

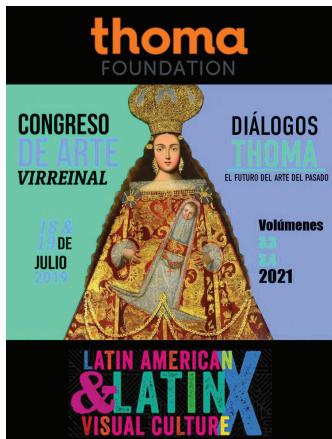
Historiographies and New Perspectives: Empowered Images and Diverse Voices in the Art of Viceregal Perú



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The collection of essays in the *Diálogos Thoma: Arte Virreinal, el futuro del arte del pasado* originated and transformed from the scholarship shared at the international symposium, *Congreso de Arte Virreinal: el futuro del arte del pasado* in Lima, Peru. The *Congreso* took place in July 2019 for an audience of more than 1,500 viewers, who attended both in person and via livestream. This event, supported by the Carl & Marilyn Thoma Foundation, brought together individuals from around the world to discuss colonial art in a Latin American venue for Peruvian audiences at the Universidad de Ricardo Palma's Centro Cultural Ccori Wasi. Scholars and contemporary artists presented twenty-four lectures to share new research and ideas in the field of colonial and contemporary Latin American art history and discuss how the viceregal past remains relevant for scholars and artists in Latin America, the United States, and other countries. We would like to thank the Thoma Foundation and Carl and Marilyn Thoma for their support and visionary leadership in promoting the study of colonial art in Latin America and specifically for their generosity in making this bilingual publication possible.¹ We also

extend our gratitude to the University of California Press and David Famiano for providing this two-volume Dialogues edition free and available to students and scholars around the world.

The essays in this *Diálogos Thoma* section of the Latin American and Latinx Visual Culture journal are published in Spanish to acknowledge the countries from where this field of study originates and to provide greater access for Spanish speaking readers to share hemispheric conversations about current research and scholarship between the United States, Latin America, and Spain.² By giving visibility to these networks of scholars working in the field of colonial Latin American art history around the world, we can continue to create a shared community of international scholarship, circulating research among countries and across borders. This introductory essay and the corresponding group of essays in the *Diálogos Thoma* also respond to recent historiographical contributions that value the diversity of art production and cultural perspectives in the Spanish Americas to re-examine the complexity of viceregal art. Our focus is to shed light on the multiple voices creating and viewing art during the colonial period and to highlight the contributions of artists from diverse ethnic backgrounds and communities who played an active role in image production and interpretation. By incorporating interdisciplinary fields

2019-2020 Marilyn Thoma Pre-doctoral and Post-doctoral Fellows in Spanish colonial Art. We are deeply thankful for their leadership in our field and for creating a great team at the Thoma Foundation, especially Erin Fowler, Sarah Rovang, and Kathryn Santner, who have worked to realize their mission of connecting people across cultures through the power of art.

2. The choice for these volumes to be published in Spanish honors the cultural patrimony of Peru where this conference originated, as well as other countries in Latin America that have thriving cultural and academic programs. This publication in Spanish also functions to acknowledge the importance and complexity of an even broader understanding of literacy that includes Indigenous languages and interpretations of the spoken work in non-written forms, building on the contributions of Joanne Rappaport and Tom Cummins in *Beyond the Lettered City: Indigenous Literacies in the Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012).

