

**ART AND JESUIT PATRONAGE IN COLONIAL QUITO:
THE PROPHET PAINTINGS AT THE CHURCH OF LA COMPAÑÍA**

by

Isabel Oleas-Mogollón

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Art History

Summer 2018

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am deeply grateful to my advisor, Dr. Mónica Domínguez Torres of the University of Delaware, for her insight, continual encouragement, and patience during my graduate studies. Many thanks to Dr. Perry Chapman, Dr. David Stone of the University of Delaware, and to Dr. Luisa Elena Alcalá of the Universidad Complutense of Madrid for their feedback and questions which pushed my research into deeper avenues and strengthened my arguments.

My gratitude extends to the Center of Medieval and Renaissance Studies at the University of Saint Louis that provided funding as well as a collegial environment to pursue my research. I also want to thank Father José Nevado, Gabriela Salazar, and Francisco Piñas of the Library Aurelio Espinosa Pólit for supporting my research in Quito's Jesuit archives. My thanks to the University of Delaware's department of Art History for funding my research in local and foreign archives, and to Linda Magner for her endless help and guidance.

This project could not have been possible without the assistance of Juan Carlos Pinos and Diego Santander of the Fundación Iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús, who granted access to *The Prophets*; and of the scientists at Winterthur Scientific Research and Analysis Laboratories, especially Catherine Matsen, Judy Rudolph and Rosie Grayburn, who provided the opportunity of using technical studies in my research. I also want to thank Brian Baade for sharing his expertise about painting practices and materials; and to Michele Marincola, Sarah Barack, and the fellows and lecturers at

IFA's Summer Institute in Technical Art History at New York University who encouraged and broadened my interests and curiosity in technical art history.

My deepest thanks to my fellow students and friends at University of Delaware, especially Rachel Zimmerman, Alba Campos, Sabena Kull, Nicole Cook, Lisa Drago, Tiffany Racco, Emily Casey, Emily Torbert, Craig Lee, Michele Frederick, Hannah Segrave, Sarah Leonard, Caitlin Hutchinson, Elizabeth Simmons, Karli Wurzelbacher, Jeffrey Richmond-Moll, Spencer Wigmore, and Galina Olmsted for sharing the joys and burdens of graduate school. I also want to thank Prof. Lauren Petersen, Prof. Lawrence Nees, and Prof. Wendy Bellion of University of Delaware for their inspiring and challenging classes. My special thanks to Vicki Cassman, who has been my mentor and friend all these years.

Finally, I want to express my love and gratitude to my husband, Joel, who has kept me sane and happy; to my parents, Guillermo and Rita, for supporting my endless search for knowledge; to my sisters, Dani and Claudia, and my brother, Andrés, for their encouragement; and to Dezi and Roxie, for their unconditional love.

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ABSTRACT

For centuries, the sixteen paintings of Old Testament prophets that adorn the main nave of the Jesuit church in Quito—better known as the Church of La Compañía—have been considered remarkable examples of Spanish colonial art. However, as is the case for most paintings from colonial Quito, little is known about the works’ authorship, chronology, and function. Through analysis of Jesuit texts from the colonial period (some of them never before consulted by scholars), examination of the paintings’ materials, and identification of numerous European prints that were used as sources, this dissertation uncovers the artistic techniques employed in the production of the paintings. In the process, this research contests previous unsubstantiated attributions given to the paintings, and proposes a new origin and chronology based on historical and scientific research, as well as formal analysis. Using seventeenth and eighteenth-century Jesuit sources, it addresses the interest of Quito’s Jesuit College in art patronage and raises several questions regarding the circulation of religious images in the province. Ultimately, this research proposes that the paintings’ iconography, which emphasizes the supernatural aspect of the prophetic, allowed Quito’s Jesuit College to reinforce its institutional values and present itself as an organization uniquely qualified to lead the evangelization of the Americas. This symbolic function was reinforced by the reflective materials that surrounded the paintings during the colonial period, particularly gilded surfaces and mirrors of different sizes.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Although the [Jesuit] churches in Barcelona, Zaragoza, Valladolid, Salamanca, Madrid and Seville might be large, tall and bright, Quito's Jesuit church surpasses them all. The building has three naves, a beautiful transept and dome, and is populated by splendid altarpieces... Besides the remarkable silver ornaments and relics that embellish the altars during the service, the [church's] vault, walls and columns are gilded. The church is also adorned with a variety of fine paintings. Depictions of Prophets, by a distinguished brush, are displayed under the arches that lead to the side chapels.¹

This description, written by Father Bernardo Recio in 1773, exemplifies the praises that travelers and scholars have consistently given to the Jesuit Church of La Compañía throughout the centuries. The gilded vault, the delicately sculpted altarpieces, and the many works of art that adorn the church's interior attract enormous attention (figs. 1-3). This dissertation focuses on the sixteen remarkable

¹ All translations are mine, unless noted otherwise. "Habiendo visto la belleza de nuestras iglesias en Barcelona, Zaragoza, Valladolid, Salamanca, Madrid y Sevilla, aunque noté alguna ventaja ya en esta ya en aquella, o por lo grande, o por lo alto, o por lo claro; pero realmente el complejo de la de Quito en ninguna otra se halla, a todas excede. Consta de tres naves, con su hermoso crucero, y cimborio. Toda adornada de altares, pero muy lucidos. Fuera de los altares, que en las solemnidades se aparamentaban con bellas alhajas de plata y reliquias, toda la bóveda, paredes, y columnas está dorado todo, mezcladas con y por variedad algunas finas pinturas. Lucen en el hueco de los arcos de las capillas los sagrados Profetas de muy selecto pincel." Bernardo Recio S.J., *Compendiosa relación de la cristiandad de Quito [1773]* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo, 1947), 259-60.

paintings of Old Testament prophets—from now on identified as *The Prophets*—(figs. 4-19) that are frequently singled out in these texts due to their outstanding craftsmanship.

It is impossible to miss these paintings, as they are overtly displayed on the main nave of the church. Located on both sides of La Compañía's gilded pillars, the paintings strategically face visitors when they walk towards the altar and return to the main door (fig. 20). Each prophet is represented as life-size and in full-length, standing against a deep landscape. A scene in the background presents moments related to the life of the prophet, while an image associated with his prophecy is depicted in the sky. The composition is completed by a reference to the Old Testament written in banners placed within the pictorial space. While some of the prophets, like Jonah and Malachi, address the viewer directly, others, such as Habakkuk and Zephaniah, perform an act of introspection. These complex compositions, which invite the viewer to simultaneously look and read, are certain to attract and puzzle the beholder.

Although depictions of Old Testament prophets and patriarchs are not uncommon in different parts of the Spanish Americas, the craftsmanship of La Compañía's *Prophets*, their complex composition and their unusual naturalism set them apart. *The Prophets*' artistic quality has been widely recognized in numerous publications about Quiteño art.² Eighteenth-century descriptions of the church also

² José Gabriel Navarro, *La pintura en el Ecuador del XVI al XIX* (Quito: Dinediciones, 1991), 98-127. By the same author, *Contribuciones a la historia del arte en el Ecuador, IV* (Quito: Trama Ediciones, 2006), 81-5. Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt ed., *The Art of Painting in Colonial Quito* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2012), 54-61. José María Vargas, *Liturgia y arte religioso ecuatoriano* (Quito:

single out *The Prophets* among the rest of works on display. However, the worth of the paintings lies essentially on their capacity to communicate the primordial role of the Society of Jesus in the evangelization of the Americas, as well as articulate Jesuit ideology. The paintings' subject matter and iconography, in complete harmony with the rest of the church's decorative program, convincingly delivered religious truth and salvation to the faithful, while showcasing the Jesuits' educational role in the city and their missionary work in the Amazon basin. *The Prophets'* conspicuous location allowed the viewer to experience the realization of the promise of salvation delivered in the Old Testament, while their references to the supernatural complemented the incredible impact produced by the different reflecting surfaces that covered the building. Overall, *The Prophets* invited the faithful to meditate about their spiritual state and improve it.

Even though *The Prophets* played an essential role in the decorative program of the church all along the colonial period, little is known about their attribution, chronology, provenance, and function. This lack of information is not uncommon for the art of colonial Quito, as private commissions were usually not formally

Ediciones Santo Domingo, 1695), 51-4. Santiago Sebastián, *El barroco iberoamericano: mensaje iconográfico* (Madrid: Ediciones Encuentro, 2007), 122-7. Agustina Rodríguez Romero, "Vaticinios al óleo. Imágenes de profetas en el Virreinato del Perú," Prohal Monográfico, *Revista del programa de historia de América Latina*, vol. 3 (2012): 5-35. Carmen Fernández-Salvador, "Images and Memory: The Construction of Collective Identities in Seventeenth-Century Quito." (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2005), 79-147. Teresa de Vallarino, *La vida y el arte del ilustre panameño Hernando de la Cruz* (Quito: Prensa Católica, 1950). José María Vargas, *Convento de La Compañía de Jesús* (Quito, Editorial Santo Domingo, [1967?]), 15. Pío Jaramillo Alvarado, *Examen crítico sobre los Profetas de Goríbar* (Quito: Casa de la Cultura, 1950).

documented, and anonymity was the rule for most artists working in the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries.³ Under such conditions, authorship and chronology are almost impossible to determine.⁴

Circumstances regarding local artistic practice are also uncertain. There are no records of the existence of a local guild of painters before 1741, and only scarce information about colonial apprenticeship and workshop practices survives.⁵ The existence of a school of painting in Quito has also been a point of contention among art scholars since the nineteenth century.⁶ This theory has since had proponents and detractors, although the characteristics of Quito's school and the ways in which it differed from other regional schools remain unclear. Lack of documentation and thorough scholarship have complicated any serious study of *The Prophets*, allowing legends around their history to replace sound research.

Most studies overlook the relation between the paintings and the church's decorative program, as well as their role in the Jesuit project of evangelization. This dissertation not only discusses *The Prophets'* materials and proposes new theories

³ Susan Verdi Webster, *Lettered Artists and the Languages of Empire: Painters and the Profession in Early Colonial Quito* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017), 77. Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt ed., *The Art of Painting in Colonial Quito*, x.

⁴ This might change in the future if scholars are allowed access to archives of local religious institutions. So far, they have mostly relied on information from the Archivo Histórico Nacional and other public archives.

⁵ Verdi Webster, *Lettered Artists and the Languages of Empire*, 75-9. Also Ángel Justo Estebarán, *Pintura y Sociedad en Quito en el siglo XVII* (Quito: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador, 2011), 37-43.

⁶ For a summary of this debate, see Justo Estebarán, *Pintura y sociedad*, 27-37.

regarding their origin and chronology, but also provides a thorough analysis of their role in promoting Jesuit institutional values. Certainly, *The Prophets* were essential components of the building's interior imagery that helped connect the Old Testament to the colonial period, and justify the presence of the Catholic Church and the Spanish imperial regime in the region.⁷ Conforming harmoniously to the church's decorative program, these paintings reinforced institutional discourses underlining the powerful role that the Society of Jesus played in the colonial enterprise. Moreover, the works' large dimensions and their prominent location, which has remained the same since the colonial period, powerfully presented them as vivid manifestations of Jesuit identity, emphasizing the prophetic origins of this religious order and the seemingly supernatural knowledge of its members.

The Jesuits and their Church in Quito

The city of Quito, located in the Andean highlands, was founded by the Spaniards in 1534 atop the ruins of one of the most important centers of the Inca empire.⁸ Even before the arrival of the Incas in the late fifteenth century, Quito had been a significant indigenous political and commercial hub, and continued to be so during the few decades of Inca rule. The city was also the birthplace of Atahualpa, the

⁷ Carmen Fernández-Salvador, "Images and Memory," 18-21 + 82-4

⁸ Enrique Ayala Mora, *Resumen de historia del Ecuador, tercera edición actualizada* (Quito: Corporación Editora Nacional, 2008), <http://repositorio.uasb.edu.ec/bitstream/10644/836/1/AYALAE-CON0001-RESUMEN.pdf>, accessed December 24, 2017.

last Inca emperor, who was betrayed and murdered by the Spanish conquistadors.⁹ Since the early stages of colonization, Quito was considered a relevant center of power and an ideal location for Spanish governance. In 1545, the archbishopric of the region comprising today's country of Ecuador, the north of Peru, and the south of Colombia was established in Quito. A few years later, in 1563, the Spanish Crown created the Real Audiencia of Quito (fig. 21), an administrative jurisdiction that oversaw this same region.¹⁰ In theory, the viceroy in Lima had political, administrative, and military control over the Audiencia, but in reality, most of these issues were delegated to Quito's local authorities.¹¹ In 1720, the Real Audiencia was separated from the Viceroyalty of Peru and became part of the Viceroyalty of Nueva Granada (today Colombia). After this transition, Quito's government acquired a higher political and military status.

Colonial society was multi-racial, and Quito's social structure was stratified and unequal. While Spaniards and their descendants perched at its summit, most of the indigenous population became the main workforce under the system of *mita*, which

⁹ Other documents argue that he was born in Cuzco and travelled to Quito as a child with his father. See Enrique Ayala Mora ed., *Historia del Ecuador I: épocas aborígenes y colonial, independencia* (Quito: Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, Sede Ecuador; Corporación Editora Nacional, 2015), 51-2.

¹⁰ Ayala Mora ed., *Historia del Ecuador I*, 80.

¹¹ John Leddy Phelan, *The Kingdom of Quito in the Seventeenth Century: Bureaucratic Politics in the Spanish Empire* (Madison; Milwaukee; London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), 38-9.

was organized around low-paid communal work.¹² Miscegenation also became prevalent in the colonial period and *mestizos*, the products of unions between the Spanish and indigenous groups, had to navigate between these two ethnic groups. Small numbers of black slaves were also traded into the region and forced to perform manual labor in some sections of the coast and highlands of the Audiencia of Quito.¹³ Most of the black population living in Quito was marginalized, working as domestic servants or fulfilling minor administrative roles. The contribution of black and mulatto peoples in the arts of Quito remains to be explored.¹⁴

¹² The system of *mitas* imposed during the colonial period derived from the Inca *mit'a* developed by the Incas in which people would work in turns in projects for the service of the community. The Spaniards transformed this system into free labor at the service of the state, which could entail sometimes dangerous and even deadly work, such as mining in the region of Potosí. Elena Phipps et al, *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830* (New York: New Haven and London: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Yale University Press, 2004), 4. In the case of the Real Audiencia of Quito, large numbers of indigenous people were forced to work in the production of textiles and in agriculture. Ayala Mora ed., *Historia del Ecuador I*, 90.

¹³ The number of black people in Quito was small in comparison to other cities of the Americas, partially due to the difficulties involving the transportation of slaves from Cartagena de Indias or Panama through the Andes. See Jean Pierre Tardieu, *El negro en la Real Audiencia de Quito, siglos XVI-XVIII* (Quito: Abya-Yala; Institut Français d'études Andines, 2006), 167-225. OpenEdition Books, 2015. Last accessed January 2, 2018. <http://books.openedition.org/ifea/4616>

Martin Minchom argues that the large indigenous presence in Quito required the import of only a small number of black slaves to the city. See Martin Minchom, *The People of Quito, 1690-1810* (Boulder; San Francisco; Oxford: Westview Press, 1994), 8 and 50-1.

¹⁴ Minchom and Justo Estebananz have found few archival records of black artists and craftsmen working in colonial Quito. See Minchom, *The People of Quito*, 81-4. Justo Estebananz, *Pintura y sociedad en Quito*, 143-8.

Religion became an essential tool of colonial control. When the Jesuits arrived in the city of Quito in the late sixteenth century, the Franciscans, Mercedarians and Dominicans had already become part of the local landscape.¹⁵ Still, in just a few decades, the Society of Jesus established a prominent role in the region and among local society—they not only acquired lands in the most conspicuous locations of the city, but also founded Quito’s only seminary.¹⁶ Local authorities and churchgoers provided the Jesuit Order with alms and lands which allowed for the construction of a large college and one of the city’s most lavish churches. The success of Quito’s college prompted local Jesuits to try to create an independent province. However, neither the Roman Office nor the Spanish King supported this separation, and the College of Quito was subordinated to the Jesuit Province of Peru in the early seventeenth century, and to the Jesuit Province of the New Reino of Granada beginning in 1617. Only in 1696 did Quito’s Jesuit College become independent.

It is not clear whether the Jesuits came to Quito from Peru in 1576 or in the 1580s, but it seems that they had settled in the church of Santa Bárbara—in the outskirts of the city—by 1586. In this small location, Fathers Baltazar Piñas, Diego

¹⁵ Jorge Salvador Lara dir., *Historia de la Iglesia Católica en el Ecuador I: la primera evangelización* (Quito: Producciones Digitales Abya-Yala, 2001), 155-294. http://digitalrepository.unm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1320&context=abya_yala accessed December 26, 2017.

¹⁶ The history of the Jesuits in Ecuador is mostly based on José Jouanen’s *Historia de La Compañía de Jesús en la antigua provincia de Quito, 1570-1774* (Quito: Editorial Ecuatoriana, 1941). See also Jorge Villalba S.J. “Los Jesuitas se establecen en el Reino de Quito,” in *Radiografía de la piedra: los jesuitas y su templo en Quito*, Jorge Moreno Egas et. al. (Quito: FONSA, 2008). 27-62. The dates between sources are sometimes conflicting.

González de Holguín, Juan de Hinojosa, and lay brother Juan de Santiago founded the College of Quito as part of the Jesuit province of Peru. A few years later, in 1589, with the support of rich citizens and local authorities, the Society of Jesus acquired the lands located behind the cathedral, a few steps away from the city's main square. The square was, and still is, the political and religious center of the city, and was surrounded by the archbishop's palace, the cathedral and the house of government. The success of the Jesuits was complete when the bishop of Quito, Luis López de Solís, requested that the Society of Jesus take care of the city's seminary, which functioned next to the church of El Sagrario, across from the Jesuit headquarters. The order gladly accepted and, from 1594, the Seminary of San Luis functioned under the control of the Jesuits. In 1597, the Jesuit headquarters moved to the large buildings previously occupied by the seminary, and the Society of Jesus transferred the seminary to the land that was intended for their college, behind the city's cathedral.

Quito's Jesuit College was a large complex that included a school, a novitiate and, after 1622, the university of San Gregorio Magno.¹⁷ The two-story building was organized around four courtyards and had an interior chapel, a refectory, the university's classrooms and a library, as well as a laundry room, a bakery, a carpentry shop, a kitchen, a pharmacy, an orchard, and shops for rent. The construction of the church of La Compañía on the south side of the Jesuit College commenced in 1605. The church opened to the public in 1613 with three naves already completed. This new

¹⁷ María Antonieta Vásquez Hahn, *Luz a través de los muros: biografía de un edificio quiteño* (Quito: FONSAL, 2005), 31.

Jesuit building replaced the small church of San Jerónimo that the Society of Jesus had built in the late 1500s.

The church of La Compañía became the Jesuit center for evangelization and for control of the social order in the city of Quito.¹⁸ The local Jesuit College was devoted to the conversion of the indigenous population and to the education of other colonial groups. From its inception, the Jesuits instructed the children of white colonials in Latin, grammar, humanities, and rhetoric.¹⁹ Later they educated its students in philosophy and theology as well. The seminary was originally intended to focus only on the Spanish elite.²⁰ The Society of Jesus also promoted the creation of

¹⁸ Valeria Coronel Valencia, “Pensamiento político jesuita y el problema de la diferencia colonial,” in *Radiografía de la piedra*, 127-65.

¹⁹ Although most primary sources do not specify the demographics of the students of Quito’s Jesuit College, the Carta Annuæ of 1596 suggests that they were originally created for Spaniards only. “Los colegios, por su parte, han rendido sus frutos. Este año a las clases de gramática y a las de casos de conciencia, se ha añadido las clases de filosofía, con sus disputas y ejercicios diarios que tienen sus días fijos de actividades académicas. Todas estas son actividades que han adquirido prestigio para la Compañía entre la ciudadanía y a los alumnos del seminario les han reportado grande provecho; y no sólo ellos. Pero del seminario hablaremos más abajo. Todo esto que se ha mencionado se refiere a los españoles.” F. Ernesto Bravo translated this letter, originally written in Latin. See Francisco Piñas Rubio, S.J., “Cartas annuas de la Compañía de Jesús en la Audiencia de Quito de 1587 a 1660,” (unpublished manuscript, August 12, 2008), compact disc.

²⁰ The letter of 1596 specifies that in the future the Society of Jesus might create a seminary for indigenous children. “Y por cierto, una vez que palpó el gran provecho que había en que la Compañía llevase adelante la administración de este seminario, se ha propuesto confiar igualmente a la Compañía el cuidado de otro seminario, para niños indígenas.” The letter of 1612 also indicates that the seminary of San Luis formed the children of the “gente más honrada y principal.” In Piñas Rubio, S.J., “Cartas annuas de la Compañía de Jesús en la Audiencia de Quito de 1587 a 1660.”

different confraternities of lay people separated by ethnicities, each associated with specific religious devotions that were worshipped in the church's chapels. For example, Spanish women as well as natives who did not speak Spanish were connected to the confraternity of the Virgin of Loreto.²¹ *Indios ladinos*, or natives with knowledge of Spanish customs, were devoted to the Child Virgin, while mestizos worshipped the Three Wise Men. Spanish men were devout to the Immaculate Conception.

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Society of Jesus was quite successful and opened new colleges in various cities of the Real Audiencia of Quito. Their main goal remained the education and catechization of indigenous, Spanish, and mestizo populations. In the 1640s, the Jesuits founded a seminary in Popayán and opened a college in Cuenca. They also established a novitiate in the town of Latacunga. More Jesuit colleges were founded in the late seventeenth century in the Andean cities of Ibarra, Riobamba, and Pasto, as well as in the city of Guayaquil on the Pacific coast. In 1727, the College of Loja was founded in the southern frontier of the province.

²¹ Diego Rodríguez Docampo, "Descripción y relación del estado eclesiástico del obispado de San Francisco de Quito [1650]," in *Relaciones geográficas de Indias: Perú*, Marcos Jiménez de la Espada (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1965), 45. Pedro de Mercado, *Historia de la provincia del Nuevo Reino y Quito de La Compañía de Jesús*, Vol. 3 (Bogotá: Empresa Nacional de Publicaciones, 1957), 14. Jouanén, *Historia de La Compañía de Jesús*, 70-1. There is no in-depth research about the confraternities associated to Quito's Jesuit church. The fact that both Spanish women and indigenous people were connected through the same devotion is particularly puzzling and demands further analysis.

These colleges were not only created to evangelize indigenous towns along the Andes but were also conceived as points of entry to the Amazon basin where the Jesuits wanted to establish their missions (fig. 22). The college of Cuenca, in particular, was created with this purpose in mind, even though in 1654 Father Raimundo de Santa Cruz discovered faster access from the city of Quito. The Society of Jesus was the only order that was able to create arguably successful missions in the inhospitable rainforest. Their most important missionary settlement was in the region of Mainas (or Maynas), around the Marañón river, a focus of their efforts since the early seventeenth century. In 1605 a member of the Jesuit community, Father Pedro Ferrer, arrived for the first time in this region, where the Society of Jesus progressively established several missions that functioned, not without difficulties, until its expulsion.²²

In August of 1767, Charles III signed a decree expelling the Society of Jesus from all Spanish domains, including the Audiencia of Quito. Jesuits of all colleges were sent to Italy via the port of Guayaquil the same year. The reasons behind the Society's expulsion are complex, but they were mostly responses to the order's increasing independence from the Spanish crown, conflicts with colonial interests, and

²² After the expulsion, the secular clergy took charge of these missions, although their lack of commitment and organization meant that most of them were unsuccessful. The Jesuit Francisco de Borja Medina has written the most complete, although not totally unbiased, account to date about the situation of the missions of Maynas after the expulsion of the Jesuits. See Francisco de Borja Medina S.J., "Los maynas después de la expulsión de los Jesuitas," in *Un Reino en la frontera: las misiones jesuitas en la América colonial* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú: Ediciones Abya-Yala, 1999), 429-71.

its consolidation of power.²³ Some of the Jesuit methodologies of evangelization, which had been adapted to local practices, also came into question and elevated the Church's suspicion. As a result, Pope Clement XIV suppressed the Jesuit Order in 1773. The following century, after Pius VII restituted the Society of Jesus and Spanish King Ferdinand VII annulled Charles III's edict, the Jesuits returned to the newly established Republic of Ecuador.

After the first expulsion of the Society of Jesus from Quito, all its lands, buildings, and goods were expropriated by the Spanish Crown, and many of them were redistributed among important colonial families and the secular clergy.²⁴ Some jewels and artworks formerly displayed in the Jesuit church were given to other religious orders, sometimes as payment for debts previously incurred by the Society of Jesus. During the many years that the church of La Compañía was in the hands of the secular clergy, there were several unsuccessful attempts to keep it active.²⁵ However, the condition of the church became critical in the nineteenth century as the Camillian Order, in charge of the building since 1803, had little means through which to

²³ Magnus Mörner ed., *The Expulsion of the Jesuits from Latin America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), 3-16. Vásquez Hahn, *Luz a través de los muros*, 46.

²⁴ Diego Gonzalo Santander Gallardo and José Luis Micó Buchón, S.J., "Un templo vivo. Sentido y misión de la restauración del templo y colegio de los jesuitas en Quito," in *Radiografía de la piedra*, 324.

²⁵ Alfonso Ortiz Crespo, "Desde la primera piedra hasta la expulsión: 160 años de historia constructiva," in *Radiografía de la piedra*, 201-5.

maintain it.²⁶ According to an official report dating from 1846, the building's roof was severely damaged and had many leaks. Scavengers, in a hopeless search for treasures, also triggered serious structural damage to the building. By the 1860s the church of La Compañía was in a precarious condition: the ceiling was damaged, the wooden altarpieces were rotting, most of its ornaments were no longer present, and even the glass from the windows had disappeared. In the following decades, the reinstated Jesuit order fully refurbished the church and opened it for religious services. In 1993, the Fundación Iglesia de La Compañía was created in order to manage the conservation of the church, which suffered severe damage after a devastating earthquake.²⁷ The Fundación, the National Institute of Cultural Heritage and the Central Bank directed the conservation of the whole church, including the building's structure, as well as its woodwork and artworks.²⁸

It is not clear what happened to the prophet paintings after the Jesuit expulsion, but it is likely that they remained in their original location. Descriptions of the church of La Compañía written in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries mention that

²⁶ The Camillian Order or The Order of Ministers of the Sick is a religious order founded by Saint Camillus of Lellis in 1586. Its members arrived to South America in the first decades of the eighteenth century.

²⁷ Santander and Buchón, "Un templo vivo," 329. The FIJC website establishes a different date for the creation of the Fundación. See "Nosotros," Fundación Iglesia de La Compañía. <http://fundacioniglesiadelacompania.org.ec/portal/index.php/sobre-nosotros/resena-historica>, accessed Dec. 26, 2017.

²⁸ This lengthy conservation project ended in 2005. Santander and Buchón, "Un templo vivo," 327-9.

the paintings were hanging from the building's pillars.²⁹ Their permanent exposure probably explains the paintings' dilapidated state before their conservation undertaken between 1989 and 1991.³⁰

The Prophets: Historiography

Most of scholarly research regarding *The Prophets* has focused on two aspects: iconography and attribution. Although studies of iconography can lead to information about chronology, patronage and use of artworks, until recently most analyses have been aimed mainly at identifying religious subject matters. José María Vargas's description of the paintings, in his book on liturgy and religious Ecuadorian art, briefly examines their role as didactic objects, but fails to analyze these connections in detail.³¹ Instead, Vargas focuses mostly on identifying *The Prophets* in relation to the Bible and on describing the scenes included in the paintings' backgrounds. Santiago Sebastián also summarily mentions these paintings in his study concerning images of the Old Testament in Iberoamerica, but does not place them in a Jesuit context.³² Instead, he sees the *Prophets* as examples of local interest in European medieval traditions that, as he correctly argues, were renewed during the process of Spanish

²⁹ José Gabriel Navarro, *Artes plásticas ecuatorianas* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1945), 173. See also the descriptions of the paintings in José Domingo Cortés, *Diccionario biográfico americano*. Second Edition (Paris: Tipografía Lahure, 1876), 211-2.

³⁰ Oswaldo Morejón, "Informe final proceso de conservación," 1991.

³¹ Vargas, *Liturgia y arte religioso ecuatoriano*, 51-4.

³² Sebastián, *El barroco iberoamericano*, 122-7.

colonization. Sebastián posits that the fact that these paintings are displayed on the pillars of Quito's Jesuit church reflects Abbot Suger's ideas about building the Christian Church on the foundation of prophets and apostles. Sebastián's text echoes Émile Mâle's studies on French medieval architecture, which explain the importance of symmetry and correspondence between the Old and New Testaments.³³ As his analysis focuses on the use of Old Testament images in the Americas more generally, Sebastián does not consider specific conditions of patronage. In the case of La Compañía's *Prophets*, it is essential to refer to their particular context and reflect on the connections between these images and the Society's institutional agendas.

Agustina Rodríguez Romero achieves a more satisfying analysis in her study of prophetic figures in the Viceroyalty of Peru.³⁴ She does not focus on *The Prophets* in particular either, but her analyses about the function of paintings of Old Testament prophets as precursors of the apostles and the Four Evangelists are more extensive than previous publications. Rodríguez also explains in more detail the uses of prophetic figures in evangelization campaigns led by the Catholic Church in the

³³ See for instance Émile Mâle, *Religious Art in France XIII Century* (London and New York: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd; E.P. Dutton & Co, 1913), 9.

³⁴ Rodríguez Romero, "Vaticinios al óleo," 5-35. Rodríguez reprises her theories in two additional articles about the role of prophecy in colonial South America in Agustina Rodríguez Romero, "Jeremías contra las huacas: el Antiguo Testamento y la idolatría en textos e imágenes," in *Autores y actores del mundo colonial: nuevos enfoques multidisciplinarios*, Verónica Salles-Reese and Carmen Fernández-Salvador ed. (Quito: Universidad San Francisco de Quito and Washington D.C.: Georgetown University, [200-?]); Agustina Rodríguez Romero, "El mesianismo como constante: interpretaciones mesiánicas en el arte colonial," in *Atas Do IV Congresso Internacional do Barroco íbero-Americano* (Ouro Preto: n.ed., 2006), 63-76.

Americas, and their connection to specific religious texts used in private and public settings, such as Pedro de Ribadeneyra's *Flos Sanctorum*. Her arguments about the creation of parallels between indigenous communities and idolatrous groups mentioned in the Old Testament are particularly convincing. Another important aspect of Rodríguez's work is the identification of French and Flemish prints that inspired local representations of prophets and patriarchs.

Adriana Pacheco has included a study of *The Prophets*, although summarily, in her analysis of the decorative program of the Jesuit church in Quito.³⁵ She argues that the interior decoration of La Compañía functioned as a large "composition of place" that emphasized the figure of Jesus as the true messiah and Christianity as the only path to spiritual salvation.³⁶ Although consistent with Jesuit spirituality, her research does not explain in depth the role of *The Prophets* in this particular setting. Considering that the composition of place relates to meditative practices performed in a private context, its use in public spaces seems less evident and requires further analysis. Pacheco also states that the paintings related this messianic message to the missionary endeavors of the Society of Jesus in the region, a tantalizing proposition that needs to be explored more extensively.

³⁵ Adriana Pacheco Bustillos, "Ojos para ver y oídos para oír': una lectura del proyecto estético de La Compañía de Jesús," in *Radiografía de la piedra*, 213-232.

³⁶ The composition of place was a meditative practice established by Ignatius of Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesus, in his *Spiritual Exercises*. For a detailed explanation of how Jesuits used the composition of place to instruct novices, see Walter S. Melion, "Artifice, Memory, and *Reformatio* in Hieronymus Natalis's *Annotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia*," in *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme*, Vol 22, 3 (1998): 5-34.

Carmen Fernández-Salvador has written the most complete analysis to date about the iconography of *The Prophets* as part of her doctoral dissertation.³⁷ Her work focuses on the ways in which religious images legitimized the historic significance of Quito as a center of political and spiritual authority.³⁸ In her discussion, she connects these paintings to the decorative program of the church and the city of Quito, and proposes that these images supported the creation of a local sacred geography.³⁹ She also expands on Vargas's analyses related to the use of the paintings and demonstrates that these works functioned as didactic tools that supported religious rhetoric and served as processional markers during liturgical celebrations. The paintings thus established a continuous thread between biblical past and colonial present.⁴⁰ Fernández-Salvador echoes Howard Hibbard's reading of the decorative program of the Jesuit church of Il Gesù in Rome and proposes that Quito's Jesuit College used the

³⁷ Simultaneously to this dissertation's defense, Fernández-Salvador published a book in which she explains in more detail the role of *The Prophets* in the local Jesuit missionary discourse. See Carmen Fernández-Salvador, *Encuentros y desencuentros en la frontera imperial: la iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús de Quito y la misión en el Amazonas (siglo xvii)* (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2018). The connections between this dissertation and Fernández-Salvador's work are more thoroughly addressed in Chapter 4.

³⁸ Fernández-Salvador, "Images and Memory," 3

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 79-147.

⁴⁰ Carmen Fernández-Salvador, "La portada de piedra de La Compañía de Jesús de Quito: mirada a un retablo trascendente," *Revista Patrimonio de Quito*, 2 (2005): 22-7, 25. See also the catalogue entries in Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt ed., *The Art of Painting in Colonial Quito*, 54-8.

Prophets to showcase Jesuit martyrdom in connection to the Society's missionary work in the Amazon basin.⁴¹

Probably the most debated aspect regarding *The Prophets* among historians of Ecuadorian art has been their attribution. Chapter 2 proposes that these works originated in a Spanish workshop, breaking away from previous unfounded speculations which attributed them to Nicolás Javier Gorívar, a renowned local artist. As this section explains, this theory came into question in 1950, when Teresa Vallarino named Hernando de la Cruz, a Jesuit artist from Panama who lived in Quito in the first half of the seventeenth century, as the author of La Compañía's *Prophets*.⁴² Her essay prompted the publication of several rebuttals by local scholars who claimed, without any convincing evidence and through questionable stylistic analysis, that Gorívar was *The Prophets*' undisputed author.⁴³ Recent scholarship has debunked the myth of Gorívar's authorship, though without proposing an alternative.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Howard Hibbard, "Ut Picturae Sermones: The First Painted Decorations of the Gesù," in *Baroque Art: the Jesuit Contribution* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1972), 29-50.

⁴² Vallarino, *La vida y el arte del ilustre panameño Hernando de la Cruz*.

⁴³ Vargas, *Convento de La Compañía de Jesús*, 15; Navarro, *Contribuciones a la historia del Ecuador*, 82-5. Jaramillo Alvarado, *Examen crítico sobre los profetas de Gorívar*.

⁴⁴ Stratton-Pruitt ed., *The Art of Painting in Colonial Quito*, 54-8.

Methodology and Structure of the Dissertation

In a context where archival research has provided few clues regarding art authorship, artistic patronage and workshop practices, this dissertation proposes new approaches that will advance the study of painting from colonial Quito. The analysis of the style, materials, composition, and iconography of La Compañía's *Prophets*, in conjunction with historical and scientific research, provides substantial new information regarding the works' attribution, chronology, function, and meaning. This dissertation also looks at *The Prophets* from various art historical perspectives that increase their understanding. Different methodologies are applied in four distinct chapters that can be read independently as well as altogether. Whereas Chapter 2 approaches the study of the paintings through the lense of connoisseurship, paying particular attention to the issue of attribution, the third chapter introduces technical art history into the paintings' analysis, as well as the study of iconographic sources. The fourth chapter aligns with the social history of art, and the final section uses approaches from material culture studies.

My project discusses the ways in which the Society of Jesus's institutional agendas shaped religious images and examines the political and social objectives that shaped the commission of *The Prophets*. Overall, it shows that these paintings were meant to position the Society of Jesus as the utmost champion of the Counter-Reformation and as a leading institution in the project of evangelizing Spanish American colonies.

Chapter 2 assesses the attribution and chronology of *The Prophets* and concludes that Quito's Jesuit College commissioned these works from a Spanish workshop, which departs from previous theories that credited them to local artists such

as Javier Goríbar and Brother Hernando de la Cruz.⁴⁵ For the first time, the analysis of *The Prophets'* authorship, chronology and provenance is based on evidence provided by colonial texts and unpublished documentation, in conjunction with connoisseurship. This section considers colonial chronicles, such as Diego Rodríguez Docampo's *Relaciones* and Pedro de Mercado's *History of the Jesuit Province*, as well as public catalogues of Quito's Jesuit College produced between 1642 and 1745, and the church's inventory from 1767.⁴⁶ The analysis of archival information also leads to a larger discussion about the involvement of members of the Society of Jesus in local artistic production, including painting and architecture, and about the circulation of artworks between Quito's Jesuit College and other Jesuit colleges of the region.

Chapter 3 discusses the techniques and materials involved in the process of invention and execution of these artworks, including their design and the actual process of painting. This section first identifies several Flemish and Italian prints that

⁴⁵ Jaramillo Alvarado, *Examen crítico*; Vallarino, *La vida y el arte del ilustre panameño Hernando de la Cruz*; José Gabriel Navarro, *Los profetas de Goríbar en la iglesia Compañía de Jesús* (Quito: Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana, 1951).; Vargas, *Patrimonio artístico ecuatoriano*.

⁴⁶ For colonial descriptions of the paintings see Chapter 2. For information about Hernando de la Cruz see Rodríguez Docampo, "Relación y descripción del estado eclesiástico," 49; Jacinto Morán de Butrón. S. J., *La azucena de Quito: la venerable Virgen Mariana de Jesús* (Madrid: Imprenta de Don Gabriel del Barrio, [1724?]), 262-3; Mercado, *Historia de la provincia*, 355-6. Among the Jesuit unpublished documents are ARSI, *Breve suma de las vidas y virtudes de algunos varones ilustres que han florecido en este colegio de La Compañía de Jesús de Quito*. 309v- 310v.; Jesuit public catalogues; *Inventario de las provincias del Mainas*, fol. 55v-56v; Biblioteca Aurelio Espinosa Pólit, Archivo SJ, *Colegio Máximo de Quito, testimonio del sequestro del Colegio Máximo de Quito actuado el 20 de agosto de 1767*.

were used as sources for the paintings and discusses the different ways in which the artists reinterpreted them. Although studies of the appropriation of European sources intend to address the originality of Spanish colonial art, they mostly focus on establishing comparisons between paintings and prints.⁴⁷ My analysis also distances itself from previous discussions that connect the use of prints in colonial workshops with the phenomenon of *criollización*.⁴⁸ In recent years, historians of the art from Quito have explained the lack of indigenous traits in local colonial painting by referring to the reliance of colonial painters on European prints.⁴⁹ Instead, my dissertation not only identifies the prints used as inspirational models, but explores the reasons behind their selection in connection to the paintings' function as didactic tools.

The study of prints also allows me to address processes of negotiation between patrons and artists. As this section shows, such negotiations were conditioned by the function of *The Prophets* as didactic tools. I consider the restrictions imposed by the

⁴⁷ To learn about theories regarding the originality of Spanish colonial painting, see Clara Bargellini, "Originality and Invention in the Painting of New Spain," in *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life 1521-1821*, Donna Pierce, ed. (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2004), 79-91.

PESSCA (Project of Engraved Sources of Spanish Colonial Art) is a digital platform established to exhibit correspondences between European prints and paintings from the Spanish colonies. <https://colonialart.org/>, accessed December 28, 2017.

⁴⁸ Alexandra Kennedy defines *criollización* as the appropriation of European artistic languages and the lack of indigenous traits in the sculpture and painting from Quito. See Alexandra Kennedy, "Algunas consideraciones sobre el arte barroco en Quito y la 'interrupción' ilustrada," in *Arte de la Real Audiencia de Quito, siglos XVII-XIX*, ed. Alexandra Kennedy (Madrid: Editorial Nerea, 2002), 43.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 43-65.

Council of Trent for the creation of religious images, and their repercussion on artistic practice. Additionally, I examine Walter Melion's studies surrounding the Jesuits' traditional usages of images and Spanish art treatises of the period.⁵⁰ This chapter will demonstrate that artistic innovation was possible even under such limiting conditions.

This dissertation also relies on scientific technical research to examine the materials of *The Prophets*. As Ann-Sophie Lehmann argues, artistic technique cannot be separated from studies of representation because it plays a decisive role in an object's aspect and meaning.⁵¹ Until now, few publications have delved into painting practices in colonial Quito, and all of them have relied mainly on archival records. Only Ángel Justo Estebarez's publications examine painting practices in seventeenth-century Quito, although the scarcity of information at his disposal limits his conclusions.⁵² Susan Verdi Webster's most recent book, which focuses on the status of

⁵⁰ Walter S. Melion, "The Art of Vision in Jerome Nadal's Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia," in *Annotations and Meditations on the Gospels*, vol. 1, Frederick A. Homann ed. (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, [2003]), 1-96; by the same author, "Parabolic Analogy and Spiritual Discernment in Jerónimo Nadal's Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia of 1595," in *The Turn of the Soul: Representations of Religious Conversion in Early Modern Art and Literature*, Lieke Stelling et al. (Boston: Brill, 2012), 291-338. The treatises on Spanish art theory include Vicente Carducho, *Diálogos de la pintura, su defensa, origen, esencia, definición, modos y diferencias* (Madrid?: Impreso con Licencia por Fr. Martínez, 1633) and Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura* (Sevilla: Por Simón Fajardo, 1649).

⁵¹ Ann-Sophie Lehmann, "The Matter of the Medium," in *The Matter of Art: Materials, Practices, Cultural Logics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 21-41.

⁵² Justo Estebarez, *Pintura y sociedad en Quito*. By the same author, *El pintor quiteño Miguel de Santiago (1633-1706): su vida, su obra y su taller* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2013).

Quito's early colonial painters, also uses historical documentation to provide new information regarding the art materials available in sixteenth-century Quito.⁵³

Similarly, research regarding the materials of art in the colonial Americas remains insufficient. The most complete work to date about local workshop practices is Ramón Gutiérrez's *Pintura, escultura y artes útiles en Iberoamérica, 1500-1825*, published in 1995. More recently, there has been some interest in the examination of the materials of colonial paintings from the Andes. Gabriela Siracusano has published about different pigments used in painting from Peru, Bolivia and Chile. Her studies, which combine scientific analysis and art theory, have offered new avenues for understanding and appreciating the symbolic meaning of color in colonial painting.⁵⁴

Rocío Bruquetas Galán has also investigated the technical aspects of painting from seventeenth-century Lima, and has provided relevant information regarding local workshop practices.⁵⁵

Taking these studies into account, Chapter 3 identifies the materials and techniques of *The Prophets*. In so doing, this dissertation echoes the research done by scholars such as Melanie Gifford, Jill Dunkerton and Carmen Garrido, among many

⁵³ Verdi Webster, *Lettered Artists and the Languages of Empire*, 42-58.

⁵⁴ Gabriela Siracusano, *El poder de los colores: de lo material a lo simbólico en las prácticas culturales andinas. siglos XVI-XVIII* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica Argentina, 2005). See also its English translation, Gabriela Siracusano and Ian Barnett, *Pigments and Power in the Andes: from the Material to the Symbolic in Andean Cultural Practices, 1500-1800* (London: Archetype Publications Ltd, 2011).

⁵⁵ See Rocío Bruquetas, "Técnicas y materiales en la pintura limeña de la primera mitad del siglo XVII: Angelino Medoro y su entorno," *Goya*, 326-9 (April/June 2009): 144-61.

others.⁵⁶ Close-looking in combination with scientific analytical techniques such as X-radiographies, microscopy with visible and ultraviolet light, Scanning Electron Microscopy-Energy Dispersive X-Ray Spectroscopy (SEM-EDS), and raking light permitted the examination of the structure of the paintings, of the development of their design, and of the identification of the painter's palette. Photoshop was also applied to the study of the paintings' composition, providing information to assess the development and definition of their design. This analysis resulted from the cooperation with art conservators and scientists from the University of Delaware, Winterthur Laboratories and the conservation team at the Fundación Iglesia de La Compañía who provided technical expertise as well as the necessary equipment to complete this study.

Building upon previous research regarding the iconography of *The Prophets*, Chapter 4 describes in detail the connections between these images and the rest of the church's decorative program. These works' prominent location and their association with other images referring to the Old Testament, also displayed in the church's main nave, reinforced the church's Christological message and the idea of the fulfillment of the new covenant in the colonial present.⁵⁷ The paintings' iconography is interpreted

⁵⁶ See for instance E. Melanie Gifford, Catherine A Metzger and John K Delaney, "Jan van Eyck's Washington Annunciation: Painting Materials and Techniques," *Fracture*, v.1 (2013), 128-53; Jill Dunkerton, "Titian's Painting Technique," in *Titian: Essays*, Charles Hope et al. (London: National Gallery Company: Distributed by Yale University Press, 2003), 44-55; Carmen Garrido, "El retrato de la condesa de Chinchón: estudio técnico," *Boletín del Museo del Prado*, Tomo XXI, 39 (2003): 44-55.

⁵⁷ Pacheco Bustillos. "Ojos para ver y oídos para oír," 212-32.

in connection to the Spanish project of evangelization for the Americas. Jesuit publications and chronicles, such as biographies of Jesuit saints, and letters and reports authored by members of the order, provide the theoretical foundation on which to discuss prophecy as an essential aspect of Jesuit identity.⁵⁸ These sources highlight the institutional agendas that shaped the identity of the Jesuit College in Quito, fundamentally defined as a missionary and educational organization. In this context, the paintings functioned as constant visual reminders of the prevalent status of the Jesuit Order above other religious institutions established in the city, such as the Franciscans and Dominicans.

