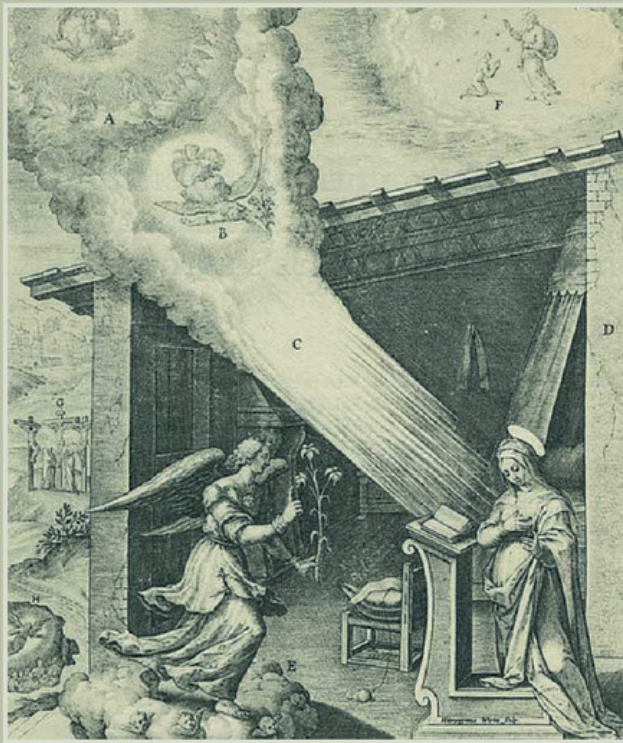


Eloquent Images

Evangelisation, Conversion and
Propaganda in the Global World
of the Early Modern Period

Giuseppe Capriotti
Pierre-Antoine Fabre
Sabina Pavone (EDS)



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EDITED BY

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Persuading with baptismal and triumphant images: Emotional entanglements in the apologies of conversion in the Early Modern Iberian World¹

MARIA VITTORIA SPISSU

Introduction

There are some images, produced in the Catholic Habsburg monarchy, which illustrate the salvific power of baptism. These images are linked to others, which in tone are less consoling and more intimidating, and which lean more towards depicting the triumphant sailing of some religious orders towards the new lands to be converted. The iconographic system of images was first tested in Europe and then transformed and readapted to impress and evangelise the New World, through visual strategies of persuasion and the imposition of an “authoritarian emotive regime”.

Fons vitae, Fons pietatis: Iberian visual ideologies and promises of redemption

The great panel of the *Fons Vitae*² (“Fountain of Life”), (fig. 6.1) shows in the foreground the King of Portugal and the Algarve, Manuel I, his wife Eleanor of Austria, and their court, in devoted adoration of the crucified Christ, from whose body gushes rivulets of blood which are collected in a fountain. Also in the painting is Isabella of Aviz, the second daughter of Manuel I and Maria of Aragon and Castile, granddaughter of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, and future wife (1526, Seville) of Charles V: royal consort of the vast domains of the Habsburgs, which extended worldwide. Also in the scene, which depicts the redemptive and

Fig. 6.1. Colijn de Coter (attributed to), *Fons Vitae* (Fountain of Life), 1515–17, Porto, MMIPO – Museu da Misericórdia do Porto, picture by Maria Vittoria Spissu. (Plate 6, p. 324)



salvific power of the blood of Christ, is the ecclesiastic community, represented by Don Pedro da Costa, bishop of Oporto (1507–1535). The painting represents a bridge between the territories comprised in the new political order, since it was produced, probably by Colijn de Coter,³ in the Habsburg Netherlands, which were governed by Margaret of Austria – aunt and guardian of Charles V – and which were linked to Portugal by the continual importation of Flemish devotional works.⁴

The monarchs kneeling before the Holy Blood, as if it were an investiture, are affirming their devotion and piousness, while the image translates the ideology of the ruling house,⁵ repository of a superiority that was not only dynastic, but also moral, founded on mercy and on its role as a link between worlds: Manuel and Isabella are presented as direct intermediaries between the faithful and the *fons vitae* or *pietatis*, and at the same time they are protagonists of the first fruitful phase of colonial expansion, through geographical discoveries and trade as far as America, India, and Japan.⁶

The emblematic iconography also appears in a coloured engraving, attributed to Master S and depicting *Christ on the Cross as the Fountain of Life, surrounded by Scenes from the Lives of Christ and of Saint Francis of Assisi* (Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, KBR, Brussels, Cabinet des Estampes, S.II 40687).⁷ Kneeling at the foot of the Cross is Mary Magdalene, while the form taken by the *Fons Vitae* can be compared to a reliquary. In the large basin in the center, into which the Holy Blood gushes, devouts are immersed, pious and with their hands joined in prayer, as if it were an actual baptism, effected by direct immersion of the body in the salvific liquid.

The inclusion of redeemed individuals in the community is exemplified in the *Fountain of Grace*,⁸ painted at the workshop of Jan van Eyck and donated by Henry



Fig. 6.2. Novo-hispano painter, *Baptism of the native chiefs of Tlaxcala*, 17th century, Tlaxcala, sacristy of the Cathedral of Our Lady of the Assumption, picture by Maria Vittoria Spissu. (Plate 7, p. 325)

IV of Castile in the mid-fifteenth century to the Monastery of El Parral in Segovia. The flows of water glorify the Church Triumphant. Religious figures and dignitaries are admitted to the grace, while several Jews, led by a blindfolded Synagogue, are falling about, squirming, and covering their ears or their eyes:⁹ they are not ready to receive the word of God, in what is presented as an Eucharistic

congress, a concert of heavenly music and a worship of the Mystical Lamb. Their physical and moral blindness therefore excludes them from the salvific power of the grace, which is transmitted through the fountain.

