

The Word as Object in Colonial Spanish South America: Juan María de Guevara y Cantos's *Corona de la divinissima María* (Lima, 1644)

Emily C. Floyd

History of Art, University College London, London, United Kingdom

e.floyd@ucl.ac.uk

Emily C. Floyd is Lecturer in Visual Culture and Art before 1700 at University College London. Her research focuses on material cultures of religion in the colonial and pre-Columbian Americas, particularly religious print culture in Spanish colonial South America. She is interested in the movement, materiality, and agency of objects. She has published on Inca metalwork, silversmith-engravers in colonial Lima, prints and *criollismo* in seventeenth-century Lima, and religion and the digital humanities. She teaches on pre-Columbian and Spanish colonial art and visual culture. Her current book project, "The Global in the Local: Locally-Made Prints and the Shaping of Spanish Colonial South American Religious Networks" analyzes how South American devotional prints united the region in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, creating a shared regional sacred geography. Floyd is Editor and Curator at the Center for the Study of Material and Visual Cultures of Religion at Yale University (MAVCOR, mavcor.yale.edu).

The Word as Object in Colonial Spanish South America: Juan María de Guevara y Cantos's *Corona de la divinissima María* (Lima, 1644)

This article centers on the devotional volume *Corona de la divinissima María*, published in Lima in 1644. This volume primarily takes the form of an extended exegesis of the words spoken by the Virgin Mary as recorded in the Bible, while also exploring the power of the Virgin's name and narrating the author's search for her true lived physical appearance. The book includes 37 engraved illustrations. One of these engravings reproduces a painting the author commissioned of the Virgin's true appearance; the rest diagram or emblematically illustrate powerful words. Indeed, the entire book, called a *Corona*, or crown, itself shapes an extended metaphor in which the words of prayers directed at the Virgin materialize as spiritual crowns, represented three times in the engraved illustrations. This article argues that, within the 1644 *Corona*, words have material presence and bear power in multiple ways: as diagrams, as typographic objects, and as spiritual forms.

Keywords: Print Culture, Colonial Latin America, Material Religion, Early Modern, Peru, Engraving, Book History

Figure 1. Diego de Figueroa, *Ænigmatoria*, engraving, 87 x 128.5 mm, The Harold and Mary Jean Hanson Rare Book Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL (Gainesville from here on)

In between folios 58 and 59 of Juan María de Guevara y Cantos's devotional guide, *Corona de la divinissima María*, published in Lima, Peru in 1644, is an unnumbered folio that features a striking engraved chart. The chart is labeled "ÆNIGMARIA" and begins the section of the *Corona* dedicated to the words spoken by the Virgin. Signed by the limeño goldsmith-engraver Diego de Figueroa, it consists of a grid with cells occupied by

Latin words and phrases (Fig. 1).ⁱ Celestial symbols appear around the edges and within the grid's negative spaces, and at the lower left a winged heart marked by an S and a nail—*clavo* in Spanish, a rebus for *esclavo*, slave, expressing spiritual slavery to the Virgin Mary—hovers above a Latin phrase translating to “in hardship and in ease.” Traces of an earlier text are barely visible around these words, suggesting that Figueroa had cut another phrase in the plate, and then burnished it away to replace it. These ghostly traces suggest both the painstaking mental labor of the author in developing the chart, and the engraver's considerable skill and patience in executing it. Traces of these kinds of revisions can be seen in other areas of the chart as well: the blank square between “nobis” and “facite” contains the faint lines of a now absent star or sun; the square that reads “istud” initially may have included a capital “L.”

Guevara y Cantos's *Corona* survives in only two known copies, one in the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid, the other at the University of Florida at Gainesville. The Madrid copy represents the first edition and includes 35 engravings. The Gainesville *Corona* appears to be the author's proofs for a never-published second edition, and includes 37 engravings. In the text, Guevara y Cantos references one of the two engravings missing from the Madrid copy, a large fold-out portrait print, suggesting it was likely originally present. A handwritten note on the page facing the Gainesville title page reads: “this book was much damaged by the bad press, and the carelessness of the printers; it is corrected by its author for the second impression” (Fig. 2). As part of the process of developing what was apparently a planned second edition, Guevara y Cantos inserted sheets of additional typeset text into his Gainesville proof copy, modified the foliation of the volume, and made manuscript annotations throughout, correcting typos

and both crossing out and adding words and phrases. As already suggested by the evidence of changes to the *Ænigmalaria* plate, Guevara y Cantos was a scrupulous author. His reworking of the original edition and annotation of the Gainesville proof for the planned second edition further support this observation.

The *Corona* in both copies is an over 500-page devotional volume in quarto format dedicated to the Virgin Mary. It is divided roughly into five parts, a Prologue in which Guevara y Cantos gives his own autobiography and describes the process of creating the work; a prayer cycle called a Corona (or crown); a section dedicated to the words spoken by the Virgin Mary as reported in the Bible; a Retrato (or Portrait) section that details the lived appearance of the Virgin Mary and narrates the author's search for this appearance and his production of a painted true portrait reproducing this appearance; and an Elogio describing a festival in Lima dedicated to the Virgin Mary, including a poem written by the author for the occasion. In the Gainesville copy, Guevara y Cantos has changed the foliation of the Retrato and Elogio, rubbing out the typeset numbering and adjusting these two sections so that they each begin at fol. 1, rather than continuing the foliation of the rest of the volume as is the case in the Madrid version.

Acknowledging the differences between the two copies, this article focuses on the Gainesville *Corona* so as to avoid confusion.

Figure 2. Handwritten note from the Gainesville copy of the *Corona*

The *Corona* is remarkable for its emphasis on the importance of the visual, and its holistic integration of text and image. Regardless of whether one counts the Gainesville copy's 37 engravings or the Madrid copy's 35, the *Corona* has far more illustrations than any other book published in Lima during the colonial period (on printmaking in colonial

Lima see Estabridis 2009, Floyd 2018 and 2019). About half of these engravings were printed from imported plates made by the Madrid-based French engraver Juan de Courbes. The other half were printed from plates made by the limeño Figueroa, a goldsmith Guevara y Cantos convinced to try his hand at cutting printing plates due to the absence of professional engravers in Lima in the mid-seventeenth century (Floyd 2018, 87-88). In the majority of the plates, most prominently the *Ænigmata*, words are central. These are prints that speak, in which words overrun and overpower the images, at times leaping beyond the margins of the grids and borders that seek to contain them. On folio 7v for example, a chart of the name of the Virgin links each letter of MARIA with five different Latin terms (Fig. 3). Later, on folio 42r Guevara y Cantos offers “five psalms whose initial letters say MARIA,” and on 146v-147r a series of “Salves” in honor of the name of the Virgin, accompanied by an engraving honoring her name (Fig. 4). The author underscores the value he placed on text by making alterations to the Figueroa engravings of the Gainesville copy—changing words or spellings, but avoiding modifications to the images.