Chapter 5 addresses the role of *The Prophets* in connection to the decorative program of the church of La Compañía. This analysis is achieved through the study of the building's rich materiality and the various ways in which it was perceived by the church's visitors. Echoing Anna C. Knaap's reconstruction of the Jesuit church in Antwerp, which emphasizes the relevance of glittering surfaces in Jesuit interiors, this research analyzes the symbolic meaning embodied in La Compañía's gilded decoration and in its many mirrors.⁵⁹ Because the church's decorative program greatly

⁵⁸ Among the texts consulted are Horatio Turselino S.J., *Vida de san Francisco Xavier de La Compañía de Jesús*, trans. Pedro de Guzmán S.J. (Pamplona: Por Carlos de Labayen, 1620); Juan Eusebio Nieremberg S.J. *Vida del patriarca San Ignacio de Loyola* (Zaragoza: Hospital Real y General de Nuestra Señora de Gracia, 1631); Francisco García S.J., *Vida, virtudes y milagros de San Ignacio de Loyola* (Madrid: Por Iván García Infanzón, 1685); Manuel Rodríguez S.J., *El Marañón y Amazonas: historia de los descubrimientos, entradas y reducción de naciones* (Madrid: Imprenta de Antonio González de Reyes, 1684).

⁵⁹ Anna C. Knaap, "Marvels and Marbles in the Antwerp Jesuit Church: Hendrick van Balen's Stone Paintings of the Life of the Virgin (1621)," in *Jesuit Image Theory*, Wietse de Boer ed. (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 352-93.

changed after the Jesuits were forced to leave Quito in 1767, this chapter reconstructs the building's original aspect based on eighteenth-century descriptions, as well as on a detailed inventory done after the Society's expulsion.⁶⁰ This chapter outlines how the reflective surfaces, especially the gold and mirrors which adorned the main nave and the side altars, transformed the space into a divine setting.⁶¹ By discussing the visual effects produced by such materials, I argue that the church's decoration was a strategic factor in permitting the integration of pre-Hispanic notions of the sacred into the new Catholic regime, thereby facilitating the conversion of the indigenous population.

Chapter 5 also reflects on the nature of human sight and sensory perception as discussed in Stuart Clark's *Vanities of the Eye* and in Faye Tudor's analysis of mirrors and vision in Renaissance and early modern Europe.⁶² At the time, visionary events

⁶⁰ Cicala, *Descripción histórico-topográfica*, 171-80; Recio, *Compendiosa relación de la cristiandad de Quito*, 259-60; *Colegio testimonio del sequestro del Colegio Máximo de Quito actuado el 20 de agosto de 1767*.

⁶¹ Knaap, "Marvels and Marbles in the Antwerp Jesuit Church," 352-77. See also Walter S. Melion, "Prayerful Artifice: The Fine Style as Marian Devotion," in *The Authority of the Word: Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe: 1400-1700*, ed. Celeste Brusati et al. (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), 632-3; Thomas Cummins, "Gilded Bodies and Brilliant Walls: Ornament in America before and after the European Conquest," in *Histories of Ornament: from Global to Local*, ed. Gülru Necipoglu et al. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 238-47; Daniel Levine, María Soledad Leiva, Clemencia Plazas, Ana María Falchetti and Jean-Claude Kanny, *L'or des dieux, l'or des Andes* (Metz: Edition Serpenoise, 1994), 26.

⁶² Stuart Clark, *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 2007); Faye Tudor, "'All in him selfe as in a glass he sees': Mirrors and Vision in the Renaissance," in *Renaissance Theories of Vision*, ed. John Shannon Hendrix and Charles H. Carman (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), 171-86.

and mirrored reflections were increasingly mistrusted because they destabilized the beholder's visual experience.⁶³ I propose that the paintings' play on visionary experiences were emboldened by the fleeting reflections produced by the decoration's metallic surfaces, increasing the impact and immediacy of their messianic message.

Based on Raphael Dekoninck's studies about the symbolism of mirrors bestowed by the Jesuits, and on Herbert Grabes's analysis regarding the meaning of mirrors in the early modern period, I propose that *The Prophets* worked in tandem with the building's reflective surfaces to promote self-analysis and repentance among Quito's diverse population.⁶⁴ In the early modern period, mirrors were metaphors that reminded the beholder of the perfection of the divine world and of the intrinsic flawed nature of the human condition.⁶⁵ A mirrored reflection presented the viewer with the opportunity to emulate Christ and Christian saints, and to improve spiritual strength.⁶⁶

⁶³ Stuart Clark, "The Reformation of the Eyes: Apparitions and Optics in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Europe," *The Journal of Religious History* 27, 2 (June 2003): 145-57; W.E. Knowles Middleton, "Archimedes, Kircher, Buffon, and the Burning-Mirrors," *Isis* Vol. 52, No. 4 (Dec. 1961): 533-43.

⁶⁴ Ralph Dekoninck, *Ad Imaginem: Statuts, Fonctions et Usages de l'Image dans la Littérature Spirituelle Jésuite du XVIIe Siècle* (Geneve: Droz, 2005); Herbert Grabes, *The Mutable Glass: Mirror-Imagery in Titles and Texts of the Middle Ages and the English Renaissance* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

⁶⁵ Dekoninck, *Ad Imaginem*; Grabes, *The Mutable Glass*.

⁶⁶ Joseph Filere S.J., *Le Miroir sans Tache, enrichi des Merveilles de la Nature dans les Miroirs, rapportées aus Effets de la Grace* (Lyon: Chez la Veuve de Claude Rigaud, & Philippe Borde, 1636); Joanne David, S.J. *Duodecim Specula Deum Aliquando Videre Desideranti Concinnata*. (Antverpiae: Ex Officina Plantiniana, Apud Joannem Moretum, 1610).

Mirrors were also thresholds that emphasized the banality of earthly life and the importance of the afterlife. The message conveyed by *The Prophets*, which identify a Christian life as the only path to salvation, is thus replicated and intensified by the mirroring surfaces displayed in the church.

Chapter 2

GORÍBAR'S PROPHETS?

The Jesuit Church of La Compañía in Quito is included among the region's most relevant examples of colonial architecture due to its remarkable decorative program.⁶⁷ Among the many artworks located in the church, the sixteen paintings of Old Testament prophets have attracted the most amount of scholarly attention. Displayed on the pillars that separate the main nave from the side aisles, their life-size figures lead the visitor from the entrance to the main altar and back (see introduction, fig. 20). By virtue of their placement, the images of Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Amos, Hosea, and Jeremiah symbolically support the church. They are depicted in full length and identified by an inscription located at the lower left of each canvas. The background of the paintings is composed of two distinct sections: scenes of the life of the prophets on the ground, and passages of the New Testament in the sky.

Although the artistry of *The Prophets* has made these works the focus of several studies, many aspects still remain in the dark. Their chronology and attribution, in particular, have been a matter of contention since the nineteenth

⁶⁷ See for instance Navarro, *Contribuciones a la historia del arte en el Ecuador*. See also Jorge Moreno Egas et al., *Radiografía de la piedra: los jesuitas y su templo en Quito*.

century.⁶⁸ This chapter addresses these fundamental points by analyzing chronicles and archival material produced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that have not been examined in previous studies of *The Prophets*. It also considers the work of local artists in order to challenge former attributions, in particular those that claim that the paintings are by the hand of Nicolás Javier Goríbar. First, it places *The Prophets* within their architectural context by examining the various changes produced in La Compañía's interior decoration during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Later, it reviews traditional attributions posited by twentieth-century scholars through the careful analysis of colonial texts and unpublished historical sources. I subsequently discuss the role of the Society of Jesus in the production of the paintings and unveil relevant aspects of Jesuit art patronage in colonial Quito by studying the public catalogues of the local Jesuit College. Finally, I review the oeuvre of renowned seventeenth-century artists working in Quito, in the main centers of the Spanish Americas, and the Iberian Peninsula in order to establish *The Prophets*' provenance. I conclude that the paintings have closer connections with works produced in Spain than with those that originated in the Spanish viceroyalties.

The Prophets and the Church

The Jesuit church in Quito features an elegant stone façade that draws from the design of the Roman church of Il Gesù. Sculpted like an altarpiece and decorated with images of important Jesuit saints, the façade was the last section of the church to be

⁶⁸ Stratton-Pruitt, *The Art of Painting in Colonial Quito*, 54.

completed.⁶⁹ The building's interior is fully gilded and decorated with fine altarpieces, paintings and sculptures (fig. 23). La Compañía has three naves separated by large pillars, and a barrel vault with windows that allow the entrance of natural light into the main nave. Its plan is in the shape of a Latin cross, with the altarpieces of Saint Ignatius of Loyola and Saint Francis Xavier located at opposite ends of the transept. On both side aisles there are three additional altarpieces dedicated to different devotions, each one lit by a small dome and a lantern. A drum with sixteen windows supports a dome decorated with figures of archangels and portraits of various Jesuit cardinals (fig. 24). A richly decorated screen frames the main entrance to the church (fig.25). The vault and the arches that divide the naves are covered with gilded stucco lacing.

The sixteen canvases of *The Prophets* are embedded in rectangular niches carved in the main nave's stone pillars (fig. 26). The stone frames surrounding the paintings and the geometric decoration at the bottom of the pillars were also carved and gilded.⁷⁰ The width of these frames equals the width of the pillars, indicating that the paintings were commissioned expressly to be displayed in this setting, likely during the church's first decorative campaign. The geometric patterns that adorn the pillars are simpler than the rest of the church's carved decoration, which implies that these sections were produced at different times or by different artists.

⁶⁹ Fernández-Salvador. "La portada de piedra de la Compañía de Jesús de Quito," 22-7.

⁷⁰ The scientific analyses done to samples of the prophet paintings suggest that the original gilding was retouched using copper paint (see Chapter 3).

Eighteenth-century chronicles confirm that *The Prophets* were already on display as they are now, hanging from the church's pillars. The first author to mention these works was a Franciscan friar who worked in the Amazonian missions of Putumayo between 1756 and 1768. Juan de Santa Gertrudis, who visited Quito twice in that time period, quickly mentions the paintings in his chronicles *The Marvels of Nature*,

There was a college of Jesuit fathers very good and rich. The best things I saw there were two curtains for the main altar, made in Milan, that imitated Chinese silk and that costed sixty thousand pesos. *The church also had paintings of the prophets in its columns. They were fine paintings.* Inside the cloister there was another painting by the venerable brother Alonso Rodríguez, from Mallorca, also very fine.⁷¹

In 1771, a few years after the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Americas, Mario Cicala wrote a *History of the Province of Quito* in which he provides an animated description of *The Prophets*,

In all the pillars of the main nave... one can see paintings ... of the major and minor prophets, in full-length, with their mysterious visions and the characteristic symbols with which they are usually represented. I judge that they were done by a Roman brush, as the paintings look antique; but the [prophets'] attitudes, facial features, dress and

⁷¹ All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated. Italics are added for emphasis. "Había entonces también colegio de Padres jesuitas muy bueno y muy rico. Lo mejor que allí vi fueron dos cortinas laterales del altar mayor, labradas en Milán, a modo de raso de China. Habían las dos costado sesenta mil pesos. Tenía también la iglesia en las columnas de las nevadas pintados a todos los profetas, pintura muy fina, y dentro del claustro otra del venerable hermano Alonso Rodríguez, mallorquín, también muy fina..." Fray Juan de Santa Gertrudis, *Maravillas de la naturaleza* [1775], vol. 3 (Bogotá: Instituto Colombiano de Cultura, 1956), 261-2. To my knowledge, this reference has never been used in connection to the study of the prophet paintings, probably because it remained unpublished until the mid-twentieth century.

demeanor are so vividly and naturally painted that they are a delight for the sight. I confess that each time I entered the church I spent hours contemplating the paintings in ecstasy, enraptured by their beauty and their natural expression. The stone frames are gilded and enameled with a coral paint.⁷²

In 1773, while living in Gerona, the Jesuit Bernardo Recio wrote a *History about Christendom in Quito* which also mentions *The Prophets*, albeit briefly,

Out of the altarpieces, which were decorated with beautiful silver ornaments and relics for solemn occasions, all the vault, walls and columns are gilded and decorated with fine paintings. *Paintings of the sacred Prophets by a fine brush are displayed in the intrados of the arcs of the chapels*; and beautiful reliefs of the Holy Scripture, like the stories of Samson and Joseph the Patriarch, are located above the cornices of the arcs.⁷³

⁷² “En todas las pilastras de la nave mayor, en todos los lados que están frente a frente, bajo los mismos arcos, se ven incrustados en bellos marcos de piedra, cuadros de ocho palmas de altura y un poco más de cuatro palmas de ancho en los que están pintados los profetas mayores y menores de cuerpo entero, con sus visiones misteriosas y los característicos símbolos con los que se representan a cada uno de ellos. Juzgo que el pincel fue romano, pues las pinturas parecen antiguas, pero las actitudes, las facciones, el vestido y el estado de ánimo particular de cada uno, están tan vivacísima y naturalmente expresados por el pincel y los colores que son todos un encanto para la vista. Confieso ingenuamente que arrebatado por la belleza y expresión tan naturales de aquellas pinturas, cada vez que entraba en la iglesia gastaba horas y horas, estático, en contemplarlas. Los marcos de piedra están dorados y también esmaltados con colores de coral.” Mario Cicala, S.I., *Descripción histórico-topográfica de la provincia de Quito* [Viterbo: 1771]. Parte Primera (Quito: Biblioteca Ecuatoriana “Aurelio Espinosa Pólit,” 1994), 175-6.

⁷³ Italics added for emphasis. “Fuera de los altares, que en las solemnidades se aparamentaban con bellas alhajas de plata y reliquias, toda la bóveda, paredes, y columnas está dorado todo, mezcladas con y por variedad algunas finas pinturas. Lucen en el hueco de los arcos de las capillas los sagrados Profetas de muy selecto pincel. Y aun sobre las cornisas de los arcos, se miran grabados de bello relieve algunos pasos de la Sagrada Escritura, como la historia de Sansón, y los sucesos del Patriarca José.” Recio, *Compendiosa relación de la cristiandad de Quito*, 259-60.

The church of La Compañía opened to the public in 1613, but its facade was only finished in 1765, two years before the expulsion of the Jesuit Order from Spanish territories. During this century and a half, its interior decoration underwent major changes.⁷⁴ In the early 1610s, the building only included the main nave and the two side aisles.⁷⁵ According to the first description of the church, written by the cleric Diego Rodríguez Docampo in 1650, the building's foundations and parts of the decoration were already completed.⁷⁶ By that point, La Compañía had a main nave and two side aisles, as well as several gilded altarpieces and a choir. The *History of the Society of Jesus in the Province of Quito*, authored by the renowned Jesuit scholar Pedro de Mercado (1620-1701), states that by the end of the seventeenth century the domes and lanterns that illuminate the side chapels had already been built, as well as the church's three choirs—one at the center and two in the side aisles near the transept—the exquisite pulpit, and a tower.⁷⁷ Mercado also mentions that the body of the church was adorned with laces and gilded applications, suggesting that the major works of decoration, including the sculpting and gilding of the stone pillars, were

⁷⁴ See Rodríguez Docampo, "Descripción y Relación del Estado Eclesiástico del Obispado de San Francisco de Quito," 44-5. Also Mercado, *Historia de la provincia del Nuevo Reino y Quito de La Compañía de Jesús*, 10-12.

⁷⁵ See Navarro, *Contribuciones a la Historia del Arte en el Ecuador*, 52.

⁷⁶ Rodríguez Docampo, "Descripción y Relación del Estado Eclesiástico del Obispado de San Francisco de Quito," 44-5.

⁷⁷ This tower was the tallest in the city until a series of earthquakes destroyed it in the nineteenth century.

completed.⁷⁸ Although he does not explicitly refer to *The Prophets*, the fact that the pillars' surrounding decoration may have been finished suggests that these works were in their current location by that time.

As explained in more detail in Chapter 4, the church's interior decoration continued to change during the eighteenth century. Several altarpieces, including the main retablo, were renewed between 1735 and 1752.⁷⁹

Previous Attributions

Modern art historical studies discussing La Compañía's *Prophets* have mostly focused on their attribution. This field of research has proved to be both problematic and unsuccessful because seventeenth-century paintings from Quito are mostly anonymous, and records of painting contracts are scarce. Under these conditions, attributions have been bestowed lightly, generally based on local tradition and questionable stylistic analysis. As Carmen Fernández-Salvador points out,

⁷⁸ Mercado, *Historia de la provincia del Nuevo Reino y Quito*, 11.

⁷⁹ Art historian José Gabriel Navarro has suggested that the church of La Compañía was fully rebuilt during the eighteenth century as its coffered ceiling was replaced by a barrel vault. It is possible that the Jesuit church had a coffered ceiling at one point, as other religious buildings in Quito such as the cathedral and the churches of Santo Domingo and San Francisco. This type of structure, although quite popular in the Spanish colonies, was not adequate for local conditions and suffered greatly after earthquakes. However, Navarro's extreme suggestion has been refuted. Indeed, building a new vault would have meant an unnecessary spending of time and of a considerable amount of resources. Instead, it is more logical that La Compañía underwent only changes in its interior decoration and that its structure remained the same. José Gabriel Navarro, *Artes plásticas ecuatorianas* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1945), 110-11.

nationalistic agendas that wanted to stress the relevance of the colonial School of Quito and its connection to modern Ecuadorian painting influenced the debates surrounding the authorship of *The Prophets*.⁸⁰ In these discussions, the names of Jesuit Hernando de la Cruz and local painter Nicolás Javier Gorívar have been proposed as the two main contenders, although none of these attributions has been unanimously accepted. This section discusses these two attributions based on the historical information provided by colonial and modern documents and texts, as well as on formal analysis.

Teresa Vallarino, ambassador of Panama in Ecuador in the mid-twentieth century, introduced one of the most controversial attributions for *The Prophets*. Her hypothesis was that Hernando de la Cruz, a poet and painter from Panama who arrived to Quito in the early seventeenth century, painted them. Indeed, de la Cruz joined the Society of Jesus as a coadjutor in the 1620s and worked as a painter.⁸¹ Nowadays it is impossible to assess Hernando de la Cruz's artistic production as there are no certain attributions to his hand. Colonial accounts mention that he painted two large canvases of the *Last Judgment* and *Hell* that were placed at the church's entrances. However, the church has only copies of these works by the brush of Alejandro Salas, a Quiteño

⁸⁰ Carmen Fernández-Salvador, "Historia del arte colonial quiteño: un aporte historiográfico," in *Arte colonial quiteño: renovado enfoque y nuevos actores*, Carmen Fernández-Salvador and Alfredo Costales Samaniego, (Quito: FONSA, 2007), 107-112.

⁸¹ See Mercado, *Historia de la provincia del Nuevo Reino y Quito Vol. 2*, 353-73. Also Jacinto Morán de Butrón. S. J., *La azucena de Quito: la venerable virgen Mariana de Jesús* (Madrid: Imprenta de Don Gabriel del Barrio, [1721?]), 262.

artist active in the nineteenth century.⁸² Jesuit father Pedro de Mercado also attributes to de la Cruz the two paintings that decorate the altarpiece of Saint Ignatius of Loyola (fig. 27) located in the sacristy, a fact that has remained uncontested so far.⁸³ Even though this attribution relies only on tradition, it is possible that these works are, indeed, by the hand of this Jesuit painter, as Mercado knew him in person.⁸⁴ The Museum of Art and History belonging to the foundation Aurelio Espinosa Pólit also houses several other works (fig. 28) questionably attributed to de la Cruz.

Although this is the extent of Brother Hernando's known work, Vallarino based her arguments on certain colonial accounts that posited that de la Cruz had painted all the canvases that adorned La Compañía.⁸⁵ For instance, Rodríguez de Ocampo mentions in 1650 that,

Brother Hernando de la Cruz, a painter from Spain, worked in this city [of Quito]. His paintings show that he was well versed in his art. Our Lord's Divine Majesty touched him... and endowed him with talent for painting, art in which he was superior, as can be seen in the paintings and canvases located in the church of La Compañía.⁸⁶

⁸² It is not clear what happened to these works, but Navarro argues that they were sent to England.

⁸³ Mercado, *Historia de la provincia del Nuevo Reino y Quito*, 12. Adriana Pacheco, "Ojos para ver y oídos para oír," 298-9.

⁸⁴ Mercado says that he witnessed brother Hernando destroy an indecent sculpture of Mary Magdalene. In Mercado, *Historia de la provincia del Nuevo Reino y Quito*, 356.

⁸⁵ López de Vallarino, *La vida y el arte del ilustre panameño Hernando de la Cruz*, 52-63.

⁸⁶ "Un hermano Hernando de la Cruz, pintor venido de España, ejerció su oficio en esta ciudad y bien aprovechado de su arte en las imágenes que hacía y había pintado... tocado de su Divina Majestad [de Nuestro Señor], entró a una hermana suya monja en

A similar account is found in Jacinto Morán de Butrón's biography of Mariana de Jesús published circa 1721,

[Hernando de la Cruz] was skillful in his art, and whatever he drew on the canvas with his brush, he had previously ideated with meditation and prayer. All the paintings that adorn the church [of La Compañía], the corridors and cells are his work.⁸⁷

These claims were later repeated by Jesuit historians Juan de Velasco and José Jouanén.⁸⁸ Although none of these sources specifically mentions *The Prophets*, Vallarino and some local art experts, such as modern painter Víctor Mideros (1888-1967), believed that de la Cruz produced these works.

Such weak argumentations were easily refuted by José Gabriel Navarro and Pío Jaramillo Alvarado in the 1950s. Navarro countered Vallarino's thesis by demonstrating that the decoration of the church suffered extensive changes during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁸⁹ Thus, Docampo and Morán de Butrón did not

el Convento de Santa Clara y la dotó de su caudal, ganado a pintar, que lo fue superior, como se ven en los lienzos y cuadros que están en la iglesia de la Compañía." Rodríguez Docampo, "Relación y descripción del estado eclesiástico del obispado de San Francisco de Quito," 49.

⁸⁷ "Era primoroso en este arte, y cuando dibujaba el pincel en el lienzo, lo ideaba antes con la meditación, y oración. A su trabajo se deben todos los lienzos, que adornan la Iglesia, los tránsitos, y aposentos." Morán de Butrón. S. J., *La azucena de Quito*, 262.

⁸⁸ "los muchísimos cuadros con que su diestro pincel enriqueció al templo y al Colegio Máximo fueron y son el mayor asombro del arte y el más inestimable tesoro." This paragraph is quoted in José María Vargas, *Historia de la cultura ecuatoriana*. Vol. 1 (Quito: Ariel, s.f.), 165. It is not clear to what document Vargas refers to, as Velasco's *Historia moderna del Reyno de Quito* does not include this quote. See José María Vargas, *Historia del Reino de Quito* (Caracas: Ayacucho, 1981). Jouanen, *Historia de La Compañía de Jesús en la antigua provincia de Quito 1570-1774*, 263.

⁸⁹ Navarro, *Los profetas de Goríbar*.

necessarily refer to *The Prophets* when attributing La Compañía's works to Hernando de la Cruz. Jaramillo Alvarado also demonstrated that these paintings were inspired by some prints published after de la Cruz's death.⁹⁰ The prints in question belonged to a Bible edited and published by Niccolo Pezzana in 1710 which Jaramillo Alvarado found in a local private collection. What Jaramillo did not know was that a previous edition of Pezzana's Bible including the same illustrations had already been published in 1667.⁹¹ Although these prints do not establish an exact date for La Compañía's *Prophets*, they provide a *post quem* date of production—1668 at the earliest.⁹² By that date Hernando de la Cruz was already dead.⁹³

In any case the style of *The Prophets*, which—as will be discussed later on—recalls naturalistic Spanish trends of the early seventeenth century, is quite different from the altarpiece of Saint Ignatius attributed to Brother Hernando, more indebted to Flemish art (fig. 29). The palette used in *The Prophets* is warmer—although less varied—than the one used by the Jesuit artist, giving preference to earthier tones. For *The Prophets*, paint was applied using more charged brushes adding some texture to

⁹⁰ Jaramillo Alvarado, *Examen crítico sobre los profetas de Goríbar*.

⁹¹ Fernández-Salvador, "Images and Memory," 98-99. The paintings also draw from other Italian and Flemish sources, published between the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries. I explain these connections in detail in Chapter 3.

⁹² The most recent information regarding the circulation of prints in colonial Quito is in Verdi Webster, *Lettered Artists and the Languages of Empire*, 48-51.

⁹³ *Listera Alphabeti Denotat Illam, que nomen orditur defuncti Humerus vero signat folium, in quo notatum reperitur*, fr. 47, fol. 37v, Totius Societatis, Congregationes Generales at Provinciales, ARSI, Jesuit Historical Manuscripts on Microfilm, Special Collections, Saint Louis University.

the surface of the canvas, while Brother Hernando preferred invisible brushstrokes and the use of gold leaf. The light in *The Prophets* is brighter, modelling figures and clothes through strong contrasts between dark shades and strongly lit areas. In the painting of Ignatius, the light coming from the top of the canvas is more diffused and flattens the features and figure of the saint. *The Prophets* also show a more consistent use of aerial and linear perspective, which is more naturalistically rendered and dramatically emphasized through the use of repoussoir figures. In the case of St. Ignatius's canvas, depth is defined by creating a steep angle with a flowered carpet, pushing the saint's figure towards the foreground and narrowing the space of the room. The drapery in *The Prophets'* tunics is rendered more decisively, creating long and loose pleads, whereas Ignatius's white dress is defined through timid folds that spread in multiple directions (fig. 30). The naturalistic figures of *The Prophets* are modelled with a combination of invisible brushwork and boldly applied highlights giving a more textured and painterly impression, whereas Hernando de la Cruz is more interested in delicate and decorative drawing.

As the attribution to Hernando de la Cruz could not be sustained on historical or stylistic grounds, Pío Jaramillo Alvarado and other scholars proposed that Nicolás Javier Goríbar, a renowned Quiteño artist, was the actual author of *The Prophets*. Goríbar's name has been traditionally linked to these works at least since the nineteenth century.⁹⁴ José Domingo Cortés, which combined art appreciation with legend in his *Diccionario bibliográfico americano*, wrote in 1876,

⁹⁴ Vargas lists Father Ricardo Cappa in his *Estudios críticos acerca de la dominación española en América* (Madrid: Librería Católica de Gregorio del Amo, 1895), Francisco Campos's *Galería biográfica de hombres célebres ecuatorianos*

The only Gorívar paintings that have survived adorn the robust and beautiful pillars of in the church of the Compañía de Jesús in Quito. These canvases are life-size representations of the prophets. It is a shame that their distasteful background, which shows a lack of knowledge of perspective, drawing and color, does not reflect such beautiful figures. However, this flaw does not diminish the merit of having produced such beauty in the human figure, which combines elegance with the propriety of movement. It is quite remarkable that he was able to paint such works after stopping for such a long time due to his master's persecution... Gorívar, poor and left abandoned by his master, became a servant of the Jesuit fathers who asked him to create these paintings.⁹⁵

Nineteenth and twentieth-century publications repeated Cortés's attribution and established it as part of the oral tradition among local painters.⁹⁶ For instance

(Guayaquil: Impr. El Telégrafo, 1885), Camilo Destruge's *Album biográfico ecuatoriano* (Guayaquil: Tipografía El Vigilante, 1904), Father L.L. San Vicente (1898): "Habíase creído que eran obra de Miguel de Santiago, pero se tiene por más cierto que son de su discípulo Gorívar."; González Suárez's *Historia general*. Vol. 7, in José María Vargas, *Los maestros del arte ecuatoriano* (Quito: Imprenta Municipal, 1955), 102.

⁹⁵ "Los únicos cuadros que Gorívar ha dejado existen en la iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús de Quito, adornando los robustos y hermosos pilares de aquel templo. Esos cuadros representan los profetas tomados al tamaño natural; siendo de sentir que tan lindas figuras no estén realzadas por un fondo correspondiente, pues el paisaje es de mal gusto y con falta de conocimientos en ambas perspectivas, la lineal y la del colorido. Mas este defecto no rebaja el mérito de haber producido tanta belleza en la figura humana, en la cual se advierte reunida la elegancia de sus formas con la propiedad de la acción siendo por otra parte cosa bien notable que hubiese podido pintar estos cuadros después de mucho tiempo de abandonar la paleta para huir de las persecuciones de su maestro... Gorívar, siendo pobre y viéndose abandonado por su maestro, tomó el partido de servir de mayordomo a los padres jesuitas, quienes... le obligaron a trabajar los cuadros de que hemos hablado." Cortés, *Diccionario biográfico americano*, 211-2.

⁹⁶ "Gorívar, yerno de Miguel de Santiago, fue pintor de no escaso mérito. El P. Provincial de la Compañía de Jesús de Quito, mandó pintar con él los Profetas que decoran las columnas del templo. Se dice que cuando Miguel de Santiago vio el dibujo

Joaquín Pinto, a twentieth-century artist, was apparently prompted by his master Nicolás Cabrera to copy “Goríbar’s prophet paintings” as a learning exercise.⁹⁷

Nicolás Javier Goríbar was active between 1665 and 1736.⁹⁸ Numerous records demonstrate that he was a popular painter and that he made several works for religious institutions as well as for private customers.⁹⁹ Unfortunately, his oeuvre remains mostly unknown. Goríbar seemed to have a close working relationship with the Jesuits, as the deputy of the Jesuit College in Quito commissioned him three paintings of different saints in 1740.¹⁰⁰ There is also a print in the library of the college of El Salvador in Buenos Aires, which dates from 1718, that was authored by two Jesuit artists, Juan de Narváez and Miguel de Santa Cruz, in collaboration with Goríbar.¹⁰¹

de este trabajo, no solamente quedó sorprendido, sino creyó que le aventajaría, mas perdió sus esperanzas o temores al ver el colorido y la conclusión de la obra que no correspondía al dibujo.” Pablo Herrera, “Las Bellas Arte en el Ecuador,” *Revista científica y literaria de la Universidad del Azuay*, 7 (Sept. 1890): 231-4; Ricardo Cappa, *Estudios críticos acerca de la dominación española en América. bellas artes: pintura, escultura, música y grabados. Parte Cuarta. Vol. 13* (Madrid: Librería Católica de Gregorio del Amo, Editor, 1895), 48. See also José María Vargas, *Convento de La Compañía de Jesús* (Quito: Editorial Santo Domingo, [1967?]), 15.

⁹⁷ Navarro, *Los profetas de Goríbar*, 20-5.

⁹⁸ These dates have been given by Ángel Justo Estebananz in his most recent research. See by this author, *El pintor quiteño Miguel de Santiago*, 321.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 329.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*.

¹⁰¹ The inscription “Nic. de Goribar part. del[ineavit]” names Goríbar as one of the drawing’s designers. Guillermo Furlong S.J., “Un Grabado Quiteño de 1718,” in *II Congreso internacional de historia de América reunidos en Buenos Aires en los días 5 a 14 de julio de 1937* (Buenos Aires: Academia Nacional de Historia, 1938), 455-7.

This engraving was meant to advertise the publication of some theological conclusions to be defended in 1718.

Although Ecuadorian historiography has positioned Gorívar as one of the most proficient painters of his time, the only work that can be attributed to him with certain confidence is the shrine dedicated to Our Lady of the Pillar (fig. 31), in the church of Guápulo.¹⁰² This work is a trompe-l'oeil painted altarpiece organized in four distinct registers. The first one represents the foundation of the retablo and includes three large inscriptions related to the Marian devotion, as well as Gorívar's signature.¹⁰³ The three niches of the second register, separated by Corinthian columns, depict the Virgin of the Pillar surrounded by apostles and angels at the center, and scenes of a pope and a king playing the organ on the outer niches. The third register offers a similar composition, with two bishops playing the celestial organ on each side, and a scene of the Virgin ascending to the skies at the center. Finally, the fourth register is literally the altarpiece's crowning element, which simulates a three-tiered red and golden crown.

Some scholars and artists have insisted on relating the style of *The Prophets* to Gorívar's work. Gabriel Navarro, for instance, argued that the apostles that surround the image of the Virgin were similar to *The Prophets*, and that the scene of the assumption of the Virgin was comparable to the assumption depicted in *Amos* (fig. 16)

¹⁰² The series of the Kings of Judah at the refectory of the Dominican convent has also been traditionally attributed to Gorívar, although without any conclusive evidence. Stratton-Pruitt ed., *The Art of Painting in Colonial Quito*, 51-3.

¹⁰³ For a more detailed explanation of those inscriptions, see José María Vargas, *El arte ecuatoriano* (Quito: Corporación de Estudios y Publicaciones, [1989]), 192.

and the resurrection in *Hosea* (fig. 19).¹⁰⁴ Technical studies performed on Gorívar's altarpiece and *The Prophets* also suggest certain kinship between these works.¹⁰⁵ Among the similarities are the use of linen as canvas, the same coloration in the imprimatura, the use of mixtures of calcium sulfate and iron oxides for the preparation layer, and the presence of white lead as a pigment.¹⁰⁶ However, this technical information does not necessarily support Gorívar's attribution as such painting methods, common in Spain during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were widespread in colonial Quito as well.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, the qualitative tests commonly used in Quito to identify artists' materials have their limitations and usually do not provide a precise foundation to define a painter's individual technique.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ Navarro, *Los profetas de Gorívar*, 26 and 33.

¹⁰⁵ Carla Grunauer Andrade, "Nicolás Javier de Gorívar: el pintor barroco de la escuela quiteña," in *Barroco iberoamericano: territorio, espacio, arte y sociedad*, vol. 1 (Sevilla: Universidad Pablo de Olavide and Giralda, 2001), 365-76.

¹⁰⁶ Although Grunauer assures that the canvases of *The Prophets* are made of linen, we could only confirm that they are made of bast fibers. See Chapter 3.

¹⁰⁷ The scarce information regarding painting techniques in Quito suggests that the most common painting supports were linen, tocuyo and taffeta. The ground was commonly an iron oxide bound with linseed oil. See Justo Estebananz, *Pintura y sociedad*, 123-36. See also *Proyecto "La Compañía de Jesús": informe final primera fase [sección pintura de caballete]* (Quito: Museo del Banco Central del Ecuador, s.f.), 15-381. For information about common painting materials circulating in Quito between the second half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century, see Verdi Webster, *Lettered Artists and the Languages of Empire*, 51-8.

¹⁰⁸ These analyses include a study of cross-sections of painting samples under visible light and tests with dyes to identify the presence of proteins and lead white.

Nowadays, Goríbar's altarpiece has significant losses of paint layers, especially in the scene of the Virgin's assumption, and seems to have been heavily overpainted. Scholars have also pointed out that Goríbar's altarpiece contains some stylistic inconsistencies, indicating that it was the product of a workshop.¹⁰⁹ For instance, the angels that surround the Virgin, imbued with grace, are probably by the hand of Goríbar whereas the apostles, which are more roughly and unconvincingly modeled, were painted by his assistants.

Formal comparisons between *The Prophets* and the scene of the Virgin of the Pillar surrounded by angels and apostles, which is in a better state of conservation, does not support Goríbar's attribution (figs. 32 and 33). The angels that surround the Virgin were painted with more dexterity and in a style that reflects the influence of Goríbar's master, Miguel de Santiago.¹¹⁰ Although it seems that Goríbar's workshop built the figures of the apostles using a similar technique than the author of *The Prophets*—applying highlights and shadows over mid-tone layers to achieve a more naturalistic modelling—, Goríbar's transitions have less subtlety, and his figures are rendered in less detail and are more schematic. The palette used in the apostles is warm and earthy, like the one used in *The Prophets*, but contrasts with the colder pastel tones used to paint the angels. In the case of La Compañía's paintings, their warm tonality is achieved by leaving the red ground exposed, especially in the upper section of the canvas that includes the sky. The use of a less dramatic illumination

¹⁰⁹ Justo Estebaranz, *El pintor quiteño Miguel de Santiago*, 327.

¹¹⁰ Miguel de Santiago's style characterizes for the use of pastel colors, round-faced Caucasian figures, light drapery and translucent glazes.

makes Gorívar's apostles somehow flat in comparison to *The Prophets*, and the definition of their drapery is less complex, almost prismatic. The illumination in the Virgin's scene is also inconsistent and the apostles' faces appear quite jarring. The representation of divine light and clouds is more conceptual in the altarpiece than in *The Prophets*, and the landscape is shallower and less clearly developed.

Gorívar was also less skilled in creating foreshortened figures, a trait that becomes noticeable when comparing Gorívar's apostles to those in Amos's vision. Any stylistic connection between Gorívar's apostles and some of the background figures in *The Prophets* is, therefore, more likely a matter of influence than of authorship. The cleaning and conservation of the painted altarpiece in the church of Guápulo and additional scientific analyses would provide a clearer understanding of Gorívar's technique. Even so, the attribution of *The Prophets* to this artist cannot stand.

A Jesuit Authorship?

It was not rare for the Society of Jesus to commission important works to members of the Jesuit Order, not only in Europe, but also in the Americas. Jesuit artists were usually lay brothers (coadjutors) who were not meant to become priests, but to help the Society with more practical tasks. Some coadjutors assisted teaching the scriptures and sometimes they also engaged in spiritual counseling.¹¹¹ *The Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus established that coadjutors were in charge of

¹¹¹ Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773* (Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 46.

“low and humble services,” although they could also work in accordance to the talents that God had bestowed upon them.¹¹² In Europe, talented artists who belonged to the Jesuit community worked for free and, thus, were sometimes preferred over other artists. In some cases, they were also exempted from local guild regulations.¹¹³ There are several examples of relevant Jesuit artists who built and decorated churches and colleges in Europe, such as Giovanni Tristano, Giovanni Battista Fiammeri, Daniel Seghers, Andrea Pozzo, among others.¹¹⁴

It was common for European Jesuit artists to travel to distant colleges to fulfill architectural and artistic projects. For instance, they were among the first to participate in the erection and decoration of Jesuit buildings of Spanish American missions. The first group of Jesuits sent to the Spanish colonies arrived to Lima in 1568, and many of them were involved in building the church of San Pablo (today the church of San Pedro) in 1569. Martín de Aizpitarte worked in the construction of the church along with brothers Andrés Alonso and Nicolás de Villanueva. Bernardo Bitti and Pedro de Vargas were in charge of the building’s paintings and sculptures. Members of this congregation also participated in the erection and decoration of the Jesuit church in Cuzco, with Father Juan Ruiz and Brother Alonso Pérez as carpenters, and Brother

¹¹² Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *Sensuous Worship: Jesuits and the Art of the Early Catholic Reformation in Germany* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002), 191.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America*, 46. See also Chipps Smith, *Sensuous Worship*, 191-2.

Pedro de Vargas being the main painter.¹¹⁵ Jesuit Brothers José Avitavili, Bernardo Rodríguez, Pedro de Vargas, Diego de la Puente, Juan Mosquera were also relevant Jesuit artists working in the Viceroyalty of Peru.

There, certain European Jesuit artists were in charge of training other members of the Order. The most obvious example was the Italian Bernardo Bitti, who arrived to Lima in 1575 and worked as a painter in several cities of the Viceroyalty of Peru until 1605.¹¹⁶ He formed a painting workshop, although there are still some uncertainties about who would have trained in it.¹¹⁷ The Spanish Pedro de Vargas was probably the most talented of Bitti's pupils as he worked closely with his master in several projects.¹¹⁸ Important figures of colonial painting from Quito were also formed by this

¹¹⁵ Rubén Vargas Ugarte S.J., *Los jesuitas del Perú y el arte* (Lima: Imprenta Gil, 1963), 67.

¹¹⁶ José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña* (Lima: Fundación Augusto N. Wiese, 1982), 57. One of Bitti's most important commissions was the execution of the paintings for the altarpieces of the church of San Pablo, but it is also possible that Bitti created the sculptures and the altarpieces for the Jesuit churches in Cusco and Santa Cruz. For information about the work of Bernardo Bitti, see Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 57-8; and Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America*, 47.

¹¹⁷ See Vargas Ugarte, *Los jesuitas del Perú y el arte*, 112. See also Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 66.

¹¹⁸ Teresa Gisbert and José de Mesa believe that José Avitavili and Bernardo Rodríguez were among them. Pedro Vargas Ugarte suggests that Pedro de Vargas, Diego de la Puente and Juan Mosquera were also Bitti's pupils, but Mesa and Gisbert believe that Vargas and Mosquera learned to paint before being admitted to the Society of Jesus. Moreover, Juan Mosquera did not only work as a painter, but he also sculpted and worked as a silversmith. It is not clear who taught Mosquera these other arts, and if he learned them in Peru or in Europe. It is also possible, as Gisbert and Mesa suggest, that De la Puente, who was born in Belgium, learned to paint in Europe and that he travelled to the Viceroyalty of Peru after Bitti died in 1610, when the

Italian painter, such as the Dominican Friar Pedro Bedón who is traditionally considered the forefather of painting in the Real Audiencia of Quito.¹¹⁹

It is likely that the influence of Limeño Jesuits in Quito's painting goes beyond Bedón's work. For instance, Bedón founded the confraternity of the Rosary which included several local painters among its members. Jesuits from Lima also participated in the decoration of the Society's early church in Quito. That was the case of Pedro de Vargas who was sent by the Provincial of Lima, Father Atienza, to help decorate Quito's Jesuit buildings at the end of the sixteenth century. José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert also attribute to Vargas a painting of the Immaculate Conception, now located in the city's cathedral.¹²⁰

Although research regarding the influence of Jesuit artists in the construction of the College of Bogotá is scarce, it is known that the Italian Father Juan Bautista Coluccini designed the church of Saint Ignatius, and that Brother Pedro Pérez was in

Society was in need for a new painter. Diego de la Puente's works also adorned Jesuit buildings from the whole Viceroyalty and scholars have attributed him paintings located in Lima, Cusco, Juli, La Paz, Trujillo, Ayacucho, Arequipa and even Santiago de Chile. Pedro de Vargas arrived to Lima from Spain in the early 1570s and entered the Jesuit Order in 1575. He was already a painter and gilder when he was accepted, so it is not clear if he had studied with Bitti before that. For more detailed information about Jesuit artists in the Viceroyalty of Perú, see Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 62-4 and 113-5. See also Ricardo Estabridis Cárdenas, "La obra de Bernardo Bitti en San Pedro de Lima," in *Redescubramos Lima: iglesia de San Pedro* (Lima: Fondo Pro Recuperación del Patrimonio Cultural de la Nación; Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1996), 18-23.

¹¹⁹ Stratton-Pruitt, *The Art of Painting in Colonial Quito*, 20.

¹²⁰ Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 64.

charge of its construction.¹²¹ Jesuit Diego Loessing, commonly known as Diego Luisinch, participated in the decoration of the church of the Society of Jesus in Bogotá.

Considering that in Peru and New Granada Jesuit artists actively participated in the construction and decoration of buildings belonging to the Society of Jesus, it is possible that the College of Quito worked in a similar manner. Evidently, the first name that needs to be mentioned is that of Hernando de la Cruz. Although he was not the author of *The Prophets*, it is possible that he established a painting workshop in Jesuit premises to teach the trade to fellow Jesuits and students of the College of Saint Louis. Such an idea was indeed suggested by the eighteenth-century writer Jacinto Morán de Butrón who specifically mentions that de la Cruz had a painting workshop in which he taught other fellow lay brothers.

[Brother Hernando de la Cruz] taught some lay brothers to paint, and certainly more than that, as they learned from him the art of loving God. All of them were very pious and lived cloistered lives. They not only edified such a religious community, but they served everybody through their exemplary lives. Most of them did well, as they populated other sacred religious [orders] with fruitfulness and advantage. Among them flourished in virtue an Indian called Pedro who became a member of the illustrious family of Saint Francis...¹²²

¹²¹ Mercedes López Rodríguez, “Desde Roma por Sevilla al Nuevo Reino de Granada: La Compañía de Jesús en Tiempos Coloniales,” in *Desde Roma por Sevilla al Nuevo Reino de Granada: La Compañía de Jesús en tiempos coloniales, exhibition catalogue*, by Mercedes López Rodríguez and Mauricio Burbano, 10-16 ([Bogotá?]: Museo de Arte Colonial, 2004), 15.

¹²² “Enseñaba a pintar a algunos Seglares, y sin duda los enseñaba más en lo que más sabía, pues aprendían más el Arte de amar a Dios, que el de pintar; porque todos eran tan recogidos, que viviendo de puertas a dentro en la clausura, no sólo se desedificaban a Comunidad tan Religiosa, sino que servían a todos de ejemplo sus

Morán de Butrón's account seems to be partially based on Pedro de Mercado's *Historia de la Provincia del Nuevo Reino de Granada y Quito*. Besides Mercado's account, the only additional surviving document that describes the work of de la Cruz is the anonymous, unpublished document *Brief Summary of the Lives and Virtues of Illustrious Jesuits of Quito*. This compilation of hagiographies of prominent Jesuits from Quito emulates similar publications from the seventeenth century, especially those written by Jesuit Eusebio Nieremberg (Appendix B).¹²³ The document probably dates from the second half of the 1600s, as all the biographies it includes are from members who lived in the first half of the seventeenth century. Neither Mercado's biography of Brother Hernando nor the *Breve Suma* provides any information regarding the painter's workshop practices. Unfortunately, the *Breve Suma* does not contain any comments about La Compañía's *Prophets* either.¹²⁴

vidas, los más se lograron bien, pues poblaron las Religiones Sagradas con mucho útil, y provecho. Entre otros floreció en virtud un indio, a quien recibió por Donado la Ilustrísima familia de San Francisco; llamábase Pedro..." Morán de Butrón, *La azucena de Quito*, 262-3. The Dominican writer Reinaldo de Lizárraga (c.1545-1615) also mentions a Franciscan painter named Pedro ("Pedro Pintor") in his *Descripción y población de las Indias* (Lima: Imprenta Americana, 1908), 70.

