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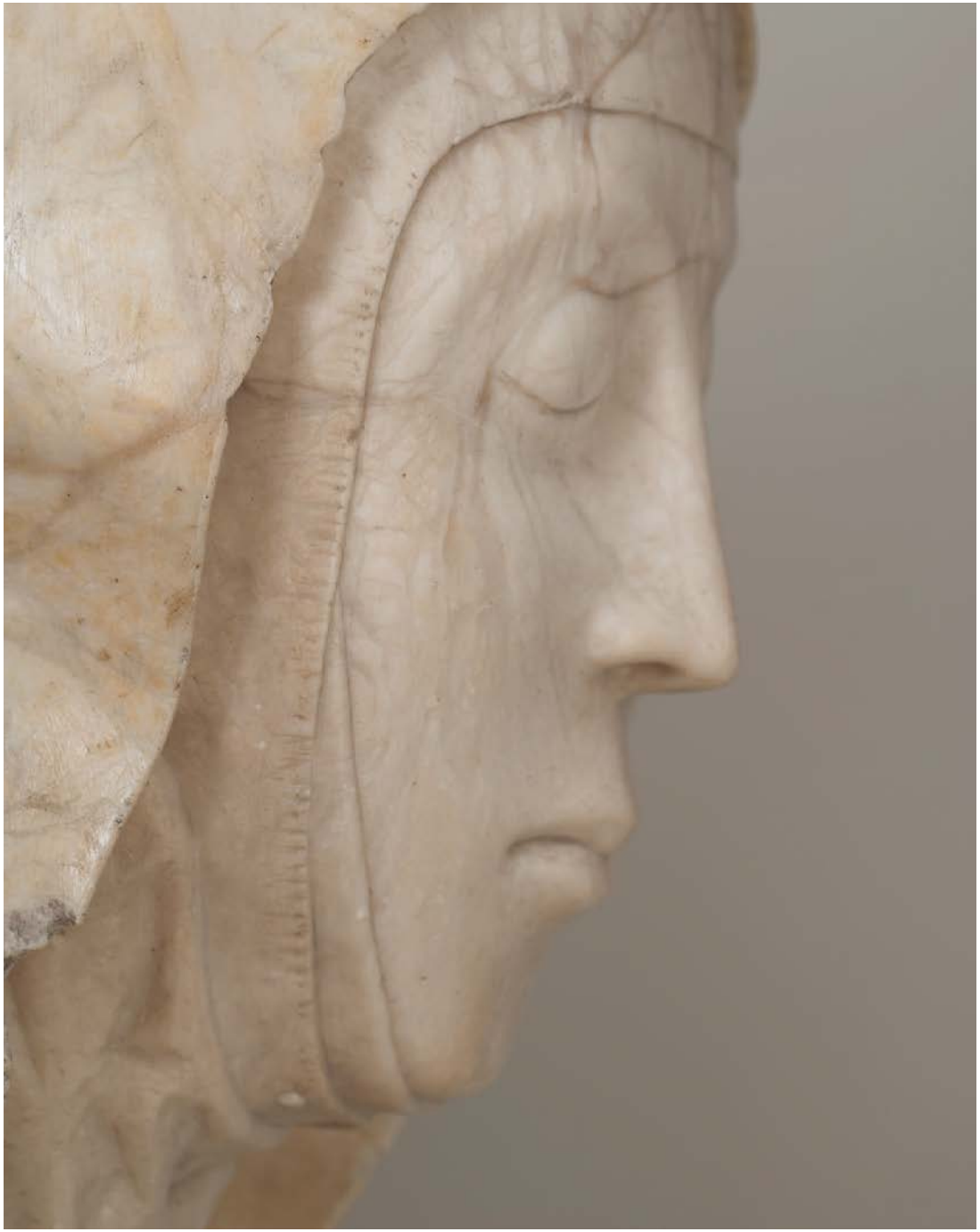

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Associate Editor: Irene Brooke

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Designer: Laura Eguiluz de la Rica

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COLNAGHI STUDIES JOURNAL–02

Colnaghi Studies Journal is produced biannually by the Colnaghi Foundation. Its purpose is to publish texts on significant pre-twentieth-century artworks in the European tradition that have recently come to light or about which new research is underway, as well as on the history of their collection. Texts about artworks should place them within the broader context of the artist's oeuvre, provide visual analysis and comparative images.

Manuscripts may be sent at any time and will be reviewed by members of the journal's Editorial Committee, composed of specialists on painting, sculpture, architecture, conservation, decorative arts, and the history of collecting, covering a wide range of periods and geographical areas. Texts should be between 1000 and 10,000 words (including endnotes) and include five to ten illustrations depending on the length of the article, with at least two images of the object itself and appropriate comparative images.

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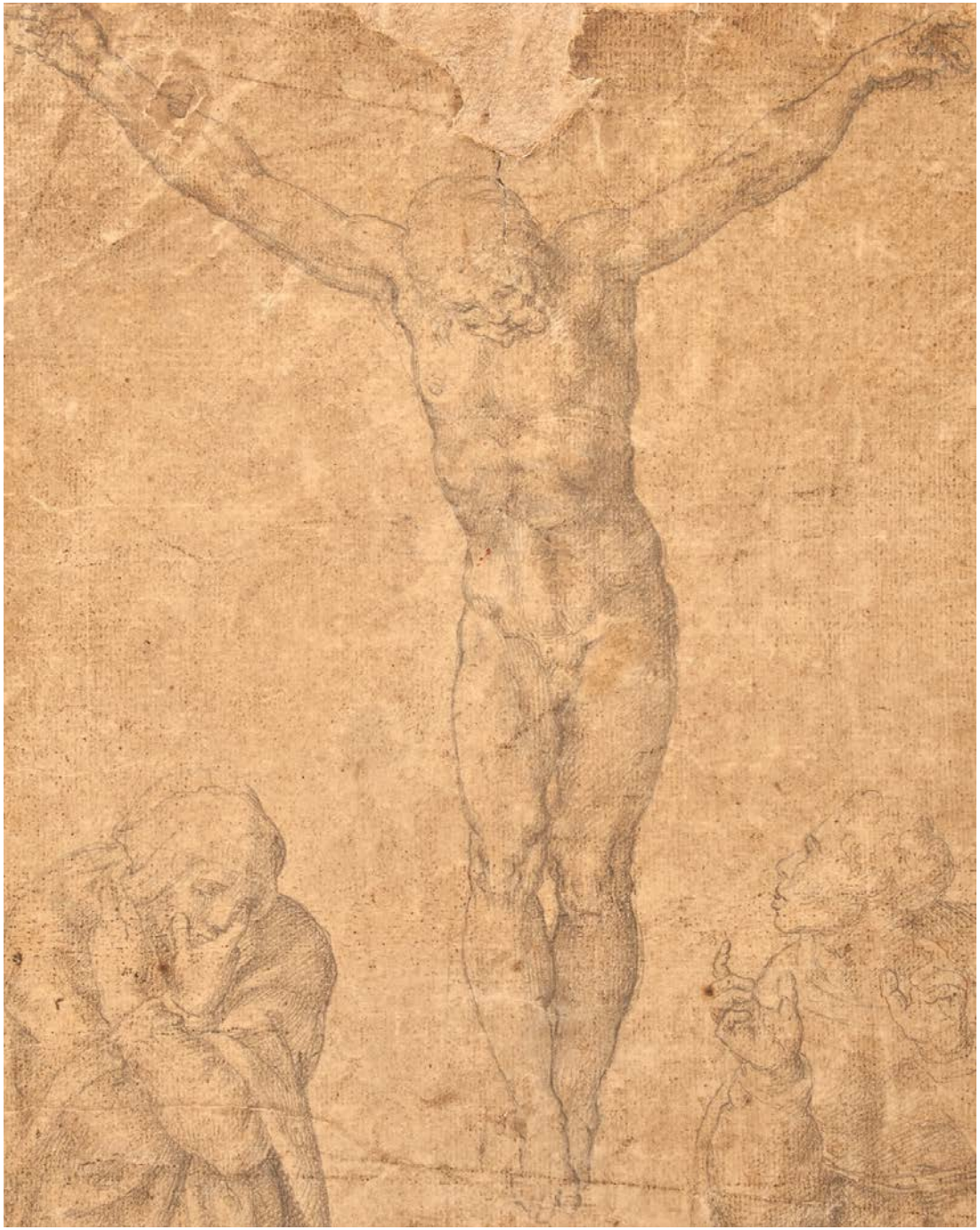



Fig. 1 / Antonio Selvi, Medal of Massimiliano Soldani-Benzi, 1715, bronze, 86 cm diameter, Private Collection.

The sculptor Soldani's attempt to market Filippo Baldinucci's collection of paintings

CHARLES AVERY

> I enclose the note of the pictures that the Avvocato Baldinucci has given me, from which you can see if there is anything to your taste. If there is, do let me know and then I shall go and examine whatever you wish to buy – and have a painter friend of mine look at them as well. But the Avvocato said that if you were to acquire the collection en bloc, it would be advantageous.
>
> Massimiliano Soldani-Benzi to Gian Giacomo Zamboni, 15 July 1717.[1]

This letter quoted above and an accompanying list of paintings (see Appendix I) have been recently rediscovered amongst a tranche of correspondence in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. This consists of a long series of letters written between 1711 and 1740, and sent by the Florentine medallist and sculptor Massimiliano Soldani-Benzi (1656-1740) to Gian Giacomo Zamboni, a fellow-Florentine based in London, concerning the sale of the former's bronze sculptures to the British "milordi" in Florence and in their homeland.[2]

However, among the letters, there is a strand of correspondence in which Soldani endeavours instead to market this fine collection of paintings, formed by the seventeenth-century art historian Filippo Baldinucci (1624-1697), to potential buyers in their native country. These artworks were being offered for sale by Baldinucci's son, Francesco Saverio (1662-1738).[3] In an attempt to secure good prices for his inheritance, he was exploiting Soldani's "special relationship" with the British Grand Tourists or "milordi," but Soldani was scrupulous about attempting to verify the authenticity of the attributions.[4] The letters provide a fascinating insight into the workings of the Anglo-Florentine art market during the early years of the eighteenth century and the central period of the Grand Tour, while the list of nearly fifty paintings bears witness to the taste of a pioneering art historian, information that was previously unknown.[5]

The four hundred folios of correspondence between Soldani and Signore Gian Giacomo Zamboni in London are preserved among the latter's business papers, which are now lodged in the Bodleian Library.[6] Zamboni lived in the newly constructed Golden Square, in the fashionable West End of London, and by 1720 he had personally amassed enough money to purchase £5,000 worth of the ill-fated South Sea stock, which – like Sir Isaac Newton, but unlike Thomas Guy[7] – he shortly lost, after the "Bubble" burst. Service as a go-between, middle-man or commission-agent was the essence of the unscrupulous Zamboni's career. In the event he did not deal fairly with the high-minded sculptor, a minor aristocrat.

It is the purpose of this paper to publish the list of Baldinucci's paintings and to attempt to identify and illustrate a selection of the most significant of these paintings (or their possible originals).

Massimiliano Soldani-Benzi (1656-1740) was Master of the Mint in Florence (fig. 1), but he extended his range of production beyond coinage to weighty

portrait medallions that fit comfortably into the palm of one's hand: they had therefore to be cast, rather than struck, like Pisanello's pioneering portraits from two centuries earlier.[89] Soldani portrayed several Englishmen, the most influential of whom, in 1707, was Sir Henry Newton, the British representative at the grand-ducal court, who proved to be a crucial go-between for Soldani, introducing as clients several fellow-countrymen.

Apart from Soldani's splendid portrait medallions, it was probably statuary after the Antique that initially attracted Grand Tourists from Great Britain to his studio at the Mint. This studio was conveniently situated, opposite the entrance to the Uffizi Gallery; while half-listening to his lofty sales-patter they loved to run their eyes and fingers appreciatively over his highly polished, glistening, golden-coloured bronzes, as well as his luscious pale pink terracotta and wax models. For instance, the 1st Duke of Marlborough (1650-1722) commissioned Soldani to produce for the Marble Hall in Blenheim four life-size casts in bronze after the principal ancient marble statues in the Tribuna of the Uffizi. [10]

The correspondence begins on 15 October 1716, just after the visit to Florence of the twenty-year-old Earl of Burlington (1694-1753), and it covers the latter half of Soldani's career, until his death in 1740. Burlington had visited Florence on his Grand Tour in 1715 and purchased from Soldani a magnificent set of bronze narrative reliefs of the *Four Seasons*. At an unknown date they were presented to King George II and are still in the Royal Collection (fig. 2).[11]

BALDINUCCI AND HIS COLLECTION

Filippo Baldinucci was a Florentine businessman, curator, collector, and writer, deeply imbued with Catholicism. Baldinucci became revered as one of the most erudite polymaths of his day, as demonstrated in a superb allegorical painting by Pietro Dandini (1646-1712), where he is flanked by attractive and studious young women (fig. 3). He is still famous to art-historians today for his series of *Notizie de' Professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua* of the 1680s, in which he set out to up-date, revise, and expand Vasari's *Vite* that had last been printed just over a century earlier in 1568.[12] Filippo was also an amateur artist, skilled in drawing and modelling. He avidly collected Old Master drawings



Fig. 2 / Massimiliano Soldani-Benzi, *Spring*, 1711, cast bronze, 48 x 66.3 cm, London, The Royal Collection.

Fig. 3 / Pietro Dandini, *Filippo Baldinucci, with Personifications of the Accademia della Crusca and the Accademia del Disegno* (detail), Florence, Accademia della Crusca, Villa di Castello, Florence.



and – as we now know – paintings too. His first collection of drawings was ceded to Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici, his main patron, who was deeply interested in the dynastic collection and eventually had Baldinucci catalogue it. Leopoldo also established the singular collection of artists' self-portraits, which his successors have continued into the twenty-first century and which used to line the "secret" corridor that had been built by Vasari to secure communications for the Grand Dukes between the Palazzo della Signoria, via the Uffizi Gallery and above the Ponte Vecchio, to the Pitti Palace.

Following suit, Baldinucci also owned several portraits of artists, perhaps duplicates of ones that he had acquired for Leopoldo. Three further volumes of the *Notizie* were published posthumously, in 1701 and 1728, by his son Francesco Saverio (1663-1738), a lawyer (*avvocato*) by profession. As heir, the latter became the would-be vendor of Filippo's collection, with whom Soldani (face to face) and Zamboni (indirectly) were involved in the present correspondence and the ultimately abortive transaction.

THE CORRESPONDENCE AND NEGOTIATIONS

The list of forty-nine items (see Appendix 1) indicates that Filippo, without being a man of means, but presumably through his personal and professional contacts, had amassed quite a considerable and varied collection. Until now, its contents were known only through sparse references in his biographies of the relevant artists, some cited below. It turns out to have ranged from representatives of what were already by his day "Old Masters" from Florence, with a couple of "big names" from elsewhere (Mantegna and Titian), to a good holding of devotional paintings by his Baroque predecessors and contemporaries in Florence, for instance his particular friend, Carlo Dolci (1616-1686).



Fig. 4 / Ludovico Cardi Cigoli, *Ecce Homo*, 1607, oil on canvas, 175 x 135 cm, Florence, Palazzo Pitti.

Fig. 5 / Carlo Dolci, *Caterina degli Scolari (Signora Filippo Baldinucci) as Peace*, oil on canvas, 57.5 x 31.2 cm, Private Collection.

Fig. 6 / Baldassare Franceschini, called Volterrano, *Portrait of the Blessed Antonio Baldinucci* (1665-1717), 1681 or earlier, pastels, 43 x 38 cm, Florence, Palazzo Pitti.

It should be noted that the dimensions given are "sight-measurements" and probably include the frames, some of which may have been quite substantial Baroque ones: they are therefore very approximate, though they suffice to rule out any painting whose surface dimensions are larger.[13] The confusingly haphazard listing of pictures of various dates and schools points to the inventory having been made on a room to room basis (as is normally the case with such lists, in effect for probate, even today). To help navigate through the lists, therefore, the items have been numbered sequentially, given in brackets.

The first item (1), an oval *Ecce Homo* by Cigoli, cannot be found, though he painted several rectangular versions (fig. 4). All are based on Correggio's rendering of the subject, now in London (National Gallery).[14]

Baldinucci in his *Notizie* claims ownership[15] of some of Dolci's narrative pictures (*storiette*) and holy images on a small scale (*di piccola proporzione*), among which are: "a pair of ovals with life-size heads of *Saint Antoninus as Archbishop of Florence* in mitre and cope, with a morse beautifully bejewelled with pearls and gems, and *Saint Philip Neri*, with strong colours (*colorita con gran forza*). These are in one lot, second in the List for Sale (2-3).[16] Alas, a pair of little pictures (*quadretti*: 73 x 43 cm) of *Saint Francis* and *Saint George* half-length, further down on the List (46-47), is not at present identifiable.[17]

A painting which has, however, survived and which obviously had a particular significance for Baldinucci is the portrait of his wife as *Peace* (fig. 5), which he had personally commissioned from Dolci, presumably to celebrate their wedding in 1658:

> But, beautiful beyond belief and definitely one of the most meritorious works that ever issued from the brush of Dolci, is a half-length, life-size, figure of *Peace*, which is a portrait from life of Catherine delli (*sic*) Scolari, [my] wife. She is holding up with both hands a strip of paper, on which may be read the following words: "She has broken in pieces the bow and the shield, the sword and war." She also holds in her right hand an olive sprig. In this painting a certain freshness of palette is noticeable, along with a way of finishing that is more masterly than usual; so much so that she seems to be done in the freest manner of the best colourists. (Dolci) lets his authorship be known just through his handling of paint and the diligence of application for which he was unique.[18]

The picture in the List for Sale (7) is described only as *Peace*, holding an olive-branch, but without any reference to a further, real identity for the sitter. In her two monographs on the artist, Francesca Baldassari mentions only one other version of the subject, and it is in an oval, while – implicitly and by default – the one on the market was rectangular. Can Francesco Saverio really have been ready to sell the portrait of his own mother, his father's beloved wife, simply as an *Allegory of Peace*? It seems so, if only because it might have made better money than an image of "Mrs Baldinucci." In any case, as things turned out, along with most of the rest of the paintings, this one was to remain on his hands.[19]

Furthermore, to confirm Francesco Saverio's steely determination to raise funds from his father's collection, it seems that one of two pastels listed further down the first page simply as "two life-size heads in pastels by Volterrano" (14) – also given a passing mention in the *Notizie* under Volterrano, but without names of the sitters[20] – can be identified, by a process of elimination, as a delightful and rare one depicting his younger brother Antonio (1665-1717) (fig. 6), along with another, now lost, which one might surmise was of a further sibling.[21] Antonio became a Jesuit Novice (which must have overjoyed his devout father), on 19 April 1681 in Bernini's church and monastery of Sant'Andrea al Quirinale, Rome, and led such an exemplary life before his premature death in 1717 that he was immediately proclaimed "Venerable," though he had to wait nearly two centuries before being beatified in 1893.

In complete contrast to the Christ-like appearance of Antonio is that of another portrait by Volterrano (1611-1690), this time in oil, of a garrulous old retainer (fig. 7).





This is clearly identifiable from Baldinucci's *Notizie* as "a nice portrait in oils of an old man" in the author's possession,

> who was a very pleasant personality and one of our domestics, who – on a label that he is holding in his hands – has written down the following verses:
>
> *Son l'Esopo Toscano,*
> *E più del Frigio arguto,*
> *Onde mi fece muto,*
> *Perch'io nol motteggiassi, il Volterrano.*
> (I am the Tuscan Aesop,
> Quicker-witted than the Phrygian,
> So I am keeping quiet,
> In order not to mock Il Volterrano)[22]

This rhyme, with its "in-jokes", climaxes significantly in the painter's name, forming a kind of signature. This may have been the first out of a lot of three "life-size heads, one with shoulders and the other two just down to the neck" by Volterrano, with their subjects unspecified, on the first page of the list (9-11).[23]

Baldinucci's collection also included several distinguished portraits of artists, reflecting his patron Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici's fascination with such imagery. Most important is the *Self-Portrait* by Andrea del Sarto (1486-1530), which is described as painted on paper and then glued down on to a wooden panel. This work must have been a copy of the self-portrait that the artist is known to have painted in fresco or oil on a terracotta tile which, in 1610, was placed on display in the Tribuna; in the second half of the seventeenth century it was added to the collection of Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici and remains in the Uffizi (fig. 8).[24] The painting is listed (34) as "life-size," which corresponds well with the Uffizi picture's actual dimensions of 49 x 36 cm. Given the importance of the original and its inclusion in Florence's most prestigious



collection, it would not be surprising if Baldinucci had commissioned a copy for his own collection. The original image formed the model for the artist's woodcut portrait in Vasari's *Lives*, where the author devotes a charming domestic anecdote to it:

> ... having finished the portrait of a clerk of the monks of Vallombrosa … there remained some colours and some lime, so Andrea, picking up a tile, called Lucrezia his wife and said, "come here, because there is some colour left over and I would like to make a picture of you to show how well preserved you are for your age, even though your appearance has changed and you look different from my first portraits of you." But his wife refused, perhaps because she thought otherwise, and stood still. Andrea, almost as though he guessed that his own end was approaching, took a mirror and portrayed himself on this tile so well that he appeared alive and very natural. This portrait is with Madonna Lucrezia his wife, who is still alive.[25]



Fig. 7 / Volterrano, *A Servant of Baldinucci, Nick-Named The Aesop of Tuscany*, 1675-1680, oil on canvas, 49.5 x 37.5 cm, Private Collection.

Fig. 8 / Andrea del Sarto, *Self-Portrait*, 1528, painted in fresco or oil on terracotta, 47 x 34 cm, Florence, Galleria degli Autoritratti, Uffizi Gallery.





Fig. 9 / Attributed to Hans von Aachen, *Portrait of Giambologna*, oil on canvas, Douai Musee de la Chartreuse.

Fig. 10 / Giambattista Paggi, *Pietro Francavilla, Sculptor and Anatomist, Aged 42*, 1589, oil on canvas, Brussels, Private Collection.

Fig. 11 / Andrea Mantegna, *Saint Jerome in the Wilderness*, ca. 1449-1450, oil on panel, 48 x 36 cm, São Paulo, Museu de Arte.

Andrea died in 1530, but his wife survived him by forty years, until 1570.[26]

The Del Sarto self-portrait was followed by three portraits of heroic artists from the later sixteenth century: those of the sculptors *Giambologna*[27] (fig. 9) and his younger Franco-Flemish colleague *Francavilla* (fig. 10), as well as of their fellow Northerner, a Dutch painter colleague, Bijlevelt, who was known in Italy as Giovanni Bilivert (1585-1644).

Of the portrait of Giambologna, Baldinucci wrote in his *Notizie*:

> In conclusion, I may say that a portrait of Giambologna painted from life by the hand of Bassano the Elder, a head and shoulders, made – as is to be believed without a shadow of doubt – when he was travelling in Lombardy [*sic*, for the Veneto?], is kept carefully among his most treasured possessions by the present writer.[28]

This portrait may well be identical with one of similar dimensions formerly owned by the sculptor himself that was listed in his posthumous effects: "A portrait of Mr Cavaliere Giambologna, similar [...i.e., about one braccio (58 cm) high], with a simple walnut frame."[29] A date of 1589 or before – the same year incidentally that Baldinucci's portrait of Francavilla was signed by Giambattista Paggi (1554-1627) (see below) – is established through its use by Gijsbrecht van Veen to produce a dated engraving in Venice, at the behest of Jakob K(o)enig of Fischen.[30] If, as has been argued, the portrait is not by Bassano, but by Hans von Aachen, it may have been painted in 1585, when he portrayed the Grand Duke Francesco I wearing his newly awarded Order of the Golden Fleece,[31] as well as their colleague Jacopo Bilivert; this would date the portrait to 1586, though by then Aachen was back in Venice (see below).[32]

Baldinucci wrote in the *Notizie* more effusively of his picture of Francavilla, because the painting has far more incident and is more colourful (see fig. 10):[33]

> In the same year of 1589, when Giambattista Paggi the celebrated Genoese painter happened to be in Florence, who knew (Francavilla) well by reputation, on account of the beautiful works that he had made in Genoa, he wanted to make his portrait in oil: this he did with great confidence in a picture of his head on a panel, as was the general custom then. This portrait is said to have come into the possession of Pietro Tacca, who had been a fellow-pupil of his (under Giambologna), and is today is owned by the present writer. Francavilla is shown in the act of looking at the viewer and is dressed in an overcoat, opening with his left [*sic*, for right] hand a book that is resting on a table or some such thing. On the flat page of the book that is revealed, the plan of a building is to be seen, while on the opposite page that is being lifted up are written the following words: *Petrus Francavillus belgius etat.* 42. 1589. In his left hand he is holding a small finished model of a statue. There are also depicted compasses, an inkstand, some medals, a set-square, and a ruler, on which is written *Gio. Batista Paggi.* Everything is imitated and coloured wonderfully.

Baldinucci's *Portrait of the Painter Bilwert as a Youth*, painted by Bilivert's master Cigoli (13), is mentioned in his *Notizie* on the younger man,[34] in which he dated his arrival as an apprentice about 1590, when he was fourteen:

> ... because I myself, among other pictures by the hand of notable artists, have a portrait of him made when he was at the age of fourteen: for the likeness shows him as a boy, with a full face that was neither short nor long, with tender and well-coloured skin, and long fair hair, painted by the very hand of his master Ludovico Cigoli.[35]

A life-size head of a girl by Cigoli, "not completely finished but beautiful" (20), is inadequately described to be identifiable.

Last of Baldinucci's images of artists is a self-portrait by Onorio Marinari (1627-1715), which he painted in 1709, at the ripe old age of age of eighty-two – about twice the average life-expectancy of the period. Much darkened by age and neglect, this now hangs in the gallery of self-portraits in the Vasari Corridor of the Uffizi Gallery.[36] Fortunately it was engraved two hundred years ago, when it was in more legible condition.[37]

Turning to Baldinucci's narrative paintings which, owing to his personal predilections, were mostly of Christian



subjects, the earliest was one of several versions of *Saint Jerome* by Andrea Mantegna (1431-1506), perhaps, in view of the wooden mount and dimensions specified in the inventory entry, the one now in São Paulo, Brazil (fig. 11).[38] Surprisingly, this work is undocumented prior to 1936 and, although the question of whether it should be attributed to Mantegna or Zoppo has dominated scholarship ever since, it seems now to have settled as an autograph by the former; if it is his picture, this would vindicate Baldinucci's description, discernment, and good taste, even in a "foreign" school. The unusual degree of detail must have appealed to Baldinucci, as well as the great artist's name and the fact that it was a perfect example of a distinctively foreign and early school of painting, recalling the style of the Florentine Donatello who had spent a decade in Padua (from 1443-1453).

Important representatives of the High Renaissance in Florence follow, including no fewer than three works by Fra Bartolomeo (1472-1517): the first (43), *Saint Francis Embracing Saint Dominic*, "A panel-painting over 87 cm high, with full-length figures by the hand of the famous Friar of San Marco", remains to be identified, though presumably it would have resembled the fresco of the subject once in the Ospizio della Maddalena at Le Caldine near Florence (fig. 12).[39]





Fig. 12 / Fra Bartolomeo, *Saint Francis Embracing Saint Dominic*, ca. 1511, detached fresco from Ospizio della Maddalena Le Caldine, 108 x 189 cm, Florence, Museo di San Marco.

Fig. 13 / Fra Bartolomeo, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, ca. 1495-1505, tempera and oil on canvas, 135 x 113.5 cm, Pienza, Palazzo Vescovile.

Fig. 14 / Fra Bartolomeo, *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, fresco on terracotta, 52 x 37 cm, Florence, Museo Nazionale di San Marco.

