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Amsterdam broadsheets as sources for a painted screen in Mexico City, c. 1700

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It is hard to imagine an object that more perfectly exemplifies artistic hybridity in the early modern period than the *Folding Screen with the Siege of Vienna and Belgrade* (obverse) and *Hunting Scenes* (reverse). The left half of the screen, which depicts the siege of Vienna, has been in the collection of the Museo Nacional del Virreinato, Tepotzotlán, since 1970 [fig. 1]; and the right half of the screen, which features the siege of Belgrade, was acquired by the Brooklyn Museum, New York, in 2012 [fig. 2]. In its employment of European iconographic sources, combination of local methods of manufacture and Asian-inspired techniques, and placement at the threshold of public and private space in the Habsburg viceregal palace in Mexico City, the Tepotzotlán/Brooklyn screen embodies both the intersection of these varied currents and the transgression of the boundaries that traditionally separate them. An object that was explicitly designed to demarcate, define and separate occupies a potent liminal position between cultures, traditions and media. *Folding Screen with the Siege of Vienna and Belgrade* is two-sided in many respects.

This article will identify the European print sources for this screen, which was made in Mexico City around 1699-1700 for José Sarmiento de Valladares, the count of Moctezuma y de Tula (1643–1708), thirty-second viceroy of New Spain.<sup>1</sup> The seemingly unlikely confluence of influences evident in this work, ranging from French tapestry designs and Dutch newssheets to Mexican painting with shell inlay and the form and aesthetic of the Japanese folding screen, dramatically illustrates both the importance of New Spain's position at the centre of the Atlantic and Pacific trades and the richly

transcontinental nature of its visual culture. Here, our focus will be the screen's disclosure of the extent to which prints on political subjects and newsheets created for the European market penetrated elite cultural production in New Spain at the end of the seventeenth century. Prints that were designed to satisfy the European buyer's desire for information on current events and celebration of military successes were transformed, in the hands of artists in Mexico City, into grand decorative objects with impressive propagandistic power. What began as 'news' ended as an entirely new kind of object whose evocative and commemorative function was akin to that of history painting or tapestry.

The relationship between European prints and Spanish Colonial art has been considered by a range of distinguished scholars.<sup>2</sup> Thanks to their work, the extent to which European prints circulated in the New World and their employment in indigenous cultural production has become clear. European prints appeared in New Spain as early as 1519, the year Hernán Cortés landed in the Yucatan Peninsula. Thomas B.F. Cummins notes that in a letter to King Charles, Cortés describes giving prints and drawings to indigenous leaders as gifts and Jeanette Peterson cites the large numbers of woodcuts of the Virgin and scenes of the Crucifixion that were set up in temples and on domestic altars in an effort to supplant indigenous deities.<sup>3</sup> The prints that circulated in Latin America came from all over Europe; documents cite works from Flanders, Italy and Castile.<sup>4</sup> Visual evidence allows us to expand that list further.

Indigenous artists copied European prints soon after their arrival in Latin America, using them as points of departure for a variety of works, from large-scale mural paintings and individual works on panel and canvas to unusual *objets d'art*. While the vast majority of these works are religious in nature, there are some notable exceptions, among them the painted doorway of a staircase in the convent of Atotonilco in Guanajuato, Mexico, depicting ancient philosophers whose portraits are based on the

title page of Aristotle's *Magna Moralia*, published by Simon de Colines in Paris in 1522.<sup>5</sup> Julia Herzberg's discovery of the use of prints from Jacques de Gheyn's *Wapenhandelinghe (The Exercise of Arms)*, first published in Amsterdam in 1608, for paintings of angels produced by artists in Peru and Bolivia in the late seventeenth century illustrates the ease with which genre images metamorphosed into religious ones and the sometimes surprising results of their union.<sup>6</sup>

Among the *objets d'art* that were produced in the New World are feather mosaics such as *Jesus at the Age of Twelve* and *The Weeping Virgin* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum), which were made in Michoacán, Mexico, between 1590 and 1600. For Cummins, these are important examples of hybrid works that crucially shift the discussion from one of the passive reception of European influences to a more fluid and dynamic conception of a visual culture common to both Europe and the New World.<sup>7</sup> These works, made of brightly coloured feathers on copper supports, were based on engravings of around 1590 by Philippe Thomassin after Giulio Clovio; they were highly prized in Europe and already featured in the collection of Rudolf II in Prague by the early seventeenth century.<sup>8</sup> The Tepotzotlán/Brooklyn screen also made its way to Europe, most likely with Sarmiento de Valladares upon his return to Spain in 1701.<sup>9</sup> It was divided into two six-panel screens at some point in its history. The Tepotzotlán half of the screen seems to have remained in Spain while the Brooklyn half entered the collection of the Blois family of Cockfield Hall, Suffolk, almost certainly during the first half of the twentieth century, and was sold, along with the residual contents of the house, in 1996.<sup>10</sup> This paper expands the discussion of the use of European prints in Latin America—neither broadsheets nor the work of Dutch printmaker Romeyn de Hooghe have previously been considered in the literature—and adds a significant work to the growing canon of 'transcultural' art.

