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Dürer's Ganda and a XVI Century *APOTHEOSIS OF HERCULES* at Tunja

1.

IN 1515, when a rhinoceros presented by Sultan Muzafar of Cambay to Emanuel I, "*El Afortunado*"¹, reached Lisbon from India, it caused considerable excitement in the humanistic circles all over Europe. As a matter of fact, it was the first specimen brought to Europe since the days of Rome when Pompey had shown it as a novelty in his *ludi* and Augustus had exhibited another one *apud saepta*². Since then the exact knowledge transmitted by Pliny has been dimmed. Medieval writers, following Isidorus of Seville mistook it for the unicorn which, according to legend, becomes tamed if it puts its head in the lap of a virgin³. So it was only natural that Pliny's account of the match between elephant and rhinoceros, repeated by all later writers including Isidorus, had to be put to proof as a kind of test for the superior learning of Classical Antiquity. Indeed, the rhinoceros credited to be the stronger of the two animals and said to attack the unprotected belly of its opponent, remained victorious, for the elephant chosen for the match fled at the mere sight of this dangerous and irascible adversary⁴. The Rome of Leo X was deprived of that performance to which it must have been looking forward all the more eagerly as a year before it had had occasion, thanks to the munificence of the same Portuguese sovereign, to admire an elephant⁵, a very docile pachyderm indeed, that complied with the Pope's taste for robust jokes by bending its knees three times and by spanting water over the heads of the onlookers. But unfortunately, in its way to Rome, the rhinoceros was drowned in the gulf of Genoa, and reached its destination only as a stuffed trophy. However, it had still satisfied the royal curiosity of Francis I on the occasion of a short visit ashore in Marseilles⁶.

1. CAMPBELL DODGSON, *The story of Dürer's Ganda*, in: *The Romance of Fine Prints*, ed. by ALFRED FOWLER, Kansas City, 1938, pp. 45 et sq.

2. PLINIUS, *Hist. Nat.*, VIII, 72; Suetonius, *Vita Augusti*, XLIII, 11.

3. *Ethymologiae*, XX, 2, 12-13.

4. DIODORUS SICULUS, III, XXXV, and AELIANUS, XVII, 44, give the elephant some chance. About animal combats in the Renaissance, cf. JACOB BURCKHARDT, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, IV, 2.

5. BURCKHARDT, *Loc. cit.*, after PAULUS IOVIUS, *Elogium* (for Tristão da Cunha, the leader of the Portuguese mission).

6. DODGSON, *Op. cit.*, p. 49.

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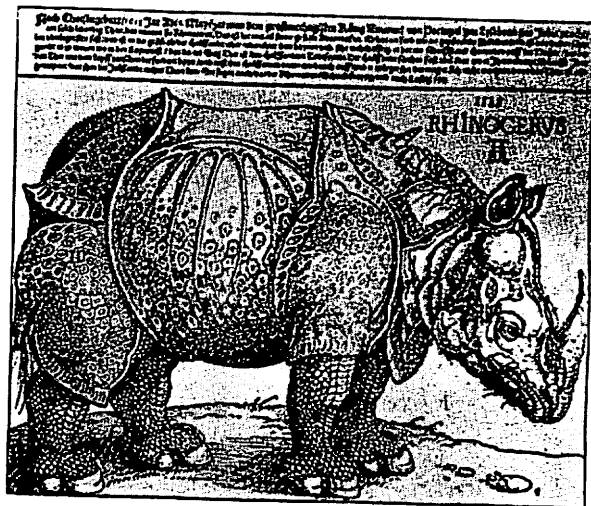


FIG. 1.—ALBRECHT DÜRER.
Rhinoceros, woodcut, 1515.

well-known woodcut of 1515¹⁰, whose lengthy inscription in addition to repeating the Lisbon story together with quotations from the classical authorities, points out that the animal has "the color of a mottled turtle" (*gesprekelte Schildkrot*) and is "armored with thick plates." This is painstakingly rendered (fig. 1), the result being as awe-inspiring as an Indian rhinoceros is likely to be. The woodcut became rather popular in and out of Germany¹¹ and found its way even into Dürer's famous triumphal arch where the animal represents India. Up to the mid-XVIII Century, when Lowghi painted the next specimen which was to reach Europe, achieving a superbly ironical menagerie setting, it remains a standard reproduction¹².

