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Lexikon
* *of the* *
Hispanic Baroque

TRANSATLANTIC EXCHANGE
AND TRANSFORMATION



FIGURE 10. World Map of the Kingdom of the Indies of Peru with the Four-Part Division of the Inca Empire of Tawantinsuyu (MAPA MUNDI DEL REINO DE LAS INDIAS), pen and ink on paper, in Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, ca. 1615. The Royal Library, Copenhagen.

Que la villa de Potoci puede ser ciudad de España
[The town of Potosí could be any city in Spain.]

— FELIPE GUAMAN POMA DE AYALA TO
PHILIP III, *EL PRIMER NUEVA CORÓNICA*
Y BUEN GOBIERNO, CA. 1615

Modern maps and mapping transformed the image of the world in close simultaneity with the expansion projects of the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns throughout the planet. From the beginning of the sixteenth century, Iberian cartography became an extra-peninsular practice that allowed both the makers and the viewers to “see” territories, spaces, and lands in new geographic, political, and aesthetic terms. In this sense, it is worth combining Cervantes’s lines from *El rufián dichoso* (published in Madrid in 1615) on the capacity of the theater to “bring” such distant places as London, Rome, Valladolid, and Ghent to its audiences with some lines by Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, his contemporary in the New World. In *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, believed to have been completed in 1615 in Peru and addressed to Philip III, the native Andean historian makes visible for the monarch the thirty-eight main cities of his Iberian Kingdom of Peru (from Bogotá to Paraguay, passing through Potosí, Santiago de Chile, Tucumán, and other cities). Before these visual and textual descriptions, Guaman Poma states:

MAPA MUNDI OF THE INDIES: You need to know that the entire kingdom has four kings, four parts: Chinchay Suyo to the right, in the direction of the setting sun; Ande Suyo towards the highlands and the North Sea [Atlantic Ocean]; and from whence the sun rises to the left and towards Chile, Colla Suyo; and towards the South Sea [Pacific Ocean], Conde Suyo.

MAPA MUNDI DE LAS INDIAS: AS DE SAVER que todo el rreyno tenía quatro rreys, quatro partes: Chinchay Suyo a la mano derecha al poniente del sol; arriua a la montaña hacia la Mar del Norte Ande Suyo; da donde naze el sol a la mano izquierda hacia Chile Colla Suyo; hacia la Mar de Sur Conde Suyo.¹

The image that follows this imperative of knowledge—and acknowledgment—directed to the king (“has de saber,” you need to know) is perhaps the most original map ever produced (Fig. 10). The author entitles it *World Map of the Kingdom of the Indies of Peru*. Here a quadripartite Tawantinsuyu—the four parts of the Inca dominion—is represented through a creative reinterpretation of the most recent European cartographic models, not least the famous atlas of Ortelius (1570; Fig. 9). Today we understand the term “world map” as a complete image of the whole world, but Guaman Poma de Ayala felt no incoherence in employing this same expression to capture and condense the different localities of the “Kingdom of the Indies” (in this case, Peru) before and after the arrival of the Spaniards.² The *mapamundi* typology paradoxically allows this early-seventeenth-century Andean author to construct a visible realm of Inca domination, which, in becoming Philip III’s possession, merged into what his predecessor, Philip II, had called “the four parts of the world.”³ Indeed, the Incaic extension of the Tawantinsuyu is “combined”—both in the map and in the following pages of the *Nueva corónica*—with the renewed extension of the Iberian kingdom of Peru, itself now a significant part of the Catholic monarchy’s quadripartite world. Yet Cusco, the navel at the center of this unprecedented “world map” and at the crossroads of the four parts of the Tawantinsuyu, is unmistakable. In surrounding zones the political space is framed by iconographic elements such as a wolf, a whale, a swordfish, a monkey, a unicorn, and even a mermaid, all of which “globalize” the locality into a larger world map tradition that represented the unknown territories through these signs.⁴

The *Mapa Mundi del Reino de Perú* is unique in the cartographic production of the early modern Iberian kingdoms. But its originality invites us to approach the complex reciprocal transformation between different spatial conceptions as a characteristic shared by several maps produced between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries in another part of the Catholic monarchy, the more northerly Kingdom of New Spain.