i. The Tepotzotlán/Brooklyn screen

As Richard Aste has shown, the *Folding Screen with the Siege of Vienna* (obverse) and *Hunting Scene* (reverse) in Tepotzotlán and the *Folding Screen with the Siege of Belgrade* (obverse) and *Hunting Scene* (reverse) in Brooklyn, originally formed a single screen made up of twelve panels.<sup>11</sup> Both halves of the screen are made of wood panels joined by their original hardware and, together, they measure around 460 x 550 cm. They were painted in oil and inlaid with mother of pearl on both sides by local artists working in the style of Juan and Miguel González, brothers who are best known for mother-of-pearl inlay paintings such as the series of twenty-four panels, c. 1680–1700, on the theme of *The Conquest of Mexico* now in the Museo de América, Madrid. Aste has noted that the Tepotzotlán/Brooklyn screen is the only known work to unite the two elite Mexican genres of the *biombo*, or folding screen (whose name is derived from the Japanese word for folding screen, *byōbu*) and shell-inlay painting (a combination of Asian and Mexican lacquer and mother-of-pearl inlay techniques) with the traditionally European practice of tempera and oil painting.<sup>12</sup>

Visually and thematically there can be no question that the Brooklyn and Tepotzotlán screens are halves of what was originally a single screen made for a specific patron—Sarmiento de Valladares' coat of arms can be seen at the uppermost left panel of the Tepotzotlán half of the screen.<sup>13</sup> When seen side by side, a number of compositional and decorative elements unite the two halves. The battle scenes on the front of the screen are both framed with elaborate floral borders painted in gold leaf with an array of grapes, decorative tendrils and flowers. The borders are arched at the top of each panel and the areas at the foot of the screen are decorated with a Japanese-inspired pattern of abstracted leaves and trees painted in gold on a black ground. Small bouquets hang at the screen's folds, continuing the decorative pattern of the upper border and enhancing the illusion of receding space in the painted scenes. The horizon

lines of both halves of the screen are aligned and, together, the battle scene on the left (Tepotzotlán) and that on the right (Brooklyn) are framed by a pair of monumental Solomonic columns.

The hunting scenes on the reverse of the screen are also framed by a floral border, which is interrupted at the folds of the screen along the upper edge by grotesque heads painted in gold. Here the monumental columns have been replaced by a continuous border, almost certainly in reference to the tapestry designs upon which the main scenes were based. European prints have been identified as the source of these hunting scenes: for the Tepotzotlán half of the screen, prints after Gobelins tapestries by Louis XIV's court artists Adam Frans van der Meulen (1632–1690) and Charles Le Brun (1619–1690); and, for the Brooklyn half of the screen, as identified by Aste, prints after Medici court artist Johannes Stradanus's designs for tapestries for Cosimo I's villa at Poggio a Caiano.<sup>14</sup> Floral garlands tied with red ribbons decorate the tops of the panels and smaller bouquets hang at the folds of the screen, motifs that recall the kinds of decorative elements commonly appearing in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century tapestries.

The battle scenes on the obverse of the Tepotzotlán/Brooklyn screen depict two of the most important European victories in the Great Turkish War (1683–99): on the Tepotzotlán half of the screen, the siege of Vienna on 12 September 1683, when the forces of the Holy Roman Empire, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Saxony, Bavaria, and Franconia relieved the city from a two-month siege by 130,000 Turkish troops;<sup>15</sup> and, on the Brooklyn half of the screen, the siege of Belgrade on 6 September 1688, when Imperial Habsburg troops under the leadership of the Elector of Bavaria, Maximilian II Emanuel, took Belgrade, which had been part of the Ottoman Empire since 1521.<sup>16</sup> These battles, the latest manifestation of the centuries-old conflict between the Ottoman empire and various coalitions of European powers, featured prominently in

European newspapers, broadsheets, and pamphlets in the northern and southern Netherlands, France, Germany, and Italy. Indeed, the scenes on the Tepotzotlán/Brooklyn screen are based on two of the broadsheets published on the subject in Amsterdam in the 1680s.

## ii. Print sources

The broadsheets upon which the battle scenes are based were made by the prolific Dutch printmaker, Romeyn de Hooghe (1645–1708). Both were published in Amsterdam: the *Siege of Vienna* by Nicolaas Visscher II in 1683 and the *Siege of Belgrade* by Aert Dirksz. Oossaan in 1688.<sup>17</sup> The broadsheets were published in the same years in which the conflicts took place, functioning both as sources of information, or newsheets, and propaganda.