Such images entered the imagery of preaching priests and missionaries who were setting out, especially via prints.¹⁰ They become the starting point for creating new persuasive images in Ibero-American lands which were geared to support the activity of evangelisation, through similar visual strategies based on the possibility of salvation and the risk of exclusion from the chosen. A similar iconography links for example the *Crucified Christ as the source of the Seven Sacraments*,¹¹ a fresco in the portico of the Augustinian convent of Metztlán (c. 1577, Hidalgo, Mexico), with the analogous altarpiece by Girolamo Imperato¹² (1603, Sant'Elia a Pianisi), and the *Allegory of the Precious Blood of Christ* (Tepotzotlán, Museo Nacional del Virreinato).

The same family of images also includes the *Baptism of the native chiefs of Tlaxcala* (fig. 6.2) (Tlaxcala, sacristy of the Cathedral of Our Lady of the Assumption, formerly a convent of St. Francis).¹³ The painting depicts an imposing crucifixion supported by God the Father. The cross rises directly from the baptismal font, fulcrum of the celebration of the sacrament, in the presence of the highest-ranking officials, with a large number of Spanish lieutenants and local dignitaries.¹⁴ The presence of trumpets, halberds, and lit candles reinforces the solemnity of the event,

Fig. 6.3. José Vivar y Valderrama (attributed to), *Baptism of the high chief Cuauhtémoc* ("Bautizo de Ixilixóchitl"), 1752, Mexico City, Museo Nacional de Historia, Castillo de Chapultepec, picture by Maria Vittoria Spissu. (Plate 8, p. 326)



while the new believer is baptised under the conscientious eyes of the chiefs of Tlaxcala and the Spanish godfather. The iconography recalls the composition adopted in the Portuguese painting to celebrate the benevolence of the Aviz and Habsburg dynasties, while in the

Tlaxcala painting it celebrates the salvific mission of the Spanish, here in the capacities of officiating dignitaries, godparents, and guardians of social peace.

The presence at baptism ceremonies of godparents who were part of the viceroy's circle was not at all unusual, as can be seen in the *Baptism of the high chief Cuauhtémoc* (fig. 6.3). Here the rite is celebrated in the presence of Father Bartolomé de Olmedo, while the godparents are Don Hernán Cortés and Don Pedro de Alvarado. Attributed to José Vivar y Valderrama, the painting (1752, Museo Nacional de Historia, Castillo de Chapultepec, INAH, Mexico City) places institutional personalities and representatives of the heterogeneous local community in the foreground. In this case, the alternating in the scene of Spaniards and natives and the building work underway behind them tells of alliances being built, raised to the honors of the altar, while the official in the background appears to be recording the baptismal rite, together with the end of idolatry and polytheism.

The inscription in the foreground, in a gold-framed cartouche, connects the immolated blood of the enemy, the sacred crystalline fount, the glorious triumph of Spanish authority, and the banner of the faith. The Catholic monarchy is presented therefore as authoritative and benevolent, and charged, directly by the *Fons Vitae* and by the *Fons Pietatis*, with driving out ungodly pagan practices and promoting the exalted happiness ("*venturoso brío*") of conversion.

Visual and emotional strategies of inclusion and exclusion

The positioning of the participants reveals further clues to their role in the community and their deserving (or uncertainty) of access to redemption. On the one hand, in the *Fons Vitae* painting, we see figures faithfully anchored to a feudal hierarchy that calls to mind that of the chosen in the Last Judgement. On the other hand, in the Ibero-American paintings, the alternating of Spaniards and converted local lords indicates a context forged by urgent compacts and alliances.¹⁵ The added imposition of the Spanish godparents, as awkward as they are significant for the new direction, plus the military presence, all confer an authoritative and official significance, connoting the baptism as a capitulation and a transaction.

This is remarked on by another painting: the *Conquest and "Reduction" of the Infidel Indians of the mountains of Paraca and Pantasma*¹⁶ (1675–1700, Madrid, Museo de América). Within the great landscape, which acts as an almost topographical overview of the conquered territories, we find a community baptism scene in the foreground. So we pass from the engraved map of the Holy Land,¹⁷ through the Stations of the Cross and an imaginary pilgrimage, to expressing in map form¹⁸ a territory to be morally rebuilt: a New Jerusalem. It is here that the baptism is presented as the resolution of a conflict and the negotiation of new identities. An example of this is the baptism scene immersed in the landscape-map of the *Canvas of St. Pedro Ixcatlán* (Oaxaca province, Mexico).¹⁹

The close relationship between acts of intimidation and baptism as inclusion is indicated by the juxtaposition, in the same work, belonging to the *Conquest of Mexico* by Hernán Cortés (1698, Museo del Prado, Madrid),²⁰ of the baptism of five natives – by Padre Bartolomé de Olmedo, in the presence of Cortés and his soldiers – and the punishment of the spies of Xicoténcatl. As the former bow their heads at a platter while being blessed, the latter are having their hands cut off. All these cases feature the non-coincidental presence of both authorities, religious and military. Both contribute to building a combination of induced fear and promises of salvation.

The need to manage engagement with the other on a global scale led to the exchange and transformation of the effective and eloquent image systems that had been devised and tested in decades-long conflicts in the Iberian peninsula and in the Mediterranean.²¹ The connections traced between the works painted in the Iberian peninsula or in the Habsburg Netherlands and those commissioned for the overseas Viceroyalties in the Americas rely not on the concept of “influence” as on the idea of translating a selfsame blend of emotions—implying exclusion and inclusion²²—crucial to the building of a Catholic monarchy²³ extended to the New Worlds.

Fig. 6.4. Cuzqueño painter, *Augustine friars baptizing an Inca nobleman / Conversion of an Indian nobleman by Marian inspiration*, c. 1700–30, Lima, Museo de Arte, picture by Maria Vittoria Spissu. (Plate 9, p. 327)



In order to comprehend the circularity and the performative transformation of iconographies that the Spanish made use of in its contact with other religions and civilisations in the post-*Reconquista* era, the images of baptism are crucial, as they forge (new) identities through the persuasive construction of an “emotional community”²⁴ that would be further refined later on in the “internal missions” of post-Tridentine Spain.

