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The Virgin in Lima: A Frontispiece by Gregorio Fosman and its Afterlife

Emily C. Floyd and Ricardo Kusunoki

In 2016 a startling discovery was made in the storage facilities at the Museo Pedro de Osma in Lima: in the section dedicated to uncatalogued and counterfeit objects was a museum storage box with two sets of small, engraved metal plates, individually wrapped in tissue paper. The first group, comprising ten copperplates signed by the mid-seventeenthcentury madrileño engraver Gregorio Fosman y Medina (c. 1635–1719), represents scenes from the life of the Virgin in roundels combined with texts linking the mysteries of the life of the Virgin to the nine heavens (the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Fixed Stars or Crystalline, and the Primum Mobile); it also includes the abode of God, the Empyrean (fig. 297). These plates are covered in gold leaf, implying that at some point they were used for a purpose other than printing. The second set of nine engraved plates appeared to be made of silver and were clearly intended to serve as frames for their copper counterparts (fig. 298). When overlaid onto the first set, only the images in the roundels would show, although some of the decorative motifs surrounding the roundels were reprised. The large central plate is signed at lower left 'Gregorio Hernandez F.' by a hitherto unidentified artist.

The Museo Pedro de Osma holds another related object within its storage facility: a small, polychrome

wooden statue of the Virgin Mary, measuring 680 mm in height, with panels below her waist that swing open on hinges to reveal a triptych embedded within her skirt (fig. 299). To create this triptych, a sculptor converted an existing solid wooden sculpture by cutting into the area of the Virgin's dress to produce movable sections. Reminiscent of medieval European vierges ouvrantes, the opened panels revealed ten spaces (six inside and four on the ends) in the wood that allowed for the insertion of the ten copperplate fragments, set behind nine larger niches for the nine overlapping silver plates, with, at centre, a single large silver plate overlaying two copperplates.2 Fig. 299 shows the statue after each plate had been carefully placed into its corresponding niche, revealing the statue's original appearance when it entered the collection of the Museo Pedro de Osma: an image of the Virgin whose robe opens to reveal a glittering assemblage of gold and silver.

The sculptural form of the *vierge ouvrante* was unknown in the colonial period in Spanish South America, which in Peru lasted from c. 1533 to 1824, and the union of plates and sculpture is surely the result of a modern intervention, possibly from the late nineteenth or early twentieth century.³ The statue of the Virgin is probably from the seventeenth century. The silver overlay frames by the otherwise unknown

- The authors thank Elena Amerio and Efrén Alcántara for their generous assistance with Latin translation.
- 1. Prologo al Letor (sic) (Prologue to the Reader) in J. Alloza, Cielo estrellado de mil y veinte y dos ejemplos de María, Madrid, c. 1655, unpaginated. Texts on the copperplates: CIELO PRIMER MOBILE Virgo nascitur Deum paritura ut iustoru cælos moveat et ad Deum trahat / CIELO DE SATURNO Saturatus lætitia Saturnus cum Verbum fit caro gaudia influit / CIELO CRISTALINO Virgo purior christallo Christum ut pariat Deo presentatur / CIELO DE VENUS Venustior Venus redditur Virginis præsentia reddita Virgo / CIELO DEL SOL Sola sole purior solem Virgo in ulnis portat ut illuminet mundum / CIELO DE MARTE Martis bella in bellam pacem mutantur matris Virginis partu / CIELO DE JUPI-TER Exultavit infans in utero matris quia Virgo mater Veru, Io vem portat in utero / CIELO DE MERCURIO Cara facta sapientia Patris matris in utero Mercurium Maria superat / CIELO EMPIREO Quem cali caperen poterant tuo gremio contulisti / CIELO ESTRELLADO DE MARIA / CIELO DE LA LUNA Pulchra ut luna et luce gratiæ plena ascendit / Superius ut stellarum coronam accipiat. Gregorio ForstMan F.
- 2. The authors thank Javier Chuquiray Garibay for sharing the Museo Pedro de Osma's technical analysis of the statue. On the vierge ouvrante as a sculptural type, see M. R. Katz, 'Behind Closed Doors: Distributed Bodies, Hidden Interiors, and Corporeal Erasure in "Vierge Ouvrante" Sculpture', RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics, IV/IVI, 2009, pp. 194–221.; G. Radler, Die Schreinmadonna 'Vierge ouvrante': von den bemhardinischen Anfängen bis zur Frauenmystik im Deutschordensland: mit beschreibendem Katalog, Frankfurt, 1990.
- 3. The colonial radate for the statue was proposed by staff of the Museo Pedro de Osma after technical analysis in 2017 of the composite statue, in part based on the style of the drapery. Some of the paint, such as on the arms, hands and face, is more recent, probably dating from the time of the reconfiguration of the statue as a receptacle for the copperplate fragments. Head of conservation Álvaro Sandoval Espinola generously shared his findings with us, which were kindly summarized for us by the registrar Javier Chuquiray Garibay, 21 November 2019.