De Hooghe's *Siege of Vienna* [fig. 3] depicts the 1683 conflict in 'bird's eye view' with soldiers from the European and Turkish sides fighting within and around the city walls. The composition is divided into a darkened wedge of foreground at the left, a vast middleground in which the majority of the action takes place, and a distant background defined by the outlines of the Alps and Carpathians. Camels, flags with crescent moons, and exotic feathered turbans identify the Turkish soldiers in the foreground left while a flank of European horsemen with flags bearing the Habsburg double eagle enter from the foreground right. The walled city of Vienna appears in the middleground, seen from the north across the Danube. Groups of soldiers and horsemen dot the landscape as plumes of smoke indicate sites of fighting.

Impressions of de Hooghe's *Siege of Vienna* exist with several different texts, an indication of the popularity of the subject matter and of Visscher's production for different sectors of the market.<sup>18</sup> The impression in the *Atlas van Stolk*, Rotterdam, appears with the following title: *Explanation of the Numbers and Letters within and*

*outside the city of Vienna, vigorously besieged by the Grand Vizier [Kara Mustafa] with 200,000 Turks, Tartars, Cossacks, and Malcontent Hungarians on the 12 July 1683. Courageously defended by Ernst Rüdiger von Starhemberg as Governor [of Vienna], boldly relieved by the Invincible John II King of Poland, etc.*<sup>19</sup> Appearing below the title is a legend in six columns comprising numbers and letters that correspond to the numbers and letters in the print: 1–31 identifying sites in and around the city walls, A to Z referring to places outside the city walls, and a to u identifying specific manoeuvres and the protagonists involved. The viewer uses the legend to ‘read’ the image; no other information on the conflict is provided.

The same legend appears together with a longer narrative text that almost certainly accompanied a beautiful hand-coloured impression of *The Siege of Vienna* in the Koninklijk Bibliotheek, The Hague [fig. 4].<sup>20</sup> In contrast to the more descriptive title of the Rotterdam broadsheet, the title accompanying the Hague text is simplified: *Heroic Deeds of the Christians, before, during and around the Siege of Vienna, from the 1 July to the 13 September 1683*.<sup>21</sup> The same letters and numbers that appear in the Rotterdam print also feature in the Hague impression and the same accompanying legend appears below the columns of text. However, figure numbers also appear in the Hague text that do not correspond to the letters and numbers in the print. Numbers 1–10 appear in the margins alongside passages of italicised text that refer *not* to the print that features in the broadsheet but to a series of ten smaller prints by Romeyn de Hooghe. This series, also in the Koninklijk Bibliotheek, presents the same conflict in ten separate scenes, from views of the Ottoman trenches to the taking of the Turkish standard by King John III of Poland [fig. 5]. It was accompanied by a title page [fig. 6] that presents the European victory in allegorical terms and, like the Rotterdam broadsheet, it was also published in Amsterdam by Nicolaas Visscher in 1683.<sup>22</sup> The fact that the Hague text refers to both *The Siege of Vienna* and the series of ten smaller scenes suggests that the

two may have been issued together. Indeed, throughout the seventeenth century there was a lively market for volumes on military conflicts, both past and present, which served as collectible histories and patriotic narratives.<sup>23</sup>

A comparison of de Hooghe's print of the siege of Vienna and the Tepotzotlán half of the screen reveals the extent to which the painters in Mexico City followed their printed source as well as the ways in which they deviated from it.<sup>24</sup> The painted composition reflects a similar division of space to that in the print: a prominent foreground seen in repoussoir, a vast middleground defined by the diagonal of the Danube with landscape elements on one side and the city of Vienna on the other, and a mountain range in the distance. The most prominent figures in the print, the group of Turkish soldiers in the foreground left, have been followed closely in the painting and include: a mounted archer in shadow at the far left; a turbaned figure on a fallen horse labelled in the print's legend 'Den Bassa van Waradijn' (or Pasha of Great Waradin in Transylvania) and a fleeing soldier whose distinctive headdress featuring a backward flowing felt flap may identify him as a Janissary.<sup>25</sup> A small but notable change within this group serves to enhance the drama of the scene: the skull atop the pike in the lower left quadrant of the print has become a severed head placed nearer the centre of the painted composition and made more gruesome by the contrast between the dark hair and beard and pallid flesh.

