# Luisa Roldán's Terracottas: Result of Failure or Strategy for Success?

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In the third volume of his treatise on art, the eighteenth-century Spanish artist and critic Antonio Palomino prefaced his biography of Luisa Roldán (1652-1704) with the description "Eminent Sculptor." Of the two hundred twenty-six artists discussed by Palomino, she is the only Spanish woman.[1] In fact, Roldán is one of only two female sculptors to have gained widespread public acceptance in early modern Europe. The first, Properzia de Rossi, left only one large-scale work, and Giorgio Vasari suggested that her male contemporaries' hostility prevented her from achieving a higher degree of success in this medium.[2] Conversely, Roldán was praised by contemporaries such as Palomino and was even made *escultora de cámara*, or court sculptor, to Kings Charles II and Philip V. This unique situation thus raises the question of how a woman sculptor was able to achieve such professional success and recognition in this period, especially in a country that produced almost no other well-known women artists.

Although during her lifetime Roldán was best known for her life-size figural sculptures, modern authors almost always refer to her small-scale terracotta groups as her most characteristic works. Even so, these pieces and the circumstances surrounding their production have not attracted in-depth critical analysis. Instead, most authors have been content to dismiss these pieces as distinctly "feminine" in style or to interpret them as evidence that Roldán was unsuccessful in her post as *escultora de cámara,* forced to create and sell small works in order to earn a living in the absence of court commissions.[3]

However, given the difficulty that all court artists faced in collecting payment from the Spanish crown in the late seventeenth century, Roldán's dire financial situation is not sufficient evidence to label her career unsuccessful.[4] Additionally, writing off Roldán's terracotta production as a response to a failed career in life-size sculpture follows the insidious historiographical pattern of assuming that women artists could succeed in the so-called "lower" genres, such as portraiture, still life, or in Roldán's case, small terracottas, but not in "higher" ones.[5] In fact, it seems illogical that, while at court, Roldán could so significantly fail at large-scale sculpture while simultaneously becoming so successful with her small-scale works. Indeed, Palomino's biography suggests that she was better known for her large-scale works during her career, and so modern-day statements to the contrary should be viewed critically. This paper suggests an alternative way of viewing Roldán's terracottas, one that takes into account the economic and social circumstances surrounding seventeenth-century Spanish sculptors. By examining the possible functions and consumers of Roldán's terracottas and the practical obstacles

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1 Antonio Palomino, *Lives of the Eminent Spanish Painters and Sculptors*, 1724, trans. Nina Ayala Mallory (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987). Of the two other women included by Palomino, one, Sophonisba Gentilischi, is a fictional composite and the other, the Italian Sophonisba Anguisola, is described primarily in terms of her official position as a lady-in-waiting to the Queen.

2 Germaine Greer, *The Obstacle Race* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1979) 209-210. Another female sculptor, Dorothée Massé, was admitted into French Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture on November 23, 1680; however, beyond the official notice of her acceptance I have found no other references to her life or work (Gail Stavitsky, "Women Artists in the Guilds and Academies of Europe ca. 1300-1800," MA qualifying paper, New York University, 1978, 57 and app. I, item 5). Additionally, Pedro de Mena taught two of his daughters, Andrea and Claudia, to sculpt, and they are said to have created figures of St. Benedict and St. Bernard upon entering the Convent of St. Anne in Málaga in 1672. The only known extant works by Andrea are busts of the *Ecce Homo* and *Dolorosa*, now at the Hispanic Society of America, and she is not mentioned by Palomino (Hispanic Society of America, *Tesoros*, ed. Patrick Lenaghan [New York: Hispanic Society, 2000] 324).

3 Patrick Lenaghan, personal interview, 4 April 2003.

4 She sent repeated requests for payment to the King and Queen. For transcripts of these letters, see Beatrice Gilman Proske, "Luisa Roldán at Madrid," pt. 1 of 3, *Connoisseur* 155.642 (February, 1964): 131-132.

