Velázquez's 'imitation' of nature seen through 'ojos doctos': a study of painting, Classicism and Tridentine reform in Seville

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others

In memory of Paul Seward (1954-1998).

His company, conversation and encouragement are

remembered always.

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Abstract

The following chapters examine the cultural significance of Velázquez's Sevillian paintings, and provide a study of his relationships to the thought of Sevillian patrons. The discussion is based on a methodological review of the discussion of his paintings and their relationship to painting theory. A number of Iberian treatises on painting are analysed to explore Iberian and Sevillian attitudes to painting. A focus is developed on the writing of Velázquez's patrons, Juan de Fonseca and Francisco de Rioja, which has not been examined in regard to Velázquez until now. The combination of methodological enquiry and historical investigation explores the relationship between Velázquez paintings, other intellectual disciplines and ideological concerns related to classicism and Tridentine reform in Seville. In particular the diffusion of principles of Rhetoric, through poetry and poetics, preaching and meditation, is concentrated upon.

Table of Contents

Introduction

While finishing my M.A. thesis, which formed the preliminary stage of this investigation, critical attention became focused on Velázquez's Sevillian paintings. In 1996 the National Gallery of Scotland held the exhibition 'Velázquez in Seville' and three years later Seville's Monastery of the Cartuja presented, 'Velázquez y Sevilla', a similar but more extensive show celebrating the city's most famous painter. Both these exhibitions presented a 'retrospective' of Velázquez's paintings produced before 1623 and provided the opportunity for a critical reassessment of the paintings. Traditionally discussion of Velázquez had concentrated on the Madrid paintings, which were recognised as mature works. However, not only did these exhibitions aim to demonstrate the quality of the Sevillian paintings but also to present them as an expression of the specific social and cultural context of Seville, contrasting them to contemporaneous paintings, sculpture and other visual media. It was the accompanying exhibition catalogues, which explored this latter issue in depth, as well as conferences held at museums and universities during the centenary in 1999.[1]

While the recent socio-historical discussion of Velázquez's Sevillian paintings has provided a valuable foundation for this study, it also indicated the continuation of certain problematic issues of how Velázquez's Sevillian paintings are approached and discussed. As a result the compositional innovations and novel appearance of Velázquez's paintings have rarely been addressed in terms of the ideas and concerns of his spectators and patrons. The isolation of these paintings from their historical context has long been a feature of Velázquez studies, and this is examined in the historiographical review undertaken in the first chapter. The lack of archival evidence

[1] The exhibition catalogues are titled *Velázquez in Seville* and *Velázquez y Sevilla*. Conferences were held in Seville, as part of the exhibition, the Prado and the University of Leeds during 1999.

explains this in part, however, the issue is predominantly methodological. Since the eighteenth-century the development of critical approaches to art history has focused on paintings' formal and aesthetic characteristics, which combined with later, romantic concepts of the artist, have isolated both painter and paintings from their social and historical context. The opening chapter provides a critical review of these developments.

Only recently have such readings of the paintings been called into question, but no searching methodological enquiry has accompanied the investigation into Sevillian culture. The discussion of critical approaches to Velázquez's paintings is a central theme of the thesis. Although this methodological enquiry at times seems remote from Velázquez and Seville, the critical analysis of secondary texts and their contexts is necessary to understand the peculiarities of the Velázquez literature. The aim of the second chapter is to explore these methodological issues and develop a critical approach to engage, in the final two chapters, with the relationships between the paintings' appearance and their social and cultural context.

A particular result of the isolation of the Sevillian paintings has been the view that the Sevillian works were unrelated to theories of painting. Instead discussion has concentrated on the issue of Velázquez as an example of the 'influence' of Caravaggism, which was reviewed by several writers in the two exhibition catalogues.[2] However, rather than make a further contribution to an already extensive bibliography on Caravaggio's 'influence' his status in painting theory is examined instead.[3] In the second chapter it is shown how Caravaggio's paintings were discussed in terms of a

[2] Juan Miguel Serrera, 'Velázquez and Sevillian painting of his time'; David Davies, 'Velázquez's *bodegones*', *Velázquez in Seville*, pp.37-43 & 51-65, (Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 1996). Peter Cherry, 'Los *bodegones* de Velázquez y la *verdadera imitación del natural*', *Velázquez y Sevilla*, pp. 77-91, (Seville: Junta de Andalusia, 1999)

[3] Studies of the significance of Caravaggio's art in Europe are found in B. Nicholson, *Caravaggism in Europe*, 3 vols., (Turin: 1990), and specifically regarding Spain in A.E. Pérez Sánchez, *Caravaggio y el naturalismo español*, (Seville: 1973).

range of theoretical discussions and traditions related to the renaissance concepts of decorum, the *istoria* and the 'imitation of nature'. The 'imitation of nature' is a translation of renaissance terminology used by Panofsky in his *Idea: a concept in art theory*. During the eighteenth-century this term came to be replaced by 'naturalism'; the first chapter shows they are not synonymous. The earlier term is employed throughout this discussion, as it is the most accurate translation of the Spanish term 'imitación del natural'.[4] The examination of the general significance of this term through a study of the criticism of Panofsky and David Summers, and then specifically as applied to Caravaggio, provides a framework for Velázquez's painting to be understood in a more complex critical framework, which engages with decorum and conventions associated with the different genres of painting, such as the *istoria* or portraiture. Drawing on this study theoretical texts on painting are examined with regard to a range of intellectual and ideological interests. Traditionally painting theory has been read as an expression of aesthetic concerns, in the general sense of aesthetic as concerned with beauty. It is a central concern of the methodological discussion to address this. Drawing on a critical reading of painting theory the final two chapters demonstrate that both painting and theory engaged with a range of concerns, amongst which the aesthetic was only one.

Like Caravaggio, Velázquez has traditionally been discussed in terms of a canonical and selective aesthetic reading of painting theory. One aspect of this has been that the contemporary Iberian painting theory has not been discussed in relation to his paintings. The methodological approaches for examining the relationship of paintings and their theoretical discussion set out in chapter two are taken up in the third chapter, which examines a selection of treatises published between 1600 and 1626. Many of

[4] With regard to Spanish terms that have changed their significance or become obsolete two dictionaries are used. Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, Tesoro *de la Lengua Castellana o Española*, first published in 1611 (ed. F.Maldonado & M.Camarero, (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1994)) and the Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de Autoridades* first published in 1726 (1737 Facsimile edition 3 volumes, (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1979).

these texts have not received a detailed study and nor have they been discussed with regard to Velázquez, despite being published in his lifetime. Two provide an Iberian paradigm of painting theory, and then a selection of texts by Sevillian authors develops a focus on the particular situation of Seville. Attention is directed to how the treatises provide a variety of concepts drawn from a range of disciplines, which spectators applied to painting. These provide a structure to examine the particular cultural and ideological debates surrounding paintings. To complement the analysis of the concerns of Velázquez's spectators his paintings are examined in terms of their display of awareness for these concerns. They are examined as a response to spectators in a range of ways, from the paintings' 'illusion' and engagement of the spectator, through a critical formal analysis to a searching discussion of the painter's treatment of a narrative or more subtle set of 'ideas'. Velázquez's work is discussed for how it sought to engage his spectators at all these levels. One of the writers examined, Juan de Butrón, employs the term 'ojos doctos' or learned vision, borrowed from Cicero, and the aim of the chapter is to examine the learning both spectators and painters applied to painting.

The relationship of Rhetoric and Painting is a theme that emerges frequently in the theories of painting examined in chapters two and three. The final chapter focuses on this area through an examination of the theories of poetics and sacred rhetoric of Velázquez's patrons, Juan de Fonseca and Francisco de Rioja. None of these texts have been examined in terms of their significance for Velázquez's painting, and they offer a conceptual framework to develop the discussion in the third chapter. The rhetorical concepts both authors addressed introduce further critical criteria to discuss Velázquez's paintings and establish a framework to explore the paintings' relationships to three features of Sevillian culture: poetry, preaching and meditation. Each of these offered an ideological 'vision' of the world that is explored in Velázquez's paintings. The concept

of 'ojos doctos', as a paradigm of the spectator, is developed to examine Velázquez's painting, or his 'imitation of nature', with greater scrutiny.

Both theories of Painting and Rhetoric allow for the study of classicism and Tridentine reform in Seville. Both these terms are specific features of Sevillian culture. The former has been studied in most detail by Lleó Cañal and it may be considered as a branch of 'humanism'. Although the *studia humanitatis*, the etymological root of the nineteenth-century term 'humanism', provided an important foundation for the treatises examined in the final two chapters the term humanism is avoided due to its complicated range of meanings. Lleó's study of sixteenth-century Sevillian humanism examined how it informed the concept of the city and the life of it inhabitants as well as architecture, sculpture and painting. In this discussion attention is focused on the historical study of classical antiquity, the emulation of classical models in poetry and painting and the use of classical texts in the criticism of paintings, which may be understood as three features of classicism. All of these three features may also be identified with the figure of Justus Lipsius and Neo-Stoicism. The significance of Neo-Stoic thought is examined with regard to Sevillian classicism and Velázquez's paintings. However, it is hard to distinguish from the established Sevillian traditions of classical study.

'Tridentine reform' allows for the complexity of Seville's religious culture to be addressed. The decrees of the Council of Trent provided a set of instructions for the reform of the Catholic Church, which the succeeding generations implemented, interpreted and re-interpreted, and which may be understood as the Counter-Reformation. It is problematic to make generalisations about the effects of the Tridentine decrees. The Counter-Reformation period is complex and significant distinctions are encountered as a focus is developed on different countries, and in turn

on individual cities. The relationships of the secular and ecclesiastical authority were one source for this complexity to which particular social and cultural issues added. In the course of this discussion interpretations of the Tridentine decrees regarding painting are examined, such as Paleotti's *Discorso intorno alle Imagini sacre e profane* (Bologna: 1582), and a focus is developed on Seville examining the application of these ideas in terms of their theoretical expression and the paintings of Velázquez and his contemporaries.

General terms such as humanism, Counter-Reformation and stylistic categories, such as Mannerist or Naturalist, are avoided. The significance of humanist painting or a Counter-Reformation style is not addressed. The former is generally identified with the Renaissance and the latter with Mannerism or the Baroque. The difficulties raised by these periods and their 'styles' is discussed at a number of points, and it is shown how their boundaries are blurred by the continuity of traditions. Rudolf Wittkower's *Art and architecture in Italy 1600*-1750 opens with a discussion of 'the period of transition and the Early Baroque c.1600 – c.1625'.[5] In the following discussion the Seville of Velázquez indicates signs of transition however as Wittkower's own treatment of the Baroque reveals it is apparent that it is a global term that encompasses many distinct styles of painting. The same may be said of Counter-Reformation painting. The discussion of this text aims to provide a focused study of one facet of this much more complex model. However, the methodological approaches tested here may also be applied in other cities and periods.

A further feature of the focused choice of terms is that they avoid any rudimentary distinction of secular and religious culture, which is often implied by general concepts such as Humanism and the Counter-Reformation. The texts that are

[5] (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973)

examined reveal how the ideas of classicism were applied to issues of Tridentine reform such as preaching and painting, and likewise the moral concerns of the latter may be detected in Rioja's poetry for example. Similarly the authors examined were responsible for religious and secular affairs as is well documented in Jonathan Brown's investigation of Sevillian culture, which has provided a valuable foundation for the following discussion. The relationships of Seville's scholars have been a focus of critical attention. The eighteenth-century historian, Antonio Palomino, introduced the question of an academy, another feature associated with Italian 'humanism'. The term 'academy' is problematic as Lleó commented:

'One looks in vain for academies which follow the Italian model, with a constitution, ceremonies and regular sessions, but there were informal meetings of learned men, artists, and illustrious nobles united by their common interest in antiquity, poetry, and matters of iconography.'[6]

In the following discussion the term 'academy' is not used, due to its inappropriate resonance of Italian precedents, instead another term of Brown's, a 'community of scholars' is used. It is shown how this 'community of scholars' engaged with issues of both classicism and Tridentine reform, and that these in turn were applied to the discussion of painting. Through a close examination of Velázquez's paintings they are considered in terms of a marked response to this 'cultivated' discussion.

In the recent discussions of Seville's 'community of scholars' Velázquez is cited but his paintings have never been examined in relationship to the ideas they wrote about. The available evidence for Velázquez's relationship to these 'scholars' is

[6] Vincente Lleó Cañal, 'The cultivated elite of Velázquez's Seville', *Velázquez in Seville*, (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1996) (p.25)

examined, however it is best understood in terms of patronage, which may be understood in two senses: the commissioning and buying of paintings or the use of a patron's prestige and status to advance a painter's career. In both cases the painter had to engage with the ideas, interests and tastes of his patrons. Limited evidence exists for the patronage of Velázquez's Sevillian paintings, however, the role of members of Seville's community of scholars in Velázquez's employment at court is documented. In particular Francisco de Rioja and Juan de Fonseca, as well as his master Francisco Pacheco, and it is probable that such patronage and advancement began in Seville. Through the formulation of an original methodological approach to Velázquez's painting, and the study of the ideas and concerns of Velázquez's patrons the following chapters explore, not only how Sevillian scholars applied their learned vision to his paintings, but also how Velázquez paintings display an awareness and response to these critics' 'ojos doctos'. However, before these can be examined attention has to be directed towards the traditions of scholarship that have shaped the modern understanding of Velázquez and his Sevillian paintings.

Chapter I

Writing on Velázquez: a study of the archive and its formation.

Part i)

Over the last three centuries Velázquez's Sevillian paintings have generated a range of responses that reveal marked alterations in cultural responses to paintings and shifts in the conceptions of the painter himself. One of the most recent developments has been to focus critical and historical attention upon the life and work of the artist prior to his move to Madrid in 1623, rather than regard this period as a prelude to the later 'real' Velázquez. Two exhibitions have recently been dedicated to the Sevillian period firstly, at the National Gallery of Scotland in 1996, and then during the fourth centenary of his birth in 1999 at Seville's Monastery of the Cartuja. Such retrospectives of the first six years of a painter's career are testament to Enriquetta Harris' statement that 'Velázquez's early maturity was exceptional'.[1] The focus of these exhibitions was not simply upon the artist, but also Sevillian culture and society. While continuing the search for the origins of the 'great artist' in the Sevillian paintings, the attention turned to the historical moment in which he worked was new. Every generation has considered they are describing the historical Velázquez, but these exhibitions concentrated on historical representations of early seventeenth-century Seville. Behind these recent developments lie recent trends in art-historical writing, which has explored a number of approaches to examine art's wider social and cultural dimensions.

[1] Enriqueta Harris, 'The question of Velázquez's assistants', *Velázquez in Seville*, (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1996) pp.77-8. (p. 78)

To gauge the significance of the two exhibitions the catalogues that accompanied them have to be taken into account. Although the exhibitions of Velázquez's paintings alongside those of other artists, sculptures, and other examples of Seville's visual culture developed a historical context, they essentially addressed the traditional view of Velázquez. The spectator had the opportunity to contemplate how exceptional 'Velázquezs' are. The real engagement with the historical discussion of Seville was undertaken in the catalogues.[2] Distinctions between the two catalogues are apparent in their critical essays. The Edinburgh catalogue provides three essays on historical themes distinguished from six art historical discussions. While John Elliott provided a general topography of Seville Vincente Lleó Cañal and Ronald Cueto addressed two fundamental aspects of Sevillian culture, the classicist and scientific interests of Seville's 'cultivated elite', and the complexity of Sevillian 'Counter-Reformation religiosity'. As well as providing eight art historical studies on Velázquez, *Velázquez y Sevilla* likewise presented a historical context. As well as a topography of Seville, three studies on the decoration of two noble palaces and the Archbishop's palace, complement Lleó and Cueto's essays.

Within the general framework of nobility and Church the art-historical essays address specific aspects of the artist's life in the city. They provide an overview of the principal areas of investigation: the question of the origins of Velázquez's style was explored in terms of his apprenticeship, and the Sevillian paintings he would have known combined with reassessments of the long running debates on his knowledge of Caravaggio. Other authors engaged with these questions from technical and theoretical perspectives.

[2] In the case of the Sevillian exhibition the four-day conference held in Seville's Monastery of Cartuja provided a further level of specialised debate. The plan to publish the papers did not come to fruition.

A focus on the innovations of Velázquez's style was provided in two studies on the *bodegones* by David Davies and Peter Cherry. The contrast offered by these essays signals an aspect of many of the essays, which was to concentrate discussion of Velázquez's painting only in terms of art-historical issues. Unlike Cherry's focus on the *bodegones*' artistic significance Davies explored them in terms of their social, literary and religious context. His essay engaged with the historical framework provided by Lleó and Cueto. In so doing the *bodegones* were considered from the perspective of their spectators, and their artistic significance was linked to how Velázquez represented the interests of his public. A specific analysis of the paintings, in terms of their relationship to Seville's religious culture, was undertaken by two authors Enriquetta Harris and Gridley McKim-Smith. They both addressed his paintings as an expression of Seville's religious culture; Harris considering the iconography of the religious paintings and McKim-Smith the ideological dimensions of Velázquez's technique of painting.

Providing such a detailed study of the first six years of a painter's life the two catalogues are, if not exceptional, a rare example of art history. Previous studies of Velázquez's Sevillian paintings subordinated their importance to his better-known Madrid works and these essays redressed this, but their more detailed examination of the paintings continued to develop traditional themes addressed in the historical literature on Velázquez since 1638. A historiographical examination of this literature provides a necessary framework to examine these essays in more detail, not only in terms of their themes, but also the critical methodologies that underpin them. The following survey traces the formation of the archive surrounding Velázquez's work. [3] Francisco Pacheco's *Arte de la Pintura*, officially completed in 1638 and published

[3] The term 'archive' is used here in the sense developed by Michel Foucault in the *Archaeology of Knowledge*, (London: Tavistock, 1972) to refer to the range of knowledge and sources gathered in the development of a historical discourse.

posthumously in 1649, provided its foundation. The development of subsequent discussion has drawn on the gradual emergence of documentary evidence, paintings and biographical information. A second dimension of this process has been the introduction of different critical approaches to the study of Velázquez's paintings and biography causing the 'archive's' contents to undergo significant changes. Through a historiographical analysis of the methodologies and analytical tools employed by Velázquez's critics, their engagements with and contributions to the archive may be examined for how they have shaped the interpretation of the Sevillian paintings.

The archive's development has been marked by the perception of Velázquez's Sevillian works as examples of his 'first style' rather than mature works. Related to this view is a second arguing that the works document his training, attention is drawn to flaws in perspective, for example, that imply their classification as juvenilia. The habit of regarding Velázquez's better-known paintings for the court of Philip IV as the true measure of his mature ability informs this opinion. When attention has focused on the Sevillian period the discussion has been of the 'influences' on Velázquez's style viewing the paintings as examples of a regional style, Sevillian naturalism, or a period style, such as Early Baroque or the Caravaggesque movement. Although many distinct views of Velázquez's Sevillian years emerge their status has remained subordinate to those of the authentic Madrid paintings.

Criticism of the Sevillian works is closely tied to art-historical methodology and shifting cultural attitudes to art itself. While the search for the sources of Velázquez's style has dominated much of the discussion, it is complicated by the fact that style was often regarded as a feature intimately linked to genre – thus a *bodegón* for example would be assessed differently from a devotional work or a history. A further dimension has been the development of critical vocabularies to describe the paintings of

Velázquez. These have undergone a number of changes, which can be registered in the selection and use of terms such as *imitación del natural*, 'naturalism' and 'realism'. While these may seem different ways of saying the same thing and very clearly share some common ground their historical and cultural constructions may be subtly at variance with one another. As well as terminology, attention will be directed equally to changes in concepts of art, nature and vision, themes explored in later chapters. A number of different analogies, from lifelike appearances to photographs, emerge to describe Velázquez's paintings while he is commonly included in seventeenth-century historiography by comparisons to Caravaggio and Rembrandt.

Part ii)

The earliest critical engagements with the Sevillian paintings by Francisco Pacheco (1564-1644) and Antonio Palomino (1655-1726) have gained the status of documentary sources and authorities on the Sevillian oeuvre, but their importance is greater than that. Their work has structured the development of the biographical narrative of Velázquez and criticism of his paintings. Because attention has focused on the data they provide, the theoretical and rhetorical dimensions of their texts have been overlooked. The aim of this section is to give these factors more prominence and demonstrate how they emerged from the specific concerns of the authors within a distinct historical period. Both authors are studied together in two stages. Firstly their treatments of Velázquez's biography are examined and then their discussions of his paintings to provide a focus on distinctions between the texts and the authors' intentions. Pacheco's writing is examined first to demonstrate the changes which result from Palomino's incorporation of it into his text.

Pacheco as well as being an important writer within Seville's literary culture was himself one of its most prominent painters from the final decades of the seventeenth century until his death. His recognition as a painter is signalled by the many commissions he undertook for religious and noble patrons, examples of which are examined in the third chapter. In addition, he played important roles in the social life of Sevillian painters, acting in 1599 and 1616 as president of the painters' guild and in 1618 as inspector of images for the Seville tribunal of the Inquisition.[4] While the former post reflects Pacheco's standing amidst painters, the latter reflects his relationships with the ecclesiastical community. Pacheco's role in the control of religious imagery is another feature of his religious painting discussed later.

Pacheco's literary interests and connections distinguished him from many of his contemporary painters. During his youth he lived with his uncle Francisco Pacheco (1535-1599), who held a number of important ecclesiastical posts including canon of Seville Cathedral and Chaplain of the Royal Chapel. It is thought the Canon cultivated the painter's varied intellectual interests and brought him into contact with Seville's secular and religious scholars. Jonathan Brown described the *Arte de la Pintura*, Pacheco's treatise on painting, as a chronicle of these interests and the many people he conversed and corresponded with.[5] The image of Velázquez that emerges from this

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[4] See Peter Cherry 'Artistic training and the painter's guild in Seville', *Velázquez in Seville*, pp.67-75. (p.67). There is very little evidence of Pacheco's activities as Inspector of Images for the Inquisition. In the introduction to the 'Adiciones a Algunas Imágenes', *El Arte de la Pintura's* iconographical appendix, Pacheco described the honour he received from the Inquisition by being asked to serve as 'Inspector of Images'. Pacheco's partial quotation of the original document, signed on the 7th of March 1618, is the only source for Pacheco's inquisitorial activities. It names Pacheco's brother, Juan Pérez Pacheco, as a 'familiar' of the Inquisition. No information is known about other painters carrying out such roles for the Inquisition regarding religious imagery. Bassegoda argued that it indicates Pacheco's reputation combined with the influence of his brother and that Pacheco would probably have aspired to become a 'familiar' of the Inquisition too, then seen as an indicator of social status, but his brother died in 1620. *Arte*, 1990. (p. 561)

[5] Jonathan, Brown, *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth Century Painting*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978) (p.33) All references to Pacheco's text are to B. Bassegoda i Hugas' critical edition of *EL Arte de la Pintura*, ed., (Madrid: Cátedra, 1990.). All further references are abbreviated to the *Arte*. When possible the translations are taken from appendix I of Enriqueta Harris *Velázquez*, (London: 1982). Otherwise they are my own.

book is as much a product of such interests as it is of his actual knowledge of the artist himself; a fact that is sometimes forgotten because of the personal contact between the two men, which has traditionally given Pacheco's account an authority as an eye-witness account.

Velázquez's six year apprenticeship to Pacheco began in 1610, although the contract was signed in September the following year.[6] Pacheco, together with Juan de Uceda Castroverde (c.1570-1631), acted as Velázquez's examiner for his guild examination on the 14th of March 1617.[7] Velázquez married Pacheco's daughter, Juana in 1618.[8] Cherry proposed this was a frequent studio tradition to strengthen professional and commercial bonds forged during an apprenticeship.[9] Until 1623 the artists' relationship is documented in a number of notarial documents in Seville relating to financial issues and property Velázquez leased.[10] It has been inferred that Pacheco played an important role in aiding Velázquez gain entry to the court in Madrid through his contacts with Seville's nobility, ecclesiastical community and scholars. On this evidence Pacheco's discussion of Velázquez in the *Arte* has gained documentary status. It provides a biography of Velázquez until the year 1638 and three references related to his artistic career in Seville.[11]

Antonio Palomino wrote the first complete biography of Velázquez. It is number 106 of *El Parnaso Español Pintoresco Laureado*, a collection of two hundred and

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[6] Archivo General de Protocolos de Sevilla. *Oficio 4. regsitro de Pedro del Carpio.* Published in *Varia Velazqueña-, homenaje a Velázquez en el III centenario de su muerte, 1660-1960*, 2 vols., (Madrid, 1960) (Vol. II, p.215-6). Hereafter abbreviated to *V.V.*II.

[7] Archivo General de Protocolos de Sevilla. *Oficio 4. registro de Pedro del Carpio.* Libro II, fols. 85-86. *V.V.*II. (p. 217)

[8] Archive of the parish church of St. Michael, Seville. *Libro de matrimonios de 1614 a 1632, fol. 18. V.V.*II. (p. 218)

[9] Cherry, *Velázquez in Seville.* (p.67). See also J.J. Martín González, *El artista en la sociedad española del siglo XVII*, (Madrid, 1984).

[10] *V.V.*II. (pp.220-2)

[11] Pacheco also included Velázquez's 1643 appointment as *Ayuda de Camara.* It has been proposed that this detail was inserted into the manuscript after the licence for printing was given and thus the true date could not be provided.

twenty six biographies of artists, who were either Spanish or connected to Spanish Patrons, hence biographies of Titian and Rubens are included. It was first published in 1724 and forms the third part of Palomino's *Museo Pictórico y escala óptica.*[12] The first two parts, published in 1715 and 1724, addressed the theory and practice of painting respectively. Palomino's prelude records that he had examined the archives of the royal public library of the court and the manuscript containing the *Epílogo y nomenclatura de algunos artífices*, of Diego Lázaro Diez del Valle (1606-1669), which includes a biography of Velázquez. Del Valle's treatment of the Seville period quotes Pacheco's biography and ignores the three other references.[13] Palomino also states that he brings many years of experience and observation as well as information from other painters. Palomino provided fresh information about Velázquez's life and paintings, which he combined with Pacheco's references into his biographical narrative. His text established a canonical account of Velázquez's apprenticeship and development as a painter in Seville.

Pacheco and Palomino's biographies of Velázquez share a cultural concern to establish his exemplary role as a Spanish painter. Sharon Fermer's study of Piero de Cosimo identifies this concern as an important rhetorical dimension of Vasari's *Lives of the Painters.*[14] Vasari identified models to be imitated by later generations of painters, and others to be avoided, such as de Cosimo. The choices Vasari made were based on his pedagogical interests but were also developed from the descriptions of painters in Pliny the Elder's *Natural History.* A dimension of Vasari's lives is to record the

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[12] All English quotations are taken from the Nina Mallory's English version. A. Palomino, *Lives of the Eminent Spanish Painters and Sculptors*, (Cambridge University Press: New York, 1987) pp.139-83. The original text was consulted in Antonio Palomino, *Vidas*, ed. Nina Ayala Mallory, (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1986) pp.154-60.

[13] Diego Lázaro Diez del Valle, *Epilogo y nomenclatura de algunos artífices...*, published in *Fuentes literarias del Arte Español*, vol. II, ed. F.J. Sánchez Cantón, (Madrid, 1933) pp. 359-60.

[14] Sharon Fermer, *Piero de Cosimo: Fiction, Invention and 'Fantasìa'*, (London: Reaktion, 1993) (pp.20-28) This is aspect of Vasari's text is also examined in Patricia Lee Rubin's *Giorgio Vasari: Art and History*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1995) (p.23)

successes of Italian painters and how they rivalled the classical heritage. Both Pliny and Vasari measured a painter's greatness by technical achievements and the recognition received from patrons. Pacheco's biography of Velázquez records the patronage he received from nobles and the King on the basis of his skills as a portraitist. His status may be discussed in two senses, cultural and historical. Regarding the former, the biography of Velázquez, and those which precede it, are important evidence for the socio-cultural argument, then being aired in Iberian Cities, in favour of painters being considered not simply as artisans, but as practitioners of a noble art.[15] The first book of the *Arte* addresses painting's grandeur and antiquity. Its central argument defines painting as a liberal art, a claim Pacheco supported by listing saints and nobles who painted and by discussing painters such as Velázquez whose art was rewarded by their patrons. An examination of the relationship of these arguments to art criticism is undertaken in the third chapter.

During the sixteenth-century this debate had been well rehearsed in treatises on painting. Pacheco's comprehensive knowledge of fifteenth and sixteenth-century Italian, Flemish and Spanish treatises on painting provided the *Arte*'s foundation. Pacheco's discussion of painting as a liberal art and as worthy of the nobility draws attention away from its commercial involvement. Pacheco's biography of Velázquez does not comment on any painting made in Seville, and this may be read as an attempt to avoid making reference to more humble forms of patronage and the sale of paintings. Bassegoda i Hugas has commented on Pacheco's biography of Velázquez in terms of his interests as a historian:

[15] Julián Gallego's *El pintor de artesano a artista* (Granada, 1976) has examined the specific Iberian social dimension of this debate. The Royal Treasury levied a tax, the *Alcabala*, on all manufactured goods, which categorised painters with tailors and cobblers. Painting received official exemption from the tax, and hence status as an 'art', only in 1676.

'It is wrong to criticise Pacheco for the lack of information regarding Velázquez, when in reality what he intended was to draw attention to the honours, social recognition, and not the life and works. The latter are cited in the sense of phases in his rise to success, and not for their individual merit. From this point of view the biography of Velázquez is perfect.'[16]

With this in mind Pacheco's value as a personal witness becomes severely qualified. The *Arte* also needs to be considered in terms of cultural traditions of writing about artists, which illustrates the second sense of Velázquez's exemplary status.

Like Vasari Pacheco drew on Pliny's *Natural History* as a model of historical writing, as well as a source. The arguments for painting's status as a liberal art are supported by a series of 'legendary 'biographies of Apelles, to Michelangelo (1475-1564) and Titian (1485-1576), which are followed by three contemporaneous biographies painters related to the Habsburg court in Madrid Diego de Rómulo Cincinnato (c.1578-1626), Rubens (1577-1640) and Velázquez. Not only are all these painters recognised for their expertise but also their patronage by Emperors, Kings, nobles and Popes. The significance of the final three biographies is that their patrons included Iberian examples.

Despite the fact that it was the period that Pacheco could have described most he limited the opening of his biography to an affirmation of the young artist's talent and character, and ignored all the works produced in Seville.[17] His silence left a gap in the account that was subsequently filled when the pictures could be discussed as

[16] *Arte*, 1990. (p.192) 'No tiene sentido de criticar a Pacheco la escasez de noticias relativas a Velázquez, pues en realidad lo que se pretende es poner en evidencia los honores, el reconocimiento social, y no la vida y las obras. Estas utlímas se citan en la medida que generan esos honores, en la medida que son peldaños de una escalera, y no por sí mismas. Desde este punto de vista la biografía de Velázquez es perfecta.'

[17] *Arte*, 1990. (pp.202-204)

Velázquez's first style. Pacheco recorded Velázquez's apprenticeship, marriage and two journeys to Madrid in 1622 and 1623. A modest reference is given to Pacheco's role as master but he concentrated on the reception and patronage Velázquez received at the court, which resulted in his appointment as *Pintor Real* to Philip IV.

Velázquez first travelled to Madrid in 1622, according to Pacheco primarily to visit El Escorial. His hosts were the brothers Luis and Melchior del Alcázar and Juan de Fonseca y Figueroa (1585-1627), who was court chamberlain [Sumiller de Cortina]. In the chapter following Pacheco's biography Fonseca was recorded as an example of a noble, and scholar who painted. The Alcázars were a noble family, three members of the previous generation are recorded in Pacheco's *Libro de Descripción de Verdaderos Retratos de Ilustres y Memorables Varones* for their contributions to Seville's political and intellectual culture.[18] The references to these patron's recognition of Velázquez indicate the status he attained in Seville. In the fourth chapter the figure of Fonseca is examined more closely with regard to his writings, relationships to other Sevillian scholars, and his patronage of Velázquez. The first journey did not result in any appointment and the following year, following the death of the court painter Rodrigo de Villandrando (d.1622), Velázquez returned and stayed in Fonseca's house.

Three portraits painted while Velázquez was in Madrid are recorded. In 1622 he painted the poet *Luis de Góngora y Argote* (1571-1625) [fig.1] at Pacheco's request.[19] Then in 1623 he painted Juan de Fonseca, and the first portrait of Philip IV. The only work identified with certainty is the first. It has been suggested that the second is the *Portrait of a Nobleman* [fig.2] held in the Detroit Institute of Fine Arts, while the first royal portrait is thought to be lost.[20] These paintings mark the beginning of a new phase

[18] ed. D. Angulo, (Seville, 1983) Although dated 1599 Pacheco continued adding to this work, which consists of portraits and short biographies of eminent men, mostly but not exclusively Sevillians.
[19] *Arte*, 1990. (p.204)
[20] See López-Rey, José, *Velázquez; a catalogue raisonné of his oeuvre*, (Madrid: 1963)

of Velázquez's career when his work was materially and socially recognised by the nobility.

The issue of nobility structured not only the choice of material in the first accounts of Velázquez's life, but also the concept with which the young artist was viewed. In their study of artists' biographies Otto Kris and Ernst Kurz identified a general characteristic of biographical writing:

'...virtually everything that is reported about the childhood and youth of anyone who has a claim to a biography bears some relationship to the sphere in which he subsequently distinguished himself – in the case of the artist, to his choice of profession and to the first demonstration of his abilities.'[21]

Pacheco records not only Velázquez's youthful abilities but also his character. On the basis of his 'virtue, integrity and excellent qualities, and also by the promise of his natural genius' he gave him his daughter's hand in marriage.[22] Pacheco's description of Velázquez's virtue and intelligence signals a specific rhetorical convention, 'the topos of the nobility of the artist', identified by Margot and Rudolf Wittkower in *Born Under Saturn*.[23] They cite the third book of Alberti's *On Painting*, which emphasises the importance of study and virtue for the painter, as the emergence of this topos.[24] The opening chapter to the second book of Pacheco's *Arte* states the importance of a knowledge of 'letras humanas y divinas' and cites Alberti as an example of a learned painter.[25] Painting is clearly identified as an intellectual activity, which was the basis for its recognition as a liberal art. To live virtuously through the application of knowledge

[21] E. Kris & O. Kurz, *The Image of the Artist*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1979)(p.14)
[22] *Arte*, 1990. (p. 202) Harris, 1982. (p.191)
[23] R. & M. Wittokower, *Born under Saturn*, (Weidenfield and Nicholson: London, 1963) (p.93)
[24] L. B. Alberti, *On Painting*, Trans. J.R. Spencer (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966) (p. 89)
[25] *Arte*, 1990. (p.284)

was a further dimension of the liberal arts. Pacheco's notion of the learned artist reflects his own education and connection with Seville's educated elite.

The brevity of Pacheco's comment contrasts with Palomino's biography in which this topos structures the presentation of the young Velázquez as an exemplar. The recognition of painting as a noble and intellectual activity by the end of the seventeenth-century in Spain allowed Palomino to develop the topos. But the cultural change is more profound; Palomino's biography records Velázquez as Spain's greatest painter. In this sense his work has more similarity with Vasari's model of art history. Palomino has been dubbed the 'Spanish Vasari' and Velázquez was his Michelangelo, while Bourbon Spain replaced the Florentine principate.[26]

Velázquez's virtue is indicated, by Palomino, in terms of his upbringing and the noble origins of Velázquez's family. The discussion of his genealogy alludes to the investigation of *pureza de sangre* prior to Velázquez's entry into the Order of Santiago in 1658. This is the first indication of Velázquez's later career informing the early biography. Palomino told, how prior to Velázquez's birth, his family had suffered a decline in their fortunes, which provided a context to consider the artist's moral qualities. 'His parents brought him up, without fuss or grandeur, on the milk and fear of God.'[27] Palomino's anecdotal account of Velázquez's, undocumented, initial apprenticeship to Francisco de Herrera (c.1590-1654) is used to a similar end. As Herrera was 'a harsh man of little piety' Velázquez 'left this school and entered that of Francisco Pacheco, a man of singular virtue.'[28]

Ernst Kris returned to the subject of artists' biographies in *Psychoanalytic explorations in Art.* His examination of accounts of child prodigies traced them to the biographies of the heroes of antiquity and medieval saints, but his focus on artists'

[26] Palomino,1987. (intro xvi)
[27] Palomino,1987. (p.140)
[28] Palomino,1987. (p.140)

childhoods revealed the development of a more recent biographical formula, which emerged during the sixteenth century. He claimed it aimed to explain artists' creativity.[29] Palomino's text suggests Velázquez's youthful 'nobility' underpinned his artistic ability.

The second dimension of the topos, the artist's learning, also revealed itself at an early age. Velázquez, '...applied himself to the study of the humanities surpassing many of his contemporaries in his knowledge of languages and philosophy. He showed a special inclination to paint...'[30] The *ingenio* recognised by Pacheco reveals itself even earlier in Palomino's text, which it is claimed the apprenticeship allowed him to cultivate. 'Pacheco's house was a gilded cage [cárcel] of art, the academy and school of the greatest minds in Seville.'[31] A selection of books Velázquez read is also listed. Many of these were cited in Pacheco's *Arte* such as Albrecht Dürer's studies of anatomy, and they are also listed in volume one of *El Museo Pictorico y Escala Optica* that describes a theory of painting.[32] The texts Palomino cited either provided a distinct lesson such as perspective from Daniel Barbaro or an understanding of art, '...with the idea of the painters, written by Zuccari, he illuminated his, and he adorned it with the precepts of Giovanni Bautista Armenini...'.[33] In this way Palomino referenced a text for the principal practical and theoretical areas of painting. The treatment of the noble dimension of the topos presents Velázquez as a polymath enquiring into 'sacred and secular writings and...every kind of learning.'[34] Velázquez's adherence to Alberti's principle is further suggested by a proposed acquaintance with poets and orators.

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[29] E. Kris, *Psychoanalytic explorations in Art*, (Connecticut: International Universities Press, 1988) (p.80)
[30] Palomino,1987. (p.140)
[31] Palomino,1987. (p.140)
[32] *Fuentes literarias del Arte Español*, ed. F.J. Sanchez Canton, vol. 3. (pp.198-202).
[33] Palomino,1987. (p.143) Daniel Barbaro, *I dieci libri dell' architettura di M. Vitruvio: Tradutti et commentati*, Venice, 1556; Federico Zuccari, *Idea dė scultori, pittori et architetti*, Turin, 1607; Giovanni Bautista Armenini, *De' veri precetti della pittura...*, Ravenna, 1587.
[34] Palomino,1987. (p.143)

Palomino's discussion introduced a new 'image of the artist' not simply in terms of the emphasis placed on his mental ability, but also the range of knowledge he acquired in Seville from his contact with the artistic and scholarly community as well as Pacheco.

A reading of Palomino's rhetorical construction of the artist suggests that it offers little information on the historical Velázquez. The topos he used to describe Velázquez's development as an artist was informed by his own theory of artistic training and an idealised vision of Golden Age Sevillian culture. In spite of this, his narrative structured the development of the canonical account of Velázquez's life examined in the course of this chapter. In many cases his 'image of the artist' is simply repeated but it has prompted some researchers to investigate Velázquez's relationships to Seville's literary culture, however, approaches to this have also been marked by Palomino's discussion. Amidst the discussion of Velázquez's intellectual development Palomino examined four *bodegones*, providing a historical context for his 'image of the artist'. His comments on these paintings ignore any intellectual content signalling a disjunction between the rhetorical construction of the 'noble artist' and the work of the historical artist. Only a few authors have addressed this disjunction between the 'intellectual' Velázquez and his work that resulted from the 'topos of the noble artist'.

The principal explanation for this is Palomino's approach to analysis of the paintings, which was again drawn from Pacheco's theoretical discussion of Velázquez's painting. An analysis of Palomino's appropriation of Pacheco's criticism provides an important foundation to understand why Velázquez's Sevillian paintings have been isolated from discussion of his relationship to Seville's intellectual community. The following discussion of Pacheco and Palomino may appear to lead away from Velázquez, however, the interpretations of Pacheco's theoretical comments have had

important consequences, which are examined from a historiographical perspective in this chapter and then in terms of methodological critique in the second.

Part iii)

Pacheco's three anecdotal references to Velázquez's activities as a painter are employed in his discussion of the theory and practice of painting. They provide the first critical response to Velázquez's work and established the theoretical framework and terminology for Palomino's criticism. Pacheco's comments have been considered as documenting a contemporaneous Sevillian response, but on the basis of the *Arte's* publication Pacheco's theoretical discussion of the Sevillian paintings would been informed by Velázquez's work of the 1630's, much as Palomino's description of Velázquez's youth was informed by his entire career.

The third book of the *Arte* addresses the practice of painting and examines the various media and genre available to painters. Chapter nine, titled 'On the painting of animals and birds, fish-stalls and *bodegones* and the ingenious invention of portraits from life [los retratos del natural]', refers to Velázquez twice. The discussion focuses on three themes that have since dominated the discussion of the Seville oeuvre, which are the painter's *bodegones*, the composition of his paintings and their appearance or style. Pacheco began by asking:

'Well then are the bodegones not worthy of esteem? Of course they are when they are painted as my son in law paints them, rising in this field so as to yield to no one; they are deserving of the highest esteem. From these beginnings, and in his portraits, of

which we shall speak later he hit upon the true imitation of nature, thereby stimulating the spirits of many artists with his powerful example.'[35]

The defensive tone of this comment indicates the polemic concerning the values of different genres of painting. It has been suggested that Vicente Carducho's critical comments on religious *bodegones*, published in 1633 in the *Dialogos de la Pintura*, were directed towards Velázquez; an example of subsequent debates informing aspects of Pacheco's writing. [36] However, critical attitudes towards the lower genres can be traced back to Alberti, who commented on them in a purely theoretical sense as examples of classical painting yet to be revived.[37] The second chapter examines later sixteenth-century discussions of the genres of painting. Pacheco's defence is that the *bodegones* are worthy of esteem if well painted and were a 'beginning', along with Velázquez's portraits, that assisted the artist's development of the 'imitation of nature'. The origin of the later classification of these works as juvenilia may be detected in this comment, although, the reputation Velázquez gained from them suggests they were viewed as mature works. It would seem probable that Velázquez's status as a court painter informed this anecdote, illustrating Kris and Kurz's analysis.

The next paragraph offers four criteria for assessing the quality of a *bodegón* and provides a framework to consider the significance of the 'imitation of nature':

'When the figures have boldness, design [disegno] and colouring [colorido], and appear alive equal to other natural objects included in these paintings...'[38]

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[35] *Arte*, 1990. (p. 519.) Harris, 1982. (p.194)
[36] Carducho, Vicente, *Dialogos de la Pintura. su defensa, origen, esencia, definición y diferencias*, ed. Fransico Calvo Seraller, Madrid, 1979. (P.350-1)
[37] Alberti, 1966. (p. 96)
[38] *Arte*, 1990. (p. 519) 'Cuando las figuras tienen valentía, debuxo y colorido, y parecen vivas iguales a las demás cosas del natural que se juntan en estas pinturas...'

The inclusion of figures as an integral feature of a *bodegon* distinguishes these works from the various forms of still life described by Pacheco.[39] The *Dicionario de Autoridades* defines 'valentía' in a general sense, but also provides a specific application for painting: 'Specifically speaking of painting, it refers to the singular ability, property, and skill in the similarity of the things painted.'[40] Pacheco uses the adjective *valiente* to describe both the quality of a portrait and painters. Caravaggio is described as a 'valiente imitador del natural' for example.[41] Hence, it is implied 'valiente' refers to the ability to paint images that resemble their subject. It may also have been informed by a further psychological significance given in the *Dicionario de Autoridades*, which praises the artist's innovation and visual imagination. 'It is applied to the *fantasia* or liveliness of the imagination with which it invents bravely, and with novelty in a subject'.[42] The relationship between verisimilitude in painting and painters' use of their mental faculties is a theme that is explored throughout the following chapters, and it is probable that all these senses were combined.

'Design' and 'colouring', along with 'invention' are the three principal areas of painting examined by Pacheco in his theoretical discussion of painting in the *Arte's* second book. The final category for praise is that the figures appear as lifelike to the same degree as the inanimate objects in the painting. An understanding of these three criteria can be drawn from a wider reading of the *Arte*.

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[39] The etymology and definition of the term *bodegon* has been examined by a number of authors as part of recent interest in Spanish still-life painting. A precise summary of the verbal and visual traditions informing this branch of genre painting is provided in David Davies, 'Velázquez's *bodegones*', *Velázquez in Seville*, pp. 51-65. (p.51)

[40] *Diccionario de Autoridades*, Facsimile edition, (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1979). 'Determinadamente hablando de la pintura, se toma por la singular habilidad, propiedad, y acierto en la semejanza de las cosas, que se pintan.'

[41] *Arte*, 1990. (p. 183)

[42] *Diccionario de Autoridades*, 1979. 'Se llama asimismo la phantasía o viveza de la imaginación, con que se discurre gallardemente, y con novedad en alguna materia.'

Pacheco examined four aspects of 'design': *buena manera*, proportion, anatomy and perspective. The theoretical discussion of 'design' draws on quotations from Alberti, Leonardo, Vasari and Van Mander amongst other authorities. Pacheco's examination of the different areas of painting cites a range of authors and theories. These are organised into a *summa* of art theory, which makes it problematic to read the *Arte* as a source for Pacheco's specific attitudes to painting, circa 1620. A frequent opinion encountered in the literature on Velázquez is that Pacheco and the *Arte* continued sixteenth-century, or 'Mannerist', theories. One of the most complex of these was the identification of 'design' with the intellectual faculty of understanding, which led to it being identified with a mental aesthetic analysis of a subject mediating its representation in a painting. Pacheco's engagement with these debates is discussed in his section on 'invention', and his discussion of 'design' concentrates on pedagogical issues, on the practical dimension of painting. The discussion of *buena manera*, the focus of this analysis, indicates Pacheco's continuity with ideas set out in sixteenth-century Italian treatises.

He was essentially concerned with the development of a confident and assured style of drawing and emphasises the importance of study. He advises copying Greek statues, the work of Raphael and above all Michelangelo, as well as natural objects. His comments on Michelangelo address an aesthetic dimension, which is that painters must choose the 'most beautiful and well proportioned parts of their subject' from these studies.[43] The theory of the selection of the beautiful, in various historical guises, has played an important part in defining the critical response to Velázquez as seen in the course of this chapter. Pacheco's comments on beauty have led to the view that his theory of *buena manera* is antithetical to Velázquez's painting, the 'imitation of nature'.

[43] *Arte*, 1990. (p.349) 'eligió y juntó lo más hermoso y bien propocionado en un sugeto'

Such a reading is problematic firstly, as it assumes a direct correspondence between art and theory, and secondly, that Pacheco rigidly held and taught a single theory. A critique of these issues is given in the following chapter. In any case, aside from these methodological issues Pacheco's treatise contains other attitudes towards representation and beauty. His criteria for the *bodegón* advocate, not beauty, but the lifelike appearance of the figures, and a distinct approach to *buena manera* for genre painting is related to this.

Pacheco recorded an anecdote of Velázquez's study of portraiture in which he provides a second reading of *buena manera*. In the same chapter as the discussion of the *bodegones* Pacheco turns to portraits from life [*retratos del natural*]. On the subject of pencil portrait studies (*retratos en dibujo*) he wrote:

'In this doctrine my son-in-law Diego Velázquez de Silva was brought up when he was a boy. He used to bribe a young country lad who served him as a model to adopt various attitudes and poses, sometimes weeping, sometimes laughing, regardless of all difficulties. And he made numerous drawings of the boy's head and of many other local people in charcoal heightened with white on blue paper, and thereby he gained assurance in portraiture.' [44]

This description of Velázquez's apprenticeship presents him as an exemplar to encourage other artists to follow Pacheco's instructions for the development of skills in portraiture. Velázquez's appointment and success at the court as a portraitist are recorded in the *Arte's* first book. However, this anecdote need not be read simply for its biographical value, it illustrates a second approach towards the *buena manera* in

[44] *Arte*, 1990. (p.527-28.) Harris, (p.195-6)

'design' when applied to portraiture. Although, not concerned with an aesthetic selection it does not exclude the other three areas of 'design'. Instead its focus on the living subject provides a practical context for the theoretical studies of proportion, anatomy and perspective.

The *head of a young man in profile* [fig. 3] may be seen as the development from such preliminary exercises to a painted study.[45] The open mouth and wrinkled bow question the spectator with what has been seen, or perhaps heard. Attention is held between the ear that marks the centre of the canvas and the direction of the man's gaze. The painting displays Velázquez's training in terms of anatomy and proportion and reveals his confidence with perspective and foreshortening, four elements of Pacheco's discussion of design. The head is identified in an illusory space principally by the treatment of the shoulders. These theoretical principles are deployed with greater complexity as studies such as this were built into narrative compositions. Thus the second method of *buena manera* still provided a confident and assured style of drawing as a basis for painting but it concentrated on lifelike representation rather than beauty.

A relationship between the portraits and *bodegones* is also indicated by this anecdote in terms of the discovery of the 'imitation of nature', which Pacheco linked to both genres. Since Palomino this quotation has been read as a record of the artist's studies for the *bodegones*. The choice of the model and poses alludes to them, and the use of drawings has been inferred through Velázquez's repetition of models. The young boy handed the glass by the *The Waterseller of Seville* carries the melon to the *An Old Woman Frying Eggs*, who in turn reappears in the *Kitchen Scene with Christ in the House of Martha and Mary* [figs. 4, 5, 6]. The identification of the 'theoretical' link between the *bodegones* and Velázquez's drawing studies later re-enforced their

[45] Three pencil drawings have been dated to Velázquez's Seville period, two young women and one a boy.

supposed status as juvenilia. However, this is called into question by a further theoretical formulation of *buena manera* that identifies it with other genres of painting, especially religious painting, indicating a wider application for the 'imitation of nature'.

Pacheco's opening chapter to the *Arte's* third book 'On sketches, drawings and cartoons, and the various ways of using them' describes the use of preparatory studies for the composition of paintings. Pacheco cautioned the painter against employing mannequins draped in paper to create effects of cloth, instead recommending the study of the 'natural' not only for 'heads, nudes, hands and feet... but for cloth and everything else'.[46] His advice reveals a more general application of the notion of *buena manera* discussed in the portrait studies. Pacheco acknowledged he could improve his own work were he able to devote more time to such study. He offered the following examples of painters who benefited from it:

'This is what Michelangelo Caravaggio did with such success, as one can see in the Crucifixion of St. Peter (although copies). That is what Jusepe de Ribera does, for of all the great paintings belonging to the Duke of Alcalá his figures and heads look alive and the rest painted, even beside Guido Bolgnese [Reni]. And in the case of my son in law this course one can also see how he differs from all the rest because he works from the life.'[47]

By associating Velázquez, with Caravaggio (1571-1610), Ribera (1591-1652) and Guido Reni (1575-1642) Pacheco articulated Velázquez's position in a historical trend of painters. The ongoing discussion, by art historians, of the significance of

[46] *Arte*, 1990. (p. 443) 'Pero yo me atengo al natural para todo; y si pudiese tenerlo delante siempre y en todo tiempo, no sólo para las cabezas, desnudos, manos y pies, sino también para los paños y sedas y todo lo demás, sería lo mejor.'
[47] *Arte*, 1990. p.443) Harris, 1982. (p.195)

Caravaggio's painting for Velázquez's Sevillian works is based on this crucial passage. The status of Caravaggio as the source of a contemporaneous development in painting is noted as early as 1618 when Ludovico Caracci wrote to the collector Ferrante Carlo about Ribera. He described 'those painters that have excellent 'gusto': particularly that Spanish painter that follows the school of Caravaggio'.[48] The primary importance given to Caravaggio regarding Velázquez was made in Palomino's interpretation of this passage, discussed below. It is important to note that Pacheco does not establish any actual relationship between Velázquez and these painters; they provide an analogy for his style.

Pacheco's reference to the lifelike appearance of Ribera's work signals that the selection of this group of painters was based on the appearance of their paintings, which he identified with composition based on life studies. The fourth category of the 'imitation of nature' is here related to design based on the study of nature. Pacheco's description of Caravaggio as 'valiente' has already been cited and the convergence of critical criteria in this passage implies that the work of these three painters offers a visual paradigm for the 'imitation of nature'. Pacheco's connection of theory and image implies that this critical category referred to the appearance of paintings as well as their technique. The paintings displayed the use of life studies through their *buena manera.* Pacheco's discussion of 'colouring' supports this reading, but before examining it the paintings Pacheco refers to can be identified.

While a number of copies of Caravaggio's *Crucifixion of St. Peter* (1600-1) have been identified in Spain, the Sevillian collection of the third Duke of Alcalá contained a copy of his *Madonna of Loreto* (1604-5). The Inventory of the Duke's paintings, published by Jonathan Brown and Richard Kagan, allows for the works by Ribera and

[48] Alfonso Pérez Sánchez, *Ribera*, (Barcelona: Editorial Noguer,1979). (p.9)

Reni to be identified.[49] The Duke formed a significant part of his painting collection during his two years in Rome as Philip IV's emissary to Urban VIII in 1625, and during his appointment as Viceroy to Naples between 1629 and 1631. He owned Ribera's *Christ being prepared for the cross* (1622-4), the portrait of *Magdalena Ventura with her husband* (1631) and four portraits of philosophers. Brown and Kagan have proposed the Prado's *Democritus* (1610) and *Aesop* as two of these paintings. The works by Reni have been identified as a version of the *Madonna adoring the Christ Child* (1627) and a *Cleopatra* (three versions are documented prior to c.1630). It may be concluded that Pacheco's comments identify the 'imitation of nature' with a range of genres, not just *bodegones*, and the examples cited were not the 'principios' of these painters, but mature works.[50] Pacheco's response to these paintings demonstrates how the boundaries between genres were not demarcated in terms of any particular style or aesthetic appearance.

In the course of this chapter it is shown how these aspects of Pacheco's text have been overlooked, and that subsequent interpretations were tied to the development of art-criticism. From the mid-seventeenth-century this group of painters, primarily Caravaggio, were regarded as 'naturalists' derived from Bellori's criticism of Caravaggio as a 'naturalisti'. They were later described as an art historical movement, Caravaggism. The analysis of subsequent nineteenth and twentieth-century readings of Pacheco shows how these historiographical developments focused their interpretation. A close analysis of the methodological basis of this tradition of criticism is undertaken

[49] Brown, J., and Kagan, R., 'The Duke of Alcalá: his collection and its evolution', *Art Bulletin*, 1987, LXVIX, pp. 231-255. (pp.239-45) A biography of this noble is provided in this article. Various examples of his patronage of painting is examined in the following chapters.