The primary difference between de Hooghe's print and the scene on the painted screen relates to the greater emphasis placed on the European cavalry, which enters the scene from the lower right, and the significant change in the identity of the main European protagonist. Indeed, the group is proportionately smaller in de Hooghe's print than in the painting and the flags in the print can be identified from left to right as: the red and white stripes of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth; the imperial banner with double headed eagle on a gold ground of the Holy Roman Empire; and the imperial



St. George war flag, a white cross on a red ground (the colours of which have been inverted in the Hague print). De Hooghe identifies the cavalry in the legend as the dragoons led by Lord Francis Taaffe, known in Europe as Count Taaffe, a member of the Irish nobility who became a major general in Jan Sobieski's army in 1682 and commanded the rearguard of four hundred horse in the Siege of Vienna.<sup>26</sup> The leader of the cavalry on the painted screen, however, is identified by an elaborate inscription appearing on either side of the figure—'El Duque de Vabiera Elector'—as Maximilian II Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria, who led the Saxons, Bavarians, and contingents from the Holy Roman Empire during the siege.<sup>27</sup> This significant shift in iconography not only reflects the difference between the functions of the respective objects, a printed newssheet providing specific information about a contemporary event versus a large-scale painted work executed over a decade later, it places the Tepotzotlán/Brooklyn screen alongside other works associated with Valladares that are explicitly engaged in the creation of Spanish Habsburg propaganda. Maximilian II was a more fitting protagonist for the Mexican screen than the Irish Count Taaffe as he was an Elector of the Holy Roman Empire and had significant connections with the Spanish Habsburgs, among them his marriage to the daughter of Leopold I, Holy Roman Emperor, and Margaret Theresa of Spain; his famous success in leading the Siege of Belgrade in 1688, which is depicted on the Brooklyn half of the screen; and his appointment as governor of the Spanish Netherlands in 1691. Differences between the printed and painted scenes are also evident in the treatment of the middleground and background and consist primarily of the simplification of the printed composition.

The source for the Brooklyn half of the screen is a second broadsheet by Romeyn de Hooghe on the capture of Belgrade from the Turks by the troops of Maximilian II Emanuel on 6 September 1688. Here I illustrate the hand-coloured impression in the Koninklijk Bibliotheek, The Hague [fig. 7].<sup>28</sup> Along the top of the print, etched onto the

plate and emphasised with gold lettering on a red ground, is the title, *Belgrade with its castle and surrounding districts taken by storm by Imperial Forces on 6 September 1688*.<sup>29</sup>

A typeset text of three columns with a lengthier title appears below and, as with *The Siege of Vienna*, letters and numbers in the print refer to a legend that appears at the end of the text: A–H identify the various districts of the city while 1–31 describe the military manoeuvres undertaken and the protagonists involved. As with many of de Hooghe's broadsheets, in which the typeset texts have been cut away from the prints, most often during the cataloguing of museum collections in the nineteenth century, the original text of the Hague impression, which describes the various stages of the siege in detail, is no longer attached to the print though it has remained in the collection of the Koninklijk Bibliotheek.

The print depicts Belgrade, again in "bird's eye view" from the southwest, with the Danube to the north. The city wall runs diagonal to the picture plane, from the upper left to the lower right, dividing the composition into fighting that takes place outside the city wall on the left and that taking place within it to the right. The city wall dominates the composition and its breach points to the impending—if short-lived—European victory (the Ottomans re-took the city only two years later). The Imperial banner, the double-headed eagle on a gold ground, flies atop the buildings that have already been taken by European forces while red and white St. George war flags are carried by the soldiers pushing through the city gates. The distinction between European and Ottoman soldiers is made particularly clear in the group at the lower left of the composition, where exotically dressed, sabre-wielding Turks encounter soldiers wearing full suits of armour or embroidered jackets with white collars and cuffs. The focus on the city's Christian inhabitants, who stand behind the low wall at the right holding flags adorned with crosses, reflects the role played by Balkan Christians, particularly those in Bulgaria, in the overthrow of Ottoman control.<sup>30</sup>

As with the relationship between de Hooghe's *Siege of Vienna* and the Tepotzotlán half of the screen, his *Siege of Belgrade* has been simplified in the Brooklyn half of the screen. Similarly, the figures in the foreground are proportionately larger in the painting than those in the print and much of the secondary action in the background has been eliminated. De Hooghe's strong diagonal of the city wall dividing the composition has been retained but its effect is softened by the less dramatic contrast between light and dark in the painting. The arched gate leading to Semendria, complete with musicians, and low buildings to its left (unidentified in the legend) have migrated to the centre of the painted composition, serving as fixed points around which the chaos of battle moves. Certain distinctive passages in the print, such as the broken fence posts in the lower right, have been retained while descriptive passages, such as the stonework of the central gate or the tiles on the roof of the building next to it have been emphasised and regularised in the painting. The dramatic explosion depicted in the uppermost left panel of the screen, in which men, horses, and architectural elements fly through the air, takes the place of a building in the print and, though it appears to be a freewheeling moment of improvisation, it almost certainly relates to another of de Hooghe's prints, *The Destruction of the Farnese Bridge*, of around 1680, which was also circulating in Mexico around this time.<sup>31</sup> As in the Tepotzotlán half of the screen, the letters and numbers that key the print to the text have been replaced with inscriptions, such as that describing the explosion: "8 Minas unas Contra otras que Estaban Sobre la Cava nueva."