5 Greer 109. Greer gives the example of Properzia de Rossi's carved fruit stones, which are admired while her biblical marble relief for the Basilica of San Petronio is neglected. With a few exceptions, early modern women painters were generally considered incapable of painting historical or religious subjects; lower genres such as portraiture and still life were considered more appropriate to their "feminine" sensibilities. I do not wish to suggest that we should evaluate women artists' works according to different standards from those applied to their male contemporaries; it is certainly true that some women were not as skilled in the higher genres as they were in the lower ones, as were some male artists. However, while we should not over-value certain works simply because they were made by women, we should also beware of undervaluing the same works for the same reason.

that she would have faced as a professional woman artist, one can better understand how her terracottas may have been part of a calculated strategy for achieving success.

Luisa Roldán was the daughter of the well-known Sevillian sculptor, Pedro Roldán, and learned to sculpt in her father's workshop together with her two older sisters, Francisca and María Josefa.[6] She began working independently following her 1671 marriage to the sculptor and polychromer Luis Antonio de los Arcos.[7] In 1686 Roldán moved with her husband and two children to Cadíz, where she received commissions from the Ayuntamiento and the New Cathedral.[8] The family moved to Madrid around 1688 under the protection of Don Cristóbal de Ontañón, *ayuda de cámara* to Carlos II.[9] Roldán was made *escultora de cámara* by Carlos II in 1692, and again by Philip V in 1701.[10] It is thought that she died in Madrid between 1704 and 1706.[11]

Seven extant terracottas signed by Roldán are known, all dating from this period in Madrid; often these works include her title, *escultora de cámara*. At least sixteen other terracottas have been attributed to her, while seventeenth- and eighteenth-century documents refer to still more pieces. All of these works represent religious subjects, and they likely served as objects of private devotion. Their modest size and quiet, often domestic, subjects are identical to those of contemporary devotional paintings by Roldán's contemporary and fellow Sevillian, Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1617-1682).[12] Like devotional paintings, the terracottas present a limited number of figures removed from a narrative context and often incorporate quotidian or symbolic details, for example the salamander, snake, rabbit, and irises incorporated into the base of her *Death of the Magdalene* (Figure 1). These details encouraged contemplation and aided devotion, making the terracottas appropriate foci for meditation.[13]

Devotional paintings were often produced in multiples for sale on the art market, as were small, inexpensive religious sculptures.[14] Evidence suggests that Roldán's terracottas were also conceived of in this way. Because terracotta was relatively inexpensive, easy to use, and could be molded to produce multiples, it was an ideal medium for creating such works.[15] Roldán created multiple versions of some works, among them the *Education of the Virgin* and the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (Figure 2). Art historian Marjorie Trusted's analysis of these and other works, such as the Hispanic Society of America's *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* (Figure 3), strongly suggests that Roldán used molds to cast individual figures which could then be combined just before firing in order to create various compositions.[16] Roldán's use of molds to quickly produce terracotta groups may explain her state-

6 Given the collaborative nature of seventeenth-century sculpture production in Spain and the tendency for workshops to be organized according to family lines, it is not surprising that Luisa and her siblings participated in Pedro Roldán's studio. María Josefa and Francisca both married sculptors and continued to produce sculpture in collaboration with their husbands and father (María Dolores Salazar, "Pedro Roldán, Escultor," *Archivo español de arte* 22 [1949]: 324). The contemporary sculptor Pedro de Mena also taught his daughters to sculpt, although it does not seem that they pursued the profession independently (see note 3, above). It is tempting to hypothesize that other Spanish women followed this model, although Luisa Roldán remains unique in the level of success and recognition she achieved.

7 María Victoria García Olloqui, '*La Roldana:' Escultora de Cámara*, Arte Hispalense (Seville: Disputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1977) 24-25. (Henceforth abbrieviated as '*La Roldana*.')

8 Luisa and her husband collaborated on a life-size *Ecce Homo* for the New Cathedral of Cádiz, signed and dated 1684; in 1687 she was given the commission for seventeen alabaster figures of patriarchs and angels for the city's Holy Week monument. Her life-size figures of *Sts. Servando* and *Germán* for the New Cathedral also date from 1687 (Garcia Olloqui, *Luisa Roldán: La Roldana: Nueva Biografía* [Seville: Guadalquivir Ediciones, 2000] 75. [Henceforth abbrieviated as *Neuva Biografía.*])

9 Garcia Olloqui, '*La Roldana*' 27, and Beatrice Gilman-Proske, "Luisa Roldán at Madrid," pt. 1, 128 and 131n5.

10 García Olloqui, *'La Roldana'* 29.

11 García Olloqui, *'La Roldana'* 36.

12 For a discussion and illustrations of Murillo's devotional works, see Jonathan Brown, "The Devotional Paitnings of Murillo," *Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1617-1682): Paintings from American Collections*, ed. Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers in association with the Kimball Art Museum, 2002) 31-45.

