

THE HISTORY OF ART
IN LATIN AMERICA, 1500-1800
Some Trends and Challenges in the Last Decade

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In 1949 the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress published *A Guide to the Art of Latin America (GALA)*,¹ an annotated bibliography of the literature on Latin America since the Conquest; it covered the years up to 1942, when the *Handbook of Latin American Studies (HLAS)*² had begun its annual bibliographies. "It is a startling fact" the Introduction begins, "that no single work deals comprehensively with the history of art in the Latin American countries."

Since then, this gap has hardly been filled. There have been several attempts to deal with the period we are considering here, the colonial—or formative—period, in all of Latin America. Between 1945 and 1950 a monumental work, *Historia del arte hispanoamericano*, was produced by the dean of Spanish Latin-Americanists, Diego Angulo Iníguez, assisted by Enrique Marco Dorta and Mario J. Buschiazzi (HLAS 11: 506; 16: 482; 20: 900). *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions* by George Kubler and Martin Soria (HLAS 23: 1421) offers a synthesis of the colonial period; two texts listed here, by Kelemen (item 245) and Marco Dorta (item 285), also include the Philippines. But the only volume I know which attempts to cover the whole story is a rather modest resumé by Leopoldo Castedo, *A History of Latin American Art and Architecture; from Pre-Columbian Times to the Present* (item 93).

What is more important is that an overall survey of the art of Latin America no longer seems of first priority. There is a sense—and it is considerable—in which the history, and the art, of all the American countries (including the United States) is one. But it is also true that things occurred in Yucatan in the sixteenth century, or in the Andes in the eighteenth century, which are unique. So much, one can see with the naked eye. Now what we want is the background documentation; the optical detail through published photographs; the compilation of technical data to validate (or redefine) what we surmise and to specify it and point out its significance. We are very far from ready to prepare serious compendia: Eagerness to generalize is apt to be a sign of ignorance. Furthermore, we

don't particularly want synthesis: We are interested in variety and differences. The mood is one of looking closely at a single church, for example, or following the mood of a single city, or trying to focus the culture-shock of Neoclassicism in a Baroque society. Concern with detail is not only attractive, it is essential if we are to have fruitful generalizations leading to any new and profound revelations about the culture of the Americas.

In the 1940s it was evident that just about everything was still to be done in this field. Arriving from European art-history, a student could hardly believe the situation. There was no Winckelmann, no Riegl, no Vasari, no Burckhardt, or Morelli. The material had not been mapped, either culturally or geographically; preliminary studies did not exist. A certain amount of documentation was available in the published historical collections (such as the various *Colecciones de documentos inéditos*, GALA 601a-601e) but this had not been extracted for the history of art, and historians of art had not gone into the archives. The immensity of the task may have discouraged some students; there were not many workers in the field. There were practically no university courses devoted to post-Conquest art, either in the United States or in the other American republics, or anywhere else. On the other hand, this virgin characteristic could be a real attraction. In 1941 (in the very first issue of the *College Art Journal*, GALA 624), I wrote a hortatory paper entitled "Call for Pioneers!" urging an interest in uncharted territory. Exploration was inescapable, the possibility of discoveries, genuine. And how stimulating not to be burdened by a great bulk of previous literature!

For the historian of art in Latin America there is still a special challenge. We have the chance—the duty—to *define what our task is*. In the thin sunlight of the Andes, what *is* art history? What does art history mean in Santo Domingo? What can the historian of art observe in the breakdown of conquest and empire, or in the clash and coexistence of ethnic cultures? Without pretending to have here a suitable forum for developing a philosophy of art history, I cannot avoid a few remarks to this point, for I believe that if we have not made great progress in presenting the art of Latin America, it may well be because we have failed to consider Latin American art *for itself*.

All Americanists will be familiar with the sort of false-start I mean. The most persistent mistake is to assume that the values and techniques of a traditional discipline (such as Italian art history) should be applied ready-made to the American experience. This is provincialism: The New World is to achieve recognition by Old World standards. A guileless example was the attempt of Angel Guido to apply Wölfflin's categories of Renaissance and Baroque style to Andean architectural sculpture (GALA 14, 644-647,

74). That may have been a genuine effort to counteract the most seductive error of all—the ethnic misconception. This assumes that value in American art will depend on how much is Indian (or Spanish) in a given work, and that historians must take sides. This dichotomy is still powerful, though generally transmitted in the last decade to a cult of *mestizo* art.

Art historians were also uneasy in Latin America because they could not discover Great Artists; where the nearest thing to a named sculptor seemed to be a crippled mulatto in Brazil. (In 1949, twenty-three of the thirty items on Brazilian colonial sculpture concerned Antônio Francisco Lisbôa, O Aleijadinho, who gave double value, with both a name and a nickname: GALA 1238-1269.) It was assumed that “folk art” (or popular art) was by definition both different in kind and inferior to proper Fine Art and hence lay outside the serious history of art. Recent efforts, centered in the Centro de Investigaciones Históricas y Estéticas of Caracas, to define architectural style in colonial Latin America illustrate this dilemma (cf. items 102, 116, 117, 171, 179, 252). Even in the most educated, willing, rational consideration, one finds the most respected historians of art reluctantly forced by their premises (in this case, the European definition of Baroque) to denigrate the American experience.