Another work by Fra Bartolomeo, the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (45), is said to be in his "early style" (*prima maniera*) and measures some 145 cm square. The painting corresponds with a version of this subject on canvas, measuring about this size (allowing, as usual in this list, for the frame as well), now in the Archbishop's Palace in Pienza, though the support may have been different (fig. 13). The Pienza picture's provenance remains to be checked, however, before a conclusion about its candidature can be reached.[40]

The third and most singular of Filippo Baldinucci's treasures is Fra Bartolomeo's *Head of Christ as Man of Sorrows* (44), which is still in Florence, in the Museo Nazionale di San Marco, the Friar's monastery (fig. 14). This painting is securely identifiable on account of its unusual materials, fresco on terracotta.[41]

Baldinucci also owned some *Madonnas* ascribed optimistically to "big names" – Raphael, Parmigianino, and Correggio (27), which were seemingly not all that Filippo had hoped. The description of one work by Correggio (1489-1534) is precise enough to identify the composition easily: "A picture four palms high (ca. 116 cm) with a landscape, in which are a Virgin in the act of adoring the Baby Jesus, lying on the ground on some hay, by the hand of Correggio, of which there is also a print."[42] This description corresponds to the *Virgin Adoring the Christ Child*, a famous and popular gem of the Uffizi Gallery (fig. 15), however, the Uffizi painting was given by Marchese Ferdinando Gonzaga to Grand Duke Cosimo II in 1617 and hung in the prestigious location of the Tribuna. So Baldinucci must have owned a copy, presumably one made in Florence after the arrival of Correggio's painting.[43]

Baldinucci also owned some Mannerist paintings. The presence of a *Virgin and Child with the Young Saint John the Baptist* (38), given to Rosso Fiorentino (1494-1540), in Baldinucci's collection could fill an alarming gap in the provenance of an extant work depicting this subject,

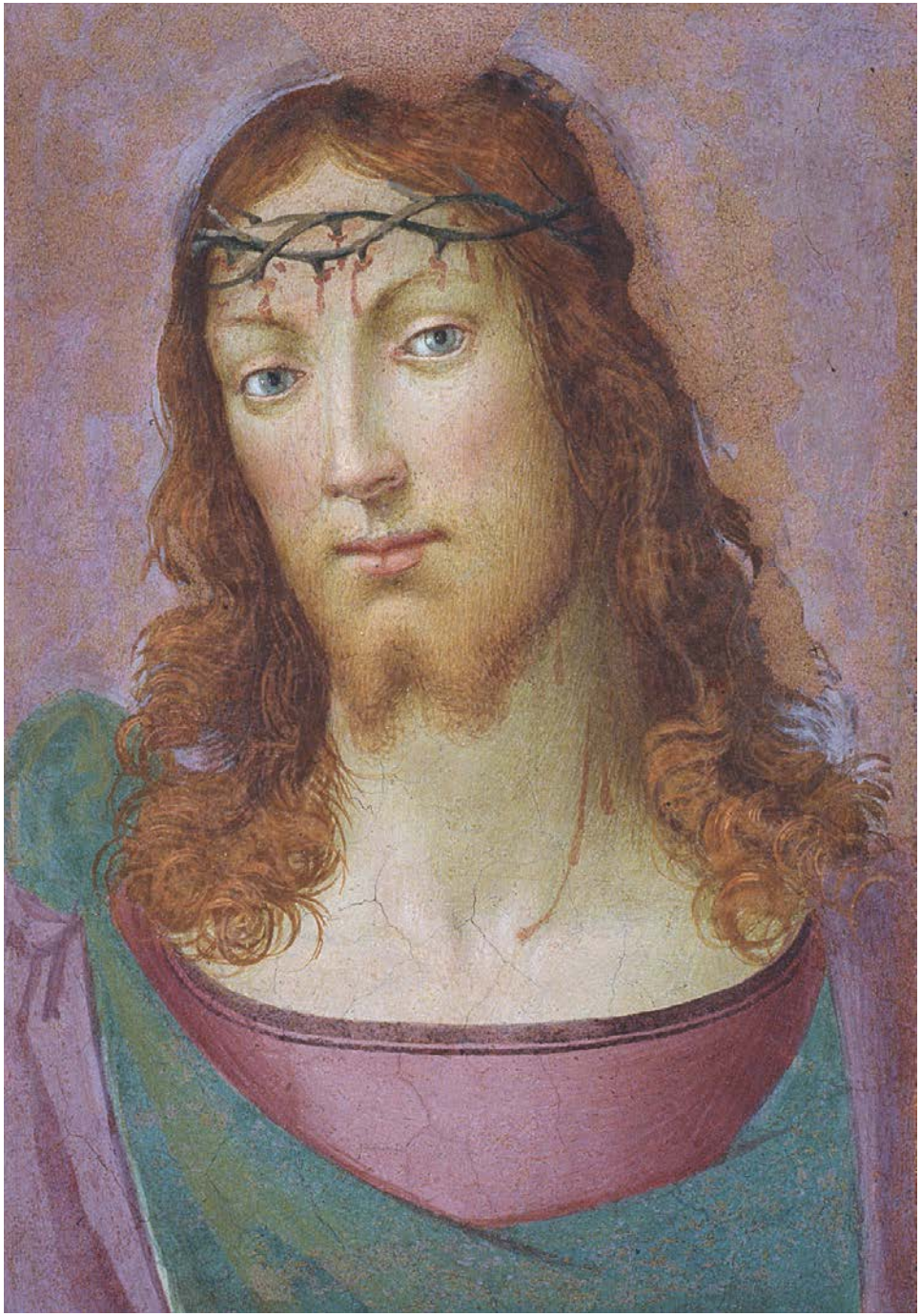

Fig. 15 / Antonio Allegri, called Correggio, *The Adoration of the Child*, ca. 1526, oil on canvas, 81 x 67 cm, Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

Fig. 16 / Rosso Fiorentino, *Virgin and Child with the Young Saint John the Baptist*, 1515, oil on panel, 105 x 82 cm, Frankfurt-am-Main, Städel Museum.

which is untraced before 1852 (fig. 16). The painting has been much discussed in the twentieth century, with the great Anglo-Saxon experts, Shearman and Freedberg (following illustrious Italian predecessors like Venturi and Longhi), independently arguing in favour of Rosso's authorship; the record of this work in Baldinucci's collection helps to corroborate its authenticity. It was acquired purportedly "from the Gallery of the Marchesi Gerini in Florence," via a London dealer called Farrer in 1852, for the Picture Gallery of the Städelschen Kunstinstituts in Frankfurt-am-Main.[44]



Marchese Andrea Gerini (1691-1760), a descendant of an ancient Florentine family, inherited a notable private *galleria* from Carlo Gerini (1616-1673). Deeply interested in the arts, Andrea was a great protector of young artists, among them the painter and engraver Giuseppe Zocchi (1711-1767), whose study-years he supported, later commissioning a series of drawings for engravings of the streets and views of Florence in 1744; and of villas and palaces in Tuscany in 1757. He was a contemporary of the vendor, Francesco Saverio Baldinucci, and could easily have purchased the Rosso from him, as well as other pictures that were left on the latter's hands by the failure of the English sales-initiative in 1717.[45] The present writer's research supports this identification, as examining the family's history, it emerges that Francesco Saverio Baldinucci was Gerini's lawyer from 1707-1719 and rented a wing of their palace at the time. The two men had known each other since childhood, and Andrea Gerini probably followed with interest the writing and publication in 1725-1730 of the later volumes of what had become by then the Baldinucci family's publication on artists.[46] He may therefore have been more than averagely impressed by the immediate provenance of the painting.

Being a broad-minded and well-educated art-historian, Filippo also possessed representative, if not "top" examples of the sixteenth-century Venetian school (23): "A full-length figure depicting Saint Sebastian Martyr around 8 palms (236 cm) high by the hand of Titian, said to be the full-scale *modello* for the Saint Sebastian by the said Titian, in the famous panel of Venice." This description corresponds well with a painting signed "Ticianus" of ca. 1530, now in a Private Collection, whose measurements, allowing for a substantial frame to support this large canvas, match those of Baldinucci's picture (fig. 17).[47]

Later in the transaction, on 16 March 1719, Soldani was to admit to Zamboni: "a few days ago I saw a copy of the picture that he says is by Titian in the house of Mr Gabbiani, our premier painter, who told me that the





Fig. 17 / Titian, *Saint Sebastian*, ca. 1530, oil on canvas, 190 x 96 cm, Private Collection.

Fig. 18 / Jacopo Tintoretto, *The Finding of Moses*, ca. 1550s, oil on canvas, 77.5 X 134 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

original is on an altarpiece in Venice, and that his and Baldinucci's copies are smaller than the figure on the said altarpiece and – being composed of more figures – must be reproductions based on prints *(deve essere alla stampa)*."

A "Portrait of a Venetian Senator, about 87 cm high, by the hand – or school – of Titian" (40) is too vague a description to permit identification, as is a similar portrait (32): "life-size and more than half-length by the hand of Tintoretto." Challenging too is "A small picture one and a half palms high and about three palms wide (44.25 x 87 cm), depicting the *Finding of Moses in the Basket* with many little figures, which was thought to be by Tintoretto or Cigoli"(24)! The prime version of this attractive subject by Tintoretto is perhaps that now in New York (fig. 18), though that painting measures nearly twice the recorded size.[48] Baldinucci's mysterious picture is nearer in size and may have been related to the relevant one in a series of seven scenes from the Old Testament (for the frieze of a room, or bed-canopy), now in Madrid in the Prado Museum; purchased by Velázquez in Venice, this set may have originally been painted for Philip II, but not initially sent to Spain.[49] Nothing similar seems to feature in the recent book about Baldinucci's alternative candidate, Cigoli.

A life-size "Little boy with a Puppy", by the hand of Veronese, may prove to be identifiable with further research. Rather than a lost portrait of a child with his pet, Paul Joannides has suggested that it may have been a detail (like one that he recalls noting in a sale), copied from Veronese's masterpiece, *Venus, Mars, and Cupid* now in Edinburgh (see Humfrey, fig. 1).[50]

In general, one can detect that Baldinucci, a Florentine, was understandably on weaker ground with these "foreign" pictures. From this medley, in an intervening (but lost) letter, Zamboni evidently made a selection of a few of the biggest names among the Old Masters.[51] The desired transaction came to nought on account of the continuing uncertainty (in some cases unfairly) over the authenticity of the pictures left to Baldinucci's sons by their father, the great art-historian and connoisseur. In spite of his having vouchsafed them, the experts of the day, primarily contemporary painters, did not wish to risk their reputations, in case they were subsequently proven wrong.[52]

Unhappily for Soldani, the haggling between Saverio Baldinucci, a beady-eyed, but over-cautious vendor, and Zamboni, Soldani's shifty agent in London, went on for some two years. Far from clearing the walls of Baldinucci's home and making him a fortune, it achieved only one sale, and that quite early on in the negotiations.

However, in March 1718, Soldani, still optimistic, summarized what seemed to be a reasonable deal over a tranche of the collection with several of the "big name" items as follows:

> the offer that you have made him,
> over both the watches and the cash
> in the form that you prescribed, for
> the five pictures, i.e. The Holy Family
> by Raphael or Giulio Romano; The
> Madonna by Correggio; Saint Sebastian
> by Titian; The Nativity by Parmigianino;
> The finding of Moses in the basket by
> Tintoretto or Cigoli. These total 230
> Spanish doubloons, or the equivalent
> value, including the watches.

The last painting in this selection, whose authorship oscillated alarmingly between the Florentine Cigoli and the Venetian Tintoretto, nevertheless found favour, judging from the description in London: it was to be exchanged by Baldinucci for a couple of eye-catching gold medals of the successive British monarchs of the period, Queen Anne and King George I, from Zamboni. Almost predictably, Soldani's awkward clients then fell out over the exchange-rate for the Spanish doubloon, and for gold (just as business-minded people might today in the world market, each trying to get even the slightest financial advantage over the other).

However, by 12 May, Soldani was relieved by the modest amount that Tuscan customs had charged for exporting to the free-port of Livorno (Leghorn to the British) the picture that he referred to in short as the "Cigoli" and, feeling on home ground now, dwelt conscientiously on its careful waterproof packing and safe transport. By 17 July he was able to report, with a sigh of relief, that the work had finally left Italy for London.

This painting was evidently sent off on its own to Zamboni as a "taster", but alas it (allegedly) failed to please him, as one can infer from a letter of remonstrance that Soldani sent on 5 November 1718: "I had imagined that the little picture by Cigoli that you had received had been entirely to your taste, and you will recall how many times I wrote to you on this aspect, in good time for you to extricate yourself from the deal." A month later the deal did begin to fall apart, with recriminations on both sides, each claiming unfair play in business dealings, short-changing and so forth.

By 16 March 1719, after his friend the Medici Court painter Gabbiani had grandly, but unfairly, proclaimed that all Baldinucci's pictures were copies, Soldani became desperate to wash his hands of the whole affair and, after a few more expostulations on either side, it ground to a halt on 27 July 1719.

CONCLUSION

Still today, the Old Master art market is dominated and dictated to by concerns over authenticity and attribution, which can cause the value of a painting or sculpture to vary enormously. In spite of scientific tests nowadays providing some parameters, the final decision is normally down to connoisseurship. As in the case of Baldinucci's pictures, qualified academic art historians are still often loath to enter the ring, and the attempt to determine authenticity is frequently left to art dealers, art agents, independent consultants, or auctioneers and, in a last resort, to buyers themselves: *plus ça, change, plus c'est la même chose*.



DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX I

All transcriptions of documents in appendix I and appendix II (online, including letters regarding the transaction included in the same manuscript) are my own. The numbering, for ready identification, has been added by the author.

An itemized list of all the pictures belonging to Avvocato Francesco Saverio Baldinucci. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Rawlinson 132, f. 34 r-35v.

Nota dei Quadri del S(ignor)e Avvocato Baldinucci

[1] Un Eccеomo mezza figura al natural in asse ovato, alto 4 palmi in circa di mano del Cigoli

[2, 3] Due ovati simili in tela, ritratti di S. Antonino Arciv:o di Firenze e di S. Filippo Neri al naturale con mezzo busto, mano di Carlin Dolci

[4] Una testa al naturale di Gregorio Pagani

[5, 6] Due teste al naturale d'una femmina, e d'un fanciullo, mano di Andrea Commodi

[7] Una femmina rappresentante la Pace con Vliva in mano al natural mezza figura di Carlo Dolci

[8] Una testa al naturale di femmina di Carlin Dolci

[9-11] Tre teste al naturale, che una con busto, l'altre due con mezzo busto di mano del Volterrano

[12] Un ritratto mezzo busto del famoso Gio: Bologna Scultore, di mano del Bassan Vecchio

[13] Una testa d'un giovanetto ritratto del Pittore Biliverti, mano di Cigoli

[14-15] Due teste di pastelli al naturale m[an]o del Volterrano

[16] Un ritratto al naturale mezzo busto con armature in dosso, si dice il Duca di Guisa, mano del Vandick

[17] Un ritratto di piu mezza figura al naturale si dice Francavilla famoso scultore di m[an]o di Gio: Ba Paggi

[18] Un quadretto in rame di tre palmi incirca, entrovi un paesino con Gesu Maria, e Giuseppe, figure di mezzo bracci, mano di Cesare Dandini

[19] Un ritratto al naturale in legno, si dice di Sisto quinto S(antissimo) Ponte(fic)e di mano del Bronzino

[20] Ritratto al naturale d'una femmina mezzo busto di d(ett)o Bronzino

[21] Una testa al naturale d'una giovane del Cigoli, non totalm(en)te finite ma bellissima

[22] Un ritratto di mezza figura al naturale fatto di se mede(si)mo da Onorio Marinari f. 34 v.

[23] Una figura intera rappresentante un S. Bastiano Martire di otto Palmi incirca di mano di Tiziano, si dice il modello al naturale del S. Bastano fatto da d(ett)o Tiziano, nella famosa tavola di Venezia

[24] Un quadretto alto un palmo e mezzo, e lungo palmi tre in circa, rappresentante l'invenzione di Mose nel Cestello con moltissime figurine, si crede del Cigoli, o del Tintoretto

[25] Un quadro in tela di palmi 4, alto, e largo a proporzione, entrovi la S(antissim) a Vergine, S. Anna S. Giovannino, il Bambino Gesu e San Giuseppe con bel paese, tutte in un gruppo, stimato, o di Raffaello, o di Giulio Romano, ma comunem(en)te di Raffaello, (per esservi) la stampa del mede(si)mo

[26] Un quadretto alto tre palmi, e due largo in circa, entrovi (deleted: "una Vergine") un Presepio con tutte figurine intere del Parmigianino

[27] Un quadro di palmi Quattro con paese, entrovi una Vergine in atto di adorare il Bambino Gesu, posto in Terra sul fieno, di mano del Correggo [sic], di cui anch'ivi la stampa

[28-29] Due paesi di palmi 4 e mezzo lunghi, e 3 lati in circa con poche figurine di mano del Borgognone, che uno non finite

[30-31] Due paesini alte tre palmi in circa, con alcune figurine, che il paese e del P(adre?) Mattia, e le figure del Borgognone

[32] Un ritratto al naturale piu di mezza figura di un Senator Veneziano, di mano del Tintoretto

[33] Un quadretto di due palmi, rappresentante una mezza figura di S Giovannino del Passignano

[34] Una testa a olio su la carta attacata all'asse dell'autore, di mano di Andrea de Sarto, al naturale

[35] Un quadro di (5?) palmi in c(irc)a a mezzo tondo, e largo 4, entrovi un Presepio con una bellissima prospettiva, e paesino con la S(antissim)a Vergine, S. Giuseppe, e piu angijoli, e una figurina di Pastore di mano di Andrea de Sarto f. 35 r.

[36] Un quadretto in legno di due palmi, entrovi un S. Girolamo nel Deserto d'Andrea Mantegna

[37] Un quadro largo 6 palmi, e alto 4 in circa, entrovi piu uccelami Ochi polli etc al naturale di mano di Alfonso Boschi

[38] Un quadro in tavola alto 4 palmi, entrovi la S(antissim)a Vergine, Gesu, e S. Giovannino al naturale di mano del Rosso

[39] Un quadro di 3 palmi in circa, entrovi un fanciullo con un canino al naturale, di mano di Paolo Veronese

[40] Un quadro alto 3 palmi in circa, entrovi un ritratto di Senator Veneziano, o di mano, o della scuola di Tiziano

[41-42] Due ovati di 3 palmi, entrovi un S. Bastiano, mezza figura, e un altro mezzo bustoignudo, che uno del Vignali, l'altro del Furino (?)

[43] Un quadro in tavola, alto piu di 3 palmi, entrovi un S. Fran(ces)co e con S.Domenico, che si abbracciano, figure intere di mano del famoso frate di S. Marco di Firenze

[44] Una testa d'un Salvadore al natural su un tegolo, fatta afresco su la calcine, di mano del Frate

[45] Un quadro alto (5) Palmi in circa, e largo cinque in circa, entrovi una figura intera della S(antissi)ma Vergine, Gesu e S. Giuseppe, tutte al natural con Paese di mano del d(ett)o Frate, prima maniera

[46-47] Due quadretti compagni alti due palmi e mezzo, e larghi uno e mezzo, che in uno vi e S. Francesco mezza figura, e nell'altro un S. Giorgio, di mano di Carlin Dolci

[48] Un quadretto d'un palmo, e mezzo con una Vergine in Gloria, di mano di Carlino

[49] Un quadro in Tavola largo incirca a p(a)lmi cinque, e lato quattro, entrovi il Salvadore, che porta la Croce al Calvario, con dodici figure di manigoldi, e due ladri, tutti di teste caricate ridicolosam[en]te eccetto quella del Salvadore, tutta decorosa di mano del Brugolo o Bruges. Tutti I sopradetti quadri sono stati sempre tenuti per le mani, che si notano, e cosi stimati dal famoso Volterrano, Livo Meho, Luca Giordano, Morandi, Dandini, e altri forestieri, che gl'anno veduti e (f. 35v) tali gli ha tenuti, e acquistati Filippo Baldinucci, Padre dell'Avvocato Fran(ces)co Saverio che presentemente le tiene e di come persona intendissima delle maniere de'Pittori, era in comunemente stimato, ed altre ad'essersi anche dilettato delle Professioni di Pittura, e Scultura colle proprie mani ha scritto le vite de Pittori, intitolati notizie de professori del disegno, con altre opera appartenenti a tali professioni. Onde con tutti si posse per tali giudicare non ostante, che vi possano essere altri, o non tanto periti, o appassionati, che diversamente gli giudichino essendo certo, che ne gl'uni, ne gl'altri gl'abbino veduti fare.

Dove si dice Palmo in ordine alla grandezza, s'intende di Palmo naturale misurato con una mano giusta.

DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX II

Excerpts from Correspondence relating the sale of Baldinucci's collection of paintings contained in Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Rawlinson 132. All translations are my own.

Doc. 1
f. 42r [25], 18 September 1717
Replying to a short list sent by Zamboni, Soldani sends a note with prices and includes some comments.

As to the pictures, you will see the prices that Mr Baldinucci is asking from the enclosed note. I have been to see them and they appear to me to be beautiful, but one cannot get a judgement as to whether they are originals, despite the fact that he asserts it, adding many reasons, which I shall omit for the sake of brevity: the strongest is that his father (Filippo) understood these things and that having them re-examined afresh by painters will confirm their authenticity.

The one held to be either by Cigoli or by Tintoretto is not finished, but the rest are in quite good condition. Only the one by Parmigianino for which he is asking 90 Louis d'or is rather dark in places. So – if you were interested – you would need to make him an offer and – as I have said – ignore the fact that he maintains that they are originals.

The picture where the Virgin is adoring the Child by Correggio seem to me quite beautiful, but as you know, if it was painted in the days when Correggio was alive it is very difficult to know if it could be by his hand.

A price-list is provided on a separate sheet. A selection of its contents follows:

The final prices required are as follows:

A life-size half-length portrait in armour said to be of the Duke De Guise and by the hand of Van Dyck. This has been sold some days ago. [Indeed, it is vigorously crossed out]

A full-length figure representing Saint Sebastian martyr about 8 palms high, by the hand of Titian and said to be the full-size model for the Saint Sebastian by Titian in the famous altarpiece in Venice – 60 Spanish doubloons.

A little picture 1 ½ palms high and around 3 palms wide, representing the Finding of Moses in the basket with many little figures, thought to be by Cigoli, or by Tintoretto – 10 doubloons

This is not finished and is made for use as a bozzetto.

A picture on canvas 4 palms high and a similar width, with a group of the Blessed Virgin, Saint Anne, the little Saint John and Saint Joseph in a beautiful landscape estimated to be either by Raphael or by Giulio Romano, but commonly believed to be by Raphael on account of an engraving of it – 100 doubloons.

[It is interesting to note that an engraving with a caption was produced in evidence as early as this.]

On the verso:
A little picture 3 palms high and around 2 palms wide, within it a Nativity all with complete figures by Parmigianino – 50 doubloons

A picture 4 palms high, with a landscape in which are the Virgin in the act of adoring the Baby Jesus lying in some straw on the ground by the hand of Correggio, of which there is also an engraving – 100 doubloons

A picture of about 3 palms high, with in it a life-size boy and dog by the hand of Paolo Veronese

[This item by Veronese is cancelled, and the author notes that it was given away.]

The prices you see on this note are written by the Avvocato Baldinucci, who says that the above listed pictures have been "baptized" by many contemporary painters as being originals and by the authors assigned to them, but that he does not intend to guarantee this, because none of the men who have assessed them actually saw them being painted.

Doc. 2
f. 50r [33], 12 December 1717
Excerpt from a letter in which Soldani tries to mediate between Zamboni and the vendor, who had forced him to forward a legal-sounding letter of his own. Soldani avows his own good faith as a middle-man and offers advice about how to handle the negotiation.

In fact he is relying entirely on me and I do not think that he will break the agreement with me, and as I ought to be serving you well, but at the same time not doing a disservice to Avvocato Baldinucci, I feel that you should take the available pictures to avoid inconvenience and extra expense. Even if they were not judged to be by the authors claimed, it is still a fact that the pictures are very beautiful and are worth – even if some attributions are put in doubt – quite a lot more than he is asking: He is only coming down to the price quoted above because he needs to get some money for some important business of his own.

[22] I believe that you have his bill, but as I have the arbitration in hand over the 200 doubloons you have offered, I am telling you without more ado that you could offer him 220 Spanish doubloons and a pocket watch, with a fashionable silver case, but without a repeater; also in my opinion, he would be content to take three or four similar watches to diminish the price, for he could get their value back here, even if he did not make a profit. Let me know as soon as possible, for I am well aware that I have been told not to tell you, but he has some offer to sell the picture-collection as a lot, but I have made him hold back on accepting it.

This is copied verbatim from the brief written me by the Lawyer. But make up your mind if you want to make this expenditure in spite of the uncertainty about the above-mentioned paintings. Write me a reply so worded that I can freely let him see your letter, in order that he can see that we are dealing fairly, and make him whatever offer you wish.

As to the picture by Cigoli or Tintoretto, I shall have another look at it and, as he wants not less than 10 doubloons, I shall get it and send it to Mr Fredoli well packed. I told the Avvocato that when he calculated in Doubloons he meant Italian doubloons and that they are worth 20 lire each, but now that he has been informed of this he replied that they are worth 21, meaning that he wants 10 doubloons of 21 lire for the picture. For the sake of clarity he will contract for the rest in Spanish doubloons.

If you decide to make this purchase, I trust that it turns out well, for this sort of material is difficult to judge, and if they were copies made in the time of a certain author, as is believed, they would have aged equally and so would be almost impossible to tell apart [from originals].

Doc. 3
f. 66r [49], 4 March 1718
Letter from Soldani to Zamboni restating the complex terms of the payment, in cash and in kind, commenting further.

I have spoken to Avvocato Baldinucci concerning the pictures under discussion. He realizes that I am dealing with him in an above-board manner. He made me read him the brief in the letter that you wrote to me and even wanted a copy of it, for he wanted to keep it carefully, as it consents and agrees to the offer that you have made him, over both the watches and the cash in the form that you prescribed, for the five pictures, i.e. the Holy Family by Raphael or Giulio Romano; the Madonna by Correggio; Saint Sebastian by Titian; the Nativity by Parmigianino; the Finding of Moses in the basket by Tintoretto or Cigoli. These total 230 Spanish doubloons, or the equivalent value, including the watches.

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I noticed that Avvocato Baldinucci agreed on the above-mentioned price very readily, which makes me wonder [about his veracity], because he said that he did not want to maintain that the aforesaid pictures were all originals. I told him what I thought about this aspect, but you should consider the matter carefully and if you decide to, you can remit all the money; but as to the watches he told me to write and ask you to have them packed up without any adornments, all the more so because they are ordinary ones.

I have also shown him the two gold medals that you wish to give for the picture by Tintoretto or Cigoli, but because the intrinsic value of the gold is not as high as you told us (which I no longer recall), I have not been able to persuade him for now to agree to the barter. But I hope to stimulate him afresh, now that he is telling me that he wanted 10 Spanish doubloons for the aforesaid painting. This sum is meant to be included in the total offer referred to above and so if he does not want the medals you will have to turn them into cash.

Doc. 4
f. 69v [52], 15 March 1718
Excerpt from Soldani's reply to a letter from Zamboni received on 11 March.

As to Baldinucci's painting, you will by now have heard from my letter how things have been left, and now I shall see afresh if he wants to have the two gold medals, and I shall do what I can on your behalf: if your brother could kindly pay me 90 thalers, I would be in a better position to make the deal progress…

Doc. 5
f. 72r [55], 24 March 1718
Soldani reports the price secured for Zamboni's English gold medals in Florence, and refers to the sale of the Cigoli.