The use of local “figures” (paintings representing specific parts of the territory) by the conquistadors and later by administrators is attested to in the letters of Hernán

Cortés to Charles V. There it is clear that the Spanish conquest of the Mexica territory would have been impossible without the use of these local maps, which themselves draw upon a strong pre-Hispanic Mesoamerican tradition. But the maps from New Spain were also sent back immediately to the Old World as proof, concretization, and guarantee of what the process of conquest was accomplishing. As early as the 1520s, for instance, Pietro Martire de Anghiera saw several *mappae* sent to Spain by Cortés and displayed in Seville. The Italian humanist at the Spanish court left a detailed description of their cartographic precision and their hybrid status between written and painted documents (*scripta* and *depicta*) but also of their tremendous effect upon the distinguished group of scholars that observed them in Seville. The performative “reading” of these maps took place in the Andalusian gateway to the Indies thanks to a dialogue with a young Tenochca (native of the Mexica capital of Tenochtitlan) who had traveled to Spain with Cortés’s secretary, Juan de Ribera. One of the questions the humanists asked him was the nature of the relationship between the very name of his home city, “Tenochtitlan,” and its pictographic representation on the map before their eyes. Anghiera translated the youth’s explanation (originally given in Nahuatl or Spanish?) as *fructus divinus in aqua positus* (“divine fruit situated in the water”).⁵ Only two years after this inaugural European showing of the representation of the Mexican capital, a map of Tenochtitlan would be engraved in Nuremberg to accompany the *Second Letter* of Cortés, though apparently without any reference to the previous meanings and readings associated with the Nahuatl toponym. As Barbara Mundy and Dominique Gresle-Pouligny have demonstrated, however, the 1524 map engraved in Germany is simultaneously the result of a possible “indigenous” model and its plastic transformation in a Renaissance key.⁶

Between these early *figuras* used by Cortés to explore the territory, the *mappae* observed in Seville by Anghiera and his fellows (one of which measured almost thirty square feet!) and the creation of the *World Map of the Kingdom of Peru* drawn by Guaman Poma, hundreds of maps were produced in New Spain, often by native and mestizo mapmakers. Some were made for the viceroy of New Spain in support of requests for a grant or acknowledgment of territory (*Mercedes de tierra* and *de estancia*),⁷ and others were painted for the king in response to the questionnaire explicitly requesting them as part of the *Relaciones geográficas*.⁸ The richness of this production, in terms of both quantity and variety, must be stressed. While this no doubt resulted from the Iberian administrative impulse to contain and order the variety of the world it gloried in un-



FIGURE 11. Melchor Alfaro de Santa Cruz, *Map of the Province of Tabasco*, *Relación geográfica*, 1579. Ministerio de Cultura, Archivo General de Indias, MP-Mexico, 14.

covering, the results of this “cartographic fever” cannot be appreciated without exploring its innumerable facets and content. The *Relaciones geográficas* maps represent provinces, towns, and villages (Fig. 11), often conceived within a circular “world map” model that reaches for a “globalization” of the local that recalls Guaman Poma’s Andean *mapamundi*.⁹ The representations in the *Mercedes de tierra* and *de estancia*, on the other hand, are necessarily maps of the “countryside.” In fact, in order to obtain such grants for cultivation or farming, the territory in question had to be considered *baldío*: situated at a specific distance from the closest settlement. This administrative condition constituted the impulse for the birth of the most impressive landscape paintings of the Renaissance and the Baroque. Here the landscape of New Spain unfolds from an infinite number of vantage points—for the period from 1540 and 1650, more than six hundred maps in the Archivo General de la Nación of Mexico City alone (Fig. 12) survive. This collective mapping experience was lived and worked out *in situ* by a cohort of artists speaking dozens of different languages (such as Nahuatl, Matlatzinca, Otomí, and Chontal) and living in radically different panoramas (from the selva to the sierra, from the slope of a volcano to the Pacific and Atlantic coasts), who used distinct pigments and tools to portray the political transformation of the territory (new architectures, animals, people, roads, yet articulated with

reference to the same mountains, rivers, and sky that had been standing in the territory before the conquest). These maps can be seen as a monumental effort to create a new “cartographic” space, in which distinct conventions, scales, orientations, and artistic languages are simultaneously at work, allowing their indigenous, Spanish, mestizo, and maybe even African painters not only to represent an existing territory for the Iberian administration but also to create this territory in their here-and-now and to find a new place within it.