The preacher or confessor had to be able to elicit contrition and the will to wash away one’s sins, both during sermons – which Muslims and Jews were required to attend by law, in the Crown of Aragon – and when in the presence of prisoners awaiting forced baptisms. Similar emotions were to be disseminated among the first peoples of the Americas, during shows that depicted, as an *exemplum* and a warning, the victory of Christian over Moor.²⁵

The desire to impress comprehensively future possible converts through complementary emotions was already present in the *Sermons* of Vicent Ferrer.²⁶ He praised the power of fear of divine punishment, to be instilled together with seduction and wonder, for the promises of eternal life.²⁷ In his anti-Jewish²⁸ and anti-Muslim polemic he goes so far as to define the baptismal font as a womb, through which Christ fertilises the Church (*Sermons* 3:263; 1:121–122), creating a chain of links between baptism, loyalty, endogamy, privilege, faith, honor, and cohesion (*Sermons* 3:111 and 113).

The conversion of infidels, Jews or Muslims,²⁹ and also heretics, immersed in baptismal fonts, is illustrated in the *Cantigas de Santa María* (“Canticles of Holy Mary”),³⁰ where the persons being baptised are depicted first as guilty of error and then as protagonists of a change of heart and a transformation to meekly faithful converts, sometimes kneeling before icons and altars, like the Moorish slave shown deep in prayer with a candle in his hand before the image of the miracle-working

Virgin.³¹ This is a progression towards salvation, through ordeals, disputes, sermons, and encounters with demons or prodigious images.

A similar visualisation is found in *Augustine friars baptizing an Inca nobleman / Conversion of an Indian nobleman by Marian inspiration* (fig. 6.4) (c. 1700–30, Lima, Museo de Arte). This depicts a member of the locale elite, on his knees in devotion before the miraculous image of the Virgin of Copacabana,³² while his soul, through the intercession of St. Augustine, is welcomed into Heaven. In the Iberian viceroyalties in America, such iconographies of conversion were used to lay emphasis on the close connection between acts of submission, recognition of cult images and of religious ministries, inclusion, and benefits.

Conversions through images and “Iberianisation”

Premodern visualisations of the benefits of conversion are exemplified by the *Conversion and Baptism of Ananio and his wife*, both of whom are immersed in the baptismal font and clothed in white vestments which allude to the regenerative power of the water, in the *Altarpiece of Ss. Mark and Ananio*,³³ painted by Arnau Bassa (1346, *La Seu*, Manresa, Catalonia). Also presented as a similar source of conversion is the cistern in the foreground in the *Altarpiece of the Holy Cross* (1481–87, Museo de Zaragoza) by Martín Bernat and Miguel Ximénez,³⁴ in which the confession of the Jew Judas acts as a preamble to the edict of expulsion that Isabella of Castile³⁵ and Ferdinand of Aragon are about to proclaim (1492), allowing a glimpse of a metamorphosis, even physical, of the penitent/convert, marking his entry among the “*hebreos buenos*” (“good Jews”).³⁶ The scene with the confession, and the onlookers at the window, is infused with the prevalent mixture of suspicion and ill-disposed tolerance of *cristianos nuevos* (“new Christians”) or *judeoconvertos* (“converted Jews”),³⁷ anticipating images like the one by Pedro Berruguete, with the *Auto-da-fé presided over by St. Domenico of Guzmán* (1493–99, Prado), emblematic of the imposition of an “authoritarian emotive regime”.

The sudden change from the cramped ghetto or the crowded *moreria* (Moorish quarter) in the Iberian peninsula to the enormous spaces in the New World where baptismal waters were to be brought was enormous. It required the development of new resources for the catechesis, to defeat the language barrier and seduce through ceremony, music and song.³⁸ And here the inclination to probe the “inner landscape” can leverage the colonisation of the imagery³⁹ and the representations of baptism,⁴⁰ This is a response to the designs of militant Catholicism, and also to

disciplinary action of the community, strategies of “inner perfection,” and the reinforcement of preaching.

While it was Christ in person who indicated the cross to the patriarchs (or *conversos*) in the *Descent into Limbo* (1474–79, MNAC), by Bartolomé Bermejo, now it is a friar who indicates the exemplary visualisation of the *Sacrifice of Christ* to some natives to be converted in the lands of the New World, in the *Rhetórica Christiana* (“Christian Rhetoric”) (1579) by Diego Valadés.⁴¹ We then arrive at the return of the Cross as *Fons Vitae*, in the painting by Juan Manuel Yllanes, *St. Thomas preaching at Tlaxcala* (Basilica of Our Virgin of Ocotlán, Tlaxcala).

In the Iberian peninsula, the person being baptised was depicted as willing and tamed. Muslims, North African slaves or Ottoman prisoners of war sometimes opted for baptism, hoping to be freed or to escape famine in their homelands.⁴² In the Iberian Americas, baptism became a solution for natives to lose their status as defeated, captives, or bandits, thus negotiating social peace and the possibility of trade.⁴³

Ceremonies and the imposition of an “authoritarian emotive regime”

It was the royals, viceroys or prominent figures in the Spanish community who played the role of godparents. The public rite was aimed at probing the emotive response both in the converted native, to assess their sincerity, and in the onlookers. Thus staged, the conversion should have copper-fastened the bonds of alliance, honour, loyalty, privilege, and cohesion – already seen in Ferrer – and so forge the communal identity, instilling a mixture of amazement, fear, subjection and reverential dread.⁴⁴

On a stage, the ceremony of baptism was accompanied by a sermon and by a procession: the roads were covered with palms and mats and rang to the sound of oboes, trumpets and flutes, with singing and the reports of muskets and the perfumes of flowers and aromatic essences, calling to memory the processions of penitents of *Semana Santa* (Holy Week) or of *Corpus Christi*, or triumphal entry processions, which took place also in the Americas (Melchor Pérez de Holguín, *Entrance of the Viceroy Archbishop Morcillo to Potosí*, 1716, Madrid, Museo de América).