Without pretending to know what art history is—or art, either—one must still question this state of affairs. If an attitude indicates contempt for the material under consideration, can it be the right attitude? Should one not be able to focus in some fresh way, to put some new question which will make possible a fruitful answer?

What is art history, then—or what should it be in the Americas? In the first place, it is a form of history, and historians are foolish to overlook it (cf. item 298). A civic building, for example, is not simply a metaphor of history, it *is* history materialized: Not a commentary, but a document. Portraits are not ornaments, they are the essence. The cathedral speaks to the historian as the geological cut speaks to the paleontologist: Situations of the past are visible. From this point of view, the first duty of the historian of art, it would seem, is to report in honesty what he sees.

It also appears evident that standards for appraising art should be relevant to it—or what the historian can see, at least. The folly of trying to judge Romanesque sculpture by criteria suitable to fifth-century Athens is obvious; but is it not the same mistake to consider village churches in Guatemala or Argentina by the standards of Salamanca and Rome? Should art ever be judged by principles other than those that inform it and bring it into being? Can art be seen at all, except by trying to understand it? All we mean to say—again—is that the first duty of the historian as critic of art must be to *look* (in every sense) and to report what he finds.

There is a fulfilling circle here, of art seen as artifact—what men and society have made—reporting on the condition of man, material and spiritual. As George Kubler has said so eloquently, “any work of art is actually a portion of arrested happening . . . it is a graph of activity now stilled, but a graph made visible like an astronomical body, by the light that originated with the activity.”³ All of this means, for our purposes here, that the history of Latin American art is a waste of time unless it accepts the challenge, and tries to give a fresh report on the artifacts and the culture of three centuries, in one half of the world.

As for purely aesthetic concerns, is it too much to ask that we should recognize the delights we experience in the nave of a great cathedral or of a village chapel, or looking into the patio of a noble mansion? Aesthetic standards do not exist in a vacuum, universal and theoretical, any more than other human activities. The critic of art, like the historian of art, is dependent on honest understanding, derived from looking, looking at specific artifacts. He should not be sure in advance of what he is looking for. If my instinct is right, there are indications in the last decade of a greater curiosity about unique material in the Americas. This is to say once again that criticism, like history and sociology and art itself, is a creative activity. The philosophy of Latin American art is not supplied to us ready-made; it has got to make itself, and to make itself new, for the New World.

This brief excursion into theory furnishes norms for appraising the literature of art history in Latin America. The publications listed at the end of this paper have been chosen from the years since 1963 for two reasons. In the first place, they seem to me the most important. Secondly, they illustrate general shifts in focus and specific concerns of the history of art in this decade.

The emphasis is on serious research, but with some qualifications. It should be noted that four journals in particular played a special role in this decade: the *Boletín del Centro de Investigaciones Históricas y Estéticas* (BCIHE) of Venezuela, the *Anales del Instituto de Arte Americano y Investigaciones Estéticas* (AIAAIE) in Buenos Aires, the *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* (AIIE) of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, and the *Boletín del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia* (BINAH) of Mexico. Along with a number of other periodicals, in all the countries, they make possible the publication of recent discoveries and small reports; this leads to a peculiarity of this bibliography, a preponderance of brief, but nonetheless serious items. I have omitted newspaper articles, though they are more common and also more serious in Latin America, simply for convenience. They are the most obvious vehicle of



Archangel. 18th Century baroque wood sculpture. Museo Nacional de Historia del Castillo de Chapultepec, Mexico.

a not unimportant aspect of our concern—encouraging and instructing public interest. The magazine *Artes de México* (item 28) in this period has produced, as it were, a series of monographs, some of which are cited here (cf. items 296, 422). The tri-lingual journal *Américas* performs a similar role, with popular, well-illustrated articles by experts (cf. items 476, 561).

Thirty years ago bibliographies of Latin American art depended so much on peripheral texts that they were like whirlpools circling the heart of the matter, which often turned out to be a great empty hole. Art-historical scholarship can still profit from the documentation and the insights provided by related disciplines, but I have curtailed such material here because it will be found in other bibliographies. I especially regret the omission of contemporary eye-witness accounts which, from Motolinía and Sahagún on, furnish special documentation. Other material which is now described as “ethnohistory” is also mainly omitted, since the *Handbook of Latin American Studies* isolates it in a special section (HLAS 24: 1000-1238). These artifacts should not, however, be omitted from our concern; they are indistinguishable from other examples of acculturation in the sixteenth century (cf. items 35, 357, 359, 438, 440).

Various other omissions: No general bibliographies are listed; these can be found in the *Handbook*. No general collections of documents, or general indexes to archives are included, for the same reason. I have also omitted Spanish colonial art now within the borders of the United States, which is unreasonable since it is all a single story. This, again, is available elsewhere. I only note that there is beginning to be a literature of the Border (items 396, 553).