Figure 3. Diego de Figueroa, attributed, *Chart of the name of Mary*, engraving, 68 x 87 mm, Gainesville

Figure 4. Juan de Courbes, attributed, *Five Psalms Whose Initials Say Maria*, engraving, 37 x 48 mm, Gainesville

The engravings of the *Corona* complicate what is already an unusually labored, multivocal, and visual text. The *Corona* seeks to do many things at once. From its title it purports to be a kind of prayer cycle called a *corona* or crown rosary, and indeed, folios 40r-54v include a long prayer sequence developed by the author and dedicated to the

Virgin Mary. But the *Corona* also includes autobiographical sections, in part functioning as exempla (miracles the Virgin performed for the author that demonstrate the efficacy of prayer), but also simply as narrative explanation for the final form of the text and its illustrations. Guevara y Cantos tells us, for example, where he redacted each portion of the text and informs the reader apologetically as to why the final publication ultimately took place in Lima (legal entanglements) rather than in Madrid where he might have had access to a more professional engraver (57r). Both Guevara y Cantos's own narrative in the *Corona* and archival sources in the Archivo General de Indias (AGI – Seville) tell us that Guevara y Cantos was born in Spain and sent overseas to serve as a crown official (Corregidor), first in Mariquita in Nueva Granada (now Colombia), then in Cuenca (now Ecuador) before eventually heading south to Lima, and finally serving as Governor in Guayaquil (Ecuador) (AGI SANTA FE,56.B,N.77; ESCRIBANIA,779A; QUITO,212,L.6,F.88V; ESCRIBANIA,1188; CONTRATACION,5418,N.34; CONTRATACION,5397,N.36; ESCRIBANIA,779A). There is no evidence that Guevara y Cantos ever returned to Europe. In addition to narrating his own autobiography, Guevara y Cantos also incorporates into the *Corona*, as part of the Retrato or portrait section, a transcription of a letter sent to him from Spain while he was living in Cuenca. The letter informed him of the death of his brother, the Jesuit Antonio de Cantos, and shared details of the Jesuit's exemplary life and devotion to the Virgin Mary (Retrato 28r).

If all this weren't enough, Guevara y Cantos's pen and ink changes to the foliation of the fourth and fifth sections of the Gainesville *Corona* seem to indicate that he intended these two sections to function as separate volumes within the larger work,

similar to the way in which *Oraciones* (prayers) were often published along with *Relaciones de exequias* (narratives of the ceremonies in honor of a deceased dignitary), but with their own separate title pages and distinct foliation or pagination. The fourth section—the Retrato section, titled “True Portrait of the Most Pure Virgin . . .,” which provides a narrative description of the lived appearance of the Virgin Mary based on evidence drawn from the writings of mystics and of the Church Fathers—is of particular interest to us here. In addition to detailing the true appearance of the Virgin, it also describes Guevara y Cantos’s oversight in Cuenca of the production of a painted true portrait. The Gainesville *Corona* includes an engraving by Figueroa of this unique iconography of the Virgin. Notably, this section appears to have been inspired by the letter informing Guevara y Cantos of his Jesuit brother’s death. Guevara y Cantos tells us that he both received the letter while in Cuenca *and* wrote the portrait section in this city. Furthermore, the section reflects and apparently responds to the letter’s description of his brother’s lifelong devotion to the Virgin and interest in her lived appearance. Indeed, the letter recounts a vision Antonio de Cantos received of the Virgin as she had appeared while living on this earth (Retrato 29v-30r).

Like many books of this period, the *Corona* includes the thoughts of multiple authors in that it incorporates various dedicatory sonnets. Unusually for the period, however, it also features typeset marginal notes throughout that make such laudatory observations as “Note the grave and lovely style of the Author” or “This has great mystery” or, of the portrait section, “This portrait of the most holy Virgin, is a thing of heaven, look at it with complete attention” (nf, 7v, Retrato 1r). The author of these ebullient remarks identifies himself in third-person in the first marginal note, writing,

“although this work had been approved by such esteemed individuals [referring to the obligatory statements of approbation that appeared at the beginning of the text] the Author brought it to his confessor . . . who was not content just to say the little that he says in the annotations, but who also wrote the advice to the Reader” (nf). The margins of the *Corona*, then, give us throughout the reactions of one of its first, and certainly most enthusiastic, readers—that of Guevara y Cantos’s personal confessor.

As this long introduction to the contents, materiality, and potential audience of the *Corona* has endeavored to suggest, in the *Corona* words are exuberant, subject to much modification and adjustment, and at times contradictory. They are also things of power, to be contemplated, analyzed, ruminated upon, reordered, and made manifest in visual form. Guevara y Cantos was profoundly concerned with the power of words and interested in the ways in which words could be visualized both in script and in image. As I will demonstrate in this article, the *Corona* employs the visual presentation of words and images to facilitate the creation of two different kinds of objects of ambiguous materiality: they were intended to impress themselves upon the mind of the reader, thus, according to early modern understandings of memory, creating mental images to be guarded within the space of the mind; and they were understood to create spiritual objects external to the devotee that could serve as gifts to the Virgin Mary. In the *Corona* the word is at once typographic object, memory, spiritual object, and engraved text or image. This article explores the multiplicity of materialities envisioned in the words of the *Corona*, while also considering the implications of all these wordy materialities within their colonial, and global, context of ideation and production. For Guevara y Cantos as author the colonial geographies in which he redacted and published the *Corona* were

incidental, adjacent to the goals of the text. Nonetheless, the location of the *Corona*'s production and the identities of Guevara y Cantos's collaborators profoundly and inextricably inflect the objecthood of his words.

Impressing Memory

The *Ænigmata* was one of the last elements of the *Corona* to be completed. Guevara y Cantos explains that he “wrote” the *Ænigmata* during the dark period when he was forced to Lima from Cuenca to “appeal to the Lord Viceroy and make known to him my grievances,” a period of suffering he compares to the persecutions endured by the saints (56v-57r). To develop the chart, Guevara y Cantos has taken the words of the Virgin from the Latin Vulgate and organized them so that the *Ænigmata*, read from various different starting points and in diverse directions, contains all of these phrases. The *Ænigmata* functions as an introduction to the section that begins folio 59r titled “Explanation of the Statements of Our Lady.” The astral signs on the chart indicate the starting points for reading each phrase, but the individual phrases themselves are also accompanied by their own symbolic illustrations, so that folio 59r features an engraving of a dove, (emblematic of the Virgin in her humility), responding to the Angel of the Annunciation with the Latin and Spanish “How can this be, seeing I know not a man?” (Luke 1:34) (Fig. 5). Each phrase is accompanied by a similar illustration and several pages of analysis of the words spoken by the Virgin and the insights they offer into her character.