Central to the differences we have identified between the prints and the painted screen is, of course, the very different purpose of the two works. De Hooghe's prints were designed to provide detailed descriptions of contemporary conflicts in a flexible and reproducible medium that would appeal to various sectors of the print-buying market. The painted screen, by contrast, was a unique, large-scale luxury object

produced for a specific patron that depicted two important European victories over the Ottomans, sixteen and eleven years after they took place. The focus of the painted scenes is the grand sweep of heroic action culminating in European and, more specifically, Spanish Habsburg, victories. The screen, however, was not solely European in its focus. The inlaid mother-of-pearl, which would have served an important decorative function, would also have associated the work with the history of local trade and artistic tradition. However, it also would have aligned the screen, both materially and visually, with a larger group of works associated with the patronage of Sarmiento de Valladares that glorified imperial Spain, among them: two series of twenty four panels each depicting the conquest of Mexico;<sup>32</sup> and a series of twelve painted panels on the subject of Alessandro Farnese's victories during the Eighty Years' War, which was also based in prints by Romeyn de Hooghe.<sup>33</sup>

No consideration of the Tepotzotlán/Brooklyn screen would be complete without further reference to its form; the screen is as much indebted to Asian, as it is to European, art. The flattening of spatial recession, relative thinness of paint application, avoidance of dramatic chiaroscuro, fluidity of line, and abstraction of elements such as architectural form all relate to the other tradition with which these works engaged, that of the Japanese folding screen. Japanese screens had been imported into New Spain by 1607, almost ninety years after the first European prints arrived, and, as with the prints, folding screens emerged soon thereafter as a local art form.<sup>34</sup> They conveyed overwhelmingly secular subject matter, such as allegories and city views, and were considered to be works of art, categorized alongside paintings, as opposed to furniture, in inventories.<sup>35</sup>

As noted by Aste, *Folding Screen with the Siege of Vienna and Belgrade* was displayed on the *piano nobile* of the viceregal palace where it would have divided the ceremonial state sitting room from the *sala de estrado*, or women's sitting room, more

and less formal spaces.<sup>36</sup> The different sides of the screen would have corresponded to the function of the spaces they defined, battle scenes framed by monumental columns for the public space dedicated to the business of state and hunting scenes reminiscent of the tapestries that hung in the houses of the European nobility for the more social setting of the sitting room. While it clearly served a functional purpose, much care was taken in accommodating the painting to the screen format; the painting continues along the folds of the screen so as not to be interrupted by the varying degrees to which the screen could be opened. The status of the Tepotzotlán/Brooklyn screen as both a work of art and a functional object underlines its liminality, poised not only between the art historical categories of painting, print, tapestry and applied art, but also—as was New Spain itself—between Atlantic and Pacific trade, European and Asian artistic traditions, and indigenous and Spanish imperial culture.

While Valladares' reasons for commissioning a painted screen as opposed to a series of paintings on the subject of the Turkish wars are unknown, with it he created an entirely new kind of luxury object. Folding screens retained their exotic status throughout the seventeenth century—their eastern origins were often emphasised in inventories<sup>37</sup>—and the unique combination of the folding screen format, emphatically local technique of shell-inlay painting, and elaborate scenes of famous recent Habsburg victories would have served as a reminder of New Spain's strategic location at the centre of trade from the east and the west, of the viceroy's loyalty to the Habsburg king, and perhaps also of his prowess as a patron and collector.

However, the significance of the *Folding Screen with the Siege of Vienna and Belgrade* and *Hunting Scenes* far exceeds its original context. Its use of near-contemporary broadsheets produced by one of the most important Dutch printmakers of the late seventeenth century expands our view not only of the kinds of print sources that were used in Latin America, but also the distances that such political prints, which

have often been considered ephemeral, travelled, the degree to which they were prized, and how, at least in one instance, such prints were used. Far from the straightforward acquisition of aspects of one culture by another, *Folding Screen with the Siege of Vienna and Belgrade* is a fundamentally 'transcultural' work of art, one that reflects the merging and converging of a range of cultures in the early modern period.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See R. Aste, 'Art of the Spanish Colonial Home at the Brooklyn Museum,' in R. Aste, ed: exh. cat. *Behind Closed Doors: Art in the Spanish American Home, 1492–1898*, Brooklyn (Brooklyn Museum), 2013, pp. 24–33.