There was one more consequence, though of lesser importance. The rhinoceros entered heraldic zoology; it became an object of the *imprese*, though one which has had little diffusion. The least worthy member of Leo X's family Alexander, who

The news of the singular combat complete with rhinoceros-lore spread throughout the continent. A German printer—the first to be permanently established in Lisbon—Valentin Ferdinand of Moravia⁷, a acquaintance of the humanist Peuttinger, contributed much to the fame of the pachyderm, in so far as he transmitted the story to Nuremberg, together with a sketch of the strange animal⁸, which thus came to the eyes of Albrecht Dürer. The master, keenly interested in the exotic⁹, readily grasped this almost antediluvian manifestation of life. The result was the

7. Konrad HAEBLER, *Die deutschen Buchdruckerr des 15. Jahrhunderts im Ausland*, Munich, 1924, pp. 272-273.

8. The sketch of 1515 in the British Museum is now generally attributed to Dürer (H. TIETZE and E. TIETZE-CONRAT, *Kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke Albrecht Dürer's*, II, 1. *Halbband*, Leipzig, 1937, p. 114) who, for his use, seems to have added a translation of the original Portuguese description, cf. DODGSON, *Op. cit.*, p. 46.

9. As proved by his admiration for art objects from Mexico, recorded in the diary of his voyage to the Netherlands, 1520-1521 (MORITZ THAMMING, *Dürer's Briefe, Tagebücher und Reime*, "Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte," III, Vienna, 1872, p. 90); cf. also PALM, *Tenochtitlan y la ciudad ideal de Dürer*, "Journal de la Société des Américains," Paris, XI., 1951, pp. 59 et sq.

10. WILLY KURTH, *Albrecht Dürers sämtliche Holzschnitte*, Munich, 1927, p. 640, enumerates nine editions.

11. A slightly altered and more natural version by Burgkmair, also dated 1515, served as a model for Aldorfer's reproduction in Maximilian's prayerbook (cf. KURTH: *Loc. cit.*; DODGSON, *Op. cit.*, p. 56, lists reproductions carrying Flemish, Dutch and French texts. A very crude Italian woodcut, dated, 1515, in: JOHANNES JACOBUS DE PENNIS: *Forma e Natura et costumi de la Rhinoceron che stato condotto in Portogallo*, Rome, Stephanus Guilleretus; cf. MAX SANDERS, *Le Livre à figures italiennes depuis 1467 jusqu'à 1530*, New York, 1941, VI, No. 800. On a literary echo in France, cf. RICHARD SALOMON, *A Trace of Dürer in Rabelais*, "Modern Language Notes," 1943, LVIII, No. 7, pp. 498 et sq.

12. I take opportunity to list a small Italian bronze of the XVII Century, reproduced in *Exposición de obras maestras, siglos XVI al XVIII*, Colección Paula de Königsberg, Buenos Aires, 1951, pl. LXXXVI.

became Duke of Florence after the collapse of the Republic, took it as a symbol "*pro conquirenda nominis gloria*"¹³ together with the motto: "*non buclvo sin vin- cer.*" In France, Jean Goujon erected for Henry II's triumphal entry in to Paris (1549) a monument consisting of a rhinoceros bearing an obelisk topped by a statue of France, which was meant to represent "Force and Vigilance," as the *Ordre de l'Entrée* explained¹⁴. It goes without saying that the Paris rhinoceros was derived from Dürer's woodcut (fig. 2).

