. 92.

10 For a general overview of education with further bibliography hints, see Chocano Mena 2000, pp. 185–214. For the college in the Augustine monastery, see Chocano Mena 2000, pp. 189–199.

11 Mesa/Gisbert 1982, p. 259.

12 For a general overview of workshops in Latin America, see: Bailey 2005, pp. 169–206. For studios in Lima: Harth-Terré/Márquez Abanto 1962 and Harth-Terré/Márquez Abanto 1963. For Cusco: Gutiérrez 1987, pp. 57–74 and Damian 2004.

from Spanish or European ones. Rather they repeat the established system in which the master takes care of the apprentice, including his material and spiritual needs and his education in the master's art, in exchange for a helping hand in his studio.[13] Beside the preparation of colors[14] and linens, apprentices would copy models provided to them by the master, as in Europe. Only occasionally did contracts vary from their standardized form, revealing certain insights into teaching methods. For instance, one contract in Cusco from 1694 emphasizes that the apprentice should excel at drawing the saints:

> […] And I confer and give Blas de la Cueva Mercado […] at the age of sixteen as an apprentice to Francisco Rodriguez de Guzmán, master and painter of canvas, so that he teaches him the named profession of a painter, drawing with all perfection the bodies of male and female saints. Painting and observing the named canvas, engraving and gilding without hiding him anything for the time of six months so that he became a master and can work on his own […].[15]

This emphasis on learning how to draw bodies of saints and not the human figure could be an adaption to certain circumstances that in viceregal Peru most of the commissions for paintings demanded saints. But even though contracts of apprenticeship indicate that the formal and legal parameters of the painter's training were approximately the same, differences result in the actual execution. One of the most considered points in Latin American art history are unfair conditions and discrimination against "non-white" artists, resulting from the multi-ethnic society of viceroyal Peru, which was "divided not only by class but also by race."[16] Among the trainees were not only *criollos* (Spaniards

13 Essential contracts from Cusco are published by Cornejo Bouroncle 1960. Contracts from Lima artists are discussed in Harth-Terré/Márquez Abanto 1962. For European workshop practices with an overview for northern and southern lands, see Bleeke-Byrne 1984; for Spain, see Martín González 1984, pp. 17–34; Vega 1989.

14 In her extensive study Gabriela Siracusano reconstructs how the artists from the workshops of Cusco and other cities of the Andes prepared the colors used for their paintings by following technical treatises from Spain and mixing up imported as well as local available pigments in a new way. Furthermore, Siracusano points out the symbolic dimension and power of colors which were present in pre-Columbian civilizations of the Andean regions and still had an impact on cultural practices and paintings in the Viceroyalty era. See Siracusano 2005.

15 Cornejo Bouroncle 1960, p. 106: „Y otorgó que daba y dió a Blas de la Cueva Mercado [...] de hedad de diez y seis años por aprendis a Francisco Rodriguez de Guzmán maestro Pintor en lienzos para que le enseñe el dicho ofissio de Pintor dibujando con toda perfección los cuerpos de los santos y santas. Pintando y guardar en dichos lienzos, grabando y dorando sin rreserbarle cosa alguna por tiempo de seis meses que le hade sacar maestro que pueda por si travaxar... ."

16 Alcalá 2014, p. 26. For the complex social art history regarding the separations of institutions according to ethnic groups and the endeavors to exclude non-white artists from institutional membership and to prevent them from becoming masters and opening workshops, topics which cannot fully discussed here, see in general for Latin America: Bailey 2005, pp. 193–203; Alcalá 2014, pp. 35–37; for Cusco: Damian 2004 and Wuffarden 2011 and for Lima Harth-Terré/Márquez Abanto 1963, pp. 148–156.

born in Peru) but also indigenous peoples, individuals of African descents (*mulattos, negros, sambos*), and *mestizos* (individuals of mixed race) who played a subordinated role at the beginning of the Viceroyalty period. However, over time they strived to become masters (examined or not) and opened workshops themselves.

Our knowledge of the painter's legal, economic and social organization within urban centers of viceregal Peru also remains fragmentary. Most of the cities did not have a guild for a long time or never had one at all. The painters organized themselves in alternative corporations, like brotherhoods, which was also common in Spain and Europe.[17]

In Lima thirty-two masters of painting, polychromy and gilding founded a guild in the year 1649. The guild's ordinances followed the Sevillan model. A preceding lawsuit seems to have reinforced the painters will to protect their profession against commercial rivalry and to ensure certain quality standards. In the lawsuit four masters,[18] who were also founders of the guild, complained about Diego Calderón's painting trade. Calderón was a priest who paid four officials and a carpenter to assist him in copying paintings in his home. A similar case is known from the year 1638. One paragraph of the ordinances referred directly to such industrial painting businesses. The passage prohibited any painter or gilder from working in the home of a carpenter, a cleric or friar.[19]

Further, the ordinances established rules for the final exam taken by prospective masters. The exam requires a painter to draw an "entire human figure, another from the bust up and another in half profile, and finally one from the back with all the parts of the body in conformity with symmetry and art."[20] He would have to do the same with the bodies of a woman and a child. Afterwards the examinee has to make a painting with one or more nudes, executed in oil, fresco or in tempera corresponding to his art training.[21] The theoretical part of the exam consists of questions about perspective, the use of color and the preparation of the canvas.[22] The rules for the exam indicate that the founders of the guild considered drawing as a necessary skill to become a master in painting.[23] The question as to whether the founders of the guild already practiced

17 Alcalá 2014, p. 34; Bailey 2005, pp. 182–185.

18 The four masters are: Bernardo Pérez Chacón (a Sevillan), Nicolás Prez de León, Juan Luis Núñez, don Alonso de la Torre Guijamo. Harth-Terré/Márquez Abanto 1963, p. 139.

19 Harth-Terré/Márquez Abanto 1963, pp. 137–139 and p. 145. Wuffarden 2014, pp. 292–294.

20 "Dibujar una figura humana de pie entero de pechos, y otra de medio perfil; y otra de espaldas con sus partes y tamaños confrome a la simetría y al arte. Igualmente debía de hacerlo con un cuerpo de mujer y de un niño. Luego de esta primera prueba había de pintar un lienzo con una o más figuras desnudas, al óleo fresco o temple conforme a su arte." cited after Harth-Terré/Márquez Abanto 1963, p. 146. For the guild ordinances, see Harth-Terré/Márquez Abanto 1963, pp. 142–147 and Mesa/Gisbert 1982, p. 310.

21 Harth-Terré/Márquez Abanto 1963, p. 146.

22 Harth-Terré/Márquez Abanto 1963, p. 146.

23 It is interesting to note that the guild in Mexico City reestablished in the year 1686 also required an examination for drawing the nude human figure. See Mues Orts 2001, pp. 33–34.

this education in their workshops or traced an idealistic model for the future cannot be answered. The fixed examination procedure attests the installation of quality standards probably in order to prevent competition from semi-professionals, autodidacts and traders like the cleric painter Calderón.

Another aspect of Lima's guild ordinances is the discrimination against individuals with African descent. They were banned from becoming workshop apprentices whereas indigenous people were allowed. In practice things were different. There is notarial evidence that a minority of blacks participated in workshops, and later in the eighteenth century they succeeded in having their own workshops.[24] The cleric painter Diego Calderón also continued to work. When the master painter Gregorio de la Roca drafted his last will before the authorities in 1657, he claimed the return of a picture which he had lent to Calderón for copying.[25]

On the one hand, it is possible that the guild members did only apply their own regulations when they thought it necessary. The art market was big enough and the constant demand for paintings allowed the coexistence of all kind of painters, professionals, copyists and traders. Only at the end of the 17th century did paintings from Cusco start to flush Lima's art market. With the formation of the guild, the founders could have rather wanted to contain and socially marginalize painters who were 'non-professional' in their opinion. In the end, the guild rules could have served as a control instrument to ensure that the best commissions were for their own members, as in Spain.[26] All these assumptions would need further archival proof. On the other hand, it is possible that the guild of Lima was never formalized.[27] One main contributor to offer money for the establishment went bankrupt. Luis Eduardo Wuffarden supposes that other masters of the initial group went to work in Cusco as there was a high demand for artists after the earthquake in1650.[28]

For Cusco it is documented that a guild of painters did exist before the year 1688 when, after a conflict with Spaniards, permission was given to indigenous community to separate itself from the guild and found its own.[29] Although for the guild in Cusco

24 Harth-Terré/Márquez Abanto 1963, pp. 148–151. Scholars consider rivalry as the most probable reason for such discriminations against non-white artists, see Damian 2004, p. 61; Bailey 2005, p. 169.

