“A Christian image causes in us desire for virtue and horror of vice”: Persuasion, Masculinities, and Visual Culture in the Context of Spanish Colonial Expansion

Daniel Santiago Sáenz

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Art History

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of Master of Arts (Art History) at

Concordia University

Montréal, Québec, Canada

Unceded Kanien’kehá:ka territory

August 2018

CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY
School of Graduate Studies

This is to certify that the thesis prepared

By: Daniel Santiago Sáenz

Entitled: "A Christian image causes in us desire for virtue and horror of vice": Persuasion, Masculinities, and Visual Culture in the Context of Spanish Colonial Expansion

and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts (Art History)

complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the final examining committee:

_____ Chair
Dr. Johanne Sloan

_____ Examiner
Dr. Cynthia Hammond

_____ Thesis Supervisor
Dr. Steven Stowell

Approved by

_____
Dr. Kristina Huneault, Graduate Program Director

_____
Dr. Rebecca Taylor Duclos, Dean, Faculty of Fine Arts

Date: _____

Abstract

"A Christian image causes in us desire for virtue and horror of vice":
Persuasion, Masculinities, and Visual Culture in the Context of Spanish Colonial Expansion

Daniel Santiago Sáenz

This thesis examines the discursive role that portrayals of masculinities, both hegemonic and deviant, played in the colonization and christianization of Indigenous peoples in New Spain, as well as the perpetuation of European imperialism in the years following the conquest. The thesis takes as case studies the portrayal of sodomy in the *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1558–1585) and of heteronormative masculinity in *Los desposorios de la Virgen* (1645–1652) by Spanish-born painter Sebastián López de Arteaga (1610–1652). Drawing from artistic theory of the period, this work contextualizes both case studies within larger discussions of (homo)sexuality and the nature of religious images to argue that European colonizers sought to extend the influence of Euro-Catholic colonialism into the intimate lives of Indigenous people.

Resumen

«Una imagen cristiana causa en nosotros deseo de la virtud y aborrecimiento del vicio»: Persuasión, masculinidad y cultura visual en el contexto de la expansión colonial española

Daniel Santiago Sáenz

Esta tesis examina la función retórica que las representaciones de las masculinidades, tanto hegemónicas como disidentes, jugaron en la colonización y cristianización de las poblaciones indígenas en la Nueva España, así como la perpetuación del imperialismo europeo en los años posteriores a la conquista. La tesis toma como casos de estudio la representación de la sodomía en la *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1558–1585) y de la masculinidad heteronormativa en *Los desposorios de la Virgen* (1645–1652) del pintor español Sebastián López de Arteaga (1610–1652). En conversación con la teoría artística de la época, este trabajo contextualiza los estudios de casos con discusiones más amplias sobre la (homo)sexualidad y la naturaleza de las imágenes religiosas para argumentar que los colonizadores europeos intentaron extender la influencia del colonialismo eurocatólico en la vida íntima de los pueblos indígenas.

Acknowledgements

There is no doubt in my mind that this thesis would not have come to fruition without the help, guidance, and support of many individuals. First and foremost, I would like to express my most heartfelt gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Steven Stowell, for his unwavering support throughout my undergraduate and graduate degrees, and for his critical responses to the ideas presented in this thesis. A few lines cannot do justice to the time and effort that Dr. Stowell has put into refining my initial drafts, guiding me in many aspects of academia, and going well above and beyond his duties as a thesis supervisor. I am extremely thankful and remain indebted to him. I would also like to thank Dr. Cynthia Hammond, my reader, whose helpful criticism and keen eye for detail allowed me to think about my material and writing in different and enlightening ways. I am also extremely thankful for her encouragement and enthusiasm over the past few years.

I am also thankful to the scholars who pushed me to think about my material and about art history more generally in critical ways, most notably Drs. Heather Igloliorte, Johanne Sloan, Nicola Pezolet, and Angela Vanhaelen, whose courses allowed me to explore new methodologies and exciting subjects. También quisiera agradecer a la Dra. Alena Robin, quien ha sido una maravillosa amiga y mentora en el campo del arte virreinal latinoamericano. I would also like to thank Dr. Kristina Huneault, the Graduate Program Director, for her support and enthusiasm, which facilitated the transition into art history and graduate school. I am also indebted to Dina Vescio, Candice Tarnowski, Dr. Anna Waclawek, Tina Montandon and Munit Merid for their help in the past few years and for smoothing out some rough patches.

I would like to recognize the support I received from the staff at the Biblioteca Palafoxiana, the Museo de Arte Religioso Ex Convento de Santa Mónica, and the Biblioteca Franciscana. Although much of the material consulted did not make it into the final version of the thesis, I am nonetheless grateful for their hospitality during my research trip in August 2017. Thanks also to Ana Masut for kindly allowing me to use the ico-D Secretariat office space during the final stages of writing this thesis; I appreciated the much-needed change of scenery and the company.

I would like to express my gratitude to my friends and colleagues for their friendship and camaraderie over the past few years. To Marnie Guglielmi-Vitullo, my best friend, who has put up with me, for better or for worse, and who has taught me much about the value of friendship. To my dear friend Tiawentí:non Canadian, for her unconditional friendship and patience. To Estelle Wathieu, for her emotional support and wisdom. To Tal-Or Ben-Choreen and Braden Scott for their company and attentive ears. And to my M.A. cohort, for putting up with my lack of understanding of contemporary art, and especially to Sarah Amarica and Danielle Miles, whose friendship made me love the past two years in the program.

Quisiera también agradecer de todo corazón a mis padres, Clara E. Tabares y Hugo H. Sáenz, por sus sacrificios, los cuales me han permitido caminar el camino en el cual me encuentro hoy, and to Alexey Lazarev, my loving partner, for walking part of the way with me.

Lastly, I would like to acknowledge the financial support I received from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Fonds de recherche du Québec–Société et culture, the Faculty of Fine Arts Fellowship, and the Concordia University Special Entrance Award.

To those who have been,
and who continue to be,
persecuted, expelled from homes and churches, punished and murdered,
for what is only a manifestation of our individuality

"It is no doubt ironic that one of the most homophobic and intolerant religious institutions should have produced such an amazing pantheon of attractive masculine figures. One of the great internal contradictions, and also one of the most attractive and enticing qualities, of Roman Catholicism remains its remarkable ability to negate the erotic while boldly affirming it in its art and rituals. This is expressed most evidently in the central figure of Christ himself, but it also finds strong echo in all those chaste bearded men or nubile martyred youths who fill the ranks of its blessed."

– Donald L. Boisvert, *Sanctity and Male Desire: A Gay Reading of Saints*

Table of Contents

List of Figures

8. Theodor de Bry, *Balboa throws some Indians, who had committed the terrible sin of sodomy, to the dogs to be torn apart*, 1594, engraving from Bartolomé de las Casas, *Narratio regionum Indicarum per Hispanos quosdam deuestatarum verissima* (Frankfurt: De Bry and Saurii, 1598). Image and information sourced from Deborah A. Miranda, "Extermination of the Joyas: Gendercide in Spanish California," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 16: 1–2 (2010): 258.

9. Bernardino de Sahagún and Collaborators, illustration accompanying the entry for *sodometico paciente*, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (*Florentine Codex*), 1558–1585, Book 10, Chapter 11, Folio 26, ink on paper. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. Image borrowed from the World Digital Library, https://www.wdl.org/en/item/10096/

10. Sebastián López de Arteaga, *Los desposorios de la Virgen*, 1645–1652, oil on canvas, 244 x 167 cm. Mexico City: Museo Nacional de Arte. Image sourced from https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/dwHsNsMXp9zQtA

11. Giotto, *Marriage of the Virgin*, c. 1303, fresco, 200 x 185 cm. Padua, Scrovegni Chapel (Arena Chapel). Image sourced from https://www.wikiart.org/en/giotto/the-marriage-of-the-virgin

12. Perugino, *The Marriage of the Virgin*, 1500-1504, oil on wood, 234 x 185 cm. Caen, Musée des beaux-arts de Caen. Image sourced from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Marriage_of_the_Virgin_(Perugino)

13. José de Ribera, *Saint Joseph*, ca. 1635, oil on canvas, 71,8 x 61,9 cm. Montréal, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Montréal. Photograph by author.

14. Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *Marriage of the Virgin,* c. 1665-1670, oil on mahogany panel, 72.2 x 55.4 cm. London, The Wallace Collection. Image from Concordia University's Visual Collections Repository.

Introduction

This thesis examines the visual representation of masculinities in the Spanish Empire from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth centuries. During this period, Europeans believed that images, particularly religious ones, were useful and persuasive tools that could facilitate the process of colonization and conversion in the Americas. Moreover, they believed that images could influence the sexual behaviour of viewers, so they created negative images of inappropriate masculinity to discourage indulgence in deviant expressions of sexuality. The thesis is concerned with a particular expression of deviant masculinity: sodomy, a behaviour which Europeans believed to be prevalent in the 'New World.' They also put in place a positive exemplar which sought to encourage proper expressions of masculine behaviour, such as heterosexual marriage and abstinence from sexual temptation. This will be exemplified in this thesis by images of St. Joseph. By focusing on Europe, mainly Spain and Italy, and New Spain, a Spanish colony in the Americas that occupies the territory known today as Mexico, this research examines the artistic and intellectual exchanges between the 'Old' and 'New' worlds during the age of European colonial expansion, as well as the wide range of ideas regarding religion and morality that travelled across the Atlantic. In the pages that follow, I contend that because Europeans in the early modern period believed images could influence the behaviour of beholders, writers and artists of the period created representations of sodomy and of heterosexual monogamy to establish both negative and positive models of masculine behaviour in New Spain. Through these representations of ideal or appropriate masculinity, Europeans sought to undermine pre-Hispanic expressions of sexuality and gender structures, thereby extending the influence of Euro-Catholic colonialism into the intimate lives of Indigenous people. By studying contemporaneous writings on art, I examine the intended outcome of these portrayals, rather than their efficiency or their actual impact upon Indigenous peoples. The focus here is therefore on the discursive violence of the images that make up my case studies.

I am aware of my privilege and positionality as a white-passing Latino and settler on unceded Kanien'kehá:ka territory. As result, I do not seek to speak about the consequences of colonialism on behalf of those who have carried the burdens and legacies of European imperialism. Instead, I position myself as a co-resistor in the struggle against colonialism and

imperialism led by Indigenous scholars and activists. Specifically, I aim to contribute to ongoing discussions on the (de)construction of colonial, heteropatriarchal masculinity in the Americas.

Masculinities: Hegemonic and Deviant

The framework of this thesis consists on comparing and contrasting positive and negative exemplars of masculine behaviour. I use the term 'hegemonic' to refer to the preferred or ideal masculinity, and the term 'deviant' to refer to a masculinity that is frowned upon and discouraged. At this point, I wish to provide further information on what I mean by hegemonic and deviant masculinities throughout the thesis. The writings of Australian sociologist Raewyn Connell (also known as R.W. Connell) has greatly informed my discussion of masculinity in this thesis. She develops a typology of masculinities to better understand the relations among different embodiments of masculine behaviour and classifies them as either hegemonic, subordinate, complicit, or marginalized.[1] Within this typology, Connell places homosexuality under the category of subordination and writes that

> Oppression positions homosexual masculinities at the bottom of a gender hierarchy among men. Gayness, in patriarchal ideology, is the repository of whatever is symbolically expelled from hegemonic masculinity, the items ranging from fastidious taste in home decoration to receptive anal pleasure. Hence, from the point of view of hegemonic masculinity, gayness is easily assimilated to femininity. And hence—in the view of some gay theorists—the ferocity of homophobic attacks.[2]

Homosexuality encompasses whatever is at odds with the performance of masculine behaviour and the satisfaction of patriarchal values. By embodying what is rejected from dominant masculine behaviour, subordinate masculinity and homosexuality are often seen as feminine. Accordingly, in chapters one and three, I provide a more in-depth discussion of European reactions to sodomy in early modern and colonial contexts, demonstrating how they perceived a relationship between homosexual behaviour and femininity.

Beyond subordination, I suggest that it is fruitful to examine sodomy in terms of deviance. On an ontologically-constitutive level, a form of deviance serves to define and affirm a form of virtue; virtue is by definition that which vice is not.[3] As such, deviance allows societies

---

[1] R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 76–77.
[2] Connell, 78.
[3] John Macionis and Linda Gerber, *Sociology* (Toronto, Ontario: Pearson Canada Inc., 2010), 200.

and individuals to draw moral boundaries; that which is deviant is wrong and immoral and thus a virtuous or moral person will behave in a non-deviant way. Should a form of deviance be serious enough, it will force society to unite and react against it in an organized or systematic way.[4] Punishment, therefore, reaffirms social solidarity by taking vengeance on a common offender, who has previously been identified and framed as a deviant. In doing so, punishment of deviancy reaffirms collective values and world-views, thus working as a social glue and maintaining solidarity in a given society.[5]

In one of the primary social contexts examined in this thesis, colonial Mexico, proper orthodox sexuality was equated with "potentially procreative sexual desire that would have taken place within the bonds of matrimony […]."[6] As such, anything that deviated from the religious and sexual norms of the period was categorized as a religious crime or illicit sexual practice. By deviating from the norm, sodomy (or deviant masculinity) posed a threat to the moral integrity of a community and to the patriarchal order, an action that ought to be punished, thereby reifying a society's concept of hegemonic masculinity. As one of its case studies, this thesis examines the condemnation of deviant masculinity in a New Spanish codex titled *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1558–1585) which portrays Indigenous masculinities through an Euro-Catholic framework of sin.

On the other hand, I argue that portrayals of Saint Joseph embodied a hegemonic masculinity. Connell defines this form of masculinity as "the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women."[7] This desired or ideal cultural expression of masculinity can only claim authority when it is supported by institutional power.[8] It is therefore my contention that New Spanish portrayals of sodomites as deviants and of Saint Joseph as the epitome of male virtue worked

---

[4] Leon Anderson, *Deviance: Social Constructions and Blurred Boundaries* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017), 85.
[5] Ken Thompson, *Émile Durkheim* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 60.
[6] Zeb Tortorici, "'Heran Todos Putos': Sodomitical Subcultures and Disordered Desire in Early Colonial Mexico," *Ethnohistory* 54:1 (2007): 37.
[7] Connell, *Masculinities*, 77.
[8] Connell, 77.

together to embody and reify the answer to the problem of the legitimacy of Euro-Christian patriarchal values and of European imperialism in the Americas.

Religious Images, Persuasion, and the Construction of Colonial Reality

Chapter two of this thesis will engage writings on art from the early modern period, but by way of introduction, I would like to briefly examine the extent to which religious images played a significant role in constructing social reality in colonial Latin America from a theoretical point of view. Many of the primary sources examined in this thesis were consulted in the original Spanish. Where this is the case, I have provided a translation and have included the original Spanish text in a footnote. As such, all translations are mine unless a translated edition is cited.

David Morgan, a historian and theorist of religious art, has provided a set of useful ways to think about the role of religious art in the social construction of reality, which can potentially advance our understanding of colonial encounters. He begins his 2005 book, titled *The Sacred Gaze: Religious Visual Culture in Theory and Practice,* by asserting that the study of images matters because "[t]he things we do with our bodies have a direct impact on the state of our consciousness. Body and mind are not separate entities, but enmeshed in one another. Touch one and you touch the other; calm one and you calm the other."[9] Thus, the images we see, the rituals we perform before them, the stories we hear about them, have a direct influence on our consciousness and behaviour and can serve as mediums of influence.

Similar views are espoused in early modern art theory. For instance, in the *Practical Discourses on the Most Notable Art of Painting* (1672), the Spanish art theorist Jusepe Martínez (1600–1682) discusses a painting of the Annunciation by Federico Barocci of Urbino. He mentions that the artist "completed this picture with such veneration that he would have moved the most depraved."[10] Painters, Martínez argues, should take the gravity and decorum of sacred images seriously, lest their figures inspire derision rather than respect.[11] As an example, and as a practical guideline, he writes that "paintings created for veneration should not contain extravagant postures and outlandish gestures, as these inspire indecency rather than

---

[9] David Morgan, *The Sacred Gaze: Religious Visual Culture in Theory and Practice* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2005), 2.

[10] Jusepe Martínez, *Practical Discourses on the Most Noble Art of Painting*, trans. Zahira Véliz, eds. David McGrath and Zahira Véliz (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2017), 59.

[11] Martínez, 59.

veneration."[12] Religious images, therefore, have the potential to elicit pious, virtuous feelings, as well as indecent ones.

Spanish painter and theorist Vicente Carducho (1585–1638), like Martínez, emphasizes the importance and transformative nature of images, and in his text we can perceive how important this theory of images would be for the Indigenous populations of the Americas. For him, the eyes and the ears are the weakest parts (*partes mas flacas*) of the senses and therefore the most accessible to the Devil. The Church, however, offers antidotes for these weaknesses. For the ears, the Church offers sermons; for the eyes, holy images.[13] He writes that "through painting, the Holy Church aims to convert creatures [human beings] towards their Creator, as seen in conversions made through holy images and other acts of piety [devotion]."[14] Carducho, moreover, argues that sacred images are given to the devout by the Church "so that through them, like through common and clear language, and like an open book, declarations and proper understanding may be given, especially to women and idiotic people that do not know how to, or cannot read."[15] Religious images, therefore, facilitate the conversion and instruction of those who Carducho deems less likely to understand the written or spoken word; his example being women and *gente idiota*. To further explain his assertion Carducho brings our attention to fray Diego de Valadés who "says that Indians are taught and given to comprehend the doctrine through paintings."[16] The persuasive nature and didactic potential of Christian images was therefore acknowledged and deployed on both sides of the Atlantic to convert non-Christians.

---

[12] Martínez, 71–72.

[13] Vicente Carducho, *Diálogos de la pintura: su defensa, origen, esencia, definición, modos y diferencias*, ed. Francisco Calvo Serraller (Madrid: Ediciones Turner, 1979), 365–366. "Que el demonio como tan astuto, por ninguna parte acomete mas fuerte y ordinariamente, que por los sentidos exteriores del oido, y de la vista, como partes mas flacas; para los quales tiene la Iglesia prevenidos remedios; para el oido, los sermones y doctrinas santas y puras; para la vista, el uso de las santas imagenes tan veneradas y usadas en la Religion Christiana."

[14] Carducho, 137. "Tambien le pertenece la nobleza moral, supuesto que tiene por motivo, y objeto la virtud y honestidad, pues por medio de la Pintura ha pretendido la santa Madre Iglesia, se convierta la criatura a su Creador, como se ha experimentado en conversiones hechas por medio de santa Imagines, y otros actos de devocion."

[15] Carducho, 356. "que nuestra Santa Madre la Iglesia nos manda el uso de las santisimas imagenes, que basta; que por este medio, como por lenguage comun y claro, y como por libro abierto se declara y da a entender mas propriamente, en especial a mugeres y gente idiota que no saben, ó no pueden leer. San Gregorio Papa mandó pintar las historias de los santos Evangelios en las Iglesias, para que sirviesen de maestros que enseñasen y declarasen aquellos misterios."

[16] Carducho, 357. "Frai Diego de Valdés dize en su historia, que a los indios predican y dan a entender la doctrina con Pinturas." In this passage, Carducho refers to Valadés as Valdés. The importance that Carducho accorded to religious images in the conversion process rests on the fact that he did not consider Valadés as merely an example, but rather, as Spanish art historian Juan Luis González García suggests, as an authority. See Juan Luis González García, *Imágenes sagradas y predicación visual en el Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Ediciones Akal, S.A., 2015), 271.

As Carducho's text suggests, the persuasive and didactic role of religious images is a significant component of the colonial project. Art historian Juan Luis González García points out that in the colonial Latin American context, declaring one's faith in Christ was not enough proof of successful conversion, so theologians of the period urged neophytes to learn Christian dogma through catechism before baptism.[17] It is during this pedagogical process that religious images played a pivotal role. Because Indigenous peoples also relied on visual communication, the use of religious images allowed neophytes to learn and understand theological truths.[18] On this matter, historian Nora E. Jaffary has argued that "religious art played a vital role in the proselytizing efforts of the Counter-Reformation Catholic church. Visual representations served as some of the most important sources from which the illiterate—in Mexico and elsewhere—learned about religious concepts and biblical personages."[19] Due to language barriers and the pressing need Europeans felt to christianize Indigenous peoples, images were at the forefront of evangelizing and colonizing efforts and were used to spread Christian teachings.[20]

Christian images also played a significant role in the Spanish destruction of Indigenous 'idolatry,' an endeavour that was deemed necessary to establish and spread the Catholic faith in New Spain.[21] In fact, historian Carlos Alberto González Sánchez argues that for Europeans, the evangelization of the 'New World' had no other goal but to to "liberate" Indigenous peoples from their "ingenious" and "malevolent" idolatries and, consequently, to impose Christian religion and civilization upon them.[22] Art historian Manuel Aguilar-Moreno agrees that European settlers and missionaries wished to fight against what they perceived to be a false religion and to spread the Christian faith in the Americas, but he adds that "[e]vangelization and conquest would go hand in

---

[17] González García, *Imágenes sagradas,* 254.
[18] González García, 260; 262.
[19] Nora E. Jaffary, *False Mystics: Deviant Orthodoxy in Colonial Mexico* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 114.
[20] Serge Gruzinski, "Images and Cultural Mestizaje in Colonial Mexico," *Poetics Today* 16 (1995): 54–55.
[21] González García, *Imágenes sagradas,* 274.
[22] Carlos Alberto González Sánchez, *El espíritu de la imagen: Arte y religión en el mundo hispánico de la Contrarreforma* (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 2017), 256.

hand."[23] This desire to evangelize Indigenous populations was deemed a necessary part of the conquest and colonization of the Americas.

Structure of the Thesis

Having addressed a few theoretical issues that underlie this research, the following pages will further investigate how images of hegemonic and deviant masculinities furthered the work of Spanish imperialism in New Spain. This thesis is divided in four main sections. The first chapter contextualizes the thesis by examining understandings of and reactions to sodomy in early modern Europe and colonial Mexico. This discussion will help the reader better understand the mechanisms underlying European accusations of sodomy in the Americas and will set the context for our case studies.

The second chapter delves into artistic literature of the period and examines how European writers conceptualized images as a practical tool that could aid in the conversion of Indigenous populations, and also the the eradication of vice, including homosexual behaviour. An important contribution of this chapter is the examination of Italian Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti's (1522–1597) *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images* (1582) in the context of European colonial expansion, where I postulate that his writings on art were informed by the European encounter with the Americas and can therefore help us better understand the production of images in this context.

The third chapter examines the textual and visual portrayal of sodomy in the *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1558–1585), also known as the *Florentine Codex*, an ethnographic project led by Franciscan friar Bernardino de Sahagún (1499–1590). The chapter demonstrates that the portrayals of sodomy in the *Florentine Codex* work in tandem with European accusations of homosexual behaviour and sexual voracity which sought to establish a just cause for Spanish imperial rule. Although discussions of sodomy and masculinity in colonial Latin America have mostly relied on textual and archival documents, it is my contention that the study of visual culture can provide rich opportunities to further our understanding of the relationship between Spanish imperialism and sexuality in New Spain.

---

[23] Manuel Aguilar-Moreno, "Evangelization and Indigenous Religious Reactions to Conquest and Colonization," in *The Cambridge History of Religions in Latin America*, eds. Virginia Garrard-Burnett, Paul Freston, and Stephen C. Dove (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 90–91.

The fourth and last chapter provides a case study centred on a painting titled *Los desposorios de la Virgen* (1645–1652) by Spanish-born painter Sebastián López de Arteaga (1610–1652). In opposition to portrayals of sodomy, images of Joseph at the time of his marriage to the Virgin showcased and promoted a Euro-Catholic and heteronormative ideal of sexual and gender roles. This facilitated the establishment of a Christian sexual ethos and would therefore extend the work of colonialism into the intimate lives of Indigenous peoples.

Chapter 1: Early Modern European Views on Sodomy at the Time of Colonial Expansion

This chapter provides an overview of moral discourses in Spain, and of European attitudes towards, and reactions to, sodomy in the early modern period, as well as European accounts of homosexual behaviour in the Americas. My main purpose here is to examine how, in the early modern period, deviant expressions of masculinity—namely male effeminacy and same-sex sexual interactions—came to be associated with social evils, particularly in Spain at the time of Iberian colonial expansion. This contextual information will set the foundation for further examination of how artists and art theorists saw images as powerful and efficient tools to counteract deviant sexual behaviour.

An examination of discourses on sodomy and deviant masculinities provides historians with rich material to understand European views on manliness, sexuality, and morality. This is very much the case in the Spanish Empire; early modern and colonial discourses on sodomy provide evidence to think critically about Euro-Catholic anxieties and pre-conceptions. This thesis takes an approach similar to the one employed by historian Federico Garza Carvajal in his study of sodomy in early modern Spain and colonial Mexico, in that it does not aim to provide an account of the lived experiences of those who engaged in homosexual behaviour.[1] Rather, this study considers how representations of masculinity could have aided in the entrenchment of heteropatriarchal, Catholic, Euro-centric views in the so-called New World.