¹²³ *Breve suma de las vidas y virtudes de algunos varones ilustres que han florecido en este colegio de La Compañía de Jesús de Quito*, fr. 13, fol. 309v-310v, Provincia Novi Regni et Quitensis, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), Jesuit Historical Manuscripts on Microfilm, Special Collections, Saint Louis University. To my knowledge, this document has never been published, and is therefore copied in its entirety in this dissertation.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* The document is damaged, especially due to the oxidation of inks that have corroded the paper and that complicate the reading of the text. A colonial copy of this same document that lies in the Jesuit archives at the Aurelio Espinosa Pólit Library in Quito allowed for its full reconstruction.

Even though these chronicles and hagiographic accounts are tainted with subjectivity, the study of the Order's public catalogs permits the identification of Jesuit artists working in colonial Quito. The Society of Jesus produced highly detailed records of its activities as part of its bureaucratic system and as a way to communicate with Rome. During the colonial period, each superior of a province had to inform the Jesuit Generalate about the progress and performance of the colleges under his control. This was done mainly through two means: annual letters and catalogs. Annual letters were meant to explain outstanding events in the province, such as the establishment of a new mission, the progress in the construction of a church, or the death of a major figure. The catalogs, on the other hand, were reports that overviewed the activities done by each member of the Jesuit Order. There were several types of catalogs that contained related information. The *catalogi breves* were annual reports that listed each person's name, position in the Order and ministry.¹²⁵ The *catalogi primus* or public catalogues, which were written every two or three years, contained information about the person's birthplace, age, health, years in the order, years of study, nature of ministry, degrees and rank in the order. The *catalogi secundus*, or secret catalogues, addressed to the provincial and the Superior General, were assessments of people's talents, including intelligence, experience, temperament, etc.

The public catalogues are the most adequate sources to determine the involvement of members of the Jesuit Order in artistic practices. These documents not

¹²⁵ For a description of these types of documents, see Ernest J. Burrus. "Jacques Marquette, S.J. His Priesthood in the Light of the Jesuit Roman Archives," *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (Oct. 1955): 257-71.

only help confirm Hernando de la Cruz's role as a painter, but they also provide enough information to establish whether or not there was a Jesuit painting workshop in colonial Quito. Considering that *The Prophets* probably date from the second half of the seventeenth century, my research focused on documents produced between 1623 and 1745.

The public catalogues corroborate the main details about Hernando de la Cruz's life provided in Pedro de Mercado's biography. According to these documents, "Ferdinando de la Cruz" was born in Panama around 1592 and joined the Society as a coadjutor ("coadjutor temporalis formatus") in 1622. His profession is clearly stated as painter ("Pictor").¹²⁶ A document that lists the deceased members of the Order between 1640 and 1648 confirms De la Cruz's death in February of 1646.¹²⁷

Between 1646 and the mid eighteenth-century, only two other Jesuits were specifically linked to painting practices: Miguel de Santa Cruz and Domingo de Vasconcelos. Vasconcelos was born in Oporto around 1607 and joined the Society of Jesus in 1628. While being a coadjutor temporalis, he worked as a painter and in domestic services ("Pictor et alia domestica officia") in the 1650s.¹²⁸ Between 1660

¹²⁶ *Catalogus Collegy Quitensis. Anno 1642*, fr. 3, fol. 26, Provincia Novi Regni et Quitensis, ARSI, Jesuit Historical Manuscripts on Microfilm, Special Collections, Saint Louis University. See also Wiktor Gramatowski S.J. *Jesuit Glossary: Guide to understanding the documents*, Camilla Russell (trans.), Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), <http://www.sjweb.info/arsi/documents/glossary.pdf>, 7. Last accessed December 9, 2015.

¹²⁷ See Note 91.

¹²⁸ *Catalogus Provinciae Nov[i] Regn[i] et Quit[i] Ann[o] 1649*, fr. 3, fol. 83v.; *Catalogo Publicus Provinciae Novi Regni et Quiti, Anno 1657*, fr. 3, fol. 162.

and 1664 he also worked as procurador (“Pictor, procurator et officia domestica”).¹²⁹ Even though the catalogues of the Nuevo Reino y Quito between 1651 and 1664 are not separated in colleges, it seems that Vasconcelos was only active in the College of Bogota. Indeed, the *catalogus brevis* of 1667 mentions that Vasconcelos worked as a “procurator” in the Province of the Nuevo Reino.¹³⁰ A series of paintings of apostles now located in the main nave of the church of Saint Ignatius in Bogotá are currently attributed to this Portuguese artist.¹³¹

Contrary to Vasconcelos, Miguel de Santa Cruz belonged to Quito’s Jesuit College. Born in 1663 in the city of Cuenca, located 300 miles south of Quito, he joined the Society of Jesus in 1686, and remained a member of the Order until 1743. Between 1686 and 1702 he worked as a teacher (“Magister Puerori”), a visitor (“Societatis Visitatore”) and as a painter (“Pictor”). In the catalogues of 1711 and 1712, his activities as a painter are not mentioned. Instead, he is described as a “socius provincialis,” and “Magister Puerorio.” Between 1719 and 1743, Santa Cruz worked not only as a teacher, a visitor and a painter, but he also participated in domestic activities.¹³² Santa Cruz’s numerous duties suggest that his role as a painter was

¹²⁹ *Catalogus Publicus Provinciae Novi Regni et Quiti, Anno 1660*, fol. 187v.; *Catalogus publicus Provincia Novi Regni et Quiti, Anno 1664*, fol. 215v.

¹³⁰ *Catalogus Brevis Provinciae Novi Regni confectus die 30 mensis Junij anni 1667*, fol. 8. Archivo SJ, Librería Aurelio Espinosa Pólit.

¹³¹ López Rodríguez, “La Compañía de Jesús en tiempos coloniales,” 15.

¹³² *Catalogus Primus Seu Publicus Provinciae Quitensis, 1723*, fr.11, fol. 161v., Provincia Novi Regni et Quitensis, ARSI, Jesuit Historical Manuscripts on Microfilm, Special Collections, Saint Louis University; *Catalogus Primus seu Publicus Provinciae Quitensis Societ. Iesu, Anno 1726*, fr.11, fol. 179v; *Catalogus primus seu*

secondary. This fact contrasts with the case of Hernando de la Cruz who seemed to have worked only as a painter. To this day, scholars have largely ignored Santa Cruz's activities as an artist. The only artwork that can be attributed to him with certainty is a small print created in collaboration with Nicolás Javier Goribar and Juan de Narváez, previously mentioned.¹³³ Considering that *The Prophets* were a prominent commission, the project likely fell onto the hands of a proficient and experienced master painter. The information at hand concerning Miguel de Santa Cruz does not indicate that he was such a person.

In the eighteenth century, two other Jesuits were involved in printmaking: Juan de Narváez and José Iglesias. Narváez was a Spaniard working in the College of Popayan—part of the Jesuit Province of Quito—as an advisor, prefect, confessor and preacher.¹³⁴ He was also a skillful artist, as demonstrated by his map of the Jesuit missions in Maynas.¹³⁵ José Iglesias was also a printmaker, but much less talented

Publicus Provinciae Quitensis Soc. Iesu, Anno 1729, fr.11, fol. 179v; *Catalogus Primus Seu Publicus Provinciae Quitensis Societatis Iesu, Anno 1736*, fr.11, fol. 222; *Catalogus Primus seu Publicus Provinciae Quitensis Societatis Iesu, anno 1743*, fr. 11, fol. 281v.

¹³³ See Chapter 3 for a more detailed description of this work.

¹³⁴ *Catalogus brevis Provinciae Quitensis, Anni 1711*, fr.11, Provincia Novi Regni et Quitensis, ARSI, Jesuit Historical Manuscripts on Microfilm, Special Collections, Saint Louis University; *Catalogus Primus, seu Publicus, Provinciae Quitensis, 1712*, fr.11, fol.108; *Catalogus primus publicus Provinciae Quitensis Societatis Iesu, Anno 1719*, fr.11, fol. 141v.

¹³⁵ Narváez was born in Valencia, Spain, in 1664 and joined the Society in 1679. He studied philosophy and theology and taught grammar at the missions, and preached for Indians and Spaniards. *Catalogus brevis Provinciae Quitensis, Anni 1711*, fr. 11, fol. 101-3; *Catalogus Primus, seu Publicus, Provinciae Quitensis, 1712*, fr. 11, fol. 106v.;

than Narváez, as seen in his engraving of Saint Ignatius that dates from 1745 (fig. 34).¹³⁶ Iglesias was from Córdoba, Spain, and joined the Jesuit College of Latacunga, (in today Ecuador).¹³⁷ His functions are not specified in the catalogues of 1743 and 1744, but those of 1748 and 1761 describe him as a “socius Procuratoris.”¹³⁸ The public catalogues do not mention Narváez’s or Iglesias’s artistic activities, maybe because their main functions lied elsewhere. However, this fact raises some questions regarding other members of the Order that might have been involved in the arts but that are not mentioned in the catalogues.

Mario Cicala’s detailed eighteenth-century description of Quito’s Jesuit College suggests the Jesuits were involved in various artistic activities other than painting.¹³⁹ He mentions that there were rooms in the second courtyard of the college destined to carpentry and sculpture, a fact that is supported by the inventory of the building done in 1767.¹⁴⁰ This document indicates that the college had remains of a

Catalogus primus publicus Provinciae Quitensis Societatis Iesu, Anno 1719, fr.11, fol. 141v.

¹³⁶ This work is currently located at the repository at the Jesuit Library Aurelio Espinosa Pólit in Quito.

¹³⁷ *Catalogus Primus Seu Publicus Provinciae Quitensis Societatis Iesu. Anno 1743, fol. 13, Archivo SJ, Biblioteca Aurelio Espinosa Pólit.*

¹³⁸ *Catalogus Primus seu Publicus Prov. Quitensis Societatis Iesu. Anno 1748, fol. 9, Archivo SJ, Biblioteca Aurelio Espinosa Pólit.*

¹³⁹ Cicala, *Descripción histórico-topográfica*, 181.

¹⁴⁰ *Colegio Máximo de Quito, Testimonio del sequestro del Colegio Máximo de Quito actuado el 20 de agosto de 1767, Archivo SJ, Biblioteca Aurelio Espinosa Pólit.*

gilded wooden altarpiece, as well as wooden beams, roof tiles, bricks and other similar materials.¹⁴¹ It was logical that there were spaces related to carpentry, sculpture and maybe architecture in Jesuit premises, as the façade of the church was finished only in 1765. This inventory does not mention any material related to painting, except for orpiment and cochineal. These pigments belonged to the pharmacy, so it is possible that both substances were intended for medicinal purposes instead of painting. For instance, orpiment was known to be used to treat pests such as lice and crabs.¹⁴²

The public catalogues also indicate that Jesuits had a closer connection with architecture and wood carving than with painting.¹⁴³ Several names are linked with these fields: Marcos Guerra, Joan Fernández, Francisco de Ayerdi, Jorge Vinterer, and Diego Luisinc. The public catalogues reveal that most Jesuit architects and sculptors working in the college of Quito came from Europe. It is possible that the Jesuit offices in Rome chose men with such qualifications to assist in the renovation of the church of La Compañía and in the construction of other colleges in the Province of Quito, including those in Loja and Maynas. It seems logical that the Jesuits relied on architects and carpenters from within the Order. Many of them needed to work in missions far away from Quito, where outside assistance was not readily available. Whereas sending paintings and small sculptures to distant Jesuit settlements was easily

¹⁴¹ Ibid, fol. 133 v.

¹⁴² Juan de Roda y Bayas, *Recopilación de los más selectos, y experimentados remedios, simples y compuestos, para la curación de las enfermedades, y accidentes de cirugía* (Zaragoza: Por Francisco Revilla, 1730), 22-3.

¹⁴³ To learn more about Jesuit architects, sculptors and carpenters, see appendix A.

done, transporting large wooden pieces through difficult roads, especially altarpieces and furniture, was probably quite challenging.¹⁴⁴ For instance, a document from 1638 describes that a group of Jesuits traveling from Quito to Cuenca brought with them several sculptures, paintings and prints.¹⁴⁵ On the other hand, the inventories of the Jesuit missions in the remote region of Maynas include tools for carpentry and forge, implying that the Jesuits made the church's furniture, altarpieces and doors *in situ*.¹⁴⁶ Also, the public catalogues show that Jorge Vinterer worked in the Amazon missions as a carpenter in 1743.

The assessment of Jesuit records indicates that there was no Jesuit painting workshop functioning in colonial Quito. The gap that exists between Hernando de la Cruz and Miguel de Santa Cruz is of more than fifty years, implying that Brother Hernando never had any Jesuit pupils who became successful painters. It is also unlikely that Santa Cruz established a painting workshop in the first half of the

¹⁴⁴ Clara Bargellini has suggested that altarpieces could travel great distances. For instance, she posits that an altarpiece was sent from Mexico City to the mission of Dolores in San Francisco, California, in the early 1800s. Clara Bargellini, "Mexican Altarpieces: Interactions in Time and Space," Keynote lecture, *Colonial Latin American Art Symposium*, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL, November 3, 2017. Further investigation is needed to know whether the circulation of altarpieces was common in other parts of the Americas.

¹⁴⁵ Among the works they carried were sculptures of the Infant Christ, images of Joseph and Mary, paintings of the Adoration of the Magi, an Ecce Homo, a Descent from the Cross, and portraits of John the Baptist and the Virgin. See *Memoria de lo que llevan a Cuenca los padres de este Collegio de Quito*, Archivo SJ, Biblioteca Aurelio Espinosa Pólit.

¹⁴⁶ *Inventario de las provincias del Mainas*, fol. 55v-56v., Archivo SJ, Biblioteca Aurelio Espinosa Pólit.

eighteenth century, as he is the only Jesuit brother who worked in this trade at the time. This information indicates that after Brother Hernando died in 1646, the Society commissioned most paintings, including La Compañía's *Prophets*, to non-Jesuit workshops.

New Attributions

Considering that the two most popular attributions for *The Prophets* cannot be sustained, either by historical research or stylistic analysis, and that there are no indications that a local Jesuit painter authored them either, it is necessary to consider the involvement of another workshop. It was not uncommon for the Society of Jesus to hire prominent local artists, even though they were not members of the Order. For instance, in New Spain, the Society commissioned several important works to Cristóbal Villalpando (1649-1714) and Miguel Cabrera (1695-1768), two of the most talented local painters.¹⁴⁷ Villalpando did a series of twenty eight paintings depicting the life of Saint Ignatius for the Jesuit College in Tepetzotlán.¹⁴⁸ Cabrera also painted a series of canvases about the founder of the Society of Jesus for the Novitiate of Mexico City, and directed the decoration of the Jesuit church in Tepetzotlán (fig.

¹⁴⁷ See Luisa Elena Alcalá, "Acomodación, Control y Esplendor de la Imagen en las Fundaciones Jesuíticas," in *Barroco andino: memoria del I encuentro internacional* (La Paz, Bolivia: Viceministerio de Cultura, 2003), 263.

¹⁴⁸ Luisa Elena Alcalá, *Fundaciones jesuíticas en Iberoamérica* (Madrid: Ediciones El Viso, 2002), 332-3.

35).¹⁴⁹ He is also known to have created paintings for Jesuit foundations outside México.¹⁵⁰

The most obvious local candidate that could have worked with the Society of Jesus at the time was Miguel de Santiago. Santiago was an artist of indigenous origin, considered one of the most talented painters of seventeenth-century Quito.¹⁵¹ He was active between 1654 and 1706, around the same time the paintings of La Compañía's *Prophets* were produced.¹⁵² Santiago's workshop created a large number of works, many of which were commissioned by religious orders. One of his most important projects, the life of Saint Augustin, included more than sixty paintings for the Augustinian convent in Quito.¹⁵³ He also produced several paintings for the Franciscans, including the series of *The Christian Doctrine* (fig. 36) in the 1670s as well as the *Immaculate Conception with the Trinity* (fig 37). Archival documentation confirms that Santiago also worked for the Society of Jesus, although so far none of the works in La Compañía have been connected to his hand.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, 38 and 320-2.

¹⁵⁰ See Mónica Domínguez Torres, “¿Una Visión Frustrada?: Un Lienzo de Miguel Cabrera y la Residencia Jesuita en la Maracaibo Colonial,” *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, 90 (2007): 177-88.

¹⁵¹ Justo Estebananz, *El pintor quiteño Miguel de Santiago*, 41-3.

¹⁵² Ibid, 288.

¹⁵³ Ibid, 94-106.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, 93-4.

A comparison between *The Prophets* and Santiago's work indicates that this artist was not their author (figs. 38 and 39). Certainly, some parallels can be drawn between *The Prophets* and the Quiteño artist's didactic projects which combined images and text in clear, although complex, compositions. Even so, Santiago's handling of paint, applied in thin and layered glazes, has little to do with the fast and charged brushstrokes used in *The Prophets*. His rich and colorful palette gives a preference to pastel tonalities that highly contrast with the earthier tones used in La Compañía's paintings. The rendition of light in Santiago's work is also more atmospheric and subtle. The naturalism and substance of *The Prophets* also differ from Santiago's delicate and painterly figures which denote a certain Flemish influence.¹⁵⁵

The highly naturalistic style of *The Prophets* is not the rule among seventeenth-century Quiteño works. Local artists usually preferred flatter figures, darker palettes, and a less dramatic illumination. There are only a few examples from religious collections that have certain affiliations to La Compañía's *Prophets*. For instance, the images of the Kings of Judah located in the refectory of the convent of Santo Domingo are comparable to *The Prophets* in their subject matter, display of naturalism and dramatic use of light (fig. 40).¹⁵⁶ However, these paintings have been

¹⁵⁵ During his fifty years as a painter Santiago had several assistants, but there is little information about their work. Bernabé Lobato, Simón de Valenzuela, Alonso Vera de la Cruz, and Bernabé Carreño worked with him during the 1650s, and Nicolás Javier Goríbar, Antonio Egas, and Santiago's daughter Isabel did so until the master's death in 1690. Even though there are no clear attributions assigned to Santiago's pupils, it is highly likely that they adhered to the master's style which was so popular, at least until the end of the seventeenth century when Santiago died. See Estebananz, *El pintor quiteño Miguel de Santiago*, 291.

¹⁵⁶ Stratton-Pruitt, *The Art of Painting in Colonial Quito*, 51-3.

highly retouched in recent times, preventing us from establishing clear connections between them and La Compañía's works.

Another relevant example is the image of Saint John the Evangelist located in Quito's Franciscan convent which shows a similar interest for naturalistic human figures and the representation of deep landscapes (fig. 41). However, the expressive and delicately drawn figure of the apostle has little to do with the contained character of *The Prophets* (fig. 42). The shallow and lighter folds of Saint John's clothes also distance this work from La Compañía's paintings. Although the work's tenebrism shows a direct influence of Juan Ribalta and Alonso Cano, the image is not signed and its provenance cannot be established with certainty either.

Considering the evidence at hand, we should explore the possibility that *The Prophets* were not made by a Quiteño artist but were the product of a foreign master. In studies of Spanish colonial painting, scholars have focused on the role and influence of artists coming from Europe—mostly Spain and Italy—in connection with the establishment of painting schools in the New World in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. However, studies about paintings produced between the second half of the seventeenth century and along the eighteenth century concentrate mostly on local artists. In the particular case of Quito, there is little information regarding artistic networks that functioned during the colonial period. Susan Webster is the only scholar to have identified a few foreign architects working in specific projects. For instance, she has discussed the role of Spanish architect José Jaime Ortiz in the design and construction of the church of El Sagrario, built next to Quito's cathedral, and of other

local edifices between 1694 and 1707.¹⁵⁷ Exact information regarding names of painters working in the city, either local or foreigner, is scarce. So far, scholars have been more interested in analyzing the influence of Quiteño art in the Americas and Spain, mostly in terms of trade, than in identifying a regional network of artists.¹⁵⁸

A survey of the paintings produced in the Viceroyalties of Peru and New Spain, the two most studied artistic centers of the Spanish colonies, has provided only few elements for comparison.¹⁵⁹ In Peru, there is a painting at the Dominican Museum of Cusco of Saint Ambrose (fig. 43) modelled with a lively brushwork, naturalistic features and contained character similar to those of *The Prophets*.¹⁶⁰ His figure was depicted half-length and in a three-quarter view looking to the upper right, holding a quill with his right hand and a book with his left hand. The saint, depicted as an older

¹⁵⁷ Susan Verdi Webster, *Arquitectura y empresa en el Quito colonial: José Jaime Ortiz, alarife mayor* (Quito: Abya Yala, 2002).

¹⁵⁸ Gloria Cortés Aliaga et al., *Arte Quiteño más allá de Quito: Memorias del seminario internacional, agosto del 2007, Quito*. (Quito: FONSA, 2010).

¹⁵⁹ The latest survey about painting of the Spanish Americas focuses mainly on painting produced in the Viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru (as explained in this dissertation's "Introduction," Quito was part of the Viceroyalty of Peru). Luisa Elena Alcalá and Jonathan Brown ed., *Painting in Latin America, 1550-1820* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014). Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt has also published two recent "catalogues" of the painting from Quito and Bolivia. See Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, *The Art of Painting in Colonial Quito*; and Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt and Antonio Suárez Weise, *The Art of Painting in Colonial Bolivia* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2017). Other important source for the study of Spanish colonial painting is Joseph J. Rishel and Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, *The Arts in Latin America 1492-1820* (Philadelphia, PA.: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2006), 322-473

¹⁶⁰ Ananda Cohen Suárez and Raúl Montero Quispe, *Paintings of Colonial Cusco: Artistic Splendor in the Andes* (Cusco: Haynanka Ediciones, 2015), 107.

man, is framed by a colorful garland of flowers and set against a light blue backdrop. He is wearing a heavily painted red mozzetta over a translucent white rochet decorated with lace. The colorful painting, showing Ambrose's brightly illuminated rosy face, is more indebted to Northern art—especially to Rubens's work—than to Spanish tenebrism. This image also seems to have been highly retouched, particularly in the saint's right hand and in some sections of the heavy drapery. Again, we are dealing with an anonymous work and with no information regarding its precise chronology or provenance, so it is not possible to ascertain its author's relation to Quito's artistic production.

The prolific painting production in seventeenth-century New Spain does not offer obvious referents for *The Prophets* either. The artist whose work seems to be closer to the style of La Compañía's paintings is Sebastián López de Arteaga. Born in Spain in 1610, he arrived from Seville to Mexico City around 1640.¹⁶¹ Only a few works have been assigned to him, but their styles are so varied that it is impossible not to question these attributions. One of his early works, *The Incredulity of Saint Thomas* (fig.44), is highly indebted to the dramatic work of Caravaggio, popular in Seville at the time, and to that of Francisco de Herrera the Elder (1576-1656).¹⁶² The painting presents the half-naked body of the resurrected Christ surrounded by the highly naturalistic and commonplace figures of the skeptical apostles. The earthy tones of

¹⁶¹ Jonathan Brown, "From Spanish to New Spanish Painting, 1550-1700," in *Painting in Latin America 1550-1820*, ed. Luisa Elena Alcalá and Jonathan Brown (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 102-47, esp. 118.

¹⁶² *Ibid*, 130.

Christ's and Thomas's tunics, Christ's bright and pale muscular torso, as well as the apostles' half-lit features are further emphasized by a deeply dark background. The *Marriage of the Virgin* (fig. 45), also attributed to López de Arteaga, presents a different perspective of the artist's fluid style.¹⁶³ This work depicts the holy couple wedded by a rabbi while surrounded by angels. The vertical canvas shows a division between the heavens represented at the top, and an earthly interior represented at the bottom, a composition that somehow mirrors that of *The Prophets*. In this painting, the artist shows a more detailed drawing that outlines the delicate faces of the figures, as well as their exquisite and colorful clothing. The work's rich palette and diffused lighting also differs from those used in *The Incredulity of Saint Thomas*. Again, this is the work of a painter that has a deep knowledge of human anatomy, even though the figures are covered with heavy drapery.

Although Arteaga's paintings align more or less with Spanish naturalism of the first half of the seventeenth century, their style differs from that of *The Prophets*. The nuanced tenebrism of these paintings is closer to that of *The Marriage of the Virgin*, but the latter's delicate drawing and elongated figures are not comparable to *The Prophets*. The vivid figures of *The Prophets* are also closer to the apostles in *The Incredulity of Saint Thomas*, but are modelled in less detail and are more idealized.

¹⁶³ The analysis about the attribution of the painting to Arteaga is discussed in Rogelio Ruiz Gomar et al., *Catálogo comentado del acervo del Museo Nacional de Arte*, Tomo II (México: Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, 2004), 377-82. Although the same authorship is debatable, it is possible that the artist changed his style to respond to the tastes of a different audience.

Painting produced in New Granada should also be considered in this study of attribution. Unfortunately, colonial art in this region has not been as deeply studied as that from Peru and New Spain, and the information available does not offer any solutions to the problem of authorship of *The Prophets* either. Although the names of a few master painters are known to scholars, seventeenth-century painting in New Granada was mostly anonymous.¹⁶⁴ Paintings that emphasize three-dimensional modeling and naturalism have been considered as coming from Europe, especially Spain and Italy. Scholarship has attributed a few images of apostles and martyrs (fig. 46) located in the Jesuit church of Bogotá to the Portuguese Jesuit painter Domingo de Vasconcelos (c.1605-70), although without any consistent evidence.¹⁶⁵

Being this the case, it seems pertinent to raise the possibility that *The Prophets* were the product of a European workshop. During part of the sixteenth century and most of the seventeenth century, series of paintings from Spanish artists were sold in different cities of the New World.¹⁶⁶ Ships sailing from Seville travelled to the ports in the Caribbean carrying paintings, among many other goods, to be sold all over the Americas. This trade was so fruitful that some Spanish painters relied solely on this trade. It is also known that the workshops of Zurbarán and Murillo sent several

¹⁶⁴ Carlos Arbelaez Camacho, *El arte colonial en Colombia* (Bogotá: Ediciones Sol y Luna, 1968), 143.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 161.

¹⁶⁶ Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, "From Spain to the Viceroyalty of Peru: Paintings by the Dozen," in Donna Pierce et al. (ed.), *At the Crossroads: the Arts of Spanish America & Early Global Trade 1492-1850* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2012), 71-90.

shipments of paintings to the Americas in the 1640s, and that their work had a strong influence in colonial painters from Peru, Colombia, New Spain and Quito.¹⁶⁷

Series of paintings of prophets, sibyls and other religious figures were commonly acquired through these means (fig. 47). For instance, Luis Enrique Tord has suggested that the Jesuit College in Lima acquired a series of ten apostles, now owned by the House of Exercises of the Third Franciscan Order, and that they were obtained by the Franciscans after the Society's expulsion in 1767.¹⁶⁸ These works are strongly indebted to the apostles of José de Ribera currently in the Museo del Prado, and date probably from the seventeenth century. The Jesuit College of Lima also commissioned in the 1660s several works to Juan de Valdés Leal (1622-1690), a painter from Andalucía.¹⁶⁹ However, as it has been discussed earlier on, it does not seem plausible that the Jesuit College of Quito acquired La Compañía's *Prophets* in the local market, as the paintings were created expressly for La Compañía's pillars, most likely obeying to clear specifications established by Jesuit patrons.

¹⁶⁷ Stratton-Pruitt, "From Spain to the Viceroyalty of Peru," 73-7. Antonio Palomino Velasco, *El museo pictórico y escala óptica, el parnaso español pintoresco laureado, tomo tercero* (Madrid: Por la Viuda de Juan García Infanzón, 1724), 420. A painting of Archangel Gabriel located in Quito's Franciscan Monastery shows connections with Zurbarán's workshop. It has also been proposed that this particular work could have been done in Quito by a Spanish painter. See Stratton-Pruitt, *The Art of Painting in Colonial Quito*, 34-5.

¹⁶⁸ Luis Enrique Tord, "El Apostolado de la Tercera Orden Franciscana," In *Pintura en el Virreinato del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2001), 302-13.

¹⁶⁹ Alcalá, *Fundaciones jesuíticas*, 103.

This leads us to two possibilities: either the Jesuits commissioned *The Prophets* to an itinerant artist, or to a European workshop. It was not uncommon for members of the Society of Jesus to bring works from Europe to be displayed in their Spanish American churches.¹⁷⁰ As the Jesuits were in constant movement between the two continents, they sometimes brought prints, paintings and even sculptures from a variety of regions. Frequently, they would purchase objects that were already in the market, although in some rare occasions they would commission paintings to European workshops specifically for their missions overseas. It is also known that the Jesuits brought objects from their missions in Asia to the Americas.¹⁷¹

The style of *The Prophets*, with their strong naturalism and dramatic illumination, has a close kinship with Spanish painting of the first half of the seventeenth century. The style of the drapery and the rendition of light seem to be particularly indebted to the work of Luis Tristán. Tristán was born in Toledo ca. 1585 and became El Greco's apprentice as a teenager.¹⁷² He also stayed in Rome and Milan for several years in the 1600s where he got acquainted with the work of Caravaggio.¹⁷³ Tristán was back in Toledo by 1612 already a recognized and prolific artist, in charge

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 26.

¹⁷¹ Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "Religious Orders and the Arts of Asia," in *Made in the Americas: The New World Discovers Asia* (Boston: MFA Publications, 2015), 90-109, esp. 97-8.

¹⁷² Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, *Luis Tristán H. 1585-1624* (Madrid: Real Fundación de Toledo, Fundación BBVA, 2001), 19-43.

¹⁷³ Some scholars also argue that he met José de Ribera during his trip, although this fact remains to be proved.

of a commission of 48 paintings for the city council, including religious works and portraits of local authorities, as well as 24 paintings for the Jesuits. After his death in 1624 and along the first half of the seventeenth century, Tristán's oeuvre continued to influence relevant Spanish painters.¹⁷⁴

Tristán was largely indebted to El Greco's particular style and to Caravaggio's naturalistic painting.¹⁷⁵ The naturalism and immediacy of his figures are usually enhanced by a tenebrist setting, as seen in his *Portrait of a Carmelite* (fig. 48) or in his *Saint Louis Giving Alms to the Poor*. Tristán's palette is warm and earthy, similar to that used in *The Prophets*, and usually contrast velvety reds, intense greens and blues. In the same way than *The Prophets'* painters, he models his drapery using long solid strokes of color, appearing heavy, with long and almost sculptural pleads that create deep folds, as seen in his paintings of *Saint Joseph* and *Saint Bartholomew* (figs. 49, 50, and 51). His brushwork is dense and sometimes quick and nervous. The pathos present in some of his figures, which denote forceful gestures and sorrowful expressions, is also apparent in *The Prophets*. However, Tristán preference for elongated figures with tortured hands, and his more detailed drawing indicates that *The Prophets* were not the product of his workshop, but of an artist acquainted with Tristán's style.

¹⁷⁴ Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, *Luis Tristán H. 1585-1624*, 184-93. Pérez Sánchez makes a particular case for the influence of Tristán on Velázquez's early works. This author also considers that only the still-lives of one of Tristán's apprentices, Pedro de Camprobín, remains relevant today.

¹⁷⁵ Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, *Luis Tristán H. 1585-1624*, 177-83.

The composition of *The Prophets* is also somehow related to some of Tristán's works. However, *The Prophets*' compositional formula, using a *repoussoir* figure set in a vertical format against a receding landscape, was in fact commonly found in a variety of European prints that circulated in painting workshops. Numerous seventeenth-century artists from Spain, including Francisco de Zurbarán, Esteban Murillo, Alonso Cano, and Antonio del Castillo, chose similar compositional schemes to represent religious figures. The series of Jacob's Sons, now at Auckland Castle, seemed to have had a certain influence in the composition of La Compañía's *Prophets* and in their contained character.

The exuberant mountainous landscapes found in *The Prophets* are indebted to Northern works, especially in the representation of depth through the gradation of cool tones in the background to increasingly warm foregrounds, and in the detailed rendition of nature (fig. 52). This type of landscape was not uncommon in religious and history paintings, as well as in portraits from seventeenth-century Spain. We can find green and mountainous landscapes in several works by Zurbarán and Velázquez.¹⁷⁶

In conclusion, although seventeenth-century descriptions of La Compañía in Quito do not mention *The Prophets*, their style—close to Spanish works of the first

¹⁷⁶ See for instance Zurbarán's painting of Jacob at Auckland Castle (c. 1640), and his depiction of *The Battle of the Christians and Moors at El Sotillo* (1638-40). Velázquez's portrait of *Baltasar Carlos on Horseback* (1635) includes a verdant mountainous landscape, the same as his *Landscape with St. Anthony Abbot and St. Paul the Hermit* (c. 1633).

half of the seventeenth century—suggests they were likely acquired by the Jesuit College of Quito at some point in the 1600s. As in other studies of attribution of paintings from colonial Quito, there are no clear answers regarding the authorship of La Compañía's *Prophets*. However, it is safe to say that none of the traditional attributions assigned so far are viable. Their authorship cannot be assigned to members of Quito's Jesuit College either. Considering the few stylistic connections between *The Prophets* and other paintings from the Spanish colonies, a European origin seems more plausible. It is more likely that these works are by the hand of a foreign itinerant painter or a Spanish workshop. I propose that the workshop in question was influenced by the work of Luis Tristán, so it was probably located in the region of Toledo.

The affiliation of *The Prophets* to the Pezzana Bible published in 1667 problematizes their stylistic connections with Spanish painting of the first half of the seventeenth century. At this point, it is impossible to determine whether the paintings' "retardataire" style responded to the particular taste of the patrons or to that of the artist, or if the illustrations belonging to the Pezzana Bible derived from an earlier source that has not been identified yet. Considering the information at hand, I propose that La Compañía's *Prophets* were commissioned by the Jesuit College of Quito during the second half of the seventeenth century, probably between 1670 and the 1680s, when the initial decorative program of the church was established.

Chapter 3

THE PROPHETS: MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES

Mario Cicala's encounter with *The Prophets*, quoted in the previous chapter, describes with amazement the delightful sight these works presented, leading the Jesuit priest to contemplate them for hours every time he visited the church.¹⁷⁷ We can certainly empathize with Cicala's reaction. It is not uncommon to be amazed at an artist's capacity for producing remarkable images using commonplace materials, and to wonder whether this person had some kind of secret to achieve such illusions and visual effects. This chapter examines the materials and techniques used in the making of La Compañía's *Prophets*, as well as these works' iconography, in order to understand their process of design and execution.

First, I focus on the identification of the printed sources used as inspiration for the paintings to highlight the influence of the Jesuit community in their production, and to determine the limitations imposed on artistic invention. The selection and transformation of these designs was, indeed, conditioned by the works' function as didactic tools, and by the need of establishing coherent and clear compositions for the benefit of the audience. At the same time, artistic agency can be recognized in the choice and manipulation of paint materials, and in the adaptation and appropriation of predetermined models.

¹⁷⁷ Cicala, *Descripción histórico-topográfica*, 175-6.

Later, I study the methods used to create the paintings, identifying the different elements of their architecture and the materials involved in their production. My analysis is supported by a variety of technical and scientific tools, including microscopy with visible and ultraviolet light, x-radiography, SEM-EDS (Scanning Electron Microscopy-Energy Dispersive X-Ray Spectroscopy), and examinations of the paintings' surface using raking light. Collaboration with scientists and conservators was fundamental in the understanding of the artistic practices of this particular workshop. The information provided by such techniques allows me to propose different theories regarding the making of *The Prophets*, including the process of design and the methods of transfer of preparatory drawings onto the canvas. A study of the development of the works' designs from the printed sources to the final paintings brings light into the methods of negotiation between patrons and artists, and the ways in which they affected workshop activities.

The Composition of *The Prophets*: Sources and Influences

The *Prophets* are among many other series of Old Testament figures located in the Americas.¹⁷⁸ Paintings of prophets, patriarchs and sibyls were common in the Viceroyalties of Peru, New Spain and New Granada. Only in Quito, there are several examples displayed in different religious buildings, such as the church of San Francisco (fig. 53), the monastery of Santo Domingo (see Chapter 2, fig. 40) and the convent of La Merced (fig. 54). The chronicles of Diego Rodríguez Docampo also

¹⁷⁸ Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, "From Spain to the Viceroyalty of Peru: Paintings by the Dozen," in *At the Crossroads: The Arts of Spanish America & Early Global Trade 1492-1850*, ed. Donna Pierce et al. (Denver, CO: Denver Art Museum, 2012), 71-90

inform us about a series of prophets that was part of the decorative program of Quito's Cathedral during the seventeenth century.¹⁷⁹ Today, only traces of these mural paintings remain in the southern walls of the church's main nave.

As explained in the previous chapter, many paintings of prophets, sibyls, patriarchs and saints came from seventeenth-century European workshops, including that of the Sevillian artist Francisco de Zurbarán (Fig. 55).¹⁸⁰ Zurbarán's series were quite popular in the Americas and were frequently reproduced by local artists. The composition of these works follows similar formulas that focus on a life-size, full-length figure standing in the foreground of a vertical canvas, usually complemented by a deep landscape. These figures are commonly individualized through their body language and specific attributes. For instance, the paintings of Jonah in the churches of La Compañía and San Francisco include the whale that, according to the scriptures, swallowed the prophet only to spit him out after three days. Some of these paintings also have a scroll or banner with the name of the depicted character to avoid any ambiguity.

The basic formula of the holy figure against a deep landscape was well-established in Europe and the Americas, and was regularly used for images displayed in altarpieces or religious buildings. Numerous European prints, such as those by the Sadeler family, Lucas van Leyden, Agostino Carracci, Antonio Tempesta, and

¹⁷⁹ Rodríguez Docampo, "Relación y descripción del estado eclesiástico del obispado de San Francisco de Quito. Año de 1650," 19.

¹⁸⁰ See Benito Navarrete Prieto, *Zurbarán y su obrador: pinturas para el Nuevo Mundo* (Madrid: Museo Municipal de Madrid, 1999).

Albrecht Dürer, popularized this type of composition. Some Spanish draftsmen also created series of religious figures using the same formula with the purpose of reproducing them as prints. That is the case of the engravings of *Fifteen Male Saints* by the workshop of Antonio Salamanca (Biblioteca Angelica, Rome) or Matías de Torres's drawings of *The Nine Worthies of Antiquity and Modern Worthies* (fig. 56).¹⁸¹ Francisco de Zurbarán, his workshop and his followers made a fruitful business producing these types of paintings in order to sell them in Europe and to send them to the Americas. Some of them, like Zurbarán's *Sons of Jacob*—which now reside at Auckland Castle—were so popular that they were copied by Peruvian artists (fig. 57).

The introduction of a visionary scene in such depictions was not uncommon either and can be seen in the works of Alonso Cano (fig. 58), Diego Velázquez and Zurbarán. The addition of narrative scenes in the background was less typical, although it had already been explored by artists like Antonio Mohedano (1563?-1626) and José Leonardo (1601-52).¹⁸² Leonardo's painting of *John the Baptist in the*

¹⁸¹ Zahira Véliz, *Spanish Drawings in the Courtauld Gallery. Complete Catalogue* (London: The Courtauld Gallery and the Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2011), 27.

¹⁸² José or Jusepe Leonardo (1601-52) was born in Zaragoza and lived in Madrid at the same time than Diego Velázquez. His teacher was Eugenio Cajés. See Roberto Contini et al., *The Spanish Golden Age: Painting and Sculpture in the Time of Velázquez* (Munich: Hirmer, 2016), 166-7. Antonio Mohedano de la Gutierra was a follower of Pablo de Céspedes and worked in the decoration of the cathedral of Córdoba. José María Palencia attributes a painting of Saint Helena from this same building to Mohedano. See José María Palencia Cerezo, "La Pintura Barroca Cordobesa y Antonio del Castillo: Nuevas Perspectivas de Estudio," in *Antonio del Castillo en la ciudad de Córdoba*, Paula Revenga Domínguez and José María Palencia Cerezo (Córdoba: Junta de Andalucía, 2016), 86-7.

Wilderness (fig. 59), for instance, presents an imposing depiction of the saint complemented by a small scene of him preaching in an open landscape. However, the introduction of both narrative scenes at the same time, as in the case of La Compañía's *Prophets*, was quite rare in seventeenth-century Spanish works.

The tripartite composition of *The Prophets*—with the towering figure standing in the foreground, a background scene of his life, and the visionary image in the sky—was likely inspired by illustrations in Jesuit publications such as Cornelio a Lapide's *Commentaria in Quator Prophetas Maiores* (Paris, 1622) and Antoine Girard's *Peintures Sacrées* (1653).¹⁸³ Lapide (1567-1637) was a prolific and popular author who taught scripture and Hebrew in the Roman Jesuit College in the first decades of the seventeenth century.¹⁸⁴ His commentaries on the Major Prophets were published multiple times, and the last edition of his work appeared in 1891.¹⁸⁵ His *Commentaria in Quator Prophetas Maiores* includes four illustrations of Prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel and Ezekiel (fig. 60), which had a strong influence on the iconography and composition of *The Prophets*. As in the paintings, the prints show the figure of the prophet in full length, standing in the foreground of a receding landscape, the whole composition organized around a vertical format. The prophet holds a scroll displaying a text in Hebrew referring to the scriptures. A visionary image, either the hand of God presenting the prophet with a mission or an apocalyptic scene, appears in the skies.

¹⁸³ I had access to the second edition of Girard's *Peintures Sacrées* (Paris, 1656).

¹⁸⁴ Luke Murray, "Jesuit Hebrew Studies After Trent: Cornelius a Lapide (1567-1637)," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 4 (2017): 78.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 79, Note 5.

The representations of prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah also include scenes of their martyrdom in the background, as in the depictions of *Micha*, *Ezekiel*, *Isaiah*, *Amos* and *Jeremiah* (fig.61). The influence of Lapidé's book on La Compañía's *Prophets* is even more obvious when comparing their representations of Daniel (fig. 62). *Daniel* (fig. 4) is clearly inspired in the print, as both versions present him wearing translucent and decorated tights, a cloak hanging on his shoulders held by a rectangular broach, a short tunic that folds into a triangle covering his groin, and a round cap. The dramatic and expressive pose of *Daniel* draws from another print of the prophet after Hendrik Goltzius (fig. 63).

Girard's *Peintures Sacrées* also has several representations of prophets among its numerous illustrations, which were engraved by Léonard Gaultier. Again, their compositions are similar to those of La Compañía's paintings and focus on a large, full-length image of the prophet standing in the foreground of a deep landscape (fig. 64). However, these images are more complicated in composition and meaning as they include three or more distinct narratives in the same plane that are connected to the prophet's identity and message. Other point of similarity between the paintings and Gaultier's engravings is the inclusion of a banner with the name of the prophet inside of the pictorial space. Girard's engravings follow Jesuit formulas centered on the function of images, as established in Hieronymus Nadal's seminal work the *Annotations and Meditations of the Gospels* (Antwerp, 1595).¹⁸⁶ Nadal's text includes

¹⁸⁶ Every single print of the *Historiae* is accompanied by legends that explain the scenes that are represented. This type of visual construction was later replicated in other Jesuit publications such as Louis Richeome's *Tableaux Sacrés* (1601) and *Le Pèlerin de Lorete* (1604). See Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in*

multiple illustrations of the life of Christ that are further explained through captions and labels, followed by descriptions of the gospels and of meditations of their meaning. In some instances, these images also play with the concept of picture-within-a picture, a formula that is followed in Gaultier's works as well as in La Compañía's *Prophets* (fig. 65).¹⁸⁷ Even though the French illustrations have more complex compositions and they rely more on explanatory texts for their comprehension, their didactic character is closely related to *The Prophets*. In both instances, the association of texts and specific scenes helped transform an image into a narrative, and a concept into a story that was easier to memorize.¹⁸⁸

The unique composition of La Compañía's *Prophets* separates them from other series of prophets and saints located in the Americas, and also from other contemporary Spanish works. This singular feature suggests that Lapide's and Girard's illustrations were not popular among Spanish and colonial artists of the period, and that they were known mainly in Jesuit circles. It also indicates that the authorities of Quito's Jesuit College were directly involved in the commission of *The Prophets* and that they provided the sources that inspired them. This control over painted compositions was characteristic of Jesuit commissions, especially after the

Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773 (Toronto Buffalo London: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 93.

¹⁸⁷ See for instance Nadal's illustration of the *Visitation* which not only includes the encounter between Mary and her cousin Elizabeth, but also presents images of different stages of Joseph and Mary's trip, the birth of Saint John the Baptist and the Annunciation.

¹⁸⁸ Fernández-Salvador, "Images and Memory," 38-9.

Council of Trent.¹⁸⁹ Considering that La Compañía's stone pillars were carved so *The Prophets* could be embedded in them, and that their fit is quite harmonious, it seems likely that the Jesuits commissioned these works with the specific purpose of complementing the decorative program of Quito's Jesuit church.

As explained in Chapter 2, Jesuits travelled frequently between Europe and the Americas for official reasons, and were important agents in processes of exchange.¹⁹⁰ In this context, it is plausible that a member of Quito's Jesuit College commissioned *The Prophets* to a Spanish workshop to bring them back to adorn the main nave of the church of La Compañía.