The visual design of the *Ænigmata* isolates each word and encourages a slow contemplative reading in which not only the Virgin's complete phrases take on particular

significant weight but each individual word also draws new attention. The reader is guided not to *read* each word but to cradle it, to mine it for all possible significance. The illustrations that accompany each phrase, derived in their format from contemporary emblem books, further encourage the reader to combine textual meaning with visualization of both the Virgin's actions in the moment of her speech and of the symbolic meaning behind each utterance (on emblem books in colonial Spanish America, see Leal and Amaral 2017). The biblical text evokes the Virgin's encounter with the angel, and offers a moment to reflect on her humility, embodied in the image of the dove. The "s-clavo/esclavo" rebus on the *Ænigmata* chart above the Latin "in hardship and in ease" reminds us that this is an eternal and unconditional practice, one intended for on-going engagement throughout the life of the individual.

Figure 5. Diego de Figueroa, *Quomodo fiet istud quoniam Virum non cognosco?*, engraving, 56 x 71 mm, Gainesville

The *Ænigmata* contains within it all the words spoken by the Virgin as reported by the Latin Vulgate, and allows the reader to access the different phrases she spoke. It is a heuristic tool that facilitates recall of these phrases, a devotional aide-de-memoire. In her work on memory, Mary Carruthers discusses the use of charts and other memory tools like the *Ænigmata* in order to create, store, and access memories. She describes the medieval understanding (based on Greek and Latin writings of antiquity) that "Every sort of sense perception ends up in the form of a phantasm in memory" (2008, 19). These phantasms or "mental pictures" were understood to be produced by means of impression, comparable to that created by a signet ring pressed into wax (19, 25). All memory was understood to take some kind of visual form; visual images in books, even the very

format and structure of the page, could help to create memory images and serve as hooks to bring to mind memorized concepts (274, 278). Tables or gridded structures like the *Ænigmata* were one popular way of presenting information to facilitate memorization (2003, 117). Like other related visual aids, Guevara y Cantos's *Ænigmata* had the potential to assist not so much in rote memorization, as indeed his readers would likely be expected to already be familiar with the Latin texts at hand, but rather to allow the readers to create their own mental images, and from these to, as Carruthers puts it, "become mindful of reading and ponder it, like Mary, in her heart . . ." (2008, 335). The accompanying emblem-like engravings illustrating each phrase would have further facilitated this kind of meditation (274).

This interest in memory, vision, and the power of words had a long history in Catholicism but was evolving in the period associated with the colonization of the Americas. If a chart like the *Ænigmata* existed to impress the Latin words of the Virgin on the memory, mental pictures of a different sort were of particular concern to many of Guevara y Cantos's contemporaries in Lima. As Sabine MacCormack (1991) demonstrates, beginning in the sixteenth century and persisting into the mid-seventeenth, missionaries and extirpators of idolatries in the Andes were troubled by the mental images produced by the imagination, a parallel and related faculty to memory. These were images that, from the Catholic evangelizer's perspective, could as easily be produced by the devil as by heavenly forces (7). As MacCormack describes, evangelizers were particularly concerned about the visionary experiences of Indigenous Andeans given the central role of oracles in Andean religious practices (8).

Guevara y Cantos arrived in Lima at a critical moment in efforts to root out non-Christian practices in the Viceroyalty of Peru, an initiative known as the extirpation of idolatries. In the early decades of the seventeenth century, extirpators such as Fernando de Avendaño and Francisco de Ávila had railed against continuing non-Christian practices among the Indigenous population and resorted to extreme measures to abolish these perceived “idolatries” (401). Although they directed their actual extirpation efforts at Andean communities in the mountain parishes outside of the viceregal capital, they published their treatises at Lima’s presses, and, on 20 December 1609, Ávila famously orchestrated a massive *auto de fe* in Lima’s Plaza de Armas as the culmination of his two years of investigation into the “idolatrous” religious practices of the parish of San Damián in Huarochiri (MacCormack, 389; Mills 1997, 32; Spalding 1984; Salomon et al. 1991). Ávila delivered a sermon in Quechua before the gathered dignitaries, ignited a bonfire of mummies and sacred objects confiscated from Huarochiri, and oversaw the public whipping of the religious leader Hernando Paucar, who was ultimately exiled to a Jesuit college in Chile (MacCormack, 389). The irony of this public display of righteous fury was that it took place far from the mountainous parish from which Paucar and the sacred objects had been extracted. The hundreds of Indigenous limeños assembled in the square would likely have had little connection to the specific objects and beliefs targeted by the *auto*. “Idolatry” as a concept was imagined from Lima and its destruction was staged for Lima’s elite ecclesiastic and governing class. After a lull in extirpation during the late 1630s, in 1641, the year before Guevara y Cantos reached Lima, a new archbishop, Pedro de Villagómez, arrived in the city. His tenure as prelate would be

characterized by renewed vigor in extirpation and augmented anxieties about the failures of past missionary efforts (Mills, 38).

Numerous decrees penned by Villagómez would issue from Lima's presses. Notably, in 1649 the press of Jorge López de Herrera published a pastoral letter by Villagómez that railed against the "idolatries" of the Indigenous population of the Archbishopric of Lima. This text, as Mills points out, drew heavily on Jesuit Pablo José de Arriaga's 1621 treatise on extirpation of idolatry (also published in Lima), but offered an additional "defensive declaration of purpose and a strident manifesto" for ongoing extirpation (143-5). If this 1649 *Carta Pastoral* marked the beginning of a new era of war against "idolatry," the origin of the printing press in Lima was already tightly linked to missionary efforts in Peru. The crown had initially banned the printing press in South America, only lifting this ban in response to the 1581 petitions of the University of San Marcos and Lima's *cabildo* (town council), petitions that specifically cited the need to print doctrinal texts in native Andean languages (Rodríguez-Buckingham 1977, 62). The first major work to emerge from printer Antonio Ricardo's Lima press was the 1584 *Doctrina Cristiana y Catecismo para la Instrucción de los indios*, quickly followed in 1585 by a second catechism and a guide to confession, both ultimately intended to teach Catholicism to Peru's Indigenous population (Guibovich Pérez 2001, 169). Although limeño presses also printed a variety of secular and religious material not directly connected to evangelization, the rational and justification underlying their establishment in Peru was their service to the evangelization effort.