25 Harth-Terré/Márquez Abanto 1963, p. 147.

26 Miguel Falomir Faus proved that reactions of the Spanish guilds depended on the situation in the art market. In cities or regions with a high demand for paintings, guilds tolerated "non-professional" painters to a certain degree. The guild members reacted vehemently whenever these painters interfered in major commissions that were well paid, like paintings series from religious institutions. See Falomir Faus 2006.

27 Harth-Terré/Márquez Abanto 1963, p. 147; Wuffarden 2014, p. 293.

28 Wuffarden 2014, p. 293.

29 The conflict arose around the preparation for the Feast of Corpus Christi. Accusations were made by both sides. While the indigenous complained about being abused in their work, the Spaniards accused the Indians of working with inferior quality, being lazy and drunk. Mesa/Gisbert 1982,

there are no ordinances left, Mesa and Gisbert assume that they were similar to the ones in Lima. Further, they believe that once the indigenous and *mestizos* had their own guild or association in Cusco, they abandoned principles like perspective and drawing human bodies.[30] In conclusion, these art historians define stylistic consequences (*mestizo* painting), which has been doubted as well as refuted. Fernando Valenzuela rebutted a stylistic consequence resulting from the schism of the guilds. By comparing the artists' guild with other guilds, he assumes that the guild in Cusco was weak, and Indians "enjoyed high levels of freedom prior to their separation from the guild."[31] In addition, Valenzuela argues with the centrum-periphery model therefore stating that the local style in Cusco is the result of its great distance to art centers.[32] Wuffarden questions that paintings from indigenous or Spaniards can be separated at all because ethnic categorizations are not always certain and somehow artificial.[33] However, the autonomy achieved by the indigenous painters in Cusco led among other circumstances to an expansion of artist's workshops, and paintings from Cusco were exported throughout the Peruvian Viceroyalty, like the painting cycle from St. Augustine made by Basilio Pacheco.

Beside the archival evidence that drawing was partially a training exercise in the Viceroyalty of Peru, some drawings exist which must be interpreted in this context. When the paintings of the life cycle of the Dominican Order in Cusco were pulled down, some drawings were found on the back of the linen. However, because of an unfortunate restoration policy, some originals are lost.[34] Mesa and Gisbert, who saw the drawings before the restoration, provide a textual description and reproduced one picture in their volume.[35] They classified the works as preparation for the paintings in the years before

pp. 137–138; Damian 2004, pp. 62–63. For the latest discussion of this event, see Valenzuela 2010.

30 Mesa/Gisbert 1982 pp. 137–138; pp. 270–274. Valenzuela disagree that Cusco would have the same guild or ordinances, see Valenzuela 2010.

31 Valenzuela 2010, p. 29.

32 Valenzuela 2010, pp. 29–33.

33 Resulting from the established viceregal system administration, officials had to categorize their residents into different ethnic groups in various legal occasions (like for taxation or drafting contracts). Studies have demonstrated that these socioracial categories were fluid, for instance *mestizos* belonged to different groups ("Indians" or "Spaniards"), depending on the situation and sometimes on the person's own will.Today we cannot generalize or be sure what such historic socioracial ascription means and it is evident that there was not a fixed identity at all. Even more obvious is the fact that within the centuries separating us from viceregal time, worldviews changed and so did the perception and discussion on race. See Wuffarden 2014, p. 331; Rappaport 2014.

34 In order to protect the canvas in the 1980s, conservators prepared the paintings backside in a way that only some drawings are visible nowadays. I thank Elvis Mena Lujan, former conservator of the Museo Convento de Santo Domingo, Qorikancha, for this information and the explanation of the restoration process of his predecessors. Further studies would be needed to find out about the conservation of the drawings and if they are all from the same time period.

35 For the image, see Mesa/Gisbert 1982, vol. 2, fig. 469.

1687 and attributed the designs to José Espinoza de los Monteros and his workshop, because Espinoza signed the verso of one painting.[36] Their records relate that beside the sketch of a man, other drawings were included: a signature of the artist, an angel and a face, a rider on a horse, two male figures, a frontal depiction of a male figure, a figure on a horse between two men (one standing and the other kneeling), one hand, details of female faces, and a study of a drapery.[37] It seems unlikely that these designs are preparatory for the drawings. The sketched man does not correspond to any figures in the painting series.[38] And if these designs were preparatory in some way, they only could be studies of a tiny part of these nearly two-by-two-meter paintings. Another explanation for the presence of the designs could be that linen canvas was rare and expensive, the back of a painting, which actually is never meant to be turned around, proved a useful surface upon which to experiment with designs. The fact that other sorts of drawings are no longer extant in large artistic centers like Cusco or Lima does not lead automatically to the conclusion that drawing was not practiced. Even if artists used or were urged to use prints as patterns for the paintings, it seems unlikely that the transfer from a book-size print to a two-by-two-meter painting could be done without any preparation.[39] Gauvin Alexander Bailey states that artists in Latin America drew directly on canvas, however future technical investigations such as reflectography will shed more light on this subject.[40]

Fortunately, the only remaining anthology of drawings from Latin America survived until our days.[41] The 106 drawings are attributed to the painter Gregorio Vásquez de Arce y Ceballos (1638–1717), who had a studio in Santa Fé de Bogotá.[42] They are made

36 Mesa/Gisbert 1982, p. 263.
37 Mesa/Gisbert 1982, pp. 263–264.
38 For the image, see Mesa/Gisbert 1982, vol. 2, fig. 469.
39 This is also assumed by Mesa/Gisbert 1982, pp. 262–263.
40 Bailey 2005, p. 171.
41 For images of the drawings, see Ortiz Robledo 2008.
42 Vásquez was born in 1638 in Santa Fé de Bogotá, which belonged to the Viceroyalty of Peru until 1717 when the Viceroyalty of New Granada was founded. The historiography about Vásquez is quite intriguing because scholars stylized him as a national artist in the nineteenth century. They related his life in a mythic, romantic and heroic manner. Robert Pizano Restrepo followed this narrative line in his biography about Vásquez published in the year 1926. Pizano is the first to provide information about the provenience of the drawings, unfortunately without quoting his source. He claimed that the drawings came to the painter García, probably an apprentice of Vásquez. García gave them to his son Don Antonio García who also passed the collection to his son Don Victorino. Finally, the relatives sold the drawings to Don Carlos Pardo from whose collection they were obtained by the government for the national museum in the twentieth century. More recent investigations neither doubt the drawing's provenience nor their attribution to Vásquez. This article cannot prove if the drawings are from Vásquez, a later follower or copyist. Regardless of who made the drawings, some of them, the ones with the cluster fragmented body parts, prove the arrival or existence of drawing books, even if that happened later in time. For provenience history, see Ortiz Robledo 2008, pp. 66–67 and Pizano Restrepo 1985 [1926], p. 219, 242. For the historiography of Vásquez, see Chicangana-Bayona/Rojas Gómez 2014.

on European fiber flax paper. Most of them were drawn with brush and pigmented oil.[43] If we examine the style of these works, it seems that the drafted lines in most of the works do not search for a form but already perfectly express the intended shape. About half of the drawings are repeated in Vásquez paintings; some are in full-scale or reversed and suggest various transfer methods.[44] Some drawings could have been reused, for example the drawing of one face is the same for the painted canvas of St. Francis and St. Dominic.[45] All these phenomena suggest that the drawings either come from the artist's model book offering a variety of different forms[46] or are a collection of patterns based on Vásquez's paintings.[47] The most relevant issue in this article is the fact that not every sheet corresponds to a perfect shape or finished composition. A few drawings record experiments and the training of immature artists, therefore showing training skills. In fact, the cluster fragmented body parts correspond to the practice of the ABC Method, showed and exercised by the drawing books, which will lead to the next section (» *Fig. 6 and 7*).[48]