Throughout the chapter and the rest of this thesis, I use a number of terms to describe sexual activity and desire between two men. These include 'homosexual activity,' 'homosexual behaviour,' 'homosexuality,' and 'sodomy.' By relying on 'homosexuality' or 'homosexual' I do not mean to suggest that the identity politics associated with the contemporary use of the term 'homosexual' apply to early modern societies. The homosexual/heterosexual dichotomy is a fairly recent development in the West, and other cultures and historical periods organize sexuality and sexual behaviours in different ways.[2] However, I rely on the first three terms because they signify an encounter between people of the same sex that is fuelled by sexual

---

[1] Federico Garza Carvajal, *Butterflies Will Burn: Prosecuting Sodomites in Early Modern Spain and Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), 2.

[2] Michael Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 11.

desire, that is, "the desire to engage in, discuss, or fantasize about acts which particular societies considered sexual or erotic."[3]

Terms like 'sodomy' and 'sodomite' are more historically-appropriate for our study, for they were used in the theological and juridical language of medieval and early modern Europe to describe sexual relations between people of the same sex. It is important to note, however, that sodomy in religious and juridical language also referred to other 'unnatural' sexual acts, including non-procreative sexuality, such as masturbation, but also anal and oral sex between people of the opposite sex, as well as bestiality.[4] Consequently, not all sodomy in the early modern period referred to homosexual activity. This means that the term 'sodomite' is not a perfect substitute for our contemporary use of the term 'homosexual'.[5] In this study, however, 'sodomy' and 'sodomite' refer to homosexual activity and to someone who engaged in such acts, respectively.

1.1: The European Context

Although the period known as the Spanish Golden Age (ca.1492–1659) brings to mind notions of literary, artistic, and economic flourishing, these years witnessed a great deal of social, political, and economic turmoil. Art historian Charlene Villaseñor Black has noted that

> The country suffered not only catastrophic wars, epidemics, and other disasters, but also significant population losses. Spain's loss of power, prestige, land, and people in the seventeenth century caused it to slip from its position as the most powerful monarchy in the world. Although Spain was not the only country to suffer population decline, a wide European phenomenon in the seventeenth century, it was one of the slowest to recover from the decline's effects.[6]

Spain experienced a series of economic troubles, expensive and unsuccessful wars, as well as a significant decline in population as a result of the plague. Moreover, a series of natural disasters led to the destruction of crops which, coupled with the loss of workers, caused major food

---

[3] Pete Sigal, "(Homo)Sexual Desire and Masculine Power in Colonial Latin America: Notes Toward an Integrated Analysis," in *Infamous Desire: Male Homosexuality in Colonial Latin America* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 8.

[4] Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships,* 11.

[5] Rocke, 12.

[6] Charlene Villaseñor Black, "Love and Marriage in the Spanish Empire: Depictions of Holy Matrimony and Gender Discourses in the Seventeenth Century," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 32:3 (2001): 662, www.jstor.org/stable/2671506.

shortages in the country and eventually led to inflation.[7] Historian Elizabeth A. Lehfeldt has made similar remarks and has argued that the main characteristics of this decline were "all too clear" and that Spanish commentators "confronted all of these crises and offered a host of solutions."[8] In what follows, I examine how early modern commentators in Spain and Italy connected this decline to deviant masculine behaviour.

Writers of the period often linked Spain's decline to the improper or unmasculine behaviour of men. In a sermon preached in 1635 in Baena, Spain, the Dominican friar Francisco de León criticized the masculine behaviour of his time:

> Where are the men in Spain? [...] *What I see are effeminate men* [...] *I see men converted into women*. [...] These days I do not see captains, nor soldiers, nor money, nor honourable occupations in the most important duties, but rather a perpetual idleness, and pleasures, entertainments, eating, drinking, and dressing exquisitely and expensively (italics mine).[9]

León's remarks express a deep concern with the perceived effeminacy of Spanish men at the time, signified in his sermon by their engagement in worldly and mundane pleasures, rather than in honourable occupations, such as the military. That León's critique of feminized masculinity occurred in the context of a sermon is significant; his classification of proper and improper masculine behaviour was concomitant with ideals of masculine Christian behaviour.

Lehfeldt claims that León's remarks are not isolated or uncommon during this period, but rather participate in larger and ongoing discourses on masculine behaviour in seventeenth-century Spain.[10] Hispanist Rosilie Hernández has made a similar remark, noting that for Luisa de Padilla, a seventeenth-century noblewoman and moralist, the corruption of the nobility was linked to the corruption of the nation.[11] Padilla echoed the León's criticism, asking:

> who could stop shedding tears, looking at these men, so opposed to [the truths of masculine virtue/behaviour], from twenty-four hours in one day, they waste ten sleeping, four wandering about and attending plays, six in illicit conversations, and

---

[7] Villaseñor Black, 662.
[8] Elizabeth A. Lehfeldt, "Ideal Men: Masculinity and decline in Seventeenth-Century Spain," *Renaissance Quarterly* 61:2 (2008): 465, www.jstor.org/stable/10.1353/ren.0.0024.
[9] Francisco de León quoted in Lehfeldt, "Ideal Men," 463.
[10] Lehfeldt, "Ideal Men," 464.
[11] Rosilie Hernández, "Luisa de Padilla's *Lágrimas de la nobleza*: Vice, Moral Authority, and the Woman Writer," *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 87:7 (2010): 897–898, DOI:10.1080/14753820.2011.529287

> the rest listening to compliments, and no hours dedicated to God, whose law they neither know nor profess?[12]

Padilla's critique of noblemen of the period draws connections between vice, improper, feminine behaviour, and lack of Christian piety. This statement, like that of León, is part of a larger discourse in seventeenth-century Spain that interpreted a perceived weakening social fabric as a result of spiritual and material corruption. In the eyes of these moralists, the feminization of men went hand in hand with corruption, immorality, and the weakening of the state.

Although León's and Padilla's discourses are concerned with the feminization of Spanish men, it is possible to connect them more broadly to concerns over homosexual activity between men. In his examination of early modern sodomy prosecutions in Spain and New Spain, Garza Carvajal has noted that "the textualization of sodomy as a sin and a crime against nature, a sort of contagious pestilential plague often imputed to be imported from abroad, and the perceptions of sodomites as vile, contemptible, even effeminate men—all constituted discourses of Spanish manliness."[13] In early modern Spain, male effeminacy could signify a proclivity towards sodomy.

The association between male effeminacy and homosexual behaviour was not uncommon in early modern Spain. Examining the sermons of early sixteenth-century friar, Pedro de León, Garza Carvajal argues that for the preacher, "the wearing of non-traditional dress and attire, especially new fashion from Italy, or even a young man's 'beauty' […] also predisposed one to the 'pestilent vice' [sodomy]."[14] In fact, dressing "in a manner that ventured outside the common, ordinary dress of honorable men," the preacher argued, could lead people to believe one was a sodomite and, as such, he urged that "if you are not one of them, then don't dress like them."[15] The association between homosexual activity and effeminacy gained popularity throughout the century and became widespread in moralist discourse by the mid-seventeenth century.[16]

---

[12] Laura de Padilla quoted in Rosilie Hernández, "Luisa de Padilla's *Lágrimas de la nobleza*": 904. "[M]as quién dexara de derramar lágrimas viéndolos tan opuestos a estas verdades, que de las veynte y quatro horas del día, gastan las diez en dormir, quatro en pasear, y oír las comedias, seys en conversaciones ilícitas, las demás escuchando adulaciones, y ninguna para Dios, que parece no conocen ni profesan su Ley?"

[13] Garza Carvajal, *Butterflies Will Burn*, 2.

[14] Garza Carvajal, 62.

[15] Garza Carvajal, 62–63.

[16] Garza Carvajal, 68.

Effeminacy, in fact, became a *sine qua non* component of homosexual behaviour in Spanish culture, implying the "loss of virile characteristics in one's aspect, dress, and manners; decadence, degradation, or corruption."[17] Because effeminate behaviour was believed to signify same-sex desire, condemnations of male effeminacy were also condemnations of homosexuality.

Spanish and New Spanish discourses on masculine behaviour were heirs to a longer Euro-Catholic tradition that condemned sodomy and deviant masculine behaviour. As such, a brief overview of key European reactions to homosexual behaviour and deviant masculinities helps to examine the Spanish imperial context. The late historian John Boswell has argued that same-sex desire and homosexual activity became the subject of increasing prosecution and marginalization in the twelfth century.[18] Perhaps one of the most notorious and vicious attacks on homosexuality, or in Boswell's terms, on "gay people," was French theologian Peter Cantor's (d. 1192) *On Sodomy* (*De vitio sodomitico*). Cantor insists that "Of only two sins is it said that their gravity 'cries out' to heaven from earth: murder and sodomy" and that whereas God created humankind as male and female for the sake of reproduction, "murderers and sodomites destroy and slay them as mortal enemies and adversaries of God and the human race […]."[19] Cantor further highlights the horror of the sin of sodomy by recalling the story of Sodom and Gomorrah, explaining that God punished sodomites "temporarily with fire sent from heaven, as he will ultimately exact justice through the fires of hell."[20] According to Boswell, Cantor's attitude towards sodomy and same-sex desire stands in stark contrasts to the openness and tolerance that characterized much of European society in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.[21]

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries witnessed increasingly-negative attitudes towards homosexual behaviour in Europe. Historian Michael Rocke has examined the war on sodomy waged by Franciscan Friar San Bernardino of Siena (1380–1444). In sermons preached in Florence, Bernardino insisted on the dangers of sodomy, which according to Rocke included

---

[17] *Diccionario Histórico* quoted in Garza Carvajal, *Butterflies Will Burn*, 70.
[18] John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 276–277.
[19] Peter Cantor, *On Sodomy* (*De vitio sodomitico*) quoted in Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality*, 375.
[20] Cantor quoted in Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality*, 375 . See also Boswell's discussion of Cantor's *On Sodomy* and its legacy in the High and Late middle ages, 277–302.
[21] Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality*, 269.

"gambling, blasphemy of God and the saints, gluttony, frequenting taverns and other places of ill repute, lying, mistrust, deception, theft […]."[22] Perhaps more strikingly, Bernardino suggests a connection between male homosexuality and decline in population, likely the result of the plague, telling Florentines that "You don't understand that this is the reason you have lost half of your population over the last twenty-five years. Tuscany has the fewest people of any country in the world, *solely on account of this vice* (italics mine)."[23] By framing improper male behaviour, in this case sodomy, as the root cause of other social and personal evils, Bernardino's discourse resembles later Spanish moralists examined earlier in this chapter. For León, Padilla, and Bernardino, deviation from masculine standards entails a danger and opens up the door to a myriad of consequences in the form of depravity—be it men converted into women, idleness, or gluttony—and of social problems, such as economic, military, and population decline.

Similar discourses on sodomy were present in medieval Spain. *Las siete partidas*, the thirteenth-century Spanish moral code compiled by Alfonso X of Castile (r.1252–1284), called for the death penalty for those engaged in "sins against nature."[24] Title XXI of *Las siete partidas* defines sodomy as "a sin of which men are guilty by having intercourse with one another contrary to nature and to ordinary custom," an act that brings about many evils "in the country where it is committed […] and a bad reputation results therefrom, not only to those guilty of it but also to the land where it is permitted."[25] This legal code associates sodomy with social evils, reminiscent of Bernardino's later allegations. The belief that sodomy would bring social evils perhaps influenced León's and Padilla's association of unmasculine behaviour with the decline of Spain in later years.

Negative attitudes towards homosexual activity in Spain materialized in the form of horrifying punishments. Historian Richard C. Trexler noted that in keeping with *Las siete partidas*, "Once sodomy was proven in court, the active party should be castrated and then

---

[22] Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships,* 36.
[23] San Bernardino of Siena quoted in Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships,* 36.
[24] Mary Elizabeth Perry, "The 'Nefarious Sin' in Early Modern Seville," *Journal of Homosexuality* 16:1–2 (1989): 68, 70, DOI: 10.1300/J082v16n01_04.
[25] Samuel Parsons Scott, trans., *Las Siete Partidas, volume 5: Underworlds: The Dead, the Criminal, and the Marginalized,* ed. Robert I. Burns (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 1427.

stoned to death – an element of popular justice thus introduced into the procedure."[26] The punishment for sodomy, however, changed in the fifteenth century to involve death by fire, a penalty that bears striking resemblance to Cantor's ideas.[27] Historian Mary Elizabeth Perry has noted that in Seville, between 1567 and 1616, seventy-one men were burned to death for committing the *pecado nefando*, or nefarious sin, which encompassed both sodomy and bestiality. The association between sodomy and bestiality was not new; Cantor had claimed that both sodomy and bestiality ought to incur the death penalty.[28] Death by fire was a punishment reserved exclusively for those convicted of the nefarious sin, heretics, and those who renounced the faith.[29] Perry posits that prosecution of sodomy may have served to relieve some of the anxieties of the period, as for example when seven men accused of sodomy were burned in 1579 following an explosion in Triana that destroyed forty houses and cost over fifty lives, a catastrophe that many believed to signify the end of the world.[30] In this example there is again, therefore, a perceived relationship between improper masculine behaviour, in this case sodomy, and the experience of social evils. Considering that many of the examples discussed thus far involve the issue of population decline—in the form of plague, famine, wars, and deathly accidents—it is tempting to suppose that early modern Europeans persecuted sodomy because, like murderers, sodomites were thought to "destroy and slay" God's creation.

1.2: The European Encounter with Sodomy in the Americas

The European views on homosexual activity discussed above informed encounters between colonists and Indigenous peoples in the Americas. The third chapter of the thesis will provide a more focused case study on the topic, but it is useful to understand how European discussions of sodomy in the Americas linked this behaviour to similar social evils, as observed in earlier

---

[26] Richard C. Trexler, *Sex and Conquest: Gendered Violence, Political Order, and the European Conquest of the Americas* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 45. It should be noted that *Las siete partidas* exempts from punishment those who were "compelled to perform the act by force" and boys under the age of fourteen for not only are they "not to blame" but also minors "do not understand how serious the offence is." See title XXI, law II of *Las siete partidas.*

[27] This punishment might have its origins in the late fifteenth century, when the Catholic Monarchs, Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon, no longer required the castration that preceded the hanging or stoning of the accused, calling instead for his burning on the spot of the crime. See Trexler, *Sex and Conquest,* 46.

[28] Perry, "The 'Nefarious Sin' in Early Modern Seville," 67. For Cantor's association of sodomy to bestiality, see Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality*, 377.

[29] Perry, "The 'Nefarious Sin' in Early Modern Seville," 67.

[30] Perry, 76.

examples, and used this rhetorically as a justification for colonization. For example, writing about the *pecado nefando* (the nefarious sin, i.e., sodomy), Garza Carvajal explains how

> over the course of the early modern period in New Spain, colonial officials, jurists, theologians, and other writers associated signifiers like the diabolic, anthropophagy, inebriation, and effeminacy with perceptions of the *pecado nefando*. By insisting on an inherent link between these multiple cultural constructs, historians, chroniclers, and theologians fabricated one more 'just cause' for the permanence of colonial rule in the Indias.[31]

In addition to effeminacy, colonists linked sodomy in the Americas to other 'deviant' behaviours —namely inebriation, cannibalism (or anthropophagy), and idolatry. These new associations, which colonists reported back to Europe in the form of letters, codices, prints, and conquest accounts, served to create a 'justification' for imperial rule in the Americas. These accounts often deployed great generalizations, such as a report by a *conquistador anónimo*, which indicated that "all inhabitants of New Spain and those of other adjoining provinces ate human meat, they all commonly practiced sodomy, and they drank in excess."[32] The perception of sodomy in the Americas here becomes linked with anthropophagy.

The European associations between sodomy and anthropophagy may also derive from the Euro-Christian worldview. For instance, in his *Summa Theologica* (1265–1274), the thirteenth-century Italian Dominican friar and Doctor of the Church, Saint Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) wrote that "from custom some take pleasure in cannibalism or in the unnatural intercourse of man and beast, or other such things, which are not in accord with human nature."[33] For Aquinas, pleasure derived from sodomy with an animal, "or other such things," which likely included masturbation, sodomy between men or between women, and non-reproductive intercourse[34] was concomitant with pleasure derived from anthropophagy. So, when the *conquistador anónimo*

---

[31] Garza Carvajal, *Butterflies Will Burn*, 132.

[32] *Conquistador anónimo* quoted in Garza Carvajal, *Butterflies Will Burn*, 138.

[33] Thomas Aquinas, *The Summa Theologica*, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (New York: Benzinger Bros., 1947), I-II, Question 31, Article 7, https://dhspriory.org/thomas/summa/

[34] Aquinas, I-II, Question 154, Article 11. On the unnatural vice: "This may happen in several ways. First, by procuring pollution, without any copulation, for the sake of venereal pleasure: this pertains to the sin of 'uncleanness' which some call 'effeminacy.' Secondly, by copulation with a thing of undue species, and this is called 'bestiality.' Thirdly, by copulation with an undue sex, male with male, or female with female, as the Apostle states (Rm. 1:27): and this is called the 'vice of sodomy.' Fourthly, by not observing the natural manner of copulation, either as to undue means, or as to other monstrous and bestial manners of copulation."

claims that inhabitants of the 'New World' practice sodomy and anthropophagy, he is drawing from a larger intellectual Euro-Christian tradition that likened both behaviours.

Thus far, we have examined the extent to which early modern Europeans linked sodomy to other deplorable behaviours, such as anthropophagy and effeminacy in Europe and in the Americas, and also framed it as the cause of social ills, such as population decline. With these discourses in mind, the following chapter examines some of the artistic literature of the period. The goal here is twofold. First, to establish a relationship between Counter-Reformation writings on art, specifically Paleotti's *Discourse*, and European colonial expansion. I will contend that Paleotti sought to encourage the creation of images that would respond to universal needs, specifically that of converting Indigenous peoples in the Americas and of discouraging vicious behaviour, including homosexual activity, on both sides of the Atlantic. Second, to shed light on the power of images, especially the belief that some images could encourage virtue over vice, a notion that will be more fully explored in relation to images of Saint Joseph in the third chapter of the thesis.

Chapter 2: European Art Theory in the Context of European Colonial Expansion

The myriad of writings on art that emerged following the Council of Trent have provided fertile ground for art historians to examine the relationships between art and spirituality in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This chapter takes part in these discussions by focusing on Italian Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti's *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images* from 1582 and, to a lesser extent, on Spanish art theorist Francisco Pacheco's (1564–1644) *Arte de la pintura*, published posthumously in 1649. Focusing on the social contexts that shaped Paleotti's and Pacheco's views on the nature and purpose of Christian painting, I contend that in the wake of the Counter-Reformation, images came to play an important role in the process of conversion—from non-Christian to Christian, but also from sexually-deviant to virtuous behaviour. I begin by situating Paleotti's *Discourse* in the context of sixteenth-century Catholic Reform and colonial expansion. Finally, I examine Paleotti's and Pacheco's insights on the goal of Christian painting and on the visual representation of virtues and vices. In this final section, I analyze how these two authors believed that Christian images could aid in converting viewers, leading them away from vice—in our case, sodomy—and encouraging a proper Christian behaviour and sexual ethos.

2.1: Paleotti's *Discourse* and Catholic Reform in the Sixteenth Century

In 1582, Gabriele Paleotti, Cardinal and Archbishop of Bologna, published a treatise titled *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane* (*Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images,* hereafter referred to as *Discourse*).[1] Although in his introductory remarks to the reader Paleotti claims that his treatise should be distributed and implemented only in Bologna,[2] his ideas and language have a more universal undertone. A close reading of Paleotti's *Discourse* reveals that this text responds to the intellectual and artistic exchanges that developed in the context of Iberian expansion. In the pages that follow, I read Paleotti's treatise as an example of early modern mentalities around images and their relationships to larger issues of conversion and sexuality, but I do so with the understanding that it may have had a limited impact upon the actual images made for and in the Americas.

---

[1] Ruth S. Noyes, "Post-Tridentine Image Reform and the Myth of Gabriele Paleotti," *Catholic Historical Review* 99:2 (2013): 244. For the purpose of this thesis, the 2012 translation into English was consulted. See Gabriele Paleotti, *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images,* trans. William McCuaig (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2012).

[2] Noyes, "Post-Tridentine Image Reform," 244.

In writing his *Discourse*, Paleotti wished to expand upon the statements of the Council of Trent (1545–1563), specifically the twenty-fifth session which focused, in part, on the cult of saints and the use of images. Confronted with the challenges posed by the Protestant Reformation, which harshly criticized the Catholic use of images as a form of idolatry, or simply as an inability to properly teach the faith,[3] the Council of Trent reaffirmed its stance on the efficacy of religious imagery.[4] The decrees from the Council of Trent asked bishops to teach the importance of images[5] and to supervise the production of orthodox art in their diocese.[6] The Council established that it is important for bishops to instruct the faithful "concerning the intercession and invocation of saints; the honour (paid) to relics; and the *legitimate use of images*: teaching them, that the saints, who reign together with Christ, offer up their own prayers to God for men; that it is good and useful suppliantly to invoke them […] (italics mine)."[7] Thus, the Council of Trent reaffirmed the importance of Christian images, particularly those of saints, as a legitimate component of devotional practices.

The Council pushed back against accusations of idolatry by providing a brief, though important, rationale for the use of religious imagery. Protestant reformers saw images as unscriptural and often conflated the veneration of Christian imagery with improper idolatry.[8] In response to this attack, the Council of Trent proclaimed that

> images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother of God, and of the other saints, are to be had and retained particularly in temples, and that due honour and veneration are to be given them; not that any divinity, or virtue, is believed to be in them, on account of which they are to be worshipped; or that anything is to be asked of them; or, that trust is to be reposed in images, as was of old done by the Gentiles who placed their hope

---

[3] David Morgan, *The Forge of Vision: A Visual History of Modern Christianity* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015), 29.

[4] Jonathan Brown, "The Word Made Image: Religion, Art, and Architecture in Spain and Spanish America, 1500-1600," in *The Word Made Image: Religion, Art, and Architecture in Spain and Spanish America, 1500–1600,* edited by the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum (Boston: Trustees of the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 1998), 11.

[5] Council of Trent, *The canons and decrees of the sacred and oecumenical Council of Trent, celebrated under the sovereign pontiffs Paul III, Julius III and Pius IV,* trans. J. Waterworth (London: Dolman: 1848), Session XXV, https://history.hanover.edu/texts/trent.html

[6] Pamela M. Jones, "Art Theory as Ideology: Gabriele Paleotti's Hierarchical Notion of Painting's Universality and Reception," in *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450–1650*, ed. Claire Farago (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 128.

[7] Council of Trent, Session XXV.

[8] Carol Piper Heming, *Protestants and the Cult of the Saints in German-Speaking Europe, 1517-1531* (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2003), 9–10.

> in idols; but because the honour which is shown them is referred to the prototypes which those images represent; in such wise that by the images which we kiss, and before which we uncover the head, and prostrate ourselves, we adore Christ; and we venerate the saints, whose similitude they bear […].[9]

Thus, the use of images ought to be understood as a means to an end—that is, as a means to venerate the figures 'whose similitude they bear'—but the images should not be ends in themselves, which would be dangerously similar to idolatry. Because these images bear the likeness of saints, they become bridges between heaven and earth, connecting the devout with the saint in question.

The Council of Trent expounded further on the pedagogical role of images of saints. The Council decreed that

> by means of the histories of the mysteries of our Redemption, portrayed by paintings or other representations, *the people is instructed, and confirmed in (the habit of) remembering, and continually revolving in mind the articles of faith*; as also that great profit is derived from all sacred images, not only because the people are thereby admonished of the benefits and gifts bestowed upon them by Christ, but also because the miracles which God has performed by means of the saints, and their salutary examples, are set before the eyes of the faithful; that so they may give God thanks for those things; *may order their own lives and manners in imitation of the saints*; and may be excited to adore and love God, and to cultivate piety (italics mine).[10]

Religious art, therefore, serves as a mnemonic device. These images serve as constant reminders of the 'articles of faith', encouraging the devout viewer to live a proper Christian life. Images of saints, moreover, serve as role models that Christians ought to imitate and fashion their lives accordingly, thus making saints important examples of Christian behaviour. Because saints were people who, due to their virtuous behaviour, held a special place in the celestial hierarchy, they could be conjured as soldiers to defend the faith from those who wished to attack it. Moreover, due to the pedagogical role attributed to images, these were understood to be efficient tools to bring the faithful back into the Church's fold.

---

[9] Council of Trent, Session XXV.
[10] Council of Trent, Session XXV.

For Paleotti, as we will see, the emphasis on the pedagogical role of images and on the potential of Christian imagery to influence behaviour will be quite significant in his *Discourse,* particularly as it bears upon the potential to evangelize Indigenous peoples in the Americas.