[50] It should be mentioned that Pacheco did not class Caravaggio as portraitist alongside other able painters, but as Brown and Kagan comment he knew little of Caravaggio's works. (*Arte*, 1990.(p.423) and Brown & Kagan. (p.247))

in the next chapter, which addresses the problematic relationship of identifying genres and styles of painting with interpretations of theoretical texts.

Pacheco's theoretical discussion of 'colouring' indicates its significance as a criterion for the *bodegones* or the 'imitation of nature'. Pacheco notes that it has not been discussed in terms of 'infallible procedures' like 'design' and that a number of opinions and approaches have been proposed.[51] The discussion, addressing the correct usage and combination of colours in a painting, is divided into three areas: *hermosura*, *suavidad* (or *union*) and *relievo*. Amongst the authorities cited are: Alberti, Leonardo, Vasari, Dolce, and Julio Romano. The quotations of Vasari and Dolce reveal 'colouring's' identification with two characteristics of painting. Vasari argued that '...the quality of 'design' is enhanced with the 'softness'[*suavidad*] of colouring, giving the painting beauty and relief.'[52] Vasari's concept of *disegno*, combining 'design' and understanding, addresses colouring in aesthetic terms, while Dolce described its purpose in terms of its capacity to imitate appearances. He states that the 'main problem of colouring resides in the imitation of flesh', but goes on to provide a list of other subjects it has to feign 'the glint of armour, the gloom of night, the brightness of day... water, earth... trees and so on, so comprehensively that all of them possess life, and never surfeit the admirer's eyes.'[53] The quotations of Vasari and Dolce indicate two criteria of painting one aesthetic and the other concerned with verisimilitude signalling the dichotomy noted in the discussion of *buena manera*. Pacheco's concluding comments continue this by stating that the examples he gave all lead to the 'imitation of nature', as well as beauty.

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[51] *Arte*, 1990. (p. 394)

[52] *Arte*, 1990. (p. 398) '... con la suavidad del colorido saldrá la bondad del debuxo, dando a la pintura belleza y relievo.'

[53] *Arte*, 1990. (p. 400) Mark Roskill's Translation is quoted from *Dolce's 'Aretino' and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquencento*, (New York: New York University Press) (p.155)

Velázquez's 'colouring', in the sense of Pacheco's discussion of *union* and *suavidad* as discerned in his early works is most apparent in his religious paintings. Particularly in the *Adoration of the Magi* [fig. 7], in which the treatment of light combined with the tonal contrasts of the blue, brown, black, red and white cloaks and tunics of the kings forms them into distinct element punctuated by the golden caskets. The S-shape they form demarcates the Mother and Child distinguished in lighter colours and a sharper light. Although the colours have faded in the *St. Ildefonso receiving the Chasuble from the Virgin* [fig. 8] the golden celestial light suggests an even more accomplished use of colour.[54] However, it is not only the use of bright contrasting colours that reveals Velázquez's abilities but also the use of subdued tone, such as in the portraits or *bodegones*. In these works the treatment of light and shadow is subtler and it is their role in 'relief' that is the final characteristic Pacheco addressed, revealing 'colouring' to be more complex than chromatic issues.

Pacheco wrote that a painting may lack *hermosura* and *suavidad* but not 'relief'. He listed four painters whose work displays this concentration on 'relief': Bassano, Caravaggio, Ribera and El Greco. Pacheco's discussion focuses on the treatment of light and shadow to create the impression of depth and space in a painting providing advice for the study of these areas. Despite marked differences between Pacheco's examples they are all noted for their 'tenebrism', which has provided the basis for the modern critical category of Caravaggism with which Velázquez is identified. Instead of using Pacheco's comments as evidence for this art-historical category they provide a distinct framework to consider Velázquez's Sevillian paintings.[55] While *buena manera*

[54] Despite the effects of time an understanding of Velázquez's use of colour has been achieved through research using x-ray and infra-red analyses such as Zahira Veliz's, 'Velázquez's early technique', *Velázquez and Seville*, pp.79-84.

[55] Velázquez's absence from Pacheco's list of examples may be explained by the more subtle treatment of *relief* evident in the Madrid works, resulting from his exploration of more subtle effects of light and colour, such as atmospheric perspective. The writing of the *Arte* was contemporary to these later works

fore grounded the use of life study Pacheco's theoretical discussion of 'relief' is concerned with the creation of illusory space. It provides another dimension of the lifelike appearance of paintings, indicating a unity to his four criteria for *bodegones*. Again Pacheco's examples show that these criteria were applied across all genres. He also cited Leonardo's advice that portrait painting helped train the painter in the treatment of light and colour.[56]

Pacheco described the effect of 'relief' as 'to appear rounded like the object and like in nature, and protruding from the painting to trick the sight'.[57] In all of Velázquez's works the volumes of figures and objects are treated convincingly with details that attempt to beguile the spectators sight, for example in the first Mage's elbow in the *Adoration of the Magi*, or the version of the portrait of *Mother Jerónima de la Fuente* [fig. 9] in which the cross is at ninety degrees to the picture plane. The treatment of light and shadows to portray volume and create illusionistic effects may be identified as the third formal dimension of the 'imitation of nature', its 'colouring'.

Pacheco's discussion of 'relief' reveals it to be a divisive issue, perhaps explaining his defensive response to *bodegones*. He drew attention to the errors that the less successful practitioners fall into, such as the lack of good proportion or true profiles as a result of the figure being placed against a dark background. However, he highlighted its ability to create convincing illusions. A quotation from Leonardo reveals a theoretical disagreement with regard to 'beauty' [*hermosura*] and the proper interests of the painter. Leonardo argued in favour of the painter concentrating on 'relief' rather than pleasing effects of colour. According to Pacheco he associated shadows with the

[56] *Arte*, 1990. (p. 405)
[57] *Arte*, 1990. (p.404) '... parecer redonda como el bulto y como le natural, y engañar la vista saliéndose del cuadro...'

glory of art and 'los buenos ingenios', and described the artist concerned only with beautiful effects of colour as ignorant.[58]

Pacheco attempted to resolve Leonardo's criticism declaring the importance of the three parts of 'colouring' and stating that for the most part *hermosura, suavidad* and 'relief' accompanied 'the great painters that exercised the most serious and honourable part of painting... the expression of sacred images and divine histories...'[59] However, he admitted that there is no rule without exception and that he did not want to exclude the painters he listed earlier amongst others from this praise. He drew on Pliny the Elder's description of Piraeicus' paintings of humble subjects to show the esteem for different genres of painting since antiquity.[60] However the allusion to this classical genre painter reveals that the effects of 'relief' had become associated with genre painting, not with the religious paintings of Caravaggio and his followers. Pacheco criticises the painters of 'fish shops, *bodegones*, animals, fruit and landscapes' for being experts only in 'relief' attracted by 'the taste and ease that they find in moderate [acomodada] imitation' and not aspiring to greater goals. [61] His argument returns to the status of the artist saying that these painters are not valued by republics and kings and that patrons value the higher genres; painters of religious subjects are the most praised. It was as religious painters that Pacheco's Bassano, Caravaggio, Ribera and El Greco were known, however, his comments allude to a wider critical debate particularly regarding Caravaggio examined in the following chapter.

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[58] *Arte*, 1990. (p. 406) The source for this comment was not located by Bassegoda. 'De suerte, que si huyes de las sombras, huyes la gloria de l'arte acerca de los buenos ingenios, y la alcanzas acerca de los ignorantes y del vulgo.'

[59] *Arte*, 1990. (p. 407) '... los grandes pintores que exercitan la parte más honrosa de la pintura, que pertenece a la expresíon de las sagradas imágenes y divinas historias, que es el fin ilustre (como se ha dicho) de los pintores católicos.'

[60] Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, Vol.IX Loeb ed, (London: 1952)(p.345). Pliny's description of Piraeicus provided a classical paradigm for the development of genre painting during the Renaissance, which continued to be evoked as Palomino's text shows.

[61] *Arte*, 1990. (p. 407) '... no aspiran a cosas mayores, con el gusto y facilidad que hallan en aquella acomodada imitación...'

Pacheco's arguments indicate the development of a market in genre painting, which had led to artists specialising in the production of works that did not satisfy his theoretical or aesthetic criteria. The renaissance emphasis on the *istoria*, or narrative painting underpins Pacheco's theoretical principles. Although he did not apply them to Velázquez's Sevillian works, it may be argued that the treatment of figures in the *bodegones* distinguished Velázquez from his contemporaries. Evidence for this opinion is found in Pacheco's discussion of 'the painting of flowers, fruits and landscapes'. He praised Alonso Vázquez's painting of *Lazarus and Dives* (1593), painted for the third Duke of Alcalá, for its variety of still life objects and the treatment of the different materials. Most significant is Pacheco's opinion that Vázquez gave 'igual valentía' to the figures as to the details, which distinguished him from still life painters because Pacheco acknowledged the value of still-life painting for *istoria* as long as equal attention was devoted to the treatment of animals and people.[62] His opinions offer an explanation for his defence of the *bodegones* and highlight a feature of Velázquez's paintings, which is their treatment of figures.

The criticism of Vázquez repeats Pacheco's final criteria for the *bodegones,* that their figures should 'appear lifelike' to the same degree as other objects depicted. The unity between the criteria is again noted. Although 'relief' is used rarely in art historical discussion to suggest illusionism, seeming somewhat naïve, and instead focusing on lighting effects, it was the aim of these effects and as such provided the basis for the final criteria. Pacheco illustrates his point with examples of responses to paintings by Juan Fernández Navarette (1526-79), Apelles, Parrhasius and Pablo de Céspedes (1538-1608).

[62] *Arte*, 1990. (p. 511-12)

The case of Céspedes, given as a modern example of the anecdote of Parrhasius' painting of a satyr, illustrates the pride taken by painters over figure painting. When people came to his studio to view the recently finished *Last Supper* (1595), they praised a vase he had painted rather than the figures. Céspedes' infuriated response was to order his assistant to remove the vase from the painting. The vase prominently placed in the painting's foreground suggests it would have been ornate. It is possible it was never removed; were a second vase to have been placed in the foreground it would have concealed Christ breaking the bread. It would not seem fanciful to suggest Velázquez had learnt from Céspedes; the caskets of his Magi are clasped with hands. Nevertheless as critics have repeatedly pointed out his treatment of 'humble' ceramics is capable of catching the attention.

Aside from this professional demand the significance of the 'lifelike appearance' of all elements of the painting needs to be considered. It may be understood as the overall effect of the painter's 'valentía', 'design' and 'colouring', the relationship between these terms has emerged in the course of this discussion, but it differs from the former three, as it addresses paintings as visual representations instead of specific visual effects, marking the limit of theoretical analysis. Hence, it describes the painting with an analogy. A painting's lifelike appearance is a rhetorical form of praise that has been frequently employed in art criticism since antiquity. Traditionally this eulogy describes the painter as a rival to Nature. Pacheco's reference to Navarette 'el mudo' cites him as a successful example of lifelike figure painting. Fray José de Sigüenza's (c.1544-1606) criticism, from the third part of his *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*, praising Navarette's painting of *The Holy Family with St. Anne and St. John* (1575) is alluded to.[63] Sigüenza described the painter's challenge of nature at two levels. Firstly although

[63] This part of Sigüenza's history recorded the foundation of the Escorial.

Saint Anne's face shows her age it also displays her former beauty, which 'nature [naturaleza] scarcely does'. Secondly the head of St. Joseph, which they say 'is taken from nature [del natural]' is so good that Nature would not be able to create a head, 'as graceful' using it as a model.[64] Thus Navarette rivalled Nature by representing the individual in ways Nature could not. It would be wrong to read this rhetorical form simply as a eulogy as it expresses cultural and theoretical attitudes towards painting. The ability of painters to surpass the beauty of nature was a theme of sixteenth-century Italian treatises on painting, which engaged with the aesthetic concepts of 'design'. The contrast of Navarette and Velázquez reveals distinct approaches to this representation of Nature. In the course of the following chapters the theoretical and cultural basis for these distinctions is explored and Pacheco's terminology provides a framework to consider these differences.

In the light of the close examination of Pacheco's theoretical discussion undertaken so far it is shown how his text was taken up and structured subsequent criticism of Velázquez's art. However, the critical framework he employed was re-interpreted by changing concepts of painting. A general feature of these later texts is their emphasis on the aesthetic dimensions of painting theory, rather than verisimilitude, and consequently Velázquez's work, was seen as atheoretical. Pacheco's four criteria were employed to refer to the formal features of the painting and the historical significance of Velázquez's 'truthful imitation of nature' was overlooked.

[64] Fr. José de Sigüenza, *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*, Bk. IV, Discurso V (Madrid: Aguilar 1998). (p.244); *Arte*, 1990. (p. 520) '... con significarse de mucha edad, se ven muestras de haber sido hermosa, que es mucho pueda hacer esto la pintura, que apenas lo hace la naturaleza. Y la cabeza de San Josef nunca se acaba de loar; dicen que es del natural y no sé yo si, después de la del mismo Santo hizo la naturaleza tan linda cosa.'

Part iv)

Palomino's descriptions and criticism of four *bodegones*, based on Pacheco's theoretical discussion, formed part of his biographical narrative of Velázquez's development as a painter. For Palomino the key characteristics of the *bodegones* were their outstanding employment of 'design' and 'relief' geared to an 'imitation of nature'. However, he introduced a number of explanations for Velázquez's treatment of these elements that continue to be debated in art historical discussion of Velázquez's painting.

Pacheco's anecdote of Velázquez's life studies was cited as evidence of his apprenticeship, which Palomino claimed began, with 'the continual exercise of drawing...'.[65] Ignoring the application of these life studies for portraiture, Palomino read them as a preparation for the *bodegones*:

'He liked to paint animals, birds, fish stalls, and kitchen still lives, which he did with unique invention and remarkable talent, in perfect imitation of nature, with beautiful landscapes and figures, different things to eat and drink, fruits and poor, humble utensils, all with such mastery, good draughtsmanship, and colouring that they seem real.' [66]

By repeating the subject matter listed in the *Arte's* chapter title Palomino converted Velázquez into a master of still-life paintings as well as *bodegones*. The view of Velázquez as an artist has undergone a number of transformations due to not only changes in cultural concepts, but also the identification of his oeuvre. The latter development is noted until the establishment of the catalogue raisonné in the last

[65] Palomino, 1987. (p.140)
[66] Palomino, 1987. (p.141)

century. The contrasts of paintings attributed to Velázquez document different 'images of the artist', as is seen below, which the authority of Palomino's text, as an early source supported.

Palomino's text reveals a number of developments from Pacheco. Firstly, the *bodegones* had become celebrated art works displaying Velázquez's individual skill. Pacheco's four criteria for *bodegones* framed his criticism, although without the previous emphasis on the figures. *The Waterseller of Seville* is the first painting Palomino described, which he said 'has always been so celebrated that it has been kept up to the present day in the palace of the Buen Retiro.'[67] Palomino's argument for the quality of these paintings is supported by regal taste. The second painting described appears to correspond to *Two young men at a table* [fig. 10]:

'...two poor men eating at a humble table on which there are various earthenware jugs, oranges, bread and other things, everything observed with extraordinary exactness.'[68]

Palomino's emphasis on the observation apparent in these paintings established the association of the *bodegones* with Pacheco's anecdote of Velázquez's life-studies. Discussing a third work Palomino recorded Velázquez's signature had become faded, which is the only reference to Velázquez signing a *bodegón*. The *Old Woman Frying Eggs* and the *Kitchen scene with Christ in the house of Martha and Mary* have a trace of the date 1618. A number of the details he described correspond to other works from this period, which may have resulted from Velázquez's use of drawings as preparatory studies. A 'poorly dressed lad with a little cloth cap on his head' features in the *Tavern Scene With Two Men and a Girl* (fig. 11), and the still-life elements Palomino described

[67] Palomino, 1987. (p.141)
[68] Palomino, 1987. (p.141)

are identifiable in a number of works.[69] However, it is not just these details that indicate a lost painting but the description of a humble and simple scene. Many of the later attributions of *bodegones* to Velázquez during the nineteenth century tended to an excess of detail. The subject of a boy 'counting money at a table' would make this the only *bodegón* that includes money. The final work Palomino describes indicates a painting of a kitchen similar to *An Old Woman Frying Eggs*. His response to the figure as 'quaint and amusing' offers a personal response to the work as a representation, rather than an example of Velázquez's expertise, which may indicate an eighteenth-century attitude to depictions of 'poor' characters. Apart from Velázquez's two 'Tavern scenes', in which humour is apparent, the other works all present a calm and sombre mood.

An effect of the discussion of the *bodegones* in Palomino's biography is that it framed Velázquez specifically as a genre-painter, which indicates Palomino's use of Pacheco's text and suggests he was unaware of the religious works. Palomino explains Velázquez's genre paintings as a conscious decision taken by Velázquez to distinguish himself from the sixteenth-century painters 'Titian, Dürer, Raphael and others' and to attain fame. Related to the topos of the noble artist Palomino developed a rhetorical concern to identify Velázquez with the canon of great, and noble, artists. Velázquez '... availed himself of his richness of invention and took to painting rustic subjects with great bravado and with unusual lighting and colours.'[70] While Pacheco's theoretical framework provided a formalist analysis of Velázquez's *bodegones*, and their style, Palomino sought to explain in terms of a personal decision. Palomino claimed to quote Velázquez's defence for this decision and 'not painting with delicacy and beauty more serious subjects in which he might emulate Raphael of Urbino', which echoes

[69] Palomino, 1987. (p.141)
[70] Palomino, 1987. (p.141)

Pacheco's concern for religious painting and beauty. Velázquez's 'apocryphal' reply that he wanted 'to be first in that sort of coarseness than second in delicacy'[71], an allusion to his later success, is a further example of the common biographical topos identified by Kris and Kurz, which reiterates the rhetorical nature of Palomino's text. It ascribes to the young Velázquez a concern for fame, which with Palomino's hindsight was assured to happen in his lifetime. The effect of this narrative anecdote is to reduce the significance of the *bodegones* to a purely personal motive, removing them from his discussion of Velázquez's studies and interaction with Seville's intellectuals and patrons. Palomino continued to defend his position by referring to the 'many others', who like Velázquez, had 'followed such lowly inspiration'. Although his only reference is to the Greek painter Piraeicus, a classical precedent was given.

Pacheco's text provides Palomino with an authority to say that these works were the foundation of his mature style, identified as the 'imitation of nature':

'From these beginnings and with his portraits, which he executed masterfully (for his eminence was such that not being content with making them extremely good likenesses, he also made them express the manner and bearing of the sitter) he arrived at the true imitation of nature.'[72]

Palomino's ascription of a rudimentary psychological dimension to the portraits expands Pacheco's criteria of lifelikeness of the sitters. Written at the turn of the eighteenth century Palomino's text is an example of the elaboration of critical terms inherited from the Renaissance discourse of the arts, which subtly changed their

[71] Palomino, 1987. (p.141)
[72] Palomino, 1987. (p.142)

significance. In the following sections this semantic development becomes more apparent.

Palomino may also be credited with a fascinating 'interpretation' of the relationship between Velázquez and Caravaggio, first mentioned by Pacheco. His remarks are significant not only because they identify Caravaggio as the originator of Velázquez's Sevillian manner for the first time, but also as they incorporate Pacheco's role, as Velázquez's instructor into the critical biography. Thus in language that still retains something of the rhetorical symmetry of renaissance discourse, Palomino laid a foundation that later, professionalised art history was to build on:

'Velázquez rivalled Caravaggio in the naturalism of his painting [en la valentía del pintar] and equalled Pacheco in his erudition. The former he esteemed for his uniqueness and the keenness of his invention, and he chose the latter as master for the knowledge of his learning, which made him worthy of this choice.'[73]

This statement established a biographical tradition that the role of Pacheco as tutor was primarily theoretical and that Velázquez looked to other painters for practical guidance. Palomino's claim that he saw works by Caravaggio and was named a 'second Caravaggio' continues to be discussed. Aside from the historical questions Palomino's comment has raised, his record of Velázquez's fame is of historiographical interest. His discussion of Caravaggio was part of a wider shift in the critical reaction to the Lombard painter, and those associated with him. The publication of Bellori's *Vite de' Pittori, Scultori ed architetti moderni* in 1672 theorised a popular view of Caravaggio as an instigator of a distinct trend in painting, which caused the precise words of Pacheco's

[73] Palomino, 1987. (p.142)

comments to be overlooked. In contrast Palomino viewed Ribera and Reni simply as artists who 'flourished in those days' and he grouped them with Cavaliere Baglione, Pomerancio, and Lanfranco amongst others.[74] Hence Palomino's explanations of Velázquez's style may be identified with conceptual shifts in the discussion of seventeenth-century painting.

An alternative reading of these comments may be undertaken, viewing them not as evidence of Velázquez's biography, but in terms of Palomino's interests as an author. *El Parnaso Español* played a fundamental role in defining a Spanish school of painting and its evolution. It identified a continuity of style between Italy and Spain, and more importantly Velázquez. Furthermore, the reference to the Italian painters Velázquez bettered lends an aesthetic authority to his eulogy of the young painter, who would become the greatest Spanish painter. However, Palomino also identified Velázquez with Spanish painters and the development of a Spanish school. He claims that Velázquez declared himself a follower of the Toledan painter Tristán, which identifies Velázquez with an Iberian tradition that can be linked to his most famous antecedent, El Greco, whose portraits Palomino claims Velázquez imitated. The twin focus on Italian and Spanish painting establishes Velázquez in the development of Spanish painting with an aesthetic provenance in Italian painting. Despite Palomino's rhetorical concerns his discussion of the visual sources of Velázquez's style has traditionally been read as historical fact. His rhetorical approach to Velázquez's biography does not in itself invalidate his interpretation, however the absence of evidence for his comments calls them in to question.

[74] Palomino, 1987. (p.142)

Palomino's text needs to be read in terms of the developing enlightenment awareness of Spain as a nation state and its representation in historical writing.[75] A number of changes in the representation of Spain and its history emerge in the discussions of Velázquez examined below. A second feature of Palomino's *Parnaso* is that characteristics of modern art-historical method began to emerge in recognisable form such as: the identification of autograph paintings and their visual sources; the development of terminology and a critical framework to discuss paintings and their relationship to their sources; attempts to provide new biographical information on the artist, and to relate him to his cultural milieu; these characteristics supported the identification of painting in terms of a national history. Although this final point was a traditional enterprise that can be traced back to Vasari, whose emphasis on Tuscan achievements was an expression of political identity, by the eighteenth-century such expression was marked by the development of concepts of national identity and the complex issues these raised, such as the role of the monarchy and the identification of the regions that made up the state.

A more general indication of this view is noted in Palomino's decision to begin his catalogue of artists, with two exceptions, from the first half of the sixteenth century. Mallory stated that he considered 'the art of Spain before that date to have been barbarous and unworthy, an appreciation that was typical of his own period.'[76] Palomino's choice corresponds with the first phases of Spain's emergence as a nation state, the union of the Crowns of Castile and Aragon 1469 with the marriage of the monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella, and Spanish Imperialism. Palomino's identification of

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[75] Yves Bottineau's *Làrt de cour dans l'Espagne de Philippe V 1700-1746*, (Paris: 1961) and *L' art de cour dans l'Espagne des Lumières 1746-1808*, (Paris:1986) examines the relationship between the establishment of national identity with the succession of the Spanish eighteenth-century monarchs. J.A. Tomlinson's *Goya in the twilight of enlightenment* (London: Yale University Press, 1992) although focused later in the century examines various aspects of the enlightenment in Spain and its relationship to the political and social contexts.

[76] Palomino, 1987. (p. xi)

the Hispanicism of Velázquez's paintings includes seeming anomalies in the authority given to foreign traditions of art, signified by Piraeicus, Titian, Caravaggio and El Greco. In contrast to this heritage Velázquez as a native Sevillian painter, although from a Portuguese family, attains a special significance providing a Spanish authority for painting.

Part v)

Combined with the developments of art-historical writing in Spain Palomino's text marks the emergence of modern forms of art-history. A methodological discussion of the new discipline was provided by Jonathan Richardson's *Two discourses. I An essay on the whole of art Criticism as it relates to Painting. II An Argument in behalf of the science of a Connoisseur*, published in 1719.[77] David Rodgers described Richardson's 'influence' as 'considerable' into the nineteenth century.[78] Themes of Richardson's theoretical discussion, such as the representation of nature, Flemish painting and his emphasis on formal analysis for example are found in the eighteenth-century discussion of Velázquez examined in this section. Although, these ideas were developed and deployed more consciously after Palomino his work provided an important foundation, particularly the historical method of classifying painters into a genealogy of national and regional schools. During the 'enlightenment' the establishment of state sponsored academies of painting, and the concern to teach in terms of a rational and empirical model built on Palomino's foundations.[79] As well as

[77] Jonathan Richardson, *Two discourses. I An essay on the whole of art Criticism as it relates to Painting. II An Argument in behalf of the science of a Connoisseur*, (Menston: Scholar Press, 1972)
[78] *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J.Turner, Vol.26 (London: Macmillan 1996)
[79] The following discussion provides a number of examples of 'enlightenment' attitudes applied to Spanish painting. A general study of the period is provided by L. Eitner's *Neo-Classicism and Romanticism* (Englewood Cliffs: 1970).

theories of painting. Velázquez's recognition outside Spain is detected in two new genres, dictionary or encyclopaedia entries and travel accounts. Despite their differences they contributed to the development of the analysis of the Sevillian paintings. An examination of these texts, which date from the mid-eighteenth-century to the first decade of the nineteenth, reveals how their critical focus led to further developments of Pacheco's critical framework. The authors of the dictionaries and encyclopaedias had probably seen few, if any of Velázquez's paintings, and they reveal the establishment of Palomino's narrative and criticism as the canonical account.

The eighteenth edition of Luis Moreri's *El gran diccionario histórico, o miscelánea curiosa de la historia sagrada y profana*, published in 1740 in Amsterdam, continued the image of Velázquez as the studious painter of bodegones.[80] Jacob Lacombe's *Dictionaire Portatif des Beaux Arts*, published in 1752, recorded that Velázquez had been impressed by the paintings of Caravaggio. Menéndez Pelayo commented on the extensive use of Palomino in Antoine Joseph Dezallier D'Argenville's *Abregé de la vie des plus fameux peintres...*, published in Paris in 1762, but he added a number of details.[81] The young Velázquez's fame and ability as a painter of *bodegones* is claimed to have formed a new taste for this subject matter. D'Argenville re-wrote Palomino's text, proposing that Pacheco organised for paintings to be brought from Italy. His motives were to 'ennoble the thoughts' of his apprentice to lead him away from 'lesser subjects' to history painting and portraiture.[82] Velázquez's progress is described, in terms of the hierarchy of the genres, which had been elaborated in Félibien's *Conférences de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture pendant lánné 1667*, published the following year. The French academy, founded in 1648, established a model for the teaching of painting across Europe, with an emphasis on the

[80] The four biographies of Velázquez that are examined were published in volume II of *Varia Velazqueña.*
[81] *Historia de las ideas esteticas de España*, vol. II (Santander: 1947) (p.370)
[82] *V.V.*, II. (p. 120)

study of the male nude and history painting.[83] The tension generated by Velázquez's engagement with genre painting noted before was clearly articulated by D'Argenville. He enhanced the role Palomino ascribed to Pacheco, identifying him, not simply as a foil for Caravaggio, but as a mentor advocating eighteenth-century academic attitudes to subject matter. D'Argenville's comments indicate that Palomino's text was used selectively, which is also suggested by his description of Caravaggio as Velázquez's guide for the use of colour and Tristán, who, it is claimed, merited all his attention and led him to abandon his master's style. Fourteen years later, Louis Abel de Bonafous's *Dictionnaire Des Artistes* provided another brief summary echoing the previous examples.

A characteristic that marks all these texts is the criteria and terminology with which they discuss the paintings. None of the texts referred to the anecdote of Velázquez's life studies or the works' appearance as life-like. Their emphasis was on Velázquez's ability as an artist, the genres of his paintings and the 'influence' of other painters signalling the development of the academic classification of painting, and a movement away from the judgement of a painting's appearance as lifelike. The evolution of critical criteria and terminology, noted earlier, became explicit in eighteenth-century theories of painting, some of which referred to Velázquez's Sevillian paintings in their arguments. They mark an important transition that informed subsequent readings of his paintings and provide a wider context to read the dictionary entries discussed already. New critical terms were introduced marking a further development away from the renaissance criteria for the judgement of paintings. The role

[83] *Les conférences de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture au XVII* siècle, ed. A. Mérot (Paris: École nationale supérieure des Beaux Arts, 1996) records the debates concerning artistic method and subject matter the Parisian academy engaged with from the time of Félibien to the early eighteenth-century.

of enlightenment ideas and in particular the emerging discourse of aesthetics underpinned this development.[84]

Gregorio Maysan y Siscar's (1699-1781) treatise the *Arte de Pintar* was read to the academy of St. Charles in Valencia in 1776, and published posthumously in 1854. Maysans' theoretical discussion provides a selection of pedagogical precepts. Although, the enlightenment philosophical ideas are apparent, contemporary authors addressed these with greater consistency and clarity. His text complemented Palomino's history of Spanish painting by drawing heavily on native painters to illustrate his points. Included in his discussion of Velázquez's works is the portrait of *Luis de Góngora*. He commented how 'those who could not see him alive were content to see him painted so lifelike'.[85] His use of the past tenses signals the obsolescence of Pacheco's criteria of lifelike appearance, while his discussion generally marks a shift away from Pacheco's theoretical discussion of the 'imitation of nature'.

The changing philosophical attitude to the representation of nature is identified at a linguistic level. Maysans' text reveals the replacement of the noun 'natural', which had been used by Pacheco and Palomino, by 'nature' as in *imitar a la naturaleza* and the adjective 'natural' as in *imitación a lo natural*.[86] In contemporaneous texts the emergence of the terms 'naturalist', and later 'naturalism', are detected. The latter change was based on the art historical classification of painters into styles, which was informed by the philosophical discourse of Aesthetics. The first example of the term 'naturalista' applied to Velázquez appears in a letter Antonio Rafael Mengs (1728-

[84] The significance of Renaissance traditions of painting theory for modern aesthetic discourse is examined in the following chapter. Although sixteenth and seventeenth-century texts provided important precedents the developments of eighteenth-century philosophical discussion led to a significant conceptual changes to the terminology used.

[85] Mayans y Siscar, Gregorio, *Arte de Pintar* (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 1996) (p.133) 'los que no podían verle vivo se contentaban con verle pintado tan al vivo'.

[86] The OED records how the English noun natural also became obsolescent.

1779) wrote to Antonio Ponz (1725-1792). The letter was first published in 1776 in Ponz's *Viaje de España*. It was republished as part of Mengs' *Obras* in1780.

Mengs' *Reflexiones sobre la belleza y gusto en la pintura* developed the renaissance theory that the artist should select from nature the most beautiful parts to combine in paintings a representation of an ideal beauty. In contrast to this general theory, which always sought to provide an 'idea' of natural objects, he distinguished the 'natural style' as those works in which no attempt is made 'to improve nor choose the most beautiful from nature... what is understood by the term naturalists'[87] The origins of Mengs' classification may be traced to the debates surrounding 'design' discussed earlier. The 'natural style' was not concerned with beauty, yet Mengs did not discuss it in terms of truth like Maysans. Instead he drew on comic poetry, which he claimed does not employ poetic ideas, as a conceptual analogy for this style. Rembrandt, Gerhadt Dau and Teniers are cited as examples of this style of painting but Mengs noted that Velázquez's works were the best examples. Mengs' comments were based on his knowledge of Velázquez's paintings in the royal collection. While most of these works belong to Velázquez's later Madrid period *the Waterseller of Seville* was then hung in Madrid's Palacio Real. Mengs wrote that this work:

'... shows how much he committed himself to the imitation of nature in the beginning, finishing all the parts and giving them the force that he saw in the model, considering the essential difference that there is between the parts that receive light and the shadows; in this way he made his early imitation of nature slightly hard and dry.'[88]

[87] *V.V.* II. (p.135) '...las obras en las quales el artífice no se propone otro fin más que este mismo, sin pretender mejorar ni escoger lo más exquisito de la misma naturaleza. Esto es lo que se entiende quando se dice naturalistas...'. Mengs, A.R. *Reflexiones sobre la belleza y gusto en la pintura*, (Madrid: Instituto de conservación y restauración de bienes culturales, 1989) (p.11-12)

[88] *V.V.*, II. (p.136) 'El quadro del Aguador de Sevilla hace ver quánto se sujeta en sus principios á la imitación del natural, acavando todas las partes u dándolas aquellas fuerza que le parecía ver en el

His comments reveal the relationship between Pacheco's description of artistic practice and the art historical classification of 'naturalism'. They are accompanied by classifications of Velázquez's style as juvenilia in terms of it 'hard and dry' technique. Pacheco's criteria, the study of the model and attention to light and shade, are the basis for this and what will be perfected, as Mengs went onto argue, in the *Forge of Vulcan* and *Las Hilanderas*.

Esteban de Arteaga (1747-99) published his *Investigaciones filosoficas sobre la belleza ideal considerada come objeto de todas las artes de imitación* in 1789. His investigation into beauty engaged with both the visual and literary arts and drew on enlightenment philosophy such as the theories of perception of Locke. He also responded to other theoreticians of the visual arts such as Winkelman and Mengs. His discussion of Aesthetics opens with an analysis of imitation, which provides a theoretical context for the conceptual changes in the criticism of Velázquez.

The emphasis of eighteenth-century art criticism on formalist analysis is reflected in Arteaga's theory of imitation. His opening chapter contrasts the concepts of the 'copy' and the 'imitation'. The former aims to reproduce exactly the object before it. He illustrates this with the idea of the viewer being tricked, and that the original and the copy could be interchanged. However, the imitation, 'proposed to imitate its original not without an absolute similarity but within the capability of the material or instrument employed.'[89] The rejection of Pacheco's criteria of lifelike appearance is clearly stated. Marking a break from the anecdotal traditions surrounding portraits Arteaga argued that

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modelo, considerando la diferencia essencial que hay entre las partes que reciben la luz y las sombras; de esta modo que esta misma imitactión del natural le hizo dar un poco en duro y seco.' Mengs considered the workers in *the forge of Vulcan* as 'una perfecta imitación del natural'.

[89] Esteban de Arteaga, *Investigaciones filosóficas sobre la belleza ideal considerada como objeto de todas las artes de imitación*, (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1972) (p.12) 'se propone imitar su original no con una semejanza absoluta pero de que es capaz la materia o instrumento en que trabaja.'

artists did not want their portraits to be mistaken for the sitter, and nor did the spectator who looked for an imitation in a certain medium. An 'imitation' did not aim to trick the spectators as they were always aware of the materiality of the medium. Instead painters were admired for their ability to overcome the difficulties posed by the materials required for 'imitation'. Arteaga's philosophical view corresponds to the emphasis on formalist analysis noted in the contemporary discussion of Velázquez's paintings.

A second element of Arteaga's theory, which further explains the emphasis on formalism in eighteenth-century criticism, is the Aesthetic theory governing imitation. Following the arguments of Winkleman and Mengs, Arteaga stated that the artist must paint nature as beautiful while at the same time answering the challenge of the medium. In his tenth chapter this is developed through the distinction of 'ideal' and 'servile imitation'. He said that servile imitation 'obliges the maker to express not only the virtues of nature, but also its defects'.[90] He did not develop discussion of this area but concentrated on 'ideal imitation', which hides these errors and aims to provide a more pleasing image composed of beautiful elements. Pleasure and beauty were for Arteaga the medium for painting 'to excite in the spectator's mind, ideas, images and effects analogous to those that would be caused in the real and physical presence of the same objects...'.[91] Arteaga's brief discussion of 'servile imitation' indicates the emphasis he placed on aesthetics, also noted in the work of Mengs, which clearly illustrates the conceptual development from Pacheco's attitudes to nature and painting. The effects of the emphasis placed on Aesthetics have been far reaching, and it is the task of the second chapter to redress this by developing an original methodological approach to

[90] Arteaga, 1972. (p.118) 'se obliga el artifice a expresar no sólo las virtudes de la naturaleza, sino también sus defectos...'
[91] Arteaga, 1972. (p.11) '...excitar en el ánimo de quien la observa ideas, imágenes y afectos análogos a los que excitaría la presencia real y física de los mismos objetos...'

Velázquez's Sevillian works based on a close reading of other aspects of painting theory.

Arteaga mentioned Velázquez only briefly at the end of chapter XII in regard to the application of the term 'naturalist' to him, Murillo and Ribera. He is concerned that this term may be misunderstood as a fault and lead people to undervalue his 'study of the natural' and other talents. Citing Mengs, who he qualified as a defender of the 'ideal', Arteaga claimed that his comments are a specific reference to Velázquez's 'study of the natural'. His discussion reveals the difficulty of reconciling his theory of the 'ideal' with the actual work of these painters. He is unable to move beyond praise of their study of the 'natural' to discuss their works. Not only is the tension surrounding Velázquez's *bodegones* continued in this passage, Arteaga's text reveals how the term 'naturalist' isolated Velázquez from any conceptual context. A response to this aesthetic incomprehension is formulated in the nineteenth-century historical research that sought to explain Velázquez's aesthetic in terms of his social and cultural environment.

The final third of the eighteenth-century witnessed a gradual process of documentation of the traces of Spain's artistic patrimony. The eighteen volumes of Antonio Ponz's *Viaje por España* published between 1772 and 1794 gave an extensive account of the country's heritage. These interests also took the form of visual documentation such as the commission given to Goya to produce prints of a selection of Velázquez's paintings in the royal collection, so that they would be available to a wider audience of painters and connoisseurs. This process can be followed to the establishment of museums, such as the Prado in 1819, or the amortization of the monasteries in 1834, which added many religious paintings to museum collections, like Seville's Museum of Fine Arts. As well as the royal collections the contents of many private collections were revealed by travellers to Spain in their published accounts of

their journeys. Amongst the works they encountered were a number of Velázquez's Sevillian works.

Richard Twis, who's *Travels through Portugal and Spain in 1772 and 1773* were published in 1775, was the first author to describe one of Velázquez's religious works from the Sevillian period. He saw the *Adoration of the Magi.* 'one of Velázquez's best pieces', in the collection of Don Francisco de Bruna in Seville.[92] In 1792 Joseph Townsend's *A Journey though Spain in the years 1786 and 1787...* was published. The Rector of Pewsey visited both churches and private houses in his quest for 'the workes of these great masters (Velázquez, Zurbarán, Murillo)' He records:

'...a lamb by Zurbarán with which Velázquez was so much struck, that he took the pains to copy it. This I had seen in the possession of D. Fr. de Bruna, but when I had viewed the original, the copy, much as I had before admired it, sunk in my estimation.'[93]

Presumably this new anecdote about Velázquez served to support the collector's attribution of style; viewed in stylistic terms Townsend displays no interest in the painting's religious symbolism.

Nicolás de la Cruz y Bahamonde travelled around Spain, France and Italy between 1797 and 1801. In the eleventh volume of his accounts he documents the *bodegones* in the collection of Sebastian Martinez in Cadiz, as well a work in his own collection. He says that 'the author has imitated nature with such accuracy that the

[92] V.V. II. (p.129)
[93] V.V. II. (p.165)

figures appear to think [reflexionan].'[94] The psychological dimension of the *bodegones* that Palomino introduced is developed to a representation of mental activity.

During this period Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez was researching his *Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las Bellas Artes en España*. The biography of Velázquez he included combines the format of the French Encyclopaedias with the interest in documenting Spain's heritage. Ceán offered a variation to Palomino's biography. He corrected the year of Velázquez's birth from 1594 to 1599 on the basis of the register of baptisms.[95] Along with Palomino's biographical format Ceán applied Mengs' critical approach by classifying the Sevillian works as juvenilia, claiming a range of still life subjects were Velázquez's first works, then followed by paintings of clothed figures in domestic settings. Displaying eighteenth-century academic notions of painting he criticised Velázquez's first style for its absence of study of the male nude. Instead of *bodegones* Ceán employed the term *bambochadas*, a derivation of the Italian term *bambocciata*, which refers to a group of Netherlandish painters working in Rome during the seventeenth-century who specialised in 'low life' subjects. The classification echoes Mengs opinions that the works are in the style of David Teniers and other Dutch and Flemish painters. He criticised these works for Velázquez's excessive study of nature, which in Ceán's opinion '...he still didn't know how to observe well'. The association of Velázquez with Dutch and Flemish painters and the silence about the role of Caravaggio indicates that Velázquez's paintings were discussed primarily in terms of their subject matter.

Ceán's biography lists *the Waterseller of Seville*, a *Nativity* in the collection of the Condé de Aguila and other works no longer in Seville, as well as the two portraits of Góngora and Fonseca. However, he concluded with an inventory of paintings, listing a

[94] V.V .II. (p.169)
[95] Archivo de la Iglesia parroquial de San Pedro, de Sevilla. *Libro 5° de bautismos de 1594a 1612*, f.61. V.V. II, 213.

bodegón of two men eating, in the Palacio Nuevo in Madrid, probably the work recorded by Palomino and 'A Conception and a St. John writing the Apocalypse, hung in the chapter house' in Seville's Convent of the 'Carmen Calzada'.[96] He noted that they belong to the first period of Velázquez. The concentration of attention on Velázquez's *bodegones*, as examples of his Sevillian works, is made apparent in that even these recently discovered works do not merit attention in a biography.

Ceán's reference to works no longer in Seville refers to the dispersal of Velázquez's paintings throughout Europe. Later the Napoleonic invasion was the cause of the *Waterseller* and *Two men eating at a table* being brought to London. Having been removed from the Palacio Real by Joseph Bonaparte they were captured by Wellington's forces at the battle of Vitoria in 1813. Ferdinand VII presented them to the Duke of Wellington as part of a gift for his services to the Spanish nation.[97] The growth of the international art market during the nineteenth century had a more substantial effect on this process.[98] It heralded a concern for the identification of autograph paintings, which provided a practical sphere for the application of the theoretical principles developed by writers such as Mengs. However, this increased connossieurial attention, noted in the travel accounts, became combined with a growing interest to explore the paintings in terms of Spain's history. This marked a departure from the focus on formalist analysis and led to important developments in the discussion of the Seville oeuvre.

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[96] J.A. Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario historico de los mas ilustres professores de las bellas artes en España*, vol.3, (Madrid: Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, 1965) (p.179)

[97] E. Harris and D. Davies, *Velázquez in Seville*. (p.152)

[98] Francis Haskell's *Rediscoveries in Art: some aspects of Taste, Fashion and Collecting in England and France*, (London: Phaidon, 1976) provides various perspectives on the growth of a public and market for painting. Carl Justi who is examined below discussed Velázquez exactly in terms of that rediscovery.

Part vi)

The nineteenth-century heralded the emergence of a professional discipline of art history from the debates of painters, connoisseurs and philosophers. The development of the historical and formal analysis of paintings traced in the previous section was developed into a formal historical discourse. William Stirling Maxwell's *Velázquez* (1848) and Carl Justi's *Velázquez and his times* (1888), examined in this section illustrate how this cultural development informed the discussion of Velázquez.[99] An important dimension of the emerging discipline was to form an empirical approach to the question of stylistic development at individual, regional or national levels. The publication of catalogue raisonnés of individual works was central to this, and Stirling and Justi engaged with this issue by introducing newly discovered works, discussing attributions, and including reproductions.[100] Their texts mark the emergence of a related genre of art-historical writing, the monograph, in which Velázquez was discussed at far greater length than ever before. The monograph's increased attention on the artist developed a cultural analysis of the paintings that sought to ground the classifications of his style in a historical context, however they did not manage to identify the painter with his contemporaries. Although limitations to this genre would later emerge, these early examples marked a new approach to the re-writing of Pacheco and Palomino's account of Velázquez's Sevillian years.

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[99] Quotations of Justi's text are taken from the 1889 English translation by A.H. Keane unless cited in which case the translations are my own from the 1999 J. Espino Nuño's Spanish translation of the 1933 Phaidon-Verlag edition of Justi's text.

[100] In contrast to Stirling's less critical attributions, such as 'a small and admirably-painted study of a 'cardo, cut ready for the table', Justi criticised the attitude that ascribed to Velázquez any painting including a kitchen utensil, food or a boy with a sardonic grin. The recently published Catalogue of Charles Curtis had listed seventy bodegones. He also rejected the *Adoration of the Shepherds* described by Stirling and the National Gallery later agreed with Justi. His argument was based on the lack of similarity with the *Adoration of the Magi*, which he discussed. Justi also mentioned briefly four further religious paintings that are important additions to the catalogue, The *Supper At Emmaus*, *The Tears of St. Peter*, *St. Ildefonso receiving the Chasuble from the Virgin* and the *Kitchen scene with Christ in the House of Martha and Mary*.

The most apparent distinction of both these monographs is that the critical tension, which surrounded Velázquez's painting during the eighteenth-century, has been replaced by an open appreciation. In addition the formalist criticism, based in philosophical Aesthetics, was superseded by modern notions of both painting and painter. Although Stirling followed Ceán's model of Velázquez's development from still life painting to the treatment of figures, a cultural change is noted in his comment that, Velázquez turned to the 'study of subjects of low life found in such rich and picturesque variety in the streets and on the waysides of Andalusia'.[101] Stirling's uncritical use of Dutch painting as a visual analogy for Velázquez's paintings is enhanced with his own travel experiences. The paintings' 'truth' is implied in these descriptions, which also evoke the popular image of Spain found in the work of nineteenth-century water colourists such as David Roberts. Their image of Spain combined the exoticism of orientalism with an interest in local customs and costumes.

Stirling argued that Velázquez painted these works with a 'fine sense of humour and discrimination of character'. The 'sunburnt way worn seller of water, dressed in a tattered brown jerkin' maintains a 'grave dignity of deportment highly Spanish and characteristic, and worthy of an Emperor pledging a great vassal in Tokay.'[102] Stirling viewed these works in terms of Velázquez's ability to give nobility to his characters, indicating a change in how they were viewed. During the nineteenth-century, in literature and painting, the representation of the city and the poor underwent a transition, expressed in the Baudelairian notion of a nobility of the everyday. In Justi's work this theme was developed in artistic and political terms.

Even in Stirling's examination of Velázquez's religious painting, the first in Velázquez studies, his praise of Velázquez's 'imitation of nature' is noted, even though

[101] Stirling, *Velázquez*, (Madrid: 1999). (p.96)
[102] Stirling, *Velázquez*. (p.98)

he echoed D'Argenville's comments that the motive for this came from abroad: 'an importation into Seville, of pictures by foreign masters, and by Spaniards of the other schools, drew his attention to new models of imitation, and to a new class of subjects.'[103] The description of the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, a nine figure composition, focuses on the treatment of models as studies from nature.[104] The lesser characters are described in terms of class 'vulgar' and as 'gypsies of Triana' and the Virgin as ' full of truth and nature'.[105] Velázquez's ability to paint these subjects as lifelike became a point of praise. Stirling's text made Velázquez's apocryphal aspiration, to be 'first in that sort of coarseness', true.

Justi's opening historiographical review of Velázquez's 'naturalist' painting contextualises Stirling's approving discussion of Velázquez as a 'painter of nature', and the shift away from eighteenth-century Aesthetics. During the nineteenth-century Velázquez's status had changed, and Justi described how he was 'discovered' as a precursor for new tendencies in modern art. The study of Velázquez's work by painters such as Manet was fundamental in this respect. The emergence of new attitudes to art heralded a rejection of much of the eighteenth-century academic theory. Its classifications underwent important changes with genres such as landscape-painting and genre-painting being esteemed by artists. Stirling's description of the Andalusian streets evoked the modern artist no longer confined to the studio, but taking the easel to the subject. 'Naturalism' was also used to describe nineteenth-century French novelists such as Zola and it should be noted that the term was closely linked to 'realism', another term which also played an important role in Justi's discussion.

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[103] Stirling, *Velázquez*. (p.100)
[104] The painting first mentioned by Twis, was then in the National Gallery collection.
[105] Stirling, *Velázquez*. (p.102) Triana is a neighbourhood of Seville that grew up on the opposite bank of the River Guadalquivir from the city.

The combined use of 'naturalism' and 'realism', introduced by Justi , became a feature of the modern discussion of Velázquez's paintings. While Justi used them to distinguish style from subject matter, they are often used synonymously. 'Realism' is also drawn from nineteenth-century discussions of painting. Linda Nochlin identified it as a 'dominant' artistic 'movement from about 1840 until 1870-80', represented by artists such as Courbet, Degas and Manet and concerned particularly with subject matter which 'placed a positive value on the depiction of the low, the humble and the common place' and artistic representation with 'an insistence on catching the present moment in art'.[106] New concepts of history, 'modern society', and political issues underpinned this view of painting.

The discussion of the *bodegones* in Justi's section 'National types' is a clear reference to the political dimensions of the 'Realist' art 'movement', expressed in the maxim 'democracy in Art'.[107] Democratic concerns are noted in Justi's treatment of Velázquez's paintings. However it is also distinguished from Stirling's by its art historical analysis of the emergence of this genre in Flemish painting, and consideration of its appeal to Sevillian patrons well-read in Pliny the Elder. Justi began by examining *the Waterseller of Seville*, as Velázquez's first masterpiece, and explained the role of watersellers. He focused on its details, such as the top of the bottle hanging from the cord and the fragile glass, and the effects of shadow in the background combining Pacheco's criteria of the study of the natural and 'relief'. His method of describing the paintings is similar to Stirling's in that he provides an evocative description, or *ekphrasis*, of the painting including his response to it. The glass becomes fragile and the Waterseller himself provided Justi with an opportunity to identify him with Spanish visual traditions and, echoing Stirling, the nobility of the poor:

[106] Linda, Nochlin, *Realism*, (London: Penguin,) (pp.13, 34, 28)
[107] Carl Justi, *Velázquez and his times*, (London: H.Grevel & Co., 1889) (p.68). 'Figuras del Pueblo' Carl Justi, *Velázquez y su siglo*, (Madrid: ISTMO, 1999) (p.137)

'Before this figure one thinks instinctively of stone statues set in the niches of tombs in family chapels. How well he would wear a steel breastplate... This marked, bronzed profile strongly lit by the light falling from the left, contrasts to the bouyant figure, the noble and even delicate face of the handsome youth...'[108]

The discussion of the *Old Woman frying eggs*, which had been a recent discovery in the collection of Cook of Richmond, is discussed in similar terms. However, in this painting Justi's reading indicates how he viewed the painting as a photograph, the advances of technology had replaced Pacheco's criteria of 'lifelike appearance' or Caravaggio. In his introduction he had cited the use of this analogy for Velázquez's 'naturalism' and he described the painting as follows:

'Nothing has been foisted in by the artist; there are no studied light effects, for which the fire might have offered a rare chance; nothing of refined vulgarity or ordinariness, no professional modelling or picturesque costumes, or figures smacking of the studio; no condescension; nothing but downright honesty. It is a realistic piece, but radiant with a halo of impressions and memories of land and people.'[109]

Justi's description identifies Velázquez's technique of painting in terms of modern notions of the artist leaving the studio to paint directly onto the canvas what was seen, as distinct from Pacheco's study of the natural as a preparatory phase. The reference to the nation and the people recalls the political dimension of Justi's use of the term

[108] Justi, 1999. (p.142)
[109] Justi, 1889. (p. 73)

'realism'. The continuation of his *ekphrasis* recalls his own encounters in Spain with such an 'anciana campesina'.

The *Adoration of the Magi* (1619) is examined in similar terms. The heads are viewed as portraits. He identified the page as the youth of the *Waterseller* and the Virgin, as an Andalusian 'campesina', again implying his socio-political interests. Not only did Justi refer to this work in terms of its 'naturalism' but he also distinguished it from the other works for its 'striking colour and chiaroscuro'. In the examination of Velázquez's religious paintings Justi acknowledged Pacheco's silence on these works and argued that they would have been seen as an auspicious start to Velázquez's career.

The terms in which Stirling and Justi described the recognition of the artist is a second novel feature of their texts. Stirling's discussion of Velázquez's apprenticeship reveals that the trope of the noble artist had been replaced by the Romantic notion of the 'genius', identifying Velázquez as solely responsible for his style of painting. Stirling made no reference to Caravaggio, reflecting the Lombard painter's critical fate in the nineteenth-century. Stirling contrasted Pacheco with Francisco de Herrera. Herrera was described as a 'kindred genius' to Velázquez, and Stirling claimed they shared an inherent, self-taught technique of painting. The apprenticeship to Pacheco, with its emphasis on rules and precepts, is presented as an antithesis to Velázquez's natural abilities. Stirling explained Velázquez's 'study of nature', 'the artist's best teacher', as a result of his individual genius, and he used Pacheco's anecdote of Velázquez's life study as evidence of this independent study. The discussion of the bodegones served to support this relationship between the painter's character and art.[110]

Justi developed this view of Velázquez. Not only were his works described in terms of their 'imitation of nature', but they were also identified in terms of a

[110] Stirling, (p.96)

confrontation with established modes of painting. The *Immaculate Conception* and *St. John the Evangelist on Patmos* [figs. 12, 13], which then belonged to Sir Bartle Frere, are considered as having an air of school exercises. Justi's 'image of the artist' is an individual, challenging traditions, drawn from modern notions of the painter. He argued that the iconographic traditions of these paintings, upheld by Pacheco as censor for the Inquisition, posed a challenge to Velázquez, by then accustomed to the subject matter of the *bodegones*. Justi viewed the *Immaculate Conception* as a rejection of the ideal beauty the 'Romanist' painters had introduced, and claimed Velázquez painted 'una muchacha del pueblo' inspired by the piety of posing as the Virgin. Again Velázquez's work is judged in terms of art as representing the 'people' and the artist is implicated in this. Despite Justi's focus on the paintings as representing 'the people' his discussion isolated Velázquez from his historical context, much as Stirling's focus on the painter's innate abilities had. The *bodegones* and the 'study of nature' became the focus of discussion, even though both writers had attempted to engage with the culture of seventeenth-century Seville.