## Drawing books and their impact

The developed drawing book genre offers how-to-draw instructions in printed form by providing theoretical reflections and visual pedagogical principles for a wide range of drawing topics.[49] The first drawing books emerged in Germany in the first half of the sixteenth century around the intellectual circle of Albrecht Dürer.[50] In the next century they came into fashion with publications across the whole of Europe and kept on spreading until the twentieth century. Jaap Bolten differs between the model book, which "is merely a storehouse of iconographic and formal elements" mostly "intended for a restricted circle of users" in the studios, and the drawing book with its teaching intentions meant to be publicized for an audience.[51] Within the drawing books, the "ABC Method" became the most influential drawing approach with its progressive

43 García 2001; Ortiz Robledo 2008, p. 86.
44 In a detailed study, Ortiz Robledo examines the various techniques that Vásquez could have used, suggesting that almost half of the drawings in fact were cartoons of the original size of the paintings. See Ortiz Robledo 2008, pp. 68–79.
45 See Ortiz Robledo 2008, p. 72, figs. 5–7.
46 García 2001.
47 See footnote 42.
48 The use of drawing books is also suggested by Ortiz Robledo 2008, pp. 70–71.
49 For the history on drawing book, see: As a European phenomenon: Bordes 2003; most recently and with a rich bibliography list: Heilmann/Nanobashvili/Pfisterer/Teutenberg 2014. For Italy: Rosand 1970, Amornpichetkul 1984; for Dutch and Flemish drawing books: Bolten 1985; for Spain: McDonald 2000, Matilla 2012.
50 Bolten 1985, p. 11; Pfisterer 2014, p. 4.
51 Bolten 1985, p. 11.

**Fig. 6** Gregorio Vásquez de Arce y Ceballos/Workshop, *Feet and Hands*, seventeenth century, drawing, Museo Nacional de Arte, Santa Fe de Bogotá (Alcalá 2014, p. 38, Fig. 17).

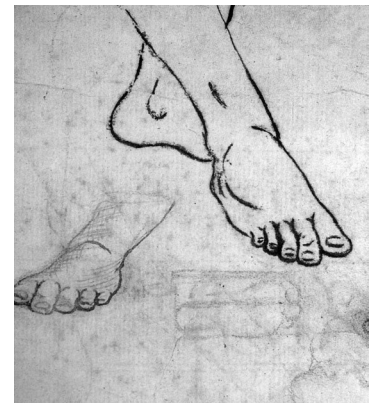

**Fig. 7** Gregorio Vásquez de Arce y Ceballos/Workshop, *Study of Feet*, seventeenth century, drawing, Museo Nacional de Arte, Santa Fe de Bogotá (Toquica Clavijo 2008, cat. Fig. 64.1).

stages for obtaining drawing skills, beginning with the human eye and advancing with different body parts until the human figure is mastered.[52]

There is evidence showing that these artistic guide and pattern books entered the Viceroyalty of Peru like other prints. However, the purpose of their introduction and the impact on local art production and perception will be analyzed. One of the first drawing books to arrive is Juan de Arfe y Villafañes' *Varia Commensuracion para la Esculptura y Arquitectura* (1585–1587). This was a manual on proportions in architecture, the human body and animals.[53] Arfe y Villafañes' depiction of a rhinoceros, copied from Albrecht

52 In his *De Pictura* (1435/36) Leon Battista Alberti linked the process of learning to write with the same process for learning to draw by beginning with simple forms and advancing to more complex ones. In the following centuries, this theoretical consideration was set out as the ABC Method, firstly in Alessandro Allori's *Ragionamenti delle regole del disegno* (1586), which remained unpublished. The didactic ABC Method for beginning to draw became influential and widespread by the first published drawing book on that method by Odoardo Fialetti *Il vero modo et ordine per disegnare tutte le parti et membra del corpo humano* (1608). For the history of the ABC Method, see Kemp 1979, pp. 123–131, Schumacher 2007, pp. 85–111; and Nino Nanobashvili's article in this publication.

53 In most of the single studies on Spanish drawing books (cartillas de dibujo) Arfe y Villafañe is not included because of his focus on the method of mathematical construction and proportion, a different approach to the seventeenth-century Italian (ABC) method. McDonald acknowledges Arfe y Villafañe's manual as a pattern book preceding the Spanish drawing books. McDonald 2000, p. 85, footnote 10. Whereas recent publications on drawing books from a European point of view integrate his work and didactical approach into the genre of drawing manuals. See Röhrl

Dürer's print, served as a model for the mural paintings in the house of Juan de Vargas, a royal scribe in the town Tunja.[54] Unfortunately, the artists of the murals remain unknown. Most scholars consider that the iconographical program of these murals was planned either by the patron or his humanistic circle because of archival notes from their library.[55] Like the rhinoceros from Arfe y Villafañe, a few other motifs of European prints were used for this complex program, a mixture and reinterpretation of elements from the 'New and Old World' that displayed the patron's imaginative world: American flora and fauna, African animals, antique deities, and Christian saints.[56]

In addition to individual humanistic enterprises, drawing books might have actually been used for artistic education in the Peruvian Viceroyalty. Luisa Fiocco Bloisa discovered a packing inventory of books and other equipment from the Jesuits in the year 1630. The administrator of Seville Father Fabián López sent these goods in 38 boxes to the general administrator of the Peruvian province in Lima, Father Alonso Fuertes de Herrera, in order to distribute them between the colleges of the province.[57] The great majority of the books are for liturgy (bibles, breviaries, and diurnals) or with dogmatic, devotional and moral content. Some objects indicate didactical purposes, for example four wax figures of the four last things, two wax figures of children showing different emotions and 400 prints of the Guardian Angel.[58] Other entries point out the Jesuits' humanistic interests involving editions about poetry, emblems and the Trajan's column.[59] For inquiries about drawing

2009 and Thürigen 2014. For Arfe y Villafañe's dependence on Albrecht Dürer and others in the way he constructs the human body, see Portmann 2014, pp. 135–153.

54 Tunja is situated in the Spanish territory of "Nuevo Reino de Granada" (today Columbia), which belonged to the Viceroyalty of Peru until 1717. Three cycles of mural paintings were in the houses of members from the Spanish elite, settled in Tunja. For further information, see: Zalamea 2013; Morales Folguera 1998. The connection between the rhinoceros and Arfe y Villafañe was initially noted by Luis Alberto Acuña, who conserved the murals. See Palm 1956, p. 67. For images of the rhinoceros, see Morales Folguera 1998, pp. 226–227 and 231, or the online version: Arfe y Villafañe 1773 (1585–1587), libro tercero, p. 106.

55 Zalamea 2013, p. 938. For the inventory of the library, see Hernández De Alba 1959.

56 Two other print series served as inspiration: the Fontainebleau prints, invented by Léonard Thiry and engraved by René Boyvin (c. 1540), and Joannes Stradanus' hunting series, *Venationes ferarum, avium, piscium* (1578) see Soria 1956, pp. 19–22, 25–26.

57 Fiocco Bloisa 2009; Original title of the inventory: "Memoria y encaje de los libros y otras cosas que el Padre Fabián López de la Compañía de Jesús, Procurador de Sevilla envía este año del [16]30 al Padre Alonso Fuertes de Herrera, Procurador General de la Provincia del Piru para los colegios de la dicha Provincia". AGN (Archivo General de la Nación, Lima) Archivo de la Compañía de Jesús. 3/17 López Fabian, Procurador de Sevilla a Fuertes de Herrera, Alonso, Procurador General del Perú, 1630-04-30.

58 Fiocco Bloisa 2009, f. 7: from the box 45: "1. Caxa con los 4. nobissimos En 4 figuras de Cera con molduras de Ebano y cristales = obra de Venecia Rica = 50 Re_U 550" and "2. Niños de Cera con sus molduras de Ebano y cristales El Uno Riyendo y El otro llorando = a [...] _ U 200"; f. 7v "400. Estampas pequeñas del Angel de la guardia = a ½ R_U 200".

