VISUAL AND MATERIAL CULTURE, 1300-1700

Edited by Heather Madar

Prints as Agents of Global Exchange, 1500-1800

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Visual and Material Culture, 1300-1700

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Introduction

Heather Madar

Abstract
Printed works were disseminated beyond the borders of Europe, beginning to move globally shortly after the invention of the Gutenberg press. Brought by missionaries, artists, merchants, diplomats and travelers for motivations including conversion, artistic curiosity and trade, European prints traveled to areas as varied as Turkey, India, Iran, Ethiopia, China, Japan and the Americas. Printed works became important sources of cultural knowledge and sites of inter-cultural dialogue. Analysis of these transmissions raise numerous issues: the agency and motivations of actors on either side; ways European prints were recontextualized and transformed to provide locally specific meanings; aesthetic responses to European prints in global contexts. Analysis of these issues in turn leads to methodological challenges and a reconsideration of previous approaches.

Keywords: transculturalism, cross-cultural exchange, Renaissance print circulation, global Renaissance

That printmaking's ease of replication and comparatively inexpensive nature facilitated the widespread dissemination of printed works within Europe during the early modern period is common knowledge. The significance of what can be understood as the media, communications and even epistemological revolution occasioned by printmaking has been recognized as profound, with printmaking posited as a decisive agent in phenomena ranging from the Protestant Reformation to the Scientific Revolution.[1] Less a part of the standard narrative of printmaking's significance is a recognition of the frequency with which the dissemination of printed works also occurred beyond the borders of Europe and a consideration of

1 The classic discussion is Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe,* the revised and abridged version of her two volume work *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change,* first published in 1979. William Ivins posited the significance of the exactly repeatable image enabled by printmaking to the furtherance of scientific knowledge and technological innovation in his *Prints and Visual Communication*.

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the impact of this broader movement of printed objects. Within a decade of the invention of the Gutenberg press, European prints began to move globally.[2] Over the course of the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, the time frame considered in this collection of essays, numerous prints produced in Europe traveled to areas as varied as Turkey, India, Iran, Ethiopia, China, Japan and the Americas, where they were taken by missionaries, artists, travelers, merchants and diplomats. The means and motivations for this cross-cultural migration of printed media were many, and varied in terms of the dynamics of the cultural exchanges and the primary mode of transmission. These disseminations were frequently ideologically charged, with prints used particularly as essential tools in conversion efforts by Christian missionaries and for didactic purposes. European prints also became image sources for locally produced art, where the source material was frequently modified and reconsidered in light of local materials, interests and concerns, sometimes to unexpected effects. The translation of printed works between cultures and often between media resulted in shifting meanings and altered visualities. Printed works became important sources of cultural knowledge and sites of inter-cultural dialogue.

The major role that European prints played in artistic, religious, political and intellectual cross-cultural exchange in the early modern period is not a new discovery, but the discussion of this phenomenon has tended to remain confined to area specialists. In the context of Latin American art, the role European engravings played as sources for colonial art has been frequently examined.[3] Scholars of Mughal art have unpacked the interests that prompted emperors Akbar and Jahangir's consumption of European prints and support of Mughal artists working in a Europeanized style together with the aesthetic concerns that may have led court artists to an interest in these objects.[4] The patronage of European artists by Safavid emperors in the seventeenth century, the unexpected references to European prints that appear in Safavid art, where the Annunciate Virgin may be transformed into a secular coquette, for example, as

2 Florentine engravings seem to have been present in Constantinople by the 1460s. See Raby, "Mehmed II Fatih and the Fatih Album." Other early instances of the transport of prints outside Europe include Cortés, who brought prints to Tenochtitlan in 1519 and the prints that were taken by the Jesuit Francis Xavier on his mission to Goa in 1542. See Cummins, "The Indulgent Image: Prints in the New World," p. 207 and Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773*, p. 6. See also Boyd, *Popular Arts of Spanish New Mexico,* especially pp. 78-81, González, "The Circulation of Flemish Prints in Mexican Missions and the Creation of a New Visual Narrative, 1630-1800," p. 6.