1. We would like to personally thank Carl and Marilyn Thoma for their support of our research and academic events that we organized as the

of colonial history and Latin American studies, it is also possible to examine the important role of images as documents that reveal more about the cultural context of viceregal Latin America. As Luisa Elena Alcalá has observed, “what we are seeing in the field of colonial Latin American art is a revision and ultimately an enrichment of traditional methods of inquiry inspired by the extraordinary diversity of pictorial production in this part of the world from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries.”³ The essays in volumes 3.3 and 3.4 of the *Dialogues* section of the Latin American and Latinx Visual Culture journal seek to build upon interdisciplinary analytical paradigms that consider non-European interpretations of viceregal images and expand our theoretical and methodological focus to examine the dynamic interactions between the Americas, Africa, and Asia.⁴ By examining how cross-cultural encounters were often violent events that transformed ways of creating and experiencing art, it is possible to re-think traditional historical narratives and shed light on the complexity of colonial images that often did not represent a linear scheme of severing of Latin American history into pre- and post-Conquest periods.⁵ Building on the historiography of colonial Latin American art history in the previous decades that seeks to reveal the nuances, resistances, and negotiations in viceregal art, these essays are aligned with this scholarship that explores the ways artists and Native communities used strategies to continue their cultural practices and assert their power in colonial contexts.⁶ Andean artists and the subjects that they painted often claimed a place

3. Luisa Elena Alcalá, “Painting in Latin America, 1550–1829: A Historical and Theoretical Framework,” in *Painting in Latin America, 1550–1820*, ed. Luisa Elena Alcalá and Jonathan Brown (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 16.

4. Cécile Fromont, ed., *Afro-Catholic Festivals in the Americas: Performance, Representation, and the Making of Black Atlantic Tradition* (University Park: Pennsylvania State Press, 2019); *Made in the Americas: The New World Discovers Asia*, exhibition catalogue (Boston: Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 2016); Amy Buono, “Historicity, achronicity, and the materiality of cultures in colonial Brazil,” *Getty Research Journal*, no. 7, ed. Thomas Gaehtgens and Aleca Le Blanc (2015): 19–34.

5. Carolyn Dean, *Inka bodies and the body of Christ: Corpus Christi in colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 118. Dana Leibsohn, “The Geographies of Sight” in *Seeing Across Cultures in the Early Modern World*, ed. Dan Leibsohn and Jeanette Peterson (Burlington: Ashgate Press, 2012), 1–20.

6. Emily Engel, *Pictured politics: visualizing colonial history in South American portrait collections* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2020); Ananda Cohen-Aponte, “Decolonizing the Global Renaissance: A View from the Andes,” in *The Globalization of Renaissance Art: A Critical Review*, ed. Daniel Savoy (Boston: Brill, 2017), 67–94; Alessandra Russo, *The Untranslatable Image: A Mestizo History of the Arts in New Spain 1500–1600* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014); Walter Mignolo, *The darker side of the*

for themselves in art, architecture, and other non-European media such as highland textiles and mopa mopa images.⁷ As Carolyn Dean and other scholars have suggested, it is therefore important to liberate colonial art from the aesthetic restrictions of the European canon.⁸

These essays in the *Diálogos Thoma* will examine how colonial artists translated Spanish artistic practices into what Stella Nair has called a “localized visual vocabulary,” where colonial art and architecture was “understood through Andean spatial and spiritual conceptions, making possible the imagination of new transcultured spaces.”⁹ These essays will also argue the idea that colonial art should not be discussed as merely an art of the past, as seen with contemporary artists actively engaging in dialogues about colonial art today.¹⁰ This compilation of essays will present dialogues about Spanish colonial visual culture to fracture the art history canon and move away from solely examining traditional media to consider how enormous physical distances in Spanish America generated new artistic inventions. Scholars such as Gabriela Siracusano have studied

Renaissance: literacy, territoriality, and colonization (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 187.

7. Stella Nair, “Localizing Sacredness, Difference, and Yachacuscumcani in a Colonial Andean Painting,” *The Art Bulletin* 89, no. 2 (June, 2007): 211–238; Elena Phipps, “Woven Documents: Color, Design, and Cultural Origins of the Textiles in the Getty Murua,” in *Manuscript cultures of colonial Mexico and Peru: new questions and approaches*, ed. Thomas B.E. Cummins, Emily Engel, Barbara Anderson, and Juan Ossio (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2014): 65–85; Catalina Ospina Jiménez, “From Mouth to Hand: Mopa Mopa Images in the Colonial Northern Andes,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, forthcoming 2021).

