

PRINT QUARTERLY

MARCH 2023



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Juan Francisco Rosa: Engraver to the Elite in Eighteenth-Century Lima

Emily C. Floyd with Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt

Throughout the colonial period in Spanish South America, Lima, the capital of the Viceroyalty of Peru, was also the regional centre for printing and publishing. Nonetheless, compared to the northern Viceroyalty of New Spain, with its capital at Mexico City, production of printed books and images was relatively limited in Lima, with only a handful of publishers and printmakers working in the city. While the known oeuvres of Mexican engravers number in the hundreds, those of engravers operating in colonial Lima rarely even reach 50 prints.¹ This makes the few individuals who did produce engravings in colonial Lima all the more interesting as they were working outside the context of the workshop structure common in major European cities of the period and in Mexico City and Puebla in the northern viceroyalty. Many *limeño* engravers were European immigrants and/or members of religious orders, and we typically have little information about their artistic training.² Such is the case of the eighteenth-century engraver Juan Francisco Rosa (active in Lima, Peru, 1735 to 1756). Until recently, Rosa had been little explored by scholars. In his 2002 *El grabado en Lima virreinal*, the first monograph-length study dedicated to printmaking in colonial Lima, Ricardo Estabridis briefly characterizes Rosa's work as primarily centred on religious prints ('principalmente en torno

a la estampa religiosa'); he offers no biographical information about the engraver, and publishes only a handful of works by the artist, all but one of which are also included in Rubén Vargas Ugarte's paragraph-length entry on the engraver in his 1947 dictionary of colonial South American artists.³ Vargas Ugarte also lists some additional prints by Rosa, without naming the engraver, in volume nine of his bibliography of Peruvian imprints.⁴ Emily C. Floyd provides some biographical information on the engraver in her as yet unpublished doctoral dissertation; Leonardo Mattos-Cárdenas discusses two works by Rosa in a 2019 article.⁵ This limited information offers only hints as to the engraver's career and place in *limeño* society. Indeed, as suggested by Estabridis, the majority of Rosa's artistic practice took the form of, at first glance, unremarkable and conventional devotional engravings, many depicting local holy men and women or popular images of the Virgin or Christ. Prints by Rosa that have been previously noted, although often without naming the engraver, include *Sister Ignacia María del Sacramento Ochoa*, c. 1735;⁶ *St Didacus (Diego) of Alcalá*, c. 1737;⁷ *Our Lady of La Paz*, c. 1739;⁸ *Our Lord of Aid (Auxilio)*, dated 1739;⁹ *The Catafalque* and *The Funerary Monument of Diego Morcillo Rubio de Auñón*, both dated 1744;¹⁰ *The Jesuit Father Francisco del Castillo*, c. 1735–56; *Our Lady of the Cabezas*

1. On colonial Mexican printing, M. Romero de Terreros, *Grabados y grabadores en la Nueva España*, Mexico City, 1948; J. T. Medina, *La imprenta en México, 1539–1821*, Amsterdam, 1965; K. Donahue-Wallace, 'Prints and Printmakers in Viceregal Mexico City, 1600–1800', PhD thesis, Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, 2000. On printing in colonial Lima, R. Estabridis Cárdenas, *El grabado en Lima virreinal. Documento histórico y artístico (siglos XVI al XIX)*, Lima, 2002.
2. E. C. Floyd, 'Privileging the Local: Prints and the New World in Early Modern Lima', in *A Companion to Early Modern Lima*, edited by Emily Engel, Leiden, 2019, pp. 362–63; E. C. Floyd, 'Grabadores-plateros en el virreinato peruano', in *Plata de los Andes*, edited by R. Kusunoki and L. E. Wuffarden, Lima, 2018, pp. 84–97; E. C. Floyd, 'Tras los pasos de un artista en blanco y negro', *Latin American and Latinx Visual Culture*, III, 2021, no. 3, pp. 106, 108.
3. R. Vargas Ugarte, *Ensayo de un diccionario de artífices coloniales de la América meridional*, Lima, 1947, p. 344; R. Estabridis Cárdenas,

El grabado en Lima virreinal. Documento histórico y artístico (siglos XVI al XIX), Lima, 2002, pp. 121–24.

4. R. Vargas Ugarte, *Impresos Peruanos (1700–1762)*, IX, Lima, 1956.
5. L. Mattos-Cárdenas, 'Dos "invenciones": Cristo del Auxilio de Martínez Montañés y el Felipe IV a caballo. Orígenes y eco arquitectónico de su difusión en Lima', *Devenir – Revista de estudios sobre patrimonio edificado*, VI, 2019, no. 12, pp. 27–46; E. C. Floyd, 'The Mobile Image: Prints and Devotional Networks in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century South America', PhD thesis, New Orleans, Tulane University, 2018, pp. 129, 268, 287, 289–290, 319–320, 342, 348.
6. Vargas Ugarte, 1947, op. cit., p. 344.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 150, without naming the engraver.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 161, without naming the engraver.
9. Estabridis Cárdenas, op. cit., pp. 96, 121–22.
10. Vargas Ugarte, 1956, op. cit., p. 198, without naming the engraver.

of Lima, dated 1745; *The Virgin of Copacabana of Rímac*, c. 1746; *The Coat of Arms of the Count of Superunda*, c. 1746; *Juana de Jesús*, c. 1756;¹¹ and *Father Juan Francisco Camacho*, c. 1756.¹² As this article will demonstrate, however, Rosa also produced important commissions for powerful organizations and individuals in the viceregal hierarchy, suggesting Rosa's prominence as an artist within mid-eighteenth-century Lima.

The limited documentation of Rosa's life uncovered thus far presents him as a Frenchman living in Lima who twice married local women, and who was involved as an engineer on building projects as well as working as an engraver. A marriage contract dated 1753 in the Archivo Arzobispal de Lima reveals that Rosa was born in Normandy, although the exact date of his arrival in the Americas remains unknown.¹³ Rosa likely adopted his Spanish-sounding name upon moving to Lima. There is no evidence of his original French name. The contract indicates that Rosa was a widower who had been previously married to Catalina Garrido, perhaps a relation of the engraver Cristóbal Garrido, active in Lima 1752–86. He was now marrying María Valenzuela, a *limeña criolla* (woman born in Lima of Spanish heritage) whose previous husband had died in the wars with the Mapuche Indigenous group in Chile. The only other document attesting to Rosa's life that has been uncovered so far would seem to suggest Rosa was an engineer. The document, of 1746, in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, describes him as 'perito de matemáticas y fortificación' (an expert in mathematics and fortification) and finds him assisting the Frenchman Louis Godin in designing a fortress for Lima's port city of Callao on the orders of the viceroy.¹⁴ Godin, a mathematician and senior member of the French Academy of Sciences, had been one of a group of French researchers who set sail for the Americas in 1735, heading for Quito where they would measure the equator to determine

whether it flattened at its equator or at its poles.¹⁵ In 1744, following the completion of the French group's work in Quito, Godin took up a chair in mathematics at the University of San Marcos in Lima where he stayed until 1751, overseeing the rebuilding of the city following the devastating 1746 earthquake.¹⁶

The mid-eighteenth century was a good moment to be a Frenchman in Lima. An earlier French engraver active in the city, the Mercedarian friar Pedro Nolasco (born P. A. Delhom, active in Lima 1660–97) had been imprisoned for a year and a half in 1677 as part of general suspicion of the French following Louis XIV's invasion of the Spanish territory of the Netherlands.¹⁷ By the time Rosa was living and working in Lima, however, the situation had changed dramatically, with the accession to the Spanish throne of a Bourbon monarch following the death of the last Hapsburg ruler, Charles II of Spain, in 1700. The new king, Philip V, allowed the French new access and new freedoms within Spain's American territories.