3 See Boyd, González, Bailey, and Cummins, ibid., as well as González, "Our Lady of El Pueblito: A Marian Devotion on the Northern Frontier", Bargellini, "Painting in Latin Colonial Latin America," and Hyman, "Inventing Painting: Cristóbal de Villalpando, Juan Correa and New Spain's Transatlantic Canon".

4 In addition to Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, see also Bailey, *The Jesuits and the Grand Mogul: Renaissance Art in the Imperial Court of India, 1580-1630*, Rice, "The Brush and the Burin: Mogul Encounters with European Engravings", Rice, "Lines of Perception: European Prints and the Mughal Kitabkhana" and Subrahmanyam, "A Roomful of Mirrors: The Artful Embrace of Mughals and Franks, 1550-1700".

well as the role of the New Julfa Armenian community in this process of exchange have similarly received scholarly attention.[5] The work of regional studies is clearly essential, and the dynamics of each individual case differ in important ways which should not be flattened by a more comprehensive or integrative approach. Yet the local focus has meant that the larger dynamics and global nature of the migrations of European prints in this period have remained under-discussed.

A concern with the movement of images in time and space and across cultural boundaries can be traced back at least to Aby Warburg's notions of *Bilderfahrzeuge* – the migration of images – and *Wanderstrasse* – migratory paths. Both concepts recognize the translation, recontextualization and adaptation that occur through image travel and motif transmission, which for Warburg principally concerned the migration of images and motifs from antiquity to the Renaissance.[6] Various contemporary theoretical models and terminologies for the process of cultural exchange help to conceptualize the dynamics at play in the global spread of European prints in the early modern period. Of particular use are terminologies and paradigms that consider the reciprocal, dialogic nature of exchange, and that recognize the active agency of participants on both sides of inter-cultural exchange.

Gauvin Alexander Bailey notes that the concept of transculturation "accommodates the more reciprocal nature of cultural exchange [...] allows influence to run in two directions [...] each side experiences partial loss and partial gain as they forge a new, third culture."[7] The theme of reciprocity is also underlined by Peter Burke, who writes that "when there is an encounter between two cultures, information usually flows in both directions, even if in unequal amounts." He further states that "it has become increasingly apparent that reception is not passive but active. Ideas, information, artifacts and practices are not simply adopted but adapted."[8] Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, Catherine Dossin and Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel have recently proposed circulation as a way of conceptualizing transcultural exchange "through a historical materialist perspective" as it permits a focus on "the materiality of the object and the image as well as the diverse modes of circulation and the various contexts in which they occur."[9] They are careful to note that circulation is not the

5 See Schwartz, "Terms of Reception: Europeans and Persians and Each Other's Art" as well as Bailey, "Frankish Masters: A Safavid Drawing and its Flemish Inspiration," and Landau, "Reconfiguring the Northern European Print to Depict Sacred History at the Persian Court".

6 See Despoix, "*Translatio* and Remediation: Aby Warburg, Image Migration and Photographic Reproduction". Andrea Bubenik also addresses this briefly in *Reframing Albrecht Dürer: The Appropriation of Art, 1528-1700*, p. 3. There is also currently an international working group: *Bilderzeuge*: Aby Warburg's Legacy and the Future of Iconography.

7 Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions,* p. 22.