297. Gregorio de Fosman y Medina, Ten copperplates once part of a design for a frontispiece, c. 1653-59, copper with gold leaf, $268 \times 178 \text{ mm}$ (Lima, Museo Pedro de Osma).

Gregorio Hernandez were presumably commissioned for this project. The uniform appearance of the gold plating on the copperplates, both in the areas covered by the silver frames and in those that would have been visible to the viewer, also indicate that they were plated in this context.⁴

The plates by Fosman present a mystery of their own: how and when did they get to Lima and what was their original purpose? Fosman, the son of Juan Forstman - a Flemish immigrant to Madrid - and madrileña Ángela Benita de Medina, studied in the workshop of Pedro de Villafranca y Malagón (c. 1615– 84) in Madrid. Villafranca y Malagón had himself learned the art of engraving in the workshop of Pedro Perret (1555–1625), the engraver from Antwerp who established himself, and the art of engraving, in Madrid in 1583.5 Given a span of 50 years of activity, from c. 1653 to 1707, some scholars had assumed that later works by the artist, many of which include the term 'Matrinensis' (of Madrid) along with the artist's name in the signature, are the work of Fosman's son of the same name. This was successfully refuted by Angel Aterido Fernández, who observed that neither of Fosman's two known sons shared his name. As one of the leading printmakers in Madrid, Fosman's skill and reputation would, potentially, have made him known on both sides of the Atlantic.7 Indeed, he engraved the frontispiece for a 1659 report to the Superior General of the Dominican Order by Dominican Friar Antonio Gonçalez de Acuña of the Dominican Province of Saint John the Baptist of Peru, which he signed 'Gregorius Forsman Faciebat Matriti'.8

On a visit to the Museo Pedro de Osma, the copperplates were assembled into a unified, rectangular format as shown in fig. 297. Their rough edges revealed that they had been cut apart. Although lacking a central image, the composition closely resembles seventeenth-century frontispieces. The frontispiece would have comprised three columns – a central one with three registers and two external ones of four registers. The roundels of the outside columns feature scenes of the life of the Virgin; starting at upper right, and reading from right to left (this would