Guevara y Cantos does not at any point in the *Corona* explicitly reference the Incas, Andean religious practices, or initiatives to convert the Indigenous population and

extirpate non-Christian beliefs. However, in his efforts to shape the world around him via words and images, and more importantly in his position as a crown official and thus instrument of the colonial system, Guevara y Cantos was inextricably part of this reality. In order for him to publish the *Corona* in Lima, Spanish rule along with Catholicism and the printing press first had to be established in the region. Memorization and its correlative production of memory images were closely tied to colonial agendas of evangelization and extirpation.

Spiritual Objects

The *Ænigmata*'s primary purpose is to render words as memory objects in the mind of the devotee, while simultaneously shaping them into the form of a grid on the page. Earlier in the *Corona*, the words of the crown prayer developed by Guevara y Cantos in the second section of the volume become object in a manner both subtler and more explicit: they are an engraved object envisioned as embedded within a folio of the printed volume, and they are a spiritual object shaped for the Virgin Mary by the prayers of the devotee.

Figure 6. Juan de Courbes (attributed), *Prayer Crown*, recto, engraving, 95 x approx. 91 mm, Gainesville

Figure 7. Juan de Courbes (attributed), *Prayer Crown*, verso, engraving, 94 x 88.5 mm, Gainesville

The words as engraved object appear on the upper two thirds of the recto and verso of folio 1 of the *Corona* where they take the form of a crown impressed into the paper by two engraved plates (Fig. 6-7). As Guevara y Cantos tells us, he wrote the

crown prayer while in Madrid in 1626, prior to traveling westward across the Atlantic (56v). He implies that he also commissioned the accompanying (unsigned) engravings at that time. Although I have previously attributed these engravings to Figueroa (Floyd 2018, 88), I now believe them to be the work of Courbes, based on Guevara y Cantos's words and the two men's differing handling of the engraving burin—Courbes's lines are fine and precise, seemingly produced using a narrower blade than the one that cut Figueroa's thicker grooves. A conventional choice for printing the plates might have been to place the engravings of the two faces of the crown on facing pages so that both could be viewed and read simultaneously, but either Guevara y Cantos or his Lima printer-publisher Joseph de Contreras took an alternate approach. Instead of appearing across from each other, the two engravings have been printed on the recto and verso of the folio. Engravings were rarely printed on the recto and verso of the same sheet in the Spanish colonial world, and the great care taken by the printer of the plates to perfectly and carefully align the two crowns makes this printing exceptional.ⁱⁱ Thanks to this impeccable alignment, in turning the page the reader moves from the front to the back of the crown so that the crown seems embedded within the folio.

Courbes cut lines of Latin text into the plates that eventually served as matrices for the folio 1 engraved crown. In some instances, these lines of text fill the spaces within the engraved outline of the crown, but in other places there are no outlines to fill: the text itself shapes the form of the object, the words becoming the crown.ⁱⁱⁱ The words come from a variety of sources, but all are Marian prayers. Along the base of the crown, passages from Song of Songs praise the beauty of the Virgin, Ave Marias interwoven at the crown's core become lilies whose intertwined stems and leaves trace interlocked Ms

and As. This repetition mirrors the repetitive prayers that characterized not only Guevara y Cantos's corona prayer cycle but also the more common rosary prayer. The five-pointed stars that shine at the edges of the crown are ringed with Latin phrases.

This crown embedded within the page is both a translation into physical form of the words of a prayer cycle developed by Guevara y Cantos and included within the *Corona* and a visualization of the spiritual-material manifestation that these prayers were understood to take on having been read by the devotee. Guevara y Cantos's typeset text begins below the first plate on folio 1 recto with an explanation that emphasizes the former dimension of the engraved crown:

This holy CROWN contains the prayer of this admirable devotion, commencing at its beginning, *Tota pulchra es*, . . . and it is to be noted that, the sections of the lilies, of which it is composed form two MM with two intermediate AA, and leaving this shape, they form another, . . . and finally in whatever part that one should wish to look, will be seen an M, and an A, which speak in abbreviated form the name of MARY our Lady (1r-2r).

As Guevara y Cantos describes, the crown is a visual container for a prayer cycle developed elsewhere in the *Corona*. Indeed, when the prayer cycle begins on folio 40r, the text of the prayer roughly corresponds to the text of the folio 1 crown. The prayer begins on folio 40 with the familiar line from Song of Songs, "Tota pulchra es amica mea et macula non est in te," which is also the text at the base of the crown on folio 1r. The corona prayer continues with the text at the base of the crown on folio 1v, "Veni de Libano sponsa mea . . ." From there the reader would proceed up from the base of the crown to the top, and from left to right across the front of the crown to the back, flipping the leaf as the words crossed from one side to the other. The Latin phrases that ring the

stars correspond to the first words of Latin texts accompanying Courbes's engraved scenes from the life of the Virgin. The first star, "CONCEPTIO," for example, correlates to a scene on folio 45r in which the parents of the Virgin, saints Joachim and Anna, embrace at the golden arch and, by means of the Holy Spirit, Anna immaculately conceives of Mary (Fig. 6). Below this diminutive engraving the typeset text likewise begins, "Conceptio tua Dei genetrix virgo . . ." ("Thy Holy Birth, Virgin Mother of Our Lord," an antiphon to the Magnificat).

The crown, like the *Ænigmalaria*, can perhaps be understood at least in part as an aide-de-memoire or heuristic tool. Devotees might use the engraved crown to remind themselves of the order of the prayers developed by Guevara y Cantos beginning on 40r. This would be complicated, however, given the need to flip back and forth from one side of folio 1 to the other as the prayers move around the engraved object. Guevara y Cantos prioritized the conceit of the crown embedded in the page over the legibility and usability of the image as a tool for memory. In printing the crown in this manner, the *Corona* literally places the object in the hand of the reader. The *Corona* encourages the reader to manipulate the page back and forth, forcing the devotee to envision the prayer crown as an object that emerges from the printed page and can be viewed from different angles. The folio 1 prayer crown produces a material transformation that could be understood as a kind of phenomenology of the page-turning experience.^{iv}

Figure 8. Juan de Courbes, *Joachim and Anna at the Golden Arch*, engraving, 35 x 46 mm, Gainesville

The emphasis placed on the "objecthood" of the crown over its use value may reflect a broader understanding of the potential physicality of the words of the prayer as

suggested by other sections of the *Corona*. The portrait engraving offers a second visualization of the prayers as manifested in this form and attests to this understanding of the folio 1 prayer crown: as an engraved version of a prayer object understood to be shaped by the words of the prayer. The engraving is a large fold-out sheet representing the Virgin Mary standing on a plinth at the center of the composition, her arms outstretched, her head tilted and her gaze directed down towards the man who kneels at her left (Fig. 9). Guevara y Cantos's textual description of the engraving informs us that this is an author portrait, showing Guevara y Cantos himself kneeling, dressed in stylized half armor, lifting a delicate royal crown in his hands. This crown is a simplified version of the crown embedded in folio 1 of the *Corona*. Here instead of being formed of words, only the name MARIA appears inscribed on the base, the lilies, freed of the rigid geometry of the folio 1 crown, are semi-naturalistic and exuberant. The simplification of the crown to include only the name MARIA reminds us of Guevara y Cantos's previously cited description of the folio 1 prayer crown in which he emphasizes the way the words of the crown form repeated M's and A's that, as he wrote, "speak in abbreviated form the name of MARY our Lady."