In addition to legitimising power, this approach implanted an “authoritarian emotive regime”.⁴⁵ Conversion was presented as a voluntary and miraculous process, and followed a script that comprised reticence and fascination, shame,⁴⁶ relief, contrition and “*lágrimas de devoción y alegría*” (“tears of devotion and happiness”).

The “pedagogy of fear” was converted to “baptism of propaganda”. Accounts of these celebrations center on the connection between baptism, grace and new-found purity, both of the soul and visually of the skin, cleansed by the blessed water and by tears.⁴⁷ This supposed transformation of the convert verges on the “genealogy of racism”,⁴⁸ linked to the idea of “whitening”.⁴⁹

The narrative also comprised battle reenactments, like the Festivals (*Fiestas*) of Moors and Christians: in these reenactments the defeated, usually Moors or Turks, in the end always decided to convert. Similar theatrical performances were staged during mass baptisms in Spain. The march of the music bands, sermons, parades, processions, *escaramuzas* (skirmishes), the divine intervention of Santiago or St. Michael, the reports and acrid odour of harquebuses and muskets, used only by Spaniards, caused “*notable espanto y maravilla*” (“considerable terror and wonder”). In the “*danza de los matachines*” (“dance of the mischief-makers”) the Grand Turk, prone to cheating and insincerity, was substituted by the Aztec emperor Montezuma.

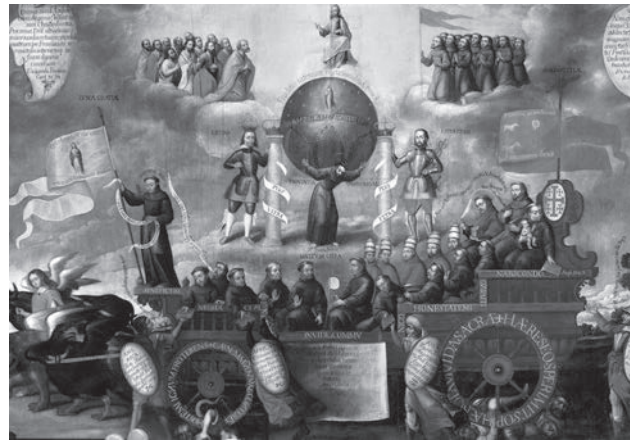
As to inclusion, indigenous leaders usually received a political blessing that “sanctioned” them: the landscape shown on maps,⁵⁰ with the baptism scene at the center, became the relevant space, assigned to those leaders by the Spanish and Catholic authority, which granted recompense, lands, privileges, and tax exemptions.

Apologies and triumphs of the Church: portable hierarchies of propaganda

Among the enemies that appear in the Americas, in allegories and apologies – such as the *Allegory of the triumph of the Jesuits in the four corners of the world* and the *Defense of the Eucharist with St. Thomas Aquinas* (both 18th century, Lima, Church of St. Peter) – are Moors and Turks, retelling the threat and fear of assaults by the latter to faraway lands where incursions by the Ottoman Empire were unlikely to say the least.⁵¹ In the aforementioned works they are crushed by the wheels of the wagon of the Church; the more fortunate ones are depicted receiving books with the word of God.

These triumphs, featuring ships or wagons, with ecclesiastic hierarchies shown on board, are linked to the idea of the ancient triumph, which was already used in the triumphal entries of the Habsburgs⁵² and to the Triumph of the Eucharist, which was presented in images conforming to Imperial policy as *Patrocinium Austriacum*. This is the case in some paintings by Cristóbal de Villalpando⁵³ such as the *Triumph of the Church* (1686, Metropolitan Cathedral, Mexico City) or the *Triumph of the Eucharist* (c. 1700, Museo Regional de Guadalajara, Mexico), which bear witness

Fig. 6.5. Cuzqueño painter, *Triumphal Wagon with San Francisco Solano as Seraphicus Atlas*, late 17th century, Cochabamba (Bolivia), church of San Francesco, picture by Maria Vittoria Spissu. (Plate 10, p. 328)



to the widespread consensus, achieved by the inventions by Rubens – like the *Triumph of the Church over Fury, Discord and Hatred*⁵⁴ (1625–26, Museo del Prado), commissioned in 1625 by the Archduchess Isabel Clara Eugenia for the Monastery of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid – which were translated into tapestries and then disseminated through prints and engravings.⁵⁵

These paintings responded to the need to “shock and awe,” through elaborate compositions, based on bombastic hierarchies, distance, and authority; as in the *Triumphal Wagon with San Francisco Solano as Seraphicus Atlas* (fig. 6.5) (late 17th century, Cochabamba, Bolivia, church of San Francesco), a pompous and crowded ideological visualisation, designed to be an instrument of counter-Reformation propaganda and evangelisation, in support of the Immaculate Conception (*Patrona Hispaniae*) and to exalt the Franciscan Order and the Spanish Habsburgs.⁵⁶ Such triumphal wagons, often charged with crushing Otherness, re-modulate – in the form of the wagon, usually used in processions – the morphology of the actual Ship of Church.

See for example *The ship of the militant Catholic Church*, by Pieter van der Borcht, published by Adriaen Huybrechts (c. 1560–1608, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum). The etching, made in a climate of highly-charged conflict and controversy between Catholics and Protestants in the Netherlands, represents the Roman Church, with the Pope at the helm, accompanied by high-ranking functionaries. The excluded are, or are being thrown, in the water, just like the Moors, Turks and heretics, who fall under the wheels of the wagons in the paintings. In this etching we have heretics, unbelievers, tyrants and, above it all, those who blow adverse winds: the enemies of

the Trinity, “*Mundus, Caro, et Diabolus*” (the world, the flesh and the Devil), with the addition of False Doctrine. The people with trumpets in the crow’s nest spread the *Verbum Dei*, while the ship is well armed to repel the assault of the smaller ships carrying the false dogmatists.