Velázquez's confrontation with artistic authority was not only an expression of Justi's modern 'image of the artist', but was also related to a cultural analysis that underpinned his writing. Justi made several methodological digressions, which considered together show how he attempted to maintain a dialectic between the role of the individual artist and wider cultural traditions to explain the change in the style and subject matter of Velázquez's painting, and other aspects of Spanish seventeenth-century culture.

Stirling had identified a 'severe devotional character' as a common element of Spanish painting. His explanation for this was that in contrast to the humanist thought, study of classical art and patronage of the arts of the Italian Renaissance, Spain lacked

the 'enthusiasm for classical antiquity' and the Spanish nobility offered little employment for artists. Stirling argued that the 'true patron was ... the supreme and munificent Church'.[111] His history of Spanish religious painting records the function of religious paintings to educate the illiterate sections of the laity and provides examples of the close links many painters had with the church. However Stirling concluded by acknowledging that Velázquez was 'the only great Spanish painter who did not find habitual employment in the church... Yet... he maintained the serious air which belongs to the Spanish character, and especially distinguishes the Spanish pencil.'[112] His identification of Velázquez's painting with a national 'character' and 'mind' is important as it engaged the discussion of style with the social and cultural context, moving away from Palomino's restricted biographical rhetoric of the artist's fame and the subsequent constructions of stylistic genealogy. It is the first cultural analysis of Velázquez's work.

However, this argument also offers an insight into the nineteenth-century British 'national mind' and its views of Spain. His comment that the protestant may find it hard to appreciate religious imagery unlike the 'simple Catholic of Spain' reveals a cultural distinction that informed his perception of the past. This is most apparent in the section on the Inquisition, 'which, like death, knocked when it pleased at every door... and even pried into the recesses of the author's desk, was not slow in asserting its dominion over art'.[113] Although not without basis in truth, this view of the Catholic Church's control of Spanish culture, and especially by the Inquisition, is a selective and literary view of Spanish history. The identification of ecclesiastical authority with the Inquisition is portrayed by the Grand Inquisitor in Verdi's opera *Don Carlos* (1867). Foreign writers' interest in this story can be traced not only to Schiller's play (1787),

[111] Stirling, *Velázquez*. (p.70)
[112] Stirling, *Velázquez*. (p.82)
[113] Stirling, *Velázquez*. (p. 82)

but also to the English playwright Thomas Ottway's tragedy *Don Carlos Prince of Spain* (1676) that was based on the French novel *Dom Carlos* by the César Vichard, Abbé de Saint Real (1639-1692).

Justi's engagement with this issue reveals a deeper understanding of Spanish history and culture. At various points in his text his research is noted, such as his citation of the *Annales de Sevilla* by Ortiz de Zuñiga (1633-1680).[114] He was also the first to draw on Pacheco's *Libro de Retratos* as a source for Seville's intellectual community. Justi's view of Spanish culture was set out in his discussion of a Spanish style of painting, 'Spanish realism'.[115] He identified 'realism' as a fundamental feature of Spanish visual culture, thus developing it from its contemporaneous significance. He defined it as the inclusion of 'homely national types, local colouring and play of light' in religious painting.[116] The discussion of the *bodegones* framed them as examples of this tradition. Justi speculated on some of the origins of this style such as Spain's Moorish heritage, and his identification of the *Waterseller* with funerary sculpture, cited above, evoked an earlier Christian expression of this tradition. Justi's 'Hispanic realism' implies his interest in a Hegelian analysis of culture, however, he expressly sought to distance himself from such arguments by keeping a focus on the individual. Velázquez's art is an expression of these trends but not caused by them.

Justi identified a parallel Hispanic 'realist' literary tradition consisting of De Rojas's *La Celestina*, first published in 1499, Cervantes's *El Quijote*, (1605 and 1615) ,Quevedo's *El Buscón*(1626), termed as a precursor for the French realist nineteenth-century novel, as well as the plays of Calderón (1600-1681). The intervening century corresponded to the hegemony of 'Italian idealism', which Justi argued effected painting too. However,

[114] Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Annales ecelsiásticos y seculares de la muy noble y muy leal Ciudad de Sevilla*, facsimile edition, (Seville: Guadalquivir, 1988).
[115] Justi, 1999. (p.34)
[116] Justi, 1889. (p.2). 'figuras, colores, y luces nacionales en los asuntos sagradas', Justi, 1999. (p.34)

he claimed the reign of Philip IV witnessed the return to the native 'realist' tradition. Justi's discussion of the *Immaculate Conception* set Velázquez as an individual against the representatives of that tradition, which included Pacheco and the Sevillian writers, Palomino's 'academy', associated with him. A dialectical basis of Justi's cultural analysis is noted in that Velázquez's individual efforts are combined with these deeper innate cultural forces, however, neither create any concrete relationship between the paintings and society.

'Hispanic realism' as a combination of painting and literature is am important feature of Justi's text. During the twentieth-century the discussion of picaresque literature, such as the anonymous *Lazarillo de Tormes*(1554), Mateo Alemán's *Guzman de Alfarache* (1599 and 1605) and Quevedo's *Buscón* would frequently provide a historical analogy for the subject matter of the *bodegones* and also Velázquez's 'imitation of nature'. However, Justi did not examine this relationship in depth and his analysis served to isolate Velázquez from Seville's literary culture. The emphasis on the *bodegones* and 'Hispanic realism' continued the view that Velázquez's painting was not related to the ideas of Seville's patrons and writers. Only towards the end of the twentieth-century would this view be revised through a more searching analysis of the culture. An indication of the direction that this would take was offered by Stirling's brief discussion of the patronage of the third Duke of Alcalá towards Velázquez. Stirling's hypothesis to an extent has since been proved true. Another revelation of Brown and Kagan's study of the Duke's inventory is that he owned two *bodegones* by Velázquez. Lleó has since supported Stirling's claim that Velázquez benefited from the library and art collection of his palace, the Casa de Pilatos. However, the effects of this patronage have not been considered and it is the task of the final two chapters to consider the role of Velázquez's Sevillian patrons.

Part vii)

'Justi sketched his vision of Velázquez's century on a large canvas with broad strokes, leaving it for others to delineate the details.'[117]

Jonathan Brown's historiographical survey of the study of Spanish painting notes that the study of the 'details', through archival research, had been underway during the course of the nineteenth-century. The contrast of Stirling and Justi's work illustrated the gradual accumulation of historical data, principally in regard to the discovery of paintings. It was during the twentieth-century that Velázquez's Sevillian period benefited from this research, which Brown terms the 'academic and scientific phase' of the history of Spanish painting.[118]

The first area to be affected by this phase was the identification of autograph paintings from the Sevillian period. Beruete's *Velázquez*, written in 1898, undertook a critical revision of the many works attributed to Velázquez, responding to the 'generous' attributions in catalogues like Charles B. Curtis'. Beruete introduced new Sevillian works such as *The Musical Trio* [fig. 14] and the *Tavern Scene With Two Men And A Boy* [fig. 15], which have remained in the catalogue. Others such as the *Vintager* have been removed or had their dates changed such as the *Supper at Emmaus* (1628-29) [fig. 16]. The formalist classification of Velázquez's 'first manner' is developed in Beruete's writing, which he defined as 'dry' and 'harsh' and marked by the use of heavy

[117] Brown, 1978. (p.9)
[118] Brown, 1978. (p.10)

impasto with sombre and warm tones.[119] Beruete also identified signs of Velázquez's later works. *The Waterseller of Seville* is identified as:

'the forerunner of other more important works'.[120] The *Triumph of Bacchus* [fig. 17] was classified as a 'masterpiece of the first manner of Velázquez that concluded a cycle of paintings initiated with the *Adoration of the Magi* and the *Waterseller*'.[121]

His discussion of Velázquez's painting across the range of genres is a central theme of this thesis, although the Madrid paintings are not addressed in detail it is indicated how the interests of the Sevillian paintings continued to play a role in his later paintings.

Additions and revisions to Beruete's catalogue were made. J.C. Robinson offered an interesting selection of new *bodegones* in 1906. His articles provide a history of the work of 'English picture dealers' and connoisseurs in Spain. He described six *bodegones*, some recognised as autograph such as the *Kitchen scene with Christ in the House of Martha and Mary*, but others reveal the art market's interest in identifying 'Velázquezs'. The attribution of paintings such as the *Beggar with the Wine Bottle* and *The Fight at the Fair* were coloured by the frequent associations of the *bodegones* with picaresque literature. They offer a sharp contrast to the style and subject matter of the works today recognised as autograph. They also reveal a lack of knowledge on the sources for Velázquez's life, which led to proposals such as the ten-figure composition of the fight scene being a joint enterprise between Velázquez and Pacheco. After the changes offered in August Mayer's 1936 catalogue José Lopéz Rey's, first published in 1963 has, become the authority. The attribution of the Seville oeuvre has on the whole been resolved, although debate has continued, with the occasional appearance of

[119] A. De Beruete, *Velázquez*, (London: Methuen and Co., 1906). (p.11)
[120] Beruete, 1906. (p.29)
[121] Beruete, 1906. (p.35)

paintings on the art market; or regarding the role of assistants and copyists; and finally in attempts to identify the portraits, and also the figure in religious works such as the *Adoration of the Magi.* The recent development and use of x-ray and infrared analysis has been applied to develop an even clearer classification of Velázquez's Sevillian style.[122]

The second feature of the twentieth century academic approach to art-history was the advance of archival investigation. Study of the Sevillian period has benefited from this in two ways. Firstly, in terms of the information it has provided on Velázquez, although admittedly the information documenting his career as a painter has been limited. *Varia Velazqueña* provided a resumé of all the documents discovered to this day with a revised second edition, *Corpus Velazqueño* published in 2000, which unfortunately included no new documents relevant to this discussion. Volume two of *Varia Velazqueña* includes twenty-one documents pertaining to the Sevillian period including the contract for Velázquez's apprenticeship, his guild examination certificate and a contract for the six-year apprenticeship of Diego Melgar signed in 1620.[123]

The absence of contracts for his paintings is the most apparent lack, but this has been interpreted in a number of ways. One of these has been that it signals his close relationships to his patrons. Two documents recording Velázquez's wedding on the 23rd of April 1618 provide an historical basis for his recognition in Seville's intellectual circles. His wedding certificate records that Dr. Acosta, Francisco de Rioja (1583-1659) and Father Pabon were witnesses at his wedding. The document also records the presence of other 'priests and people'. Jonathan Brown briefly discussed a treatise by

[122] The most recent discussion focused on the Sevillian paintings is Zahira Veliz's 'Velázquez's early technique', *Velázquez in Seville*, (pp.79-84), and Gridley McKim-Smith, 'La técnica Sevillana de Velázquez', *Velázquez y Sevilla*, pp.109-123 (Seville: Junta de Andalusia, 1999)

[123] References to the first two of these documents were given earlier. The apprenticeship for Melgar is recorded in Archivo General de Protocolos de Sevilla. *Oficio 4. regsitro de Pedro del Carpio*, (Lib.I, f. 474r.-474v.). *V.V.* II. (p.219-20)

Rioja that mentions a dispute with Dr. Sebastián de Acosta on the subject of Church traditions.[124] Nothing is known of Father Pabon, however a second document records them all together.

A poem written to celebrate the painter's marriage by Baltasar Cepeda was found in a manuscript compilation of poetry in Pacheco's handwriting. Pacheco recorded not only the author, but also the presence of Dr. Sebastian de Acosta, Friar Pedro de Fromesta, Francisco de Rioja, don Alonso de Avila 'and many others'.[125] William L. Fichter's article 'Una poesía contemporánea inédita sobre las bodas de Velázquez', published in *Varia Velazqueña* volume I, cites bibliographical references to these Sevillian guests.[126] Pacheco described Acosta and Rioja as 'scholarly men, sons of Seville' in his *Arte*.[127] Rioja was also cited as an authority on many other occasions. However, Francisco de Rioja is the only person mentioned whose writing has survived to this day. In the second half of the nineteenth-century Zarco del Valle discovered a poem by Rioja dedicated to Juan de Fonseca, which is discussed later when their relationship is examined. It provides the basis to consider Velázquez's relationship to one of his wedding guests and his later patron at court.

While the marriage certificate and the poem indicate Velázquez's recognition amidst Seville's intellectual community, the content of the poem adds emphasis to this. The references to various classical and religious subjects discussed at the banquet table were interpreted by Fichter as an indication of the types of discussion held at the meetings of intellectuals. Its burlesque style reveals a light-hearted side to the serious

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[124] Brown, 1978. (p.59)

[125] Pacheco dated the poem as 13th April, rather than the 23rd . Fichter argued that it is probably a *lapsus calami*. The only other possible explanation is that Pacheco wanted to date the wedding as coinciding with the celebration of one of Seville's patrons St. Hermengild, who is mentioned in the Poem.

[126] *V.V.*, I. (pp.636-39)

[127] Pacheco, 1990. (p.326) '... hombres doctos, hijos de Sevilla...'

discussion of the Sevillian men of letters that other texts reveal, such as Rioja's debate with Acosta.

Fichter's publication is also part of the second dimension of archival research, the study of Sevillian culture. It has been this area more than any other that has added to Justi's 'picture' of Seville. On the whole this research has not been undertaken by art historians but by those of other subject areas such as literature, religion and politics. The monographs published on Velázquez reveal the gradual accumulation of this information, which is built into the biographical and critical framework that has been examined in this chapter. On the whole it is employed in a similar way as Justi to enrich an understanding of Seville's culture and the role of painters there. For example E. Trapier's *Velázquez* opens with a socio-historical analysis of Seville based on the view of painting as a commercial activity.[128] She addressed the trade in paintings to the 'Indies', the variety of tasks the painters had to carry out, and provides a survey of the city's sixteenth-century painters. The emphasis on the 'business' of painting frames her discussion of Velázquez, which excludes discussion of his intellectual interests.

The monograph's biographical format framed the Sevillian paintings as the 'first manner'. Enforced by the catalogue raisonné, the other fundamental element of their structure, it would never allow for a detailed engagement with these issues. Although a marked increase in the length of the opening chapters of monographs on Velázquez may be noted the study of Sevillian culture was developed with the emergence of new approaches to art historical research and writing. Jonathan Brown's *Images and Ideas in seventeenth-century Spanish Painting* is a landmark in this respect in two senses. Firstly, for Brown's discussion of the research into the Sevillian writers connected to Pacheco, which is drawn on in the final chapters. However, even here Palomino's

[128] Elizabeth Du Gué Trapier, *Velázquez*, (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1948)

distinction between Velázquez the painter and the intellectual are noted. Although Brown writes that inquiry into Pacheco's 'academy' may 'illuminate the beginnings of Velázquez', his brief discussion of him concentrates on the Madrid paintings. Nonetheless his work signalled the importance of Seville's classical traditions of literature and Tridentine reform, and the final two chapters undertake to explore these in more depth with regard to Velázquez's paintings.

The other valuable feature of Brown's text is its introductory historiographical survey. He concluded by discussing the increasing attention being paid to 'cultural, social and political' dimensions of painting by Art Historians. It is in response to these methodological developments that the study of the Sevillian paintings has been developed with archival research from other fields. In this way a development may be noted from the nineteenth-century monographs' cultural analysis. The most noted developments of these new approaches are the two catalogues mentioned at the beginning. However, prior to these, two books were published on Velázquez's Sevillian period, which signal important methodological developments, yet also the critical challenge raised by the study of the relationship of Velázquez's paintings to Sevillian culture.

In 1968 Julián Gallego's *Visión y símbolos en la pintura española del Siglo de Oro* had set an important precedent for the study of Spanish painting. His arguments that symbolic interpretation was a fundamental characteristic of Spanish seventeenth-century visual culture were applied in his 1974 *Velázquez en Sevilla*. The most significant aspect of Gallego's contribution is his critique of the notion of 'Hispanic realism' first developed by Justi. He questioned the use of the term 'realist' for its incongruence with the seventeenth-century term the 'estudio del natural', which he says did not mean the painters were 'realists'. Drawing on his research into the symbolism of

seventeenth-century imagery he argued that representations of the natural world had been interpreted in terms of a veiled symbolism.[129] Instead of being a painter of reality Velázquez became a painter of ideas and this is the basis of Gallego's iconographical interpretations.

Gallego identified Velázquez's paintings with two aspects of seventeenth-century culture 'mysticism and the picaresque, or as we would say today, idealism and realism'.[130] Although he argued that the primary cause for Velázquez's 'realism' was the 'revolución caravaggesca' he traced Caravaggio's painting and its appeal for Spanish painters to St. Ignatius de Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, in particular 'the composition of place', which forms the preliminary part of the meditations. Friedlander's *Caravaggio Studies* had already proposed this idea examining St. Philip Neri and the Oratorians as examples of Rome's Counter-Reformation culture.[131] However, neither author developed an analysis of the relationship between text and image.

Following the religious explanation for Velázquez's 'realism' Gallego directed attention to the importance of religious culture for Velázquez's paintings, which served to redress Justi's cultural analysis based on the secular picaresque literature. While it marked a development from Stirling's text it is only in more recent studies that this cultural discussion has been addressed in more detail. However, Gallego provided an important precedent for how these paintings should be examined. Turning to the *bodegones* he argued that they should be interpreted in terms of the Neo-Platonic traditions of sixteenth-century art theory. In the following chapter a critique is made of this rudimentary use of Neo-Platonism, based on a widely disseminated reading of

[129] Gallego examined questions of the terminology applied to painting in his work *Visión y símbolos en la pintura española del Siglo de Oro*, (Madrid: Cátedra, 1984)
[130] J. Gallego, (Seville,1974). (p.48)
[131] Walter Friedlander, *Caravaggio Studies*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955) (p.123)

Panofsky's *Idea*, which analyses the use of Plato's metaphysical theory in sixteenth-century painting treatises identified with 'mannerist' painting. However, aside from these questions the significance of Gallego's comments is that they claim Velázquez's works contain transcendental references.[132] Again he offers little by way of exploration for this thesis. *The Waterseller of Seville* is read as the three ages of man, and the *Three Musicians*, according to the Shakespearean reference that music is the food of love. No detailed analysis is provided and nor does his discussion of the range of topics discussed in Seville's academies and the intellectuals who attended them develop an understanding of the paintings' symbolic dimensions. The disjunction between painting and contemporary Sevillian thought first noted in Palomino's work still remained un-addressed.

Following the precedent of Gallego other authors have undertaken a similar analysis such as Barry Wind's *Velázquez's Bodegones: A Study in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Genre Painting*.[133] His work is an example of a shift away from the monographic model of art history to the study of individual genres. The re-evaluation of still-life painting during the twentieth century had led to a number of exhibitions and publications devoted to Spanish examples and it became the area in which Velázquez's works have received the most attention.[134] However, Wind's text is distinct from many of the discussions of still-life painting, which had until them focused on the development of Velázquez's 'naturalist' genre-paintings in visual terms, he attempted to interpret the paintings' significance. Like Gallego's, his attempt reflects an art-historical

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[132] J. Gallego, (Seville,1974). (p.68)

[133] (Fairfax: George Mason University Press, 1987) Wind also provided a critical study of Pacheco's *Arte*. Although it addressed Pacheco's discussion of a range of approaches to painting he examined them in terms of a straightforward correspondence of painting and theory. The following chapter questions such readings of theory.

[134] For review of Spanish still life painting and its bibliography see Peter Cherry, *Arte y naturaleza: el bodegón español en el Siglo de Oro*, (Madrid: 1999)

trend that responded to Erwin Panofsky's iconological analysis of painting, which sought to interpret the meaning of paintings through the examination of literary sources. While Wind's approach focused analysis of the paintings on Iberian and Sevillian culture, its concern to provide 'interpretations' of paintings reveals the methodological difficulties raised by such discussion.

A focus on Velázquez's religious painting encouraged the development of methodological approaches; as the identification of sources is much clearer. The work of John Moffit and Enriquetta Harris marked the emergence of original strategies to interpret paintings, which paid much closer attention to the historical context, and the way paintings were viewed. However, it in was the two recent exhibition catalogues that significant methodological approaches were applied to the paintings.

As was explained in the introduction the Seville catalogues are examined in the course of the following chapters. The examination of the twentieth-century discussion has been brief, which is due to the fact critical attention has concentrated on the later period. The restrictions placed on discussion of Velázquez's Sevillian paintings by the monograph's format reveal how discussion has been underpinned by the methodological framework traced in this chapter. Palomino's narrative framed the discussion of Velázquez's paintings in terms of their style and genre, which continued to be marked by the eighteenth and nineteenth-century criteria of 'naturalism'. In particular the centre of attention has been the discussion of the visual sources of Velázquez's style, primarily Caravaggio.

The exhibition catalogue as a genre of art historical writing allowed writers to look at the Sevillian paintings from a specific perspective not restricted by the narrative structure of biography, and to focus on the historical context. Thus they attempted to engage critically with the archive, its critical terminology and methodological issues

that have been traced in this chapter. They make important contributions that have developed the understanding of Seville's religious, intellectual and artistic culture. Despite this critical development Pacheco and Palomino are still employed as sources, 'naturalism' continues to be contrasted to 'idealism', and the cultural significance of Velázquez's paintings received limited attention. To engage with these issues is the task of the following chapters.

Part viii)

However as a form of postscript to this review a discussion of a twentieth-century philosophical engagement with Velázquez's work provides a valuable context to consider approaches to the relationship of painting and culture. José Ortega y Gasset published a series of writings on Velázquez between 1943 and 1954, which opened the discussion of Velázquez to a wider cultural analysis. An indication of his importance for Velázquez studies was his rejection of the notion of 'Hispanic realism' '...the most energetic way of saying nothing.'[135]

His disregard for the style of art historical writing makes his text appear problematic. Velázquez is described as radical; his bodegones as subversive and his challenge to a cultural or aesthetic hegemony is traced to the aesthetic revolt begun by Caravaggio whose works 'produced fear, like acts of a terrorist.'[136] Aside from this original 'image of the artist' the value of his analysis is that he returned to the question of Velázquez's painting as a response to changes that took place on a wider scale. In his 1954 text, the *bodegones* are discussed in terms of an analogy between Velázquez, Descartes and Richelieu. He argued that these men considered beauty to be puerile and preferred a dramatic encounter with the real although, the real is always ugly and concluded that Velázquez:

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[135] José Ortega y Gasset, *Velázquez*, ((Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1999)(p.56) 'Más decir que su arte es realista no es sino la manera más enérgica de no decir nada.'

[136] Ortega, 1999. (pp.53-4) 'Miguel Ángel de Carvaggio, había ejecutado el primer acto revolucionario contra la tradición de la pintura Italiana, y en general, europea. ...Los cuadros de Caravaggio producen espanto, como los actos de un terrorista.' Whether this language is that of the modernist avant-garde or intended to have more political resonance is hard to establish. A more explicit political deployment of Velázquez is given in Pier Paolo Pasolini's 1973 play *Calderón*, (Madrid: Icaria, 1987). In the third dream episode the characters find themselves as the king and queen speaking about Spanish politics from within the mirror of Velázquez's *Las Meninas*. Pasolini employed visual references to Velázquez in his short film *Che cosa sono le nuvole?* (1967) again based on Calderón's *La Vida es Sueño*. The final scene reveals Velázquez paintings as 'pin-ups' in the cab of a rubbish collectors van.

'Velázquez would be the marvellous painter of ugliness. This means not only a change of style in painting... but also a change in the mission of art. Now it will concern itself to save the reality that is corruptible, fleeting, that bears in it self death and its own disappearance.'[137]

Challenging the aesthetic view of 'great art' Ortega emphasised that art always enchants and the eye is pleased by what it sees. Based on this he proposed that Velázquez's work marked a change in the concept of Painting. It was no longer concerned with pleasure derived from the representation of beautiful objects but simply as painting. Although the eye is repelled by what it sees it attends to the way it is painted.

Ortega's analysis looking beyond questions of style and subject matter and focusing on Painting echoes Pacheco's theories of the *Arte de la Pintura*. The following chapters examine Velázquez's works in terms of Painting. Seen from this wider perspective it is shown how he engaged not simply with issues of subject matter, aesthetics or the 'imitation of nature' but a range of intellectual disciplines and ideological concerns of the age. As regards Velázquez's relationship to the wider culture and figures such as Descartes and Richelieu, it is beyond the scope of this study to address these issues, however, a critical study of Velázquez's early works and their significance for his spectators provides a basis to consider a broader historical enquiry.

[137] Ortega, 1999. (p. 194)'Velázquez sería el pintor maravilloso de la fealdad. Esto significa no sólo un cambio de estilo en la pintura... sino un cambio de misión en el arte. Ahora se ocupará en salvar la realidad que es corruptible, fugaz, que lleva en sí la muerte y la propia desaparición.'

Chapter II

A study of art historical approaches to the *imitación del natural.*

Part i)

The historiographical review of the criticism of Velázquez paintings demonstrated how the focus on the 'naturalism' of Velázquez's Sevillian paintings isolated them from discussion of their social and cultural context. In the two recent exhibition catalogues attempts were made to examine the paintings in terms of the concepts that underpinned their making and informed their appeal to patrons. The traditional art historical approach to this issue has been first to turn to the contemporary theories of painting and related intellectual disciplines. Palomino's claim that Velázquez, following the example set by Pacheco, studied a number of texts related to different areas of painting, initiated this approach, but their relationship to Velázquez's paintings was not discussed. Instead the list of texts, given as part of his discussion of Velázquez's intellectual abilities, served to support his rhetorical construct of the artist. Implicit in Palomino's distinction between the historical Velázquez, painter of *bodegones*, and his erudite rhetorical counterpart is the difficulty faced in the discussion of the relationship of painting and theory. While Velázquez may have been knowledgeable in some of the themes listed by Palomino, following his apprenticeship to Pacheco, their significance for the discussion and criticism of his paintings is by no means clear. Since Palomino a number of authors have addressed the problematic relationship of practice and theory in the Sevillian paintings revealing a variety of approaches to this topic.

The framework for discussion of the theoretical dimensions of Velázquez's paintings has been drawn from the historiography of painting theory founded by Julius Von Schlosser's extensive survey *Die Kunstliteratur*, published in 1924.[1] The organisation of his history into the Middle Ages, the first Renaissance, the first half of the sixteenth century, Mannerism and finally the Baroque and Classicism, has been repeated in subsequent histories and most recently Moshe Barash's *Theories of Art from Plato to Winckelman.* Since Schlosser attention has been focused on closer analysis of texts in terms of their relationship to the history of ideas, and to the paintings themselves, which has led to the compartmentalisation of ideas to types of paintings at specific periods. Although Anthony Blunt's *Artistic Theory In Italy 1450-1600* examines in more detail areas addressed by Schlosser, paintings and theories are organised into a rigid framework. Such readings have recently been challenged by David Summers' whose book *The Judgment Of Sense* examines the continuity of traditions of thought that underpin both art theory and painting in general. The implications of his discussion are examined in the course of this chapter.

The approaches to the problematic relationship of theory and painting explored in the course of this chapter are related to a historiographical issue common to the histories of art theory, which is the treatment of 'naturalist' painters at the beginning of the seventeenth-century, such as Caravaggio and Velázquez, as working outside of both the stylistic categories and theoretical positions of Mannerism and its successors Classicism and the Baroque. As a result these 'naturalists' are viewed as working outside the paradigms of art theory.[2] As was seen in the last chapter emphasis was

[1] All references and quotations are taken from the Spanish translation, *La Literature Artistica*, (Madrid: Cátedra, 1993).

[2] The borders of these periods are by no means clearly distinguished in practice. John Martin's, *Baroque*, (London: Penguin, 1977) examines this issue distinguishing Mannerist and the Baroque painting in terms of expressiveness and compositional unity. However, he acknowledged that the Baroque is made up of a 'diversity of styles', which encompass Velázquez and Classicism. (26) The view explored in this

instead placed on life study as the basis of their paintings or their works was seen as an expression of a national consciousness.[3] A significant aspect of this problem is the limited selection of texts on which these views were based. In Schlosser's analysis of 'artistic literature' painting theory was one category. The subsequent emphasis on the discussion of certain philosophical ideas in treatises on painting, and their expression in painting led to a concentration on a narrower range of texts, which reveals a continuity from the eighteenth-century aesthetic criticism discussed in the last chapter. As a result painting has been generally viewed in abstract terms, and the effects of this were apparent in the discussion of Velázquez examined in the last chapter.

Part ii)

Following the examples set by texts such as Blunt's the standard approach to the discussion of the theory-painting relationship has been to examine the texts published contemporary to the paintings. Despite the existence of earlier texts, examined in the next chapter, Pacheco's text has been read as the main source for the theories of painting, which it is assumed Velázquez would have been conversant with. As pedagogical issues are a central theme in the *Arte* the focus has been on what Velázquez might have learnt as an apprentice. In the previous chapter Pacheco's advice that painters should copy the works of other painters to develop a 'buena manera' was examined. In Book I, Chapter 12, 'On the three classes of painters, that begin, progress and achieve their purpose', this custom was applied to learning techniques of

discussion is that theoretical and pictorial traditions developed in the early Renaissance were re-interpreted in the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries.

[3] The latter approach was developed in Ludovico Venturi's *History of Art Criticism*, (New York, 1936) which was based on a cultural analysis of the history of ideas examined in broad chronological periods. The Renaissance was identified in terms of humanist thought, and the Baroque period with the scientific outlook, heralded by the figure of Galileo.

composition. Such advice was by no means original and had been repeated regularly since Alberti. Cherry noted Pacheco's emphasis on the transitional nature of this practice identified with the middle stage of painters' development, and also that 'the challenge lay in disguising sources and finding less well-known ones'.[4] Juan Miguel Serrera's analysis of Velázquez's compositional borrowings from Sevillian paintings indicates that Velázquez followed this practice.[5] Hence the *Arte* provides a theoretical dimension for the art historical quest for the visual sources of Velázquez's paintings. A direct relationship of theory and practice is implied by this example, which may also be read in terms of displays of skill equalling or surpassing the work of the original.

Another theoretical reading of Velázquez's technique of composition is given in Cherry's essay 'Los *bodegones* de Velázquez y la *verdadera imitación del natural*'. He argued that the *bodegones* 'correspond strictly with classical principals of artistic representation' (such as the '*contrapposto* and variety' of the figures and the depiction of a range of emotions), '...well known through the renaissance artistic writings...'.[6] He cited Alberti and Leonardo as sources. Cherry's text situates Velázquez's paintings in terms of an established theory of painting, which would have been learnt from Pacheco. Inherent in Cherry's argument are two factors. Firstly, that there was a fundamental practical theory of painting that had been continued since the Renaissance. By situating Velázquez in a theoretical tradition Cherry implied that his work bears little relationship to the novel features of the contemporaneous theory. The second factor is that the rules of composition Cherry identified provided a framework for the application of Velázquez's life study and 'copying' of other paintings to his paintings. Both these factors challenge the view introduced in Velázquez studies by writers such as Mengs

[4] Cherry, *Velázquez in Seville*. (p.69)
[5] Juan Miguel Serrera, 'Velázquez and Sevillian painting of his time', *Velázquez in Seville*, (pp.37-43).
[6] Peter Cherry, 'Los *bodegones* de Velázquez y la *verdadera imitación del natural*', *Velázquez y Sevilla*, pp. 77-91. (pp.82-3) '... concuerde estrictamente con los principios clásicos de la reprsentación pictórica, bien conocidos a través de escritos artísticos...'

and Justi that Velázquez's work was non-theoretical, based primarily on life study and the artist's genius. Cherry implied that Velázquez's patrons would have appreciated the adherence to theoretical rules in his paintings, as much as the display of his 'study of nature' and the knowledge of works of other painters.

Critical attention to the 'established conventions of picture making', apparent in Velázquez's paintings, has also focused on the specific convention of the 'imitation of nature'. Alberti's *De Pictura*, written in 1435, provided the first theoretical discussion of this concept, which is understood as expressing a change in the concept of art that explains the changes painting underwent between the Medieval and the Renaissance periods.[7] The concept continued as an established artistic convention as indicated by Leonardo's statement that 'Art is the imitation of nature'.[8] The debates surrounding the subsequent status and significance attached to this term, examined in the course of this chapter, have been central to the discussion of the Sevillian paintings.

Contrasting senses of the 'imitation of nature' are detected in Peter Cherry and David Davies' essays on the *bodegones.* Cherry focused on its usage to describe a technical procedure, meaning the accurate representation of objects based on their study in nature. However, on the basis of a reading of three separate passages of the *Arte* consisting of citations of theoretical texts, none of which mention the term itself, Davies claimed that Pacheco described a theory of the 'imitation of nature'.

'...he [Pacheco] does not perceive painting as a literal copying of nature. Instead, the painter has to transcend nature in order to communicate his perception of it. For Pacheco, this is not copying but imitating nature. It involves not merely manual skill but especially the intellectual capacity to discern what is appropriate to the painter's vision

[7] L.B. Alberti, *On Painting*, (London: Yale University Press, 1979)
[8] Von Schlosser, 1993. (p.168)

(of nature). Therefore... painting... is an intellectual exercise whereby the painter can imitate nature and God himself as far as that it possible.'[9]

In distinction from Cherry this definition moves away from the visual dimensions of painting to consider it as a representation of ideological and intellectual concerns. Davies' analysis of the 'context and, therefore, the meaning of genre images such as Velázquez's bodegones', based on this interpretation of Pacheco's citations, is an example of the use of theoretical texts as a means to frame discussions of the social and cultural significance of paintings.[10] Davies's interest in the relationship between the intellectual and visual dimensions of the paintings and Cherry's emphasis on their painterly concerns complement one another offering various levels of meaning for the paintings.

Both Davies and Cherry focused on the *bodegones* as the genre in which Velázquez developed his 'naturalist representation', which challenged established 'methods' of painting, and they agreed that the work of Caravaggio and Ribera, known possibly through originals but more likely from copies and reputation, was a source of 'inspiration'.[11] Their comments on the role of Caravaggio reveal different senses of 'imitation of nature'. Cherry stated that through Caravaggio 'the idea of the imitation of nature certainly gained a modern and revolutionary value' an attitude Davies' essay

[9] David Davies, 'Velázquez's Bodegones', *Velázquez in Seville*, pp.51-65. (p.51). Davies' summary does not acknowledge the complexity of its theoretical basis. The citations of Pacheco (*Arte*, pp.75-6; 134; 238-44) include the following quotations. Firstly quotations from an unknown manuscript of Francisco de Medina (b.1544-1615), a Sevillian scholar, poet and teacher of whose work few examples exist. Discussion of the interests in painting identified with what Cañal has termed Seville's 'cultivated elite' is explored in the third and fourth chapter. Lomazzo's *Trattato dell'Arte della Pittura, Scultura et Architettura* (Milan: 1584), Gutiérrez de los Rios *Noticia general para la estimación de las artes y de la manera en que conocen las liberales de las que son mecánicas y serviles* (Madrid: 1599) from whom a quotation of Seneca was taken. The second citation provides four 'commonplace definitions of nature' (Bassegoda I Hugas) for which no specific source has been identified, although they are supported by a quotation from Aristotle's *Physics*. The final citation consists entirely of transcriptions of Gabriele Paleotti's *Discorso intorno alle Imagini sacre e profane* (Bologna: 1582) selected from chapters 6,7, 12, 17 and 18.

[10] Davies, *Velázquez in Seville*. (p.51)

[11] Peter Cherry, *Velázquez y Sevilla*. (p.81)

echoes. However, Davies emphasised the novelty of Caravaggio's work framing the composition of the bodegones in terms of 'the intense and uncompromising realism of the Caravaggesque idiom' not the imitation of nature itself. The Caravaggesque method of painting is contrasted by Cherry to Pacheco's 'idealist methods'. Davies likewise employed this dualism, confronting the new 'pictorial perception' to the 'idealised images of the classical tradition', but the important distinction is that his two terms are in fact mediated by his concept of the 'imitation of nature'; they are different 'idioms' of a visual language. The following discussion explores other theoretical paradigms that may have informed Velázquez's 'idiom'.

The distinction of Velázquez and Caravaggio from idealist methods and images has been another source of the view that their work was non-theoretical. Pacheco's painting is typically identified as an example of the 'classical idealist' school, and implicit in this is the association of his paintings with mannerist theories of painting, which are understood, as antithetical to a 'naturalist' style.[12] Palomino's view that Velázquez learnt little of practical painting from Pacheco has since been rewritten to imply that Velázquez's work bears no relation to mannerist theory and Palomino's comment that Pacheco's erudition assisted the young Velázquez was overlooked. The radical departure of Velázquez's work is viewed as a rejection of mannerist theorisation considered as inherent to a certain style of painting. Underpinning this reading is the intention to map styles and theories into a chronological development.

Alternative readings of Velázquez's relationship to Pacheco and Mannerist theory have been proposed. Barry Wind considered the *Arte* as a document for Velázquez's education and identified Pacheco's discussion of the study of nature and 'relief' as indicating an eclecticism in Pacheco's theory of art. Although this questioned

[12] The problematic nature of these three terms is addressed below. 'Idealism' is a term derived from Bellori's theoretical formulation of the 'ideal' and applied to the Caracci, whose painting is classified as 'Classicist'. Bellori termed the followers of Caravaggio 'naturalisti'.

the rigid categorisation of styles and theory, the problematic status of the *Arte* as a model of Velázquez's education and an expression of Pacheco's teaching was not addressed. In the last chapter it was described as a 'summa' of Painting theory comprising various theoretical positions, but the mannerist interpretation of Pacheco predominated.

Pacheco's erudition led Fernando Marías and Agustín Bustamente to identify Zuccari's *L'Idea dei pittori, scultori et architetti* (Turin: 1607) as 'fundamental to his thought' although no mention is made to this text in the *Arte*.[13] On this assumption Marías and Bustamente proposed Zuccari's *Idea...* as a source for Velázquez's 'naturalism', although they acknowledged that Zuccari is normally considered the 'mas rabioso de los manierismos subjectivistas'. In order to support their thesis that Velázquez responded to the most notable contemporary artists and ideas they cited recent re-readings of his theory, and argued that Zuccari 'raised anew the renaissance interest for the imitation of nature in its entirety'.[14] Thus Zuccari had the same status for Marías and Bustamente, as Caravaggio did for Cherry. The contrast of these two contemporaries is examined in more detail below as an example of the problematic relationship of theory and practice, once the claim for a lapse of interest in the 'imitation of nature' has been examined.

Following the accepted view that mannerist theory placed an emphasis on intellectual ideas in painting Gallego identified Pacheco's 'idealism' as the source for

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[13] Fernando Marías and Agustín Bustamente, 'Entre práctica y teoría: la formación de Velázquez en Sevilla', *Velázquez y Sevilla*, pp. 141-157. (p. 148) 'En ultimo lugar, *L'Idea de' pittori, sucltori et architetti* (Turin, 1607) de Federico Zuccaro, que se convertía por lot tanto en cimiento teórico de primerísima importancia para Velázquez. ....[y] fundamental para el pensamiento de Vicente Carducho y del propio Pacheco.' Bassegoda i Hugas commented on the absence of any reference to Zuccari by Pacheco in his introduction to the *Arte* (p.34). He suggested that Pacheco would have 'gained little and understood even less' of Zuccari's text.

[14] Marias & Bustamente, *Velázquez y Sevilla*. (p. 150) 'Federico Zuccaro plantea de nuevo el interés renacentista por la imitación de la naturaleza...'. The re-readings of Zuccari they cited are: M. Hochman, 'Les annótations marginales de Federico Zuccaro à une exemplaire des Vies de Vasari, la réaction anti-varisienne à al fin du XVIe siècle', *Revue de l'Art*, 80, 1988 ; G. Perini, *Gli Scritti del Carraci. Ludovico, Annibale, Agostino, Anotnio, Giovanni Antonio*, (Bologna, 1990)

concealed allegory in Velázquez' *bodegones*. His aim, discussed in the last chapter, was to counter the view that 'naturalism' was simply an empirical representation. In contrast to Gallego's allegorical interpretations of the *bodegones* Davies' theory of the 'imitation of nature', discussed above, provides a subtler methodological approach to the question of meaning in Velázquez's work, although the sources from which he derived his reading of the 'imitation of the natural', which have been classed by some art-historians as mannerist, were not commented on.

Davies' formulation of the 'imitation of nature' was based on the view that painting theory was informed by the religious culture of the seventeenth-century Seville. Approaches that can be taken to situate painting in terms of a wider context are an underlying concern of this chapter. Gallego's association of Velázquez's work with the *Spiritual Exercises* was an example of Venturi's methodology to explain changes in painting styles in terms of the emergence of new ideas. Subsequent research by Terence O'Reilly has marked a consolidation of Gallego's identification of painting with religious meditation. Ronald Cueto has demonstrated that painting needs to be considered in terms of the complexity of religious culture as well as classicism and science.[15] The problematic task of addressing both the religious and the secular was undertaken in Gridley Mckim-Smith's 'La técnica Sevillana de Velázquez'.[16] She examined painting theory's use of rhetorical terms, and how these informed painters' use of printed images as compositional models. Engaging with texts, normally considered as bearing little relationship to the emergence of 'naturalist' painting, her essay situated Velázquez's technique of painting in a wider ideological context.

[15] Ronald Cueto, 'The Great Babylon of Spain and the Devout: Politics, Religion and Piety in the Seville of Velázquez', *Velázquez in Seville*, pp. 29-33.
[16] *Velázquez y Sevilla*, pp. 109-23.

Attention to the religious paintings is important as it shifts the discussion of Velázquez's imitation of nature away from the *bodegones* to the genre of the *istoria*.[17] The latter was the focus of the theoretical discussion of the 'imitation of nature'. Caravaggio's fame was based on his religious *istoria*. Two facts that are consistently overlooked when he has been cited as a source for Velázquez's *bodegones*. The primary focus of this chapter is upon this genre, but it provides the basis for discussion of its relationship to Velázquez's *bodegones* and portraits.

Part iii)

The 1924 publication of Von Schlosser's *La Literatura Artistica* coincided with another art historical landmark Erwin Panofsky's *Idea: A Concept in Art Theory*. Panofsky's text undertook a more specific task than his Viennese counterpart's history which was 'to trace the history of the Platonic idea', particularly the idea of the beautiful, in theoretical discussions of painting. As a result many of the texts examined by the former are not mentioned, but an interesting exception is that Pacheco's *Arte* was examined in more detail by Panofsky and this is the rule for all the texts he examined. More significantly Panofsky's discussion of renaissance and mannerist texts shaped subsequent readings of the texts he selected.

Its concluding discussion of the emergence of the term the 'ideal' in the Classicist criticism of Bellori should not be overlooked. His interest in Bellori's text was as a turning point in the history of philosophy, 'the program of "idealistic

[17] John Spencer's introduction to Alberti's *On Painting* acknowledges that 'no present day verbal equivalent exists' for this term but describes it as a figurative painting which used 'human gesture to project and portray emotions' and were built around both antique and Christian themes. Alberti, 1979. (p.23-28)

aesthetics" was determined as we understand it' he argued.[18] Despite making his interests explicit, and expressly advising caution to his readers in the 1959 edition, subsequent readings have tended to ignore the fact that Panofsky's text offers an analysis of artistic treatises from one philosophical perspective, the history of the Platonic theory of ideas, with the aim to explore the 'pre-history' of modern aesthetics. David Summers' introduction to *The Judgement of Sense* offers the following criticism of this development:

'... Its' reading shaped by the assumption that there was a single "Renaissance mind", has helped to establish Neo-Platonism as the philosophical language of Renaissance art in the terms of which it is properly apprehended critically, and in terms of which its essential intentions must be supposed to have been set. This view has also been supplemented by the argument that the pervasive tradition of allegory is a fundamentally Platonic tradition.'[19]

Summers final point was illustrated in Gallego's discussion of symbolic content in Velázquez's *bodegones*. The discussion of beauty is prioritised in Panofsky's text and it has led to the view that it was the primary concern of theory; on this basis theoretical texts that appear to ignore beauty are classed as of secondary interest. In the discussion that follows other theoretical criteria are considered, amongst which beauty numbered, but was not exclusive.

Summers acknowledged that Panofsky 'for the most part plots the history of the Aristotelian idea of the mental conception governing artistic activity'.[20] Apart from his discussion of Lomazzo Panofsky stressed the distance of the renaissance and mannerist

[18] E. Panofsky, *Idea: A Concept in Art Theory*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1968) (p.109)
[19] David Summers, *The Judgement of Sense*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) (p.1)
[20] Summers, 1987. (p.1)

treatises he examined from Neo-Platonic ideas. Thus Summers' efforts to turn attention to the neglected Aristotelian 'traditions of meaning', which he says '...shaped the art of the period at its deepest levels, at the level of its naturalism, of its composition and expressiveness, and of the articulation of the judgements concomitant to its actual execution. ...', in certain ways complements Panofsky's text.[21] An examination of Panofsky and Summers' texts provides a basis to gauge the problematic relationship of painting and theory and develop approaches to further the discussion of the theoretical basis of Velázquez's paintings signalled above.

However, it is the distinctions, rather than similarities, between these authors that are relevant for the analysis to be undertaken in this chapter. In contrast to Panofsky's analysis directed towards the emergence of idealist aesthetics Summers was concerned with another area of the pre-history of aesthetic discourse: the development of a framework in which subjective judgments were made about paintings, and, more specifically the concept of taste. As with Panofsky's text, this macro-historical interest needs to be kept in mind, especially as unlike Panofsky Summers eschewed a single historical narrative. Instead he traced '...the history of different facets of... the particular intellect, made up of the inner senses, which... included the fantasy, common sense, the faculties of estimation and cogitation, and memory.' *The Judgement of Sense* presents a 'mosaic' of separate histories of texts, ideas and theories, which as his text progresses the final discussions, draw on developing his wider concerns. An advantage of this approach is that it enables a range of criteria and ideas to be brought to bear on painting.

Underpinning Summers' methodological approach is the following historiographical critique concerning the relationship of ideas to historical events:

[21] Summers, 1987. (p.2)

'If ideas were passed along over many centuries, why did they only shape historical events at a certain time? This question is often asked, and it betrays a kind of *zeitgeist* thinking, an assumption that at any time all parts of a section taken through the flow of history are somehow unified, that because both art and ideas express "the spirit of the age" they are deeply reflective of one another. A major burden of this enterprise is to demonstrate that such a view is false, and that it must falsify our view of how both art and ideas work in history. It may or may not be possible to characterise the choices made at any time as in some way typical of that time. But it is not possible to simplify the context of choice itself. The idea that everything occurs at a given time somehow expresses a transcendent unity also conceals the connections between choice and its precedent conditions.'[22]

The opening discussion of this chapter highlighted the problems faced by classifications such as mannerism, and when theories are correlated with their contemporaneous forms of painting. Instead, following Summers' critique, emphasis should be placed on the longevity of ideas and that the relationship between art and thought is not a straightforward case of mutual expression. Before exploring Summers' analysis further, and to better appreciate his methodology a review of the historical model he criticised needs to be examined. As Panofsky's text is held responsible for the '*zeitgeist thinking*' it provides the starting point. It is also a secure foundation to examine in more detail the readings of art theory applied to the work of Velázquez and to go on to explore a wider group of concepts.

[22] Summers, 1987. (p.20)

Part iv)

'In contrast to Medieval thought the theoretical and historical literature about art of the Italian Renaissance emphasized... that the task of art is the direct imitation of reality.'[23]

Panofsky's opening comments signal one of the most important changes introduced to the theoretical discussion of art by renaissance writers led by Alberti, which is considered as expressing the ideas of the contemporary Italian artists, and thus as an explanation of the changes that can be noted in the appearance of painting during the fifteenth-century. Blunt identified Alberti's comments as 'naturalism' and 'realism'. However, 'verisimilitude', the term used by Panofsky, provides a more objective sense to frame what he calls an 'idea of "imitation"'.[24] Although the discussion of this 'idea' was not Panofsky's chief interest his text discusses the values attached to it and how it was related to the wider intellectual culture.

'The laws of perspective and of anatomy' were viewed as guarantors of renaissance verisimilitude, and as a basis for the second principle of renaissance art theory, the improvement of nature. Panofsky focused on this aesthetic dimension, theorised alongside verisimilitude, which demanded that the painter had to rise above nature, to represent beauty. Of the two methods employed by the painters, the use of 'phantasy' and the choice of 'the most beautiful from the multitude of natural objects', the latter played a more important role in the renaissance theories.

Panofsky considered the possible relationships of these theories to Neo-Platonic 'ideas' of beauty. Although Alberti's use of the term the 'idea of beauty' indicates his proximity to the thought of Marsilio Ficino Panofsky drew attention to the fact that

[23] Panofsky, 1968. (p.47)
[24] Panofsky, 1968. (p.48)

beyond the use of the terminology the philosophy itself is absent, as the emphasis on the 'imitation of nature' limited the possible role of the metaphysical idea. Panofsky characterised Alberti's 'idea' as 'the mental image of a beauty that surpasses nature'. Developed from the emphasis of the 'idea of beauty' was the view that paintings that did not improve nature were non-theoretical, and did not involve thought. However this was by no means clear as is apparent in the second theorist examined by Panofsky.

According to Panofsky Vasari's contribution to the development of this concept of art theory led away from the emphasis on beauty to theorise the intellectual engagement of painting. While Alberti's 'idea' was 'dependent on experience' Vasari's 'originated in experience' and this broke any remaining link to the original metaphysical theory. Panofsky described Vasari's 'idea' as the 'observation of reality, only clarified and made more universally valid by the mental act of choosing the individual from the many and combining the individual choices into a new whole'.[25] Although Vasari's explicitly *a posteriori* idea was concerned with the selection of details, and hence the improvement of nature Panofsky proposed that it had a much more general sense, derived from medieval notions of the 'idea'. It 'designates every notion that, conceived in the artist's mind, precedes the depiction'.[26] In this much wider framework the consideration of painting's engagement with a range of intellectual ideas or concerns becomes possible. Furthermore, it implies that the idea of imitation was not necessarily considered as a lesser concept. Panofsky concluded that the two senses of the 'idea' were not kept clearly separated and Vasari's second broader 'idea', which 'came to predominate in the late sixteenth-century', often included the first. It may be concluded from this that Panofsky did not view these ideas as supplanting one another, and instead

[25] Panofsky, 1968. (p.66)
[26] Panofsky, 1968. (p.66)

entertained a much longer term view of ideas, which he clearly stated in the introduction to his discussion of mannerist theory.

A difficulty facing the discussion of mannerist painting and theory signalled by Panofsky was that 'it was simultaneously revolutionary and traditional, that it inclined both to particularise and to unify all the existing artistic impulses.'[27] As such he noted the reiteration of the 'thoughts and demands' of Alberti and Leonardo, which 'still formed the foundation of the entire system of art theory.'[28] He argued that the continuity of the imitation and perfection of nature can be detected, but approaches to these underwent change such as the rejection of the mathematical basis for the 'imitation of nature', especially the theories of proportion, on the one hand, and on the other a greater emphasis on surpassing the natural appearance of objects. It is this second aspect, which is the emphasis of Panofsky's text, and has led to the definition of mannerist theory as being opposed to the 'imitation of nature'.

Panofsky's introductory overview of mannerist theory and painting makes clear the focus of his discussion. He identified three 'stylistic currents' developed from the various regional schools which had 'their natural reflection' or correspondence to three theoretical developments.[29] A 'moderate trend' that continued the 'classic style' from the precedent of Raphael and at the theoretical level the theories of Alberti and Leonardo. In contrast he identified two 'comparatively extreme' trends. Firstly, Coreggio and other north Italian artists, with whom he connected the writings of Paolo Pini, Ludovico Dolce and Giovanni Battista Armenini. Secondly, '"Mannerism" in the narrower sense of the word' of Parmigiano, Pontormo, Rosso and Bronzino amongst

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[27] Panofsky, 1968. (p.71)

[28] Panofsky, 1968 (p.72). In his introduction to *Dolce's "Aretino" and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquencento*,(New York: 1988) Mark Roskill commented that Alberti served as a 'practical handbook' (p.15) during the sixteenth century, which also suggests an explanation for Cherry's identification of Albertian formal criteria in Velázquez's *bodegones*.

[29] Panofsky acknowledges his debt to W. Friedlander's, *Mannerism and Anti-Mannerism in Italian Painting*, (New York, 1957) for this structure. Panofsky, 1968 (pp.71-3(fn.1), 219,).

others whose work was represented by the theories that systematised and transformed the theory of ideas, essentially Zuccari and Lomazzo. It was the last of the three that he examined. The analysis of Summers and Blunt, in different ways, engaged more closely with this complexity of late sixteenth century painting and theory, to which Panofsky also added two further dimensions discussed below.

Panofsky's examination of the 'systematic elaboration and rearrangement of the theory of Ideas' apparent in the writing of Zuccari, whose treatise is described as an example of 'the Aristotelian-Scholastic trend in the now speculative art theory', reveals a new 'idea of "imitation"'.[30] Panofsky's discussion distinguishes Zuccari's theory as an analysis of the possibility of artistic representation, and argues he remained faithful to the Thomistic interpretation of the theory of ideas.

He offered the following reading of Zuccari's *L'Idea de'pittori, scultori ed architetti*. The foundation of Zuccari's theory is that the image produced by the painter has to exist as a concept beforehand in the mind of the artist, revealing the continuation of the broader Vasarian notion of the idea. The mental image termed *disegno interno* or 'idea' provides the basis for visual representation, the *disegno esterno*. The inner idea is 'completely independent' of the exterior, and is dependent on the artist's intellectual faculties. In contrast to the renaissance concepts Panofsky noted that Zuccari's theory of intellect is based on man's affinity with God and the ability to emulate the creation, for which he drew on St. Thomas Aquinas *Summa Theologica*. Zuccaro stated that:

'...with this design, almost imitating God and vying with nature, he [the painter] could produce an infinite number of artificial things resembling natural ones, and by means of painting and sculpture make new paradises visible on earth.' [31]

[30] Panofsky, 1968 (pp.85-93).
[31] Panofsky, 1968. (p.88)

The divine imagination, encompassing all existence in one 'design', was distinguished from the human mind which formed distinct 'designs' depending on what was 'conceived'. Furthermore the human mind was based on the senses. However, unlike Alberti and Vasari's theories based on the observation of nature Zuccari's description of the artistic process emphasised that the idea activated sensory perception, and therefore, the work of art itself. Panofsky stated that '...the senses are only called upon...to assist in the clarification and enlivening of those original inner notions.'[32] It is this comment that suggests that the renaissance 'imitation of nature', painting based on life study, was discredited.