Although Rosa was a French émigré, the greater part of his oeuvre in Lima served local interests – promoting the cults of local and regional holy men and women and reproducing important sculptures of the Virgin and Christ. His earliest known work is of an Augustinian nun of the Monasterio de la Encarnación in Lima, Sister Ignacia María del Sacramento Ochoa (Ochoa being her surname), revered for her charity and miraculous cures (fig. 25).¹⁸ She died in September 1735 and the print was probably made soon after, likely as part of an effort to promote her potential cause for sainthood. A eulogy by her confessor, the Jesuit Gabriel de Orduña, survives in at least two copies, a typed transcription of a manuscript original at the Archivo del Monasterio de la Encarnación and a manuscript in the Archivo General de la Nación, Lima, but there are no published biographies of Sister Ignacia and she was never beatified or

11. For *The Jesuit Father Francisco del Castillo, Our Lady of the Cabezas of Lima, The Virgin of Copacabana of Rímac* and *The Coat of Arms of the Count of Superunda*, *ibid.*, p. 344. For *Juana de Jesús*, *ibid.*, p. 282, without naming the engraver.

12. Floyd, 2018, *op. cit.*, p. 287, 292–93, 499.

13. Archivo Arzobispal de Lima, Matrimonios San Lázaro, Libro 4, fol. 123v, first recorded in Floyd, 2018, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

14. Archivo General de Indias, Seville, LIMA,416; first published in Mattos-Cárdenas, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

15. N. Safier, *Measuring the New World: Enlightenment Science and South America*, Chicago, 2008, pp. 6–7.

16. C. F. Walker, *Shaky Colonialism: The 1746 Earthquake-Tsunami in Lima, Peru, and Its Long Aftermath*, Durham and London, 2008, p. 91.

17. Estabridis Cárdenas, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

18. Sánchez-Concha Barrios, *op. cit.*, print reproduced on p. 227. I have been unable to see the print in the original, which is said to be in the archive of the Monasterio de la Encarnación, Lima. Jessica Aliaga Aliaga, archivist, Archivo Provincial Augustino, Lima, stated that the nuns do not remember the print and were unable to locate it, nor did they want to allow access to an outside researcher, email 18 March 2019. Rafael Sánchez-Concha Barrios notes that when he viewed it during research for his book, the print was loose, separate from Gabriel de Orduña's eulogy, a typed transcription of which is found in the convent's archive, email 19 March 2017. Sánchez-Concha Barrios doesn't remember what part of the archive the print is in, emails 19 March 2017, 19 March 2019 and 5 March 2022.



25. Juan Francisco Rosa, *Sister Ignacia María del Sacramento Ochoa*, 1735, engraving (Lima, Archivo del Monasterio de la Encarnación, reproduced from R. Sánchez-Concha B., *Santos y Santidad* (Lima, 2003).

canonized.¹⁹ The print shows the nun standing in the space of the convent with a cross and a spray of lilies in her right hand, gesturing with her left towards a

portal that opens up into a view of the convent behind her. On her chest hangs a representation of the sacred heart, a rosary and two chains that might be

19. G. de Orduña, eulogy, in Archivo General de la Nación Perú, Dirección de Archivo Colonial, Compañía de Jesús, Asuntos Religiosos, Sermones, Caja 35, Documento 1036, cited according to D. Fernández Villanova, 'Las exequias de sor Ignacia María del Sacramento (Lima, 1735): Un análisis

desde la perspectiva de género', *Revista del Archivo General de la Nación*, xxxi, 2016, p. 284, who does not provide a title for the document. Sánchez-Concha Barrios referred to a typed transcription in the Archivo del Monasterio de la Encarnación, email 19 March 2017.



26. Juan Francisco Rosa, *Father Francisco del Castillo*, from *Elogio del Vener. Servo de Dios P. Francisco del Castillo de la Compañía de Jesús* (Lima, c. 1735–56), engraving, 151 x 101 mm (Durham, NC, Duke University, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library).

references to practices of self-mortification.²⁰ At her feet is a demonic feline with raptor talons, surrounded by flames, a reference to the form the devil took to torment her – a black cat.²¹ As Orduña described, ‘in

this form he [the devil] appeared to her almost every night, walking around her bed, sometimes climbing up onto her bed, and clawing his way across the ceiling.’²² Above her the heavens open to show the Virgin and

20. G. de Orduña, eulogy, in Archivo General de la Nación Perú, Dirección de Archivo Colonial, Compañía de Jesús, Asuntos Religiosos, Sermones, Caja 35, Documento 1036, 10v–12v; cited according to Fernández Villanova, op. cit., p. 285.
21. G. de Orduña, eulogy, in Archivo General de la Nación Perú, Dirección de Archivo Colonial, Compañía de Jesús, Asuntos Religiosos, Sermones, Caja 35, Documento 1036, fol. 10r–10v;

- cited according to Fernández Villanova, op. cit., pp. 291–92.
22. G. de Orduña, eulogy, in Archivo General de la Nación Perú, Dirección de Archivo Colonial, Compañía de Jesús, Asuntos Religiosos, Sermones, Caja 35, Documento 1036 (signatura antigua: 63, 106), fol. 13–13v; cited according to Fernández Villanova, op. cit., pp. 297–98.



27. Attributed to Cristóbal Lozano, *Francisco de Castillo and the Virgin of the Forsaken (Desamparados)*, eighteenth century, oil on canvas (Lima, Iglesia de San Pedro. Image Emily C. Floyd).

child, the Holy Trinity and Christ carrying the cross. A speech scroll emerges from her mouth and extends up towards Christ, inscribed 'may the pain grow, my Jesus, as the love grows' (*cresca mi Jesus el dolor como crezca el amor*), a reference to her desire to emulate the suffering of Christ. Rosa's print is an important testimony to the life and perceived sanctity of a woman whose name has largely been lost to history.