2.2: Paleotti's *Discourse* and the 'Discovery' of the Americas

At the time of writing, to the best of my knowledge, Paleotti's *Discourse* has not been widely examined in light of trans-Atlantic travel. Scholars have instead turned to this treatise for insights on European paintings executed after the Council of Trent.[11] In her contribution to *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450-1650*, art historian Pamela M. Jones sets out to "uncover the hierarchical world view that Paleotti's discussion of universality and reception presupposes," arguing "that Paleotti's world view has philosophical and sociological implications of fundamental importance for (...) the encounter between the 'Old and New Worlds.'"[12] Jones calls attention to Paleotti's characterization of painting as a universal language and his emphasis on the efficacy of visual communication over the verbal or textual.[13] Given the language barriers that European missionaries encountered in the Americas, Paleotti's emphasis on the universality of painting and his preference for visual communication are two

---

[11] In his introduction to the English translation, Italian historian Paolo Prodi does not delve into the matter, instead portraying a helpful and concise background to Paleotti's life and oeuvre, see Prodi's introduction to Paleotti, *Discourse*, 1–42; Art historian Ruth S. Noyes argues that Paleotti's *Discourse* had a limited reach as it was published in two occasions only (Italian, Bologna, 1582; Latin, Ingolstadt, 1594) as opposed to Jan Molunus' *De historia SS. imaginibus*, which greatly informed Paleotti's treatise and was published six times from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, see Noyes, "Post-Tridentine Image Reform," 247; The writings of Spanish art historians Juan Luis González García, Carlos Alberto González García, and Felipe Pereda discuss Paleotti's influence in the arts and writings on art of the Counter-Reformation in Spain, but these discussions do not address the so-called New World, see González García, "Spanish Religious Image Theory and Post-Tridentine Theory," *Hispanic Research Journal* 16:5 (2016): 441–455, DOI: 10.1080/14682737.2015.1124189; González García, *Imágenes sagradas*, González Sánchez, *El espíritu de la imagen*, and Felipe Pereda, "The *Veronica* according to Zurbarán: Painting as *figura* and image as *vestigio*," in *Knowledge and Discernment in the Early Modern Arts*, eds. Sven Durpé and Christine Göttler, 125–162 (London and New York: Routledge, 2017); Art historian Steven Stowell has examined the writings of Paleotti in light of broader spiritual traditions, thus placing the *Discourse* within a larger religious context and demonstrating the influence of Patristic and medieval texts on sixteenth-century understandings of Christian art, although the potential relationship between Paleotti's Discourse and the 'New World,' however, falls outside the scope of Stowell's argument and is therefore not addressed, see Steven Stowell, "Invention and Amplification: Imagining Sacred History," in *The Spiritual Language of Art: Medieval Christian Themes in Writings on Art of the Italian Renaissance* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 252–253; in an essay on Renaissance art theory in the wake of the global turn, art historian Alessandra Russo examines the influence of the 'New World' in the writings of two art theorists: Felipe de Guevara's *Comentarios de la pintura* and Francisco de Holanda's *Da pintura antigua,*. Although an exciting and informative examination of Iberian art theory in the context of colonial expansion, Russo's text does not examine or mention Paleotti's *Discourse,* see Russo, "*De Tlacuilolli:* Renaissance Artistic Theory in the Wake of the Iberian Global Turn," in *Art History in the Wake of the Global Turn*, eds. Jill Casid, Aruna D'Souza, 20–39 (Williamstown: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014).

[12] Jones, "Art Theory as Ideology," 127.

[13] Jones, 127-128.

important tenets in the evangelization of Indigenous peoples. Although Jones' discussion of universality in Paleotti's *Discourse* provides a solid starting point for this research, studies on the intellectual and artistic exchanges between Europe and the Americas have substantially increased since the publication of her essay, and these help to reveal the trans-Atlantic dimensions of Paleotti's text.

The universality of painting, which Jones explores in her chapter, are first mentioned in the prologue of Paleotti's *Discourse.* He writes that

> it is said of orators that, in order to achieve greatness and excellence, they must be versed in every faculty and science, since it may fall to them to reason about, and persuade the people of, anything and everything. The same could justifiably be said of painting, which adapts, like a book for the people, to any topic in heaven or on earth […].[14]

Images are therefore versatile tools of communication, which can convey any given information to any given group of people. Because the goal of Christian painting according to Paleotti is to "recall men from vice and bring them to the true cult of God,"[15] painters should have a moderate knowledge of the things they seek to represent in order to properly persuade viewers. From the beginning, Paleotti sets the tone for painting's role as a universal book for the persuasion of the people that can adapt to any topic.

Paleotti's emphasis on the universality of painting is particularly relevant in the context of the Church's desire to convert Indigenous peoples of the Americas. He writes that

> [c]ertain it is that by means of pictures the holy Church relieves their infirmity *in every corner of Christendom* because, once the articles of faith have been explained to them at least roughly, *they understand them and retain them in memory more easily by means of pictures*. Otherwise they would be left with no means of enjoying the holy sacraments and would have just cause to lament that, the use of books in any language being freely available to anyone who wants to learn, whether it be Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Slavonic, or Indian, they alone were barred from the one language they can understand, meaning pictures, which to them serve as books (italics mine).[16]

---

[14] Paleotti, *Discourse*, p. 48. In this case, I am referring to page 48 of the modern English translation of Paleotti's treatise. Further references to this source will also include the specific book and chapter.

[15] Paleotti, 1.19, p. 108. The moralistic undertone of Paleotti's view on the goal of Christian painting is relevant to our discussion and will be examined in due course.

[16] Paleotti, *Discourse,* 1.24, p. 117.

Here, Paleotti refers to neophytes (or new converts), who inhabit "every corner of Christendom" (thereby implying the relevance of his thoughts beyond Bologna) and who require an explanation, however roughly, of the articles of the Christian faith. This explanation, Paleotti argues, cannot remain verbal or written, because they will retain the tenets of the faith more easily by means of pictures. This explanation brings to mind an illustration from fray Diego de Valadés' *Rhetorica Christiana,* published in Perugia in 1579, three years before Paleotti's *Discourse* (fig.1). In this illustration, we see a Franciscan friar instructing an Indigenous congregation with images of the Passion. The accompanying text explains that "because Indigenous people lacked letters, it was necessary to teach them through some illustration; hence the preacher uses a pointer to show them the mysteries of our redemption, so that later thinking by themselves, these be better imprinted in their memory."[17] Valadés was a mestizo friar who was elected as representative to the order and was sent to the Vatican in 1570.[18] It is therefore possible that Paleotti was made aware of these techniques of visual preaching.[19] Indeed, images came to enjoy a privileged position in conversion efforts. Juan de Palafox y Mendoza (1600–1659), Bishop of Puebla (1640−1655) and interim Archbishop of Mexico (1640−1642), claimed that "in the Indies it is customary to say and truly, that the *faith enters these poor natives through their eyes* (italics mine)."[20] As I continue to explain below, Paleotti's insistence on the universality of the visual exists in dialogue with contemporaneous efforts to convert non-Christians and facilitate the instruction of neophytes.

---

[17] Diego de Valadés, *Retórica Cristiana* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2003), 212 [475]. "B. Como los indios carecían de letras, fue necesario enseñarles por medio de alguna ilustración; por eso el predicador les va señalando con un puntero los misterios de nuestra redención, para que discurriendo después por ellos, se les graben mejor en la memoria."

[18] See Esteban J. Palomera's introduction to Valades, *Retórica Cristiana*, XII.

[19] It would be irresponsible to reduce Paleotti's view on the pedagogic dimension of images solely to a possible contact with Valadés' treatise. It is important to note that Paleotti's discussion of visual preaching might have developed in light of his correspondence and friendship with Carlo Borromeo, then Bishop of Milan. The Council of Trent had a deep influence on Borromeo, especially in regards to preaching, which the fifth session framed as a sine qua non duty of bishops. Borromeo would eventually come to be known for his notable preaching and for promoting good preaching in his diocese. It is therefore possible that Paleotti's views on the use of images for instruction developed in light of the Council of Trent and his correspondence with Borromeo, rather than in relation to the 'New World.' See Council of Trent, Session V: "On Preachers of the word of God, and on Questors of alms"; Stowell, "Invention and Amplification," 289–290; John O'Malley, "Saint Charles Borromeo and the Praecipuum Episcoporum Munus: His Place in the History of Preaching," in *San Carlo Borromeo: Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century*, eds. John M. Headley and John B. Tomaro (Washington: Folger Books, 1988), 149.

[20] Juan de Palafox y Mendoza quoted in Jaime Lara, *Christian Texts for Aztecs: Art and Liturgy in Colonial Mexico* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008), 44.

Paleotti further develops his argument for painting's universality in his discussion of signs. Signs, according to the Cardinal, are of two kinds:

> those classified as natural, like the smoke that issues from a fire or the footprint someone leaves, which are likewise limited in range, and those classified as artificial and accepted by convention, which are called 'given signs,' and are either characters —letters, numerals, lines, monograms—or something similar, which are not understood by all and are unknown to those who have not learned them, those who have learned them being a minority. Therefore, to satisfy more widely the common desire and necessity of signifying one's concepts to someone else, the art of forming images was invented. When seen, they are immediately recognized by everyone and serve as the common tongue of all nations.[21]

Given signs and their oral or written expression are not universal or easily grasped by everyone. In fact, only a minority, the literate, can actually understand what these signs communicate. Images, however, can be recognized and understood by "everyone" because they are "the common tongue of all nations."[22] Paleotti suggests that images can transcend nations, languages, and conventions, thus signifying at a universal, rather than local, level.

Paleotti's preference for images over the written word deserves further examination. He writes that "our concepts are represented directly through images, without mediation, whereas letters only signify words, which are signs for internal concepts"[23] and later, "it will suffice for now to recall that to the extent that pictures can be learned by everyone, without distinction, they are that much more suited to employ and make use of each of these means, which is not true of books."[24] Images, therefore, streamline the process of representation, communication, and reception. This becomes clear in his discussion of books. Paleotti writes that

> It is astonishing that, to be able to understand some book, so many different difficult things are necessary, like knowledge of the language, a teacher, capacious intelligence […]. Pictures, on the other hand, serve as a book open to the capacities of everyone because they are composed in a language common to the persons of every sort […] and so may be understood […] by all nations and intellectual levels without any teacher or interpreter.[25]

---

[21] Paleotti, *Discourse,* 1.4, p. 63.
[22] Jones, "Art Theory as Ideology," 128.
[23] Paleotti, *Discourse*, 1.5, p. 66.
[24] Paleotti, 1.5, p. 68.
[25] Paleotti, 1.23, p. 115.

According to art historian Steven Stowell, Paleotti suggests in this passage that the affective dimension of Christian painting (particularly painted Scripture) is instantaneous and by-passes the need for interpretation.[26] To be sure, Stowell notes that Paleotti is concerned with literal meaning of Scripture in art and discourages elaborate allegorical or mystical portrayals, a position that conforms to the Council of Trent's warning against allegorical exegesis and preaching.[27] To understand a book, prior knowledge of the language and of the author are necessary, as well as the time and capacity to learn. Unlike books, religious images that depict the literal meaning of Scripture are therefore accessible to all people, from all nations and intellectual levels.[28]

Beyond his concept of painting-as-universal, there are further explicit references to the so-called New World, which places Paleotti's *Discourse* within a global framework. Elaborating on the universality of religion and citing Cicero, Paleotti writes that

> 'There is no people so untamed or so savage that it does not believe in God, though it may have no capacity to know him correctly.' And those who have described the recent voyages of discovery relate that in many countries, albeit physically remote from one another and absolutely uncultivated, there are to be found peoples without letters, arts, laws, or magistrates—but not without some sort of religion.[29]

Paleotti was therefore aware of the European encounter with the Americas and of the reports that explorers sent back home. We may not be able to establish whether the 'discovery' of the 'New World' prompted Paleotti's view of religion as universal, or if it served to confirm an *a priori* belief, but it is evident from this passage that Paleotti was thinking about the European encounter with the Americas and with Indigenous spiritual traditions, brought about by 'the recent voyages of discovery,' when writing his treatise. Later in the same book, Paleotti writes that

> […] those of our contemporaries who have observed the things of the New World inform us that there were found great numbers of peoples over vast stretches of territory who had not the slightest acquaintance with either letters or writing but who used figures and depictions of things in their place. They add that once those places

---

[26] Steven Stowell, "Invention and Amplification: Imagining Sacred History," in *The Spiritual Language of Art: Medieval Christian Themes in Writings on Art of the Italian Renaissance* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 268.
[27] Stowell, 302; 305.
[28] Jones has also commented on the same topic. See Jones, "Art Theory as Ideology," 128.
[29] Paleotti, *Discourse,* 1.1, p. 55.

> came under command of Christians, the people did learn the art of letter characters and now practice it successfully.[30]

Here, once again, Paleotti demonstrates familiarity with the accounts that travelled from the New World to Europe and with the processes of westernization and christianization that took place in the Americas. This passage indicates that Paleotti might have been aware of Franciscan missionary Pedro de Gante's 1558 letter to King Philip II, where he indicates that Indigenous peoples were "without writing, without letters, without written characters and without any kind of enlightenment."[31] Paleotti's statement, however, differs from the friar's by not equating Indigenous' people unfamiliarity with writing and letters with a lack of reason or knowledge. Instead, the Cardinal points out that pre-contact populations who did not have 'letters or writing' relied on a visual symbolic system. In light of these differing views, it is possible that Paleotti's *Discourse* was influenced by the papal bull *Sublimis Deus*, promulgated by Pope Paul III on June 2, 1537, which argued against the widespread notion that Indigenous peoples in the Americas "should be treated as dumb brutes created for our service, pretending that they are incapable of receiving the Catholic Faith;" instead, Paul III countered, they "are truly men and that they are not only capable of understanding the Catholic Faith but, according to our information, they desire exceedingly to receive it."[32] In fact, the Pope had been assured by Juan de Garcés, then Bishop of Tlaxcala, that Indigenous peoples' artistic mastery, most evident in featherwork, a pre-Hispanic Mexican artistic tradition, was proof of their capacity to be christianized—in other words, their ability to produce images was a sign of their intellectual abilities.[33] It is possible, therefore that Paleotti might have been aware of these discussions regarding the humanity of Indigenous people. Paleotti's *Discourse* participates, albeit indirectly, in ongoing discussions about the christianization of the Americas in New Spain. More importantly, pre-Hispanic reliance

---

[30] Paleotti, *Discourse,* 1:12, p. 86.

[31] Quoted in Walter D. Mignolo, "On the Colonization of Amerindian Languages and Memories: Renaissance Theories of Writing and the Discontinuity of the Classical Tradition," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34:2 (1992): 325.

[32] Pope Paul III, "*Sublimus Dei*: On the Enslavement and Evangelization of Indians," Papal Encyclicals Online, accessed December 15, 2017, http://www.papalencyclicals.net/paul03/p3subli.htm.

[33] Alessandra Russo, *The Untranslatable Image: A Mestizo History of the Arts in New Spain, 1500-1600,* trans. Susan Emanuel (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), 102.

on visual over written communication lent support, or perhaps inspired, Paleotti's theory of the universality of images.

Towards the end of the treatise, Paleotti demonstrates his familiarity with the art of the New World, particularly the featherwork mentioned above. Art historian Eduardo de Jesús Douglas describes featherwork as "the art of creating two-dimensional images and designs with images sewn or glued onto a fabric, leather, wood, or reed support" and which "was associated with pre-Hispanic royal courts and temples."[34] Feather mosaics were widely executed before and after the European conquest, as evidenced by the existence of mosaics with (fig. 2) and without (fig. 3) Christian imagery. Urging painters to consider the universal utility of their profession, the Cardinal writes that

> Saint Paul the apostle, writing to the Corinthians, stated that he had accommodated himself to Jews, to pagans, to those who had the law and to those who did not, in sum to persons of all sorts, to win them all. Elsewhere, he confessed himself bound to aid Greeks, barbarians, the wise, the foolish, the perfect, and the imperfect. This example ought, we think, to move painters of sacred images, who are tacit preachers to the people, as we have said repeatedly, to struggle as hard as they can to win the mind of every viewer as much as they can and bring universal utility to all. In this they should imitate the example of those who, in the West Indies, compose images from bird feathers: they know that these feathers present different colors according to the varying light conditions and are not content for their images to succeed only in the morning light but desire them to respond as well to the light of midday, of the setting sun, and also to the light of lanterns at night.[35]

Paleotti's familiarity with feather mosaics allows us to better place his *Discourse* in the context of early modern trans-Atlantic exchanges. The Bolognese Cardinal's description of feather mosaics is reminiscent of Dominican friar and Spanish historian Bartolomé de las Casas' (d. 1566) discussion of *amantecayotl* (featherwork) in his 1555 *Apologética historia sumaria de las gentes destas Inidias* (English: *Apologetic Summary History of the People of These Indies*). In this volume, de las Casas engages in a systematic debate on the nature of Indigenous peoples.[36]

---

[34] Eduardo de Jesús Douglas, "Indigenous Painting in New Spain, ca. 1521-1600: Iconic-Script Manuscripts, Feather Paintings, and Murals," in *Painting in Latin America 1550-1820*, eds. Luisa Elena Alcalá and Jonathan Brown (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 76.

[35] Paleotti, *Discourse,* 2.52, p. 310.

[36] Cristián Roa-de-la-Carrera, "El 'Indio' como categoría antropológica en la Apologética Historia Sumaria de Fray Bartolomé de las Casas," *Confluencia: Revista Hispánica de Cultura y Literatura* 25:2 (2010): 81, https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/revista?codigo=325

Because, as we have seen, debates about the nature and humanity of Indigenous peoples relied on their artistic mastery, it comes as no surprise that de las Casas addressed featherwork in his treatise. He describes *amantecayotl* as

> the trade and art that those Mexican people know how to ply so well and perfectly, of making with natural feathers with their natural colors everything that they and all other excellent and first-rate painters are capable of painting with brushes. […] These feathers were green, red, or blonde, purple, ruddy, yellow, blue, or pale green, black and white […] on the one hand upon inspection it appears to be gilded, without containing any gold; elsewhere, it has a sheen; on the other it has a green luster, without being really green; on the other, when viewed from one side, it has a different beautiful color, and from another, a different one […] the work produces a greater variety of luster and color and more beauty, as I said, when viewed from one side and then the other; now looking at it in the sun, then in the shade, then at night, then in the day, or the twilight, at other times with low light, at other times from one side and at an angle, at others from a different one one and on the reverse.[37]

De las Casas' insistence on Indigenous artists' skill and mastery is reminiscent of de Garcés' argument, discussed previously, which equated artistic skill to rationality and the ability to learn Christian doctrine. Both writers emphasize the changing colours and luster of feather mosaics, which depend on their location and the time of the day. Given the use of similar language to describe this effect, it is possible that Paleotti was aware of de las Casas' account of *amantecayotl,* which leads us to believe that Paleotti's *Discourse* was indeed shaped by the European encounter with the Americas.

Evidence from Paleotti's treatise therefore indicates that colonial expansion and the arts of the New World had a tangible influence on European art theory and art making. This supports what art historian Alessandra Russo has written regarding Spanish and Portuguese art theory. Russo argues that artistic categories on both sides of the Atlantic are "reborn or rewritten" in the context of European colonial expansion, writing that artistic literature influenced by Indigenous arts "is therefore not an artistic theory written from 'the periphery' and mimicking the canonic one. These texts transform early modern artistic theory."[38] Paleotti's treatise participates in the

---

[37] Quoted in Russo, *The Untranslatable Image*, 85-86.

[38] Alessandra Russo, "*De Tlacuilolli*: Renaissance Artistic Theory in the Wake of the Iberian Global Turn," in *Art History in the Wake of the Global Turn*, eds. Jill Casid, Aruna D'Souza, 20–39 (Williamstown: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 33.

transformation of early modern European art theory by acknowledging the work of the *amanteca* (featherworkers) *and* by framing it as an example for the Christian painter. In this way, his artistic theory is informed by the process of colonial expansion and the contact between Europe and the Americas. The relationship between 'Old' and 'New' world art theory is therefore dialectical, a two-way street, rather than a top-down hierarchy.[39]

Paleotti's thought cannot be disassociated from the encounter between Europe and the Americas. Art historian Lia Markey has examined the cultural, artistic, and material exchanges between Italy and the Americas in the sixteenth century. She has noted that in the early sixteenth century, information from/about the Americas was very much present in Italy through textual and visual materials.[40] Although Italy was not an active participant in colonial expeditions on the same level as Spain, Portugal, France, or England, this trans-Atlantic encounter had significant influence on Italian imagination and literature of the early modern period.[41] Paleotti's *Discourse*, I contend, reflects these encounters. In fact, we can trace the Cardinal's exposure to the New World through his friendship with Ulisse Aldrovandi, a Bolognese scientist and scholar. Markey points out that Aldrovandi had an extensive library, which housed "nearly every book published in Europe about the New World […]."[42] Further archival research is necessary to determine whether Aldrovandi or Paleotti owned a copy of Valadés' *Rhetorica Christiana*, but what remains clear is that Paleotti and Aldrovandi were close friends,[43] and as such, knowledge of the Americas would have been accessible to Paleotti.

---

[39] González García arrives to a similar conclusion. He writes that "Techniques for the use of visual rhetoric were taken by the Spaniards to the Indies. There the missionaries made recourse to gesture and created an audio-visual method in the strict sense, as the contemplation of an image was invariably accompanied by a sermon explaining it. New Spain and Peru were the largest experimental laboratory for hybrid techniques of preaching. The success of the new methods developed through missionary work prompted their adaptation for use in the Catholic re-conquest of Post-Tridentine Europe. Thereby echoing such conventions, the theoreticians disseminated an idea of the sacred orator as combining the roles of both an actor and artist; someone capable to making good use of the available resources, both textual and spiritual, in order to convert souls." González García, "Spanish Religious Image Theory," 454.

[40] Lia Markey, *Imagining the Americas in Medici Florence* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016), 7–8.

[41] Markey, 7.

[42] Markey, 53.

[43] Caroline Duroselle–Melish and David A. Lines, "The Library of Ulisse Aldrovandi (†1605): Acquiring and Organizing Books in Sixteenth-Century Bologna," *The Library* 16:2 (2015): 140–141.

2.3: Vice and Virtue in Early Modern Artistic Theory

Having established the relationship between Counter-Reformation art theory—in this case, Paleotti's *Discourse*—and the 'discovery' of the so-called New World, I examine now the early modern belief that images could encourage virtue and, consequently, discourage vice. In other words, I argue that for Paleotti and Pacheco, images could be efficient tools in the fight against vices encountered in Europe and in the Americas, namely sodomy. Pacheco is known primarily for his authorship of the *Arte de la pintura* which is, according to art historian Nina A. Mallory "the richest source for the knowledge of the practice and theory of art in Spain in the early Baroque period […]."[44] Pacheco, moreover, served as the inspector of art for the Inquisition of Seville and, as such, his views and writings on art became authoritative in the Spanish Empire and clearly defined the path that orthodox Catholic art would take in the seventeenth century. Although Paleotti and Pacheco have not traditionally been examined together, I discuss some of the similarities between their treatises to further support the contention that Paleotti's ideas about the usefulness of art in the process of conversion had a global reach in artistic literature and practices.

For Paleotti, the goal of Christian painting is to inspire piety and persuade viewers to follow God.[45] Paleotti writes that painting can "recall men from vice and bring them to the true cult of God."[46] Christian painting ought to persuade viewers to abandon vice and instead live a pious life. This is, in fact, in line with the Council of Trent's decree on preaching, according to which preachers must tell their audience "with briefness and plainness of discourse, the vices which they must avoid, and the virtues which they must follow after, that they may escape everlasting punishment, and obtain the glory of heaven."[47] Pacheco's *Arte de la pintura,* takes a similar position on the goal of Christian painting. Pacheco writes that

> [b]eyond what has been said, there is another very important effect derived from Christian paintings, which concerns the Catholic painter who, acting as an orator aims to persuade the people, and bring it, by means of painting, to embrace a given

---

[44] Nina A. Mallory, *El Greco to Murillo: Spanish Painting in the Golden Age, 1556-1700* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1990), 50.
[45] Jones, "Art Theory as Ideology," 128.
[46] Paleotti, *Discourse,* 1.19, p. 108.
[47] Council of Trent, Session V, chapter 2.

> aspect/thing related to religion […] but speaking of Christian images, I say that the main goal is to persuade humankind towards piety and bring them to God.[48]

In the aftermath of the Council of Trent, the goal of Christian painting was the persuasion of the viewer and, ultimately, leading them to God. Preaching, in oral and visual forms, ought to persuade viewers to abandon vice and embrace virtue, a behaviour that would lead them to God. The similarities between Paleotti's *Discourse* and Pacheco's later treatise demonstrate that Paleotti was not alone is believing that images could affect human behaviour and encourage piety. More importantly, it shows that these ideas had an impact on an important figure who influenced Spanish painters more directly and who was therefore more influential in New Spain.

Counter-Reformation understandings of Christian painting viewed religious imagery as greatly beneficial for the devout. Discussing the good that viewers receive from images, Paleotti writes that

> […] it is impossible fully to express how fruitful images are, for they instruct the intellect, move the will, and refresh the memory of divine things, and altogether they produce in our minds effects greater and more potent than those felt from anything else in the world. They represent before our eyes, while simultaneously stamping onto our hearts, heroic and magnanimous acts, whether ones of patience, or justice, or chastity, gentleness, disdain for the world, and commiseration, and others of the same kind. Indeed, in an instant, a Christian image causes in us desire for virtue and horror of vice, which are the principal, broad roads leading us to true honor and perpetuity of glory […].[49]

This quote relates well to the Council's decree, quoted earlier, on the mnemonic and pedagogical function of images. Here Paleotti extols classic examples of Christian virtue, such as justice, patience, disdain for worldly things, and, more importantly for our discussion, chastity. Christian imagery provides compelling examples of traditional Christian virtues for viewers to fashion their lives accordingly, thus discouraging vice. Pacheco's treatise provides a similar take on the topic, arguing that

---

[48] Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura, su antigüedad y grandezas* (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel Galindo, 1866), 1.XI, 187–188. "Además de lo que se ha dicho, hay otro efeto derivado de las cristianas pintura, importantísimo, tocante al fin del pintor católico; el cual, á guisa del orador se encamina á persuadir al pueblo, y llevarlo, por medio de la pintura, á abrazar alguna cosa conveniente á la religion […] Mas hablando de las imágenes cristianas, digo que el fin principal será persuadir los hombres á la piedad y llevarlos á Dios." References to Pacheco's treatise are formatted in the same manner as those to Paleotti's text.