Dürer's sheet has had a strange echo in the Spanish colonies, where the mas- ter's rhinoceros appears in mural size on the ceiling decoration of a late XVI Century house¹⁵ up in the highlands of Colombia, at Tunja (fig. 3). The fine learning of the restorer of the mural, the painter Luis Alberto Acuña, has recently shown that the vehicle by which knowledge of the *Ganda* travelled to the Andes, must have been the famous treatise of the Spanish goldsmith Juan de Arfe¹⁶ published in Seville in 1585, where the animal is reproduced (fig. 4) complete with verse and prose description¹⁷. Since such secular subjects are extremely rare in Spanish colonial painting, the ceiling needs some further explanation.

13. JOACHIM CAMERARIUS, *Symbolorum... e animalibus quadrupedibus centuria altera*, Nuremberg, 1590, p. 12. The symbolic value of the rhinoceros is discussed also by PIERIO VALERIANO, *Hieroglyphica*, Lyons, 1586, pp. 20 et sq.

14. FERNAND DE L'EGLISE, *Les Entrées de souverains d'après l'estampe*, in: "L'Amateur d'Estampes," Paris, IX, 1930, No. 3, pp. 76 et sq.; PIERRE CHAMPION, *Paris au temps de la Renaissance*, in: Paris, 1936, p. 115; WILLIAM S. HECKSCHER, *Bernini's Elephant and Obelisk*, in: "Art Bulletin," 1947, XXIX, p. 169.

15. The modest and rather rustic building, which, after a long period of decay, has just been acquired by the State for restoration, is reproduced in: DIEGO ANGULO INIGUEZ and ENRIQUE MARCO DORTA, *Historia del Arte Hispanoamericano*, I, Barcelona-Buenos Aires, 1945, fig. 702, and LUIS ALBERTO ACUÑA, *Un tesoro de arte colonial. La casa de Juan Vargas en Tunja*, "Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades," Bogotá, 1951, pp. 625 et sq. *Idem*, *Los papudermos tunjanos. Fichas para la historia de la pintura en Colombia*.

16. JOAN DE ARFE Y VILLAFUENTE, *De varia commensuración para la Escultura y Arquitectura*, Séville, 1585, book III (*de las alturas y formas de los animales*), p. 8. The immediate derivation of the Tunja rhinoceros from ARFE's reproduction is furthermore proved by the fact that both versions omit the small hornlike protuberance indicated by Dürer at the shoulder of the animal.

17. ARFE proudly includes the animal in his treatise of measurements because it has come to form part of the cotaneous store of exact knowledge. He indicates its height as "2 varas," explaining that he omits reference to "other horned animals," because literary knowledge is "not enough to determine form and size." The verses stress that the animal proceeds from the Orient.

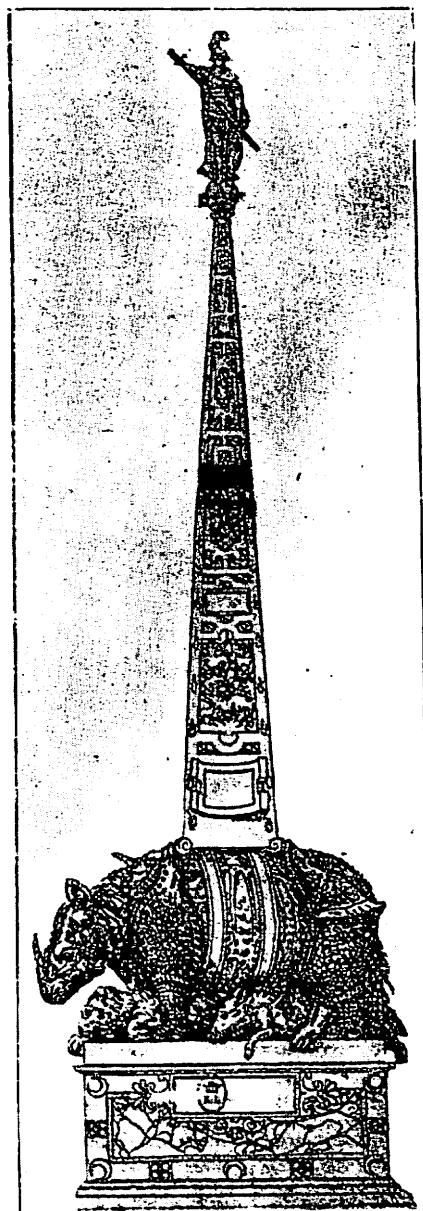


FIG. 2 - JEAN GOUJON. Rhinoceros and Obelisk erected for the entry of Henry II in Paris, 1549, woodcut



FIG. 3.—End of the XVI Century.—Rhinoceros, Ceiling Decoration of the House of the Scribe, Tunja, Colombia. Photo. by the Author.