It will be evident that I have listed reprints, new editions, and new translations. Books on Latin American art are normally published in such small editions as to go immediately out of print; re-printing is vital. Translation is a basic need. Granted that a serious scholar has got to read Bernal Díaz del Castillo or Garcilaso de la Vega in the original, we are not going to be able to recruit students at all unless they can participate in these eye-witness adventures from the beginning. Writers should consider Magnus Mörner’s suggestion that they automatically provide translations of their own texts.⁴

I have not subdivided the bibliography by national areas (which are not historical), by chronology (time is fluid in colonial America), or by artistic categories, because the material seemed to discourage such divisions. What is offered is a synoptic view, with textual references to important items in each category. Otherwise, titles should speak for themselves.

Finally, I am aware that entries from Mexico outnumber those of any other country in this bibliography. I am not sure whether this represents a fact, or whether other factors—distribution, the library in which I am working, or my own familiarity—have affected the score. It is unintentional, and I should be glad to have it shown to be untrue.

The first need in this field is the publication of documents. Art historians in Latin America have accepted a history without dates or contracts or names of artists because we assumed that no documents existed. Sixteenth-century anonymity, explained by the special conditions of the Conquest (and not without reference to the apparent anonymity of pre-Conquest artists) merged into Baroque anonymity, for an art of communal projects, impersonal styles, and faceless craftsmen. Chronology was not a factual scaffolding, but was deduced from style. In view of the immense documentation of the Spanish Empire, this was a curious position; the old Hispanic horror of barren fact was perhaps involved.

History cannot proceed without documentation, however. For the history of art to exist as a serious discipline, documents must not only be used and freely cited, they must be published in full. Only with the document in the public domain can it be appraised and used by other students. The meditations of informed scholars are what make the history of art rewarding; documents are what make it possible.

Fortunately, during the last twenty years the archivists have appreciably changed the climate of Latin American studies in art. Little by little the documents are being discovered, transcribed, and published. The work of Heinrich Berlin in Mexico was catalytic: cf. *Los archivos notariales como fuentes para la historia del arte colonial*.⁵ Publishing the contracts for the retablo of Huejotzingo,⁶ for example, not only supplied information about artists, the workshop, conditions of work and payments, the relationship of the Indian community to the monastery church, and so on; but by demonstrating the existence of such documents, it reformed our expectations for the history of art.

In this last decade, Berlin has continued to enlarge the documentation, including a valuable synthesizing essay (items 44-46). Among other Mexican publications we can cite the testament of an architect (item 439); artists' names extracted from *padrones* of the Sagrario Metropolitano (item 129); a contract for the second set of choir-stalls for the cathedral of Mexico (item 292); the plans of the cathedrals of Mexico and Puebla (item 504); and a series of documents concerning a monopoly on lime in 1794 (item 380). Finding documents is always a local hunt (except for the Spanish archives), so that generalizing on archives and sources is impossible. In-



The Assumption, central panel. Oaxaca Cathedral.

terest is visible also in South America, where, for example, a section for "Relaciones documentales" in the *Anales* of the Instituto in Buenos Aires provides an outlet (cf. items, 5, 72, 261). Among others, we can note a document for the cabildo of Salta (item 6); the *Padrón de los indios de Lima en 1613* (item 121); the *expediente de fundación* of an Hospicio in Quito (item 137). There are also a number of books which include documents as appendices (cf. Cabrera's testament, item 87); in general the level of documentation (as opposed to mere affirmation) has improved. Occasionally a major document appears, e.g., a whole account book *Libro de fábrica del Templo Parroquial de la Santa Cruz y Soledad de Nuestra Señora* (item 416). (For other valuable documentary publications see items 84, 120, 284, 366).

At the opposite end of the gamut from documentation is field-work: That is, all studies dealing directly with the object. Acquaintance with the art itself is the first essential. Almost everywhere in Latin America we still need simple inventories: Enumeration, location, identification, classification, and above all photographic documentation. The *Catalogación de monumentos en la ciudad de Puebla* (item 133, 223), the *Monumentos históricos e artísticos* of the state of Alagoas in Brazil (item 7), the *Nómina provisional de monumentos coloniales . . . de Guatemala* (item 268), *Bolivia; monumentos históricos y arqueológicos* (item 344), *Costa Rica; monumentos históricos y arqueológicos* (item 353), and *Venezuela; monumentos históricos y arqueológicos* (item 174), are some of the indispensable publications in this category. Pontual's *Dicionario das artes plásticas no Brasil* (item 429); the *Catálogo de iconografía das vilas e cidades do Brasil colonial* (item 47); Acuña's *Diccionario biográfico de artistas en el Nuevo Reino de Granada* (item 2); the *Diccionario de artistas en Colombia* (item 403); the inventory of *La pintura en Jalisco* (item 164); or Pérez de Salazar's listing of paintings in Mexican private collections (item 417) do the same sort of thing for other forms of art.