Prints like Rosa's depiction of Sister Ignacia could help raise money to fund the promotion of the individual holy person's cause for beatification and

eventual canonization and generally helped keep their memory alive. Rosa would make prints of four more local or regional holy figures over the course of his career: the Jesuit father Francisco del Castillo (fig. 26); Friar Francisco Camacho of the Order of Hospitallers of St John of God; the Mercedarian Sebastián de la Cruz; and the holy woman Juana de Jesús from Quito, a third order Franciscan. The engraving of Francisco del Castillo illustrates a large two-sheet pamphlet titled *Elogio del Venerable Siervo de Dios P. Francisco del Castillo* (eulogy of the Venerable

Servant of God Father Francisco del Castillo) with text taken from the beatification process presented in Rome beginning in 1685, of which two copies are known.²³ It is carefully printed with wide margins. A loose impression is in the collection of the Museo de Arte de Lima, another impression was inserted into a copy of Joseph de Buendía's *Vida admirable y prodigiosas virtudes del venerable, y apostólico Padre Francisco del Castillo* (Admirable life and prodigious virtues of the venerable and apostolic Father Francisco del Castillo; Madrid, 1693) in Duke University Library, where it replaces a portrait of Castillo by the Flemish engraver Philibert Bouttats.²⁴ Furthermore, the print served as the source for, or was copied after, a painting attributed to Cristóbal Lozano today located in the Jesuit church of San Pedro in Lima (fig. 27); a painted copy after the print is in a private collection.²⁵ Although Castillo was never canonized, these uses and adaptations of Rosa's engraving of the Jesuit suggest the power some segments of Lima's population attributed to such images to further a holy individual's cause.

In addition to his rather modest prints of local holy figures, Rosa also made large, elaborate engravings of highly embellished local and regional altarpieces with sculpted and/or painted images of the Virgin and Christ, including the then highly venerated *Virgin of Copacabana of Rímac* as well as the *Virgin of Cocharcas of Lima*; *Our Lady of the Cabezas of Lima*; *Our Lady of La Paz*, here attributed to Rosa (fig. 28) and the *Our Lord of Aid (Auxilio)* of the Mercedarian church in Lima (fig. 29). These engravings are noteworthy for Rosa's attention to detail, particularly his careful depiction of the altarpieces in which the images are situated as well as

the luxurious fabrics and jewels which adorn them. The engraving of *Our Lady of La Paz* appears at the beginning of the 1739 *Constituciones synodales* of the Bishopric of La Paz, a printed account of the ordinances of the bishopric, which begins with a 'Dedication to the Most Holy Mary Our Lady in her glorious advocacy of la Paz' written by the bishop himself, Agustín Rodríguez Delgado.²⁶ The statue of the Virgin of La Paz, the titular image of the cathedral of La Paz, was brought to what is now Bolivia from Spain early in the colonial period. In the eighteenth century, the original image was replaced with a modern sculpture and relegated to the cathedral's Museo de Arte Sacro.²⁷ In the original sculpture, the Christ child is shown standing with his right hand raised, whereas the eighteenth-century sculpture has articulated arms which would have allowed for a repositioning of the hands, perhaps suggesting that Rosa is representing the later image.²⁸ In the print, we see the sculpture of the seated Virgin, ornately dressed, and holding the Christ child within an elaborate frame. The square panels that surround her may be mirrors of the kind that are frequently found in Andean churches, which would have caught and scattered the light of the six candles at the base of the altarpiece. While unsigned, the engraving exhibits the careful linework, rich detail and physiognomies characteristic of Rosa's work. In this author's view, it can also be attributed to him because the three known engravings, dated 1725, 1728, and 1748, by the only other engraver active in Lima at this time, Juan José Espinoza, show a significantly less skilled and even awkward handling of the human form, and a markedly different approach to lettering.²⁹ There

23. Copies of the pamphlet in the Colección Vargas Ugarte, Universidad Ruiz Montoya, Lima, shelfmark CVU 262.08 P/4 and David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University, shelfmark Brdside Case Latin America & Spain RUB Bay 0389 pieces1-139 c.1, folder 23, and online repository.duke.edu/dc/broadsides/bdspe23062. Both collections date the pamphlet c. 1685, but given Rosa's period of activity it must be mid-eighteenth-century.

24. The Newberry Library copy of the *Vida admirable* still has the original Bouttats's print; my thanks to Suzanne Karr Schmidt for sending photographs. A painted copy after the Bouttats print is in a private collection, Bolivia, colonialart.org. PESSCA (Project on the Engraved Sources of Spanish Colonial Art) archive.

25. Anonymous Cusco artist, *The Venerable Francisco del Castillo*, eighteenth century, oil on canvas, private collection; colonialart.org. PESSCA (Project on the Engraved Sources of Spanish Colonial Art) archive.

26. Copies of the *Constituciones Synodales establecidas por el Ilustrísimo Señor Doctor Don Agustín Rodríguez Delgado, del Consejo de Su Magestad Obispo de la Ciudad de Nuestra Señora de la Paz*, Lima,

1739, with the engraving, at the Universidad Complutense, Duke University, Ruiz Montoya, Biblioteca Nacional de España and Archivo General de Indias.