Among the prints on the same subject we have *The Christian Ship* (1570–77, London, The British Museum) by Hans Weigel (after Matthias Zündt, *The Apostle Ship*, 1570).⁵⁷ In the foreground is a semicircle of unbeliever horsemen attacking the ship. The long prayer on the bottom border of the woodcut recalls the martyrdom and persecution of Christians. The mainmast of the ship corresponds to the cross of Christ. The enemies are wearing turbans and brandishing scimitars, a clear reference to the Turkish menace. Inevitably the usurpers of Jerusalem and the heretics end up in the water, under the blows of oars. For all the thrilling action, the ship is not depicted as being at the mercy of the seas, thus conveying an extremely trustful dimension to the crossing. As it was produced around the time of the Battle of Lepanto, this setting may evoke the eastern Mediterranean, where one was much more likely to run the risk of attacks by Turks. The presence of a baptismal font on the same ship indicates the desire to induce the infidel to convert, while the city skylines, in ruins or in flames, bring to mind Damascus and Constantinople. Christ on the altar allows His blood to flow into the baptismal font, bringing to mind the benefits of the *Fons Vitae* or *Pietatis*. At the same time communion is being celebrated with wine and hosts, a clear reference to the sacraments. That the pilgrimage is an armed one is suggested by the fluttering presence of a flag, identifiable by the banner of the Crusades or of the Cross of St. George.

A similar case is the print by Jean Michel Moreau (1741–1814), *Typus Religionis* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, RESERVE QB–201 (171)-FT 5).⁵⁸ These eloquent images fully meet the need to impose a convincing and structured visualisation of the ecclesiastical apparatus, directly charged with sailing the seas on missions of evangelisation. The triumphal ship/wagon can in fact be compared to the idea of “*Europa portátil*” (Baltasar Gracián, *El Criticón*, 1651). In the center of the print we see a great galleon that is particularly crowded. One of the more original features of the work is the supremacy of the Jesuits over the other embarked religious orders, each one represented by its founder. The ship, loaded down like an Ark, is taking the guardians of the faith to safety, and at the same time it is being attacked by heretics, unbelievers, apostates and sinners. The dove of the Holy Spirit guides the ship towards its destination: the harbor of Redemption. All the inscriptions refer to virtues, like the proper habits of a good Christian: contemplation, meditation, prayer, humility and charity, or the gift of wisdom and intelligence. The

The militant potential is expressed by the presence of the Archangel Michael with his sword unsheathed. The Triumph of the Church is accompanied by angels with the instruments of the Passion, by the founders of the major religious orders, by the Evangelists, while also taking part in the voyage are a number of saints, including Ignatius of Loyola and Francis of Paola. There are two anchors, the *Bona Voluntas* and the *Desiderium Paradisi*. In the boats of the heretics are characters far removed from the local context, like Luther⁶¹ and Calvin. The triumph of the faith is also signaled by the destruction of the temple of Apollo and Hercules in the foreground; by the three youths saved from martyrdom in the furnace, to which they had been condemned for refusing to worship the statue of Nebuchadnezzar; by the conversion of the Turks of Constantinople; by the conversion of Paul before Damascus; by the struggle on horseback between the Emperor Heraclius and the Persian Khosrow. The ship is at the center of an eloquent picturing, where the simultaneous narration of historical events, often relating to Mediterranean or European matters, in which the Catholic Church triumphed, is apt to function as a warning for the civilisations of the New World and as a driver for new conversions.

Conclusions

The depiction of the devout *indio* kneeling, as witness to the benefits of the faith, before a miraculous image becomes commonplace,⁶² bringing to mind both the benevolent representation of the Jew Judas, kneeling and penitent, and also the image of the converted Muslim in the folio of the *Cantigas*. The identity in the baptism scenes, identifiable by the costumes, does not correspond to a stigmatised religious otherness, but instead contributes, with its recognisability historicised and docile, to the presentation of an idealised social cohesion. The enemy can therefore be tamed, and is susceptible to become, as in the *Map of Cuauhtlantzinco*⁶³ (c. 1650–1700, New Orleans, Tulane University, The Latin American Library), an ally and vicar of Spanish authority.

The triumphal wagons, effectively paraded in procession, like the ones in the paintings, transform the idea of the Ship of Church, reiterating the image of the ineluctable and legitimate conversion activities of the missionary hierarchies, through a composition both celebratory and intimidatory. These Ibero-American paintings portray representatives of the geographic and cultural worlds that were actually or potentially converted by the missionary orders. The paintings respond to the policy of images implemented on an amplified scale, both by the Habsburg Empire and by the ecclesiastic hierarchies, engaged as they were in extra-European campaigns of

evangelisation.⁶⁴ That is why the outsiders, either submerged by the surging waves or crushed by the wheels of processional wagons, are recycled Turks and Muslims (now accompanied by idolaters), fictionally shifting their threat from Europe to the New World.

The imposition of an “authoritarian emotive regime,” finally, becomes a valid solution for disciplining the “interior landscape” and territorial domains, while the act of baptism takes on the tones of a negotiation. These persuasive images of baptisms and triumphs re-actualise not only the imposition of an order founded on inclusion and exclusion, but also an orchestrated set of complementary emotions,⁶⁵ one designed to create a new “emotive community” of converts evangelised by leveraging reverential dread and promises of “*venturoso brío*”.