8 Burke, "Translating Knowledge, Translating Cultures", p. 70.

9 Kaufmann, Dossin and Joyeux-Prunel, "Introduction: Reintroducing Circulations: Historiography and the Project of Global Art History", pp. 1-2.

familiar study of influence or diffusion but rather allows for a horizontal model of cross-cultural study rather than a hierarchical, vertical one that prioritizes Europe. Their highlighting of agency, the complexity of exchange and the return to the material parallels key themes in recent studies of print circulation in a global context. The necessity of understanding prints as active agents engaged in complex cultural processes rather than as passive bearers of information also speaks to broader recent reconsiderations of the print medium in this period.[10]

Sanjay Subrahmanyam's discussion of cultural commensurability and incommensurability – cultural permeability or impermeability – is also relevant in this context.[11] In different sites and at varying chronological moments a greater or lesser degree of cultural commensurability is present, leading to a deeper or more superficial level of visual response, or to an outright rejection of the visual forms and ideas mediated through print circulation. Subrahmanyam further points to the need to focus on the "acts that produced commensurability," noting that these tend to result from the agency of specific influential actors.[12] The issue of agency, the particularity of local circumstances and the need to move away from a model of passive, actor-less diffusion is again clear.

Stephanie Porras, using Maerten de Vos's engraving of *St. Michael the Archangel* as a case study, has recently argued that the rapid, multi-directional spread of certain prints in this period is usefully linked to the contemporary concept of the viral media object.[13] Certain specific prints indeed re-appear in multiple, distinct cultural contexts in this period. In addition to Porras's example of *St. Michael the Archangel*, which appeared throughout Latin America and also in South Asia, other examples include an engraving of St. Jerome by Mario Cartaro after Michelangelo's Moses, which appeared in both China and Mughal India,[14] or Dürer's Rhinoceros, "the most internationally received and widely dispersed of his entire print oeuvre."[15] Similarly, a handful of artists are prominently represented in cross-cultural printed exchange, and their prominence seems unlikely to be accidental. Dürer, Rubens, de Vos and the Wierix brothers are just a few such artists. Notably, the artists and prints that were among the most circulated globally reflect some of the most celebrated artists of the European print tradition. It is clear in some instances that the widespread appearance of certain works was intentional, for example the spread

10 See *Prints in Translation, 1450-1750, Image, Materiality, Space*, particularly Wouk, "Toward an Anthropology of Print," pp. 1-18.

11 Subrahmanyan, "A Roomful of Mirrors," particularly pages 39-40 and 76-77.

12 Ibid, p. 77.

13 Porras, "Going Viral? Maerten de Vos's St. Michael the Archangel". See also Porras, "St. Michael the Archangel, Spiritual, Visual and Material Translations from Antwerp to Lima".

14 Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions,* pp. 97. 119.

15 Bubenik, *Re-Framing Albrecht Dürer*, p. 100.

and influence of works by de Vos and the Wierixes through the Jesuit reliance on Jerome Nadal's *Evangelicae Historicae Imagines* in their global missions. Yet in some instances the answer is less clear. Why certain printed images became as popular as they did, and what work they performed in their multiple sites of reception are questions of considerable interest and are best studied through a global lens.

As the example of Nadal's *Evangelicae Historicae Imagines* suggests, some works were created with the global context in mind, typically with the intent of evangelization and conversion to the Catholic faith. In other instances, images that seem to have passed largely without comment in the European context found widespread reception in the global context, seeming to speak in an external context in a way that they did not internally. The *Franciscan Allegory in Honor of the Immaculate Conception* engraved by Paul Pontius after an oil sketch by Rubens (oil sketch dated 1632, engraving dated *c.* 1632-1658), for example, seems to have had less influence in Europe, yet resonated broadly and unexpectedly in the context of the colonial Americas.[16] The intersection in such instances of artistic intention with multiple receptions across cultural contexts gets at an interesting and under-explored dimension of cross-cultural exchange.