2.

The rhinoceros occupies the lower corner of an oblong ceiling, to the left of a flat central panel, which decorates the main hall (*sala*) of the first floor of a house identified in the Tunja plan of 1623 as that of the scribe Juan de Vargas¹⁸. We know that the owner held this office between 1592 and 1614¹⁹.

These were the years in which the town, founded in 1539 by a captain who had fought at Pavia and helped to defend Vienna against the Turks of Suleiman, reached the

height of its development, and in which the local Cathedral received its beautiful Renaissance portal. Vargas' coat-of-arms occupies the center of the ceiling flanked on either side by two great monograms, that of Joseph and Mary and that of Christ (fig. 5).

In the right corner, we find a group of elephants²⁰. Two young elephants advance in the direction of the rhinoceros, while a man armed with a double-ax, seems ready to jump down on them from a tree²¹. An adult animal has been hunted

18. ULISES ROJAS, *Escudos de armas e inscripciones antiguas de la Ciudad de Tunja*, Bogota, 1939, p. 77; ACUNA, *Op. cit.*

19. ROJAS, *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

20. For representations of elephants during the Renaissance, cf. HECKSCHER, *Loc. cit.* Examples of the same period in Spanish colonial America are extant in the escutcheon of the Orue family at Ayacucho, repr. in: HAROLD E. WETHEY, *Colonial Architecture and Sculpture in Peru*, Harvard University Press, 1949, fig. 41 and 42. LUIS ALBERTO ACUNA, *Ensayo sobre el florecimiento de la escultura en Santa Fe de Bogota*, Bogota, 1932 (quoted by MARIO J. BUSCHIAZZO, *Exotic influences in American Colonial Art*, in: "Journal of the American Society of Architectural Historians," Urbana, 1946-1947, V, p. 22), mentions another specimen on the main altar of St. Francis, at Bogota. At Cuzco Cathedral, a mural shows the Virgin sitting in a tower mounted on an elephant's back, an interesting parallel to Bernini's interpretation, cf. P.M. KELEMEN, *Baroque and Rococo in Latin America*, New York, 1951, p. 165. Finally at Merida (Yucatan) an elephant serves as a street sign (repr. in: ELIZABETH WILDER WEISSMANN, *Mexico in Sculpture 1521-1821*, Harvard University Press, 1950, p. 105). If I am not mistaken the type stems from Pierio Valeriano's hieroglyph for "Caesar," (*Op. cit.*, p. 15).

21. When the priwer visited Tunja early in 1950, this section of the ceiling was very much damaged. Subsequent restorations will be noticed in the upper corner to the right.

down by a bearded native, who, true to the requirements of elephant lore, has got hold of its tail (fig. 6). The scene follows closely Pliny's account of the different stages of Ethiopian elephant hunting²². As Acuña has already²³ pointed out, the group undoubtedly reflects one of Giovanni Stradano's famous hunting scenes engraved by Collaert in Antwerp in the sixties of the XVI Century²⁴ (fig. 7). Stradano's keen interest in fantastic hunts, which has found its well-known expression in the tapestries for the Medici Villa of Poggio a Caiano²⁵, has even gone so far as to portray the troglodytes mentioned by Pliny²⁶. The somewhat simplified Tunja version has not only eliminated the background with the dead elephant, but has moved the central scene to the left, reducing and redistributing the number of hunters—an arrangement whereby much of the narrative freshness of the original has been lost.