59 Fiocco Bloisa 2009, for the poetry books, see f. 4v, box 23: "1. Poesias Varias 4° vit = 5 R_ U 005"; f. 5 box 27: "1. querpo de Poetas griegos eroycos [...] = 1. Tomo_U 050" and "1. poetas

education, one record calls attention, "1. Book of hand drawings for painters with prints […] 80 R."[60] Without having the materials' evidence, it is difficult to identify if this entry refers to a model book, a drawing book, or something in-between. On the one hand, the Jesuits could have obtained papers of hand drawings from one or more artists and bound them together with some prints to a book. It is also possible that they acquired a model book from an artist's workshop which was already bound. This would explain why the notary did not cite a title or at least an abbreviated title of the book. On the other hand, all inventory entries are missing accurate bibliographic data and the books are listed either with an abbreviated title or described by their content.[61] Therefore the notary's description of a drawing book as a volume of printed hand drawings intended for painters is indeed precise. Another argument in favor of a drawing book is the price listed as 80 *reales* (the currency of those days). The supposed drawing book is in the normal upper-middle price segment compared with other books from the inventory which contain precious prints.

In conclusion, it seems very likely that the Jesuits brought a drawing book as an instructive guide for painters or individuals who want to learn drawing to the Viceroyalty of Peru. They were among the religious orders which made great efforts on artistic education and had strong ties to Italy where this new genre began to become popular at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Although drawing books were dedicated to a wide range of users – amateurs, gentlemen, artists and instructors – their concrete uses are debated among scholars.[62] In two Spanish art theoretical treatises the drawing books were actually included in the guidance chapters to become an artist. The first mention is made by Jusepe Martínez,

griegos liricos 2 [...] = 110 R_U 110". The emblems are from Andrea Alciati, and according to the entry only four emblems were sent, see f.7 box 45: "1. Emblemas de Alciato 4° Vit = a 5 en 20 R _U 20." For the books about the Trajan's column, see the records on f. 6v box 39: "1. Coluna trajana con todos sus triumphos [...]" and f. 7v box 47 "1. Libro de la coluna trajana = en 100 R_U 100".

60 Fiocco Bloisa 2009, f. 6v. box 39: "1. Libro de debujos de Mano p.a Pintores con estampas [...] 80 R_U 080", and Fiocco Bloisa 2009, p. 38.

61 The best examples for the abbreviation and description scheme used by the notary are the two books about the Trajan's column: Memoria (1630), f. 6v box 39: "1. Coluna trajana con todos sus triumphos [...]" and f. 7v box 47 "1. Libro de la coluna trajana [...]". In 1576 Alfonso Chacon, a Spanish Dominican in Rome, published the first complete edition about the Trajan's column with the title: *Historia utriusque belli Dacici a Traiano Caesare gesti, ex simulachris quae in columna eiusdem Romae visuntur collecta*. In 1616 Francesco Villamena produced a new edition of Chacon's volume with the same title and the same copper plates. It is very likely that the records from the Jesuits refer to Chacon's volume. Only in 1672 did Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi publish a new book about the famous Roman column with new and updated engravings made by Pietro Santi Bartoli and commented on by Giovan Pietro Bellori. For the publishing history about the Trajan's column, see Herklotz 2002.

62 For the first discussion, see Rosand 1970, Amornpichetkul 1984; Most recently Heilmann/Nanobashvili/Pfisterer/Teutenberg 2014.

who gives the following advice in a chapter entitled "About drawing and the ways to work with them in good imitation," within his manuscript (c. 1673)[63]

> First of all, one should start making eyes, noses, mouth, ears, hands and feet and, when he grows more skillful, he should devise heads in order to understand what he has done when viewing it all together. Afterward he should draw legs, arms and bodies. Having accomplished this, he should take whole figures, and put them into effect. (…) For this task it will be advisable to use some books with prints entitled *principles of drawing* which exist in prints made by great men; and with such guides he will do his drawings more easily, and without tiring his master.[64]

Martínez repeats the common step-by-step ABC Method that trainees should start with the eye, followed by important face features, until every part is mastered. But he already regards the drawing book as an expedient tool for training artists, revealing maybe an already ongoing practice in Spanish studios.[65] The sheets from the workshop of Gregorio Vásquez de Arce y Ceballos in Santa Fé de Bogotá discussed above indicate that such drawing instruction books were also used for art education in the Viceroyalty of Peru.

It is very likely that in the Ibero-American world, the drawing books were used by the artists in studios. In the Viceroyalty of Peru they could have been provided not only by patrons or artist-masters but also by religious orders.

The theoretical reflections on art practice visualized in the form of elaborated compositions and motifs in these manuals as well as the migration, adaptations or reinterpretations of these motifs into other pictorial contexts demand further consideration.

Precisely the frontispieces, created by the artist or publisher, give an impression of the content of the book by revealing theoretical and programmatic thoughts on the first picture. There is a multitude of options: from portraits of famous artists, symbolic figures, and personifications of *Pictura*, *Sculptura*, and *Disegno* up to insights into

63 The other mention is made by Palomino in his *Museo pictórico y escala óptica*, see Vega 1989, pp. 2–8; Matilla 2012, pp. 140–148.

64 The manuscript of Jusepe Martínez, *Discursos practicables del nobilísimo arte de la pintura* remained unpublished. Martínez 2008 (1673), pp.19–20. Title: „Del dibuxo y maneras de obrarlo con buena imitación". Text: "Primeramente pondrase a hacer ojos, narices, bocas, orejas, manos y pies y, en estar algo diestro tomará cabeças de por sí, para comprehender lo que tiene obrado viéndolo todo junto. Luego tomará piernas, braços y cuerpos. Esto hecho, tomará figuras enteras, y las pondrá en ejecución. [...] Para esta empresa convendrá se valga de unos libros de estampas llamados *principios de dibujar*, que los hai impressos de hombres mui grandes; y con esta guía hará sus dibujos con más facilidad, y sin cansancio del maestro."

65 As Hellwig points out, the fixation of Spanish art theory in the seventeenth century happened closely to real circumstances, see Hellwig 1996, p. 15.

idealistic studios with working students or beginners.[66] These beginners are students or putti showing their drawing activity or their first drawing results. For instance, Stefano della Bella's drawing book (1650) represents two young students in his frontispiece (» *Fig. 8*). One student is sketching with a pen, while the other is watching over his shoulder. In the front, a paper is showing their results, the ABC of body parts. The age of the children in combination with the pictorial ABC allegorically signal the beginning of the art of drawing. Perhaps Federico Zuccari created the earliest elaborated personification of these beginners in his palace where he frescoed a program in the S*ala del Disegno* (c. 1598). In the center of the ceiling fresco is father *Disegno* surrounded by his daughters *Architettura*, *Scultura*, and *Pittura*. The little putto sits between father *Disegno* and *Pittura* and is showing his principles, a paper imaging an eye, ear and lips.[67] This configuration echoes the Italian art theory and Zuccari's own theory that drawing is the foundation of all arts beginning with the pictorial ABC.[68] In seventeenth-century Spain a "reduced drawing theory" arose that underscored the importance of drawing, but mainly for painting.[69] This fact is due to the circumstances that the Spanish art theorists were painters and therefore interested in painting becoming part of the *artes liberales*.[70] Basilio Pacheco visualized such an elaborated personification of beginners within his painting *Augustine going to university*.[71] The painting illustrates one boy or beginner in the front row holding the pictorial ABC in his hands so that the spectator can see the depiction of two eyes, lips and a human face. The other student is pointing at the personification of *Pictura* in the cornice. This pictorial argumentation reveals Pacheco or/and Friar Luna y Virue's knowledge and affirmation of the idea that drawing is the basis of painting. Moreover, the transfer to a historical narration relating to a university scene creates at the end the further statement that painting belongs to the liberal arts.

Looking closer at the paper the boy is holding in his hand in Pacheco's painting (» *Fig. 2*), we can see a face of a child, an image which possibly comes from Michael Sweerts's drawing book *Divers faces for use by the young and others*, printed in Brussels in 1656.[72] In both cases, the facial features as well as the haircut of the boy correspond

66 For an overview with illustrations, see Bordes 2003, p. 73; Pfisterer 2014, pp. 6–8.

67 Kliemann 2013, p. 167; I thank Nino Nanobashvili for the indication of Zuccari's putto. For an illustration of Zuccari's putto, as well as a comparison to the boy on the left in the Stradanus drawing, see (» *Fig. 2*) and (» *Fig. 8*) in the article of Nino Nanobashvili.