13 Sixten Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative: the rise of the dramatic close-up in fifteenth-century devotional painting* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1984) 53-54, and Catherine Hall-van den Elsen, "Una Valoración de Dos Obras en Terracotta de Luisa Roldán," *Goya* 209 (March-April, 1989): 291-295. Hall-van den Elsen suggests that such details as the animals and plants included in the *Death of the Magdalene* carried specific symbolic meanings that drew upon the devotee's understanding of Scripture.

14 See, for example, Bruce Boucher, ed., *Earth and Fire: Italian Terracotta Sculpture from Donatello to Canova* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2002); *17th and 18th century Terracottas: the Van Herck Collection* ([Antwerp]: King Baudouin Foundation, [2000]); Michael Baxandall, *German Wood Statuettes 1500-1800* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1967); and Michael Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1980). In Spain, such images were quickly and cheaply cast from lead and papier-maché (Juan José Martín González, "Spain IV, 2-4: Sculpture," *Dictionary of Art*, vol. 29 [London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1996] 291; and Marjorie Trusted, *Spanish Sculpture: Catalogue of the Post-Medieval Spanish Sculpture in Wood, Terracotta, Alabaster, Marble, Stone, Lead and Jet in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, [London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1996] 11-13 and 90.)

15 In fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy, advances in terracotta production led to its being the favored medium for producing such images, for instance by the della Robbia workshop (Emily Black, "Terracotta II, 2 (i): History and Uses in the Western World: Sculpture," *Dictionary of Art*, vol. 30 [London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1996] 496). These works bear remarkable similarity in both size and subject matter to Roldán's terracottas. Although no evidence suggests that she was familiar with pieces by the della Robbia, their popularity demonstrates the existence of a market for devotional sculpture on this scale. See also Bruce Boucher, "Italian Renaissance Terracotta: Artistic Revival or Technological Innovation?" *Earth and Fire*, 1-31.

16 Trusted, *Spanish Sculpture*, 71-74, and "Art for the Masses," *Sculpture and its Reproductions*, ed. Anthony Hughs and Eric Ranfft (London: Reaktion Books, 1997) 54. Her theory is based on compared measurements of similar figures in the *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* at the

ment to Carlos II that she had created over eighty terracotta works while living at the court in Madrid.[17]

The existence of a Spanish market for devotional terracotta sculptures is also suggested by such works as a sixteenth-century relief of the *Pietá*[18] by Juan de Juni and the small, early eighteenth-century representations of the Christ Child with the Virgin or Saint Joseph, produced in Granada by José Risueño.[19] However, the question remains of why Roldán only seems to have begun producing works of this nature after her arrival in Madrid, especially when the medium of terracotta was more popular in Andalucía, where she spent the first part of her career. It is possible that the Italian-born sculptor Juan Bautista Moreli played a role in popularizing the medium at the Madrid court during his service as court sculptor from 1664 until 1669,[20] thus laying the foundations for a market that Roldán would later exploit upon her arrival in the city. An inventory of the royal collections made between 1701 and 1703 reveals several terracotta works attributed to Moreli.[21] However, these works differ markedly in style and conception from Roldán's: they often depict profane rather than religious subjects and consist of single figures rather than groups. Thus, while Moreli may well have introduced terracotta as a viable medium for small-scale sculpture, Roldán's works remain original in format.