Selection of Sources: Theory and Practice

Since the twentieth century, Ecuadorian scholarship has been particularly interested in finding the sources that inspired the series of La Compañía's *Prophets* as a way of establishing their earliest possible chronology. As mentioned in the previous chapter, in 1950 Pío Jaramillo Alvarado discovered that different scenes included in *Obadiah* (fig. 6), *Haggai* (fig. 8), *Joel* (fig. 5) and *Zephaniah* (fig. 11) derived from a bible published by the Venetian Niccolo Pezzana in 1677 (figs. 66 and 67), which had a second edition that appeared in the eighteenth century.¹⁹¹ Teresa Gisbert and José de Mesa connected an Italian print of Saint James the Minor after Parmigianino dating

¹⁸⁹ Jonathan Brown, *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting* (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978), 64-5.

¹⁹⁰ Luisa Elena Alcalá, *Fundaciones jesuíticas en Iberoamérica* (Madrid: Ediciones El Viso, 2002), 26-8.

¹⁹¹ See Jaramillo Alvarado, *Examen crítico sobre los profetas de Goribar*.

from the first half of the sixteenth century with *Zephaniah* (fig. 68), presented in the Project on Engraved Sources of Spanish Colonial Art (PESSCA).¹⁹²

My research has identified additional sources, including various prints by the Italian painter and engraver Raffaello Schiaminossi, active between 1590s-1610.¹⁹³ To him belong the designs of the *Annunciation* (fig. 69) and the *Presentation in the Church* (fig. 70) published in the series of *The Mysteries of the Rosary* in 1609, which informed the scenes that appear in *Isaiah* (fig. 9) and *Malachi* (fig. 15), respectively. The life-size figure of Prophet Malachi also derives from a Schiaminossi's print of *Moses* (fig. 71) included in his book about Old Testament prophets, published twice in the 1610s. Other elements of the paintings derive from prints by Flemish artists active between the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries. The scenes of Habakkuk being carried by an angel (fig. 17) and of Daniel in the pit with the lions (fig. 4) draws from one of Philips Galle's prints about *The Story of Daniel, Bel and the Dragon* (fig. 72), and the life-size figure of Obadiah (fig. 6) is inspired by his representation of Samson appearing in *The Betrothal and the Wedding of Samson* (fig. 73) published in 1565.¹⁹⁴ A print after Maarten de Vos depicting *The Prophecy of Jonah* (fig. 74),

¹⁹² “PESSCA: Project on the Engraved Sources of Spanish Colonial Art,” accessed July 8, 2015, <http://colonialart.org/>.

¹⁹³ This artist, born in Sansepolcro in 1572, was active between the 1590s and 1610s in Florence and Rome. Schiaminossi worked with several publishers and editors during these years, including Nicolaus Van Aelst, Gian Domenico Rossi, and Pietro Stefanoni. See Alessandra Giannotti, *Raffaello Schiaminossi Incisore* (Anghiari: Museo Taglieschi, 2000), 30-54.

¹⁹⁴ The engravings of Daniel used for the prophet paintings were done by Philips Galle after designs by the Haarlem-based artist, Maarten van Heemskerck. Galle had engraved several designs by van Heemskerck that were later published by

included in the book *Repentant Sinners from the Old and New Testament* (1580-90), served as inspiration for the scene of Malachi preaching to the masses (fig. 9).

The use of prints as teaching tools and as sources of artistic invention was a common practice in European painting workshops in the early modern period.¹⁹⁵ Artists and theorists supported the observation and imitation of prints as a way of triggering imagination and creativity.¹⁹⁶ Francisco Pacheco, head of the art academy in Seville in the early 1600s, argued in his treatise *Art of Painting* (1649) that copying was a fundamental activity of artistic training.¹⁹⁷ Imitation was seen as a basic tool that helped painters enrich their memory and that provided inspiration for the development of their own designs.

Hieronimus Cock and Galle's son Theodoor. See Karen L. Bowen and Dirk Imhof, *Christopher Plantin and Engraved Book Illustrations in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 250-86. Jaramillo Alvarado mistakenly attributes the representation of an angel carrying Habakkuk by his hair to a print from Pezzana's Bible. See the prints of *The Story of Daniel, Bel and the Dragon* in Mandred Sellink ed., *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450-1700: Philips Galle. Part I* (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision Publishers in Cooperation with the Rijksprentenkabinet, 2001), 149.

¹⁹⁵ For painting practices in Spain see Véliz, *Spanish Drawings in the Courtauld Gallery*, 28. For other European examples see for instance Thijs Weststeijn, Beverley Jackson, and Lynne Richards, *The Visible World: Samuel Van Hoogstraten's Art Theory and the Legitimation of Painting in the Dutch Golden Age*. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), 136. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt46n0b8>. Alexandra Onuf, "From Print to Paint and Back again: Painting Practices and Print Culture in Early Modern Antwerp," in *Prints in Translation, 1450-1750: Image, Materiality, Space*, ed. Suzanne Karr Schmidt and Edward H. Wouk (New York: Routledge, 2017), 19-41.

¹⁹⁶ Weststeijn et al., *The Visible World*, 136.

¹⁹⁷ Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura*, 156-67

“The first step (and the most common) is that the painter imitates what he sees... When the memory is enriched and the imagination is full of good forms, the painter reaches the second level of training... and creates his own compositions by putting together elements that other artists have created... Finally, after having successfully completed these steps, painters reach perfection by creating figures and stories with their own imagination.¹⁹⁸

Vicente Carducho, Florentine painter who worked for the Spanish court, posited similar ideas in his *Diálogos de la Pintura* (1633).¹⁹⁹

Practical painting means copying other artists' drawings and prints, and its only goal is to make money... Regular practical painting, or preceptive painting, is that which combines ingenuity with rules and precepts... This is reached by continuously copying and imitating with care and attention the best drawings, paintings, statues and models... Regular and scientific practical painting is the one that studies the geometry, arithmetics, perspective and philosophy of what is to be painted, combining ideas with reason, and science with memory.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, 156-63. “Y para proceder por orden, el estado primero, (según lo más usado) es el de los que ...trabajan con todas sus fuerzas por imitar lo que ven...Enriquecida la memoria, y llena la imaginación de las buenas formas que de la imitación ha criado, camina adelante el ingenio del pintor al grado segundo de los que aprovecha; ... [el pintor] se alarga a componer de varias cosas de diferentes artífices, un buen todo... Últimamente, después de haber pasado (con aprovechamiento) por el primero, y segundo camino, se llega al tercero de perfectos; donde con propio caudal se viene a inventar, y disponer la figura, o historia que se les pide...”

¹⁹⁹ Carducho, *Diálogos de la pintura*, 39-40.

²⁰⁰ Ibid, 39v.-40. “Pintura práctica es la que se hace con solo la noticia general que se tiene de las cosas, o copiando de otras, y de dibujos y estampas ajenas...y su fin no es más que contentar a la persona que le ocupa, por la paga que le ha de dar...Pintura práctica regular, o preceptiva, es la que se vale ingeniosamente de las reglas y preceptos prácticas... Esto se alcanza dibujando continuamente con cuidado y atención, de dibujos, pinturas, estatuas y modelos, procurando sea siempre de lo mejor, observando e imitando lo bueno... Pintura práctica regular y científica es la que no solo se vale de las reglas y preceptos aprobados... mas inquiera las causas y las

For both authors, imitation lies at the foundations of painting training and contributes to the development of the painter's imagination and creativity. The knowledge acquired through this practice—in conjunction with the additional study of elements such as perspective—allowed the painter to become more skilled. Although Pacheco insists that “perfect painters” do not require alternate sources to create new designs, even the most renowned artists of his time, such as Francisco de Zurbarán and Diego Velázquez, relied on prints as sources of inspiration.²⁰¹ John Moffitt has also suggested that the concept of picture-within-a picture used in some of Velázquez's early works came from the prints from Nadal's *Annotations and Meditations*.²⁰²

The use of prints as painting sources was not only a traditional practice in early modern workshops, but artists' reliance on prints also helped maintain the propriety of images according to the instructions issued after the Council of Trent. Pacheco's writings, largely based on the works of Johannes Molanus and Gabriele Paleotti, and informed by Jesuit theorists, explain the conditions for the use of religious imagery during the Counter-Reformation.²⁰³ The *Arte de la Pintura* argued that artistic license

razones geométricas, aritméticas, prespectivas y filosóficas de todo lo que ha de pintar... haciendo ideas con la razón y ciencia en la memoria...”

²⁰¹ To learn about the prints used by Zurbarán, see Navarrete Prieto, *Zurbarán y su obrador*. See also Véliz, *Spanish Drawings*, 198-201.

²⁰² John F. Moffitt, “Francisco Pacheco and Jerome Nadal: New Light on the Flemish Sources of the Spanish ‘Picture-within-the-Picture’,” *The Art Bulletin*, 72, No. 4 (Dec. 1990): 631-8.

²⁰³ Pacheco refers to the work of Molanus and Paleotti in several occasions, especially when dealing with the restrictions and guidelines of the Counter-reformation regarding the adequate representation of sacred subjects. Molanus's instructions for the representation of the scriptures can be at times general, but his thoughts on decorum,

was subservient to decorum, a concept that comprised ideas of honorability and virtue, decency and moderation.²⁰⁴ As the Catholic Church justified the use of images as tools to lead the viewer to piety, as well as to construct and edify, their decorum was essential.²⁰⁵ Nudity, for instance, needed to be avoided at all costs because it was believed it could lead to lechery and sensuous thoughts.²⁰⁶ For a religious image to be didactic, it needed to be historically accurate, rely on an adequate representation of Antiquity, and present a faithful rendition of emotions.²⁰⁷ Pacheco, in fact, offered precise guidelines about the depiction of the most popular religious subjects, as well as martyrs and saints, which addressed matters of iconography and composition.²⁰⁸

which Pacheco retook in his own treatise, are quite specific. See Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura*, 130-83. See also Johannes Molanus, *Traité des Saintes Images*, trans. Francois Boespflug, Olivier Christin and Benoit Tassel (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1996), 34-47 and 228-234. Gabriele Paleotti published his *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images* (1582), originally in Italian, and a Latin version was published some years later. Paleotti was appointed as counselor to the papal legates in the Council of Trent and was later deeply involved in the application of the decrees it emitted. See Gabriele Paleotti, *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*, trans. William McCuaig (Los Angeles, CA: The Getty Research Institute, 2012), 13-4. In 1618, the Tribunal of the Holy Inquisition had appointed Pacheco with the responsibility of assuring the decorum and adequacy of religious paintings displayed in public spaces and those that were for sale. See Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura*, 470-1.

²⁰⁴ Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, 187. See also Paleotti, *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*, 181 and 250.

²⁰⁵ Molanus, *Traité des Saintes Images*, 36.

²⁰⁶ Ibid, 47 and 243; Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura*, 503-7; Paleotti. *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*, 158.

²⁰⁷ Molanus, *Traité des Saintes Images*, 36. Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura*, 131-8.

²⁰⁸ Paleotti is less specific and *De Historia* allows for certain artistic license. It is believed that this responded to his sudden death. The *Discourse* was originally

Usually artists needed to work with particular formulas published in Church-approved texts and prints as a way of avoiding conflict with the Holy Office.

The Prophets follow notions of decorum of the Counter-Reformation, but do not necessarily adhere to Pacheco's guidelines.²⁰⁹ *The Annunciation from Isaiah* (fig.15), for instance, does not include depictions of God and the angels as suggested by the Sevillian theorist.²¹⁰ Similarly, the sources chosen for *The Adoration of the Magi in Zephaniah* (fig.11) and *The Presentation in the Church in Malachi* (fig.9) accommodate only partially to his recommendations. The design of the *Adoration* does not show all the Magi kneeling or kissing the feet of the Child, as advised in the *Arte de la Pintura*.²¹¹ It includes, however, the figure of Joseph and depicts the Magi with similar physical characteristics to the ones established in Pacheco's writings.

Even though the sources chosen for *The Prophets* are, in general terms, coherent with Pacheco's ideals, it seems that patrons and artists negotiated the paintings' designs without taking all the theoretician's restrictions into account. However, it is safe to say that the prints chosen as models for *The Prophets* respected

planned to contain five books, but Paleotti was able to publish only two of them. The other books were meant to discuss in more detail the application of the decrees in specific representations, as well as advise patrons and artists in matters of displaying images.

²⁰⁹ For an analysis of the influence of Pacheco's *Arte de la pintura* in Spanish painting of the Golden Age see Jonathan Brown, *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting* (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978), 63-83.

²¹⁰ Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura*, 497.

²¹¹ *Ibid*, 513-6.

the two main concepts outlined in the *Art of Painting* and that the Jesuits were likely keen to maintain: a sense of decorum, and respect for “historicity.” In fact, all the figures—including those appearing in the visionary scenes and in the background—were depicted in what was considered at the time “antique clothing,” and were largely based on the scriptures. Even *Daniel’s* and *Joel’s* clothing, which appear comparatively less conventional, were inspired by representations of Old Testament scenes popularized in prints.

The Society of Jesus preferred to have a close control over artistic commissions, especially when concerning devotional or meditative images. As Walter Melion has shown, many works commissioned by the Jesuits were carefully designed to guide the viewers through various stages of meditative prayer or to heighten their devotion.²¹² This tight supervision was not only true of illustrated texts but was also the case of painting commissions. For instance, some painting contracts for Spanish Colleges include specifications about the decorum of images, as well as the appearance and attitude of religious figures.²¹³ *The Prophets’* designs thus responded to the Jesuit order’s self-imposed role as champion of the Counter-Reformation.

²¹² This is particularly true of Hieronymus Nadal’s seminal work, *The Annotations and Meditations on the Gospels*, which includes numerous illustrations that were produced in close negotiations with the Wiericx brothers. See for instance, Walter S. Melion, “The Art of Vision in Jerome Nadal’s Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia,” 1-96.

²¹³ Brown, *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting*, 64-5. The selection of Galle’s print of Daniel was an exception, as it was considered somehow controversial at the time.

Clarity and simplicity were also essential factors for choosing sources and were directly connected to the paintings' didactic role. The selection of the scene of the *Annunciation* from Pezzana's Bible is particularly telling, considering the popularity of the topic and the numerous possible sources at the painters' and patrons' disposal. What separates Schiaminossi's design from other popular prints, such as those produced by Albrecht Dürer (fig. 75) or Cornelis Cort, is its simple composition and the clarity displayed in the figures' body language. Schiaminossi's print limits itself to the most basic elements to explain the event, without adding any superfluous objects to the scene. Archangel Gabriel's right hand points to the Holy Spirit while looking intently at Mary, indicating God's will and the role played by the Virgin regarding the Incarnation. The rays of light that emanate from the dove are directed toward the Virgin, making the moment of the holy conception evident. This print also stresses the transcendence of the event by focusing on Mary's receiving attitude. Contrary to what is shown in other sources, by placing the body and gaze of the Virgin facing the angel and by depicting her with open arms, Schiaminossi underlines the acceptance of her holy duty.

This compositional choice is also congruent with the context in which the paintings were produced. Some seventeenth-century Spanish paintings still rely on mannerist representations of the subject of the Annunciation as seen in the versions by Vicente Carducho, Eugenio Cajés, Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, and Francisco de Zurbarán. However, representations that emphasize a sense of immediacy, such as Murillo's version at the Fine Arts Museum of Seville or Antonio de Pereda's Annunciation at El Prado Museum, indicate that this type of vocabulary was also common in Spain.

Another aspect that influenced the choice of sources was the complexity of the painted composition and the restrictions of space imposed by the size of the canvas. This particular factor was probably managed by both the painter and the patron. The scenes located in the background and in the sky needed to display a narrative with a minimum number of elements so as to not confuse the viewer and to fit on the destined surface. As such, the painters opted for compositions that were uncomplicated and straightforward. Considering that the printed designs needed to be transferred and scaled for the canvas, less complex scenes were more practical and probably required lesser amounts of work and time than sources with elaborate compositions.²¹⁴

Appropriation of Printed Sources

Printed sources not only provided painters with ideas about iconography and composition, but they also supplied guidelines to define lighting, proportions, anatomy and drapery, and were commonly worked in conjunction with preparatory drawings.²¹⁵ Artists would explore and define their ideas by creating sketches and fully finished drawings to work out specific details.²¹⁶ Although there are no extant drawings associated to *The Prophets*, an analysis of the appropriation of models can provide interesting clues about the paintings' process of design. In most cases, painters kept

²¹⁴ Methods of transfer include pouncing, scaling up and the use of a grid, either on a separate drawing or directly over the canvas.

²¹⁵ Véliz, *Spanish Drawings in the Courtauld Gallery*, 19-26.

²¹⁶ *Ibid*, 26-30.

the guidelines established in the prints, but they also liberally modified numerous elements of the composition to create simpler and more balanced images.

Some changes were destined to increase the impact and immediacy of the message as in the scene of *The Annunciation in Isaiah* (fig. 76). In this case, the artist depicted the book open towards the viewer, making it more obvious than in the print. This small change was meant to highlight the relevance of the prophecy which is explained in the book of Isaiah that the Virgin is reading. The artist altered the composition of the scene so the illuminated background becomes more prominent; also, the separation between Mary, Gabriel and the dove is wider, adding clarity to the message. The artist also heightened the miraculous nature of the event by setting the scene in an open and bright location, surrounded by clouds, instead of in a room with a curtain. The choice to set the scene in the skies also stresses the fact that the event was revealed to the prophet in a vision.

The evolution of the iconography of the Annunciation in Spain occurred slowly through the seventeenth century. Until the 1660s, most representations of the holy event were depicted in the Virgin's rooms, surrounded by elements that emphasized the environment's earthly qualities, such as a carpet, a curtain or a bed post.²¹⁷ Esteban Murillo broke with this firmly established tradition presenting the scene in a divine setting (fig. 77). The fact that Quito's Jesuit College accepted this new interpretation of the events might be an indicator of the paintings' chronology which would be in accordance with the chronology *post quem* established by the prints coming from the Pezzana Bible (1677).

²¹⁷ Brown, *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting*, 67-8.

In *The Presentation in the Church* (fig. 78) at the top of *Malachi* (fig.9), the painters also changed several elements of the composition to create a more immediate and simpler scene. The definition of the main characters is quite faithful to the print, including their body language and proportions, but most of the figures from the right side were not added as a way of creating a more balanced and less crowded composition. The artist also simplified the architecture of the room, suggesting the depth of space through the shadows of the figures and the darkness produced by the niche that holds the menorah. Whereas in the print the niche frames only the figure of the rabbi, the artists modified the design in order to bring attention to the three essential characters of the scene—the Virgin, the Child and the rabbi—by positioning the menorah at the exact center of the background, and the niche encasing the whole group. This alteration has also symbolical implications as the artificial light of the menorah represents the divine light brought by the Christ Child, underlining the painting's messianic message.

Ingenuity was an essential factor in the processes of transformation of the prints' designs. In the case of *Malachi* (fig. 9), the artist used Schiaminossi's print of *Moses* only as a basic guideline to establish the prophet's posture and the clothes' drapery, but modified it greatly in order to suit a specific iconography. The print shows Moses standing in an indefinite landscape, holding a large tablet that contains the Ten Commandments, and pointing into the sky to signal their divine origin. In the painting, Moses's elderly aspect was transformed into that of a youthful man by replacing his receding hair with an abundant dark and curly mane; Moses's long and greying beard became incipient to underline Malachi's young age. The artist also lowered the position of Malachi's left arm in relation to the print so that the scene of

The Presentation in the Church could fit on top of the canvas, and modified Malachi's bodily proportions, substituted Moses's generic footwear for sandals, and added two large wings.

This specific iconography of *Malachi* did not originate in prints, maybe because there were few options available. Among the sources that circulated at the time were Baccio Baldini's series on *Prophets and Sibyls*, later reproduced with some changes by Francesco Rosselli; Cornelis Galle's portrait of the prophet set in an oval format; and Gerard de Jode's series of Old Testament prophets. For unknown reasons, the authors of *The Prophets* did not refer to any of these designs. Instead, *Malachi* reflects the iconography from hagiographies that circulated in Europe in the early modern period, also likely provided by the Jesuits. During the Counter-Reformation, the Church rejected common hagiographical accounts, such as the *Golden Legend*, because recent texts were considered more historically accurate.²¹⁸ In Spain, the publications of different versions of the *Flos Sanctorum* by Jesuit Pedro de Ribadeneyra and Alonso de Villegas were widespread.²¹⁹ Ribadeneyra's book (1599-1610) describes prophet Malachi as an angel, although without offering too many details.²²⁰ Villegas's *Flos Sanctorum* (1578), republished in several occasions in the following centuries, hints at the prophet's physical appearance,

²¹⁸ Odile Delenda, "Nadal, Ribadeneira et Pacheco: l'Influence des Premiers Jésuites sur l'Art Espagnol du Siecle d'Or," in *Baroque Vision Jésuite: Du Tintoret a Rubens*, ed. Alain Tapié (Paris: Somogy Éditions d'Art, 2002), 233.

²¹⁹ Delenda. "Nadal, Ribadeneira et Pacheco," 234.

²²⁰ Pedro de Ribadeneira, *Flos sanctorum o libro de las vidas de los santos. Primera parte* (Madrid: Por Luis Sánchez, Impressor del Rey. [1616?]), 89 and 424. The

And so your Majesty ordered that Malachi's worth be like gold, not only in his person, as he was very beautiful and good-looking, but in virtue. He had so much virtue that he was called Malachi, which means angel.²²¹

This particular example shows that painters needed to exert their creativity to define new compositions. The reference to texts, instead of images, was a path that enabled them to demonstrate their skills as inventors and to negotiate new compositions with their patrons.

Creativity could have successful results, but also highlight limitations in terms of skill, as in the case of *Obadiah* (fig.6). In this example, the artist borrowed the figure of Samson from Galle's print of *The Wedding of Samson* (fig. 73) and chose to maintain his body posture as well as a simplified drapery. The representation of the shading effects is also taken from the print, although with less dramatism. The changes done to Obadiah's right arm affected the definition of the muscles of the shoulder creating an unconvincing anatomy and stance. The artist modified the length of Obadiah's skirt, so that it would cover his ungainly left knee. The painter was not interested in replicating Samson's anatomy or youth so Obadiah's muscles are less

inventory of the books belonging to the Jesuit College in Quito mentions this particular book. *Índice de los libros que se hallan en la Librería de las Padres de La Compañía de Jesús del Colegio de San Luis de la ciudad de San Francisco de Quito*, 1756, fol. 31, Archivo SJ, Biblioteca Aurelio Espinosa Pólit.

221 "Y así ordenó su Majestad, que fuese su valor, como de oro, y esto no sólo en la persona, siendo bellissimo, y de lindo parecer, sino en la virtud, que fue en él tan levantada que alcanzó el nombre de Malaquías, que es lo mismo que el Ángel." In Alonso de Villegas, *Flos sanctorum y historia general, en que se escribe la vida de la Virgen sacratísima Madre de Dios, señora nuestra y las de los santos antiguos*. (Gerona: Por Narciso Oliva, Impresor y Librero, [1794]), 489. This book was initially published in the late sixteenth century.

defined, especially around the hip. Certainly, this decision responded to the type of figure represented—Samson’s bodily strength was not appropriate for the elderly prophet. These alterations, however, diminished the figure’s naturalism and immediacy.

The workshop involved with the making of *The Prophets* also chose to manipulate the narratives introduced in the prints that were used as references. A perfect example of this is the transformation of Philips Galle’s print of *Habakkuk Bringing Food to Daniel in the Lions’ Den* (1565, fig. 72) into two different scenes, a split that implies a reinterpretation of the print’s basic narrative. Galle’s work presents the moment when Daniel, trapped in a den with several lions, is saved by Prophet Habakkuk who brings him food. In Galle’s print, an angel sets Habakkuk above the den, by grabbing him by the hair (Daniel 14:36). The dangers from which God has delivered Daniel are evidenced through the numerous skeletons and dead bodies that surround the prophet. Although the print belongs to a long series focused on Daniel’s deeds and prophecies, the painters reinterpreted the story by separating the design in two different events. One of the sections, Daniel in the pit with the lions, was chosen to be part of the background of *Daniel* (fig. 4). By eliminating the figure of Habakkuk, the scene focuses on the prophet’s sufferings instead than on his delivery. The other part of the print, the angel carrying Habakkuk by his hair, was incorporated into the background of *Habakkuk* (fig. 17). By doing so, the painters highlighted the role of Habakkuk as a chosen figure in his own right, independently from Daniel’s ordeals.

The Process of *Diseño*

Since the fifteenth century onward, drawings were considered a fundamental element of the painter's trade.²²² In early modern Spain, as in other parts of Europe, drawings were meant to show the artist's ability to create adequate compositions and were presented as evidence of the painter's ingenuity and intellectual skills.²²³ Drawings illustrate the different stages in the process of design, starting with one or more sketches (*bocetos*) which were followed by a cartoon (*cartón*), and a more developed oil sketch or drawing (*bosquejo*).²²⁴ According to Vicente Carducho's art treatise, *Diálogos de la Pintura* (1633), these drawings were usually prepared separately using white paper, chalk, ink, or wash in a variety of colors.²²⁵ Francisco Pacheco also insists that painters do better by working their drawings separately and not directly over the canvas, although he concedes that it is a matter of personal preference.²²⁶

We do not know of any preparatory drawings associated to *The Prophets*, but the regularity and consistency of the composition in all sixteen paintings, and the little number of changes when applying the paint layers suggest that such drawings indeed

²²² Véliz, *Spanish Drawings in the Courtauld Gallery*, 19-37.

²²³ Ibid, 19-20. María López-Fanjul y Díez del Corral, "Spanish Baroque Drawings and the Collections of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin," in *The Spanish Golden Age: Painting and Sculpture in the Time of Velázquez* (Munich: Hirmer, 2016), 70-9.

²²⁴ López-Fanjul and Díez del Corral, "Spanish Baroque Drawings", 75.

²²⁵ Véliz, *Spanish Drawings in the Courtauld Gallery*, 21.

²²⁶ Ibid, 22.

existed. Although many elements were already defined in the prints used as sources, the paintings' composition was likely established on a final sketch, maybe a *cartón* or a fully painted *bosquejo*.²²⁷ The painters used these drawings to determine the distribution of all the painting's components on the canvas, including the life-size figure of the prophet, the smaller narrative scenes, and the banners that contain the text. Lighting, perspective and maybe the painting's palette were also worked on preparatory sketches. These drawings were likely presented to the members of Quito's Jesuit College for their final approval.

The planning involved in the process of design is reflected in the regularity of the composition of La Compañía's sixteen paintings. The dimensions of the canvas, conditioned by the width of the church's pillars, are approximately the same in all the paintings: around 2.5 x 1.5 varas (6.8 x 4.1 ft). The large figures of the prophets are placed in the foreground at the center of the canvas with their head at around ¼ varas from the top (figs. 79 and 80). Their height approximates 2 varas (5 ½ feet), although with slight variations in each case.²²⁸ There are also certain similarities in the

²²⁷ Seventeenth-century art theory, as explained in the treatises written by Vicente Carducho, Francisco Pacheco and Jusepe Martínez, was closely associated to Italian theory. Carducho's treatise explains that not all drawings could be seen as equals and that there are three different types of drawings that expose, in their own way, the skills and value of their makers. The first type of drawing is the rough sketch produced from memory or from the imagination, and serves to present the artist's intellectual musings in visual terms. The most valuable and difficult type of drawing comes from nurturing this first sketch and shows the artist's technical skills, and his knowledge of science and perspective. Finally, Carducho defines the least valuable of drawings which result from copying other drawings or nature, and is seen mostly as the product of imitation.

²²⁸ Using Photoshop, I drew a grid on top of the sixteen paintings, where each square measures the equivalent to 0.25 x 0.25 varas. This grid allowed me to assess the similarities in the paintings' diverse compositions.

placement of the horizon line, which in most paintings lies between 1.25-1.5 varas from the top. The decision of placing the life-size figure of the prophet at the center of the composition allowed the addition of several narrative scenes at both sides of the background.

Painters also established the works' balance by locating the scenes of the life of the prophet on opposite sides to the visions in the sky. When representing elaborate scenes in the upper section of the canvas, the image has plainer landscapes, and vice versa. This choice is particularly clear in the case of *Zechariah* (fig. 10) which includes a large building in the background that covers most of the right side of the canvas which is counterbalanced by the relatively simple emblem that symbolizes the Eucharist. However, not all compositions are equally successful, as seen *Haggai* (fig.8) and *Obadiah* (fig. 6) that look overcrowded.

Certain compositional choices also seem to respond to practical matters, as is the case of the seascapes included in *Jonah* (fig. 13) and *Zephaniah* (fig. 11). In both works, the organization of the painted image is strikingly similar, with the horizon drawn at 1.25 varas from the top at the left of the prophet and at a little lower to his right side. The position of the prophets' right foot and their body language are also comparable. In both paintings, the scene of the vision was depicted on the upper right, and the background scene was included on the left. These parallels might indicate that the artist reused the same compositional formulas in both works as a way of simplifying the process of design.

The small scenes in the sky also needed to be carefully planned so they could fit in their designated space on the canvas and be legible at the same time. Moreover, as previously mentioned, the painters also modified and simplified these scenes'

composition in relation to their printed sources. For instance, in *The Presentation in the Church* the distance between the central characters and the other figures is greater in the painting, and other changes include the location and dimensions of the altar, the menorah and the curtains. Preparatory drawings would have defined all these changes in detail.

The naturalism of *The Prophets* brings up the possibility that their authors not only relied on printed sources, but might have also worked from life. This question is particularly interesting in the case of *Malachi* which shows a more convincing version of the prophet than its source. Whereas Schiaminossi's Moses was briefly rendered without anatomical detail, Malachi's facial features, his hands and feet are persuasively modelled. Although it is possible that the painter based the portrait of Malachi on a life model, considering this artist's reliance on prints for the rendition of lighting and drapery, it seems more likely that he referred to additional prints in order to complete the prophet's figure. The resulting image was created very much like a collage, a common workshop practice during the Spanish Golden Age.²²⁹ Actually, working from life was not common until the middle of the seventeenth century, and even then, it was limited to informal sessions in private studios.²³⁰ The artists's practice of working from prints would also answer for the lack of naturalism of some of the figures, especially those of Obadiah and Haggai. To define specific details, such as Malachi's young features or his uncovered feet, the painters probably referred to

²²⁹ Véliz, *Spanish Drawings in the Courtauld Gallery*, 29-30.

²³⁰ *Ibid*, 30.

pattern books that included studies of the human body, similar to those in books like Ludovico Mattioli's *Primi Elementi della Pittura* (fig.81).²³¹

Underdrawings and the Process of Transfer

In order to understand the process of underdrawing, this research relied on 6 x-radiographies of different sections of *Isaiah* and *Malachi* (fig. 82). These images show that all elements of the composition—including the life-size figure of the prophet, the visionary scenes and the text—were established through the use of reserves. The x-rays also show that *pentimenti* are mainly limited to minor details, such as the modelling of hands as shown in *Malachi*, *Obadiah*, *Daniel* and *Jonah*, as well as Jonah's left foot and Ezekiel's right shoulder. This evidence indeed suggests that the artists used underdrawings to establish all the details of the composition on the canvas.

Underdrawings are usually studied to learn about the creative process as they provide information of the different stages in the evolution of the composition.²³² Traditionally, artists created underdrawings using ink or black chalk over the prepared surface. Some of these underdrawings included not only detailed compositions, but they also established the design's bright and dark areas.²³³ Although this method was quite popular in early Northern European art, it was also practiced in fifteenth-century

²³¹ Ibid, 26 and 70-1.

²³² David Bomford (ed.), *Underdrawings in Renaissance Paintings* (London: National Gallery Company, 2002).

²³³ See Maryan Ainsworth, "Northern Renaissance Drawings and Underdrawings: A Proposed Method of Study", *Master Drawings*, 27, No. 1 (Spring, 1989): 5-38.

Spain, as can be seen in Hispano-Flemish works on panel such as the altarpiece of Ciudad Rodrigo, now at the University of Arizona Art Museum.²³⁴

Infrared reflectography (IRR) is the most common analytical method used in the study of underdrawings. Most pigments do not absorb infrared radiation, becoming transparent to IRR and allowing infrared penetration through the upper paint layers and its absorption by underdrawings made of charcoal. These radiations are later captured by photographic equipment sensitive to infrared wavelengths.²³⁵ This technique can also help identify the process of transfer of prints or drawings into the canvas. Unfortunately, this analytical technique could not be performed on *The Prophets* because the required instrumentation was not available. It is possible that IRR would not be a conclusive method anyway, as the iron oxide pigments used in the ground cannot be easily penetrated by infrared radiation.

Underdrawings were usually created by transferring the designs from the preparatory drawings or cartoons into the panel or canvas. There are some traditional techniques that allowed painters to transfer and resize designs. In fifteenth and sixteenth-century Europe, squaring up was a popular method.²³⁶ A rectilinear grid was ruled on to the model creating squares of equal sizes. A similar grid in a different scale

²³⁴ Amanda W. Dotseth et al., *Fernando Gallego and His Workshop: The Altarpiece from Ciudad Rodrigo* (Dallas: Meadows Museum, 2008).

²³⁵ W. Stanley Taft, Jr. and James W. Mayer, *The Science of Paintings* (New York: Springer-Verlag, 2000), 76-9.

²³⁶ Jill Dunkerton et al., *Dürer to Veronese: Sixteenth-Century Painting in the National Gallery* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press in association with National Gallery Publications Limited, 1999), 227.

was drawn on top of the canvas with the aid of ropes and chalk, allowing the drawing to be more easily copied and enlarged square by square. This method enabled the painter to maintain the proportions of the different elements of the original model and control the painting's final composition. Many drawings by Spanish artists demonstrate that squaring was a common practice in the early modern period (fig. 83).²³⁷

Two other methods were also used to transfer designs, although without altering the original's dimensions. Pouncing consisted on pricking small holes along the drawing and applying some type of colored powder, such as charcoal, through the holes onto the painting support.²³⁸ Then, the painter connected the dots to recreate the design on the canvas or wall with precision. This tool was particularly relevant in painting workshops where more than one person was involved in the process, as the master established the design and his assistants transferred it onto the painting surface. IRR can be a useful tool to detect such processes.²³⁹ Another, faster method of transfer consisted on applying carbon black to the back of the drawing and to transfer it onto

²³⁷ Véliz, *Spanish Drawings in the Courtauld Gallery*. Lisa A. Banner, *Spanish Drawings in the Princeton University Art Museum* (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Art Museum, 2012).

²³⁸ Jill Dunkerton et al., *Dürer to Veronese*, 224-5.

²³⁹ See for instance the analysis of Leonardo's *Ginevra de' Benci* which shows evidence of transfer through pouncing. Elizabeth Walmsley, "Technical Images and Painting Technique in Leonardo's Portrait of Ginevra de' Benci," in *Leonardo da Vinci and Optics: Theory and Pictorial Practice*, ed. Francesca Fiorani and Alessandro Nova (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 2013), 54-77.

the canvas by using a sharp instrument, such as a quill, to delineate the outlines of the original design.

These transfer methods were not only used to create the underdrawings on the canvas of *The Prophets*, but also to enlarge the designs from the prints used as their sources.²⁴⁰ A comparison between the outlines of different figures of the prints and paintings (fig.84) shows that the latter follow quite closely, but not exactly, the composition of the prints.²⁴¹ For instance, in *The Presentation in the Church* the three main figures (the rabbi, Mary and the Child) follow the proportions established in the print, although with slight variations in the position of their hands and the inclination of their heads. Mary's body is more upright in the painting, her face more distant from the body of the child, and her features are not aligned with those of the prints, but the position of her legs and arms reflects quite closely the source. The modelling of the priest also replicates the original design, although he was placed slightly farther away from the child. His hands are also not as visible in the painting and are placed differently. Similar observations can be made about the figures of Joseph and Saint Anna. The painters also freely modelled the three men standing next to Joseph, as these figures are concealed by Mary's body in the print. The figure of Ezekiel also

²⁴⁰ For instance, *The Presentation in the Church* on the upper right of Malachi's painting (around 50 x 33 cm) measures more than three times the same design by Raffaello Schiaminossi (16 x 11.4 cm). The lifesize figure of Malachi (185 x 69 cm) is more than ten times its source, Schiaminossi's print of Moses (17.7 x 12.8 cm), whereas the background scene of the prophet preaching to the masses is close to 2.5 times the print of the Prophecy of Jonah after Maarten de Vos (20 x 22.5 cm) from which it was taken.

²⁴¹ This was done using Adobe Photoshop, a touch screen and an optic pen.

seems to have been defined using squaring up or other method that allowed a consistent transfer from the print.

There is also evidence that the artist created their designs more freely, departing from the printed models. In the case of the life-size figures of Obadiah and Malachi, the need to modify the printed composition seemed to have prompted freehand modelling, as there are some important changes in terms of anatomy and proportions (fig. 85). Slight alterations were also done during the painting process, as seen in the x-rays of *The Presentation in the Church*. It appears that the painting's underdrawing followed Schiainossi's print showing the Child looking up, but during the painting process the artist changed it so that the Christ Child look at the rabbi. The same can be said of the boy, whose position modified during the painting process. The x-radiography shows a dark halo that marks the boy's original location in the underdrawing which is closer to the print (fig. 86).

Preparation of the Painting Surface

As mentioned in the introduction, by the late 1980s *The Prophets* were in extremely poor condition.²⁴² Damage produced by aging was worsened by unfortunate restorations done at undetermined times. The canvases were brittle and showed snapping and breaking in multiple areas. Patches of different unsuitable materials, including fabric, paper and cardboard, had been previously adhered to the back of the canvas to stop breakings and to fill canvas losses. The canvases were also affected by humidity, the attack of insects, dust and the residue of different adhesives. The

²⁴². Morejón, *Informe Banco Central*.

painting layers had lacunas, craquelures and overpainted patches of fabric that had been attached to the surface to cover paint losses. The varnish was oxidized and covered with dust and insect detritus.

The paintings' state is much improved thanks to a restoration campaign undertaken between 1989 and 1991 by a team of conservators from the Ecuadorian Central Bank.²⁴³ The conservators cleaned the paintings and eliminated foreign materials, lined and consolidated the canvases and reapplied patches to mend fabric tears. They also got rid of the foreign materials applied over the painting layers, improved the layers' consolidation and retouched them using a technique called *tratteggio* which is visible to the naked eye. The old varnish was removed and a new one was applied. In 2005 the Fundación Iglesia de La Compañía's conservation team prepared the paintings to be reinstalled in the church by cleaning them, consolidating small craquelures, and by applying new layers of varnish.²⁴⁴ These interventions allowed us to have a more accurate perception of *The Prophets*' original appearance.

For instance, the canvas for the series was made with a bast fiber fabric worked in a plain weave.²⁴⁵ This type of material was a popular support in seventeenth-century

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Archivo Fundación Iglesia de La Compañía. *Proyecto de restauración de siete lienzos y montaje de obras en la iglesia de Compañía de Jesús de Quito. Informe final*, Noviembre-Diciembre 2005.

²⁴⁵ Bast fibers are strong, woody fibers obtained from plants. Examples of bast fibers include flax (used to make linen), hemp and jute. See "Bast Fiber," *Museum of Fine Arts Boston*, http://cameo.mfa.org/wiki/Bast_fiber. According to the conservation report, the fabric is linen.

Spain.²⁴⁶ In the early modern period, most of the canvases used by Spanish painters came from Western Europe, although artists could find locally made linen in some regions of Galicia, León or Valladolid. Preference was given to simple fabrics that had not been previously treated (*en crudo*) called *brines* which allowed good adherence of the ground and paint layers. Fabrics used in Spain were also common in Quito since the second half of the sixteenth century.²⁴⁷ For instance, one of the best-known Quiteño paintings of that period, *the Portrait of Francisco de Arobe and his Sons* (1599), was worked on linen, as are many of the paintings that adorn the church of La Compañía.²⁴⁸

These fabrics were usually quite narrow (between 98 and 105 cm of width), so artists commonly had to sew several pieces together to create large working surfaces.²⁴⁹ Even important commissions, such as Velázquez's portrait of *Las*

²⁴⁶ Last accessed on February 28, 2018. To learn about the types of canvases used in Spain during this time period, see Rocío Bruquetas Galán, *Técnicas y materiales de la pintura española en los siglos de oro* (Madrid: Fundación de Apoyo a la Historia del Arte Hispano, [2007?]), 260.

²⁴⁷ Susan V. Webster, "Materiales, Modelos y Mercado de la Pintura en Quito, 1550-1650," *Procesos revista ecuatoriana de historia* 43 (January-June 2016): 54. See also Verdi Webster, *Lettered Artists and the Languages of Empire*, 53-55.

²⁴⁸ Andrés Gutiérrez Usillos, "Nuevas aportaciones en torno al lienzo titulado *Los Mulatos de Esmeraldas*. Estudio técnico, radiográfico e histórico," *Anales del Museo de América XX* (2012): 36. Museo del Banco Central del Ecuador, *Proyecto "La Compañía de Jesús"*.

²⁴⁹ In order to avoid sewing pieces of fabric, some Spanish painters preferred to use larger fabrics weaved in geometric patterns usually called *mantel*. See Bruquetas Galán, *Técnicas y materiales de la pintura española*, 262.

Meninas, were done under such circumstances.²⁵⁰ The large canvases used for *The Prophets* were also put together by sewing up to four pieces of fabric. Although the seams are difficult to see from the back due to the canvas' lining applied during their conservation process, they can be clearly identified by examining the paintings under raking light.

After being attached to the stretcher, ground layers (*imprimaduras*) were applied over the canvases. The conservation report by the Central Bank contends that the canvases were sized with glue previous to the application of the ground, but this information could not be confirmed through the use of SEM-EDS or microscopy.²⁵¹ Although in Spain sizing canvases was the rule during most of the sixteenth century, artists started to apply the *imprimadura* directly over the canvas since 1580.²⁵² Moreover, the few studies regarding painting practices in the Viceroyalty of Peru indicate that artists prepared the canvas in different ways.²⁵³ Some artists preferred to use a mixture made of gesso and animal glue, sometimes with carbon black, while

²⁵⁰ Ibid, 269.

²⁵¹ Archivo Fundación Iglesia de La Compañía. Morejón, *Informe Banco Central*. SEM-EDS (Scanning Electron Microscopy-Energy Dispersive X-Ray Spectroscopy) allows for the identification of non-organic elements largely present in pigments.

²⁵² Analyses performed on the painting of San Cosme y San Damián, by Juan Fernández Navarrete and Luis de Carvajal, dating from 1580, already shows the presence of a red ground applied directly over the canvas. See María Dolores Gayo and Maite Jover de Celis, "Evolución de las Preparaciones en la Pintura sobre Lienzo de los Siglos XVI y XVII en España," *Boletín del Museo del Prado*, XXVIII, 46 (2010): 44.

²⁵³ Rocío Bruquetas, "Técnicas y materiales en la pintura limeña: Angelino Medoro y su entorno," 144-161, esp.147.

others added a colored ground on top of this white or grey layer. Colored grounds were mostly made with natural earth pigments, but in the case of a *Calvary* by painter Leonardo Jaramillo, dated from 1603, the imprimadura is composed of white lead, red lead and chalk.²⁵⁴

The four samples taken from *Obadiah*, *Daniel* and *Malachi* show that *The Prophets* have two different types of *imprimaduras*. The first *imprimadura* is a thin yellow-brown layer (~40-170µm), presumably applied directly over the canvas, and the second is a bright thicker red layer (~155-255 µm). Both are mostly composed of earth pigments or iron oxides.²⁵⁵ The painting of *Malachi* shows a third thin bright red layer.

The imprimadura layers are constituted of a combination of finely ground and large particles, a characteristic that is proper of natural earths.²⁵⁶ Although natural earths are mostly composed of iron oxides, other minerals are usually present. Their amount will depend on the source of the earth and the type of processing the pigment has undergone. Painters usually washed the earths to remove mineral impurities before grinding the pigment, but even the works of master painters present a variety of

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Natural iron oxides derive from rocks and can be found in a variety of colors. See 52-4. Barbara H. Berrie, ed., *Artists' Pigments: A Handbook of Their History and Characteristics*, vol. 4 (Washington: National Gallery of Art; London: Archetype Publications, 1986).

²⁵⁶ Artificial earths are more homogenous. Cross-sections of several paintings from the collection at El Prado Museum show similar characteristics in imprimaduras composed of iron oxides. See Gayo and Jover de Celis, *Evolución de las preparaciones en la pintura sobre lienzo*.

minerals.²⁵⁷ In the case of *The Prophets*, there are some small amounts of silica, sodium, sulphur, aluminum, magnesium, calcium, phosphorus, potassium, and manganese. It is also interesting to note that not all ground layers were prepared the same way. In the case of *Malachi* and *Daniel*, the artists added chalk to the ground, whereas the sample taken from *Obadiah* does not show this material.

The *imprimaduras* of the prophet paintings follow Spanish tradition as established in Francisco Pacheco's treatise, where he describes the use of *almagra*, another word for iron oxide. He argues that in Madrid it is common for painters to use natural earths mixed with linseed oil for the ground. He also mentions that the combination used by other artists—with white lead, red lead and carbon black bound with oil—harbors humidity and rots the canvas, so it is not as suitable. Instead, he recommends using natural earths, ground into dust and mixed with linseed oil, and softening them when dry by polishing with pumice stone.²⁵⁸ Certain works of Diego Velázquez and Esteban Murillo also have *imprimaduras* that are mostly composed of earth pigments.²⁵⁹

Iron oxides, sometimes known also as ochres, have been used as pigments since pre-historic times and all around the globe. Always easy to obtain, these pigments are, therefore, cheap.²⁶⁰ Colored grounds were quite popular in Spain since

²⁵⁷ Ibid. See also Berrie, *Artists' Pigments*, 68.