8. Carolyn Dean states this in her essay “Cuando el arte era mestizo: balance y perspectivas” in *Pintura Cuzqueña*, ed. Ricardo Kusunoki and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden (Lima: Asociación Museo de Arte de Lima-MALI, 2016), 61; Barbara Mundy and Aaron Hyman, “Out of The Shadow of Vasari: Towards A New Model of The ‘Artist’ in Colonial Latin America,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 24, no. 3 (2015): 292–293.

9. Stella Nair, “Localizing Sacredness,” 232; See also Michael Schreffler, *Cuzco: Incas, Spaniards, and the Making of a Colonial City* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020); Patrick Hajovsky, “Shifting Panoramas: Contested Visions of Cuzco’s 1650 Earthquake,” *The Art Bulletin* 100, no. 4 (2018): 34–61; Tom Cummins, “Argumentos milagrosos: pintura y política cultural tras el terremoto de 1650,” in *Pintura Cuzqueña*, 73–91.

10. See, for example, Natalia Majluf, “Indigenism as Avant-Garde: The Graphic Arts,” in Beverly Adams and Natalia Majluf, *The Avant-garde Networks of Amauta: Argentina, Mexico, and Peru in the 1920’s* (Austin and Lima: Blanton Museum of Art and Asociación Museo de Arte de Lima, 2019); Tom Cummins, “A Play in the Arts of the Lords. The Early Works of Darío Escobar” in *A Singular Plurality: The Works of Darío Escobar*, ed. José Luis Falconi, trans. Nicole T. Hughes and Elena González Escrihuella (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013); Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, *Principio Potosí Reverso* (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, 2010); *Azulejões e Charques [Adriana Varejão]*, ed. Paulo Herkenhoff and Louise Neri (Brasilia: Takano Editora Gráfica, 2001).



Figure 1-. Unidentified artist, Cusco, Peru, *Our Lady of Mercy, called “the Pilgrim of Quito,” entering Cusco*, c. 1730-1735, oil on canvas, 31½ x 50¾ in. (80 x 128 cm). The Carl and Marilyn Thoma Collection

how the materiality of the images, from the pigments and materials used to the individuals involved in the creation of these works, were interconnected within dynamic trade routes that circulated images across continents and between hemispheres.¹¹ In the Thoma collection, artworks such as the *Virgen “la Peregrina”* reveal how paintings were re-imagined in this process as new devotions within unique Andean cultural contexts (fig. 1). Images made treks across mountain ranges and through the tropical lowlands on pilgrimages to raise support for their churches. The sculpture of Our Lady of Mercy, known as “la Peregrina,” as well as *Our Lady of Guápulo*, were carried from present-day Ecuador to Peru. The painting of *Our Lady of Mercy as the Pilgrim of Quito entering Cuzco* reveals how these treks transformed the reception of the Marian figures as the

11. Gabriela Siracusano and Agustina Rodríguez Romero eds., *Materia Americana: El cuerpo de las imágenes hispanoamericanas (Siglos XVI a mediados del XIX)* (Buenos Aires: Editorial de la Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero, 2020); *Golden Kingdoms: luxury arts in the Ancient Americas*, exhibition catalogue (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2017); Gabriela Siracusano, “El ‘cuerpo’ de las imágenes andinas. Una mirada interdisciplinaria,” *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas XXXI*, num. 94 (2009), 157-58; Teresa Gisbert, “Del Cusco a Potosí. La religiosidad del sur andino,” in *El Barroco Peruano*, vol. 2, ed. Ramón Mujica Pinilla (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2003): 60-97.

circulation of these images created unique devotional meanings for diverse audiences in colonial Peru and Ecuador.¹² After traveling on horseback and via mule trains throughout the Andes, sculptures such as “la Peregrina” became transformed, as seen in the image in the Thoma collection, to include local birds and architecture in Cusco depicted in the cityscape.¹³ These essays in the *Diálogos Thoma* will continue these narratives that seek to elevate regional and popular arts and their localized iconographies, study the role of Indigenous media in the formation of colonial art, and uncover the contributions of Indigenous and mixed-race artists and patrons within this contested period of art history. The unique performativity of images in the Andes and these transformed iconographies reveal how Andean artists did not conform completely to recreating European images, but instead reinterpreted them and integrated their own localized visions.