NOTES

1. Translated by Colin Michael Ryan. This essay forms part of the dissemination activities of the research project: “Communities of Concord: Building Contentment and Belonging through Emotional Images in Early Modern Europe and Beyond,” acronym COMCON. This project has received funding from the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No 101028785. This essay reflects only the author’s view and the Agency is not responsible for any use that may be made of the information it contains.
2. Faria Paulino and Rui, *Tesouros Artísticos da Misericórdia do Porto*.
3. Périer-D’Ieteren, *Colyn de Cotter*, 155–56; Périer-D’Ieteren, “Colyn de Cotter,” 323–25.
4. Porfírio, “Portugal and the North,” 156–59.
5. Pereira, “Armes divines,” 47–56; Custódio, “Book of Hours,” 85–96.
6. Dias, *The Manueline*.
7. Displayed on the occasion of the exhibition (Bozar, 27 February – 23 June 2019): Smeyers and Van Boxelaere, *Prints in the Age of Bruegel*.
8. Pérez Preciado, *La Fuente de la Gracia, una tabla del entorno de Jan van Eyck*.
9. Pereda, “Eyes that they should not see,” 113–55.
10. See: Project for the Engraved Sources of Spanish Colonial Art, “Fons Vitae” “1210A/1210B” “1210A/2232B” “142A/142B” “1597A/1597B” “1597A/1648B” “1373A/1373B,” in PESSCA, accessed January 23, 2020, <http://colonialart.org>.
11. Jurkowlanec, “The Crucified Christ,” 187–209.
12. Papaldo, “Simbologie battesimali controriformate,” 131–38.
13. Alcalá, “La pintura en los virreinos americanos,” 15–68.
14. Vargaslugo, *Imágenes de los naturales*.
15. Cuadriello, “El origen del reino,” 50–107; Cuadriello, “Un entresiglo de culturas,” 233–57.
16. Alcalá, “A Call to Action,” 594–617.
17. Rudy, “Virtual pilgrimage through the Jerusalem cityscape,” 381–93.

18. Leibsohn, "Colony and Cartography," 264–81; Mundy, "National Cartography and Indigenous Space in Mexico," 380–88; Martínez Marín, "Los códices mexicanos de época colonial," 10–71 (44–5).
19. Princeton University Library, Garrett Mesoamerican Manuscripts, Ms. 19; Wood, "Pictorial Images of Spaniards," 23–59. See also: *Aztec Map on Deerskin*, Princeton University Library, Garrett Mesoamerican Manuscripts, no. 21, 1500s, 1280 x 1380 mm, with another baptismal scene.
20. Cabañas Moreno, *Huellas del arte japonés en Nueva España*, 297–319; Ocaña Ruiz, "Nuevas reflexiones sobre las pinturas incrustadas," 125–76.
21. Gruzinski, *The Eagle & The Dragon*.
22. Joye et al., *La construction sociale du sujet exclu*, 169–78.
23. Renoux-Caron et al., *Les Jésuites et la monarchie catholique*.
24. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*.
25. Harris, "The Arrival of the Europeans," 141–65.
26. Sant Vicent Ferrer, *Sermons*.
27. Jones, "Sermo ad conversos," 200–21.
28. Nirenberg, "Enmity and Assimilation," 137–55.
29. See also: Llopis, and Moreno Díaz del Campo, *Pintando al converso*; Llopis and Urquizar Herrera, *Jews and muslims made visible*.
30. *Las Cantigas de Santa María: Códice rico*, El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, ms. T-I-1, fol. 39r can. XXV-2, fol. 68v can. XLVI, fol. 131r can. LXXXIX, fol. 154r can. CVII, fol. 155v can. CVIII, fol. 224r can. CLXVII, fol. 252v can. CXCII; Patton, *Art of Estrangement*, 135–69.
31. See also: *Vidal Mayor* (probably by Michael Lupi de Çandiu), 1290–310, Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, ms. Ludwig XIV 6, fol. 242v.
32. Crémoux, "Las imágenes de devoción y sus usos," 61–82, 320–21, 328–29, 336–37.
33. Yarza Luaces, *Retables gòtics de la Seu de Manresa*.
34. Ortiz Valero, *Martin Bernat, pintor de retablo*, 103–26; Motis Dolader, and Lacarra Ducay, *Hebraica aragonalia*, 158–59.
35. González García, "Ferdinandus vincit," 269–78.
36. Tolan, "Exile and identity," 9–29.
37. Nirenberg, "Mass Conversion and Genealogical Mentalities," 3–41; Nirenberg, "Conversion, sex, and segregation," 1065–1093.
38. García Gómez, "Música en la conquista espiritual de Tenochtitlan," 169–85.
39. Gruzinski, *La colonisation de l'imaginaire*.
40. Cline, "The Spiritual Conquest Reexamined," 453–80.
41. Gallori, "Diego Valadés," 70–77.
42. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 79–101, 238–63.
43. Silverman, "Purgatory," 320–43.
44. Soyer, "The Public Baptism of Muslims," 506–23. See also in the same volume: Van Gent and Young, "Introduction," 461–67. See also: Soyer, "Ritualised Public Performance," 103–21. See also: Marcocci et al., *Space and Conversion in Global Perspective*.
45. William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, 129.