Though in the Tunja ceiling the antagonism of elephant and rhinoceros is limited to the representational scheme, it is safe to assume that it aroused pertinent associations in the minds of a humanistic minded beholder. Between the two groups there are represented all sorts of animals, ranging from the monkeys in the tree above the rhinoceros and the aquatic birds in the sky overhead, to the foal, the peacock, and a group of ostriches singled out in a medallion on the small side of the ceiling above the door to the adjacent room. Unfortunately, the ceiling is in such a bad state of preservation that a number of animals are uncognizable. The composition is loose so as to form a kind of *bestiarium*, or rather, a kingdom of animals. Some palms in the far corners stress the exotic

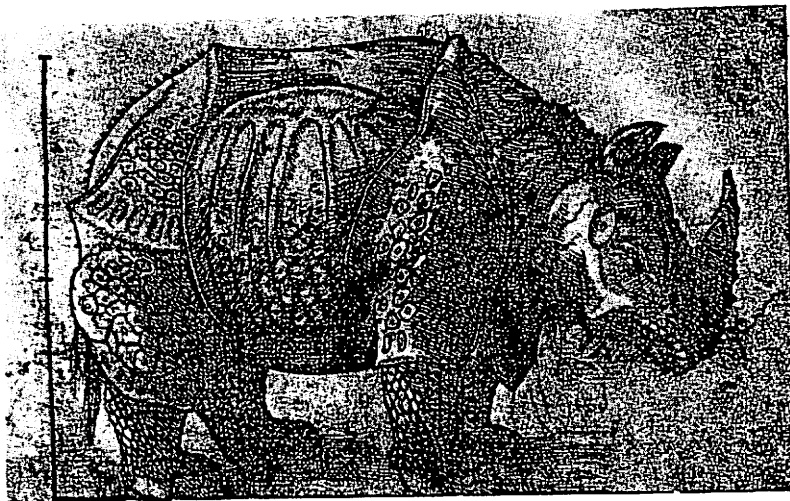


FIG. 4. Rhinoceros, in the book of Juan de Arfe, after Dürer
(*De varia commensuratione*, 1585).

22. *Hist. nat.*, VIII, 26.

23. Unpublished paper quoted above.

24. *Venationes ferarum, avium, piscinum, pugnae bestiariorum depictae a Ioanne Stradano, editae a Ioanne Gallacio, carmine illustratae a C. Kiliano Puffaco*, Antwerp (1566?), fol. 3.

25. ADOLFO VENTURI, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, IX, 14, *Pittura del cinquecento*, Milano, 1933, p. 426, gives the date of 1567-1568 for the series.

26. The humanist's condensed version of PLINY's account, which accompanies the Stradanus sheet, runs as follows:

"Trogloditae insidiis Elephantum fallere docti
Arripiunt caudam, tum laeso poplite manum
Mactant..."

character. The panel above the entrance door is done in grotesque style (fig. 8). So far as I know it is the only example of such decoration extant in the former provinces of the Spanish Empire. This exception regarding the style is matched by its theme, mythological painting being a subject which did not fit into surroundings in which idolatry, though of another kind, was an every-day reality that had to be overcome²⁷.

A second, much smaller room, unluckily even more damaged than the first and main one, is decorated with several medallions showing the labors of Hercules, of which the best preserved are the combat with the lion of Nemea and the taming of the Erymanthian boar.

Returning to the main room one will readily recognize that the grotesque decoration (fig. 8) stands in close relationship to the mythological scenes in the side cabinet. In fact, the scene underneath the canopy represents the apotheosis of Hercules who is born to eternal glory by Jupiter's eagle. A crown of laurel is suspended above his head, while his lion's skin has been fastened elegantly to the concave inner side of an escutcheon beneath the canopy, and the bell of fame hangs from this newlywon emblem. The two Atlantic figures that bear the canopy stretch forth their left hands to crown the benefactor of mankind with wreaths of laurels, holding the palms of victory in the other hand. Laurel boughs are to be seen also above the canopy, to the right and left of the solar eagle. In his left hand Hercules holds a thunderbolt, whose ends have burst into flowers.