[49] Paleotti, *Discourse* 1.20, pp. 109–110.

> we cannot fully declare the fruit that we receive from images. Mastering understanding, moving our will, refreshing our memory of divine things. Producing in our souls the greatest and most efficient effects that one can feel about anything in the world. Showing to one's eyes and simultaneously imprinting in one's heart acts of heroism and magnanimity, or of justice, or of chastity, of meekness, of mercy, and contempt for the world. In this way, it causes in us the desire for virtue and abhorrence of vice; which are the main roads that lead to beatitude. [50]

Reading both Paleotti and Pacheco, we can begin to understand how Counter-Reformation art theory saw in Christian images the potential for recalling viewers from vice and leading them towards Christian piety. They do so by providing models of behaviour and, consequently, lead viewers to imitate said behaviours. In the context of Iberian expansion, we can speculate that Counter-Reformation art theory saw images as efficient tools to convert Indigenous peoples, encouraging them to leave behind what Europeans considered as vicious behaviours, such as idolatry, sodomy, and cannibalism, and instead encouraged them to fashion their lives according to the dogmas, (hi)stories, and examples portrayed in Christian art.

The emphasis that these Counter-Reformation artistic treatises place on virtuous and vicious behaviour allows us to put them in conversation with some of the discourses examined in the first section of the chapter. For both authors, Christian images will lead the viewer to despise vice, to detest the things of this world, and to desire virtue instead. The disdain for the things of this world is reminiscent of Padilla's and León's critiques of seventeenth-century unmasculine behaviour in Spain. As we have seen, León attacked the "perpetual idleness, and pleasures, entertainments, eating, drinking, and dressing exquisitely and expensively," whereas Padilla was concerned with men's interest in plays and idle conversation, rather than religious devotion.[51] It appears, therefore, that Pacheco and Paleotti saw in Christian images the potential to combat these behaviours by instilling in the viewer a disdain or contempt for the world and its material

---

[50] Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura,* 1.XI, p.187–188. "No se puede cabalmente declarar el fruto que de las imágenes se recibe. Amaestrando el entendimiento, moviendo la voluntad, refrescando la memoria de las cosas divinas. Produciendo juntamente en nuestros ánimos los mayores y más eficaces efectos que se pueden sentír de alguna cosa en el mundo. Representándose á nuestros ojos, y á la par imprimiendo en nuestro corazon actos heróicos, magnánimos, ora de paciencia, ora de justicia, ora de castidad, mansedumbre, misericordia, y desprecio del mundo. De tal mànera, que en un instante causa en nosotros deseo de la virtud y aborrecimiento del vicio; que son los caminos principales que conducen á la bienaventuraza."

[51] For León's statement, see Lehfeldt, "Ideal Men," 464. For Padilla's critique, see Hernández, "Luisa de Padilla's *Lágrimas de la nobleza,*" 904.

and sensual pleasures. Both authors, moreover, argue that Christian images should display examples of chastity, among others, and lead the viewer to desire virtue and to despise vice, which would include lust or sexual deviancy. Moreover, as an erudite who was involved with the Inquisition of Seville, a city that served as point of contact between Europe and the Americas, it is likely that Pacheco was aware of the accounts of homosexual activity and anthropophagy from the 'New World.' As such, it is not unlikely that their emphasis on the role of Christian images in encouraging virtuous behaviour and combatting vice was, at least partly, influenced by the encounter with the 'New World.' The portrayal of Christian stories is not a disinterested endeavour, but instead serves as a tool for the entrenchment of proper Christian behaviour.

Paleotti is deeply concerned with the portrayal of virtues and vices. For Paleotti, virtue refers to a behaviour that is concomitant with reason, such as temperance, whereas vice refers to a behaviour that deviates from human nature and is therefore contrary to reason, such as gluttony or sexual indulgence.[52] He writes that

> [o]ther than sacred and religious pictures, we do not see where the Christian painter can practice his art more splendidly or with greater profit than in representing, with all vivacity, the beauty and excellence of the virtues, those previous jewels in the house of God; or in depicting the horror and abomination of the opposing vices, the capital enemies of the virtues, and consequently hateful to God in the extreme. The perfection of Christian life depends on the pursuit of virtue and the avoidance of vice.[53]

For Paleotti, the imitating virtuous behaviour and avoiding vice is essential to living a Christian life and this process is facilitated by portraying the beauty of virtues and the horror of vices. In this way, Christian art plays a significant role in the life of the devout.

Although Paleotti acknowledges the difficulties in giving visual form to these abstract concepts,[54] he nevertheless provides a few guidelines for painters to follow. He suggests that "in

---

[52] Paleotti, *Discourse*, 2.43, pp. 281–283. Paleotti defines virtue as "an operative habit conforming to the norm of reason, inasmuch as, man being rational by nature, his actions must be regulated by reason, whence they are judged good when they are in conformity with it. And because virtue alone causes man to live by the rectitude of reason, it follows that virtue alone renders a man truly good" (281). "Conversely," he writes, "vice denotes the habit of with which one operates at a variance with reason, which is why it is said to be contrary to man's nature qua man, because, he being rational by nature, to operate virtuously, while it does not spring from the nature of the genus, nevertheless accords with the species of man. Hence, to operate outside the order of reason will be to deviate from man's nature, and that is denominated vice and sin" (281–282).

[53] Paleotti, 2.43, p.280.

[54] Paleotti, 2.43, pp 283–284.

making pictures of the virtues, the alert painter can sometimes avail himself of the images of honored persons, especially saints, extracting good meanings from them and accommodating them to his needs […]."[55] The reliance on saints as models of virtue is reminiscent of Tridentine decrees and also sheds light on the deployment of Josephine imagery in Spain and New Spain, as will be seen in the fourth chapter of the thesis. Paleotti further recommends the portrayal of saints as examples of virtues when he writes that "it is highly recommended to depict a person who excelled in the virtue that one wants to signify, or who was victorious over the vice that one wants to blame," and then, citing the Seventh Synod, he continues, "[…] if someone has fallen in love with a prostitute, the Church proposes to him the image of chaste Joseph, who execrated adultery and overcame it through temperance."[56] It is unclear whether Joseph here refers to Joseph of the Hebrew Bible, who resisted Zuleika's seduction in the Book of Genesis,[57] or Joseph the husband of Mary, who, as I discuss in the third chapter of the thesis, became a symbol of chastity in the Hispanic world and was admired for defending his wife's chastity. However, it remains that for Paleotti, portrayals of saints are an efficient and proper way to represent virtues and powerful pedagogical tools. As we will see in the fourth chapter, Paleotti urges painters to portray vices through horrendous images that would, in fact, incite hatred and detestation of said behaviour.[58]

This chapter has argued that Counter-Reformation artistic theory, particularly Paleotti's *Discourse* and, to a lesser extent, Pacheco's *Arte de la pintura,* framed images as capable of facilitating the process of conversion. Given the context in which these treatises were written, this conversion refers to both the Christianization of Indigenous peoples in the Americas, as well as persuading viewers to despise vice and embrace virtuous behaviour in Europe and elsewhere. This becomes all the more fascinating given contemporaneous discussions on homosexual behaviour on both sides of the Atlantic. In the third and fourth chapters, I will introduce two case studies representing deviant and hegemonic masculinities, respectively, and will examine how

[55] Paleotti, 2.44, p. 284.
[56] Paleotti, 2.44, p.286.
[57] Genesis 39:1–20, NRSV
[58] Paleotti, *Discourse*, 2.35, p. 256.

they contributed to the colonization of the Americas by condemning Indigenous gender roles and by extending the work of Spanish imperialism into the private lives of Indigenous people.

Chapter 3: Deviant Masculinities in the *Florentine Codex*

The previous two chapters examined the wide range of beliefs that shaped the Spanish and Italian attitudes toward gender, sexuality, and the visual arts at the time of Iberian colonial expansion. These ideas likewise had an impact upon the encounter between European settlers and Indigenous peoples in the Americas. Spanish artists and missionaries carried with them an intellectual baggage encompassing views on masculinity, sexuality, and art, which shaped their encounter with, and conceptions of, the so-called New World and its inhabitants. The following chapter focuses on one such traveler: Franciscan friar Bernadino de Sahagún (1499–1590), a Spanish missionary who arrived in Mexico around 1529 and who between 1558 and 1585 oversaw the compilation of the *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (*General History of the Things of New Spain*; also known as the *Florentine Codex*).[1] This encyclopedic work spans over 2,400 pages and compiles information about the history, beliefs, and culture of the Nahua, one of the Indigenous groups from Mexico.

Focusing specifically on the few instances where the *Florentine Codex* portrays Nahua men as sexually deviant, this chapter argues that Sahagún's visual and textual condemnation of Indigenous masculinities supported Spanish campaigns to colonize Nahua populations in New Spain, while establishing a Christian, heteropatriarchal masculinity as an ideal. I begin by examining the European encounter with homosexual behaviour in the 'New World,' followed by an analysis of the portrayal of 'deviant' masculinities in the *Florentine Codex.* In both sections, I will connect the European denigration of Indigenous masculinities to the production of hegemonic colonial masculinity and larger issues of dispossession, conversion, and colonialism.

3.1: Encounters Between the European 'Self' and the Indigenous 'Other'

As introduced briefly in the first chapter, the European encounter with sodomy in the Americas was informed by Euro-Catholic sexual mores and a desire to construct a just cause for the imperial occupation of Indigenous territories. On this matter, Garza Carvajal has argued that for the Spaniards, the conquest of Mexico was in some ways an extension of the Spanish Reconquista (ca.722–1492). During the Reconquista, the 'infidels' to be conquered were the

[1] Garza Carvajal, *Butterflies Will Burn*, 162.

Moors, a group of people whom the Spaniards often associated with sodomy.[2] Similarly, Spaniards viewed the Indigenous peoples of the Americas as sexually voracious, and associated them with behaviours such as sodomy, cannibalism, and inebriations; in doing so, they sought to construct a 'just cause' for the conquest, colonization, and imperial rule of New Spain.[3] For instance, Spanish royal historiographer Francisco López de Gómara (d.1566)'s *Historia general de las indias* (1552) describes how *Indios* did not know the "true God and lord" and instead revelled in "extremely abominable inhumanness or sins of idolatry, they sacrificed living men, they had an appetite for eating human meat, they conversed with the devil, *they practiced polygamy and, of course, sodomy*" (italics mine).[4] For López de Gómara, sodomy was akin to heterodoxy and other reproachable behaviours, such as human sacrifice, anthropophagy, and devil worship. López de Gómara further developed this association in his praise of the conquistadors, writing that "God bless the lord," because "he gave our men such grace and the power to eradicate idolatry, human sacrifices, the eating of human meat, and sodomy—a sin abhorred and castigated by God."[5] The royal historiographer insists that the Spanish colonial project was a pious endeavour because it involved the eradication of Indigenous spiritual practices and other behaviour abhorrent to God, such as cannibalism and sodomy. For him, it appears that the association between idolatry and sexual voracity is almost inevitable.

The account of López de Gómara raises the question of whether or not his descriptions of the sexual behaviours of Indigenous peoples were accurate. In fact, other colonial writers took a different approach to homosexual activity in the Americas, arguing that far from engaging in sodomy, Indigenous peoples detested this behaviour. For example, de las Casas condemned those writers who "defamed the Indios, having accused them of being infected with sodomy, a great and wicked falsehood" and sustained that Indigenous peoples had "no memory of such a filthy vice."[6] Although this was an attempt to protect Indigenous peoples, de las Casas nonetheless demonstrates his own Euro-Catholic system of belief when he insists that the *Indios* considered

---

[2] Garza Carvajal*,* 143–144.
[3] Garza Carvajal, 132; Charlene Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of Saint Joseph: Art and Gender in the Spanish Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 56.
[4] Quoted and translated in Garza Carvajal, *Butterflies Will Burn,* 150.
[5] Garza Carvajal, 152.
[6] Garza Carvajal, 154.

sodomy to be an "abominable sin also punishable by death."[7] His statement is at odds with current historiographic consensus. Some historians agree that there is significant evidence to posit that

> there was no concept equal to the church's notion of sin and that some indigenous societies included sexuality in public ceremonies and prohibited not sex itself, but sexual excess. […] In addition to bringing to the Americas a concept of sex linked to the sin, the church also brought a deep aversion to sex acts between men, something that apparently had not been forbidden in at least some pre-Columbian societies.[8]

When discussing Indigenous understandings of sexuality, I do not mean to fall prey to presentism or generalizations by equating pre-Hispanic Indigenous views on gender and sexuality with modern notions of homosexual identity. Nor do I intend to suggest that traditional Indigenous cultures were a sort of gay utopia. Sigal notes, however, that the Nahua connected homosexual activity to their religion and that it is only after the Spanish conquest that the Catholic notion of sin enters this world.[9]

For Spanish colonizers, sexual and carnal voracity were justifications for imperial occupation of the territory, while, paradoxically, its continued presence in the Americas was a potential threat to the colonial project. Some historians of sexuality in colonial Latin America have argued that the "church forbade homosexuality primarily because of the threat posed to patriarchy and the gender system by a man playing the sexual role of a woman."[10] More than a just cause for imperial rule, Spanish attacks on seemingly 'atypical' gender performance and on deviant masculinities were the product of Spaniards' anxieties during the colonial encounter. In his study on the persecution of sodomites in Andalusia and Mexico, Garza Carvajal has argued that

> From the moment that Columbus or Cortés began to document their perceived differences of Indios, the presence of sodomites, of the transvestite in the Indias, signaled 'a category crisis that caused the colonial officials to experience cultural anxiety.' The boys and men who dressed like women and performed the labors of

---

[7] Garza Carvajal, 154.

[8] Ann Jefferson and Paul Lokken, "Love, Sex, and Relationships," in *Daily Life in Colonial Latin America* (Santa Barbara, Denver, and Oxford: Greenwood, 2011), 29.

[9] Pete Sigal, "The *Cuiloni*, the *Patlache*, and the Abominable Sin: Homosexualities in Early Colonial Nahua Society," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 85:5 (2005): 556–557.

[10] Jefferson and Lokken, "Love, Sex, and Relationships," 29.

> women, aptly portrayed by the colonial chroniclers, 'embodied symbols of overdetermination and became mechanisms of displacement' for the colonial state. These men and their cultures deconstructed the 'binary pole of man-woman' and in the process jeopardized the 'national binaries and power relations' of imperial Spain and colonial Mexico.[11]

The existence and performance of deviant sexualities and gender non-conformity constituted, for Spanish colonizers, an act of resistance and self-determination that had the potential to unsettle and displace the settler-colonial project. Thus, Spanish condemnation of sodomy and expressions of deviant masculinity did not emerge solely from a Catholic notion of sin, but also from a desire to establish and maintain European, patriarchal rule in the so-called New World.

Indigenous scholars have expounded the relationship between patriarchy and colonialism. In *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith writes that

> colonization is recognized as having had a destructive effect on indigenous gender relations which reached out across all spheres of indigenous society. Family organization, child rearing, political and spiritual life, work and social activities were all disordered by a colonial system which positioned its own women as the property of men with roles which were primarily domestic.[12]

Although Tuhiwai Smith acknowledges that the encounter between white men and Indigenous peoples was recorded and constructed around the colonizers' cultural views on gender and sexuality,[13] her gendering project does not account for the destructive effect of this encounter on Indigenous sexualities.[14] Mark Rifkin, a settler and scholar of Native American writing and politics, has examined the imposition of heterosexuality on Indigenous populations. Although his work focuses on a geographical and chronological context that is different from the one I examine in this thesis, some degree of controlled speculation might bear fruitful analyses.[15] He

---

[11] Garza Carvajal, *Butterflies Will Burn,* 181. Throughout the passage, Garza Carvajal quotes scholar of English Literature Marjorie Garber, "The Occidental Tourist: M. Butterfly and the Scandal of Transvestism," in *Nationalisms and Sexualities*, ed. A. Parker, M. Russo, D. Sommer and P. Yaeger (New York: Routledge, 1992), 125–30.

[12] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (New York: Zed Books, 1999), 151.

[13] Tuhiwai Smith, 8.

[14] Tuhiwai Smith, 151.

[15] Frederic W. Gleach, "Controlled Speculation and Constructed Myths: The Saga of Pocahontas and Captain John Smith," in *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History*, eds. Jennifer S.H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert (Toronto: Broadview press, 2003), 41-42.

argues that in what is today the United States, the imposition of compulsory heterosexuality has been "a key part of breaking up indigenous landholdings, 'detribalizing' native peoples, and/or translating native territoriality and governance into the terms of U.S. liberalism and legal geography."[16] Thus, extrapolating from Rifkin's study, one could speculate that the Spanish efforts to condemn and eradicate Nahua gender structures and sexual practices were part of a larger campaign of deterritorialization and westernization.

The *Florentine Codex* provides a fertile opportunity to understand the relationship between sexuality and colonialism, as Tuhiwai Smith, Sigal, and Rikin have examined in other contexts. Accusations of sexual voracity and the persecution of homosexual behaviour and gender non-conformity all appear in Sahagún's *Florentine Codex* and I will argue that they serve to reify Spanish hegemony in the Americas and to further the work of colonialism.

3.2: The Making of the *Florentine Codex* and Conversion in New Spain

Bernardino de Sahagún, a Franciscan friar, led the compilation of the *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* in collaboration with Indigenous converts and illustrators. Together, they conducted interviews with Nahua elders, which the Indigenous collaborators transcribed and transliterated to Nahuatl using Latin letters. The text was then translated into Spanish and edited, likely by Sahagún himself, and illustrations by Indigenous artists were added throughout the *Codex*. This process resulted in a trilingual text, with the Spanish text on the left column and the Nahuatl on the right, with images further explaining or sometimes replacing the written text.[17] Considered to be one of the most valuable sources to understand Mesoamerican culture, the *Florentine Codex* investigates a variety of facets of Nahua culture: the gods, beliefs and rituals, daily, scientific, and moral structures, as well as military and economic structures.[18] The *Codex* is composed of twelve books, each dedicated to a particular aspect of Nahua culture: the first three books are mostly concerned with the religious and spiritual traditions of the Nahua; books four

---

[16] Mark Rifkin, *When Did Indians Become Straight?: Kinship, History of Sexuality, and Native Sovereignty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 5-6.

[17] Miguel León-Portilla, "Aportaciones en las últimas décadas sobre Sahagún y lo que falta por hacer," in *El universo de Sahagún: Pasado y presente,* eds. Pilar Máynez and José Rubén Romero Galván (Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2014), 22–23.

[18] Diana Magaloni Kerpel, *The Colors of the New World: Artists, Materials, and Creation of the Florentine Codex* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2014), 1; Márcia Helena Alvim, "Um franciscano no Novo Mundo: frei Bernardino de Sahagún e sua Historia General de las cosas de Nueva España," *Estudos Ibero-Americanos* XXXI:1 (2005): 52.

through seven present information on Nahua cosmology and its relationship to religion; some of book seven and books eight through ten discuss topics that include rhetoric, ethics and morals, the history of Nahua leaders, administrative structures and, in book ten, the vices and virtue of the Nahua people; book eleven is concerned mostly with Mesoamerican understandings of the natural world and the twelfth book is dedicated to Sahagún's account of the conquest of Mexico.[19]

Although it is possible to view the *Florentine Codex* as the product of the desire to understand the inhabitants of territories previously unknown to Europeans, a phenomenon made possible by imperial expansion,[20] I contend that it was at its core a tool to facilitate the evangelization of Indigenous peoples. Historian of earth sciences Márcia Helena Alvim has argued that in light of the language and cultural barriers Spanish missionaries encountered in the Americas, "the Franciscan friar thought that once the Mesoamerican cultural universe was profoundly known, it would be possible for the evangelizers to perform religious conversions."[21] Knowledge of Indigenous cultures and world-views, in addition to mastery of the language, were *sine qua non* components in the process of christianization. Alvim's argument is in agreement with Tuhiwai Smith's assertion that the collective memory of imperialism "has been perpetuated through the ways in which knowledge about indigenous peoples was collected, classified and then represented in various ways back to the West, and then, through the eyes of the West, back to those who have been colonized."[22] The *Florentine Codex,* a colonial and ethnographic project, is an example of how knowledge about Indigenous peoples was deployed to facilitate colonization. In this case, visual and textual portrayals of 'deviant' Indigenous masculinities were represented in the *Florentine Codex* as sinful, and a deviation from the heteropatriarchal norm. This westernized conception was then represented back to, or perhaps imposed on, the Nahua.

---

[19] This information was translated and paraphrased from Alvim, "Um franciscano no Novo Mundo," 52.

[20] Surekha Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human: New Worlds, Maps and Monsters* (Cambridge University Press, 2016), 1.

[21] Alvim, "Um franciscano no Novo Mundo," 53. "O franciscano pensava que apenas quando fosse conhecido profundamente o universo cultural mesoamericano seria possível aos evangelizadores efetivar a conversão religiosa."

[22] Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies,* 1-2.

The *Florentine Codex* contributes to the conversion and colonization of Indigenous peoples by attacking their epistemology. For instance, examining the christianization of the Indigenous *imaginaire*, historian Serge Gruzinski writes that "beyond the military, political, social and economic confrontations, the most disconcerting aspect of the Spanish conquest was probably the irruption of other apprehensions of the real […]."[23] The Western *imaginaire* imposed a new symbolic order, a different way of understanding and interacting with one's surroundings, a new worldview. Similarly, sociologist Aníbal Quijano writes that "this matrix of power did not only entail militarily subjugating the indigenous peoples and dominating them by force (colonialism); it also attempted to radically change their traditional knowledge of the world, to adopt the cognitive horizons of the dominator as their own (coloniality)."[24] This is nothing less than the Spanish will to radically "change volition as well as the cognitive and affective structures of" Indigenous men; in other words, to "transform him into a new man, made in the image and the likeness of the Western white man."[25] To Quijano's words, I would specify that this new man would be a heterosexual one.

3.3: "For all of this he deserves to be burned"

We begin our analysis of masculinities in the *Florentine Code*x with a Nahua god, Tezcatlipoca. In book one, we find an illustration of the deity in a highly anthropomorphic form (fig. 4). Above his head, we find the Spanish text "Tezcatlipoca. Otro Jupiter," which identifies the deity as Tezcatlipoca and as another Jupiter, a characterization that I address below. In said illustration, Tezcatlipoca wears a shield on his left hand and is dressed as powerful warrior.[26] On his right hand, he holds what could be an obsidian mirror (*tezcatl*) which associated the god with notions of rulership and power.[27] It is also possible that in addition to (or perhaps instead of) the obsidian

---

[23] Serge Gruzinski, "The Christianization of the *Imaginaire*," in *The Conquest of Mexico: The Incorporation of Indian Societies into the Western World, 16th-18th Centuries,* trans. Eileen Corrigan (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), 184.

[24] Quoted in Santiago Castro-Gómez, "(Post)Coloniality for Dummies: Latin American Perspectives on Modernity, Coloniality, and the Geopolitics of Knowledge," in *Coloniality at Large: Latin America and the Postcolonial Debate*, eds. Mabel Moraña, Enrique Dussel, and Carlos A. Jáuregui (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008), 281.

[25] Castro-Gómez, 281.

[26] Pete Sigal, "Queer Nahuatl: Sahagún's Faggots and Sodomites, Lesbians and Hermaphrodites," *Ethnohistory* 54:1 (2007): 26, DOI 10.1215/00141801-2006-038.

[27] Nicholas J. Saunders and Elizabeth Baquedano, "Introduction: Symbolizing Tezcatlipoca," in *Tezcatlipoca: Trickster and Supreme Deity*, ed. Elizabeth Baquedano (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2015), 1.

mirror, Tezcatlipoca holds a ceramic flower pipe, another one of his attributes.[28] Together, the pipe and the obsidian mirror might refer to his name, which means "the Lord of the Smoking Mirror."[29] This deity was, according to archeologists Nicholas J. Saunders and Elizabeth Baquedano, "the supreme deity of the Late Postclassic Aztec Pantheon."[30] Saunders and Baquedano also bring to our attention Sahagún's account of Tezcatlipoca's omnipresence, who writes in book one of the *Florentine Codex*, dedicated to the gods of the Nahua, that "the god named Tezcatlipoca was held for a true and invisible god who walks everywhere: in the sky (or heaven), on earth, and in hell."[31] That Sahagún understood the importance of Tezcatlipoca in the Nahua pantheon is evident by his characterization of the god as "another Jupiter" in both the textual description and the visual representation of the deity.[32] He was, moreover, understood as a paragon of masculinity in his role as both a warrior and a trickster.[33] By linking Tezcatlipoca to the king of the gods in Roman mythology, equivalent to Zeus in the Greek pantheon, Sahagún both gives an idea of the god's place in the Nahua worldview, while connecting him to paganism in the European tradition.

By examining the portrayal of Tezcatlipoca in light of Paleotti's *Discourse,* we may come to a better understanding of what role such an image would play in the colonial context. At first, it would appear problematic to include a visual and textual representation of Tezcatlipoca, a pagan god. In his *Discourse*, Paleotti warns that

> when a painter or sculptor expresses a false god, the apostles, who risked their very lives to destroy the memory of such things, grow indignant; […] God himself grows indignant, who, having foretold that with the coming of his son these foolish gods will be driven out, is now made to look like a liar through the temerity of these

---

[28] Saunders and Boquedano, 2–3

[29] Saunders and Boquedano, 2.