²⁵⁸ Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura*, 384.

²⁵⁹ See Gayo and Jover de Celis, *Evolución de las preparaciones en la pintura sobre lienzo*, 55.

²⁶⁰ R.D. Harley, *Artists' Pigments c. 1600-1835: A Study in English Documentary Sources*, 2nd ed. (London: Butterworth Scientific, 1982), 89-91.

the late sixteenth century and along the seventeenth century.²⁶¹ Iron oxide offered numerous advantages over other materials and had significant consequences on the appearance of the painting and the methods of application of paint. It was a stable pigment with excellent coverage that had low oil absorption and dried quickly, characteristics that allowed a faster production.²⁶² Colored grounds could also be left exposed as a middle tone. Shadows were defined by applying oil glazes over the ground, and lighter areas were rendered using smaller charged brushstrokes, providing a more textured surface. All these characteristics are present in Quito's *Prophets*, as will be explained next.

According to the studies done to several paintings of the collection of El Prado, Spanish artists (with the exception of El Greco) preferred to apply only one layer of ground, be it colored or white, directly over the canvas.²⁶³ Nevertheless, the use of two layers of ground was not necessarily uncommon and appears in paintings from Spain and also other European regions. For instance, works by Spanish artists Juan Ribalta and Luist Tristán include lightly colored layers applied over warmer imprimaduras, presumably to increase the effects of the chiaroscuro and enhance the reflection of light.²⁶⁴ Several works by Rembrandt (1606-69), Georges de la Tour (1593-1652),

²⁶¹ Bruquetas Galán, *Técnicas y materiales de la pintura española*, 338.

²⁶² *Ibid*, 189-90.

²⁶³ *Ibid*, 39-59.

²⁶⁴ Zahira Véliz, "Técnicas de los artistas: tradición e innovación en la España del siglo XVII," in *En torno a Velázquez: pintura española del siglo de oro*, Nina Ayala et al. (Londres: Apelles Ltd., 1999), 27-37.

Gerrit van Honthorst (1592-1656), Giovanni Baglione (1566-1643), Paul Bril (1554-1626), etc., also have two layers of ground over the treated canvas.²⁶⁵ In fact, Francisco Pacheco advises to apply up to three layers of ground to the canvas for better coverage.²⁶⁶

It is not clear why the authors of *The Prophets* applied two layers of different colors for the ground. One might consider that it was a matter of cost and that they used cheaper materials to seal the structure of the canvas and better products for the second layer. However, as both layers are basically composed of natural earths, it is more likely that they just used whatever materials they had at hand. It could also be that they bought the canvases already prepared with the yellow-brown layer and that they added the red ground afterwards to add more warmth to the paintings.

Painting Technique

After adding both *imprimaduras*, the painter established the image's composition on the surface of the canvas and started the application of paint. Microscopy using visible and ultraviolet light allowed me to study the structure of paint cross-sections; in conjunction to SEM-EDS, it also helped in the identification of materials. Cross-sections of *Obadiah* (figs. 87 and 88) and *Daniel* (fig. 89) show that modelling was achieved using few paint layers, usually only one or two applied over

²⁶⁵ Elisabeth Martin, "Grounds on Canvas 1600-40," in *Preparation for Painting: The Artist's Choice and its Consequences*, ed. Joyce H. Townsend et al. (London: Archetype Publications, 2008), 59-67; Ernst van de Wetering, *Rembrandt: The Painter at Work* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009), 129-31.

²⁶⁶ Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura*, 383-5.

the red ground. In several works of the series it is also possible to see the structure of the canvas' weaving with the naked eye, especially where the sky was rendered, indicating the artists's preference for thin paint layers.

Oil on canvas, the medium chosen to depict *The Prophets*, was prevalent in Spain since the 1560s, although it had already been practiced in Castille since the last decades of the fifteenth century.²⁶⁷ Oil painting became widespread in Spain in the last decades of the sixteenth century, in part due to the influence of Venetian works acquired by the courts of Charles I and Philip II. Besides Madrid, Toledo was also an important center of production of oil paintings, especially thanks to the work of El Greco. By the end of the sixteenth century, oil paint had superseded tempera. In Quito, the use of oil painting was taught since the early stages of the colonial period. The Academy of San Andrés founded by the Franciscans in the second half of the sixteenth century probably established this practice, which was maintained in the following centuries by local artists. Conservation reports of *The Prophets* indicate the use of mixed media in the paint layers, but I have not been able to confirm this information yet.²⁶⁸

The palette used in *The Prophets* is rich, although not uncommon, and includes the same red, brown, and yellow earth pigments used for the ground, as well as white

²⁶⁷ Ibid, 322-36.

²⁶⁸ The report mentions the presence of proteins and oil in the paint layers of Jonah's portrait. See Morejón, *Informe Banco Central*. Oils and proteins are organic compounds not detectable through the use of SEM-EDS. Instead, chromatography is usually used to identify binding agents.

lead, smalt, and possibly carbon black, among others.²⁶⁹ All these materials were not only common in Spain, but also in the Viceroyalty of Peru.²⁷⁰ White lead has been known since Antiquity and was one of the earliest artificial pigments.²⁷¹ It is also compatible with a variety of pigments, so it can be used by itself or mixed with other materials.²⁷² Mixed with linseed oil, white lead—also known as *albayalde*—has a good coverage and low risks of craquelures, and dries quickly. For all these reasons, white lead was quite popular among painters since ancient times until the nineteenth century. It was also used sometimes in ground layers to add brightness to the painting, and in drawing to add highlights. Spanish painters preferred white lead imported from Venice, considered the one with the best quality, but the pigment was also produced locally. White lead was also quite cheap, making it widely accessible.

²⁶⁹ Carbon is an organic element that cannot be detected via SEM-EDS. However, it was quite pervasive in easel painting. Additional pigments could not be identified as the samples taken did not include them. X-ray fluorescence could be used to identify more pigments without the need of taking samples.

²⁷⁰ All these pigments were available in Quito at least since the second half of the sixteenth century. See Webster, “Materiales, modelos y mercado de la pintura en Quito,” 37-64. See also Alicia M. Seldes et al., “Blue Pigments in South American Painting (1610-1780),” *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation*, 38:2 (Summer 1999): 100-23. Gabriela Siracusano, “Polvos y colores en la pintura barroca andina. Nuevas Aproximaciones,” *Actas III congreso internacional del barroco americano: territorio, arte, espacio y sociedad* (Sevilla: Universidad Pablo de Olavide, 2001), 425-44.
<https://www.upo.es/depa/webdhuma/areas/arte/3cb/documentos/034f.pdf> accessed January 2018. Rocío Bruquetas, “Técnicas y materiales en la pintura limeña,” 144-61.

²⁷¹ Rutherford J. Gettens and George L. Stout, *Painting Materials: A Short Encyclopaedia* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1966), 174-6.

²⁷² Rocío Bruquetas Galán, *Técnicas y materiales de la pintura española*, 152-4.

Smalt, which is found in the sky of the prophet paintings, is an artificial blue pigment obtained by pulverizing colored glass with cobalt oxides, identifiable under the microscope by its blue angular particles.²⁷³ It was used in Europe as a pigment since the late sixteenth century and became widespread the following century. The best smalt was produced in Flanders, Germany and Italy, and was used in Spain for the murals of the Alcázar of Madrid and the Palace of El Pardo in the 1560s. It was also used in easel paintings by artists working for Philip II. Other blue pigments, such as azurite and ultramar, were usually preferred, but smalt was more affordable. Smalt has a very poor hiding power, so it cannot be ground too finely, and it becomes opaque and translucent when mixed with oil. Even with these shortcomings, smalt was commonly used by seventeenth-century Spanish painters.

The cross-section of the sample taken from *Daniel* also shows different painting campaigns, probably associated with processes of restoration. For instance, the cross-section taken from Daniel's left hand has nine layers, and only the first five seem to belong to the original painting. The remaining layers include at least two layers of varnish intertwined with light yellow overpaints. These overpaints are identified through the presence of zinc white, a pigment developed in the last decades of the eighteenth century, but that only became popular in the nineteenth century.²⁷⁴ Two samples coming from the edges of the canvases of *Daniel* and *Obadiah* also have

²⁷³ Gettens and Stout, *Painting Materials*, 157-9. Bruquetas Galán, *Técnicas y materiales de la pintura española*, 173-5.

²⁷⁴ Hermann Kühn, "Zinc White," in *Artists' Pigments: A Handbook of their History and Characteristics*, vol. 1, ed. Robert L. Feller, 169-86. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1986), 170-2.

copper paint. This material was usually used as a cheaper alternative to gilding, and can be found in Persian manuscripts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²⁷⁵ This type of painting was also present in the West since Antiquity, although its high cost made it almost prohibitive for extensive use.²⁷⁶ It was only in the 1840s that Henry Bessemer was able to manufacture affordable bronze powders. In *The Prophets*, this material is likely the product of the renovation of the gilded stone frames that surround them. The conservators of the Central Bank removed most of this golden paint which used to completely cover the edges of the canvases.²⁷⁷

Close-looking and the use of x-radiographies allowed me to study the modelling of many components of *The Prophets*. Paint layers are relatively transparent to x-rays, but elements that are heavy on electrons, such as lead and mercury, which are present in different pigments, absorb them.²⁷⁸ The contrast between absorbing and non-absorbing materials permits to examine paint underlayers. The pervasive presence of pigments containing lead (especially white lead or *albayalde*) usually helps understand how the painting was built. Moreover, a high concentration of elements

²⁷⁵ Sayed Mohammadjavad Mousavi et al., “Identification and Analytical Examination of Copper Alloy Pigments Applied as Golden Illuminations on Three Persian Manuscripts,” *Restaurator: International Journal for the Preservation of Library and Archival Material* 36, 2 (2015): 81-100.

²⁷⁶ Jonathan Thornton, “All that Glitters is not Gold: Other Surfaces that Appear to be Gilded,” in *Gilded Metals: History, Technology and Conservation*, ed. Terry Drayman-Weisser (London: Archetype Publications Ltd., 2000), 307-17.

²⁷⁷ Morejón, *Informe Banco Central*, July 1991.

²⁷⁸ Taft, Jr. and Mayer, *The Science of Paintings*, 79-80.

with low numbers of electrons is also absorbed by x-rays, enabling the analysis of the painted composition.

The examination of *The Prophets* indicates that they were worked from background to foreground, starting with the sky which, as seen in the x-radiographies, was painted around the figures of the prophets, the small prophetic scenes in the clouds, and the banners with text. The sky was modelled in light blue—a combination of white lead and smalt—and grey colors applied directly over the red ground which is visible through the erosions of *Obadiah*'s paint layers. In cases where the sky is meant to look more ominous and fiery, as in *Ezekiel*, the artists modelled it using more dramatic combinations of dark grey, red and yellow paint applied over a light blue background. The clouds were loosely defined in thin lead white paint and the highlights with thinner strokes of denser material. Some of the contours were redefined after the visionary scenes were completed. The red ground was left partially uncovered to suggest light shining underneath the clouds. Heavenly light, as seen in *The Annunciation* in *Isaiah*, was also rendered using white lead. The different styles used to paint the clouds, which sometimes appear flat and others more voluminous and round, suggest the division of tasks among several members of the workshop.

The artist modelled the characters of the visionary scenes by applying swift dashes of paint and exposing certain sections of the darker ground to define shadows and eyes. Additional details, such as lips, were added with subtle touches of paint. Although the features of the figures were rendered quite succinctly, the artists paid close attention to their facial expressions which, in many cases, are quite moving. Viewers witness Isaiah's resignation at the moment of his martyrdom, the astonishment of Jonah after being released by the whale, the devotion of the shepherds

when visiting the Christ Child, and the pain and fear of the devout in *Obadiah*. This care for detail certainly responded to the didactic nature of the paintings, but also to the artist's interest in showcasing his talent.

The landscape was modelled after the sky was partially or fully rendered, starting with the mountains that define the horizon and then the trees and buildings. The analysis of *Daniel* clearly shows that the artist worked from background to foreground, modelling first the mountains, then the group of edifices, and ended with the trees and the terrain over which the prophet stands. In the scene of Daniel in the cave with the lions, it is possible to see the mountains and the horizon through the hole of the cave. This section shows that the cave and the trees that grow on top of it were added after the mountains. As was the case in many other seventeenth-century Spanish paintings, atmospheric perspective was established through the application of cold tones in the background and increasingly warm colors in the middleground and foreground.²⁷⁹ With the exception of *Daniel*, the mountains in the horizon are rendered with a combination of grey and white paint. While the grey works as the main defining color, white is used for highlights. As can be seen in several examples (for instance in *Isaiah*, *Obadiah*, *Joel* and *Ezekiel*), mountains that are closer to the middleground have a warmer tonality and were modelled using the ground and adding some brown paint over a grey undertone.

²⁷⁹ See for instance the landscapes in El Greco's *Immaculate of Oballe* (ca. 1610), Juan de Roelas's *Immaculate Conception with Fernando de Mata* (1612), Velázquez's *The Surrender of Breda* (c. 1635), Jusepe Leonardo's *The Taking of Breisach* (1634), Francisco Collantes' *St. Onuphrius* (c. 1645), Francisco Collante's *Landscape* (c. 1650), among many others.

The trees were summarily rendered using dark green paint. Their contours overlap the bright background, a technique that allowed the painters to display the edges of the vegetation more clearly. Tall trees are depicted in more detail than others and show distinct leaves, whereas smaller trees and bushes were defined more swiftly and with less definition. The buildings in most cases are quite simple structures painted in warm colors and with white, yellow and red highlights. In the works with cityscapes instead of landscapes, as in *Nahum* (fig. 12) or *Malachi* (fig. 9), the artist modelled the buildings in more detail although without a consistent sense of linear perspective. The seascapes in *Zephaniah* (fig. 11) and *Jonah* (fig. 13) present similar compositions. The sea was modelled using a warm undertone covered with various strokes of grey and brown, whereas the waves were defined using white and grey pigment. As with the clouds, both seascapes seem to have been painted by different hands.

Although there are no x-radiographies of the bottom half of the paintings, it is likely that the small narrative scenes related to the life of the prophet were painted over the landscape, instead of the landscape being painted around them, mostly because it is a simpler technique. However, the landscape was painted around the life-size figure of the prophet, similarly than the sky. As some of the prophets' tunics have become transparent due to aging, it is possible to see certain overlaps with elements of the landscape around their edges. For instance, Malachi's blue skirt was partially painted over a kneeling figure on the left, and Zechariah's dark blue clothes overlap the sorrowful woman on the right. The contours of the tunics of the prophets Malachi, Nahum, Haggai and Zachariah are also sharply defined against the landscape,

confirming that the life-size prophets were completed at the end of the painting process.

The large figure of the prophet was worked in parallel or after the visionary scenes. Final touches were added after other elements of the painting were already worked out. This process is noticeable in *Malachi* (fig. 9), as the prophet's wings overlap some figures of *The Presentation in the Church*. In some cases, as in *Joel* (fig. 5), the artist finished the prophet's life-size figure and retouched the surrounding clouds afterwards in order to broaden the space between the visionary scene and the prophet. The banners were also worked in parallel to the sky, painting the black text over the white background. Sometimes the artist retouched the edges of the banner after the sky was finished. The painter in charge of adding the text was quite skillful, as each letter was drawn precisely, simulating printed text.

The x-radiographies of *Isaiah* (fig. 90) and *Malachi* (fig. 91) show that the artist modelled the life-size figures by defining lighter areas first. The costumes were later built by applying thin glazes of dark paint to create the shadows and to smooth tonal transitions, and more heavily charged brushstrokes of lighter paint usually mixed with lead white for the highlights. The cross-section of the sample taken from Daniel's hand shows that the skin was rendered by using two paint layers composed of white lead and small amounts of red and yellow earth pigments. Highlights were created in light pink and white lead applied directly over the paint layer. The soft modelling of the skin usually contrasts with the most vigorous definition of the prophet's hair, as can be seen in *Isaiah* (fig 15).

The depiction of *The Prophets'* tunics also seemed to have prompted the artist's creativity. For instance, the material of the brooches that fasten Daniel's tunic

and cloak are not clearly specified in the printed sources. However, the artist chose to represent them in a brilliant material, maybe glass, simulating jewels. Ezekiel's clothing, inspired in the costumes worn by medieval jesters, also presented some challenges for the painters, especially in the rendition of the fur collar. Although it is not clear what were the particular sources used as inspiration for this work, it is evident that the artist took this opportunity to show his skills in representing a distinctively different material. In the print after Parmigianino used as source for *Zephaniah*, St. James the Minor stands barefoot, whereas in the painting the artist decided to give him boots made of leather or suede. In Schiaminossi's print of Moses the prophet wears some scarcely defined boots, while in *Malachi* the prophet wears leather sandals. The artists' choice of including a variety of materials in the paintings shows the influence of Zurbarán's work, which commonly incorporated different textures and materials.

This chapter shows that the appeal of *The Prophets* was achieved through a careful negotiation and development of the paintings' composition, which was kept consistent in the sixteen works that constitute the series. The naturalism of these figures and their effective interaction with the viewer were accomplished through the artists' clear dominion of traditional painting materials and techniques. The result is a unique series that combines different narratives, images and text for the benefit of the instruction of the viewer. Ingenuity is also present in the manipulation of the sources and the representation of different materials.

The impact of La Compañía's *Prophets* in the Andean region was such that they were copied by other workshops. The sacristy of the Franciscan church of

Chiclayo, in northern Peru, housed works that were exact copies of Quito's *Prophets*.²⁸⁰ Currently fourteen of them are located in the bishopric of Lambayeque (the paintings of Haggai and Ezekiel are missing). Low reliefs of Prophets Joel, Jonah, Malachi and Haggai also appear in the altarpiece of the church of Guápulo located in the outskirts of Quito. This retablo was built in the early twentieth century, more than three hundred years after the original works housed in the Jesuit church were painted. These copies and reinterpretations are a testimony of *The Prophets'* success as didactic tools and as sources of artistic inspiration.

²⁸⁰ Ricardo Morales Gamarra, "Goríbar, presencia en la costa norte del Perú," in *Arte quiteño más allá de Quito: memorias del seminario internacional. agosto del 2007*, ed. Alfonso Ortiz and Adriana Pacheco (Quito: Fonsal, 2010), 392-9.

Chapter 4

A JESUIT PROPHECY

The Prophets are among many other series in the Americas depicting Old Testament characters. As Agustina Rodríguez Romero has discussed, this subject matter became quite popular in the sixteenth century, and there are numerous examples displayed in religious buildings of the Viceroyalty of Peru.²⁸¹ This was certainly not a New World novelty, since in Europe during the middle ages Old Testament prophets had frequently appeared as part of the decorative program of religious buildings: the twelve Minor Prophets were usually set as a counterpoint of the twelve apostles, and the four Major Prophets paralleled to the four evangelists.²⁸² Symmetry was considered the manifestation of divine harmony and, accordingly, Old Testament prophets were seen as prefigurations of the apostles. While the prophets proclaimed the coming of Christ, the apostles disseminated Christ's teachings. Representations of Old Testament prophets were included either in sculptural

²⁸¹ See her "Vaticinios al óleo," 5-35. This and other studies that analyze prophet images usually discuss their connection to European tradition. Ibid, 8-9; Sebastián, *El barroco iberoamericano*, 122-7.

²⁸² Émile Mâle, *Religious Art in France, XIII Century: A Study in Mediaeval Iconography and its Sources of Inspiration*, trans. Dora Nussey (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd; New York: E.P. Dutton & Co, 1913), 158-62. The classification between major and minor prophets was related to the length of the texts the prophets produced. The major prophets were those with longer books.

programs displayed in the façade, or in stained glass windows in the building's interior. In most cases, prophets were not individualized in their garments or features, but were identified through the phylacteries they held which included a reference to the prophet's book. Their value resided in their stance to advance the Word and the identity of Christ as the messiah.

This chapter builds upon previous analyses of prophet imagery to understand the different associations prompted by this iconography in connection to a Jesuit institution in colonial Quito. It argues that these paintings framed the Jesuit College within the Society's global missionary work, while reinforcing institutional values. *The Prophets* present the Jesuits as men of otherworldly knowledge, capable of commanding nature and men in order to fulfill God's promises. Considering their location and iconography in relation to Jesuit contemporary chronicles and publications, it becomes clear that the paintings depict the Society of Jesus as a prophetic institution. Since its foundation, the alleged prophetic character of the Society was seen as a tool to convert the "heathen" and transform them into "spiritual Israelites." The paintings thus highlighted the Jesuits' capability of educating the masses, even in the toughest of circumstances, and positioned the Society of Jesus as an institution uniquely qualified to further Christian doctrine in a time of competition with other religious orders.

Just as this dissertation was ready for defense, a book by Carmen Fernández-Salvador studying the connections between the decorative program of La Compañía—

especially *The Prophets*—and the Jesuit missions in the Amazon came out.²⁸³ Among the topics discussed by Fernández-Salvador are the relevance of prophecy in the Jesuit exploration and evangelization of the Amazon and its peoples, as well as the associations between the scenes of martyrdom included in *The Prophets* and Jesuit missionary ideals. Similarly, this author studies the links between the Society of Jesus's activities in Quito and in its missions in the Amazon, and global institutional agendas.

Overall Fernández-Salvador's conclusions align with those reached in this chapter. However, I explore more thoroughly the importance of prophecy in early modern discourses regarding the creation and the identity of the Jesuit Order by studying Jesuit biographical accounts and other primary sources. Moreover, while Fernández-Salvador analyzes the rivalries between the Jesuits and the Franciscans at the missions, this dissertation considers instead the conflicts between the Society of Jesus and the Dominicans surrounding the control of higher education. Finally, this chapter pays particular emphasis to the supernatural aspects of Jesuit strategies of evangelization, which were common in the Society of Jesus's global missionary activities. References to the supernatural are not only reflected in the iconography of the paintings, but also in numerous local and foreign seventeenth-century Jesuit texts.

²⁸³ Carmen Fernández-Salvador, *Encuentros y desencuentros con la frontera imperial*, especially Chapters 3 and 5.

Prophetic Figures in Jesuit Buildings

The Society of Jesus, as other religious orders, frequently included images of prophets in large painting programs.²⁸⁴ As the French Jesuit theorist Louis Richeome explains in his book *Tableaux Sacrez* (Paris, 1601), this referential system reinforced the historical foundations of the Christian Church by connecting the past with the present and vice versa.²⁸⁵ The ultimate goal was to bolster the figure of Christ as the Messiah mentioned in the Old Testament. Moreover, the Church's appropriation of Old Testament discourses served to demonstrate that the Christian God always fulfilled His promises. Devout Christians could, then, rest reassured of their salvation after Christ's second coming. More importantly, references to prophetic discourses allowed the Christian Church to strengthen its authority over other religions. This authority was reinforced by the written word, which was always present in the books or tablets held by the prophetic figures.²⁸⁶

In Jesuit buildings, representations of prophets worked as supportive elements that reinforced the concept of Messianism. For instance, the original decoration of the Church of the Gesù in Rome included different figures of prophets in several of its chapels.²⁸⁷ Four prophets, located in the pendentives of the Nativity Chapel, served to

²⁸⁴ Gauvin Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque: Jesuit Art in Rome (1565-1610)* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2003).

²⁸⁵ Louis Richeome S.J., *Tableaux Sacrez des Figures Mystiques du Tres Auguste Sacrifice et Sacrement de l'Eucharistie de Dieu* (Paris: Chez Laurens Sonnius, 1601), 3-17.

²⁸⁶ Rodríguez Romero, *Vaticiones al óleo*, 7.

²⁸⁷ Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque*, 229-31 and 237-47.

prepare the stage for the birth of Christ, which was represented in the altar. The chapels of the Passion and the Angels also included prophetic figures. Although the roles of the prophets of the Passion Chapel are difficult to assess, as there are no detailed descriptions of them, in the Angels' Chapel the scene of Prophet Habakkuk being carried by an angel constituted one of the several stories related to the function of angels as God's messengers. The church of SS. Annunziata in the Collegio Romano also had representations of prophets displayed quite prominently as a way of reinforcing the connections between the Old and the New Testaments. The vaulted tribune had a, now lost, painting of the *Annunciation* by Federico Zuccaro, which was copied and then printed by Cornelis Cort (fig. 92).²⁸⁸ The print shows God, the Holy Spirit and the Annunciation—a particular way of representing the Trinity—at the center of the composition. Flanking the main scene are the figures of Isaiah, Moses and David on the left, and Solomon, Jeremiah and Haggai on the right. All of them carry tablets that foretell Jesus's divine conception (Isaiah 7, Jeremiah 31:22) and the fulfillment of God's promise (Haggai 2:7, Psalm 131, Deuteronomy 18:2).²⁸⁹

²⁸⁸ Ibid, 115-67.

²⁸⁹ Isaiah, Moses, Jeremiah and Haggai stress the conception and coming of the Messiah (Isaiah 7:14 “Ecce Virgo concipiet et pariet filium [et vocabitis nomen eius Emmanuel],” Deut. 18:15 “Prophetam de Gente tua et de fratribus tuis sicut me suscitabit tibi Dominus Deus tuus [ipsum audies],” Jer. 31:22 “creavit Dominus Novum Super terram femina circumbabit virum,”) and Haggai's prophecy highlight the turbulent times connected to the arrival of the Messiah (Agg 2:7 “adhuc unum modicum est et ego commovebo caelum et terram et mare et aridam et movebo omnes gentes et veniet desideratus.”) David connects Jesus to his own royal lineage (Psal. 131: 11 “De fructu ventris tui ponam super sedem tuam”); Solomon's song highlights the reunion of all people under the umbrella of Christendom (Cant 5.1: “Veniat dilectus meus in hortum suum”).

These decorations underlined the Order's goal of championing the Catholic faith during the Counter Reformation. The Society of Jesus continued to use them during the seventeenth century, not only in Rome, but also in other European countries, as proved by the now destroyed cycle made by Rubens for the Jesuit church at Antwerp. The original thirty-nine ceiling paintings alternated typological and hagiographic depictions of the life of Christ with Old Testament figures, a setting that helped support contemporary dogmas that were under Protestant attack.²⁹⁰ For instance, the Eucharist was symbolically highlighted by the depiction of *Moses in Prayer*, in which the prophet was portrayed elevating his hands to the heavens. Moses's emphatic pose is considered as a prophecy of the priest's gesture while performing the Eucharist. This gesture is echoed by Christ offering the bread to Peter in Rubens's version of the *Last Supper*, located a few steps ahead.²⁹¹ Thus, Moses's actions foreshadow Jesus's embodiment of the New Covenant, and support the celebration of contemporary Catholic rites.

Old Testament prophets and patriarchs also had complementary roles in the Church's messianic discourse and were commonly represented together. While prophets announced the coming of the Messiah, patriarchs established the lineage

²⁹⁰ Anna C. Knaap, "Meditation, Ministry, and Visual Rhetoric in Peter Paul Rubens's Program for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp," *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540-1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley, S.J et al. (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 157-181, esp.161.

²⁹¹ Knaap. "Meditation, Ministry, and Visual Rhetoric," 162.

from which the Messiah would originate.²⁹² The painted decoration of the dormitory of Sant Andrea al Quirinale displayed figures of prophets and patriarchs as a group, different from others composed of apostles, martyrs and confessors.²⁹³ The three prophets (Moses, King David and John the Baptist) and three patriarchs (Abraham, Isaac and Jacob) appear kneeling in front of the Virgin and Child. Rubens's painting cycle at the Jesuit church in Antwerp also alternated prophets and patriarchs with New Testament figures.

Similar associations were common in bible illustrations since the 16th century. These illustrated bibles establish parallels between the Old and the New Testaments as a way of emphasizing the importance of the new covenant, embodied in the figure of Christ. For instance, the frontispiece of the Polyglot Bible from the Plantin Press (Antwerp, 1572) highlights the continuity between the Old and New Testaments by presenting figures of prophets with apostles in contraposition and dialogue.²⁹⁴ This illustration shows Moses at the top of the niche, holding the Ten Commandments; at the bottom two prophets stand across two apostles. The four of them are represented holding their own books, looking at each other as mirrored images. This composition highlights the continuity between the Old and the New Testaments and reminds the

²⁹² Rodríguez Romero, "El mesianismo como constante: interpretaciones mesiánicas en el arte colonial," 63-76, esp. 70.

²⁹³ Louis Richeome S.J., *La Peinture Spirituelle* (Lyon: Chez Pierre Rigaud, 1611), 252-4.

²⁹⁴ Walter S. Melion, "Scripture for the Eyes: Bible Illustration in the Sixteenth-Century Low Countries," in *Scripture for the Eyes*, ed. James Clifton and Walter Melion (New York: Museum of Biblical Art, 2009), 27-8.

viewer of the complementarity of both religious books. As Walter Melion has pointed out, this image emphasizes the importance of the divinely transmitted word transcribed in these holy books as the most fundamental source of enlightenment.²⁹⁵

Even though in many Jesuit churches prophets were commonly part of big narrative scenes, in other cases they were represented in isolation. For instance, several portraits of prophets are displayed in the main nave of the Novitiate Church of San Vitale in Rome, a building under Jesuit control since 1595. In the upper section of the nave, prophets standing in trompe-l'oeil niches hold scrolls with commentaries on the virtues of martyrdom.²⁹⁶ In this case, as in the previous examples already mentioned, the function of prophetic figures was to support a larger discourse explained in the building's decorative program. In addition, San Vitale's prophets served to highlight the positive qualities of martyrdom, a topic represented in the canvases located in the main nave. These paintings elevate Jesuit status by establishing direct comparisons between the past and the present, showing the suffering of early Christian saints in contraposition with images of the life of Ignatius. Similarly, prophets are depicted as theological authorities, validating with their texts the actions of early Christian and contemporary events.

Prophecy and Jesuit Institutional Identity

Although in most cases, prophetic figures pose as supportive elements of a decorative program, in the case of the church of La Compañía prophecy is its central

²⁹⁵ Melion, "Scripture for the Eyes," 27.

²⁹⁶ Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque*, 122-165.

message. The viewer becomes readily aware of *The Prophets* upon entering the church. *The Prophets*' life-size figures displayed in the pillars of the main nave guide the viewer from the entrance to the altar, and back. The pillars and the nave are decorated with gilded interlacing, enhancing the church's interior space without deviating the viewer's attention from the paintings. Small wooden reliefs located in the spandrels above the arches include scenes of the life of Joseph and Samson (fig. 93). Joseph's tumultuous life is often compared to Christ's Passion, and Samson's divine conception and his battle against idolatry also foreshadow Jesus's life. Both stories, thus, serve to underline the connection between the Old and the New Testaments. These panels are located at a considerable height and are small in comparison to *The Prophets*, so their function is more supportive than central in the main nave's decoration.

The sculpture of Saint John the Baptist located on top of the screen (Chapter 2, fig. 25) framing the main entrance also emphasizes the prophetic message of the nave. The statue shows the saint as a child, standing next to a lamb. Saint John is considered the last prophet of the scriptures to foretell the coming of the Messiah, and his iconographic attributes remind the viewer of the incoming Passion of the Lord. The sculpture is displayed in exact opposition to the main altarpiece, reinforcing the connections between Christ's Passion and the ritual of the Eucharist. The main nave becomes then a path that transports the viewer from a biblical past, in which the birth and sacrifice of Christ had been prophesied, to the present, when the fulfilment of those prophecies becomes personally experienced in the Communion.

The prophetic theme comes to an end at the building's crossing, which marks the fulfillment of the promises established in the Old Testament. The decoration of the

dome is populated by images of the celestial choir (fig. 94). Although the cult of angels was, in theory, forbidden in Europe after the Council of Trent, this restriction was never really observed.²⁹⁷ Series of paintings of angels arrived from Spain to Cuzco in the seventeenth century, and this cult spread through other regions of the Viceroyalties of Peru and New Granada.²⁹⁸ In the Old Testament, angels are seen as controllers of the powers of nature and as benevolent forces guided by God. They are also involved in prophetic events as they convey God's messages to prophets through visions and dreams. In his *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, Atanasius Kircher, a prolific Jesuit scholar, writer and researcher, explains that Godly mysteries were concealed in the names of the angels and that such knowledge was transmitted to Old Testament prophets.²⁹⁹

The cult of angels was intertwined with the establishment of a new imperial cosmology since the first arrival of Spanish forces to the Americas.³⁰⁰ The Spanish Crown cast itself as the mirror image of the heavenly monarchy and created a discourse in which imperial military forces were seen as the earthly embodiment of God's angelic army. The Catholic Monarchs reinforced the cult of the seven angels of

²⁹⁷ See Ramón Mujica Pinilla, "Angels and Demons in the Conquest of Peru," in *Angels, Demons and the New World*, Fernando Cervantes and Andrew Redden (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 171-210.

²⁹⁸ Ibid, 146-67.

²⁹⁹ Rodríguez Romero, "*El mesianismo como constante*," 69. See also Mujica Pinilla, "Angels and Demons in the Conquest of Peru," 173-6.

³⁰⁰ Mujica Pinilla, "Angels and Demons in the Conquest of Peru," 171-210.

the Apocalypse and named them as custodians of the Spanish territories overseas. Therefore, the Spanish crown appropriated Old Testament prophecies and framed the “discovery” and conquest of the New World as God’s predetermined will.

Later on, the Society of Jesus adopted this same discourse and promoted the cult of angels in a missionary context as a way of asserting themselves as God’s military force in the spiritual war against the devil.³⁰¹ The inclusion of portraits of Jesuit cardinals along the portraits of twelve angels in the dome of the church of La Compañía emphasizes the fundamental work of the Society of Jesus in the establishment of this New Jerusalem. Jesuit annual letters from the Viceroyalty of New Granada describe missionary work as God’s tool to achieve the salvation of the native heathen.³⁰² They also identify missionaries with angels who are in constant battle with demonic forces. The two altarpieces at each side of the transept, one dedicated to Ignatius of Loyola (see Introduction, fig.3), and the other to Saint Francis Xavier, reinforce the position of the Jesuit Order as an essential force in the realization of Old Testament prophecies and in the defense of Christendom.

The paintings of the four Major Prophets, hanging from the two pillars closer to the crossing, also play a considerable role in connecting the Old and the New Testaments in the church’s decorative program. *Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel* and *Ezekiel* are echoed by the wooden reliefs of the four Evangelists located in the base of the dome. As *The Prophets*, the evangelists are shown holding their texts, meditating

³⁰¹ Ibid, 175.

³⁰² See Andrew Redden, “Vipers under the Altar Cloths: Satanic and Angelic Forms in Seventeenth-Century New Granada,” in *Angels, Demons and the New World*, 146-67.

about the fulfilment of the covenant. This display is, therefore, similar to the frontispiece of the Vulgata Bible in which prophets and apostles are both opposed and complementary figures. The use of different techniques, painting versus sculpting, also brings an additional counterpoint to these representations of prophets and evangelists.

La Compañía's paintings underline the role of each prophet as a messenger of God. His role as a mediator between the viewer and the divine is emphasized by the inclusion of scenes of the life of Christ presented to us in the form of visions. The scenes, located on the upper section of the canvas, represent the supernatural world, the space of divine apparitions. Their smaller scale and their location in the sky identify them as such. These scenes are also surrounded by clouds, which is an iconographic element that characterizes renditions of visionary experiences. The horizon that parts the earth from the sky creates a "semantic division" that separates the natural world—which contains the landscape, the prophet and all peoples—and the spiritual world.³⁰³ With their feet standing firmly on the ground and their head surrounded by the skies, *The Prophets* are presented as connectors between the divine and the earthly, and between God and the viewer.³⁰⁴ The different prophets are depicted either in a moment of introspection, as if meditating about the vision, or

³⁰³ For a discussion on the semantic of landscapes, see Paula Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence: The Impact of Netherlandish Painting, 1400-1500* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 195-209. For the differentiation between earthly and visionary spaces in Spanish painting, see Victor I. Stoichita, *Visionary Experience in the Golden Age of Spanish Art* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 1995), 27-44.

³⁰⁴ Christian K. Kleinbub's argued the same in his interpretation of Raphael's Saint Cecilia Altarpiece, in Christian K. Kleinbub, *Vision and the Visionary in Raphael* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 107-9.

directly pointing at the apparition while addressing the viewer. The paintings indicate that it is only through the prophets' intercession that the viewer is able to approach divine knowledge. The iconography of these works emphasized the idea that listening to the prophets was the same as listening to God.

The Prophets, hanging from the sturdy pillars of the main nave, were conceived as symbolic supportive elements that established a direct path between the divine and the earthly. The pillars uphold the church's gilded barrel vault and the dome, elements that embody the heavenly realm. While the abundant use of gold leaf in the vault's decoration emphasizes its supernatural connotations, the dome allows celestial light to pierce into the building through a lantern adorned with gilded rays simulating the sun. *The Prophets* echo the function of the pillars as connecting elements between the main nave, a space inhabited by the faithful, and the holy space contained in the upper elements of the church. The representation of angels in the dome and prophets in the nave also establish a parallel between angels as protagonists of divine visions, and the prophets as recipients of those same visions. The location of the paintings, therefore, highlights the function of the prophets as God's chosen messengers and as channeling forces between heaven and earth.

The fusion between the paintings' iconography and the structural elements of the building presents prophecy as a foundational feature of the Society of Jesus. Jesuit texts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries also characterized the Order as founded as a prophetic institution. These publications establish that the Society of Jesus was born as the result of prophecy, and frame the Order and its founder Ignatius of Loyola as champions of the Church during the Counter Reformation. Richeome, for instance, argues that God created the Order by calling on Ignatius as a way to oppose

the forces of Satan and all new encountered heresies.³⁰⁵ Eusebios Nieremberg's biography of Ignatius also explains that Joaquim de Fiore (c.1130-1201) and Saint Vicent Ferrer (c. 1350-1419) had foretold the birth of Ignatius and the genesis of the Jesuit Order.³⁰⁶ Francisco García adds other illustrious names to Nieremberg's list, including naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi, Bishop Rutilio Benzoni and religious author Tommaso Bozio.³⁰⁷ Both Nieremberg and García claim that these clerical and intellectual authorities saw the inception of the Society of Jesus as God's answer to recent evils, especially Luther's pernicious teachings. As such, the bold display of prophetic figures in the church of La Compañía served to assert the Jesuit institutional values embodied in Quito's College.

Although the prophetic powers of Ignatius of Loyola were declared after his death, we can trace back these allegations to his autobiography. This text, which does not explicitly argue that Ignatius was a prophet, frames him in such terms.³⁰⁸ The account describes in several occasions how visionary experiences transformed the founder of the Society of Jesus. According to this story, the apparitions Ignatius witnessed while living in Manresa led him to open the eyes of his soul, and to understand complicated dogmas even before he started his formal religious training. It also explains that prayer, meditation and spiritual exercises frequently triggered

³⁰⁵ Richeome, *La Peinture Spirituelle*, 272.

³⁰⁶ Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, *Vida del patriarca San Ignacio de Loyola*, 2-3.

³⁰⁷ Francisco García, S.J. *Vida, virtudes y milagros de S. Ignacio de Loyola*, 9-10.

³⁰⁸ J.F.X. O'Connor S.J. (ed.), *The Autobiography of Ignatius of Loyola* (New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benzinger Brothers, 1900).

Ignatius' enlightenment, leading him to share his knowledge with the rest of humankind. Seventeenth-century Jesuit texts, such as the biographies by Eusebio Nieremberg and Francisco García, highlighted Ignatius's supernatural powers more explicitly, dedicating lengthy pages to his ability to prophesy.³⁰⁹

These otherworldly experiences allowed the Society of Jesus to legitimize its efforts by claiming Ignatius's unique grasp of divine knowledge. These claims were reinforced by texts and visual sources that circulated among the Jesuit community. For instance, *The Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiola*, written by Jesuit missionary Rodolfo Acquaviva and illustrated by Rubens, includes a number of images that show Ignatius as a receptacle of divine knowledge.³¹⁰ The book's first illustration that refers to Ignatius's special qualities shows him in his bed, reading about the lives of saints while in convalescence (fig. 95).³¹¹ A ray of light pierces through a cloud, located in the upper left corner of the print. In this image, it is Ignatius who seems to open the channel of communication between him and God by focusing on soul-elevating readings. In subsequent illustrations, however, it becomes clear that it is God who has

³⁰⁹ See for instance Nieremberg, *Vida del patriarca San Ignacio de Loyola*; García. S.J., *Vida, virtudes y milagros de S. Ignacio de Loyola*; Lorenzo Ortiz. S.J., *Origen y instituto de La Compañía de Jesús en la vida de San Ignacio de Loyola* (Sevilla: Colegio de San Hermenegildo, 1679); Pedro de Ribadeneyra. S.J., *Flos Sanctorum. Quarta Parte* (Madrid: Imprenta de Agustín Fernández, 1716); Francisco Xavier Fluvíá, *Vida de San Ignacio fundador de La Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 2 (Barcelona: Pablo Nadal, 1753).

³¹⁰ Alfonso Acquaviva. *Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiolae Societatis Iesu Fundatoris*. (Rome: 1609).

³¹¹ Ignatius was severely injured in a battle between Spain and France.

chosen Ignatius. This is particularly evident in the illustration that shows him sitting next to a river, touching his chest with his right hand, and gazing at a ray of light coming from a cloud (fig. 96).³¹² The accompanying text explains that at that point Ignatius accepted “the great human and divine knowledge infused by God.” A cross that stands out from the landscape hints at Ignatius’s role as a preacher of the Christian faith. This small pocket-book was probably used by Jesuits missionaries as a source of inspiration and to strengthen their faith.

Portrayals of Ignatius in direct communication with the divine were common in decorations of Jesuit buildings, including the church of La Compañía. The painting of Saint Ignatius located in the sacristy (discussed in Chapter 2, fig. 28) replicates this popular iconography. The seventeenth-century painting, attributed to Brother Hernando de la Cruz, shows Ignatius wearing his chasuble and kneeling on a colorful carpet. He is shown looking up at a vision of the Trinity with his left hand on his chest, and his right hand holding the heart of Jesus. The presence of an open book in front of Ignatius suggests that he was reading before being interrupted by the vision, and that the impact of this supernatural event made him fall on his knees. The purpose of the vision is to assure Ignatius of the final triumph of the Eucharist, as both Jesus and God the Father direct his attention towards a chalice and a host that illuminate a globe. The touching gesture of Ignatius indicates that he understands God’s promises and that he is willing to do all in his power to defeat idolatry.

³¹² Acquaviva, *Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiolae*, 20.

The vision in this painting also reminds the viewer, through Ignatius, of the Jesuit divinely imposed task of spreading Catholic faith over the whole world. The triumph of the Eucharist is presented as a promise that God makes in front of Ignatius, reinforcing the prophetic character of the Society's founding father. This statement is directly related to the function of the Jesuit Order as self-appointed champion of the Christian faith, and of Jesuits as new apostles of Christ. The painting also hints at the superiority of divinely inspired knowledge. It is only God, and not the knowledge found in books, which assures Ignatius of the triumph of the Catholic Church over heresy.

In the following decades, other relevant members of the Society of Jesus were also labeled as prophets, including Francisco de Borja, third general of the Order. In his biography of Borja, Álvaro Cienfuegos compares the Jesuit to Prophet David because they both were able to assemble the faithful and increase their faith.³¹³ Cienfuegos specifically declares that God enlightened Borja and trusted him with all the secrets reserved to only few people.³¹⁴ The description of Borja's enlightenment is quite visual and explains in detail the painful physical effects of the trance: a bright thunder suddenly burns the Jesuit's soul and his eyes become cloudy, giving him the appearance of a dead man; then, before speaking, he gets severely hot and his features brighten. According to this account, Borja's talents as a prophet stayed with him all his life, transforming him into an early modern oracle. Cienfuegos argues that any

³¹³ Álvaro Cien-Fuegos, *La heroica vida, virtudes y milagros del grande S. Francisco de Borja* (Barcelona, 1754), 347.

³¹⁴ *Ibid*, 561-4.

person could guess the future only by looking at Borja's expressive face, or by reading the gestures of his hands.

The duty of the Jesuit Order was also to devote countless efforts to spreading the Catholic faith in newly found lands.³¹⁵ As Jesuit texts clearly state, the main focus of the new Christian era was missionary work, a task that was believed to be led by the Society of Jesus at the time. Richeome, for example, established such connections while describing some of the paintings displayed in the dormitory of S. Andrea al Quirinale. As previously mentioned, this room had paintings of different groups worshipping the Virgin. One of these works contained portraits of Ignatius of Loyola, Luis Gonzaga, Francis Xavier and Stanislas Kostka. The iconographic parallels between all these men—which included apostles, martyrs, patriarchs and prophets—and Jesuit saints serve as a cue for Richeome to ascertain the distinctive qualities of the Society of Jesus.³¹⁶ He declares that the founding members of the Jesuit Order were like those Old Testament patriarchs because, when creating this community, they fathered all the men who continued their work. Richeome also presents Ignatius and Francis Xavier as prophets, attributing them the capacity of foretelling events that could only be learned through God. Finally, the Jesuits' missionary goals frame them as apostles, and their desire to die for their faith, as martyrs.

³¹⁵ This reform consisted in leaving monastic life in order to propagate the faith. See Girolamo Imbruglia, "A Peculiar Idea of Empire: Missions and Missionaries of the Society of Jesus in Early Modern History," in *Jesuit Accounts of the Colonial Americas: Intercultural Transfers, Intellectual Disputes, and Textualities*, ed. Marc André Bernier et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 26.