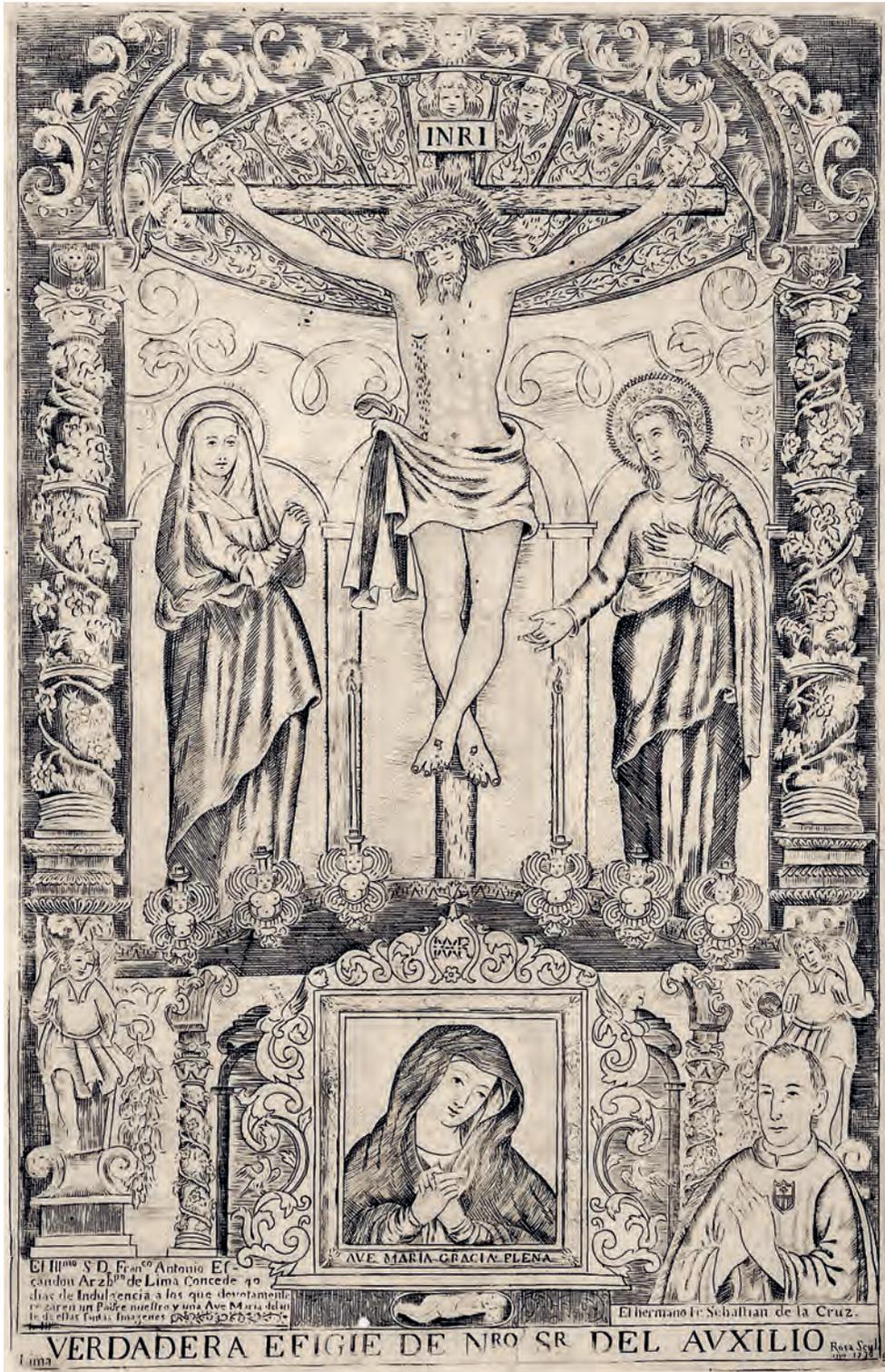
27. J. de Mesa and T. Gisbert, *Escultura virreinal en Bolivia*, La Paz, 1972, p. 31. The precise date for the substitution of the original with the modern sculpture is not known.

28. For the original sculpture, Mesa and Gisbert, op. cit., plate 2.

29. For Espinoza's engravings, T. de Torrejón, *Parentación Real*, Lima, 1725, copies with engraving in Biblioteca Nacional de España and the Beinecke Library. P. de Peralta Barnuevo, *Fúnebre Pompa*, Lima, 1728, copies with engraving in British Library and Biblioteca Nacional de España. M. de Sainz de Valdivieso y Torrejón, *Parentación real*, Lima, 1748, copies with engraving at Beinecke Library and private collection in Lima. Espinoza is recorded as a 'master of the art of painting', responsible for designing the catafalque in honour of the memory of the Duke of Parma, constructed in the cathedral of Lima 30 April 1728 and also made an engraving of this subject; G. Lohmann Villena, 'Noticias inéditas para ilustrar la historia de las bellas artes en Lima durante el virreinato (II)', *Revista histórica*, 1945, p. 357.



28. Here attributed to Juan Francisco Rosa, *Our Lady of La Paz*, from *Constituciones synodales* (Lima, 1739), engraving, 261 x 176 mm (Lima, Colección Vargas Ugarte, Universidad Ruíz Montoya).



29. Juan Francisco Rosa, *Our Lord of Aid (Auxilio)*, 1739, engraving, 265 x 171 mm (Lima, Biblioteca Nacional del Perú).



30. Anonymous artist, *Our Lord of Aid (Auxilio)*, seventeenth century, tempera on canvas, 1,250 x 1,870 mm (Lima, Convento de la Merced. Image Daniel Giannoni).

is very limited evidence of the presence of engravers in the region around La Paz (in modern-day Bolivia) in the colonial period, and no evidence of engravers in La Paz itself.³⁰ La Paz did not have typographic presses and thus could not sustain an extensive printing industry of the sort that would support the production of a relatively refined image like the 1739 *Virgin of La Paz*. Lastly, the print is present in most known copies of the *Constituciones synodales*, suggesting it was intended to accompany this publication. The publication of the *Constituciones synodales* in Lima, the engraving's stylistic affinities to Rosa's signed works and the absence of other known engravers in Lima or La Paz likely to have cut the plate of the Virgin all strongly support the attribution to Rosa.

Rosa's engraving of the *Lord of Auxilio*, which survives in one known impression in the Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, depicts the altarpiece as it must have looked in the first third of the eighteenth century, with carved Solomonic columns and elaborate angels integrated throughout (fig. 29). The altarpiece represents an earlier fashion than the neo-classical structures that would be introduced in Lima later in the century and would replace many existing altarpieces, including that of the Lord of Auxilio. A large inscription in the lower register of the print declares the image a true effigy of Our Lord of Auxilio (*VERDADERA EFIGIE DE N.RO S.R DEL AUXILIO*), followed by *Lima / Rosa Sculp* and the date 1739. A separate inscription at the lower left declares 'The Illustrious Señor Don Francisco Antonio Escandon Archbishop of Lima concedes 40 days of indulgence to those who devotedly pray an Our Father and an Ave Maria before these holy images'.³¹ The right foreground is occupied by a bust-length portrait of a man with hands folded in prayer and the Mercedarian escutcheon on his chest, identified as *El hermano* [brother] *Fr Sebastián de la Cruz* in the rectangular label below. Born Sebastián González Ayala in Cajabamba in northern Peru to a family of *curacas* (Indigenous leaders), Sebastián de la Cruz y del Espíritu Santo (1668–1721) entered the Mercedarian order as a *donado* (religious servant) –

the only option available to Indigenous or Black men or women interested in taking religious orders.³² He was renowned for his devotion to the Lord of Auxilio, indeed he is said to have given this name to the carved wooden crucifix, the work of the acclaimed Sevillian sculptor Juan Martínez Montañés (1568–1649).³³ Following his death, de la Cruz was recognized for his virtues by no less than the Viceroy-Archbishop Diego Morcillo Rubio de Auñón and efforts immediately began to promote his beatification.³⁴ A large print run may well have formed part of such a campaign considering that the single surviving impression of the engraving seems to be from a heavily worn, and possibly also under-inked, plate. The stippling on de la Cruz's hands, the foot of the figure supporting the left-hand column, and some details in that column and decoration at top are quite faint compared to other works by Rosa and the ornamentation in Mary's halo is barely distinguishable.