[30] Saunders and Boquedano, 2.

[31] Bernadino de Sahagún and collaborators, *Historia general de las cosas de nueva España*, hereinafter cited as the *Florentine Codex* (Santa Fe: School of American Research, 1970-1972)*,* book 1, chapter 3, folio 1. The original Spanish reads as follows: "El dios, llamado Tezcatlipoca: era tenido por verdadero dios, y invisible: el qual andava, en todo lugar: en el cielo, en la tierra, y en el infierno." I have translated *infierno* as *hell* to stay true to Sahagún's Euro-Catholic text, but Saunders and Baquedano provide a different translation that could better correspond to the Nahua worldview referring to *inferno* as *the land of the dead*, see Saunders and Baquedano, "Symbolizing Tezcatlipoca," 2, "his abode was everywhere—*in the land of the dead*, on earth, [and] in heaven."

[32] *Florentine Codex,* book 1, chapter 3, folio 1. "[…] entre estos naturales, desta nueva españa, es otro Jupiter."

[33] Pete Sigal, "Sodomy," in *Lexicon of Hispanic Baroque*, eds. Evonne Levy and Kenneth Mills (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), 327.

> artists, who are ceaselessly working to revive the memory of the Bacchuses and the Venuses.[34]

To portray a false god is therefore an inappropriate behaviour for the Christian artist, for it would constitute an offence to the faith. Paleotti, however, concedes that if a pious Christian insists on having an image of a pagan god, it should be "for reasons of literary study" and that it should "be evident that he draws a strong distinction between such images and images of Christian, honourable persons."[35] The portrayal of Tezcatlipoca is therefore appropriate because it does not try to revive 'the memory of the Bacchuses and the Venuses.' On the contrary, as I explain below, Sahagún denigrates Tezcatlipoca in order to make a clear distinction between the portrayal of the Nahua god and that of 'Christian, honourable persons' and to produce a kind of 'knowledge' that could advance the work of evangelization.

In book four of the *Florentine Codex*, dedicated to the art of divination, Sahagún deploys a number of rhetorical strategies to feminize Tezcatlipoca. In this section, the *Codex* recounts that whenever misfortune befell a person, such as the loss of their home or of a slave, they would accuse Tezcatlipoca, given the god's dual reputation as warrior and trickster. The Spanish version of the text reads "You, Tezcatlipoca, are a *puto*, you have ridiculed and tricked me."[36] Some historians like Trexler have perceived this as nothing more than an insult and therefore unworthy of analysis.[37] Historian Pete Sigal, however, uses this passage to examine the intersection of colonialism and sexuality. He translates this sentence as "you, Tezcatlipoca, are a faggot."[38] By describing Tezcatlipoca as a *puto*, Sahagún associates a powerful male god with a term Spaniards used to refer to "the effeminate, passive, flamboyant man who flaunted his opposition to Spanish sexual and gender mores."[39] Sahagún's use of *puto*, a term loaded with moral and gendered

---

[34] Paleotti, *Discourse*, 2.10, p. 173.
[35] Paleotti, 2.10, p. 175.
[36] *Florentine Codex*, book 4, chapter 9, folio 24. "tu Tezcatlipoca eres un puto, ya as me burlado y engañado."
[37] Pete Sigal, *The Flower and the Scorpion: Sexuality and Ritual in Early Nahua Culture* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2011), 189.
[38] Pete Sigal, "Queer Nahuatl," 9. Although Sigal's translation is not inaccurate and brings to mind many of the negative connotations associated with the term, for the purpose of this study and as to avoid falling prey to presentism, I will continue to use *puto.*
[39] Sigal, 16.

significance, reveals a rhetorical strategy that sought to feminize and undermine a god that was understood as a paragon of masculinity in Nahua culture and cosmology.[40]

Sahagún's deliberate feminization of Tezcatlipoca becomes all the more intriguing when one realizes that the accompanying text in Nahuatl does not refer to Tezcatlipoca. Instead, in the equivalent passage discussing misfortune, the original Nahuatl text refers to a lesser god, Titlacauan, as a *cuiloni,* with no mention of Tezcatlipoca.[41] Sigal defines *cuiloni* as the "passive partner in the act of sodomy."[42] Referring to Titlacauan as a *cuiloni* was not inconceivable in, or in opposition to, Nahua world-views.[43] The term *cuiloni,* moreover, did not carry the moral connotations that *puto* did and was therefore not meant to denigrate the god's masculinity.[44] An illustration of Titlacauan (fig. 5) found in the appendix to book one of the *Florentine Codex* portrays him holding a flower and a smoking pipe on his left hand, and he blows on a wind instrument, which he holds in his right hand. He is mostly naked, except for a loincloth and sandals, and his body is covered in knotted ropes. This illustration, Sigal argues, does indeed appear to portray the lesser god as a *cuiloni*. He writes that

> Titlacauan wears only a loincloth, sandals, and an extensive knotted rope that appears to ensnare him. He carries a flower and a smoking pipe, and he blows on a flute. The flower, as we have seen, signified fertility and eroticism. The snare […] was connected with sexual transgressions and with the intestines, themselves associated with anal intercourse.[45]

Titlacauan, and not Tezcatlipoca, was associated with erotic excess and with anal intercourse. Sahagún's methodology consisted of a deliberate switch between the names of the gods—he wrote Tezcatlipoca instead of Titlacauan—and then translated the term *cuiloni* as *puto*, even though both terms did not carry the same connotations.[46] As a result, Sahagún's translation and interpretation feminize Tezcatlipoca, thereby denigrating him within a Hispanic framework and turning a Nahua god into "a tool that could aid in the eradication of indigenous religion."[47] If one

---

[40] Sigal, 26.
[41] Sigal, *The Flower and the Scorpio,* 189.
[42] Sigal, "The *Cuiloni*, the *Patlache*, and the Abominable Sin," 9.
[43] Sigal, "Queer Nahuatl," 27.
[44] Sigal, "Sodomy," 327.
[45] Sigal, *The Flower and the Scorpio*, 191.
[46] Sigal, "Queer Nahuatl," 27.
[47] Sigal, 27.

of the most important gods in the Nahua universe could be turned into a *puto*, then the foundations of Nahua religion could be shaken.[48] In doing so, Sahagún uses European notions of gender and sexuality to undermine Indigenous belief systems and to further the goals of colonialism.

In light of Sahagún's mistranslation, it may be instructive to consider cultural theorist Scott L. Morgensen's ideas on the colonial encounter between European colonists and Indigenous people. He argues that this encounter was framed as a gendered hierarchy in which European invaders were positioned as masculine conquerors and Indigenous peoples as conquered and therefore feminine. Morgensen writes that

> the colonial relationship that the new social order established also produced colonists, just as they refashioned Indigenous people: for as victorious rulers, European men were positioned relationally to Indigenous people as manly and moral patriarchs, while subordination framed Indigenous male leadership in an unmanly status that could be read as undeserving of self-government.[49]

Thus, the feminization of a Nahua figure that embodied notions of rulership and (masculine) power served to establish a colonial, patriarchal social order.[50] By deploying Euro-Catholic notions of homosexual behaviour and sexual/gender mores, Sahagún frames Nahua spirituality and rulership as inadequate and feminine, thus further constructing a 'just cause' for Spanish imperial rule in the Americas.

Sahagún's European worldview does not account for pre-contact gender roles and therefore relies on a gender binary to assign fixed gender identities, a process that becomes apparent in his discussion of the *xochihua* in book ten of the *Codex* (fig. 6), dedicated to the vices and virtues of the Nahua people. In Nahua culture, the *xochihua* was a helper and companion who would provide warriors, priests, and members of the high nobility with a variety of favours and services, including sex.[51] The Nahuatl version of the *Florentine Codex* notes that "the *xochihua* has women's speech, women's form of address, men's speech, men's form of address […]; s/he corrupts, confuses, and bewitches people […]; s/he makes people suchioas; s/

---

[48] Sigal, 27.

[49] Scott L. Morgensen, "Cutting to the Roots of Colonial Masculinities," *Indigenous Men and Masculinities,* eds. Robert Alexander Innes and Kim Anderson (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2015), 44.

[50] Morgensen, 44.

[51] Sigal, "Queer Nahuatl," 23.

he confuses and corrupts people."[52] The original text, Sigal argues, does not mark gender, which means that the *xochihua* refers to someone whose gender is unclear; neither male or female, both male and female.[53] Sahagún, perhaps not surprisingly, does not account for the gender ambivalence of the *xochihua* in his Spanish translation. Instead, he translates *xochihua* as "trickster" who may be either male ("*embaucador*") or female ("*embaucadora*") and he explains that this is a person that "knows certain words with which to trick the women; and women in the contrary with which to trick the men." [54] Here, Sahagún insists that the male *embaucador* tricks women, whereas the female *embaucadora* tricks men, thus forcing the role of the *xochiuhua* into a heteronormative framework that is not present in the Nahuatl text, where the trickster, either male or female, tricks 'people.' Therefore, the Franciscan friar erases a gender ambivalence that would be at odds with the Euro-Catholic worldview.

Below Sahagún's discussion of the *embaucador/a,* we find a discussion of another figure, the *sodometico paciente* (or passive sodomite), Sahagún's Spanish translation of the Nahuatl c*uiloni*. Here, the friar's attack on Nahua masculinities and gender roles acquires a more violent tone. Sahagún describes the *sodometico paciente* as

> abominable, unmentionable, and detestable, deserves to be made fun of and laughed at by people; and the stench, and the ugliness of his nefarious sin cannot be endured, due to the disgust it gives to men. *In everything he appears womanly or effeminate, in the way he walks and talks, for all of this he deserves to be burned* (italics mine).[55]

---

[52] Sigal, *The Flower and the Scorpion*, 194.

[53] Sigal, 194.

[54] *Florentine Codex*, book 10, chapter 11, folio 25. "El embaucador /o la embaucadora, tiene estas propriedades [sic], que sabe ciertas palabras con que embauca, a las mugeres; y ellas por el contrario cô que engaña los hombres […]."

[55] *Florentine Codex*, book 10, chapter 11, folio 25. "El sodometico paciente, es abominable, nefando, y detestable, digno de quien hagan burla, y se rian las gentes; y el hedor, y la fealdad de su pecado, nefando, no se puede sufrir, por el asco que da a los hombres. [E]n todo se muestra mugeril o afeminado, en el andar y en el hablar, por todo lo que el merece ser quemado." Given the ekphrastic nature of Sahagún's description of the *sodometico paciente* and drawing inspiration from art historian Charmaine Nelson's current work on fugitive slave advertisements, it is possible that the friar's thick description provided details on the intrinsic and extrinsic character of the passive sodomite in order to encourage visualization, perhaps to facilitate identification, and, judging from the language used, to foster a hatred for the nefarious sin. For a summary of Nelson's work on fugitive slave advertisements, see Lindsay Nixon, "Fugitive Portraits," *Canadian Art*, July 17, 2017, https://canadianart.ca/features/fugitive-portraits/

In this case, the Nahuatl version of the text (fig. 7) is similar to that of the *sodometico paciente*, the Nahuatl wording is harsher than the Spanish one.[56] However, Sigal argues that these Nahuatl elements relate to Spanish discourse on sodomy which existed in law and literature before contact with the Nahua and so it is likely that Sahagún's Nahua collaborators were referring to imagery from Spanish courts rather than expressing traditional Nahua notions of same-sex desire.[57] Sahagún's own Euro-Christian worldview informs his description of the *sodometico paciente.* His language is reminiscent of European legal and moral discourses on sodomy examined in the first chapter. Sahagún, therefore, imposes Euro-Christian sexual mores on traditional Nahua masculine roles and draws a connection between sodomy and burning.

Although one might be tempted to see the Indigenous collaborators' acceptance of Euro-Catholic sexual mores as evidence of successful conversion, to say that Nahua men freely and completely embraced Spanish/colonial heteropatriarchal masculinity would be overstate the efficiency and success of the colonial project. Māori (Ngäti Pukenga) scholar Brendan Hokowhitu has argued that

> what we call 'traditional Indigenous masculinity' is in actuality a particular masculinity that has developed since colonization; in part, at least, mimicked on dominant forms of invader masculinity. I hasten to point out that I do not use 'mimicry' as some throwaway term; rather mimicry at gunpoint is a more apt coinage. Mimicry tends to be understood through a natural hierarchal dialectic, where an inferior culture mimics the superior culture; yet the facticity of the matter saw accommodation of an invading culture as increasingly the only way for Indigenous peoples to survive.[58]

Thus, one could argue that Nahua men might have adopted Spanish conceptions of masculinity and sexuality, as exemplified by the Nahuatl description of the *cuiloni*, as a survival strategy. It may be, therefore, that the Nahuatl description of the *cuiloni* in the *Florentine Codex* is not an

---

[56] Translated and quoted in Sigal, *The Flower and the Scorpion*, 194-195. "Cuiloni, chimouhqui, excrement, corruption, filth, filth sucker, little filth, corrupt, afflicted, frivolous, a joke, a mockery, annoying, makes people filthy, fills people's noses with filth, effeminate; s/he passes him/herself off as a woman; s/he deserves to be burned; s/he burns; s/he is scorched; s/he is burned; s/he is scorched; s/he talks like a woman; s/he passes him/herself off as a woman."

[57] Sigal, 195-196.

[58] Brendan Hokowhitu, "Taxonomies of Indigeneity: Indigenous Heterosexual Patriarchal Masculinity," in *Indigenous Men and Masculinities*, eds. Robert Alexander Innes and Kim Anderson (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2015), 87.

example of successful conversion, but rather an instance of Indigenous self-preservation in an otherwise colonial archive.

Adopting or mimicking settler masculinity and sexuality was a survival strategy because Spanish invaders actively prosecuted sodomy and what they perceived to be gender non-conformity. Examining the extermination of third-gender Indigenous people (*joyas*) in Spanish California, Native American (Esselen and Chumash) scholar Deborah A. Miranda argues that they "were not lost by 'passive' colonizing collateral damage such as disease or starvation, but through active, conscious, violent extermination."[59] She cites an instance when Spanish explorer Vasco Nuñez de Balboa (c.1465-1519) and his men condemned about forty Indigenous men suspected of sodomy to be killed and eaten by dogs (fig. 8).[60] Historians of colonial Latin American have shed light on other instances where homosexual activity was harshly punished. For example, Sigal has cited a later archival text describing how "they burned a mulatto, who was very black, because he was a *puto*. His name was Domingo […] All day Friday he burned. And they buried his ashes at [the church of] San Matías. Thus for the very first time a *puto* burned here in Puebla."[61] Thus, Spanish attacks on homosexual behaviour and 'deviant' Indigenous masculinities were not limited to rhetorical condemnation, as in Sahagún's text. Since these discourses had tangible and violent manifestations in colonial reality, to embrace and/or imitate hegemonic colonial hetero-patriarchal masculinity was, in fact, a survival strategy.

Sahagún's description of the *sodometico paciente* has a prescriptive dimension and provides an impetus to punish this behaviour, thus participating in the sexual violence described above. By arguing that because of his sexual (mis)behaviour, the passive sodomite "deserves to be burned," Sahagún makes a clear reference to some of the European responses to sodomy that we encountered in the first chapter, such as Cantor's idea that God would punish sodomites with fire as well as the early modern Spanish tradition of executing men convicted of sodomy at the

---

[59] Deborah A. Miranda, "Extermination of the *Joyas*: Gendercide in Spanish California" *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 16: 1-2 (2010): 256.

[60] Miranda, 259.

[61] Quoted in Sigal, ¨Sodomy," 326. For more information on the persecution of sodomy in colonial Latin America, see Zeb Tortorici, "'Heran Todos Putos,'" 35–67 and on the prosecution of deviant sexual desire and religious expression, see by the same author "Masturbation, Salvation, and Desire: Connecting Sexuality and Religiosity in Colonial Mexico," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 16:3 (2007): 355-372.

stake.[62] The *Florentine Codex* gives visual form to the connection between homosexual behaviour and punishment, specifically in the illustration that accompanies the paragraphs on the sodomite, the *xochihua* and the *cuiloni* (fig. 9). The first half of this illustration shows two men sitting across each other with a flower between them, one of them dressed as a man and the other, presumably the *xochihua*, dressed in traditionally-female clothes. Both figures are engaging in conversation, as indicated by the speech scrolls that emanate from their mouths.[63] The flower in this case, as in other instances throughout the codex, connotes sexual excess, enticement, and seduction, and it likely signifies sexual desire between the two figures.[64] As such, the illustration signifies what Europeans would interpret as homosexual behaviour and gender non-conformity. Sigal has noted that this section of the illustration refers to a pre-Conquest Nahua worldview wherein the *xochihua* (literally, flower bearer) had an institutionalized role in society.[65] The other side of the illustration shows a person in a setting reminiscent of the Euro-Christian concept of hell who is burning in a fire, an iconography and ideology that brings to mind European religious and juridical discourses.[66] The burning figure is likely the *cuiloni* or *sodometico paciente* described just before the illustration, thus visualizing Sahagún's translation. Sigal notes that this part of the illustration represents the European view on sodomy and most likely not the Nahua perspective.[67] Although these two illustrations present two different world-views, I argue that they convey a moral message about masculinity and sexuality. Since the burning figure bears a striking resemblance to the figure dressed in male clothes in the image to his left, the visual continuity may encourage the viewer to connect homosexual behaviour and punishment; the figure literally burns in the fire of his own lust.

---

[62] Cantor, *On Sodomy* (*De vitio sodomitico*) quoted in Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality*, 375; Perry, "The 'Nefarious Sin' in Early Modern Seville," 67.

[63] Sigal, "Queer Nahuatl," 22. Comments on an earlier draft of this thesis and numerous reactions to this particular illustration have highlighted the phallic shape of the speech scrolls. Indeed, their location and their close proximity to the mouths of the figures hint at an erotic undertone, perhaps to the act of fellatio between both figures. However, the speech scrolls appear in other illustrations throughout the *Florentine Codex* that do not lend themselves to an erotic or sexual reading, so I am reluctant to explore this possibility in the thesis. Nevertheless, I acknowledge that to the modern eye, these speech scrolls have a rather phallic shape, especially more so than in the other instances throughout the codex, and I cannot help but wonder that the reaction of the early modern viewer would be.

[64] Sigal, *The Flower and the Scorpion,* 195; Sigal, "Queer Nahuatl," 22.

[65] Sigal, "Queer Nahuatl," 24.

[66] Sigal, 24.

[67] Sigal, 23–24.

The portrayal of the burning sodomite, moreover, is in line with Paleotti's writings on art. Paleotti discourages the portrayal of horrendous pictures "because they express, without any virtuous purpose, certain acts abhorrent to man's nature, like a father being torn apart by his son, or a mother devouring her own children, or people drinking blood from the veins of living humans, or roasting human bodies and making a banquet of them […]."[68] Although in this passage Paleotti refers to scenes of Classical mythology, Sahagún's portrayal of the burning sodomite might fall under the umbrella of horrendous pictures. Paleotti, however, acknowledges that a few cases are exempt from this rule, writing that "the first is when horrendous images are made in commendation and amplification of virtue; the other is when they are made in hatred and detestation of vice and sin."[69] Sahagún's burning sodomite conforms to the second clause; this illustration demonstrates and instigates a hatred for the vice of sodomy. In this case, the representation of the horror of the punishment for sodomy makes a stronger impact on the viewers' senses, thus increasing abhorrence and contempt for this specific vice.[70] Paleotti, moreover, encourages the portrayal of horror when the goal is to depict the punishment of "wicked malefactors, such as impious and obstinate heretics being consigned to the flames, or depraved persons being castigated in public by the magistrates […]."[71] In this case, portraying the horror of the punishment for sodomy serves to reassert the abhorrence, both human and divine, of said behaviour.[72]

Throughout this chapter, it has been my contention that Sahagún's textual and visual portrayals of the *sodometico paciente*, the *xochihua*, and the *cuiloni* are not isolated remarks but rather work to entrench colonial heteropatriarchal masculinity as part of the Spanish campaigns to colonize, deterritorialize, and Christianize Nahua populations. The feminization of Tezcatlipoca, followed by the condemnation of the *xochihua,* the *cuiloni*, and same-sex desire attempted to create a hierarchy wherein Spanish masculinities became a hegemonic model that dominated these 'deviant' Indigenous masculinities. The imposition of these categories was

---

[68] Paleotti, *Discourse*, 2.35, p. 256.
[69] Paleotti, 2.35, p. 257.
[70] Paleotti, 2.35, p. 257. Paleotti writes that "the other exception to the rule is the reproof of vice, in which there is a point to horror-filled figurations of things that make a strong impact on our senses and increase our abhorrence for sin of any kind […]."
[71] Paleotti, 2.35, p. 258.
[72] Paleotti, 2.35, p. 258.

related to the entrenchment of heteropatriarchy and, ultimately, to the spread of Euro-Christian mores and world-views. By focusing on the *Florentine Codex,* I have examined how European settlers constructed 'deviant' masculinities as a just cause for imperial occupation of the American territory and as a tool to facilitate the conversion of Indigenous peoples. The following chapter will examine how portrayals of hegemonic masculinity, specifically in images of Saint Joseph during his marriage to the Virgin, also participated in the process of colonization and conversion by providing an example of proper masculine behaviour.

Chapter 4: Saint Joseph, Male Virtue, and Colonial Reality in New Spain

In the previous chapters, we have established the extent to which early modern Europeans believed that visual art had the potential to influence sexual behaviour and, simultaneously, how accusations and portrayals of sexual deviance in the Americas worked to construct a just cause for colonial occupation of Indigenous territories. Having examined the rhetorical violence deployed in portrayals of deviant masculinities in the *Florentine Codex,* this chapter examines images that constructed a hegemonic masculine ideal in the colonial period. I undertake this analysis by focusing on a travelling artist, Spanish-born painter Sebastián López de Arteaga (Seville, 1610–Mexico, 1652) and one of his paintings titled *Los Desposorios de la Virgen* [*The Marriage of the Virgin*, or *The Betrothal*] (fig. 10), executed between 1645 and 1652. I contend that images of Saint Joseph's marriage to the Virgin Mary were intended to further the work of Euro-Catholic colonialism by providing Indigenous neophytes with an example of a hegemonic ideal of masculine behaviour, one that accorded with Christian ideas of heterosexual marriage and sexual mores. It is important to note that the emphasis here remains on the colonial desire to provide models of Euro-Catholic behaviour rather than on the actual pedagogical effect that these images had on Indigenous viewers. While the previous chapter focused on a sixteenth-century manuscript, this chapter takes a later example from the mid-seventeenth century to demonstrate how images were used also to maintain an already-established imperial structure.

Images of Saint Joseph were believed to be particularly persuasive to Indigenous viewers, and therefore Josephine iconography might have been intended to further the work of colonialism. Given the lack of archival documentation on López de Arteaga's *Desposorios,* it is difficult, if not impossible, to fully asses its provenance or original location.[1] Even though the original viewership of the image is unknown, I argue that it likely was created in part with Indigenous viewers in mind, among others. I come to this conclusion because devotion to, and images of, Saint Joseph came to play a significant role in the christianization of Indigenous peoples in New Spain. For instance, a 1724 sermon in honour of Saint Joseph delivered in New Spain by Antonio Mansilla recounts how "St. Joseph converted [the Indians] so that through his

[1] Xavier Moyssén, "Sebastián de Arteaga," *Anales de Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* XV:59 (1988): 29. http://www.analesiie.unam.mx/index.php/analesiie/article/view/1390

Protection, they were baptized, leaving for our true God all the various multitude of their false gods."[2] The spiritual conquest of the 'New World' was attributed to Joseph, thus equating him with orthodoxy and orthopraxis.[3] Moreover, the large size of the painting, 87.99 x 66.92 in, suggests the work was intended for public rather than private viewing and devotion, so it is possible that it had a mixed audience, including but perhaps not limited to Indigenous peoples.

Many Spanish conquistadors and theologians saw the figure of Saint Joseph as a powerful tool in the evangelization of Indigenous peoples because the saint's imagery could be adapted to bring neophytes into the Church's fold. This was due in part to the presence of flowers in his iconography which, according to Villaseñor Black, facilitated associating Joseph with one of the major Mexican deities at the time of the Conquest, Tlaloc, called the 'god of the rains' in early colonial sources. In fact, in Mexico Joseph appears to adopt Tlaloc's attributes and powers, most notably control over fertility and agriculture, as is evident by the countless farms, haciendas, orchards, and gardens named after St. Joseph, as well as the saint's reputation as the patron of married couples, families, and the infertile. Furthermore, celebration of Joseph's and Tlaloc's respective feast days overlapped in the month of March.[4] These associations could have made portrayals of Saint Joseph particularly relevant for Indigenous people.

The chapter is divided in two sections. The first one discusses a key change in Josephine iconography that took place during the early modern period and which may have had special relevance in the colonial context. The second section further examines the role that López de Arteaga's *Desposorios* and Christian marriage more generally might have played in the colonial project.