As I could get only around 19 scudi for the two gold medals of yours that I have, I resolved to give them to Avvocato Baldinucci for 25 thalers, as you will see from the enclosed receipt. Apart from the medals I had to give him another 4 thalers for the picture by Cigoli that I have with me, and after I have had it packed I shall send it to Mr Fredoli so that he can send it off to you at the earliest opportunity. I thought that this was the best way to proceed, for there was no other way to dispose of the said medals to greater advantage. Their gold value was only 19 Florentine ducats and if you had to pay 10 Louis d'or at 22 zecchini each, it would have been for you a greater loss. I hope to have served you as you would wish, and as is my duty. Now you will face only some expenses at the customs that is unavoidable, as well as the cost of the crate, duly sealed and of carriage to Livorno, which I will let you have a note about.

I trust that this little picture will please you and I hope with all my heart that it will turn you a profit, though it seems to me rather dark and not highly finished and here you cannot lament about me, because you have in hand a list of all the pictures, with their description and measurements. These things should be examined closely and I have always written to you with any doubts. This one is certainly an original and I believe that it is by Cigoli and as such it is now yours.

Doc. 6
f. 73r [56], 20 March 1718
Excerpt from a letter in which Soldani sends Zamboni a formal, dated receipt, made out to him by Baldinucci, and warns that doubts are mounting about the authenticity of the paintings.

Baldinucci does not want to hand any of them over until he has received the full price and – as he has told you many times – he is delivering them for what they are, without intending to maintain their authenticity as originals. The sum you are giving is not so small as <u>not</u> to think it over really well.

In all confidence, I have to advise you that – as regards the pictures of Mr Baldinucci – I have put off sending you the one by Cigoli for a day or two, because I was wanting to wait and put something else in with it; but I have not received the order for any bronzes and so I am sending it on its own. In this connection I am telling you in all sincerity that the Avvocato presses me continually to write to you that he is awaiting the completion of this business, because he would like to dispose of them. He must have found Mr D. and his brother and had a chat with them over this matter and he must have replied to them that he did not want deceive in any respect. *Wherefore, his haste makes me suspect that the pictures are not originals, for I learned that he tried to get an attestation from several painters that they were originals but they did not want to provide it, which makes me anxious (see the letters, in which I have always conveyed some doubt)* [my emphasis].

Suppose that you do take the pictures and that then they do not turn out to your satisfaction or you cannot find a market for them to your liking, I would not want you to regret it on any account of mine. But you should wait to complete the deal until after you have received the picture by Cigoli, which is quite dark, and on this account you could make an excuse to reply whatever your own prudence suggests: then, if you wanted to get out of the contract, you would not be short of a fair and weighty pretext. When you write to me about this I would like you to make the passage in the letter stand out clearly, so that I can show just the relevant passage openly to Avvocato Baldinucci: better still, put it on a separate sheet. Tell me frankly what you would like to do and then everything will go well.

Doc. 7
f. 83r [66], 12 May 1718
Excerpt from a further letter of Soldani referring to the sale and shipment of the Cigoli.

I had feared that at the Tuscan customs you would have to pay quite a lot more on the Cigoli picture, but I spent 32.10, apart from the expenses of making the crate, wrapping it in waterproof material, and the transport to Livorno, all of which I have minutely noted down to account for them to you in due course. (.84r [67]) You will have heard once again my thoughts about Mr Baldinucci's paintings: he is trying desperately to get rid of them in any way possible and I daresay that he has never had an opportunity to dispose of them, less still an offer like the one you have made: so ponder your part of the bargain, for I would not wish you to have anything to regret.

Doc. 8
f. 79v [62], undated, but content indicates its place in chronology of letters
Soldani replies to a long awaited reply from Zamboni.

Mr Baldinucci came to see me and told me that he had seen your brother and asked him about you:

he told him that I had received your letters and so I confirmed the same. As he had accepted the offer that you had made him for the pictures, he would have shortly received the watches and other effects sufficient to make up the amount of money in the form agreed, as per what he had read in the section of your letter. Mr Baldinucci is showing signs of pressure to reach completion of the deal, as he says that he wants to do some other business on his own account. As you will have learned from my letters, I sent the picture by Cigoli to Mr Cozzini some days ago, so that he could consign it to Mr Fredoli, to address it to you. Yesterday I wrote again to Cozzini to see if the painting had been sent: and if it was still in the hands of Mr Fredoli, to try and get it back, saying that there was a mistake over the price and that it needs to be reconsidered. It cannot be sent for some time and if he has it in his hand, Cozzini is to hang on to it for some days and then re-consign it to Mr Mucotti…

Doc. 9
f. 92r [75], 7 July 1718
Soldani alludes to the eventual despatch of the Cigoli picture.

When the Cigoli picture arrives, you must decide what to do about Mr Baldinucci: I have already told him that it is a while since I have received any letters from you, but I see that he is really keen on this bit of business, for I do not think that he has received any similar offer for his paintings, even though he told me that he wanted to write on his own account, but be careful to control things to your advantage, for he is only out to make a profit.

Doc. 10
f. 97r [80], 14 July 1718
Soldani sends a long bill to Zamboni, dating one item that is relevant here.

24 zecchini paid to Avvocato Baldinucci for the picture by Cigoli, over and above the two gold medals that I have already received

This is explained by a simultaneous receipt (f. 98r [81]) that Soldani sends:

Two gold medals, one of the dead Queen and the other of the living King of England [presumably Queen Anne and George I] and these have been given in [part]-payment to Avvocato Baldinucci for the picture by Cigoli.

Doc. 11
f. 109v [92], 5 November 1718
On holiday at his country villa, Soldani writes reverting to the single painting that Zamboni had so far acquired.

I had imagined that the little picture by Cigoli that you had received had been entirely to your taste, and you will recall how many times I wrote to you on this aspect, in good time for you to extricate yourself from the deal. Baldinucci still rates his pictures very highly and does not want to maintain that they are originals, as you have heard many times before: if I wrote to you with some pressure it was due to the pressing insinuations of Mr Baldinucci. I suppose that he has had written or has himself written on his own account to you, appearing every hour a thousand times, to dispose of the aforesaid pictures.

Doc. 12
f. 111r [94], 1 December 1718
Having returned to Florence, Soldani writes to Zamboni complaining of his double-dealing and entreating Zamboni to conclude the matter.

With great embarrassment, I have communicated the passage in your letter concerning the negotiation of the pictures with Baldinucci. He is very surprised at your way of doing business, for while he was expecting to see the amount owed after a year had passed since the contract had been concluded and agreed, he has seen the cards in his hand being changed in the way that you write. He wanted to proceed to the question of sequestration of goods or some other solution, but I managed to persuade him to send the two pictures that had been asked for, as soon as he saw the watches on offer had arrived here, at the price that they cost you. He had agreed several times with me to allow four months to elapse for the remittance of the balance of the money, not just for the two pictures, but for the other ones agreed upon, as you have pledged to. Furthermore, the wall-clock seems to him and to me to be too dear and difficult to dispose of, but he is prepared to lower the price, for otherwise he will have to get rid of it for less than he intends should go into his account. Please bring this negotiation to a conclusion and keep to your word, which has been given and confirmed so many times, for I no longer have any desire to go round to the said Baldinucci who is bothering me continually over this matter, and with good reason.

Doc. 13
f. 121r [104], 16 March 1719
Three months later, Soldani includes a passage about the Baldinucci affair in a long letter, and on the back of the same sheet appends a lengthy post-script, hoping to wash his hands of the ill-starred venture.

[24] Avvocato Baldinucci has spread a great rumour that he made a loss when he received the gold medals and the 4 thalers extra for the picture by Cigoli, when you could have satisfied yourself in advance, for you had them in your hands for many days. To offer him now the bracket-clock for 70 Louis d'or will create thousands of difficulties and he will want to give the picture that you like and not that one that pleases me. So I would like you to employ someone more capable than I in this affair, so that you can be sure of looking after your own interests: a few days ago I saw a copy of the picture that he says is by Titian in the house of Mr Gabbiani, our premier painter, who told me that the original is on an altarpiece in Venice, and that his and Baldinucci's copies are smaller than the figure on the said altarpiece and – being composed of more figures – must be reproductions after prints. I asked him if he had seen the other pictures belonging to Baldinucci, and he said yes, and that he thought them to be copies.

You had better satisfy your desires with something else, for I don't want you to be fed up with me, bearing in mind that he himself declares that Baldinucci himself is not insisting on their originality, and I have not managed to find anyone who is prepared to back the idea that they are not copies. I am talking to you with complete and sincere confidence, in order that – as it involves such a good sum of money – you do not subsequently suffer a big loss: and the fact that he is so keen to get rid of them gives me ever more grounds for suspicion. So – in order that I shall not have any further worry on this, *I beg you to make use of another intermediary, a trustworthy and intelligent person, without letting them know what my attitude is* [my emphasis]. Please also deign to burn this letter so that it cannot be read by anybody, and then do whatever you want.

Doc. 14
f. 129v [113], 28 June 1719
Soldani makes a passing reference the sale.

…Mr Baldinucci, believing that the deal is off, is not pestering me anymore;

Doc. 15
f. 131r-v [114] 27 July 1719
One month later Soldani writes of the deterioration of the matter.

Mr Gabbiani does not want on any account to guarantee that the said pictures are originals and, having talked to Avvocato Baldinucci, it seems that it is now clear to him that you want to get out of the undertaking and – although he shows signs of anger, as he is working for his own ends – I did not fail to take your side in a heated fashion. If he writes to you, you can reply with whatever propriety your conscience dictates, in order to halt the whole business, as you seem to have indicated to me in your last letter.

Doc. 16
f. 135r [118]), 28 September 1719
Soldani makes final reference to the negotiation which has come to a definitive end.

Avvocato Baldinucci is not saying anything to me anymore and I think that he realises that it was fair that you should have been comforted with a declaration that the pictures contracted for were originals.

NOTES

1. The material in this paper was first aired briefly at the symposium *The Collector and Circle Workshop* organized by the Wallace Collection and the Warwick University/ IESA MA in the History and Business of Collecting and the Collecting and Display Seminar Group, held on 1-2 July 2014 in the Wallace Collection and the Institute of Historical Research, London University. The author thanks Adriana Turpin and Suzanne Higgott for their invitation to contribute. Being the first fruits of current research, the identifications of some of the paintings are tentative: some may turn out to be copies, as Soldani feared at the time. One is not discussing the pictures as works of art in their own right, but the problem – then as now – of establishing the authenticity of historic works of art to an ethical standard. I would like to dedicate the present study to Professor Edward Goldberg of the Medici Archive Project in Florence, in gratitude for his life's work on the period in question and his spontaneous encouragement to research and publish these documents (see note 5 below).
2. Unfortunately Zamboni's intervening replies to Soldani are missing at the Florentine end, so that their content has to be inferred from the tenor and wording of Soldani's missives.
3. They were supposedly by the following artists: Bassano the Elder, Borgognone, Boschi, Bronzino, Cigoli, Commodi, Correggio, Dandini, Dolci, Van Dyck, Giulio Romano, Mantegna, Marinari, Pagani, Paggi, Parmigianino, Passignano, Rosso Fiorentino, Del Sarto, Tintoretto, Titian, Veronese and Volterrano.
4. Filippo Baldinucci, *Notizie de' professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua: per le quali si dimostra come, e per chi le bell' arti di pittura, scultura, e architettura lasciata la rozzezza delle maniere greca, e gottica, si siano in questi secoli ridotte all' antica loro perfezione / opera di Filippo Baldinucci fiorentino, distinta in secoli, e decennali (1681-1688)*, ed. Ferdinando Ranalli (Florence: V. Batalli,1846).
5. Edward Goldberg wrote in a private letter in 1994: "I have never seen a list of Filippo Baldinucci's pictures, published or in manuscript – though I would dearly love to do so! …I was never aware, however, that he had very many of them, nor particularly important ones, since they are seldom mentioned in the *Notizie*. And throughout his life (he) consistently pleaded poverty." After seeing the list, he kindly responded: "It is exactly the sort of 'Florentine insider's' collection that one would expect, and the mixture of portraits (largely of artists) and religious pictures is predictably Baldinucci-esque…. We can assume that the attributions of the Florentine pictures are basically accurate, that in regard to the Emilian and Venetian things he at least got the school right, and that the Brueghel might be anything on earth. The most consistent group of pictures, and probably the most easy to trace, are the Dolcis." He ended: "Though Baldinucci was an enlightened connoisseur for his period, I personally would not wish to buy a picture on his attribution alone." A prescient remark, for, in the absence of reliable corroborative authentication, so it turned out with the abortive attempt to sell them on his "say so".
6. Oxford, Bodleian Library: Ms Rawlinson 132. Since some of my earlier publications, it has been decided to adopt the alternative system of page numbering given on the manuscript and so there will be discrepancies.
7. See Charles Avery, *David Le Marchand (1674-1726): An Ingenious Man for Carving in Ivory* (London: Lund Humphries, 1996), p. 75, no. 42.
8. Klaus Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik. Die Kunst am Hofe der Letzten Medici 1670-1743* (Munich: Bruckmann Verlag, 1962); Susan F. Rosen, *The Twilight of the Medici: Late Baroque Art in Florence, 1670-1743*, exh. cat. (Detroit and Florence: Detroit Institute of Arts and Palazzo Pitti, 1974); and M. Davis, ed., *Kunst des Barock in der Toskana: Studien zur Kunst unter den letzten Medici, Italienische Forschungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz*, III, 9 (Munich: Bruckmann, 1976).
9. Fiorenza Vannel and Giuseppe Toderi, *La Medaglia Barocca in Toscana* (Florence: Studio per edizioni scelte, 1987); Charles Avery, "Medals and Bronzes for *Milordi*: Soldani, Selvi and the English," *Medal* 24 (1994): pp. 10-20; Charles Avery, "Who was Antonio Selvi? – new Documentary Data on Medal Production in Soldani's Workshop," *Medal* 26 (1995): pp. 27-41.
10. The casts of the *Venus de'Medici* and the *Dancing Faun* have been bought by the Reigning Prince of Liechtenstein, Vaduz/Vienna (see Alexis Kugel, *Les Bronzes du Prince de Liechtenstein; Chefs-d'oeuvre de la Renaissance et du Baroque*, exh. cat. (Paris: Galerie Kugel, 2008), nos. 25-26, and p. 104); the casts of the *Wrestling Boys* and the *Knife-grinder* are with Galerie Kugel, Paris.
11. Charles Avery, "Lord Burlington and Soldani: the Anglo-Florentine art trade in the Age of the Grand Tour", in Edward T. Corp, ed., *Lord Burlington, The Man and his Politics, Questions of Loyalty, Studies in British History* 48 (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press Ltd., 1998), pp. 27-49, figs. 2-15.
12. Baldinucci, *Notizie*: for full title, see note 4.
13. The Florentine *palmo* that is used is 29.13cm, and in effect half a *braccio*.
14. Franco Faranda, *Ludovico Cardi, detto Il Cigoli* (Rome: De Luca, 1986), pp. 180-81, nos. 112-116.
15. "...possiede pure quegli, che queste cose scrive."
16. The *Saint Philip Neri* is readily distinguished from the standard rectangular pictures of him (such as the prime version from San Firenze, Florence, now in a Private Collection), by conforming to Dolci's favourite shape, typical of the Baroque – the oval, however the only extant version in this shape is now considered a copy; while *Saint Antoninus* appears to be unique, their dimensions are close enough (Neri: 58 x 43; Antoninus: 64 x 42 cm) that they may be the pair owned by Baldinucci. Their identification was first published in 1995 by Francesca Baldassari on the basis of the present information, which was communicated to her by the present writer at the time: Francesca Baldassari, *Carlo Dolci* (Turin: Artema, 1995), p. 91, figs. 27w -28w. See also Francesca Baldassari, *Carlo Dolci* (Florence: Centro della Efimi, srl, 2015), p. 172, no. 77, under copies.
17. They do not appear in Baldassari's monographs of 1995 or 2015.
18. Baldinucci, *Notizie*, V, p. 348: "Ma bella ogni credere, e senza dubbio, delle più degne che uscissero del pennello del Docli, è una mezza figura di grandezza quanto il naturale rappresentante la Pace, che egli mesdesimo dipinse, ritratto al vivo Caterina degli Scolari, sua consorte. Sostiene ella con ambe le mani una striscia di carta, per entro la quale si leggono le seguenti parole: *confregit arcum et scutum, gladium et bellum*, ed in oltre ha nella mano destra un piccolo ramicello di ulivo. In questa figura si scorge una certa freschezza di tinte, con un modo di finire più maestrevole del suo solito; tanto ché coll'assomigliarsi che ella fa all più spedita maniera degli ottimi coloritori, non lascia di farsi conoscere per di sua mano, e di avere in sé la diligenza, in che egli fu singolare." See also Baldassari, *Dolci* 1995, pp. 132-133, no. 105, and Baldassari, *Dolci* 2015, p. 229, no. 123. See Eve Straussman-Pflanzer, Francesca Baldassari, Edward L. Goldberg, Lisa Goldenberg Stoppato, and Scott Nethersole, *The Medici's Painter: Carlo Dolci and Seventeenth-Century Florence*, exh. cat. (Wellesley, MA and Durham, NC: Davis Museum, Wellesley College and Nasher Museum of Art, Duke University, 2017-2018).
19. See Baldassari, *Carlo Dolci* 1995, pp. 132-133, or Baldassari, *Dolci* 2015, p. 229, gives the provenance as "by descent until the eighteenth century, until it was eventually purchased by the 5th Earl Cowper for Panshanger, Hertfordshire".
20. Baldinucci, *Notizie*, V, p. 177: "Ha similmente di sua mano due ritratti di pastelli e altri disegni."
21. Maria Cecilia Fabbri, Alessandro Grassi and Riccardo Spinelli, *Volterrano, Baldassare Franceschini (1611-1690)* (Florence: Edifir, 2013), pp. 318-319, and p. 374 for the lost pair: after its provenance from Filippo Baldinucci, the pastel then seems to have come into the hands of Ignazio Hugford, from whom it was purchased in 1775 by Pietro Leopoldo of Lorraine for the Galleria Palatina (Inv. 1890, no. 2758). This allows for it to be the picture under discussion.
22. Baldinucci, *Notizie*, V, p. 177: "e (Baldinucci ha di sua mano) un bel ritratto a olio d'uomo vecchio, che fu persona molto piacevole e familiare di sua casa, il quale, in una cartella che tiene in mano, porta scritti i seguenti versi (see text)".
23. Fabbri, Grassi and Spinelli, *Volterrano*, pp. 303-304, no. 111.
24. See most recently Julian Brooks, *Andrea del Sarto: The Renaissance Workshop in Action* exh. cat. (Los Angeles and New York: The Getty Museum and The Frick Collection, 2015-2016), pp. 153-154, and n.16, p. 157, for further bibliogrpahy.
25. Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori* (1550 and 1568) ed. Gaetano Milanesi, V (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1906), pp. 48-49.
26. In his monograph on Del Sarto, John Shearman, *Andrea del Sarto* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 274-75, no. 87, gives its provenance as: "Lucrezia [di Baccio] del Fede [the painter's wife since 1518]; subsequently obscure." It is not included in *Ritratti de' più celebri professori di Pittura dipinti di propria mano* …(Florence, 1748), but it does appear in *Museum Florentinum*, 1752 (vii, 68; with a woodcut by Carlo Gregorisi).
27. This painting was attributed by Baldinucci to Bassano the Elder but is now sometimes given to Hans von Aachen (1552-1615).
28. Baldinucci, *Notizie*, II, pp. 583-583: "Dico finalmente, che un ritratto al vivo di Gio. Bologna dipinto per mano del Bassan Vecchio, testa con busto, fatto (siccome credesi senz'alcun dubbio) nel tempo, ch'egli viaggiò in Lombardia, conserve fra le sue più care cose quegli che scrive"; Michel Florisoone, "Jacopo Bassano portraitiste de Jean de Bologne et d'Antonio del Ponte," *Arte Veneta* (1956): pp. 107. Rüdiger an der Heiden, "Die Porträtmalerei des Hans van Aachen," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 66 (1970): pp. 135-226; Charles Avery and Anthony Radcliffe, eds., *Giambologna, Sculptor to the Medici,* exh. cat. (London: The Arts Council of Great Britain, 1978), no. 215.
29. "Uno (ritratto) del Signor Cavaliere Gian Bologna, simile (i.e. circa un braccio), con cornice di noce semplice." See Gino Corti, "Two Early Seventeenth-Century Inventories Involving Giambologna," *The Burlington Magazine* 118 (1976): pp. 629-634.
30. Avery and Radcliff, *Giambologna*, no. 214.
31. Galleria Palatina, Florence, Appartamenti Reali, inv. OAP no. 767, see Bernard Aikema in *Hans von Aachen (1552-1615), Court Artist in Europe*, ed. Thomas Fusenig, exh. cat. (Aachen: Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, 2010), p. 133, no. 22.
32. Aikema in Fusenig, *Hans von Aachen,* pp. 67-68, fig. 76.
33. Baldinucci, *Notizie*, III, pp. 63-64: "Dello stesso anno 1589, trovandosi in Firenze Gio. Battista Paggi celebre pittore Genovese, che ben conosceva per fama il nostro artefice, per le belle opere ch'egli avea fatte in Genova, volle fare a olio il suo ritratto, il quale condusse con gran franchezza in quadro da teste sopra legname, come allora usavasi per lo più. Il qual ritratto dicesi che venisse in potere di Pietro Tacca, stato suo condiscepolo, ed oggi è posseduto da chi queste cose scrive. Vedesi il Francavilla in atto di guardare chi 'l mira, è vestito d'un palandrano, apre colla mano sinistra un libro, che posa sopra tavola o simile, in quella faccia di esso libro che torna in piano vedesi figurata la pianta d'un edifício, e nella faccia, che viene alzata, sono scritte le seguenti parole: *Petrus Francavillus belgius etat.* 42. 1589, e colla mano sinistra tiene un piccolo modellino d'una statua; sonovi seste, calamaio, alcune medaglie d'oro, una squadra e un regolo, in cui si vede scritto: *Gio. Batista Paggi*; il tutto imitato e colorito mirabilmente…". See Robert de Francqueville, *Pierre de Francqueville, sculpteur des Medicis et du Roi Henri* IV (Paris: A et J. Picard, 1968), pp. 53-57; Herbert Keutner, "Pietro Francavilla in den Jahren 1572 und 1576", in *Festschrift Ulrich* Middeldorf, ed. Antje Kosegarten (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1968), pp. 305-306.
34. Compare Avery and Radcliffe *Giambologna*, 1978, nos. 217-220.
35. Baldinucci, *Notizie*, IV, p. 302: "perchè io medesimo, fra altre pitture di mano di segnalati artefici, conservo un ritiratto di lui, fatto quando egli era in età di quattordici anni, come mostra l'effigie, che è di fanciullo, di faccia nè corta, nè lunga, piena di tenerissime e ben colorite carni, cappelli bassi e biondicci, fatto per mano dello stesso Lodovico Cigoli suo maestro."
36. A possible analogy is a painting of a *Head of a Youth in Profile Looking Upwards and to the Right*, oil on canvas (45 x 32 cm), sold by Cheffins, Cambridge, 4 March 2015, lot 615: it is attributed to Bilivert himself, partly on account of an old and seemingly authentic label glued to the back by former owners, the Arnaldi family of Florence, who sold it c. 1870. My thanks to Sarah Flynn of Cheffins for her prompt and gracious help over this picture. If not an immediate candidate on account of its being traditionally attributed to Bilivert and not to his master Cigoli, and because of its apparent hair-colouring (which could hardly be described as "biondicci", unless it has been darkened by deteriorated later varnish), the picture at least provides some idea of what Baldinucci's portrait of Bilivert by Cigoli might have looked like.
37. Onorio Marinari, *Self-Portrait,* 1709, oil on canvas, 72.5 x 58 cm, inv. 1732, Galleria degli Uffizi; see Luciano Berti, Caterina Caneva, and Alia Ferrari, eds., *Gli Uffizi: catalogo generale* (Florence: Centro Di, 1979), p. 927, no. A573.
38. Pietro Benvenuti, ed., *La Reale Galleria di Firenze Illustrata*, 12 vols. (Florence: Giuseppe Molini, 1817-1833).
39. Mantegna, *Saint Jerome*, ca. 1448-1449, tempera on wood, 48 x 36 cm, inv. 15.1952, Museo de Arte, São Paolo. The rough measurement of "two palms" given in the list is 58 cm, which would allow for a frame of 5 cm, or 2 in, in thickness. See Keith Christiansen in *Andrea Mantegna*, ed. J. Martineau, exh. cat. (London and New York: The Royal Academy and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), pp. 115-117, no. 3; Giovanni Agosti and Dominique Thiébaut, *Mantegna, 1431-1506*, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2008-2009), pp. 72-74, no. 7. Interestingly, this catalogue identifies the rectangular plate with two hammers balanced on it (described by Christiansen only as "A strongly foreshortened wooden plank, from which hang two wooden mallets"), which hangs by strings on the wall of the cave, over the saint's makeshift desk, as a *semantron*, the instrument used in the Orthodox faith to call monks to prayer.
40. Chris Fischer, *Fra Bartolomeo: Master Draughtsman of the High Renaissance. A Selection from the Rotterdam Albums and Landscape Drawings from various Collections*, exh. cat. (Boston, Fort Worth, and New York: Museum of Fine Arts, Kimbell Art Museum, and The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1990), pp. 210-213, no. 55.
41. Another version of this subject, but with different dimensions is now in the Getty Museum, inv. 96.PB.15. This picture has recently been connected to the a work once in the Salviati collection. See Charles S. Ellis, "Documentation for Paintings by Fra Bartolomeo," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 54 (2010-2012): pp. 377-386.
42. For the painting see Serena Padovani, ed., *L'età di Savonarola: fra Bartolomeo e la scuola di San Marco*, exh. cat. (Florence: Pitti and Museo di San Marco, 1996), no. 59.
43. "Un quadro di palmi Quattro con paese, entrovi una Vergine in atto di adorare il Bambino Gesu, posto in Terra sul fieno, di mano del Coreggo, di cui anch'ivi e la stampa."
44. Piero Bianconi, *Tutta la Pittura di Correggio* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1953), p. 41, plate 80; David Eksердjian, *Correggio* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 150-154, pl. 168; Lucia Fornari Schianchi, *Correggio*, exh. cat. (Parma: Galleria Nazionale, 2008-2009), pp. 270, 312, no. III.16.
45. Heinrich Weizsacker, *Catalog der Gemälde-Galerie des Städelschen Kunstinstituts in Frankfurt-am-Main, II, Die Werke der ältesten Meister vom vierzehnten bis zum achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Broschiert, 1900). See now Roberto Paolo Ciardi and Alberto Mugnaini, *Rosso Fiorentino, Catalogo Completo. I Gigli dell'Arte*, 20 (Florence: Cantini, 1991), pp. 60-61, no. 8; Rudolf Hiller von Gaertringen, *Italienische Gemälde im Städel 1300-1550; Toskana und Umbrien* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabren, 2004), pp. 462-468; Bastian Eclercy, ed., *Maniera: Pontormo, Bronzino and Medici Florence*, exh. cat. (Frankfurt am Main: Städel Museum, 2016), pp. 50-51, no. 5.
46. This may have been after a list of the paintings in their house was drawn up "in the early eighteenth century" in which the Rosso is not to be found, according to Hiller von Gaertringen, *Italienische Gemälde*, p. 464, note 10.
47. See Martina Ingendaay, *I migliori pennelli: i marchesi Gerini mecenati e collezionisti nella Firenze barocca: il palazzo e la galleria, 1600-1825,* I (Milan: Biblion 2013), pp. 136 and 146.
48. I am grateful for the help of Professor Paul Joannides over the various examples of this composition that might be candidates for the one that Baldinucci owned (see his entry in *San Sebastiano; Belleza e integrità nell'arte tra Quattrocento e Seicento*, ed. Vittorio Sgarbi, exh. cat. (San Secondo da Pinero: Castello di Miradolo, 2014), pp. 68-71, no. 13). See also David Rosand, "Titian's Saint Sebastians," *Artibus et Historiae* 30 (1994): pp. 30-37, figs. 8-10; Paul Joannides, "Titian and the Extract," *Studi Tizianeschi* 4 (2006): pp. 135-148; Peter Humfrey, *Titian: The Complete Paintings* (Ghent: Ludion Press, 2007), p. 127. Joannides has also graciously shared with the present writer a paper summing up the *status quo* concerning the various versions of this image of Saint Sebastian, among which a couple of candidates for Baldinucci's example may lurk.