Related to the phenomenon of the "viral" image is the question of which cultural agents drove reception of European prints in different global contexts in this period. Europeans clearly instigated and perpetuated the spread and use of prints in missionary contexts for the purposes of conversion and neophyte support, whether in colonial Latin America or the Jesuit missions in Asia. Yet Safavid, Ottoman and Mughal rulers intentionally sought out European art, including European prints. In the case of Iran, some European actors, notably the Dutch East India Company (VOC), were strongly reluctant to participate in the transmission of European images, printed or other. In the case of the Dutch East India Company, this was seemingly a result of a conservative, and indeed inaccurate, reading of Shia Islam and its receptivity to figural imagery.[17] In other instances, the spread of European prints seems more happenstance, with prints recorded in European merchant stalls in Iranian markets and transported by European merchants to Istanbul, where it would appear that interested artists and patrons might have had the opportunity to seek them out or perhaps even have simply chanced upon them.[18] In the case of the Armenian merchant community of New Julfa, a suburb of Isfahan, European prints were deliberately imported for the use of that community, yet they in turn

16 González, "The Circulation of Flemish Prints," p. 11.

17 Schwarz, "Terms of Reception," p. 25.

18 Bailey, "Frankish Masters," p. 31 notes that European engravings were available at the stalls of European merchants in the Isfahan *Maydan*, or main public square in the seventeenth century, a fact supported by the travelogue of Pietro della Valle. Raby, "Mehmed II Fatih," p. 45 posits exchange of European engravings in Constantinople through Florentine merchants residing in Pera.

appear to have played a secondary mediating role in transmitting European visual ideas to the Safavid court.[19]

The idea of the active participation and agency of participants on both sides of cultural exchange stresses that while European missionaries, for example, clearly had a specific agenda in disseminating European prints in non-European contexts, non-European recipients were far from passive in their reception and possessed their own motivations for engagement. Two culturally distinct examples of royal engagement with European prints via the Jesuit missionary presence illustrate this point. In early seventeenth-century Ethiopia, Jesuit sources document that a relative of the Ethiopian King Susniyos commissioned a copy of every engraving in Nadal's *Evangelicae Historia Imagines.* At the King's request, Jesuits explained the images to him and he subsequently commissioned his own painted copies of the images. While the motivations of both the King and his relative are not recorded, this occurred during a transformational period in Jesuit missionary activity in Ethiopia.[20] The motivations of the actors on either side of the exchange could be in opposition or conflict in subtle or even overt ways. Exchange between monarchs and Jesuit missionaries in Mughal India provides an example where the not so hidden agenda of the Jesuit missionaries conflicted with the interests of the emperors. In this instance, as Bailey describes, "each side [was] attempting to subtly subvert the other."[21] The Jesuits were keen to supply images of Christian subjects and wrote optimistically of the emperor's imminent conversion to Christianity. The apparent motivations of Akbar and Jahangir, by contrast, are argued to range from a detached interest in world religions to the viewing of Christian devotional art as both powerfully expressive and as a screen onto which their specific political ideology could be projected.

The Mughal case is exceptional in that the interests of the various parties are recoverable to at least some extent. While scholars have interpreted the specifics of the imperial interest differently, the fact of their response is evident through the visual record. To fully understand the nature of the reception of European prints in a global context and the transformations and translations that occurred, written responses that record the response of non-European viewers to European art are clearly desirable. There is an overall lack of such written sources, however. A few dismissive comments by Chinese literati about European art in general are the exception rather than the rule.[22] Examination of the translations, reframings and

19 Landau, "Reconfiguring the Northern European Print."

20 Bosc-Tiessé, "The Use of Occidental Engravings in Ethiopian Painting in the 17th and 18th Centuries", pp. 84-86. The event is recorded in the Jesuit's 1611 Goa letter.

21 Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions,* p. 11

22 Ibid., p. 82. Bailey also notes that "very few non-European people wrote about European art," p. 13. Although not focused specifically on prints, Powers also provides a discussion of Chinese commentary

repurposing of these objects in many cases provides the only way to re-construct original responses and the larger conceptual frameworks that supported them. To return to the Mughal context, Yael Rice discusses a dimension of aesthetic reception of European prints beyond political utility or curiosity that further suggests how printed works in some cases could enable a kind of cross-cultural theoretical discourse through visual rather than written means. Rice argues that the placement of European prints within Mughal albums highlights a subtlety of aesthetic theory, suggesting a conceptual fluidity between calligraphy and painting that belies a seeming inflexibility in written treatises from the time.[23] Also in reference to the Mughal context, Subrahmanyam suggests that the interest in European prints reflects a broader visual eclecticism on the part of Mughal leaders and artists that led to an adaptation of European representational techniques rather than an interest in content or a repurposing of Catholic religious iconography.[24]