The jungle scene below shows the giants of the animal kingdom subservient to man. Still further: rhinoceros and elephant, "Force and Wisdom," are united in the person of the victorious Hercules. Yet while the Hercules of classical Antiquity had saved the world from the classical horrors, the culmination of his work in modern times in his having extended throughout the *orbis terrarum*, true civilization, that is to say, the Catholic faith. This Christian identification of the hero of civilization we may find indicated by the monograms of Christ and of Joseph and Mary shown on the ceiling. In this context, the ostrich above the door that leads into the cabinet decorated with the labors of Hercules also reveals a specific meaning: following Horapollon's manual, Pierio Valeriano, in his charming hiero-

27. Due to such "pedagogical" considerations (lest fiction be taken for truth by the Indians), the import of novels was officially prohibited in the American provinces of Spain, since 1531, a measure which however was frequently evaded (cf. IRVING LEONARD, *Romances of Chivalry in the Spanish Indies with some Registers of Shipments of Books to the Spanish Colonies*, "University of California Publications in Modern Philology," Berkeley, 1933, XVI, 3, and JOSE TORRE REVELLO, *El libro, la imprenta y el periodismo durante la dominación española en América*, "Publicaciones del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas," Buenos Aires, 1940, LXXIV, chapters 2 and 3. Some rare instances of mythological paintings shipped from Spain to her American colonies have recently come to light, cf. TORRE REVELLO, *Obras de arte enviadas al Nuevo Mundo en los siglos XVI y XVII*, "Anales del Instituto de Arte Americano," Buenos Aires, 1949, I, pp. 90-91, who lists a *Daedalus* and two copies of an *Abduction of Helen* shipped in 1589 to Nombre de Dios (Panama). A painting representing *Hector and Achilles* is mentioned in 1563 in a man's cell, in Quito, cf. JOSE MARIA VARGAS, O. P., *El arte quiteño en los siglos XVI-XVIII*, Quito, 1949, p. 90. In the colonial museum of Quito, three pieces extant of a cycle of the *Seasons* (wrongly attributed to the local painter Miguel de Santiago) provide another rare example. *Op cit.*, bk. 25, p. 230.

glyphic interpretation of things natural, explains that the ostrich stands, above all, for justice, because of the equal length of its wing-feathers²⁸.

An ultimate clue to the interpretation of these murals is provided by the strange fact that on this ceiling on the remote mountain plateau of Colombia we find primarily African²⁹ and Indian animals. About, or shortly before, the time when the ceiling was decorated, Philip II united in his person the crowns of Spain and Portugal (1580), adding to his American possessions the territories of Portugal. The apotheosis of Hercules is, therefore, actually that of the Spanish Philip, who achieved the supreme ambition of the Christian Empire. Indeed, the rather individualized features of Hercules recall Philip's stern physiognomy.

Besides, the association with Hercules appears almost natural in the Spanish colonial milieu since the very emblem of the Empire showed the columns of Hercules hyperbolically inscribed "*Plus ultra*" by the conqueror of the New World. Moreover, the fact that Hercules-Philip carries Jupiter's thunderbolt and is thus exalted as the Master of the Universe, might imply a second thought: the well-known astrological³⁰ interpretation of Hercules as the sun, his twelve labors standing for



FIG. 5.—Escutcheon of JUAN DE VARGAS. Center of the Ceiling Decoration of the House of the Scribe, Tunja, Colombia (see fig. 3). Courtesy of L. A. Acuña.