4.1: Early Modern Developments in Josephine Iconography

Sebastián López de Arteaga's *Los Desposorios de la Virgen* (1645–1652), is in some ways a standard representation of the Holy Matrimony. Joseph stands on the left, Mary on the right, and the priest is in the middle, joining their hands. This composition descends from a long European visual tradition, developed from apocryphal stories about the lives and marriage of Joseph and Mary. In López de Arteaga's portrayal, Joseph, Mary, and the priest are surrounded by angelic

---

[2] Quoted in Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of Saint Joseph,* 28.
[3] I use orthodoxy to mean 'right belief' and orthopraxis, 'right practice' within a Catholic framework.
[4] Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of Saint Joseph,* 30.

figures who play musical instruments, notably a lyre, a violin, and a flute. Joseph holds a staff, from which emerges a bouquet of flowers and on top of which we see a white dove, representing the Holy Ghost. Though the image depicts a standard composition, the blushing of Joseph's cheeks, his upright position, and his luscious hair signify health and strength. This represents a drastic change from previous portrayals where Joseph is relying on his staff for support and has white, thinned hair. Before moving on to a detailed analysis of this painting, I will discuss some of the traditional aspects of Josephine iconography and will provide an overview of its development from apocryphal stories to the sixteenth century. I examine this earlier iconographic tradition to better understand what is at stake in portraying Joseph as a young man and to understand whether or not this change had anything to do with making Joseph more persuasive to an Indigenous audience.

In the early years of the early modern period, Saint Joseph was often portrayed as an elderly man.[5] This tradition was likely the legacy of apocryphal stories. Following a deep-felt scriptural silence surrounding Joseph in the New Testament,[6] apocryphal tales emerged in the early centuries of the Church and provided substantial details about the life of St. Joseph. These stories, according to Villaseñor Black, "would play an important role in influencing depictions of Joseph in medieval art, expanding Joseph's small role in the canonical Gospels with imaginative

---

[5] Some art historians have read these unflattering representations as insulting or intended to make fun of Joseph. There are, indeed, comic and unflattering representations of the saint in late medieval drama and art, but they are not incompatible with increasingly exalting representations of Joseph in theological and devotional literature of the period. As a result, historians of Renaissance art and culture have turned a blind eye on images portraying a distinct Josephine devotion arguing instead that the cult did not really exist at the time, and claiming that images of Joseph portray him as a feeble or ridiculous man, even though the images themselves are not overtly derogatory or humorous in nature. For more information on Josephine iconography before the Counter-Reformation, see the ground-breaking study by Carolyn C. Wilson, *St. Joseph in Renaissance Society and Art*: *New Directions and Interpretations* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2001).

[6] There seems to be a scriptural and theological silence surrounding Joseph in the early years of the Church. The Gospels only mentioned Joseph a handful of times and provide little information. He appears as "the husband of Mary" or her fiancé (Matt. 1.16, 1.18, 1.19; Luke 1.27, NRSV), as the son of David (Matt. 1.20; Luke 2.4 NRSV), in the flight to and return from Egypt (Matt. 2.13, 2.19, NRSV), as the father of Jesus (Matt. 13.55; Luke 3.23, 4.22; John 1.45, 6.42, NRSV), and as present at the Nativity (Luke 2.16, NRSV). This information, however meagre, will become extremely important as it establishes Joseph as the putative father of Jesus and the husband of Mary, two titles that, as I discuss further on, are central to Josephine devotion and iconography. Scholar of religion Rosemary Hale argues that it is possible to find Josephine themes in the texts of early ecclesiastical leaders and theologians, but they tend to focus on the aforementioned themes and his relationship to Mary and Jesus. This scriptural silence, much like the one surrounding the Virgin Mary, did not hinder the theological and popular imaginations, but instead invited story-telling. See Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of Saint Joseph,* 21–22 and Rosemary Drage Hale, "Joseph as Mother: Adaptation and Appropriation in the Construction of Male Virtue," in *Medieval Mothering*, eds. John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler (New York: Garland, 1996), 103.

details."[7] Although apocryphal stories vary in detail, they tend to share some commonalities. For instance, they relate that Joseph was of very advanced age when he married the Virgin, somewhere between eighty-nine to ninety-one years-old. Joseph also appears reluctant to marry the Virgin, and consents only after refusing to do so due to their age difference.[8]

Perhaps one of the most popular and influential apocryphal narratives about St. Joseph is the one found in the Proto-Gospel of James. The text recounts the conception, birth, childhood, and marriage of the Virgin Mary, and emphasizes her Immaculate Conception and Jesus' Virgin Birth. When it was time to find a husband for Mary, for she could no longer stay at the Temple for fears that her menstruation would defile this sacred space, an angel appeared to the chief priest, saying "Zacharias, Zacharias, go out and gather the widowers of the people, and have each of them bring a rod; she will become the wife of the one to whom the Lord God gives a sign."[9] After collecting everyone's rod and bringing them to the temple, Zacharias handed them back to the suitors with no miraculous sign in view, until "Joseph took the last rod, and behold! A dove came out of the rod and flew on to Joseph's head. The priest said to Joseph, 'you have been called to take the Lord's Virgin into your safe-keeping."[10] Joseph, at first refuses to take Mary as his wife because he is "an old man" and "she is but a child," though he eventually agrees to marry her.[11] The Proto-Gospel of James provides substantial information on Joseph's advanced age and his marriage to the Virgin, two elements that will greatly influence his iconography in Western art

The influence of the Proto-Gospel of James would last well into the early modern period. For instance, Giotto's (1276–1337) *Marriage of the Virgin* [c.1303] (fig. 11) portrays Joseph as an elderly man and also includes the dove that identifies Joseph as God's choice for Mary's husband. A later example, *The Marriage of the Virgin,* [1500–1504] (fig. 12) by Perugino (1446–1523) demonstrates the pervasiveness of Joseph's depiction as an elderly man. In Perugino's work, Joseph is balding, and the little hair he has left is grey, thus conveying his advanced age.

---

[7] Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of Saint Joseph*, 22.
[8] Villaseñor Black, 22
[9] Pseudonymous, "The Proto-Gospel of James," in *Lost Scriptures: Books that did not Make it Into the New Testament*, ed. Bart D. Erhman (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 8.3.
[10] "Proto-Gospel of James," 9.1.
[11] "Proto-Gospel of James," 9.2–3.

Depictions of Joseph as an elderly man continued to appear well into the seventeenth century. José de Ribera's (1591–1652) *Saint Joseph,* [ca.1635] (fig. 13) portrays an elderly St. Joseph at the moment he is chosen as Mary's husband.[12] Ribera's painting shows the pervasiveness of this iconographic tradition amongst Spanish painters well into the seventeenth century.

The white lilies emerging from Joseph's rod in López de Arteaga's painting, but also in Ribera's and Giotto's, are a recurring motif in his iconography and carry significant meanings. Usually a common iconographical motif denoting purity and virginity in Marian devotion, the white flower appears on Joseph's rod to convey Joseph's chastity and, later on, his virginity.[13] Although it is not mentioned in the *Proto-Gospel of James,* it appears that the white flower, along with the dove, became significant components of Joseph's marriage to the Virgin and of his iconography in the Christian imagination. For instance, a Golden Age *comedia bíblica* (sacred play) by Spanish dramatist Guillén de Castro y Bellvis (1569–1631) titled *El mejor esposo, San José* (*The Best Husband, Saint Joseph,* 1617-1620?)*,* includes the dramatization of the flowering of Joseph's staff, followed by a dove landing on top of it.[14] The flowered staff is a recurring iconographical component of Josephine imagery, and appears in depictions of the saint both in Europe and the 'New World.'

Seventeenth-century writings on art showcase the pervasiveness of some of the above-mentioned iconographic elements, but they nevertheless portray Joseph in a strikingly different manner. Pacheco's *Arte de la pintura* is case in point. Although Pacheco's discussions of Saint Joseph may appear meagre in comparison to the size of his oeuvre*,* his treatise contains interesting and influential information on the saint. In the chapter titled "*En que se prosiguen las advertencias á las pinturas de las historias sagradas*" (Continuation of warnings about paintings of sacred stories), Pacheco provides rich details on the life and portrayal of the Holy Family.[15]

---

[12] Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. "Jusepe de Ribera, Saint Joseph," accessed June 6, 2018, https://www.mbam.qc.ca/en/collections/early-to-modern-international-art/#detail-5569

[13] Hale, "Joseph as Mother," 112.

[14] Guillén de Castro, "El Mejor Esposo," in *Piezas maestras del teatro teológico Español, vol. 2: comedias,* compiled by Nicolás González Ruiz, (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1946), 370. "¿Qué veo? ¡Ay de mí? Parece que el fresco vapor que arroja mi seca vara húmedece. ¡Ya brota reciente hoja, ya blancas flores florecen! (Florece la vara.) ¡En tan humilde supuesto, decreto tan soberano! ¡Tal bien a mis ojos puesto! ¡Tan palma en la indigna mano de José! Señor, ¿qué es esto? (Pónese una paloma sobre la vara.) Vos, paloma sacrosanta, ¿traéisme la verde oliva? ¿Tanto por vos se levanta a vuestra región altiva mi paz cierta y mi fe santa?"

[15] See Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura,* 3.XII.

He devotes a great number of pages to descriptions and reflexions on the lives of Joseph, Mary, and Christ, but for the purpose of this chapter, I have decided to include only his writings on the Betrothal.[16]

Perhaps inspired by earlier Josephine writers,[17] Pacheco demonstrates a concern with the age of the saint. In the section on "Painting of the Betrothal of the Virgin," Pacheco writes that the Virgin "was married to Saint Joseph around the age of fourteen, and Saint Joseph a bit over thirty."[18] Being "a bit over thirty" stands in stark contrast to former visual and textual portrayals of the Saint as a man of *very* advanced age. Pacheco provides the reader with a myriad of reasons as to why Joseph's age at the time of his marriage was slightly over thirty as opposed to "an old man."[19] First, there is the issue of Mary's virginity. Pacheco argues that such a great age gap "brings about important inconveniences, and if [Joseph's] age is not proper to conceive children, Mary's reputation would have been at stake […]."[20] Because of Joseph's youth, Mary's pregnancy was not suspicious, thus avoiding any accusations of adultery.[21] Furthermore, "a man who is eighty years old," Pacheco writes, "would not have the strength required for walks and pilgrimages, and to support his family with the labour of his hands."[22] Joseph, therefore, ought to be a young man to fulfill his role as a father and husband, and to provide for his family. Finally, Pacheco urges the reader to bear in mind that "after his betrothal, [Joseph] made a vow of

---

[16] A discussion of Mary, Christ, or let alone the Holy Family as a whole would be beyond the scope of this thesis. A discussion of the Holy Family, moreover, would require a more thorough analysis of Joseph's role as father, carpenter, and his eventual 'good death.' These are interesting topics examined by Villaseñor Black's *Creating the Cult of Saint Joseph* and certainly a paper with a larger scope would be able to accommodate these elements.

[17] Milanese theologian Isidoro Isolano (ca. 1477-1528) and Jean Gerson (1363-1429), Chancellor of Notre-Dame and the University of Paris, are two significant figures in the development of the cult of Saint Joseph. The scope and limits of this thesis, however, does not allow me to discuss these writings at length. For a discussion of their Josephine writings, see Guy-M. Bertrand, "La 'Summa de donis Sancti Joseph' d'Isidore de Isolanis, OP.," *Cahiers de Joséphologie* 8:2 1960;. Ioachim Noboru Maegawa, *La Doctrine de Jean Gerson sur saint Joseph: Extrait des cahiers de Joséphologie (1959-1960),* Montreal: Centre de Recherches et de Documentation de l'Oratoire Saint Joseph, 1961.

[18] Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura,* 3.XII. "… de manera que salió á desposarse con el Santo Jose siendo de catorxe años, y San José un poco más de treinta."

[19] "Proto-Gospel of James," 9.1

[20] Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura,* 3.XII. "Dije que su esposo era de poco más de treinta años porque la buena razon no lleva que San José fuese viejo […]. Que la desigualdad trae graves inconvenientes, y si la edad no era para tener hijos, mal se puede salvar la buena fama de la Vigen […]."

[21] Gerson arrives to similar conclusions. See Maegawa, *La Doctrine de Jean Gerson sur saint Joseph*, 41.

[22] Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura,* 3.XII. "[…] y un hombre de no habia de tener fuerzas para caminar y peregrinaciones, y sustentar su familia con el trabajo de sus manos."

absolute chastity [...] and it would not be appropriate to make such a vow at an advanced age."[23] Therefore, because Joseph and Mary willingly decided to remain chaste, Joseph must have possessed the potential to engage in sexual intercourse. Otherwise, there would be no need for such a vow to be taken in the first place. In sum, Pacheco argues for the portrayal of a young, physically-fit, chaste Joseph. Although Pacheco was not the first writer to propose this new Josephine iconography, he may have been one of the first art theorists to include these prescriptions in an artistic treatise.

Pacheco's prescriptions for Josephine iconography, including his age and other details discussed below, follow Paleotti's method for the creation of accurate pictures of sacred history.[24] A painter of a sacred story, Paleotti argued, must therefore pay special attention to the circumstances surrounding the story, such as the what, who, why, where, and when of the story.[25] Paleotti, however, recognizes the difficulty of accurately representing the objective truth, especially regarding biblical history "because […] there are countless details left unrecorded by the authors […]."[26] To be sure, painting figures so that they appear to be the correct age could be a significant pictorial problem for a painter interpreting a biblical story. One example that Paleotti provides concerns the relative ages of Saint John the Baptist and Christ. He writes that "There is a relational disproportion in those depictions of Saint John the Baptist in the company of the Savior, where Jesus has the features of a lad and the Baptist has a long beard, even though there was only six months' difference between them."[27] The appropriate or proportional representation of age is therefore an important circumstance of a given story and its visual representation. In light of the scriptural silence surrounding Joseph, Pacheco draws from available information and existing writings to make a logical argument about Joseph's youth. In doing so, Joseph's youth becomes a circumstance of the story, a guideline or necessary

---

[23] Pacheco, 3.XII. "Tambien convienen los doctores en que despues de su desposorio hizo voto absoluto de castidad (que antes la Vírgen y él lo habian hecho aunque perpétuo condicional) y no venia bien hacerlo de tanta edad, y en aquel pueblo era novedad estar á tal hora por casar."

[24] A verisimilar picture conforms to that which is true regarding sacred history to the extent that it is possible to do so. In the words of the author, it is a picture "that conforms entirely to what it is meant to represent" (Paleotti, *Disocurse*, 2.26, p. 222). To do this, Paleotti writes, a painter of biblical stories "must pay very special attention to the circumstances with which the corpus of truth is accompanied; he must strive to make the content and sequence of the fact or deed very clear and organize his design accordingly" (Paleotti, 2.26, p. 223).

[25] Stowell, "Invention and Amplification," 282.

[26] Paleotti, *Discourse*, 2.26, p. 223.

[27] Paleotti, 2.28, p. 230.

component of an accurate pictorial representation.[28]

Pacheco provides detailed instructions on how the Betrothal should be portrayed. He writes that

> the Virgin and Saint Joseph ought to be painted as being very beautiful in the age previously referred, dressed decently [modestly?] with their tunics and mantles, as is customarily painted holding each other's right hand with great honesty. And in the middle the priest blessing them [...]. This story ought to be painted in a sumptuous temple, with the large company of ministers and regular people of all ages, and eligible males with rods.[29]

Thus, according to Pacheco, the proper depiction of the Betrothal includes a young Saint Joseph. This stipulation, as well as the other details in the quotation above, can be found in a variety of Hispanic depictions of the Betrothal. For instance, Spanish painter Bartolomé Esteban Murillo's (1617–1682) *Marriage of the Virgin* (fig. 14) presents a young Saint Joseph, holding Mary's right hand with his own right hand, being blessed by the priest and surrounded by a crowd of people, including a man with a rod which, unlike Joseph's, is not flourishing. This iconographic tradition will last well beyond the seventeenth century. For instance, we see in a painting by Spanish Romantic painter Francisco Goya (1746-1828), titled *Betrothal of the Virgin*, a similar composition to the one prescribed by Pacheco.

Pacheco, in his *Arte de la pintura,* constructs Joseph as a role model for fathers and husbands to follow. If images teach the viewer a myriad of pious behaviours, leading them to desire virtue and despise vice, images of Saint Joseph communicate a very specific set of virtue that husbands ought to follow. For instance, virtues such as chastity (he was a virgin), hard-work (he was a carpenter), loyalty (he did not abandon the Virgin upon finding out about the pregnancy), self-sacrifice (flight from Egypt), providing for his family (with the labour of his hands) all suggest a model appropriate for Christian men. It is difficult to assess whether or not Pacheco deliberately constructed Joseph as the epitome of male virtue. However, in the context

---

[28] Paleotti, 2.26, p. 223. For a more detailed discussion of Paleotti's engagement with the circumstances, see Stowell, "Invention and Amplification," 287–292.

[29] Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura,* 3.XII. "La Virgen y San José se han de pintar muy hermosos en la edad referida, vestidos decentemente con sus túnicas y mantos, como se acostumbran pintar dándose las manos derechas con grande honestidad. Y en medio el sacerdote beniciéndolos... Háse de pintar esta historia en un suntuoso templo, con grande acompañamiento de ministros y gente popular de todas las edades, y mancebos con vara en las manos."

of the Counter-Reformation and given his emphasis on the pedagogical role of images, it is likely that Pacheco saw in Joseph a potential blueprint of Christian masculine behaviour.[30]

We have examined some of the rationale for Pacheco's insistence on Joseph's chastity, but we can further examine this attribute within a larger context. For instance, a later treatise on the excellencies of Saint Joseph, originally printed in Seville in 1710 and now contained in the Biblioteca Franciscana in Cholula, Mexico, describes Joseph as "the Prince of Virgins, because he was the first one to fight against the flesh."[31] Joseph's chastity and virginity becomes all the more impressive because "he was the first one who did not give in to the illicit impulses of the flesh within marriage."[32] Indeed, encouraging chastity (within and outside the bonds of marriage) was in line with the Spanish moralist discourses discussed in the first chapter. For instance, Padilla, criticized adultery as "the most ugly sin,"[33] "a thing so horrible it should not be named,"[34] a behaviour that destroys virtue and the cause of all vices.[35] Sexual countenance, even within marriage, was therefore an important component of ideal Spanish masculinity.[36]

Although we may think of chastity within a Christian framework as required solely of women, ideal Christian masculinity encouraged men to embrace sexual restraint. Historian Andrew Holt writes that, in the Middle Ages, "the heroic chastity of the clergy was in itself considered a masculine attribute. To have discipline over one's body, especially one's sexuality, in a world full of temptations, was a masculine virtue."[37] Resisting the pleasures of the flesh was a way for Christian men to become soldiers of Christ. A man who resisted the temptation of lust and the love of luxury was, according to historian Mathew Kuefler, "as brave and as true a

---

[30] Villaseñor Black, "Love and Marriage in the Spanish Empire," 655.

[31] Pedro de Torres, *Excelencias de S. Joseph, varon divino, patriarca grande, esposo purissimo de la madre de Dios, y altissimo padre adoptivo del hijo de Dios* (Sevilla : por los herederos de Thomàs Lopez de Haro, en calle de Genova, 1710), 556. "Pero no por esso se le quita à Joseph, que respecto de los demàs Virgines, fue el primero que con voto levantò el estandarte de esta celestial virtud, y Assi es el Principe de los Virgines, porque fue el primero que peleò contra la carne."

[32] de Torres, 556. "El fue el primero que no se rindiò ni aun à los impulsos ilicitos de la carne en el matrimonio…"

[33] Lehfeldt, "Ideal Men," 478.

[34] Hernández, "Luisa de Padilla's *Lágrimas de la nobleza*," 910. "… el adulterio por cosa tan horrenda, que les parecía indigna de ser nombrada."

[35] Lehfeldt, "Ideal Men," 478.

[36] Villaseñor Black, "Love and Marriage in the Spanish Empire," 659. The author, in this case, elaborates in the role that female chastity and sexual restraint plays in the construction of Hispanic masculinity.

[37] Andrew Holt, "Between Warrior and Priest: The Creation of a New Masculine Identity During the Crusades," in *Negotiating Clerical Identities: Priests, Monks, and Masculinity in the Middle Ages,* edited by Jennifer D. Thibodeaux (London: Palgrave Macmillian, 2010), 188.

soldier of Christ as the martyr who faced death."[38] The vices that men were supposed to fight—concupiscence, love of luxury, wrath, pride—were vices that, in the eyes of medieval commentators, would make a man effeminate.[39] Chastity is therefore an important component of ideal Christian masculinity. These discourses show that men's role in sexual purity is not solely as guardians of female chastity.[40] Rather, male chastity was seen as the ability to master one's body, a male virtue that signified men's dominance over the material and carnal, a behaviour that drew men closer to God.[41] By resisting lust and concupiscence, Joseph successfully becomes a 'true soldier of Christ,' thus embodying the militaristic masculinity expressed by Spanish moralists as seen in the first chapter of this thesis.

The emphasis on Joseph's chastity, however, presents a fascinating paradox. The hispanist Georgina Sabat Rivers has argued that Joseph's chastity, and other attributes such as the constancy in his work and his affectionate character "stood in sharp contrast to the oppressive male figures of the seventeenth century, in the outside world, and within the Church" and that these qualities set him apart from the masculine norm as an "anti-macho figure."[42] Indeed, the denial or lack of sexual activity stands in opposition to masculine ideals in the West, where non-sexual men have historically been seen as problematic.[43] How, therefore, can Joseph be an emblem of masculinity if he does not engage in sexual activity? My argument here is that Joseph embodied a new and idealized masculinity, one that sought to counteract men's indulgence in 'the illicit impulses of the flesh.' Joseph's new iconography reflected the contemporaneous preoccupation with proper masculine behaviour present in the moralist discourses of seventeenth-century Spain, some of which were examined in the first chapter. As a chaste man who is able to control his body and resist the urge to engage in sexual intercourse, but also one

---

[38] Matthew Kuefler, "'I Am a Soldier of Christ': Christian Masculinity and Militarism," in *The Manly Eunuch: Masculinity, Gender Ambiguity, and Christian Ideology in the Late Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 119.

[39] Kuefler, 121.

[40] Villaseñor Black, "Love and Marriage in the Spanish Empire," 659.

[41] Lehfeldt, "Ideal Men," 478-479.

[42] Georgina Sabat Rivers, "Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz and Sor Marcela de San Félix: Their Devotions to St. Joseph as the Antithesis of Patriarchal Authoritarianism," in *Joseph of Nazareth Through the Centuries*, ed. Joseph Chorpenning (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2011), 267.

[43] Pat Callum, "'Give Me Chastity': Masculinity and Attitudes to Chastity and Celibacy in the Middle Ages," *Gender and History* 25:3 (2013): 622.

who is able to care for his child and wife, thereby signifying his heterosexuality, Joseph may be said to embody a model of masculinity that stood at the core of moralist discourses.

Thus far, this chapter has examined the iconography of Joseph in the early modern period. We have established that Counter-Reformation theologians and art theorists framed Saint Joseph as the ideal father and husband. Images of Saint Joseph had as their goal to present male devotees with examples of male virtue and to move them to imitate these examples. The following section will return to the case study of López de Arteaga's painting to demonstrate that this work gave visual form to an ideal masculinity, which co-existed with Spanish imperialist ambitions and Euro-Catholic gender ideals in New Spain.

4.2: Josephine Iconography and Portrayals of Christian Marriage as Colonial Tools

Saints became important players in this process of christianization, colonization, and the establishment of Christian orthodoxy. Mexican historian Antonio Rubial García argues that hagiographic discourse in the colonial period had persuasion as its main goal, and refers to hagiography as a mirror of virtue.[44] According to Rubial García, hagiography fulfilled two main functions: it served as a teacher of moral behaviour; and it narrated the fight of God's people against evil.[45] That is to say, the lives of saints provided models of moral and heroic Christian behaviours for the devout to imitate. Some of the virtues emphasized in New Spanish hagiography include chastity, humility, prayer, and sacrifice.[46] These virtues, although recurring in the hagiography and iconography of many saints, are especially relevant in art depicting Saint Joseph. Chastity, for instance, meant that married individuals were expected to be loyal to their spouse (strict monogamy), as well as to abstain, if unmarried, from the "licit pleasures of marriage."[47] These views were consistent with the values following the Council of Trent, as well as in writings by Paleotti and Pacheco. It appears, therefore, that the belief saints could serve a pedagogical role travelled from the Iberian Peninsula to the New World as part of the aforementioned efforts to christianize Indigenous peoples.

---

[44] Antonio Rubial García, *La Santidad Controvertida: Hagiografía y conciencia criolla alrededor de los venerables no canonizados de Nueva España* (Mexico City: FEC/ UNAM, 1999), 76.

[45] Rubial García, 77.

[46] Rubial García, 76.

[47] Rubial García, 76."para los casados, por ejemplo, la castidad significaba fidelidad al vínculo conyugal y abstinencia de los placeres lícitos del matrimonio."

The colonial Church in Latin America deployed both images and saints in the struggle to christianize the New World, but this was not an easy endeavour. Scholar J. Jorge Klor de Alva has argued that colonization and christianization did not happen as smoothly as some scholarship on the subject would have us believe. According to Klor de Alva, the fragile state of complete conversion is evident when one takes into consideration the ease with which Indigenous peoples abandoned active participation in Christian rituals, and the constant need for coercion to keep new converts practicing the faith.[48] It is thus necessary to recognize that the christianization of the New World did not happen overnight, but that it was instead a difficult process with many obstacles to overcome, which would sometimes require the use of harsh means. Moreover, it is important to note how the colonial Church employed certain tools—namely images of saints—to keep converts within the boundaries of orthodoxy. It is within this context that images of Saint Joseph might be said to have become a tool for colonization.