Most books of photographs fall in this category, whether devoted to a single monument, like Hans Mann's *The 12 Prophets of Aleijadinho* (item 279), or to a country, like Bradley Smith's *Mexico; a History in Art* (item 510). Such albums tend to be by foreigners; the texts are apt to be more enthusiastic than instructive: cf. André Camp *The Mexico I Love* (item 83); Boisdeffre *Mexique* (item 49); Scheier *Imagens do passado de Minas Gerais* (item 485). Getting the visual documents into circulation is still of great value; in some cases this is the chosen form of a scholar like Gasparini (items 186, 187). One of the few publications on Cuba in this decade, *La ciudad de las columnas; La Habana* (item 88) is an album of views.

What is still lacking is any sort of complete photographic catalog of any area of colonial art, even of buildings officially declared monuments.

(It is a great pity that the Mexicans have not been able to continue their *Catálogos de construcciones religiosas*, which were completed only for the states of Hidalgo [GALA 1749] and Yucatan:⁷ the most impressive catalogs produced in Latin America.) As far as I know, not even indexes have been published by any of the Latin American countries (cf. item 518), although some listing must exist in the responsible state agencies. Between the official and private archives it should be possible to prepare such photographic documentation; though tedious, it would be of cardinal value to students.

Another type of picture book, with more or less text, is the catalog, of either a permanent collection or a transitory exhibition. Thus we have recent catalogs from the Museo de América in Madrid (item 151), the Pinacoteca de San Francisco, La Paz (item 256), the Museu de Arte da Bahia (item 456), *Viceregal Period National Museum; Tepotzotlan* (item 450), the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes of Montevideo (item 365), and the Museum für Völkerkunde in Basel (item 35x). Special exhibitions often have more point, like *Os pintores de Mauricio de Nassau* at the Museu de Arte Moderno, Rio de Janeiro (item 452); *The Nelson A. Rockefeller Collection of Mexican Folk Art* at the Museum of Primitive Art, New York (item 388); *Three Centuries of Peruvian Silver*, shown at the Smithsonian Institution, and at the Metropolitan Museum, New York (item 513); *Peruvian Colonial Painting* at the Brooklyn Museum (item 246); and *Colonial Art of Ecuador* (item 514).

Besides cataloging and photographing, field work might produce plans and measured drawings; reports on the materials and construction of buildings; their decoration—incriptions, iconography, techniques—or their inventories; listing, description, and classification of paintings and sculptures; the mapping of rural monuments, and also of cities, both to locate monuments and for urban planning; collecting, classifying, and describing minor arts and popular arts; and so on. In this respect we mention again the role of periodicals, especially the *Boletín* of the Mexican Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia. To make available a two-page report, always with photographs, of something newly discovered, or never before published, or seen with fresh information—the translation of Nahuatl inscriptions (items 443, 447), a sixteenth-century portal with pre-Conquest symbols (item 441), or a document naming Indian painters (item 449)—is in a small way to change history.

Normally we don't expect "pure" reporting, since the mind is constantly engaged with the material. The great question for the scholar is what to do with this material—how to present it, and at what point. In a field so unworked as ours, there is a special urgency to get on with it, to put out

something where there has been nothing; but this is challenged by the obvious incompleteness of one's story. One feels an obligation to make available to fellow-workers whatever one has, as quickly as possible and without falsification. The simplest way of doing this is to deal with a fragment: A single painting, an altarpiece, a facade (cf. items 43, 50, 375, 391, 542). Or the report may deal with a larger unit: A church with its furniture (cf. items 8, 17, 99, 147, 156, 192, 345, 544x); a hospital (items 55, 144); a mansion (items 195, 260, 419, 471). Handbooks to colonial monuments in Mexico are of this type (items 167, 273, 464), so are the guides to churches in Quito (items 536-540). The same sort of reporting may be extended to a whole town, or section of a city (cf. items 13, 113, 131, 155, 208, 286, 494, 528). These studies may grow into extensive treatments, as in the case of Antigua Guatemala (items 13, 240, 286, 412). (See also items 124, 181, 310, 315, 327, 498.) Or they may build up a corpus of examples: As, for instance, on fortresses (items 198, 347, 503, 556, 557). There is a type of book which collects such items under a general rubric, like Vargas Lugo's *Las portadas religiosas de México* (item 544). And it should be noted that a study of a part of a single monument, enriched by new documentation, may prove the most serious of vehicles: Thus Moysen's *Tecamachalco y el pintor indígena Juan Gerson* (item 870).

It is then irresistible to collect and to generalize on groups or categories of artifacts—haciendas or monasteries or portraits or furniture—superficially, as in the *Artes de México* (item 28; cf. numbers 79/80, 86/87, 118, 132) or with immense gravity. The half picture-book, half essay, with careful notes, of *Mexico in Sculpture* (item 555) was an attempt to find a viable form without appearing to know more than in fact one did. Palm surveys *El arte del Nuevo Mundo después de la conquista español* (item 405); Simões deals comprehensively with Portuguese tile in Brazil (item 507); Plá reports on *El barroco hispano-guaraní* (item 424); R. C. Smith considers Brazilian *Arquitectura civil* (item 511); Etzel assembles the *Imagens religiosas de São Paulo* (item 145); Kelemen gathers colonial art around the concepts of *Baroque and Rococo* (item 243); de la Maza rounds up *Los Templos de San Felipe Neri de la ciudad de México* (item 319); Muriel and Grobet write about *La marquesa de Selva Nevada, sus conventos y sus arquitectos* (item 385); two authors treat the history of Mexican mural painting (items 141, 459); and so on.