<sup>2</sup>See, for example, T. B. F. Cummins: 'The Indulgent Image: Prints in the New World,' in I. Katzew, ed.: *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World*, Los Angeles (Los Angeles County Museum of Art) 2011, pp. 203–225; C. Dean, 'Spanish Prints and Colonial Peruvian Paintings', *The Art Bulletin* 78/1 (March 1996), pp. 98–110; J. A. Manrique, 'La estampa como fuente del arte en la Nueva España', *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 13 (1982), pp. 55–60; K. Donahue-Wallace: 'Picturing Prints in Early Modern New Spain', *The Americas* 64/3 (January 2008), pp. 325–349; and Thijs Weststeijn: 'Otto Vaenius' *Emblemata Horatiana* and the *azulejos* in the monastery of São Francisco in Salvador de Bahía', *De zeventiende eeuw* 21 (2005), pp. 128–45.

<sup>3</sup> See Cummins, *op. cit.* (note 3), p. 207, and J. Peterson, *The Paradise Garden Murals of Malinalco. Utopia and Empire in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*, Austin 1993, (note 3), p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> Peterson, *op. cit.* [note 3], p. 66.

<sup>5</sup> A. L. Sohn Raeber: *Entre el humanismo y la fe: El Convento de San Agustin de Atotonilco el Grande*, Mexico City, 1993, pp. 172–85. For Colines' title page, which features Aristotle, Pythagoras, Plato, Socrates, Cicero, and Seneca, see F. Schreiber: *Simon de Colines. An Annotated Catalogue of 230 Examples of His Press, 1520–1546*, Utah, 1995, pp. 14–15.

<sup>6</sup>J. Herzberg: 'Angels with guns: Image and Interpretation', in B. Duncan *et al.*, eds.: exh cat. *Gloria in excelsis: The Virgin and Angels in Viceregal painting of Peru and Bolivia*, New York (Center for Inter-American Relations) 1986, pp. 64–75.

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<sup>7</sup> Cummins, *op cit.* (note 3), p. 208.

<sup>8</sup> For a discussion of these works, see D. Pierce, ed.: exh cat., *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life, 1521–1821*, Denver (Denver Art Museum) 2004, pp. 102–105.

<sup>9</sup> Aste suggests that the screen returned to Spain with Sarmiento de Valladares and that, following his death in 1708, it may have entered the collection of the Palacio Toledo-Moctezuma in Cáceres, Spain. Aste, *op cit.*, p. 34.

<sup>10</sup> It is unknown when the Brooklyn half of the screen entered the Blois family collection but of the inventories available for examination (1855, 1950, 1951), the “4-fold screen” included in the *Inventory of Furniture and Effects at Cockfield Hall...the property of the late Sir Ralph B.M. Blois, Bart.*, 1950, p. 4 (collection of Mr Andrew Blois) is the only description that in any way relates to the Brooklyn screen. Earlier inventories that are meant to be housed in the Suffolk Record Office are unavailable for consultation. Sir Ralph Blois (d. 1950), who inherited Cockfield Hall in 1896, is the most likely candidate to have purchased the screen as he undertook extensive renovations on the house and travelled widely buying furniture and works of art abroad. The screen remained at Cockfield Hall until it was included in the following sale: Phillips, 20 February 1996, *The Residual Contents of Cockfield Hall, Yoxford, Suffolk*, p. 33, lot 320: “An 18<sup>th</sup> Century Spanish Six-Fold Screen painted with figures hunting and heightened with mother-of-pearl within black foliate borders,” illustrated.

<sup>11</sup> See Aste, *op cit.* (note 1), pp. 24–33.

<sup>12</sup> Aste, *op cit.* (note 1), p. 25.

<sup>13</sup> For the Tepotzotlán half of the screen, see A. Bonet Correa: ‘Un biombo del siglo XVII’, *Boletín INAH* 6 (September 1965), pp. 33–37; T. Castelló Yturbide and M. Martínez del Río de Redo: *Biombos Mexicanos*, Mexico City 1970, pp. 49–52; and M. Dujovne: *Las pinturas con incrustaciones de nácar*, Mexico 1984, pp. 101–7.

<sup>14</sup> Aste, *op cit.* (note 1), p. 33. The source of the Brooklyn screen is *Chamios Hunt* (Hollstein 404/I) attributed to Harmen Jansz. Muller and published by Hieronymus Cock in Antwerp in 1570. See M. Leesberg & H. Leeftang: *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, 1450–1700. Johannes Stradanus, Part III*, Ouderkerk aan den Amstel 2008, pp. 116–17, 119. Copies after some of Stradanus’ prints appeared in Spain as illustrations for Andrea Pescioni’s (who was known as Juan de León after 1587) *Libro de la Montería* of 1582; see B. Garcia Vega: *El Grabado del Libro Español siglos XV-XVI-XVII*, Valladolid 1984, II, pp. 99–101, figs. 279–296.