12. Carmen Fernández-Salvador, *Encuentros y desencuentros con la frontera imperial: la Iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús de Quito y la misión en el Amazonas, siglo XVII* (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2018).

13. Thomas B.F. Cummins and Katherine McAllen, “New Cities of God: Art and Devotion in Colonial Peru and Bolivia,” in *Highest Heaven: Spanish and Portuguese Colonial Art from the Collection of Roberta and Richard Huber* (San Antonio: San Antonio Museum of Art, 2016), 22-23.



Figure 2 - Unidentified workshop, Cusco, Peru or La Paz, Bolivia, *The Christ Child Painting the Four Last Things*, late seventeenth-early eighteenth century, oil on canvas, 33½ x 43¾ in. (84.1 x 111.4 cm). The Carl and Marilynn Thoma Collection

Also in the Thoma Collection, the eighteenth-century painting of *The Christ Child painting the Four Last Things* reinterprets an episode of Antoine Wierix's print series that narrates the metaphor of the human heart as a secret chamber or dwelling (fig. 2).¹⁴ The artist reproduced Wierix's print as a central motif by depicting the infant Christ in the center of the canvas decorating the heart's interior with paintings of the Four Last Things: Death, Judgment, Hell and Heaven.¹⁵ This unknown artist expanded Wierix's iconography to include a number of figures flanking the heart. At the top of the composition, God the Father and the dove of the Holy Spirit appear surrounded by archangels. To the left of the heart, three female figures

represent three virtues: Faith who appears holding a monstrance, Hope who carries a book, and Charity who is represented nursing an infant. To the right, a Guardian Angel guides two children to see what Christ is painting, a reminder that through the iconography of the Four Last Things, one can elevate the soul to God and help reject negative thoughts. This painting can be understood as a reflection of the supreme act of creation since several seventeenth and eighteenth-century artistic treatises described God as the *ideator mundi*, or the first painter of the world. These works from the Thoma collection embody the initiative of colonial painters to claim a place for themselves as artists, acting not just as subjects or copyists, but rather as creators of art that exhibited their own originality and invention.

Colonial artists and patrons also celebrated their localized culture and applied their own spiritual

14. *The Virgin, Saints and Angels: South American Paintings 1600-1825 from the Thoma Collection*, ed. Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt (Milan: Skira, 2006), 130-131.

15. Walter S. Melion, *The Meditative Art: Studies in the Northern Devotional Print, 1550-1625* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2009).



Figure 3-. Unidentified artist, Cusco, Peru, *Our Lady of Bethlehem with a Donor*, eighteenth century, oil on canvas with gold, 95 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 63 in. (242.9 x 160 cm). The Carl and Marilynn Thoma Collection

practices and spatial representations to the art they created and consumed in the Andes. The painting of *Nuestra Señora de Belén* from the Thoma collection provides visual evidence of this active role that patrons played in representing themselves in the Andes as devout leaders in church decoration programs to signify their own power and create their own cultural memory (fig. 3).¹⁶ This painting serves as a stunning example of the intentional participation of a donor both in the commission of the painting and in the leading role he took in the production of the image, even though his identity is currently unknown.¹⁷ Homi

16. Nair, "Localizing Sacredness," 227.

17. The portrait of this donor embodies the complicated nature of understanding the ethnic identity of patrons by the visibility of their portraits. Archival records may prove that a criollo, born from Spanish parents in Cusco, who served as the "cura rector de indios de la iglesia catedral de Cusco," could have been the patron. I am thankful to Jesús Alfaro Cruz for