Although in the print de la Cruz might be mistaken at first glance for the donor who commissioned the print or altarpiece, the portrait is rather a post-mortem representation of a particular devotee of the Lord of Auxilio and a man recognized by his contemporaries for his great piety. Many of Rosa's engravings of important devotional images bear an inscription with the name of the print's donor, as on his engraving of *Our Lady of Cabezas*, which refers to the mayordomo and treasurer of the Virgin's confraternity in minute italics. A donor portrait in a print would however have been a unique occurrence in the corpus of *limeño* engravings. In sum, Rosa's engraving is a depiction of the Lord of Auxilio and his altarpiece, but also of an Indigenous candidate for sainthood who is closely linked to the sculpture.

As with Rosa's engraving of Castillo, there is a painted cognate for his engraving of the *Lord of Auxilio* (fig. 30). The painting, originally housed in the Mercedarian church of La Santísima Cruz in Ate, Lima province, has since been moved to the Convento de la Merced of Lima.³⁵ It is in poor condition, but it depicts framing that is identical to that shown in Rosa's

30. T. Gisbert, *Arte, Poder e Identidad*, La Paz, 2016, pp. 62–64.

31. *El Ill.mo S. D. Fran.co Antonio Escandon Arzb.po de Lima Concede 40 días de Indulgencia a los que devotamente rezaren un Padre nuestro y una Ave Maria delante de estas santa Imagenes*.

32. Sánchez-Concha Barrios, op. cit., p. 231.

33. On the *Lord of Auxilio*, see E. Gómez Piñol, 'El Cristo del Auxilio', in *La madera hecha dios: Arte, fe y devoción en torno a la pasión de Cristo*, edited by R. Ramos Sosa, Lima, 2016, pp. 76–85.

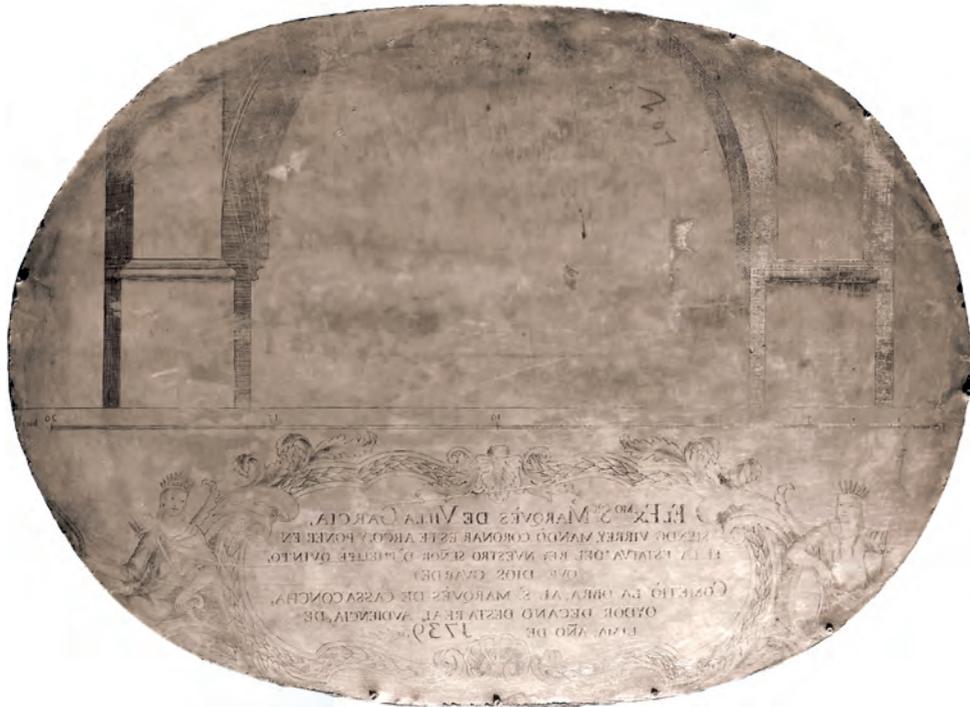
34. Sánchez-Concha B., op. cit., p. 231.

35. Mattos-Cárdenas, op. cit., p. 33, fig. 6, as anonymous, seventeenth century, tempera on canvas, 1,250 x 1,870 mm.

Mattos-Cárdenas refers to the Rosa print as a copy of the painting. I thank Mattos-Cárdenas for information on the painting's whereabouts, email 7 March 2022. Luis Eduardo Wuffarden suggests a later date for the painting of c. 1720–40, email 10 December 2022. I thank Wuffarden for supplying a high resolution file of the image for analysis. Ricardo Kusunoki supports Wuffarden's dating of the painting, citing the brown overall tone of the painting, its reddish underpainting shining through, as a popular mode during the first third of the eighteenth century in Lima; WhatsApp voice message, 10 December 2022.



31. Juan Francisco Rosa, *Equestrian Monument to Philip V*, c. 1738–45, engraved copperplate, 260 x 362 mm (Chicago, Carl and Marilyn Thoma Foundation).



32. Juan Francisco Rosa, *Cartouche with an Inscription Below an Arch*, c. 1738–45, engraved copperplate, 260 x 362 mm (Chicago, Carl and Marilyn Thoma Foundation).



33. José Sánchez, *The Christ Child with St Joseph*, after 1738, oil on copper, 362 x 260 mm (Chicago, Carl and Marilynn Thoma Foundation).



34. José Sánchez, *The Christ Child Appearing to St Anthony of Padua*, after 1738, oil on copper, 362 x 260 mm (Chicago, Carl and Marilynn Thoma Foundation).

engraving, attesting to the close relationship between the two works. In the painting, the figure of Sebastián de la Cruz is extremely hard to make out in the lower right corner – other elements of the altarpiece can be seen through the holy man's transparent outlines. As Ricardo Kusunoki points out, this could be the result of an intentional erasure of the holy man, understood by later viewers as a donor figure, his identity forgotten and thus no longer valued.³⁶ On the other hand, the fact that the depiction of de la Cruz was evidently painted over other elements of the altarpiece would tend to suggest he was a later addition, perhaps implying the painting served as a model for the engraving, as it is only the modified painting that shares the engraving's iconography in full. Even if this is the case, Rosa's engraving incorporates details absent from the painted original (or at least, includes details no longer visible given the painting's deteriorated state): the halos of all three

full-length figures are much more elaborate in the engraving, and Rosa includes additional floral detail throughout the altarpiece. Furthermore, regardless of the precise relationship between painting and print, the fugitive nature of the painted depiction of de la Cruz means that it is only thanks to the print that we can recognize this rare depiction of an Indigenous candidate for sainthood.