68 Kliemann 2013, pp. 161–168.

69 Hellwig 1996, pp. 124–132.

70 Hellwig 1996, p. 131; Vicente Carducho is the only exception. As an Italian artist, he considers all three arts, see Hellwig 1996, p. 128.

71 Contemporary to Pacheco's image is the frontispiece of Palomino's second book *Practica de la pintura*, although here the arrangement is quite different. The beginners are shown in the act of drawing but not after the ABC Method. See Palomino 1947 (1715–1724), p. 408.

72 The original title on the frontispiece reads: "DIVERSAE FACIES IN VSVM IUVENVM ET ALIORVM DELINEATÆ PER MICHAELem SWEERTS EQVIT.PICT.ETC. Bruxellae Anno 1656"; see Luijten 2002, p. 174. For the drawing book with its twelve etchings of half-length

**Fig. 8** Stefano della Bella, frontispiece from *Livre pour apprendre a dessiner, mis en lumier*, c. 1650, etching, Kupferstichkabinett, Karlsruhe (Schäfer 2005, p. 114, Fig. 30a).

(» *Fig. 9*). Two other etchings by Sweerts – his self-portrait and a man with a boy – were used as a model for a prominent painting as will be presented below (» *Fig. 10 and 11*). Sweerts etched both prints based on two of his paintings. The etchings were not included in the drawing book composed by him, but could have been added later as it was quite common to set up reprints by including a compilation of different motifs by famous artists.[73]

The two prints were remixed for a painter's depiction in the first painting of the cycle of St. Francis in Lima (» *Fig. 12*). The man on the chair with the boy eating and standing next to him served as the composition, but instead of the man smoking, the self-portrait of Sweerts holding the painter's tools (brushes and palette) was chosen. While the connection to Sweerts' prints remained unknown, scholars consider the portrait as a self-portrait of Francisco de Escobar. This assumption results from the discovered contract of the painting cycle – each of the four assigned masters had to execute the paintings for one wall of the cloister. Escobar had to paint the childhood of St. Francis.[74] Beside the fact that he executed this painting, Escobar was also among the leading masters of Lima signing the formation act of the guild in 1649.[75] Paradoxically, the guild banned artists of African descents from becoming masters. However, Andrés de Liévana, a slave and artist master called "*moreno*" in the contract – which indicates his African ancestry – was among the other masters executing the paintings

figures, see also Bolten 1985, pp. 96–99, 254–255 and Yeager-Crasselt 2015 (Michael Sweerts), pp. 102–106.

73 See Bolten 1985 and Heilmann/Nanobashvili/Pfisterer/Teutenberg 2014.

74 Guillermo Lohmann Villena discovered the contract. His description of the contract was reprinted in Richter 1995, pp. 100–103. I thank Manuel Alexander Villalobos for passing me Richter's publication with Lohmann's description as well as a copy of the original contract, which can be found in AGN (Archivo General de la Nación, Lima) escribano Pedro Pérez Landero, 1671-10-27, f. 741r–744v.

75 Without any further notarial evidence he is considered *criollo*. Harth-Terré/Márquez Abanto 1963, p. 148 and p. 191.

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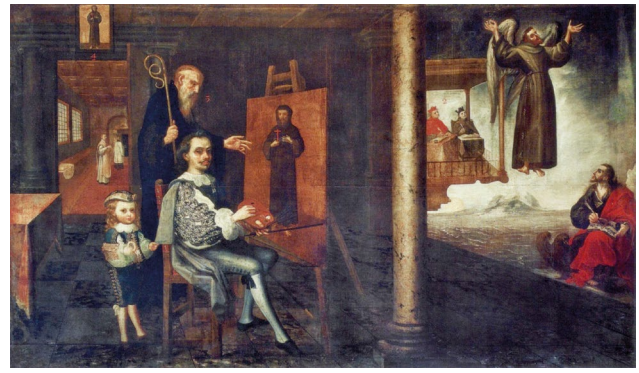

**Fig. 9** Michael Sweerts, *Bust of Boy,* from *Diversae facies in usum juvenum et aliorum delineatae per Michaelem Sweerts*, 1656, etching, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

**Fig. 10** Michael Sweerts, *Self-portrait,* 1656, etching, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

**Fig. 11** Michael Sweerts, *Man Smoking, Seated in an Armchair*, 1656, etching, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

**Fig. 12** Francisco de Escobar, *Prophecy of the Coming of St Francis,* c. 1671, oil on canvas, cloister of San Francisco, Lima (Wuffarden 2014, p. 313, Fig. 9).

of St. Francis' life.[76] As he had the status of a slave, his owner Francisco de Liévana had to sign the contract. Nevertheless the contract indicates that all four painters received the same amount of money and had to paint the history conform to the indications of Friar Juan Benavides.[77]

For the interpretation there are two options. On the one hand, we can interpret the artist's portrait as a proud self-representation of Escobar. There are several facts in favor of this as he is the executer of the picture as well as among the leading artists in Lima. Even though the self-portrait of Sweerts served as an archetype of a painter's picture, Escobar could have modeled it by painting his facial features and his clothes. But unfortunately, there is no other extant portrait of him to compare, neither for any other painter in Lima of that time. On the other hand, we can assume that this painting is a commissioned work whose content Friar Juan Benavides created and therefore provided Sweerts' prints. The depiction of the painter would then serve as *pars pro toto* for his profession and in this way stand for all (four) artists participating in the painting cycle or for the artist painting images of St. Francis. Without a doubt, the artist's archetype depicted in the painting is the "white artist." But whether this portrait represents Escobar or the "white painter" as a *pars pro toto* for the painter's profession, the message despite the ethnic component would be the same. Without painters, there would be no pictures. Next to the textual tradition (right side on the painting) is the pictorial tradition to complete the saint's life with the visual evidence. The painted icon of St. Francis with his golden ground is an effort undertaken by painters.[78] Within the pictorial argumentation, it claims the same importance for the painting transmission as for the written one.[79] Even when some motifs are copied, the innovative ways in which they were transformed and reinterpreted is astonishing.[80]

Scholars compare the proud presentation of Escobar's (supposed) self-portrait with that of a knight or a court painter.[81] The visual association with this certain portrait type

76 The two other artists are Pedro Fernández de Noriega and Diego de Aguilera, see Harth-Terré/Márquez Abanto 1963, p. 148.

77 Harth-Terré/Márquez Abanto read from the contract that all four masters received the same amount. A fact I follow. Harth-Terré/Márquez Abanto 1963, p.149. Whereas Wuffarden states that Escobar get paid double his colleagues assuming his leading role. Wuffarden 2014, p. 311. Gisbert states that Diego de Aguilera was paid more, therefore in her opinion, Aguilera is the leading artist. Gisbert 2002, p. 109.

78 Lara convincingly interprets the icon of St. Francis as a reference to the legend that Joachim of Fiore created the model for the mosaic depicting St. Francis in San Mark's Venice. Within the argumentation of the painting, Joachim of Fiore is standing next to the painter (or Escobar), and advises him how to paint the icon's effigy. For further information on that point as well as the role Joachim of Fiore played for the Latin American Art World, see Lara 2014.

79 Wuffarden interprets this pictorial arrangement as an instance of the paragone. See Wuffarden 2014, p. 314.

80 More recent literature has left behind negative notions to describe artists' working practices by highlighting their reinterpretations and reinventions, for instance, see Mujica Pinilla 2009.

81 Mesa/Gisbert 1982, p. 260; Wuffarden 2014, p. 314.


**Fig. 13** Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Painters*, from *El primer Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, c. 1615, drawing, The Royal Library, Copenhagen (Wuffarden 2011, p. 252, Fig. 183).

seems to be correct. Sweerts, according to his own words, had been knighted by Pope Innocent X when he was in Rome. Back in Brussels he painted a proud self-portrait that has been interpreted as the visual statement of his ennoblement.[82] Furthermore, he made an etching based on this self-portrait, most likely to spread his fame – indeed his self-portrait arrived on the other side of the Atlantic.

There is no doubt that drawing books exerted a diverse array of influences in this milieu, not only by transmitting visual patterns but also by promoting painters' prestige of their professional status. But in fact to fully understand this solitary painter's portrait from Escobar, as well as the implications and also rejections of western concerns of art, we must look to Cusco's traditions as to how the artist and his profession were represented.