Although Panofsky's reading of Zuccari draws attention to the limited role of the senses in the formation of the idea, it also reveals that Zuccari 'carried' the idea of the imitation of nature 'as far as possible':

'Here is the true, proper, and universal aim of painting: to be the imitator of Nature and of all artefacts, *so that it deludes and tricks the eyes of men, even the greatest experts.* In addition it expresses in gestures, motions, the movements of life, eyes, mouth, and hands, so much of life and truth that it discloses the inner passions... in sum all human actions and emotions.'[33]

The call to trick the 'eyes of men' Panofsky termed *trompe l'oeil* which recalls Pacheco's criteria that figures in *bodegones* should appear as lifelike, and his discussion of Caravaggio and Ribera. Panofsky's association of Zuccari with painters such as Rossi seems unusual in this regard, and Summers has identified his theory with the work of

[32] Panofsky, 1968. (p.90)
[33] Panofsky, 1968. (p.93)

Caravaggio. The apparent confusion of 'attributions' is an example of the difficulty of identifying texts and theories, especially at such a philosophical level. An examination of Summers' arguments for Zuccari as a theory of a caravaggesque naturalism provide an opportunity to evaluate readings of theories in terms of painting styles and to orientate an approach for an engagement with a wider range of texts to be applied to Velázquez.[34]

Part v)

Zuccari's comments suggesting his theoretical approval of the 'imitation of nature' have provided the basis for Summers' re-reading of his treatise. His detailed analysis of Zuccari's text, challenging Panofsky's analysis and its critical legacy, claims that it constitutes 'a culminating and a transforming statement of Renaissance art theory'.[35] It is a revealing distinction that Panofsky viewed Zuccari and mannerist theory as preparing 'the way for the High Baroque and "Classicism"'.[36] Two methodological approaches to the chronological organisation of stylistic development into schools and periods are apparent. Panofsky employed a traditional structure, which Summers rejected for the methodological reasons described earlier. The different terminology they used to describe painting make these distinctions more apparent.

Summers' discussion of Zuccari, dominating his penultimate chapter, brings together many of the themes of his study of the traditions of Aristotelian philosophy and renaissance faculty psychology. The central thesis of his book that these traditions,

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[34] Panofsky, 1968. (p.95)
[35] Summers, 1987 (383). Summers cited the following texts as continuing the 'panofskyian' analysis: W. Friedlander, 'The Academician and the Bohemian: Zuccari and Caravaggio'. *GBA*, 6 ser., 33, 1948, pp.27-36. A. Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy. 1450-1600*, (Oxford 1940) (p.142); M. Barash, *Theories of Art from Plato to Winckelman* (New York, 1985) (pp.295-303).
[36] Panofsky, 1968. (p.71)

which prioritised the senses as a source of knowledge, were the basis of the 'emergence of naturalism' in the renaissance period is reviewed in an analysis of Zuccari's theory.[37] Summers employs 'naturalism', in a general ahistorical sense: '...a kind of imitation... in which the artificial analogue is a virtual relationship of light, dark and colour determined at least in principle by optics....'[38] For Summers 'naturalism' imitates an object as determined by its appearance as a visual phenomenon. Underpinning his definition, intended to describe the changes noted in painting during the 'late Middle Ages' in Italy that became renaissance painting, Summers identified the development of one point perspective and the use of modelling to show the effects of light and shade. In the course of his book he explored the relationship between what may be termed traditions of philosophical 'naturalism' found in treatises on painting and his broad definition of artistic 'naturalism', which encompasses all the art of the period including Zuccari. However, he did not engage with the theories of the 'improvement of nature', nor the changes in appearance of the art from different locations and periods.

In contrast Panofsky employed the term 'Naturalism' and 'Naturalists' in a historical sense to refer to the paintings of Caravaggio, and his followers, in late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Rome.[39] The phrase 'naturalistic trend' was applied to the work of Caravaggio and the ceramicist Bernard Palissy. In terms of Panofsky's analysis Summers' 'naturalism' would correspond with the discussion of the 'imitation of nature' as verisimilitude. The focus of Summers' text on the 'the history of a part of the Western traditions of psychological speculation and its relation to the language of art' may explain why he did not engage explicitly with the term the 'imitation of nature', or the emergence of the term 'naturalism' itself. But their absence

[37] Summers, 1987. (p9)
[38] Summers, 1987. (p.3) He defined imitation as '...art that makes artificial analogues of things' and realism as 'at base a category of subject matter, and refers to art having a concrete historical reference or apparent concrete historical reference.'
[39] Panofsky, 1968. (p.94)

contrasts with his claim that his book '... is mostly about the language of Renaissance art and its formation in the periods preceding the Renaissance...'[40] Although Summers' exploration of 'naturalism' complements Panofsky's *Idea*, by providing a general framework to understand its account of the development of the 'idea of "imitation"', his re-reading of Zuccari reveals his general definition as problematic.

Panofsky's analysis is called in to question, by Summers, on two counts. Firstly, its emphasis on the idea over nature, and secondly, its description of Zuccari as '"chief spokesman" for the Mannerist "protest against rules"'.[41] In regard to the first Summers examined the Aristotelian basis of Zuccari's description of *disegno interno*. His main aim was to argue against the association of Zuccari with the Platonic theory of ideas which less 'cautious' readers of Panofsky's *Idea* have proposed. Summers made explicit the role of the senses in Zuccari's description of the formation of the idea, and in contrast to Panofsky, he argued that Zuccari's 'idea' is formed through the senses. He supports this position with reference to Zuccari's description of the intellect, as a *tabula rasa*, based on Aristotle's *De Anima*, and then with a more detailed analysis of Zuccari's references to faculty psychology.

It is not the aim of this discussion to settle the dispute in favour of Panofsky or Summers through a further re-reading of Zuccari. Instead a close reading of Summers' own text reveals that although Zuccari's theoretical 'arguments justify an intense naturalism' and that he 'may be compared to Caravaggio, who united naturalism and realism with a force far surpassing anything in earlier painting' this issue is more complex.[42] What emerges from Summers account is that beauty was not the chief concern in the discussion of painting.

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[40] Summers, 1987. (p.28)
[41] Summers, 1987. (p.284)
[42] Summers, 1987. (p.287) Denis Mahon's chapter 'Art theory in the newly-founded Accademia di San Lucca, with special reference to "Academic" criticism of Caravaggio' in *Studies in Seicento Art and*

Summers claimed that Zuccari read the 'Aristotelian dictum, that art imitates nature' not 'superficially... to mean that art imitates the appearance of things' but that 'nature is imitable by art'.[43] He cited Zuccari's description of nature as 'ordered by an intellective principle', which due to the rational basis of 'design' can be imitated. Summers pointed out that Zuccari's concern in this passage is pedagogical, which relates to the second of Panofsky's claims he criticised: that Zuccari countered the Renaissance rules of art. While Zuccari's critical attitudes to the theories of proportion make apparent his distance from this element of renaissance painting theory, Summers' analysis of his pedagogical concerns reveals Zuccari continued the two fundamental principles of renaissance art set out by Panofsky. Summer's main argument for Zuccari's theory being a model for 'naturalist' painting returns to his rational view of nature and that all its bodies have proportion. Zuccari rejected the need of books on proportion, which provided the basis for Panofsky's comment on Zuccari's antipathy to the renaissance rules. Summers identified this as an example of Zuccari's 'naturalism':

'The simple point of this argument is that if nature makes everything proportionately, then the things of nature may simply be painted.'[44]

Summers argued that 'nature replaces theory as a norm... the appearance of nature replaces the intelligible order of nature as a norm.'[45] The possibility of Summers' re-reading of Zuccari's intellectual model for understanding nature derives from Zuccari's

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Theory examines the Zuccari's negative opinion of Caravaggio as recorded in Baglione's *Le vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti* (Rome: 1642). Although his criticism is mild Mahon questions the objectivity of Baglione.

[43] Summers, 1987. (p.294)

[44] Summers, 1987. (p.306)

[45] Summers, 1987. (p.306)

authorial concerns, as philosopher, painter and academician.[46] Panofsky had focused on the first, and Summers concentrated on all three.

Another view of this difficulty with Summers' text arises in his response to Zuccari's emphasis on painting as giving 'figures such spirit and vividness that they seem living and true.'[47] Summers argued that Zuccari's theory gave 'design' a universal significance and his specific definition of painting emphasised 'colouring, lighting and shading' which 'reminded' Summers 'more of Caravaggio than of Michelangelo or Raphael'.[48] The identification of Zuccari's definition with a particular painter is by no means clear and a closer examination of this definition in the light of Zuccari's pedagogical ideas is revealing.

The confusion of Summers term 'naturalism' becomes more apparent in his discussion of Zuccari's specific pedagogical principles:

'Zuccari dismisses artists simply dependent on models, whether these models are natural or artificial. ... There are two kind of artists those produced by nature and those refined by study.'

The distinction of two classes of artists was common in treatises on painting. It served to encourage study of the masters, and also the improvement of nature as is apparent in Zuccari's description of the second type of painter who 'will continuously perfect his work.'[49] The basis for this perfection was study and practice. Zuccari's list of 'things that the painter must know' is also cited which included 'the proportions of figures in order that shortcomings in nature may be corrected'. The renaissance aesthetic principle

[46] Denis Mahon has described the Accademia di San Luca in Rome as 'virtually founded' by Zuccari.
[47] Summers, 1987. (p.298)
[48] Summers, 1987. (p.298)
[49] Summers, 1987. (p.307)

is clearly continued.[50] Summers framed Zuccari's list as spoken by the '*principe dell'accademia*', distinguishing him from Zuccari the philosopher. However, the improvement of nature also arises in Zuccari's description of the process of the physical inscription of the *disegno interno* first as a drawing, and then as painting. Summers described the process in terms of a gradual clarification of the image through drawings and finally painting which 'dresses, ornaments and perfects' the mental image. Zuccari's adherence to the tradition of improving nature is more than apparent, but Summers did not comment on it. Returning to Zuccari's definition of painting, which reminded Summers of Caravaggio, the aesthetic dimension of painting again features:

'Painting... is a practical science, or art, that with singular artifice and artful operation imitates and copies nature...'[51]

As has been commented Summers employed an ahistorical terminology, although he was well aware of the special significance of the term 'imitate' when contrasted to 'copy'. The contrast of these two terms signals a specific debate that arose in the mid-sixteenth century concerning the two renaissance principles examined so far.

Before examining examples of these debates it is necessary to consider the significance of these two responses to Zuccari's treatises for an understanding of the relationship of painting to theory. As a result of Panofsky's specific task his reading of theory emphasised the continuation of the renaissance principle of the selection and improvement of nature, while Summers attempting to redress this emphasis focused on painting's foundations in the 'imitation of nature'. Each view was brought to the fore in

[50] Panofsky claimed Zuccari did not discuss beauty, but this is primarily as he did not discuss beauty in the terms that concerned Panofsky. It is Lomazzo's writing with its 'Neo-Platonic orientation', which he examined.
[51] Summers, 1987 (p.299).

their discussion of Zuccari. What has been shown from these readings of painting theory is that the 'imitation of nature' continued throughout the sixteenth-century, although combined with various conceptual dimensions. In order to engage with Velázquez the following sections undertake an analysis of the relationship between the 'imitation of nature' and concepts applied to the *istoria*, and then to other genres. A focus is first developed on early seventeenth-century discussion of Caravaggio's *istoria*, which indicates responses to the 'imitation of nature' and verisimilitude. With regard to beauty and the 'perfection of nature' Schlosser advertised the need for caution when discussing mannerist references as its use and significance is by no means fixed. Mark Roskill's introduction to Ludovico Dolce's *Aretino* indicates this range of significance.[52] He referred to beauty in three senses, formal, aesthetic and ethical. The first refers to the composition of painting such as the use of perspective or the internal organisation of the objects represented.[53] The second is the focus of Panofsky's essay, the representation of perfected forms of nature. The use of classical sculpture was one paradigm of this beauty. Finally the ethical concept refers to painting as a representation of moral values, which is examined in more detail below. Roskill's model indicates painting should be considered in terms of a more complex and interrelated range of ideas, rather than the dualism of nature or beauty that has tended to dominate the discussion of Velázquez.

[52] Roskill, 1968. (p.24)

[53] James Elkins' *The Poetics of Perspective* (New York: Cornell University, 1994) explores the variety of methods of perspective and how these were often employed creatively rather than as a fixed system for visual representation, providing an example of a crossover between a formal and aesthetic concept of beauty.

Part vi)

The first of Panofsky's two acknowledgements of the limitations of his model of mannerist art and theory, referred to earlier, concerned Caravaggio:

'This complicated state of affairs is in reality even more complicated, for the naturalistic trend, which ushered in the High Baroque and which according to earlier art historians, suddenly burst forth in all purity in the works of Caravaggio actually appeared neither pure nor unprepared.'[54]

The aim of the rest of this chapter is to consider the implications of the complexity he passed over, for which an analysis of the criticism of Caravaggio provides the first stage. Panofsky's focus on Zuccari and Lomazzo was based on his reading of mannerist art as characterised by an 'internal dualism', which he traced to the theoretical recognition of contradictions in the renaissance's parallel theory of the imitation and improvement of nature. He cited Vicenzo Danti *Il primo libro del trattato delle perfette proporzioni* (Florence: 1567), which he claimed shifted the emphasis from carrying out both activities to the possibility of either one or the other,. Danti expressed it in terms of two methods of painting:

'By the term *ritrarre*, I mean to make something exactly as another thing is seen to be and by *imitare* I similarly understand that it is to make a thing not only as another has

[54] Panofsky, 1968. (p.72)

seen the thing to be (when that thing is imperfect) but to make it as it would have to be in order to be of complete perfection'[55]

Danti went on to identify each with certain applications. The former was to be employed for objects that were perfect or not requiring embellishment. In *Michelangelo and the Language of Art* David Summers summarised Danti's 'imitation' [*imitare*] as 'a kind of reality perfected by art', which was essentially privileged over the former.[56] Danti's theory, in its basic form, argued for an aesthetic concept of beauty. Similar views, emphasising 'imitation', were echoed by Armenini, Borghini, Gilio and Lomazzo. Panofsky argued these theories of 'imitation' were based on the formation of mental images along the lines of the Vasarian *Concetto*. His examination of Zuccari may be read as a further theoretical development of 'imitation'. The criticism of Caravaggio, who was identified in terms of 'portrayal' [*ritrarre*], reveals this dualism of mannerist thought, however, it also reveals the complexity signalled by Panofsky. An examination of this criticism reveals that painting was discussed with a range of concepts, which included the 'imitation and perfection of nature'.

Giovanni Bellori (1615-1696) provides a valuable point of departure for an analysis of the early criticism of Caravaggio. It was with an analysis of Bellori's theory of the ideal that Panofsky concluded his history. Bellori's discussion has framed how Caravaggio has been considered, and provided the foundations for the eighteenth-century art criticism that was applied to Velázquez. Critics have tended to read Bellori in terms of the dualist model of art theory, but a closer reading indicates a more complex critical model. His comments on Caravaggio are concentrated in the biography he wrote, although, he also addressed Caravaggio in his theoretical introduction to his

[55] David Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art*, (Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1981). (p.279)
[56] Summers, 1981. (p.279)

'Lives of the modern painters, sculptors and architects' published in 1672. In 'The Idea of the Painter, Sculptor and Architect, Superior by selection from Natural Beauties' Caravaggio is employed as a contrast to Annibale Carracci. In the last of these sections Caravaggio exemplifies Danti's notion of 'portrayal'. Arpino who is criticised for ignoring nature, exemplifies 'imitation'. Bellori described Carracci as providing a balance between the two, continuing the renaissance principle of combining nature and beauty, although in terms of the 'ideal'.

The life of Caravaggio provides a more detailed engagement with his art. Having compared him to Demetrius for his eagerness 'to render the likeness of things', rather than 'imitating them for their beauty', Bellori stated that, 'he recognised no other master than the model and did not select the best forms of nature but emulated art – astonishingly enough – without art.'[57] The origins of the later developments of eighteenth-century painting criticism are clearly illustrated. Bellori explained away his astonishment at Caravaggio's 'art' in terms of 'genius', 'suo propio genio'.[58] The significance of this term may be gleaned from the text. Caravaggio's art was based not on the use of the intellect, but as somehow inherent to his character, as is implied in Bellori's physiognomic description. Zuccari's category of painters who rely on their natural abilities offers another sense to understand this. A further sense of 'genius' is apparent in the view that Caravaggio's art was based simply on nature and involved no use of the intellect. 'The moment the model was taken away his eyes his hand and his imagination remained empty'. Bellori's 'superior' theory of art argued for the combined use of an idea to mediate the study of nature.

[57] G.P. Bellori, *Le vite de' Pittori, Sucltori et Architetti moderni* (Rome : 1672). References to his life of Caravaggio and its translation are to the appendix in W. Friedlander's *Caravaggio Studies*, 1955 pp.237-54. (p.245)
[58] *Caravaggio Studies*, 1955. (p.238)

One dimension of Bellori's text was to present Caravaggio as a foil for his theory, which is apparent in a further example of Caravaggio's genius, his rejection of the 'concepts of art'. The contempt Caravaggio apparently showed for classical sculpture and Raphael marks his distance from Bellori's theory and the art of the Caracci. However, Bellori's theory of genius becomes problematic when he argued, '...the best elements of art were not in him; he possessed neither invention, nor decorum, nor design, nor any knowledge of the science of painting'.[59] These 'elements' were the foundations of the *istoria*. Prior to this comment Bellori had described at length a number of Caravaggio's religious *istoria*. Caravaggio's 'fame' expressed through the appreciation of these paintings, apart from three exceptions, by noble and ecclesiastical patrons, is a central theme of the text. The identification of the *istoria* with an aesthetic concept of beauty explains this contradiction. However, it may be argued that these 'elements' of painting provided the basis for a range of ideas, 'formal' and 'ethical' as well as 'aesthetic'to be engaged with. In this way Caravaggio's painting may be viewed as more than the unintellectual work of genius.

It is important to note that Bellori praised Caravaggio, acknowledging that he 'advanced the art of painting because he came upon the scene at a time when realism was not much in fashion and when figures were made according to convention and manner and satisfied more the taste for gracefulness than for truth.' Although Danti's dualism underpins this praise Bellori's approval of Caravaggio was derived from two further qualifications. Firstly, he was a painter of *istoria*. Bellori viewed genre painting as 'uninventive, unintellectual, completely subject to the natural model, and satisfied with the unselective reproduction of things as they appeared to the senses, no matter how faulty this appearance might be...'.[60] He also noted that Pieter van Laer (1599-

[59] *Caravaggio Studies*, 1955. (p.252)
[60] Panofsky, 1968. (p.104)

1642) was considered worse than Caravaggio. His popular name Bamboccio, referred to the genre of low life painting, mentioned in the last chapter, he is held to have originated.[61] Secondly, Caravaggio's work was restrained in comparison with the 'artists who began to look enthusiastically for filth and deformity'. While Bellori noted the presence of rust on the armour of the helmeted soldier in the *Taking of Christ in the Garden* Caravaggio's successors 'chose the rustiest'. Thus Caravaggio's work is connected with a notion of a selection from nature. Due to the aesthetic bias of Bellori's theory Caravaggio was cast into the non-intellectual category of 'portrayal', but examination of the earlier criticism of Caravaggio reveals that his art was not exclusively considered in these terms.

Bellori's criticism was not completely retrospective his theoretical framework drew on the opinions of a contemporary of the Carracci, the Monsignor Giovanni Battista Agucchi (1570-1632). Agucchi's writing provides an earlier example of the negative criticism of Caravaggio, which must be examined first. In the re-publication of Panofsky's *Idea* Denis Mahon's *Studies in Seicento Art and Theory* was cited as a text that had provided an important revision to Panofsky's history. Mahon's research provided a precedent for Bellori's theoretical arguments in the *Trattato della Pittura* written by Agucchi in the second decade of the seventeenth-century.[62] For the discussion at hand the treatise's critical view of painting is concentrated on with regard to Danti's principles of painting, rather than review its philosophical dimensions.

Mahon's analysis of Agucchi's text identifies Alberti's *De Pictura* as one of two principle sources for Agucchi's text and the second was Aristotle's *Poetics*. The one extant book of Aristotle's text had played an important part in Renaissance theory since

[61] *The Dictionary of Art*, 1996.
[62] The *Trattato* was never published in its entirety and no manuscript is known. A fragment, republished by Mahon, was included in the preface to the first edition (1646) of Simon Guillain's etchings after drawings by Annibale Caracci.

the publication of a Latin translation in 1498, and Mahon commented how a range of interpretations had arisen from it.[63] Two propositions based on Aristotle are identified in Agucchi's text. The first, Mahon summarised in 'the proposition that vulgarity and the highest quality are incompatible', which he connected with Agucchi's classifications of painters.[64] Those that imitate nature without making any improvement in their work and are applauded by 'the mob', are set against those whose work ennobles nature, and as a result are appreciated by a 'discerning and enlightened' audience. Agucchi's reading of Aristotle's classification of poets reveals the overlap between ethical and aesthetic identified with concepts of beauty. Mahon admitted that 'the frontiers between moral values and aesthetic quality are not at all firmly drawn by Aristotle...'.[65] Mahon suggests that Agucchi's notion of 'portrayal' was connected to genre painting. Bellori's dislike of the followers of Caravaggio and genre painting, echoed this view. However, Bellori's recognition that Caravaggio appealed to an enlightened audience reveals that his mode of painting was appreciated in the context of the *istoria*.

Agucchi's second principle drawn from Aristotle, 'the highest form of art involves idealised imitation, the ennoblement of the actual' combined with a reading of Alberti provides the basis for the formulation of Agucchi's theory, which Mahon claimed argues for a judicious imitation of nature.[66] Mahon's analysis reveals that Agucchi's thesis is formulated, like that of Bellori later, through the classification of 'mannerists' and 'naturalists', of whom Caravaggio was cited as an example. In contrast to the Caracci Caravaggio's paintings were identified as lacking judgment in their 'imitation of nature', and as a result being neither beautiful nor appealing to an

[63] Aretino's views on Portraiture expressed in a letter to Leone Leoni argued that only persons of status should have their portraits painted on the basis that only important people should be represented in tragic theatre. Again Aristotle's *Poetics* lie behind this comment connected to the view noted in chapter one of comic theatre as inferior.
[64] D. Mahon, *Studies in Seicento Art and Theory*, (London: Studies of the Warburg Institute, 1947) (p.127).
[65] Mahon, 1947. (p127)
[66] Mahon, 1947. (p.135)

enlightened audience. Such criticism of Caravaggio may be explained, not only in terms of the specific theoretical concerns of Agucchi's arguments, but also as a result of his support of the Caracci, even though Ludovico Carracci's description of Ribera, cited in the previous chapter, suggests Caravaggio was admired by these painters. Again it is apparent that Caravaggio's work was judged by Agucchi solely in terms of aesthetic beauty. In contrast Ludovico Caracci thought it was good taste to follow Caravaggio, but he did not mention beauty. Analysis of the positive criticism of Caravaggio reveal that his work was examined with regard to other concepts, which provide the basis for a critical methodology for the discussion of Velázquez.

Panofsky cited a letter the Marqués Vincenzo Giustiniani wrote to Teodoro Amideni in which he described twelve grades of painting, listing the practical skills employed at each level.[67] The twelfth grade, the pinnacle of achievement, consisted of 'dipingere di maniera' and 'painting from the model'.[68] The two components of the twelfth grade are the tenth, *maniera*, and the eleventh, painting from the model, respectively. Giustiniani identified *maniera* with painters such as Barocci and Arpino, who drew on their experience of handling colour and design, to paint employing the 'phantasy'. Panofsky's reading of Danti's 'imitation' and its identification with 'the true Mannerism' is implied in this formulation. A singular feature of Giustiniani's text is its reversal of Danti's categories to favour 'portrayal'. Giustiniani did not identify 'painting from the model' with any particular painter, and appears to discuss it as a practical element of painting. Cherry and Davies' identification of the return of attention to the 'imitation of nature' appears to be given a theoretical formulation.

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[67] *Racolta di lettere sulla pittura, scultura ed architettura*, Vol.VI, ed. by G.G. Bottari and S. Ticozzi, (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1976) (pp..121-9). Vincenzo Giustiniani (1564-1638) is described by Janet Southorn as 'one of the most informed and perceptive art patrons of his day'. His writings on painting have been dated to before 1618. The Palazzo Giustiniani, which he had inherited, contained five hundred paintings at his death, fifteen of which were by Caravaggio. His collection also included paintings by Ribera and Northern European painters. His brother Cardinal Bendetto Giustiniani(1554-1621) had his portrait painted by Caravaggio, but its location is unknown. *The Dictionary of Art*, 1996.

[68] *Racolta...*,1976. (p.127).

Bellori praised Caravaggio for his contribution in this regard. Agucchi conceded this praise to the Caracci, contrasting their work to the 'insufficient attention to nature' of the mannerists. Giustiniani was less partisan; The twelfth grade was 'reached only by the foremost masters among contemporaries by Caravaggio, the Carracci, Guido Reni and others'. His conclusions indicate that he was concerned more with verisimilitude that beauty, but this is not an unintellectual painting as it employed the 'phantasy', which according to Summers' analysis of renaissance psychology, in *the Judgement of Sense*, was employed in the rational judgement of painting. According to Giustiniani's model the use of fantasy is held in check by the attention to the model, and in this way he provides a dialectical response to Danti's dualism. Although Giustiniani's text is far briefer than Agucchi's it would seem probable he viewed Caravaggio in terms similar to Agucchi's judicious imitation of nature. In regard to which it is important to note that the twelfth category corresponds to the *istoria*.

The second positive discussion of 'portrayal' was given by the first author to describe the work of Caravaggio, Karel Van Mander:

'...he will not do a single brush stoke without close study from life which he copies and paints. Surely this is no wrong way to achieve a good end.'[69]

His only qualification is that a painter should have 'reached a degree of insight that would enable one to distinguish from the beauty of life that which is most beautiful.' Van Mander did not suggest Caravaggio lacked such insight, he only criticised his lack of dedication to study, the honing of such insight.[70] He described Caravaggio's painting

[69] Mander, Karel van, *Het Shilder-boeck*, (Haarlem, 1604). Source used is the *Caravaggio Studies* (260).
[70] E.K.J. Reznicek claims Van Mander '...strongly opposed' Caravaggio's 'innovative naturalism' reading the text as implying Caravaggio did not 'select and copy... the most beautiful in nature'. *The Dictionary of Art*, 1996.

as 'very pleasing in an exceedingly handsome manner, an example for our young artists to follow.' It could be suggested that Van Mander's text presents an inconsistent use of the concept of 'portrayal', but also implies a similarity to Giustiniani's position; Caravaggio's paintings are not simply copying.

According to many art historical accounts Van Mander's advice was taken up by Flemish, Dutch, Italian and Spanish painters, one of who was another painter Giustiniani might have mentioned Ribera.[71] Mancini's *Considerazioni sulla Pittura* prepared between 1617 and 1621, described Ribera as:

'the most naturally gifted artist to have appeared for many years' and 'much admired by Signor Guido [Reni] who thought a good deal of his determination and handling of paint [colorito], which for the most part follows the path of Caravaggio but is more experimental and bolder.'[72]

Although the reference is briefer it is a clear example of the appreciation of the work of Caravaggio and those with who he was associated.[73] Mancini offered two different criteria to judge these paintings, not in terms of nature or beauty, but in terms of the artistic technique and the boldness [*tento* and *fiero*] of his image. The analysis of Pacheco's criteria for the *bodegones* indicated a similar critical framework.

From the examination so far it has been noted that the discussion of the 'imitation of nature' was not solely discussed in contrast to concepts of aesthetic beauty. Instead it was identified with concepts of decorum related to the *istoria*, which are

[71] He does refer to 'GrisSpagnuolo', *Racolta*, 1976. (p.126)
[72] [Questo dal signor Guido vien molto stimato facendo gran conto della sua risolution e colorito, qual per il più è per la strada del Caravaggio, ma più tento e più fiero.] Craig Felton, *Ribera's early years in Italy: the 'Martyrdom of St Lawrence' and the 'Five Senses'*, *Burlington Magazine*, 133, 1991, pp.71-81.
[73] No reference is made to Mancini in Pacheco's *Arte*. However, his text signals that the relationship between Caravaggio and Ribera, discussed in the first chapter, had been current before Pacheco came to write.

examined in the next section to provide a framework to consider painters' engagements with a range of formal and ethical concerns.

Part vii)

Two of the elements of painting Bellori claimed Caravaggio lacked, invention and decorum, were specifically identified in the renaissance as the basis of the *istoria*. The criticism that he lacked design and the science of painting is not examined in detail here, however, it is shown how his treatment of the invention and decorum clearly implicated these. The aesthetic sense of 'design' was discussed in the last chapter. The discussion of Pacheco's theory, supported by the analysis carried out so far in this chapter, has illustrated that this aesthetic sense was not exclusive. Alberti discussed invention in the third book of *Della Pittura*, and from his description it may be defined as the narrative, allegorical or symbolic basis for a painting. He gave the example of Lucian's description of Apelles' *Calumny*.[74] It was in regard to this area of the *istoria* that he claimed that painters should keep company with poets and orators, as they would assist with this element.

Blunt recorded that Leonardo was the first painter to describe a theory of decorum and cited the following statment.

'Observe Decorum, that is to say the suitability of action, dress, setting and circumstances to the dignity or lowliness of the things which you wish to present.'[75]

At one level this theory argues for the 'imitation of nature' 'let the movements of an old man not be like those of a youth' however it is related to invention, which decorum had

[74] Alberti, 1979. (p.90)
[75] Blunt, 194o. (p.35)

to respond to. Pacheco included a section of Van Mander's didactic poem *Den grondt der edel vry schilderconst* that provides a selection of advice essentially on decorum. Such as 'In laden figures, the leg that corresponds with the weight must be restricted in walking, in this way the freer limb helps the figure'[76] Bellori's long description of Caravaggio's *Deposition of Christ* indicates Caravaggio's awareness of such principles. It is worth noting that Bellori comments that 'all the nude parts are drawn forcefully and faithfully to nature'.[77] The comment alludes to Alberti's call for painters to imitate nature, 'So Great is the force of anything drawn from nature'.[78]

Blunt identified a development of the theory of decorum, which emphasised its relationship to invention:

'In the sixteenth-century it [the theory of decorum] is applied in a more complex manner. It demands that everything in a painting should be suitable both to the scene depicted and to the place for which it is painted. That is to say, the figures must be dressed suitably to their standing and character, their gestures must be appropriate, the setting must be rightly chosen, and the artist must always consider whether he is executing a work for a church or a palace, a state apartment or a private study.'[79]

Blunt linked this development to the Tridentine concern that painting should remain free from errors of doctrine, and provide accurate representations of religious history. The publication of the *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* established a general framework for the new sense of decorum. It was developed in more detail by a number of later authors. Blunt's discussion provides a number of examples in regard to Italy.

[76] *Arte*, 1990. (p.408) 'En la figura cargada, la pierna que coresponde al peso se ha de reservar de caminar, de manera que la más descargada ayude libremente a la figura.'
[77] *Caravaggio Studies*, 1955. (p.249). Bellori appears to be referring to the *Burial of Christ.*
[78] Alberti, 1979. (p.94)
[79] Blunt, 1940. (p.122)

Pacheco's *Arte* records the application of these theories, in a practical sense in its appendix of descriptions of religious iconography. An important aspect of decorum was that painters had to be aware of the critical reception their work would receive, which attests to a shared critical discourse of painting between artists and patrons. Decorum was concerned with what Roskill termed the ethical concept of beauty, in the sense that the appreciation of the image was identified with moral values. Agucchi identified both noble subject matter and aesthetic beauty with an enlightened audience, the custodians of ethical values. Hence decorum provides a context to consider wider cultural significances of painting. Blunt's discussion focuses on decorum as a repressive force, however, his comment that it was mediated by the spaces in which art was displayed reveals that it was an element of painting that was applied in many ways, and often reflects the particular 'taste' of a patron.[80]

Bellori's criticism of Caravaggio's *St. Mathew* painted for S. Luigi dei Francesi provides an example of these aspects of decorum. He states that 'the figure with his legs crossed and his feet crudely exposed to the public had neither decorum nor the appearance of a Saint.'[81] In this case Caravaggio's work was taken down, from the Church, but Vincenzo Giustiniani took it to his house, and later placed beside it paintings of the other three evangelists, by Guido, Domenichino, and Albani. From this display of appreciation for the painting a clear distinction is made of how paintings were valued differently depending on the spaces they were hung in. Another example of paintings Bellori considered lacking in decorum, but were bought buy private patrons, are Caravaggio's two versions of the *Supper at Emmaus*, which were described as

[80] An ethical dimension of painting in a general sense was discussed by Panofsky and Summers. The former commented that the traditional association of 'pulchrum' and 'bonum' was undone by Renaissance aesthetics only to be rejoined in the mannerist period. The Counter-Reformation suggests one explanation for this view. Summers' analysis of Aristotelian traditions identifies the practical use of knowledge, in painting, with ethical ends. Such readings of theory are examined in a historical context in the following two chapters.

[81] *Caravaggio Studies*, 1955. (p.248)

'praiseworthy for their imitation of natural colour even though they lack decorum'.[82] In these examples it is implied that they were appreciated in terms of formal beauty. Bellori's opinion may be read as an expression of public decorum, however, the work may also be interpreted in terms of its private decorum, or appeal to the particular ideas and concerns of the patron.

An analysis of the discussion of invention and decorum during the Counter-Reformation provides a number of perspectives to consider ethical concepts applied to painting. In the histories of theories of art, such as Von Schlosser's and Blunt's, examinations of 'Counter-Reformation' treatises on religious painting are marked by a tendency to segregate them from the other treatises written during the sixteenth century. One explanation for this is the critical emphasis on aesthetic discourse, identified with painting theory's relationship to humanistic culture. Blunt argued that as humanism had played a part in the development of the reformation, the Counter-Reformation was a 'Counter-Renaissance': 'which set itself to destroy the human scale of values in which the humanists believed and to replace it once again with a theological scale such as had been maintained during the Middle Ages.'[83] Evidence for the repression of classicism during the Counter-Reformation in Seville is examined in the following chapters, but it was by no means clearly defined. The juxtaposition of general concepts such as 'Humanism' and the 'Counter-Reformation' is problematic and a closer analysis of the culture based on historical evidence is required.

A different approach to decorum was given by David Summers in his discussion of the pedagogical development of art during the course of the sixteenth century. He traced this development to the 'idea of the learned artist', which was discussed in the last chapter. He argued it was based on 'the Aristotelian definition of art as rational

[82] The most well known of these is the one in the National Gallery of London. Friedlander identified the second with the Brera collection in Milan.
[83] Blunt, 1940. (p.105)

procedure' and claimed that the learned artist 'entailed a much more complex notion of imitation', which 'had the effect of transforming the sciences of nature into the 'theory of art' so that practice could be both guided and judged by the standard of these sciences. All the learning of the artist, Christian or classical, became subject to decorum....'[84]

Summers' identification of decorum with the changes in the artist's status emphasises the notion of decorum as an engagement between artist and patron. The theories of decorum mark a response to the range of ideas that the painter engaged with. In his study of the relationship of art and Prudence Summers identified a crossover between the practice of art and 'the ability to realize knowledge of natural philosophy'. As such he argued it was a standard by which art was judged. '...All the learning that might be evident in works of art' was subjected to standards which provided the 'Counter-Reformation and the academies of art that developed together with it a kind of control over the definition of the conduct of art fully equal to this new breadth [of learning]'.[85] The development of decorum may be understood as an expression of both painters' and spectators' engagement in what Summers has termed a more 'complex imitation'. His identification of it with both academies, traditionally seen as humanist, and the Church avoids separating culture into secular and religious spheres.

It is worth returning briefly to Summers discussion of Zuccari. A further claim made for his importance was that he 'raised the significance of human art as a paradigm for human thought in general...to levels without real precedent in the literature of art'.[86] The possibility of a number of interpretations of his treatise no doubt results from this, it also suggests his treatise is one example of the 'control' exerted on art.

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[84] Summers, 1987 (p.274).
[85] Summers, 1987. (p.275)
[86] Summers, 1987. (p.287)

Traditionally decorum and in particular the Counter-Reformation treatises have been read in terms of a prohibitive control. Von Schlosser's view that Gabriele Paleotti's (1522-1597), *Discorso...*, published in 1582, had a minimal influence was formed on the basis that the Caracci and their school continued to paint mythological subjects. He also considered Antonio Possevino's (1533-1611) *De Poësi et Pictura* (1593) insignificant although widely read. The next section will examine decorum's attention to style as one facet of visual culture during the Counter-Reformation; in terms of Summers sense of 'control', the education of painters and the judgement of their works. Its aim is to develop an understanding of the religious *istoria*, which is important for two reasons. Firstly, because religious paintings dominate the Seville oeuvre of Velázquez and prompted his most original Sevillian works. Secondly, to explore the significance his, and Caravaggio's paintings may have had in terms of religious decorum.

Part viii)

So far Danti's classification of copying, 'portrayal', and imitating, 'imitation', nature has been discussed in terms of its use in criticism concerned with aesthetic beauty. However, Danti also set out an ethical conception of this dualism developed from Aristotle's poetics:

'I understand the difference between imitation and representation to be the difference between poetry and history. Properly speaking, history writes things as they have happened, describing for example, the life of an individual, recounting it exactly it as it was. This is characteristic of history: to say things exactly as it has seen or heard them.

Poetry says them as they would have to be in completer perfection, and describing the life of an individual, poetry relates it as it would have been with all the virtú and perfection that pertain to him.'[87]

Summers has pointed out that Danti combined two different passages of Aristotle's *Poetics* to arrive at his definition. The distinctions in his use of Aristotle from Agucchi's allows for a consideration of different attitudes to decorum, and the effects these may hold for an understanding of the appearance of an *istoria*.

The Tridentine concerns for accurate representations of religious history may be seen as informing a 'historical' mode of decorum. Without doubt all paintings of the period employed this, however, it could be interpreted in two ways, the accurate representation of historical detail, and the attention to that detail to emphasise such effects took place. The former may be seen as a development of the 'imitation of nature'. Caravaggio's attention to lifelike details, such as rusty armour, is an example of the latter but, artists such as the Bassani, Ribera, and Velázquez should also be included. In contrast the 'poetic' mode of decorum may be identified with paintings that emphasise the supernatural and symbolic aspects of religious figures or scenes.

Two examples of Spanish artists illustrate that this could be taken in various directions. Navarette's *Baptism of Christ* (1574) [fig. 18] presents Christ and John the Baptist as muscular figures, idealised figures, and the same is true of the three women on the bank of the river. However, the concern is to emphasise the spiritual qualities of the characters. Two details of the painting reveal Navarette's concentration on the symbolic details of the subject. Firstly, the representation of God surrounded by angels, which departs from the historical narrative. The second returns to the issue of decorum

[87] Summers, 1981. (p.281)

applied to the representation of figures cited by Van Mander. John the Baptist's stance appears decidedly precarious, but it serves to bring the crucial detail of baptism to the centre of the painting.[88] Although El Greco's *Annunciation* (1600) [fig. 19] is singular in many respects, it is a clear example of an individual response to the poetic mode of decorum, which was readily patronised by the church. The spiritual dimension of the event is again the emphasis, but to an even greater degree. The angelic intervention spills into the physical space inhabited by Mary, which is reduced to the foreground and her lectern.

The issue of decorum cannot be reduced to a simple dualist model. The artists identified with each mode described above by no means concentrated solely on one or the other. The buildings in the background of Navarette's painting illustrate his attention to historical detail. The lectern and the musical instruments in El Greco's paintings contrast to the swirling clouds, graceful postures and radiant light. Caravaggio's paintings employ compositional groupings of figures to bring attention to significant detail, and for his representation of *St. Catherine*, for example, his selection of his model, or models, would have been guided by notions of female beauty. Likewise Velázquez's *Adoration of the Magi* is carefully constructed to focus attention through the Magi's homage paid to Christ. His *Immaculate Conception* presents an image of celestial beauty. Blunt noted how Gilio and Borghini, who continued Danti's dualist model, also included a third classification 'mixed'.[89] Thus the move by theorists to move away from the dualist trends of thought noted in Giustiniani, Agucchi and Bellori appears to have begun in the sixteenth-century.

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[88] The representation of Baptism, as one of the seven sacraments has to be considered at a doctrinal level and not simply as a biblical scene. For discussion of the doctrinal significance of painting see E.Mâle *L'art religieux de la fin du XVIe siècle, du XVIIe siécle et du XVIIIe siècle. Etude sur l'iconographie après le Concile de Trente* (Paris:1951) ; Anthony Wright, 'The altarpiece in Catholic Europe: post-Tridentine transformations', *The Altarpiece in the Renaissance*, ed. P.Humfrey and M.Kemp, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 243-60.

[89] Blunt, 1940. (p.115)

The study of a further dimension of decorum provides a perspective on this change. Awareness of the audience has been identified as an important feature of decorum or Summers' 'complex imitation'. The role of painting as a medium for religious history and doctrine was described by Gabriele Paleotti. He compared the orator, who had to persuade his listeners to share his opinions, with the painter who had 'perusadere le persone alla pieta et ordinarle a Dio'.[90] Continuing this argument he said that like the orator the painter has 'to delight, instruct and move' [dilettare, insegnare e movere] his spectators.[91] Again the overlap between the ethical and the aesthetic is noted. If the two modes of decorum are considered in this context then they become resources for these three functions of painting.

Paleotti's rhetorical concept of images is illustrated by Jerome Nadal's (1507-80) *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* (Amsterdam, 1953), which provides an example to study the combination the modes of decorum.[92] Nadal text consists of 153 folio-sized engravings depicting scenes from the gospel narrative. Jerome Wierix (1553-1619) produced the majority of the images, although he was assisted by his brothers, Jan (1549-c.1618) and Anton (1555/9-1604). Many of the images condense various narrative moments and Nadal annotated them to maintain clarity. They were intended for people carrying out St. Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual exercises,* but were later used as an iconographical authority by Pacheco, who termed Nadal's text 'the truth and the decorum' [la verdad y el decoro], and as a compositional source in his paintings.[93] Thus

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[90] G. Paleotti, *Discorso Intorno Alle Imagini Sacre e Profane*, in *Trattati D'Arte Del Cinquecento*, ed. P.Barocchi, Vol.2, (Bari, 1960-2) (p.215)

[91] Paleotti (p.215). Paleotti's discussion draws on his discussion of the causes for paintings invention, Chapter 12, 'Delle cause perché s'introducessero le imagini profane'. He described four, the need to communicate, Paintings use as a medium for knowledge, the delight gained from images, and the virtuous effects images can have. To this foundation he added the Christian traditions of painting.

[92] Jerome Nadal, *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* facsimile edition, (Barcelona: El Albir, 1975)

[93] A commentary *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia* was published after 1594-5. The use of Nadal's text as an iconographical source for Pacheco's painting of *St. Irene Healing the wounds of St. Sebastian* (1616) is discussed by J.Moffitt, 'Francisco Pacheco and Jerome Nadal: new light on the

Nadal clearly addressed the need to instruct and move spectators. His work avidly took up the Counter-Reformation concern for historical accuracy. De Ceballos' discussion of the preparation of the text records Nadal's research into the topographical and geographical details of his work. Aristotle's *Historia Animalium* provided information for the exact species of camel to be illustrated, and Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* was examined for information on the species of thorn bush from which Christ's crown was made.[94] The actual representations of camels and spines do not suggest that Nadal actually pursued his investigation from text to printed image, or study of the animals and plants in question. Instead his attention focused on the principal narrative details.

An examination of the engravings reveals various modes of decorum. The most apparent distinction is between Christ and the disciples which contrast an ideal male figure with men of different ages, some bearded others not. Status, amongst the secondary characters is marked by the nobles' cloaks and robes as opposed to labourers' and servants' jackets and tunics. Hats too are important signifiers. Such distinctions drew on established iconographical traditions. The contrast between the poetic and historical becomes all the more apparent in plate 127 [fig. 20] depicting the nailing of Christ to the cross. Christ's body is idealised to the extent that despite the man pulling his legs his knees remain bent. Van Mander's paradigm of decorum becomes confused as the second figure clearly illustrates the force he is exerting. The 'historical' appearance of the surrounding figures is brought into focus by their activities, most noted in the pairs of executioners, one stretching Christ's limbs while the other hammers the nail.

Flemish sources of the Spanish "picture-within-the-picture"', *A.B.*, 1990, VolLXXII no.4, pp.631-8.(p.636). Moffitt does not cite a reference for this comment by Pacheco.

[94] Nadal, 1975. (p.12). A.R.G. De Ceballos's essay 'Las "Imagenes de la Historia Evangelica" del P. Jerónimo Nadal en el marco del Jesuitismo y la Contrarreforma' (originally published in *Traza y baza*, v, 1974, 77-95) provides a critical introduction to Nadal's text.

One final group of figures who recur in a number of the prints are the soldiers, who display classical Herculean physiques, often held in postures of exaggerated *contrapposto* [fig. 21]. The distinction between them and the figure of Christ suggests an ideological dimension for beauty. The guards, whose role is primarily to lead the eye to the principal action, display a classical, pagan, ideal. In contrast Christ's body may be seen in terms of a Christian ideal implied in Zuccari's description of painting making 'new paradises visible on Earth.'[95] Christ's body is an example of an ideal human physique before the fall, while his executioners display a post-lapsarian physique. However, this may also be read as a form of Christian palimpsest onto the tradition of classical representations of an Apollonian physique.

The model of decorum, combining concepts of rhetoric, history and poetics, that Paleotti's text and Nadal's images indicate is explored in the final two chapters. The value of this model is that it allows the paintings to be considered from two perspectives: the painter's construction of an image to delight, instruct and move the spectators, and how the spectator or patron's concerns would have mediated their response. Summers' discussion of decorum as a 'complex imitation' signalled how these were interrelated and in this way Velázquez's work may be examined as an engagement with his cultural environment, rather than simply its style.

[95] Panofsky, 1968 (p.88). Summers emphasised the originality of Zuccari's thought and its independence from Counter-Reformation thought. However the religious metaphors suggest the ideological concerns of the Counter-Reformation. An insight into this ideological dimension is offered by the emphasis on authority Zuccari gave to the interior representation and concept, which he stated was served by the senses like a "prince, rector and governor". Panofsky, 1968. (p.83) Panofsky identified mannerist art with religious ideology seeing them both as an expression of the age. 'At odds with nature, the human mind fled to God in that mood at once triumphant and insecure which is reflected in the sad yet proud faces and gestures of Mannerist portraits – and for which the Counter-Reformation, too, is only one expression among many.' Panofsky, 1968 (p.99).

Attention must now be turned to the issue of the other genres. Panofsky argued that 'the naturalistic trend' heralded by Caravaggio's art was prepared for. The Counter-Reformation theories of decorum for the religious *istoria* were clearly an important element of this preparation. However, following the first chapter's historiographical critique the individual genres should not be considered in isolation. The different genres were the second of Panofsky's acknowledgments that the mannerist period was more complex. Not only did he acknowledge the exchange between the different traditions of painting and their corresponding theoretical ideas but that this was heightened by the discovery of 'the "laws" special to each of the individual 'genres' such as historical painting, portraiture, and landscape painting' which 'interpenetrated in innumerable ways.'[96]

Lléo's essay 'The cultivated Elite of Velázquez's Seville' criticises readings, coloured by references to picaresque novels, such as Justi's, of the *bodegones* 'almost as photographic documents' of the supposed decadence of Seville. In response to which he argued that they should be seen 'as artistic genres each governed by its own rules and conventions'.[97] Cherry's discussion of Velázquez's use of Albertian principles indicated the use of such conventions and provides an example of the relationship between the *istoria* and the lesser genres. Pacheco's discussion of the *bodegones* and portraits specifically describes the conventions of these genres, marking the continued development of the process described by Panofsky. The only comment Panofsky made on genre painting was that mannerist painting 'admitted genre-painting as an

[96] Panofsky, 1968. (p.71) Renaissance theory of the genres can be traced to Alberti. He discusses portraiture and refers to classical examples of what may be termed genre painting, although it did not then exist. His discussion was primarily directed towards the painting of *istoria* 'the greatest work of the painter'. Alberti, 1979. (p.95)

[97] V. Lleó Cañal, *Velázquez in Seville*, pp.23-27 (p. 24)

independent species under the condition that kitchen maids and butchers look like Michelangelesque heroes.'[98] Implicit in such criteria is the hierarchical view of the genres expressed with more vehemence by Bellori as cited earlier. An examination of the 'conventions' of genre painting reveals how they too, like the *istoria*, engaged with a range of intellectual traditions.

Bellori did comment on Caravaggio's genre-paintings, in a similar way to that noted in the biography of Velázquez, they aided his development as a painter. Bellori wrote he 'imitated flowers so well that from here on they began to attain the high degree of beauty [vaghezza – charm] so fully appreciated today'.[99] Giustiniani identified Caravaggio as a genre-painter including him as an example of his fifth classification of painters, which indicates the genre had an independent status as in Pacheco's *Arte*.[100] A precursor for this may be noted in Danti's arguments that plants and inanimate objects could be represented with 'portrayal' as they did not need improving. Bellori's comments on Caravaggio's painting of the woman reading a man's palm do not comment on their beauty, but instead how they 'captured reality so well'[101]. Thus they were not seen as beauty, but as an example of Caravaggio's skill in terms that echoed Pacheco's discussion of *bodegones*. Van Mander's commented on Pieter Aertsen (1508/9-1575) in a similar way saying he '...had devoted himself to Kitchen pieces... in which he caught the colours so naturally that things appear to be real'.[102] Together these comments illustrate attitudes towards painting which place emphasis on the painter's ability to create a lifelike appearance.

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[98] Panofsky, 1968. (p.81)
[99] *Caravaggio Studies*, 1955. (p.246) Returning to Van Mander for an earlier example, his life of Joachim Beukelaer records his practice of genre painting, on the instructions of his uncle Pieter Aertsen, as being motivated by the need to overcome his difficulties in painting well and using colour.
[100] *Racolta*, 1976. (p.123).
[101] *Caravaggio Studies*, 1955. (p.246) [tradusse...si puramente il vero] Vero – truth, nature life.
[102] K. Van Mander, *The Lives of the illustrious Netherlandish and German painters, from the first edition of the Schilder-boeck (1603-1604)*, with an introduction and translation, edited by Hessel Miedema (Doornspijk:Davaco, 1994-1999) (p. 231)

Readings of Velázquez's paintings as representations of truth or nature, particularly the *bodegones*, were noted in the last chapter. Lleó proposed that in Velázquez's Seville this was heightened by investigation into science and optics. Velázquez's paintings may have been appreciated as studies of optical effects but also for their ability to represent them.[103] In Paleotti's terms they provide knowledge and 'delight'. A further feature of Paleotti's theory is that it identified 'imitation' as the basis for the three rhetorical tasks of the painter showing that 'truthful' likenesses were also invested with an ideological perspective. In the following chapters this issue is explored but its significance is indicated in Davies' discussion of social and religious concerns underlying the representations of the poor in Velázquez's *bodegones*.[104] The suggestion of a moral dimension to these paintings returns to the notion that the ethical and the aesthetic, instruction and delight, frequently coincided.

The focus of the *bodegones* on the figure returns to the relationship they have to the portraits indicated by Pacheco's description of Velázquez's life studies. It is regarding portraiture that a critical tradition for the lifelike representation of figures is encountered. The tradition of poems addressed to portraits has been examined in 'Portraits and Poets'; one of six lectures John Shearman gave addressing the awareness of the spectator displayed in renaissance paintings. The theme of these poems is the possibility of painting providing not just a lifelike appearance but also a living one as Pacheco's final criteria for the *bodegones* demanded. Praise for the artist was normally combined with the expression of devotion to the person represented.

Shearman's analysis is important in two ways. Firstly, he described a tradition of criticism, continued from classical sources, focused upon the lifelike appearance of the paintings. Furthermore, this is combined with a praise of the sitter's beauty, revealing

[103] The relationship of science to Velázquez's paintings is not examined in this study. It has been the subject of doctoral research by Tanya Tiffany at The John Hopkins University.
[104] David Davies, *Velázquez in Seville*. (pp.62-5)

that painting was not only seen in terms of a selection from nature. The comments of Fray José de Sigüenza on the painting of Navarette cited in chapter one are clear examples of the continuation of such eulogy. Pacheco and Sigüenza's comments support Shearman's view that the appreciation he noted in regard to portraiture was common to all genres.[105] A further example of which is provided by Bellori's discussion of Caravaggio, which refers to all the paintings in terms of lifelike appearance. Two quotations emphasise this, firstly Caravaggio's 'apocryphal' description of his own paintings as 'the work of nature'.[106] The second, which alludes to the poetic traditions, are the verses written after Caravaggio's death by the Cavaliere Marino.

> 'Death and nature, Michele, made a cruel plot against you;
> Nature feared being surpassed by your hand in every image that you created, rather than painted;
> Death burned with indignation because your brush returned to life, with large interest, as many men as his scythe could cut down.'[107]

The second feature of Shearman's discussion that needs to be examined is his claim that these poetic traditions informed the painting of specific portraits. His study identifies paintings responding to this tradition by integrating the viewer into the painting, for example he argues that the particularised viewpoints of Raphael's portraits

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[105] J. Shearman, *'Only Connect...' Art and the spectator in the Italian Renaissance*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997) (p.114). Sigüenza's discussion of Navarette discussed in the last chapter included two lines from one of Martial's epigrams; 'Either you will take both for real, or you will take both for painted'. Martial, *Epigrams*, vol. 1, (London: Loeb Classical Library, 1993)(p.125) Shearman also cites the use of the speaking statue as one example of the imitation of Greek epigrams. Tirso de Molina's *El Burlador de Sevilla* is yet a further example of this continuation.

[106] *Caravaggio Studies*, 1955. (p.252)

[107] *Caravaggio Studies*, 1955. (p.252) The reference to death recalls a dimension of these poems recording the viewing of the work in the absence of the person depicted. Although the painting normally didn't suffice, this is an aspect Paleotti examined as a being the origin of images, but he did not necessarily identify this with lifelike imitation.

of the Popes Julius II [fig.22] and Leo X [fig.23] suggest a time and place that includes the spectator. Shearman argued that a similar effect is created by the particular expression in the portrait of Tommaso Inghirami [fig.24] The challenge of the sitter's absorption led Shearman to consider that this excludes the spectator. But he proposed that the ambiguity and questioning it raises engage the spectator all the more. The emphasis on time and place, and, the activity of the sitter indicates the connections to other genres such as Caravaggio's *Supper At Emmaus* or *The Calling of St, Mathew* [fig. 25 & 26].