In the portrait the multiple understandings of "corona" converge: *Corona* refers to the title of the entire printed volume, but it is also the specific corona prayer sequence beginning on folio 40r, and it is furthermore an object that takes the form of an engraved crown embedded within folio 1. The Gainesville portrait, however, reveals another way in which the concept of the "corona" could function. In holding a miniature version of the folio 1 crown, a crown that already incorporated the prayers beginning folio 40r into the body of the object, Guevara y Cantos offers forth to the Virgin a physical version of the

book itself, the words become object. Seen this way, the *Corona* was not only significant insofar as it could be read and employed for prayer, but also for its physical presence.

The “usefulness” of the *Corona* may have been less important than or equally important to its objecthood. Guevara y Cantos may have valued that the *Corona* had been published, rendered physical and multiple, as much as whether or not it would actually be used by a potential devotee.

Figure 9. Diego de Figueroa, *True Portrait of the Virgin Mary*, engraving, 274 x 215 mm, Gainesville

Both the idea of a prayer cycle called a “corona” and of the words of a prayer transforming into object have a long history in Catholic devotional practice. The most well-known example is the rosary, a sequence of prayers popularly understood to have been granted to St. Dominic, the founder of the Dominican Order, by the Virgin Mary. The origin of the rosary prayer is, however, much more complicated than the straightforward account of the Virgin and St. Dominic might suggest. As Nathan Mitchell points out, the practice of praying with beads as counters has much earlier origins and the rosary itself could be traced back to medieval *devotio moderna* piety (2009, 24). Various different prayer cycles closely related to the modern-day rosary appear in the documentary record from as early as 1130 (Winston-Allen 1997, 15). These prayer cycles, called Marian psalters, originated from an earlier practice of reciting the Old Testament psalms, replacing the antiphons that traditionally preceded the psalms with short verses interpreting the psalms as references to Christ or Mary. The earliest evidence of manuscript versions of rosaries, which differ from earlier medieval cycles like Marian Psalters by the incorporation of meditations on moments from the life of Christ and

Mary, is from ca. 1300 (17). These meditational prayer cycles were referred to as coronas as well as by the now more familiar term “rosary.”

Both rosary prayer cycles and earlier Marian Psalters often incorporated exemplar stories that referred to the idea that words might become objects. As Winston-Allen attests, in Marian Psalter exemplar stories, the Virgin Mary might appear, for instance, wearing a dress without sleeves before a devotee who had failed to complete the full cycle. The Virgin would chastise the devotee for leaving the prayer cycle, and therefore the prayer garment, unfinished (136). In one rosary exemplar, thieves witness a beautiful woman taking roses from the mouth of a novice who has stopped to pray by the side of the road (100-101).

A crown rosary by the Franciscan *criollo* author Luis Geronimo Oré, born in Huamanga (now Ayacucho, Peru), published in Madrid in 1619 (and thus potentially a text to which Guevara y Cantos would have had access), gives an extended exemplar narrative. Oré includes an explicit account of the origin of the prayers of the Franciscan crown rosary in which the spoken words of the prayers transform into physical objects of adornment. Oré writes that the Virgin granted the corona prayers to a young Franciscan novice who, prior to entering the order, had the custom of regularly “making a garland of flowers, and placing it on the head of an image of Our Lady” (np). Having entered the order, he was no longer able to perform this devotion; such was his dismay that he considered leaving the order. In his anguish, the Virgin appeared to him, saying, “Son, don’t . . . think of returning to secular life, because I will teach you how you can better fulfill your devotion, making a better flower garland, and by offering it to me every day you will make me a Crown of Angelic salutations . . .” (np). Later other friars witnessed

the novice praying the salutations granted to him by the Virgin and observed that, as he prayed, “before him [stood] a resplendent Angel, who, holding in his hands a golden thread, threaded along it very beautiful roses, at times mixing in a golden iris, and having filled the thread, they saw how the Angel joined the ends, and making a garland or crown, placed it on the novice’s head and disappeared” (np).

These narratives of prayers becoming garments or flowers simultaneously establish the Virgin’s own approval of the devotion, the capacity for all individuals to make offerings to the Virgin, and the importance of commitment to completion of the full cycle. In Oré’s exemplar narrative the Virgin herself teaches the corona prayers to the young novice, but in all the narratives she demonstrates her approval of the prayer cycles via the manifestation of the spiritual objects that result from the prayer. In the “incomplete garment” narratives, the Virgin’s appearance both expresses her support for the prayer cycle and stresses the need to recite the full cycle. Perhaps the most important message of the exemplar stories, however, is the idea that the prayer cycle devotion is an opportunity for any devotee to make an offering to the Virgin Mary, an offering of time and dedication that results in the production of potentially visible (at least to the inner eye or imagination) spiritual objects.

Given the widespread nature of these kinds of exemplar stories, the understanding that prayers could shape spiritual objects surely underlies the two crowns in Guevara y Cantos’s *Corona*. In this mid-seventeenth-century text it was perhaps unnecessary to explicitly explain this idea to the reader, it could instead be referenced by the visual and textual play of the crowns and the title. In the 1644 *Corona*, however, the production of prayer objects is extended beyond the model established by exemplar stories. Central to

the logic of the prayer object is a sort of mass production. The more people who pray the prayer cycles and the more times they pray them the more crowns, flower garlands, and garments would be produced for the Virgin Mary. Like indulgences, collected by the thousands and hundreds of thousands, volume made the prayer cycles more efficacious. We see this interest in the multiple in the author portrait print. Not only does Guevara y Cantos lift a crown towards the Virgin, but another kneeling figure, his deceased brother Antonio de Cantos, offers a more typical rose crown, and angels swoop down around the Virgin extending crowns of all imaginable varieties. The Holy Spirit in the form of a dove appears at the top of the print, crowning the Virgin with the word “Coronaberis.” More is better. Crucially although perhaps less obviously the action of the printing press also potentially allowed for the mass production of the *Corona* prayer crowns. We do not know how many copies of the *Corona* may have been printed, but seventeenth-century limeño editions of printed books for which we have archival evidence ran from 200-500 copies, up to as many as 2000 (Lohmann Villena 1995, 81, 85 96, 97). Regardless, the engraved matrices had the capacity to function in parallel to the cycles of carefully ordered prayers: impressed on paper they leave behind the shape of the crown, a gift to the Virgin.