Then come the surveys which try to sum up whole areas. In our decade there seems to be less ideological nationalism; but national units remain the logical sub-generalizations from which one will eventually get a view of "Latin American Art." A number of useful national surveys have appeared since 1963. There is Brughetti's *Historia del arte en Argentina* (item 68), and Chinchilla Aguilar's *Historia del arte en Guatemala* (item 114). For

Mexico, Fernández' small *Arte mexicano* in both Spanish and English (items 148, 149); Rojas Rodríguez' *Art and Architecture of Mexico* (item 466) and the colonial volume of his *Historia general del arte mexicano* (item 465); Toussaint's *Pintura colonial en México* (item 523) and the English translation of his basic *Colonial Art in Mexico* (item 524). From Colombia comes *Dos siglos de pintura colonial colombiana* (item 233); from Paraguay, Josefina Plá's *Las artes plásticas en el Paraguay* (item 426); from Panama, *Arquitectura panamena* (item 204); from Ecuador, *Historia del arte ecuatoriano* (item 535); from Uruguay, *Las artes plásticas del Uruguay* (item 22). The greatest advance is in the bibliography of Venezuela, where we have Calzadilla's *El arte en Venezuela* (item 79); Boulton's *Historia de la pintura en Venezuela: I Época colonial* (item 64); and Gasparini's *La arquitectura colonial en Venezuela* (item 169) and (with Duarte) *Los retablos del período colonial en Venezuela* (item 185).

An orthodox way of writing about art is in terms of style. Most of the larger studies in this bibliography are arranged chronologically in styles, with each style described as the sum of certain traits. Discussions of style before 1800 in Latin America seem to be concerned almost solely with architecture and architectural decoration (cf. however, items 146, 392, 393). Except for four notes on Mannerism (items 34, 280, 337, 490), three titles which refer to the Churrigueresque (items 301, 313, 316), a few dealing with eighteenth-century Neoclassicism (items 71, 199, 385, 393), some mention of the Rococo (items 67, 243), or the Mudéjar (items 168, 288, 493), and some interest in exotic styles (items 479, 483, 502, 532), the style discussed in this period is the Baroque. This parallels an international interest (cf. items 31, 40, 41, 61, 63, 101, 437, 508, 509). In the 1960s (as we remarked above) exhaustive inquiry into the meaning of Baroque in the Americas was pursued in the Centro de Investigaciones Históricas y Estéticas of Caracas (cf. items 102, 116, 117, 171, 175, 179), and given full statement by Gasparini in *América, barroco y arquitectura* (item 184). Other contributions to the discussion come from Carvalho, Castedo, Bruand, Negro on Brazilian Baroque (items 67, 90, 91, 387); Marco Dorta on Baroque in Peru (item 282); Araneda Bravo and Montandon in Chile (items 14, 355); Plá in Paraguay (item 424); Bonet Correa, Bueno, Fernández, de la Maza, González Galván on Mexican Baroque (items 51, 69, 147, 194, 307); Kelemen (item 243), Nicolini (item 390), Bottineau (item 61), and Palm (item 406).

Let us hope that the Venezuelan effort has laid the Baroque controversy to rest: What emerges from the discussion is not so much definition, as an intimation that the inquiry is fruitless. It may be that for the

Americas "styles" are unsuitable criteria, especially styles described in Europe. Another preoccupation of art historians, chronology, comes to grief in the same inquiry: what are we to do with a building that shows a mélange of Gothic, Mudéjar, Baroque, and Plateresque traits—styles dating from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries? This is a matter of cardinal interest; but almost no speculation has appeared in the literature on the concept of style in itself, or its role in Latin America (see however, items 92, 116, 118, 138, 407).

To be fair, the Centro de Investigaciones in Caracas did set its sights on this sort of concern: e.g., *Situación de la Historiografía de la Arquitectura Latinoamericana* (items 107, 179, 467). They discussed the propriety of such terms as "mestizo," "indígena," "provincial," "popular" or "folk" art, though without articulating what was perhaps troubling them, that none of these terms designates a real style (items 175, 182, 210, 214, 252, 340, 407). Such discussion does, in any case, strike nearer the core of the matter: The special situation of Latin American art. The assumption that colonial art is simply derivative still appears (notably among Europeans) although it is no longer dominant: cf. the writings of Santiago Sebastián (items 487-502; also items 32, 65, 242, 285, 373, 461). The old incubus of colonialism—European vs. Indian—is no longer obsessive: It mutates into discussions of the "mestizo," of popular art, of provincialism, of more complex ethnic influences (cf. items 51, 73, 172, 249, 282, 287, 337, 343, 506, 532). Corollary to this is a diminished concern for the critical sixteenth century, although this is still pursued in Mexico (cf. items 78, 82, 160, 318, 359-362, 370-372, 438-441, 451) and is responsible for one very important book, McAndrew's *Open-Air Churches of Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (item 272), and a second book now in press (item 383).