have been reversed once printed): Birth of the Virgin, Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, Annunciation to the Virgin, Visitation, Nativity (Adoration of the Shepherds), Christ's Presentation in the Temple, The Holy Spirit Descending on the Apostles and the Virgin at Pentecost and Assumption of the Virgin. The inscriptions link these events from the Virgin's life to the nine levels of heaven. Christ's Presentation in the Temple, for instance, where the High Priest is shown holding the Christ Child, has the accompanying Spanish/Latin text CIELO DEL SOL Sola sole purior solem Virgo in ulnis portat ut illuminet mundum (HEAVENS OF THE SUN Only she is more pure than the sun, she carries in her womb the sun that will illuminate the world; fig. 300). In the top register, God the Father appears holding the orb of the world and raising his right hand in blessing, and the inscription declares this scene to be CIELO EMPIREO Quem cæli caperen poterant tuo gremio contulisti (EMPYREAN HEAVEN You carried in your womb he whom not even the heavens can contain). The bottom register shows the Coronation of the Virgin by the Holy Trinity, accompanied by the text CIELO ESTRELLADO DE MARIA / CIELO DE LA LUNA / Pulchra ut luna et luce gratiæ plena ascendit / Superius ut stellarum coronam accipiat (Starry Heavens of Mary / Heavens of the Moon / Fair as the moon and full of the grace of light she ascends / To receive a crown higher than the stars) and flanked by Fosman's signature (fig. 301). The prominent placement and large size of the words Cielo Estrellado de Maria suggests they may constitute the title of the book for which the original uncut copperplate was intended. Fosman's earliest known work, the frontispiece for Sanzio Cicatelli's Vida del V. P. Camilo de Lelis (Life of the Venerable Father Camilo de Lelis), dates to 1653 and is signed, like the Pedro de Osma frontispiece, which reads 'Gregorio ForstMan F.', 'ForstMan', rather than 'Forsman' or 'Forsman' y Medina' as he would sign from 1659, suggesting that the Pedro de Osman plate also was created in the 1650s.9

There exists the similarly titled book *Cielo estrellado* de mil y veinte y dos exemplos de Maria (Starry heavens of 1,022 examples of Mary) by the seventeenth-century limeño criollo (person from Lima of Spanish heritage

^{4.} The one plate on which the copper is visible today – the *Birth of the Virgin*, in the upper right corner of fig. 297 – is the result of an intervention by Pedro de Osma staff. The gold was removed in order to verify the presence of copper beneath at the time of the work's acquisition. Chuquiray Garibay, op. cit.

A. Aterido Fernández, 'El grabador madrileño Gregorio Fosman y Medina', Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños, XXXVII, 1997, pp. 87–88; A. Aterido, 'Gregorio Fosman y el veradero retrato de la Virgen de la Blanca', Hornacina, IV, 2013, p. 57.

Aterido Fernández, op. cit., pp. 87–88, who does not specify the sons' names.

On Fosman's skill, see M. P. McDonald, Renaissance to Goya: Prints and Drawings from Spain, London, 2012, p. 120.

E. Páez Rios, Repertorio de grabados españoles en la Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, 1981, I, p. 362.

Aterido Fernández, op. cit., p. 89. Páez Rios, op. cit., pp. 361–68.
 A. Coello de la Rosa, En compañía de ángeles: Vida del extático y fervoroso Padre Juan de Alloza, SJ (1597–1666), Barcelona, 2007, p. 17.



298. Gregorio Hernandez, Overlay frame for two sections of Gregorio Fosman y Medina's original frontispiece copperplate, late-nineteenth or twentieth century, silver, 177 x 154 mm (Lima, Museo Pedro de Osma).

born in the Americas) Jesuit Father Juan de Alloza (1597–1666), first published in Madrid. Alloza received approval for *Cielo estrellado* in Lima on 26 February

1652 and authorization to publish it in Spain on 28 June 1654, but the Madrid copies do not list a specific publication date. ¹⁰ In a letter of 1651 published at the



299. Anonymous artist, Statue of the Virgin, with Inserted Copperplates and Silver Overlay Frames, opened panels, seventeenth century with late nineteenth- or twentieth-century additions, polychrome wood with inserted silver plates and goldplated copperplates, height 680 mm (Lima, Museo Pedro de Osma).