28. After HORAPOLLON, bk. II, No. 218. Since the ostrich is generally known for its stolid behaviour, Pierio Valerius finds the missing link between justice and stupidity in Carneade's teaching: "*iustitiam nihil aliud esse quam moram insaniam*." EMILE MÂLE, *L'Art religieux après le Concile de Trente*, Paris, 1932, p. 388, lists several XVI Century instances where, following Horapollon's *hieroglyphica* (printed in 1505 by Aldus), the ostrich appears as a symbol of justice, as e. g. in the Stanza d'Elidoro and on the tomb of pope Hadrian VI, in Sta. Maria dell'Anima, in Rome (1523). Like ostriches were to be seen rather frequently in Renaissance Europe, cf., e. g., "*les porcs-espies et austriches du palais du Seigneur Philippo Strossi*" in Florence, mentioned by RABELAIS, *Pantagruel*, lib. IV, chap. 11. A somewhat grotesque instance is recorded by MONTAIGNE, who, in Augsburg, met what should be appropriately termed as "ostrich-drivers" resting on their way from Venice to the Court of the Duke of Saxony: "*Ils les menent [i. e. a pair of ostriches] ... attachés par un collier qui les saigne par les reins au-dessus des cuisses, et à un autre au dessus des épaules, qui entoure tout leur corps et ont des longues lances par où ils les arrêtent...*" (*Journal de Voyage en Italie*, Introduction by EDMOND PILON, Paris, 1932, p. 1051). An ostrich hunt is reproduced in STRADANO's *temationes*, pl. 62. Also ARBE shows the bird: *Op. cit.*, lib. III, p. 11.

29. The elephant is characterized as African by the shape of its ears as well as by the method of the hunt, which PILON distinguishes expressly from the Indian style.

30. MACROBIUS, *Saturnalia*, I, 20.

the twelve houses of the sun. This image would be borne out by the Habsburg devise that the sun never set over their Empire.

The owner of the house, son of a soldier of the Discovery who lost his life in an expedition to Guiana³¹, and himself a survivor from "El Dorado," has proudly reserved the center of the room for his shield³², apparently feeling that he himself belonged to that race of supermen who brought about the integration of a Continent into Christian civilizations.



FIG. 6. —Elephant Hunt, Ceiling Decoration of the House of the Scribe, Tunja, Colombia (see fig. 3). Courtesy of L. A. Acuña.

3.

This astonishing humanistic program by far exceeds the usual buoyancies of the soldiery of the Conquest which, at best, consider their enterprise as equal or, generally, as superior to those of the Romans³³. Nor is XVI Century Spanish his-

31. JUAN DE CASTELLANOS, *Elegías de varones ilustres, elegía IX, canto I to la muerte de Diego de Ordañez*, in: *Obras, Prolongo del Dr. CARACCILOL PARRA*, Caracas, 1930, I, p. 124.

32. The coat-of-arms seems to combine, in Renaissance fashion, the arms of Vargas and of his ancestors cf. ACUÑA, *Op. cit.*, p. 634.

33. RAMON MENENDEZ PIDAL, *Codicia insaciable / Ilustres hazañas?* published in: "La lengua de Cristóbal Colón," Buenos Aires, 2°, 1944, pp. 91 et sq.



3 *Trogleditæ insidijs Elephantem fallere docti,
Arripiunt caudam, tum laeso poplite mancum* *Maciant: in varias findunt partes: sua quisque
Quam nactus pradam propere in spelæa reportat.*

FIG. 7.—Elephant Hunt from Stradano's *Venationes*.
Courtesy of the New York Public Library.

toriography as a whole nursed by classic erudition, despite occasional quotations and despite cosmographic discussions, whose Greek and Roman sources belong to a great extent to medieval heritage³⁴. Vargas' neighbour in Tunja, the chronicler Juan de Castellanos, provides an excellent example of the intellectual range of the *historiadores de Indias*. No doubt, the scribe Vargas or who ever conceived the program for him was a true humanist, able to see the contemporary world within the frame of classical prototypes.

In the last years of that century, and in the first of the following, two Italian painters were active in Tunja: Angelino Medoro, a Roman mannerist (since 1587?), and Francesco del Pozzo, a Milanese (since about 1605)³⁵. Though I cannot detect any specific relationship to the work signed by or attributed to either,

34. LEONARDO OLSCHKI, *Storia letteraria delle scoperte geografiche*, Florence, 1937; PALM, *España ante la realidad americana*, "Cuadernos Americanos," Mexico, 1948, VII, 2, pp. 136 et sq.