New Spanish portrayals of Saint Joseph, who was patron of the conquest and conversion of the New World since 1555,[49] reflected Pacheco's concern with his age.[50] López de Arteaga's *Desposorios* is a case in point, where the portrayal of Joseph corresponds to Pacheco's idea that the saint should be painted as "a little more than thirty" years old.[51] As has been seen, Joseph's youth was an indicator of his role as protector and supporter of his family.[52] Paradoxically, in López de Arteaga's portrayal, Joseph's potential strength and his status as an example of masculinity are somewhat negated by his apparent docility and demeanour: like Mary, Joseph's gaze is cast down, a somewhat unusual position for a male subject. The visual similarity between Joseph and Mary may help to represent Joseph's chastity and virginity, two important attributes that had traditionally been linked to Catholic women but that became significantly relevant to Josephine devotion and iconography. Coupled with his beard, which indicates biological maturity and therefore sexual potential, his young age and handsomeness made Joseph's

---

[48] J. Jorge Klor de Alva, "Spiritual Conflict and Accommodation in New Spain: toward a Typology of Aztec Responses to Christianity." In *The Inca and Aztec States 1400-1800: Anthropology and History*, edited by George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo, and John D. Wirth (New York: Academic Press, 1982), 357.

[49] Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of Saint Joseph,* 13.

[50] Georgina Sabat Rivers, "Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz and Sor Marcela de San Félix," 266; Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of Saint Joseph*, 46–47.

[51] Francisco Pacheco quoted in Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of Saint Joseph,* 46.

[52] Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of Saint Joseph,* 47.

abstinence and chastity much more impressive.[53] His abstinence from sexual intercourse was based on his will to remain chaste rather than his inability to engage in any sort of sexual activity due to his advanced age.

Images of the Holy Matrimony, such as López de Arteaga's *Desposorios*, may be said to visualize beliefs regarding Catholic marriage, which became standard during the Council of Trent. The Tridentine doctrine on marriage, which reaffirmed that marriage was a sacrament, was in many ways a reaction to the Protestant Reformation's critique of marriage. One of these attacks was expressed by Martin Luther (1483-1546) who, according to Villaseñor Black, argued in *The Babylonian Captivity* (1520) that marriage ought to be a civil affair, and that it consequently should not be considered one of the sacraments. In response to this, the Council of Trent decreed that "If any one saith, that matrimony is not truly and properly one of the seven sacraments of the evangelic law (a sacrament), instituted by Christ the Lord; but that it has been invented by men in the Church; and that it does not confer grace; let him be anathema."[54] Thus, the Council of Trent reasserted the status of marriage as a sacrament while also anathematizing Protestant views on marriage.

The Council of Trent, moreover, warned against clandestine marriages. Historian Edward W. Muir has argued that before the Council of Trent, "marriage rituals emphasized the essential human commitments: the obligation of the couple to procreate and the pledge of their respective kin to exchange property. The wedding ceremony itself did not become a sacrament until 1439, and only after 1563 did Catholic marriages absolutely require the intervention of a priest."[55] Muir explains that marriages between people from lower classes were quite informal and the vast majority took place outside of a church, such as an example from York in 1372 where two people got married while sitting on a bench in a private house.[56] On this topic, the Council declared that "[...] the holy Church of God has, for reasons most just, at all times detested and prohibited such marriages."[57] Some of the fears expressed in the decree include the possibility of a spouse

---

[53] Villaseñor Black, "Love and Marriage in the Spanish Empire," 651.
[54] Council of Trent, session XXIV, canon I.
[55] Edward Muir, "Rites of Passage," in *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 31.
[56] Muir, 32.
[57] Council of Trent, Session XXIV, chapter I.

leaving his or her clandestine partner, and marrying another, thus living in "perpetual adultery."[58] As a solution, the Council declared that the marriage ought to be officiated by the parish priest, who is responsible for announcing the marriage publicly and who, after hearing the consent form both spouses, was to declare "I join you together in matrimony, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."[59] Thus, the Council made the role of the priest, and therefore the presence of the Church, a *condicio sine qua non* for a marriage to be valid. The Council warns those who might think about undertaking a clandestine marriage, by stating that

> Those who shall attempt to contract marriage otherwise than in the presence of the parish priest, [...], and in the presence of two or three witnesses; the holy Synod renders such wholly incapable of thus contracting and declares such contracts invalid and null, as by the present decree It [sic] invalidates and annuls them.[60]

The presence of witnesses would serve to hold the spouses accountable, thus limiting the possibility of saying that the marriage never took place and thereby avoiding the aforementioned "perpetual adultery."

López de Arteaga's *Desposorios* reinforced ideals of marriage by portraying the Holy Matrimony according to the guidelines put forth by the Council of Trent. The painting contains many aspects that were common in depictions of the Holy Matrimony, such as the presence of the high priest, the ritual joining of hands, Joseph's flowering staff, and the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove.[61] Though common iconographic components in scenes of the Holy Matrimony, these elements are nevertheless in accordance with the Council of Trent. As per the Tridentine decree, marriage was a sacrament whose sacred nature was represented by the presence of a priest. Moreover, the presence of the priest satisfies what Jaffary describes as the "Tridentine orthodoxy's requirement of clerical mediation between humans and divine contact."[62] In López de Arteaga's image, the priest is prominent in the image, staring intensely towards the viewer, thus serving as a focalizer, and allowing the audience to enter the composition. According to Trent, couples were required to seal the contract with a handclasp and declare their intention to

---

[58] Council of Trent, Session XXIV, chapter I.
[59] Council of Trent, Session XXIV, chapter I..
[60] Council of Trent, Session XXIV, chapter I.
[61] Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of Saint Joseph,* 43.
[62] Jaffary, *False Mystics,* 111.

marry in public before witnesses.[63] We have also seen that the presence of witnesses was prescribed by Pacheco. In *Los desposorios,* Mary and Joseph are about to join hands and the presence of the other figures serve as witnesses. The half-circle formed by Joseph, Mary, and the priest would be completed by the viewer, thus making the audience witnesses of the Holy Matrimony and providing a good example of how ceremonies ought to take place. López de Arteaga's painting reflects Tridentine understandings of marriage, but also, as I argue below, it corresponded to New Spanish marriage requirements and furthered the work of colonialism.[64]

The aftermath of the Council of Trent travelled across the Atlantic and can be found in the decrees of the Third Mexican Provincial Council, held in 1585, which outlined specific guidelines for Indigenous marriage.[65] Among other articles of the faith, the Third Mexican Council reiterated that couples ought to be married and should not "live together in the same abode before receiving a priest's blessing at the Church (*templo*) […]."[66] Although it is difficult to see the background of López de Arteaga's painting, we can see in the space between Mary and the priest a few architectural details, such as a column, a tall ceiling, and the interior of what could be a cupula, all of which hint at a temple-like setting. Moreover, the Mexican Council indicates that marriages ought to take place "in presence of a priest […] and two or three witnesses"[67] thus making clandestine marriages illegal (heterodox) and annulling unorthodox marriages. This is very much the case in López de Arteaga's rendition, wherein the angelic figures, the *putti*, and God himself, represented by the Hebrew words יהוה (YHWH), serve as witnesses to the holy union which is, in turn, performed by a priest. Furthermore, according to the Third Mexican Provincial Council, whereas divorce was forbidden, a person could divorce

---

[63] Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of Saint Joseph,* 41–48.

[64] Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of Saint Joseph,* 42.

[65] Villaseñor Black*,* 55.

[66] *Concilio Tercero Provincial Mexicano, Celebrado en Mexico el Año de 1585, Confirmado en Roma por el Papa Sixto V, y Mandado Observar por el Gobierno Español en Diversas Reales Ordenes*, ed. Mariano Galvar Rivera (Mexico: Eugenio Maillefert y Compañia, 1859), book 4, title 1, section 2. "… que no cohabiten en una misma casa ántes de la bendicion sacerdotal que han de recibir en el templo…"

[67] *Concilio Tercero Provincial Mexicano*, book 4, title 1, section 3. "Para poner remedio á los muchos males que resultaban de los matrimonios clandestinos, los irritó el Concilio general Tridentino y prescribió la forma de los que se hubiesen de celebrar, de moso que se contraiga el matrimonio en presencia del párroco ú otro sacerdote con licencia del mismo párroco ó del ordinario, y de dos ó tres testigos."

his or her spouse if and only if their spouse "does not want to embrace the Catholic faith,"[68] thus encouraging Indigenous neophytes to marry someone of the faith. Images like López de Arteaga's *Desposorios,* then, emphasized the importance of marriage as endorsed by the Catholic Church which was, by definition, one that encouraged monogamy, discouraged cohabitation before marriage, and frowned upon divorce, unless one's spouse refused to accept the faith.

Paintings of the Holy Matrimony, and Catholic marriage ideology altogether, served to draw a clear divide between orthodoxy and heterodoxy. By imposing European marriage models, visualized in images of Saint Joseph and the Virgin, Spaniards attempted to eradicate practices such as polygamy and divorce, and to convince Indigenous peoples to embrace Christian practices.[69] I would also argue that this campaign extended to sodomy. As we have seen in the two previous chapters, accusations of sexual voracity were often linked to lawlessness and came to justify the need for European colonization and christianization.[70] As people accused of being sexually-voracious polygamists and sodomites, it was believed that Indigenous populations would benefit from christianization and civilization brought about by European powers.[71] The work of anthropologists, however, has shown that polygamy, *repudio* (a form of Indigenous divorce),[72] and adultery were not widely practiced, let alone condoned, in pre-Hispanic societies. Instead,

> Native men were taught to value monogamy, chastity, and fidelity in marriage. Adultery was strictly censured since it dishonoured not only the guilty party, but also his or her family and ancestors. […] Similarly, repudiation of one's spouse occurred rarely, and was carefully regulated by law and social custom.[73]

Thus, the European outcry of polygamy, sexual voracity, and *repudio* in pre-contact populations, just like the anxieties surrounding sodomy in the Americas, tells us less about pre-Hispanic practices and more about the colonizers' anxieties and their desire to impose Church-sanctioned

---

[68] *Concilio Tercero Provincial Mexicano*, book 4, title 1, section 13. "Si sucediese que estando casados dos infieles, el uno se convierte á la fé y recibe el bautismo, y su consorte de ningun modo quiere abrazar la fé católica, ó blasfema del Santo nombre de Dios, ó cohabita con el fin de arrastrarle al pecado mortal, en tal caso podrá el bautizado pasar si quiere á nueva boda…"

[69] Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of Saint Joseph*, 55.

[70] Villaseñor Black, 55; Garza Carvajal*, Butterflies Will Burn*, 132.

[71] Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of Saint Joseph*, 55.

[72] Villaseñor Black, "Love and Marriage in the Spanish Empire," 664.

[73] Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of Saint Joseph*, 55.

models of marriage. This was, of course, a way to exert control over the religious and sexual lives of Indigenous societies.[74] Keeping Paleotti's and Pacheco's ideas about the potential effects of images on the viewer, I suggest that portrayals of the Holy Matrimony were intended as pedagogical tools and that hey may have been aimed at Indigenous viewers as well. As I have shown in this thesis, there is strong evidence that images were believed to have pedagogical power, and thus were intended to encourage Spanish and Indigenous men alike to imitate Joseph's behaviour and to get married under the Catholic Church, lest they burn in the flames of their own lust.

Joseph may have provided an alternative to the perceived feminization of men, perpetual idleness, and sexual voracity that seventeenth-century commentators warned against. As a worker and carpenter, he was engaged in labour, thus providing a counter-example to Padilla's and León's comments about men engaged in "perpetual idleness, and pleasures, entertainments, eating, drinking, and dressing exquisitely and expensively"[75] and who "from twenty-four hours in one day, they waste ten sleeping, four wandering about and attending plays, six in illicit conversations, and the rest listening to compliments […]."[76] Unlike the *sodometico paciente,* Joseph lives in chastity—therefore not engaging in sodomy—and marrying a woman. What we have here is therefore a potential for an acceptable model of chaste masculinity, one that does not indulge in the pleasures of the flesh, even within marriage, and which therefore negates the possibility for adultery (homo- or heterosexual) to take place.

Joseph's sexual continence was also a focal point for several theologians in the early modern period, making it more plausible that when looking at an image of Saint Joseph, European and Indigenous viewers would be reminded of chastity and male virtue. Due to the Scriptural silence surrounding Joseph, theologians deduced that "the Gospel's description of Joseph as Mary's husband encompassed all his glories, and that Joseph's holiness derived from his status as the husband of the Mother of God."[77] Depictions of Joseph celebrated him as the

---

[74] Villaseñor Black, 55.

[75] Francisco de León quoted in Lehfeldt, "Ideal Men," 463.

[76] Laura de Padilla quoted in Rosilie Hernández, "Luisa de Padilla's *Lágrimas de la nobleza*": 904. "[M]as quién dexara de derramar lágrimas viéndolos tan opuestos a estas verdades, que de las veynte y quatro horas del día, gastan las diez en dormir, quatro en pasear, y oír las comedias, seys en conversaciones ilícitas, las demás escuchando adulaciones, y ninguna para Dios, que parece no conocen ni profesan su Ley?"

[77] Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of Saint Joseph*, 42.

perfect husband.[78] The glory of a Catholic man, or a new convert, was to marry a woman and be the head of the family, thus reinforcing normative (European) views on the nuclear family. Villaseñor Black writes that "sermons on St. Joseph in Náhuatl […] as the perfect husband and urged native men to imitate him by practicing sexual continence."[79] By discouraging adultery and encouraging faithful marriage, portrayals of Saint Joseph as the loyal, loving, exemplar husband, provided models of masculinity and gender roles for men to follow.

Sexual continence and chastity were recurring themes in Josephine iconography and devotion. Many theologians affirmed that Joseph was a virgin, and this was made an official teaching of the Church during the Council of Trent.[80] This had not been a surprise when Joseph was depicted as an old, fragile man. The new Joseph, however, in his youthful manliness, had sexual potency, but the fact that he remained chaste, according to tradition, made his virginity all the more impressive.[81] Joseph's chaste and virginal character was communicated in art through the white flowers on the staff, as is the case in López de Arteaga's *Desposorios*. Art theorists insisted that his staff be "full of flowers" which represented his virginity and his "more pure continence"[82] but which, as we have seen, also alluded to his sexual potency.

Joseph's rod, however has an interesting, and seemingly paradoxical, phallic connotation.[83] In Castro y Bellvis' play discussed earlier in the chapter, white flowers blossom from Joseph's dry staff when it is moistened.[84] Villaseñor Black points out that Castro y Bellvis' audience would have been amused at the contradiction between Joseph's phallic rod, a sexually-charged symbol, and his portrayal as "a man who never used his phallus to procreate, who remained ever virginal, and who did not father his child."[85] Perhaps this would not have been interpreted by the audience as a contradiction, however, and rather as highlighting Joseph's

---

[78] Villaseñor Black*,* 41–42.

[79] Villaseñor Black, 56. The author does not provide examples of sermons on Saint Joseph used to persuade Indigenous men to imitate his behaviour. She provides the bibliographical information for two of these sermons. One of them, however, is only available in its original language (Náhuatl) and the other one is only available at international libraries and theological seminaries. As such, I have not been able to find primary texts to support this idea, so I rely on Villaseñor Black's argument.

[80] Villaseñor Black, 22.

[81] Villaseñor Black*,* 47.

[82] Villaseñor Black, 44.

[83] Villaseñor Black, "Love and Marriage in the Spanish Empire," 647.

[84] Villaseñor Black, 648.

[85] Villaseñor Black, 648..

chastity. Although Joseph was ever virginal and did not engage in any sort of sexual activity with Mary—she was, after all, ever virginal as well—the rod that flowers only when moistened, with its clear sexual undertones, may represent Joseph's *potential,* rather than actual, sexual power. Joseph was a young, virile, strong man who, being capable of engaging in sexual intercourse, decided to remain pure and chaste. Joseph's potent(ial)-yet-never-actual sexuality makes his chastity all the more impressive, and allows regular men, who might be tempted by concupiscence, to relate to him. The message intended for the viewer was that, like Joseph, men ought to imitate his chastity and virginity, at least until marriage. Images of Saint Joseph and the Holy Matrimony promoted not only Christian marriage, but also heteronormativity and a Catholic sexual ethos of chastity and virginity, values that were, at best, not essential to pre-contact societies.

The condemnation of 'sexually voracious' behaviour had as its goal to exert control over the intimate lives of Indigenous populations, an important component of the colonial project.[86] By upholding monogamy within a heteronormative framework as the only possibility, Villaseñor Black argues, images of the Holy Matrimony "helped extend Church control over indigenous converts' lives. Christian marriage thus became a form of colonialism."[87] The colonization and christianization of the Americas required the destruction of Indigenous ways of relating to other humans, traditional family organizations, community structures, and social roles that did not fit an Euro-Catholic framework.[88] For instance, a pre-Conquest practice through which "two unmarried people would live together without a marriage ceremony" came to be understood as cohabitation before marriage, and thus came to be associated with a notion of sin.[89] The conquest of the 'New World' was a twofold endeavour that incorporated the christianization of the spiritual lives of Indigenous populations, as well as the colonization of their sexual lives. The imposition of European dominance, therefore, went hand in hand with the establishment of Catholic orthodoxy and (hetero)sexual orthopraxy.

---

[86] Pete Sigal, "Queer Nahuatl," 13.
[87] Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of Saint Joseph,* 56.
[88] Villaseñor Black, 56.
[89] Sigal, *The Flower and the Scorpion,* 212.

Portrayals of the Holy Matrimony, of which López de Arteaga's *Los Desposorios de la Virgen* is one example, strived to further the work of colonialism by providing examples of a Christian ideal of masculinity, thus extending Euro-Catholic control into the private lives of Indigenous neophytes. These portrayals stand in stark contrast to those of 'deviant' masculinities, which sought to condemn and discourage homosexual acts while simultaneously providing a 'just cause' for colonial rule. Although the actual effect of these images on Indigenous viewers' perceptions of themselves and of Spanish invaders has yet to be fully understood, the two previous chapters have shed light on the desired effect that Spaniards sought to produce. The construction of hegemonic and deviant masculinities was therefore a part of Spain's imperial project and one that was related to larger issues of christianization and land dispossession. As two examples separated by one hundred years, the *Florentine Codex* and López de Arteaga's *Desposorios* demonstrate different aspects of the construction of masculine ideals as rhetorical tools in the colonial project.

Conclusion

Throughout this thesis, it has been my contention that portrayals of deviant and hegemonic masculinities were intended to perpetuate European imperialism in the Americas and to extend colonial power into the intimate lives of Indigenous peoples and neophytes. Portrayals of masculinities, therefore, reveal the colonial interests of Spanish missionaries and settlers, the desire to deterritorialize Indigenous peoples, and the drive to assert Euro-Catholic hegemony in all aspects of life, including sex, gender, and sexuality. By relying on artistic theory of the period, I have shown how European writers and settlers believed that these images could efficiently persuade viewers and by examining case studies from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, I have illustrated the many-layered nature of European use of images. They used both positive and negative exemplars of masculinity, which were constructed to respond to and reflect one another.

My focus on travelling figures—namely Bernardino de Sahagún and Sebastián López de Arteaga, two Europeans who travelled and settled in New Spain—furthers our understanding of the wide range of artistic, religious, intellectual, and moral discourses that travelled from Europe to the Americas, particularly those between Spain and New Spain. In doing so, this thesis contributes to ongoing and growing discussions about the globalization of art history. A significant contribution of this thesis to the global turn in art history is the re-examination of Gabriele Paleotti's treatise *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images* in light of European colonial expansion. This analysis sheds light on the influence that the European encounter with the Americas had on European art theory, thus highlighting the active role that the 'New World' played in the European imagination. By placing Paleotti and his treatise within this network of trans-Atlantic exchanges, we are in a better position to examine how early modern Europeans understood the role of images in the colonization of the Americas.

Because discussions of sodomy and masculinity in colonial Latin America have mostly relied on textual and archival documents, I have demonstrated that the study of visual culture can provide rich opportunities to examine the relationship between Spanish imperialism and sexuality in the Spanish Americas. Examining the *Florentine Codex* and in López de Arteaga's *Desposorios* from this perspective demonstrates that images were not simply peripheral to textual sources, or mere illustrations. Rather, these two case studies bear witness to the extent

that visual representations of hegemonic and deviant masculinities played a significant role in the construction of colonial reality in New Spain.

My approach to this thesis and its scope, however, have some limitations. Chief among them is the need to further examine the reception of the images at hand. By choosing to examine images from the point of view of European art theory, I have not fully examined their intended or actual audience. Examining the reception of these images would, therefore, advance our understanding of their impact on viewers of the period. Part of this work will hopefully account for the histories of circulation and the social histories of these works. Further research on the topic may also examine Indigenous responses to these images and will examine whether or not they successfully contributed to the conversion process. It would be useful, moreover, to consider images of Saint Joseph from the early missions to see whether the pictorial strategies described in chapter four were also deployed in the early years of the colonial project. It would also be interesting to see whether similar processes also took place in other American colonies, such as New France, New England, New Granada, and Perú, or whether other male saints were enlisted in this project. The many possibilities to further advance the research presented in this thesis points to the potential of the somewhat-understudied intersections between sanctity, colonialism, gender discourses, and visual culture. Because our discipline is currently witnessing an increasing interest in Latin American and global art histories, with a growing number of scholars seeking and obtaining degrees in the field, I am hopeful that many of these questions will be examined and answered in the coming years.

Figures

Figure 1: Diego de Valadés, *El maestro adapta a los sentidos los dones celestes, y riega áridos pechos con fuente de elocuencia*, in *Retórica Cristiana*, p. 473 (fol. 111 in Latin, fol. 211 in Spanish). Originally printed in Perugia, 1579; reprinted in Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2003. Image sourced from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Rhetorica_christiana_(1579)

Figure 2: Anonymous, *Chimalli (warrior's shield) with a Coyote*, ca. 1500, feather mosaic, gold leaf agave paper, and leather. 70 cm (diameter). Vienna, Museum für Völkerkunde. Image sourced from http://www.mexicolore.co.uk/aztecs/home/viennas-mesoamerican-featherworks

Figure 3: Anonymous, *The Mass of St. Gregory*, 1539, feather mosaic on panel, 68 x 56 cm. Auch, Musée des Jacobins. Image sourced from http://www.getty.edu/art/mobile/center/golden/stop.php?id=357140

Figure 4: Bernardino de Sahagún and Collaborators, *Tezcatlipoca, otro Jupiter*, illustration in the *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (*Florentine Codex*), 1558–1585, ink on paper. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. Image borrowed from the World Digital Library, https://www.wdl.org/en/item/10096/

Figure 5: Bernardino de Sahagún and Collaborators, *Titlacauan*, illustration in the *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (*Florentine Codex*), 1558–1585, appendix to book 1, folio 34, ink on paper. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. Image borrowed from the World Digital Library, https://www.wdl.org/en/item/10096/

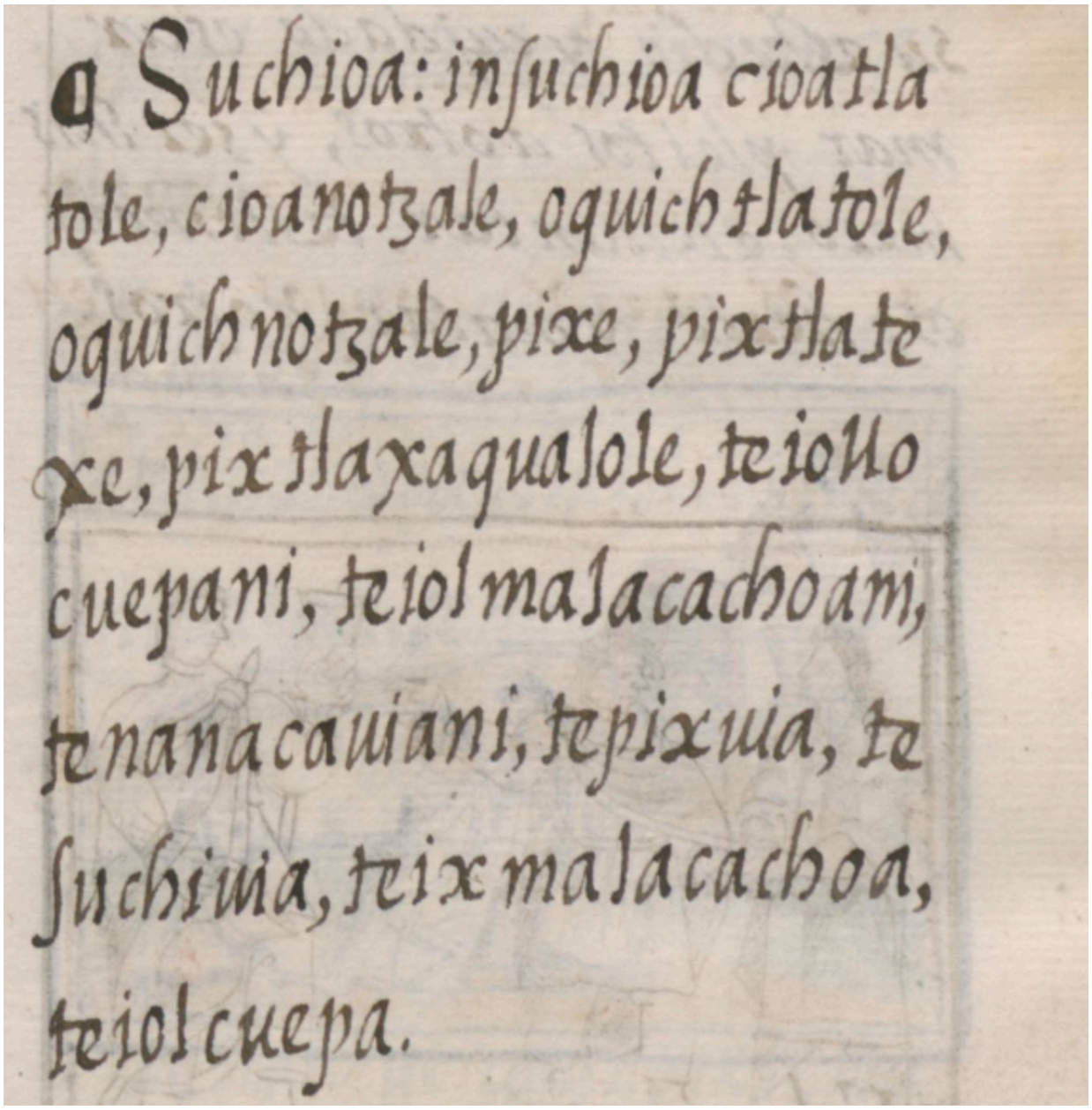

Figure 6: Bernardino de Sahagún and Collaborators, description of the *xochihua* (suchioa) in Nahuatl, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (*Florentine Codex*), 1558–1585, Book 10, Chapter 11, Folio 25, ink on paper. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. Image borrowed from the World Digital Library, https://www.wdl.org/en/item/10096/