Both features of Shearman's arguments offer a further perspective on Summers' discussion of decorum as combining both the traditions from which a painter worked, and those which informed how the paintings were viewed and discussed. It provides an example of the establishment of conventions of genre painting and indicates how it may have informed other genres either through the application of its criteria in criticism of the *istoria*, or through the transmission of visual conventions of particularising viewpoints and expression. The particularising of expression is noted in Velázquez's *bodegones* with the silent absorption of the figures but it is in the religious paintings that he honed this facet of his work.

The last visual tradition to be examined is the use of prints. McKim-Smith's essay 'La técnica Sevillana de Velázquez' has argued that the clearly marked outlines of Velázquez's paintings are related to the 'authority of the line in a culture of the print and engraving'.[108] She identified this authority with an academic context, the use of prints to train artists, and an ideological context, their use as an iconographical guide for painters. Mckim-Smith commented on the importance of Nadal's work for Velázquez arguing that the one disciple who can be seen fully in Velázquez's *Kitchen Scene with Christ at*

[108] Mckim-Smith, *Velázquez y Sevilla.* (p.122) '... la autoridad de la línea en una cultura de la estampa y el grabado... '

Emmaus [fig.27] 'recalls' Jerome Wierix's version of the scene in Nadal's *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* [fig.28]. Similarly John Moffit cited *the visitation* [fig. 29] as a source for the composition of Velázquez's *Kitchen Scene with Christ in the house of Martha and Mary.*[109] Another of Shearman's lectures discussed the practice of painters imitating works by other artists. He identified this practice not simply as an aid for the learning painter, but as a creative activity that was appreciated by the spectators, 'intelligent men and women, among them connoisseurs, collectors and artists'.[110] Thus, if Velázquez's paintings are viewed as a creative imitation of Nadal's text, which would have been known to many of his viewers, a further dimension of the relationship between this visual tradition and its use as a source may be discerned.

Before examining Velázquez's 'imitation' of these prints in more detail it is necessary to develop the earlier discussion of Nadal's prints. W.B. Ivins' *Prints and Visual Communication* examines the development of the use of prints as a medium of knowledge. His study focused on botanical prints but he claimed that his analysis has a wider application. It provides a framework to understand the various modes of representation noted in Nadal's images.[111] Ivins identified three stages in the development of botanical prints: first images based on 'hearsay' which tend to rationalise the image away from verisimilitude; secondly, 'portraits of particular plants showing not only their personal forms and characters but the very accidents of their growth, such as wilted leaves and broken stems'[112] and finally there came 'careful schematic representations of what were considered the generic forms.'

Instead of focusing on Nadal's treatment of figures the images, as representations of knowledge, need to be examined. Due to their iconographical basis

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[109] Moffitt, 1990 (p.637-8).
[110] Shearman, 1997. (p.232)
[111] W.B. Ivins, *Prints and Visual Communication*, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1969) (p.40)
[112] Ivins, 1969. (p.44)

they predominantly belong to the final development, but in their attention to detail often the second category emerges. It is most obvious in the way characters are distinguished which in some of the images are heightened to a greater degree than others. Plate 133 [fig. 30] the burial of Christ is an example of the latter. Often on the fringes of the narrative activity details are distinguished, such as the rocky terrain, or as in plate 145 [fig. 31] the disciple trying to protect his eyes from the billowing smoke. The first phase of the development may also be noted in images such as Christ's descent into hell [fig.32], or the exaggerated gesture of the Roman soldiers. The combination of these modes results from the complex task of recording the narrative and portraying its historical context, while working within established visual traditions yet also articulating Nadal's rhetorical concerns. However, it is the second portrait mode, which focuses the eye on the 'truth' of the event, through details. In this way the use of prints as a communicative medium provides a further visual tradition for the 'imitation of nature'. It indicates the role of the particularising of viewpoints and expression, which may be explored through a study of Velázquez's *Kitchen Scene with Christ at the Supper at Emmaus*.

Velázquez's painting contrasts Nadal's iconographical representation with the foreground scene treated in the portrait mode. On the basis of this contrast the painting has tended to be read as an image of a serving maid belonging to the seventeenth-century with the religious scene as a doctrinal allusion to her faith. In such readings the spatial connection of the two scenes is neglected and attention is focused on the apparently seventeenth-century dress of the maid. On the basis of the treatment of status through dress in Nadal's images this contemporary emphasis is not certain. Instead the painting may be viewed as an 'imitation' of the print and that Velázquez has taken up a particularised viewpoint to present the religious scene that emphasised the humble

setting. Viewed in this way the painting does not contradict the earlier readings of it as an expression of Tridentine concerns for the importance of the Sacrament and faith, or the education of the poor, in this case a slave. Velázquez has not blurred the distinctions between a representation of biblical history and a kitchen scene, rather he has allowed both to exist together. The Kitchen scene confers historical truth on the biblical scene much as Caravaggio's treatment of the disciples and the meal do in the *Supper at Emmaus*. However, in both paintings the biblical narrative also confers a doctrinal truth on the everyday scene framing or 'particularising' the spectator's viewpoint. It appears that Velázquez's 'imitation' of Nadal has kept the distinction clearer, doctrinally, than in Caravaggio's work for example, but at the same time he developed the dynamic of the spectator's experience.

The *Kitchen scene with Christ in the house of Martha and Mary* places more emphasis on the temporal distinction between the contemporary and the biblical scene, and a closer examination of theories of rhetoric is required prior to further discussion of these works. However, both paintings not only take on the clarity of line and the 'picture-within-a-picture' composition, as proposed by McKim-Smith and Moffitt, but also present a creative imitation of Nadal's text that developed techniques to engage the viewer. The treatment of still-life details is one aspect of this, but they also required the spectator to look from within the painting and such as their rivalry to nature is heightened. All of these areas would have engaged an artist educated in the 'complex imitation' of decorum, and his patrons who employed it as a standard to discuss his works.

Part x)

In the course of this chapter it has been shown that a range of concepts were applied to painting rather than the dualistic focus on the imitation and perfection of nature. What has been shown is that beauty was one concept encompassed by the more fundamental practice of 'imitation of nature', and it was accompanied by others derived from other visual traditions, their application and criticism. Summers' concept of 'complex imitation' has provided a valuable handle to move away from viewing painting's significance in terms of a narrow definition of art theory or a direct correspondence between contemporary theory and image.

The following chapters document this 'complex imitation' in an Iberian context and more specifically with regard to the culture of Velázquez's Seville. A fundamental feature of these Iberian texts is the information they shed on the engagement of painters and spectators in the discussion of painting. It is this feature of the 'complex imitation' that indicates an approach to examine the significance of Velázquez's painting in Seville. Giustiniani, Agucchi, Mancini, Paleotti provided examples of an Italian engagement of 'patrons' in writing about art. While their heavily theorised comments need to be read cautiously, they offer a framework to refocus the traditional approaches to art historical discussion based on the classification of genre and style.

Panofsky made two citations from Pacheco. One is a quotation from a letter thought to have been written by Raphael to Castiglione. The authorship of this letter had been questioned by a number of authors since Ludovico Dolce published it in 1554, and recently John Shearman published an argument that the letter was in fact written by

Castiglione after the painter's death.[113] The example set by Raphael at the beginning of the sixteenth century, with his close relationship to Castiglione and status at the papal court, provided a paradigm for the improvement of the painter's status. Shearman's reading of the letter 'by Raphael' as a 'moral portrait' or 'a portrait of the mind' of the artist by Castiglione provides an example of the painter as sharing the ideas of his patrons and educated viewers.[114] Panofsky's second citation to Pacheco referred to a treatise on perception and painting, examined in the following chapter, which provides a theoretical model to explore attitudes to paintings form the perspective of both painter and spectator. [115] The following chapters undertake a historical discussion of the cultural ideas associated with painting in Seville and through an analysis of the analogy of History, Poetry and most significantly Rhetoric an understanding is developed of how painters and spectators viewed painting, and in particular the 'imitation of nature'.

[113] John Shearman, 'Castiglione's Portrait of Raphael', *Mitteilungen des kusnsthistorischen institutes inFlorenz*, 38, 1994, pp.69-97. The letter claims that if Raphael lacks 'good judgment and beautiful women' he relies on a 'cierta idea' in his imagination.
[114] Shearman, 1994. (p.86)
[115] Panofsky, 1968. (pp.217 fn.67; 219 fn.74; 225-6 fn.28.)

Chapter III.

Painting treatises in Madrid and Seville 1600-1626: the 'imitation of nature' and *ekphrasis.*

Part i)

The theoretical discussion of the imitation of nature, examined in the previous chapter, identified the contribution of classical literary traditions and theories of religious painting developed in response to the Tridentine decree on religious images. A shared characteristic of both is their use of classical rhetoric. Shearman's discussion of epigrammatic traditions essentially traces the poetic use of a rhetorical figure, *ekphrasis*, which was a fundamental feature of the development of renaissance painting criticism. It is essentially this that provided the conceptual framework for Paleotti's emphasis on 'imitation'. However, Paleotti altered *ekphrasis'* traditional sense as an element of rhetoric. To develop the analogy of the painter and the orator, Paleotti defined the painter's task, as a visual describing of 'nature' or a narrative, instead of providing verbal descriptions of paintings. 'Visual *ekphrasis*', or the reversal of the rhetorical mode, has already been applied to Velázquez's *bodegones*, which is discussed below. Although this notion of *ekphrasis* expands the sense of the word, it emphasises the parallels between the procedures of painters and authors, which are explored in these final two chapters. It may also be suggested that *ekphrasis* underpinned Paleotti's discussion of spectators. Examples of his application of *ekphrasis*, as well as the poetic and art theoretical are found in seventeenth-century Iberian texts on painting. An examination of these provides a framework to consider cultural attitudes to the

'imitation of nature', and the *istoria* from the perspectives of both painters and spectators. On the basis of this analysis an examination of Velázquez's paintings is undertaken, which considers different forms of *ekphrastic* response his paintings may have generated.

Before turning attention to the Iberian writers a review of the critical discussion of *ekphrasis* is required to clarify the relationships of Rhetoric, painting and theory. In classical rhetoric it was defined as a vivid, verbal description intended to recreate a scene for the listener or reader. Its application in descriptions of paintings during the classical period has been reviewed by Ruth Webb, who drew attention to the fact that literary eloquence was prioritised in these descriptions of paintings, rendering their value as sources problematic. However the Classical Greek and Roman authors, such as Lucian and Philostratus, provided models for the use of *ekphrasis* during the Renaissance, but with an important difference that a concern to provide a critical discussion of the paintings superseded the earlier displays of literary eloquence.[1]

Michael Baxandall's examination of the use of rhetoric in early renaissance art-criticism describes the ekphrastic modes as 'the most articulate body of humanist opinion'.[2] His discussion of the theorisation of composition in Alberti's *De pictura* reveals a more complex use of rhetorical concepts in terms of the actual discussion of painting, rather than simply the description of finished works. Alberti's text indicates an earlier association of painting and rhetoric prior to Paleotti's analogy of the painter and orator. In regard to *ekphrasis* Baxandall noted that Alberti aligned his arguments for a certain 'kind' of painting with certain contemporaneous theorists of rhetoric, who Baxandall argued provided historical evidence for the close analogy between painting and rhetoric.

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[1] *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 10, 1996. (pp.128-31)
[2] Michael Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators: Humanist observers of painting in Italy and the discovery of pictorial composition 1350-1450*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971) (p.135)

Turning to sixteenth-century criticism Svetlana Alpers examined Vasari's use of *ekphrasis* in the *Lives of the Painters*.... Her discussion provides further evidence of the previous chapter's discussion that theoretical texts were more complex than simply aesthetic criticism. She argued that Vasari's lives consist of 'four distinct ways of writing on art: (1) the lives of the artists themselves... (2) the description of the works, which is in the rhetorical tradition of *ekphrasis*... (3) the introductions to each part which consider the development of style in a manner similar to ancient rhetoric and (4) the technical prefaces in the tradition of Vitruvius.'[3] All these areas may be traced back to the period discussed by Baxandall, and Alpers argued that Vasari's type of *ekphrasis* 'is duplicated in all Renaissance attempts to describe paintings.'[4] The description of psychological narrative is identified as its principal feature, which she in turn linked to the Albertian definition of the *istoria*. Alpers argued that Vasari did not use *ekphrasis* as a critical tool, as it was not related to the discussion of the improvement of techniques of painting. His descriptions of paintings by Giotto, Masaccio and Leonardo were all given in similar descriptive terms. However, Vasari's use of *ekphrasis* offers a further example of critical responses to paintings' narratives in terms of their 'imitation of nature'. While it remained independent of the discussion of 'aesthetic attitudes' it reveals a tradition of spectators' responses to *istoria* in terms of narrative and its psychological content, or its lifelike appearance. In the course of this chapter the texts that are examined reveal that *ekphrasis* was applied differently by various spectators offering distinct approaches to viewing paintings. In addition to this it is considered how Velázquez's paintings engaged with his spectators' modes of viewing; a concern raised in Paleotti's treatise.

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[3] Svetlana Alpers, 'Ekphrasis and aesthetic attitudes in Vasari's *Lives*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xxiii (1960), pp.190-215. (p.192)
[4] Alpers, 1960. (p.199)

Paleotti was primarily concerned with paintings of religious narratives, although he did discuss a range of other genres. The technical skill of the painter was to be directed towards the lifelike treatment of the narrative, to make the painting accessible to the spectator's *ekphrasis*. To 'delight, instruct and move' his spectators, Paleotti argued that imitation was fundamental, and he described the spectators' imaginative engagement with the narrative, giving life to the figures, placing them in time. In the twenty-fifth chapter 'Che le imagini cristiane servono molto a movere gli affeti delle persone', Paleotti wrote, 'Il sentire narrare il martirio d'un santo, il zelo e costanza d'una vergine, la passione dello stesso Cristo, sono cose che toccano dentro di vero...'.[5]

However a more critical perspective may be taken to the issue of the spectator's *ekphrastic* response, based on Paleotti's classification of four types of spectator, 'painters, scholars, the simple, the pious' ['pittori, letterati, idioti, spirituali'], who together would confer 'universal' approval on a painter's work. The third group was Paleotti's primary concern, and to whom the 'illusionism' of religious painting was directed. The other three classifications indicate a more complex engagement with painting. 'Painters', he claimed, were concerned with the material and technical side of paintings, such as perspective, relief and colouring. The 'scholars' were erudite in either ecclesiastical subjects, secular history or 'cose naturali o artificiali'. They would judge the work for any errors in its representation, what may be understood as historical *decorum*. The 'Spiritual' embraced all Christians and it essentially described the transformation of the sensory experience into a spiritual understanding.

All of Paleotti's categories are referred to in the course of this chapter, but attention is focused on 'painters' and 'scholars'. Ronald Cueto's essay on Velázquez's religious painting commented on the difficulties of addressing Counter-Reformation

[5] Gabriel Paleotti, *Discorso intorno alle imagine sacre e profane*, ed. P.Barocci in *Trattati d'arte del cinquecento*, vol. II, (Bari: 1961) (p.228)

religiosity and piety, which enters into a realm where the *ekphrastic* response to painting borders on mystical experience.[6] Velázquez's religious paintings reveal that he sought to engage such pious spectators, however in the following discussion his paintings are addressed in Paleotti's terms of 'sensory' and 'rational delight'. The realm of spiritual delight was no longer concerned with the material painting. In the course of this chapter attention is centred on how Seville's 'painters' and 'scholars' employed *ekphrasis* as a mode of criticism.

Part ii)

The Iberian texts examined below have not been subjected to a close critical analysis nor considered in discussions of painting contemporary to their publication. One important reason for this was their limited availability, which Francisco Calvo Serraller's *La teoría de la pintura en el Siglo de Oro* attempted to redress by providing annotated selections of certain texts and biographical information on their authors.[7] Bassegoda's recent edition of Pacheco's *Arte* took this process a step further regarding Pacheco's writings. A second important reason is the methodological approaches employed in the brief discussion they had previously received. Calvo's arguments for a re-evaluation of Spanish seventeenth-century treatises on painting, presented in the *Teoría's* introduction, are based on a historiographical critique of nineteenth-century 'romantic' historians. Menéndez Pelayo's *Historia de la ideas estéticas en España* is examined as a canonical text for the promulgation of the romantic view of Velázquez's painting as an expression of 'Hispanic realism'.[8] The examination of Justi's writing in

[6] Cueto, *Velázquez in Seville.* (p.31)
[7] Madrid, 1981. Hereafter referred to as *Teoría.*
[8] M. Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia de las ideas estéticas de España,* vol. II (Santander: 1947) (pp. 361-459) For a critical analysis of Menéndez Pelayo's text see the introduction to *Teoría* (pp. 21-7).

the first chapter illustrated this reading of Spanish Golden Age painting. Menéndez Pelayo contrasting the 'prodigious flourishing' of painting in Spain with the poverty of theoretical ideas and doctrine was surprised by the fact that many treatises were written by painters. His analysis established a rigid dichotomy of 'realist' painting and 'idealist' treatises. Calvo's review reveals how Ménendez Pelayo's attitudes continued to frame subsequent examinations of these literary sources for painting, much as 'Hispanic realism' continued to mark discussion of Velázquez's painting.[9] The failure to analyse the ideological basis of these treatises and the imposition of modern concepts of painting is Calvo's principal criticism of these texts. He described the authors' quest for confirmation of their modern concepts of painting as illogical, rather than examining the texts' information on the historical context in which these painters flourished.

Intending to encourage a more searching analysis Calvo turned to evaluate alternative methodological approaches. The critique of 'Hispanic realism' conducted by Ortega y Gasset provided an important impulse for texts such as J.A. Maravall's *Velázquez y el espíritu de la modernidad* and Gallego's *Visión y símbolos en la pintura española del Siglo de Oro*.[10] Calvo affirmed the value of these texts for their methodological approach but criticised the breadth of their arguments as problematic, which prompted new avenues for research that could not be grounded in individual texts. Calvo concluded by identifying a selection of themes that required further research and could frame future readings of Spanish treatises on painting: the status of painters regarding the *Alcabala* tax, the academies of painting, the culture of painters

[9] The texts Calvo examined are: A. Fumagalli, 'I trattatisti e gli artisti italiani in un tratatto d'arte spagnolo'in *Athenaum. Studi periodici di literatura e Storia*, II, 1914; F.J. Sánchez Cantón, *Fuentes literarias para la historia del arte español*, (Madrid: 1923-41); J.A. Gaya Nuño, *Historia de la crítica de arte en España*, (Madrid: 1975).

[10] J.A. Maravall's *Velázquez y el espíritu de la modernidad*, Madrid, 1999. Calvo criticises Maravall's tendency to make generalisations without an 'exhaustive knowledge of the sources'. Much of Maravall's discussion is based on a broad cultural history and sources from different periods are employed to support his analysis of Velázquez's art and hence can be problematic particularly for a discussion focused on the Sevillian period. Madrid, 1972. The application of Gallego's analysis of the conceptual dimensions of Iberian visual culture to Velázquez's Sevillian works were examined in chapter I.

based on analysis of inventories of their libraries, the growth of collections of painting, and art and morality.

Since the publication of Calvo's *Teoría*, a more critical attitude to the literary texts is apparent in the discipline in general and research has been carried out in many of the areas he cited. Gallego addressed the issue of painters' status, Marcus Burke and Peter Cherry's *Collections of Paintings in Madrid 1601-1755* stands out as an important example of archival research, and the examination of religious painting has engaged with painting's ideological significance.[11] However, in terms of a close reading of the artistic treatises, art historians have concentrated on Carducho and Pacheco, whose treatises continued the Italian traditions of painting theory, and focused on discussions of style principally in terms of the dualism of portrayal and imitation. The treatises published before these dates are referred to only in so far as they engage with Italian traditions, or else for the historical data on painters or paintings they provide. In contrast to this approach an examination of these earlier treatises in terms of their *ekphrastic* modes of criticism and their descriptions of spectators attitudes to painting provides an original methodological framework to undertake a searching study of this discussion.

While the texts do not address Velázquez directly they provide a critical context to consider how spectators would have responded to his paintings, and how these display an awareness of the concerns of his spectators. A historical basis for both considerations is applied. The texts examined also provide evidence of wider historical change encapsulated by Summers' 'complex imitation': the subjection of 'all the learning of the artist, Christian or classical... to decorum', 'the enormous broadening' of the knowledge expected from painters, and the control exerted over art by the 'Counter-Reformation and the academies of art... equal to this new breadth'.[12] The traditions of

[11] (Los Angeles: Provenance Index of the Getty Information Institute, 1997)
[12] Summers, 1987 (P.274-5).

classical scholarship and the culture of Tridentine reform in Seville provide a focus on these cultural developments

The analysis of these texts is conducted in two stages, each of which spans the first quarter of the seventeenth-century. Firstly two treatises related to the status of painters are examined for a general understanding of the development of concepts of painting in the Iberian Peninsula, and this is followed by an investigation of the historical evidence for the employment of these concepts by painters and patrons in Seville.[13] The second stage develops a particular focus on Seville and theorists connected with Pacheco.

Part iii)

Gaspar Gutiérrez de lo Ríos', *Noticia general para la estimación de las artes, y de la manera en que se conocen las liberales de las que son mecánicas y serviles con una exhortación de la honra de la virtud y del trabajo contra los ociosos, y otras particulares para las personas de todos estados* (Madrid, 1600) and Juan de Butrón's (b.1603) *Discursos apologéticos en que se defiende la ingenuidad del arte de la pintura, que es liberal y noble de todos derechos* (Madrid, 1626) frame the period under discussion.[14] Both texts have been discussed as evidence for the debates about the promotion of painters' status - which is indeed their principal argument - but they have not been questioned for the evidence they provide of critical attitudes to painting.

[13] A number of treatises produced in other cities are cited in the course of this chapter that it is not possible to discuss in detail. One rare text is Felipe Nunes', *Arte poetica, e da pintura e symmetria, con principios da Perspectiva*, 1615, Lisbon.

[14] Little biographical information is known about either author. They were both teachers of Law and Butrón served as a lawyer to the Consejo de Castilla. The following abbreviated forms of the authors names and the titles of their books will be used below: Gutiérrez's *Noticia* and Butrón's *Discursos*. Gallego's *El pintor de artesano a artista*, a history of the process of cultural and social recognition of painters, provides a résumé of their arguments for painting's status as a liberal art concentrating on their significance as engagements in the debates concerning the status of painters. Finally only the third of Gutiérrez's four books addresses painting and analysis is focused on this.

Two reasons may be suggested. Firstly, their authors were not painters, and secondly, their texts bear little relationship to the Italian models. Neither text makes extensive use of any treatises on painting, although, Butrón cited Vasari's *Lives* and a 'book printed in Rome by the academy of Painters' these were not discussed. Their primary use was as historical sources to which both texts contributed Iberian painters, marking an earlier stage of the emergence of a Spanish history of painting discussed in the first chapter.[15] However, relationships to sixteenth-century theoretical debates are identified, but no particular position is claimed. Instead they show an openness to a range of styles and describe painting in terms of verisimilitude as well as its aesthetic possibilities. The authors' distance from the practice of painting suggests that the ideas they discussed were part of a critical framework employed in the viewing of painting by an educated spectator, such as Palcotti had in mind.

Regarding the second reason, Menéndez Pelayo described Butrón's treatise as 'one of the most pedantic and cumbersome arguments... of Spanish legal literature'.[16] Although these comments are not wholly unjustified, the range of arguments and citations in Butrón's text is an example of the traditional 'argument from authority' found in treatises of the period. Bearing in mind Butrón's age his writing appears as a declaration of a young author's erudition and an advertisement of his skills. However an important feature of this methodology is that it reveals how painting was discussed with reference to not only renaissance authors, but also classical and religious writers, which is clearly illustrated in his theoretical discussion of the 'imitation of nature'.

The general discussion of painting in terms of its 'imitation of nature' undertaken by both texts places an emphasis on verisimilitude and stresses the mental

[15] To Gutiérrez's discussion of A. Rincón and Navarette Butrón added others including two Sevillian painters Pablo de Céspedes and Diego de Rómulo. Twelve years later Pacheco's biography of Velázquez would follow but then he was one of those who 'today... deserve great eulogies for their abilities, their talents, and genius [ingenio], of which their works gives such lucid demonstrations' (Butrón. (f.122v.))
[16] Menéndez Pelayo, 1947. (p. 403)

efforts it required. While this sought to distinguish painting from the mechanical arts, the authors' primary concern, it also illustrates Summers' arguments for the significance of Aristotelian traditions of thought in theories of painting. [17]

Gutiérrez asked the reader to consider the amount of study required first 'to conceive and apprehend in the mind the innumerable diversity of forms, and ideas... contained in nature' and then the efforts of understanding required to 'rationalise them, divide them, compose them, treating the variety of posture, light, shadow, perspective, proportions, geometry and arithmetic...'. From the discussion of the technical skills required by painters he turned to verisimilitude, such as the expression of ferocity in animals, and 'in men virtues and vices, even their thoughts and mental concepts [conceptos del animo]...'.[18] The lengthy lists he gave are frequently found in sixteenth century theories, such as the quotation from Dolce's discussion of colour in the first chapter.

Gutiérrez's final point is supported by a citation to Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, which recorded a series of questions on painting's potential to imitate, which Socrates asked the painter Parrhasius.[19] Their conversation addressed the following points. Firstly painting's ability to 'represent and reproduce figures high and low, in light and in shadow... young and old'; then its aesthetic potential through the combination of 'the most beautiful details of several... to make the whole figure look beautiful'; followed by the expression of mental states such as: '...nobility... servility...prudence ... and vulgarity... reflected in the face and in the attitudes of the body'. Parrhasius confirmed that all were achieved by painting. Gutiérrez only cited the third feature, signalling

[17] Calvo Seraller identified Benedetto Varchi's *Lezzione nella quale si disputa della maggioranza delle arti e qual sia più nobile* (Florence, 1546) as a source for Gutiérrez's Aristotelian-Thomistic reasoning.
[18] Gutiérrez.(p.117)
[19] Socrates' fourth and final questions addressed combined an aesthetic and ethical concern asking Parrhasius which he thought 'most pleasing... one whose features and bearing reflect a beautiful and good lovable character, or one who is the embodiment of what is ugly and depraved and hateful.' Parrhasius replied, 'No doubt there is a great difference, Socrates.' Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, III, x, 1-5, trans. O.J.Todd, (London: Loeb Classical Library, 1968) (pp.233-5)

paintings identification in terms of verisimilitude, which he linked to their appearance as lifelike. Paintings 'almost lack nothing more than to infuse them with spirit, and many times they appear to have it.'[20]

Butrón's discussion of imitation reveals the dualism of 'portrayal' and 'imitation'. In his first discourse he examined painting's 'perfections' and 'imitations of nature'. Neither classical nor 'modern' sources are cited, and his use of the terms of 'emular' and 'remedar' indicate the debate's diffusion through Iberian sources.[21] He described painting as, '... a 'portrayal' [remedo] of the works of God, and an 'imitation' [emulación] of nature; thus nothing is found that nature creates, which this does not copy, and happily perpetuate.'[22] The terms used by Butrón signal that the 'emulation of nature' consisted of selecting its best parts while the works of God were to be copied with out any process of selection. However, like Zuccari and later Pacheco, he distinguished the effect of *trompe l'oeil* from both 'imitation' and 'portrayal', revealing the importance attached to this feature of painting independent of any aesthetic doctrine.

'The superiority of this Art with shadow and relief help deceive the eye in such a way that the surface of the panel or canvas miraculously represents and depicts the concave and foreshortening of the object, the lights and shades of the darkest and subtlest shadows.'[23]

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[20] Gutiérrez.(p.118)

[21] Covarrubias Covarrubias Orozco, Sebastián de, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española*, (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1994) gives the following definitions for '**Remedar.** Contrahacer una cosa con otra que le sea semajante... y dícese propísimamente del eco, y del espejo.'; and '**mulo.** El contrario, el envidioso en un mesmo arte y exercicio, que procura siempre aventajarse; y muchas vezes se toma en buena parte quando la **2. emulación** es en cosas virutosas o razonables. The *Diccionario de Autoridades* (Madrid: 1979) describes **Remedar** as 'Imitar ò contrahacer una cosa, para hacer la semejante à otra. **Remedo.** Imitación o semejanza de una cosa a otra.'; and **Emulación.** En los que obran bien imitando la virtud y hechos heroicos de otros, es una imitación de la virtud...'.

[22] Butrón.(f.1v.) '... un remedo de las obras de Dios, y una emulación de la naturaleza; pues no se halla cosa que aquella crie, a la qual esta no la copie, y felicísamente la perpetúe.'

[23] Butrón.(f.1v.) 'La superioridad deste Arte con las sombras, y relieves de que se ayuda engaña la vista de manera, que lo llano de la tabla ò lienço milagrosamente repereserita y pinta lo cóncavo y relevado del objeto, los claros y escuros, lo fuerte y los suave de la más sutil sombra.'

Butrón, like Gutiérrez drew primarily on classical references, and also cited Xenophon, but he included the full range of Socrates' comments. Although his combination of 'portrayal' and 'imitation' is noted at various points in his text, neither is advocated as a theoretical position, while verisimilitude is a constant theme. The first discourse concludes citing Elio Lampridio's life of the Emperor Antonino Heliogabolus, which described a trick, played on the gluttons of the imperial court. The food of a banquet was painted so they would suffer being unable to eat what appeared so lifelike. Painting's verisimilitude is clearly identified with its capacity to effect its public; the Spectator's delight is linked to instruction!

Although both authors address painting in general, and in Gutiérrez's case the arts of design, their comments are primarily addressed to narrative painting and the religious *istoria*. Butrón referred to landscape painting but only in the sense that it provided the painter with experience for higher applications of paintings. He also addressed portraiture, but as an example of the moral purpose of classical painting, which he identified with the 'modern' religious painting. The discussion of religious painting, which occurs at a number of points in both texts, was focused on in an examination of Seneca's objections to painting. Coming at the end of their texts this discussion allowed both authors to review their earlier comments.

In Seneca's eighty-eighth letter to Lucillus the stoic philosopher argued that not only did painting fail to comply with his concept of philosophy, the only true liberal art as it taught virtue, but that it was an example of luxury. The discussion of the liberal arts had at various points provided both Gutiérrez and Butrón with the opportunity to prove that painting incites 'all kind of moral and theological virtues' and thus is like moral

philosophy.[24] They identified the Emperor Nero's vices as the principle cause of Seneca's opinions on painting. Drawing on Suetonius they argued that painters were encouraged to satisfy the Emperor tastes. On this basis they state that painting is not intrinsically immoral, and that religious imagery is a paradigm of its proper application.

Butrón discussed religious painting in more detail. In contrast to Gutiérrez's ten-page rebuttal of Seneca he provided eighteen folios of discussion, during which he addressed various aspects of religious painting. A further contrast of Butrón's erudite discussion is his more explicit engagement with painting in terms of Tridentine concerns. In the course of the *discurso* he cited a number of religious authors regarding the condemnation of lascivious painting and the value of religious painting. His sources range from the synods of the early church to the writers who responded to the twenty fifth Tridentine decree such as Paleotti, Gilio da Fabriano's *Due Dialogi* (Camerino: 1564), Johan Molanus' *de Historia SS. imaginum et picturarum* (Louvain: 1594), St. Teresa of Avila and *de Adoratione imaginum* by Gabriel Vázquez (1551-1604).[25] The range of authors cited indicates that in the twenty-five years since Gutiérrez's treatise the Tridentine decree on painting had become a central theme of Iberian criticism of painting.

The most significant aspect of Butrón's discussion of religious painting is that it is framed in terms of the representation of narrative. Arguing for the powerful effect of images Butrón wrote, 'One doesn't look at a painting because it is a canvas or panel, but at what it represents, and places before the eyes.'[26] He qualified this arguing that it is painting's educational function that is important. An illustrated catechism produced by

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[24] Gutiérrez.(p.197-8) Seneca, *Ad Lucilium epistulae morales*, vol. II, no. 88, trans. R.Gummere, (London: Loeb Classical library, 1920) (p.359)

[25] Butrón. (f.90v.) The *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, (Madrid: Espasa Calpe,) gives the title of Vázquez's book as *de cultu adorationis*.

[26] Butrón. (f.87v.) 'No mira a lo que es por se lienço, o tabla, sino a lo que representa, y pone delante de los ojos...'

two Jesuits John Romanus and Peter Canisius is cited as an example.[27] It consisted of a series of prints to educate the illiterate and children.[28] Butrón went on to argue that their catechism illustrates why portraits were invented in the classical period; to perpetuate the memory of heroic deeds through lifelike representation.[29]

The verisimilitude implied by the first statement is clearly stated with reference to portraiture. While the references to classical portraiture signal the continued engagement with painting in terms Shearman discussed in relation to earlier Italian art, Butrón applied them to the religious *istoria*. Hence the contributions of pagan culture may be overlooked. A different way of looking at painting is suggested, in these comments, the spectator is supposed to concentrate on the representation rather than the medium. Butrón's discussion indicates that religious painting was to be seen in terms of its narrative, much as the renaissance critics described the *istoria* through *ekphrasis*.

Part iv)

Both authors' discussion of religious painting focused on the spectator Paleotti was chiefly concerned with, the 'simple'. However, by countering Seneca's arguments both authors imply that religious painting would appeal also to the 'scholarly'. An examination of Gutiérrez and Butrón's discussion of painting's relationship to the liberal arts, which occupies most of the texts, reveals the type of concerns 'scholarly' spectators may have considered when viewing a painting.

Calvo argued that the intellectual dimensions of painting were given primacy in theorists such as Carducho and this transcended any divisions between 'portrayal' and

[27] The *New Catholic Encyclopaedia* records how an *Illustrated Catechism* was published in 1589, from the Plantin Press in Antwerp, where Nadal's *Imagines* were also published.
[28] Butrón. (f.90v.) It has not been possible to examine this work but it provides another example of the use of prints for evangelising along with Nadal's.
[29] Butrón .(f.90v.)

'imitation'.[30] The same may be said of Gutiérrez and Butrón's discussion of painting's relationships to the liberal arts. Furthermore, what is signalled in their discussions of painting's relationship to other disciplines is an intellectual dimension of the 'imitation of nature'.

Both authors introduced the main focus of their texts by reviewing definitions of the liberal arts. The *Noticia's* first two books draw on a range of classical sources, examining the distinction between the mechanical and liberal arts, and then the application of these classifications. Gutiérrez's preoccupation was that the classical definition of the liberal arts as Grammar, Dialectic, Rhetoric, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry and Astronomy excludes, Poetry, History and the Arts of Design. However, his second book concludes by arguing that these seven liberal arts are in fact the foundations of what he goes on to term the supreme and absolute arts, which places Painting among Architecture, Theology, Jurisprudence, Medicine and Philosophy. Quintillian and Seneca provide the main support for his argument.[31] Butrón's third discourse reviews these arguments briefly before beginning his examination of painting's rivalry with various arts. In the previous chapter the analogies of painting to poetry, history and rhetoric were examined. It is these disciplines that both authors concentrate on and are examined here.[32]

Gutiérrez, unlike Butrón, did not follow the classical liberal arts, and began by discussing the supreme arts, Poetry and History. His description of 'the emulation and rivalry that painting and the arts of design have with Poetry' and later with History recalls Danti's analogy of these two disciplines with 'portrayal' and 'imitation'.

[30] Francisco Calvo Seraller, 'El problema del naturalismo en la crítica artística del Siglo de Oro', *Cuenta y Razón*, 7, 1982, pp.83-99.
[31] See: Quintillian, *Insitutio Oratoria*, vol.I, bk.1, ch.17, trans. H.E.Butler, (London: Loeb Classical library, 1949); Seneca, *Ad Lucilium epistulae morales*, vol. II, no. 88, 1920.
[32] Their brief discussion of the numerical arts focused on a formalist analysis of painting. Butrón's discourses on Arithmetic and Geometry cite Dürer's studies of geometry and proportion Juan de Arfe y Villafañe's *Descripción de la traza y ornato de la custodia de plata de la Santa Iglesia de Sevilla* (Seville: 1587).

However, Gutiérrez's discussion maintains a focus on verisimilitude. A general analogy that both poet and painter imitate nature, the one with colours, the other with words introduces the chapter and is developed in accordance with Gutiérrez's wider emphasis on verisimilitude. Alluding to poetic *ekphrasis* he claimed that poets gain fame as their verses 'represent things in such a way we seem to see them' and on this basis 'the painter ought to paint figures in such a way that they appear to be speaking with spirit and that the other things trick us appearing true.'[33] Gutiérrez's comments reveal the close link between the discussion of painting and traditions of classical poetry.

Gutiérrez went on to acknowledge that both painting and poetry require mental planning. His chapter concludes quoting Michelangelo's sonnet 'Non ha l' ottimo artista alcun concetto' as a paradigm of the mental planning required.[34] In the previous chapter the links between the concept of the idea and aesthetic principles were addressed. Gutiérrez's discussion alludes to these links when he cautioned painters in their use of mental concepts with regard to decorum. Having considered poetry's use of fiction to aggrandise their subject, although without departing from the truth, he argued that painters do the same to make their subjects more 'beautiful', giving the example of Apelles' portrait of Antigonus, which concealed his injured eye. Gutiérrez argued that beauty must be mediated by the truth, which continued his emphasis on the 'imitation of nature'. His discussion of Rhetoric went on to develop this point, not in terms of aesthetics, but for the composition of a narrative in painting.

Gutiérrez's discussion of History follows a similar dual pattern, except that history is identified with prudence and virtue. The advantage of painting over history

[33] Gutiérrez.(p.158) 'El poeta para alcançar fama... deve en sus versos representar las cosas de manera que parezca que las estamos viendo. ... El pintor y los demás profesores destas artes para ganar así mismo nombre, como Apeles Ticiano, y nuestro español el mudo, deve pintar las personas de manera que nos parezca que están hablando y con espíritu, y que las demás cosas nos engañen pareciéndonos verdaderas.'

[34] Michelangelo's sonnet is later cited by Pacheco in 1619 and Butrón in 1626. 'The greatest artist does not have any concept which a single piece of marble does not itself contain within its excess, though only a hand which obeys the intellect can discover it...' (*Michelangelo: The Poems*, trans. C.Ryan, (London: J.M.Dent, 1996) (p.139))

was that it allowed past events to be seen as present. Distinguishing the 'simple' from the 'scholarly' spectator, Gutiérrez argued that 'All the people' benefit from this, but distinguished those who benefit in a sense of philosophical virtue, from the illiterate population who learn about God and the through images.[35]

Poetry and History as supreme arts are based in the study of Grammar. Gutiérrez only briefly considered Grammar but it was the first art Butrón discussed. He argued that Grammarians have to know about all the arts and as painters have to do the same they emulate them. Butrón cited the argument that painters should be well versed in all forms of knowledge. However, he cited this point from *De Poësi et Pictura ethica, humana et Fabulosa collata cum vera, honesta, et Sacra* by the Jesuit author Antonio Possevino.[36] Possevino's comment indicates the ideological imperative placed on this Renaissance topic during the Counter-Reformation. Possevino expected painters to know anatomy and both natural and moral philosophy, in order to paint a subject showing the effects of mind, which suggests that the 'imitation of nature' was viewed in intellectual terms, and that it engaged with moral issues.

Possevino classified four intellectual areas of painting. [37]

'Painting is Divine, Natural, Moral and Fabulous/mythical. All extolling of its praises is well merited as it not only imitates the created but even that which is reached not with discourse but by faith.'[38]

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[35] Gutiérrez.(p.166-7)
[36] First published in 1593, and another edition in 1595, which is cited here. Hereafter referred to as *De Poësi....*
[37] *De Poësi..* , 1595. (p.279).
[38] Butrón. (f.9v.-10r.) 'Es la pintura Divina, Natural, Moral, y Fabulosa. Bien merecen todo encarecimiento sus alabanzas, pues no solo imita lo criado pero aun lo que no se alcança con el discurso, sino por la Fè.'

This model of interpretation can be traced back to medieval textual exegesis and was employed throughout the Renaissance in emblem books and discussions of mythology such as, Juan Pérez de Moya's *Philosfía Secreta.*[39] In terms of the discussion of painters' spectators it provides another perspective to consider an intellectual engagement with painting by the 'scholarly' spectator. The Sevillian texts examined below provide examples of the application of these categories.

Before turning to History it should be noted that Butrón did not consider Poetry specifically, although a number of his many citations of Possevino acknowledge that the Jesuit discussed both painters and poets. Possevino's opinion that Painting rivals History more than others, as it is 'notablemente necessaria' opens the discussion on History.[40] Possevino was concerned with religious history and Butrón's discourse focuses on the Tridentine concern for historical decorum in religious painting. Regarding the problems of erroneous paintings, Butrón repeated Possevino's 'healthy' advice that anyone wanting to paint a subject touching on the history of Christ, or his church, should consult the theologians.[41] The powerful effects Butrón ascribed to religious paintings, noted above, provides a context to understand the priority for these historical issues. He continued to address painting's emulation of matters of state, which opened a further context to apply the study of history. In its secular role, painting is identified with classical traditions of honorary portraiture as mentioned above.

The discussion of Rhetoric provided these authors with the opportunity to examine how painting communicated its historical or moral truth. Gutiérrez's thirteenth chapter begins by outlining the need for decorum in speaking and describes the similarities of the two arts. Orators, he said, have to have experience in a range of styles

[39] (Madrid: Cátedra, 1995) First published in 1585, Madrid. His text discusses various approaches to study classical mythology – literal, allegorical, anagogical, tropological and natural. His own discussion is based on a threefold approach – historical, physical and moral.
[40] *De Poësi...* , 1595. (p. 293)
[41] Butrón. (f.11r.) *De Poësi...*, 1595. (p.297)

'grave, medium, humble, and mixed' ['grave, mediano, humilde, y mixto'] which must always correspond with their material, such as letters, histories, prayers, and public sermons.[42] He distinguished between a style for prudence and another for doctrine, and argued that the orator must be able to demonstrate all kinds of emotions, 'anger, compassion, fear, love' in order to communicate his message to the audience and persuade them with it. The same applies to painting, in which,

'each figure should conform with what it represents, by various styles and modes: rustic, plebeian, noble, serious, modest, humble, honest, dishonest, proud, violent, cheerful, fearful, bold: making understood... all that is enclosed in their minds [animos] with varied and pleasing [graciosas] postures, shadows, and colours, that are in these arts, like in rhetoric, the forms, figures and genres of speaking.'[43]

Gutiérrez's list echoes the range of details given earlier in the discussion of imitation, but in this list of 'styles and modes' a range of ekphrastic responses to painting are offered. The close relationship between painting and rhetoric is again illustrated.

A further example is given when Gutiérrez returned to the portrait of Antigonus. He referred to Quintillian's discussion of Apelles' concealment of his sitter's missing eye as an example of *decorum* in the use of figures of thought or speech.[44] He developed this by discussing the concealment of a face as a strategy to express emotion.

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[42] Gutiérrez.(P. 175) 'Porque si para ser perfecto los Oradores han de estar diestros y esperimentados en el estilo del decir, grave, mediano, humilde, y mixto, correspondiendo siempre a la materia que se trata: de una manera en las cartas, de otra en las historias, de otra en los razonamientos, oraciones, y sermones públicos'

[43] Gutiérrez.(P.175-6) 'también tiene necesidad de saber todas estas cosas el que ha de ser perfecto artífice en estas artes del dibuxo, y las deve guardar con gran puntualidad, pintando a cada figura conforme a lo que representa, de varias maneras y modos: que rústica, que plebeya, que noble, grave, mediana, humilde, honesta, deshonesta, sobervia, airada, alegre, temorosa, atrevida: Dando a entender (si asi se puede dezir) todo lo que tiene encerrado en los ánimos, con varias y graciosas posturas, sombras, y colores, que son en estas artes, como en la retórica, las formas, figuras, y géneros del decir.'

[44] Quintillian, 1949. (bk.II. p.29)

Such strategies may be identified in painting as an example of Shearman's particularising viewpoints, and it is encountered in Velázquez's *Two men at a table* and the *Kitchen scene with the supper at Emmaus*. While the former remains enigmatic the latter engages the spectator in the narrative. The maid's lowered head not only guides the spectators eye but the light catching the right side of her face draws attention to the angle of her head. Is she about to turn? Has she heard Christ bless the bread? Is she going to join the Spectator in seeing the resurrected Christ? Such questions take on the status of rhetorical figures. In the final chapter this dimension of Velázquez's painting is examined in more depth.

Rhetoric provided Butrón with the opportunity to focus on the main themes of his discussion: painting's use of a range of intellectual disciplines, the 'imitation and perfection of nature', and its capacity to 'instruct' and 'move' its spectators. Butrón started by quoting a number of authors, including Quintillian, saying that the aim of rhetoric is to speak well. He concluded that painting's aim is to paint well. In this vein he continued the earlier comments that painters amend the imperfections in nature. 'The eminent painter is he that paints a man so perfect, that no comparison is found in nature.'[45] He highlighted the fact that the painter does not stop being a great painter 'for appearing false in comparison to the common order of nature'.[46] The analogies between perfection in paintings and the pre- and post-lapsarian states of creation noted in Zuccari's treatise emerge again in his comment that only Christ and Adam were perfect. Butrón's comments approach Zuccari's discussion that the art of painting can create new paradises on earth.

[45] Butrón. (f.20v.) '... eminente pintor sera el que pintare un hombre tan perfecto, que no sé le halló comparación en lo criado.'
[46] Butrón. (f.20v.) '... no dexara de ser gran pintor porque parece miente al común orden de naturaleza.'

Following Quintillian's tripartite division of the arts into three genres Butrón addressed painting's 'mental' dimensions.[47] Qunintillian divided the arts into the following categories: *Theoreticum*: those concerned only with speculation and contemplation, such as astrology; *Practico*: practical arts only concerned with actions such as jumping and running and other physical activities; Finally there are those that embrace both being based in speculation but directed towards action such as rhetoric, medicine and painting. In this analogy the mental activity of painting and its engagement with a range of disciplines is indicated, which again suggests painting's appeal to 'scholarly' spectators.

In the final discussion the two arts were addressed in terms of their ability to create both an illusion and persuade and convince the public. In his conclusion Butrón implied painting's status as a second form of preaching saying that painting does rhetoric great advantages 'penetrating the emotions of the mind [animo] with the resemblance it represents'.[48] Gutiérrez's description of painting's rhetorical attributes is indicated here as well as the earlier emphasis on the powerful effect of visual images. However, following the second point it is also implied that painting moved and instructed the minds of spectators. Both these texts argue that painters do and should engage with their spectators through the study of various disciplines applied to the composition of painting. A further dimension of this is that painter's task of delighting, instructing and moving spectators was both theorised and discussed. It provides a framework to consider painters and spectators attitudes to paintings.

The clearest indicator that painting's narrative was viewed in terms of a range of intellectual subjects is Butrón's use of the Counter-Reformation theorist Possevino. Throughout the course of Butrón's treatise there are frequent citations to the Jesuit's *De*

[47] Quintillian, 1949. bk. II. xviii.
[48] Butrón.(f.23v.) '...penetra los afectos del ánimo con la semejança que representa...'

Poësi... In the last chapter it was noted how this treatise has been considered of limited importance, but Butrón's text indicates the dissemination of Possevino's ideas. *De Poësi...* tends to be considered in isolation: however, it was in fact the seventeenth book of the *Bibliothecha Selecta de Ratione Studiorum* (1593). The *Ratione Studiorum* was the curriculum taught in the Jesuit colleges that were then rapidly spreading throughout Europe.[49] Possevino's *Bibliotheca...* is one of a number of texts produced by the Society of Jesus for their pedagogical mission. It is divided into eighteen books. The first book introduces the importance of learning and the next ten are concerned with Theology and doctrinal issues. The final seven address Philosophy, Jurisprudence, Medicine, Mathematics, History, Poetry and Painting, and finally Ciceronian rhetoric. Though a detailed consideration of Possevino's writing cannot be undertaken here, its relationship to Butrón's treatise indicates an historical example of two features of Summers' 'complex imitation'.

The *De Poësi...* indicates the 'control' exerted by the church on painting and its discussion. It has been shown that this text set the areas of learning required of painters, and it also attacked the representation of the nude. Possevino echoed a more general opinion that is in fact one dimension of a more profound control exerted by the church during the Counter-Reformation. A concern of both the *Bibliotheca...*and *De Poësi...* was the application of classical learning to support Catholic doctrine. Bernard Weinberg, writing on the latter, summarises Possevino's study of pagan poetry as 'a kind of anthology of Greek and Roman writings... which correspond to the doctrinal, ethical, scientific, and stylistic principles of the Christian critic – who is also a Christian theologian...'.[50] Possevino's text provides a paradigm of the relationship between

[49] For a study of Jesuit colleges in Seville see M. Murphy, *St. Gregory's College Seville 1592-1767*, (Southampton: The Catholic Record Society, 1992)
[50] Bernard Weinberg, *A history of literary criticism in the Italian Renaissance*, vol.II, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961) (p.338)

Christian and classical learning during the Counter-Reformation and its subjection to decorum. Butrón's treatise shows how this cultural development informed the discussion of painting, which is particularly clear in his use of a range of classical citations in the discussion of Seneca. He drew on literary authors such as Ovid and Terence to attack the practice of nude painting.

Possevino's project was by no means original; he refocused, with a moral purpose, concerns that had been integral to the study of classical literature and history since the beginning of the Renaissance. Butrón's awareness of other approaches to this material is detected in his citation of the Flemish scholars Erasmus (1466-1536) and Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) as authorities on Seneca. His method of argument and scholarship suggests the *ekphrastic* discussion of painting would have drawn on a range of texts and debates, which defy attempts to identify his writing with any particular ideological position. In the following study of Sevillian spectators' attitudes to painting further examples of the relationship of religious and classical culture are examined.

The recognition of painting's spectators is a feature both Gutiérrez and Butrón addressed. They focused on the criticism of a painter's ability. Both writers signalled painters' awareness of criticism in terms of the tradition of signing their works using the Latin imperfect tense 'pingebat' or 'faciebat', which indicated that the work fell short of perfection or the painters 'mental' image of it.[51] In the foreground of the Sevillian painter Juan de Uceda's Holy *Family* two magpies hold a piece of paper on which is written 'Johanes Uceda Castro Berde faciebat Anno 1623'.[52]

Gutiérrez's analysis of a Latin saying, 'Praefiat medicum esse, quam pictorem', illustrates a painter's dissatisfaction with his spectators. [53] The phrase refers to an unnamed painter who gave up painting for medicine because people always found faults

[51] Gutiérrez.(p.152)
[52] This work is in the collection of Museo de Bellas Artes de Sevilla.
[53] Gutiérrez.(p.153) No source is cited.

in his work when there didn't exist. The painter preferred medicine because success brought honours, but if he failed then 'the earth conceals everything, and soon people forget'!

Butrón also cited dissatisfaction with the ability of critics to manage these criteria. His fourth discourse, which opens the discussion of the relationship between painting and the liberal arts, discusses not only 'painting's emulation of and rivalry with Grammar, History, Philosophy and Statecraft' but also 'what parts a painter has to know in order to be able to call himself by that name; and the difficulty comprised by a knowledge of painting'.[54] Addressing this final section Butrón clearly demonstrated the relationship between painting and rhetoric. He paraphrased Lucian's *ekphrasis* of Zeuxis' painting of a female Centaur suckling her young with a male centaur in the background. The painting's invention and 'skill [primor]' are identified as the two principle qualities of the painting.[55] When the painting was exhibited the 'people' were full of praise for the invention but overlooked its 'skill', in the sense of fine craftsmanship. Butrón classified those that respond to painting in terms of the extraordinary, as the common people, and implied that 'skill' is recognised by the educated viewer. Butrón quoted Zeuxis' response,

'Come on, Micio, cover up the picture and all of you pick it up and take it home. These spectators are praising only the mere clay of my work, but as to the effects of light, they

[54] Butrón.(f.8r.) '... que partesd aya de tener un pintor para poder llamarselo: y la dificultad que tiene el concimiento de la pintura.'

[55] Butrón.(f.15r.) Covarrubias does not define **Primor**. The *Diccionario de Autoridades* offers the following: 'Destreza, habilidad, esmero o excelencia en hacer o decir alguna cosa. 2 se toma por el mismo artificio y hermosura de la obra executada con él.'

do not worry much whether they are beautiful and skilfully executed, and the novelty of the subject goes for more than the accuracy of its parts.'[56]

Butrón went onto criticise people who discussed painting without understanding the difficulties it encapsulates. The ability to appreciate the formal features of painting is advocated as an important skill, which Butrón identified as a defining quality of classical patrons. Butrón's comments illustrate a distinction between Paleotti's 'simple' and 'scholarly spectators'. The latter were not concerned simply with narrative but also with the technical aspects of painting.

Butrón argued that the educated spectator should acquire actual knowledge of painting: 'To know an art it is necessary to work with it' and that he 'who dares to censure' should not ignore 'the cartoons and models drawn to imitate nature, and the speculation required before and after the 'colouring'.'[57] The 'scholarly' spectator was encouraged to engage with Paleotti's first criteria, 'painters'. A number of examples, such as Apelles and the cobbler, are given which record the correct use of criticism, i.e. based on experience. As well as the concern that patrons could better venerate painters, an indication of the concern to control painting emerges as Butrón argued that it would be far better esteemed 'if only it were handled by those that understood it'. [58]

Butrón distinguished painters and educated spectators from the crowd in terms of a trained vision.

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[56] Lucian, *Zeuxis or Antiochus, Works*, vol.VI, trans. K. Kilburn, (London: Loeb Classical Library 1959) (p.163)

[57] Butrón.(f.15v.-16r.) The arguments for an educated spectator based on the appreciation of painting's formal and aesthetic qualities provides a context to understand the practice of painting by nobles and patrons which was to both emulate their classical precedents and hone their critical skills for looking at paintings. A number of Velázquez's patrons followed this advice. Juan de Fonseca, The 3rd Duke of Alcalá and Philip IV. Pacheco provides a more extensive list in the *Arte* (bk.I,ch.9).

[58] Butrón.(f.16v.) 'O cuan estimados sería las artes si solo las manejassen los que las entienden!'