Yet cross-cultural translations of European prints can also highlight what might be seen as failures of cultural encounter in the early modern period, as Kristel Smentek suggests in her contribution to this collection where she explores an example of print transmission that ultimately resulted in little to no impact. Many of the objects discussed in the scholarly literature related to this phenomenon are singular, reflecting an often short-lived moment of influence, openness or experimentation. The hybrid styles that resulted in many cases do not reflect a transformative moment, but rather hint in tantalizing ways at artistic traditions that never developed, for example in the case of Japan, or signal the ultimately temporary nature of the influence of European prints in a number of (although certainly not all) global contexts in this period. In cases where the European influence did persist, it was often accompanied by a suppression of Indigenous traditions, which must surely be seen as a failure of cross-cultural exchange. The recognition of failures and the questioning of successes intersect with larger questions that have been posed about the overall significance of global art traditions on European art in the early modern period. Some scholars have expressed skepticism that objects that reflect cross-cultural exchange, whether European paintings with Arabic calligraphy or Ottoman miniatures that reflect knowledge of European portrait types show anything other than a passing trend rather than signaling a transformative moment

on European art in the early modern period in "The Cultural Politics of the Brushstroke." Schwarz states that "Dutch texts on Persian art are virtually non-existent, and Persian ones on Dutch art completely so." "Terms of Reception," p. 26.

23 Rice, "The Burin and Brush," p. 309.

24 Subrahmanyam, "A Roomful of Mirrors," p. 53. Subrahmanyam also explicity takes issue with some of Bailey's conclusions referenced above, particularly Bailey's assertion that Catholic devotional art was seen as "culturally neutral" and as such able to be repurposed by the Mughals for political aims. See particularly p. 46.

of engagement.[25] The moments of failure or of merely temporary engagement in the context of prints can also usefully contribute to this broader consideration.

The global transmission and reception of European prints in the early modern period clearly connects with broader interrogations about the global Renaissance moment.[26] Methodological issues specific to the topic are also raised by recent scholarship, including the essays in this collection. Work on this topic has tended to be iconographic. A Warburgian tracing of motifs from their origin in specific European prints to their appearance in non-European copies dominated many earlier discussions, with attention paid to the visual traces of what are often lost originals and to the ways in which the original was modified in copies. While this type of work is clearly foundational, a number of newer studies of the global transmission and reception of European prints have stressed the need to move beyond a purely iconographical approach. Thomas Cummins, describing the tendency for the study of prints in the context of the colonial Americas to focus on this type of source/copy analysis states: "Although such an approach illuminates some of the most obvious functions of prints [...] it generally fails to explain the more complex and active functions of printed materials in a colonial context."[27] Yael Rice similarly describes how "the primary attention of studies of the artistic response to these works has been on Mogul compositions painted after or inspired by European sources" with little attention paid to the actual prints themselves.[28]

One move away from simple source tracing has been to stress the intentional engagement with European prints by artists, patrons and publics outside Europe. In part, this recognizes that even fairly close copies recontextualized and transformed originals to create meanings that were distinct and locally specific. Cruz González, discussing the *Franciscan Allegory in Honor of the Immaculate Conception* by Pontius after Rubens, for example, shows how the specifically Spanish Habsburg political overtones of the original were transformed in the colonial context to respond to a range of local concerns, whether Franciscan missionary accomplishments or the Royalist cause in the nineteenth century.[29] Cummins furthermore suggests the utility of prints in the formation of new publics and in the consolidation of new

25 See for example Grabar, "Review," p. 190 who describes the effect of Renaissance transculturalism on the visual arts as "quite limited" and restricted to "minor themes." Harper has similarly suggested that the results of cross-cultural contact on visual arts in the Renaissance period were comparatively limited. "Introduction," pp. 5-6. See also Subrahmanyam's discussion of the European response to Mughal art in "A Roomful of Mirrors."