46. Vincent, "Pastorale de la honte," 157–76.
47. McCormack, "Discerning Tears in Early Modern Catholicism," 49–59; Christian Jr., "Provoked Religious Weeping in Early Modern Spain," 33–50.
48. Brewer-García, "Imagined Transformations," 111–41.
49. Harpster, "The Color of Salvation," 83–110; Massing, "Washing the Ethiopian or the Semantic of an Impossibility," 315–34; Massing, "Washing the Ethiopian, Once More," 335–58.
50. Russo, *The untranslatable image*, 109–42, 197–221.
51. Mujica Pinilla, *La imagen transgredida*, see the images on pages 69, 75, 107, 108, 152, 192, 251, 269, 272, 274, 275, 336, 337, 378, 391, 410, 441, 488, 492, 524.
52. See for example: Hans Burgkmair, *The Triumph of Emperor Maximilian I*, woodcut, 1516–19, London, Victoria & Albert Museum, 29404:132. See also: Peters, "Processional print series in Antwerp," 259–70.
53. Fernández de Calderón, *Cristóbal de Villalpando*.
54. Vergara, *Spectacular Rubens*; Libby, "The Solomonic Ambitions".
55. Hyman, "Inventing Painting," 102–35; Hyman, *Rubens in Repeat*.
56. On St. Francis Seraphicus Atlas, from an idea by Rubens and its diffusion in the Catholic Iberian world, see: Schütze, "The politics of Counter-Reformation," 555–68.
57. Chipps Smith, *Nuremberg: a Renaissance city*, 272.
58. Meurgey de Tupigny, *Le "Typus religionis"*.
59. Baker-Bates, "From Iberia to the Americas," 34–73.
60. Displayed on the occasion of the exhibition (March 19, 2016 – January 03, 2018): Long, *Doctrine and Devotion*.
61. Mayer González, *Lutero en el paraiso*.
62. Alcalá, "La imagen del indio devoto," 227–49.
63. Wood, "Nahua Christian Soldiers," 254–87.
64. See the forthcoming book and essay by García Brosseau, *Nagas, Naginis y Grutescos*; and García Brosseau, "Ships, Pulpits, and Processional Carts".
65. See: Graham and Kilroy-Ewbank, *Visualizing Sensuous Suffering*; Garrod and Haskell, *Changing Hearts*; Graham and Kilroy-Ewbank, *Emotions, Art*.

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- Canvas of St. Pedro Ixcatlán*. Princeton University Library, Garrett Mesoamerican Manuscripts, Ms. 19.
- Las Cantigas de Santa María: Códice rico*. El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, ms. T-I-1.
- Typus Religionis*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, RESERVE QB-201 (171)-FT 5.
- Vidal Mayor* (probably by Michael Lupi de Çandiu), 1290–310. Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, ms. Ludwig XIV 6, fol. 242v.

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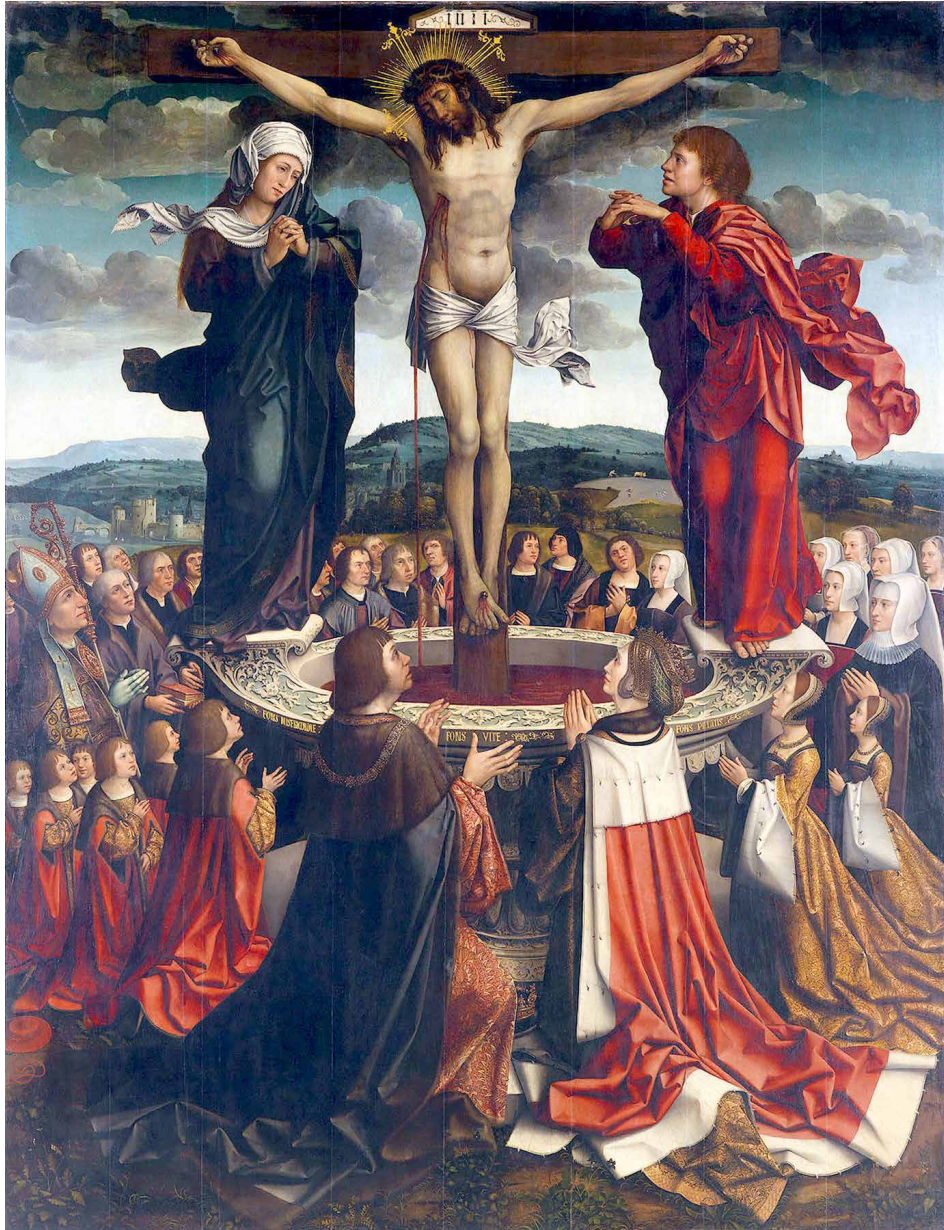


Plate 6. Colijn de Coter (attributed to), *Fons Vitae* (Fountain of Life), 1515–17, Porto, MMIPO – Museu da Misericórdia do Porto, picture by Maria Vittoria Spissu. (Fig. 6.1, p. 114)



Plate 7. Novo-hispano painter, *Baptism of the native chiefs of Tlaxcala*, 17th century, Tlaxcala, sacristy of the Cathedral of Our Lady of the Assumption, picture by Maria Vittoria Spissu. (Fig. 6.2, p. 115)