One of the earliest or perhaps very first depictions of an artist made in viceregal Peru was produced around 1615 (» *Fig. 13*). Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, an Indian of noble descent, wrote and illustrated a history of Andean societies before and after the

82 In the petition Sweerts submitted to the Brussels city magistrates for certain privileges for his drawing academy, he mentions his new honorable rank as a knight. Yeager-Crasselt interprets the painting of Sweerts self-portrait (after which the etching was made) as the visual result of that social prestige; see Yeager-Crasselt 2015 (Pride and ambition), p. 156.

conquest, sharply criticizing the Spaniards' colonial system.[83] His manuscript is unique in that it is made from the perspective of a native who was raised in the Christian faith and worked in the viceregal administration.[84] Chapter 23 is about the parish priests, religious orders and their abuses of authority. The last section discusses natives' assistance in the work of the parish, and addresses painting as a profession. The title of the subchapter about painters enumerates: "PAINTER: ARTISANS, PAINTER, sculptor, woodworker, embroiderer in service to God and the Holy Church."[85] In the drawing under the title, two hispanized indigenous people are painting the crucifix.[86] The main text corresponding to that subchapter starts in the verso of the drawing.[87] Guaman Poma emphasizes that the art done by Christians is a service to God: he paraphrases the council decrees of the Counter Reformation.[88] Further, he writes: "This art is to be learned by emperors, kings, princes, dukes, counts, marquis, and other nobles throughout the world."[89] Guaman Poma's statement reveals his awareness of the widespread strategy of defending the nobility of art by using the argument that art is an aristocratic exercise.[90] The following text describes parish churches with images, ending with social conflicts of native painters like payment claims and problems with being drunk. Drunkenness was a stereotype usually attributed to the Indigenous. Nevertheless Guaman Poma accused all painters, even if they were Spaniards, of being idolatrous when they worked on holy images in an inebriated state.[91] To sum up the written content, one could say that it begins with idealistic topics and ends with social

83 For the digital version of the manuscript El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno, see the website of Det Kongelige Bibliotek (http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/info/en/foreword.htm [23.03.2019]).

84 Guaman Poma said that he learned reading and writing from his elder half-brother, a priest; see Guaman Poma 2001 (c. 1615), pp. 17–18. But it remains unknown where he was trained as an artist and draftsman. Some illustrations are similar to Martín de Murúa's manuscript about Peruvian history. Murúa was a monk of the Order of Mercy. For the difficult relationship and parallel production of these first illustrated Peruvian manuscripts, see Cummins/Anderson 2008. For exhaustive and profound studies of Guaman Poma manuscript, see Adorno 2000 with further bibliography hints. For artistic studies on Guaman Poma, see López-Baralt 1988.

85 Guaman Poma 2001 (c. 1615), p. 687: "Pintor: los artificios, pintor, escultor, entallador, bordador, seruicio de Dios y de la Santa Yglecia."

86 The two hispanized Indians are wearing indigenous dress and Spanish capes, and have the haircut of an "indio ladino" depicted by Guaman Poma in the entire chronic; see Wuffarden 2011, p. 252; For observations on "indio ladino", see Adorno 1991.

87 Just under the drawing is a later textual addition of an event. See Adorno 2003, pp. 66–80.

88 For the parallels between Guaman Pomas text and the councils of Trent and Lima, see López-Baralt 1988, pp. 271–282.

89 Translation by Wuffarden 2011, p. 251; original: Guaman Poma 2001 (c. 1615), p. 688: "Este arte aprienda enperadores, rreys, prínsepes, duques, condes, marqueses, caualleros en el mundo."

90 Mesa/Gisbert 1982, pp. 87, 260; Wuffarden pointed out that this prominent claim by Guaman Poma must have derived from Italian Counter-Reformistic theoretical treatises as the most famous Spanish treaties were written after 1615. Wuffarden 2011, p. 151 and footnote 3 on p. 295.

91 Alcalá 2009, p. 57; Guaman Poma 2001 (c. 1615), p. 688: "Que un borracho, aunque sea español, es ydúlatra."

ones offering different aspects of the artist's profession. By contrast, the related drawing underscores the service to God embodied by the natives who are working devotedly on the holy cross. Rolena Adorno's investigations demonstrate that the collaboration or contradiction between image and text is chosen intentionally by Guaman Poma. He uses the visual evidence and power of images to soften or amplify his written critique without offending the Spanish King Philip III, to whom his chronicle is dedicated.[92] The native artists in this drawing are not depicted as drunk, softening the critique appearing in his text (only for them, not for the Spaniards!). Rather, they are shown as pious people, adopting the ideal posture of veneration. Also they are not shown as upper-class natives. If he had wished to illustrate this aspect of artists' nobility, he could have easily depicted noblemen, as he did in other chapters.[93] It is also crucial that none of his five self-portraits show him engaged in the work of writing or drawing but rather depict him presenting his volume to the Spanish authorities and collecting the oral information for his chronicle within the Andean population, where he is always in noble dress.[94]

In summary, Guaman Poma traces the ideal of a good Christian artist.[95] This hardly seems surprising because as soon as art training began in the Viceroyalty, it was connected to Christianity. The purpose of art and pictures, in his view and that of post-conquest missionaries, was to convince potential converts to adopt the Christian faith. The artist in the act of creating holy images gains nobility. In Cusco, there is further pictorial evidence of painters' representation. In the ongoing centuries the painters seem to stress both: their devotion and their noble standing in society. The devotion of the artist's attitude is signaled by his donor posture.[96] Wuffarden has also proven that indigenous people of noble descent chose the profession of painting to gain prestige.[97] Artists added *don* (Spanish noble title) or *inca* (belonging to the former Inca royalty) to their names to sign pictures and express their (self-elected) noble status within the society in the tradition of the "pintor noble."[98]

92 Adorno 2000, pp. 83–89.

93 For instance, see depictions of different noblemen in the Nueva Corónica, chapters 20, 28, 29.

94 See Guaman Poma 2001 (c.1615): title page, pp. 17, 368, 975 and 1105. He is dressed as a nobleman and regards himself as a lord "qhapaq churi" (the son of the most powerful lord, qhapaq apu). His self-identification within society is different to the class of common Indians "indio ladinos", see Adorno 1991, pp. 237–238.

95 For a parallel discussion on the good Christian painter in Spanish art (literature), see Waldmann 1995, pp. 67–69 and Portús Pérez 2009. For New Spain, see Mues Orts 2001.

96 For example the donor portrait of Juan Espinoza de los Monteros, who also signed his painting and added the date 1655, see Gisbert/Mesa 1982, p. 90; for an image, see Gisbert/Mesa 1982, vol. 2, fig. 72.

97 Wuffarden 2011.

98 Mesa/Gisbert 1982, pp. 148; Wuffarden 2011, pp. 254, 257, 265. Wuffarden 2014, p. 325; Benavente Velarde 1995. For the discussion on the "noble painter" in Spanish art literature, see Waldmann 1995, pp. 69–70.

The differences and similarities in the way in which the artist is presented by Escobar and Pacheco are striking. Devotion to church service and holy objects are depicted by both. Escobar takes – or was asked to do so – the posture from a European print of a proud painters' self-portrait, remodeling it to underscore his importance or that of the artist in general in the visual transmission of saints' lives. Pacheco demonstrates his personal devotion by assuming the guise of a donor portrait, which claimed a highly esteemed role and tradition within paintings in Andean society.[99] The attribution to the painter's person is only established in one case: Pacheco signed his donor portrait. Both pictures express the artist's nobility: Escobar's artist through dress, posture and painters tools, and Pacheco in a subtler way. Pacheco places his self-portrait and signature just above the word *noblesa* (nobility), a word which comes from the description written in the image.

## Academic demands in Hispanic culture

In a humanistic spirit, the antique model of the academy was reawakened and transformed in sixteenth-century Italy.[100] From Italy these ideas arrived in Spain. Sebastián de Covarrubias Horozco incorporated the word "academia" in his dictionary of the Spanish language from 1611, well aware of its antique origin and already distinguishing this from its current use:

> Academia was a place for recreation and a forest that was a thousand steps away from Athens, named after the hero Academo: and because Plato was born in this place, where he taught to large audiences: his pupils were called Academics, and today the school, or house, where some intellectuals come together to discuss, acquires this name, and gives it to the participants. But among the Latins, this means the universal school, which we call university.[101]

99 For the evolution and importance of the donor portrait within Christian images in Andean society, see Stanfield-Mazzi 2011. The painter Basilio Pacheco is normally described as a *mestizo*. Benavente Velarde 1995, pp. 153–157, Wuffarden 2011, pp. 268–269. However, there is no notarial evidence.