Rosa's careful attention to detail and clear draftsmanship may have won him several clients among the religious communities in Lima, including the Mercedarians or the Indigenous confraternity of the Virgin of Cocharcas. Although unusual within the corpus of colonial *limeño* art, other works by Rosa underscore that he also enjoyed the patronage of the secular colonial elite. One example is the two parts of a printing plate now in the collection of the Carl and Marilynn Thoma Art Foundation in Chicago. This was once quite large and likely rectangular,

36. Ricardo Kusunoki, WhatsApp voice message, 10 December 2022.

but is now cut in half and trimmed into two ovals (figs. 31 and 32). The reverses are painted in oils with scenes of *The Christ Child with St Joseph* and *The Christ Child Appearing to St Anthony of Padua* and signed by the otherwise unknown José Sánchez (figs. 33 and 34). While painting on copper was a common practice, there are relatively few examples of printing plates, particularly locally engraved ones, being reused as supports for paintings. Combined, the two ovals constituting the original copperplate depict an equestrian monument to the Spanish king Philip V surmounting a triumphal arch, erected by the viceroy, as explained in the inscription below:

The most excellent Marquis of Villagarcía, being viceroy, ordered that this arch be crowned, putting on it the statue of the king our lord Don Philip the fifth (may God keep him). The work was achieved by the Marquis of Cassaconcha, judge of this royal court, Lima, 1739.³⁷

The pedestal is decorated with the coat of arms of Castilla y León encircled by a garland from which hangs the sheep emblem that is the symbol of the chivalric Order of the Golden Fleece. In the upper corners of the plate are remnants of cartouches with side views of the king on horseback. Below the arch is an indication of scale giving the width of the monument as twenty *varas*, or just under twenty metres across. Stereotypical representations of Indigenous Americans, perhaps intended as allegories of the continent of America, reclining in feathered headdresses with arrows in their quivers, flank the foliated cartouche with the inscription. Rosa's signature, if originally present, is no longer extant, but, as with the engraving of the *Virgin of La Paz*, Rosa was the only engraver active at this time who could have been responsible for a work of this quality, and the facial types are comparable to those of his other works.

Don José de Santiago Concha y Méndez de Salvatierra, the first Marquis of Casa Concha (1667–1741), was a colonial administrator and judge. Don José Antonio de Mendoza Caamaño y Sotomayor, Marquis of Villagarcía (1667–1746) was the 29th



35. Detail of Pedro Nolasco's *View of Lima with Bridge over the River Rímac*, 1685, engraving, 395 x 530 mm (Seville, Archivo General de Indias).

viceroy of Peru, serving from 1736 to 1745. Created by the *mestizo* (of mixed Spanish and Indigenous heritage) sculptor Baltasar Gavilán (active 1734–53), the statue of Philip V was placed in 1738 on the bridge over the river Rímac in Lima and then partially destroyed in the 1746 earthquake.³⁸ Despite its short life, the sculpture was remarkable for its time and place. Toribio del Campo y Pando, writing in the Lima journal *Mercurio Peruano* in 1792, described the sculptor as a 'Lysippos of our Peruvian continent', evoking the fourth century BCE Greek sculptor. Campo y Pando mentions the equestrian sculpture explicitly, describing 'the unhappy memory of the bust [sic] of our lord Philip V (may he rest in peace) suppressing an animated brute in wood, that occupied the top of a bridge of this city'.³⁹ Campo y Pando's description attests to the long memory *limeños* had of the sculpture, if not to the accuracy of their memories – Rosa's engraved plate suggests no 'animated brute' appeared below the front hooves of the king's horse. Francisco Stastny has noted that Gavilán's sculpture was probably the first equestrian statue in the Americas, predating by 65 years the monument to Charles IV by Manuel Tolsá (1757–1816) in Mexico City.⁴⁰

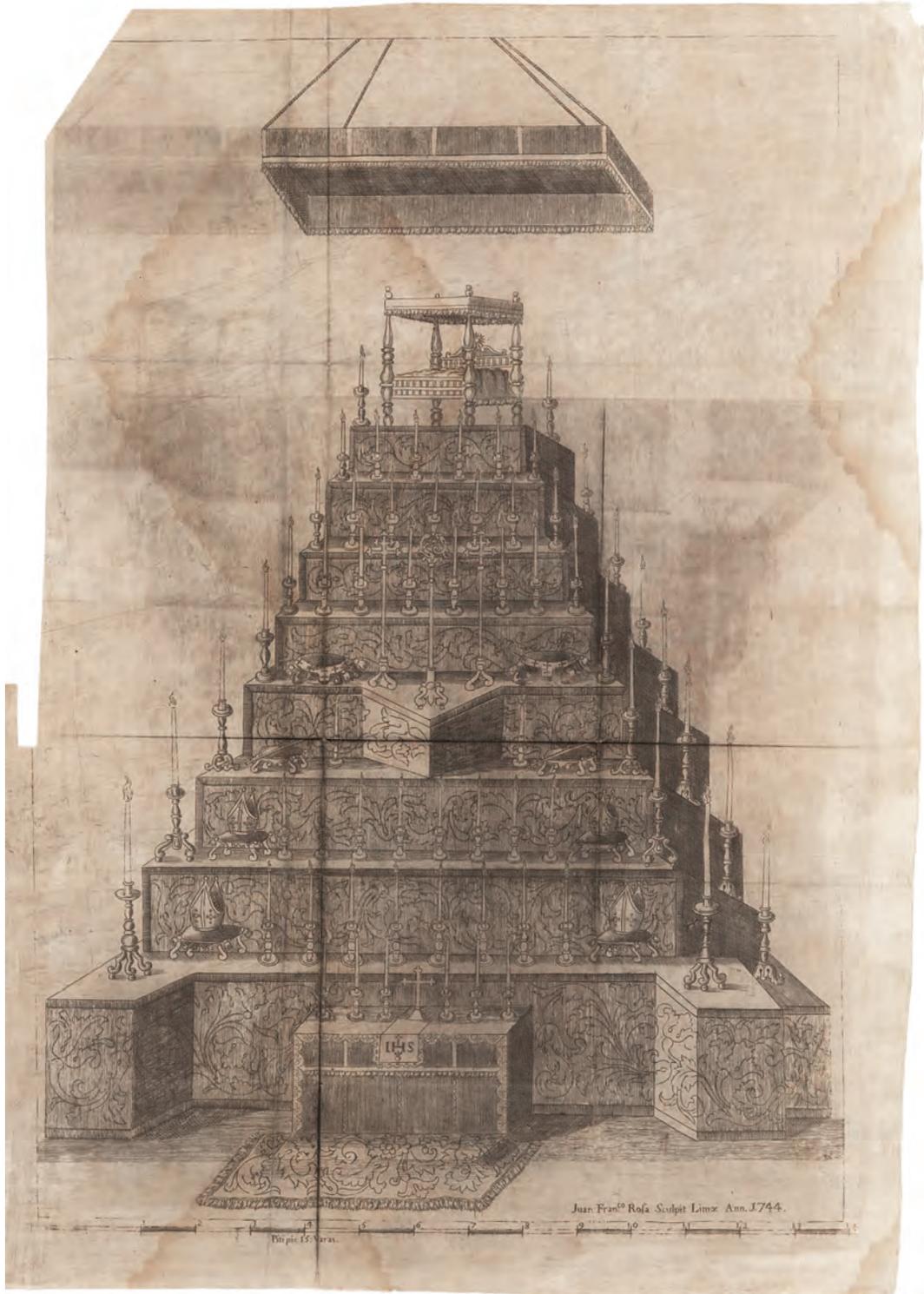
37. *El Exmo. Sr. Marqués de Villa García, / siendo virrey, mando coronar este arco, poner en / el la estatua del rey nuestro Señor Don Phelipe Quinto / (Que Dios guarde) / Cometió la obra al Sr. Marqués de Cassaconcha / oydor decano desta Real Audiencia / Lima, año 1739.*