beginning of the Cielo estrellado, Alloza presents his book to the *Virreina* María Luisa de Salazar Enríquez v Navarra, wife of the Vicerov of Lima, describing the text as 'a book of talks and examples' dedicated to the Virgin.11 True to its name, the Cielo estrellado offers 1,022 examples of the apparitions, miracles and incidents from the life of the Virgin Mary. In his prologue to the reader, Alloza explains that his goal in Cielo estrellado was to bring together the diverse accounts of the Virgin's virtues and excellencies that prior writers had published separately in diverse locations.¹² Notably, book 4, chapter 18 is an early account of the apparitions of the Mexican Virgin of Guadalupe.¹³ Alloza chose the number 1,022 because, as he says, this is the number of stars that astrologers at the time recognized in the night sky. In paralleling the Virgin to the starry sky, Alloza tells the reader, he is following prior thinkers, such as Saint Bernard, who wrote that the firmament made by God in the Genesis narrative should be understood as Mary, who was able to contain in her womb what the skies could not contain in their vastness. Alloza expands on this idea, writing that 'The heavens are the palace of the sun, Mary is the [palace] of Christ, the true sun of justice: The heavens are adorned by planets, signs and stars, Mary by virtues, gifts, graces, and excellences'. 14 The design of Fosman's frontispiece reflects Alloza's broader framework for the Cielo estrellado, as it links moments from the Virgin's life to the nine heavens, suggesting the close metaphorical relationship between the Virgin and the heavens.

The connection between the Fosman plates and Alloza's Cielo estrellado seems clear, but one wonders how the plates reached Lima and whether they were used in Spain before being shipped abroad. Many libraries hold copies of the c. 1655 Madrid edition of Alloza's work but the only copy known to us with an engraved frontispiece is the one in the Biblioteca Nacional de España (fig. 302). The frontispiece, however, is neither an impression pulled from the Museo Pedro de Osma plates, nor is it the work of Fosman. It is signed 'Marcos de Orozco faciebat Matriti'. Marcos de Orozco (active 1653-1707) was present in Madrid around the same time as Fosman, indeed Aterido characterizes the two artists as the most important master engravers in Madrid at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries.¹⁵ The iconography of



300. Gregorio Fosman y Medina, *Cielo del Sol*, Detail from design for a frontispiece, c. 1653–59, copperplate with gold leaf, 67 x 45 mm (Lima, Museo Pedro de Osma).

Orozco's frontispiece is almost identical to that of the Lima plates. Both would have consisted of a larger central image, surrounded by a series of vignettes, with larger vignettes at centre top and bottom, thereby creating an arrangement of three columns, with a wider central one. The central column would have included the title of the book near the centre, the Coronation of the Virgin by the Trinity at the base, and a depiction of God the Father in Heaven, Blessing at the top. The Fosman frontispiece in its surviving condition lacks the central panel which presumably would have shown the Virgin and Child in a circular medallion surrounded by stars or a similar representation. The

^{11.} Alloza, op. cit., unpaginated.

^{12.} Ibid

^{13.} F. J. Noguez Ramirez, 'The Apparition and the Early Cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Tepeyac, Mexico City. A Study of Native

and Spanish Sources Written in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', PhD dissertation, New Orleans, 1985, pp. 116–17.

^{15.} Aterido Fernández, op. cit., p. 92.



301. Gregorio Fosman y Medina, Cielo estrellado de Maria, Detail from design for a frontispiece, c. 1653-59, copperplate with gold leaf, 96 x 90 mm (Lima, Museo Pedro de Osma).

two Cielo estrellado frontispieces include the same series of astrological concepts connected to moments from the life of the Virgin, for example Cielo de Mercurio depicting the Assumption of the Virgin, and Cielo de Jupiter showing the Visitation. The two engravers took different approaches to depicting these scenes, however, including additional figures and omitting others, organizing space distinctly and positioning figures and objects differently within the scenes.