³¹⁶ Richeome S.J., *La Peinture Spirituelle*, 272-5.

The decorative program of La Compañía's main nave establishes prophecy as an essential part of the Jesuit institution. It also locates the College of Quito within a larger discourse that highlights the special role of the Society of Jesus as a champion of Catholic religion, and as a spiritual force against the powers of evil. The discourse that the Order was founded on prophecy and conducted by prophetic leaders strengthened its position as a missionary and educational institution among other religious orders located in the region. As will be shown in the rest of this chapter, the particular connections between the Jesuit Order and prophecy allowed the Society to claim an unequivocal status in a time of increasing conflict and competition.

The Role of Prophecy and the Supernatural in the Jesuit Evangelical Project

The Prophets remind the viewer about one of the main roles of the Society of Jesus in the Christian world: missionary work. The expressive body language of the prophets, which has an emphasis on rhetoric, has prompted associations between them and members of Quito's Jesuit College.³¹⁷ Indeed, Carmen Fernández-Salvador argues that the paintings' narratives and iconography were used to reinforce sermons preached in the seventeenth century. She further contends that colonial sermons and liturgical performance created parallels between the scenes of martyrdom included in the prophet paintings and the hardships experienced by Jesuit missionaries in the Amazon basin. Building upon this scholarship, this section explores the ways in which prophecy and the supernatural shaped Jesuit missionary practices around the globe, and how this particular discourse was replicated in Quito. The analysis of local and

³¹⁷ Fernández-Salvador, "Images and Memory," 95-147.

European Jesuit early modern texts moreover explains how the Order's foundational prophetic characteristics were conceived as instruments that guaranteed the conversion of Native Americans.

As Jesuit writers Eusebio Nieremberg, Francisco García Infanzón and Louis Richeome emphasized, God created the Society of Jesus as a way of fighting Protestantism and heresy by spreading Catholic religion in distant lands. Jesuit texts established prophecy as a fundamental instrument for evangelization, especially in connection to the figure of Francis Xavier.³¹⁸ Several publications from the 1600s and 1700s describe Xavier, a foundational member of the Society of Jesus and first appointed missionary in Asia, as a true prophet. The prophecies attributed to him are numerous and varied. For instance, he supposedly foretold the triumph of the Portuguese army over the Turks in Malaysia; the invasion of Malacca by Laos and its posterior release; the safe arrival of his own vessel to Goa after a deadly storm; and the death of many men and his own. As Francisco de la Torre put it, "Xavier spoke and God acted."³¹⁹

These Jesuit publications acquired certain popularity, especially in the Spanish empire and its colonies. For instance, Horacio Torsellini's biography of Francis Xavier, first published in Latin in 1596, was translated to several languages in the

³¹⁸ Francisco García, *Vida y milagros de San Francisco Xavier* (Madrid: Iván García Infanzón, 1672). See also Horatio Tursellino, *Vida de S. Francisco Xavier*.

³¹⁹ Francisco De la Torre, *El peregrino atlante San Francisco Xavier Apóstol del Oriente* (Barcelona: Casa de Rafael Figuro, 1695), 246.

early 1600s.³²⁰ In Spain, this text was followed by numerous reprints of the biographies of Xavier written by Francisco García and the poet Francisco de la Torre y Sevil. The inventory of the library of the College of Saint Louis in Quito mentions Nieremberg's works, as well as the biography of the Jesuit saint written by Álvaro Cienfuegos.³²¹

Prophecy was usually a tool that gave agency to missionaries working in distant lands. Not only was Francisco Xavier, head of the missions in Asia, seen as God's prophet, but prophecy had a special relevance in the lives of other missionaries. For instance, Matteo Ricci, who was working in China in the late 1500s, had a vision in his sleep where God guaranteed him of his missionary success.³²² This prophetic dream came in a particularly challenging time for Ricci, as he had been denied access to the region of Nanjing just a few days before. The Jesuit father told this story in a letter to his friend Girolamo Costa, who lived in Rome. The account of the dream not only assured other Jesuit fellows of the success of Ricci's quest, notwithstanding the state of affairs in China, but also allowed him to claim his privileged position as God's chosen oracle.

³²⁰ Horatii Tursellini S.J., *De Vita Francisci Xaverii* (Romae: Ex Typographia Aloysij Zannetti, 1596). Also Turselino, *Vida de San Francisco Xavier*.

³²¹ *Índice de los libros que se hallan en la librería de los padres de La Compañía de Jesús del Colegio de S. Luis de la ciudad de S. Francisco de Quito*, 1753, fol.5 and fol.31, Archivo SJ, Biblioteca Aurelio Espinosa Pólit.

³²² R. Po-Chia Hsia, "Dreams and Conversions: A Comparative Analysis of Catholic and Buddhist Dreams in Ming and Qing China: Part I," *The Journal of Religious History*, 29:3 (October 2005): 223-240, 223-4.

Jesuit missionaries presented prophecy as a privileged resource that helped them rest reassured of the fairness and success of their modern crusade, and of the divine—and therefore true—nature of their knowledge. This understanding of the Society’s global evangelizing mission is particularly clear in the words of seventeenth-century Jesuit missionary Giulio Alenio, who claimed that God appeared in his dreams to make revelations, and correct the actions of His children,

Even though [the Creator] revealed all his teachings in the Scriptures... occasionally he also makes revelations in our dreams. He does this either to correct our mistakes, entrust us a mission, encourage us to further cultivate our virtue, or foretell future events for us to confirm his presence. Sometimes he himself appears, sometimes through the angels. These are the rightful dreams, for their sole purpose is to lead us to doing good.³²³

Although Jesuit missionaries working in Asia refer in several occasions to prophetic events, the same cannot be said about those working in the West Indies. Even so, younger members of the Jesuit Order living in the Spanish colonies considered Francis Xavier and Ignatius of Loyola, the most outstanding Jesuit prophets, as inspirational models.³²⁴ Jesuit colleges in Peru and Quito had series of paintings showcasing these

³²³ Giulio Aleni as quoted in Qiong Zhang, “About God, Demons, and Miracles: The Jesuit Discourse on the Supernatural in Late Ming China,” in *Early Science and Medicine* 4, 1 (1999): 1-36, esp. 31.

³²⁴ The works of Andrew Redden and Leslie Tuttle show that Jesuits were suspicious of prophecy when this faculty originated in indigenous experience. However, little has been said about the skills to prophesy of Jesuits working in the Western Indies. See Leslie Tuttle, “French Jesuits and Indian Dreams in Seventeenth-Century New France,” in *Dreams, Dreamers, and Visions: The Early Modern Atlantic World*, ed. Ann Marie Plane et al. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 166-84. And Andrew Redden, “Dream-Visions and Divine: Truth in Early Modern Hispanic America,” in *Dreams, Dreamers, and Visions*, 147-65.

men's missionary work which was meant to arouse the faith of students and attract men to join the Order.³²⁵ For instance, the paintings that are now located in the Monastery of La Merced, and that once belonged to the Jesuit College of Quito, portray the life of Saint Francis Xavier since his birth (fig. 97).³²⁶ Several of these works focus on Francis's missionary work and the supernatural aspects of his life (fig. 98). The painting of the saint's birth includes a vision of the emblem of the Society that foreshadows Xavier's future religious vocation. Other paintings of this cycle also showcase the enlightenment of Francis Xavier, his prophecies and his direct association with the Virgin, the Christ child and God's angels.

Missionary chronicles also describe how the protective powers of Francis Xavier extended to the Jesuits working at the missions in Maynas. Jesuit Father Manuel Rodríguez mentions that God protected the missionaries, and that Francis Xavier, apostle of the Indies, sponsored them.³²⁷ Father Lucas de la Cueva also entrusted his work in the newly founded Amazonian town of Santos Ángeles de Roamaynas to the Jesuit saint.³²⁸ Several churches in the Amazon were consecrated to

³²⁵ Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "The Iconography of Jesuit Saints in the Church of San Pedro in Lima," *Studies: Irish Quarterly Review* 104:416 (2015): 468-480. Images of Ignatius had similar uses. See Nuria Barahona Quintana, "Funciones de la iconografía ignaciana en el colegio-noviciado de San Francisco Xavier de Tepetzotlán, la casa profesa de la ciudad de México," in *Barroco iberoamericano*, 273-84.

³²⁶ Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt, *The Art of Painting in Colonial Quito*, 165-76.

³²⁷ Rodríguez, *El Marañón y Amazonas*, 190.

³²⁸ Francisco de Figueroa S.J., "Relación de las misiones de la Compañía en el país de los maynas," in *Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia de América*. Vol. 1. (Madrid: Librería General de Victoriano Suárez, 1904), 136-7.

Ignatius and Francis Xavier, probably as a way of channeling their holy power into the missionary work.³²⁹ Jesuit chronicles describe the miracles performed by Xavier in the region, which included saving the life of an anonymous soldier who was shot by mistake, and present Francis Xavier as great fighter against idolatry.³³⁰ In the war between good and evil that the Society believed was battling, the image and notion of the saint worked as a weapon against the negative inherence of the devil. Such accounts allowed the College of Quito to establish a direct connection between isolated missions and Rome, and bestowed a global status to the endeavors done in the region of Maynas.

Jesuit chronicles about the missions in Maynas replicate the idealized characteristics bestowed on the figure of Francis Xavier and on his missionary work. This is particularly true of Manuel Rodríguez's accounts of Father Onofre Esteban's work in the region of Maynas during the early seventeenth century. In his book *El Marañón y Amazonas*, Rodríguez claims that Father Onofre was a prophet able to foretell the inner needs of the locals, and even predicted the time of death of one of them.³³¹ Similarly to Xavier, Onofre Esteban could not only prophesy, but was also possessed with supernatural talents. The book describes how Father Onofre was able to heal numerous natives that had succumbed to the plague only with the help of his

³²⁹ Ibid, 181.

³³⁰ For a transcription of cartas Annuas of the Missions in Peru in the colonial period, see Mario Polía Meconi, *La cosmovisión religiosa andina en los documentos inéditos del archivo romano de La Compañía de Jesús 1581-1752*. ([Lima?]: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1999), 549.

³³¹ Rodríguez, S.J., *El Marañón y Amazonas*, 61.

prayers. He is also attributed with the power to control nature at will, transforming bare lands into productive ones, and commanding storms and rain.³³² The emphasis on the supernatural abilities of this Jesuit missionary not only helped establish a connection between Onofre and one of the founding members of the Society of Jesus, but presented him as a mirror image of Christ himself. Rodríguez's exaltation of Onofre's divine qualities also stressed the worth of Spanish American missions by establishing clear parallels with the famed Asian Jesuit missions.

As such, Jesuits were framed as the main champions of conversion among all other religious orders. This was particularly true in the Audiencia of Quito, where other communities, especially the Franciscans, rivaled the Jesuits in their attempt to evangelize the natives of Maynas.³³³ According to Jesuit writer José Jouanen, the Franciscans were submissive and compliant with colonial abuse.³³⁴ He also posits that Spanish authorities assigned the catechesis of certain populations to the Franciscans after the Jesuits refused to enslave the natives of Omagua. In a different occasion, members of the Franciscan order joined Spanish soldiers in their attempt to violently

³³² Ibid, 60-1.

³³³ For further information about the missions established by the Franciscans in the Amazon, see for instance Laureano de la Cruz, *Nuevo descubrimiento del río de Marañón: llamado de las Amazonas hecho por la religión de S. Francisco, año de 1651* (Madrid: Biblioteca de la Irradiación, 1900).

³³⁴ José Jouanen, *Historia de La Compañía de Jesús en la antigua Provincia de Quito 1570-1774*, Vol. IV (Quito: Editorial Ecuatoriana, 1941-3), 320.

colonize the indigenous group of Cofanes.³³⁵ Jesuits and Franciscans also disputed the evangelization of the missions in the region of Chocó, in today's Colombia.³³⁶

Prophetic events not only allowed the Jesuits to claim preeminence over other religious orders, but also showed that the supernatural was used as a common tool to achieve conversion. Globally, Jesuits showcased the supernatural, which usually translated into the miraculous and the prophetic, as a useful instrument to awe the gentiles and guide them to conversion. For instance, when missionaries realized that in China people believed in spirits connected to Buddhism or Daoism, they started to perform frequent exorcisms as a way to demonstrate the superiority of the Christian god.³³⁷ They also used holy relics as props to explain miracles performed in the past by Christian saints. In Brazil, Jesuit missionaries appropriated the preaching method of local shamans to convert the Tupí Indians which was based on prophesying.³³⁸ Moreover, one of the Jesuits involved in this project, Francisco Pinto, was attributed the control over natural phenomena and labeled as “Master of the Rain.” Thus, Jesuit

³³⁵ Ibid, 347.

³³⁶ Ibid, 332.

³³⁷ See Zhang, “About God, Demons, and Miracles,” 1-36.

³³⁸ See also Charlotte de Castelnau-l'Estoile, “The Uses of Shamanism: Evangelizing Strategies and Missionary Models in Seventeenth-Century Brazil,” in *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540-1773*, ed. John W. O' Malley S.J. et al. (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 616-37. Michele Ruggiere and Matteo Ricci also narrate the performance of miracles in their letters.

access and control of the supernatural highlighted the holiness of the Society's quest and asserted the superiority of Catholic religion over local religious practices.³³⁹

In the case of Quito, the Jesuits explored extraordinary performances that represented supernatural events in the space of the church. According to Friar Juan de Santa Gertrudis, for example, during the feast of the Virgin's Assumption, the Jesuits located a sculpture of the dead Virgin on a decorated scaffold under the covered dome of Quito's church. After the mass was over, a group of people in angel costumes descended from the dome to collect the body of the Virgin and bring her up. This fantastic event was accompanied by music and singing, and the release of several doves at the end.³⁴⁰

The experiences at the missions in the Amazon echoed the supernatural experiences of the foundational members of the Order and their particular understanding of divine matters. Jesuit missionaries from Quito's College proved through their command over the supernatural and their profound spiritual knowledge that they were legitimate successors of Ignatius as well as God's truthful messengers.

Jesuits, Messengers of the Divine

The Prophets emphasize the role of Jesuit missionaries as messengers of the divine, akin to founding figures such as Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier. Considering that the depictions of visions included in the paintings relate to the life of

³³⁹ Hsia, R. Po-Chia, "Dreams and Conversions: A Comparative Analysis of Catholic and Buddhist Dreams in Ming and Qing China: Part I," *The Journal of Religious History*, 29: 3 (Oct 2005): 223-40.

³⁴⁰ Juan de Santa Gertrudis, *Maravillas de la naturaleza*, Vol.3, 261-2.

Christ, who was seen as the incarnation of the Word, the role of the prophet is to literally reveal the Holy Scriptures to the viewer. Contemporary chronicles about the work of Jesuits at the missions in Maynas also position the missionaries as true messengers of Christ due to their understanding of the divine. This superior connection entitles them to effectively teach and convert the heathen. For instance, Manuel Rodríguez, in his *El Marañón y Amazonas*, clearly describes how Father Vicente Ferrer, the first missionary to enter into the Amazonian region, spoke in the name of God;

[Father Vicente Ferrer's] works came all from Heaven; his letters shone with God's loving rays; his zeal was that of an angel. He instructed the faith to the Indians and reduced them into a town... God did great wonders with the natives through this apostolic man.³⁴¹

Rodríguez states that the first Jesuit missionary in Maynas spoke with divine authority, implicating that, since the beginning, the Society's work reflected God's will. He makes similar statements when describing other missionaries who worked later in the seventeenth century.³⁴² The priests' allegiance with God is sometimes so intense that it is reflected physically. For instance, an account establishes that rebellious natives desisted of killing Father Tomás Maxano after seeing that the priest's face suddenly illuminated.³⁴³ Frequently, missionary chronicles also refer to

³⁴¹ Rodríguez, *El Marañón y Amazonas*, 50.

³⁴² Ibid, 156 and 183.

³⁴³ Ibid, 256.

Jesuit priests as “angels of light.”³⁴⁴ In this context, light symbolizes spiritual and intellectual illumination, events associated with the Jesuits’ utter knowledge of God’s will and their unique capacity of teaching divine truth.

The power of enlightenment of Jesuit missionaries was claimed to be so great that, in certain occasions, it could take supernatural characteristics. Rodríguez describes how Father Onofre Esteban’s words worked as rays of light or arrows that pierced the hearts of the audience, leading people to sudden repentance.³⁴⁵ Rodríguez’s book, published in 1684, reiterated the message from *The Prophets* and showed that the College of Quito supported an ongoing discourse about the Society’s superior divine qualities.

Martyrdom, Messianism and the Fulfillment of God’s Will

The Prophets support the intention of the Society of Jesus to defeat evil by emphasizing God’s ultimate victory over heresy. This victory is presented by the glory that comes from martyrdom and by the birth and second coming of the Messiah. Members of the Jesuit Order act in this context as tools to accomplish the fulfillment of God’s will, which becomes effective through missionary work and through the conversion of gentiles.

Carmen Fernández-Salvador has pointed out that *The Prophets* showcase the relevance of martyrdom in some of the background scenes. These scenes can be in

³⁴⁴ Francisco de Figueroa, S.J., “Relación de las misiones de la Compañía de Jesús,” 11-12.

³⁴⁵ Rodríguez, *El Marañón y Amazonas*, 54.

turn associated with Jesuit experiences in the missions of Maynas.³⁴⁶ Certainly, seven of the sixteen paintings contain some reference to suffering or martyrdom, including those of the Four Major Prophets. Attention to martyrdom is most conspicuous in the painting of Isaiah, which shows the life-size figure of the prophet in the foreground, holding the saw which was later used to cut him in half. His painful demise is also included in the background of the painting (fig.99). Other works also incorporate examples of martyrdom, like the beheading of Micah, the execution of Ezekiel, the stabbing of Amos, and the stoning of Jeremiah. In other instances, the paintings emphasize extreme suffering in more subtle ways. For example, *Jonah* (fig. 13) includes the monstrous whale that swallowed him for three days, and *Daniel* (fig. 4) shows the prophet surrounded by cadavers killed by several lions.

It is not a surprise that La Compañía's *Prophets* include scenes that refer to suffering or martyrdom, as this subject matter is quite prominent in Jesuit iconography. In Rome, where the Society had its headquarters, there are several buildings that showcase martyrdom. For example, the painting program in the church of Il Gesù focused on this topic (fig.100), and one of the chapels next to the building's entrance was dedicated to different martyrs.³⁴⁷ The decorative program of several Roman Jesuit buildings, such as the Novitiate of S. Andrea al Quirinale, the churches bestowed to the German-Hungarian College (S. Stefano Rotondo, and S. Apollinare), the collegiate church of S. Tommaso di Canterbury, and the Novitiate Church of S.

³⁴⁶ Fernández-Salvador, "Images and Memory," 128.

³⁴⁷ Hibbard, "*Ut picturae Sermones*: The First Painted Decorations of the Gesù," 29-50, esp. 34.

Vitale, included images of martyrdom. The conspicuous presence of martyrdom in Rome was so evident that, largely due to the Society of Jesus, there was a revival of depictions of early Christian martyrdom in this city.³⁴⁸ The bold display of martyrdom in the prophet paintings served, thus, to assert Jesuit institutional values embodied by Quito's College.³⁴⁹

It is possible that references to martyrdom prompted the viewer to empathize with Jesuit missionary work or hinted young members of the Order to further self-sacrifice. However, references to martyrdom in *The Prophets* relate to the leading role of the Jesuit Order in the fight against idolatry. Alexandra Herz argues that representations of martyrdom in late sixteenth-century Rome were not only meant to showcase the sacrifice or courage of the martyr, but also to remind the viewer of the ultimate triumph of Christ over evil.³⁵⁰ Martyrdom was understood as the closest way of empathizing with Christ and his Passion. This imitation not only purified the soul of the martyr, but also transformed his death into an act of salvation for all humankind. The same way that God defeated the devil by sacrificing His Son and by resurrecting Christ, martyrdom was a reminder that God remained triumphant over evil. Even though the devil was still considered to be present in the world, martyrdom highlighted the continuous renewal of Christ's victory over his enemies.

³⁴⁸ Alexandra Herz, "Imitators of Christ," 54.

³⁴⁹ Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque*.

³⁵⁰ Herz, 63-7.

Self-sacrifice is also linked to Jesuit institutional beliefs. For instance, the *History of the Triumphs of Our Holy Faith* written by Jesuit Andrés Pérez de Ribas and published in 1645, constructs Jesuit Martyrdom in New Spain as an institutional tool to attain virtue.³⁵¹ The book's detailed descriptions of the deaths of Jesuit missionaries allowed a direct comparison between their painful experiences and Christ's passion and, thus, their exaltation as God's dutiful spiritual soldiers. At the same time, the experience of martyrdom allowed the Society to equal its work at the missions with the labor of early Christian apostles and martyrs who had died defending their faith. Persecution and martyrdom were later rewarded by the instantaneous union of the martyr with God. Moreover, the longer the martyr experienced pain, the greater was his victory on behalf of the Church.

Jesuit missionary narratives around the globe convey a similar understanding of martyrdom. The relevance of death in the name of Christ can be witnessed in many Jesuit texts, either private letters that were later printed so they could circulate among members of the Order, or books that emphasized martyrdom. That is the case of Mathia Tanner's *Ad Sanguinis et Vitae Profusionem Militans* which narrated the terrible ways in which Jesuit missionaries died in Europe, Africa, Asia and America.³⁵² This book includes extensive descriptions with numerous illustrations that

³⁵¹ Maureen Ahern, "Visual and Verbal Sites: The Construction of Jesuit Martyrdom in Northwest New Spain in Andrés Pérez de Ribas, 'Historia de los triumphos de nuestra santa fee'," *Colonial Latin American Review* 8:1 (1999): 7-33.

³⁵² Mathia Tanner, S.J., *Ad Sanquinis Et Vitae Profusionem Militans, In Europa, Africa, Asia et America Contra Gentiles, Mahometanos, Judaeos, Haereticos, Impios* (Prague: Typis Universitatis Carolo-Ferdinandae, 1675).

explain the different tortures suffered by Jesuit priests around the globe (fig.101). The book's frontispiece (fig.102) illustrates the spiritual battle between the Society and God's enemies. At the center there is an allegory of the Society of Jesus carrying the gospels as a weapon and stumping over the heathen. In the upper section, two opposing vessels, one led by an allegory of Christian Charity and the other by the world's tyrants, are about to face battle. On top, at the center, lies the emblem of the Society of Jesus framed by a laurel crown. Kneeling angels pray in front of this emblem singing "many of your soldiers will get the crown."

Another illustration in this book also stresses the importance of martyrdom to achieve God's triumph. The image shows the allegory of the Society stepping out of the church of death walking towards a field watered by angels (fig.103). On top, two angels carry a text that reads "the blood of martyrdom is the seed of Christendom."³⁵³ Tanner's book emphasizes, then, the Society's self-appointed role as champion of the Christian faith, task that can only be fulfilled through the pouring of the blood of God's subjects.

Furthermore, Tanner's *Ad Sanguinas* establishes clear connections between heresy and Native Americans. In the frontispiece, the allegory of heresy is represented by half-naked men wearing crowns of feathers and holding bows and arrows. This iconography replicates the allegories of America that circulated in prints around Europe. For instance, the frontispiece of Daniello Bartoli's *Della Vita e dell'Istituto di S. Ignatio* (Fig.104) shows the founding of the Society of Jesus showering the four

³⁵³ Ibid, 207.

continents with the holy light that shines from the Jesuit monogram. Two angels hold a banner with a text that states that the Jesuits bring heaven on all earth. The allegories of the four continents surround the globe, and all of them look to Ignatius in awe. America is identified by her feathered crown, her nakedness, and her bow and arrows. A similar iconography appears in previous works. See, for example, Nicolas Perrey's print of the four continents framing the portrait of the Count of Monterrey in Francisco de Balboa's *Monarchia Regum*. In these images, America is clearly differentiated from the other three continents through her nakedness and her weapons: a bow, and one or more arrows.

The associations between indigenous nature and heresy are also explicitly stated in Jesuit texts published since the 1500s. José de Acosta, one of the first Jesuit missionaries to arrive to the Americas, argues in his work *Natural and Moral History of the Indies* (1590) that the presence of the devil in the New World was inherent. Acosta sees the devil's need to imitate God in the parallels found between native religions and Christian rites—for instance between the Inti Raymi and the Corpus Christi.³⁵⁴ Through this imitation, he thought, the devil meant to confuse the ignorant minds of the natives. This same discourse is replicated in Jesuit chronicles of priests working in the Andes in the seventeenth century in the Viceroyalty of New Granada.³⁵⁵ Annual letters describe the numerous encounters between the natives and

³⁵⁴ José de Acosta, S.J. *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (Sevilla: Impreso en casa de Juan de León, 1590), 359-79. See also José de Acosta S.J., *Historia natural y moral de las Indias. Tomo Segundo. Sevilla, 1590*. Reprinted in Madrid, 1894, 1.

³⁵⁵ Redden, "Vipers under the Altar Cloths."

the devil, which usually appeared in disguise or in dreams.³⁵⁶ The resilience of the demonic presence among the Andean peoples is also clearly established in the annual letters sent from the Viceroyalty of Peru that mention that the missionaries were in a continuous battle with the devil.³⁵⁷

Missionary work was, of course, seen as a tool to defeat the devil and save the natives' souls. Jesuits considered that the erection of churches and the application of Christian rites were the only weapons to keep the devil at bay.³⁵⁸ Father Figueroa, for instance, describes that baptism saved a native woman who had given birth to a frog after being in contact with the devil by deterring further visits.³⁵⁹ Jesuit missionaries believed that baptism worked thus as a protective shield against evil. In other instances, the lack of trust of the natives towards the priests was attributed to demons; and only the devil's influence could explain the desire of the natives to escape from the control of the Jesuits.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁶ Ibid, 158-162.

³⁵⁷ See for instance the description in the Peruvian Annual Letter from 1675 that states that the mission in the region of Guaylas will declare war to Hell. Mario Polia Meconi, *La cosmovisión religiosa andina*, (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 1999), 534.

³⁵⁸ Rodríguez, *El Marañón y Amazonas*, 166 and 172.

³⁵⁹ Figueroa, *Relación de las misiones de La Compañía de Jesús*, 20-1.

³⁶⁰ Ibid, 52.

In a similar way, *The Prophets* highlight the role of martyrdom as a tool to prove God's ultimate triumph over heresy.³⁶¹ *Isaiah* (fig.15), which alludes to martyrdom in the most obvious manner, clearly focuses on salvation. Isaiah's gaze and gesture, pointing at the vision of the Annunciation, hint to the birth of the Messiah instead than to his own sacrifice. In *Jeremiah* (fig.18), the prophet directs the viewer's gaze to a vision of the Immaculate Conception and to a text that highlights the Virgin's role as the mother of the Lord. Ezekiel's large figure also looks intently at a vision of the chariot of fire, described in the painting's filactery as the glory of God. Interestingly, in his chronicles about the Jesuit missions in Maynas, Manuel Rodríguez explicitly describes Jesuit missionaries as the beasts who carried God in Ezekiel's vision.³⁶² Each one of them, he says, carried the glory of God and His spirit.

Finally, the background scene in *Daniel* (fig. 4), which presents the prophet in the lions' den, creates a direct connection between his triumph over evil and Christ's passion. His victory over the beasts is evident, as all of them lie peacefully next to him while the prophet's gaze is directed to the heavens in prayer. The life-size figure of Daniel looks sternly at the viewer while pointing to a phylactery and to a vision of the crucifixion. The text included in the phylactery refers to Daniel 9:26 where the prophet foretells the death of the Messiah. The painting of Daniel is located facing the main altar, connecting the image of Christ's death to the performance of the Eucharist.

³⁶¹ This topic was commonly explored in Andean art from the colonial period. For a historiography on the topic of messianism in the Andes see Rodríguez Romero, "El mesianismo como constante."

³⁶² Rodríguez, *El Marañón y Amazonas*, 177.

The other works that relate in some way to martyrdom—the beheading of Micha, Jonah being expelled by the whale, and the killing of Amos—again lead us to the scenes of the birth of Christ, his resurrection, and ascension, respectively.

The other nine paintings also emphasize God’s final triumph over evil, not only through the birth of Christ, but also in connection to the Day of the Lord. *Zephaniah* (fig. 11), which shows the prophet looking beyond a sea full of marine monsters, assures that people from around the world will worship the true god. On top, a vision of the Adoration of the Magi connects the prophet’s narrative with the birth of the Messiah. In *Zechariah* (fig.10), the victory of God over idolatry is established through the perpetuation of the Eucharist, presented as a vision in the skies. The texts included in *Joel* (fig. 5), *Obadiah* (fig. 6), *Hosea* (fig. 19), and *Haggai* (fig. 8) refer to Christ’s second coming in which the victory of God over the devil becomes final. For instance, *Haggai*’s text mentions how, in the Day of the Lord, He will come to all nations and fill His house with glory. A vision of Jesus welcoming us to a church appears on the top of the canvas, and a scene of Haggai prompting people to reconstruct the church is shown in the background.

Haggai and *Hosea* also link the victory of the Messiah with the role of the Church as the engine for conversion. *Haggai*’s text informs the viewer that the Messiah will use His newly built church to expand his kingdom among humankind and to forward salvation.³⁶³ *Hosea*’s text speaks of the deliverance and redemption of the people of Israel after the arrival of the Messiah. Israelites in this context are

³⁶³ This interpretation of the book of Haggai comes from Girard, *Les Peintures Sacrées sur la Bible*, 278-80.

spiritual Israelites, gentiles who have embraced Christianity and accepted baptism.³⁶⁴

The painting also includes a scene of Hosea's wife, who was a former prostitute saved by the prophet, with her three kids. This woman is a symbol of the Synagogue who was transformed into the Church through God's intervention.³⁶⁵ The same message can be found in *Malachi* (fig.9), which text stresses the coming of the Messiah, "He who will bring good news and proclaims peace." In this work, the fulfillment of God's promise is conveyed through the vision of the Presentation in the Church which recognizes Jesus as the Messiah.³⁶⁶

The prophet paintings reveal the upcoming establishment of a new Christian era. This era is identified by the work of God's messengers, who achieve the salvation of spiritual Israelites. *Joel* (fig. 5), for instance, includes a scene of the Pentecost accompanied by a text—coming from the prophet's book—which mentions that God will pour his spirit on all people, and that His people will speak like prophets. The text from Obadiah's book included in the prophet's painting refers to these "deliverers" who will transform the mountains of the Lord's enemies into God's kingdom. *Obadiah's* vision shows men from different religious orders (a Franciscan, a Jesuit, a

³⁶⁴ Ibid, 223.

³⁶⁵ Ibid, 224.

³⁶⁶ According to the scriptures, God promised a righteous man named Simeon that he would witness the birth of the Messiah. Prompted by the Holy Spirit, Simeon went to the church, where he saw Jesus. Then, he claimed, "Master, now you are dismissing your servant in peace, according to your word; for my eyes have seen your salvation, which you have prepared in the presence of all peoples, a light for revelation to the Gentiles and for glory to your people Israel." Luke 1: 25 and 2:26-33.

<http://bible.oremus.org/> Last accessed March 6, 2018.

Dominican, and a Carthusian) standing in front of a church. They all welcome the Christ Child who is about to enter into the building. On the other hand, *Nahum*'s vision of Jesus delivering the sermon of the mount is echoed by a representation of Nahum preaching to men and women. Thus, the role of God's messengers is deemed as essential in the final establishment of God's kingdom and in the foundation of His Church.

Depictions of prophets supported a larger discourse that connected the New World with the idolatrous world of the New Testament.³⁶⁷ Priests appropriated writings of Old Testament prophets as a way of fighting against idolatry. Prophetic discourse denies the cult of images and proves the superiority of Christian faith over native religions. The priests declared themselves, in this manner, as the pillars of true religion. The appropriation of Old Testament prophetic discourses also allowed Catholic Church to incorporate the New World and its peoples in the history of religion.

The Prophets fit in this larger discourse, by establishing a continuous thread that connects the Old Testament past with the colonial present. This association serves to highlight the Society of Jesus's defining position in a new eschatological era. The paintings' claims are supported by local Jesuit texts which provided these connections through numerous comparisons between missionaries and Old Testament patriarchs, and between the natives of the New World and peoples like the Philistines or the

³⁶⁷ Rodríguez Romero, "El mesianismo como constante," 19-25.

Bethsamites.³⁶⁸ Jesuit chronicles indicate that the missionaries saw the Amazonian missions as a new Palestine, a vast land in need of conversion. Similar implications appear in Spanish narratives about the missions in Asia.³⁶⁹ For instance, Francisco de la Torre connected “the gentiles of China” to the peoples of Israel, and their idols to Baal.³⁷⁰ These analogies allowed the Society of Jesus to become the main protagonist of a new chapter in sacred history, and to become essential figures in the transformation of the world from a heathen to a devout place.³⁷¹

In this context, the function of *The Prophets* needs to be associated with other relevant works of the church of La Compañía. Next to the building’s entrances are two paintings related to the Day of the Lord: *The Last Judgment* (fig.105) and *Hell* (fig.106). As mentioned in Chapter 2, these works are copies made after seventeenth-century paintings by Hernando de la Cruz. The large canvases show in great detail the dangers of not following a Christian path. The painting of Hell is particularly eloquent,

³⁶⁸ “También puede ser que [Dios castigue a los indios] porque oyendo el nombre de Christo y su santa ley, deben de rehusar el recibirla, o no la reciben de corazón, sino findigamente...y por esta causa les viene lo que les sucedió a los philisteos...y a los bethsamitas...” In Francisco Figueroa, S.J., *Ynforme de las misiones de el Marañón, Gran Pará o Río de las Amazonas. A 8 del mes de agosto de 1661*, 185-6. Also Rodríguez, *El Marañón y Amazonas*, 156.

³⁶⁹ “God used Xavier in a similar manner than he used Abraham, as the father of numerous people, and a person who would carry the blessings for all the nations of the earth.” See García, *Vida y Miladros de San Francisco Xavier*, 349. See also De la Torre y Sevil, *El Peregrino Atlante San Fracisco Xavier*, 140.

³⁷⁰ De la Torre, *El Peregrino Atlante*, 269.

³⁷¹ The situation of the Jesuits in the Province of Quito is comparable to other earlier experiences in the Americas. See Imbruglia, “A Peculiar Idea of Empire.”

showing menacing flames and monstrous demons torturing sinners in a variety of ways. The message of these striking works is clear: infidelity results in eternal suffering. *The Prophets*, with their message of hope and salvation through Christ, work as a powerful counterpoint to these violent images of punishment and offer a clear solution to the faithful's struggles.

The Prophets and Quito's Jesuit College

Ironically, although *The Prophets* meant to elevate the role of Jesuit missionaries, they also reveal the underlying anxiety that existed around the progress of indigenous conversion. During more than a century and a half, the Jesuits had to confront the unruliness of the natives of Maynas, and their unwillingness to embrace Catholic religion.³⁷² Very much like the unfaithful peoples of the scriptures, local communities constantly challenged or simply denied the word imparted by the Jesuit missionaries. Indigenous people did not trust them, and many preferred to flee to the forest than to stay in their reductions. The lack of common language also made evangelization difficult, frustrating the missionaries' attempts of catechizing the natives.³⁷³

³⁷² Padre Andrés Zárate, Visitador y Viceprovincial de esta provincia de Quito, "Relación de la misión apostólica que tiene a su cargo la Provincia de Quito, de la Compañía de Jesús, en el gran río Marañón, en que se refiere lo sucedido desde el año de 1725 hasta el año de 1735," in *Relación de las misiones de La Compañía de Jesús en el país de los maynas* (Madrid: Librería General de Victoriano Suárez, 1904).

³⁷³ Jesuits usually qualified natives as children who could not comprehend religious concepts and commented on the locals' repugnance for catechism. See P. Francisco de Figueroa, "Ynforme de las misiones de el Marañón," 16-20. See also Zárate, "Relación de la misión apostólica," 293-341.

One of the main goals of Jesuit authors like Manuel Rodríguez and Francisco de Figueroa was to request the support of European religious and secular authorities. In the 1680s, Quito's Jesuit College complained about the small number of missionaries, which they believed to be the main reason for the Society's lack of success in the region of Maynas.³⁷⁴ Jesuits from Europe were more interested in working in Asia, and American missions were not as coveted as those of China or Japan.³⁷⁵ It is possible, then, that *The Prophets'* allusion to missionary work permitted the Society to elevate the work done by the College of Quito, and parallel it to the praised missionary endeavors performed in Asia.

Moreover, it seems likely that the paintings helped improve the image of Quito's Jesuit College.³⁷⁶ The Society not only needed to compensate for its negative experiences at the missions, but it was also forced to compete with other religious orders in Quito. In the 1600s, the Dominican Order and the Society of Jesus had

³⁷⁴ The number of missionaries assigned to the region of Maynas increased after the separation of the College of Quito from the Province of New Granada. Until 1690, only 3% of missionaries (around 7 men in average) of the Province of New Granada and Quito worked in Maynas, whereas in 1707 and 1711, around 9% of men of the Province of Quito (around 15 missionaries) worked there. *Public Catalogues of the Province of New Granada and Quito* (1668-1719), fr. 4,5,6, 11, Provincia Novi Regni et Quitensis, ARSI, Jesuit Historical Manuscripts on Microfilm, Special Collections, Saint Louis University.

³⁷⁵ Luke Clossey. *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

³⁷⁶ This appeared to be a global strategy. See Girolamo Imbruglia, "A Peculiar Idea of Empire."

several confrontations around the control of public education in Quito.³⁷⁷ As previously mentioned, during the seventeenth century, the Society was in charge of the only university in the city. However, in 1685 the Pope allowed the Dominicans to open a new university and to teach sacred canons, something that the Jesuits were not permitted to do. Between 1685 and 1699, local Jesuit authorities sent numerous letters and reports to both the Spanish king and the Pope to assure the Society's privileged position in Quito. The problem only ended in the early 1700s, when the Pope authorized both orders to open public universities with the same rights.

The associations between *The Prophets* and Jesuit priests supported the superior qualities of Jesuit teachers working at Quito's College. The prophets' numerous rhetorical gestures underline their strong oratorical qualities, and the presence of visions stresses the prophet's divinely acquired knowledge. The images' emphasis on rhetoric could also be associated to the Jesuits' interest in cultivating the classics as a way of improving their eloquence and delivery, as well as uplifting character.³⁷⁸ As previously argued, the Society of Jesus also portrayed its missionaries as men with otherworldly insight, a fact that allowed them to enlighten the ignorant gentiles. However, the Society's project was not only concerned with the

³⁷⁷ *Controversia cum Dominicanis (1680-1703)*, fr.18, Provincia Novi Regni et Quitensis, ARSI, Jesuit Historical Manuscripts on Microfilm, Special Collections, Saint Louis University

³⁷⁸ John O'Malley, "Saint Ignatius and the Cultural Mission of the Society of Jesus," in *The Jesuits and The Arts 1540-1773*, John W. O' Malley, S. J., and Gauvin Alexander Bailey ed. (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2005), 2-26, esp.6.

indoctrination of the heathen, but also aimed to instruct the Christian population in general.³⁷⁹

The didactic purpose of these paintings, which combine text and image, also highlights the qualities of the Society of Jesus as an educational entity. This fact is particularly evident when *The Prophets* are compared to similar works displayed in the Franciscan church in Quito. The paintings located in San Francisco also confront the viewer with images of prophets displaying eloquent gestures. These works, however, do not include any reference to biblical texts, neither do they present visions related to the life of Christ or his second coming (fig. 107). The message of these paintings is more ambiguous than their Jesuit counterparts and, therefore, less effective as didactic tools. If we understand these two painting cycles as visual counterpoints that emphasize different approaches to evangelization, it becomes quite evident which of these religious orders consider itself more proficient in matters of education.

The analysis of the challenges that the Society of Jesus confronted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, not only at the missions, but also in its College in Quito, has shown that La Compañía's *Prophets* served to highlight the foundational qualities of the Society in order to strengthen its position in the region. By showcasing the Jesuits' two main institutional goals, teaching and propagating the Catholic faith, these works intended to separate the Society from mendicant orders with increasing

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

presence in Quito. The paintings' references to global Jesuit missionary prowess and to the supernatural intended to compensate for the less than successful reality that questioned the Jesuits' status in the Province of Quito.

Chapter 5

THE PROPHETS AND LA COMPAÑÍA'S MATERIALITY: REFLECTIVE SURFACES AND SPIRITUAL GROWTH

Recent studies about the decoration of the Jesuit church in Antwerp indicate that the Society of Jesus purposefully created rich and impactful spaces to produce awe and increase the devotion of the faithful.³⁸⁰ Works by master painters intertwined with rich and reflective materials like marble and gold in order to exacerbate the senses and further the Christian message. Similar strategies are found in the decorative program of the Jesuit church in Quito. Even now, when certain elements of the church's original decoration no longer exist, the visitor remains in awe at the staggering amounts of gold that cover the barrel vault and the altarpieces, as well as the attractive paintings and sculptures that ornate the space. This experience was not very different in the colonial period as indicated by contemporary testimonies, such as the one provided by Jesuit Bernardo Recio in 1773,

Having seen the beauty of our churches in Barcelona, Zaragoza, Valladolid, Salamanca, Madrid and Seville, although having noticed some advantage either in size or height, the church of Quito surpasses them all... [The church of La Compañía is] decorated with altars, all splendid. The main altarpiece is the one with the most splendor... Besides the altars, which are decorated during the festivities with silver

³⁸⁰ See Knaap, "Marvels and Marbles in the Antwerp Jesuit Church," 352-93.

ornaments and relics, all the vault, walls and columns are gilded, and adorned with several fine paintings.³⁸¹

Among these artworks, *The Prophets* were particularly relevant, not only because of their large size and artistry, but mainly because they fluidly connected their messianic message with the religious space. The figures' body language and the paintings' consistent and repetitive iconography translated in visual and narrative terms the sacredness embodied in the building's rich space. Eighteenth-century inventories of the church and contemporary descriptions indicate that the brightness of La Compañía's interior was further improved by the presence of numerous mirrors. In this way, the reflective surfaces of the church echoed and enhanced the paintings' Christian message of salvation.

This chapter examines the role of *The Prophets* in the church's setting, addressing the varied connections between reflective materials and painted images. It first refers to colonial chronicles, historical documentation and other Jesuit buildings to reconstruct the original splendor of the church. Next, it provides a detailed explanation of the complex meanings conveyed by La Compañía's glittering interior in connection with the iconography and composition of *The Prophets*. It further analyzes the nature of human perception by studying the correspondences and oppositions between visionary experiences, mirrored reflections and painted images. A quick survey of Jesuit theory related to the meanings of reflective surfaces also helps us understand the symbolism behind the church's interior and its role in the Society's evangelizing agenda. I conclude that gold, mirrors and *The Prophets* worked in

³⁸¹ Recio, *Compendiosa relación de la cristiandad de Quito*, 259-60.

tandem as persuasive channels that effectively connected the faithful with the divine and promoted self-reflection and repentance. The bright decoration of the church contributed thus to the advancement of the most important goal of the Society of Jesus in the Americas: the Christian salvation of Quito's diverse population.³⁸²

The Church of La Compañía and Jesuit Splendor

Since the colonial period, the church of La Compañía has been considered one of the architectural jewels of the city of Quito. Jesuit Father Mario Cicala provides us with the lengthiest and most detailed description of this building. His chronicle commends La Compañía's elegant proportions and the artistry of its decoration.³⁸³ Among the building's ornaments, Cicala distinctly upholds *The Prophets*, confessing that he felt enthralled by their beauty and naturalism every time he visited the church.³⁸⁴

Although Cicala's account is imbued with considerable nostalgia and subjectivity, his chronicle is ratified by the inventory of the Jesuit College, produced after the expulsion of the Society of Jesus in 1767. This document is an invaluable

³⁸² Conversion and catechesis were the most important goals of the Society of Jesus in the Americas. Jesuits saw confraternities as an effective mean to connect with different audiences. Indios ladinos were part of the congregation of the Child Virgin, indios no ladinos were associated with the veneration of the Virgin of Loreto, which was also the devotion preferred by Spanish women. See Mercado, *Historia de la provincia del Nuevo Reino y Quito de La Compañía de Jesús, vol 3* (Bogotá: Empresa Nacional de Publicaciones, 1957), 14; Rodríguez Docampo, "Relación y descripción del estado eclesiástico del obispado de San Francisco de Quito," 45-6.

³⁸³ Cicala, *Descripción histórico-topográfica*, 171-6.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 175-6.

testimony to understand the original impact of La Compañía's interior as its decoration has suffered some changes in the past centuries. As previously mentioned, *The Prophets* remain nowadays in the same location established in this inventory. Other important features that have remained constant since the colonial period are the church's intricate pulpit, two large paintings of the *Last Judgment* and *Hell*, and an elaborate gilded screen located next to the door and embellished with the sculptures of Saints John the Baptist, Peter and Paul.³⁸⁵ The two organs that once adorned the choir of the church were replaced by a large pipe organ. The inventory also attests of the wealth shown in each of the church's nine altars which was increased by the contributions of different congregations and the devotees.

For instance, the gilded altarpiece dedicated to Saint Ignatius was adorned with numerous ornaments made of silver, wooden effigies within silver niches, wooden polychromed reliefs, paintings within gilded frames, reliquaries made of bronze, several mirrors, prints in crystal frames, a crucifix made of ivory, tortoiseshell and mother-of-pearl, and frontals covered in mirrors and silver.³⁸⁶ The rest of the altarpieces boasted similar wealth. Examples of such objects can be found in other Jesuit collections (fig. 108). On top of this daily display of riches, the mass was elevated with precious objects belonging to the church's treasure.