100 As Pevsner demonstrated in his fundamental work, the evolution of these academic institutions continued over centuries, in different geographical areas and was not uniform at all. See Pevsner 1940.

101 „Academia, fue un lugar de recreacion, y una floreste que distava de Athenas, mil passos dicha assi de Academo Heroa: y por aver nacido en este lugar Platon, y enseñado en el, con gran concurrencia de oyentes: sus dicipulos se llamarõ Academicos, y oy dia la escuela, o casa, donde se juntan algunos buenos ingenios a conferir, toma este nombre, y le da a los concurrentes. Pero cerca de los Latinos, significa la escuela univesal, que llamamos, Universidad." Covarrubias Horozco 1611, p. 8.

As Covarrubias clearly points out, (informal) academies in his time were mere meetings of intellectuals discussing their chosen topic. They had no statutes or fixed rules that state academies would later on obtain. The introduction of artistic academies in Spain was shaped by contact with Italian artists who came there to work, by Spanish artists who returned from studying in Italy, and by an acquaintance with Italian art-theoretical literature.[102] In the year 1603 one document reveals an artists' petition from Madrid to the Spanish king for royal patronage of their academy of St. Lucas, a name likely chosen as an allusion to the *Accademia di San Luca* in Rome.[103] The king's patronage seems to fail. Therefore, in the year 1606, artists who had participated in the earlier petition, together with Vicente Carducho, signed an authorization and three contracts with the friars of the convent of Victory, the Order of Minims, to found their own academy of St. Lucas in the convent.[104] They stated their desire to "found a house of the academy where we can study and draw in the named art of painting in the night and the day time and in other hours."[105] It remains unknown whether the academy was indeed installed in the convent. In the first third of the seventeenth century, there were several other attempts to gain royal patronage for an art academy without further results.

Nevertheless, in the second half of the seventeenth century, some private endeavors took place elsewhere. An important figure in this regard is José García Hidalgo (1645–1718), who composed a drawing book (1693). Although it was never printed officially, he seems to have sold samples.[106] Besides instructions for drawing the human body and geometrical advice on perspective, García Hidalgo gives insights into Valencian

102 For the history of Spanish art academies, see: Calvo Serraller 1982, Pérez Sánchez 1982, Martínez de la Peña y González 1968, Brown 1989.

103 Four artists submitted the petition. Two of them were from Spain: Luis de Carvajal and Francisco López. It is known that Carvajal joined the academy of Saint Luca in Rome. See Martínez de la Peña y González 1968, p. 297 and appendix. Francisco López was painter of the king from 1603 to 1622. It is crucial that together with these Spanish artists there were two Italian ones: Patricio Cajés (Patrizio Cascesi), who was in Spain by the year 1567, and Antonio Ricci, who traveled to Spain with Federico Zuccari to work on the decoration of the Escorial. See Pérez Sánchez 1982, pp. 285–287 and Brown 1989, p. 178.

104 Crawford Volk 1977, pp. 67–68; The artists who signed the contract were: Patricio and Eugenio Cajés, Vicente Carducho, Juan de Soto, Bartolome Gonzáles, Bartolomé de Cardenas, Juan de Chirinos, Baltasar Lopez, Pedro de Cardona, Diego Perez Mexía, Andrés Lopez, Jeronimo de Mora, Pedro de Orozco, Antonio de Monreal, Diego Rodríguez, and Gans Cobles.

105 Crawford Volk transcribed and published the authorization as well as the contracts. The citation refers to the initial authorization, see Crawford Volk 1977, p. 69 and the transcribed Document 44, p. 374: "[...] de hacer y fundar una casa de la hacademia en donde de noche y de día y otras oras estudiemos y dibuxemos en el dicho arte la pintura [...]".

106 The drawing book or manual has no official print licenses at the beginning. Mateo asserts that García Hidalgo planned to publish it; meanwhile, he seems to have sold it privately in his house. See Mateo 2006, p. 76 – 80. His student Francisco Meléndez, for example, had a copy when he traveled to Rome, see Ceán Bermúdez 1794, p. 179r.

academic activities.[107] In one passage he reveals information about an informal academy in the Convent of the Dominicans:

> The sumptuous Convent of the Dominicans has in this city chairs of all sciences, and also a capacious lecture hall where the painters hold their academies, which we Castilians and Valencians attended, along with some gentlemen and clergymen, who, out of interest and curiosity, came together to draw, see and hear; but the competition and virtuous emulation were so high that in the seven or eight years when I was there, there had been three academies, so luckily every night there were two [meetings]: one of the Valencians and another of the Castilians, and on Sundays and holidays everyone came together in the aforementioned convent, and on the days of St. Luke a great feast was celebrated for the saint evangelist with great authority and with a mass, sermon, music […].[108]

Although García Hidalgo might exaggerate the academy's success, it is interesting to note that not only the convent offered a space for its activities but also that ecclesiastical and secular amateurs attended these meetings. Given its proximity to the university, the convent of the Dominicans seemed to be an appropriate place for artistic academic activities.[109] García Hidalgo's programmatic engraving of a drawing class might depict a similar situation – draftsmen arranged around a human model (» *Fig. 14*).[110]

107 In Valencia there were some literate academies towards the end of the sixteenth century which included artists as members. For the history on academies in Valencia, see: Aldana Fernández 2001; Brown 1989.

108 García Hidalgo 2006 (1693), p. 2: "Tiene en esta ciudad el Convento suntuoso de Predicadores cátedras de todas ciencias y también una aula muy capaz, en donde los pintores hacen sus academias, y allí asistíamos castellanos y valencianos con algunos caballeros y eclesiásticos que por afición y curiosidad concurrían a dibujar, ver y oír; mas la oposición y emulación virtuosa bastó a que siete u ocho años que estuve hubiese tres academias, de suerte que todas las noches había dos, una de los valencianos y otra de los castellanos, y los domingos y fiestas se juntaban todos en el general de dicho convento, y los días de San Lucas se celebraba con grande autoridad una plausible fiesta del santo evangelista con misa, sermón, música [...]."

109 In former times the „hermanidad de pintores" (brotherhood of painters) were also situated in the convent, see Aldana Fernández 2001, p. 31.

110 It is striking that in the seventeenth century, Spanish religious orders were involved in academic pursuits. Not every informal academy in Spain, however, was related to a religious institution. Seville is the best counter-example in this regard as there artists met in Francisco Pacheco's house until an academy was founded around 1660 in the "casa de lonja" a house of trade exchange, with the help of a noble patron. For Seville academies, see: Aranda Bernal/Quiles García 2000, Cherry 2002.

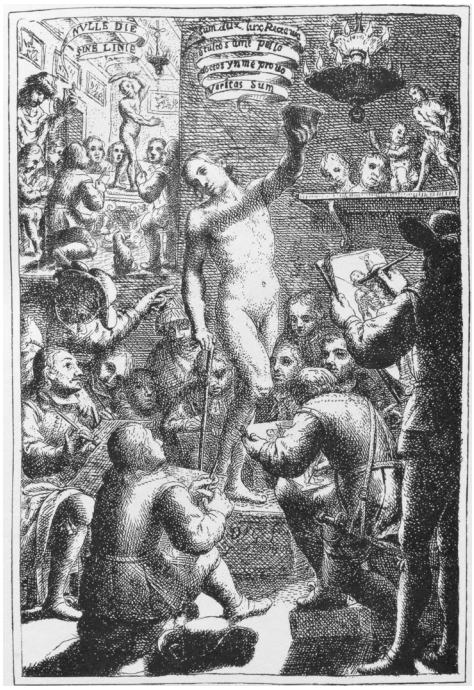


**Fig. 14** José García Hidalgo, *Academia de dibújo*, from *Principios para estudiar el nobilísimo y real arte de la pintura*, 1693 (García Hildago 2006 [1693], p. 11).