38. The copperplate seems to date the monument to 1739; the date 1738 is given by P. Kelemen, *Baroque and Rococo in Latin America*, 2nd ed., New York, 1967, p. 119. As Luis Eduardo Wuffarden notes, Gavilán's 'biography has been wrapped in persistent romantic legend of the nineteenth century, to the degree that his last name may even have been "invented" by the authors of

that time'; L. E. Wuffarden, 'Baltasar Gavilán', in *Diccionario Biográfico electrónico*, online.

39. T. del Campo y Pando, 'Carta sobre la música', *Mercurio Peruano*, vi, February 1792, p. 109.

40. F. Stastny, written correspondence with New York dealer V. Taylor, February 1995. On Tolsá's sculpture see C. Bargellini, 'La Lealtad Americana: El significado de la estatua ecuestre de Carlos IV', in *Iconología y sociedad: Arte colonial hispanoamericano. XLIV Congreso Internacional de Americanistas*, Mexico City, 1987, pp. 207–20.



36. Juan Francisco Rosa, *Catafalque of Diego Morcillo Rubio de Auñón*, from A. del Río Salazar, *Magnífica Parentación y Fúnebre Pompa* (Lima, 1744), engraving, 302 x 270 mm (Providence, RI, John Carter Brown Library, Brown University).



37. Juan Francisco Rosa, *Funerary Monument of Diego Morcillo Rubio de Auñón*, from A. del Rio Salazar, *Magnífica Parentación y Fúnebre Pompa* (Lima, 1744), engraving, 460 x 130 mm (New Haven, Beinecke Library, Yale University).

No prints of Gavilán's achievement are known: the copperplates in Chicago are the only visual records of its existence. They must have been engraved between 1738, the date of the creation of the equestrian monument, and presumably by 1741, the year the Marquis of Casa Concha died, or at the very latest before the monument was destroyed in 1746. In addition to the sculpture itself, the plates appear to show another element otherwise lost from the historical record – the 'arch' described in the cartouche. This arch resembles the arched gate depicted at one end of the bridge crossing the Rímac in a 1685 engraved view of the city by Pedro Nolasco (fig. 35).⁴¹ The representation of the monument and arch in the Thoma copperplates thus implies that the equestrian sculpture was positioned over the gate under which travellers would pass to traverse the bridge.

Rosa's copperplate of the monument to Philip V would have produced large, luxurious folio-sized engravings of the sort appropriate to commemorate such an important political monument. Not long after, Rosa cut two additional folio-sized engravings for inclusion in Alonso del Río Salazar's *Magnífica Parentación y Fúnebre Pompa* (Lima, 1744), an account of the translation of the body of Mercedarian friar Diego Morcillo Rubio de Auñón (1642–1730), who had served as both viceroy and Archbishop of Lima, to a new sepulchre in Lima's cathedral.⁴² This translation was on the initiative of the viceroy-archbishop's nephew, Bishop of Cuzco Pedro Morcillo Rubio de Auñón (1683–1747). The printing of the account, ordered by Bishop Morcillo, was facilitated by Alfonso Carrión y Morcillo Rubio de Auñón (c. 1710–d. 1778), nephew of both men and an official in the criminal courts of Lima. The two engravings Rosa made for the *Magnífica Parentación*, both signed at the base by the engraver, depict, respectively, the catafalque (fig. 36) and the funerary monument (fig. 37) constructed in honour of the viceroy-archbishop on orders of his nephew. These two prints reinforce once more Rosa's status as the engraver of choice for important commissions. In the case of the engraving of the funerary monument, the structure it reproduces is still in situ today in the cathedral of Lima, although the sculpture of Morcillo

has been replaced with a sculpture of the Immaculate Conception by Bernardo Pérez de Robles (1621–83).⁴³

Commissions like Rosa's depiction of the monuments in honour of Philip V and Viceroy-Archbishop Morcillo would have drawn the attention of religious orders wishing to promote their candidates for sainthood and confraternities wanting prints of their titular images to distribute to the faithful, but they also likely attracted a more unusual commission: an illumination representing the Virgin Mary above, with St Toribio de Mogrovejo – the revered second archbishop of Lima – the Archangel Michael and St Rose of Lima below (fig. 38). The generic cityscape in the background is probably intended to represent Lima. Rosa's signature appears in the lower left corner, below the kneeling St Toribio de Mogrovejo. The illumination was originally included in a *carta ejecutoria de hidalguía* (patent of nobility) of 1750 for the Conde del Valle de Oselle, which today is in a private collection in Spain. The Rosa miniature is now separated from the rest of the patent of nobility, but in December 2003, the entire patent was offered for sale by Christie's, described as 'Originally of ten leaves interleaved with yellow silk and between two silkbacked paper endleaves, seven of the vellum leaves now disbound and framed'.⁴⁴ In May 2018 the Rosa sheet now in the Thoma collection was offered for sale separately from the rest of the manuscript.⁴⁵ There is little evidence of manuscript illuminators working in the Viceroyalty of Peru and fig. 38 seems to have been Rosa's only foray into this area.

On 5 October 1750 the king of Spain signed the patent of nobility that bestowed the title of Conde (count) del Valle de Oselle on Álvaro de Navia Bolaño y Moscoso (1675–1757). The decree, which granted the title to both the first count and his heirs, had been promulgated on 29 September. This decision came in response to a petition Navia had made to the king based on his service to the Spanish monarchy. Born in the town of Navia in Asturias, Spain, he had served in the Viceroyalty of Peru as a senior judge (*oidor decano*) in the Audiencia (high court) of Lima and was an honorary minister in the Council of the Indies (*Consejo de Indias*), the supreme administrative body of the

41. Inv. MP-PERU_CHILE, 13BIS.

42. I have seen copies of Río Salazar's *Magnífica Parentación*, Lima, 1744, at the Beinecke Library (two copies, both include only the print of the funerary monument), Duke University (no prints), and the John Carter Brown Library (only the print of the catafalque).