NOTES

49. Tintoretto, *The Finding of Moses,* oil on canvas, 77.5 X 134 cm., 1550s, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 39.55. See Hans Tietze, *Tintoretto: The Paintings and Drawings* (London: Phaidon, 1948), p. 357, fig. 287, and Rodolfo Palluchini and Paola Rossi, *Tintoretto: Le opere sacre e profane*, I (Venice: Electa, 1982), pp. 241, 249, 251-252, no. A74. The painting measures 77.5 x 134 cm, as against Baldinucci's attributed example. Described as "unfinished" and "possibly form the 1550s", it was first recorded in the collections of the painters Richard Westall, R.A. (before his death in 1836), and later of G. D. Leslie, R.A., in London, who acquired it in 1856.
50. Tintoretto, *The Finding of Moses,* oil on canvas, 56 x 119 cm., ca. 1555, Museo Nacional del Prado inv. no. P 396; see Miguel Falomir, ed., *Tintoretto*, exh. cat. (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2007), pp. 258-265, no. 24. See also Carlo Ridolfi, *La vita di Giacopo Robusti, detto il Tintoretto, celebre pittore, cittadino veneziano,* II (Venice: Gugliemo Oddoni, 1642), p. 56.
51. Paolo Veronese, *Mars and Venus with Cupid and a Dog*, ca. 1580, oil on canvas, 165 x 126.4 cm, The National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, inv. no. NG339. See Giandomenico Romanelli and Claudio Strinati, eds., *Veronese: Miti, Ritratti, Allegorie*, exh. cat. (Venice: Museo Correr, 2005), pp. 138-139, no. 26. Interestingly, in the present context of Soldani as art-agent, the original big painting was in Britain by 1761, when it was published as being in the collection of Sir Sampson Gideon (1699-1762), the financier behind some of Sir Robert Walpole's campaigns in the Spanish War. It was recorded in Belvedere, his elegant house near Erith in Kent, overlooking the Thames Estuary (Robert and James Dodsley, *London and its Environs Described* (London: R. & J. Dodsley, 1761), where it would have hung in the gallery, while two of Soldani's fabulous bronze reliefs of *The Four Seasons* were mounted in the lobby. See Charles Avery, "Soldani's bronze reliefs of 'Summer' and 'Autumn': New Documentation and Observations on their Date, Patronage and Technique of Manufacture," *The Register of The Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas*, 7 (1995-1996): pp. 1-17.
52. See Appendix II (link to http://colnaghifoundation.org/studies-journal.php.
53. Soldani also tried to help dispose of other collections: one, belonging to Senator Tornaquinci, comprised pictures by Bronzino, Pietro da Cortona, Livio Mehus, Raphael and Andrea del Sarto, as well as maiolica and antiquities (Soldani thought that the prices were too high and that some might be copies). Another, belonging to Signor Ambra, he tried to get the painter Sagrestani to authenticate. The sculptor himself also acquired a possible Annibale Carracci *Holy Family in a Landscape*, with a view to selling it on, so he was more than dabbling in the trade, in order to supplement his income (as was normal for ambitious artists at the time, and so was not frowned on). These will be the subject of a further article.



Francisco Ribalta's *Vision of Father Simó*: British taste and the legacy of Sebastiano del Piombo in Spanish painting

PIERS BAKER-BATES



Fig. 1 / Francisco Ribalta, *Vision of Father Simó*, 1612, oil on canvas, 210.8 x 110.5 cm, London, National Gallery.

Francisco Ribalta's *Vision of Father Jeronimo Simó* (fig. 1) has been among the more neglected paintings in the National Gallery. It is one of the only two of Ribalta's works that are still in a UK collection – and of which there have only ever been three.[1] The subject, Jeronimo Simó, a parish priest from Valencia, within his lifetime was already a venerated ascetic and mystic and had become well known for his visions. Perhaps the most remarkable was of Christ Carrying his Cross which came to Father Simó on one of the walks he took each Friday along the Calle de los Caballeros, a street through which condemned criminals were led to their execution. He heard a sound of trumpets and saw Jesus bearing his cross approaching him accompanied by a crowd. Falling into a swoon, he was found insensible in the street the next morning and never again rose from his bed, enduring the same sufferings as Christ. He was just thirty-three years old, the same age as Christ at his death.[2]

Ribalta's painting of this vision is dominated by the figure of Christ advancing towards us, bearing his Cross. To Christ's right is a kneeling figure, Father Simó, in priestly garb and in a pose common in donor portraits, reaches out, as if to embrace his Saviour. To the left, a procession, led by a trumpeter and including Saint John and the Virgin, follows Christ down the narrow street. All these other figures are subordinated to the central event, and Christ's gaze is fixed firmly on the kneeling priest. The painting is signed on the scroll in the foreground: "Franciscus Ribalta Fecit Anno 1612." The position of this signature draws the viewer into the sacred drama as if he or she were receiving the vision for him- or herself.

This commission must have been executed by Ribalta rapidly after the event. Father Simó had only died – in the odour of sanctity, to use the evocative Catholic phrase – on the 25th of April of that same year. So great were the crowds at the funeral sermon on the 27th of that month, in his own parish church of San Andrés, that neither the viceroy nor the city councillors could reach their assigned seats.[3] The news immediately reached the court at Madrid where Simó's sanctity and a number of miracles already attributed to him became topics for discussion; competition began for relics too.[4] News had also made it to Rome very quickly, but it was not until just over a year later, on 7 September 1613, that an official process for Simó's beatification was begun there.[5]

The intended destination of Francisco Ribalta's painting of the *Vision of Father Jeronimo Simó*, and its immediately subsequent fate, remain matters of speculation. The painting first came to public attention when the English writer and traveller Richard Ford purchased it from a private collection in Valencia in September 1831. At that point, Father Simó had been painted over and the whole surface covered with a heavy layer of varnish (fig. 2). The painting had also been at some point cut down considerably at both the sides and the top – losing various additional figures including Mary Magdalene in the process. The French critic, Marcel Nicolle, on seeing the painting in the National Loan exhibition of 1910 in London, dismissed it as: "*pastiche amolli et enfumé du célèbre Sebastiano del Piombo del Prado, signé et daté de 1612*."[6]



Fig. 2 / Francisco Ribalta, *Vision of Father Simó* (prior to conservation treatment), 1612, oil on canvas, 210.8 x 110.5 cm, London, National Gallery.

The kneeling figure of Father Simó was only uncovered, and the painting correctly identified, when it was cleaned at the National Gallery between 1945 and 1946.[7]

Despite the parlous condition of the painting, Ford was an admirer of Ribalta's work and described his purchase in a letter to his friend, Henry Addington, British Minister in Madrid, the very same month in glowing terms:

> I have been tempted by a certain picture of Ribalta, and have given 11,000 reals for it, a large sum here, or anywhere; but it is a stupendous picture and one of the very grandest class and worth £500.[8]

What makes *Colnaghi Studies* a particularly appropriate destination for this article is that in a later letter of December 1831 to another friend, the art dealer with whom he most often dealt, Dominic Colnaghi, Ford said of the painting: "I think [it] will astonish all England."[9] It was Colnaghi who received the Ribalta when Ford sent his first consignment of purchases back to England in September 1832.

Ribalta's painting, which has been in the National Gallery since 1910, in both style and subject matter has not since received the attention it merits, in England at least. I have long been interested in this picture therefore, not only in order to unpick the artistic sources for the striking subject matter, but also as a notable example of the English taste for Spanish art. In fact, it offers a dual study of reception: that of the reception of the art of Sebastiano del Piombo into Spain and that of Spanish art in England. Jeronimo Simó's case has been studied in recent historiography as a classic example of frustrated sainthood at the vital, transitional moment of the early seventeenth century, and attention has also turned to the artistic manifestations of his cult. No study, however, has knitted together the original circumstances of the creation of the painting and its intended destination. Furthermore, the National Gallery painting remains the seminal example of how the Roman art of Sebastiano del Piombo, its ultimate source, came to be not only copied and adapted but also repurposed by Spanish artists in the post-Tridentine climate.



Fig. 3 / Unknown Artist, *Portrait of a Knight of Santiago*, ca. 1610, oil on canvas, 110.2 x 143.8 cm, Lexington, University of Kentucky Art Museum.

BY WAY OF BACKGROUND: ENGLAND AND VALENCIA

This is also an appropriate moment to be writing this article, for it comes just over a hundred years after the purchase of the *Vision of Father Jeronimo Simó* (see fig. 1) by the National Gallery in 1913, and coincides with the painting's re-appearance on public display. The complex and intellectually difficult subject matter has meant that this painting has not always received the reception that Richard Ford expected. Despite Ford's high hopes as to what he could sell it for, the Ribalta was bought-in at the sale of his Spanish pictures in June 1836 for a mere sixty-five pounds and two shillings.[10] In June 1913, it was ultimately sold by his grandson, also Richard Ford, for £1000, to the National Gallery to which it had been on loan for the previous three years. Richard the younger employed a potent mixture of playing hardball and sentimentality to encourage this purchase of a painting which:

> "My grand-father Richard Ford, the writer on Spain, and his friend Stirling Maxwell, thought very highly of… and I should be sorry if they were not acquired by the nation."[11]

The Gallery, however, turned down the other painting offered by Ford, a Murillo, *Two Franciscan Monks*, which is now in the National Gallery of Canada.[12]

The elder Richard Ford is chiefly remembered today as the author of the 1845 *Handbook for Travellers in Spain*. Its two volumes were dedicated to Sir William Eden, Baronet: "These pages are dedicated, in remembrance of pleasant years spent in well-beloved Spain, by his sincere friend, Richard Ford."[13] Eden's seat was at Windlestone Hall, and Eden too became a collector of Spanish paintings. These included the third Ribalta at one time in England, which Eden also bought in Valencia in 1831: an extraordinary double portrait, *A Knight of Santiago and his Lady* (fig. 3), an uncommon type in Spain at this period. This work was then assumed to be a self-portrait by Ribalta, although that identification has since been problematized.[14] The painting was sold in 1975 and is now in the University of Kentucky Art Museum. Ribalta was always a left-field choice in English collections, with no paintings by him bought into the country after 1831. Having made his purchase of Ribalta's *Virgin and Child with Musical Angels*, William Bankes had had to write to reassure his parents on 20 October 1814: "…I am (surprised) that you do not think more highly of the Ribalta, I thought it both a good & an agreeable picture, & had the opinion of several good judges before I bought it."[15]

The enthusiasm for Spain that was shared between Richard Ford and Sir William Eden can also be seen in a letter that describes a visit Ford had paid to his friend in the summer of 1850, almost twenty years after their return to England:

> Mrs Ford who is a learned ecclesiologist has been enchanted with the cathedrals… but most of all with princely Durham. How fine the position is! Really it recalled time-honoured Toledo; among our visits, we have been to Eden's – Windlestone, a noble *casa solar* … which cost some 100000£ in building..[16]

Fords's romantic view of Spain suggests that he was quite unaware of the very specific circumstances that had motivated the commission of his own painting by Ribalta. It is ironic that this great masterpiece of the Spanish mystical tradition, mis-identified, should end up in the hall of Ford's country house outside Exeter where Ford describes its hanging in a letter of December 1845 to the Oxford don, Sir Edmund Head.[17]

Despite the now correct identification of both the subject and the artist, a label in Ford's handwriting, still pasted to the back of the painting, leaves various questions unanswered. In it Ford states his belief that his purchase was the painting by Ribalta that was described





in 1800 by the art critic, Juan Agustín Ceán Bermudéz, in the convent of Santa Catalina at Saragossa:

> Christ bearing the Cross Francisco/ Ribalta. This solemn specimen of the great Spanish imitator of Sebastiano/ del Piombo was painted by him in 1612 for/the convent of Santa Catalina at Zaragoza... It was/stolen from the convent by the French. I bought it/at Valencia in Sept. 1831 out of the ce/lebrated Gallery of Pescuera; there is a/replica of it in Magdalen College Oxford/ Rich. Ford.[18]

According to Ceán Bermudéz, the Saragossa painting was, "A large painting which represents the Lord carrying the Cross when he appeared to Saint Ignatius of Loyola."[19] This vision was a frequent subject for altarpieces at this time as it was a seminal episode in the foundation myth of the Jesuits.[20] The second question concerns "the celebrated Gallery of Pescuera," which has never been satisfactorily identified: there is no noble title of that name in contemporary Valencia or in the Spanish peerage as a whole. One candidate is the Italian family, the Marquesses of Pescara, but they do not appear to have settled in Valencia until the late nineteenth century. For now, this remains an open question, along with what else the Gallery of Pescuera may have contained that made it "celebrated" in Ford's eyes.

Despite what Ford thought, as well as being a significant commission for Ribalta in and of itself, the *Vision of Father Jeronimo Simó* was intimately bound up with the religious climate in Valencia in 1612. At that time, Valencia was still among the three or four largest and most important cities of Spain, although suffering from ever-increasing economic decline.[21] The patriarch, Juan de Ribera – who had done so much during his forty-three year archepiscopacy to foster a religious climate consistent with the new norms of the Catholic Reformation – had died the previous year, and the city was under an ecclesiastical interregnum. Francisco Ribalta's altarpiece of the *Vision of Father Jerónimo Simó* is among the last, and most striking, examples of a particular genre of pietistic art that Ribera had fostered in Valencia and which continued briefly after his death. There is no other example of his genre in Britain.



Fig. 4 / Luis de Morales, *Saint Juan de Ribera*, ca. 1566, oil on oak panel, 52.3 x 40 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

Fig. 5 / Juan Sariñena, *The Patriarca Saint Juan de Ribera*, 1607, oil on canvas, 76 x 53 cm, Valencia, Real Colegio Seminario de Corpus Christi.

Fig. 6 / Juan Sariñena, *Archbishop Juan de Ribera Adoring the Eucharist*, 1612, oil on canvas attached to panel, 199.5 x 137.4 cm, Valencia, Real Colegio Seminario de Corpus Christi.

Ribera commissioned numerous works of art from the artists he supported, first as Bishop of Badajoz and then as Archbishop of Valencia, and he has therefore been much discussed as a patron.[22] His commissions are perhaps the supreme expression of the intricate and intimate nexus of art, religion, and society in Early Modern Spain (at least within Spain itself) and reflect the mentality and mission of the man himself. Through works of art, Ribera was intent on constructing a hagiography fit for the renewed spiritual climate that he had inaugurated with his appointment to Valencia. Two contrasting portraits of Ribera survive, one when he was a young bishop in 1564 (fig. 4), and another, post mortem, of 1611, still in Valencia (fig. 5). These are by two of the artists with whom he was to be most closely associated – Luis de Morales and Juan Sariñena respectively. Despite the difference in age, the long, skull – like face and ascetic features of Ribera are instantly recognizable in both.

Perhaps the most extraordinary image of Ribera though is another painting, signed by Sariñena also in the year 1612: *Archbishop Juan Ribera Adoring the Eucharist* (fig. 6). Here, the prelate is on his knees, hands clasped in prayer, before a monstrance raised upon an altar, the simplicity of the depiction enhancing the solemnity of the act. This painting emphasizes Ribera's devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, as he preached in a sermon of 6 June 1577: "The Eucharist is the most principal of all [Sacraments], and worthy of greater reverence and admiration."[23] The painting is particularly relevant to our argument here as from Ribera's mouth issue the words, *Tu es Sacerdos*, taken from Psalm 110, an illustration of the importance he had placed upon the role of parochial clergymen such as Jeronimo Simó.

Juan de Ribera had been born at Seville in 1532, the illegitimate son of the future 1st Duke of Alcalá. Ribera grew up amid the collections, and in the cultured atmosphere, of the famous Casa de Pilatos that had been the creation of his great-uncle, Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera. The unusual name of the palace was a result of the elder Ribera's pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1519.[24] Ribera's father, heir to the Casa, was a noted collector when he served as viceroy from 1559-1571. His early artistic experiences in Seville remained a point of reference for Juan de Ribera ever after.[25] He began his studies at Salamanca at the age of 12, and the connections of his family at court helped his youthful elevation to the bishopric of Badajoz in 1562.

From Badajoz, he was swiftly promoted in 1568 to be Archbishop of Valencia and titular Patriarch of Antioch. Ribera also served as Viceroy of Valencia, occupying the highest civil and ecclesiastical offices coterminously between 1602 and 1604. He was one of the leading prelates of the Spanish Church after the Council of Trent and indeed a paradigm for the post-Tridentine prelate; upon his promotion to Valencia in 1568, Ribera was referred to, by Pope Pius V as *lumen totius Hispaniae*.[26] Juan de Ribera was beatified in 1796 and eventually canonized by Pope John XXIII in 1960. He is most (in) famous today for his leading role in 1609 in the expulsion of the Moriscos, Christianized Arabs, who at his accession still inhabited large parts of the Kingdom of Valencia.[27]

There is a painting of 1864 by the Valencian artist, Francisco Domingo Marques, *El Beato Juan de Ribera en la expulsión de los Moriscos* (fig. 7), that shows how historical memory of this event remained vivid.

The episcopal activities of Juan de Ribera were also controversial. His lack of episcopal promotion beyond Valencia, his failure to reach the cardinalate, and the relatively recent date of his canonization, despite earlier interest in his cause, may be a reflection of the fact that Ribera proved unusually responsive to the spiritual needs of his flock. To quote Benjamin Ehlers, instead of a rigid enforcement of the decrees of Trent, "he engaged rather in a process of exchange, or interplay, between official activity and popular religion."[28] Ribera had indeed engaged closely with local holy men and women in Valencia – figures such as Jeronimo Simó, – and his interest in and support of such visionary religious practices attracted the interest of the Inquisition from the very beginning of his episcopal career, at Badajoz.

RIBERA AND THE AFTERLIFE OF SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO IN SPAIN

In his artistic patronage, Ribera supported certain artists in particular – the paradigm being Luis de Morales from whom Ribera had commissioned work while at Badajoz – but, at Valencia, Ribera gathered about him a much larger circle of artists.[29] The paintings he commissioned from Morales and others later in his career concentrate largely on episodes from the Passion of Christ, such as the Carrying of the Cross. Furthermore, as Ford had already noted and as will be discussed here in greater detail, these works are derived either directly, or are at one remove from, paintings by the early sixteenth-century veneto-roman artist, Sebastiano del Piombo. Works of this kind became widespread in Spain and show the extraordinary impact that Sebastiano's paintings had there.

Ribera's commissions focused not only on the Passion, but in particular on specific episodes of bodily anguish in which the suffering of Christ was made manifest



Fig. 7 / Francisco Domingo Marqués, *The Blessed Ribera and the Expulsion of the Moriscos*, 1864, oil on canvas, 146 x 189 cm, Valencia, Museu de Belles Arts.

Fig. 8 / Luis de Morales, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, ca. 1567, oil on panel, 81 x 62 cm, Valencia, Real Colegio Seminario de Corpus Christi.



to the faithful. In these brutal works, the various ways in which the body of Christ was torn, bloodied and bruised in the course of his Passion are made very clear and were intended to provoke a visceral response from the pious viewer. Perhaps because of this aspect of his work, despite Luis de Morales's painterly skill and subsequent success with collectors, the amount of research devoted to his career has been relatively sparse – at least in the Anglophone world. The same applies to Francisco Ribalta, who after his move to Valencia in 1598, became the leader and founder of a flourishing artistic scene in the city nurtured by Juan de Ribera.

Antonio Palomino, writing in 1724, entitled his brief life of Morales "el divino Morales", the first use of this particular titular.[30] According to Palomino, Morales was so called because "everything he painted had a sacred subject." Gabriele Finaldi has added more recently that Morales deserved the title because of "his success in expressing the fervid and impassioned spirituality of Spanish society."[31] In Morales, Juan de Ribera had found the first artist suited to render visually his spiritual program. Despite his early promise, Morales might never have achieved any success outside Extremadura without the appointment of Juan de Ribera to the diocese of Badajoz. Luis de Morales deserves far greater attention than he has received, if only because of their relationship – one in which Ribera used the art of Morales as a vehicle to express his own spirituality and to spread it to a wide audience.[32] There are several episodes of the Passion that Morales painted repeatedly, such as the Christ Carrying the Cross or *Ecce Homo*, many of them derived from Sebastiano del Piombo.

Here I shall discuss just one episode that concerns our argument: Christ Carrying his Cross. The significance of each individual Christian bearing his own cross in imitation of Christ was derived from the Gospel according to Saint Matthew, and was central to a number of late medieval devotional texts.[33] In the most popular of them all, Thomas à Kempis's *Imitatio Christi*, written in the early fifteenth century, there appears the following striking passage:

> Why then do you fear to take up the Cross, which is the road to the kingdom? ....There is no salvation of soul, nor hope of eternal life, save in the Cross. Take up the Cross, therefore, and follow Jesus, and go forward into eternal life. Christ has gone before you, bearing His Cross.[34]

This subject was also given a significant role in the *Contemptus Mundi*, a work that is revealingly subtitled *mensosprecio del mundo y imitación de Cristo*, and was the first Castilian translation of the *Imitatio Christi*.

This translation, the first published work of the Dominican, Fray Luis de Granada, was issued in Ribera's native Seville in 1536.[35] It would run to over thirty editions by the end of the sixteenth century, and Fray Luis became a life-long correspondent and confidant of Archbishop Ribera.[36] Christ Carrying the Cross also played a large role in Jesuit spirituality, which drew on many of the same traditions from which the *Imitatio Christi* had emerged. Indeed, as mentioned above, when Richard Ford first acquired Ribalta's painting, he had assumed that it represented Saint Ignatius's well-known vision of Christ Carrying the Cross. Juan de Ribera as patriarch was closely allied to the nascent Jesuit order and assisted its spread in the Kingdom of Valencia against established opposition.[37]



Fig. 9 / Sebastiano del Piombo, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, ca. 1533-1536, oil on slate, 104.5 x 74.5 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

Fig. 10 / Beneditto Rabuyate (?), *Christ Carrying the Cross*, after 1550, oil on panel, 55 x 43 cm, Valladolid, Parish Church of San Miguel and San Julián.

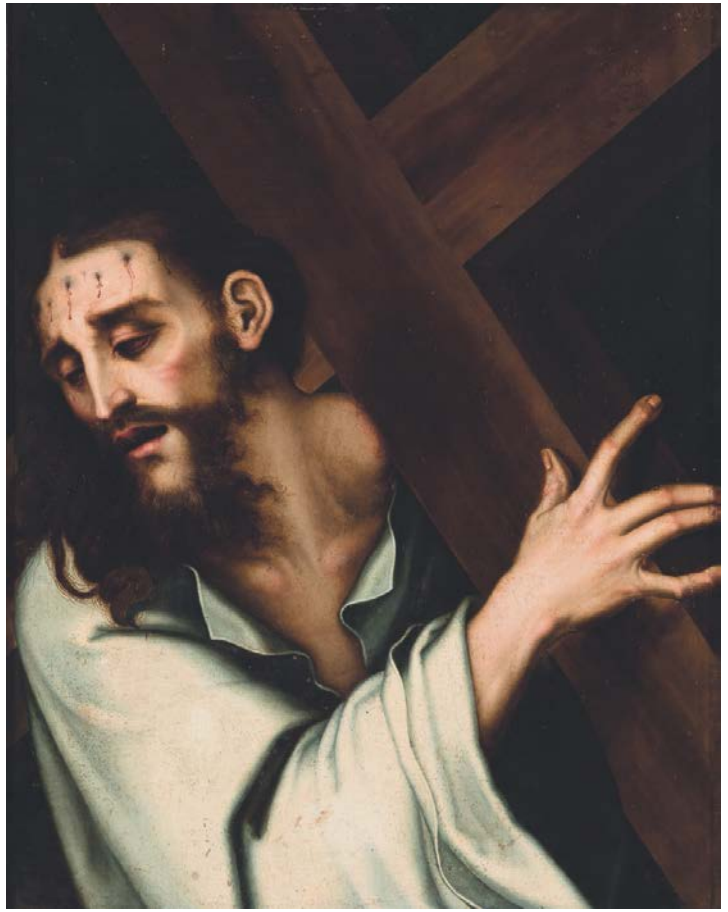
So, Father Simó's vision of this subject was dramatic in and of itself, but it was also a reflection of a particular focus on the subject of Christ Carrying his Cross during the period. One treatment of this subject by Morales (fig. 8) remains part of the collections of the Real Colegio Seminario del Corpus Christi – more colloquially called the Colegio del Patriarca.[38] This was the seminary founded by the archbishop in Valencia in 1583; at that time it fell within the boundaries of Jerónimo Simó's parish of San Andrés.[39] The central patio of the Colegio was a deliberate imitation of that of the Casa de Pilatos in which Ribera had grown up. Building works continued for eighteen years and to furnish the Colegio, Ribera not only commissioned works of art and brought artists from Italy in the manner of his father, but he also turned to those closer to home.

As well as the paintings' textual fidelity, it is important to consider the intended impact of their style. Morales and Ribalta both derived their versions of Christ Carrying the Cross from those that had been painted by Sebastiano del Piombo for Spanish clients, at least one of which was available to Ribalta in Valencia. These images of Christ Carrying his Cross were almost always created as stand-alone images – or as Erwin Panofsky characterized them, *Andachtsbild*. A comparison of another by Sebastiano, of uncertain provenance and now in the Prado (fig. 9), with Morales's version reveals the exaggerated piety of the latter. The original calm and almost introspective piety of Sebastiano's Christ has been replaced in Morales by something far more empathetic and emotive.

Morales has added not only the Crown of Thorns but also great drops of blood from where the thorns have gouged Christ's scalp. Perhaps the most emblematic example of the diffusion of Sebastiano del Piombo's type of Christ Carrying the Cross is a small painting (fig. 10) now in the church of San Miguel, Valladolid, which was painted by the Florentine emigré, Beneditto Rabuyate.[40] It is derived from a painting of the same subject by Luis de Morales, who in turn was inspired by one of the several paintings of this subject by Sebastiano that were sent to Spain. This small devotional image is an excellent example of the fluid cultural world that existed across the Tyrhennian sea by the end of the sixteenth century – and in which Francisco Ribalta too became immersed.

In Ribalta's painting (see fig. 1), Father Simó's vision of Christ Carrying the Cross is somewhat different. Rather than an anachronic single image intended for meditative devotion, Ribalta has followed the account in one of the depositions before the commission of inquiry deliberating Simó's canonization, in a deliberate attempt to create a hagiography appropiate for a saint.[41] Ribalta also depicts a contemporary event for a pious audience who, even if they had not experienced the miracle itself, would probably have known the visionary and venerable priest in question and the very streets in which it took place. Indeed, the tower of the Palau de la Generalitat, the government building situated at the end of the Calle de los Caballeros, can just be glimpsed in the background.

Otherwise, Ribalta's altarpiece is as much a composite of Sebastiano del Piombo as the Morales, and the influence of Sebastiano on Ribalta has long been noted.