The Word on Canvas

If the embedded crown seems only incidentally impacted by its place of manufacture, the Gainesville portrait engraving, and more importantly Guevara y Cantos’s accompanying narrative of the production of the painting that preceded it, reveal exactly how fraught colonial circumstances of making could be. In particular, they demonstrate another

dimension to the power of words. The portrait itself represents the visualization of Guevara y Cantos's written exploration of the physical appearance of the Virgin Mary, but the painting to which the engraving is related also, as Guevara y Cantos describes, came into being in part through the power of spoken words selected from the Bible. And yet, Guevara y Cantos's description of the written sources underlying the shaping of his portrait of the Virgin, and emphasis on the ritualized intonations of selected prayers and phrases that allowed for the final production of the painted canvas (a repetition that again evokes the printing process), are also part of a narrative of elision of the Indigenous artist that is a familiar trope to scholars of colonial Spanish American art. As we will see, Guevara y Cantos's anonymous Indigenous artist unsettles the straightforward narrative of word into object that is otherwise conveyed by the *Corona*.

Guevara y Cantos begins the portrait section of the *Corona* with a narrative passage in which he lists the different sources he relies on for constructing the portrait and, ultimately, gives his reconstruction of the Virgin's lived appearance based on these sources. If, earlier in the book, the *Ænigmata* and its accompanying section of Marian emblems, revealed Guevara y Cantos's desire to access the Virgin through her words, here he endeavors to access the Virgin through her physical body. Guevara y Cantos describes prior paintings of the Virgin as flawed in that they represent her either in a particular, special moment of her life (i.e. that of her betrothal) when she dressed in an uncharacteristically rich manner, or depict her celestial appearance, as Queen of Heaven, the manner in which she often appeared in mystic visions (*Retrato 2v*). In contrast, as Guevara y Cantos's interest is in reconstructing the Virgin's daily appearance in life, he appeals to the writings of Church Fathers and certain mystics (such as Birgitta of

Sweden) who he understands to have had special access to the Virgin's true aspect. Although the representation of the Virgin Mary in Figueroa's engraving may seem generic, for Guevara y Cantos the painting at least was incredibly specific. The development of the "true portrait" included attention to details of the Virgin's attire, her weight (neither thin nor thick), her long-fingered hands, and her facial features, from her small mouth and teeth to her large, tawny-olive colored eyes (189r-189v; on the idea of the "true portrait," see Nagel and Wood 2010). He was also interested, however, in reconstructing her true *dimensions*, as the portrait was meant to be life-size as well as true to the Virgin's lived appearance. Here, we see the first evidence of how Guevara y Cantos understood words to directly shape interactions between humans and the divine.

The final painting, although ironically not the engraving, which potentially publicized more widely the Virgin's "true" appearance, depicts the Virgin at a little under two *varas* in height. To find these dimensions Guevara y Cantos selected a passage from Psalms 26:8 "My heart hath said to thee: My face hath sought thee: thy face, O Lord, will I still seek" and repeated it over and over in prayer, walking about with a compass and a ribbon cut to the length of a vara, in the hopes that the Virgin would decide to intercede (Retrato 8v). On the feast of the Expectation of the Virgin, 18 December 1641, Guevara y Cantos found himself in the town of Paute on an official visit as part of his responsibilities as Corregidor of Cuenca. There, having confessed, taken communion, and commended himself into the Virgin's care, Guevara y Cantos held out the ribbon, allowed the compass to fall open, and the Virgin revealed the measurement to him (Retrato 9r). The repeated words from Psalm 26, apparently chosen for their reference to seeking the face of God, ultimately allow for the Virgin's revelation of the dimensions.

Words again play a role in the production of the final painting, but before work could begin Guevara y Cantos needed an artist. It is here that the colonial circumstances of production emerge to trouble Guevara y Cantos's semi-autobiographical narrative of one man's triumphant labor, and of the Virgin Mary's intercession to facilitate his project. If words have the power to create and to shape the material and spiritual world, words also have the power to obfuscate and hide, as when Guevara y Cantos gives us only his painter's ethnicity and not his name. After Guevara y Cantos acquired the Virgin's precise dimensions on the day of the Expectation in Paute, it took another few months until, as he writes, "Her virginal Majesty sent me an Indian painter [*un indio pintor*], to whom I said that I wished to produce a painting of the portrait of the Most Holy Virgin Our Lady because I had her measurement" (Retrato 9r). The painter readily agreed to try his hand at the work.

Luisa Elena Alcalá has described how chronicles of thaumaturgic images typically diminish the importance of the artist, regardless of ethnic background. She writes, "the scant information on the artists recorded in the chronicles is a direct consequence of the implied competition between the object and its maker. The material and human elements in the image's history could diminish its potential to work miracles and were thus consistently downplayed" (2009, 56). For Guevara y Cantos's narrative, it is preferable that his painter not be a named individual, but instead be a passive tool of the Virgin. Once the painting is complete, as Guevara y Cantos declares, "The painter was left with great admiration and tenderness, and he said that he didn't know how he had painted that holy face; truly the most Divine MARY had deigned to favor our desires" (Retrato 13r). In Guevara y Cantos's words, the painter was sent by the Virgin

and once he completed the painting he did not recognize it as his own work. This devaluing of the painter facilitates the exaltation of the Virgin.