Plate 8. José Vivar y Valderrama (attributed to), *Baptism of the high chief Cuahtémoc* ("Bautizo de Ixtlixóchitl"), 1752, Mexico City, Museo Nacional de Historia, Castillo de Chapultepec, picture by María Vittoria Spissu. (Fig. 6.3, p. 116)

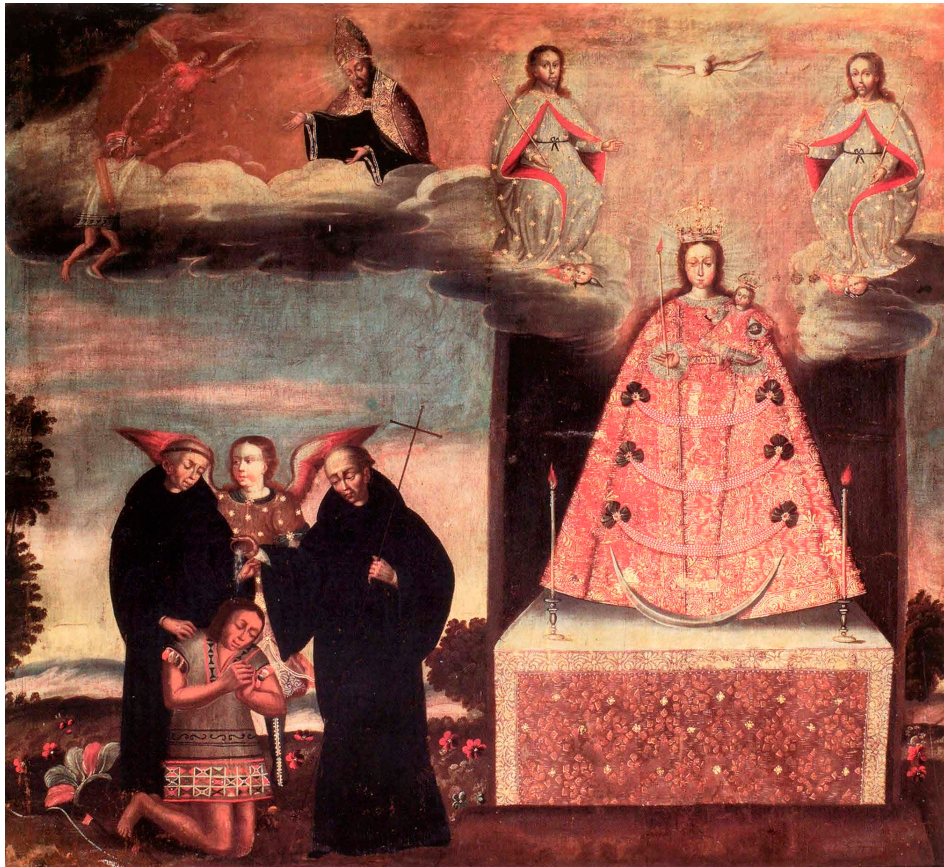


Plate 9. Cuzqueño painter, *Augustine friars baptizing an Inca nobleman / Conversion of an Indian nobleman by Marian inspiration*, c. 1700–30, Lima, Museo de Arte, picture by Maria Vittoria Spissu (Fig. 6.4, p. 118)

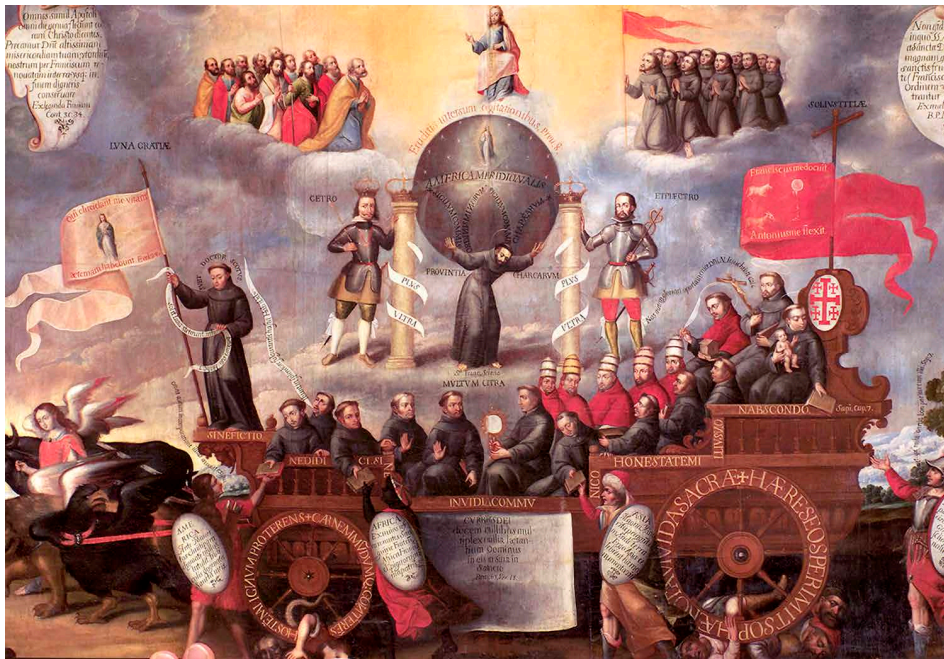


Plate 10. Cuzqueño painter, *Triumphal Wagon with San Francisco Solano as Seraphic Atlas*, late 17th century, Cochabamba (Bolivia), church of San Francesco, picture by Maria Vittoria Spissu. (Fig. 6.5, p. 122)



Plate 11. Novo-hispano painter (Miguel Jiménez?), *Vessel of Mystic Contemplation*, 17th century, Tepetzotlán, Museo Nacional del Virreinato, picture by Maria Vittoria Spissu. (Fig. 6.6, p. 124)