Richard Ford compared Ribalta to better-known Italian masters when bringing his work to the attention of his readers, describing the artist in 1845 as "the Spanish Domenichino, and Sebastian del Piombo combined", while Sir William Stirling Maxwell in 1891 referred to Ribalta as "successful in his imitation of Sebastiano del Piombo."[42] In terms of both men's acute artistic judgement it is important to note that at this early date none of Sebastiano's pictures had yet been connected specifically and securely to Valencia or Ribalta.[43]

Only in 1995 was it revealed that, until 1646, a number of Sebastiano's paintings were in the private collection at Valencia of the Vich – among the leading families of the city and themselves patrons of Ribalta. The head of the family between 1608 and 1624 was Alvaro Vich who commissioned work from both Ribalta and his son, Juan.[44] In his city palace were a now dispersed group of paintings by Sebastiano del Piombo commissioned by his great-grandfather, Don Jeronimo de Vich, when ambassador at Rome in the







Fig. 11 / Sebastiano del Piombo, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, ca. 1513-1514, oil on canvas, 121 x 100 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

Fig. 12 / Sebastiano del Piombo, *The Descent into Limbo*, 1516, oil on canvas, 226 x 114 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

Fig. 13 / Unknown Artist, *Christ Carrying the Cross on his way to Calvary*, after 1600, oil on canvas, 199 x 159 cm, Oxford, Magdalen College Chapel.

early sixteenth century. These were a *Christ Carrying the Cross* (fig. 11) and a triptych with a central panel of the *Lamentation*, a *Descent into Limbo* (fig. 12) on one side, and an unknown subject to the other.[45] Alvaro's brother and heir, Diego, commissioned from Ribalta's son, Juan – among others – a series of portraits of thirty-one Valencian worthies, including an image of Jerónimo Simó, which unfortunately does not survive.[46]

Francisco Ribalta had evidently carefully studied these works by Sebastiano, for there are innumerable copies and versions by him, or his workshop, of the Vich paintings, particularly of the *Christ Carrying the Cross*.[47]

What is most interesting about them is how thoughtfully Ribalta has adapted Sebastiano for his own pious purposes. The body of Christ in the *Vision* is taken from the *Descent into Limbo*, once a wing of the Vich triptych, a group that Ribalta also copied as a whole. The upper half of Christ, and some of the accompanying figures, were taken from the *Christ Carrying the Cross*. This was Sebastiano's earliest version of this subject and more elaborate than any others that he painted.

Furthermore, while Ribalta's art was already connected with that of with Sebastiano, thanks to Ford's acquisition of the *Vision of Father Jerónimo Simó*, Ribalta's name was becoming associated in England with the subject of Christ Carrying the Cross in another way too. Rather dwarfed by the gothic splendour of Magdalen College Chapel in Oxford is its high altarpiece, a large *Christ Carrying the Cross* (fig. 13), seized during a British naval raid on Vigo in 1702.[48] Here again is a life-size Christ Carrying the Cross, who dominates the picture surface to an even greater extent. There is much less incidental detail, although in the background the procession to Calvary winds past. Ford mentioned this as a painting by Ribalta in 1845, and the same attribution can be found on the label on the back of the National Gallery painting – where it is described implausibly as a "replica".[49] In 1891, Stirling Maxwell followed this opinion. His sentence is worth quoting in full:

> It was then ascribed to Morales, probably because he was the only artist of the Peninsula whose name had yet reached Oxford. With more justice it has since been attributed to one of the Ribaltas.[50]

The British tendency was always to associate such pious subject matter with the names of certain artists in particular; but what the Oxford painting in fact demonstrates is the popularity of this subject matter throughout the Iberian Peninsula. The origins and dating of this particular painting are still disputed but it is probably Andalusian, of the seventeenth century. Currently it goes by a longstanding attribution to Juan de Valdes Leal – although that appears to me unlikely.[51]

What the Oxford painting also demonstrates vividly is the increasing pietism and drama of these Spanish versions of Christ Carrying the Cross compared to their Italian predecessors. This might be because the various artists involved would have been able to draw inspiration of a different kind – unknown to Sebastiano – that would have involved the pious audience more deeply in the subjects depicted. This was the tradition of the *Pasos*, elaborate processions of images such as Christ Carrying the Cross and other similar events from his Passion. These processions wound their way through the streets of contemporary cities on important feast days and became a prominent feature of Spanish religious practice, which continues to this day.[52] Indeed, the composition of the *Vision* seems to recall these processions quite deliberately. Ribera, as archbishop, had encouraged their expansion; this was one means of inspiring popular devotion and, as such, he played, a prominent part in them himself. Besides his annual participation in the Corpus Christi devotions, for example, the patriarch carried the Holy Grail, Valencia's most revered relic, through the streets of the city in 1588 to ensure the success of the Armada sent by Philip II against England.[53] After his death, on 13 June 1612 the Butchers' guild held a grand procession and included among the floats was one of: "*mosen simo ab manteu y sotana vestit y descubert lo cap*" "(mosen simon dressed in his mantle and cassock and with his head uncovered)."[54]



Fig. 14 / Juan Sariñena, *Sister Margarita Agulló*, 1605, oil on canvas attached to panel, 151 x 93 cm, Valencia, Real Colegio Seminario de Corpus Christi.

Fig. 15 / Unknown Artist, *Father Jerónimo Simó's Vision of Calvary*, 1612-1616, oil on canvas, 187 x 129 cm, Valladolid, Museo Nacional de Escultura.

FRUSTRATION AND FAILURE

The *Vision of Father Jeronimo Simó* is not the only example of Archbishop Ribera's commissioning works celebrating the visions of local religious figures in Valencia. There are at least three surviving images, all now in the Collegio del Patriarca, commissioned from 1600 onwards, that depict Sor Margarita Agullona. Two of these are by Ribalta, one of them his first commission from the patriarch, while the third is by Juan Sariñena (fig. 14).[55] Sariñena had also made an image (now lost) of the holy woman as she lay on her deathbed. Sor Margarita was a Franciscan nun, author and mystic – and, like Jeronimo Simó, Sor Margarita too had visions.[56]

Her visions, celebrated in these paintings, were of a Cross, larger than life size. The patriarch, who was her confessor, had brought her to live close to him; indeed, she died in his presence in 1600. All of these paintings of Sor Margarita, as with those of Father Simó, were executed post mortem. Attempts to promote Sor Margarita's canonization led nowhere, and it is rather ironic that the only figure of this group who made the step to sainthood was Archbishop Ribera himself. These images are relatively generic, however, and of all the various works of art that Juan de Ribera encouraged, those surrounding the cult of Jeronimo Simó are the most intimately and directly connected to the religious climate that he had fostered as archbishop in Valencia.



Becoming a saint was not easy and the politics of cult formation were tortuous: canonization was as much a political as religious process, and all means necessary were employed.[57] Recent, detailed studies of the actual process of canonization in the years at the end of the sixteenth century, particularly in relation to the nascent cults of Filippo Neri and Ignatius Loyola, have illustrated these difficulties clearly.[58] Nonetheless, there have been only a few case studies of the propagation of more local cults such as that of Jeronimo Simó. Spain, although united in the late fifteenth century, could only claim one saint until the canonization of the Castilian Franciscan, Diego of Alcalá, by Sixtus V in 1588.[59]

Simó's cause was raised in word and image both at the royal court in Madrid, and at the papal court in Rome, although the odds were always against his canonization. Besides competition from other would-be saints in Rome, in Valencia the mendicant orders, the Inquisition, and even the new patriarch, the intransigent Dominican Isidoro Aliaga (whose powerful brother, Luis, was confessor to Philip III and would become Inquisitor General in 1619) were all opposed.[60] Worse was to come in 1618 when the chief supporter of the "Simonistas" at court, the royal *valido*, the Duke of Lerma, fell from power. The previous year he had donated various images of Simó for his private cell in the Dominican house he had founded at Lerma.[61] Nonetheless unsuccessful attempts to ensure Father Simó's canonization continued in both Madrid and Rome for a further half-century.[62]

In 1619, the brief flourishing of Simó's cult at Valencia was successfully prohibited by Archbishop Aliaga and all images of the visionary priest were explicitly forbidden. Religious imagery of holy men and women before their official canonization was considered scandalous by many clergy such as Aliaga. Such images had technically been prohibited in a decree promulgated in December 1563 at the last session of the Council of Trent, although, as in the instance being discussed, they had clearly continued to be produced.[63] Simó's public cult enjoyed a brief flicker of a decade or so before it would appear to vanish without a trace (although this was not in fact so), and he failed to be included in the canonization of no fewer than four Spanish saints that took place in Rome on the 12 March 1622.[64]

With the cleaning of the National Gallery painting immediately after the Second World War, various artistic manifestations of Simó's cult first began to be reconstructed. Since then, additional discoveries demonstrate that the *Vision* is not the only work of material culture that can be connected to the propagation of the cult of Jeronimo Simó. For example, an equally dramatic altarpiece appeared on the art market in 1985, and is now in the Museo Nacional in Valladolid (fig. 15).[65] Here the viewer sees Jeronimo Simó again, in the vision that followed almost immediately on that in the National Gallery, that of Christ on Calvary. This time Simó kneels to one side of the Cross, from which Christ looks down directly at him. On the other side Veronica holds the veil, and her figure is a neat mirror image of Father Simó's. Behind Veronica the three Maries lament.



Fig. 16 / Michel Lasne after designs by Francisco Ribalta, *Scenes from the Life of Blessed Father Simó*, 1610, engraving, Barcelona, Museo Nacional d'Art de Catalunya.

In this image once again it is Christ who dominates. The participation of Father Simó in the event is increased by the position of his hands, which would have been immediately recognizable to contemporaries as the *orantes* gesture: that is, the gesture made by the priest as the bread and wine are transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ. These hands draw a direct link between Simó's priestly role and its consequences, the re-enactment of Christ's crucifixion. The reference is still more explicit, although now this is not immediately clear on a first viewing. In this vision, as Father Simó knelt at the foot of the Cross, he received a gentle spray of blood, directly from the wound in Christ's side made by the lance of Longinus, thereby increasing the priest's active role in the miracle.

Nothing is known of the original location of the Valladolid painting, but the National Gallery painting is probably the altarpiece that was commissioned by the clergy for the church of San Andrés, Valencia, upon the death of its parish priest. This was placed in the chapel in which he was buried, above his tomb, and was dedicated as early as 5 September 1612. Unfortunately, no trace of the altarpiece's original location survives as the church of San Andrés was rebuilt in 1686, and then sacked in the Spanish Civil War.[66] Within a further four months, on 24 January 1613, Ribalta on commission of the Cathedral Chapter of Valencia was paid to paint three portraits of Jeronimo Simó, all now lost.[67] It is specified that these were intended to be presented by the Chapter to Philip III, to his chief minister, the Duke of Lerma, and to the pope, Paul V. It is likely that Ribalta had himself met or seen Father Simó while alive, or at the very least examined the corpse of the recently deceased priest. Produced immediately after Simó's death, these images show how the move for his canonization had acquired not just a purely Valencian or even Spanish dimension, but also international impetus.

Ribalta also provided the group of drawings that formed the basis of an engraving by the Frenchman, Michel Lasne, of which only one example survives (fig. 16). This engraving was first mentioned in Marcos Antonio Orellana's work on Valencian painters written in 1782, where he notes he had seen some of these images himself, but a surviving example was only found and published in 1957.[68] The engraving itself is of high quality and shows Simó in the central panel – this time surrounded by no less than seventeen miraculous events that should have been the grounds for his canonization.[69] Seven of these cover Simó's childhood and seven his early and holy death, while the middle three, including both of the episodes in the two paintings discussed, describe his visions of the Passion of Christ. In envisioning several of these scenes, Ribalta has drawn again on the intimate knowledge he had acquired of the work of Sebastiano del Piombo.

The compositions had to be somewhat altered in detail in order to fit the format of the print; Simó's vision of Christ Carrying the Cross has now been changed from a vertical to a horizontal format. Simó himself interacts with the miracle to a far greater extent; he now embraces the figure of Christ directly instead of being placed to one side. Each scene is further accompanied underneath by an explanatory text in Latin. Such prints were a common form of devotional tract in this period; in all cases the saint in question forms the central figure, surrounded by miraculous episodes of their life and accompanied by a stirring, moralizing text. It is interesting specifically to note the use of the halo here, even though Simó was not yet even beatified – indeed its use in his images was specifically prohibited by the Inquisition as early as 24 June 1614.[70] The central figure of Jeronimo Simó is described as a *viva imago* and is remarkably close to the two painted examples already examined.

Images of Simó became widespread rapidly in contemporary print culture and as book illustrations. A copy of an engraving of Simó was sent to no less a figure than Peter Paul Rubens in Antwerp. Rubens employed Cornelis Gallé to copy it as the frontispiece for the *Vita B Simonis Valentini* by Jan van Wouwers, which was printed in the city in 1614 and dedicated to the Regent, Archduke Albert of Austria.[71] The appearance of Simó's cult in Flanders and the publication of Wouwers's *Vita* can be traced back to the support for his cause by Archduke Albert, Regent of the Netherlands, both brother-in-law and cousin to King Philip III of Spain and a firm believer in the cult of saints and relics.[72]

The archduke believed that he had been cured of the gout by a piece of silk thread from Simó's clothing that belonged to his wife, and presented Simó's parish church of San Andres with a valuable silver lamp that was intended to burn in perpetuity before his tomb.[73] Wouwer's text meanwhile was only one of at least three *vitae* of the Valencian priest that were published in both southern and northern Europe during the years immediately after his death.[74] One appeared in the very same year, 1612, and two more in 1614. All were part of the same sustained push for canonization. Archbishop Ribera had himself commissioned a similar life for Sor Margarita Agullona, published in 1607 and for which he himself wrote the prologue.[75]

Nonetheless in both cases the campaign failed and on 3 March 1619 all images of Simó were banned by the Inquisition.[76] Furthermore, at Rome, within a short time of his election in 1623, Urban VIII moved to tighten up the regulations surrounding candidates for canonization and their images, with decrees of 13 March and of 30 October 1625.[77] The National Gallery's altarpiece by Ribalta was removed from the church within ten years of its installation and is now precious surviving evidence of this brief episode. Its immediate removal is also indicative of the overall failure of Juan de Ribera's wider campaign to engage with the "religiosity of the laity" of which the paintings of Luis de Morales were a more generic feature.

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Taking these examples together demonstrates that the cult of Jeronimo Simó forms an excellent illustration of the dramatic confluence between art, society and religion in the Hispanic Baroque within the Iberian Peninsula. More specifically, they also reveal, I hope, why Francisco Ribalta's, *Vision of Father Jeronimo Simó* deserves a more prominent place in the National Gallery's collection. Besides its history, it represents a very unusual moment in the British collecting of Spanish art. Above all, Ribalta's, *Vision of Father Jeronimo Simó* shows how profoundly the art of Sebastiano del Piombo penetrated in Spain. It was not just a case of a handful of copies made directly. These are merely suggestive of a much deeper and widespread impact, whereby Sebastiano became the referent for depicting the sacred image in many different forms in the Spain of Philip II. The influence of Sebastiano presents a powerful case for the reconsideration of the Spanish religious image of the second half of the sixteenth century more generally; but that is another story.

NOTES

1. The other Ribalta still in England is *The Virgin and Child with Musical Angels* at Kingston Lacy: Kathleen Maclarnon, "William Bankes and his Collection of Spanish Paintings at Kingston Lacy," *Burlington Magazine* 132 (1990): pp. 114-125.
2. There are many descriptions of this miraculous event but one that is taken directly from a report to the commission of enquiry can be found in the unpublished Isidoro Aparici Gilart, *Vida del Venerable Mosen Francisco Geronymo Simon*, that was written around 1705-1706 and is now in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
3. Juan Porcar, *Coses evengudes en la ciuta y regne de Valencia Dietario de Mosen Juan Porcar, capellan de San Martin (1589-1629)*, ed. Vicente Castaneda Alcover (Madrid: Imprenta Gongora, 1934), pp. 128-129.
4. Luis Cabrera de Cordoba, *Relaciones de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de Espana desde 1599-1614*, (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y Leon, 1997), pp. 472-477.
5. Ramón Robres Lluch, "En torno a Miguel de Molinos y los órigines de su doctrina. Aspectos de la piedad barroca en Valencia (1578-1691)," *Anthologica Annua* 18 (1971): pp. 353-465 (372ff); Emilio Callado Estela, *Devoción popular y convulsión social en la Valencia del seiscientos: el intento de beatificación de Francisco Jeronimo Simó* (Valencia: Institucio Alfons el Magnanim, 2000), pp. 111-113.
6. *A Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings in the National Loan Exhibition in aid of National Gallery Funds Held in the Grafton Galleries, London (1909-1910)* (London: William Heinemann, 1909), p. 36; Marcel Nicolle, "L'exposition nationale de maîtres anciens a Londres," *La revue de l'art ancien et moderne* 27 (1910): p. 144.
7. *An Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures (1936-1947)*, exh. cat. (London: The National Gallery, 1947), pp. 45-46; Neil Maclaren, *The Spanish School*, rev. Allan Braham (London: The National Gallery, 1988), pp. 86-91.
8. Rowland E. Prothero, *The Letters of Richard Ford 1797-1858* (London: John Murray, 1905), p. 58.
9. Thomas Bean, "Richard Ford as Picture Collector and Patron in Spain," *Burlington Magazine* 137 (1995): p. 105.
10. Bean, "Richard Ford," p. 107.
11. National Gallery Archive NG7/426/14; NG2930.
12. Myron Laskin Jr and Michael Pantazzi, eds., *Catalogue of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, European and American Painting, Sculpture, and Decorative Arts*, 2 vols. (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1987), vol. I, pp. 198-201.
13. Richard Ford, *A Hand-Book for Travellers in Spain*, ed. Ian Robertson, 3 vols. (Fontwell: Centaur Press, 1966), I.
14. Sotheby's, London, Old Master Paintings, 9 July 1975, p. 17; David Howarth, *The Invention of Spain: Cultural Relations Between Britain and Spain 1770-1870* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007); Fernando Benito Domenech, "Portrait of Jeronimo Funes y Munoz and his Wife, ca. 1610," in *Sacred Spain: Art and Belief in the Hispanic World*, ed. Ronda Kasl (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 296-297; email correspondence with Janie Welker, Curator of Collections at the Museum, has revealed that the painting is currently instead believed to be by an unknown artist.
15. A passage from a letter published in Maclarnon, "William Bankes," p. 124.
16. Ian Robertson, *Richard Ford 1796-1858 Hispanophile, Connoisseur and Critic* (Norwich: Michael Russell, 2004), p. 259.
17. Hugh Brigstocke, "British Travellers in Spain 1766-1849," *Walpole Society* 77 (2015): p. 417.
18. This wording is now damaged but was transcribed verbatim in 1939 and published in Maclaren, *The Spanish School*, pp. 90-91, n. 14.
19. "Un quadro grande que representa al Señor con la cruz a cuestas quando se apareció a S. Ignacio de Loyola." Juan Agustín Ceán Bermudéz, *Diccionario histórico de los mas ilustres profesores de las bellas artes en España*, 6 vols. (Madrid: En la Imprenta de la Viuda de Ibarra, 1800), IV, pp. 174-175.
20. Alison C. Fleming, "St Ignatius of Loyola's 'Vision at La Storta' and the Foundation of the Society of Jesus," in *Foundation, Dedication and Consecration Rituals in the Early Modern World, Intersections, Yearbook of Early Modern Studies, 22*, eds. Maarten Delbeke and Minou Schraven (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012), pp. 225-249.
21. James Casey, *The Kingdom of Valencia in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).
22. Borja Franco Llopis, *La pintura valenciana entre 1550 y 1609: cristología y adoctrinamiento morisco* (Lleida: Edicions de la Universitat de Lleida, 2008); Borja Franco Llopis, "El Patriarca Ribera y el uso del arte a finales del siglo XVI en Valencia," in *El Patriarca Ribera y su tiempo. Religión, cultura y política en la Edad Moderna*, ed. Emilio Callado Estela (Valencia: Institucio Alfons el Magnanim, 2012), pp. 591-607.
23. Juan de Ribera, *Sermones. Edición Crítica*, ed. Ramon Robres Lluch, 6 vols. (Valencia: Ediciones Corpus Christi, 1987-2001), vol. IV, 19, p. 49.
24. Philippa Joseph, "Travel, Acquisition, Display: Concerning Don Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera (1476-1539) and the Casa de Pilatos, Seville, c.1520-1540," (Ph.D. diss., Oxford Brookes University, 2010).
25. David Gimilio Sanz, "Poder, humanismo y religiosidad en tiempos del Patriarca Juan de Ribera en Valencia: su colección de escultura clásica," *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma* 2 (2014): pp. 13-39.
26. A document that is reprinted in Juan Jimenez, *Vida del Beato Juan de Ribera* (Valencia: Joseph de Orga, 1798).
27. Benjamin Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos: Juan de Ribera and Religious Reform in Valencia, 1568-1814* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2006); Nicole Reinhardt, *Voices of Conscience: Royal Confessors and Political Counsel in Seventeenth-Century Spain and France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 195-217.
28. Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos*, p. x.
29. Leticia Ruiz Gómez, ed., *The Divine Morales*, exh. cat. (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2015), pp. 31 and 186-211.
30. Antonio Palomino, *The Lives of the Eminent Spanish Painters and Sculptors*, trans. Nina Ayala Mallory (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 38-39.
31. Gabriele Finaldi, "Luis de Morales," in *Grove Dictionary of Art*, ed. Jane Turner, 34 vols. (1996), XXII, pp. 72-73.
32. Alfonso Rodríguez de Ceballos, "El mundo espiritual del pintor Luis de Morales. En El IV Centenario de su muerte," *Goya* 196 (1987): pp. 194-203; Ruiz Gómez, *The Divine Morales*, pp. 186-211.
33. Matthew 16: 24-26.
34. Thomas a Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ*, ed. and trans. Leo Sherley Price (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1952), pp. 84-85.
35. Luis de Granada, *Contemptus Mundi* (Seville: Juan, Cromberger, 1536).
36. Rodríguez de Ceballos, "El mundo espiritual"; Alexander Wilkinson, *Iberian Books. Books Published in Spanish or Portuguese or on the Iberian Peninsula before 1601* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), pp. 465-474.
37. Franco Llopis, "El Patriarca Ribera y el uso del arte," pp. 596-597.
38. Four versions of *Christ Carrying the* Cross by Morales are listed in Carmelo Solis Rodriguez, *Luis de Morales* (Badajoz: Fundacion Caja de Badajoz, 1999); Felipe Pereda, "Luis de Morales, Divine Painter," in Ruiz Gómez, *The Divine Morales*, pp. 44-57 (55-57).
39. Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos*, pp. 58-79; Jose Segui Cantos, "El Colegio Seminario de Corpus Christ. Un legado del patriarca Ribera," in Callado Estela, *El Patriarca Ribera y su tiempo*, pp. 423-439.
40. Manuel Arias Martínez, "El testamento de Benedito Rabuyate, un pintor florentino en el Valladolid de la segunda mitad del siglo XVI. Devociones y producción artística," in *Valladolid la muy noble Villa* (Valladolid: Diputacion de Valladolid, 1996), pp. 41-47; María José Redondo Cantera,"Benedittо Rabuyate (1527-1592), Un Pintor Florentino en Valladolid," in *El modelo italiano en las artes plásticas de la Península Ibérica durante el Renacimiento*, ed. María José Redondo Cantera (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2004), pp. 341-375; Pereda, "Luis de Morales".
41. Aparici Gilart, *Vida del Venerable.*
42. Sir William Stirling Maxwell, *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, 4 vols. (London: John C. Nimmo, 1891), II, p. 576.
43. Manuela Mena Marques, ed., *Sebastiano del Piombo y España*, exh. cat. (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1995)
44. Francisco Almarche Vasquez, ed., *Dietario Valenciano (1619 a 1632) por D. Alvaro y D. Diego de Vich* (Valencia: Acción Bibliográfica Valenciana, 1921).
45. Piers Baker-Bates, *Sebastiano del Piombo and the World of Spanish Rome* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 95-130; the *Christ Carrying the Cross* and the *Descent into Limbo* are now in the Prado, the *Lamentation* in the Hermitage.
46. Justo Pastor Fuster, *Biblioteca Valenciana de los Escritores que florecieron hasta nuestros dias*, 2 vols. (Valencia: José Ximeno, 1827), I, pp. 253-255; Delphine Fitz Darby, *Francisco Ribalta and his School* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938), pp. 205-209.
47. Fernando Benito, "Sebastiano del Piomby y Espana," in Marques, *Sebastiano del Piombo y España*, pp. 41-79, (66-78); José Gómez Frechina, *Sebastiano del Piombo Christ Carrying the Cross* (London: Colnaghi, 2016).
48. Thomas S. R. Boase, *Christ Bearing the Cross Attributed to Valdés Leal at Magdalen College, Oxford: A Study in Taste* (Oxford and New York : Oxford University Press, 1955).
49. Maclaren, *The Spanish School*, pp. 90-91, n. 14.
50. Stirling Maxwell, *Annals*, II, pp. 580-581.
51. Boase, *Christ Bearing the Cross*, pp. 13-14 ; this painting is not, however, included in any of the more recent literature on this artist specifically.
52. Yolanda Gil Blasco and Armando Pavon Romero, "Ceremonias religosas en la Valencia del Patriarca Ribera," in Callado Estela, *El Patriarca Ribera y su tiempo*, pp. 775-788 (786-788).
53. Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos*, pp. 22-29.
54. Porcar, *Coses evengudes*, p. 135.
55. Fernando Benito Domenech, ed., *Los Ribalta y la Pintura Valenciana de su tiempo* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1987), pp. 104-105; *Juan Sariñena (1545-1619) Pintor de la Contrarreforma en Valencia* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2007), pp. 106-109; Franco Llopis, Borja, "El Patriarca Ribera", pp. 604-605.
56. Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos*, pp. 69-72.
57. Peter Burke, "How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint," in *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800*, ed. Kaspar von Greyerz (London: Allen and Unwin, 1984); reprinted in Peter Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 48-62; Simon Ditchfield, "Thinking with Saints: Sanctity and Society in the Early Modern World," *Critical Enquiry* 35 (2009): pp. 553-584.
58. Simon Ditchfield, "Coping with the '*Beati Moderni*": Canonization Procedure in the Aftermath of the Council of Trent," in *Ne Inflammate Omnia: Selected Historical Papers from Conferences Held at Loyola and Rome in 2006*, ed. Thomas M. McCoog, S.J. (Rome: Institum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2010), pp. 413-439; Ruth S. Noyes, "On the Fringes of Center: Disputed Hagiographic Imagery and the Crisis over the *Beati Moderni* in Rome ca. 1600," *Renaissance Quarterly* 64 (2011): pp. 800-846; Clare Copeland, "Spanish Saints in Counter-Reformation Italy," *The Spanish Presence in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, eds. Piers Baker-Bates and Miles Pattenden (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 103-123.
59. Saint Vincent Ferrer (1350-1419), the Valencian Dominican friar, was canonized in 1455. L. J. Andrew Villalon, "San Diego de Alcalá and the Politics of Saint Making in Counter Reformation Europe," *The Catholic Historical Review* 83 (1997): pp. 691-715.
60. Emilio Callado Estela, "Los Dominicos Valencianos y su oposición a la santidad del 'Paré Simó'," *Archivo Dominicano Anuario* 23 (2002): pp. 307-317; Emilio Callado Estela, "El final de los tiempos. Caida, destierro y muerte del Inquisidor general fray Luis Aliaga," *Estudis Revista de Historia Moderna* 42 (2016): pp. 87-106; Reinhardt, *Voices of Conscience*, p. 223, speculates that Luis de Aliaga may have engineered his brother's succession to Archbishop Ribera.
61. Patrick Williams, *The Great Favourite. The Duke of Lerma and the Court and Government of Philip III of Spain, 1598-1621* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2006); Sarah Schroth, "A New Style of Grandeur: Politics and Patronage at the Court of Philip III," in Kasl, *Sacred Spain*, pp. 77-121 (105); Lisa Banner, *The Religious Patronage of the Duke of Lerma, 1598-1621* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 132 and 135.
62. The city government of Valencia for example kept ambassadors at Madrid for this purpose: Archivo del Reyno de Valencia, Maestre Racional 12468; Callado Estela, *Devocion Popular.*
63. *The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Oecumenical Council of Trent*, ed. and trans. James Waterworth (London: C. Dolman, 1848), pp. 235-236; Francois Soyer, "Inquisition, Art, and Self-Censorship in the Early Modern Spanish Church, 1563-1834," in *The Art of Veiled Speech Self-Censorship from Aristophanes to Hobbes*, eds. Hans Baltussen and Peter J. Davis (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), pp. 269-292 (269-272).
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Love, lies, and litigation: the saga of Alessandro Vittoria's *Saint John the Baptist*

EMMA JONES





Fig. 1 / Alessandro Vittoria, *Saint John the Baptist*, 1550, marble, San Zaccaria, Venice.