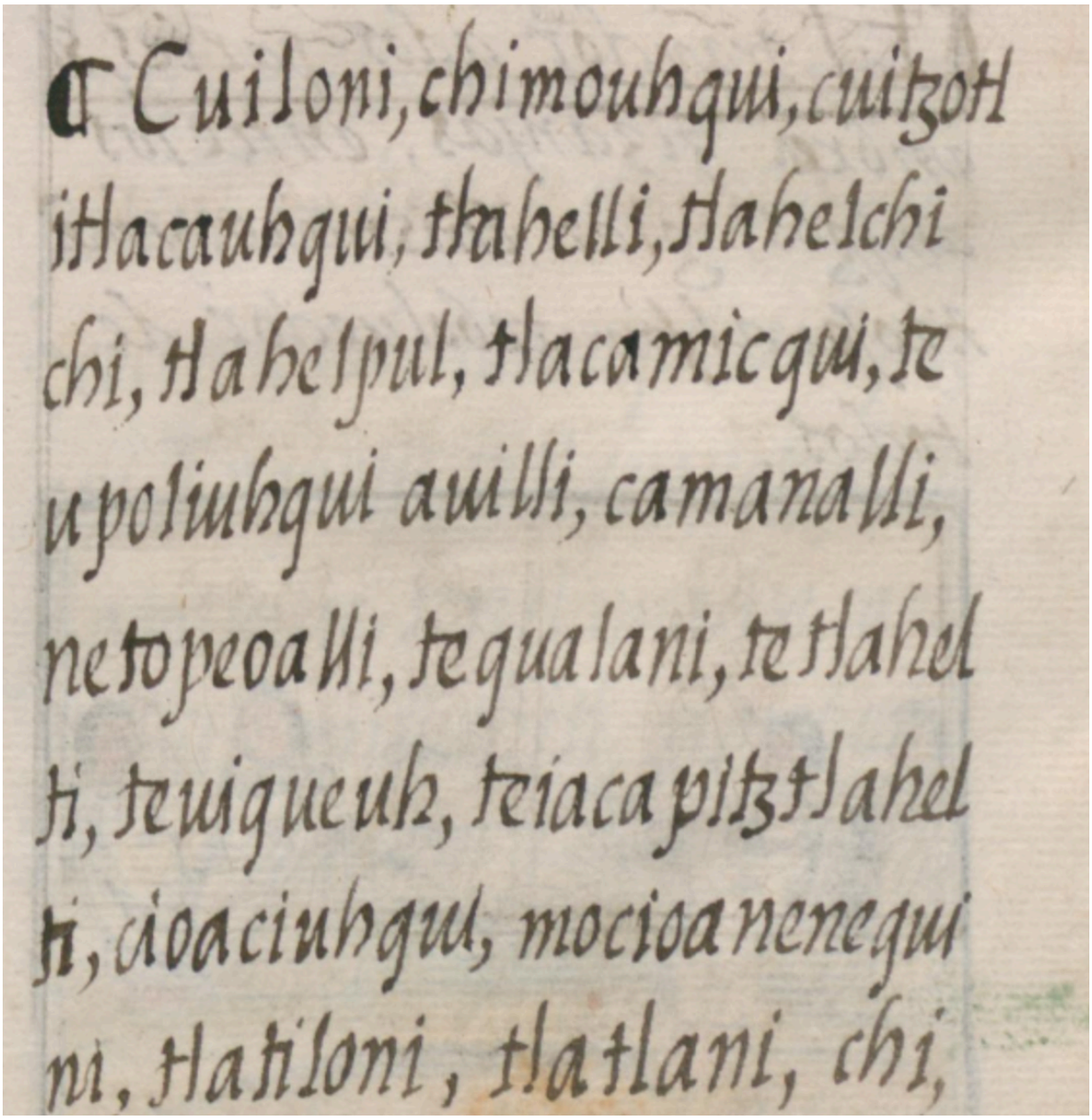

Figure 7: Bernardino de Sahagún and Collaborators, description of the *cuiloni* in Nahuatl, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (*Florentine Codex*), 1558–1585, Book 10, Chapter 11, Folio 25, ink on paper. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. Image borrowed from the World Digital Library, https://www.wdl.org/en/item/10096/

Figure 8: Theodor de Bry, *Balboa throws some Indians, who had committed the terrible sin of sodomy, to the dogs to be torn apart*, 1594, engraving from Bartolomé de las Casas, *Narratio regionum Indicarum per Hispanos quosdam deuestatarum verissima* (Frankfurt: De Bry and Saurii, 1598). Image and information sourced from Deborah A. Miranda, "Extermination of the Joyas: Gendercide in Spanish California," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 16: 1–2 (2010): 258.

Figure 9: Bernardino de Sahagún and Collaborators, illustration accompanying the entry for *sodometico paciente*, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (*Florentine Codex*), 1558–1585, Book 10, Chapter 11, Folio 26, ink on paper. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. Image borrowed from the World Digital Library, https://www.wdl.org/en/item/10096/

Figure 10: Sebastián López de Arteaga, *Los desposorios de la Virgen*, 1645–1652, oil on canvas, 244 x 167 cm. Mexico City: Museo Nacional de Arte. Image sourced from https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/dwHsNsMXp9zQtA

Figure 11: Giotto, *Marriage of the Virgin*, c. 1303, fresco, 200 x 185 cm. Padua, Scrovegni Chapel (Arena Chapel). Image sourced from https://www.wikiart.org/en/giotto/the-marriage-of-the-virgin

Figure 12: Perugino, *The Marriage of the Virgin*, 1500-1504, oil on wood, 234 x 185 cm. Caen, Musée des beaux-arts de Caen. Image sourced from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Marriage_of_the_Virgin_(Perugino)

Figure 13: José de Ribera, *Saint Joseph*, ca. 1635, oil on canvas, 71,8 x 61,9 cm. Montréal, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Montréal. Photograph by author.

Figure 14: Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *Marriage of the Virgin*, c. 1665-1670, oil on mahogany panel, 72.2 x 55.4 cm. London, The Wallace Collection. Image from Concordia University's Visual Collections Repository.

Bibliography

Aguilar-Moreno, Manuel. "Evangelization and Indigenous Religious reactions to Conquest and Colonization." In *The Cambridge History of Religions in Latin America*, edited by Virginia Garrard-Burnett, Paul Freston, and Stephen C. Dove, 87-106. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Alvim, Márcia Elena. "Um franciscano no Novo Mundo: frei Bernardino de Sahagún e sua Historia General de las cosas de Nueva España." *Estudos Ibero-Americanos* XXXI:1 (2005): 51-60.

Anderson, Leon. *Deviance: Social Constructions and Blurred Boundaries.* Oakland: University of California Press, 2017.

Aquinas, Thomas. *The Summa Theologica.* Translated by the Fathers of the English Dominican Province. New York: Benzinger Bros., 1947. https://dhspriory.org/thomas/summa/

Bertrand, Guy-M. "La 'Summa de donis Sancti Joseph' d'Isidore de Isolanis, OP." *Cahiers de Joséphologie* 8:2 (1960): 219-249.

Boisvert, Donald L. *Sanctity and Male Desire: A Gay Reading of Saints.* Cleveland: The Pilgrim Press, 2004.

Boswell, John. *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

Brown, Jonathan. "Artistic Theory: The Aims of the Christian Artist." In *Italian and Spanish Art, 1600-1750: Sources and Documents*, edited by Robert Enggass and Jonathan Brown, 161–164. Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1970.

———. "From Spanish to New Spanish Painting, 1550-1700." In *Painting in Latin America*, edited by Luisa Elena Alcalá and Jonathan Brown, 103-147. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014.

———. "The Word Made Image: Religion, Art, and Architecture in Spain and Spanish America, 1500-1600." In *The Word Made Image: Religion, Arts, and Architecture in Spain and Spanish America, 1500-1600*, edited by the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 9-15. Boston: Trustees of the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 1998.

Callum, Pat. "'Give Me Chastity': Masculinity and Attitudes to Chastity and Celibacy in the Middle Ages." *Gender and History* 25:3 (2013): 621–633.

Carducho, Vicente. *Diálogos de la pintura: Su defensa, origen, esencia, definición, modos y diferencias.* Edited by Francisco Calvo Serraller. Madrid: Ediciones Turner, 1979.

Carrette, Jeremy. "Beyond Theology and Sexuality: Foucault, the Self, and the Que(e)rying of Monotheistic Truth." In *Michel Foucault and Theology: The Politics of Religious Experience*, edited by James Barnauer and Jeremy Carrette, 217–232. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2004.

Castro-Gómez, Santiago. "(Post)Coloniality for Dummies: Latin American Perspectives on Modernity, Coloniality, and the Geopolitics of Knowledge." In *Coloniality at Large: Latin America and the Postcolonial Debate*, edited by Mabel Moraña, Enrique Dussel, and Carlos A. Jáuregui, 259–285. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008.

Castro, Guillén de. "El Mejor Esposo." In *Piezas maestras del teatro teológico Español, vol. 2: comedias*, compiled by Nicolás González Ruiz, 361-417. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1946.

Concilio Provincial Mexicano. *Concilio Tercero Provincial Mexicano, Celebrado en Mexico el Año de 1585, Confirmado en Roma por el Papa Sixto V, y Mandado Observar por el Gobierno Español en Diversas Reales Ordenes*, edited by Mariano Galvar Rivera. Mexico: Eugenio Maillefert y Compañia, 1859.

Connell, R.W. *Masculinities.* Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

Council of Trent. *The canons and decrees of the sacred and oecumenical Council of Trent, celebrated under the sovereign pontiffs Paul III, Julius III and Pius IV*. Translated by J. Waterworth. London: Dolman: 1848. https://history.hanover.edu/texts/trent.html

Davies, Surekha. *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human: New Worlds, Maps and Monsters.* Cambridge University Press, 2016.

de Jesús Douglas, Eduardo. "Indigenous Painting in New Spain, ca. 1521-1600: Iconic-Script Manuscripts, Feather Paintings, and Murals." In *Painting in Latin America 1550-1820*, edited by Luisa Elena Alcalá and Jonathan Brown, 71-101. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014.

de Torres, Pedro. *Excelencias de S. Joseph, varon divino, patriarca grande, esposo purissimo de la madre de Dios, y altissimo padre adoptivo del hijo de Dios*. Seville: por los herederos de Thomàs Lopez de Haro, en calle de Genova, 1710.

Driskill, Qwo-Li. "Doubleweaving Two-Spirit Critiques: Building Alliances between Native and Queer Studies." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 16: 1–2 (2010): 69–92.

Duroselle–Melish, Caroline and David A. Lines. “The Library of Ulisse Aldrovandi (†1605): Acquiring and Organizing Books in Sixteenth-Century Bologna.” *The Library* 16:2 (2015): 133–161.

Garber, Marjorie. “The Occidental Tourist: M. Butterfly and the Scandal of Transvestism.” In *Nationalisms and Sexualities*, edited by A. Parker, M. Russo, D. Sommer and P. Yaeger 121–146. New York: Routledge, 1992.

Garza Carvajal, Federico. *Butterflies Will Burn: Prosecuting Sodomites in Early Modern Spain and Mexico*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003.

Gleach, Frederic W. “Controlled Speculation and Constructed Myths: The Saga of Pochahontas and Captain John Smith.” In *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History*, edited by Jennifer S.H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert, 39–74. Toronto: Broadview press, 2003.

González García, Juan Luis. *Imágenes sagradas y predicación visual en el Siglo de Oro.* Madrid: Ediciones Akal, S. A., 2015.

———. “Spanish Religious Image Theory and Post-Tridentine Theory.” *Hispanic Research Journal* 16:5 (2016): 441–455. DOI: 10.1080/14682737.2015.1124189.

González Sánchez, Carlos Alberto. *El espíritu de la imagen: Arte y religión en el mundo hispánico de la Contrarreforma.* Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 2017.

Gruzinski, Serge. “Art History and Iberian Worldwide Diffusion: Westernization/Globalization/ Americanization.” In *Circulations in the Global History of Art*, edited by Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, Catherine Dossin, and Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, 47-58. Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2015.

———. “Images and Cultural Mestizaje in Colonial Mexico.” *Poetics Today* 16 (1995): 53–77.

———. “The Christianization of the Imaginaire.” In *The Conquest of Mexico: The Incorporation of Indian Societies into the Western World, 16th–18th Centuries*, 184–200. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993.

Hale, Rosemary Drage. “Joseph as Mother: Adaptation and Appropriation in the Construction of Male Virtue.” In *Medieval Mothering*, edited by John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler, 101-116. Garland Publishing, 1996.

Heming, Carol Piper. *Protestants and the Cult of the Saints in German-Speaking Europe, 1517-1531.* Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2003.

Hernández, Rosilie. “Luisa de Padilla’s *Lágrimas de la nobleza*: Vice, Moral Authority, and the Woman Writer.” Bulletin of Spanish Studies 87:7 (2010): 897–914. DOI: 10.1080/14753820.2011.529287

History. “Mexico Timeline.” Accessed April 23, 2017. http://www.history.com/topics/mexico/mexico-timeline.

Hokowhitu, Brendan. “Taxonomies of Indigeneity: Indigenous Heterosexual Patriarchal Masculinity.” In *Indigenous Men and Masculinities*, edited by Robert Alexander Innes and Kim Anderson, 80–95. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2015.

Holt, Andrew. “Between Warrior and Priest: The Creation of a New Masculine Identity During the Crusades.” In *Negotiating Clerical Identities: Priests, Monks, and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*, edited by Jennifer D. Thibodeaux, 185-203. London: Palgrave Macmillian, 2010.

Hsia, Ronnie Po-Chia. *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540–1770.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Jaffary, Nora E. *False Mystics: Deviant Orthodoxy in Colonial Mexico*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2004.

Jefferson, Ann and Paul Lokken. “Love, Sex, and Relationships.” In *Daily Life in Colonial Latin America,* 27–46. Santa Barbara, Denver, and Oxford: Greenwood, 2011.

Jones, Pamela M. “Art Theory as Ideology: Gabriele Paleotti's Hierarchical Notion of Painting's Universality and Reception.” In *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450-1650.* Edited by Claire Farago, 127–139. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995.

Jordan, Mark D. T*he Invention of Sodomy in Christian Theology.* Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Klor de Alva, J. Jorge. “Spiritual Conflict and Accommodation in New Spain: toward a Typology of Aztec Responses to Christianity.” In *The Inca and Aztec States 1400-1800: Anthropology and History,* edited by George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo, and John D. Wirth, 345-366. New York: Academic Press, 1982.

Kuefler, Mathew. “‘I Am a Soldier of Christ’: Christian Masculinity and Militarism.” In *The Manly Eunuch: Masculinity, Gender Ambiguity, and Christian Ideology in the Late Middle Ages*, 105-124. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Lara, Jaime. *Christian Texts for Aztecs: Art and Liturgy in Colonial Mexico*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008.

León-Portilla, Miguel. "Aportaciones en las últimas décadas sobre Sahagún y lo que falta por hacer." In *El universo de Sahagún: Pasado y presente*, edited by Pilar Máynez and José Rubén Romero Galván, 13–32. Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2014.

Lehfeldt, Elizabeth A. "Ideal Men: Masculinity and Decline in Seventeenth-Century Spain." *Renaissance Quarterly* 61:2 (2008): 463-494. URL: www.jstor.org/stable/10.1353/ren.0.0024.

Maegawa, Ioachim Noboru. *La Doctrine de Jean Gerson sur saint Joseph: Extrait des cahiers de Joséphologie (1959-1960)*. Montreal: Centre de Recherches et de Documentation de l'Oratoire Saint Joseph, 1961.

Macionis, John and Linda Gerber. *Sociology*. Toronto, Ontario: Pearson Canada Inc., 2010.

Mallory Nina A. *El Greco to Murillo: Spanish Painting in the Golden Age, 1556-1700.* New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1990.

Magaloni Kerpel, Diana. *The Colors of the New World: Artists, Materials, and Creation of the Florentine Codex*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2014.

Markey, Lia. *Imagining the Americas in Medici Florence*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016.

Martínez, Jusepe. *Practical Discourses on the Most Noble Art of Painting.* Translated by Zahira Véliz and edited by David McGrath and Zahira Véliz. Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2017.

Mignolo, Walter D. "On the Colonization of Amerindian Languages and Memories: Renaissance Theories of Writing and the Discontinuity of the Classical Tradition." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34:2 (1992): 301–30.

Mills, Robert. *Seeing Sodomy in the Middle Ages.* Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015.

Miranda, Deborah A. "Extermination of the Joyas: Gendercide in Spanish California." GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies 16: 1–2 (2010): 254–284.

Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. "Jusepe de Ribera, Saint Joseph." Accessed June 6, 2018. www.mbam.qc.ca/en/collections/early-to-modern-international-art/#detail-5569

Morgan, David. *The Forge of Vision: A Visual History of Modern Christianity*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2015.

———. *The Sacred Gaze: Religious Visual Culture in Theory and Practice.* Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2005.

———. *Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Morgensen, Scott L. “Cutting to the Roots of Colonial Masculinities.” In *Indigenous Men and Masculinities*, edited by Robert Alexander Innes and Kim Anderson, 38–61. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2015.

Moyssén, Xavier. "Sebastián de Arteaga." *Anales de Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* XV:59 (1988): 17-34. http://www.analesiie.unam.mx/index.php/analesiie/article/view/1390.

Muir, Edward. “Rites of Passage.” In *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 19–54. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Mundy, Barbara E., and Aaron M. Hyman. “Out of the Shadow of Vasari: Towards a New Model of the 'Artist' in Colonial Latin America.” *Colonial Latin American Review* 24:3 (2015): 283–317.

Nixon, Lindsay. “Fugitive Portraits.” *Canadian Art,* July 17, 2017. https://canadianart.ca/features/fugitive-portraits/

Noyes, Ruth S. “Post-Tridentine Image Reform and the Myth of Gabriele Paleotti.” *Catholic Historical Review* 99:2 (2013): 239–261.

O’Malley, John. “Saint Charles Borromeo and the *Praecipuum Episcoporum Munus*: His Place in the History of Preaching.” In *San Carlo Borromeo: Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century.* Edited by John M. Headley and John B. Tomaro, 139–157. Washington: Folger Books, 1988. 149.

Pacheco, Francisco. *Arte de la pintura, su antigüedad y grandezas.* Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel Galindo, 1866.

Paleotti, Gabriele. *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images.* Translated by William McCuaig. Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2012.

Parsons Scott, Samuel, trans. *Las Siete Partidas, volume 5: Underworlds: The dead, the Criminal, and the Marginalized.* Edited by Robert I. Burns. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

Pereda, Felipe. "The Veronica according to Zurbarán: Painting as figura and image as vestigio." In *Knowledge and Discernment in the Early Modern Arts.* Edited by Sven Durpé and Christine Göttler, 125–162. London and New York: Routledge, 2017.

Perry, Mary Elizabeth. "The 'Nefarious Sin' in Early Modern Seville." *Journal of Homosexuality* 16:1-2 (1989): 67–90. DOI: 10.1300/J082v16n01_04.

Pope Paul III. "*Sublimus Dei*: On the Enslavement and Evangelization of Indians." Papal Encyclicals Online. Accessed December 15, 2017. www.papalencyclicals.net/paul03/p3subli.htm.

Pseudonymous. "The Proto-Gospel of James." In *Lost Scriptures: Books that did not Make it Into the New Testament*, edited by Bart D. Erhman, 63-72. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Rifkin, Mark. *When Did Indians Become Straight?: Kinship, History of Sexuality, and Native Sovereignty*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Roa-de-la-Carrera, Cristián. "El "Indio" como categoría antropológica en la *Apologética Historia Sumaria* de Fray Bartolomé de las Casas." *Confluencia: Revista Hispánica de Cultura y Literatura* 25:2 (2010): 81–93. https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/revista?codigo=325

Rocke, Michael. *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

———. "Sodomites in Fifteenth-Century Florence." *Journal of Homosexuality* 16:1-2 (1989): 7-32. DOI: 10.1300/J082v16n01_02.

Rubial García, Antonio. *La Santidad Controvertida: Hagiografía y conciencia criolla alrededor de los venerables no canonizados de Nueva España*. Mexico City: FEC/ UNAM, 1999.

Ruiz Gomar Campos, José Rogelio. "Rubens en la pintura Novohispana de mediados del siglo XVII." *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 50:1 (1982): 87-101.

Russo, Alessandra. "*De Tlacuilolli:* Renaissance Artistic Theory in the Wake of the Iberian Global Turn." In *Art History in the Wake of the Global Turn.* Edited by Jill Casid and Aruna D'Souza, 20–39. Williamstown: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014.

———. *The Untranslatable Image: A Mestizo History of the Arts in New Spain, 1500-1600.* Translated by Susan Emanuel. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014.

Sabat Rivers, Georgina. "Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz and Sor Marcela de San Félix: Their Devotions to St. Joseph as the Antithesis of Patriarchal Authoritarianism." In *Joseph of Nazareth Through the Centuries*, edited by Joseph Chorpenning, 263–279. Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2011.

Sahagún, Bernadino de and collaborators. *Historia general de las cosas de nueva España*. Santa Fe: School of American Research (1577), 1970–1972.

Saunders Nicholas J., and Elizabeth Baquedano. "Introduction: Symbolizing Tezcatlipoca." In *Tezcatlipoca: Trickster and Supreme Deity*, edited by Elizabeth Baquedano, 1–6. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2015.

Sigal, Pete. "(Homo)Sexual Desire and Masculine Power in Colonial Latin America: Notes Toward an Integrated Analysis." In *Infamous Desire: Male Homosexuality in Colonial Latin America*, 1–24. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

———. "The *Cuiloni*, the *Patlache*, and the Abominable Sin: Homosexualities in Early Colonial Nahua Society." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 85:5 (2005): 555–593.

———. *The Flower and the Scorpion: Sexuality and Ritual in Early Nahua Culture*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2012.

———. "Queer Nahuatl: Sahagún's Faggots and Sodomites, Lesbians and Hermaphrodites." *Ethnohistory* 54:1 (2007): 9–33. DOI 10.1215/00141801-2006-038.

———. "Sodomy." In *Lexicon of Hispanic Baroque*, edited by Evonne Levy and Kenneth Mills, 326–328. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014.

Stowell, Steven. "Invention and Amplification: Imagining Sacred History." In *The Spiritual Language of Art: Medieval Christian Themes in Writings on Art of the Italian Renaissance,* 250–313. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015.

———. "Visualizing the Sodomites in Dante's 'Commedia.'" *Dante Studies* 126 (2008): 143-174. URL: www.jstor.org/stable/20787324.

Thompson, Ken. *Émile Durkheim.* London and New York: Routledge, 2002.

Trexler, Richard C. *Sex and Conquest: Gendered Violence, Political Order, and the European Conquest of the Americas*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995.

Tortorici, Zeb. "'Heran Todos Putos': Sodomitical Subcultures and Disordered Bodies in Early Colonial Mexico." *Ethinohistory* 54:1 (2007): 35-67.

———. "Masturbation, Salvation, and Desire: Connecting Sexuality and Religiosity in Colonial Mexico." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 16:3 (2007): 355-372.

Tuhiwai Smith, Linda. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. New York: Zed Books, 1999.

Valadés, Diego de. *Retórica Cristiana.* Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2003.

Villaseñor Black, Charlene. *Creating the Cult of Saint Joseph: Art and Gender in the Spanish Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.

———. "Love and Marriage in the Spanish Empire: Depictions of Holy Matrimony and Gender Discourses in the Seventeenth Century." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 32:3 (2001): 637-667. URL: www.jstor.org/stable/2671506.

———. "Pacheco, Velázquez, and the Legacy of Leonardo in Spain." In *Re-Reaqding Leonardo: The Treatise on Painting Across Europe*, 1550-1900, edited by Claire Farago, 349-374. Surrey: Ashgate, 2009.

Williams, David. *Saints Alive: Word, Image, and Enactment in the Lives of Saints*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010.

Wilson, Carolyn C. *St. Joseph in Renaissance Society and Art: New Directions and Interpretations* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2001.