26 See, for example, Burke, Clossey and Fernández-Armesto, "The Global Renaissance."

27 Cummins, "The Indulgent Image," p. 204. González similarly describes the need "to move beyond identification and better understand said sources and the process of appropriation and transformation." in "Our Lady of El Pueblito," p. 16.

28 Rice, "The Burin and Brush," p. 305.

29 González, "Our Lady of El Pueblito" and "The Circulation of Flemish Prints."

collective identities: "Prints could quickly create a common visual culture over a vast geographic area [...] prints had agency in forming a community of citizens who could imagine themselves as participating in a single culture."[30]

Other scholars have turned away from iconography to stress the materiality of prints as objects, examining the way that European prints could be literally reframed and recontextualized in some instances, for instance in the *muraqqas* or albums found in a number of sites across the Islamic world in the early modern period. A cross-cultural dialogue also emerged around the materials of printmaking, whether print processes – particularly in places without a local print tradition – or the tools of burin and ink. Bailey has commented on the fascination that the print process and its tools had for the Mughal Emperor Jahangir as well as the differing reception that prints had as objects in Japan and China. In China, due to its long tradition of woodblock prints, local artists were able to adapt both the technique as well as style of European prints, which Bailey contrasts with Japan, then without a local printing press tradition.[31] A similar turn from iconography to the print as material object can also be seen in scholars who consider the formal or aesthetic response of non-European artists and patrons to the graphic linearity of prints. Yael Rice, for example, has posited that "as heirs to an artistic tradition concerned primarily with line and contour [...] Mogul artists and patrons were particularly drawn to the physical and technical qualities of European engraving."[32] Materiality is also central to the consideration of the transformation of prints into different media forms, frequently with local significance, whether feather mosaics in Mexico, crystal statues in Goa, or textiles in Safavid Iran. Yet in other instances, particularly Latin America, the original European prints rarely survive, and a discussion of materiality in part must consider loss and absence.[33]

The status of original versus copy is a complicated one even in a strictly European context, with the valuation of the original and concomitant denigration of the copy seen in later periods projected back onto the early modern. Yet as scholars such as Andrea Bubenik have discussed, this misses the mark even in a purely European context, where copying was an expected part of workshop practice, and imitative ability was valued in numerous contexts.[34] Bubenik has argued that copying in the

30 Cummins, "The Indulgent Image," p. 204.

31 Bailey, *The Jesuits and the Grand Mogul*, p. 30 and *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, p. 78. See also *China on Paper: European and Chinese Works from the Late Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century* for discussion of prints in the context of European and Chinese exchange.

32 Rice, "Burin to Brush," p. 305. See also Yael Rice, "Lines of Perception: European Prints and the Mughal Kitabkhana."

33 Hyman and Leibson, "Colonial Surfaces: Prints, Loss and Latin America." See also Hyman, "Patterns of Colonial Transfer: An Album of Prints in Mexico City."

34 Bubenik, *Reframing Albrecht Dürer,* 74-75.

early modern period is more appropriately understood as appropriation, with the active, intentional transformation implied by the term. As she states, imitation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries should be seen as a "creative assimilation with the aim of a new presentation."[35] In discussions of cross-cultural copying there has been a tendency to see a fairly simple binary of original and copy. Non-European examples were reduced to a kind of rote mimesis of lesser artistic value, reflecting an earlier era's prioritization of the European over the non-European and the problematic narrative of a uniquely Western creative impulse inspired by individual genius.