Guevara y Cantos's choice not to name the Indigenous painter and to minimize his agentive role also falls, however, within a broader colonial tradition of limiting recognition of the contributions of the Indigenous artist of a holy image. Furthermore, this tradition of elision, like the guides and sermons on the extirpation of idolatries that emerged from limeño presses, was transmitted via the action of the printing press. The medium via which Guevara y Cantos conveyed his own narrative paralleled that of prior obscuring narratives. The Mexican Virgin of Guadalupe is perhaps the most famous example of this disappearance of the Indigenous artist. Early manuscript archival records acknowledge the work as having been painted by the painter Marcos Cipac de Aquino; later seventeenth-century printed chronicles erase the artist's identity, stressing instead the painting's miraculous appearance, made without human hands, on the cloak of Juan Diego (Alcalá 2009; Peterson 2014). Another parallel to Guevara y Cantos's anonymous painter is Francisco Tito Yupanqui, the (named) sculptor of elite Indigenous heritage who carved the Virgin of Copacabana of his own initiative in the late-sixteenth century. Yupanqui's centrality to the story of the creation of the Virgin of Copacabana apparently rendered his disappearance from the narrative impossible. Nonetheless, Augustinian friar Alonso Ramos Gavilán's chronicle of the Virgin of Copacabana, the *Historia del Célebre Santuario de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana* (Lima: Jerónimo de Contreras, 1621), still manages to limit Yupanqui's contribution. Ramos Gavilán's printed chronicle includes two accounts of the production of the sculpture, once in his own words and once in an account reportedly written by Tito Yupanqui and reproduced by Ramos Gavilán as part

of the chronicle. In a rhetorical move familiar from the *Corona*, Ramos Gavilán's account gives divine intervention as the crucial factor in allowing for the successful completion of Tito Yupanqui's sculpture. One of the image's first miracles is its self-transformation—the original image did not allow for the Christ child to be crowned without blocking the face of the Virgin, but the sculpture moved its own arm so as to permit this adornment. As Ramos Gavilán explains, the sculpture “was left imperfect so that the perfection of the material Image might be a miraculous portent” (210).

The power of sacred words to create material changes is complicated by the presence of the unnamed portrait painter. The day on which Guevara y Cantos and the painter are to finalize the Virgin's face, Guevara y Cantos prays passages from Song of Songs as the painter works; the intonation of the sacred words allowing for the successful completion of the work. He writes that he told the painter that:

when he should hear me say CORONABERIS, he should touch at that instant the paintbrush to the face; and I began to say on my knees: *Tota pulchra es amica mea, & macula non est in te. Veni de Libano sponsa mea, veni de Libano, veni CORONABERIS:* and in that moment he placed his paintbrush to the sketch (Retrato 12r-12v).

Guevara y Cantos's description of his actions at the time of the painting of the face of the Virgin places him in a position parallel to that in which he appears in the painting itself as reported by the Figueroa engraving. As in the engraving, he is kneeling and speaking holy words, and these words allow him to shape an offering for the Virgin. It is the words, spoken by Guevara y Cantos and printed and disseminated by the work of the printer Joseph de Contreras, and not the paintbrush, wielded by the painter, that produce the final perfect image of the face. Perhaps for this reason the print, presumably mirroring the painting, abounds with text. The Latin phrases within the image, scrolling in agitated

curves across the negative space between Virgin and donors, the letters crammed together and, at times, flipped upside down in order to retain the directionality of the text emerging from the mouths of the various angelic, human, and holy speakers, animate the surface left otherwise uncut by Figueroa's burin. The internal text wriggles with barely contained energy, while the external text in the border restrains and frames the image. As Guevara y Cantos informs us, he added even further text to the painting once it was complete in the form of a sign at the top of the canvas, reading "the Virgin of Nazareth MARY Mother of God" (Retrato 13r).

All this hyperabundant text reiterates ad nauseum Guevara y Cantos's point: words, prayer, in its repetition, in its visual and aural qualities, are efficacious at forming a mutually beneficial relationship to the Virgin. They can shape the world around us and reach into the celestial realm beyond. They can create objects both material, like the painting, the book, and the print; and spiritual, like the various crowns held aloft by angels and humans in the engraving. And yet there is one more piece of text on the Gainesville engraving: a signature, not of the anonymous painter, but of the limeño goldsmith-engraver, Diego de Figueroa. At the lower righthand corner of the composition, just inside the bounds of the border but trespassing across it, barely visible against the dark lines of the ambiguous surface on which the two Cantos brothers kneel, Figueroa has cut his name "Did. de Fig. Facieb.^t Limæ" (Fig. 8). Unlike the anonymous painter, Figueroa ensured the preservation of his own name by signing his plates. In doing so, Figueroa tells us something about how he may have understood himself differently from Guevara y Cantos's more general presentation of the anonymous artist. Michael Gaudio has described how sixteenth-century European engravers represented

distant unknown “savages” and crafted “alterity out of lines cut with a burin into a copper plate” (Gaudio 2008, xii). In carving his name into the scene, Figueroa, an engraver living in one of those distant places represented as savage by Gaudio’s engravers, instead declares himself civilized, a master of the art. He places himself into a space from which Guevara y Cantos had excluded him: like the Cantos brothers, his name is there at the foot of the Virgin, inscribed into the ground on which her plinth rests. It is, as Gaudio writes of Theodore de Bry’s signatures “an index of the self . . . evidenced in the product of its labor,” and a declaration of authorial identity preceding this labor (30). This is an identity already made manifest in Figueroa’s unique approach to manipulating the burin. Figueroa does not weave, like de Bry and other reproductive engravers, a “mechanical network of cross-hatching” (38). Instead, he primarily constructs form via a dense fabric of parallel lines, which give his figures a heavy sculptural quality. His surfaces, as is particularly visible in the robes of the Virgin and the kneeling Jesuit, have a texture reminiscent of wood grain. Figueroa also creates decorative patterning through the use of stippling, and uses crosshatching sparingly, primarily to mark the edges of folds or of rounded volumes. Figueroa’s unique grammar of engraving is as declarative as his name cut at the base of the plate, both speak his individuality rather than encouraging imitation.

Figure 10. Detail, figure 7.

Reconstructing the lives of an anonymous Indigenous painter and even of a named goldsmith is challenging given the sources available to us.^v Barbara Mundy and Aaron Hyman have demonstrated the inappropriateness of the Vasarian model of the artist in studying colonial Latin American art, pointing out the absence of biographical information and the unknown oeuvres of many named artists, as well as the frequent

presence of multiple hands in a single work, whether this be the result of workshop practices or repeat restorations (2015). Furthermore, the vast majority of artworks produced in colonial Latin America were left unsigned by their creators, suggesting that neither they nor their patrons viewed the presence of their name on the finished work as integral to its success. A signature then, particularly a signature placed on a colonial Latin American work, functions in a manner very different from how words otherwise function in the *Corona*. These words bring not prayer but an identity and agency into life, prioritizing the individual in ways that seemingly contradict Guevara y Cantos's own emphasis on the power of the Virgin Mary to make ultimate decisions about the various objects produced through the transformation of words.