43. R. Ramos Sosa, 'Nuevas noticias del escultor Bernardo Pérez de Robles en Perú', *Laboratorio de Arte*, xxvi, 2003, pp. 454–55, 458.

44. Christie's, New York, *Fine Printed Books and Manuscripts including Americana*, 18 December 2003, lot 138, with provenance given as from property belonging to the estate of Raymond H. Weill, also online.

45. Christie's, New York, *Latin American Art*, 23–24 May 2018, lot 119, as Juan Francisco de Rosa, with the provenance given as from a private collection, Spain; from whom acquired by the present owner, also online.



38. Juan Francisco Rosa, *Saint Toribio de Mogrovejo, Saint Michael the Archangel and Saint Rose of Lima*, 1750 or later, tempera and gold on parchment or vellum, 292 x 209 mm (Chicago, Carl & Marilyn Thoma Foundation).

Spanish empire in America and the Philippines.⁴⁶ The title was desirable for the prestige that it conferred on the new count and his heirs, but it also brought material advantages as from the late Middle Ages the Spanish nobility had been exempted from taxes as well as enjoying other privileges.⁴⁷

A patent of nobility documented the legitimacy of birth, the testimonies of witnesses and proof of pure blood (*limpieza de sangre*) of the individual applying for a title. Navia's letter patent has ten leaves, seven with borders decorated with acanthus leaves and masks; one with the king's imprinted seal decorated with harpies, monkeys, griffons and other elements from the visual language of manuscript illumination; and a binding of wood board covered with blue velvet.⁴⁸ There are also four full-page miniatures. Among them is a *Portrait of King Ferdinand VI and Queen María Bárbara de Braganza* by the Spanish miniature painter Francisco Antonio Meléndez (1682–1758; fig. 39), who also contributed an illumination of *Christ Carrying the Cross with St Jerome and the Blessed Álvarez of Córdoba* to the document. The volume would have been assembled in Madrid, bound along with the Meléndez miniatures and then shipped to Lima. There, once in the hands of the newly named Conde del Valle de Oselle, the leaf by Rosa would have been inserted into the bound volume. If Meléndez's miniatures emphasized connections to Spain and Navia's birthplace, this addition extolled the place where he had risen in power and influence and where he lived the majority of his life.

It is unlikely that the count could have found an artist in Lima who was trained in the special skills, materials and techniques of manuscript illumination. Several Mercedarian friars are mentioned as 'illuminators' who created choir books for the order's

church in Lima. Choir books, however, are large, intended to be read from a distance, and mostly executed in black and red pigments. If any were illustrated, they were certainly not 'miniatures'.⁴⁹ Instead, then, the count called upon Rosa to create a work unique within the corpus of Spanish colonial art. Given Rosa's experience in producing elite commissions and representing sacred subjects, he may have been an appealing choice. The engraver's attention to line and tendency to produce dense compositions rich in ornamental detail may also have favoured him over painters of larger scale canvases. Rosa became a manuscript illuminator, it seems, by studying the small masterpieces by Meléndez in the Conde del Valle de Oselle's patent letter of nobility. Although Rosa's illustration is somewhat naïve it is not incompetent. Tiny dots of tempera, an inflexible and unforgiving medium, coalesce in the viewer's vision to create both substantial forms and a gauzy vision of celestial putti.

The two oval copperplates and the illumination in Chicago here added to the corpus of works by Juan Francisco Rosa offer an opportunity to reconsider the oeuvre of this understudied eighteenth-century engraver. Although mostly recognized in the past for his religious works, he also received noteworthy commissions that reflect his status as artist of choice for important members of colonial *limeño* society. Working alongside Godin in designing a fortress for Callao, producing works for viceroys, archbishops and counts, Rosa distinguished himself as an engraver for the elite. Rosa's devotional prints, like his explicitly political commissions, should also be seen as the luxury products they were likely perceived to be at the time.

46. M. A. Burkholder, 'Álvaro Navia Bolaño y Moscoso', in *Diccionario Biográfico Electrónico*, online.

47. For a concise history of nobility in Spain, see E. Ruiz García, 'La carta ejecutoria de hidalguía: un espacio gráfico privilegiado', *En la España medieval*, Extra 1, 2006, pp. 251–76.

48. Christie's, New York, *Fine Printed Books and Manuscripts including Americana*, 18 December 2003, pp. 89–90, lot 138, also online.

49. Barriga writes that 'the choral books of the Mercedarian monastery of Lima were illuminated by the Prebend Francisco Ramírez and others by the following friars Pedro Nolasco, also known as an illustrious printmaker, Antonio Contreras and Pablo de Torres' (Los libros corales del Convento de la Merced de Lima fueron miniados por el Pbro. Francisco Ramírez y otros por los religiosos siguientes Fr. Pedro Nolasco, conocido también como eximio grabador, Fr. Antonio de Contreras y Fr. Pablo de Torres). Notably Antonio de Contreras was listed as 'writer of choir books' (escribiente de los libros del coro) in the official list of members of the order compiled by the Mercedarians in Lima in 1751; like Rosa and Nolasco he would

also produce two engravings of catafalques (in 1752 and 1756), although these are very coarsely cut. Barriga, *op. cit.*, pp. 180, 234, 241. R. Vargas Ugarte mentions two illuminators of choir books, both of whom seem to have come from Spain in the seventeenth century. The *bachiller* Diego de Córdoba signed the choir books listed as numbers 6 and 25 in the Cathedral of Lima 'especialmente este último, están trabajados con verdadero primor y hay páginas miniadas que no tienen rival' (particularly this last one, they are excellent works of true quality and there are illuminated pages that have no rival), R. Vargas Ugarte, *Ensayo de un diccionario de artesanos coloniales de la América meridional*, Lima, 1947, p. 152. Vargas Ugarte also mentions an artist from Játiva, Spain who illuminated choir books in the Cathedral of Cuzco in the seventeenth century (p. 174), but he does not mention any miniaturist in Peru working in the eighteenth century. S. L. Stratton, 'Spanish Miniatures of the 16th and 17th Centuries', in *The Spanish Golden Age in Miniature: Portraits from the Rosenbach Museum & Library*, New York, 1988, pp. 15–30.



39. Francisco Antonio Meléndez, *King Ferdinand VI of Spain and Queen María Bárbara de Braganza*, c. 1750, tempera on vellum, 296 x 200 mm (Christie's Images Limited).

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