Bhabha's revisionist ideas on postcoloniality, which reflected on "the epistemological limits" of colonial history that excluded acknowledging subjects' efforts to disrupt the dominant discourse of authority, have become foundational for analyzing discourses of cultural exchange and art production within multiethnic societies.¹⁸ Dana Leibsohn and Carolyn Dean have addressed the implications of applying Bhabha's work as a theoretical template to colonial Latin American art history by considering how hybridity is "entangled in conventions for seeing."¹⁹ Dean and Liebsohn and other scholars have aptly identified that these binary constructions can often disguise the complex and nuanced identities of colonial subjects by homogenizing them into bipolar categories of colonizer vs. colonized, raising the important question of whether "hybridity may be largely invisible."²⁰ Susan Verdi Webster has also addressed this issue of the "deception of visibility" when the traces of Indigenous styles and iconographies are not detectable in the appearance of art and architecture in colonial Ecuador that she has researched with important conclusions.²¹ These historiographical contributions to the field have challenged contemporary art historians to reexamine their assumptions about the significance of racial and ethnic identity in the visible characteristics of colonial art, while also avoiding "the danger of reifying colonial ethnic categories as if they were static and unchanging."²²

his research collaboration. See Archivo Arzobispal del Cusco (AAC), Época Colonial, Inventarios de Iglesias, Legajo VII, 5, Expediente 81, f. 73r.

18. Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 5. See also J. Jorge Klor de Alva, "The Postcolonization of the (Latin) American Experience: A Reconsideration of 'Colonialism,' 'Postcolonialism,' and 'Mestizaje,'" in *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements*, ed. Gyan Prakash (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

19. Dana Leibsohn and Carolyn Dean, "Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America," *Colonial Latin American Review* 12, no. 1 (2003), 7.

20. Leibsohn and Dean, "Hybridity and Its Discontents," 21. José Antonio Mazzotti has also examined and questioned applying the binary constructions of postcolonial theory to pre-Enlightened Spanish American societies, and he argues that concepts such as "camouflage" and "hybridity" are useful as long as the analysis remains in the context of the local subjectivity and internal history of Spanish American discourses. See Mazzotti, "Creole Agencies and the (post)colonial debate in Spanish America," in *Coloniality at Large. Latin America and the Postcolonial Debate*, ed. Mabel Moraña, Enrique Dussel and Carlos Jáuregui (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 77-110.

21. Susan Verdi Webster, "Vantage Points: Andeans and Europeans in the Construction of Colonial Quito," *Colonial Latin American Review* 20, num. 3 (2011): 303-330; *Lettered artists and the languages of empire: painters and the profession in early colonial Quito* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017).

22. Natalia Majluf makes this observation in the roundtable event "Peru's Bicentenary: Materiality, Invisibility, Erasure, and Reinvention" hosted by the Center for Latin American Arts at the University of Texas

The *Diálogos Thoma* address these and other issues beginning with the new scholarly contributions of Luisa Elena Alcalá in her essay “Exploring Distance in the Art of the Spanish American Viceroyalties.” Alcalá presents an object-based approach to explore how the concept of geographical distance impacted the viceregal artistic process. By understanding distance as an active experience, Alcalá sheds light on the histories of traveling and networks of exchange. Her study of artworks such as the Neapolitan sculpture of the Virgin of Sorrows uncovers the interaction between the European sender and the sculpture’s recipient in Mexico City. Physical distance also impacted the production and reception of artworks, giving rise to the Rolled Paintings typology, which required both new forms of pictorial technique and viewing experiences that involved touch and sight. Alcalá also highlights the agency of objects, as well as of those of the artists and patrons. By exploring distance, the traditional art historical binary analysis of center and periphery shifts, resulting in a new interpretation of the flourishing artistic centers that were once considered peripheries. This study of the circulation of images and the adaptability of artists and their changing markets and materials is also addressed in Hugo Armando Félix Rocha’s essay “Valladolid and Patzcuaro: Regional Enclaves of Painting in New Spain.” Through the lens of micro-history, Rocha addresses the creation of an artistic pictorial tradition in Valladolid and Patzcuaro, the main cities of the province of Michoacán, which appears in this volume as one of the several centers of artistic production in New Spain. Focusing on the artistic trajectory of the Cerdá family in Patzcuaro and on the patronage of Bishop Felipe Ignacio de Trujillo y Guerrero in Valladolid, Rocha is able to recreate the tonal and iconographic characteristics that distinguished Michoacán’s particular style of regional painting during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Emily Floyd and Lucila Iglesias shift the focus of these ideas to Peru by examining the visual iconographical formulas that created the foundation for localized devotions and the important contributions of Indigenous and mixed-race artists. In an essay on the engraver Marcelo Cabello, “Looking for an Artist in Black and White: Identity and agency among eighteenth-century engravers in Lima,” Floyd explores