35. ENRIQUE MARCO DORTA, *Op. cit.*, II, 1950, pp. 445-446.

the grace and wit of the mythological and grotesque decoration as well as its subject-matter seem to point to one of these two Italians³⁶, i. e., to one from the great diaspora who worked for the Spanish Crown³⁷.

ERWIN WALTER PALM³⁸.

RÉSUMÉ : *La Ganda de Dürer, et une Apothéose d'Hercule, du XVI^e siècle, à Tunja.*

L'auteur rappelle l'influence de la célèbre gravure sur bois de Dürer, *Le Rhinocéros*, dont il a retrouvé un écho inattendu à Tunja, en Colombie, sur un plafond peint, de la fin du XVI^e siècle, dans la Maison dite du Scribe, où se trouvent représentés aussi les Travaux d'Hercule.

36. A curious detail which might be of help for further identification should not go unmentioned. In order to accentuate the rising movement of the eagle, the outspread wings have been represented twice. Whether the lower pair is meant as a shadow or whether the doubling of the wings indicates movement, it is an ingenious as well as an effective device.

37. The Italian atmosphere of the decoration of the house of the scribe is not without parallel in the small town. To same years belongs the chapel of the important Ruiz Mancipe family in the Cathedral which with its two large canvases by Medoro, its beautiful polychromed crucifixion by a Sevillean master patently Italian in his style, and an elaborate, coffered ceiling copied from Serlio (MARCO DORTA, *Historia*, I, pp. 548, 557, fig. 692, 696; II, p. 445) testifies to the Italian currents in Spanish art and to the presence of an Italian artist in Renaissance Tunja.

38. The author wishes to express his thanks to the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, whose Fellowship enabled him to carry out research for the present paper.

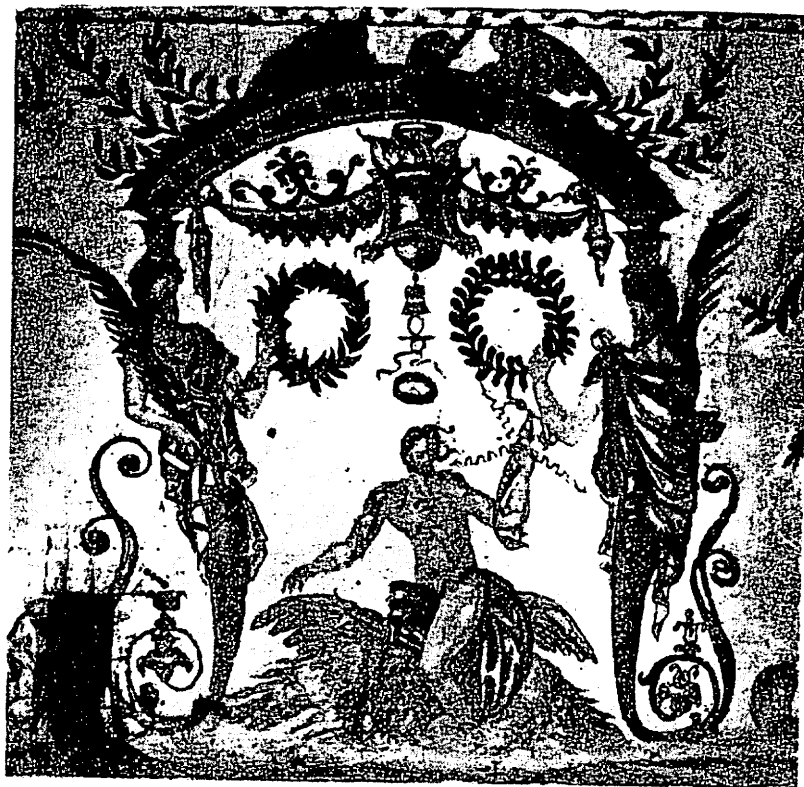


FIG. 8.—Apotheosis of Hercules, Ceiling of Decoration of The House of the Scribe, Tunja, Colombia (see fig. 3). Photo. by the Author.