It is surely not a coincidence that Francisco Meléndez, one of García Hidalgo's students, became an important figure for the history of the art academy.[111] In 1726 Meléndez again began an initiative for a royal art academy in Madrid. This was followed by a second proposal from the Italian sculptor Domenico Olivieri, and the academy *La Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando* was finally installed, after a long preparation process, in 1752.[112] With this state academy the arts became institutionalized according to fixed rules, following the French academic model.[113]

In the Viceroyalty of Peru, the first secured record of academic efforts in artistic drawing education is from the year 1791 when José del Pozo, a "professor of Painting, individual of the Royal Academy of Seville" opened a drawing and painting school with the authorization of the viceroy Gil de Taboada y Lemos in Lima.[114] Nevertheless the information

111 Interestingly, Ceán Bermúdez wrote only in his manuscript and not his final printed version that Meléndez attended García Hidalgo's school in Madrid. See Ceán Bermúdez 1794, p. 179r.

112 The authorization for this initial process was given by Philip V, who was the first king of the House of Bourbon. Philip V grew up in Versailles and was the grandson of King Louis XIV, the founder of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in Paris (1648).

113 Calvo Serraller 1982, pp. 218–219.

114 The notice is from a journal "Mercurio Peruano" where Pozo is described as a "profesor de Pintura, individuo de la Real Academia de Sevilla", cited in Estabridis Cárdenas 2004, p. 80.

that Spanish or European (art) academies or drawing schools existed must have been entered in the Viceroyalty of Peru before that time and in several ways. As discussed above, drawing books did arrive in the Viceroyalty. These manuals are entangled with the history of art academies as many of the artists who composed these books were leaders, members or associates of academies and fixed their ideas about drawing methods (in academies) in their manuals. Intellectuals, clergymen and artists who came to the Americas could have brought the interest to found academies or were already members of academies in Europe.[115]

As a matter of fact, toward the end of the sixteenth century the *Academia antártica* (Antarctic Academy) was created in Lima. Spaniards and *criollos* founded a literary community of writers and intellectuals. Significantly, in the ongoing centuries some viceroys had literary academies in their court following the model of the Antarctic Academy.[116] Nothing is known about viceroyal support for art academies although a prominent petition for royal patronage of art took place in Lima in the year 1659. During the public celebration for the birth of the prince Felipe Próspero, the painters of Lima created an allegorical parade float inspired by the prints from Vicente Carducho's treatise. The painters decorated the float with an allegory of painting related to the Spanish monarchs and personified as the teacher of the new-born prince. A poem glorifies painting as a liberal art.[117]

The image of *Augustine going to university* (» *Fig. 1*) also demonstrates that painting belongs to the liberal arts and should be further practiced at university. It is possible that the Augustinian friars were already offering some convent space to artists or amateurs so that they could practice. As the history of informal academies in Spain shows, determining factors in the success of such foundations were securing appropriate spaces for their activities – like convents – and finding wealthy patrons. Friar Fernando de Luna y Virues, the prior of the Augustinian convent in Cusco who paid for the painting cycle, might have been the patron of such intellectual meetings. In this way the question who inserted the *Pictura* personification in the painting – Pacheco or Luna y Virues – would be irrelevant. As a joint venture the informal academy in the Augustinian convent would be a profitable relationship for both sides. The artists could practice their arts with (the advice of) clergymen. By sending the painting to Lima, Fernando de Luna y Virues

The continuing history of the formation of the official state academy is another complex history entangled with struggles for national independence. For further information, see Estabridis Cárdenas 2004; Wuffarden 2014.

115 For instance, Pérez de Alesio was enrolled at the academy of St. Luke in Rome in the year 1573 before he moved to Seville in 1583 and finally to Lima. See Stastny 1979, p. 781; Harth-Terré/Márquez Abanto 1963, pp. 126–129.

116 For the history of literary academies, see Barrera López 1985, pp. 22–224.

117 Ramos Sosa discovered the description of the feast from the frair Augustín de Salas y Valdés, see Ramos Sosa 1992, pp. 102–103.

could have promoted the academic activities in Cusco to the Augustine provincial of Peru Roque de Yrarrasabal y Andia.

If this informal academy did not exist, the image at the very least attests to Pacheco's wish to found one. It is central that this painted petition is situated in a university of antique knowledge and that it refers to the origins of Plato's academy by including his name in the painted books.[118] Pacheco also depicts the university or academy in a way that corresponds to Vicente Carducho's description of academies' rooms. Carducho portrays in his treatise *Dialogos de la pintura* the Florentine academy of Cosimo de' Medici, which was equipped with "huge copies of statues, books, globes, spheres, and other mathematic instruments."[119]All of these academic instruments can be found in the painting of *Augustine going to university*, and their presence supports the thesis that Pacheco is depicting or advocating the founding of an institution of drawing education in the years he painted this cycle (1742–1746). Closer to Pacheco's time would be Antonio Palomino de Castro y Velasco's treatise *El Museo pictórico y escala óptica* (1715–1724), but contrary to Carducho, Palomino does not describe any academic room. Palomino emphasizes that painting is a science and it has to be taught in a university as in the academies in Rome, Florence, Venice and Paris and in some parts of Spain. The theoretic sciences to be thought parallel to painting are mathematic, optic, geometry and arithmetic, which demonstrates Palominos emphasis on perspective.[120] He moreover gives instructions as to how a life drawing session in the academy should be realized.[121] Pacheco included the personification of geometry and arithmetic, which could lead to the conclusion that perspective should be part of the academy. But the painting does not demonstrate life drawing classes to master drawing the human body; instead students would have to follow the instruction of the ABC Method by copying the body parts. Without a doubt, the picture *Augustine going to university* indicates Pacheco's knowledge of art academies.[122] Furthermore, the picture demonstrates Pacheco's ability to transform and reinterpret this concept to better suit the Peruvian context.

One allusion to New Spain (modern Mexico) will intensify and sum up certain aspects for a conclusion (*» Fig. 15*). In the painting by an anonymous artist, the creating act of the *Acheiropoieta*, the icon of the Virgin of Guadalupe, is demonstrated.[123] In the celestial studio, God the Father adds his final polishes to the Virgin, assisted by two

118 In the bookcase behind Augustine there is one book by Plato (Platonis Opera).

119 Carducho 1979 (1633): on pp. 62–66 he described the florentine academy: "En otra quadra vi una Catedra, adonde se leen liciones desta facultad, que la adornan grande copia de estatuas, libros, globos, esferas, y otros instrumentos Matematicos. En este Catedra leen lecciones, no solo Pintores, mas tambien Escultores, Arquitectos, e Ingenieros; hazense anotomias, dibujase del natural."

120 Palomino 1947 (1715–1724), p. 210.

121 Palomino 1947 (1715–1724), pp. 528–529.

122 The date of Pacheco's demand is interesting as it is the very same moment when the preparations of Madrid's royal academy were taking place.

123 In Cuadriello's opinion, this image is from an artist outside Mexico city. Cuadriello 2001, p. 172.


**Fig. 15** Anonymus from New Spain, Godfather painting the Virgen of Guadalupe, eighteenth century, oil on canvas, Museo de la Basílica de Guadalupe, Mexico City (Cuadriello 2001, p. 173, cat. 50).

putti. One putto grinds the colors while the other is training himself in the principles of art, the ABC of the body parts, as apprentices would have to do in real studios. In the background, atop a podium lies a paper with the drawing trials. The interesting pictorial arrangement transports various messages: first, the idea that the artist's training begins with drawing in the exercise of the ABC body parts. These principles are also related to academic or scientific institutions, shown in the background of the painting through the podium in its classical form. In the history of informal academies in New Spain, the artists who were involved in these foundations were also consulted for the scientific examination of the miraculous image of the Virgin of Guadalupe that appeared in the Viceroyalty of New Spain.[124] The elevation of the painter's social status is based upon the good Christian painter in compliance with the *topos* of *Deus Pictor*.[125] Both painters – the anonymous one from New Spain and Basilio Pacheco – hold their pictorial discourse of the art's ennoblement in relation to religious images and in combination with private academic efforts.

124 For a discussion on informal academies in New Spain, see: Ramírez Montes 2001; Mues Orts 2001, Cuadriello 2001.

125 Cuadriello 2001, pp. 141–146.

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