At the same time, each one of these paintings is part of a much broader “mapping” experience in which the local can be thought of as a metonym—or a synonym—of the whole: distant local places are brought together and made visible thanks to the circulation of maps, descriptions, oral histories, and chronicles. When Guaman Poma de Ayala informed Philip III that Potosí is like any Spanish city, we must recall that he had never been to Spain. He probably drew from his observation of the city atlas *Civitates orbis terrarum*, edited by Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg.

Ortelius in turn apparently drew his four maps of New Spain inspired by the *Relaciones geográficas* project and by cartographic materials coming from the Indies.¹⁰

Beyond addressing the local uses and meanings of each one of these mapping experiences, a larger perspective on the reciprocal impact of territorial and urban representations in the Iberian (both peninsular and extra-peninsular) cartography encourages thinking beyond the frontiers so often described in (ahistorical) shorthand as “Spain” and “Spanish America,” to include the Philippines archipelago, other Iberian kingdoms (of both the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns) in the Mediterranean, northern and central Europe, and well beyond. When the Jesuit Matteo Ricci alighted in China, he did so with a copy of the *Theatrum orbis terrarum* under his arm.¹¹ Moreover, Ricci’s *Descrizione* was probably prepared on the same model of the *Relaciones geográficas* questionnaire sent by Philip II to local officials and notables across New Spain and Peru. Like Guaman Poma de Ayala with Cusco, Ricci placed Beijing at the center of his *mapamundi*, while at the same time