Fig. 2 / Alternative view of fig. 1.

On 6 December 1601, Alessandro Vittoria (ca. 1525-1608), seventy-six years old and for many years the most successful and highly regarded sculptor in Venice, requested that a notary come to his house in Calle della Pietà, as he wished to write his eighth and what would prove to be his penultimate will.[1] Ever concerned to ensure that all of his affairs were in order, Vittoria – a widower twice over and childless – left precise instructions about the fate of his beloved marble statuette of Saint John the Baptist (figs. 1 & 2).[2] These are worth citing in full, as they shed light on the statuette's importance to the elderly sculptor:

> I leave the Reverend Mothers of San Zaccaria my marble Saint John, which should be placed in a tabernacle that opens on four sides, tall enough that it will fit inside comfortably, and it should be lined in satin, or crimson velvet, as seems best to them, and entirely gilded on the outside. And I desire that it should be preserved in perpetuity, and placed on the altar of Saint Zacharias during Eastertide, and on the feast of Saint Zacharias, and looked after the rest of the year in the place that seems most secure to them, because it is worthy of being held in great esteem, and I implore them to do so.[3]

On Vittoria's death on 27 May 1608, his little *Baptist* was indeed placed in the care of the nuns of San Zaccaria, and today can be found on the right-hand water stoup as one enters the church.[4]

This article examines the *Baptist*'s commissioning history, discusses how it came to remain with Vittoria, and considers why it became one of his most cherished possessions. Based on an analysis of new archival evidence and a re-assessment of previously published documents, the statuette's story is a fascinating tale of love, lies and litigation.

The *Baptist*'s story begins in April 1550,[5] when the twenty-five-year-old Vittoria had been in Venice for some seven years (fig. 3), working as an assistant in the busy workshop of the sculptor and architect, Jacopo Sansovino (1486-1570).[6] By this date, Vittoria is documented as having assisted with a number of Sansovino's most important Venetian commissions, including cleaning the three bronze castings of the reliefs of the north singing gallery for Saint Mark's Basilica and the wax models for the Sacristy Door (fig. 4).[7] By the end of March 1550, Sansovino had tasked Vittoria with carving four stone *River Gods* for his Library in the Piazzetta, paying the young sculptor twenty ducats for his work (fig. 5).[8] It is at this point that Vittoria was commissioned to carve the marble *Baptist* – highly significant in being his first documented independent commission.

While the original contract has yet to come to light, a record in Vittoria's account book of 26 April 1550 indicates that the *Saint John* had been commissioned not long before.[9] In this entry, Vittoria notes that on this date he was paid two ducats by nobleman Angelo Priuli as a first instalment for a marble figure of Saint John, two Venetian feet tall, which was to crown the baptismal font of San Geremia.[10]



Fig. 3 / Giovanni Battista Moroni, *Portrait of Alessandro Vittoria*, ca. 1552-1553, oil on canvas, 87.5 x 70 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie.

Fig. 4 / Jacopo Sansovino and assistants, Sacristy Door, 1546-1569, bronze, Venice, San Marco.

Fig. 5 / Alessandro Vittoria(?), *River God*, ca. 1550, Istrian stone, right spandrel of the bay third from the Campanile, Venice, Marciana Library, Piazzetta.

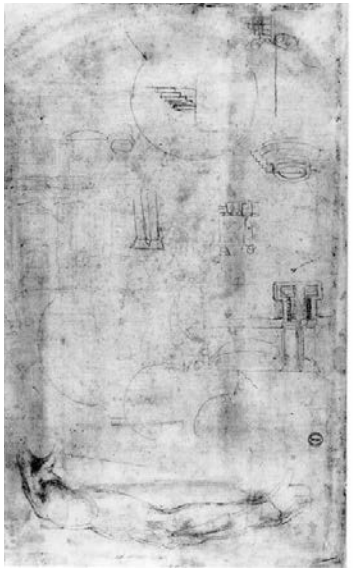
The agreed price for the statuette was ten ducats upon its satisfactory completion. The down payment of two ducats had been witnessed by one Salvador *tagliapietra*, presumably the stonemason of the same name who also worked regularly for Sansovino.[11]

The patron, Angelo Maria Priuli (1504-1551), was a lay procurator of San Geremia, a parish church in the district or *sestiere* of Cannaregio (figs. 6 & 7).[12] It is not clear whether the *Baptist* was personally-financed by Priuli, perhaps to commemorate his time in office, or whether it was commissioned by him on behalf of the church chapter.[13] San Geremia was the parish church of Priuli, who lived with his family in a nearby palace on the Cannaregio canal, and so it is hardly surprising that he should have been involved in its administration and the upkeep and decoration of its fabric.[14] Less than a year later, on 4 February 1551, Priuli died aged sixty-six, and for fifteen years the documentary record for the statuette falls silent.[15] While it has been known for some time from Lorenzo Finocchi Ghersi's research that litigation had arisen between San Geremia and Vittoria at some point before mid-May 1565, the events leading up to Vittoria gaining custody of the statuette were unknown.[16] Thanks to the present author's discovery of three documents dating to April 1565 in the Venetian state archives, new light can now be shed on the saga.

It transpires that, on or shortly before 3 April 1565, Vittoria responded to a (as yet untraced) complaint levelled against him by the parish priest of San Geremia and one of its lay procurators, Girolamo da Pozzo.[17] In his autograph statement, Vittoria first outlined the circumstances of the commission. These details are virtually identical to those recorded in his aforementioned account book, with the important addition that Priuli had provided the marble for the statuette. Vittoria stated that he had carved the *Baptist*, in accordance with the contract, but that after the death of the patron, the statuette had remained in his possession without him having been paid the balance of the final eight ducats. He then issued the church with an ultimatum:

> And because it's not right for me to hang on to the said figure permanently so that no-one gets to look at it: I am therefore making it known to you, Magnificent Mr Girolamo da Pozzo, Procurator of the aforesaid church and also to you, Reverend Parish Priest, that should you want the aforesaid figure, you should come and collect it, paying me the sum that such a work of art deserves within ten days. Otherwise, should the said deadline expire, I declare that I mean to keep the above-mentioned money for myself as is right and proper, and that I will dispose of the said figure as I see fit as my own property, in the event that, by the said deadline, you have not made any resolution.[18]

A note appended by the notary in Latin recorded that, on 3 April 1565, copies of Vittoria's response had been delivered to both the parish priest of San Geremia and to the lay procurator, Girolamo da Pozzo.



The parish priest and his clerical colleagues responded quickly to Vittoria's complaint.[19] On 10 April, one Paolo Fontana, an officer of the Sopragastaldo delivered their written response.[20] The notary recorded that Fontana went to Vittoria's house and, finding the sculptor not at home, spoke first to an unnamed apprentice and then to the sculptor's wife. She read the church's reply and kept it in order to hand it over to Vittoria on his return. In this document, the chapter of San Geremia responded vehemently to Vittoria's "false and deceitful" complaint, declaring that he had no right to give the marble *Saint John* to anyone, considering that it had been commissioned by the late Angelo Maria Priuli, when he had been a procurator of San Geremia, especially since Priuli had paid Vittoria the agreed fee of ten ducats, citing as proof an entry in the nobleman's account books. The chapter proceeded to inform Vittoria that this evidence would be presented to the Giustizia Vecchia, to which, they declared, Vittoria had falsely complained.[21] Therefore, they continued, should Vittoria persist in claiming that he had only ever received two ducats, he was doing so in vain, and he was absolutely forbidden from giving the statuette to anyone else, since it legally belonged to their church.

Four days later, on 14 April, Vittoria responded in an equally indignant and forthright fashion:



> Your discourteous reply – which is just what I expected from you, Reverend Parish Priest and priests of San Geremia of Venice – to me, Alessandro Vittoria, Sculptor, in response to my very honest protest, does not merit a further response: only this shall I tell you: that if you intend to take any action concerning the statue of Saint John which I made, without having satisfied my deserving protest [which I have] already put to you, then you must inform the Giustizia Vecchia of this within fifteen days after the holidays, so that you cannot use the impediment of divine offices as an excuse. Otherwise, as outright owner of the said statue, I will dispose of it as my own property. I also tell you that I have only ever had two ducats from the late Magnificent Priuli and the marble to make this statue. Should you not want this statue for the amount it will be valued by mutual friends, or be willing to go to the Giustizia Vecchia as above, I, out of sheer courtesy on my part and not out of any obligation, am happy to give back the two ducats to the church and also pay you for the marble if you can demonstrate how much it cost.[22]

The documentary evidence picks up the saga of the statuette again on 14 May 1565, when a further notarial act recorded the final resolution of the discord between the two parties, in what is evidently an out-of-court settlement.[23] As a whole month had passed since Vittoria's reply with his threat that San Geremia act within fifteen days or the statuette remain his and his alone, it seems likely that further, as yet undiscovered (or perhaps purely verbal), discussions between the two parties had taken place. The final settlement begins with a summary of both parties' grievances. On the one hand, the chapter and procurators of San Geremia demanded that Vittoria consign the figure of *Saint John the Baptist* to them so that they could place it on their



baptismal font, and also that he acknowledge that he had, in fact, received full payment from Priuli.[24] On the other hand, Vittoria claimed that he had to be paid in full for the said figure, on the understanding that he had only ever received two ducats from Priuli.[25] The document concludes:

> Both parties having gone before the Giustizia Vecchia in dispute, now to avoid litigation and expense, have come together in the present agreement. That is, that the Reverend Mr Priest Marcuola Zamoro, Deacon of the said church … has had and received from the said *Misser* Alessandro here present twelve and a half ducats in cash … as settlement for all that the said Church Chapter was claiming from Mr Alessandro in order for him to have the said figure. Therefore, this figure should now remain with this Mr Alessandro as his outright property, and he can do with it and dispose of it howsoever he sees fit, thus bringing the above [dispute] for both parties to a mutual end and permanent settlement.[26]



Fig. 6 / Jacopo de' Barbari, *Bird's Eye View Map of Venice*, (detail of San Geremia in the upper right corner), 1500, woodcut, 134 x 280.8 cm, London, British Museum.

Fig. 7 / Giovanni Antonio Canal, known as Canaletto, *San Geremia and the Entrance to the Cannaregio Canal*, ca. 1726-1727, oil on canvas, 78.5 x 47.2 cm, London, Royal Collection.

On the same date, Vittoria noted the twelve-and-a-half-ducat payment to the chapter of San Geremia in his record book declaring that he was now "absolute owner of the marble Saint John."[27]

Apart from the more obvious facts outlined above, an examination of these documents reveals considerable supplementary information not just about the commission itself and its outcome following Priuli's death, but also about the ways in which problems in the commissioning process could be resolved, and about Vittoria himself. In terms of the commission, it would seem that after Priuli's death, the statuette had been forgotten for fifteen years until something induced the chapter and procurators to pursue the case. Why such a long period of time had elapsed remains a mystery, but the chapter may have been mindful of the fact that some parish churches were undergoing Pastoral Visitations under the aegis of Patriarch Giovanni Trevisan (r. 1560-1590).[28] Part of the remit of such inspections was the assessment of a church's interior, noting unfinished or inappropriately adorned areas, such as altars, or missing liturgical items, which the church chapter was then usually instructed to rectify. Although the visitation records do not list San Geremia as one of the churches inspected during Trevisan's patriarchate, the prospect of such a visit may well have been motivation enough for the chapter to redress the issue of the missing font figure. Alternatively, the litigation may simply have been prompted by a member of Priuli's family, or by a diligent new lay procurator, who had learnt about the earlier commission and saw that there was nothing on the font to show for it.[29]

Certainly, the language of Vittoria's initial declaration of 3 April 1565 supports the supposition that the litigation was instigated by the church and not by him. With its indignant tone, it reads like a defensive response to a complaint lodged against him. After all, why would Vittoria go to the trouble of instituting legal proceedings when he had already been paid in full *and* had retained possession of the statuette? It would have made much more sense for him to keep quiet in the hope that the church chapter would not remember the undelivered commission.

From the newly discovered documents, we also learn that the marble had been provided by the patron, and how much it was worth. Archival research has shown that it was common for patrons, rather than sculptors, to supply marble when it was the chosen medium for sculptural commissions.[30] Marble was an expensive sculptural material, and it was impractical and uneconomic for most stonemasons and sculptors to stock large quantities for speculative sale in Venice, it being a sea-girt city where space was at a premium. Indeed, it appears to have been more cost effective for many patrons in Cinquecento Venice to source marble directly as no profit margin could be added by the sculptor (or stonemason), and it undoubtedly allowed patrons greater control over the quality of the stone supplied.[31] In this case, it is not at all surprising that Priuli should have supplied it rather than Vittoria – even such a small piece – given that the sculptor was then at the start of his career, with few resources to draw upon. While it is impossible to know whence Priuli obtained the marble, it seems probable that he had either purchased it from a local stonemason or had a piece left over from some other project, such as the rebuilding of the family's palazzo in 1528, which he had overseen.[32] Whatever the case, the marble was relatively inexpensive: as Vittoria's work on the statuette was valued at ten ducats and as he reimbursed San Geremia a total of twelve and a half ducats, one can deduce that the marble had originally cost two and a half ducats.

With regards to the litigation process, the documents shed light on some of the ways in which disgruntled patrons and artists could resolve problems when things went awry in artistic commissions in Venice.[33] The process instigated here was the exchange of notarized complaints and rebuttals (generally recorded as a "protestatio" and "refutatio" in the margins of notarial documents), to which people frequently resorted for all manner of disagreements if direct negotiation proved unsuccessful. Having reached this point, the most common way to proceed was to opt for the republic's celebrated arbitration process, which sought to solve problems amicably and avoid the expense of taking a case to court. Arbitration was effected through the appointment by each conflicting party of an arbiter or arbitrator, who would then investigate the problem and seek to settle it definitively.[34] If the two arbiters could not come to an agreement, they could formally request more time to consider the matter, and if still undecided, then a third arbiter would be appointed to facilitate a resolution. This situation occurred, for example, in the dispute between the retired admiral Giovanni Vrana and the sculptor Domenico da Salò over the completion of the *Altar of the Nativity* in San Giuseppe di Castello in 1573, with no less than three extensions *and* the eventual intervention of a third arbiter.[35] In the case of San Geremia versus Vittoria, arbitration was one of three solutions suggested by the sculptor in his rebuttal of 14 April 1565, with his reference to having the statuette valued by "mutual friends" implying the arbitration route.[36] The other two avenues Vittoria proposed were either for both parties to appear before the Giustizia Vecchia (which, it should be remembered, already knew about the case) or for him to pay back Priuli's initial down payment of two ducats and the value of the marble.[37] As the latter option was clearly unacceptable to the church (given that the chapter had proof of Priuli having paid Vittoria in full) and the arbitration route does not appear to have been desirable, the disputed parties went before the Giustizia Vecchia, as the subsequent document of 14 May 1565 records.[38] While there were other magistracies in Venice through which legal redress could be sought, the evidence examined here reflects James Shaw's extensive research on the Giustizia Vecchia's role in dealing with private disputes of relatively small value.[39] The Giustizia Vecchia was a lower ranking but widely used magistracy based in the Rialto district of Venice, with a variety of responsibilities. Overseen by elected amateur patrician judges, with no formal legal training, it administered what Shaw has termed "market justice."[40]





Fig. 8 / Alessandro Vittoria, *Femminoni*, ca. 1553-1555, limestone, possibly *bronzo da Verona*, Venice, Marciana Library entrance.

Fig. 9 / Giangiacomo de' Grigi (project manager), Francesco de Bernardin Smeraldi (stonemason) and Alessandro Vittoria (sculpture), *Altar of Saint Anthony Abbot, with Saints Roch and Sebastian*, 1557-1564, Istrian stone and marble, Venice, San Francesco della Vigna.

It also dealt with civil justice, such as small claims cases, under which category the dispute between San Geremia and Vittoria fell. As Shaw has observed, emotionally-charged language rather than legal reasoning tended to be used in complaints, to appeal to the judges' consciences and pull at their heart-strings, such as that found in Vittoria's colourful statements.[41] Small claims cases (which from 1537 had been assigned a maximum value of fifty ducats) could entail an exchange of numerous complaints between plaintiff and defendant. While some cases did result in a final hearing before the court's judges, many were eventually resolved out of court to save money, as was the case here.[42] Indeed, the final settlement between San Geremia and Vittoria recorded that, having appeared before the Giustizia Vecchia, a mutually-acceptable agreement had been reached "to avoid litigation and expense."[43]

As to Vittoria himself, the documents suggest that he was being dishonest and was not averse to lying when he thought he could turn a situation to his advantage. Could he have simply forgotten about the final payment? This seems doubtful: Vittoria was a diligent record keeper – although it should be acknowledged that the final settlement of eight ducats is one of a number of gaps in his surviving payment books.[44] One might ask whether, once San Geremia began legal proceedings, Vittoria thought that he could "pull a fast one" and extract more money out of the church, given that the original patron was dead? Unfortunately for him, the documents show that San Geremia's representatives were able to offer written proof to the contrary – something he was clearly not expecting. What is startling is that even after the production of this irrefutable evidence, Vittoria still refused to back down – whether out of pride or sheer pig-headedness – repeatedly claiming that he had only ever been paid two ducats and not the full amount.

So why did Vittoria decide to buy his statuette back? By 1565 he was well on his way to becoming Venice's leading sculptor, with numerous successful independent commissions under his belt, such as the colossal *Femminoni* (ca. 1553-1555; fig. 8) at the entrance to Sansovino's Library in the Piazzetta; the sculptural decoration for Marc'Antonio Grimani's funerary chapel in San Sebastiano (early 1560s); and the sculptures for the Montefeltro Altar in San Francesco della Vigna (ca. 1563-1564; fig. 9).[45] He was now quite well off and ran a busy sculpture workshop, employing



Fig. 10 / Francesco Mazzola, known as Parmigianino, *Self-Portrait*, ca. 1523-1524, oil on canvas, 24.4 cm diameter, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Fig. 11 / Alessandro Vittoria and workshop, *Funerary monument to Alessandro Vittoria*, monument: 1602-1603, portrait bust: 1590s, caryatids: mid-1560s, marble, stucco and Istrian stone, Venice, San Zaccaria.

Fig. 12 / Church of San Zaccaria, Venice.

various assistants on different projects and training a number of apprentices.[46] Vittoria had also begun in recent years to assemble what would become an impressive art collection, including the purchase in 1561 of Parmigianino's *Self-Portrait* (ca. 1523-1524; fig. 10), and in 1563 what he believed to be an autograph terracotta model by Michelangelo of a foot of *Day* in the Medici Chapel, Florence.[47] Having secretly held onto what Manfred Leithe-Jasper aptly called his "first-born" for fifteen years, Vittoria clearly decided during the course of the dispute that the *Baptist* was worth far more to him psychologically than it could ever be to San Geremia.[48] Indeed, it is possible, as Victoria Avery has suggested, that Vittoria was prompted to buy back and retain the statuette by the example of his recently deceased hero, Michelangelo (1475-1564), who had himself kept two of his earliest works in his house until his death: the reliefs of the *Madonna della Scala* (ca. 1490) and the *Battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs* (ca. 1490-1492).[49]

Whatever Vittoria's reasons for buying it back, the little *Saint John* quickly became one of his most cherished possessions, as the instructions he left for its care in seven of his nine wills attest.[50]

As early as October 1566, in his second will, Vittoria bequeathed the statuette to one of his executors, his local parish priest, friend, and future brother-in-law Gianmaria Lazzarini, asking that the *Baptist* be placed on the high altar of San Giovanni in Bragora on all major feast days, and guarded the rest of the time as "such a thing merits."[51] By the time of his next will (7 November 1570), his friend had died, and so Vittoria decided to leave the *Baptist* to San Giovanni in Bragora itself in memory of Lazzarini, who had been the church's parish priest; while in his fourth will (before 29 July 1576), the *Baptist* was again bequeathed to San Giovanni, most likely because Vittoria wished to be buried there.[52] His fifth will (6 May 1584) differs from the others in that he ordered both the statuette and the Parmigianino *Self-Portrait* to remain in his house for as long as his wife Veronica Lazzarini lived, but on her death they were to be sold "honourably" by his executors.[53] When he came to write his sixth testament in February 1595, Veronica had already died, and so Vittoria left the *Baptist* to another clergyman, one Vincenzo di Agazi, parish priest of Sant'Antonin (another church close to Vittoria's home), who was also appointed one of his executors. Vittoria may have first met Agazi in the late 1580s at the church of San Polo, when he was commissioned to produce the sculptural decoration for the church's new *cappella maggiore* (1585-1595) by parish priest Antonio Gatto.[54] Agazi was at that time attached to San Polo as a titular priest and would later oversee the completion of the project (which included a sizeable funerary monument with a marble portrait bust of Gatto by Vittoria) as requested by Gatto in his will of May 1591.[55] As Gatto died in September that same year, Agazi no doubt had considerable contact with Vittoria until the project was finished.[56]

Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, the *Baptist* was not mentioned specifically in Vittoria's seventh will of 22 October 1597, nor in fact were any of his other works of art or valuables.[57] Why this was the case is unknown, but his next will of 6 December 1601 reveals that Vittoria was, once again, keen to secure the *Baptist*'s fate and, as seen in the excerpt cited at the start of this article, left particularly detailed instructions for its long-term care. By this date Vittoria had begun the concessionary process to have a funerary monument (which he designed and partially executed himself) and a floor tomb in San Zaccaria, a highly prestigious convent, close to his home (figs. 11 & 12).[58] It is therefore really no surprise that he should also have bequeathed his *Saint John* to the nuns' care in perpetuity, a bequest that Vittoria stipulated again in his ninth and final will of 4 May 1608, the year of his death. After all, why keep something so precious for over fifty years only to be separated from it on death, especially when the subject matter was so apt for a church dedicated to and indeed possessing the relics of the Baptist's father? An additional incentive may have been that he had appointed the Abbess, *Priora* and *Sacrestana* of San Zaccaria, as well as the convent's most senior lay procurator as his sole executors in this will.[59] Thus by bequeathing the convent his *Saint John*, he was continuing the tradition that he had established in five of his earlier wills of leaving the statuette to one of his executors (always a religious official), or the church with which they were associated.[60]









Fig. 13 / Jacopo Sansovino, *Saint John the Baptist*, early to mid 1530s, marble, Corner Chapel, Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice.

Fig. 14 / Alessandro Vittoria's *Saint John* as it is currently.

Furthermore, as has been noted elsewhere, Vittoria's implicit desire to be buried in close proximity to a treasured work of his own making recalls the burial wishes of his erstwhile master, Sansovino, who in his will of 1568 had asked to be buried in Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, by the chapel of the Florentine community, "next to the door of the said church where the Saint John by my own hand is on the font of the Giustiniani."[61] Like Vittoria's *Baptist*, Sansovino's marble *Saint John* (early to mid 1530s; fig. 13) was a wholly autograph work and one of his earliest sculptural commissions in Venice following his arrival in the city in 1527.[62]

Vittoria's *Saint John* did indeed go to San Zaccaria after he died. It was transferred there shortly after his death on 27 May 1608, together with an autograph terracotta statuette of Zacharias.[63] Vittoria had added the statuette of the Baptist's father to his bequest in his final will of 1608, asking simply that the pair be placed on either side of the Altar of Saint Zacharias.[64] It remains unclear whether the nuns ever placed either statuette on the Altar of Saint Zacharias, nor is it yet known at what date the *Baptist* was first placed on the holy-water stoup.[65] Giannantonio Moschini was the first to record its presence on the stoup in his 1815 guidebook to Venice.[66] Sadly, today, one is not able to see the *Baptist*, as he is shrouded in cloth, after an act of vandalism resulted in his right arm being snapped off (fig. 14).[67] Given the importance of Vittoria's *Saint John the Baptist* as the first independent work of one of the greatest sculptors of sixteenth-century Venice, it is to be hoped that conservation might be undertaken to allow the statuette to be seen and admired once again. After all, it is rather wonderful that within San Zaccaria one finds two deeply personal works which so aptly bookend Vittoria's glittering career in Venice: his treasured first independent commission and his last work, his own funerary monument.

DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX I

Note on transcriptions
All documentary transcriptions in this appendix and appendix II (online) are my own. The original spelling found in the documents has been retained, excepting the letters 'j' and 'u', where 'i' or 'v' respectively were intended. Abbreviated Italian words have been expanded, and a modicum of modern punctuation and capitalization of names and places has been inserted to assist the reader.

[…] editorial ellipsis
[?] suggested transcription of a word

Venetian Currency
Account-books, contracts and other related documents which recorded sums of money and financial transactions generally employed one of two main systems of money of account. Using money of account was a practical book-keeping method, as it did not rely on actual silver and gold coins, the value of which could fluctuate. The money of account used in the documents presented here was based on the *lira di piccoli*, and were recorded as *lire* (L.), *soldi* (s.), and sometimes *denarii* (d.). The breakdown was: 1 ducat (of account) = 6 *lire* 4 *soldi*, 1 *lira* = 20 *soldi*, or 240 *denarii*. 1 ducat of account = 124 *soldi*. There was also an actual gold coin called a ducat or *zecchino* and this was worth 10 *lire* at this time.

Doc. 1
3 April 1565
Autograph complaint ('protestatio') issued by Vittoria in response to a complaint levelled against him about the statuette of *Saint John the Baptist* by the parish priest of San Geremia and one of its lay procurators, Girolamo da Pozzo.

L'anno 1550. Lo Magnifico quondam Domino Angelo Priuli Procurator della chiesa di Santo Hieremia contratto con me Alexandro Vittoria Scultor chio li facessi una figura di Santo Giovanni di marmo longha doi piedi da poner sopra un baptisterio in detta chiesa di Santo Hieremia. A conto della quale mi furono da sua Magnificenza contadi ducati doi da L. 6 s. 4 con condition et patto trattado et concluso in presentia de Maestro Salvador Tagliapietra che sua Magnificenza mi dessi il marmo, et che lo marcado di essa figura stessi da ducati .X. in sopra al iudicio di esso Magnifico Messer Angelo: In exeqution del qual contratto io Alexandro antedetto ho scolpita detta figura: et essendo successa la morte di esso magnifico gentilhomo la figura e rimasta nelle mie mani absque[?] eo[?] chio sii stato sodisfato. Et perche non è cosa conveniente chio tenga detta figura à contemplatione di alcuno perpetuamente: Pero faccio intendere á voi Magnifico Messer ~~Francesco Morzenigo~~ [sic] Ierolimo da Pozo Procurator della predetta chiesa et á voi Reverendo Plebano che volendo la predetta figura veniate a levarla facendomi la sodisfatione di quel tanto che merita simil opera et lavoro in termine di giorni .x. Altramente passato detto termine le protesto che intendo che li dannari per me ut supra habuti restino mei come è il dovere et che della ditta figura disponero come meglio mi tornera come di cosa mia, caso che in detto termine non habbiate fata rissolutione alcuna.