The Orozco plates were printed in Madrid for inclusion in the Madrid edition of Alloza's work, but Alloza was born in Lima and lived his entire life in the Viceroyalty of Peru. He may have wished to see an edition produced on local presses as well. As Alexandre Coello de la Rosa describes, Alloza was a mystic and visionary who possessed a deep devotion to the Virgin and was influential in pious elite circles in Lima. ¹⁶ He died renowned for his sanctity, but, despite the best efforts of several hagiographers and

the Jesuit order, the Catholic Church never formally recognized him as venerable, the first step towards canonization.¹⁷ Part of the reason the Jesuits may have focused on Alloza as a potential candidate for sainthood was that, despite being a mystic, he was a relatively uncontroversial figure. As Coello describes, Alloza came from a family of impeccable elite pedigree and directed his mystic preaching and writing not at a popular audience, but rather at the same elite *criollo* community from which he emerged.¹⁸ It was for this community that a local version of *Cielo estrellado* would have been intended.

Perhaps Fosman made the plates and had them shipped to Lima for inclusion in a limeño edition that no longer survives or was never published. The fact that Alloza first acquired permission to print his Cielo estrellado in Lima in 1652 and only later, in 1654, acquired permission to publish in Madrid, suggests that the Lima edition could have been the projected earlier edition. In 1675, however, when the Jesuit Jacinto de León Garavito wrote his manuscript life of Alloza, Vida del extático y esforzado padre Juan de Alloza de la Compañía de Jesús (Life of the ecstatic and zealous father Juan de Alloza of the Company of Jesus), he noted of the Cielo estrellado 'I don't know if it has been printed'. 19 If Alloza had succeeded in having a limeño edition published, it seems probable that his biographer, writing in Lima only nine years after his death, would have known of it. Fosman's plate, then, was likely never printed.

The Fosman plate was not the only engraved plate to arrive in Lima accompanied with high expectations that were never fulfilled. The press was a young institution in Lima in the mid-seventeenth century and roller presses suitable for printing engravings did not arrive in the city until c. 1612.²⁰ The Italian painter Mateo Pérez de Alesio (1547–c. 1616) brought copperplates with him when he arrived in Lima from Seville in 1588; although he would ultimately train the first Lima-based engraver, the *criollo* Augustinian friar Francisco Bejarano (c. 1570–1659), no known *limeño* impressions of Pérez de Alesio's own plates survive.²¹ At least two of his plates eventually served as supports for paintings (now in the collections of the Museo de Arte de Lima and the Church of Our

^{16.} Coello de la Rosa, op. cit., p. 17.

^{17.} Ibid., pp. 20-21.

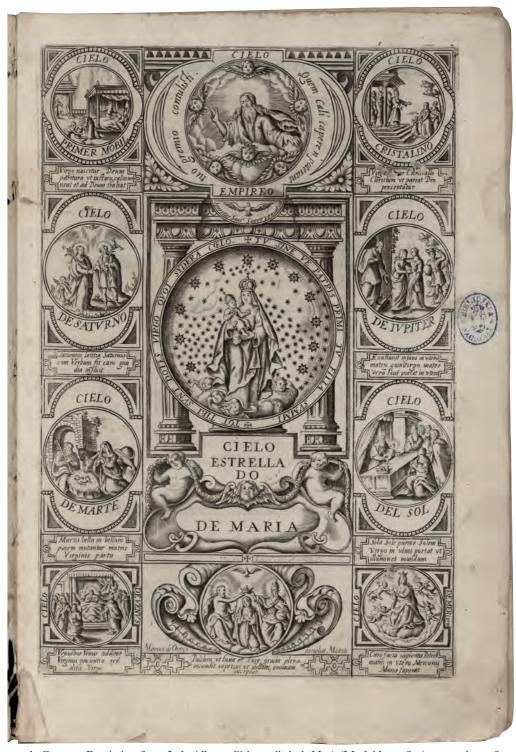
^{18.} Ibid., p. 61.

^{19. &#}x27;no sé si se [h]a dado a la estampa', J. de León Garavito, Fondo Gesuitico, Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu, Rome, published in Coello de la Rosa, op. cit., p. 160.