<sup>15</sup> Different figures have been cited for the number of Turkish troops; see I. Parvev: *Habsburgs and Ottomans between Vienna and Belgrade (1683–1739)*, New York 1995, p. 31, n. 65. I have used the figure cited by major general Francis Taaffe in his letters from the imperial camp; see F. Taaffe: *Count Taaffe’s letters from the Imperial Camp to his brother the Earl of Carlingford here in London...*, London 1684, p. 2.

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<sup>16</sup> Previous to its correct identification in Aste (*op. cit.* [note 1], p. 31), the subject on the Brooklyn half of the screen was misidentified as a second depiction of the Siege of Vienna. For an historical account of the siege of Vienna, see T. M. Barker: *Double Eagle and Crescent. Vienna's Second Turkish Siege and its Historical Setting*, New York 1967, pp. 182–97; for the siege of Belgrade and its immediate aftermath, see Parvev, *op. cit.* (note 16), pp. 75-90.

<sup>17</sup> Impressions of the *Siege of Vienna* can be found in the Atlas van Stolk, Rotterdam (with text in French), the National Museum, Poznań (displayed with the legend in German cut away from the print and pasted to the mat), and the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague (hand-coloured impression with separated text). Impressions of the *Siege of Belgrade* appear in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (without accompanying text), the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague (hand-coloured impression with separated text), and the Military Museum, Belgrade (described with text in Dutch above the print; see L. J. Dabić: *Stare karte iz zbirke Vojnog muzeja*, Belgrade, 2008). Neither the *Siege of Vienna* nor the *Siege of Belgrade* appear in Muller (F. Muller: *De Nederlandsche geschiedenis in platen*, Amsterdam 1863–82); Hollstein lists only the *Siege of Belgrade* (F.W.H. Hollstein: *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700*, Amsterdam 1949, IX, p. 123, no. 146); and Landwehr lists the impressions of the *Siege of Vienna* and the *Siege of Belgrade* in the collection of the Atlas van Stolk, Rotterdam (J. Landwehr: *Romeyn de Hooghe, the etcher: contemporary portrayal of Europe, 1662-1707*, Leiden 1973, pp. 123, 145).

<sup>18</sup> The remaining impressions are a fraction of what was originally produced.



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<sup>19</sup> ‘Verklaring van de Cijffergetallen en Letters soo binnen als buyten de stadt Weenen, Strenglijck belegert door den Primo Vizir met 200.000. Turken, Tartars, Cosakken en Malcontente Hungaren den 12 July, 1683. Kloekmoedig gedefendeert door ... Ernst Rudiger Graaf van Starrenberg als Gouverneur, Manhaftig ontset door den Onoverwinnelijken Joannes II. Koning van Polen, enz.’ (Atlas van Stolck number 2697/Landwehr 123). De Hooghe’s signature, ‘RDH inv f,’ appears in the lower centre of the print and at the bottom of the typeset text the following publishing information appears: ‘t’Amsteldam, by Nicolaus Visscher met Privilegie van de H.H. Staten Generael. 1683.’

<sup>20</sup> The text in the Koninklijk Bibliotheek also seems to have been cut in half as the publishing information is split between the top and bottom halves of the page; this was done before the gold and red border was added. For the use of colour in de Hooghe’s prints, see T. Goedings: ‘Kunst- en kaartafzetters. Gekleurde prenten en kaarten’, in H. van Nierop et al., eds: *Romeyn de Hooghe. De verbeelding van de late Gouden Eeuw*, Amsterdam 2008, pp. 204-21, figs. 2 and 10.

<sup>21</sup> ‘Helde-Daden der Christenen, Voor, in, en omtrent de Belegering van Weenen, Van den 1. July tot den 13. September 1683.’

<sup>22</sup> The title of the series is “IOVI PROPITIO MARTI BIS ULTORI MDCLXXXIII LEOPOLDI I.D.G. GERM. IMP. DIV. AUG. FEL. NEC NON IOANNIS. III. D.G. POLON. REG. INVICTISS: ACTA PROPE OBSESSAM VIENNAM AUSTRIAE VERE HERÖICA.” The titleplate is signed by both printmaker and publisher, Romeyn de Hooghe and Nicolaes Visscher, and each print contains several lines of text in Dutch and French.

<sup>23</sup> For fifteenth-century prints on the European/Ottoman wars, see P. van der Coelen: ‘Mercenaries and Turks’, *Print Quarterly* 27 (2010), pp. 401–404 and A. Ritter von Camesana: ‘Fliegende Blätter über das Türkische Heer vor Wien im Jahre 1529’, *Berichte und Mittheilungen des Alterthums-Vereines zu Wien* XV (1875), pp. 107–16.