1565 die martis tertio mensis aprilis ad cancellum
[Latin notarial postscript]

(ASV, Notarile-Atti, busta 5602, loose sheet between fols 223v and 224r. Unpublished. For the unpublished notary's copy, see ASV, Notarile-Atti, busta 5602, fols. 223r-224v)

Doc. 2
10 April 1565
The parish priest and lay procurators of San Geremia respond to Vittoria's complaint.
MDLXV. Indictione viii. Die martis .X. aprilis. Ad cancellum.

Referi Ser Paulo Fontana Comandador al Sopragastaldo esser stato questa matina à casa dell'~~infrascripto~~ [sic] Alessandro Vittoria, dove li fù detto per il garzone, che lui non era in casa, ma che venne poi giu sua moglie, la qual tolse la presente scrittura, et dopo che ella l'hebbe letta la ritenne appresso di se per darla al detto suo marito. Et questo ad instantia del Piovan, et Procuratori della chiesa di San Hieremia.

Per non lassar senza qualche risposta il vano, et bugiardo protesto de voi Misser Alessandro Vittoria Scultore fatto à noi Piovano, et Preti della chiesa di San Hieremia di Venetia li dicemo, che non dobbiate dar ad alcuno la figura di San Giovanni di marmo fatta come dite, et gia ordinata à voi per il quondam Clarissimo Misser Anzolo Maria di Priuli tunc temporis Procurator della ditta chiesa, et da sua Magnificenza pagatovi per tal conto, et mercede vostra ducati diese, come per li libri di sua Magnificenza Clarissima tenuti veridicamente appar, ne pensate vi releverà posto appresso la Giustizia lo haverne cosi vanamente protestato.

Imperoche è in potestà di qualunque persona à suo piacere citar, protestar, et dar del capo nel muro servendovi etiam di seminar nel ditto vostro protesto contra la verità de haver havuto solùm [fol. 119r] ducati doi à conto di tal figura havendo come vi habbiamo predetto havuto per vostra mercede, et satisfattione ducati diese.

Però vi protestiamo de ogni nostro danno, spesa, et interesse, che per cio ne potesse quovis modo occorrer replicandovi, che in alcuno modo non dobbiate dar ad altri ditta figura per esser cosa di ragione della ditta nostra chiesa.

Et haec dicimus omni meliori modo.

La qual nostra risposta sarà registrata nelli atti de Misser Rocho di Benedetti Nodaro Publico in Piazza di San Marco. (ASV, Notarile-Atti, busta 432, fols. 118v-119r. Unpublished)

Doc. 3
14 April 1565
Vittoria refutes San Geremia's claim that he was paid in full by Priuli for the statuette and issues an ultimatum to the church.

La pocco cortese scrittura de voi Reverendo Piovan et Preti de San Hieremia di Venetia fatto a me Alessandro Vittoria Sculptor in risposta del mio realissimo protesto, come degna de voi non merita altra risposta, questo solo io li diro, che se voi pretendete ~~cosa~~ alcuna actione nella statua de San Ioanni per me fatta quando non vi sodisfi el meritevole mio protesto gia fattovi dobbiate farlo conoscer alla Iustitia [Vecchia] in termine de giorni quindeci doppo le feste accio non possiate iscusarvi con l'impedimento delli divini ufficii, altrimenti io come libero patron della detta statua di quella disporó come di cosa mia, vi dico ancho ch'io non hò havuto dal quondam Magnifico Prioli salvo che ducati dui et il marmoro per far essa statua, li quali non vollendo essa statua per quello sera stimato per comuni amici òvero non facendo altro conoscer dalla Iustitia come di sopra, io per pura mia cortesia et non per alcun obligo son contento restituirli alla chiesa et pagarli ancho el marmo quanto si mostrera esserli costato, salvis in reliquis quibuscumque iuribus meis quomodocumque.

Et la presente sera referta nelli atti de Messer Zuan Figolin Nodaro di Venetia della quale volendone copia andarete da lui

1565 die sabbati 14 mensis aprilis ad cancellum
[Latin notarial postscript]

(ASV, Notarile-Atti, busta 5602, loose sheet between fols 247v and 248r. Unpublished. For the unpublished notary's copy, see ASV, Notarile-Atti, busta 5602, fols. 247v-248r)

DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX II

Doc. 1
1550, 26 April
Vittoria records that he was paid two ducats by Angelo Maria Priuli as a first instalment for a marble figure of *Saint John the Baptist*, two Venetian feet high, to go on a baptismal font in San Geremia.

† Yesus adi .26. aprille .1550.

Ricordo ogi chome io ho ricevuto dal Magnifico Misser Anzolo de Priuli duchati dua de Lire 6. e soldi .4. a bon conto de una figura de Santo Giovani di marmo alga piedi dua il quale va sopra uno batisterio in Santo Ieremia e tuto questo merchado sta in iudicio dil soprascritto gentiluomo da .10. duchati in suso presente Maestro Salvadore Taliapietra ducati .2.

(ASV: San Zaccaria, busta 18, Commissaria Vittoria I, fol. 79r. First published Predelli, "Memorie," p. 176. See also Avery, "Documenti," p. 184, doc. 5[i])

Doc. 2
1565, 14 May
Final settlement between Vittoria and San Geremia, following an appearance before the Giustizia Vecchia.

MDLXV. Indictione Viii. Die lunæ xiiii. maii. Ad cancellum

Pretendendo il Reverendo Capitolo della chiesa di San Hieremia sive la fabrica, et Procuratori di detta chiesa che Misser Alessandro Vittoria Scultor debba dar, et consignar ad esso Capitolo una figura di San Zuan Battista per metter sopra il battisterio della sua chiesa con asserire, che gia hebbe il pagamento di essa inanci tratto dal quondam Misser Anzolo Maria di Priuli olim Procurator della chiesa, come appar per certa partida notada sopra il libro di sua Magnificencia di sua mano. Et all'incontro pretendendo esso Misser Alessandro, che li debba esser pagata tal figura quello vale con dire, che per capara di essa non hà havuto altro che doi ducati dal ditto quondam Magnifico Misser Anzolo Maria di Priuli et essendo sopra di cio esse parti in controversia alla Giustitia Vecchia, hora per fugger le lite et spese sono venute al presente accordo cio è che il Reverendo Misser Pre Marcuola Zamoro Diacono di detta chiesa facendo come legitimo [fol. 165v] commesso della ditta chiesa come appar della sua commissione con libertà di far le cose infrascritte da me Nodaro in publica forma vista, et letta sotto di .14. Mazo .1560. nelli atti de Misser Vettor Zordan Nodaro Veneto hà havuto, et ricevuto dal detto Misser Alessandro qui alla presentia in contanti ducati dodese, e mezo da L. 6 s. 4 per ducato per tutto quello pretendeva, ut sopra detto Capitolo havesse havuto esso Misser Alessandro per conto della ditta figura. Qual però figura debbi rimaner ad esso Misser Alessandro come cosa sua libera, et di quella ne facci, et disponi quel meglio gli parerà facendosi sopra di cio una parte all'altra reciprocamente fin, et quietation perpetua.

Testes Dominus Petrus Leurerius quondam Domini Vincentii

Dominus Franciscus Varisco quondam Domini Iacobi

(ASV: Notarile-Atti, busta 432, fol. 165r-v. Partially cited Finocchi Ghersi, *Alessandro Vittoria*, p. 38. First published in full Avery, "Documenti," p. 184, doc. 5[iii])

Doc. 3
1565, 14 May
Vittoria records paying twelve and a half ducats to the chapter of San Geremia in settlement for his *Saint John the Baptist*, as recorded by notary Rocco de Benedetti.

Santo Giovani di marmo

Adi .14. magio .1565.

Ricordo io Alessandro Vitoria chome questo di soprascritto ho'sborssatto ducati dodici et mezo, al Capitolo de preti di Santo Hieremia di Venetia & io sono rimasto assoluto patrone di Santo Giovani di marmo che io aveva fatto per loro, chome apare per istrumento fato per Misser Rocho di Benedeti notaro in Piaza di Santo Marcho sotto il Palazo Serenissimo Val Ducati – numero – 12½ –

(ASV: San Zaccaria, busta 18, Commissaria Vittoria I, fol. 55r. First published Predelli, "Memorie," p. 132. See also Avery, "Documenti," p. 184, doc. 5[ii])

Doc. 4
1566, 24 October
Excerpt from Vittoria's second will.

[…] Item lasso al detto Reverendo Misser lo Piovan di San Zuane Bragola Misser Zuanmaria Lazarino una statuina d'un San Zuan Batista di marmo che mi atrovo in casa, con questo che tutte le feste principale la meti sopra lo altar grande di chiesa – et il resto del tempo el sii conservato per esser cosa che merita di esser molto ben custodita per benevolentia. et per molti apiaceri havuti da Sua Reverentia. […]

(ASV: Notarile-Testamenti, busta 657, behind no. 13, fol. 1v. Partially transcribed Giuseppe Gerola, "Nuovi documenti veneziani su Alessandro Vittoria," *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti* 84 (1924-1925): pp. 342-345. First published in full Avery, "Documenti," pp. 231-232, doc. 60)

Doc. 5
1570, 7 November
Excerpt from Vittoria's third will.

[…] Item lasso il San Zuanino di marmo alla chiesa di San Zuan in Bragora per memoria di Misser Prete Zuanmaria di Lazarini fu Piovano di essa chiesa et mio cognato con conditione che le feste principale di Natale, Pasgua, et San Zuane, el sii posto fuori in chiesa sopra lo altare [fol. 2r] grande, et prego lo Illustrissimo Monsignor Patriarcha di Venetia che sera per tempo ad haverne cura che cosi bella statua non vadi in sinistro. […]

(ASV: Notarile-Testamenti, busta 657, behind no. 13, fols. 1v–2r. Partially transcribed Gerola, "Nuovi documenti," pp. 345-349. First published in full Avery, "Documenti," pp. 241-243, doc. 77)

Doc. 6
Pre-1576, 29 July
Excerpt from Vittoria's fourth will.

[…] Item lasso che il mio Santo Giovani di marmo sia posto ogni anno le feste principale su laltar grando, e perche glie pericoloso da manegiare, il resto dil tempo sia logato dal Piovano de dita chiesa, in una chasseta col bombaso, e perche ela non sia mai strabalzata. Voglio che Monssignor suo Patriarcha di tempo in tempo ne tenga per sua cortesia, registro et cura […].

(ASV: Notarile-Testamenti, busta 13, no. 8, fol. 1v. Partially transcribed Gerola, "Nuovi documenti," pp. 349-353. First published in full Avery, "Documenti," pp. 280-281, doc. 96)

Doc. 7
1584, 6 May
Excerpt from Vittoria's fifth will.

[…] Il retrato del Parmesano et il San Zuane picolo di marmo voglio che restino in casa sino che Veronica vive et in caso che venisse partito di venderli honoratamente lasso questo carico in parte delli sudetti mei commissarii […]

(ASV: Notarile-Testamenti, busta 657, no. 13, fol. 1r. Partially transcribed Gerola, "Nuovi documenti," pp. 353-354. First published in full Avery, "Documenti," pp. 310-311, doc. 121)

Doc. 8
1595, 25 February
Excerpt from Vittoria's sixth will.

[…] Lasso il mio Santo Zuanne de marmo che tengo nella mia cassa al Reverendo Signor Piovan, et commissario sopranominato [Prete Vicenzo di Agazi piovano di Sant'Antonino de Venezia] […]

(ASV: Notarile-Testamenti, busta 402, no. 11, fol. 1v. Partially transcribed by Gerola, "Nuovi documenti," pp. 354-356. First published in full Avery, "Documenti," pp. 337-339, doc. 138)

Doc. 9
1601, 6 December
Excerpt from Vittoria's eighth will.

[…] Lasso alle Reverende Madri di San Zaccaria il mio San Zuanne di marmo, il quale sia posto in un tabernaculo che s'appra in quattro faccie de altezza, che capisca dentro commodamente, et sii dentro fodrato di raso, overo veludo cremesino come meglio a loro parerà, et di fuori tutto dorato, et desidero che sii perpetuamente conservato, et posto sopra l'altare di San Zaccaria nelli giorni de Pasqua, et della festivita di San Zaccaria, et costodito l'altro tempo dell'anno in loco che à loro parerà piu sicuro, perche è degno d'esserne fatta gran stima, et gli lo raccommando quanto posso. […]

(ASV: Notarile-Testamenti, busta 56, no. 23, fol. 2r. Partially transcribed Gerola, "Nuovi documenti," pp. 357-358. First published in full Avery, "Documenti," pp. 344-346, doc. 147)

Doc. 10
1608, 4 May
Excerpt from Vittoria's ninth will.

[…] Lasso il mio Santo Zuanne de marmo, che m'attrovo in casa insieme con un San Zaccaria della medesma grandezza alle Reverende Madre de San Zaccaria, accioche siano posti sopra l'altare de San Zaccaria in detta chiesa uno per banda. […]

(ASV: Notarile-Testamenti, busta 58, no. 117, fol. 126v. Published Predelli, "Memorie," pp. 227-228. See also Avery, "Documenti," pp. 352-354, doc. 155)

Doc. 11
1608, 29–30 May
In the posthumous inventory of Vittoria's house and workshop, the Saint John is recorded as having been removed and taken to San Zaccaria on 27 May 1608, together with a statuette of Saint Zachariah and other items bequeathed to the nuns.

Die dicta, In Parlatorio Monasterii Sancti Zaccariae Venetiarum.

Alla presentia di me Nodaro, et testimonii infrascritti il sopradetto Magnifico Signor Ottavio d'Avanzo ha' con effetto dato, et consignato alla Molto Reverenda Madre Suor Andriana Gradenigo Abbadessa del detto monasterio di San Zaccaria, alla Reverenda Suor Virginia Moresini Priora, et Reverenda Suor Maria Querini Sacrestana, presenti, et che per nome loro, come commissarie del detto quondam Signor Alessandro Vittoria, et per nome anco dell'Illustrissimo Signor Zorzi Foscarini Procurator più vecchio del detto monasterio loro concommissario hanno recevuto li sopradetti dinari ritrovati nel detto scrignetto, et insieme anco il sopradetto rettratto del Parmesano, il San Zuanne de marmo, et San Zaccaria de cotto di sopra nominati, et ch'erano stati dati in mano del detto Magnifico Signor Ottavio per consignarli alle dette Reverende Commissarie. Confessando in oltre dette Reverende Madri, come di sopra intervenienti haver anco recevuto li altri dinari tolti fuori del detto scrignetto sotto di .27. instante, come di sopra é stato [fol. 117r] detto nella quantitá, et valuta di sopra notata, et dechiarite.

Praesentibus ad praedicta Ser Aloysio quondam Ser Nicolai supradicto,

et Ser Matheo ab Acquila quondam Sigismundi Sculptore testibus vocatis, et rogatis.— […]

(ASV: San Zaccaria, busta 18, Commissaria Vittoria I, fols. 116v-117r. First published Predelli "Memorie," pp. 228-237. See also Avery, "Documenti," pp. 355-361, doc. 158)

NOTES

1. This article is based on a paper given at the "Renaissance Encounters" symposium at St John's College, University of Cambridge on 28 June 2013, held in honour of Professor Deborah Howard. Sincere thanks go to the staff of the Archivio di Stato di Venezia (hereafter ASV), the Archivio storico del Patriarcato di Venezia (hereafter ASPV) and the Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice. I am most grateful to Victoria Avery for kindly reading earlier drafts of this article, and for her excellent photography. The findings presented here form part of my doctoral thesis "The Business of Sculpture in Venice, 1525–1625" (University of Cambridge, 2016), the research for which was generously funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council of Great Britain; the Kettle's Yard History of Art Travel Fund, University of Cambridge; and the Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation, New York. This article is dedicated to Deborah Howard with love, gratitude and admiration. Much has been written on Vittoria's life and work. The most thorough examinations remain Manfred Leithe-Jasper, "Alessandro Vittoria: Beiträge zu einer Analyse des Stils seiner figürlichen Plastiken unter Berücksichtigung der Beziehungen zur Gleichzeitigen Malerei in Venedig" (PhD diss., University of Vienna, 1963); Victoria Avery, "The Early Works of Alessandro Vittoria" (PhD diss., 3 vols., University of Cambridge, 1996); Lorenzo Finocchi Ghersi, *Alessandro Vittoria: Architettura, scultura e decorazione nella Venezia del tardo Rinascimento* (Udine: Forum, 1998); Thomas Martin, *Alessandro Vittoria and the Portrait Bust in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); and Andrea Bacchi, Lia Camerlengo and Manfred Leithe-Jasper, eds., *"La bellissima maniera": Alessandro Vittoria e la scultura veneta del Cinquecento*, exh. cat. (Trent: Castello del Buonconsiglio, 1999).
2. The *Baptist* has been completely covered up and hidden from view for some years now, following an act of vandalism and so it was not possible to undertake new photography for the present article. For further discussion of its current state, see below, and note 67.
3. See appendix II (online), doc. 9. For a full transcription of the will, see Victoria Avery, "Documenti sulla vita e le opere di Alessandro Vittoria (c. 1525-1608)," *Studi Trentini di Scienze Storiche*, Sezione Prima, 78/1, Supplemento (1999): pp. 344-346, doc. 147. All translations are my own.
4. For a record of the statuette's transfer to San Zaccaria, see appendix II (online), doc. 11. Published in full Avery, "Documenti," pp. 355-361, doc. 158.
5. See most recently Emma Jones, "The Business of Sculpture in Venice, 1525–1615" (PhD diss., 3 vols., University of Cambridge, 2016), I, pp. 158-159; and III, pp. 33-40, no. 3, with full bibliography.
6. Vittoria recorded his arrival date in Venice from Trent in his personal records, for which see ASV: San Zaccaria, busta 18, Commissaria Vittoria I, fol. 107v; published Avery, "Documenti," p. 183, doc. 1.
7. For the singing gallery payment, see Bruce Boucher, *The Sculpture of Jacopo Sansovino*, 2 vols. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), I, p. 194, doc. 90; for the Sacristy Door wax models, p. 201, doc. 112.
8. Avery, "Documenti," p. 183, doc. 4.
9. Avery, "Documenti," p. 184, doc. 5(i). See also appendix II (online), doc. 1.
10. Appendix II (online), doc. 1.Two Venetian feet equates to ca. 69 cm. The actual height of the *Saint John* is 65 cm.
11. Salvador quondam Vettor *tagliapietra* has been traced at various intervals in the archival record, including his employment by Sansovino on the Fabbriche Nuove at Rialto in 1556, on the Podocataro Tomb in San Sebastiano in 1557, and his appointment by Sansovino as one of his executors in his 1568 will. See Boucher, *Jacopo Sansovino*, I, p. 125.
12. San Geremia as it was at the time of Priuli's commission no longer exists: it was later completely rebuilt from the mid-eighteenth century and was only completed in 1871. For a brief description of the church as it was in the sixteenth century, see Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare* (Venice: Giacomo Sansovino, 1581), p. 53v. For an overview of its history, see Umberto Franzoi and Dina di Stefano, *Le chiese di Venezia* (Venice: Alfieri, 1975), pp. 104-106.
13. Lay procurators were essential to the successful running of parish and monastic churches in Venice. Elected by the chapter, they assisted, for example, in the maintenance of the fabric and the management of any investments and church-owned properties. For lay procurators as patrons of art in Venice, see Allison Sherman, "'*Soli Deo honor et gloria*?' *Cittadino* Lay Procurator Patronage and the Art of Identity Formation in Renaissance Venice," in *Art, Architecture and Identity in Venice and its Territories, 1450–1750*, eds. Nebahat Avcioglu and Emma Jones (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013).
14. For further discussion of this branch of the Priuli family and their nearby palace, see Valeria Farinati, "Architettura e committenza nel primo Settecento veneziano: l'intervento di Andrea Tirali in palazzo Priuli Manfrin a Cannaregio (1724–1731)," *Annali di architettura* 3 (1991).
15. For Priuli's death record, see ASV: Provveditori alla Sanità, busta 795, "Necrologio" 1550–1552, n.p., under date.
16. See appendix II (online), doc. 2. Partially-cited Finocchi Ghersi, *Alessandro Vittoria*, p. 38. First published in full in Avery "Documenti," p. 184, doc. 5(iii).
17. Appendix I, doc. 1.
18. Appendix I, doc. 1, from "Et perche" to "rissolutione alcuna."
19. Appendix I, doc. 2.
20. The Sopragastaldo was a magistracy charged with implementing civil sentences. For further discussion, see Andrea Da Mosto, *L'Archivio di Stato di Venezia: Indice generale, storico, descrittivo ed analitico*, 2 vols. (Rome: Biblioteca d'Arte Editrice, 1937), I, p. 102.
21. For the Giustizia Vecchia, see below.
22. Appendix I, doc. 3, from "La pocco cortese scrittura" to "quanto si mostrera esserli costato."
23. Avery "Documenti," p. 184, doc. 5(iii). See also appendix II (online), doc. 2.
24. Appendix II (online), doc. 2, from "Pretendendo il Reverendo Capitolo" to "di sua mano."
25. Appendix II (online), doc. 2, from "Et all'incontro" to "Anzolo Maria di Priuli."
26. Appendix II (online), doc. 2, from "essendo sopra di cio" to "quietation perpetua."
27. Avery "Documenti," p. 184, doc. 5(ii). See also appendix II (online), doc. 3.
28. For the Trevisan visitation records, see ASPV: Archivio Segreto, Visite Pastorali, 1560-1590, "Trevisan."
29. Very few Cinquecento records survive for San Geremia, and of those that do, none is relevant to this commission. See ASPV: Parrocchia di Santi Geremia e Lucia di Venezia.
30. For the supply of marble and stone to sculptors by patrons, including the practice of recycling pieces for use in other projects, see Emma Jones, "The Sculptural Stones of Venice: the Selection, Supply and Cost of Marble and Stone in Sixteenth-Century Venice," in *Making and Moving Sculpture in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 117-119; and Jones, "Business," vol. 1, pp. 90-93.
31. Jones, "Sculptural Stones," pp. 119-120; and Jones, "Business," I, pp. 94-95.
32. Given that Salvador *tagliapietra* witnessed the contract between Priuli and Vittoria, might he have sold the marble to the patron, if Priuli did not already have a piece to hand? Until further links between Salvador and Priuli can be established beyond the 1550 payment document (appendix II (online), doc. 1), this must remain a mere suggestion. For the rebuilding of the family's palace in the Cinquecento, see Farinati, "Architettura," pp. 119-120.
33. For litigation and legal redress in sculpture commissions in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Venice, see Jones, "Business," I, pp. 151-160.
34. See Susan Connell, *The Employment of Sculptors and Stonemasons in Venice in the Fifteenth Century* (New York and London: Garland, 1988), pp. 208-221, for the processes and use of arbitration in the sphere of fifteenth-century sculptors and stonemasons; and Jones, "Business," I, pp. 156-157 for the same in the sixteenth century.
35. See Jones, "Business," I, p. 157.
36. Appendix I, doc. 3.
37. That the Giustizia Vecchia knew about the dispute is confirmed by the church chapter's declaration that Vittoria had already complained to the magistracy in their "protestatio" of 10 April 1565. See appendix I, doc. 2.
38. Avery "Documenti," p. 184, doc. 5(iii). See also appendix II (online), doc. 2, "et essendo sopra di cio esse parti in controversia alla Giustitia Vecchia."
39. See James Shaw, *The Justice of Venice: Authorities and Liberties in the Urban Economy, 1550–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 22-44.
40. Shaw, *Justice*, pp. 18-19.
41. Shaw, *Justice*, p. 14.
42. Regrettably, few of the Giustizia Vecchia's sixteenth-century records have survived, and it has not proved possible to find the magistracy's own documents regarding this case.
43. Avery "Documenti," p. 184, doc. 5(iii). See also appendix II (online), doc. 2, "per fugger le lite et spese."
44. For Vittoria's extensive, surviving personal records, see ASV: San Zaccaria, busta 18, Commissaria Vittoria I and II; and San Zaccaria, busta 19, Commissaria Vittoria. First published by Riccardo Predelli, "Le memorie e le carte di Alessandro Vittoria," *Archivio Trentino* 23 (1908). For the documents collated differently (in date order and then grouped by commission or personal matter), see Avery, "Documenti."
45. For the *Feminoni*, see Leithe-Jasper, "Alessandro Vittoria," pp. 64-66; Avery, "Early Works," I, pp. 110-114; II, pp. 420-421, no. 25; and Finocchi Ghersi, *Alessandro Vittoria*, pp. 95-96. For the Grimani chapel, see Leithe-Jasper, "Alessandro Vittoria," p. 123; Avery, "Early Works," I, pp. 147-152; II, pp. 454-456, no. 51; Finocchi Ghersi, *Alessandro Vittoria*, pp. 142-153; and Martin, *Alessandro Vittoria*, pp. 52-3, 109-110, no. 10. For the Montefeltro Altar, see Leithe-Jasper, "Alessandro Vittoria," pp. 112-18; Avery, "Early Works," I, pp. 152-158; II, pp. 458-60, no. 53; Finocchi Ghersi, *Alessandro Vittoria*, pp. 133-141; and Bacchi, Camerlengo, and Leithe-Jasper, *"Bellissima maniera,"* pp. 314-318, no. 66, entry by Sandro Sponza.
46. From 1553 to 1569, Vittoria lived and worked in a rented space in Ca' Gritti, in Calle della Pietà, in the *sestiere* of Castello. See Victoria Avery, "The House of Alessandro Vittoria Reconstructed," *The Sculpture Journal* 5 (2001): pp. 9, 22, n. 8. He would go on to purchase a large property with garden in the same street in spring 1569, which he repurposed into a large home-cum-workshop. For his employment of apprentices and assistants, see Victoria Avery, "La bottega di Alessandro Vittoria," in Bacchi, Camerlengo, and Leithe-Jasper, *"La bellissima maniera"*, pp. 127-139; and Jones, "Business," I, pp. 134-135, 136.
47. For Vittoria's record of purchasing the Parmigianino (now Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 286), see Avery, "Documenti," p. 219, doc. 44 (14 January 1561), and for the purported Michelangelo (whereabouts unknown), see p. 222, doc. 51 (20 April 1563). For his art collection in general, see Victoria Avery, "Alessandro Vittoria Collezionista," in Bacchi, Camerlengo and Leithe-Jasper *"La bellissima maniera"*, pp. 141-157; and Avery, "House," as above.
48. Leithe-Jasper, "Alessandro Vittoria," p. 11.
49. Victoria Avery, "Alessandro Vittoria: the Michelangelo of Venice?" in *Reactions to the Master: Michelangelo's Effect on Art and Artists in the Sixteenth Century*, eds. Francis Ames-Lewis and Paul Joannides (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), p. 167. In his life of Michelangelo, Vasari recorded that the *Battle* relief remained in the late sculptor's house, while the *Madonna* was highly cherished by his nephew Leonardo, who later gifted it to Cosimo de' Medici: Giorgio Vasari, *Delle vite de' piu eccellente pittori, scultori e architettori* (Florence: Giunti, 1568), p. 719.
50. See appendix II (online), docs. 4-10. For further discussion of Vittoria's wills and the *Saint John*, see Avery, "Early Works," II, pp. 392-394, no. 2. See also Finocchi Ghersi, *Alessandro Vittoria*, pp. 39-40.
51. See appendix II (online), doc. 4, from "et il resto del tempo" to end. Published in full Avery, "Documenti," pp. 231-232, doc. 60.
52. See appendix II (online), docs. 5 and 6 respectively. Published in full Avery, "Documenti," pp. 241-243, doc. 77, and pp. 280-281, doc. 96 respectively.
53. See appendix II (online), doc. 7. Published in full Avery, "Documenti," pp. 311-312, doc. 121.
54. Alternatively, the commission could have been awarded to Vittoria because of an already existing friendship with Agazi, to whom Gatto also appears to have been close. For this commission, of which only certain elements survive, see Emma Jones, "Priestly patronage in Late Renaissance Venice: Antonio Gatto's *cappella maggiore* in San Polo," in *Carvings, Casts and Collectors: The Art of Renaissance Sculpture*, eds. Peta Motture, Emma Jones, Dimitrios Zikos (London: V&A Publications, 2013); and Jones, "Business," I, passim; and III, pp. 66-80, no. 7.
55. The bust was last recorded in July 1830 and its current location is unknown. See Jones, "Priestly patronage," pp. 225 and 234, n. 59; and Jones, "Business," III, p. 80, no. 7, doc. 7.8.
56. That Agazi *did* fulfil his executorial duties and ensure the project's completion is confirmed by a statement to this effect included in a now lost inscription on Gatto's funerary monument, which was recorded in 1830 by Emmanuele Cicogna. See Jones, "Business," III, pp. 66-67, no. 7.
57. For a full transcription of this will, see Avery, "Documenti," pp. 339-341, doc. 141.
58. Although the formal concession between San Zaccaria and Vittoria was not drawn up until 3 August 1602, the eighth will records that the rights had been discussed and voted on by the convent chapter in Vittoria's favour on 5 November 1601. For a full transcription of the will, see Avery, "Documenti," pp. 344-346, doc. 147, and for the notarized concession, pp. 346-347, doc. 148(i). For the concession of spaces to third parties in Venetian ecclesiastical buildings generally, see Jones, "Business," I, pp. 43-48. For Vittoria's funerary monument, see Avery, "Early Works," II, pp. 565-569, no. 110; Finocchi Ghersi, *Alessandro Vittoria*, pp. 182-188; and Avery, "Alessandro Vittoria," pp. 170-177.
59. See Avery, "Documenti," p. 352, doc. 155.
60. See appendix II (online), docs. 4 (second will), 5 (third will), 6 (fourth will), 8 (sixth will), and 9 (eighth will).
61. "Item lasso d'essere sepellito a frati minori a pie della capella della natione fiorentina acanto la porta di detta chiesia dove el Santo Giovanni di mia propria mano sulla pila de' Giustiniani." See Boucher, *Jacopo Sansovino*, I, p. 234, doc. 256, discussed p. 156. Sansovino was, in fact, eventually buried in San Geminiano, the now-destroyed church that once faced the basilica in Piazza San Marco. In June 1570, only five months before his death, he and his son, Francesco, were awarded the rights to the Chapel of the Crucifix. See Boucher, Jacopo Sansovino, I, pp. 232-233, doc. 254. For Vittoria's emulation of Sansovino with regard to their respective *Baptist* figures and burial wishes, see, for example, Avery, "Early Works," II, pp. 392-393, no. 2; and Finocchi Ghersi, *Alessandro Vittoria*, p. 43.
62. For Sansovino's *Saint John*, see Boucher, *Jacopo Sansovino*, I, pp. 47-49, 125-126; II, pp. 323-324, no. 13.
63. See appendix II (online), doc. 11. Published in full Avery, "Documenti," pp. 355-361, doc. 158. The terracotta *Saint Zacharias* is now lost and was later replaced by a marble copy on the pendant holy-water stoup. For further discussion, see Finocchi Ghersi, *Alessandro Vittoria*, pp. 44-46.
64. See appendix II (online), doc. 10. Published in full Avery, "Documenti," pp. 352-354, doc. 155.
65. While my examination of the surviving archival records for San Zaccaria in both the ASV and ASPV has thus far come to nought, Finocchi Ghersi, *Alessandro Vittoria*, p. 46, suggested that the placement of the statuettes on the altar is unlikely ever to have happened, as the disparity in their respective materials would have been aesthetically displeasing.
66. Giannantonio Moschini, *Guida per la città di Venezia all'amico delle belle arti opera di Giannantonio Moschini*, 2 vols. (Venice: Alvisopoli, 1815), I, p. 104. The first mention of the *Zacharias* in San Zaccaria occurs on 10 July 1821, when it was noted during a Pastoral Visitation under the aegis of Patriarch Ladislao Pirker: see Finocchi Ghersi, *Alessandro Vittoria*, p. 46, n. 45.
67. Prior to the damage, the right upper arm had been cracked and reattached at an unknown date. The left hand, left leg, and parts of the drapery were damaged. The inscription was worn and certain parts almost illegible. The marble was suffering from problems caused by moisture absorption, unsurprising given its long-term placement on a holy-water stoup.