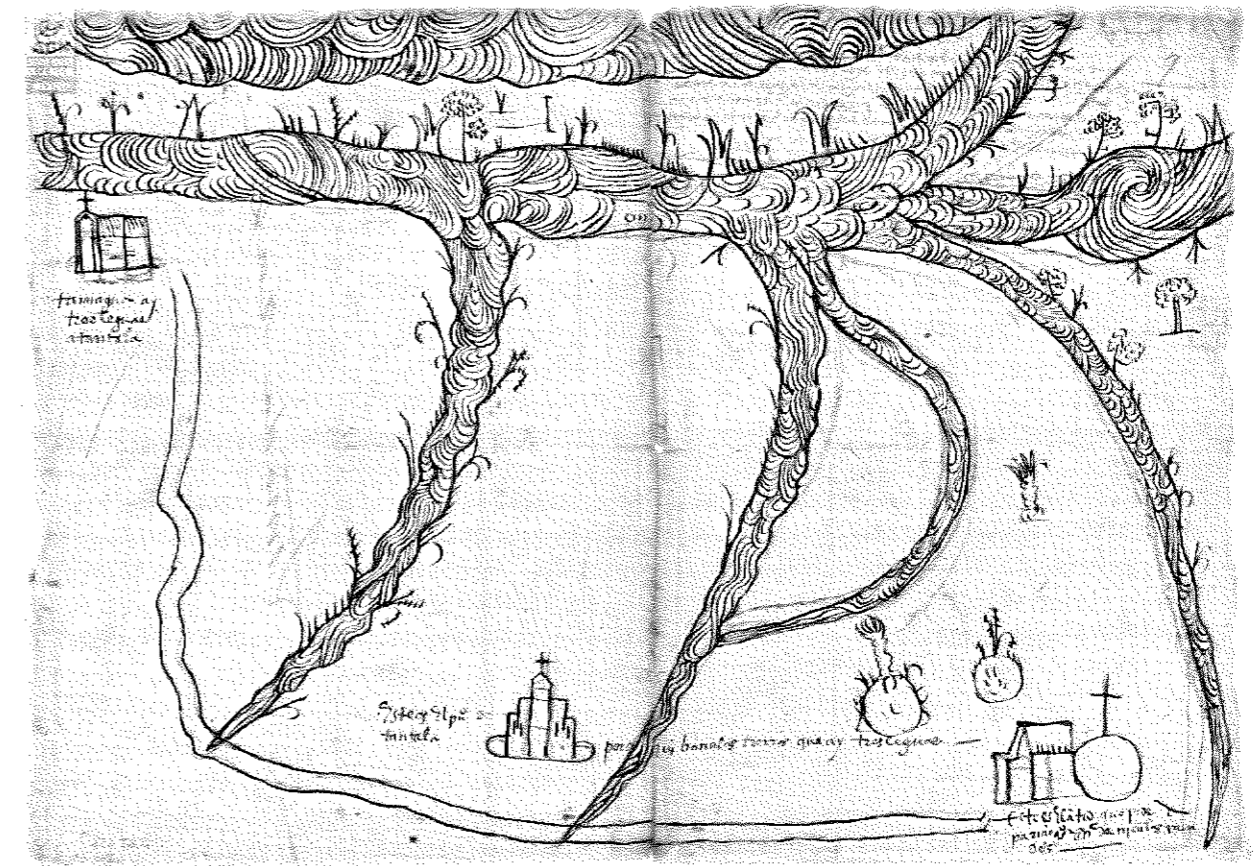


FIGURE 12. *Map of Tamiagua and Tamtotol (Veracruz)*, 1583. Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, Mexico, Ramo Tierras, vol. 2777, exp. 13, fol. 8 (Mapoteca: n. 2135).

asking the Portuguese Jesuit provincial João Alvares to send more maps of Rome.¹²

NOTES

1. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, Copenhagen Det Kongelige Bibliothek, online edition, fol. 1000, <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/1000/es/text/?open=id3090306>.
2. Nathan Wachtel, "Pensamiento salvaje y aculturación: El espacio y el tiempo de Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala y el Inca Garcilaso de la Vega," in Nathan Wachtel, *Sociedad e ideología: Ensayos de historia y antropología andinas* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1973), 165–230. For the analysis of the map, see Rolena Adorno, *Guaman Poma de Ayala: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), ch. 2; and idem, "Colonial Reform or Utopia?: Guaman Poma's Empire of the Four Parts of the World," in *Amerindian Images and the Legacy of Columbus*, ed. René Jara and Nicholas Spadaccini (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 346–374.
3. Serge Gruzinski, *Las cuatro partes del mundo: Historia de una mundialización* [2004] (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2010).
4. Hiroshige Okada, "Inverted Exoticism?: Monkeys, Parrots, and Mermaids in Andean Colonial Art," in *The Virgin, Saints, and Angels: South American Paintings 1600–1825*, ed. Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt (Stanford: Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University, 2006), 75–76.
5. Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, *V decas* [1523]: *De Orbe Novo: The Eight Decades of Peter Martyr D'Anghiera*, trans. Francis Augustus MacNutt (New York, G. P. Putnam's and Sons, 1912), 2:199. MacNutt translates Martire D'Anghiera's own translation of the Nahuatl toponym as "a divine fruit growing in the water," while Martire D'Anghiera had chosen *positus in* ("situated in"), which is in fact a closer Latin translation of the Nahuatl *tlan*.
6. Barbara Mundy, "Mapping the Aztec Capital: The 1524 Nuremberg Map of Tenochtitlan, Its Sources and Meanings," *Imago Mundi* 50 (1998): 1–22; and Dominique Gresle-Pouligny, *Un plan pour Mexico-Tenochtitlan: Les représentations de la cité et l'imaginaire européen (XVI–XVIII siècles)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999).
7. Alessandra Russo, *El Realismo circular: Tierras, espacios y paisajes de la cartografía novohispana* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2005).
8. Barbara Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).
9. Barbara Mundy, "Mesoamerican Cartography," in *Cartography in the Traditional, American, Arctic, Australian, and Pacific Societies*, ed. David Woodward and G. Malcolm Lewis, vol. 2, bk. 3, of *The History of Cartography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 210–211. On the map of Tabasco reproduced here, see Amara L. Solari,

"The *Relación Geográfica* Map of Tabasco: Hybrid Cartography and Integrative Knowledge Systems in Sixteenth-Century New Spain," *Terra Incognitae* 41 (2009): 38–58.

10. Howard Cline, "The Ortelius Map of New Spain and Related Cartographic Materials, 1560–1610," *Imago Mundi* 16 (1962): 113.

11. *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matteo Ricci, 1583–1610* (New York: Random House, 1953). The *Theatrum orbis terrarum* has to be considered part of the intellectual panorama of the Catholic monarchy, even if, paradoxically, it would soon be used as an anti-Spanish tool. Serge Gruzinski, *Quelle heure est-il là-bas? Amérique et Islam à l'orée des temps modernes* (Paris: Seuil, 2008), 89.

12. See the map reproduction on the website of the James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota (<https://www.lib.umn.edu/bell/riccimaps>). Matteo Ricci, *Lettere dalla Cina, 1584–1608* (Ancona: Transeuropa, 1999); Pasquale M. d'Elia, *Il Mappamondo cinese del Padre Matteo Ricci S.J.* (Rome: Biblioteca Vaticana, 1938); and John D. Day, "The Search for the Origins of the Chinese Manuscript Copies of Matteo Ricci's Maps," *Imago Mundi* 47 (1995): 94–117.