<sup>24</sup> There is no evidence of the method (the use of intermediary works, squaring, or pouncing) used to transfer de Hooghe’s compositions onto the panels and certain inconsistencies in the transfer suggest a free-hand method.

<sup>25</sup> ‘Bassa’ was the word used in Europe for ‘Pasha’ through the end of the seventeenth century and can be seen, for example, in use in Lord Francis Taaffe’s letters (see note 37); Great Waradin came under Turkish control in the 1660s and was returned to Imperial rule in 1692. For a discussion of the different types of soldiers in the Grand Vizier’s army and their distinctive dress, see Barker, *op. cit.* (note 17), pp. 187–192.

<sup>26</sup> The group is identified in the legend as ‘A. Graaf Taf, met de Collonels der Dragonders, forcerende het voor-Eyland.’ Lord Taaffe (1639-1704), who became third Earl of Carlingford, wrote letters to his brother, then Earl of Carlingford, during the siege. They were published in London in 1684. See note 16.

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<sup>27</sup> For Maximilian II Emanuel's role in the siege of Vienna, see J. Stoye: *The Siege of Vienna*, London 1964, pp. 250–55 and Barker, *op cit* (note 17), pp. 297–302.

<sup>28</sup> Signed and dated “R. de Hooghe f. 1688” on the rock at foreground right; see note 19 for impressions and bibliography. For a discussion of de Hooghe's depiction of this and other Hungarian subjects, see G. Rózsa: ‘Romeyn de Hooghe und die Türkenkriege in Ungarn,’ *Oud-Holland*, 1962, pp. 102–103, 107.

<sup>29</sup> ‘Belgrado met syn slot en voor-steeden stormenderhand veroverd door de Keyserlyke Machten den 6 Sept 1688.’

<sup>30</sup> See Parvev, *op. cit.* (note 16), pp. 75-115.

<sup>31</sup> This print appeared as one of a series of prints on the victories of Alessandro Farnese, six of which were used for the painting of the Farnese series.

<sup>32</sup> For the two series of paintings on the theme of the conquest of Mexico, one in the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires, and one in the Museo de América, Madrid, see M. J. Schreffler: *The Art of Allegiance: Visual Culture and Imperial Power in Baroque New Spain*, University Park 2007, pp. 83-89. See also M. Toussaint: ‘La pintura de concha nacar en Nueva España’, *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 5 (1952), pp. 5–20; and M. García Sáiz: ‘Conquista militar y los enconchados. Las peculiaridades de un patrocinio indiano’, in R. Tovar ed.: exh cat. *Los pinceles de la historia. El origen del reino de la Nueva España, 1680-1750*, Mexico City (Museo Nacional de Arte) 1999, pp. 113-14.

<sup>33</sup> My forthcoming study, ‘*De Bello Belgico* in Mexico: history, memory and material culture at the Viceregal Court,’ examines *The Battles of Alessandro Farnese* and considers its potential meanings and functions.

<sup>34</sup> For a discussion of New Spain's trade with Asia in connection with the genre of the folding screen, see S. Sanabrais: ‘The *Biombo* or Folding Screen in Colonial Mexico’, in D. Pierce & R. Otsuka, eds.: exh. cat. *Asia & Spanish America: Trans-Pacific Artistic and Cultural Exchange, 1500–1800*, Denver (Denver Art Museum) 2009, pp. 69–106; R. Rivero Lake: *Namban: Art in Viceregal Mexico*, Madrid 2006; and S. Ocaña Ruiz: ‘Marcos “enconchados”: autonomía y apropiación de formas japonesas en la pintura novohispana’, *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 92 (2008), pp. 107-53.

<sup>35</sup> Sanabris, *op. cit.* (note 34), p. 82.

<sup>36</sup> Aste, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 31, 33. Aste also notes that the commission was almost certainly part of the larger rebuilding and redecoration scheme undertaken by Sarmiento da Valladares after the burning and partial destruction of the viceregal palace in 1692.

<sup>37</sup> The eastern origin of such screens was still emphasised by the 1680s, as indicated by inventories such as that of Antonia de Villareal in Mexico City in 1681 that lists “one

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biombo of ten panels, with two faces, of the painting that imitates Japanese painting, mistreated...16 pesos.” See K. Donahue-Wallace: *Art and Architecture of Viceregal Latin America, 1521-1821*, Albuquerque 2008, p. 203.

<sup>38</sup> A term coined by Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz in his now famous *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* (New York, 1947) and applied to other aspects of material culture, including works of art, in recent literature. See, for example, J.F. Codell, ed., *Transculturation in British Art*, Ashgate 2012.