More significant than conferences on historiography are the terms used in dealing with the art itself, as when Kelemen describes *Folk Baroque in Mexico* (item 447), or we are directed to *La vivienda popular de Santiago del Estero* (item 134). The question keeps returning—but what are we talking about? what do we really have on our hands?—with the implication that it will be more fruitful to scrutinize the artifacts than to start from preconceptions. A marked concern for the provinces, for different regions, for the individuality of cities (which is too obvious in the bibliography for full citing) works in this direction. We see it in Argentina (items 8, 205, 276, 389, 549); in Colombia (items 123, 124, 404, 491, 494); in Guatemala (items 13, 54, 286-289, 412); in Peru (items 208, 210); in Venezuela (items 168-187, 498); and in Nicaragua (item 56). Mexico's extensive bibliography of short reports shows just this sort of focus (cf. items 81, 156, 201, 228, 265, 357, 364, 378, 445, 476); occasionally it brings in a complete unit, like Gustin's

El barroco en la Sierra Gorda (item 203), or Sandoval's *La cruz del atrio de San Ángel Zurumucapero* (item 475). Brazil has been active at this level, with publications, for example, on the city of Salvador (item 9), Rio Grande do Sul (item 152), Recife (items 200, 423); the state of Minas Gerais has the best coverage (cf. items 41, 61-63, 67, 274, 334, 368, 387, 485) with emphasis on the work of Aleijadinho (referred to below). With a growing literature on Baja California this attitude is explorative (items 202, 552, 558); in R. C. Smith's *Comments on the Paper Presented by Graziano Gasparini* (items 182, 512), the stand is for more specificity: Gasparini's observations are neither peculiar to Spanish America nor relevant to Portuguese America.

Interest in the popular arts (or folk art) might be taken as an index to curiosity about endemic art. In the past, popular art has suffered (or profited) from the neglect of art historians. There were no sections for the popular arts in the *Guide to the Art of Latin America*, nor have there ever been any in *The Handbook of Latin American Studies*, although introductory essays to sections on *Folklore* are not irrelevant (cf. items 413, 413a). At the same time Latin American crafts have long been a matter of interest (cf. GALA 352a, 353) and collected seriously (item 388). Fascinating problems of definition and nomenclature—of time and territory—present themselves (especially the old indígena-mestizo confrontations, since here the “folk” tends to be Indian). Yet there has been little speculation on the subject; the best work has been in identifying, classifying, and describing, with faint ecological gestures at most.

In this bibliography more than eighty items either discuss objects of popular art or work to enlarge its definition. A paradigm of the basic type—comprehensive, specific, at once technically expert and deeply imbued with the environment—is the Cordrys' *Mexican Indian Costumes* (item 122). Méndez Cifuentes gives data on Guatemalan weaving (item 332); Zeballos M., on Bolivian (item 560). Several national surveys of popular art have appeared: Bolivia (item 414), Argentina (item 351), Ecuador (item 10), Brazil (item 330), Venezuela (items 21, 139), Guatemala (item 66), Paraguay (item 428), and Mexico (items 143, 354). Some collection catalogs offer illustrated summaries (cf. items 262, 388, 480). Some studies concern colonial and nineteenth-century popular art, not clearly separable from “minor arts” (cf. items 65, 76, 94-96, 241, 397, 457). Some deal with individual crafts—masks, for instance (items 211, 266, 435), or media—ceramics (items 23, 163, 213, 291, 507), or silver (items 12, 290, 478, 513, 534). Some merge with anthropology (items 115, 135, 197, 255, 296). Some are practical studies of “industrias populares” (cf. items 125, 140, 415). Many, naturally, are regional studies (cf. items 59, 60, 189, 238, 294,

295, 350). Much material of this sort appears in *Artes de México* (item 28; e.g., numbers 77/78, 83, 112, 118, 120, 125, 137, 140, 142, 161), indicating that although not much written about, such popular art is noticed and appreciated; a *número extraordinario* of 1970/1971 affords an opportunity to contrast it with *Arte popular y artesanías*⁸ of a decade earlier.