Conclusion

As a material object and print publication, the *Corona* mesmerizes: its many engraved illustrations, its additions, its modifications, its layers of commentary, and its multiple simultaneous narratives and ambitions, all captivate and befuddle at least the modern reader if not its original seventeenth-century audience. In the *Corona*, words are malleable, but they are not neutral; their agenda is not solely devotional, but rather colored by the colonial circumstances within which they were produced. Their objecthood as envisioned by Guevara y Cantos is repeatedly conditioned and undercut by the geographies and hands that contributed to their making. Guevara y Cantos developed his *Corona* as a tool for the creation of certain kinds of memory images and spiritual objects via the reading of sacred words. In this way the *Corona* is an essentially archaic endeavor, rooted in medieval practices of repeated prayer and grounded in time-tested

techniques for honing the memory and shaping the mind. The *Corona* is a conservative project emphasizing the power of words, but written by a man who was living a fundamentally modern, transnational life as a colonial administrator. From the colophon “Con Licencia Impresso en Lima” (Printed with Permission in Lima) printed in neat, typeset letters on the final page, to the unevenly cut signatures on Figueroa’s inexpertly produced plates, to the absent name of the painter of the now-lost painted portrait, words in the *Corona* declare not only their objecthood but also the imbalanced power relationships that facilitated its production. Even as Guevara y Cantos himself elides the colonial circumstances of the *Corona*’s creation, mentioning his geographic location and the identities of his collaborators as tangential details to a broader narrative, the final printed object itself inherently incorporates these circumstances. The engraving of Guevara y Cantos and his brother kneeling together before the Virgin embodies the play of distance and proximity that weaves its way through the margins of Guevara y Cantos’s narrative description of his physical distance and spiritual closeness to Europe. There, as the two men, separated by an ocean, a continent, and by death, kneel reunited before the celestial figure of the Virgin, their engraved forms embody the complex dynamic of the *Corona* itself. This is a book in which word is made object, but solely through the intervention of diverse hands, united and divided by colonial geographies.

Acknowledgments

Thank you to MAIUS Workshop participants for valuable feedback on a draft version of this article. Three reviewers provided thoughtful comments that have greatly strengthened this article. Neil Weijer and Haven Hawley of the Gainesville Smathers Libraries Special Collections generously shared their bibliographic insights. Thanks also

to Meg Bernstein, Aaron Hyman, and Stephanie Porras for comments on various versions of this article.

References

- Alcalá, Luisa Elena. 2009. "The Image and Its Maker: The Problem of Authorship in Relation to Miraculous Images in Spanish America." In *Sacred Spain: Art and Belief in the Spanish World*, edited by Rhonda Kasl, 55–73. Indianapolis: Indianapolis Museum of Art.
- Carruthers, Mary. 2003. *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400 - 1200*. Reprint. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____. 2008. *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. 2nd ed. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Covarrubias Orozco, Sebastián de. 1873. *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española*. Madrid: Melchor Sanchez.
- Estabridis Cárdenas, Ricardo. 2002. *El grabado en Lima virreinal. Documento histórico y artístico (siglos XVI al XIX)*. Lima: Fondo Editorial Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos.
- Floyd, Emily C. 2018. "Grabadores-plateros en el virreinato peruano." In *Plata de los Andes*, edited by Ricardo Kusunoki and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, 84–97. Lima: Museo de Arte de Lima.
- _____. 2019. "Privileging the Local: Prints and the New World in Early Modern Lima." In *A Companion to Early Modern Lima*, edited by Emily Engel, 360–84. Leiden: Brill.
- Gaudio, Michael. 2008. *Engraving the Savage: The New World and Techniques of Civilization*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Griffiths, Antony. 2016. *The Print before Photography: An Introduction to European Printmaking 1550-1820*. London: British Museum Press.
- Guevara y Cantos, Juan María de. 1644. *Corona de la divinissima María Purissima Virgen, Madre de Dios*. Lima: Joseph de Contreras.
- Guibovich Pérez, Pedro M. 2001. "The Printing Press in Colonial Peru: Production Process and Literary Categories in Lima, 1584-1699." *Colonial Latin American Review* 10 (2): 167–88.
- Leal, Pedro Germano and Rubem Amaral, editors. 2017. *Emblems in Colonial Ibero-America: To the New World on the Ship of Theseus*. Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies.
- Lohmann Villena, Guillermo. 1995. "Más Documentos Para La Historia de La Imprenta En Lima, (1602-1690)." *Revista Del Archivo General de La Nación* 6: 103–43.
- Mundy, Barbara E., and Aaron M. Hyman. 2015. "Out of The Shadow of Vasari: Towards A New Model of The 'Artist' in Colonial Latin America." *Colonial Latin American Review* 24 (3): 283–317.
- Nagel, Alexander and Christopher S. Wood. 2010. *Anachronic Renaissance*. New York: Zone Books.
- Oré, Luis Jerónimo de. 1619. *Corona de la Sacratissima Virgen Maria Madre de Dios nuestra Señora*. Madrid: Por la viuda de Cosme Delgado.

- Peterson, Jeanette Favrot. 2014. *Visualizing Guadalupe: From Black Madonna to Queen of the Americas*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Ramos Gavilán, Alonso. 1621. *Historia del Célebre Santuario de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana*. Lima: Jerónimo de Contreras.
- Rodríguez-Buckingham, Antonio Manuel. 1977. "Colonial Peru and the Printing Press of Antonio Ricardo." Dissertation, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.
- Salomon, Frank, Jorge Urioste, and Francisco de Avila, eds. 1991. *The Huarochirí Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Spalding, Karen. 1984. *Huarochirí, an Andean Society under Inca and Spanish Rule*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press.
- Webster, Susan V. 2017. *Lettered Artists and the Languages of Empire: Painters and the Profession in Early Colonial Quito, 1550-1650*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Winston-Allen, Anne. 1997. *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.

ⁱ Ligatures condense the letters in "ÆNIGMARIA" as written at the top of the chart, demonstrating sophisticated knowledge of scribal and calligraphic conventions. The first "A" of Maria is combined with the "M"; the "I" of Maria is combined with the last A. ÆNIGMARIA links the Latin "aenigma" (enigma) with "Maria." In *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española*, first published in 1611, Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco defines "enigma" as "an obscure allegory, or deceptive and intricate question and answer, invented at the whim of the one who proposes it" (1873, 238v).

ⁱⁱ I thank one of the anonymous readers of this manuscript for this insight.

ⁱⁱⁱ The organization of words into shapes on the page is a broader phenomenon in printing and writing in this period (see for example, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's shaping of text into the form of an *uncu*, a tunic worn by Inca men, on page 218 of his *Nueva Corónica*).

^{iv} I thank one of the anonymous readers of this manuscript for this insight.

^v This being said, in a forthcoming essay for *Beyond Biography: Being an Artist in Colonial Latin America* (University of Florida Press), edited by Maya Stanfield-Mazzi and Margarita Vargas-Betancourt, I present new evidence and arguments regarding the identities of both engraver and painter.