Roldán's patrons probably included members of the royal family, aristocrats at the royal court, and religious institutions and individuals. Although Roldán's terracottas are not specifically mentioned in royal inventories, it is likely that the royal collections contained at least three of her works: a *Nativity* and a *Burial of Christ* that she gave to Philip V in 1701, and an *Education of the Virgin* documented in the *guardajoyas* of the Royal Palace in 1792.[22] Furthermore, inventories reveal that private oratories in the royal palaces often contained small religious sculptures, suggesting how Roldán's terracottas might have been displayed and used in the royal collections. Additional terracottas may have been destined for the collections of ecclesiastical institutions, as were many of José Risueño's terracotta groups.[23] Finally, Roldán most likely sold some of her terracottas to members of Madrid's aristocratic elite, the capital's primary art patrons.[24] Roldán's own references to these works as "jewels"[25] and Palomino's description of their display in vitrines[26] suggest a parallel between their collection and that of the miniature wax reliefs by Fray Eugenio Gutiérrez de Torices, which were modeled in small boxes with decorated glass lids and were kept as "rare jewel[s]" at the Escorial and in various private collections.[27] Although Fray Eugenio's reliefs probably functioned differently from Roldán's devotional works, their presence in court collections provides a clue as to which individuals might purchase such works and how they might view them.

Although it has been suggested that Roldán began producing terracottas in Madrid because she was unsuccessful as *escultora de cámara*, comparing her work for the crown to that of other seventeenth-century court sculptors suggests that this was far from the case. The list of large-scale works attributed to Luisa Roldán during her service to the court suggests that she was held in high regard and received commissions on a regular basis.[28] Furthermore, although Roldán was initially

Hispanic Society of America and the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* in the collection of the Condesa de Ruiseñada in San Sebastián; an examination of the underside of the *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*, which reveals pieces of straw possibly used as a binding agent; and an examination of the Victoria and Albert Museum's *Virgin and Child appearing to San Diego of Alcalá*, which has a terracotta fill in the back, perhaps resulting from a flaw where two figures were joined.

17 Hall-van den Elsen located this letter, which is now lost (cited in Trusted, "Art for the Masses" 178).

18 Three nearly-identical versions of this work exist, along with one more version of slightly reduced dimensions. (Trusted, "Art for the Masses" 51; *Spanish Sculpture* 14; and "Three Terracottas in the Victoria and Albert Museum," *Boletín del seminario de estudios de arte* 59 [1993]: 324-327. See also Martín González, *Juan de Juni, vida y obra* [Madrid: Dirección General de Bellas Artes, 1976] 115.)

19 Risueño spent his entire career in Granada and seems to have produced terracotta groups beginning around 1712. However, unlike Roldán, Risueño never signed these works. (Domingo Sánchez-Mesa Martín, *José Risueño: Escultor y pintor granadino (1665-1732)* [Granada: Granada Universidad Caja de Ahorros, 1972] 90; and Sánchez-Mesa Martín and Trusted, "Risueño, José," *Dictionary of Art*, vol. 26, [London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1996] 421.)

20 Mercédes Agulló y Cobo and Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, "Juan Bautista Moreli," *Archivo Español de Arte* 49.194 (April-June, 1976): 109-110.

21 Martín González, *El escultor en palacio: viaje a través de la escultura de los Austrias* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, S.A., 1991) 257.

22 All three of these works appear to have been lost or destroyed. Roldán referred to the *Nativity* and *Burial of Christ* in her May 1, 1701, letter to Philip V requesting to be reinstated as *escultora de cámara*. The *Education of the Virgin* is described in Antonio Ponz's *Viaje en España*, published in Madrid in 1793. Both sources are cited in Gilman-Proske, "Luisa Roldán at Madrid," pt. 1, 132n20 and pt. 2, 272n49.

23 Sánchez-Mesa Martín 161. Of the fifteen terracottas listed in the catalog raisonée, ten remain in church and monastery collections, and the two for which extended provenance information is given were obtained from church collections.

24 J. H. Elliot, *Spain and its World, 1500-1700: Selected Essays* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1989) 279. Elliot goes on to note that the market for devotional works remained high in Madrid throughout the seventeenth century (283). Trusted cites Hall-van den Elsen's statement that Roldán "spent the last two years of her life working for a private patron, producing a large number of small terracotta groups" (*Spanish Sculpture*, 70); however, she does not give the name of this patron and I have been unsuccessful in obtaining a copy of Hall-van den Elsen's dissertation, the source for this information.