SUGGESTED FURTHER READING

- Adorno, Rolena. "Colonial Reform or Utopia?: Guaman Poma's Empire of the Four Parts of the World." In *Amerindian Images and the Legacy of Columbus*, ed. René Jara and Nicholas Spadaccini, 346–374. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992.
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Center

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Empires and nations are defined as much by their centers as by their boundaries. Centers are definite physical locations, but they are also much more than fixed points on a map: they are points from which authority and order emanate and in which power and the very identity of a dominant culture ostensibly reside. Like monarchs, centers embody authority symbolically: centers, like monarchs, extend their authority through both literal and figurative representation. Centers tend to permeate the larger whole, extending beyond themselves and establishing their presence in the perceived peripheries. When all roads lead to Rome, Rome also extends outward through a network of interlinked subsidiary centers that replicate and reify it on a local level.

In the age of the Baroque, however, Rome needs to be taken into account literally rather than figuratively, for that city was the epicenter of the Catholic Church, a clerical empire that claimed spiritual supremacy over the entire world. This empire not only overlapped with all earthly ones and depended on them for its survival and expansion but often challenged their ultimate authority. All talk of "centers" in the world of the Hispanic Baroque needs to take into account this symbiotic, tension-laden relationship between spiritual and temporal authority.

In baroque Spain and its colonies, all centers stood in relation to a single epicenter and to one another within a hierarchy on two intertwined spheres or grids: the so-called secular and spiritual realms. Religion therefore played a key role in the nature and function of centers, often with very blurry lines between what we might call "church" and "state" or "sacred" and "profane." In an age when hierarchies reigned supreme, tension between the two spheres was as inevitable as cooperation, especially as monarchs increasingly sought to imbue the throne with sacredness. The complexity of the relationship between secular and ecclesiastical hierarchies was further complicated because in the spiritual realm all roads led to heaven or to Rome rather than to Madrid or Toledo. Despite the privileges claimed by Spanish monarchs through the Patronato Real, which ostensibly gave them nearly full control of the Church, tension was inevitable. Unlike the secular epicenter of the monarchy, which claimed jurisdiction only within the boundaries of the Crown's realm, the spiritual

epicenter claimed a universal, transnational centrality beyond time and space.

The secular epicenter of the Hispanic world during the Baroque was the king's court. Until 1561, when King Philip II (1556–1598) chose the insignificant Castilian town of Madrid as his principal place of residence, Spanish monarchs had been constantly on the move, residing at various palaces throughout the Iberian peninsula. Philip II's choice was politically shrewd, given that Madrid was devoid of powerful nobles or ecclesiasts and thus offered something of a tabula rasa on which he could impose his own centralizing blueprints, unchallenged. His choice was also highly symbolic, for Madrid sits smack in the geographical center of the Iberian peninsula. Within one generation, Madrid would become the undisputed epicenter of the first global empire on which the sun never set, subjugating all subsidiary centers to itself—a truism captured in the refrain "solo Madrid es corte" (Madrid alone is the court).

More than any other monarch of his age, Philip II understood the need to centralize the power of the Crown, to imbue it with sacredness, and to represent it symbolically. Aside from moving the court permanently to Madrid and creating an elaborate and efficient bureaucracy, Philip also established definitions of centrality that would govern the Habsburg dynasty and the Hispanic world throughout the Baroque. These definitions, in and of themselves, reified the often paradoxical relationship between the sacred and the secular.

The keystone of Philip's centralizing project was a colossal palace complex unlike any other on earth: San Lorenzo de El Escorial. This structure, about a day's journey from Madrid, enmeshed the sacred and the profane (Fig. 13). Begun in 1563 and completed in 1595, it was the largest building on earth, containing not just a palace but also a monastery, a basilica, a relic collection, a library, and a school for clergy. Constructed near Madrid yet not at all within it, this complex structure helped establish a dual epicenter which affirmed a paradoxical yet very firm union between altar and throne. Within this binary reification of centrality, the proximity of these two royal centers was as essential as the distance between them. Although Madrid and the Escorial were separate locations—one accentuating the monarch's largely secular power and the other his