'Wise eyes (ojos doctos) they call those that understand, and know the elements of painting, of those that combine erudition and the necessary doctrine. Awoken eyes, practised eyes, and through the continual work, and study copying nature's diversities, and originals of eminent painters, they will be able to judge the elements of which the disputes consist.'[59]

The source cited for this view was Ludovico Celio Rodiginio *Antiguas Lecciones* (bk.29, ch.24), but the origin of these ideas is indicated in a quotation from Cicero's *Paradoxa Stoicorum*.

'You stand gaping spell-bound before a painting of Aetion or a statue of Polyclitus. I pass over the question where you got it from and how you came to have it, but when I see you gazing and marvelling and uttering cries of admiration, I judge you to be the slave of every foolishness. 'Then are not these kinds of things delightful?' Granted that they are, for we also have trained eyes [oculos eruditos];...'[60]

Butrón's discussion raises some important issues regarding the classification of spectators. Echoing Agucchi's use of Aristotle Butrón stated that the 'crowd' were less capable of appreciating the qualities of painting, a concern raised in Cicero's in *De oratore*. Cicero drew attention to the fact that the unlearned crowd could be swayed by rhetoric. David Summers examined his discussion in terms of the theorisation of the

[59] Butrón. (f.17r.) '... Ojos doctos se llaman los que entienden, y conocen las partes de la pintura, de que colige la erudición, la doctrina que necesitan. Ojos despiertos, ojos exercitados, y por el continuo trabajo, y estudio en el copiar diversos naturales, y originales de eminentes Pintores, podrán juzgar las partes de que consta lo que disputan.'

[60] Butrón.(f.17v.) Cicero, *Paradoxa Stociorum*, trans. H.Rackham. (London: Loeb Classical Library, 1953). (p.289)

'common sense'.[61] The exact sense of Cicero's comments is unclear, as they may also signal a concern for the inability of the crowd to understand rhetoric. However, in regard to painting it is apparent that the 'unskilled crowd' did respond to its rhetoric. The emphasis placed on imitation may be seen as an intent to reach the 'crowd', which motivated Paleotti's arguments. Summers framed the experience of imitation in terms of pleasure, but the concern for the crowd should not be isolated from the ideological concerns of instruction, as implied in Paleotti's discussion of delight. The significance of Paleotti's delight, that would later be developed in Kantian aesthetics, as Summers indicates cannot be addressed here, but a number of features of the 'political question' of painting and common sense, which Summers identified, are treated in the following discussion.

The first point is that the same painting may elicit distinct responses from different classes of spectators. It is also significant that Butrón employed a mythological painting to illustrate this point. Religious painting he argued was seen in terms of representation not technique. Hence when examining a classical subject the spectator may let his or her attention wander. Butrón's discussion of the spectator aimed to show the importance of a rational engagement of painting not simply in terms of delight and illusion. So it may be concluded that Butrón's 'scholarly' spectator would not have been tricked by the lifelike appearance of the Heliogabolus' painted banquet. Unlike the gluttons they would have appreciated how the illusion was achieved.

The comments on the spectator examined so far make no reference to an erudite response beyond the criticism of painting in formal terms. An explanation for why the discussion of the liberal arts is not related to the discussion of the spectator is that Butrón emphasised the knowledge that painters should acquire. It may be assumed that,

[61] Summers, 1987. (pp.128-32)

like Butrón himself, the educated spectator was well versed in the liberal arts, which he wanted painters to develop. His view of 'ojos doctos', or learned vision, combined Paleotti's classifications of 'painters' and the 'scholarly'.

However, Butrón's treatise as a whole is concerned with the moral value of painting, which was the focus of Cicero's concept of 'oculos eruditos'. The *Paradoxa Stoicorum* continues, '... but I beg of you, do let the charm that these things are deemed to possess make them serve not as fetters for men but as amusements for children.' Although Butrón did not quote this, his text proves that painting was in no way 'fetters for men' and arguing against Cicero's criticism showed that painting was a medium of virtue and Catholic doctrine.

Part v)

The Sevillian texts examined in the following sections provide a historical basis for the theoretical discussion of the spectators' 'ojos doctos' discussed so far and develop a focus on Seville. *Ekphrastic* discussion of the 'imitation of nature' is combined with discussion of painting that draws on classical and Biblical history, poetry, and theology. Two of the principal areas of Sevillian culture are evident; Classicism and religious reform, and these require some preliminary discussion before engaging with the texts.

Lleó's essay 'The cultivated elite of Velázquez's Seville' discussed the classical interests of Seville's nobility and scholarly community.[62] His earlier study *Nueva Roma; mitología y humanismo en el Renacimiento sevillano* examines the application of 'humanist' learning in the patronage of architecture, sculpture and painting. Palace design, temporary monuments such as catafalques, collections of classical sculpture are some of the areas he discussed.[63] The Dukes of Alcalá were one focus of his study and in their palace, the Casa de Pilatos, adorned with the city's 'most important collection of antique statuary', they commissioned Pacheco to paint a series of mythological ceiling paintings in 1603, for which he was paid the following year.[64]

Pacheco's paintings are a testament to the local traditions of classical scholarship. The central work depicts the twelve Olympian gods with Hercules seated before them. Lleó identified the surrounding paintings as *the fall of Icarus*, *the rape of Ganymede*, *Astrea* (the goddess of Justice), *the fall of Phaeton*, *Bellerophon on Pegasus*, and *Envy*. In an additional room there is a *Banquet of the Gods*, which has been attributed to Pacheco, but Lleó drew attention to the signature of Jakob van der Gracht, and the paintings' similarity with those by Ottavio Semino in the Palazzo Pallavicini in Genoa. Van der Gracht served in the Duke's service while he was Viceroy to Naples, and had lived in Genoa much of his life.

The allegorical content of the painting has been interpreted by Lleó and Rosa Lopez Torrijos, amongst others. Consensus seems to have been reached that the paintings are allegorical representations of virtue as the path to heaven. Lleó described Hercules as a 'philosophical... almost neo-stoic, model of austerity and self-control...' and the supporting scenes depict exempla of the virtues to be followed and vices

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[62] *Velázquez in Seville*, 1996. (pp.23-8)
[63] V. Lleó Cañal, *Nueva Roma; mitología y humanismo en el Renacimiento sevillano* (Seville: 1979)
[64] V.Lleó Cañal, 'Los techos pintados de la Casa de Pilatos', *Velázquez y Sevilla*, (173-81) Also for a discussion of the 1601 mythological program by Alonso Vázquez that provided a model for Pacheco's see: Rosa López Torrijos, 'El techo de la casa del poeta Juan de Arguijo', same source. (pp.183-96)

avoided along the 'caelum via'.[65] Pacheco recorded in the *Arte* that the scholar Francisco de Medina had proposed the iconographical scheme. The research into its literary sources cannot be examined here, however, the paintings are testament to the historical interests in classical mythologies and their use as a subject in poetry.

In 1601 the house of the poet Juan de Arguijo had been decorated with a program of ceiling paintings by Alonso Vázquez. It provided an important precedent for Pacheco's work, which repeats many of the same subjects. López Torrijos discussed Arguijo's program in terms of the traditions of *ut pictura poesis*. Arguijo's poems themselves offer an important source for the interpretation of these paintings and the ceiling has been interpreted as a eulogy of the poet and the power of poetry, inspired by the muses, to restore the values of the Golden Age. An important distinction between these two iconographical programs is that Pacheco's works gave a moralising interpretation, on Medina's part, of classical mythology. Medina's educational role in the Alcalá household would have encouraged this, as well as, Arguijo's by then apparent bankruptcy. However, these two works were the last examples of mythological painting in Seville. It would not be until Velázquez's *the Triumph of Bacchus* (1628-9) and *Apollo in Vulcan's Forge* (1630), and Zurbarán's series of the labours of Hercules (1634) painted for Philip IV that mythological themes were returned to in Spanish painting.

López Torrijos' *La mitología en la pintura Española del Siglo de Oro* examines the issue of the lack of mythological painting in Spain compared to other European countries during the seventeenth-century.[66] She acknowledged that the control exerted by the Church as a patron was fundamental in this. However, her study, recognising that the court and members of the nobility continued to commission and buy mythological

[65] Lleó, *Velázquez y Sevilla.* (p178)
[66] (Madrid: 1985)

paintings from other countries, indicated that mythological painting was still popular.[67] It was the tendency to paint nude, especially female figures, which most concerned the Church. Again this did not effect the collectors of painting. Fernando Checa has identified the locations of Titian's mythological paintings in the palace decorations carried out during the reign of Philip IV.[68] Although attacks on the nude by writers such as Possevino, and echoed by Butrón, did not effect the collecting or display of painting a marked shift can be noted in the subject matter treated by painters.

Pacheco and Vázquez's paintings in one sense mark the end of an era. In 1604, the Archbishop Fernando Niño de Guevara (1541-1609) initiated another series of ceiling paintings in the Archbishop's palace. A number of painters have been suggested as authors, but the most recent studies have decided classified them as the work of two anonymous painters.[69] The decorations were concentrated in two areas of the palace. The first in the 'Salon Principal' consists of a complex arrangement of sixty paintings. The three largest paintings depict *the fall of Simon the Magus*, *the Archangel St. Michael fighting against the demons* and *Daniel in the lions' den.* The other paintings treat Old and New Testament subjects, allegories and symbolic decorative animals and plants. The program has been subjected to a detailed analysis of its textual sources and interpreted in terms of the Church's Tridentine role of fighting heresy, maintaining ecclesiastical traditions, and with a special focus on the mission of the priesthood and the importance of ecclesiastical hierarchy.[70] The paintings are a further testament to Seville's 'scholarly' spectators but now in terms of the Tridentine reforms in Seville.

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[67] Kagan and Cherry's study of inventories in Madrid reveals the extent of collecting of mythological paintings, and also the greater quantity of religious works.
[68] *Tiziano y la monarquía hispánica*, (Madrid: Nerea, 1994)
[69] E. Valdivieso & J. M. Serrera, *Catálogo de las pinturas del Palacio Arzobispal*, (Seville: 1979)
[70] J. Fernández López, 'Los techos pintados del Palacio Arzobispal de Sevilla', *Velázquez y Sevilla*, pp. 158-71. (p.163)

In the Prelate's Gallery, the second area of decorations, there are twenty-seven paintings. The largest are a *bodegón with Kitchen scene* and Allegories of Air, Earth, Water and Fire. Allegories of the seasons and four scenes from the life of Noah divide the larger paintings. Decorative still-life paintings of fruit frame this central program. Critical attention has focused on this work as an important example for the emergence of genre painting and 'naturalism'. Jordan and Cherry have interpreted these works as celebrating God's provision for man.

During Velázquez's apprenticeship a whole new 'iconographical program' was undertaken as a response to the debates concerning the mystery of the Immaculate Conception. After the controversy broke out in 1613, the new Archbishop Pedro de Castro (1534-1623) had undertaken to defend the mystery and it became a focus of devotion.[71] The term 'iconographical program' is used in a broad sense in that the whole city participated in the celebration of the mystery, through the decoration of churches, festivals and publications. Furthermore the iconography was subjected to scrutiny and formalised.

Juan de Roelas's 1616 *Immaculate Conception* [fig. 33] is testament to this. A procession that took place on the 29th of June is recorded in the lower half of the painting. Not only are Paleotti's public clearly represented in the painting, it is a rare illustration of the processions that took place at that time. A monumental arch erected for the event is depicted, although its scale is clearly modified by the painting's composition. The text that leads the eye up to the range of biblical and ecclesiastical authorities depicted in the heavens indicates the work intended for the 'scholarly spectator'. However the contrast of the heavenly debates and the streets of Seville

[71] The 'Marian war' was sparked off by a sermon given by a Dominican Friar 1613, which questioned the Virgin's Immaculate status. The effects of this led to extensive displays of Marian devotion in Seville, examples of which are discussed below. For an extensive acount of the wider developments of this affair see Nazario Pérez, *Historia Mariana de España* (Toledo: 1995).

provide a contrast of the 'portraits' of the Sevillians with the 'idealised' images of the spiritual congress.

Velázquez's three principal religious works reflect the attention devoted to Mariolatry in terms of iconography, theology and the history of the cult of the Virgin, and the Seville oeuvre is testament to the prominence of the Church. However it is not the case that classical scholarship ceased. The poem celebrating Velázquez's wedding referred to Pegasus and Bacchus, and its jocular discussion of religious subjects contrasts to the piety often associated with the seventeenth-century Catholicism. In the following discussion it is shown how classical culture continued to inform the criticism of paintings both secular and religious.

Part vi)

The relationship of painting and poetry is most apparent in Pablo de Céspedes' *Poema de la Pintura* and Juan de Jáuregui's *Diálogo entre la naturlaeza y los dos artes pintura y escultura.*[72] Their poems, providing descriptions of painting's characteristics and qualities, illustrate the shared interests between painter and 'scholarly' spectator described in Butrón's text. Until now discussion of these works has focused on them as expressions of painting theory and their authors 'allegiances' to Italian writers. In particular attention has focused on Céspedes acquaintance with Federico Zuccari, during his two stays in Rome, first in between c.1570 and 1577, and then from 1580 to 1582. Jonathan Brown's essay *La Teoría del Arte de Pablo de Céspedes* identified an

[72] Sections of Céspedes poem were published in Pacheco's *Arte*. In 1800 Ceán Bermúdez published all the extant writings in his *Diccionario...* (Madrid: 1965), vol. III, pp. 269-352. A detailed study of Céspedes has been provided by Jesús Rubio Lapaz, *Pablo de Céspedes y su círculo. Humanismo y contrarreforma en la cultura anadaluza del Renacimiento al Barroco*, Granada, 1993. Jáuregui's poem was first published in Seville in 1618 in the collection *Rimas*.

emphasis on design over colour in Céspedes writing.[73] However, any comments need to be cautious, as Brown advises, as the poem exists only in fragmentary form.

The *Poema's* first fragment signals Céspedes awareness of theories, such as Danti and Zuccari's, describing the world as the 'very portrait of the eternal mind' and later referring to painting's perfection of nature.[74] In contrast Jáuregui's poem clearly described verisimilitude. Drawing attentions to painting's powerful effects the personification of Painting described her ability to feign the natural, 'deceive the eye' and cause the spectator to fall in love.[75] Jáuregui's translation of Ausonio's epigram *on the statue of Dido* (CXI), as well as others by Martial, reveal his knowledge of the epigrammatic traditions discussed by Shearman.[76]

Rather than consider either poem for its theoretical comments they may be read as a response by the 'scholarly' to painting. Although both authors were painters their education, status and other intellectual activities distinguished them from other painters, even Pacheco. Both held official posts unrelated to painting at different points in their lives: Céspedes in Cordóba Cathedral and Jáuregui at the Court of Philip IV. Painting was by no means a commercial activity and their known oeuvres are not extensive. Céspedes' described various aspects of painting from a painter's first studies and the artist's tools, which recalls Butrón's discussion of 'ojos doctos'. Jáuregui drew attention to the mental effort painting required and his poetic *paragone* details various features of painting. However, the fact they are poems should not be overlooked, and they would have been appreciated as such, principally for their *ekphrasis*.

Céspedes provided a cultural paradigm for the importance of writing about painting. Having described the painter's 'tools' he turned to the poet's, ink. He argued

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[73] Brown's article published in *Revista de Ideas Estéticas*, 23(1965) pp.19-29 provided the basis for his discussion for Céspedes in his *Images and ideas in seventeenth-century Spanish painting*(pp.44-5).
[74] Ceán, vol. III. (p.325)
[75] Lines 61-5 & 75-80. Juan de Jáuregui, *Obras I, Rimas*, (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1973) (pp.99-100)
[76] *Rimas*, 1973. (pp.62-3)

that it is this 'humour' that is the seat of eternity. The remainder of this fragment describes the destruction of cities and kingdoms concluding with the acknowledgement that only through poets have their memory been preserved. Céspedes' interests in archaeology, shared by many of his Sevillian contemporaries, as discussed by Lleó, no doubt encouraged his taste for this poetic topos, which would also have been developed from classical poets, such as Horace.

'Time wears stone away and spares not iron, but with one sickle destroys all things that are. So this grave-mound of Laertes that is near the shore is melted away by the cold rain. But the hero's name is ever young, for Time cannot, even if he will, make poesy dim.' [77]

Céspedes' readers would have appreciated the conceit of a poem about painting, which described painting's demise save for poetry's power of preservation.

The poet's power to conserve paintings through *ekphrasis* was complemented by the historian's in Céspedes Discurso *de la antigua y moderna pintura y escultura....* Written for the scholar Pedro de Valencia in 1604, the text's introduction is evidence of Céspedes' contact with other scholars, such as Benito Arias Montano (1527-1598), and also that the interest in the history of ancient and modern painting engaged in more speculative discussions. Céspedes briefly recorded one theme of an unknown treatise by Valencia: his theory that human eyes contain a certain divinity within them that makes them 'adore'.[78] Céspedes acknowledges the novelty of this concept, which suggests a

[77] Emilie L. Bergmann, *Art Inscribed: Essays on Ekphrasis in Spanish Golden Age Poetry*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979) (p.122). The theme of the 'ruin' in seventeenth-century poetry has been discussed by a number of authors and its theoretical significance was explored in depth in Walter Benjamin's *The Origin of German Tragic Drama* (London: Verso, 1994)

[78] Ceán, vol. III. (p.276) 'Con grande alegría leo en la carta de vmd., donde significa la ardiente afición que vmd. tiene a este arte verdaderamente nobilísima... y lo que vmd. trata de ella es el más ilustre elogio

religious sense of Butrón's 'ojos doctos', and a theory that bridges the sensory vision with the interiority of Paleotti's description of the 'spiritual'.[79] In the following chapter this concept is explored with regard to another treatise by Valencia.

Céspedes' *Discurso* illustrates his knowledge of classical culture and sixteenth-century Italian painting. Giovanni Baglione recorded Céspedes as working in Rome during the pontificate of Gregory XIII.[80] However what is most significant is that the text's comparison of ancient and modern painters displays the use of ekphrasis as a critical tool. Céspedes cited sections of Pliny the Elder listing the achievements of classical painters, and 'illustrated' how they had been equalled by modern painters.

Many of the descriptions are brief and focused on one criterion. In contrast to the *Poema* there is a marked emphasis on the lifelike illusion of paintings. Shearman cited Raphael's portrait of Julius II and Céspedes recognised its lifelike quality as equalling Apollodorus' painting of a priest.[81] He drew attention not only to the figure but also to the velvet and ornamentation. In reference to Zeuxis's grapes he cited Michelangleo's painted architecture and the anecdote of Titian's portrait of the Duke of Ferrara which passers-by revered thinking it was the Duke himself.[82] In contrast to the 'ban' on the painting of nudes Céspedes comments on the 'marvellous' drawings of Perino del Vaga, Raphael and Correggio, which equalled the 'lascivious' works of Parrhasius.[83]

A number of paintings are treated with more detailed description, which include discussion of the painting's narrative. A painting of *Judith and Holofernes* by Andrea Mantegna is singled out for this treatment.

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que yo jamás he visto de nadie, pues vmd. la sube tanto de punto que lo descubre una cierta divinidad que lleva tras sí los ojos de los hombres con tanta maravilla que se hizo adorar; concepto nuevo y no advertido hasta ahora de nadie.'

[79] Ceán, vol. III. (p.276)

[80] For discussion of Céspedes stays in Italy see Brown, 1979. (p.13)

[81] Ceán, vol. III. (p.281)

[82] Ceán, vol. III. (p.282)

[83] Ceán, vol. III. (p.286)

'She had a brilliant dress of ultramarine blue... so delicate and 'linuosa', as if it were made only of water, one could not reduce anything to such finery, showing all the profiles of the nude with marvellous grace. The old woman attentive to open the sack, dressed as her age and role requires, and the pavilion draped in silk, that the Italians named *tabí*, that almost imitates gorgoran, so correct that it appeared true.'[84]

In this example it is shown how the spectator appreciated the painting in terms of its techniques and the narrative it represented.

Such critical attention to detail is expected from Céspedes, in the first chapter Pacheco's anecdote was cited which showed a marked similarity to Lucian's of Zeuxis, discussed by Butrón. Céspedes' text provided Valencia with a description of the ancient and modern painting he had seen, while in Italy and Spain, and it serves as a historical document. Céspedes' descriptions provide an example of Butrón's educated critic equipped with a knowledge of classical history and an expertise in painting derived from experience. Furthermore his rhetorical training prepared him to describe and look at paintings.

As Baxandall and Alpers have demonstrated *ekphrasis* was an established element of renaissance painting criticism. However it had received particular prominence in Iberian cities since the publication of the third part of José de Sigüenza's *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo* in 1605, a number of chapters were devoted to the description of the monastery's paintings. An example of Sigüenza's criticism was cited in the first chapter. Pacheco claimed the motive for Velázquez's first trip to Madrid was to visit El Escorial and one may assume Velázquez knew Sigüenza's text,

[84] Ceán, vol. III. (p.302) 'Tenia una veste lucido, como dice Plinio, de azul ultramarino, tan delgado y linuosa, que aunque se hiciera con agua sola, no se pudiera reducir á mayor fineza, mostrando todos los perfiles del desnudo con gracia maravillosa. La vieja atenta á abrir su talega, vestida como lo requiería su edad y oficio, y el pabellon atornasolado de una seda, que los itlianos llaman *tabí*, que casí imita nuestra gorgoran, tan propio que parecía verdadero.'

and with it may be asserted that Velázquez was well acquainted with his *ekphrastic* response to paintings. Justi suggested that the *bodegones* would have appealed to patrons well read in Pliny the Elder, and it has since been suggested that these paintings may be '"ekphrastic" exercises' based on descriptions of the works of Piraeicus.[85] Céspedes made no mention of these paintings or other painters Pliny mentioned. Treatment of humble settings may have been viewed as a category yet to be rivalled by a modern painter. In 1627 when Velázquez was responsible for the inventory and evaluation of Juan de Fonseca's painting collection he valued *The Waterseller of Seville* at 400 *reales*, a higher price than any other work in the collection.[86] His decision could have been justified by Pliny's comment that Piraeicus' paintings 'fetched bigger prices than the largest works of many masters'.[87]

Many critics have focused on Velázquez's *bodegones* in terms of their displays of technical mastery. Following Céspedes analysis it has been shown how this was a feature the educated critic focused upon. Similarly, Gutiérrez and Butrón also cited a range of criteria that was applied in such an analysis. Within the limits of the subject matter Velázquez provided contrasts of materials, lights and textures, signalling his rivalry of Piraeicus. Peter Cherry has argued that these factors were a result of Velázquez's response to Alberti's theory and his continuation of renaissance traditions. The role of *ekphrasis* in criticism is a further dimension of this, which Velázquez addressed most explicitly through the simple psychological narrative he included in these paintings. Shearman's discussion of particularising of viewpoints provides a way to understand how these paintings indicates an awareness of the spectator. The spectator is greeted in *The Musical Trio* by the young boy. His right arm leads the eye diagonally

[85] Davies, *Velázquez in Seville*. (p. 62)
[86] José López Navío, 'Velázquez tasa los cuadros de su protector, don Juan de Fonseca', *Archivo español de arte*, 1961, pp. 53-84.
[87] Pliny the Elder, 1952. (p.345)

upwards to his face and then onto the open mouthed musician. Whether the latter is blind or merely rapt in his music is open to question. However, of more interest is the fact that the spectator is focused on these two men who are oblivious to being seen. They do not pose and hence the scene appears more lifelike. The third figure leads the eye back towards the picture plane but essentially to the still life on the table. Whether there is allegorical significance to the trio, or for example the knife stuck in the board like a sundial is hard to discern. The monkey would no doubt have brought to mind connotations of folly or lust, but its significance appears to interrupt the careful composition of the painting. The spiralling movement up to the faces and back down to the table is broken by the ape. It is rare that a spectator simply follows the compositional form of a painting, especially a 'scholarly' one, and the monkey, which stares fixedly out at the spectator, may question what the spectator has seen with allegorical menace, or simply be a further display of the painter's skill.

The *Tavern scene with two men and a boy* engages more wholeheartedly with the humble scene. As David Davies and Enriquetta Harris have said the paintings 'roguish intent or merely convivial mood is not clear'. However, as Shearman argued with the portrait of Tommaso Inghirami paintings do not necessarily leave everything clear. They may engage the viewer in the narrative by raising questions. In the *Old Woman Frying Eggs* or *the Waterseller of Seville* the narrative is reduced to the minimum and the painter has engaged the viewer in a much more complex compositional arrangement. A range of objects of different colours and shapes are contained in the lower part of the painting. It may be proposed that the narrative has been suppressed to focus attention on people and objects, contrasted with one another, as the result of his art. The *Waterseller* is organised in terms of a rhythmic progression into the depth of the painting. Again as in the *Musical Trio* there is a circular movement

around the glass, spiralling past the pitchers to the faces. Their appeal to the 'scholarly' spectator, was perhaps enhanced by the study of science, as Lleó proposed, but it may also be suggested that Velázquez's compositions were informed by his understanding of how paintings were described, and a concern to engage the spectator. Velázquez would develop these techniques of guiding the viewer's attention in his religious works. A further analysis of attitudes to visual culture needs to be undertaken before these can be discussed.

Part vii)

A number of responses made to religious painting in Seville at the time of Velázquez are recorded in a selection of manuscripts, *Tratados de erudición de varias autores* compiled by Francisco Pacheco, and dated 1631.[88] A selection were later included in the *Arte*. Bassegoda has drawn attention to these texts as important evidence for Pacheco's intellectual activities and as supporting arguments for the painter's involvement in an informal literary academy.[89] The texts reveal Pacheco's interests in classical culture, and his contacts with Sevillian poets and scholars. The treatises reveal how the 'community of scholars' engaged in the study of both Christian and classical themes.[90] Pacheco's knowledge of many scholars is evident in his *Libro de Retratos*, and of the many religious representatives the Jesuits were a significant proportion. He

[88] Biblioteca Nacional, Ms.1713 (Madrid). Referred to as *Tratados*. Citations are given to those treatises published in the *Arte*.
[89] Bassegoda i Hugas, introduction to *Arte*, 1990. (p.22)
[90] Pacheco's interest in classical scholarship and his relationship to Céspedes is documented in an undated poem by Pacheco addressed to Céspedes (*Escritos de Pablo de Céspedes*, 1998) (p. 396)) and a letter Céspedes sent in 1608, on the techniques of ancient painting (Ceán. (p.344-352)). The *Tratados* also record Juan de Jáuregui's *Explicación de una empressa de Don Enrique de Guzmán Agente por merced de Su Majestdad, en la causa de la Limpia Concepción*. This document provides evidence for the patronage of the then Count of Olivares in Seville. Jáuregui also drew the illustrations for the *Vestigatio Arcani sensus in Apocalypsi* (Amsterdam, 1614) by the Jesuit Luis de Alcázar. Pacheco's contact with Jáuregui has been discussed by Jonathan Brown in *Images and Ideas* (p.48-50).

would later admit that they had been his principal advisors. Their advice concerned not only religious painting, but as seen below also philosophical issues.

Evidence of Pacheco's participation in the discussion of decorum for religious painting is documented in these texts. A wider concern for religious imagery is discernable in the publications of the synod celebrated in 1604 in the Hispalense See by the Archbishop Fernando Niño de Guevara. Its proceeding were published four years later. The section 'De Religiosis Domibus' lists prohibited subject matter for Churches and repeats the declaration of the synods held by his predecessor Rodrigo de Castro (1523-1600) in 1586 and 1592 on portraiture in churches.[91] It states clearly that only authorised portraits may be included, appearing devout and humble, without lascivious or ornate figures. Such attitudes cast doubt on suggestions that Velázquez depicted his wife, father-in-law and himself as models in the *Adoration of the Magi* or the *Immaculate Conception.*

Pacheco's participation in these debates after 1600 is revealed in the *Tratados.* Later these texts would be incorporated into the *Arte's* appendix of iconographical descriptions. Pacheco first wrote on the subject as early as 1609 in his text on the painting of *Christ gathering his garments after the flagellation.*[92] Most of the texts are not by Pacheco but illustrate Paleotti's opinion that painters should seek guidance from theologians. Pacheco's paintings are supplied with written approvals by scholars. The earliest document records the Dominican Alonso Osorio's approval of Pacheco's *Circumcision of Christ* written in 1601. However two later paintings received a more detailed discussion.

The first of these paintings was the *Last Judgement* painted for the Church of St. Isabel in Seville. The altarpiece itself was commissioned in 1610 between the sculptor

[91] *Constituciones Sinodiales del Arzobispado de Sevilla...*, (Seville: 1609) (f.81-98)
[92] In the same year the Jesuit theologian Luis de Alcázar wrote some Latin verses on the subject which are included in the *Arte* (p.306).

Martinez Montañes (baptised 1658-1649) and H. de Palma Carrillo, although it was installed late in 1614. Bassegoda proposed that the approvals were written between 1614 and 1616.

'The painting and the preparatory drawing were for a time the centre of attention for certain Sevillian ecclesiastical writers who assessed its elaboration, like Francisco de Medina, or approved in detailed writing the theological and erudite aspects of the final result'.[93]

It would seem probable that this procedure was undertaken to provide a theoretical precedent for this painting. The fact it was not a standard procedure is illustrated by the fact the painting was already installed and paid for. The texts written for its approval form two of the three chapters devoted to decorum in the *Arte.* Francisco de Medina, who had designed the Alcalá mythological program discussed earlier, acted as advisor. Medina has been termed Pacheco's 'iconographic advisor' and 'cultural assessor'.[94] Pacheco recorded how he had advised him on the location of the Archangels Gabriel and Michael, with regard to their heavenly authority and eschatological roles. Medina's advice indicates the more complex theological debate that underpinned religious painting. The approvals compiled in the *Tratados* make this even more apparent, and offer an insight into the religious 'scholarly' spectator.

Bassegoda commented that these writings focus on theological, rather than artistic, problems raised by the Last Judgment. An example of this is provided by the

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[93] *Arte.*(p.307, introductory footnote) 'El cuadro mismo y su dibujo preparatorio fueron por un tiempo el centro de atención de algunos escritores eclesiásticos sevillanos, que asesoraron su elaboración, como Francisco de Medina, o aprobaron por escrito y con detalle los aspectos teológicos y eruditos del resultado final.'

[94] Lleó Cañal has also argued, in his *La Casa de Pilatos* (Madrid, 1998), that the theme of *Lazarus and the rich man*, discussed in the last chapter, was suggested by Medina to Alonso Vázquez to mark the Duke's marriage in 1593.

Jesuit, Gaspar de Zamora's (1543-1621) *Aplogogía en defensa del bienaventurado Santo Tomás, contra los que dicen que todos habemos de necesitar de edad de treinta y trés años, que así lo dice S.Pablo de Éfeso, cap.4 Pregunatase ¿en que edad de años, cantidad de estatura y calidad de colores resuscitaremos todos el día del Juicio*'. His treatise makes no direct reference to Pacheco and concentrates on the issue of the physical and mental state of the resurrected, which reveals the more complex religious debates paintings could occasion.[95] The *Tratados* records how Zamora's text was subjected to approval by seven secular and religious scholars. Of the secular scholars three have been closely identified with Pacheco, his advisor Francisco de Medina and the witnesses at Velázquez's wedding Dr. Sebastian Acosta, and Francisco de Rioja. The latter was also documented in the *Tratados* as a second advisor. The erudite exegetical approach employed in these approvals indicates not only the range of knowledge spectators brought to paintings but a further dimension of an ekphrastic response to paintings. The painting was viewed not simply as a visual representation of a religious event but as the basis for a more rigorous analysis of the significance of their details.

Ronald Cueto has addressed the theological significance of Velázquez's religious paintings with regard to the specific context of Seville. Commenting on the Adoration *of the Magi* he addressed three levels in the painting. Firstly, as 'portraying the manifestation of the Infant Saviour to the world at large' and then in regard to the apocalyptic beliefs held by secret religious societies such as the Congregation of the Pomegranate, of which the sculptor Montañes was a member, he identified a further significance of the painting as 'the start of the missionary process that is destined to

[95] Zamora's text (*Arte.*(p.327-31)) provides an example to consider the references to the prelapsarian natural order as an aesthetic paradigm. Zamora's eschatology leaves the saved with the stature, age ,face, form and natural accidents that they had when they died it is their mental powers that will be revived to those of the 'perfect age'. A more detailed exposition of this theme was given by Martín de Roa, *El estado de los bienaventurados en el cielo* (Seville: 1626)

reach fulfilment, when the prophecies of the Apocalypse come to pass'. Finally he argues that 'all this would be equally consonant with the Jesuit provenance of the picture, for the Society of Jesus is the first specifically missionary order of the Catholic Church'.[96] His analysis suggests the theological complexity that a spectator may have engaged with when looking at this painting.

Earlier this painting was cited as an example of a Marian theme linking Velázquez's religious works. Enriquetta Harris' essay 'Velázquez, Sevillian painter of Sacred subjects', which reddressed the historiographical tendency to overlook the religious works, brought attention to the debates around the Immaculate Conception that took place in Seville.[97] There most obvious expression is in the *Immaculate Conception*, however its companion piece *St. John the Evangelist on the Isle of Patmos* reveals Velázquez's awareness of his spectators interest in exploring the theological dimensions of his painting; interpretations of the Saint's vision of the mystical allegory provided fundamental arguments in favour of the mystery. It also alludes to the Virgin's eschatological role described in the *Revelations*. For the spectator with a concern for tradition and decorum in painting it offered the basis for the iconography of the painting's companion piece. The visual dynamic underpinning these paintings is examined in the following chapter.

Harris also identified the Marian debates with Velázquez's *San Ildefonso receiving the chasuble from the Virgin*. The seventh-century Archbishop of Toledo was the subject of a revived devotion as an early supporter of the Virgin's Immaculate Conception. Again Velázquez has offered an original interpretation of the scene, which focuses attention on the visionary experience, unlike earlier images representing the cathedral of Toledo, and this is addressed in more detail in the following chapter.

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[96] Cueto, *Velázquez in Seville*. (p.32)
[97] *Velázquez in Seville*. (pp.46-7) First published in *Leeds papers on symbol and image in Iberian arts*, ed. M.A. Rees (Leeds: 1994)

It is assumed that Velázquez received guidance for such works from Pacheco and other scholars. Francisco de Rioja is another figure that may have contributed to Velázquez's knowledge of religious history. Bassegoda proposed that he was Pacheco's closest cultural assessor after Medina's death in 1615.[98] Rioja's knowledge in these matters is recorded in the *Tratados* with regard to a debate that is paradigmatic of the erudition exercised in the discussion of decorum. The subject of the debate was Pacheco's treatment of the Crucifixion, showing Christ crucified with four, rather than three nails.[99] An important aspect of this debate, later published in the *Arte*, is that its subject is historical and not theological like in *the Last Judgement*, revealing two different aspects of *decorum*. In 1619 Rioja approved the painting praising Pacheco as a 'dilligentisimo pintor' for his decorum and specifically for his restitution of this tradition. A specific Tridentine concern is apparent in this final point, which was to revive the early church traditions taking them as the correct practice. Numerous sources reveal the research undertaken into these traditions such as Baronius' (1538-1607) *Annales Ecclesiaastici* (1588-1607) and the research of Justus Lipsius.[100] Velázquez's later Madrid *Crucifixion* [fig. 34] repeated this historical detail. Indicating a concern for decorum Rioja wrote that Pacheco's painting shows Christ 'as if he were standing; the face with majesty and decorum, without ugly twisting. Or distortion, as is suitable for the grand sovereignty of Christ...'.[101]

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[98] *Arte*, 1990. (p.28)

[99] Two examples of this iconographical treatment by Pacheco are known today dated 1614 and 1615 respectively. Pacheco's painting also caused a more heated debate between Rioja and the 3rd Duke of Alcalá regarding the title painted on the cross. Jonathan Brown has examined this debate recording how Pacheco had taken advice from the Jesuit Luis de Alcázar following reconstructions of the Holy Cross conserved in the Church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome, which had been in turn approved by Rioja. Brown argued that 'when the animosity is stripped away' this debate 'exposes the academy's working methods as they may have unfolded in the privacy of Pacheco's studio or the duke's library.'[99] (Brown, 1978. (p.16)) Bassegoda suggested that the debate indicates a rivalry between the Duke of Alcalá and the Count of Olivares and that Pacheco's silence allowed him to maintain good relations with both.

[100] Another example found in the *Tratados* is the *Relación cierta de la forma, y dónde y en qué tiempo el evangelista San Lucas sacó de su mano como singular pintor la imagen o retrato al vivo de la escogida virgen Nra. Sra. Madre del Salvador.*

[101] *Arte*, 1990. (p.719)

The following year Pacheco contributed to the debate with a grateful response to Francisco de Rioja, which revealed his own knowledge on the subject and its visual traditions. He concluded by emphasising that his role as a painter was subject to the Tridentine decree and did not mean to introduce 'novelties nor his own inventions' but 'to renew the ancient images'. In this respect he indicated how religious concerns had become more important for painting. Fernández López drew similar conclusions from his study of the inventory of books belonging to the Portuguese painter Vasco de Pereira (1535-1609), who worked in Seville. 193 of 241 volumes were on religious subject matter.[102] Although further evidence needs to be considered, Fernandez argued that this collection was a response to his role as painter of religious subjects. Pereira's library and Pacheco's texts provide examples of painters' knowledge of the concerns of their spectators.

Rioja and Pacheco's treatises were subjected to approval, and the eleven texts recorded in the *Tratados* reveal a further range of historical texts on the subject. The list of religious authors includes representatives of the Cathedral, the Inquisition and the principal religious orders. While these debates have led away from Velázquez's work they are evidence of the engagement of the 'community of scholars' with religious painting. In the final chapter how these scholars may have engaged with Velázquez's work is explored.

Part vii)

The *Tratados* records two further examples of spectators' engagements with painting, which reveal how religious painting was responded to both, as a

[102] *Programas iconográficos de la pintura barroca sevillana del siglo XVII*, (Seville: 1991) (pp.85-91)

representation, and at an intellectual level. A less formal approval for Pacheco's *Last Judgement* was Antonio Ortiz Melgarejo's silva.[103] The poem, which concludes the *Arte's* discussion of decorum, describes the painting from various perspectives.

It opens praising Pacheco's 'imitation of nature', describing how the figures breathe life and appear as almost divine beings, documenting an application of the classical epigrammatic tradition to religious painting.[104] Continuing this theme, but turning to describe the painting, he recorded the emotions displayed and the sounds heard such as the gnashing of teeth and the celestial choirs. Throughout the poem there are references to the painting's visual effects such as perspective, *unión*, beauty, decorum and trompe l'oeil, which combine painting theory with the 'scholarly' poetic traditions.

The Tridentine educational concern for painting is plainly evoked in the line 'you will bring to the memory / torment and pleasure, of hell and heaven'.[105] He concluded with reference to Pacheco's mental and spiritual efforts, praising him as a 'divine painter' who 'painted' what he 'formed' in his 'idea'[106] The reference to this 'idea' signals the Jesuit Diego Melénedez's discussion of perception included in the *Arte*, which was the second reference to Pacheco discussed in Panofsky's *Idea*.

In the opening chapter of Book two of the *Arte* Pacheco quoted the definition of painting given in a now lost treatise by Melénedez.[107] Panofsky cited this text as indicating the relationship of Pacheco's ideas to Zuccari.[108] Bassegoda countered this arguing that it displays how both treatises had their roots in the Aristotelian-Thomistic

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[103] *Arte*, 1990. (pp.339-40)
[104] *Arte*, 1990. (p.339) Another example of Melgarejo's poems concerning the theme of lifelike paintings is his translation of epigram 110, (bk1) by Martial also included in the Arte (p.518).
[105] *Arte*, 1990.(p.340)
[106] *Arte*, 1990.(p.340) 'Tales, pintor divino, / cuales los figuraste / en tu capaz idea, los pintaste.'
[107] Pacheco's quotation of this text is the only reference to this text. Little is known of Diego Meléndez. He also wrote an approval for the Pacheco's *Crucifixion* with four nails in 1622, in which he recommended Rioja's and Pacheco's treatises be published.
[108] Panofsky, 1968. (p.255, fn.28) Panofsky states Pacheco cited this passage in his chapter on Invention, bk.II, ch.2. In fact it comes in the first chapter 'De la división de la Pintura y su partes'.

tradition. Meléndez described how the painter employs both an 'exterior exemplar' and 'interior exemplar or idea'. The interior 'idea' is based on sensory experience which passing through the common sense and imagination rises to the understanding 'whose acts are living representations of whatever is imagined'. Once the idea is formed in the understanding and imagination the artist employs 'his judgement... as to how he can or ought to imitate it, with what method or details'. The hand follows the artist's choice 'Imitating nature with such liveliness, that it does not appear to derive from art, but from a sovereign maker...'[109]

Meléndez's theory advocates verisimilitude, but also allows for the artist's choice. The important issue is that this was understood as the result of rational procedure, not simply copying nature. The distinction from eighteenth-century aesthetic philosophy is noted. The artist's judgment of the interior idea provides a further context to consider *ekphrasis*. Not only were painters' skills praised but also their judgement. Hence Ortiz's eulogy of Pacheco may be read as praising the judgement apparent in the painting, which may be understood in the intellectuals sense David Summers explored in *the Judgement of Sense*. However, as has been shown he also refers to the mental dimension of the painting in terms of a theological, historical and even rhetorical dimension.

Meléndez's theory appears also to have been applied in terms of the primacy of sight as a medium of knowledge. Martín de Roa's, *Antigüedad, veneración, i fruto de la Sagradas Imágenes, i Reliquias*, published in Seville in 1623 also suggests an application of Meléndez's ideas for an understanding of the efficacy of painting.[110] His

[109] *Arte*, 1990. (p.283)['..jusgando su juicio que la idea que tiene presente se puede o debe imitar, con tal modo o circustancias.'] ['Imitando a la naturaleza con viveza tal, que afecta no ser parto de la arte, sino de soberano artífice, o de su sostituto.']

[110] However two important features of his text need to be signalled. First it is a far more engaged discussion of painting than Prades', *Historia de la adoración y uso de las santas imágenes, y de la imagen de la fuente de salud*, published in Valencia in 1596. He cites more examples of texts like Nadal's

discussion engages with the concerns of decorum and examines the effects of paintings. He argued that sight is the most effective medium to reach the soul because it is so similar to the understanding, and through it so many more things may be understood than from the other senses.[111] Here Meléndez's philosophy is employed to describe Butrón's sense of religious painting and Paleotti's notion of imitation. Underlying this is a philosophical approach to images, which implies that they may be subjected to a rational enquiry, and that they employ other intellectual disciplines. In the final chapter attention is turned to Velázquez's paintings and it is considered how they may have been judged, and also how they engaged the spectator in the process of judgement. Although a date for Meléndez's text is not known Melgarejo and Roa's discussion of the 'idea' indicate the currency of his ideas.

Part viii)

Attention has focused on the spectator in the course of this chapter. The opening discussion of the rhetorical basis of painting criticism suggests that the ideas discussed in the course of this chapter were in fact part of established attitudes to painting. However, the principal concern has been to develop an understanding of the theoretical discussion of painting in Seville that responded to the traditions of classical scholarship

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Evangelicae Histgoriae Imagines such as: Luis Richome, Abbot Requieu, *La conference de figures mystiques de l' Ancien testament avec la verité evangelique* 1602 ; Melchor Prieto, *Psalmodia Eucharistia* (Madrid, 1622) engravings by Juan de Courbes, Alardo de Popma and Juan Schorquens.[110] Prieto had been Vicar general of Perú in 1612, but returned to Spain. His text was based on and Nadal's. Prieto used the scene within scene composition. See, E.Vetter, *Die Kupferstiche zur 'Psalmodia eucharistica' of Melchor Prieto von 1622*, Münster 1972. Cited in Santiago Sebastián, *Contrarreforma y Barroco* (Madrid: Alianza Forma, 1985)

[111] Martín de Roa's, *Antigüedad, veneración, i fruto de las Sagradas Imágenes, i Reliquias*, (Seville: 1623) (f.42v.-43v.)

and Tridentine reform. It has been shown at various points that these attitudes were frequently shared by painters.

Further evidence of painters concerns for religious decorum are found in the arguments given for an academy of painting in the anonymous, *Memorial de los pintores de la corte a Felipe III sobre la creación de una academia o escuela de dibujo*, which has been provisionally dated at 1619. Summers' claim that an emerging academic control of painting occurred at the end of the sixteenth-century is demonstrated in the role envisioned for this institution, but in Madrid this was linked explicitly to the concern for religious painting. The purpose of Painting was described as follows:

'...to depict, revere and praise God...the heroic and divine miracles... the ennoblement of all divine and human histories that ...adorn republics and for their authority and conversation'.[112]

In support of this 'saints, Councils, philosophers, poets, historians, and in our times, the illustrious Cardinal Paleotti' are cited as authorities. The painters proposed naming one of their number as a 'corrector' and that the design of any public work should first be sent to the academy for approval and any necessary correction. The educational role they proposed was intended to prevent errors through training in theoretical and practical knowledge. Although no actual academy was established in Madrid as a result, it illustrates how painters sought to gain authority over their field in terms similar to those Butrón would reiterate on their behalf seven years later.

[112] Calvo Seraller, 1981. (p.165) 'Los pintores de esta Corte dicen que cuán necessaria e importante sea la facultdad y arte de la pintura.... Para la noticia, reverencia y alabanza de dios, y de sus santos, para los heroicos y divinos milagros, hechos para nuestro bien, ejemplo y edificación para todos las historias divinas y humanas que hermosean y adornan las repúblicas y para la autoridad y conversación de ellas...'

Evidence for Sevillian painters' engagement with the themes discussed thus far is provided by an early draft of a chapter of Pacheco's *Arte.*[113] *Francisco Pacheco. Al Lector. Determino comunicar a algunos curiosos del arte de la Pintura este capitulo de mi libro antes de sacarlo a la luz, porque el intento que trata no depende de otro y por calificar por esta pequeña muestra todo lo restante que escribo de esta profesión.* Bassegoda claimed that it could be dated to 1619-20. In 1634 Pacheco wrote to Diego Valentín Díaz describing his efforts to publish the *Arte* and refers to a publication of a chapter fifteen years before. Despite reaching Portugal and the 'Indies' very few copies still exist, but Pacheco included it as chapter 12 of book II of the *Arte*, which is examined here.[114]

In contrast to Pacheco's earlier treatises this chapter focused upon painting in terms of the classical tradition. Pacheco provided a definition of painting as a liberal art, based on the use of reason, which also foregrounded its verisimilitude.[115] His own footnotes document his study of Aristotle, and Bassegoda has discussed Pacheco's use of Gutiérrez and Italian theorists such as Varchi, Vasari and Leonardo. Although he did not address painting's relationship to the liberal arts the philosophical discussion and use of classical texts signals the learning painters were expected to acquire. Pacheco addressed painting in terms of verisimilitude, the use of 'ideas' and the awareness of spectators.

On the basis not only of Pacheco's text but all those examined it would not seem fanciful to suggest that Velázquez's painting was judged for its imitation and its ideas. In the final chapter a consideration of the analogy between painting and rhetoric

[113] A more general indication of this is found in a short treatise written by Pacheco in 1622, *A los profesores del arte de la pintura.* It provides a brief description of painting as the most delightful and most spiritual of all arts, which almost all derive, value from. The treatise was written as part of a legal suit against the sculptor Montañés on the rights of sculptors to undertake the painting of altarpieces.
[114] *Arte*, 1990. (pp.412-30)
[115] *Arte*, 1990. (p.422)

provides a context for the consideration of the 'ideas' of Velázquez's painting. The aim is not to seek the 'sources, origins or influences' of neither the paintings' appearance nor subject matter, but to develop an understanding of how they were seen and discussed and how Velázquez's painting responded to their spectators by attempting to engage their learned vision, their 'ojos doctos'.

Chapter IV.

Painting, Preaching and Poetics.

Part i)

Before examining a final set of texts a further consideration of the exhibition catalogues needs to be made. Lleó and Cueto's essays on Seville's classicist and religious culture provide detailed accounts of Sevillian culture that reveal the cultural complexity encapsulated by terms such as 'humanism' or the 'Counter-Reformation', yet the relationship of Velázquez's painting to these areas is less clear. The articles by Davies and McKim-Smith stand out in the two collections of articles not only for their study of both secular and religious dimensions of Sevillian culture, but for the consideration of Velázquez's paintings as an engagement with them. Both have been considered with regard to 'imitation', *decorum*, and *ekphrasis*, the themes of the previous chapters. The following discussion aims to develop their discussion of how Velázquez responded to the intellectual and ideological concerns of his patrons.

A further feature of McKim-Smith's discussion of the 'authority of the line' is her methodological approach summarised in her concluding comments:

'I do not mean to say that the clear and defined profiles of velazqueño technique are simply a consequence of these other cultural manifestations, or may be reduced to them... Neither do I want to suggest that Velázquez's cleanly outlined world was unique in the seventeenth-century ... What I have attempted to say is that in this epoch of agitation in that complex setting, the execution of clear, unquestionable profiles in Sevillian painting, would have had a special resonance, equal to the reference to sources

sanctioned by the Church or state, and that the clearly drawn line could be seen as an expression of a message with a specific historical inflection.'[1]

In this chapter further evidence for this cultural resonance of visual clarity is examined. However, it is discussed not only in terms of the spectators' response to it, but also for the ways clarity was deployed in Velázquez's painting. In the last chapter it was argued that the *bodegones* display a particular awareness of the spectator. Through a study of Velázquez's religious paintings it is shown how this dimension of his work is a significant feature of the 'historical inflection' of his works.

The examination of *ekphrasis* as a mode of painting criticism in the last chapter revealed how it mediated a range of intellectual debates. Meléndez's philosophical discussion of the artists' 'idea' or judgement indicated a conceptual model for the consideration of painting in terms of such debates. In the course of this chapter a framework for the judgement of Velázquez's painting and its 'ideas', or 'historical inflection', is considered. Attention is focused on Sevillian attitudes to rhetoric. Baxandall identified Alberti's theory of composition as a response to George of Trebizond's *De rhetorica libri V* published in 1435, which indicates how rhetoric could introduce new attitudes to painting.[2] In the course of this text a closer examination of the relationship between painting and rhetoric is undertaken.

A central concern of the discussion of rhetoric in Seville was its practical application in preaching and poetry, which provides the opportunity to explore the

[1] McKim-Smith, *Velázquez y Sevilla*. (p.123) 'No quiero esto decir que lo perfiles claros y definidos de la técnica velazqueña sean sencillamente una consecuencia de otras manifestáciones culturales, o puedan reducirse a ellas... Tampoco se quiere afirmar que Velázquez fue el único en el siglo XVII que perfilara su mundo tan limpiamente.... Lo que se pretende decir es que en esa época de agitación en ese lugar problemático, la ejecución de los perfiles claros, incuestionables, de la pintura sevillana, al igual que la referencia a las fuentes sancionadas por la Iglesia o el Estado, puede haber tenido una resonancia especial, y que la linea dibujada con claridad podría ser vista como la expresíon de un mensaje con una inflexión históricamente específica.'

[2] Baxandall, 1971. (p.138)

significance of Paleotti's analogy of the orator and the painter, and the continuation of the classical epigrammatic traditions as paradigms of *decorum* and the 'imitation of nature'. In this way a focus is developed on Seville's spectators with regard to specific features of classicism and Tridentine religious culture. As Davies and McKim-Smith's research has shown these areas are related and the relationships between them are demonstrated in this discussion. Furthermore, the painter's metaphorical treatment of vision and nature is examined, and a wider significance of a painting's 'lifelike' appearance is developed.

The central focus of this discussion is the writing of Francisco de Rioja and Juan de Fonseca. Some of the texts in question have not been the subject of detailed discussion and none of them have been considered in regard to Velázquez's painting. Both authors have been referred to on many occasions in the discussion already, and may be considered as patrons of Velázquez's painting, such as *the Waterseller of Seville* in Fonseca's case, but also of Velázquez as an artist, aiding his promotion at the Madrid court. Furthermore it would not seem fanciful to suggest that they also contributed to his education while in Seville. Their learning, examples of which were discussed in the previous chapter, engaged both classical and religious themes and together they provide historical examples of Palomino's claim that Velázquez was acquainted with poets and orators.

Part ii)

McKim-Smith's discussion of the 'authority of the line' traced the Tridentine concern for visual clarity, such as Paleotti described, to debates in rhetorical theory concerning clarity and purity, which she traced to Quintillian and Cicero. Baxandall

examined the cultural and ideological basis for the application of Renaissance rhetoric, and the ideals of a correct classical Latin, based on Cicero. During the course of the renaissance these debates became more complex as classical scholarship developed and greater ideological demands were placed on language. In Catholic Europe the Council of Trent provided a focus for such rhetorical considerations. Marc Fumaroli's *L'Âge de l'Éloquence: Rhétorique et 'res literaria' de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque classique* offers a historical framework to consider these debates, setting in a wider context McKim-Smith's discussion.[3] Despite the range of texts discussed by Fumaroli, his discussion of rhetoric after the Council of Trent to the 1620's focuses on French and Italian authors, and places an emphasis on religious and specifically Jesuit texts. Furthermore, his discussion tends to ignore the actual dissemination and application of these theories.

As Paul Kristeller has commented not only was rhetoric applied in secular genres, but it was one of the five *studia humanitatis*, indicating its wider diffusion.[4] Gutiérrez and Butrón's discussion made apparent this latter status of rhetoric. While Fumaroli's analysis provides valuable information the following examination explores the application of these theories for preaching and poetry.

Underpinning the theories of rhetoric published by ecclesiastical writers, in the second half of the sixteenth-century, was the intent to reform the practices of preaching. Paleotti's analogy of the painter and the preacher was one expression of this concern,

[3] A similar account is offered in Christian Mouchel's 'Les rhétoriques post-tridentines (1570-1600): la fabrique d' une société chrétienne', however, Pierre Laurens', 'Entre la poursuite du débat sur le style et le couronnement de la théorie de l' 'Actio': Vossius et le réaménagement de l'édifice rhétorique (1600-1625)', describes a wider range of applications of rhetoric. They are Chapters 9 & 10 of *Histoire de la rhétorique dans lÉurope moderne 1450-1950*, ed. Marc Fumaroli, (Paris: Presse Universitaires de France, 1999).