This inventory presents us with a staggering view of La Compañía's interior which must have had a strong impact in the senses of the beholder. As Mario Cicala

³⁸⁵ *Testimonio del sequestro del Colegio Máximo de Quito Actuado el 20 de agosto de 1767*, 124v.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid*, fol. 71 and 120v.

argues, the most surprising thing about the church was to see its precious interior altogether, covered in gold from the floor to the ceiling and adorned with exquisite ornaments.³⁸⁷ The brilliant surfaces combined with religious images transformed this remarkable building into a precious jewel.

The awe-inspiring church that Cicala describes in his texts was the product of a conscious effort from the Jesuit College of Quito to create a building that stood out among all others in the city. In the 1650s the church's interior was already decorated with gilded altarpieces, but it wasn't unlike other churches in the city. The first description of La Compañía provided by Diego Rodríguez Docampo, a local official in charge of writing the *Relación of the Conditions of the Church in Quito* (1650), is quite brief and does not single out the Jesuit sanctuary. Actually, Docampo is much more enthusiastic when describing Quito's cathedral or the Franciscan church.³⁸⁸

The overwhelming interior of eighteenth-century La Compañía indicates that the Society of Jesus became increasingly concerned with providing a remarkable sensual space, an objective that was fulfilled through costly renovations. Between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Quito's Jesuit College transformed a rich but

³⁸⁷ Cicala, *Descripción histórico-topográfica*, 171-76.

³⁸⁸ "The church has three naves, with a gilded vault a large and expensive altarpiece. [Its] chapels on the side aisles with gilded altarpieces, like the sacristy, built with the best materials found in this region; and the top of the vault, the rich ornaments, chalices made of silver, reliquary and other [instruments] for the cult, precious and costly." Rodríguez Docampo, "Relación y descripción de San Francisco de Quito. Año de 1650," 44. "Ha ido creciendo así en la iglesia de cal y canto de tres naves, con artesones de madera dorados, retablo grande, costoso, capillas por el espacio de las naves con retablos dorados... ornamentos muy ricos, plata en cálices, relicario y demás servicios del culto divino, precioso y costoso."

unexceptional interior into an exciting and impactful building. By the end of the seventeenth century the Jesuit church had become quite enthralling, if we are to believe the description provided by the Jesuit historian Pedro de Mercado (1620-1701),

[The Jesuit Church] is gleefully bright, richly adorned, excellently artful. The main nave has a rich coffered ceiling with laces and gilded stucco; all the chapels are adorned with beautiful altarpieces... and several gilded stucco ornaments... The crossing and the main altarpiece are exquisite... Having so much to see and admire, what calls our attention the most is the artifice of the pulpit...³⁸⁹

The process of refurbishment of La Compañía's interior continued in the early decades of the eighteenth century. As its counterparts in Europe, the Jesuit College in Quito actively furthered the visual impact of the church by commissioning new altarpieces inspired by Andrea Pozzo's designs for the church of Il Gesù in Rome.³⁹⁰ Among the materials used to permanently adorn the church, gold provided the most admiration and pleasure. In addition, silver ornaments displayed in special festivities, and elegant sculptures and paintings completed this sumptuous picture.

As eighteenth-century descriptions of La Compañía indicate, *The Prophets* stood out from the rest of the artworks on display.³⁹¹ The Jesuits Cicala and Bernardo

³⁸⁹ Mercado S.J., *Historia de la provincia del Nuevo Reino y Quito*, 11-2.

³⁹⁰ Ortiz Crespo, "Desde la Primera Piedra hasta la Expulsión: 160 Años de Historia Constructiva," 189-90.

³⁹¹ Besides the prophet paintings, the inventory only identifies the canvases of the Last Judgment and Hell located at the entrances of the church, and several small paintings of apostles located in the apse. Several more paintings also adorned the side chapels, but the inventory fails to identify their subject matter. The latter were on display in

Recio, and the Franciscan Friar Juan de Santa Gertrudis paid singular attention to these works, which they considered particularly fine.³⁹² This is quite relevant, taking into account that these chronicles were written a few years after the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Americas. The long-lasting impression of these paintings can be attributed not only to their artistry and naturalism, but also to their iconography. By presenting *The Prophets* in dialogue with the viewer and including scenes related to the life of Jesus in the form of visions, these works stressed the supernatural qualities of the messianic message.

Memorable artworks and lavish interiors were not privy to Quito, but could be found in most Jesuit buildings from the Americas. The expulsion of the Society and the subsequent refurbishing of its buildings preclude us from witnessing their original splendor. Even so, a quick survey of other regional examples indicates that the Society of Jesus strived to create impactful interiors as a rule.³⁹³ For instance the church at Salvador da Bahía, the most important Jesuit College in Brazil, balances a classical façade with an elegant interior that is elevated by spectacular altarpieces.³⁹⁴ Although

conjunction with numerous sculptures and reliefs of Jesuit and other saints, the Virgin and Christ.

³⁹² The Franciscan describes them as “pintura muy fina.” See Juan de Santa Gertrudis, *Maravillas de la naturaleza*, vol 3, 261-2. Recio also indicates that *The Prophets* are of “muy selecto pincel.” See Recio, *Compendiosa relación de la cristiandad*, 259-60. Cicala calls them “un encanto para la vista.” Cicala, *Descripción histórico-topográfica*, 171-6.

³⁹³ For an extensive and illustrated catalogue of Jesuit buildings in the Americas, see Luisa Elena Alcalá, *Fundaciones jesuíticas en Iberoamérica* (Madrid: Ediciones El Viso, 2002).

³⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 70-85.

it was finished by 1672, some sections of the church were renovated in the first half of the eighteenth century, similarly than in the case of La Compañía. Another example is the church of the College of San Pablo, in Lima, erected in the 1560s.³⁹⁵ The city, which was the center of Spanish government in South America, housed the first Jesuit settlement in the Spanish colonies in the region. Like the church of Salvador da Bahía, this building's austere façade conceals a costly interior. The sanctuary is elevated by highly decorated altarpieces, some of which are gilded (fig. 109) and some made of dark wood for major contrast and impact. The walls of the side aisles are fully covered with gilded arabesques, paintings and colorful tiles (fig.110).

The novitiate and church of San Francisco Javier in Tepotzotlán, built in the 1670s, is one of the best-preserved Jesuit centers in the Americas and the most obvious example of Jesuit enthusiasm for splendor.³⁹⁶ This location functioned not only as a novitiate for the Jesuits, but also worked as a school of Christian doctrine, music and poetry for indigenous nobles. The church has intricately carved and gilded altarpieces that cover the building's walls (fig. 111). The complex also has well-preserved spaces, the most striking being the small chapel dedicated to Saint Joseph (fig.112). This space is decorated with gilded altarpieces and stucco reliefs on its walls and ceiling, and various silver caryatids (now turned black due to oxidation). Although the chapel for the novices is considerably less opulent, its altarpiece is adorned with small mirrors in the shape of diamonds that alternate with paintings of saints and the

³⁹⁵ Ibid, 90-8.

³⁹⁶ Ibid, 318-333.

Virgin. As in the case of Quito's Jesuit church, the visitor is impressed by the overwhelming display of lush materials in conjunction with exquisite artworks.

Although the Society of Jesus clearly favored rich interiors in its main settlements, a survey of minor Jesuit churches demonstrates that even some small Jesuit locations displayed great richness. For instance, the chapel of the *obraje* of San Ildefonso in the South of Quito, described in the inventory of the College done in 1767, contained several gilded altars with images of saints and the Virgin.³⁹⁷ The description of an image of the Virgin of Loreto shows the wealth that such minor chapels sometimes housed. This statue held a rosary made of lapis lazuli, a gold necklace with emeralds, a gilt-silver crown, and clothing embroidered with gold and silver thread and imported lace.³⁹⁸ The rest of the sculptures were also dressed with expensive fabrics and embellished with attributes made of precious materials.

Rather than an overt display of riches showcasing the Order's wealth and power, such lavish interiors were meant to overwhelm the visitor by creating an extreme contrast between the simple spaces destined to daily life and those meant to promote spiritual growth. Paintings offered a safe space for the interaction between divine and earthly realms, and worked as instruments that contributed to the faithful's understanding of abstract and complicated dogmas. In the case of La Compañía, *The Prophets* explicitly invited the faithful to learn and meditate about their own behavior

³⁹⁷ *Testimonio del sequestro*, fol. 69r-70v.

³⁹⁸ In the inventory, the word used to describe the fabric worn by the virgin is "lama." It is believed that this word represented fabrics made of gold and silver thread. See Yolanda Congosto Martín, *Aportación a la historia lingüística de las hablas andaluzas (Siglo XVII)*, vol. 2 (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2002), 159.

in connection to Christian standards. They did so by unpacking the preeminence of the new covenant and the direct consequences of slipping away from the Christian path. Reflective materials enhanced and guided the spiritual experience by exalting the senses, adding weight to the narratives presented in the paintings.

The Prophets and the Church's Holy Space

As shown in Chapter 4, the Society of Jesus usually referred to the supernatural, especially in connection to miracles and prophecies, to facilitate conversion. In this sense, *The Prophets* worked as important didactic instruments that strongly furthered Roman Catholicism through their iconography and composition. The rich materials of La Compañía's interior effectively heightened the impact and immediacy of these artworks by creating the illusion of a supernatural space. As Anna C. Knaap has demonstrated in her study of the Jesuit church in Antwerp, Jesuits were prone to using reflective materials in their buildings because they helped transform these spaces into heavenly abodes.³⁹⁹

Gold was a particularly powerful tool to deliver the supernatural. Indeed, the scriptures create explicit associations between this material and the divine. For instance, the Book of Revelation (21:18-19) describes heavenly Jerusalem as a city made of gold and precious stones.⁴⁰⁰ Another famous example is Solomon's Church that, according to Kings 6:19-22, had a room destined to house the Ark of the Covenant which was covered in pure gold and contained gilded wooden altarpieces.

³⁹⁹ Knaap. "Marvels and Marbles in the Antwerp Jesuit Church," 359.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid, 360.

The Church of Jerusalem was a basic reference for religious architecture as it was believed that God himself had provided the building's design to Solomon.⁴⁰¹

These associations did not escape Jesuit scholarship of the early modern period. Authors like Juan de Pineda, Martín Esteban and Sebastian Barradas wrote extensively about the Church of Solomon.⁴⁰² Probably one of the most influential studies was Juan Bautista Villalpando's *Ezechielem Explanationes*, published between 1596 and 1604. In this book, Villalpando explains that God was the true architect of the Church.⁴⁰³ At the same time he argues that the Church had overwhelming amounts of gold that, according to his own calculations, cost the staggering price of two billion

⁴⁰¹ Jaime Lara. "God's Good Taste: The Jesuit Aesthetics of Juan Bautista Villalpando in the Sixth and Tenth Centuries BCE," in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 150-1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley S.J. et al. (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 505.

⁴⁰² See Manuel González Galván, "El oro en el barroco," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México* 45 (1976): 73-96. The books in question are Pineda's *De Rebus Salomonis Regis vel Salomon Praevius* (1613), Martín's *Compendio del rico aparato y hermosa arquitectura del Templo de Salomón* (1617) and Barradas's *Commentaria* (1606-15).

⁴⁰³ "Que Dios Óptimo Máximo haya querido ser también el máximo arquitecto de este edificio queda atestiguado en los Paralipómenos, donde se dice que David dio a Salomón todas las descripciones del templo, con oro, plata y otras cosas, y el modo exactísimo de todo lo que había de llevarse a cabo. Enumeradas tales cuestiones, añade: *todas estas cosas vinieron a mí escritas por la mano del Señor, a fin de que entendiera todas las obras del modelo*. Parece que dichas palabras no necesitan explicación, puesto que atestiguan en términos explícitos que Dios óptimo, quien fue el autor de la fábrica del mundo y del cielo, no desdeñó ser llamado también y ser tenido como autor de esta obra." Fr. Luciano Rubio O.S.A. (trans.), *Juan Bautista Villalpando. El tratado de la arquitectura perfecta en la última visión del Profeta Ezequiel* (Madrid: Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid, 1990), 297.

eight hundred and twelve million (2,812,000,000) Spanish ducats.⁴⁰⁴ Villalpando associates the wealth of the temple, including its gold, silver and other rich complements, to its glory, assuring that this wealth could only be possible through God's intervention.⁴⁰⁵ It has been suggested that these texts were an important foundation for the increasing preference for gold in baroque interiors.⁴⁰⁶

It is quite likely that the Jesuit College of Quito was fully acquainted with this tradition, as the library of the Seminar of San Luis owned a copy of Villalpando's treatise.⁴⁰⁷ Although it is not possible to ascertain that the decoration of La Compañía directly responded to Villalpando's ideas, there is no doubt that these associations were present in the minds of the Jesuits who visited their church in Quito in the eighteenth century. Mario Cicala, for instance, mentions that the building's gilded interior looked like an earthly paradise.⁴⁰⁸ Bernardo Recio also compares the church to Solomon's Temple due to the building's lavish display of gold.⁴⁰⁹ This last

⁴⁰⁴ Lara, "God's Good Taste," 511.

⁴⁰⁵ Juan Antonio Ramírez, "Del valor del templo al coste del libro," in *Dios arquitecto: J.B. Villalpando y el Templo de Salomón*, Juan Antonio Ramírez ed. (Madrid: Ediciones Siruela, S.A., 1991), 213-41, esp.215.

⁴⁰⁶ González Galván, "El Oro en el Barroco," 73-96.

⁴⁰⁷ *Índice de los libros que se hallan en la librería de los padres de La Compañía de Jesús del Colegio de San Luis de la ciudad de San Francisco de Quito* [1753], fol. 8.

⁴⁰⁸ Cicala, *Descripción histórico-topográfica*, 176.

⁴⁰⁹ Recio, *Compendiosa relación de la cristiandad*, 243.

comparison was furthered inferred by the use of Solomonic columns instead of the popular *estipite* columns in the decoration of the altarpieces.⁴¹⁰

Nowadays, as the interior of the church is illuminated with electricity, it is difficult to imagine how it looked in the colonial period. Cicala delights in narrating the ways in which the sunlight highlighted the building's beauty.⁴¹¹ According to his description, most of the natural light concentrated on the main nave. The windows over the arches, decorated with stain glass, and a large window facing east (nowadays blocked by a large pipe organ), allowed natural light to pierce through and be reflected by the gilded vault. The sixteen windows placed in the drum of the dome and in the lantern above brightened the transept and the main altar. Moreover, all the altars and the side chapels were further illuminated by small domes and lanterns.

Besides natural light, the church was also lit with numerous artificial sources. According to the inventory, the main altar and most of the side chapels were lighted with two crystal chandeliers and two wooden candlesticks. Additional lamps belonging to different confraternities also illuminated the side altars.⁴¹² Moreover, Cicala mentions that each one of the two hundred cornucopias that adorn the main retablo held one candle during religious festivities.⁴¹³ Whether or not this last

⁴¹⁰ This decision not only reflected the connections of the Jesuit church with Solomon's Church, but was highly influenced by Bernini's *baldachin* in Saint Peter.

⁴¹¹ Cicala, *Descripción histórico-topográfica*, 172-4.

⁴¹² Sequestro, fol. 78-124r.

⁴¹³ Cicala, *Descripción histórico-topográfica*, 174.

statement was an exaggeration, it is likely that several flickering candles unevenly illuminated the irregular surfaces of these gilded elements.

The impact of light reflections was surely increased by the mirrors that were also part of the church's interior. According to Marcio Cicala, mirrors covered the niches of the side chapels.⁴¹⁴ Friar Juan de Santa Gertrudis also mentions that *all the church* was enraptured with mirrors of three *varas* in length (approx. 2.4m or 7.9 ft).⁴¹⁵ Likewise, Bernardo Recio describes in his chronicles that large and beautiful mirrors added to the luster of the church.⁴¹⁶ As he argues, mirrors were a source of splendor, which in this context meant both beauty and brilliance.⁴¹⁷

Although today these mirrors no longer exist, we can assess their influence in the church's interior based on the information provided by the building's inventory. According to this document, the church used to display a variety of mirrors in the side

⁴¹⁴ Ibid, 175.

⁴¹⁵ The vara was a system of measurement used in Spain and that varied depending on the region. According to a document from the 19th century, one vara was in average over 0.8m. See "Real Orden de 9 de diciembre de 1852, por la que se determinan las tablas de correspondencia recíproca entre las pesas y medidas métricas y las actualmente en uso," Diccionario jurídico-administrativo. Madrid, 1858, accessed April 17, 2017, <http://www.cem.es/sites/default/files/00000458recurso.pdf>. It is likely that mirrors this size were made by joining smaller mirrors together to create the illusion of one whole pane. Up until the 1700, the largest mirrors measured 70 inches tall. See Sabine Melchior-Bonnet, *The Mirror: A History*, trans. Katharine H. Jewett (New York and London: Routledge, 2001), 73.

⁴¹⁶ Recio, *Compendiosa relación de la cristiandad*, 260.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid. "Añaden adorno y esplendor, hermosos grandes espejos, colocados a trechos."

chapels and the main nave. The altar frontals or antepedia had several mirrors of three cuartas (close to 60 cm or 2ft) and one cuarta (20 cm or 0.66ft) placed within silver frames.⁴¹⁸ The frontals of the chapels of the Virgin's Family and Saint Francis Xavier in the former Jesuit church of San Pablo in Lima, even though they have much smaller mirrors than the ones described in La Compañía's inventories, work as references. The inventory also reveals that the altars of the Virgin of Loreto, the Holy Trinity, the Presentation of Our Lady, Francis Xavier, Saint Joseph, Saint Louis Gonzaga, and the Passion had similar frontals. Moreover, three frontals adorned with crystals and mirrors were destined to the main altar.⁴¹⁹ The inventory also indicates that the altarpiece dedicated to Saint Ignatius was enhanced with numerous mirrors of around 20 cm in length (the inventory mentions more than seventy), most of which were adhered to cardboard finished with silver paint while others were placed within gilded frames.⁴²⁰ Similar mirrors were displayed on the rest of the altarpieces in the side chapels.

⁴¹⁸ *Testimonio del Secuestro*, fol. 76v. The inventory provides a puzzling description of the antepedium of the altarpiece dedicated to Saint Ignatius: "a frontal with three mirrors with effigies of more of three cuartas in length and four strips (or belts?) of mirrors of one cuarta of width of six divisions, each one within a frame of silver-plated wood, fixed in the altar." [Frontal de tres espejos con efigies de a más de a tres cuartas de largo, y cuatro fajas del mismo espejo de una cuarta de ancho de seis divisiones en cada una su marco de chapas de plata sobre madera, que está fijo en el altar.] From this description it is not clear whether the effigies were engraved or painted over the mirrors. If interpreted correctly, the frontal had three mirrors of three cuartas in length each placed in the largest section of the frontal, and mirrors of one cuarta in the smaller sections of the frontal.

⁴¹⁹ *Testimonio del secuestro*, fol. 69v.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid*, fol. 75v.

It is not clear how these different mirrors were shown. Although the inventory mentions that the sacristy held a wooden arch to hang mirrors, neither this nor any comparable object has been identified so far.⁴²¹ It is likely that, as Cicala suggests, the small mirrors were used to enhance the niches that contained the sculptural groups of the side altars. Other churches in Quito have altarpieces with similar mirrors placed inside or around niches. For instance, one of the side chapels of Quito's cathedral has two circular and two square mirrors in one of its niches (fig. 113). Certainly, the most impressive use of mirrors within a Quiteño church is found in the Franciscan building. Rectangular mirrors cover the niche of the main retablo (fig. 114) now destined to the effigy of the Virgin of Quito, one of the symbols of the city. The altarpieces in the transept also have rectangular mirrors covering the inside of the niches and oval mirrors within highly decorated (silver?) frames at the base (Fig. 115). The side chapel dedicated to Saint Joseph has also numerous small rectangular mirrors alternating with other motifs around the central niche (fig. 116). The tradition of using mirrors to enhance the images displayed in church altarpieces was also common in other regions of the colonial Andes. Comparable examples can be found in Cusco's Cathedral and the churches of San Pedro de Andahuaylillas (fig. 117) and Saint John the Baptist of Huaró (fig. 118), as well as in the church of the former Jesuit mission of Topaga, in Colombia (fig. 119). As previously mentioned, the Jesuit church in Tepetzotlán, Mexico, also displays several mirrors in one of its chapels (fig. 120).

⁴²¹ "Un arco de tablas para poner espejos." *Testimonio del sequestro*, fol. 71r.

There is a major difference between the use of small mirrors in La Compañía's side chapels and those of previous examples. In the churches surveyed so far, the mirrors seem to be embedded in the structure of the altarpiece, whereas those belonging to the Jesuit building were likely removable. This means that the effects provided by the mirrors varied depending on the festivities celebrated. It is also possible that the mirrors used in La Compañía were brought and donated by the faithful, suggesting that the number of mirrors displayed in the altarpiece indicated the degree of followers of a specific devotion.

Large mirrors of more than 7 feet in length, such as the ones mentioned by Juan de Santa Gertrudis, are not as easy to find in the Andean region nowadays. The church of San Blas in Cusco has two rectangular mirrors with gilded frames in the main nave (fig.121). Currently they hang over the capitals of the pillars that sustain the transverse arch, facing each other and slightly tilted towards the floor. The chapel of Santo Cristo de Tlacolula, in Oaxaca (Mexico), has also four large rectangular mirrors tilted, facing the floor, displayed on top of the capitals of the pillars that sustain the dome (fig. 122). Another interesting example is the Mirror Chapel at the Clementinum in the former Jesuit College in Prague, which showcases several large oval mirrors vertically hanging from the walls of the nave (fig. 123). Considering these examples, it is possible that the large mirrors mentioned by Friar Juan were displayed over the arches of La Compañía, tilted facing the floor, or hanging from the pillars looking at the main nave. The main goal was to force the church's visitor to see his reflection while walking towards the altar or while sitting during the sermon.

We can only imagine the ways in which La Compañía's gilded surfaces and mirrors reflected the natural and artificial light that brightened its interior. The flat

surfaces of mirrors reflected light with intensity, multiplying the visual effects produced by the gilded surfaces that populated the church. At the same time, the mirrors' strong reflections contrasted with the diffused light emitted by the curved surfaces of the gilded altarpieces, directing the gaze of the faithful towards specific effigies. The juxtaposition of surfaces covered in silver-leaf and mirrors, and those covered in gold also played with the effects of cool and warm light, as if showing the variety of God's divine palette. Natural and artificial light probably emphasized particular spaces for worship leaving other sections of the church in darkness. Light also enhanced the religious service. When hitting the instruments made of silver and gold, it transformed these man-made objects into tools that channeled divine energies and men's earthly actions into holy sacraments.

The rich environment that *The Prophets* inhabited could not but improve these artworks' supernatural qualities. *The Prophets'* role as mediators, privy to a direct connection with the divine and to transcendent information bestowed by God, was reinforced by the church's uncanny interior. Their life-size depictions connected the past with the present, and appeared to the faithful as in a vision, effectively conveying religious truth and salvation. The supernatural essence of these figures and their prophecies were at ease in this heavenly space. The viewer must have remained defenseless in front of such overwhelming richness and absorbed the teachings provided by visual prompts with more immediacy. The role of the paintings was to facilitate this experience by gently guiding the faithful into their Christian teachings.

Reflective Surfaces and Christian Light: A Matter of Conversion

As pointed out in Chapter 4, the prophetic figures displayed in the main nave of La Compañía worked as prefigurations of Christ and his followers. These images supported the Society of Jesus's claims of its prophetic inception, particularly meaningful in a missionary context. Allegations of Jesuit command of the supernatural showcased the Order's members as perfected apostles, ready to combat the heresy brought by Protestantism and to spread the Word in lands overcome with gentilism. *The Prophets* not only meant to reinforce the role of Jesus as the Messiah, but also permitted the Jesuits to claim otherworldly knowledge and a privileged position among other Catholic orders. The new covenant, introduced in the Old Testament but fulfilled in the figure of Christ, was complete with the conversion of the heathen at distant Jesuit missions and with the reinforcement of Catholic rites in Jesuit Colleges in the cities.

In this context, the lavish decoration of the church of La Compañía can be interpreted as a strategy that presented the Jesuit building as a place of divine agency, a space where Christian energies condensed and powerfully irradiated into the devotee.⁴²² The light effects produced by the reflective surfaces played with the metaphor of Christ as an enlightening force, highlighting the foundations of Catholic faith. Through their connection to the supernatural, the prophet paintings served to narrate and reinforce the message provided by the rest of the church, while emphasizing Jesuit agendas.

⁴²² Jeffrey Muller, "The Jesuit Strategy for Accommodation," in *Jesuit Image Theory*, ed. Karl Wietse de Boer et al. (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 462-90.

Although the Council of Trent prohibited the display of wealth in church interiors, it is fair to infer that the Society's purposefully disregarded those rules in order to connect with its audience. Spectacle and drama were part of Jesuit teaching techniques in schools and foundations.⁴²³ In the case of Quito, the overwhelming presence of glittering and reflecting materials in La Compañía's decoration was intended as a tool to reach a population that had reluctantly and only partially renounced to its own religion. Catholicism was not fully accepted by the local indigenous community even at later stages of the colonial period.⁴²⁴ Catholic faith was considered the official religion of the province, and in theory all indigenous peoples had relinquished their idols and churches. However, eighteenth-century texts confirm that Catholic practice was only maintained in towns where the presence of the Church was constant. Indigenous groups that lived outside of the region's main cities continued to keep their "frivolous superstitions."⁴²⁵ This was not only true of the communities in distant lands, such as the Amazonian basin. Even indigenous people living only a few miles from Quito, in Pimampiro, preferred to escape to isolated regions than to become Christians.⁴²⁶ As Recio points out in 1773, the kingdom of

⁴²³ For instance, theatrical performances were a strategy used to convey complicated concepts. See Karel Porteman, "The Use of the Visual in Classical Jesuit Teaching and Educaion," *Paedagogica Historica*, 36:1 (2000), 178-96, esp. 182.

⁴²⁴ Recio, *Compendiosa relación de la cristiandad*, 234.

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

Quito, even though always bathed by bright sunlight, was covered in shadows because of native ignorance of true religion.⁴²⁷

The Society of Jesus also deemed that members of the higher social strata, mostly people of Spanish descent, required some religious reinforcement.⁴²⁸ Spanish authorities considered that Quito, like other colonial cities, was a center of degradation and low morals. In the 1620s a survey of the city directed by the Holy Office found that *criollos* had incurred in numerous sins including corruption, lax sexual behavior and even murder. The Church was prone to consider indigenous people more obedient towards God than their social superiors. Seeing this as a subversion of the natural colonial order, the Jesuits developed a series of visual and rhetorical strategies to contain local misdemeanor and promote the reconstruction of what was seen as a valid social structure. Jesuit desire of controlling these sins was, thus, mostly directed to maintain the colonial *status quo* and to bestow the Spanish and *criollo* upper classes with the moral upper hand.

The decoration of Quito's Jesuit church in connection with religious rhetoric was an essential factor in the maintenance of colonial social order because it promoted the contrition of the local population.⁴²⁹ As attested in colonial chronicles and annual

⁴²⁷ Ibid, 70. "¿Y tú también, ¡oh noble Quito!, tan favorecido de la naturaleza, tan asistido de luces, tan vecino a la fuente de la claridad, estuviste por dilatados siglos sepultada en sombras, sin conocimiento del cielo y sin la luz de la verdadera religión?"

⁴²⁸ To learn more about the Jesuit reaction against the problem of colonial public sin see Coronel Valencia, "Pensamiento político jesuita y el problema de la diferencia colonial," 127-169.

⁴²⁹ Carmen Fernández-Salvador. "Palabras que pintan y pinturas que hablan: retórica e imágenes en el Quito colonial (siglos XVII y XVIII), in *Las artes en Quito en el*

letters, the Jesuits assessed the local community's religious devotion and spiritual improvement through palpable means, such as mass attendance and confession.⁴³⁰ Confession was deemed as a particularly clear demonstration of piety as it forced self-analysis and the confrontation of sin. The church's paintings, especially the gruesome depictions of *Hell* and *Last Judgement* placed at the buildings' entrances, provided the viewer with lasting and convincing impressions that promoted private meditation and repentance. *The Prophets* had a more positive role as they reinforced the idea of salvation and illumination through the understanding of the scriptures, especially those related to the birth and passion of Christ. The abundant reflective materials of La Compañía's interior, which were activated by natural and artificial light, reinforced the paintings' message of spiritual illumination.

La Compañía's dramatic interior was, thus, an essential component in the promotion of Catholicism among Quito's population. On the one hand, Jesuits believed that even though indigenous people were not able to apprehend the minutia of the Catholic faith, they could be enticed by exacerbating their senses.⁴³¹ On the other hand, theatrical performances were part of colonial religious displays and were meant to attract the most amounts of viewers. As such, the dramatic interior of the Jesuit church was further enhanced during the religious services and festivities. According to

cambio del siglo XVII al XVIII, ed. Paula Castello Starkoff et al. (Quito: Fondo de Salvamento del Patrimonio Cultural de Quito, 2009), 208-39.

⁴³⁰ Mercado, 22-4. See also Carlos Espinosa, "Poder pastoral, acomodo y territorialidad en las Cartas Annuas jesuitas de Quito," *Procesos revista ecuatoriana de historia* (2nd semester, 2013): 9-30.

⁴³¹ Recio, *Compendiosa relación de la cristiandad*, 238.

Recio's chronicles, the Jesuits used rich liturgical objects, music, lights and flowers when preaching in the side altars, a strategy that intended to awake the faithful's sense of sight, smell and hearing.⁴³² Cicala also describes that in special occasions the church was decorated with velvet drapes with gold thread fringes, large mirrors, candles, flowers made of silver, crystal lamps and expensive carpets.⁴³³ These rich displays were sometimes accompanied with elaborated theatrical performances.⁴³⁴

The need of appealing the devotee with sensorial displays was a strategy that the Jesuits applied not only in their main colleges, but also in isolated churches and minor chapels. For instance, the description of the Jesuit mission church of Xeberos in the Amazon stresses the importance of its decoration in appealing the indigenous locals and promoting their devotion.⁴³⁵ Father Francisco de Figueroa describes the need of keeping the church attractive to the visitor by maintaining the mural paintings of the church on a weekly basis. This church was also ornate with expensive fabrics, liturgical objects made of silver, and a sculpture of the Virgin especially sent from Quito by Jesuit Father Alonso de Rojas. According to the description, the statue was displayed inside a glittering niche embedded with conch-shells and gold leaf.

⁴³² Ibid, 260.

⁴³³ Cicala, *Descripción histórico-topográfica*, 176.

⁴³⁴ See for instance the description of the Virgin's Assumption mentioned in Chapter 4 and detailed in Friar Juan de Santa Gertrudis, *Maravillas de la naturaleza*, vol. 3, 261-2.

⁴³⁵ P. Francisco de Figueroa, *Relación de las misiones de La Compañía de Jesús en el país de los maynas [1661]*, 71-2.

Underneath it was an eagle-shaped tabernacle also embellished with the same materials.⁴³⁶

For the Society of Jesus, aesthetics and craftsmanship played an essential role in promoting Catholic religion. As the work of scholars Anna Knaap and Walter Melion has shown, Jesuits actively connected spirituality to human artifice.⁴³⁷ In the early modern period, artistic skill was at the core of spiritual arousal because it encouraged close-looking and promoted religious contemplation. For this reason, Jesuits usually chose to work with highly qualified artists when possible and adorn

⁴³⁶ Ibid. “La iglesia que tienen fabricada es famosa y vistosa, no tanto por lo subido de sus materiales, riqueza y primor del arte en sus pinturas, como por la curiosidad, limpieza y aseo con que está en su altar y ornamentos, y en las pinturas, que son de colorado sobre blanco, las cuales las renuevan cada semana por personas que hay diputadas para esto, quitando cualquier mancha que se haya hecho y enluciendo cualquier parte que se haya deslustrado. Con que por esta causa, siempre parece nueva y siempre agradable. Hase conservado tan hermosa, vistosa y de tanta devoción, que apenas se hallan epítetos de excelencia con que no la califiquen... Y lo que generalmente se reconoce es, que cuantos entran en ella se hallan movidos a devoción y ternura. Con que noticiosos por lo mucho que han oído, muchas personas de partes muy distantes han enviado para concurrir a su adorno, y se halla enriquecida de algunos ornamentos costosos de tela, lama y otras sedas, y de candeleros y vasos para el culto divino, y otras cosas de plata y muy lindas campanas. En el altar está colocada una hermosísima imagen de escultura de la Limpia Concepción de Nuestra Señora, que envió el P. Alonso de Rojas desde Quito.... Está puesta en un vistoso nicho con sus cartelas embutidas de conchas y salpicadas de oro batido. Debajo de él un sagrario en forma de águila, con el mismo adorno de conchas y oro.”

⁴³⁷ Knaap, “Marvels and Marbles in the Antwerp Jesuit Church,” 352-77. See also Melion, “Prayerful Artifice”, 632-3.

their churches with outstanding objects, many of them imported from distant parts of the globe.⁴³⁸ That was not only true in Europe, but also in the Americas.

The associations between reflective surfaces and the holy also allowed the Society of Jesus to fluidly introduce its own agenda into a wide audience. In fact, gold's reflectivity had divine connotations not only in Christian religion but also in indigenous cultures. During the pre-Hispanic period, gold, pure and transformed, established bridges between indigenous communities and the divine.⁴³⁹ Gold was largely present among Andean cultures, which were especially keen on using this material to decorate their churches and their own bodies. As Thomas Cummins has convincingly argued, the glittering visual effects of gold not only connected people to their gods, but transformed mere humans into divine beings.⁴⁴⁰ The famous portrait of *Don Francisco de Arobe and his Sons* (fig.124), which depicts noble leaders of the coasts of Ecuador, clearly emphasizes the importance of gold in body adornment among native cultures even decades after the arrival of the Spaniards to the region.⁴⁴¹

Indigenous reliance on gold and its reflective qualities becomes apparent when looking at the specific technologies developed by Andean cultures since ca. 400 BCE.

⁴³⁸ Luisa Elena Alcalá, "Acomodación, control y esplendor de la imagen en las fundaciones jesuíticas," in *Barroco andino. Memoria del I encuentro internacional*, ed. Norma Campos (La Paz: Viceministerio de Cultura, Unión Latina, 2003), 257-66.

⁴³⁹ Thomas Cummins. "Gilded Bodies and Brilliant Walls," 238-47.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁴¹ This particular painting has been included in the exhibition "Golden Kingdoms: Luxury & Legacy in the Ancient Americas," at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (March 1-May 28, 2018).

For instance, the Pre-Hispanic groups who inhabited the north and the coasts of today's Ecuador masterfully worked a copper-gold alloy called *tumbaga*, which was mainly used to create body ornaments and ritual objects.⁴⁴² Indigenous groups preferred this alloy over pure gold not only because it required less amounts of this precious material, but mostly because it had a lower melting point and was resistant and malleable at the same time. More importantly, these cultures engineered different processes to give *tumbaga* pieces a surface that was highly reflective, comparable to that of gold.⁴⁴³

The Incas, who occupied the region of Quito for several decades, were also keen on using reflective materials to decorate their temples. Highly polished stones, which reflected the strong rays of the Andean sun, constituted the foundations of many of their buildings. It is also believed that the temple dedicated to the worship of Sun in Cuzco, the Coricancha, was covered with gold plates. In the interior of the building, the Incas also had an image of the Sun made of thick gold. As in this last case, gold and other reflective materials were connected to the worship of Inti, the god Sun.

⁴⁴² Daniel Levine et al., *L'or des dieux, l'or des Andes*, 26.

⁴⁴³ Levine et al., *L'or des dieux, l'or des Andes*, 25 and 80-90. Cummins, "Gilded Bodies and Brilliant Walls," 242-3. This process consisted in the oxidation of the surface of the object through heat which darkened the copper but not the gold. The object was subsequently submerged in an acidic bath to discard the dark film. This purification of the surface was considerably labor-intensive as it needed to be repeated several times until all the copper was eliminated. Brightening *tumbaga* could also be achieved by gilding the surface with gold leaf or by submerging the object in a bath of liquid gold. The obsession to develop various laborious methods of purification of *tumbaga* speaks about the importance of gold as a supernatural medium for native communities.

After the Spanish Conquest, the Church accommodated and even promoted indigenous appreciation for reflective materials, although through forceful associations with Catholic rituals. The introduction of indigenous features to Christian celebrations was meant to facilitate the conversion of native populations and ease the submission of local religions to the Catholic faith. At the same time, this strategy allowed indigenous people to maintain some of their traditions up into present times. The elaborate celebrations of the Corpus Christi, which replaced since the sixteenth century the indigenous festivities of the Inti Raymi, are a perfect example. These festivals allowed the participation of a variety of social groups, including indigenous dancers. These performers wore highly decorated costumes adorned with reflective materials such as gold, coins, mirrors and jewelry (fig. 125).⁴⁴⁴ Through these elements, the Corpus Christi replicated the religious symbolism of the Inti Raymi, in which shining surfaces created a connection between the dancers and the Sun deity.

In this context, the role of *The Prophets* was particularly important because they contributed with extensive and detailed explanations about the actual meaning of the building's brilliant interior. The dramatic reflection of light in *La Compañía* could enthrall, but also confuse a non-Christian audience. The messianic narrative depicted in different stages in the sixteen canvases, and their clear association to specific passages of the Bible, allowed the viewer to easily apprehend their meaning. By separating a large narrative in discrete stories, it was more understandable and memorable. The iconography of the paintings that introduced the messianic message

⁴⁴⁴ Susan Verdi Webster, "La Presencia Indígena en las Celebraciones y Días Festivos," in *Arte de la Real Audiencia de Quito, siglos XVII-XIX*, 137-9.

in visionary terms also highlighted the divine nature of Jesus and his role as true savior of mankind. The Word, embodied in the figure of Christ, and referenced by the rhetorical language of the different figures that decorated the paintings was revealed to the viewer.

Painted Visions and Mirrored Reflections

The composition and iconography of *The Prophets*, which present their figures as if appearing from a distant past to address the viewer, are connected to early modern debates about the nature of painted images, supernatural apparitions and mirrored reflections. The prophets' life-size dimensions, expressive language and message of salvation resonated in a visionary context. The small scenes depicted at the top of the canvas, surrounded by clouds, were also presented to the beholder as visions experienced by the prophet. To put it simply, the devotee was looking at a vision of a vision, an artistic choice that differentiates *The Prophets* from other works displayed in the church. For instance, Hernando de la Cruz's depictions of the *Last Judgment* and *Hell* did not engage in the same way with the viewer. Instead, a bird view perspective in both instances separates the spectators from the frightful scenes, framing them as bystanders of the depicted events.

This section focuses on the distinct iconography and composition of *The Prophets* by bringing into consideration early modern ideas about the nature of human sight and visual perception. It examines the intricate connections between the reflections provided by the large mirrors placed in the main nave, local experiences of divine apparitions and the depicted prophets. The success of *The Prophets* as effective

didactic tools rests on their association and contraposition with these other types of representations.

Since the Middle Ages, mirrors had ambivalent meanings in Christian thought. Theologians used the mirror as a metaphor to explain the earthly world as a reflection of the heavenly.⁴⁴⁵ For the trained eye, the surface of the *speculum mundi* could reproduce with little deformation reflections of God's designs. The mirror was thus seen as a passive medium that served to display the divine message without distorting it, providing a reflection that imitated its referent with great accuracy.

Mirrors also possessed more negative connotations and were often seen as deceitful tools, especially when considered within a visionary backdrop.⁴⁴⁶ Since the thirteenth century, theologians started to question the nature of supernatural apparitions. This debate became even more relevant after the Counter-Reformation, as Protestants argued that Catholic priests manipulated the devotees with false tales of visions and miracles.⁴⁴⁷ It was believed that many of these visions were the result of mental illness, tricks of the imagination or magic. An increasing skepticism about the nature and capabilities of human sight led scholars to believe that mirrors could be used to confuse reflections with apparitions.⁴⁴⁸ Not only were theologians like Noel

⁴⁴⁵ Dekonick, *Ad Imaginem*, 49.

⁴⁴⁶ Clark, "Apparitions and Optics in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Europe," 145-57.

⁴⁴⁷ Protestants denied the existence of Purgatory and, therefore, of ghosts. According to Protestant belief the soul of the dead would go directly to hell or heaven.

⁴⁴⁸ Clark, "Apparitions and Optics in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Europe," 148.

Taillepiéd worried about the deceptive possibilities of mirrors, but also magicians like Cornelius Agrippa and Giambattista della Porta, or philosophers like Thomas Hobbes, believed in human's difficulties to discern between reflection and apparition.⁴⁴⁹

Demonology was also connected to magic and the inappropriate use of mirrors, as it was believed that the devil could be summoned inadvertently through magic tricks.⁴⁵⁰

Even though Catholics and Protestants did not deny the possibility of such supernatural events, as the Bible includes numerous examples of them, both groups questioned whether contemporary apparitions were the product of angels, demons or human deception.

A visionary experience at the end of the seventeenth century in Quito offers an interesting point of comparison between local interpretations of apparitions and reflected images. In December 30th, 1696 a group of distinguished people saw the Virgin hovering near the city of Quito.⁴⁵¹ This vision was seen as the result of a procession that prayed for the health of the city's bishop who was deadly ill. According to reports of the event, clouds on top of the neighboring church of Guápulo—erected as a shrine to honor the Virgin of Guadalupe—took the shape of the Virgin Mary. This church houses a sculpture of the Virgin that was considered miraculous and that was the center of the procession in question. The description of

⁴⁴⁹ For an analysis of these authors' works, see Clark, "Apparitions and Optics in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Europe."

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid, 149.

⁴⁵¹. *Expediente en que consta la aparición de María Santísima sobre esta ciudad de Quito, el día 30 de diciembre de 1696*, Archivo S.J., Biblioteca Aurelio Espinosa Pólit.

the apparition mentioned that it was “the form and effigy” of the sculpture of Guápulo. The Virgin appeared standing wearing a crown and holding a scepter or a branch of lilies in his right hand and holding the Child with her left arm.⁴⁵² Other testimonies compared the apparition with the painted image of Our Lady of Antigua that the bishop owned.⁴⁵³

This description of the miraculous event brings into consideration the instability that defines visionary experiences and mirrored reflections. The records of the visionary event in Quito are full of inconsistencies. It is not clear whether the Virgin looked like the sculpture of Guápulo or the painting of La Antigua, and whether she was holding a branch of lilies or a scepter. Clouds, which were the medium chosen by God to paint the Virgin, are intrinsically intangible and ephemeral, and can be considered as a non-material. This same instability is found in the study of the nature of mirrored reflections.⁴⁵⁴ Because light is the medium that creates reflections on a mirror, the resulting image is also fleeting and immaterial. Moreover, the mirrored image is reversed from the original, so it is not a completely faithful reproduction of its archetype. Indeed, the Latin *reflectere* means to bend or to deviate.⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵² Ibid, fol.5.

⁴⁵³ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁴ Tudor, “Mirrors and Vision in the Renaissance,” 177-9.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid.

Additional elements, such as their intrinsic subordination to a referent, connect supernatural apparitions and mirrored reflections. The apparition of the Virgin is a reflection of the images known and worshipped by the population of Quito. In a similar manner, mirrored reflections are illusory representations that echo their archetype and cannot exist without it.

Assessing the nature of mirrored reflections becomes even more complicated when discussed in connection to painted representations. Contemporary debates about both types of images were conflicting and even contradictory. On one hand, painted and mirrored images were considered direct representations of their referent, although painted images were seen as one more step removed from the original. Whereas the mirrored likeness was meant to show a true reflection, painted representations resulted from the artist's transformation of reality.⁴⁵⁶ However, depictions were seen as tangible and unchanging, aspects that conveyed a sense of certainty that the mirrored reflection lacked.

The illusionistic style of *The Prophets* reinforced their association with miraculous apparitions, echoing beliefs about the role of the divine in spreading Christian religion. Jesuit texts of the colonial period commonly presented the supernatural as responsible for the repentance and confessions of Quito's inhabitants, proving the triumph of Catholic faith over evil forces.⁴⁵⁷ The iconography of the

⁴⁵⁶ The condition of the mirror as a source for truth was already acknowledged by art theorists like Alberti and Leonardo who advised to use a mirror while painting in order to disclose the artist's mistakes in the representation. See Jacobs, *The Living Image in Renaissance Art*, 147.

⁴⁵⁷ See Francisco Picos, *Carta annua desde los años 1642 hasta el de 52 de la Provincia del Nuevo Reyno y Quito*, fol. 27, in Francisco Piñas Rubio S.J., "Cartas

paintings, that brings figures of a distant past into the present and displays them in a lively manner, reinforces the importance of divine agency in the enlightenment of Quito's population. The care in presenting a convincing image of the prophet, whose naturalistic anatomy and expressive gaze fascinated the viewer, underlined their uncanny immediacy. This association is further reinforced by Jesuit seventeenth-century theories that posited that religious images worked as connectors between the earthly space of the beholder and the realms of the divine. For instance, the Jesuit theorist Jakob Masen argued in his *Speculum imaginum veritatis occultae* (1644) that man-made images functioned as spiritual thresholds that revealed truths, as well as symbolic instruments of inspiration, provoking thought and elevating wit. Masen's title also reveals the belief that mirrors worked as prophetic tools.⁴⁵⁸ To be effective, religious images needed to be pleasurable and didactic, available not only for the initiated but for the regular viewer as well.⁴⁵⁹ Although it is not certain the influence that Masen's theories had on patronage in Jesuit Quito's College, it is important to note that *The Prophets* follow his parameters quite closely.⁴⁶⁰ Certainly, the didactic function of the paintings was a prime concern for their Jesuit patrons. The

annuas de la Compañía de Jesús en la Audiencia de Quito de 1687 a 1660,". See also Rodríguez, in *El Marañón y Amazonas*, 56-64.