25 Gilman-Proske, "Luisa Roldán at Madrid," pt. 1, 132, n20; and pt. 2, 199.

26 Palomino 341.

27 Palomino 327-328.

28 She received two documented commissions from Carlos II: a monumental figure of the *Archangel St. Michael* for the Escorial in 1692 and an *Ecce Homo* around 1700 (Gilman Proske, "Luisa Roldán at Madrid," pt. 1, 130, and Mindy Nancarrow Taggard, "Luisa Roldán's *Jesus of Nazareth,*"

named to her post "*sin gajes,*" or without pay, in 1695 she was awarded an annual salary of one hundred ducats,[29] an amount equal to that paid her apparent contemporary, Enrique Cardón,[30] and twice that of her immediate predecessor, José de Mora.[31]

Unfortunately, while Roldán's salary suggests that she was successful as a court sculptor, the court's impending bankruptcy prevented her from easily collecting her pay. It is therefore probable that she viewed terracotta production as a way of supplementing her income, as various authors have suggested.[32] Producing terracottas might also have freed Roldán from the need to operate a large workshop. Medieval and early modern guilds throughout Europe often allowed women to inherit and run their husbands' workshops, however they generally prohibited women from taking on male apprentices or assistants.[33] Even if Roldán's position at court exempted her from guild regulations,[34] her hiring of male assistants would most likely still have been seen as inappropriate. This may have hindered her ability to establish a workshop capable of fulfilling large-scale commissions comprising multiple figures, which usually entailed the collaboration of numerous assistants.[35] Furthermore, sculpture studios required a considerable amount of space.[36] A letter from Roldán to Carlos II of 1693 states that she and her family had no place to live, suggesting that obtaining the working space necessary for creating large-scale sculpture may have presented yet another obstacle to her career.[37] Roldán's small terracottas, on the other hand, could have been created in a smaller studio and would not have demanded the help of numerous assistants. Thus, perhaps Roldán's terracotta production was a strategy for circumventing guild restrictions, societal constraints, and material deficiencies that would have stood in the way of her establishing a career at the court.

Additionally, Roldán's terracottas probably also served to establish her reputation in the eyes of potential patrons, including the incoming Bourbon king Philip V, to whom she submitted two terracottas when requesting that he renew her position as *escultora de cámara*.[38] Towards this end, Roldán would have benefited from the innovative format of her terracotta groups. As argued by Mindy Nancarrow Taggard, seventeenth-century Spanish sculptors sought to create "brand names," which promoted the loyalty of patrons and heightened the perceived value of their products.[39] This strategy can be seen as a form of monopolistic competition—creating a

*Women's Art Journal* 19.1 [Spring-Summer, 1998]: 9 and 13). Mari-Tere Alvarez has suggested that the life-size figure of *San Jinés de la Jara*, now in the Getty Museum, was also a royal commission, perhaps intended as a gift to a convent or monastery ("The Reattribution of a Seventeenth-Century Spanish Polychrome Sculpture," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 24 [1996]: 67-68). Eleanor Goodman notes that the four life-size figures of *Sts. Michael*, *Margaret*, *Dorothy*, and *Gabriel* that flank the image of *Our Lady of the Miracle* in the retable of the Capilla de los Milagros are attributed to Roldán ("Royal Piety: Faith, Religious Politics, and the Experience of Art at the Convent of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid," Ph.D. diss., New York University, 2001, 67-68). Martín González attributes to Roldán six *Angels with Instruments of the Passion* in Madrid's Church of San Isidro and dates them to the last years of her career, (Martín González, *Escultura barroca en España, 1600-1770* [Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 1983] 181), which suggests that she may have received commissions from Philip V as well as Carlos II.

29 Martín González, *El escultor en palacio* 225.

30 Martín González, *El escultor en palacio* 225. Enrique Cardón was made court sculptor in November, 1688, and was awarded a salary of one hundred ducats per year. However, because almost nothing is known of his life or works, it is impossible to compare his work for the court to Roldán's.