^{20.} On printmaking in Lima, see R. Estabridis, El grabado en Lima

virreinal. Documento histórico y artístico (siglos XVI al XIX), Lima, 2002; E. C. Floyd, 'Privileging the Local: Prints and the New World in Early Modern Lima', in A Companion to Early Modern Lima, edited by E. Engel, Leiden, 2019, pp. 360–84.

F. Stastny, Estudios de Arte Colonial, I, edited by S. V. Rose and J. C. Estenssoro, Lima, 2013, pp. 80–81.



302. Marcos de Orozco, *Frontispiece*, from J. de Alloza, *Cielo estrellado de María* (Madrid, c. 1655), engraving, 264 x 174 mm (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España).



303. Anonymous artist, Saint Joseph with the Christ Child, eighteenth century, engraved silver plate, 169 x 130 mm (Lima, Museo Pedro de Osma).

Lady of Mercies in Huánuco, Peru), examples of the recycling and reuse of plates which, while generally less creative than the insertion of the cut-up parts of the Fosman plate into the Museo Pedro de Osma Virgin, was nonetheless relatively common.²²

22. See L. E. Tord, 'Obras desconocidas de Pérez de Alesio y Móran', in Pintura en el Virreinato del Perú, Lima, 1989, p. 325. See also Stastny, Estudios de Arte Colonial, 78. On painting on copper more broadly, see C. Bargellini, 'La pintura sobre Alloza was not alone in his decision to import a plate from abroad. At the time when he would have sought to publish his book in Lima (from 1652 until his death in 1666), no engravers dedicated to the art were active in the city. Facing similar circumstances,

lámina de cobre en los virreinatos de la Nueva España y del Perú', Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, XXI, no. 75, 1999, pp. 79–98; Copper as Canvas: Two Centuries of Masterpiece Paintings on Copper, 1575–1775, New York, 1999.



304. Pedro de Azurdui, Our Lady the Beautiful of Arani, 1734, engraved silver plate with applications of oil paint (formerly, Lima, collection of Enrique Poli. Image courtesy Pedro Querejazu).

many other authors opted to publish in Europe, but some commissioned plates from Spain to be printed in Lima or paid local silversmiths to turn their burins to the task.²³ Madrid-based Flemish engraver Juan

23. For more on silversmith-engravers in colonial South America, see E. C. Floyd, 'Grabadores-plateros en el virreinato peruano',

in *Plata de los Andes*, edited by R. Kusunoki Rodríguez and L. E. Wuffarden, Lima, 2018, pp. 84–97.

de Noort (1587–1652), for example, cut two plates to serve as frontispiece and chapter title-page for Diego de Córdoba y Salinas's Coronica de la Religiosissima Provincia de los Doze Apostoles del Peru (Chronicle of the most religious province of the twelve apostles of Peru), published in Lima by Jorge Lopez de Herrera in 1651. Mexican engravers also sent their plates to Lima, not only in the sixteenth century but also later in the colonial period. Clara Bargellini argues that one of the first plates published in Lima, the frontispiece of Martín de León's 1613 Relación de exequias (Description of funerary rites), was made by the Mexican engraver Samuel Stradanus, who was active in the early seventeenth century.²⁴ It bears the inscription Fr. Franciscu de bexarano Augustiniensis scudebat Lima anno 1612 (Published by the Augustinian Friar Francisco de Bejarano in Lima in 1612), indicating that Bejarano, who engraved a fold-out catafalque plate in the same book, in this instance was the publisher rather than the engraver.²⁵ Later the Mexican José María Montes de Oca (1772–c. 1825) cut a plate dated 1800 in the collection of the Museo de Arte de Lima in homage to Captain Domingo de Orue for the capture of three English ships. Montes de Oca also engraved a view of the cathedral of Lima for inclusion in José Manuel Bermúdez's Fama postuma del excelentísimo e ilustrísimo Señor doctor Juan Domingo Gonzalez de la Reguera (Posthumous fame of the most excellent and most illustrious Señor doctor Juan Domingo Gonzalez de la Reguera), which was published in Lima by the Imprenta Real de los Huérfanos in 1805.