The most interesting tendency I find in the literature of Latin American colonial art in the last decade is an almost inarticulate shifting away from attempts at stylistic analysis toward sociological relationships. The trend seems to present itself as a question: What would happen if we were to consider *all* of this as popular art? The painting of colonial Cuzco (items 127, 246), the tequitqui sculpture of Mexico (items 318, 359, 446), even provincial churches (items 20, 81, 364, 476) and their altarpieces (items 50, 448, 543)? Would it be more fruitful, instead of starting from Baroque models in Rome, to start from the endemic domestic buildings that have never been considered "architecture"? Studies like *La vivienda popular de Santiago del Estero* (item 134) or *Capillas aldeanas* (item 1) appreciate special qualities that rise from the rural situation.⁹ Several publications present popular painting as interesting in its own right (cf. items 190, 215, 367, 530, 531, 554). Saints, and similar sculptural objects, are often freely labeled "arte popular" (cf. items 48, 70, 132, 376, 402). Much architectural sculpture, rather than being stigmatized "provincial," can be enjoyed as "popular" (items 271, 357, 387, 463, 541). Obviously it is tricky (and one asks whether it is important) to draw a line between this popular decoration on the church portal and the most Hispanic of colonial sculpture, the polychrome gold altarpieces within. Of the hundreds of colonial *retablos* still in situ, the majority are not in truth examples of metropolitan high style: To explore and describe these relationships, whether stylistic or sociological, would be fruitful work. Granted that no one is sure what "popular art" means, there is a feeling abroad that colonial Latin America might tell us, and that the inquiry might illuminate the subject.

What I read from this is a mood of uneasiness, amounting to boredom, with art history as an intellectual game—the juggling of stylistic terminology—divorced from the environment which brings it forth and which it helps to create, from the human purposes it serves, and the social situation it represents. The alternative point of view—that art is a cultural phenomenon and that its understanding is to be sought in the broadest available understanding of the cultural matrix—seems to be gaining ground in America. Our best example is the urban study where architecture figures as an element in life and history: Corradine's *Algunas consideraciones sobre la arquitectura en Zipaquirá* (item 123; cf. also items 18, 187);

Valencia's *La Merced; estudio ecológico y social de una zona de la ciudad* (item 529); studies of the town of Mompox (item 124, 498). A title like *El arte en la vida colonial chilena* (item 331) shows interest shifting in this direction; *Las piedras vivas; escultura y sociedad en México* (item 356) is on target. C. Valadares' study of tomb sculpture, *Arte e sociedade nos cemitérios brasileiros* (item 533), shows how inventive such an attitude can be.

If this seems to be edging toward sociology and anthropology, one must demur that we are not concerned with the sociology of art but rather the reverse, and that the social scientists seem to be less aware of art than vice versa. Some anthropologists are helpful (cf. items 162, 163, 238), but art hardly figures in Gilberto Freyre's transdisciplinary essay (item 165), and a paper like *Folklore, arte y cambio social* (item 217) would profit from tangible examples. *Archaeology, History, and Anthropology in the Mixteca-Puebla Region* (item 196) does everything but credit art as data. Christensen's *Brujerías y papel precolombino* (item 115) works on the sound assumption that a nexus of objects is significant in many aspects, one of which is art. An anthropological mood in art history should be no surprise in the New World; Sahagún began it in the sixteenth century (GALA 1633); and that is why we read him and Poma de Ayala (GALA 617) and the other eye-witnesses.

One reason for feeling that Latin America is bored with traditional art-historical techniques is negative: The dearth of activity in several orthodox categories of investigation. There are, for instance, practically no monographs on individual artists: in this decade I find less than a dozen studies of artists, from three hundred years of activity. It may be claimed that this is appropriate to the colonial scene, and inevitable; but in fact it is principally ignorance. There is certainly material available to proceed with bringing colonial artists to life: cf. the emergence of the sixteenth-century Indian painter Juan Gerson (items 82, 370), or of Andrés de San Miguel, the Carmelite architect in Mexico (items 11, 32, 52). We can give the whole roster of publications: Miguel Cabrera (item 87), Cristóbal de Villalpando (item 297), Martín de Vos (item 321), and Francisco Eduardo Tresguerras (item 548) have received a preliminary treatment. Berlin, without pretending completeness, documents two artists (items 44, 45). O Aleijadinho, the Brazilian sculptor, continues to lead the field (cf. items 42, 212x, 239, 259, 279), although two more Brazilian sculptors and an architect, all friars, have been introduced (item 505). It is a remarkably small group of works.

There is all but nothing on iconography, even of the most pedestrian type: de la Maza's *Mitología clásica en el arte colonial de México* (item 309)

and a reprinting of his study of the Capilla del Rosario in Puebla (item 322); a survey of animals in Mexican art (item 486); the study, part iconographical, part formal, of an altarpiece (item 43). In Brazil, Valladares uses the word "iconología" in discussing alien subject-matter (item 532). Gifford's *Mexican Folk Retablos* (item 190) is alone in identifying and describing popular saints and their iconography; it also takes on questions of medium and technique—another category of investigation which has been little published. Except for the figures of *caña de maíz* (cf. items 130, 402, 527), what techniques or methods do we hear about? What do we know of the actual woods, paints, glazes, types of stone for sculpture or building, recipes for lacquer or mural paint, bole for laying gold, the preparation of a plaster wall for murals, or of canvas for painting? What is known about tools? In these matters, the answer is probably: more than one would imagine from the literature. There is already a good deal of fragmentary documentation and there are also a number of people now who have experience with such things as *estofado* saints or sixteenth-century murals; but the preliminary statements are not being made. (It may be significant that we do have more reports on the methods and materials of the crafts, like weaving, or silverwork.)