[4] 'Rhetoric in Medieval and Renaissance Culture', *Renaissance Eloquence*, pp.1-19 (University of California,1982) (p.2)

which had been addressed in a number of sessions of the Council of Trent.[5] The Tridentine decrees make clear this was a task primarily of archiepiscopal governance. Fumaroli identified the reforming activities of Cardinal Charles Borromeo (1538-1584), archbishop of Milan, as playing a fundamental role in addressing this issue, which established a model followed in other Sees across Catholic Europe. In 1587 these reforms were published under the title *Pastorum concionatorumque instructiones* by the Archbishop's nephew and successor Federico Borromeo (1564-1631), the later founder of the Ambrosiana library and painting collection.[6] Combined with this model of practical reform was a compendium of rules for preachers.

Fumaroli ascribed a twofold importance to the publication of Borromeo's *instructiones*. Firstly, they established and disseminated general attitudes towards the use of rhetoric in preaching. Although Fumaroli focused on the period 1575-1596, he maintained that subsequent discussions of sacred rhetoric, principally by the Jesuits, continued to be based on the reforming principles established by Borromeo. Secondly he argued that, following Borromeo's reforms, Spain and Italy became 'un véritable 'atelier' de rhétorique, plus prolifique qu'aucune école de sophistes antiques ou qu'aucune Académie humaniste.'[7] Fumaroli concentrated his analysis on Fray Luis de Granada (1504-1588), even though his *Ecclesiasticae Rhetoricae* was first published in Lisbon in 1576.

Before examining the activity of the Iberian branch of this 'atelier' a review of the evidence for awareness of Borromeo's reforms in Seville provides a historical

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[5] *The Canons and decrees of the Council of Trent*, trans. H.J. Schroeder (London: Herder, 1960) record how a number of decrees addressed this issue. The fifth decrees, 17th June 1546, stated that Archbishops, Bishops, primates and other prelates were obliged to preach. The twenty-second, 17th September 1562, concerning the celebration of the Mass, states that its mysteries are to be explained to the people. The twenty fourth decree, 11th November 1563, examined by whom and when preaching was to be carried out.

[6] Borromeo's role in the Ambrosiana is examined in Arlene Quint, *Cardinal Federico Borromeo as a Patron and a Critic of the Arts and his MVSAEVM of 1625*, (New York: Garland, 1986) and P.M. Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana: art patronage and reform in Seventeenth century Milan*, (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1993).

[7] Fumaroli, 1980. (p.137-8)

context for Fumaroli's discussion of the development of a Counter-Reformation sacred rhetoric. In 1588 Charles Borromeo authorized the publication of the *Instructiones Praedicationis verbi dei* in Barcelona. As well as the diffusion of his ideas in print his practical example was keenly followed by a number of Archbishops across the peninsula. The Hapsburg control of the Duchy of Milan forged links with Spain. Borromeo received a pension of 9,000 escudos from Philip II, whose authority he recognised. Ramon Robres Lluch examined his close relationship with Luis de Granada and St. Juan de Ribera, Archbishop of Valencia (1588-1611). [8] He revealed how the former wrote sermons for Borromeo and how the Milanese reforms provided precedents for Ribera's work in Valencia. An example Robres cites is the school Ribera established in the Archbishop's palace.

The activities of the two archbishops of Seville in the closing and opening decades of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century further illustrate the importance of Borromeo. The archbishops Rodrigo de Castro, whom Robres also identified with Borromeo, and Fernando Niño de Guevara, provide further examples of this spirit of reform. Following the 24th Tridentine decrees both held synods to structure reform. De Castro in 1586 and 1592 and Guevara in 1604. In the last chapter reference was made to their decrees on church decoration, however, this was but one of a range of issues they addressed.[9] De Castro's reform and centralisation of the hospitals, in 1587, undertook the overhaul and improvement of the traditional structures that distributed charity and medical care in Seville. Both these archbishops, who were also Cardinals, had spent time in Italy and would have been acquainted with Borromeo's work independently of

[8] Robres Lluch, 'La congregación del concilio y San Carlos Borromeo en la problemática y curso de la contrarreforma (1593-1600)', *Anthologica Annua*, 14, 1966 & 'San Carlos Borromeo and the Iberian Episcopate', *Anthologica Annua*, 8,1960 Granada's relationship to Borromeo has been examined in A. Huerga, 'Fray Luis de Granada y San Carlos Borromeo, una amistad al servicio de la restauración católica', *Hispania Sacra*, XI, 1958.

[9] In 1577 Borromeo had published the *Instructiones fabricae et supellectitis ecclesiati.*

St. Juan de Ribera although he himself had family connections to Seville.[10] A further similarity between the two Sevillian Archbishops is their recorded 'humanist' learning and patronage of writers and painters, as displayed in Guevara's decoration of the Archbishop's palace.

A central feature Fumaroli ascribed to the 'rhétoriques borroméennes' is their argument that preachers should aim to imitate Christ and his apostles leading to an emphasis placed on Biblical texts, and the Church Fathers as exemplars, and only certain classical sources. Such an attitude was by no means new and Fumaroli identified St. Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana* and Erasmus' *Ecclesiasticae, sive de ratione concionandi* as the principal sources.[11] Discussing Granada, Fumaroli described his *Rhetorica* as a palimpsest of Erasmus' *Ecclesiastes*.... Critical attitudes towards Erasmus by the Spanish Inquisition explain why Granada concealed his use of this text.[12] Fumaroli's view of Granada's writing as a combination of his humanist training, study of St. Augustine and scholastic theology signal that rhetoric drew on a range of cultural debates.

Fumaroli identified three qualities of Granada's Christian rhetoric, which essentially reiterate the three *virtutes elocutionis* listed by Cicero. Alberto Carrere and José Saborit discuss these as the basis for perfection in speech. They note that the first, *puritas*, concerned with the correct use of language, was drawn from the art of Grammar. Granada's *Latinitas* corresponds to this; however, in his case it may be understood as the use of language based on the Latin of the Vulgate, and that used by the Church Fathers. The second two were based on rhetorical principles, *Perspicuitas*

[10] The relationship between the Saint Juan de Ribera and his father the Duke of Alcalá has been examined by J. González Moreno, 'San Juan de Ribera y Sevilla', *Archivo Hispalense*, 1960.
[11] St. Augustine's text argued for the importance of focusing on biblical texts while Erasmus set an evangelical model for rhetoric.
[12] For discussion of this issue see M. Bataillon *Erasmo y España: estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI* (Mexico:1966)

referred to the 'comprehensibility of the discussion', and *Ornatus* 'the beauty of the expression through its use of tropes and figures'. [13] In the latter two the concern for the practical application of preaching is more apparent. Fumaroli commented that *Perspicuitas*, or perspicuity, 'renders the discourse at once acceptable to scholars, and comprehensible to the ignorant' and that the preacher should measure the *latinitas*, or purity, to the audience. Fumaroli's only comment on *ornatus*, or ornament, is that Granada held that it should be conditioned by utility, not by rhythm or *symphonia verborum*.[14] Hence it is implied that the use of tropes and figures should be restrained while the Preacher focused on his task.

Fumaroli's summary details a theory of rhetorical decorum that placed its emphasis on communication to the congregation through a disciplined use of language and figures of speech. McKim-Smith identified this concern with demands of religious treatises, such as Paleotti's that paintings should be intelligible to the congregation, but she did not examine this point in detail. Paleotti's emphasis on verisimilitude and imitation implies 'lifelike' painting provided a visual paradigm for the rhetorical concepts of perspicuity and ornament. It may therefore be proposed that not only the outlines of Velázquez's paintings reveal their perspicuity, but also their lifelike appearance, composition and selection of details, their 'imitation of nature'. Before examining these characteristics of his paintings an examination of the discussion of rhetoric in Seville documents further insights into the concepts of perspicuity and its relationship to rhetorical ornament.

Part iii)

[13] *Retórica de la pintura*, (Catedra: Madrid, 2000). (p.194)
[14] Fumaroli, 1980. (p.148)

Hilary Dansey Smith's *Preaching in the Spanish Golden Age* provides a study of the publications of ten preachers, two of whom, Fray Luis de Rebolledo O.F.M. (1549-1613) and Fray Pedro de Valderrama O.S.A. (1550-1611), were from Seville. Smith's discussion reveals that although Granada's theoretical principles were followed by some, they were nevertheless in competition with others. Smith's study, based on preachers' handbooks as well as theoretical treatises, identified two 'camps', one favouring 'sincerity and plain-speaking', identified with Granada, and the other 'eloquence and elegance'. On the basis of her analysis of published sermons, she qualified this saying that the divisions are not clear and that 'some preachers are positively inconsistent'.[15]

Amongst the evidence examined for these two attitudes, Smith quoted Francisco de Medina's comments on preachers, from his preface to Fernando Herrera's *Obras de Garcilaso de la Vega con annotaciones.*[16] Medina criticised preachers whose sermons placed emphasis on 'deleites y galas' rather than those whose work focused on evangelical severity and simplicity. Despite their early date, Medina's comments signal that Granada's decorum was taken up by a scholar who would later become closely associated with Pacheco and Velázquez's patrons. Adding weight to Fumaroli's arguments that Granada's writing laid important foundations for the discussion of rhetoric for many decades, Smith argued that Medina's 'appraisal... could apply to *any* decade of the Golden Age'. However, she stated that 'at least two styles of preaching – the 'evangélico' and the 'culto' – are seen to coexist, if rather uneasily, but these are not presented as part of a chronological development or a chain of action or reaction.'[17]

Both Fumaroli's historical account and Smith's study demonstrate that debates about rhetoric focused on the issue of stylistic decorum. A metaphor Medina employed

[15] H.D. Smith, *Preaching in the Spanish Golden Age*, (Oxford: 1978) (p.94, fn.6)
[16] Published in Seville in 1580.
[17] Smith, 1978 (p.97-8).

to describe the two styles he considered indicates how this decorum was particularly concerned with *ornatus*. He distinguished between preachers who 'adorn themselves with modest clothes, as appropriate to the authority of their persons', and others that dress in a costume 'elegant, but indecent, sown with a thousand colours and lustres, but without the order they require'.[18] As well as perspicuity preachers were expected to display 'severity', 'evangelical simplicity' and 'modesty' in the way they spoke. Pursuing the analogy between rhetoric and painting Vázquez's painting of *Lazarus and Dives*, for which Medina acted as advisor, illustrates the scholar's critique of inappropriate ornament. Vázquez displayed his ability to 'order' the riches of Dives' table, which offers a contrast to the near naked, yet muscular figure of Lazarus, who is turned away from the spectator, perhaps, another example of the rhetorical figure of 'concealment' discussed by Gutiérrez.

Medina's strict conception of ornament provides a critical framework to consider Velázquez's paintings. Medina's metaphor of clothing provides a context to understand Velázquez's restrained use of colour. The paintings of the two apostles *St. Paul* and *St. Thomas* [figs. 35 & 36] are a clear example of this but it is a feature of all his work. Juan de Roelas' *Liberation of St. Peter* (1612) [fig. 37] reveals a far wider range of colours with an emphasis on the lighter colours. Velázquez's *Immaculate Conception* likewise displays restraint in its colouring in contrast to Francisco de Herrera's *Immaculate Conception with the maidens of the Brotherhood of the True Cross* (1614-15) (fig. 38). The contrast is also noted in the details: Pacheco's 1619 *Immaculate Conception with Miguel del Cid* [fig. 39] frames the Virgin with thirty-one cherubs and the twelve stars circling the Virgin's head are heightened with a golden crown and rays of light. Velázquez's version is notably more restrained.

[18] Smith, 1978 (p.97). 'galano, pero indecente, sembrado de mil colores y esmaltes, pero sin el concierto que se demanda'.

Specifications by patrons are one possible reason for these distinctions; the process of defining the iconography of the Immaculate Conception was still underway. However, Medina's concepts and their continuation by others, as discussed below, would have provided spectators with a conceptual framework to describe the distinctive appearance of Velázquez's images. It may be suggested they would have been appreciated for their modesty, in the case of the Virgin, or their severity, such as his paintings of the apostles, which is not to imply that the other artists were necessarily seen in terms of elegance or ornamentation. It may be understood in terms of McKim-Smith's discussion of the 'resonance' Velázquez's works would have had, for which terms such as modesty and severity may have been used. Considered from the perspective of the painter Velázquez's works display his individual response to these concepts. In order to avoid another dualist analysis Medina's emphasis on the order required for ornamentation is significant. Considered in a visual paradigm Zurbarán's treatment of the robes of the Church Fathers commissioned for the Dominican monks of San Pablo Real in 1626, and their appearance in the 1631 *Apotheosis of St. Thomas Aquinas* [fig. 40], reveal ornamentation measured by decorum and order.[19]

An indication of the diffusion of rhetorical ideas is provided by Bartolomé Ximénez Patón's *El perfecto predicador* (Baeza: 1612) He recommended 'rhetorical embellishments to revive a familiar creed' and described the audience as being 'sophisticated enough to appreciate them'.[20] Patón's treatise is the only Iberian work on preaching published between 1600 and 1625 cited by Smith. Aurora Guzmán's study of publications in Seville between 1601 and 1650 reveals one hundred and thirty nine publications of either sermons or collections of sermons between the years 1601 and

[19] All of these works are now in the Seville's Museum of Fine Arts. Only three of the four Church Fathers still exist, St. Jerome, St. Gregory and St. Ambrose. The Apotheosis scene was also commissioned by the Dominicans, this time the Sevillian College of St. Thomas.
[20] Smith, 1978. (p.96)

1625, fifteen percent of the total publications. No treatise on rhetoric related to preaching was published during this period.[21] In itself these data are not surprising; rhetoric was then a part of the school curriculum taught from established authorities. Possevino's *Bibliotheca...* reveals the importance of Ciceronian rhetoric for example in the Jesuits *Ratio studiorum.* Hence it may be understood that rhetorical concepts were understood by a wider group than simply clerics, friars and scholars. Within this general context a closer insight into the ideas Velázquez would have been aware of is provided by the writing of Rioja and Fonseca.

The continuation of the concern for the reform of preaching in the second decade of the seventeenth-century is indicated by Francisco de Rioja's unpublished *Avisos que han de tener un predicador* dated the 13th of March 1616. A number of copies of this work exist in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, and the Biblioteca Colombina, Seville. The copy quoted here was included in Pacheco's *Tratados*, which is not only further evidence of their close relationship, but also indicates the painter's interest in rhetoric. Rioja's treatise has not been the subject of a close study, and it provides an opportunity to analyse the concepts of preaching and rhetoric discussed by the patrons of Velázquez.

The concerns for 'perspicuity' and 'ornament' are indicated by Rioja's emphasis that the objective of the Christian orator 'is to teach the people with the authority of the sacred books' and that 'words are the ornament and lustre of things when they are employed with dignity and suitability.'[22] His argument that the prophets surpassed Greek and Latin authors for their ways of speaking suggests a concern for 'purity' similar to Granada's. Aside from the theoretical ideals the practical emphasis of Rioja's

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[21] The 1620 publication of Sebastían Monje's *Tratado en lengua Vulgar, de la quantidad de la syllaba, I modo de hazer versos en latín. Es conforme a las reglas de arte de Antonio de Lebrija* is the only example of a similar text. Guzman records only one copy of this text in Palau. A. Domínguez Guzmán, *La imprenta en el siglo XVII*, (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 1992) (p.151)

[22] *Tratados.* (f.11v.) 'El fin del orador cristiano es enseñar al pueblo con la autoridad de los libros sagrados... Las palabras son ornato i lustre de las cosas cuando se ponen con dignidad i conveniencia.'

text reveals the various approaches to rhetoric noted by Smith. Rioja's discussion was structured by the *genera elocutionis*, three styles of speaking described in classical rhetoric as *subtle*, *impressive* and *medium*. Gutiérrez's discussion also listed them but with slightly different terms to the ones Rioja used, which are 'delgado o sutil', 'robusto' and 'florido'. Rioja classified each with a function, the first teaches, providing the sense [razón] of a story, the second moves the audience and the third delights them employing 'blandura y venustidad'. His comments illustrate the application of the rhetorical basis of Paleotti's discussion of painting. Rioja signalled the difficulty of identifying any one style of sacred rhetoric and argued that each of these styles can have many variations, but the reader is warned against 'darkness... lasciviousness and vanity'.[23]

He did not dwell on the issue of style, turning to the use of tropes, which he terms 'Las traslaciones'. He says that they are normally taken from touch, sight or taste and that 'to aggrandise something one should take noble objects, and to humble the lowest'.[24] The preacher is warned to take care not to fall into the vice of expending great efforts in 'painting' the dawn, spring flowers, the wind blowing over waters and trees with the intention to persuade and teach, which illustrates the continuation of Medina's theory of rhetoric. He went on to argue that,

'... the spirit and life of the voices are the things, as they are also its shine and ornament, only the awareness of them distinguishes men; a painting that shows us bodies with

[23] *Tratados.* (f.12v.) 'cualquiera destos estilos podrá tener muchas diferencias porque puede ser más apretado o más remiso, pero así de mirar mucho huir los vicios que tiene cada uno semejantes que alguno suele usar por grande el hinchado i espumoso o el áspero demasiadamente i oscuro, por delgado el ínfimo i por florido el lascivo descompuesto i vano.'

[24] *Tratados.* (f.12v-13r.) 'Las traslaciones que siempre suelen ser del tacto, de la vista i del gusto, si se quiere engrandecer algo se tomarán de los objetos más nobles pero si se quisiere umillar de los más viles.'

liveliness and perfection is an admirable thing for certain, but how different is that which represents the minds!'[25]

Rioja's metaphorical use of the verb 'to paint' refers to spoken descriptions, but it is another example of the close relationship between rhetoric, *ekphrasis* and painting. His discussion echoes the comments of Socrates discussed by Gutiérrez and Butrón in the last chapter. The emphasis on verisimilitude in preaching makes a significant comparison to the similar emphasis addressed to painting that has been discussed, providing further evidence that the same critical criteria were used for both.

Related to Paleotti's concern for verisimilitude is Rioja's discussion of the preacher's role of explaining the meaning of biblical texts. He argued that the preacher should convey the literal message and where necessary explain any cryptic appearance resulting from allegorical, tropological and anagogical expression. Rioja's treatise concluded on the subject of invention and the preacher's training. He emphasised the importance of the use of historical texts, moral philosophy and 'arts such as sculpture painting and architecture' for the 'pertinent speculation they offer'.[26] Actual examples of the use of painting by preachers are examined later; however, Rioja's comments suggest they provided a source for sermons.

The most significant feature of Rioja's text is that it identifies verisimilitude with the task of preaching, in a similar way to how it was applied to painting in treatises, such as Paleotti's. Evidence of Rioja's extensive classical knowledge is developed below and it is probable he knew the passage of Xenophon. Hence it would

[25] *Tratados*. (f.13r.) 'el espíritu i vida de las vozes son las cosas, como ellas también su lustre i ornamento, mas la noticia dellas solamente diferencia los ombres; galante cosa es por cierto una pintura que nos muestra con viveza i perfección los cuerpos pero cuán diferente la que nos representa los ánimos!'

[26] *Tratados*. (f.17v.-18r.) 'de algunas artes como escultura, pintura i arquitectura es razón que se tenga noticia si quiera de lo especulativo para tratar las cosas que dellas se ofrecieren atinadamente...'

not seem fanciful to suggest he might have judged Velázquez's work in these terms, or, returning to the painter's perspective, that Velázquez undertook to treat his figures in this way and not to differentiate the shine and ornament, like most men, but show 'the spirit and life' in his paintings. Furthermore the demand that Velázquez be literal in his 'explanations' of religious painting may explain why he limits the display of 'ornament', and where it is used its emphasis is on the literalness of the scene. A closer examination of these debates is undertaken once the role of Sevillian classicism in the development of rhetorical ideas has been examined.

Part iv)

Although Medina's comments on preachers shared certain values with Granada he in fact criticised Granada's theory for its emphasis on the 'contemplation of celestial things' and turning attention away from the 'disciplinas humanas'. Underpinning Medina's critique is his view that Granada's theory of Rhetoric led writers to seek models in novels of chivalry and pastoral romances 'defective in elocution; deformed and monstrous in invention'.[27] Medina identified preachers as the successors of the orators of antiquity, indicating his preference for a theory of rhetoric based on classical models. Medina's comments in favour of classical authors are echoed in Rioja's *Avisos,* which argued that they helped the 'Christian orator' improve his style. Medina's concern was to increase the range of classical sources preachers employed. Fumaroli recorded how after the Council of Trent many of the Italian treatises on rhetoric had sought to limit the use of classical sources. He argued that the Jesuits later played a

[27] Smith, 1978. (p.97)

significant role in redressing this, but as the work of Possevino displayed it was within a rigorous ideological framework.

Medina's comments do not signal the temporary oblivion of classical culture, in fact quite the opposite. His critique of preaching was given in the introduction to Fernando Herrera's (1534-1597) annotations to the poetry of Garcilaso de la Vega (1503-36). Brown describes the work as 'modelled on Scaliger's commentaries on Greco-Latin literature.'[28] Although Herrera belongs to an earlier epoch of more liberal study of the classics, which culminated in the two programs of mythological painting, the succeeding generations with Medina at their centre continued study of a range of sources. Smith recorded how most of the preachers she examined employed quotations from Latin poetry, and that these became more extensive when the sermon was prepared for publication. Although the protocol tended to avoid naming authors she noted that 'Virgil is by far the most popular poet, closely followed by Ovid and Seneca' amongst other classical authors.

An example of 'preachers' knowledge of the classics is Rioja's prologue to Fernando Herrera's *Versos* published in Seville in 1619, with a frontispiece by Pacheco. Rioja's brief text reveals important similarities to his discussion of preaching. Herrera's poetry is praised for its 'poetic lights and colours' and that its 'force' was not without 'grace (venustidad) and beauty'.[29] He qualified this saying that his use of *ornatus* was measured, which maintained the clarity. Commenting on poetry in general and alluding to the advice he gave preachers he praised the 'humble ordinary style' (el estilo de umildad ordinaria), which should not be over laden with ornamentation, and argued for

[28] Brown, 1978. (p.26)
[29] Francisco de Rioja, *Poesía*, ed. Begoña López Bueno, (Catedra: Madrid, 1984). (P.45) 'Los Versos que hizo en la lengua Castellana, son cultos, llenos de luzes i colores poeticos, tienen nervios i fuerça, i esto no sin venustidad i hermosura...'

a simplicity of speech. In addition to these parallels between Rioja's sacred rhetoric and classical poetics the prologue returned to the discussion of verisimilitude.

'The mind's emotional feelings, the finer and more subtle they are, ought to be treated with the simplest and most appropriate words, only for that are they revealed to the eyes, and strike the mind with liveliness'.[30]

Now lifelike appearance is identified with a simple style in poetry. In order to develop this he took up Medina's metaphor of clothing arguing how an excess of ornamentation, 'be it in art or nature', 'darkens and hides the beauty' of a body.[31] However his concern here is not aesthetic but moral. He claimed that the greater a subject the less it should be hidden with the 'tropes and figures' and that 'greatness should be reserved for the humble, because it has life'.[32] Rioja's earlier concern for literal expression is again noted. This second text reveals the wider application of his arguments to the sphere of poetry.

In the last chapter it was noted how the classical and renaissance epigrammatic traditions were continued in Seville as a form to eulogise painting. Many of Velázquez's spectators employed rhetorical concepts such as perspicuity or purity in discussions of poetics. McKim-Smith drew the parallel between religious and secular culture by citing the criticism of Luis de Góngora. The polemic his *Soledades* (1613) caused was centred on criticisms of their obscurity and darkness. In *Historia de las*

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[30] Rioja, 1984. (p.46) 'Los sentimentos del ánimo afectuosos, cuanto mas delgados i sutiles, se deven tratar con palabras mas senzillas i propias, solo porque se descubren a los ojos, i hieran el ánimo con su viveza...'

[31] Rioja, 1984. (p.46) 'Quien vistiesse un cuerpo mui apuesto i gentil o sea en le arte, o en la naturaleza, con demasiado ornato, no haria otra cosa que oscurecer i ocultar la hermosura de sus partes.'

[32] Rioja, 1984. (p.46) 'De manera que las cosas cuantas mayores, menos se àn de ocultar con los modos i figuras. La grandeza se deve reservar solamente para lo humilde, porque tenga vida, i se levante en la estimación' He illustrated this with a quotation from Aristotle's *Poetics* stating that the 'too much spelndour in the voices, conceals the customs and thoughts.'

Ideas Esteticas Menéndez Pelayo discussed two works on poetics before 1625: Alonso López Pinciano's *Philosophia Antigua* and Francisco de Cascales' *Tablas Poeticas* published in 1606 and 1617 respectively. Both display their knowledge of Aristotle's *Poetics* and place an emphasis on poetry as an imitation of nature. Pinciano compared poetry to the painting of a portrait and described both in terms of verisimilitude.

Rioja's views on poetry were shared by his friend Juan de Fonseca. The historical discussion of Fonseca essentially consists of two articles by José López Navio. The first is a biographical study of the Canon who went on to become the 'chamberlain' [Sumiller de Cortina] to Philip IV [33] The second, cited in the last chapter, examined the inventory of paintings recorded at his death, and Velázquez's valuations of them as has already been commented on. Art historians have focused principally on Fonseca's role at the court, although Lleó drew attention to his artistic and scholarly activities while in Seville. Pacheco recorded that he painted, and Nicolas Antonio's *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* (1696) reveals he wrote a treatise *De Veteri Pictura*, unfortunately now lost.[34] As well as this work Antonio recorded six other treatises and a number of letters, which indicate Fonseca's interests in classical culture: *Pro D. Laurentio Ramirez de Prado adverssus Mussambertium, seu Theodorum Marsilium*; *In P.Terentii Andriam notas MSS. vidimus cum Epistola ad D. Joannem Solorzanum postridie Kal. Decembris MDCVI*; *Ad Claudiani de Raptu Propserine notulas* inceptas; *In Senecae Epsitolam XVIII. lib. II. December est mensis*: ad eumdem Solorzanum[35]; *De Criticis Disputatiunculum inter Neotericum Scriptorem, &* *** quae incipit: *Contra claudam infurgo scriptorem* (Antonio notes that this contains a defence of Lipsius); A work on the *Pseudo-Dextri* and *Pseudo-Maximi*; Correspondence with Juan Bautista Suarez.

[33] 'D. Juan de Fonseca, canónigo maestrescuela de Sevilla', *Archivo Hispalense*, 126-7, 1964, pp.83-126.
[34] Nicolás Antonio, *Biblioteca Hispana Nova*, (Madrid: Visor, 1996) (p. 691)
[35] The essay on Seneca concerns public religious festivals.

None of the works recorded by Antonio were published, but the Biblioteca Colombina holds a selection from Antonio's list and others he was unaware of. They are found in a collection of manuscripts by a number of authors including the poet and archaeologist Rodrigo Caro. The works by Fonseca are the following: *Notae in Terentiis Cattaginensis Andriam*; *opusculum* (on the river Lethe); *opusculum* (on the god Mercury); *Ad Claudiam librum primum ex variis collecta auctoribus commentaria preter ea pauca que adiecimus mottas aliquas quales x * + si inter scripturam reperis ad margines referuntur*; *Notae ad Epistolas Senecae*; *Opus, in quo liber 2 est de Arte Poetica*; *Oratio en primordiis studiorum, anni 1620 in conbentus Pauli Hispalensus; De Criticis Disceptatiuncula inter Neotericum Scriptorem et.* There is also a letter addressed to him from Juan Baptista Suárez de Salazar discussing the poetry of Catullus dated the 11th January 1610.

Aside from Suárez's letter the dates of these texts is problematic. López Navio identified the treatises on Terence and Claudian with Fonseca's studies at Salamanca University, which he concluded in 1606. His presence in Seville was interrupted by journeys to Madrid where López Navio suggests he established himself in 1615. However, the 'oratio' he gave in the Convent of St. Paula indicates that he did return to Seville after that date.[36] Hence it would seem probable that the other works relate to his time in Seville and document his research into classical poetry and thought.[37] Perhaps the most apparent feature of Fonseca's writing is his engagement with classical mythology and literature and it is evidence for the continued study of these areas, despite their lack of representation in painting. The only mythological image in Fonseca's painting collection was an 'image of Helias'. However it is possible that

[36] The *Oratio...* provides a further example of the author's classical learning.

[37] As the Duke of Olivares gained power at the court the presence of a number of other Sevillian nobles may be detected in Madrid. Mercedes Cobos's article 'Dos cartas en torno a la polémica concepcionista. Algunos nuevos datos sobre Francisco de Rioja y Juan de Espinosa'(*Archivo Hispalense*, 1987, pp.115-220) provides dates for Rioja's presence in Madrid in 1615 and 1617.

some of the forty-one landscape paintings had mythological scenes such as Adam Elsheimer or Claude Lorraine painted. The only further indication of his interest in classical culture is a 'portrait of Justo Liçio', which may have been of Justus Lipsius, whose importance for Sevillian culture is discussed below. It is beyond the scope of this discussion to examine all Fonseca's writings, and only his work on poetics is discussed here. However, in the course of this chapter his interests are contextualised with other examples of Sevillian classicism.

The chief problem facing an analysis of Fonseca's *Arte Poetica* is that it is incomplete. The manuscript in the Biblioteca Colombina contains chapters 17, 18, 19 and 20, of what may be assumed to be the first book, followed by the opening five chapters of 'Liber secundus de arte poetica'.[38] There are marked distinctions between the subject matter of the 'two' books. The first is concerned with classical rhetorical theory applied to the writing of poetry, while the second described the classical techniques of performing plays written in verse, which Pinciano had also addressed.[39] Their interest in the Theatre indicates the importance of this second aspect of Iberian culture. It is not possible to consider this second area, and attention is focused on the four chapters of the first book.

Chapters seventeen and eighteen do not address poetry directly instead they concentrate on an ethical concern firstly, for examples of fortune (*nobilibis*, *divitibis*, *potentibis*, *fortunatis*) and then examples of virtues (*pietas*, *justitia*, *mansuetudo*, *modestia*, *fortitudo*, *prudentia*). The relevance of these was perhaps that they were the

[38] Biblioteca Colombina, Ms. 21, estante 83,3-19, (Seville). (f.255r.-266v.)

[39] Only the first five chapters are preserved of the *Liber Secundus de Arte Poetica*. These are "de dramatico poetatis genere", "de origine et nomine de tragedia", "Deijs quae considerantur in tragedia ac primum deve subsesta". "de modo ac primu de tragico apparatu", "de modo qui spectaturinre". An earlier example of the an interest in the forms of classical literature is a letter by Pablo de Céspedes *Carta sobre comentarios de perceptiva poética*, published in *Escritos de Pablo de Céspedes*, ed. J.Rubio Lapaz & F.Moreno Cuadro (Córdoba: Diputacion de Córdoba, 1998)

fundamental topics to be expressed in classical poetry, which Fonseca turned to in the nineteenth chapter.

Fonseca's discussion, drawing on rhetorical theory, set out to describe the composition and diction required to render the 'illustrious virtues such as *gravam, venusta, asperam, vehementam*'.[40] Fonseca's discussion is based in 'pure' Classical rhetoric and the only indication of the application of his theory are the references to classical poets. However, throughout his text he highlighted the importance of simplicity and brevity like Rioja, as well as the wider cultural concern for clarity. Fonseca proposed the use of six 'ideas': '*perspicuitas, magnitudo, venustas, velocitas, morata oratio, gravitat*', which he discussed in terms of their relationship to the '*sententia, methodus, dictio, figura, compositio, vocabulora* et *clausula.*' The discussion of *perspicuitas* continued the theme of the appropriate use of language, figures and tropes, as has been noted in both of Rioja's texts. Furthermore, there is marked emphasis placed upon brevity and simplicity. Fonseca appears to be primarily concerned to analyse antique poetry, proposing it as a poetic model. Hence the application of his text to the discussion of painting is limited, except that it provides further evidence for the critical framework that has been discussed so far.

However, the treatise may be read as an example of Fonseca's awareness of the ideas of Justus Lipsius. The Flemish scholar was cited in Butrón's *Discursos* and Rioja's treatise on Pacheco's *Crucifixion*. The popularity of his works in Seville was considerable, and in particular Rioja's poetry reveals his awareness of Lipsian Neostoicism, with its philosophical tenets of rational reflection and constancy in the face of difficulty.

[40] Biblioteca Colombina, Ms. 21, estante 83,3-19, (Seville). (f.256 v.)

Before turning to consider Lipsius' theory of rhetoric an indication of a shared interest may be discerned from the list of Fonseca's manuscript. Fumaroli stated that Lipsius identified three stages of training for students of rhetoric. After studying Cicero and Ciceronian humanists to establish a style, he advised the imitation of less academic and among others comic authors such as Terence and Plautus, to give the writer some liberty in his writing. Finally Sallust, Seneca and Tacitus were to be studied. The subjects Fonseca wrote on indicate a proximity to Lipsius' ideas, which is supported by Fonseca's use of Lipsian ideas in his poetic theory.

Lipsius' application of rhetoric was to neither preaching, nor poetry, but to letter writing, set out in the *Epistolica Insituto*.[41] From the discussion of this text by writers such as Fumaroli, Christian Mouchel and Mark Morford two principal similarities may be noted between the two authors. Although Lipsius proposed only five rhetorical ideas *brevitas*, *perspicuitas*, *simplicitas, venustas* and *decentia*, unlike Fonseca's six, their similarity is apparent.[42] Lipsius may have provided a further source for the ideas of perspicuity and simplicity as noted so far.

The second indication of Fonseca's awareness of Lipsius is his discussion of *Gravitas*. He refers to it in terms of 'acumen orationis'. Fumaroli discussed *acumen* as the 'privileged instrument' of Lipsius' oratory, which enhanced the effects of style and invention.[43] Fonseca's comments, which review the themes of his discussion, focus on authority and simplicity expressed through a metaphor of vision.[44] According to

[41] None of these discussions refer to Lipisus's *Oratoria Insituto* (1630) according to the *Bibliographie Lipsienne*, University of Gand (Bibliotheca Belgica: Gand, 1886).
[42] Morford identifies Lipsius sense of these as Brevity, clarity, informality, gracefulness and vigour, and good taste. *Stoics and Neostoics: Rubens and the circle of Lipsius*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991) (p.72)
[43] Fumaroli, 1980. (p. 158)
[44] Biblioteca Colombina, Ms. 21, estante 83,3-19, (Seville). (f. 261r.)'Gravitas vel acumen orationis aut est et videtur aut est et non videtur aut videtur et non est. Gravitas quae est et non videtur f[?]t gravis idea magnitudinis ac pracipue auctoritate, quae vero est et nonvidetur fit quando gravissimas sententias idea simplicitatis proferimus, ea autem quae videtur et no est. F?t quando inanes sententiae orationis

Fumaroli 'Acumen' indicates the use of knowledge and wit in rhetoric, and Fonseca's combination of it with simplicity indicates that it should be measured, rather than a grand display. Although, Fonseca did not examine 'acumen' in detail it indicates a paradigm in which to consider the educated spectator. Rioja's poetry provides evidence for his friendship with Fonseca, expressed through displays of Neostoic *acumen* in Seville, and in particular with regard to painting. An examination of these examples of Sevillian Neostoicism provides the opportunity to develop the theoretical discussion of rhetorical concepts with regard to their application for the description of paintings, and to focus on the intellectual concerns of Velázquez's patrons.

magnitudine efferuntur qui fabulae multae descriptiones et historiae inculcantur quae nihil adiuvant nem propositam sed solum amplificant.'

Part v)

Brown's and Lleó's research into aspects of Seville's intellectual culture, such as the archaeological study of the city's Roman heritage and its 'reconstruction' in poetry and architecture during the sixteenth-century, reveals the high levels of attention devoted to classical culture. Gareth Davies examined the relationship of these interests to 'philosophical' thought. He proposed that the efforts expended in classical learning were 'accompanied by a desire to find evidence analysing and judging human affairs.'[45] He identified two aspects of this application of learning to everyday life, 'the emergence of a fashionable Stoic demeanour, and the evolution of a tradition of empirical analysis'.[46]

Seneca's Cordobese origins encouraged an Andalusian interest in Stoic philosophy, as indicated by Alonso de Cartagena's 1491 translation of his works, published in Seville. Gareth Davies also identified this school of thought with the poetry of Garcilaso de la Vega and these and other writers laid the foundation for the emergence of Neostoicism at the end of the sixteenth century, which is the development that concerns this discussion.[47] Justus Lipsius, was the principal source of the revival of interest in Stoic thought. When the scholar Benito Arias Montano returned to Spain from the Netherlands in 1577 an important channel of communication was opened up between Lipsius and Iberian scholars. The publication of Lipsius' correspondence reveals the extent of his contact with Spain.[48] In regard to Seville, Gareth Davies records that Montano wrote to Lipsius, on Christmas Day 1593, assuring him of the

[45] Davies, G.A., 'Juan Antonio de Vera's Embaxador (1620) and the spirit of Sevillian classicism', *Recognitions: Essays presented to Edmund Fryde*, C.Richmond & I.Harvey (eds.), pp. 375-410, (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1996) (p.381)
[46] G.A.Davies, 1996 (p.382)
[47] Francisco de Medina's preface to Fernando de Herrera's annotated edition of Garcilaso's work, discussed above, indicates that his severe style based on the classical writers would have been read in terms of stoic ideas.
[48] See A. Ramírez, *Epistolario de Justo Lipsio y los Españoles*, (St.Louis: 1966)

many friends he had in the city. Although, no close relationship may be detected between any Sevillian scholar and Lipsius after Montano, Neostoic ideas continued to circulate. After his death Lipsius' works continued to be published and translated. In 1616, Juan Bautista de Mesa published the translation of Lipsius' book *of Constancy.*[49] A number of other texts, such as Juan Antonio de Vera's 'El Embaxador' (1620), developed Lipsian ideas.

Although Gareth Davies cited Rioja and Pacheco as examples of Sevillian Neostoicism he did not comment on their individual creative activity. Mark Morford's *Stoics and Neostoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* provides a detailed study of the relationship between painting and Neostoicism. In contrast to Velázquez there are both documents and paintings which record Rubens' knowledge of Lipsius' philosophy. The only indication of an explicit visual representation is the possible portrait of Lipsius in Fonseca's collection mentioned earlier. However, a relationship of Neostoicism to painting may be detected, and tracing it returns us to the themes of *ekphrasis*, painting's lifelike appearance and the 'ideas' that may have informed Velázquez's painting.

Iberian Neostoicism is generally discussed in a political context with regard to diplomacy. However, as both Morford and Gareth Davies have discussed, it was also a philosophy that informed a way of life and this is apparent in a letter Rioja sent to Fonseca. Lipsius and his contemporaries engaged in various 'humanist' activities from botany to archaeology, poetry to politics, and also painting. A number of manuscript letters reveal this range of interest in classical culture. The *Coleción de cartas de eruditos y papeles varios referentes a la antiguedad clasica que pertencieron a Antonio Agustin* includes the correspondence between the following authors, connected to

[49] An example, noted by Davies, of the already established traditions of these ideas is illustrated by Mesa's inclusion of a poem written in 1579 on the subject of Constancy.

Seville: Francisco de Rioja, Francisco de Calatayud Y Sandoval, Juan de Fonseca and Rodrigo Caro.

The letters include discussion of Lipsius' scholarship, poetry, historical research, bibliography, archaeology and genealogy. A range of scholars from Seville and Madrid are cited. Among them is an undated letter from Rioja to Fonseca.[50] Having recorded in brief and somewhat melancholic tones his recent activities he concluded with a sonnet following a line from Petrarch 'La vita il fin al toda la sera'. The theme of the sonnet is the control of the passions, which it is recommended to control, but also not to fear the 'inconstant and blind' effects they have. These themes summarise Lipsius' notion of constancy.[51]

As well as scholarly interests the letters display the bonds of friendship, which were also expressed through portraits both written and painted. Three poems exist revealing the significance portraiture had in early seventeenth-century Seville. One of the manuscript sources for Rioja's poetry includes a *silva* by Francisco de Calatayud, *Al retrato de Franciso de Rioja hecho por D.I°.D.F°.Y.Fi.*[Don Juan de Fonseca y Figueroa]. [52] Pacheco's record of Fonseca's artistic skills was cited in the first chapter. López Bueno has identified the autography to be Fonseca's.[53] A second anonymous *Silva* records a portrait by Fonseca of the poet Juan de Arguijo. López notes that it is in the hand of Rioja but considers it as a copy of anonymous poem.[54] Finally a third

[50] Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. 5.781, (Madrid) (f.126r.-v)
[51] Rioja, 1984. (p.177)
[52] Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. 3.888, (Madrid) *Poesías varias.* Rioja, 1984 (p.34, fn.78) Calatayud was born towards the end of the 16th century. He served as Contador de la Casa de Contratación and later moved to Madrid as secretary to Philip IV. He was a dedicated poet.
[53] The nineteenth-century historian Zarco del Valle identified this poem in his research notes, which also document Fonseca's writings in the Colombina. Palacio Real, Real Biblitoteca II/4056, *Papeles varios impresos y manuscritos con noticias y documentos sobre Velázquez reunidos por Don Manuel Remón Zarco del Valle*, (Madrid). (f.14-16)
[54] Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. 3.888, (Madrid) (f.122r.) 'Dos palmas, dos laureles / para Orfeo y Apeles / preven, ô tú, que notas admirado / de Arguijo el fiel traslado / i de Fonseca el dibujar valiente. / Dos famas boladoras / que desde el rojo Oriente / adonde muere el sol, canten su gloria / i den eterna vida a su memoria.'

portrait by Fonseca is recorded, this time of Sarmiento de Mendoza.[55] All three are examples of the continuation of the epigrammatic tradition discussed by Shearman. Fonseca's portrait is appreciated for its ability to portray the mind and spirit and the sitter is praised for his intelligence and Neostoic qualities.

'The face is of Rioja and the appearance is one who awaits voice and breath, worthy man,...Don't wait that he speaks his mind the ardent spirit, the singular doctrine...'.[56]

Pacheco's criteria of lifelike ability, discussed in the first chapter, is implied in this description, but it is also further evidence of Rioja's theoretical discussion of verisimilitude. The painting is not only praised for its 'liveliness and perfection', but because it 'represents the minds' of the sitters. While these poems indicate the criticism of portraiture, they are also displays of poetic skill, wit, learning and friendship, and may be read as examples of Neostoic *acumen* applied to painting. Hence the relationship of Velázquez's paintings to this form of specialised criticism needs to be considered carefully.

As Shearman has shown artists developed their painting in response to these classical poetic traditions during the Renaissance, and Velázquez's Sevillian portraits should be considered in this wider context. Although these paintings do not make any apparent attempt to particularise the spectator's view unlike Raphael's. All work in established conventions of portraiture. The posthumous 1620 funerary portrait of

[55] Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. 3.888, (Madrid) (f.123v.) A Priest and witer. b.1580 in Burgos & d.1650, studied at Salamanca where he was rector and then was magistral of Seville cathedral. Wrote a number of ecclesiastical and theological treatises as well as on the poetry of Martial. 'Bien muestran estas luces i estas sor[binding] / atordas diestramente / que es Fonseca su artífice valientes / i el blando i conocido movimiento / que es fiel imagen esta de Sarmiento / Mas la sin paralteca / de virtud de Dotrina i de nobleça / (o espíritus divinos) / no permite que pluma / tanto de sí presuma / que afama en todo el orbe dila / ofenda confiada. / o en reçíproca gloria / eterna viva vuestro gran memorias.'

[56] Rioja, 1984. (p.36) 'La faz es de Rioja y el semblante / este de quien esperas voz y aliento, / varón... No esperes que te diga de su mente / el espiritu ardiente, / el singular doctrina...'

Cristobál Suárez de Ribera 1550-1618 [fig. 41] shows the sitter as a donor indicating with his hand towards the altar, and the cedars and cypresses have been interpreted as alluding to death. The portraits of *Luis de Góngora*, the *Man with a ruff* and the *Portrait of a young man* [figs. 42 & 43], which may be a self-portrait, are all bust portraits. Their similarity to Pacheco's pencil portraits in the *Libro de Retratos* indicates that this format was usual to record scholars, who it may be assumed the first two men certainly are. López Bueno includes a reproduction of Justi's identification of a portrait of Rioja [fig. 44]. José López Rey's 1963 catalogue raisonné questioned the attribution of the sitter but dated it to 1622-3; in the 1996 edition of his catalogue it was recorded as a portrait of a cleric. Full-length portraits were reserved for Kings, Nobles and Saints. Velázquez's court portraiture is evidence of the first two and Bassegoda argued that the full-length portraits of saints, or holy persons likely to be beatified provided the basis for the depiction of *Mother Jerónima de la Fuente* and explained the copies made of the portrait [Fig. 45]. Bassegoda suggested that the patrons of this work, the Franciscan convent of Santa Isabel de los Reyes in Toledo, would have intended to promote the nun's cult after her death with the portrait. The portrait of this religious figure is the most explicitly rhetorical of all of Velázquez's works; she literally speaks her mind. However, it provides a paradigm to consider the aim of all of Velázquez's portraits. A common theme they share is their simplicity illustrating Rioja's earlier comment that:

'The mind's emotional feelings, the finer and more subtle they are, ought to be treated with the simplest and most appropriate words, only for that are they revealed to the eyes, and strike the mind with liveliness'.

Turning to the three secular portraits Velázquez made no visual allusion to their intellectual interests. He concentrated on the facial expression and the gaze. An X-radiograph reveals that originally the Góngora was crowned with laurels, in the style of Pacheco's *Libro de Retratos* portraits, but they were removed. Velázquez's works may be read as concentrating on the 'mind's emotional feelings'. An indication of these has been provided by the theme of the one sonnet examined above, constancy, and a more extensive study of Rioja's poetry develops this theme.

Morford described the 'essential stoic attributes' addressed in Lipsius' *De Constantia* as 'reason, freedom from the emotions, patience in adversity, and cheerful subjection to God'.[57] The sonnet Rioja sent to Fonseca, discussed above, addressed the control of the emotions, and other poems Rioja dedicated to his friends address the other themes.

Rioja dedicated three sonnets to Fonseca addressing the poet's confrontation with the transience of the world. The theme of time, which is most apparent in Sonnet IX, is explored in more depth in *Silva* VI, *Al verano*.[58] The contrast of these two sonnets reveals two different facets of Rioja's poetry drawn from his study of the classical authors. López Bueno has argued that the principal sources for his work were the moral ode drawn from Horace and the pastoral, both of which signal Neostoic themes.[59] The garden as an intellectual retreat is the setting for Lipsius' *De Constantia*, and its importance for Sevillian culture has been discussed by Gareth Davies and Lleó. As Velázquez's paintings hardly depict these natural features the following discussion concentrates on the moral dimension of Rioja's' work.

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[57] Morford, 1991. (p.162)
[58] Rioja, 1984. (pp.147 & 193)
[59] Begoña López's prologue to Rioja's *Poesía* identified Fernando de Herrera, and indirectly Petrarch, as inspiration for Rioja's pastoral interests. From Horace Rioja drew themes such as the fleetingness of time and life and the futility of human ambitions through which he developed a moral theme. López's discussion of the relationship between Sevillian culture and Rioja's poetry concentrates only on the poetic sources.

The fleetingness of time recurs in Rioja's work and it may be considered as an adversity to be confronted with constancy. The preoccupation is apparent in *Silva* V, *A la constancia*, dedicated to Pacheco, who it has been suggested is the *Man with a ruff*.[60] The title clearly indicates Rioja's knowledge of Lipsius' writing.[61] The passage of time provides a moral context to consider the verisimilitude of Velázquez's portraits. They identify the sitters as prey to the passage of time. It would seem probable that 'constancy' provided a paradigm to discuss the psychological depth Velázquez provided for his portraits.

Another theme of adversity that emerges in the sonnets is that of wealth. In silva V *A la riqueza*, riches are described as the 'shadow of happiness' and Rioja wrote how they 'disturbed the peace with which the ancient woods flourished'. Implied in these words is the Neostoic idea that the use of ancient wisdom could assuage common troubles. While the life of Lipsius had been plagued by the war between the Spanish and the Dutch Protestants, many writers commented how Seville suffered from the evils associated with material wealth. Rioja was not the first to criticise his fellow citizens; the iconography of Vázquez's ceiling painting in Arguijo's palace has been interpreted as documenting the failings of the current age in contrast to the golden age of classical culture.[62] Rioja offered a scathing critique of the customs of the wealthy.

'So many wounds, wealth, have come with you to the mortals, that even when we pay to death, our evil does not cease: then the corpse that accompanies gold or costly robes

[60] The evidence is based on its similarity to a figure in another Last Judgement by Pacheco, now in a private collection, painted between 1610-11. In the *Arte* he records how he included his own portrait, which suggests that Niño de Guevara's synod was open to interpretation.
[61] Rioja, 1984. (p.186)
[62] López Torrijos, *Velázquez y Sevilla.* (p.190)

only by opulence is persecuted; and the final rest and repose that it would have had in poverty is denied, its sepulchre being disturbed.'[63]

None of Velázquez's sitters are dressed in any way that may be described as opulent. The ruff of the unknown sitter is as extravagant as may be found, being banned by royal decree shortly after the portrait was painted in January 1623. Devoting themselves to the study of virtue and the ancient world these intellectual writers suggest little concern for material concerns. Pacheco's *Libro de Retratos* provides another example for the exemplary status of scholars. Velázquez's development of Pacheco's drawings evident in his rejection of Gongóra's laurels was his lifelike treatment of the sitters.

In the last chapter the decline of mythological painting in Seville was discussed and it was stated that no clearly defined relationship between painting and classical scholarship is apparent after that date.[64] David Davies' interpretation of the *bodegones* as visual *ekphrases* or descriptions of the paintings of Piraeicus is the only indication of a new development of this relationship. However, Velázquez's portraits, viewed as expressions of Neostoic values, provide a new example of this relationship. Portraiture was often discussed in terms of its classical origins, as Butrón's text indicated. Lipsius' study of ancient libraries records how they were decorated with portraits.[65] The notion of visual ekphrasis is problematic, as has been said, however the discussion thus far indicates the parallels between painting and writing, and offers a context to consider Velázquez's response to the *Natural History* as well as biblical texts. Therefore, it may

[63] Rioja, 1984. (pp.172-3). 'Tantos daños, riqueza, /an venido contigo a los mortales, /que aun cuando nos pagamos a la muerte, / no cessan nuestros males: pues el cadáver que acompaña el oro, / o el costo vestido, / sólo por opulento es / perseguido; / i el último descanso i el reposo / que tuviera en pobreza, l'es negado, / siendo de su sepulcro conmovido.'

[64] Pacheco's advance draft of a chapter of the *Arte*, discussed at the end of last chapter, concludes with a poem by Rioja about a painter's attempts to depict the myth of Apollo and Daphne on a laurel and panel. The conceit based on Daphne's metamorphosis into a laurel tree describes the painter's difficulty in representing his mental idea. As well as documenting the further reach of Meléndez's philosophy it reveals the continued interest in mythological themes.

[65] J. Lipsius, *Las bibliotecas en la antigüedad*, trans. J. López de Toro, (Valencia: Castilia, 1948)

be proposed that Neostoic ideas developed the appeal of Velázquez's *bodegones*. Although this relationship cannot be clearly defined, a closer reading of Rioja's poetry reveals how it can be applied in an analysis of Velázquez's *bodegones*.

Rioja's critique of wealth indicates an appeal for the *bodegones*. Faced by the disapproval of mythological paintings to represent Neostoic ideas it would not seem fanciful to suggest that Velázquez's treatment of humble scenes appealed to Rioja's ascetic sensibility, and also his rhetorical ideas based on simplicity and brevity. As well as being humble, the depiction of the transience of life may be detected in Velázquez's bodegones. The *Tavern Scene With Two Men And A Boy* has been discussed in terms of the three ages of man. Although, its comic mood and setting do not indicate either philosophical reflection, or a stoic meal, one should be cautious about ascribing excesses of austerity, and not recognising the role of humour. The poem recording Velázquez's wedding emphasises the displays in wit and humour by Seville's scholars.

However, a heightened *gravitas* is seen in Velázquez's more studied bodegones, such as the *Waterseller* and the *Old Woman Frying Eggs*. In order to explore them in more detail they need to be examined in terms of a second *silva* Rioja wrote *a la pobreza*. Rioja revealed another adversity that afflicted Sevillian culture, which was the high levels of poverty the city had to cope with.[66] Rioja did not idealise poverty as a spiritual state as members of the religious community did at times; an idea characterised by Fray Luis de Leon's statement in *La Vida Retirada*: 'Let a poor little table well stacked with lovely peace suffice for me.'[67] Instead Rioja saw it as challenging

[66] For studies of Poverty in Seville and Spain see: Léon, Pedro de, *Grandeza y miseria en Andalucía; testimonio de una encrucijada histórica*, ed. Herrera Puga, P., (Granada: 1981); Perry, Mary E., *Crime and society in early modern Seville*, (New England University Press, 1980); Perry, M. E., 'Magadalenes and Jezebels in Counter-Reformation Spain', *Culture and Control in Counter-Reformation Spain*, ed. A.Cruz and E.Perry, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press,)

[67] *The Penguin book of Spanish Verse*, ed. & trans. J.M. Cohen, (London: Penguin, 1988) (P.188)

constancy with loneliness, slavedom and preventing the peace required for rational enquiry.

David Davies examined the discussion of poverty in relation to the *bodegones*. He discussed changes in artistic and literary representations of the poor, from exemplars of vice to virtue, which he traced to social, political and religious attitudes. Rioja's poem is a further expression of these changes. However, it concentrates less on the virtue of the poor as individuals and focuses instead on poverty. López Bueno proposed that the two *silvas* need to be read together and that they are united by an overarching meaning.

'The proclamation of the correct balance between the false beguilement of wealth and the crude reality, that one should accept one's own limits, the *aurea mediocratis* understood as a vital commitment: in a word the interiorisation of an equilibrium as a state and attitude in life.'[68]

Velázquez's austere *bodegones* do not represent poverty in the terms described by Rioja, or in the other contemporary accounts. Both scenes display a frugal sustenance, but by no means a lack. In contrast to the many printed images of beggars these images by no means illustrate Rioja's poem. Hence it may be suggested that Rioja's poetry provided a medium for Velázquez's understanding of poverty, in the terms described by David Davies, and at the same time informed the understanding of spectators such as Fonseca.