If the Fosman plate that arrived in Lima was intended to serve in a never-realized limeño edition of Alloza's work, its later dismemberment and insertion into the sculpture of the Virgin is not so distant from the kind of aesthetic appreciation of printing plates as objects that was widespread in the colonial period. There is ample evidence that viewers of engraved plates in colonial South America appreciated these objects as worthy of admiration beyond their functional use as printing matrices. Indeed, the Museo Pedro de Osma possesses a plate that the museum identifies as silver, depicting St Joseph with the Christ Child, cut using the same linear engraving technique employed for printing plates (fig. 303).26 The Christ Child's pointing left hand (in the print it would have been his right) suggests this may have been intended as a matrix, an intuition reinforced by the fact that later in the colonial period silver was used in at least one case for a printing plate.²⁷ There are other examples of engraved silver plates from the colonial period, however, that more assertively declare their decorative rather than practical function. An engraved plate once in the collection of Enrico Poli depicting Nuestra Señora la Bella de Arani (Our Lady the Beautiful of Arani), signed by Pedro de Azurdui in 1734 in Punata, has applications of oil paint to the face and hands of the Virgin and Child, and to some areas of dress (fig. 304). Notably, the texts naming the Virgin, engraver, location of production and date are not reversed for printing but rather cut so as to be read legibly on the plate itself. Perhaps the most representative and characteristic example of this appreciation for the aesthetic of the engraved plate are, however, the lowrelief engraved, hammered and ultimately painted copperplates produced in abundance in the colonial period in the high-plateau region that extends around Lake Titicaca across parts of Peru and Bolivia (fig. 305). These plates, which evidently were never intended to serve as matrices for printing, nonetheless reveal a delight in the appearance of a fine engraved surface, representing a meeting point of the tradition of engraving and painting on metal.

The discovery of this frontispiece by Fosman offers much more than a new addition to the oeuvre of a seventeenth-century madrileño engraver. The complex and vagabond life of this plate reflects the absence of professional engravers in mid- to late seventeenthcentury Lima, and demonstrates the ties that bound Spain to her overseas American possessions. Notably, individuals born in and living in Lima commissioned both this plate and the previously mentioned Juan de Noort plates cut in Madrid around the same midcentury moment. Their iconographies reflect the desires of their South American patrons, reiterating that residents of Spain's American territories were not solely or merely passive receptors of iconographies conveyed by prints imported from abroad. They actively shaped the imagery they wished to see, both imported and locally produced. This plate also demonstrates the curious lives of objects beyond that intended or anticipated by their creators and commissioners. Although the cutting apart of Fosman's plate, and the loss of its central section, is regrettable, doing so may have ultimately preserved the remaining pieces for their eventual recognition and rediscovery.

^{24.} C. Bargellini, personal communication, 29 December 2016.

^{25.} The inscription on the catafalque plate is *frater Franciscus Vexarano Augustiniensis Exculp Anno 1613*; Floyd, 'Privileging the Local', op. cit., pp 365–68.

^{26.}J. Chuiquiray Garibay, personal communication, 21 November 2019. There has not been a chemical analysis of the plate to confirm if it is solid silver.

^{27.} Floyd, 'Grabadores plateros', op. cit., pp. 94-95.



305. Anonymous artist, *The Immaculate Conception*, eighteenth century, oil on engraved copperplate, $260 \times 205 \text{ mm}$ (Lima, Museo Pedro de Osma).

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Giulia Bartrum retired at the end of November 2019 from a career of 40 years at the British Museum, the majority spent as Curator of German Prints and Drawings. Among other publications she wrote the exhibition catalogue *Albrecht Dürer and his Legacy* (2002) and *The British Museum: Dürer* (2007).

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