All kinds of technical information are, indeed, implicit in the conservation work which is an important corollary to the historical legacy of art. An Inter-American Center for Restoration has been established at Churubusco (D. F.), México (cf. items 86, 561, for a review of its history). Initiated under the direction of Paul Coremans as early as 1961 for the care of wall-paintings, it is now equipped not only to do restoring, but to train workers for conserving painting, sculpture, and architecture. Although occasionally referred to, the Center has not published any of the information on colonial media and techniques which we so much need.

The problems of architectural conservation have gripped Latin America, like the rest of the world: the conflict of history and progress is a matter of daily debate. (I have omitted *urbanismo* from the bibliography, but include the conflicts of conservation, as specifically relevant to colonial art.) As long ago as 1947 the Pan American Institute of Geography and History had recognized the need to "locate, preserve, and restore historic monuments and archaeological sites" (cf. item 251); they initiated the series of national inventories we have already noted (items 174, 344, 353). A new impulse came from the meeting in 1964 of the International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historical Monuments; the "Manifesto of Venice" (Carta de Venecia) was widely published in Latin America (cf. item 221) and a number of countries rewrote legislation for protecting their monuments (items 109, 170, 218, 220). Without naming all the official

agencies (of which the Association for Ibero-American Monuments and Sites in Madrid is the relevant branch), one can note national meetings (items 104, 109, 110, 111), and especially a Panamerican Symposium on the Preservation and Restoration of Historical Monuments in 1965 (items 105, 158).

Solutions are not easy; the problems are real in a modern capital over-stocked with Baroque palaces (cf. items 77, 454). (See especially *BCIHE* no. 16.) There must be long-range planning, not haphazard, uninformed *ad hoc* solutions in crisis. Full listing of monuments, sites, and locales to be legally preserved is the first step. (See above, on inventorying.) Assuming that laws exist, constant inspection is essential. Changes, whether restorations or improvements, must be approved; plans should be submitted in advance, and work documented photographically. A section for *Restauraciones* in the *BINAH* demonstrates the historical usefulness of recording work in progress on the monuments under their care (e.g., items 97, 222-228). The account of restorations at Tepotzotlán in Mexico (items 219, 450) is a happy one; the destruction of Santa Brígida (item 147) or what the Italians call *remaneggiato* at Tlatelolco (item 444), most disheartening.

Occasionally a disaster, like the fire in the cathedral of Mexico in 1967 (items 224, 379), floodlights the conflicting ideologies of restoration. Such events have to be followed in the daily press (cf. items 302, 306, 311, 325). I have included a wide coverage, particularly from the architectural journals, as an example (items 24, 119, 191, 308, 314, 420, 455, 462). Ideologically, the choice of methods for replacing the ruined choir is not obvious; but at least the conflicting points of view are here fully stated (items 311, 399, 422, 455). It is unlikely that the earnest preservationist's simplest demand—a complete record of what occurred, photographically documented—will be published.

There has been definite progress in this field, represented by increased funding and more exact legislation for saving monuments. But not many people remark on the tragedy that a city which has had a continuous history since Aztec days is being slowly destroyed in Mexico, for instance; that is to say, a visible cultural continuity is now being extinguished (cf. items 305, 400). This may offer the best index to real concern with colonial art and colonial history.

People who work in this field can become very discouraged. The task is enormous, and lonely. Colonial studies in art lack prestige, they are poorly financed, poorly published, inadequately taught. It is a good thing to look back over a decade and see what has been accomplished. Really, some valuable work.

NOTES

1. Robert C. Smith & Elizabeth Wilder (Washington, 1949). This publication will be referred to as GALA, with item numbers.
2. Hereafter referred to as HLAS, with volume number: item number.
3. George Kubler, *The Shape of Time*, (New Haven & London, 1962) p. 19.
4. Magnus Mörner, "The Study of Latin American History Today," *LARR*, 8: 2: 87 (Summer 1973).
5. Heinrich Berlin. "Los archivos notariales como fuentes para la historia del arte colonial," In: *ICA, 1949, Chicago*. (Chicago, 1952) pp. 306-312.
6. *Ibid.* "The High Altar of Huejotzingo," *The Americas*, 15: 63-73.
7. México. Secretaría de Hacienda, *Catálogo de construcciones religiosas del Estado de Yucatán*, 2 vols. (México, 1945).
8. *Artes de México*, 43/44. (México, 1960).
9. Cf. Bernard Rudofsky, *Architecture without Architects; an Introduction to Non-Pedigreed Architecture* (New York, 1964).

ABBREVIATIONS

- AIAAIE Anales del Instituto de Arte Americano e Investigaciones Estéticas. Buenos Aires.
- AIIE Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas. México.
- BCIHE Boletín del Centro de Investigaciones Históricas y Estéticas. Caracas.
- BINAH Boletín del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia. México.
- GALA A Guide to the Art of Latin America (Washington, 1959).
- HLAS Handbook of Latin American Studies.
- ICA International Congress of Americanists.

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