It is clear that the dynamics of this cross-cultural reception were considerably more complicated than the straightforward original/copy model would indicate. Newer studies have stressed the hybridization that often resulted. In some instance, non-European artists developed hybrid styles, reflecting a complex negotiation between local traditions and European pictorial conventions such as shading, perspective and realism. To cite one example, the seventeenth-century *St. Michael Slaying the Dragon*, painted in Macao by a Japanese artist, is based on *Quis Sicut Deus,* an engraving by Jerome Wierix (1619). The artist replaced the angel's lance with a samurai sword, posed him in a stance reminiscent of Buddhist guardian kings and adorned him with decorative patterns that have their origin in Asian rather than European motifs.[36] In a Safavid example mentioned above, the sixteenth-century artist Sadiqi Beg transformed a fifteenth-century Flemish engraving of the Annunciation by the Master of the Madonna of the Banderoles into a de-Christianized image that may read simply as the interaction of a young man and woman over a book.[37] In other instances, works took on hybrid meanings, where the Virgin Mary could be merged with Mesoamerican goddess symbolism in one context or with the Buddhist figure of Guanyin in another.[38] Rather than simply reflecting passive reception and rote copying, the active role of local artists is clear. Local and Indigenous artists in many instances sought out and consciously chose to respond to European prints and selectively appropriated, translated and transformed them.

The contributions to this volume contribute to the ongoing evolution of scholarship on the transmission of European prints in non-European contexts in a variety of ways. The individual case studies collectively provide a global lens, demonstrating the scope of this phenomenon in the early modern period. The authors explore specific instances of print transmission and reception in India, the Ottoman Empire, Iran, Japan, colonial Latin America – including both Mexico and the Viceroyalty of Peru – and among the Armenian diaspora in this period. Local differences in

35 Ibid, p. 75.
36 Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, p. 77.
37 Bailey, "Frankish Masters" and Schwarz "Terms of Reception."
38 Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America*, p. 29

reception, motivation and use are highlighted by each case study, while broader trends emerge from the collection as a whole, in particular methodological concerns with materiality, hybridity, intentionality and agency.

Kristel Smentek, Sylvie Meriam, Alexandre Ragazzi and Corinna Gallori all focus in various ways on issues of materiality, a theme also identified by Edward H. Wouk as a central one to more recent scholarship on prints.[39] Kristel Smentek explores the re-framing and re-contextualization of four prints by Heinrich Aldegrever as tangible objects in a Persian *muraqqa* while Corinna Gallori stresses the materiality as well as the hybridity of Mexican featherwork. Sylvie Meriam considers the translation of European prints by Armenian artists into multiple media, while Alexandre Ragazzi explores the dual role of prints and plastic models as transmitters of style in the Viceroyalty of Peru. Raphaèle Presinger along with Linda Báez and Emilie Carreón also consider the colonial Latin American context, exploring issues of hybridity of both form and iconography along with issues of intentionality in the examples of the *Virgin of Guadalupe* and the *Rhetórica Christiana*, a text about evangelization in Mexico written by the Franciscan friar Diego de Valadés. Yoshimi Orii, Saleema Waraich and Heather Madar focus on issues of reception, examining the motivations and information taken by artists, viewers, and in the case of Waraich and Madar, political agents in Mughal India (Waraich), Ottoman Turkey (Madar) and Japan (Orii). Orii shifts the lens from the Jesuits to Japanese converts in her exploration of the use of printed materials from the Jesuit press. Waraich argues that European secular prints depicting nude and semi-nude female bodies were used to help visualize Mughal notions of female sexuality in the court context, while Madar examines a complex back and forth between European prints and Ottoman paintings in the construction of Ottoman sultan portraits. The essays highlight issues of agency, hybridity and materiality as common concerns at the same time that they underline the continued necessity of focusing on individual examples of the broader phenomenon in their particular circumstances.

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About the Author

Heather Madar (Ph.D., U.C. Berkeley) is professor of Art at Humboldt State University. Her research and publications focus on sixteenth-century German printmaking, cross-cultural interactions between early modern Europe and the Ottoman empire and the global Renaissance. She is currently writing a book on Dürer and the depiction of cultural difference.