[68] Rioja, 1984. (p.76) '... la proclamción del equilibrio del justo medio entre el falso engaño (*silva* II) y la cruda realidad (*silva* III), el conformarse en la aceptación de los propios límites, el *aurea mediocritas* entendido como comprimiso vital: en una palabra, la interiorización del equilibrio como estado y actitud ante la vida.'

Needless to say it is not the aim of this discussion to identify Velázquez's works as explicit representations of Neostoic thought, such as Rubens' group portrait of Lipsius, or as Barry Wind interpreted the bodegones. Velázquez's paintings combine artistic skill, as discussed in the last chapter, with humble decoration paralleling the rational, moral ideals these scholars lived towards. Andrada's *Epistola Moral*, which was for some time ascribed to Rioja, describes these Neostoic ideas with a similar contrast to Rioja's silvas.

'I should like to copy the common people in their clothes, and in my habits only the best, and never to boast of being ragged or ill dressed.'[69]

In Velázquez's two austere bodegones the 'common people' appear as exemplars of austerity. The paintings' *gravitas* suggests that their habits were worthy of imitation.

It is open to speculation whether Velázquez's spectators applied 'acumen' to his paintings, interpreting them in an allegorical sense. But what this discussion has shown is that Velázquez's paintings indicate an awareness of Rioja and Fonseca's rhetorical concepts of perspicuity, simplicity and lifelike expression. Furthermore, these rhetorical ideas had an ethical resonance, expressed in poetry, which may also be detected in Velázquez's paintings. With regard to Rioja's poetry it has provided a critical context for Velázquez's portraits. Velázquez did not attempt to imitate the subjects of Rioja's poetry, but his paintings signal an awareness of its moral concerns through which he developed his engagement with traditions of genre painting. As well as the formal evolution of this genre and displays of Velázquez's skill, these paintings reveal his treatment of Rioja's themes of the scholar's mind, the transience of nature and the

[69] *The Penguin book of Spanish Verse*, 1988. (p.240)

humble path between wealth and poverty. Velázquez's paintings may be seen in terms of tropes of these concerns.

Neostoic ideas may also be traced to the two religious bodegones and Morford's final criteria of Constancy, the 'cheerful subjection to God'. Although neither of these paintings appear cheerful, instead melancholic, their silent stares may have engaged a stoic contemplation. However, these works make evident that the secular and the religious, the moral and the spiritual, were closely entwined. Rioja and Fonseca both held ecclesiastical positions. Before examining these works a study of Velázquez's religious paintings in terms of rhetoric must first be undertaken.

Part vi)

While the *bodegones* were collected by Seville's nobility and scholars, and may be understood as a responding to their cultivated tastes, the religious paintings had to engage a far wider audience, as was discussed in the last chapter. Smith cited friar Luis de Rebolledo's discussion of the use of paintings and stained glass in sermons to illustrate a point and focus the minds of their listeners. Valderrama, the other Sevillian friar examined by Smith, employed dramatic lighting and music to heighten a painting's effect on the congregation. It is evident that Paleotti's analogy had a basis in fact, and that Butrón's discussion of illustrated catechisms was related to a wider pedagogical practice employed in sermons.

Although the precise locations of Velázquez's religious paintings are not known, preaching provides a paradigm to examine them. The congregation, Paleotti's 'simple' spectators, would also have been 'trained' to look at them through the preachers' techniques described above. An examination of the paintings that were hung in churches

suggests how Velázquez structured the paintings in response to the Tridentine concerns of perspicuity and decorum.

The only work depicting a scene of the gospel, the *Adoration of the Magi,* reduces the scene to its principle action, the honouring of Christ. Davies and Harris noted that the Magi are not represented 'in their traditional guise as kings', and suggested that,

'It is conceivable that he was underlining their role as wise men rather than royal as would have been befitting to a chapel of a Jesuit Novitiate.'[70]

However it may also be seen in terms of the demand to employ perspicuity and a strict economy of ornament, emphasising the literal elements of the scene, the humble location of the adoration of Christ. The pink of the Virgin's tunic and the yellow fabric draped across her knees demarcate the figure of Christ, brightly lit and swathed in white, from the dark background. The red and brown cloaks of the Magi mark a curved space separating them from the Holy family. The golden caskets they hold punctuate its flowing recession into the picture's depth, leading the eye to the sunrise, with its symbolic significance. Velázquez's use of 'ornament' is not only governed by historical decorum, but also rhetorical decorum, intending to clearly reveal the scene to the viewer.

The 'literalness' of the humble scene is also heightened by the treatment of the details in the bottom right hand corner: the rocky ground, the thorns, the cracked step and the Virgin's shoe. However these also indicate an allegorical significance. The thorns refer to the passion, and Davies and Harris stated that the *all'antica* architecture

[70] *Velázquez in Seville,* (p.162)

'signified the old law'.[71] It may be suggested that the broken step indicates its neglect and the need for Christ's spiritual role. If the spectators were not visually literate in such symbolism a preacher could have informed them as he may also have taken up Velázquez's treatment of the Virgin to discourse on her purity and grace. The combination of details reveals how Velázquez brought together Rioja's discussion of the three styles and aimed to instruct, move and delight the spectators.

The paintings of the two martyred preachers St. Paul and St. Thomas would have aided a preacher, reflecting on his own role, to describe the significance of the first evangelising missions of the early church and the sacrifices made. With regard to the evangelisation and colonisation of the 'Indies' and the Philippines, such as carried out by *Mother Jerónima de la Fuente*, this would have been a pertinent topic. The open-mouthed Thomas may have offered the chance for the Preacher to imitate the 'original' severe and evangelical rhetoric, while the book held by St. Paul alludes to his own epistolary sermons.

Likewise Velázquez's funerary portrait could have prompted a Tridentine message. The portrait of *Cristóbal Suárez de Ribera*, hung originally above his tomb in the chapel of St. Hermengild that he had founded. Ortiz de Zuñiga records how the Sevillian noble don Melchior Maldonado de Saavedra financed the decoration, including a painting by Titian.[72] Suárez's gesture towards the altar would have led the spectator's eye to Montañes' sculpture of the Sevillian martyr, reminding them of his pious devotion to this local saint who died rather than renounce his faith. Furthermore

[71] The heated debate concerning the Virgin's Immaculate Conception was sparked off by an interpretation of the *Song of Songs* which referred to her footwear. Whether any particular significance can be attached to Velázquez's prominent placing of her shod foot is unclear. Although the Virgin's feet were not always displayed in paintings it is not a novelty. It is probable that some of Velázquez's spectators were aware of the diagrammatic analysis of the Virgin's foot in the Carmelite Friar Juan de las Roclas' , *Hermosura corporal, de la madre de Dios*, (Seville:1621). A copy of the illustration is found in Domínguez, 1992. (p.159)

[72] Zúñiga, vol. IV, 1988. (p. 254)

Suárez provides an example of the Tridentine concern to recover and preserve the early history of the Church.

The diptych of *St John the Evangelist on Patmos* and the *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception*, which, as Victor Stoichita has commented, is unique regarding this subject matter, would probably have been employed by preachers during the long running debates and demonstrations regarding the Virgin's purity.[73] In these paintings Rioja's concern for a literal exposition of biblical allegory and anagogical experience are represented. Stoichita drew attention to the scale given to the Saint and his book, in contrast to the vision pressed into the painting's top left hand corner. He argued that the accompanying painting filled 'the emptiness of the white page' of the Evangelist's text. It may also be suggested that the preacher could have filled that page, and the second painting provided a literal account, a de-allegorization of *Apocalypse* Chapter 12, such as Rioja discussed. A contrasting treatment of decorum is noted in these paintings. The image of the Saint places emphasis upon the literal historical event, while the treatment of the Virgin's celestial beauty, intended to encourage devotion, represents the theological 'mystery'.

Velázquez's other painting on a Marian theme *St. Ildefonso receiving the Chasuble from the Virgin* records a paradigm of spiritual devotion and a historical demonstration of the Virgin's intervention on the part of those devoted to her. In contrast to Pedro de Campaña's treatment of the scene in his *Mariscal Altarpiece* 1555-6 and Antón Pizarro's version, reproduced by Alardo de Popma for Salazar de Mendoza's 1618 treatise *El Glorioso Doctor San Ildefonso*, Velázquez has reduced the scene to its minimum. Neither the Cathedral nor the Virgin's throne are included.

[73] Victor I. Stoichita, *Visionary experience in the Golden Age of Spanish Art*, (London: Reaktion, 1995) (p.113). Although by the time Ceán recorded their presence they were in the baptistery, it is possible a preacher commented on them. Smith records an example of Fray Diego de Vega, which suggests he made a comparison between two paintings, one of Christ and the other of St. Mary Magdalene.Smith, 1978. (p.66)

Furthermore, the interaction of the saint and Virgin is simplified by excluding any visual bond between them. In formal terms the painting is centred around the profile of St. Ildefonso, framed by the descending chasuble, which leads the gaze towards the golden-lit celestial scene and the figure of the Virgin. Nicholas Antonio recorded that Rioja published a Marian treatise titled *Ilephonso o tratado de la Concepción de Nuestra Señora.*[74] No copies have been preserved, however, it is a further indication of a link between the scholar and painter.

Velázquez's religious paintings are original interpretations of iconographic traditions, and 'imitations' of other paintings. One feature of Velázquez's paintings is the clarity or 'perspicuity', not only of the outlines of his figures, but of the paintings as a whole. The paintings' compositions are based on bold divisions, demarcated and integrated with light and colour, of their significant elements. Details have been reduced to the minimum, and the ornamentation of tropes has been kept simple.

Again this is not to suggest that all of Velázquez's contemporaries were painting works with an excess of details. However, a comparison with Juan de Roelas' 1615 *Pentecost* [fig. 46] or his *Crucifixion of St. Andrew* and Francisco de Herrera's *Apotheosis of St. Hermengild* (1620) [fig. 47] reveal more elaborate celestial scenes with energetic cherubs casting bouquets of flowers. It should also be noted that other painters had begun to deploy similar techniques to Velázquez's treatment of religious scenes. The Franciscan Friars portrayed in Francisco de Herrera's frescoes in the Church of the College of St. Bonaventure are depicted seated in a manner similar to Velázquez's St. John. The impact of the latter painting is even clearer in the work of Alonso Cano. Two examples document his exploration of the theme: one dated between 1616-1630 reveals the Saint looking but the vision is not depicted; then in 1645 he

[74] N. Antonio, 1996. (p. 467)

returned to the theme but included the vision. It is not known if these works were accompanied by an Immaculate Conception.[75]

Part vii)

The clarity and simplicity of Velázquez religious paintings is not the only indication of his awareness of the rhetorical dimension of painting. His three principal religious works reveal different strategies to particularise the spectator's position. Thomas Puttfarken examined Caravaggio's two paintings on the Story of St. Matthew, his calling and martyrdom, in the Contarelli chapel in Rome. Painted between 1599 and 1600 the paintings are 'his first monumental religious *istorie*'.[76]

Puttfarken's analysis of these paintings proposed that the canonical interpretation of them is misleading due to a misunderstanding of the composition of the paintings. He argued that instead of depicting the principal action of each scene in the work's centre, as academic theory might demand, Caravaggio has presented the two scenes in a more complex manner that required the viewer to engage with the paintings' wider narrative. Puttfarken acknowledged that Caravaggio's intentions were not clear but he makes the following suggestion.

'Understanding these pictures presupposes a willingness to search, to follow a procedure of visual attention and discovery through which we work ourselves out of the dark, confusing and misleading reality of the first glance to a higher level of Christian truth.'[77]

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[75] I. Henares Cuellar, *Alonso Cano: espiritualidad y modernidad artística*, (Madrid: 2001)
[76] Thomas Puttfarken, 'Caravaggio's 'Story of St. Matthew': a challenge to the conventions of painting, *Art History*, Vol.21, 1988, pp.163-181. (p.166)
[77] Puttfarken, 1988. (p.179-80)

Velázquez's religious works are very different in subject matter and composition to Caravaggio's. However, their composition indicates a recognition that spectators would attend closely to the works, and in the two religious bodegones this is combined with a contrast of reality and a higher level of truth. These two features are examined in turn and they may offer another way to understand Shearman's discussion of painters particularising the spectator's position.

Velázquez's *Adoration of the Magi* is the clearest example of this. It is the clearest example of Velázquez presenting a particular viewpoint. The three Magi and their page provide a group for the spectator to join. All their attention is placed on the holy family. No attempt is made by any figure to engage the spectator, whose attention follows theirs. In contrast the treatment of St. Ildefonso isolates the spectator from the event but provides two distinct themes to examine. Firstly, the mystical experience, which this painting emphasises in its tactile dimension, the bestowal of the chasuble. The earlier examples depicted the saint seeing the Virgin, as is also described in Juan de Jáuregui's poem on the subject, published in 1618.[78] Velázquez's enraptured saint appears unaware of his surroundings, concentrating on the spiritual experience. Secondly, the divine intervention is represented with a display of modesty. The spectator is positioned to consider both St. Ildefonso's experience and the celestial appearance of the Virgin.

The interest in contrasting two themes is most apparent in Velázquez's diptych. The spectator is here engaged in a more complex contrast of mystical allegory, and the verbal and visual traditions of its interpretation. The symbols that surround the painting of the Virgin refer to passages from the *Song of Songs* and *Ecclesiastes*. Amongst

[78] Al singular favor que Nuestra Señora hizo a San Ildefonso, dándole la casulla en la iglesia de Toledo, *Rimas*, ed. Inmaculada Ferrer de Alba, (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1973). (pp.174-7)

Stoichita's concluding theses from his study of Spanish paintings of mystical experience he proposed that the representation of the visionary serves as an 'intermediary... through which the transcendence is revealed to the spectator.'[79] St. John the Evangelist in this painting may be understood in this role, but Velázquez appears to have developed this. Not only does the Evangelist see the original vision, but also, in terms of the composition his gaze leads to its theological consequence, the Immaculate Conception. A visual bond unites the paintings.

The role of the intermediary is even more apparent in the two religious *bodegones*. In the last chapter it was suggested that the serving maid's posture and the position of her head signal the words of Christ directing the spectator to the Emmaus scene. In the *Kitchen Scene with Christ in the House of Martha and Mary* the relationship between intermediary and the religious scene is yet more complex. The contrast of the treatment of the everyday scene with the religious one may be interpreted in terms of an imitation of Nadal as was discussed in chapter two. However, the works also appear similar to Velázquez's diptych. The spectator is required to undertake a more complex engagement. Prior to examining this painting it is necessary to consider a further paradigm of visual analysis to develop an understanding of spectators' visual attention and Puttfarken's second point, the search for 'a higher level of Christian truth.'

In the first chapter Gallego's suggestion that the 'composition of place' of St. Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises* had informed the lifelike appearance of Velázquez's painting, his 'imitation of nature'.[80] A relationship of Velázquez's painting to meditational exercises has been indicated by his 'imitation' of Nadal's text, which was

[79] Stoichita, 1995, (p.199)
[80] Norman Bryson cited the *exercises* as an analogy in his discussion of the paintings of Juan Sánchez Cotán. See Bryson, Norman, *Looking at the overlooked four essays on still life painting*, (London: Reaktion,1990)

designed, as a visual guide for exercitants, but the significance of texts on meditation for painting is by no means clear.

The thesis that the *Spiritual Exercises* heralded a cultural shift in attitudes to the visual sense has been supported by commentators on the Ignatian text, such as Roland Barthes, however, the identification of this propensity to employ the visual imagination with any particular style of painting, or painter, is highly problematic.[81] It remains unknown how exercitants used their imagination; Medina's critique of Granada's rhetoric is an important reminder that an interpretation of these texts is complex. Nadal's *Imagines*, which is the most direct visual representation of the exercises, reveals a range of visual styles as has been discussed. Furthermore Barthes' discussion of the role of ekphrasis in the Jesuit exercises refers to their theatricality, which brings into focus another important visual manifestation of religious culture, the theatre, an area of Sevillian culture that awaits attention from art historians.[82]

In terms of Velázquez's religious *bodegones* examination of writing on meditation has been productive. Thomas Glen examined how the Ignatian 'composition of place' and Nadal's *Imagines* informed the paintings' treatment of the religious scene. His discussion of Francois de Sales' *Introduction à la vie dévote*, first published in 1609, indicated a source for the paintings' visual and ideological content. Another searching engagement with the use of meditational texts in was given in a lecture by Terry O'Reilly.[83] He examined texts of meditations as a source of Velázquez's subject matter, but also provided a resource for the spectators' engagement with its representation in painting.

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[81] R. Barthes, *Sade / Fourier / Loyola*, trans. R.Miller, (University of California press: Berkely, 1989) (pp.62-8)
[82] Barthes, 1989. (P.61) This has also been discussed by M. Fumaroli, 1980. (pp.678-9)
[83] The lecture is due to be published.

O'Reilly's analysis alluded to an important point about the exercises, which is their basis in *ekphrasis*. Barthes and Fumaroli have both discussed this fundamental feature of texts on meditation. Hence they may be understood as a further application of rhetorical concepts and 'training' to engage with painting's lifelike appearance. Nadal's *Imagines* were examined as evidence of historical decorum in painting, however his focus on historical detail is related to the *Spiritual Exercises'* insistence that the exercitant focus on the materiality of the meditation. Velázquez's religious paintings may be read in this sense: they place emphasis on the materiality of their event through the unidealised characters and the lack of extraneous details to distract the eye. A parallel exists between the demands placed on the preacher, such as verisimilitude or literal explanation, and the exercitant, which reveals how these concepts engaged the religious imagination. The following discussion demonstrates how the perspicuity of Velázquez's paintings is related to the representation of vision in his paintings, which in turn is identified with Shearman's discussion of the particularising of viewpoints.

It has been suggested that the Novitiate, where Velázquez's *Adoration of the Magi* was hung, was the location for the practice of meditation, which suggests a context to understand his emphasis on vision in the painting. Although painted later in the century, Antonio de Pereda's (1611-78) *St William of Acquitane* (fig. 48) documents the use of visual aids for meditation. The saint contemplates a skull, a print of the Madonna and Child, a Crucifix and a text. The visual aids are the main topics of meditation on the life and death of Christ and human mortality, implying the brevity of time to seek forgiveness for sins. Pereda's painting, like Velázquez's *Adoration of the Magi*, depicts contemplative vision, and the paintings could be read as representations of spiritual vision.[84]

[84] Pereda's painting of the *Knight's Dream* reveals an allegorical depiction of the moral themes of Rioja's poetry. The transience of life and the futility of wealth.

Velázquez's work depicts four sets of eyes through which to view the Holy family. Four visions allow the exercitant to move from the page craning over his master's shoulder gradually closer. The centre of the picture is where the first Magus' gaze unobstructed meets Christ's. Joseph's brightly lit eyes, which are the only ones both open and not cast in shadow, suggest a model of spiritual vision. Velázquez's painting demonstrates not only an awareness of his spectators, but sets paradigms for their contemplation, not of his painting, but as Butrón said its representation. Velázquez's and Pereda's works provide a variation on Stoichita's reading of depictions of the 'intermediary' to a vision.[85] However, in these latter works it is to a concept of vision, as well as an actual vision, based on the contemplation of religious truths. Through an analysis of texts on meditation an understanding of this concept of vision may be developed, which it is argued underpins the two religious *bodegones*.

Part viii)

An examination of meditation and its relationship to painting engages with a complex range of issues: not only rhetoric, historical decorum, or the social concerns of Catholic culture; but also the traditions of scholastic theology and philosophy. It is beyond the scope of this discussion to undertake a rigorous engagement with all these features, however, two examples of what Barthes has termed 'image linguistics' shows how the concern for clarity in rhetoric was developed into a metaphor of vision and knowledge.[86] Through this analysis a further rhetorical dimension of Velázquez's paintings becomes apparent.

[85] Stoichita, 1995, (p.111)
[86] Barthes, 1989. (p.67)

The chief focus of the Ignatian exercises was on the gospel story, although they also encouraged exercitants to consider the world in which they lived.[87] Ignatius focused on the diversity of man, animals and nature. A second example of writings on meditation is the Dominican friar Luis de Granada's *Manual de oraciones y espirituales ejercicios* (1573); his text which offers a marked contrast to Loyola's develops a more critical vision of the world, concentrating on the sins of mankind to be seen in the world. In the fourth Consideration of the third exercise, 'Of the blindness and darkness of the world', the world is described as darker than when the darkness was inflicted on Egypt. From the metaphor of darkness Granada moved to blindness:

'Mankind appears delighted and bewitched in such a way having eyes they don't see and ears they don't hear.'[88]

It is a moral or spiritual blindness Granada had in mind as he admits mankind has eyes 'as sharp as lynxes for earthly things'; his text advocates a superior spiritual vision, which is regained through the contemplation of celestial subjects.

Two features of this spiritual vision may be discerned from Granada's text: a vision of the material world in terms of sin and a turning from earthly blindness to contemplate 'las cosas del cielo'. Granada's insistence on a clear unobstructed sight suggests that the rhetorical concept of 'perspicuity' had a deeper cultural resonance, like the exercises preaching, as well as painting, sought to free the congregation from the darkness by providing them with a clear knowledge of God. On this basis Velázquez's paintings seen as examples of perspicuity would have had a deeper resonance, and this

[87] St. Ignatius Loyola, *Obras*, (Madrid 1963). (p.212)
[88] Fray Luis de Granada, *Manual de oraciones y espirituales ejercicios*, (Madrid, 1994). (p.209)

is also signalled in his representations of vision. Velázquez's paintings may be seen as depictions of Granada's ideal of vision, while also being an object of that vision.

Granada's discussion may also be considered as representative of seventeenth-century scholastic Iberian culture. Curtius and Fumaroli have both discussed the revival of scholasticism in Europe, and point to the fact that it had always been strong in Spain.[89] Meléndez's Thomistic discourse on painting is an example of this. The Jesuit Alonso Rodríguez's *Ejercicio de Perfección y Virtudes Cristianas*, a large three-part work, which was published five times during between 1609 and 1624, presents similar metaphors of vision to Granada.[90] It is not intended to identify Velázquez's paintings with any particular thinker or religious order, but instead deeper cultural concerns. The aim of this discussion is to offer a cultural analysis showing that the artistic concepts examined in earlier chapters were related to rhetorical concepts applied in sermons and poetry, and these in turn were linked to philosophical concepts of moral vision. A further resonance of Velázquez's 'imitation of nature' may be detected in terms of these visual concepts; his paintings may be seen as a visual trope of this moral vision.

The specific application of such concepts to art is hard to demonstrate. The only evidence that exists is Céspedes' reference to Pedro de Valencia's treatise, which was discussed in the last chapter. Although this no longer exists, an indication of Valencia's ideas on the spiritual aspects of vision is given in his *Discurso Sobre materias del Consejo de estado dirigido a una persona que le pidió dictamen.*

Valencia had been a pupil of Benito Arias Montano and is seen as continuing the humanist traditions of that exemplary scholar. The only work published in his lifetime was his *Academica sive de iudico erga verum*, which has been discussed in recent

[89] See: Excursus XXII 'Theological Art-Theory in the Spanish Literature of the Seventeenth Century' E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans W.R. Trask, (London: Routledge, 1948) (p.547-558)

[90] It was published in Seville in 1609, 1611, 1614, 1616 and 1624.

studies as an example of sceptic philosophy.[91] The issue of scepticism in Spain, also identified with Velázquez's painting, is a subject that suggests an interesting counterpoint to the discussion of meditation, however an extensive engagement with Valencia's writing is not possible.[92] Nevertheless, an indication of the relationship of these areas is provided in this manuscript treatise, which reveals a wider application of the metaphor of vision described in Granada's exercises. A further importance of this text is that it brings the discussion of painting back to the 'community of scholars' with whom Pacheco and Velázquez had contact and provides an example of their philosophical discussion. Unfortunately the date of this treatise is not known and neither is the name of the person referred to in the title.

The two senses of vision described in texts on meditation are elaborated by Valencia in terms of scholastic philosophy and biblical history. Vision is employed in metaphysical terms in a discussion of epistemology. The two types of vision are gendered by Valencia. The male, interior faculty is the rational and spiritual elements, while the female, exterior faculty is the sensory element providing direct experience of nature. Before the Fall these two faculties existed in harmony. Valencia's description of the pre-lapsarian sensory experience places its emphasis on the clarity of understanding, expressed through clear and unobstructed vision that could 'see the spirit directly without the detours raised by discourse and doubt'. An Aristotelian, or rather Thomistic

[91] L.Gómez Canseco, *El humansimo después de 1600: Pedro de Valencia*, (Seville: 1993); J.L. Suárez Sánchez, *El Pensamiento de Pedro de Valencia*, (Badajoz: Diputación de Badajoz, 1997)

[92] Anne Livermore has proposed that the Sceptic philosophy of the Portuguese thinker Francisco Sánchez informed Velázquez's 'intellectual interests' which she identifies in his paintings. Sánchez's most important work *Quod nihil scitur*, identified as a precursor to Descartes' thought, was first published in 1581 in Lisbon. Livermore's principal argument is that Velázquez, due to his Portuguese roots, would have been attracted to this thought and that it guided his father's decisions concerning his education. No further, more solid, evidence has come to light but a study of Sánchez's thought may offer a richer understanding of the local traditions that accompanied the spread of Neostoic thought. Ch.5, *Artists and aesthetics in Spain*, (Támesis Books: London, 1988) Gareth Davies has argued that Neostoicism shaped an empirical and sceptical outlook in Seville, which indicates an approach to consider this issue.

dimension is identified, as corporeal things could be seen in 'their natures and essences'.[93]

Valencia's real concern is how to regain this ideal vision. He provides two ways by which this was achieved. Firstly through the use of the interior faculty to govern the senses a clearer knowledge can be attained. The second is through the 'light' God sheds on mankind. Valencia's belief in the importance of philosophy is indicated by this distinction. Granada's meditations emphasised the latter position, bringing attention to the fact that sin obstructed vision. For Valencia it was a matter of an increased emphasis placed on reason, which was linked to the spirit. Towards the end of his treatise he explained how philosophy prepared mankind for the coming of Christ, which indicates that the moral vision of Granada was combined with the use of reason. As the passage continues the arguments in favour of reason are supported by quotations, such as Plutarch's statement that to follow reason is to follow God.

Valencia's ideas reveal that clarity as a metaphor for understanding was applied not only to the spiritual vision of religious truths, but also in terms of the rational enquiry of the senses. Valencia's scepticism views people's blindness as a lack of reason and knowledge, rather than necessarily a moral weakness. In the last chapter it was shown how rational vision, 'ojos doctos', was applied to painting, through the careful study of the formal effects, their description in prose and poetry and the discussion of the painters 'idea', be it historical or theological. Further evidence has been given for this in the course of this chapter however, the importance of Valencia's discussion is that it develops the moral concerns of vision in Cicero's *Paradoxa Stoicorum* from where the term 'ojos doctos' was derived. In order to consider this application of moral vision and review the analysis that has been developed,

[93] Biblioteca Nacional, Ms.11.160 (Madrid). (f.34v-35r.)

Velázquez's two religious bodegones are examined, which place before the spectator a complex engagement with the clarity of sight and understanding.

Part ix)

In the recent literature on Velázquez a number of authors have focused attention on these two paintings exploring the possible significance their spectators may have derived from them. David Davies claimed that:

'Velázquez's interpretations of the gospel stories... as well as his representations of the humble characters in these and other *bodegones*, patently reveal his and his patron's sympathy for the poor.'[94]

Cueto exploring the metaphor of the body politic interpreted the food as tropes for the new reformed attitudes to the *cura animarum*; the administration of doctrinal and spiritual nourishment to the poor, as well as more substantial fare. The 'healthy' characters have recently been interpreted, by Thomas Glen, in terms of the de Sales' arguments that a devout life could be led by all members of society. All these readings indicate that the spectator was required to address the tropological dimension of the painting. However, these paintings also reveal Velázquez's engagement with the spectator, and it may be argued that these are his most complex engagements with this dimension of his painting. Perhaps, as these were not intended to be hung in a church and were intended for a more select spectator, he explored the rhetorical dimensions of painting.

[94] Davies, *Velázquez in Seville*. (p. 65)

The role of the protagonists as 'intermediary' for the spectator in Velázquez's *Adoration* and *St. John the Evangelist* has been discussed. In contrast the protagonists of the religious *bodegones* do not see the religious scene. With regard to the Emmaus scene, there is the possibility that the maid turns to see the scene; appearing to turn her head she guides the viewer to the contemplation of the recognition of Christ's resurrection and the sacrament. Her reaction to the voices prompts the spectator. It is worth mentioning that although sight was the primary sense mobilised in the *Spiritual Exercises* it was by no means the only one, as is apparent in the meditations of Fray Luis de Granada, for example the role of touch and hearing in his meditations on death.[95] Barthes described the importance of hearing as follows.

'The primacy of hearing... was theologically guaranteed: the Church bases its authority on the word, faith is hearing: *auditum verbi Dei, id est fidem*;...'[96]

Velázquez's second religious *bodegón* also indicates an aural dimension. Christ speaks in the background scene and it may be proposed that it is his words that the old woman brings to her companion's, and the spectator's, attention. Such a reading of the *Kitchen scene with Christ in the house of Martha and Mary* provides a narrative to the curiously frozen foreground scene and helps explain the enigmatic stare of the two women. A great deal of critical debate has been dedicated to linking the foreground scene with the background focused on the issue of the representation of vision. Debate as to whether the religious scene is viewed through a hatch or in mirror has been decided in favour of the former. However, this rules out the possibility of the servants seeing Christ, yet as all the discussion of this painting makes clear, it is Christ's words that are important not

[95] Granada, 1994. (pp. 26-8)
[96] Barthes, (p.65)

his gesture as in the other painting. The composition of the painting suggests that Velázquez attempted to overcome the limits of his medium by placing the spectator in a narrative that requires the recollection of Christ's conversation recorded in *Luke* X (38-42).

However, the painting is more complex than simply a representation of Christ's conversation with Martha and Mary. In the second chapter it was argued that these paintings may be seen as imitations of Nadal's images and modes of representation, and hence as an image of a historical scene. Critical discussion of these paintings has also argued that they reveal an engagement with the contemporary Tridentine concerns for the education of Palcotti's 'simple', which develops the visual dimensions of the painting. As well as the proposal that the old woman's finger signals the spectator to listen, shifting the gaze to the rear scene, it also draws attention to the young woman herself, whose head is turned away from the religious scene. In one sense the painting appears to turn the spectator into the 'intermediary' between the young woman and the religious scene. However, the women also seem to question the spectator's vision in terms of its application in the real world, asking the spectator to choose between the active and the contemplative lives. In this way Velázquez represents the two concepts of vision, first to the spectator he shows the clarity of spiritual truths and then he shows an image of two women who have learnt from them and hence see clearly. The symbolic significance of the food, as discussed by Cueto, alludes to a 'clear' vision of earthly existence. The women's gaze questions the 'clarity' of the spectator's own vision.

Both of these paintings work around the dual concept of vision: the contemplation of the spiritual truth and the clear understanding of the world, which may be derived from it. The paintings represent Valencia's image of spiritual vision. They show the contemplation of spiritual truth and its use in the 'education' of the young

woman, but also question the spectator's own vision of it; Velázquez's painting requires the spectator to engage rationally with this painting.

The final section of Rioja's treatise had encouraged the preacher to observe his surroundings and pay attention to the customs of rich and poor.

'One ought to observe the customs of the rich and the poor so as not to make proud the one with the impossibility with which the others are beset to reach heaven...'.[97]

Smith's study revealed the use that may have been derived from such a knowledge of customs. She records the use of *exempla* in seventeenth-century sermons, which she writes was 'an appeal to a contemporary response and an attempt to rephrase a traditional symbol in a 'modern' idiom'. Another rhetorical device was the *comparación*, 'an expository form' that 'chooses the familiar, the natural, and the commonplace to 'figure forth' a mystery.'[98] Both relate to Rioja's insistence on providing a literal explanation in sermons. Velázquez's two religious bodegones provide a visual example of the use of the customs of the poor as *exempla* and comparisons to the biblical texts. Within these rhetorical conventions the spectator was expected to search for 'a higher level of Christian truth.'

Part x)

The discussion of these last paintings has concentrated attention on Velázquez's response to the concepts and ideas discussed by his patrons and spectators, traced from

[97] *Tratados*. (f.21v) 'las costumbres de los ricos i de los pobres se deven observar para no ensobervecer los unos con la imposibilidad que se pone a los otros en conseguir el cielo, prudentemente habló de las riquezas San Isidro Pelusiota en la carta 72 del libro 4'

[98] Smith, 1978. (p. 75) The third term she notes is the *concepto predicable*, which she likens to a conceit in poetry. Rioja's ideas on preaching would appear to exclude this although as a poet he employed them.

discussions of painting to their application in poetics and preaching. The play on the silence of the paintings and the words of Christ indicates Velázquez's recognition of the limits of painting as a medium for preaching but also his attempts to overcome them, through his engagement of the spectator. The interpretations of painting by Shearman, Stoichita and Puttfarken allowed the paintings to be examined in a more searching way and have demonstrated various relationships between painter and spectator. However, the particular features of Velázquez's paintings have added to these discussions.

The examination of the texts by Rioja, Fonseca, Valencia and Granada has provided a philosophical context to address the paintings and the recent art historical discussion of them. It has been signalled at various points how these authors confirm the discussion of earlier chapters and it has been intended that this discussion bring these ideas together. However, the importance of the texts examined is that they may be read as 'sources' for Velázquez's paintings, not only for the choice of subject matter, but also for his 'imitation of nature', which in itself may be seen as a trope of wider ideological concerns of the religious culture expressed in terms of vision.

Conclusion.

In the course of these four chapters attention has steadily focused on Velázquez's Sevillian paintings accompanied by the testing of a new methodological approach to the discussion of the same. The critical review of art-historical methodology and terminology, despite its detours from discussion of Velázquez, has demonstrated that generalised concepts of painting theory, periods or styles, obscured attempts to examine the relationships between Velázquez's paintings and their social-historical context. By developing an original methodological approach to the discussion of the 'imitation of nature' Velázquez's paintings have been addressed as responses to a complex range of cultural debates, which offered a detailed insight into particular ways paintings were seen both generally and in Seville, from the perspectives of both painters and spectators, Velázquez and his patrons. Although the discussion of the latter has been based on theoretical paradigms, Velázquez's paintings themselves demonstrate an awareness of them.

The methodological critique of the traditional readings of theories of painting with regard to the 'imitation of nature' has provided a framework for an original discussion of the relationships of Velázquez's painting to Sevillian culture and society, which has questioned the established 'image of the artist' and terms such as 'naturalism'. Through a close reading of theoretical texts it has been shown how painting theory engaged with a range of ideological and intellectual concerns. Instead of the previous emphasis on aesthetic themes, discussion of decorum, ekphrasis and rhetorical perspicuity offered new ways of looking at, and describing, Velázquez's paintings. The most important issue is that it has allowed for an examination of his paintings in relation to the concerns of his patrons and it may be concluded that

Velázquez's paintings responded to them. His awareness of these concerns indicates his relationship to the community of scholars, and in particular his two patrons Juan de Fonseca and Francisco de Rioja. Until now the writing of these patrons has not been considered in regard to the work of Velázquez. The concepts and language applied in their treatises and poetry provided an important context to consider how Velázquez engaged with their ideas. However, the use of visual sources such as Nadal's text signals Velázquez's knowledge and use of other printed or painted examples of visual rhetoric. By taking this approach to Velázquez's 'imitation of nature' the paintings' significance has been addressed in terms of their appearance, rather than the interpretation of iconographical details, and it has been shown how Velázquez's paintings sought to appeal to the 'ojos doctos' of his patrons and spectators. Such an approach could be directed to Velázquez's later paintings, as well as other painters such as Caravaggio, Zurbarán, Ribera, or his Sevillian contemporaries for example.

The events that would later unfold with Velázquez's appointment at the court of Philip IV provide a further context to consider their relationship. It may be suggested that the Sevillian paintings reveal the preparation of a painter, whom the close acquaintances of the then Duke of Olivares would promote at the court as painter to the youthful Philip IV. Fritz Saxl discussed the relationship of Velázquez and the King in terms of friendship and compared his close position to the monarch to that of a physician.[1] The role Velázquez would later play at court suggests an additional motive for his patrons to provide an education in Neostoic and classicist matters, as these provided paradigms for secular governance.

The continuity between Velázquez's Sevillian paintings and the works he would make during the course of his career at court has been signalled by a number of

[1] Fritz Saxl, *Lectures*, vol.I, (London: the Warburg Institute, 1957) (p.311)

scholars. The areas that have been addressed in these chapters provide a valuable framework to consider Velázquez's Madrid paintings. However, once at court Velázquez was open to a range of new visual and intellectual traditions, not to mention his encounters with Rubens and the journeys to Italy. Hence the feature of his Sevillian training analysed in the course of the final three chapters, the development of visual strategies to engage the learned vision of his spectators was explored through more complex subjects: mythology, history painting and portraiture. Following the methodological approach set out in these chapters Velázquez's exploration of compositional techniques could be framed in terms of concepts drawn from other disciplines, as well as the study of the role of painting at the Court of Philip IV. By pursuing a more extensive study broader issues such as Ortega's identification of Velázquez with thinkers such as Descartes, statesmen such as Richelieu, and Spanish authors such as Calderón or Quevedo, could be explored in more depth. Such as undertaking would need to examine other painters represented in the royal collection.

However, as well as providing the basis for the examination of Velázquez's later paintings, the study of Sevillian texts and authors has provided the foundations to develop a wider enquiry into Sevillian culture and Velázquez's contemporaries. Velázquez's paintings have been discussed as one response to the Tridentine reform and classicist traditions of Seville. Painters such as Pacheco, Roelas, Herrera and Vázquez reveal other responses to the concerns of Seville's spectators. An examination of these would develop an original focus on these painters, and provide a further context for the consideration of Velázquez's particular status and relationship to scholars, such as Rioja and Fonseca, which has been demonstrated. In this way new avenues of historical research for Velázquez and his contemporaries in Seville, as well as other painters identified as 'naturalist', are identified.

Illustrations

Fig. 1) Diego Velázquez, *Luis de Góngora y Argote*, 1622, oil on canvas, 51 x 41 cm., Museum of Fine Art, Boston.

Plate 388. A man. *Detroit, Institute of Arts*. No. 356

Fig. 2) Attributed to Diego Velázquez, *Portrait of a Nobleman,* oil on canvas, Detroit Institute of Fine Arts.

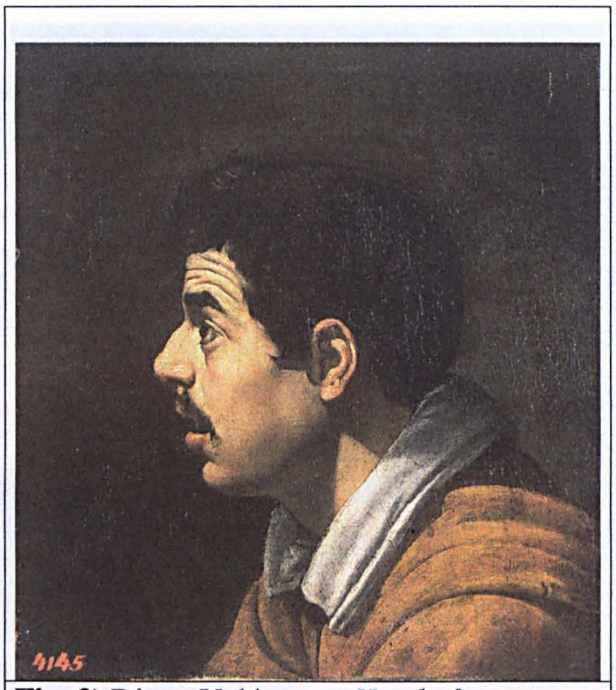

Fig. 3) Diego Velázquez, *Head of a young man in Profile*, c.1618-19, oil on canvas, 39.5 x 35.5 cm, Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

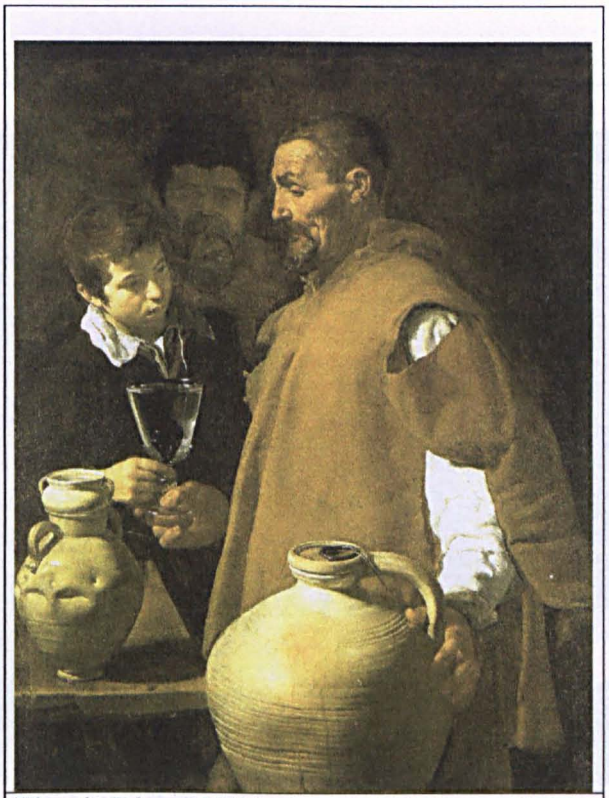

Fig. 4) Diego Velázquez, *The Waterseller of Seville*, c. 1620, oil on canvas, 106.7 x 81 cm, Wellington Museum, Apsley House, London.

Fig. 5) Diego Velázquez, *An Old woman frying eggs*, 1618, oil on canvas, 100.5 x 119.5 cm., National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.

Fig, 6) Diego Velázquez, *Kitchen Scene with Christ in the House of Martha and Mary*, 1618, oil on canvas, 60 x 103.5 cm., National Gallery, London.

Fig. 7) Diego Velázquez, *The Adoration of the Magi*, 1619, oil on canvas, 203 x 125 cm., Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Fig. 8) Diego Velázquez, *St. Ildefonso receiving the Chasuble from the Virgin*, c.1620 (?), oil on canvas, 165 x 115 cm., Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Sevilla.

Fig. 9) Diego Velázquez, *Mother Jerónima de la Fuente*, 1620, oil on canvas, 162.5 x 105 cm., Private Collection, Madrid.

Fig. 10) Diego Velázquez, *Two young men at a table*, c.1622, oil on canvas, 65.3 x 104 cm., Wellington Museum, Apsley House, London.

Fig. 11) Diego Velázquez, *Tavern Scene With Two Men and a Girl*, 1618-19, oil on canvas, 96 x 112 cm, Sémüvészetti Museum, Budapest

Fig. 12) Diego Velázquez, *The Virgin of the Immaculate Conception*, c.1619, oil on canvas, 135 x 101.6 cm., National Gallery, London.

Fig. 13) *St. John the Evangelist on Patmos*, c.1619, oil on canvas, 135 x 102.2 cm., National Gallery, London.

Fig.14) Diego Velázquez, *The Musical Trio*, 1617-18,oil on canvas, 87.6 x 117 cm., Staatliche Museum, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin

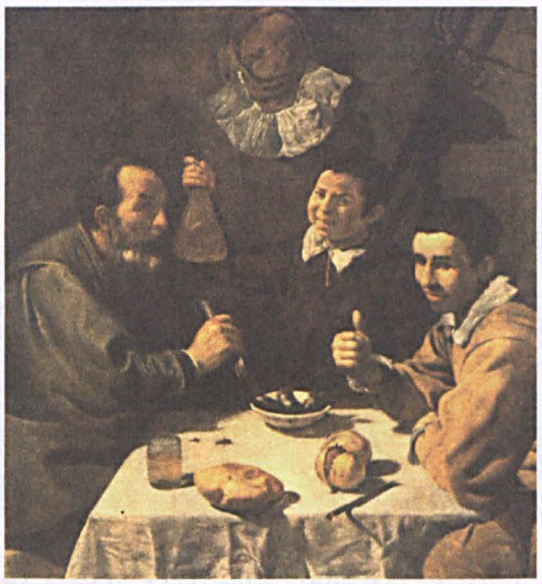

Fig 15) Diego Velázquez, *Tavern Scene With Two Men And A Boy*, c. 1618, oil on canvas, 183 x 116 cm, Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg

Fig 16) Diego Velázquez, *The Supper at Emmaus*, 1628-9, Oil on canvas, 48 1/2 x 52 1/4 in. (123.2 x 132.7 cm), The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

FIG 17

Fig. 16) Diego Velázquez, *Bacchus*, 1628-9, oil on canvas, 165.5 x 227.5 cm., Museo del Prado, Madrid

Fig 18) Navarette's *Baptism of Christ*,1565, oil on panel, 49 x 37 cm., Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Fig. 19) El Greco, *Annunciation*, c. 1600, oil on canvas, Thyssen Bornemisza Collection, Lugano-Castagnola, Switzerland.

Fig. 20) Jan Wierix, *Crucifixion*, plate 127 from J. Nadal *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines.*

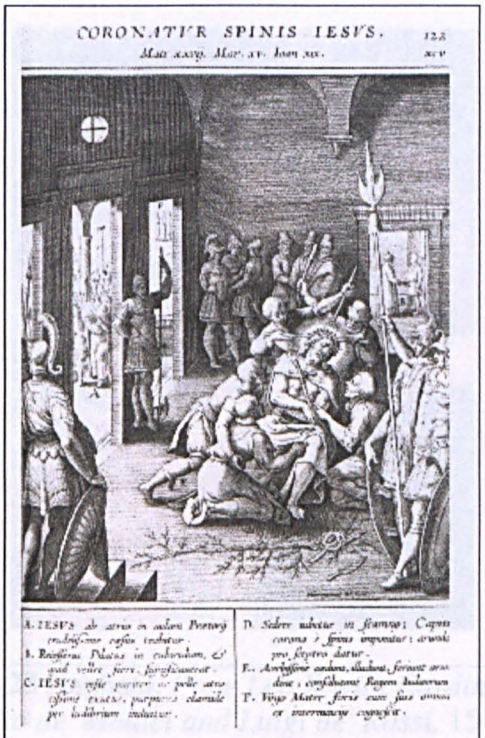

Fig. 21) *Jan Wierix, Crowing with thorns*, plate 122, from J. Nadal, *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines.*

Fig. 22) Raphael, *Portrait of Julius II*, 1511-12, Oil on wood, 108 x 80,7 cm, National Gallery, London

Fig. 23 Raphael, *Pope Leo X with Cardinals Giulio de' Medici and Luigi de' Rossi,* 1518-19, Oil on wood, 154 x 119 cm, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence

Fig. 24) Raphael, *Cardinal Tommaso Inghirami*, 1515-16, Oil on wood, 91 x 61 cm, Galleria Palatina (Palazzo Pitti), Florence

Fig 25) Caravaggio, *Supper At Emmaus*, oil on canvas, National Gallery London.

Fig 26) Caravaggio, *The Calling of Saint Matthew,* 1599-1600, Oil on canvas, 322 x 340 cm Contarelli Chapel, San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome

Fig. 27) Diego Velázquez, *Kitchen Scene with Christ at Emmaus*, c. 1620, oil on canvas, 55 x 118 cm., National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.

Fig. 28) Jan Wierix's *Christ at Emmaus*, plate 141 from J. Nadal, *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*.

Fig. 29) Jan Wierix, *The Visitation*, plate 2 from J. Nadal, *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*.

Fig. 30) Jan Wierix, *the burial of Christ*, plate 125 , from J. Nadal, *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines.*

Fig 31) Jan Wierix, *Christ eats with his disciples*, plate 145, from J. Nadal, *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines.*

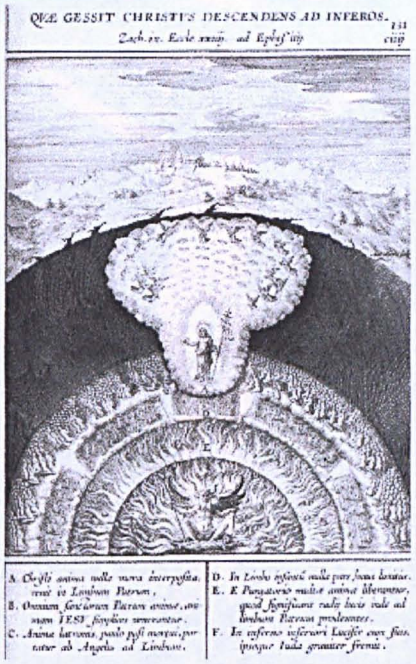

Fig. 32) Jan Wierix, *Christ's descent to the inferno*, plate 131, from J. Nadal, *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*.

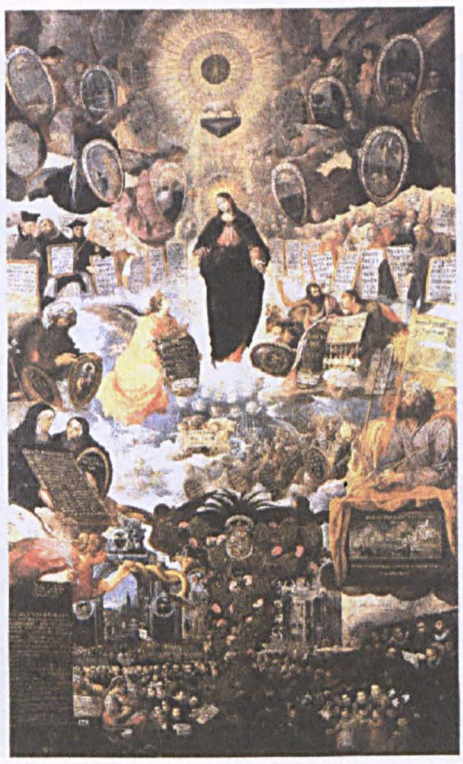

Fig. 33) Juan de Roelas, *Immaculate Conception*, 1616, oil on canvas, 326 x 197 cm., Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid.

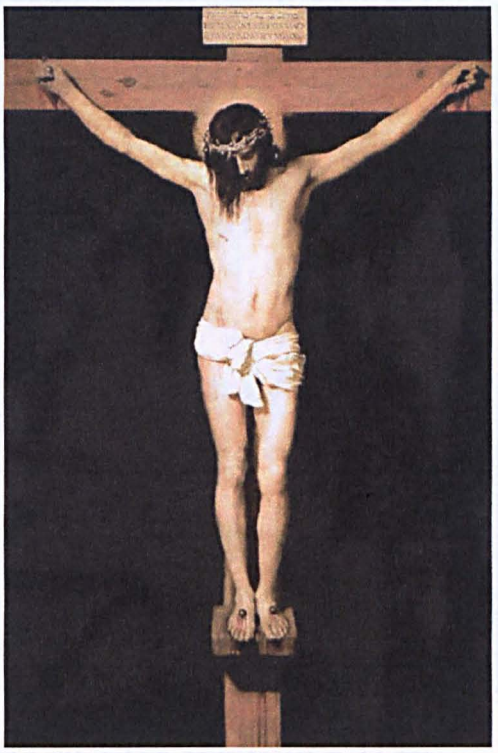

Fig. 34) Diego Velázquez, *Crucifixion*, c. 1632, oil on canvas, 250 x 170 cm., Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Fig. 35) Diego Velázquez, *St. Paul*, c.1619-20, oil on canvas, 99 x 78 cm., Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona

Fig. 36) Diego Velázquez, *St. Thomas*, 1618-20, oil on canvas, 95 x 73 cm., Musée des Beauz Arts, Orléans.

Fig. 37) Juan de Roelas *Liberation of St. Peter*, 1612, oil on canvas, 305 x 207 cm., Iglesia de San Pedro, Seville.

Fig. 38) Francisco de Herrera, *Immaculate Conception with the maidens of the Brotherhood of the True Cross*, 1614-15, oil on canvas, 204 x 158 cm., Palacio Arzobispal, Seville.

Fig. 39) Francisco Pacheco, *Immaculate Conception with Miguel del Cid*, 1619, oil on canvas, 160 x 109 cm., Cathedral, Seville.

Fig. 40) Francisco de Zurbarán, *The apotheosis of St. Thomas Aquinas*, 1631, oil on canvas, 473 x 375 cm., Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville.

Fig. 41) Diego Velázquez, *Cristóbál Suárez de Ribera 1550-1618*, 1620, oil on canvas, 207 x 148 cm., chapel of St. Hermengild, Seville.

Fig. 42) Diego Velázquez, *Man with a ruff*, 1620-22, oil on canvas, 41 x 36 cm., Museo del Prado, Madrid.

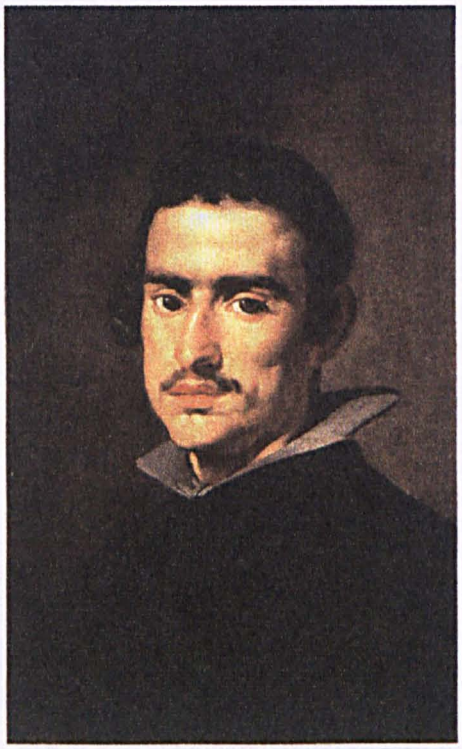

Fig. 43) Diego Velázquez, *Portrait of a young man* (Self-portrait?), 1623-4, oil on canvas, 55.5 x 38 cm., Museo del Prado, Madrid. *cat*

Fig. 44) Diego Velázquez, Portrait of a cleric (Francisco de Rioja?), 1622-3, oil on canvas, 66.5 x 51 cm., Private Collection, Madrid.

Fig. 45) Diego Velázquez, *Mother Jerónima de la Fuente*, 1620, Oil, 162 x 107 cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid

Fig. 46) Juan de Roelas, *Pentecost*, 1615, oil on canvas, 363 x 320 cm., Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville.

Fig. 47) Francisco de Herrera, *Apotheosis of St.* Hermengild, c.1620, Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville.

Fig. 48) Antonio de Pereda, *St. William of Acquitane*, oil on canvas, Museo de la Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid.

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