⁴⁵⁸ This connotation probably came from the use of telescopes in the observation of constellations. The looking glass helped reveal what was normally concealed to the human eye. See Grabes, *The Mutable Glass*, 61-2.

⁴⁵⁹ Dekoninck, *Ad Imaginem*, 58-63.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 62-3.

combination of images and text intended to make the imagery more accessible to the non-initiated. Not only *The Prophets*' features and actions were distinctly rendered, but also their message was clearly specified in the texts associated with them. Moreover, the inspiring nature of *The Prophets*, as described in Cicala's accounts, positions them as sources of visual pleasure and illumination.⁴⁶¹

Even though the iconography and composition of *The Prophets* associated them with visionary experiences and mirrored reflections, the canvases had certain advantages. The paintings' obvious materiality reassured the viewer against any duplicity. Contrary to visionary experiences or reflected images, these depictions appeared discernable and immutable. Another advantage of these works over supernatural apparitions was their indiscriminate exposure. Apparitions are usually witnessed by only a selected few, whereas anybody who visited the church was invited to witness the prophets' revelations. Narratives about visionary experiences usually present the witness as a privileged viewer, chosen due to his unusual devotion.⁴⁶² On the contrary, *Malachi*, *Isaiah*, *Jonah*, *Amos* and *Jeremiah* openly invite anyone to witness the miraculous visions that appear in the prophet's space, either by pointing at them or by directing the viewer with their own gaze. The beholder is not only able to see the paintings, but he can also learn about their exact meaning thanks to their explicit textual references to the Old Testament.

⁴⁶¹ Cicala, *Descripción histórico-topográfica*, 175-6.

⁴⁶² The case of the apparition of the Virgin of the Clouds in Quito was in no way different as only those who were chanting hymns during the procession were able to see the Virgin in the skies.

Whereas apparitions are momentary and ethereal, and reflections are unstable and changing, *The Prophets* appeared fixed in time, ready to assist the viewer. The figure of the prophet worked like a conjuring instrument that conveyed precise and privileged information to the beholder. The strategic choice of introducing the scenes of Christ as miraculous apparitions heightened the impact and truthfulness of the discovery. Since the information is conveyed as the manifestation of the divine, it was meant to remain unquestioned. In this sense, not only the figure of Christ but the paintings themselves worked as mirrors that revealed the truth to the faithful. In this sense, the iconography of *The Prophets* goes along with other Jesuit strategies of conversion that involved the manifestation of supernatural events. As in the chronicles that narrate the presence of visions and miracles that provoked a person's repentance, *The Prophets* appeared in front of the viewer to further spiritual transformation.⁴⁶³

Glittering Paths Lead to Spiritual Growth

The presentation of Christ as God's true Son is probably the most important message of *The Prophets*. The whole cycle conveys a history of human sin and redemption only possible through the incarnation, birth, and passion of the Messiah. These works functioned as constant reminders of the beholder's role as a flawed being saved through celestial intervention. The inner transformation of the viewer was furthered by the large number of mirrors displayed in the church which brought into consideration the position of men as God's true reflections.

⁴⁶³ See Espinosa, "Poder pastoral", 24-5; Mercado, "*Historia de la provincia del Nuevo Reino y Quito*," 22-4.

As previously explained, the church of La Compañía was heavily populated with mirrors of different sizes. Although we have partially studied the effects of the large mirrors in connection to the didactic function of the prophet paintings, Jesuit theories around the purpose of the looking-glass can further our understanding of the church's decoration. I believe that the most important role of these mirrors was to direct the faithful to think about their own image. The illusory sphere of mirrored representations became a space for contemplation, self-analysis and spiritual growth.

Mirrors and mirrored reflections were directly connected to the practice of contemplation and introspection, an essential element in Ignatian spirituality. Mirrors were considered to play a vital role in enlightenment because they established a bridge between the eye and the object.⁴⁶⁴ Three elements were thought to interact in meditation and in subsequent revelation: the object, its reflection in the mirror, and the eye that fixed that reflection in the mind. The eye also worked as a natural mirror and an active tool that transformed a physical image into a mental one.⁴⁶⁵ From a metaphorical point of view, the mirror was associated with self-analysis as well as self-fabrication. As such, it emphasized the importance of sensorial experience—especially sight—in the discovery of the divine.

In Jesuit thought, the visible remained the key to approach the invisible.⁴⁶⁶ Images and their contemplation could lead to inner enlightenment through an intense

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid, 53.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid, 52. See also Grabes, *The Mutable Glass*, 83-5.

⁴⁶⁶ Dekoninck, *Ad Imaginem*, 26.

intellectual and visual process.⁴⁶⁷ This idea becomes explicit in the work of the Jesuit emblemist Jan David, which presented images as essential instruments of spiritual reflection and improvement.⁴⁶⁸ The mirror as a tool for revelation is explained in David's *Twelve Mirrors (Duodecim Specula Deum)*, a spiritual guide embellished with engravings by Theodore Galle and printed by the Plantin press in 1610. The illustration "Speculum Creaturarum" (fig.126) shows a man and a woman looking at a reflection of Creation on a mirror.⁴⁶⁹ This reflection displays the sky with stars, the sun and the moon; it also shows a mountainous shore, the sea, a large marine creature, and buildings and boats. The act of seeing is made visible to us by the projection of rays that emerge from the couple's eyes and pierce the surface of the mirror to witness the heavenly skies. As if summoned by contemplation, a vision of God surrounded by angels and framed by a circle of clouds appears behind the mirror. The label at the bottom specifies that the contemplation of the visible make us see the invisible (*Invisibilium per visibilia contemplatio*). This visionary experience, or the manifestation of divine truth through meditation, is framed by surrounding scenes that provide different paths to approach God.

Although Jesuit theory discussed mirrors in purely metaphorical terms, their function as thresholds to the divine was based on contemporary discoveries in optics

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid, 55. See also Melion, "Prayerful Artifice," 622-4.

⁴⁶⁸ Walter Melion, "Figured Personification and Parabolic Embodiment in Jan David's *Occasio Arrepta, Neglecta*," in *Personification: Embodying Meaning and Emotion*, ed. Walter Melion and Bart Ramakers (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 371.

⁴⁶⁹ David, *Duodecim Specula*, 96.

and catoptrics.⁴⁷⁰ After the Venetians improved the clarity of glass in the sixteenth century, these fields had important technological advancements.⁴⁷¹ Research about the diverse uses of different types of lenses and mirrors not only influenced the production of spectacles, but also propelled the sciences. Astronomers, mathematicians and physicists were able to study different light phenomena, including refraction. Although Jesuit visual theory sometimes conflicted with such discoveries, some members of the Order felt a deep interest in the looking-glass.⁴⁷² Athanasius Kircher, for instance, experimented extensively with the possibilities of mirrors. He even established a cabinet of curiosities in the Roman College of the Society of Jesus that included a series of ingenious objects showcasing a variety of experiments with mirrors.⁴⁷³ Among those were a catoptric theatre and “a full-sized concavo-convex burning mirror with a collection of very many mirrors, of which some [show] spectres in the air, some others objects unchanged, some display multiplied objects, some others [anamorphic mirrors] collect a picture from a disordered series of colours into

⁴⁷⁰ Dekoninck, *Ad Imaginem*, 51. See also Tudor, “Mirrors and Vision in the Renaissance,” 173-4.

⁴⁷¹ Tudor, “Mirrors and Vision in the Renaissance,” 172.

⁴⁷² To learn about the conflicts that Kepler’s book on optics posited for Jesuit visual theory, see Sven Dupré, “The Return of the Species: Jesuit Response to Kepler’s new Theory of Images,” in *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Karl Wietse de Boer et al. (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013), 473-88.

⁴⁷³ Peter Davidson (ed.), *The Celebrated Museum of the Roman College of the Society of Jesus. A facsimile of the 1678 Amsterdam edition of Giorgio de Sepi’s description of Athanasius Kircher’s Museum Musaeum Celeberrimum Collegii Romani Societatis Iesu* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph’s University Press, 2015), 147-50.

an elegant form. Amongst those, one forms a portrait of Alexander VII.”⁴⁷⁴ This Jesuit also wrote extensively about the looking-glass in his *Ars Magna Lucis & Umbrae* (1646).⁴⁷⁵ His work denotes the complex interpretations around the function and uses of mirrors, which result from a combination of awe and scientific knowledge.

From a scientific stance, the mirror was considered a tool for discovery and wonder.⁴⁷⁶ The immediacy of the mirrored reflection and its fidelity towards its source posited the looking-glass as an instrument that delivered truth. This truth could be found in the contemplation of nature, considered as an accurate reflection of the heavens. As the Jesuit Joseph Filere explains in his book *Miroir sans Tache* (*Blameless Mirror*, 1636), we can see God in everything, and everything in God.⁴⁷⁷ This metaphor also established that the fall of men blurred our vision of the world and that the signs people saw were only partial pieces of the original mirror.⁴⁷⁸ Human knowledge was, therefore, imperfect and limited. As the Jesuit Antoine Girard explained in his *Peintures Sacrées sur la Bible*, an illustrated commentary on the

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid, 119.

⁴⁷⁵ Knowles Middleton, “Archimedes, Kircher, Buffon, and the Burning-Mirrors,” 533-43.

⁴⁷⁶ Ralph Dekoninck has already studied the function of the mirror in a Jesuit context by looking at three texts published in the seventeenth century: Joseph Filere’s *Miroir sans Tache* (1636), Joannes David’s *Duodecim Speculum Deum* (1610), and Jakob Masen’s *Speculum Imaginum Veritatis Occultae* (1650). See Dekoninck, *Ad Imaginem*.

⁴⁷⁷ Filere, *Le Miroir sans Tache*, frontispiece.

⁴⁷⁸ Dekonick, *Ad Imaginem*, 49.

scriptures, the world was like a beautiful mirror that showed the perfection of its Author without revealing its secret.⁴⁷⁹

Although impossible to achieve, humans were meant to strive to see this original reflection through reason or faith.⁴⁸⁰ In this paradox, Christ appeared as the only path to restore the original mirror, as explained in the writings of Apostle Paul: “For now we see in a mirror, dimly, but then [in the second coming] we will see face to face. Now I know only in part; then I will know fully, even as I have been fully known.” (1 Cor13:12).⁴⁸¹ Similarly than in *The Prophets*, these notions considered Christ as the perfect image of God and the link that united the visible with the invisible. God’s Son was seen as the most important key to access divine truth.⁴⁸²

These Jesuit sources provide a foundation to explain the symbolic function of the mirrors displayed in the church of La Compañía. Filere’s *Miroir sans Tache* is particularly useful because it links these objects to the idea of Christian emulation.⁴⁸³ Filere establishes a path of spiritual transformation in which the reader is meant to look at his reflection in a variety of symbolic mirrors. The path starts with a process of self-awareness and ends with the acquisition of perfection that transforms the reader

⁴⁷⁹ As quoted in Dekoninck, *Ad Imaginem*, 33.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid, 51.

⁴⁸¹ Quote referenced in Dekonick, *Ad Imaginem*, 49. *Bible, New Revised Standard Version*. <http://bible.oremus.org/?passage=1Corinthians+13>

⁴⁸² Dekonick, *Ad Imaginem*, 29.

⁴⁸³ Filere, “Le Projet de l’Auteur,” in *Le Miroir sans Tache*. Np.

into a *speculum sine macula*.⁴⁸⁴ Perfection is reached through the emulation of virtuous mirrors, such as Christ and Christian saints. It also prompts the reader to consider his virtues and to persevere in the path to spiritual improvement in order to become a mirror of God. As Ralph Dekoninck has convincingly argued, this comparative analysis between the viewer and these mirrors' reflections lead him to escape from the realm of the theoretical and translate his analysis into action, acquiring virtues that transform him into God's reflection (*homo imago Dei*).⁴⁸⁵

It is interesting to consider Filere's theories in connection with the visitor's experience when walking around the church of La Compañía. If we are to believe Friar Santa Gertrudis, the large mirrors located along the main nave captured the reflection of the faithful's whole body. It is likely that these mirrors were meant to force the visitors to think about their own reflection and the way it compared to the virtuous Christian mirror.⁴⁸⁶ The Christian mirror was not only revealed to the viewer through *The Prophets*, but it was also embodied in the statues of the saints that populated the side aisles, and in the relics displayed on the main altarpiece. A similar

⁴⁸⁴ First, Filere refers to the mirror of vanity and commends us to use it to accept our flaws. A true knowledge of God allows us to break this mirror and focus on our spiritual improvement. Another important element in our salvation comes from facing the mirror of grace, which Filere associates with the sacraments. Preachers are the ones who provide the sacraments established by Christ, becoming the only conductors of divine grace. At the same time, preachers and confessors become living mirrors that reflect the image of our imperfections. By comparing our deeds to their lessons and actions we apprehend our own flaws. Penitence is thus an essential step in our progress.

⁴⁸⁵ Dekoninck, *Ad Imaginem*, 55.

⁴⁸⁶ Dekoninck, *Ad Imaginem*, 54-5. See also Grabes, *The Mutable Glass*, 75-8.

experience was allowed by the mirrors located in the frontals of the side chapels which were also quite large.

The mirrors of the frontals as well as those in the niches of the side altars framed the displayed effigies as Christian figures to be emulated. This is particularly true of Saint Ignatius, whose altar was adorned with the highest number of mirrors (over seventy). The figures worshipped on the remaining altars devoted to Saint Francis Xavier, the Holy Trinity, the Presentation of the Virgin, Saint Joseph, the Ecce Homo, Saint Louis Gonzaga, and Saint Stanislao Kotska were also sources for contemplation. The church's visitors were meant to consider their behavior in comparison to those pious figures. The use of mirrors in the church's interior also positioned members of the Society of Jesus as models of virtue, as *speculum sine macula*. This same message was echoed by *The Prophets* which were meant to frame the founders of the Society of Jesus as prophetic figures, perfect apostles and prime champions of the Catholic Church.⁴⁸⁷

Although mirrors were metaphors for virtue, modesty and moral conduct, their power to only reflect a person's exterior emphasized the gap between outer and inner character.⁴⁸⁸ The idea that physical appearance could hide poor spiritual beauty underlined mirrors' dangerous quality.⁴⁸⁹ As the reflected image was seen as duplicitous, capable of concealing vices and sins under a charming veil, mirrors were

⁴⁸⁷ See Chapter 4.

⁴⁸⁸ Tudor, "Mirrors and Vision in the Renaissance," 174-5.

⁴⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 175.

seen as capable of promoting vanity, derailing the viewer in his search for spiritual growth. It is possible that the small mirrors that decorated the side altars brought to light discourses around the deceptive nature of the looking-glass.⁴⁹⁰ These objects, which were around 20 cm in length, were not meant to render a completely faithful depiction of the viewer. Instead, they created partial, broken and distorted versions of the self. These disjointed images contrasted with the full-bodied reflections produced by the church's larger mirrors, emphasizing the spiritual distance between the faithful and the *speculum sine macula* worshipped in the altar. The presentation in tandem of full-bodied reflections and fragmented mirrored-images allowed the viewers to increase their awareness about their spiritual state. In this context, *The Prophets* became clear visual tools that led the viewer to a correct resolution in this sacred battle by showing him the only truthful path to salvation.

The discourse about the looking-glass in the early modern period also stressed the banality of earthly life and the importance of the afterlife.⁴⁹¹ This concept is illustrated in Jan David's *Speculum Propriae Vilitatis* (fig. 127) which shows a man who realizes his insignificance through the mirror of death and self-discovery. The emblem refers to the inevitable mortality of man and the decay of his physical body. As the title of the emblem suggests ("Know yourself"), the looking-glass of death allows the viewer to grasp the realities of his human condition. Another interesting example is the so-called *Polyptych of Death* (fig.128), a portable box that includes a

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid, 171-2. See also Grabes, *The Mutable Glass*, 56-8.

⁴⁹¹ Grabes, *The Mutable Glass*, 56-8.

mirror, a portrait and different scenes that hint about the inevitability of death. In one of these depictions it is possible to see a priest meditating in front of a hand-mirror; his reflection only shows a skull, a reminder of his fleeting existence (fig.129).

In the same way, La Compañía's mirrors prompted the faithful to ponder about their own mortality and consider Christ as their only hope for salvation in the afterlife. This meditation was reinforced by the painted decorations of the church. While the large canvases of *The Last Judgment* and *Hell* emphasized the future of the damned, *The Prophets* underlined the Messiah as the only possible choice for eternal life. *Joel* (fig. 13), which includes a scene of the Last Judgment, is particularly clear on the two spiritual paths presented to the viewer and the direct consequences of his actions. Thus, physical and spiritual mirrors worked in tandem as thresholds that connected the earthly with the divine and as tools of spiritual enlightenment.

Jesuit penchant for lavish interiors and reflective surfaces was part of a strategy to support the conversion and spiritual growth of the diverse local communities living in the city of Quito that converged at La Compañía. The use of rich materials was meant to not only attract the local population into the church, but also to increase its devotion. The uses of mirrors and gold had also symbolic resonance among indigenous communities that had connected reflective materials with the divine since the Pre-Hispanic period. Simultaneously, these glittering surfaces transformed the interior space of the church into God's abode and a space of spiritual improvement. These mirrors and the skillful manipulation of rich materials positioned Jesuit saints as models of conduct and the Society of Jesus as a perfect reflection of God. *The Prophets* worked in this context as effective didactic tools that, through their

persuasive iconography and composition, were able to translate in narrative terms the complex meaning of a gleaming interior.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this study has been to analyze in depth various aspects surrounding the production and meaning of the series of *Prophets* displayed in the church of La Compañía in Quito. My analysis highlights the dynamic character of this colonial artistic center, while challenging a number of assumptions about what ‘painting from Quito’ constitutes. Looking through the lens of the Jesuit patronage of the paintings, I have also been able to explore the influence that larger institutional agendas had in shaping popular religious imagery and the minds of the colonial population.

The style of La Compañía’s *Prophets*, markedly different from works produced in this city and other artistic centers of the Americas, suggests that they actually originated in a European workshop. Considering the parallels between the paintings and the work of the Toledan artist Luis Tristán, I propose that this master’s painting style influenced the workshop that created *The Prophets*, and that these canvases originated in the same region. Thus, this thesis problematizes current approaches to painting from colonial Quito, and arguably from the rest of the Americas, that limit the presence of European artists and their works to the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. As my dissertation contends, the Americas continued to be a strong foothold for itinerant artists and a commercial hub for European works along the colonial period.

Be that as it may, this attribution is subject to revision pending a more thorough study of the painting produced in New Granada—today Colombia.

Currently, there are only superficial or outdated surveys of painting in this region.⁴⁹² Research on artistic production and patronage in New Granada would be particularly relevant because the Jesuit colleges of Bogotá and Quito belonged to the same province for most of the seventeenth century. The information that the Jesuit catalogues provide should help obtain a clearer understanding of the artistic activities happening at the College of New Granada, as well as the movements of artists between this institution and the College of Quito. An interesting starting point would be to look more closely at the contributions of Portuguese Jesuit painter Domingo de Vasconcelos, who worked in Bogotá in the seventeenth century. Another fruitful avenue would be determining the circulation of lay artists under Jesuit leadership within the Andean region. Susan Verdi Webster, for instance, has already established the participation of architects and masons who built the main entrance to the Jesuit College of Quito—possibly under the direction of Italian Brother Marcos Guerra—who were later sent to work on similar projects for the Jesuit Colleges of Pasto and Bogotá.⁴⁹³

⁴⁹² See for instance, Álvaro Gómez Hurtado and Francisco Gil Tovar, *Colonial Art in Bogota* (Bogota: Villegas Editores, 1987). One of the most complete studies about art of colonial Colombia dates from 1968. See Carlos Arbeláez Camacho and F. Gil Tovar, *El arte colonial en Colombia* (Bogotá: Ediciones Sol y Luna, 1968). A more recent study by Jaime Borja Gómez focuses on the representation of the body in painting from New Granada. See Jaime Humberto Borja Gómez, *Pintura y cultura barroca en la Nueva Granada: discursos sobre el cuerpo* (Bogotá: Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá and Fundación Gilberto Alzate Avendaño, 2012).

⁴⁹³ Susan Verdi Webster, “The Secret Lives of Buildings in Colonial Quito,” *Construction History*, vol. 28, 3 (2013): 21-46, 32.

Although a definite attribution of *The Prophets* is still pending, this dissertation has demonstrated the crucial role that the Jesuit community had in shaping the decorative program of its church in Quito. The prophetic identity of the Jesuit Order, embodied in *The Prophets*, is strongly delivered through the rest of the decoration of the church's main nave, establishing a clear and coherent message for the faithful. The paintings' clear affiliation to several Jesuit prints showcases the involvement of Quito's Jesuit College in designing them. As such, *The Prophets* exemplify the Society of Jesus's engagement in the production of their artistic commissions. Likewise, it shows the interest of Quito's Jesuit College in working with skillful painters that could render the most fundamental values of the Society of Jesus in creative ways.

Through the use of scientific analytical tools, my project demonstrates that the workshop that created La Compañía's *Prophets* followed traditional techniques consistent with the paintings' suggested Spanish origin. Such methodologies should be applied more extensively in studies of attribution as they could provide a reliable foundation to identify particular workshop practices in diverse centers of the Spanish world. More scientific analyses, especially those that are non-destructive like x-radiography and infrared photography, could also clarify the ways in which colonial painters from Quito interpreted European techniques. The conservation reports that remain unpublished at the archives of the National Institute of Cultural Heritage and at the library of the Ministry of Culture in Quito could complement the information provided by technical examinations. These documents usually include data about the structure of paintings through cross-sections, and about the use of certain materials, such as white lead, oils and proteins.

Studies of materials could inform us not only about colonial artistic practices, but would also open new avenues to discuss the functioning of guilds in the city, and the status of the colonial artist. In the chronicles of Mario Cicala, for instance, human and divine artifice are defining elements of Jesuit patronage, especially in connection to the design and creation of La Compañía's eighteenth-century altarpieces.⁴⁹⁴ The selection of adequate materials and the skillful practice of goldbeaters and gilders had a defining impact on the appearance and visual effects produced by the church's interior decoration. To date only Nancy Morán Proaño has briefly discussed the guilds associated with the working of gold and their participation in the decoration of Quito's buildings.⁴⁹⁵ In addition, Jesús Paniagua and Gloria Garzón have pursued in-depth research on the study of colonial guilds in their analysis of the silversmith trade in the city of Cuenca, located in the Ecuadorian Andes.⁴⁹⁶ Alfredo Costales has provided valuable information regarding the names of artists active in trades other than sculpture and painting, such as masons, metalsmiths, embroiderers and musicians.⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁴ As he sees it, human artifice is embodied in the work of Jesuit European craftsmen, implying that Jesuits, in imitation of God, are the ones with the agency to provide sensual pleasure, as well as spiritual clarity and fulfillment.

⁴⁹⁵ Nancy P. Morán Proaño, "El lucimiento de la fe. Platería religiosa en Quito," in *Arte de la Real Audiencia de Quito*, 144-61. Nancy Morán Proaño has also examined the role of silversmiths in art patronage, especially in connection to religious festivities, although briefly.

⁴⁹⁶ See Jesús Paniagua Pérez and Gloria M. Garzón Montenegro, *Los gremios de plateros y de batihojas en la ciudad de Quito (siglo XVIII)* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México; Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 2000).

⁴⁹⁷ Alfredo Costales Samaniego, "El arte en la Real Audiencia de Quito: artistas y artesanos desconocidos de la 'escuela quiteña'," in *Arte colonial quiteño: renovado*

However, there remain no clear answers regarding the techniques preferred by local craftspeople and their adaptation to different types of clientele.⁴⁹⁸ This information would be particularly useful in discussions about the ingenuity and worth of colonial artists, who were commonly dismissed by contemporary authors such as Mario Cicala. They would also enrich previous studies which posit that artists from Quito, especially those working in the seventeenth century, were mostly interested in practice instead of theory.⁴⁹⁹

In past decades, religious orders have not allowed local researchers easy access to their archives. Nowadays this resistance seems to have diminished, providing a unique opportunity for scholars interested in the study of colonial material culture and art theory. Moreover, as the work of Susan Webster has demonstrated, information from public repositories, such as the National Historical Archives or the Municipal Archives, can improve our knowledge about the development of artistic techniques in the colonial period. These studies would complement publications that focus on material culture from the Americas.⁵⁰⁰

enfoque y nuevos actores, by Carmen Fernández-Salvador and Alfredo Costales Samaniego (Quito: FONSAL, 2007), 126-315.

⁴⁹⁸ An article about the changes regarding artistic guilds at the end of the 18th century is the exception. See Alexandra Kennedy, “Transformación del papel de talleres artesanales quiteños del siglo XVIII: el caso de Bernardo de Legarda,” *Anales. Museo de América*, 2 (1994): 63-76.

⁴⁹⁹ Kennedy, “Algunas consideraciones sobre el arte barroco en Quito y la ‘interrupción’ ilustrada (siglos XVII y XVIII),” in *Arte de la Real Audiencia de Quito*, 58-9.

⁵⁰⁰ See for instance Elena Phipps et al., *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004); and

My project also unpacks the characteristics of Jesuit art patronage in colonial Quito. I accomplished this by determining that the selection and implementation of European designs responded to contemporary restrictions imposed on religious imagery after the Council of Trent, as well as to the function of the paintings as didactic tools. The identification of Jesuit models allowed me to strengthen my suggestion that Quito's Jesuit College was directly involved in commissioning *The Prophets*.

The analysis of Jesuit patronage has also raised important questions concerning the circulation of religious images among Jesuit colleges, as well as between other regions of the world and Quito. Recent exhibitions have highlighted the extent of the circulation of such objects in the colonial Americas.⁵⁰¹ Gauvin Bailey has studied the contribution of religious orders to the circulation of Asian material culture in this same region, paying particular attention to the role of the Jesuits in this trade.⁵⁰² Scholars have also assessed the role of members of the Society of Jesus in importing religious works intended for the Jesuit Colleges of Peru and New Granada.⁵⁰³ However, there

Richard Aste, ed., *Behind Closed Doors: Art in the Spanish American Home, 1492-1898* (New York: Brooklyn Museum, 2013).

⁵⁰¹ See for instance, Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt, ed., *Journeys to New Worlds: Spanish and Portuguese Colonial Art in the Roberta and Richard Huber Collection* (Philadelphia: New Haven and London: Philadelphia Museum of Art: Yale University Press, 2013).

⁵⁰² Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "Religious Orders and the Arts of Asia," in *Made in the Americas: The New World Discovers Asia*, by Dennis Carr (Boston: MFA Publications, 2015), 90-109.

⁵⁰³ The importance of trade in Jesuit art patronage has been discussed in Luisa Elena Alcalá et al., *Fundaciones jesuíticas en Iberoamérica* (Madrid: Ediciones El Viso,

are no scholarly publications that address this particular topic in connection to Quito's Jesuit College.

My project has also established that the interior of the church was populated by a large number of mirrors of different sizes displayed in its main nave and side aisles. These mirrors not only emphasized and multiplied the glittering effects of the building's gilded altarpieces and vault, but also played with metaphors about the nature of reflections. La Compañía's lavish decoration was geared toward supporting the conversion and spiritual growth of different social groups by prompting the beholder's self-analysis, a theme that was largely present in seventeenth-century Jesuit texts. The reflection and multiplication of natural and artificial light underscored the concept of Christian salvation through the imitation of Christ. As such, *The Prophets* and their consistent messianic message worked in tandem with La Compañía's reflective space to translate in narrative terms the complex symbolism behind the building's gleaming interior.

The large presence of mirrors in the Jesuit church and in other churches of the Andes demands more extensive study on the production and trade of mirrors and other reflective materials in the region.⁵⁰⁴ Inventories of Jesuit colleges within the Real

2002). Discussions about the Jesuit church in Bogota have also highlighted the presence of numerous works of European origin. See Arbeláez Camacho, *El arte colonial en Colombia*, 157. These attributions are not devoid of controversy. For instance, two paintings belonging to the church of Saint Ignatius in Bogotá are believed to be by Andrea Pozzo. See Benjamín Villegas Jiménez, ed., *Santiago Páramo y la capilla de San José: iglesia de San Ignacio* (Bogotá: Villegas Editores, 2013), 102-3.

⁵⁰⁴ Bailey briefly discusses the use of ivory in colonial sculpture. Bailey, "Religious Orders and the Arts of Asia," 93-6.

Audiencia of Quito would be particularly useful sources for this type of analysis, as they describe objects made with uncommon or expensive materials that the institution owned, as well as their precise location. Jesuit annual letters and letters from missions could also provide information that would advance this type of research. Such documentation is held in the Jesuit archives at the Library Aurelio Espinosa Pólit, in Quito, and in the digital repositories at the National Archives in Chile and the Special Collections at Saint Louis University.

Another point that deserves more extensive discussion is the role of religious congregations in the art patronage of colonial Quito. There are only a few publications that address this topic, the most recent being Susan Webster's article about the role of confraternities in the construction of colonial religious buildings.⁵⁰⁵ Two additional publications—one focused on the confraternity of silversmiths and the other on the confraternity of the Virgin of the Rosary—are over thirty years old, so their scholarship should be revisited.⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰⁵ There are few studies regarding the influence of confraternities in Quiteño art. See Susan Verdi Webster, "Confraternities as Patrons of Architecture in Colonial Quito, Ecuador," in *Early Modern Confraternities in Europe and the Americas* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub., 2006), 204-25. Webster also authored an article that broadly addresses the role of confraternities in art patronage in colonial Quito. See Susan Verdi Webster, "Las cofradías y su mecenazgo artístico durante la colonia," in *Arte de la Real Audiencia de Quito, siglos XVII-XIX*, 66-85.

⁵⁰⁶ Jesús Paniagua Pérez, "La cofradía quiteña de San Eloy," in *Estudios Humanísticos. Geografía, Historia y Arte*, 10 /1988): 197-214. José María Vargas O.P., *Nuestra Señora del Rosario en el Ecuador* (Quito: [Publisher not identified], [1985?]). Historian Patricio Guerra has also done a historical analysis of the Confraternity of the Virgin of the Pillar in Quito in connection to the Franciscan church. Manuel Patricio Guerra, *La cofradía de la Virgen del Pilar de Zaragoza de Quito* (Quito: Abya-Yala, 2000).

At this point, little is known about the role that the confraternities associated with the Jesuit College in Quito played in the adornment of La Compañía's altars, and in the festivities regarding Jesuit devotions. Inventories and annual letters can bring light to this particular topic, especially in connection with the worship of the Virgin of Loreto which was one of the most important Jesuit devotions in the Americas. For instance, different annual letters from the first half of the seventeenth century describe in detail processions in her honor, including the artifacts and images on display. These accounts also refer to the role that female artists had in the decoration of the Jesuit church's chapel of the Virgin of Loreto.⁵⁰⁷ Records of expenses and donations of artifacts would also provide relevant clues which would enrich the discussion about the materiality of the church's decorative program.

The Society of Jesus purposefully used *The Prophets* to establish associations between its members and the concept of prophecy, and to frame Jesuit missionaries and preachers as divine messengers. Such ideas, as part of a global Jesuit discourse, were promoted as a foundation for the creation of this religious order and for assessing its worth as a missionary institution. In the case of Quito, this discourse presented the Society of Jesus as an organization uniquely qualified to impart Christian education

⁵⁰⁷ Alfredo Costales's exhaustive research about the many unknown artists and artisans of colonial Quito seemingly suggests that most of them were male. See Alfredo Costales Samaniego, "El Arte en la Real Audiencia de Quito: artistas y artesanos desconocidos de la 'escuela quiteña'," in *Arte colonial quiteño: renovado enfoque y nuevos actores*, by Carmen Fernández-Salvador and Alfredo Costales Samaniego, 126-315 (Quito: FONSA, 2007), 303-15. However, as the Jesuit annual letters suggest, the participation of women in local arts must have been more substantial than has been so far believed.

unto various social and cultural groups, and to convert the gentiles living in isolated regions. This fictional discourse permitted the Society of Jesus to strengthen its position in the Province of Quito, where it had confronted several setbacks, both in the Amazonian missions of Maynas and in the city.

Institutional competition in connection to religious art patronage also needs further analysis. For instance, the pervasive presence of Old Testament images in several local religious buildings brings into question connections between diverse churches' decorative programs and institutional rivalries. As briefly discussed in this dissertation, it was not only the Jesuits who included images of Old Testament subjects, but also the Franciscan and Dominican Orders, which had their own series of prophets. These works have remained unstudied, in part because of their poor condition. Quito's monastery of Santo Domingo houses a series of fourteen portraits of the Kings of Judah, traditionally attributed to Goríbar, and the Franciscan church has several paintings of prophets, as well as depictions of apostles and religious authorities which require a closer analysis. It would be enlightening to examine the dialogues and intersections of the decorative programs of these religious organizations, and the ways in which their social and political rivalries affected art patronage.

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Índice de los libros que se hallan en la librería de los padres de La Compañía de Jesús del Colegio de San Luis de la ciudad de San Francisco de Quito, 1756.

Inventario de las provincias del Mainas.

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Appendix A

INFORMATION REGARDING JESUIT ARTISTS WORKING IN COLONIAL QUITO (1639-1742)

The catalogues provide a few names of sculptors and architects who lived and worked in Quito. The most famous in the group is Marcos Guerra, who worked as an architect and sculptor between 1642 and 1664. In fact, Guerra was involved in the construction of the Jesuit church during the seventeenth century. Acts of the Council from the city of Quito also show that brother Guerra was considered a “master architect” (Maestro arquitecto) of the Society of Jesus.⁵⁰⁸ As such, he was commissioned to inspect the bridges of the nearby regions of Pisque and Guayllabamba in 1639. His activities are registered until 1664, the last year in which his name appears in a Jesuit public catalogue.

Other less renowned Jesuit architects are Joan Fernández, Francisco de Ayerdi, and Didacus Luisinc, all of whom were born in Europe. According to the catalogs of 1668, Joan Fernandez was born in Navarre, Spain, and had joined the Society six years earlier. At 28, he worked as “Officina Domestica, Societ. Architecti.”⁵⁰⁹ In the

⁵⁰⁸ “Medidas que toma el Cabildo, por informes del Hermano Marcos Guerra Maestro Arquitecto de la Compañía de Jesús, para la Reparación del puente de Pisque. Mayo 13-1639,” in *Libro de Cabildos de la Ciudad de Quito 1638-1646*, Jorge A. Garcés, dir. (Quito: Imprenta Municipal, 1960), 66-8.

⁵⁰⁹ *Catalogus Primus Provincia Novi Regni Societatis Iesu, 1668*, fr. 3, fol. 243, Provincia Novi Regni et Quitensis, ARSI, Jesuit Historical Manuscripts on Microfilm, Special Collections, Saint Louis University.

catalogues of 1667 and 1671, his job is described as “Architectus et officia domestica.”⁵¹⁰ The last catalogue of Quito in which he is mentioned is from 1678, when he is only identified as working as “officia domestica.”⁵¹¹ His name does not appear in the catalogues of 1684 in Quito, but in the College of Panamá, not as an architect but as “officia domestica.” The list of the Province also includes a few homonyms: Joannes Fernandez Belga, who worked in the College of Mompox, Joannes Fernández Gallocus and Joannes Fernández Pedroche, who worked in the missions of Llanos. In 1664 Joan Fernández’s is not included either, so he was probably transferred to Quito from a different province. The fact that Joan Fernández was always associated to minor labors (“officia domestica”) and that his name never appears in the acts of the council of Quito suggest that his skills as an architect were not as recognized as Guerra’s.

According to the catalogues, Francisco de Ayerdi was born in “Hernani”, Spain (maybe the Basque Country) and had joined the Society in 1664. His name does not appear in the catalogues of 1668, presumably because he was working in a different province. Francisco de Ayerdi seemingly worked as an architect between 1684 and 1693. In the years of 1671 and 1678, he is only identified as “Socius Provincialis.”⁵¹² Interestingly, the catalogs mention that he was formed in 1682, and

⁵¹⁰ *Catalogus Primus Provincia Novi Regni Granatensis Societatis Iesu, Anno 1671*, fr. 3, fol. 280v.

⁵¹¹ *Catalogus Primus Provincia Novi Regni Granatensis Societatis Iesu, Anno 1678*, fr. 3, fol. 318v.

⁵¹² *Ibid.*

only in 1684 he is called an architect.⁵¹³ In 1687, his work is identified as “Procurator Predior. Et ad Liter.” obviating his activities as an architect.⁵¹⁴ In the catalogue of 1690 his ministry is “Socius Provincialis, Procurator Predior et ad liter” (member of the Province, state manager and of literature), but in the catalogue of 1693 he is again identified as “Architectus Procurator.”⁵¹⁵ In the secret catalogue of the same year, 1693, Francisco de Ayerde appears as “missus in Europa,” meaning that he was sent back to Europe.

Didacus Luisinch or Luisinc, from Germany, worked as an architect in the Nuevo Reino between 1651 and 1664. In 1649 he was already 59 years old and suffered from health complications. He had joined the Society in 1613 as a temporal coadjutor. According to the catalogues between 1649 and 1664 he worked as a carpenter and an architect (“Faber Lignarius et architectus”).⁵¹⁶ Since 1655, his health is qualified as weak. His name still appears in the catalogue of 1668 and 1671, but he

⁵¹³ *Catalogus Primus Privnica Novi Regni et Quiti Societatis Iesu, Ani 1684*, fr. 3, fol. 352v.

⁵¹⁴ *Catalogus Primus Provincia Novi Regni et Quiti Societatis Iesu, Anno 1687*, fr.3, fol. 384.

⁵¹⁵ *Cathalogus Publicus Provincia Quitensis Societatis Iesu, 1693*, fr. 11, fol.23-23v.

⁵¹⁶ *Catalogus Provincia Nov[i] Regn[i] et Quit[i] Ann[o] 1649*, fr.3, fol. 84; *Catalogus Publicus Provinciae Novi Regni et Quiti, 1651*, fr.3, fol.110v.; *Catalogus Publicus Provinciae Novi Regni et Quiti, Anni 1655*, fr. 3, fol. 138; *Catalogo Publicus Provinciae Novi Regni et Quiti, Anno 1657*, fr.3, fol. 161v; *Catalogus Publicus Provinciae Novi Regni et Quiti, Anno 1660*, fr.3, fol. 187; *Catalogus publicus Provincia Novi Regni et Quiti, Anno 1664*, fr.3, fol. 215.

is no longer part of the College of Quito. Instead, he was sent to the College of Santa Fe, where he died in 1675.⁵¹⁷

The name of Jesuit brother Michele de Cesare appears in the catalogues between 1726 and 1743. He was a sculptor, born in Naples in 1686, who joined the Society in 1714.⁵¹⁸ In the catalogue of 1729, de Cesare's name is linked to the missions in Maynas. According to the document, he was not working as a sculptor but as a janitor and in other domestic services ("officia domestica, sedituus janitor)."⁵¹⁹ In 1736, Cesare (or Zerrano) was living in the college of Loja where he worked in domestic services and also as a sculptor.⁵²⁰ In 1743, Cesare is again in Quito working in domestic services and as a sculptor.⁵²¹ The case of Michele de Cesare is interesting because it shows how Jesuits artists would be transferred to different colleges of the province according to the needs of each location. It is not possible to know how proficient a sculptor Cesare was, but the fact that he worked mostly in domestic services suggests that his work as a sculptor might have been secondary. No piece from the collection of La Compañía has been attributed to him.

⁵¹⁷ *Supplementum Catalogi Huvus Provincia Novi Regni et Quiti ab anno 1671 [sic. 1675]*, fr.3, fol. 343.

⁵¹⁸ *Catalogus primus seu publicus Provincia Quitensis Societate Iesu, Anno 1726*, fr.11, fol. 180.

⁵¹⁹ *Catalogus primus seu publicus Provincia Quitensis, Anno 1729*, fr.11, fol. 205v.

⁵²⁰ *Catalogus primus, seu publicus Provincia Quitensis Societatis Iesu, [1736]*, fr.11, fol. 227.

⁵²¹ *Catalogus Primus seu Publicus Provinciae Quitensis Societatis Iesu, Anno 1743*, fr.11, 281v.

Another name that appears in some of the catalogues of the College of Quito is that of the renowned sculptor Jorge Vinterer (or F. Georguis Vinterer) to whom is attributed the design of the main altar of the church of La Compañía. He was born in Tirol in 1695 and became a Jesuit in 1722. He is identified as a carpenter (“faber lignarium”) in the catalogues of 1729, 1736, and 1743.⁵²² Similarly than Cesare, Vinterer traveled to the missions of Maynas and worked there as a carpenter and missionary (“faber lignarius, juvat missionarium”). The fact that he was labeled as a carpenter and not as a sculptor, like Cesare, suggests that the role of a sculptor was related to producing sculptures in the round and that carpentry was associated to the construction of altarpieces or other major works.

⁵²² *Catalogus primus seu publicus Provinciae Quitensis Soc. Iesu. Anno 1729*, fr.11, fol. 200 ; *Catalogus primus seu publicus Provinciae Quitensis Societatis Iesu, Anno 173*, fr.11, fol. 222v; *Catalogus primus seu Publicus, Provinciae Quitensis Societatis Iesu, anno 1743*, fr.11, fol. 289v.

Appendix B

***BREVE SUMA DE LAS VIDAS Y VIRTUDES DE ALGUNOS VARONES
ILUSTRES QUE HAN FLORECIDO EN ESTE COLEGIO DE LA COMPAÑÍA
DE JESÚS DE QUITO (fr. 13, fol. 309v-310v, Provincia Novi Regni et Quitensis,
ARSI, Jesuit Historical Manuscripts on Microfilm, Special Collections, Saint
Louis University).***

“El hermano Hernando de la Cruz coadjutor temporal formado, tuvo su origen en la ciudad de Pana[má] de padres nobles y piadosos, era de agudo ingenio y sutil capacidad. Fue muy diestro en las armas y muy entendido en la poesía y eminente en el arte de pintar. Vivía con tan ventajosas prendas en el siglo descuidado de su salvación y entregado a pasatiempos, tocóle Dios fuertemente con sus ilustraciones divinas violentándole suavemente [aguardando?aquí dando?] de mano al siglo y hossando sutil sus vanidades se recogiese a vida religiosa llamóle con ocasión de un desafío que tuvo con otro que le lastimó gravemente en una veriza, no pudo resistir a tan fuertes llamamientos y así se resolvió entrar a la Compañía de Jesús en este colegio de Quito donde aprovechando de su capacidad se entregó tan de veras a la vida religiosa que llegó a ser un niño dechado de perfección; habiendo sido muy aficionado en el siglo a la poesía, quemó todos sus papeles sin tratar de este arte en más de veinte años, hasta que la observancia obediencia lo mandó que la ejercitase, ocupáronlo los superiores en el arte de pintar, con que enriqueció este colegio y otros muchos de la provincia con hermosos lienzos para el adorno de las iglesias. Hizo dos grandes para la iglesia del colegio del infierno y juicio que son mudos predicadores, que han apartado a muchos de la mala vida que tenían, tan vivos en la pintura, que declaran bien la

viveza de la meditación que de estas postrimerías tenía. Era este hermano muy dado a la oración, gastando todo el tiempo que le sobraba de su ocupación en el santo ejercicio o por mejor decir fue toda su vida una oración continuada pues cuando trabajaba (oía) de un oficial de los que le ayudaban ocupado en leer un libro espiritual, o ya levantaba su fervoroso espíritu a Dios con ardientes jaculatorias, y actos de fe y esperanza y caridad, y ejercicio de otras virtudes, repitiéndolos innumerables veces; tuvo singular afición al soberano sacramento del altar, visitándole siete veces al día, recibía este divino manjar tres veces a la semana con grande júbilo y provecho de su espíritu. Vivió en el retiro de su ocupación sin salir de casa sino raras veces a ver a una hermana religiosa que tenía por espacio de veinte años, hasta que la fama de su santidad le descubrió acudiendo muchas personas así religiosas como seculares, siendo muy espirituales y de dignidades y aun superiores de otras religiones a sujetarse a su enseñanza experimentando grande provecho en sus almas con su doctrina. Alentábalos a que la asumiesen con ventajas a la perfección. Fue muy mortificado padeciendo casi todo el discurso de su vida penosa achaques con mucha paciencia, fue su castidad angélica, su obediencia ciega y pobre de espíritu teniendo gran desprecio de los bienes del mundo; fue muy humilde, ocultando siempre sus lucidos talentos con admirable cordura. Fue tan observante de sus reglas que jamás quebrantó alguna con advertencia. Era de tan buena intención que siempre echaba las cosas a la mejor parte. Interpretandolas al bien, aunque tuviesen algunos visos de malas, y por esa sinceridad de intención le quedaron los ojos después de muerto tan resplandecientes y vivos que parece abrazaban centellas de luces con universal admiración de todos. Acabó el dichoso curso de su peregrinación a ocho de enero de mil y seis cientos y cuarenta y cinco, siendo de edad de cincuenta y cinco años. Concurrió a su entierro lo más lúcido

de la ciudad a venerar su santo cuerpo besándole las manos y pies y procurando algún pedazo de su pobre ropa para memoria de tan santo religioso.