Rio Grande Valley, February 24, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SzEuIVl3bk&t=78s>. See also Paul Niell and Stacie Widdifield, *Buen Gusto and Classicism in the Visual Cultures of Latin America, 1780-1910* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013).

how the lives of engravers changed dramatically over the course of the colonial period, from only occasionally producing printed images in the seventeenth century to becoming professionalized and entrepreneurial businessmen who owned their own presses by 1701. Floyd analyzes how the European qualities and appearance of eighteenth-century *limeño* printmaking were compatible with expressions of non-European artists and their communal identities by explaining the vicissitudes that gave rise to the cult of the Lord of the Miracles vis-à-vis Cabello’s complex life. In “The Virgin Mary as a Heavenly Aurora who defeated and saved the Inca,” Lucila Iglesias addresses the precedents established to represent visually the foundational moments of art production in the Peruvian viceroyalty when the Spanish experienced victory over Manco Inca’s army in Cusco. By analyzing different textual and visual sources, Iglesias traces how the iconography of Cusco’s battle changed over time. In this era of violence and civil wars after the conquest, these new iconographies could communicate messages more persuasively than words and represent a key episode in Peru’s collective memory.²³ This transformation of resignifying episodes of the Spanish *Reconquista*, led artists to create narratives where Mary interceded on behalf of the new Andean devotees, giving rise in the early viceregal period to an iconography that demonstrates the Indigenous population participating in Catholicism.

Leslie Todd examines the nuanced nature of racial and ethnic identities in Spanish colonial visual culture and the active negotiation of non-European artists and collectors establishing their autonomy in viceregal Ecuador in her essay “Visibility and invisibility in the sculpture of colonial Quito.” Todd extends her analysis of race and identity beyond merely highlighting strategies of resistance by Indigenous and mestizo artists to consider how expectations of artistic refinement caused non-European identities to be obscured and even invisible. In “The Counter-Baroque: Transhistorical Expressions in Contemporary Latin American Art,” Sara Garzón examines the relevance of the viceregal past in current artistic movements, including the “Contra-Barroco,” to uncover how colonial narratives and epistemologies have impacted art production and questions of race and class in contemporary Latin American art today. Her study of Ecuadorian artist María Jose Argenzio’s (b. 1977) coats

23. Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, “Origins, 1532-75,” in *Painting in Latin America, 1550-1820*, 249-251.

of arms, which challenge social and racial hierarchies that originated in the colonial period, communicate a critique of the wealth and opulence in contemporary Ecuadorian society. Garzón connects the inherent racial implications of coats of arms signifying social mobility, whiteness, and power to colonial social structures and hierarchies. These concepts that include “pureza de sangre,” which have been studied by colonial historians such as Ann Twinam, highlight Garzon’s assertion that the practices of purchasing “whiteness” and one’s elite status during the baroque period in colonial Spanish America still have powerful repercussions in contemporary art and society.²⁴ As these essays in the *Diálogos Thoma* give visibility to a flourishing network of art historians, we would like to thank all the authors in this volume for their contributions, commitment, and interest in the field.

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²⁴ Ann Twinam, *Purchasing Whiteness: Pardos, Mulattos, and the Quest for Social Mobility in the Spanish Indies* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015).

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