31 José de Mora served as *escultor de cámara* from 1672 to 1680 and received 18,750 *mearavedís* per year, equal to about fifty ducats. I have found no other information on his work for the Spanish court. (Agulló and Pérez Sánchez 110; Palomino 217-218; and Martín González, *El escultor en palacio*, 223; conversion from *meravedís* to ducats given in Jonathan Brown and J.H. Elliot, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV* [New Haven: Yale UP, 1980] 247).

32 See, for example, Trusted, "Art for the Masses" 54; and Garcia Olloqui, *'La Roldana'* 29. Other artists of this period, such as El Greco, also seem to have created small-scale devotional works as a way of earning a steady income between larger and more lucrative commissions.

33 See Stavitsky, especially chapters 1 and 2, and Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1987) 17.

34 Valerie Mainz, "Court Artists," *Dictionary of Women Artists* (London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1987) 37.

35 Martín González discusses the position of assistants in sculpture workshops and notes that assistants would usually be given single figures to complete (*El artista en la sociedad español* 31). Within this context, it is notable that the large-scale autograph works that Roldán produced in Madrid are all single figures, which she could have completed herself.

36 Martín González, *El artista en la sociedad español* 36.

37 See Gilman-Proske, "Luisa Roldán at Madrid," pt. 1, 132, for a transcript of this letter. In her first letter requesting the post of *escultora de cámara* from Philip V, Roldán stipulated that the King should also provide her with an income and a house. A document of 1702 lists her husband, Luis Antonio de los Arcos, as residing across the street from the Casa del Tesoro, a house traditionally occupied by court painters, and it would be interesting to investigate whether her request for lodgings was met ("Partición de los bienes de la Condesa de Villaumbrosa," reproduced in Agulló y Cobo, *Documentos sobre escultors, entalladores y ensambladores de los siglos XVI al XVIII* [Valladolid: Publicaciones del Departamento de Historia del Arte, 1978] 16. For further information on the Casa del Tesoro, see Martín González, *El artista en la sociedad española* 26.)

38 For further discussion of the use of terracotta *modelli* to attract potential patrons, see Charles Avery, *Fingerprints of the Artist: European Terra-Cotta Sculpture from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1980) 18; and Boucher, "Italian Renaissance Terracotta."

39 Nancarrow Taggard, "Piety and Profit in Spanish Religious Art," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 134. 1570 (Nov. 1999): 205-206. Her arguments center mainly on the market for large-scale religious images; however, the same strategies could apply equally well to other genres.

40 Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany* 121-122. Again, although Baxandall describes this situation in the context of sixteenth-century German woodcarving, it can be applied equally well to seventeenth-century religious sculpture.

market in which the product is not differentiated solely on the basis of quality and price, but also according to the consumer's perceptions of its uniqueness and the artist's personal skill.[40] By producing a type of devotional group that was unique in Madrid, Roldán may have sought to create a market in which she was, at least initially, the only competitor.

In conclusion, while the markets for both devotional and terracotta sculptures seem to have existed throughout Europe by the seventeenth century, the small terracotta groups that Luisa Roldán produced in Madrid were unique for their time and place. Contrary to some scholars' opinions, Roldán seems to have built a strong reputation as a sculptor at the Spanish court; her terracottas should be viewed as contributing to this success rather than symptomatic of her failure. Her innovative works catered to the market for intimate, devotional imagery, and perhaps even created a new market in which she was the only competitor. They also allowed her to earn a living during financially precarious times without requiring a large and expensive studio or the help of male assistants, which presumably would have aroused controversy and criticism. It is perhaps with respect to this last condition that Roldán's terracotta production is most likely to have been influenced by her social status as a woman. However, we should not dismiss these works as the inherently "feminine" results of a failed career in large-scale sculpture. Rather, we should recognize them as part of a calculated response to the restrictions placed on women artists or, in short, as a strategy for achieving success.

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Figure 1: Luisa Roldán, *Death of the Magdalene*, *c.* 1690, polychromed terracotta. Courtesy of the Hispanic Society of America, New York.

Figure 2: Luisa Roldán, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, c. 1688-1700, polychromed terracotta. Courtesy of the Hispanic Society of America, New York.

Figure 3: Luisa Roldán, *Mystical Marriage of St. Catherine*, 1690-1692, polychromed terracotta. Courtesy of the Hispanic Society of America, New York.