On a new *Dead Christ on the Cross* by Alonso Cano

JOSÉ MANUEL CRUZ VALDOVINOS



Fig. 1 / Alonso Cano, *Dead Christ on the Cross*, oil on canvas, 203.7 x 126.2 cm, Private Collection.

Alonso Cano's Christian name derives from his baptism in the parish church of San Ildefonso in Granada on the feast day of Saint Joseph in 1601.[1] In 1658, as witness to the concession to Diego Velázquez of the ceremonial habit of the Order of Santiago, Cano declared that he had known Velázquez for 44 years.[2] This, along with the last documented mention of his father in Granada in 1613, indicates that Cano had already moved to Seville by 1614.[3] Velázquez was at that time coming to the end of his apprenticeship with the painter Francisco Pacheco (1564-1644). This apprenticeship had lasted six years starting from 1 December 1610, according to the contract signed by the young artist's father on 17 November 1611 and by the master himself ten days later.[4] On 17 August 1616 – only a few months after Velázquez's departure – Alonso's father, Miguel (an *ensamblador* or architect of retables, who was by that time a resident of Seville) also signed a letter of apprenticeship, this time entrusting his own son to Pacheco for five years.[5] Lázaro Díaz del Valle and Antonio Palomino noted that Alonso was only with the master for eight months,[6] Palomino adding that he then went on to the studio of Juan del Castillo and also trained with Francisco de Herrera the Elder.[7] This seems unlikely, given that Cano took a few years longer than usual to sit the exam and gain approval as a *maestro pintor de imaginería* – title given to figure painters – not doing so until 12 April 1626.[8] It is noteworthy that he signed and dated a painting in 1624,[9] and married the widow María de Figueroa in January of that year: the former act defied the rules of the Sevillian painters' guild; the latter was unusual prior to an artist's attainment of the title of "master".

It is also certain that in addition to his formal apprenticeship, Cano worked with his father as an *ensamblador* and probably studied the art of sculpture as well, inspired by Juan Martínez Montañés.

These biographical details highlight two principal facts relevant to the analysis of the work studied here, a recently discovered *Dead Christ on the Cross*, acquired from Colnaghi by a Private Collector in 2016 (fig. 1). Cano studied with Pacheco, as did Velázquez. If we are to believe Cano, they met before Velázquez left Pacheco's workshop and Cano entered it, although in any case they would have overlapped there for four months in 1616. Their relationship did not, however, end with the completion of Velázquez's training: his wedding in 1618 to Pacheco's daughter, Juana, explains why neither the painter's ties to his master, nor those to Cano who was apprenticed to him, were ever severed. Nor did the friendship between the young painters come to an end when Velázquez moved to court in Madrid in 1623. Cano was still in Seville on 13 July 1638, but the first notice of his arrival in Madrid occurs on 16 August of the following year, when he was made godfather to Inés Manuela, the daughter of Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo and Francisca, the daughter of Velázquez.[10] These two facts – the apprenticeship with Pacheco and the friendship with Velázquez – are important, as we shall see, in the analysis and evaluation of the *Dead Christ* studied here.

One of the iconographical questions which has over the past few decades received considerable attention from scholars of Spanish painting of the first half of



Fig. 2 / Juan Martínez Montañés, *Christ of Mercy*, polychrome wood, 190 cm, Seville Cathedral.

the seventeenth century, is the number of nails which fixed Christ to the Cross. The painting published here features in this debate, as it belongs to the model known as "*de cuatro clavos*" ("with four nails"), less common than representations in which only three nails are used (with a single one hammered through both feet). Amongst the painters who produced images of Christ featuring four nails are Pacheco and Velázquez, another apparent confirmation of their close relationship to Cano.

I start this analysis by pointing out that the image studied here is of the dead Christ. This status does not depend on his eyes being closed, but rather on the wound in his side, as described in the *Gospel according to Saint John*, John being a witness to the event.[11] Few authors allude to this fact, which makes identification difficult. It is, nevertheless, of fundamental importance, hence our reference to the fact of his death in the painting's title.

Pacheco wrote his *Arte de la Pintura* over many years; the original manuscript is conserved in the Instituto Valencia de Don Juan in Madrid and the first edition was produced posthumously in 1649.[12] In the two chapters which end the text – XV and XVI of the third book – he deals with representation of the Crucified Christ.[13] He entitles chapter XV, "*En favor de la pintura de los cuatro clavos con que fue crucificado Cristo nuestro redentor*" (In favour of painting the four nails with which Christ our redeemer was crucified). The chapter consists of several letters from Francisco de Rioja, written in 1619, and a text by Pacheco himself dating to 1620. At the outset Rioja explains that his discourse in defence of the four nails has been dedicated to the painter "because he executes this with such felicity in the images which he paints." He then starts a long account citing numerous ancient authors, many of them saints, with Latin and even Greek texts that refer to the four nails. He ends again referring to Pacheco who:

> ... was the first in these days in Spain to return to the old use in some images of Christ, which he has painted, with four nails, in accordance with everything said by the ancient authors; because he paints the cross with four extremes and with the ledge where the feet are nailed together. The figure appears to be standing; his face majestic and decorous, with no ugly grimace or decomposition, and thus appropriate to the sovereign greatness of Christ our Lord.[14]

Pacheco's response is full of new arguments and additional citations, including the views of the Jesuit cardinal Roberto Belarmino,[15] whose work had been published in Rome in 1618. He continues by citing sculptures and paintings from many periods representing four nails. Amongst the contemporary works, he refers to a painting (now lost) by Antonio Mohedano for Doctor Álvaro Pizaño de Palacios, canon of Antequera. He also mentions the *Cristo de la Clemencia* (in Seville Cathedral) by Juan Martínez Montañés (fig. 2), which Mateo Vázquez de Leca, Archdeacon of Carmona, gave to the charterhouse of Santa María de las Cuevas, specifying in the contract of 1603 that Christ should be shown alive with his eyes open and head inclined. Although there are four nails, the feet are, however, crossed and there is no ledge,



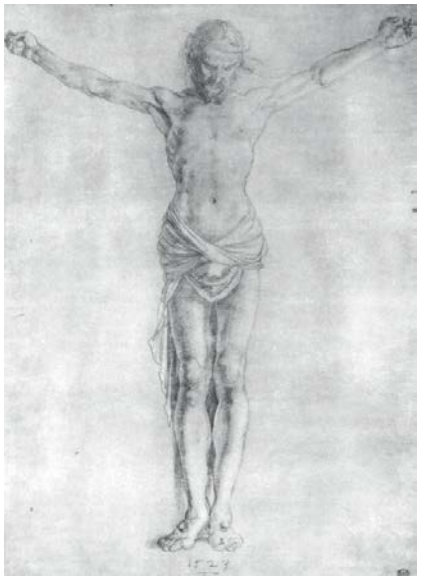


Fig. 3 / After Albrecht Dürer, *Crucifixion*, engraving, 32 x 22.6 cm, London, British Museum.

Fig. 4 / Albrecht Dürer, *Crucifixion*, 1523, metalpoint on blue-green prepared paper with white heightening, 41.3 x 30 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre.

features which distinguish it from many examples by Pacheco, Velázquez and Cano. It is also exceptional in featuring a *titulus* (inscription) in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, as discussed further below.

The passage dedicated by Pacheco to Dürer is also of considerable interest:

> "Albrecht Dürer, who was an extremely diligent, learned and devout craftsman, drew nearly a hundred years ago a Crucifix that I found in a book of things by his hand, which belonged to our Catholic King Philip II, with four nails and a ledge, just like the ones which I paint."[16]

As I have observed elsewhere,[17] Panofsky argued, on the basis of a pen drawing depicting a *Calvary* from 1521, that Dürer had planned an engraving of the Crucifixion, known only from posthumous prints pulled from two copper plates that survived the artist: the first was supposedly engraved, but left unfinished by the artist himself;[18] the second – for which Dürer evidently executed studies – was dated 1523. Reproducing an impression of this engraving conserved in the British Museum in London (fig. 3), Benito Navarette discussed in detail its influence on Pacheco, and later Velázquez, Cano, Zurbarán and, ultimately, Goya.[19] Noting Pacheco's admiration for Dürer, Navarette drew attention to another paragraph by the Spaniard on the German master which had, it seems, gone unnoticed:

> "…and our very prudent monarch Philip II esteemed his drawings very much. I saw one by his hand from a book which belonged to his Majesty, worthy of the highest veneration."[20]

In my opinion, it is possible to go one step further, specifying that the drawing to which Pacheco referred must be the one in the Musée du Louvre (fig.4), which Panofsky considered to be a study for the unfinished engraving. In this work Christ appears on his own – corresponding to Pacheco's reference to the Crucifix rather than to a Crucifixion (which would include multiple figures) – and it is a drawing, as mentioned by Pacheco on two occasions, rather than a print. Christ is attached to the Cross by four nails, and it is just visible through the legs as is the niche on which appears the date of 1523.[21] In both the engraving and the drawing, Christ is still alive, but this did not especially interest Pacheco, who referred only to the number of nails.



Fig. 5 / Francisco Pacheco, *Crucified Christ*, oil on panel, 40.6 x 25.6 cm, El Coronil (Seville), Parish church of Nuestra Señora de la Consolación.

Whilst is true that in the engraving Christ directs his gaze towards the Virgin on the right, whereas in the drawing he looks the other way, this is the result of the inversion caused by the printing process. Pacheco does not mention this detail, which does not appear to be of importance to him.

Pacheco refers on four occasions to a trip that he made to Cordoba, Toledo, Madrid, el Pardo and el Escorial.[22] He also states that this took place in 1611, though provides no further details. Various authors have hypothesized that this journey lasted from September 1610 until October 1611,[23] with Bassegoda suggesting that it perhaps took place "towards the spring-summer of that year."[24] The master signed a document in Seville on 25 October 1611,[25] which suggests Bassegoda is right: Pacheco would have taken advantage of the months of good weather for his visit to court with stops in the two large cities en route.

It is important to determine as precisely as possible the date of this trip, as it helps establish when Pacheco might have seen Dürer's drawing in el Escorial and, in consequence, when he painted his Crucifixions. The first known example is signed and dated 1611,[26] with Christ painted on a smooth wooden cross. Today this work is held in the sacristy of the parish church of Nuestra Señora de la Consolación in El Coronil (Seville)(fig. 5), although it may have come from the former convent of the Discalced Carmelites as its size (40.6 x 25.6 cm) and characteristics correspond to images that nuns and friars kept in their cells.[27] The figure has his right foot placed over the left, with three nails according to the vision of Saint Bridget, which leads us to conclude that this was produced before he had seen Dürer's drawing, in the first few months of 1611. Christ is shown about to expire, as in Dürer's drawing, looking towards the viewer's right with an intense, upward gaze and his head level with his hands. The Saviour's head is resplendent, with rays of light emanating from it, and a loincloth partially covers him, with a cord visible only on the right. The titulus is inscribed in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, as written by John, but it seems that there was not yet a debate about this as it does *not* begin with HIC EST.[28] The stem of the Cross is quite long and very bloody, and on the ground beneath Christ's feet there is an overturned skull.

Pacheco's knowledge of Dürer's drawing would transform the model of Christ employed in his subsequent depictions of the subject: from then on Christ was always shown as dead. The first known example of this (following Pacheco's return from his sojourn at court) is now in the Fundación Rodríguez Acosta in Granada (fig. 6), signed and dated 1614.[29] Another panel of similar size (50 x 38 cm), featuring the same signature and dated 1615, was published when it was in the collection of Teresa López-Dóriga, although its present whereabouts are unknown.[30]

A third example, undated and on canvas, survives in the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes in Buenos Aires (fig. 7). It is similar in size to the other panels and is dated 1614-1615. The canvas was acquired in Seville, on 23 June 1906, by the museum's then director, Eduardo Schiaffino, from José María López Cepero, great-grandnephew of the dean and collector of the same name. The 1813 inventory of the López Cepero Collection lists "*un Cristo de Pacheco*" (no. 153) and, in a catalogue of 1860 (no. 625), it was noted that it measured one foot and eleven inches by one foot and four inches (53.3 x 37.2 cm). The painting entered the museum in 1995.[31]

The innovation common to all three paintings is that Christ's feet appear to be nailed separately and rest on a ledge attached to the Cross with a trapezoidal support,





Fig. 6 / Francisco Pacheco, *Crucified Christ*, signed and dated 1614, oil on panel, 58 x 37.5 cm, Granada, Fundación Rodríguez Acosta.

Fig. 7 / Francisco Pacheco, *Crucified Christ*, oil on canvas, 56 x 41 cm, Buenos Aires, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes.

on which Pacheco places his signature in the first two works. Christ wears the Crown of Thorns and has a halo. His head is at the same height as the hands and is slightly inclined, but without breaking the verticality of the composition. His right leg is somewhat curved rather than rigid, with one knee close to the other, and his feet are separated at an oblique angle from the heels, with toes just overhanging the ledge. The loincloth is tied, falling along the line of the thighs, longer on the right and shorter between the legs, so that the vertical emphasis of the image remains uninterrupted. The arms of the Cross are smooth, like the ledge, and since the bottom of the Cross is not shown, the previously depicted skull is not included.

The tituli of the *Dead Christs* from 1614-1615 are inscribed in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, as was the case in the work in El Coronil from 1611 (although the writing is now rather indistinct). Unlike the earlier painting, however, the Latin inscription in these later versions starts with HIC EST (followed by IESVS NAZARAENVS/REX IVDAEORUM). The painter follows John in using all three languages, but he takes from Mark and Luke the opening words.[32] A few years later, in 1619, Fernando Enríquez Afán de Ribera, the 3rd Duke of Alcalá, visited Pacheco's workshop and saw a *Christ on the Cross* with four nails which he praised although it generated a philological polemic. In this same year or perhaps 1620, the duke wrote his tract, *Del titulo de la cruz de Cristo nuestro Señor*, laying out his position on the basis of an example which he had seen in the church of Santa Croce in Rome. He was answered by Francisco de Rioja.[33]

The final *Dead Christ on the Cross* by Pacheco is now in a private collection in Madrid. Dated 1637 and signed with the same initials as the Granada painting of 1614,[34] it is painted on a smooth wooden cross like the El Coronil version and is similar in size to the works from 1614-1615 (55 x 35 cm – two *tercias* by a *palmo* and *sexma de vara*). The *titulus* also commences with HIC EST. The depiction of Christ is the same as in the three pictures discussed above, although the panel is extended slightly at the top and the arms are spread further from the Cross. Christ's feet are, however, attached with four nails, with the left crossed over the right, in reverse to how they appear in the El Coronil painting. As no intermediary versions by Pacheco are known, it is impossible to determine when he abandoned the model with feet shown in parallel and instead adopted this last pose which originated with Michelangelo.

Francisco de Zurbarán's paintings of the Dead Christ on the Cross are also relevant to the present discussion. His three-year apprenticeship with Pedro Díaz de Villanueva was signed in Seville in 1614, but it is not certain if he completed this as he appears in Llerena in 1617.[35] It is clear that Zurbarán knew Pacheco's treatise on the four nails and had seen some of his works, either during his apprenticeship or upon his return to Seville in January 1626, when he signed a contract for a series of twenty-one paintings for the Dominican convent of San Pablo. Dating from the following year, his *Dead Christ on the Cross* (Art Institute of Chicago, 290.3 x 165.5 cm; 3½ x 2 *varas*) was produced for the sacristy of the same convent. This depiction includes four nails, with feet resting on the ledge, in parallel, although turned slightly to the right.[36] In 1988 José Milicua observed that the prior of the convent of San Pablo, fray Vicente Durango, was one of the learned men who approved the text by Pacheco on the four nails,[37] meaning that the painter must in all probability have had the benefit of his counsel. In other ways Zurbarán's picture is quite different from the examples produced in 1614-1615 by Pacheco: the figure hangs and the tilt of the head and torso are pronounced, the latter diverging from a vertical axis; the legs are also turned slightly in the opposite direction, putting pressure on the feet; the loin cloth, which is very wrinkled, mainly falls to the left and does not have a knot as in Pacheco's versions; the Cross is rustic, the ledge a simple piece of wood, the nails are numerous and the titulus is a crossed piece of wood on which there is no Hebrew text, nor the words HIC EST.[38]

Later depictions of the Dead Christ on the Cross by Zurbarán present different characteristics, even if they maintain the four nails. The work in the Museo de Bellas Artes of Seville (which comes from the Capuchin Convent) is also large (255 x 193 cm; 3 x 2½ *varas*).[39] It has been dated between 1627 and 1640, but I believe, like Juan Miguel Serrera,[40] that it would have been painted before Zurbarán arrived at court in 1634. Christ lifts his head and turns to the right, which causes his body to twist slightly. The loin cloth, overblown and wrinkled, is tied on the viewer's right and hangs down to the knee. The titulus does not include the phrase HIC EST. The *Dead Christ* now in the Museo de Bellas Artes in Asturias, similar in size to the previous ones (271 x 177 cm.; 3 ¼ x 2 ¼ *varas*), is dated by the museum to 1638-1640.[41] From the point of view of its iconography, it is very different to the versions mentioned above and, despite some variations, is closer to those produced by Pacheco. The head is still under

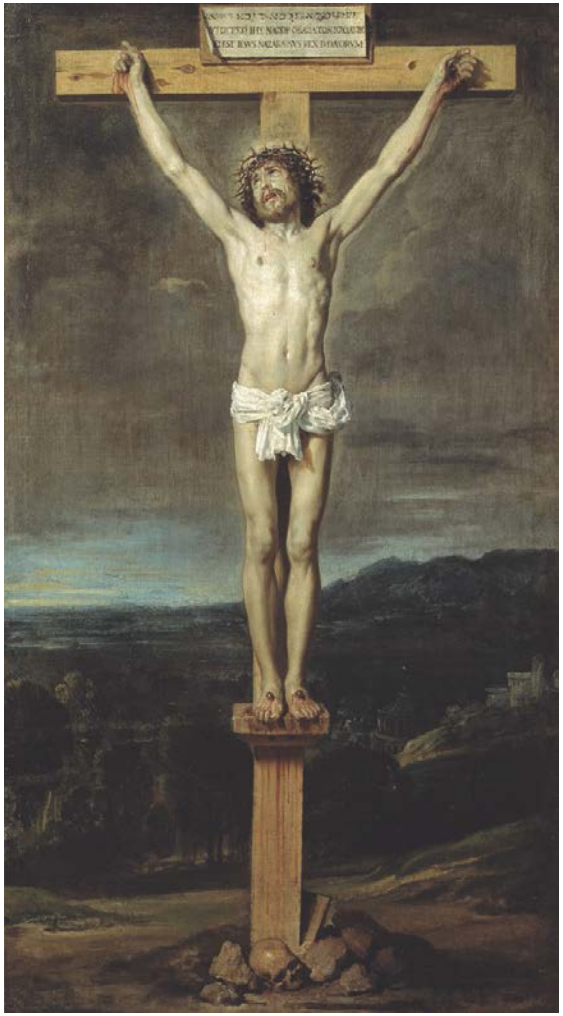


Fig. 8 / Diego Velázquez, *Crucified Christ*, signed and dated 1631, oil on canvas, 102 x 57 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

the crossbeam, heavily inclined but initiating a strong vertical axis; the loincloth is ample but falls to the left and is shorter than the ones cited previously; the feet, in parallel, hang over the ledge, as they do in those of Pacheco. The titulus is in the three languages, but does not include the HIC EST. On this basis, we think that it was painted ca. 1630, before the work produced for the Sevillian Capuchins.

The presence of four nails in all the images of *Christ on the Cross* painted by Zurbarán continued until a very late date. The *Dead Christ with a Donor* now in the Prado is dated to 1640 (244 x 167.5 cm; 3 x 2 *varas*), while the *Christ Expiring with the Virgin, Saint John, and the Magdalene* (Private Collection, London) is signed and dated 1655 (212 x 163 cm; 2 ¾ x 2 *varas*).[42] These feature most of the same iconographic characteristics even if in the second version, the movement of the head and cloth varies from the work painted for the Capuchins; the presence of half figures does not interfere with the formal aspects.

It is also worth mentioning the two paintings of *Christ on the Cross* produced by Velázquez after his first trip to Italy (1629-1630) which are today in the Museo del Prado. These Crucifixions – like those of Pacheco and Zurbarán – shed light on Cano's treatments of the subject. The first, *Christ on the Cross* (fig. 8), showing the Saviour alive, is relatively small, but approximately double the size of those by Pacheco. I will not address at length the question of Velázquez's authorship, rejected by many scholars, but accepted here.[43] Signed and dated "D. Velazquez fa/1631", it comes from the monastery of the Bernardines in Madrid which gave it to the State after the Civil War. Its authenticity is supported by the inclusion of a work of the same dimensions in an inventory of goods drawn up on the death of Velázquez: no. 582, "Un Cristo crucificado de vara y cuarta de alto y tres cuartas de ancho." The work could have been an *ex-voto* given to the Bernardines after the artist's safe return to Spain. Its relationship to other pieces by the master is clear. It has four nails and the feet in parallel, the figure is completely vertical, and the face looks upwards to our left; the head is resplendent, but there are no rays or halo around it; the figure bends four fingers of each hand. It differs from the work of Pacheco in that the figure hangs heavily, the head is beneath the crossbeam, and the loincloth is short and tied in a central knot with no ends falling on either side. The Cross is smooth but here the grain and knots are visible. The titulus with the triple legend occupies some of the crossbeam, perhaps



Fig. 9 / Diego Velázquez, *Dead Christ*, oil on canvas, 250 x 170 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

to fill up the empty space; a surprising detail is that the parchment has begun to come away and only part of the HIC EST is visible. Another difference from Pacheco is that the ledge does not have a trapezoidal piece. At the foot of the Cross is a skull, as in the painting from El Coronil. The most distinctive aspect is the landscape with ill-defined buildings suggestive perhaps of Jerusalem, woods, vegetation, mountains, and a blueish horizon with clouds in the upper half. Although this landscape is puzzling, it may be explained by his stay in Rome, prefiguring – with its bands of colour, from the light foreground to the darker area about the crossbeam – the landscapes of his later works.

The second *Dead Christ* by Velázquez is a large work (fig. 9), like those of Zurbarán. It has rightly attracted great praise and there has never been any doubt about its authenticity. Its entry into the convent of San Plácido in Madrid – given by Jerónimo de Villanueva, Protonotary of Aragon and trusted aid of the conde duque de Olivares – is controversial: as I have explained elsewhere, it was an act of reparation by Villanueva in 1633, atoning for his role in doctrinal misdemeanours involving the monastery that resulted in the intervention of the Inquisition, which also went after Villanueva himself.[44]

The similarities between Velázquez's small work of 1631 and those by Pacheco from 1614-1615 are notable. The figure of Christ is frontal and vertical, his head falling to the side without tilting; the feet, joined at the heels, are close together. Christ hangs less heavily in the smaller version, his resplendent head hardly touching the crossbeam – less so than in those of Pacheco. The bending of the fingers is similar as are the ledge and beams of the Cross, which is painted to show the grain and knots. The titulus is placed at the very top, as in Pacheco's works, but it lacks the HIC EST. There are many rivulets of blood and a dark background, as in the paintings by Pacheco.

Turning now to the treatments of this theme by Alonso Cano, in order to understand better their individual characteristics, it is worth examining them one at a time, especially as the datings proposed for these works are by no means definitive.

a) *Dead Christ on the Cross* (fig. 10) (Madrid, formerly in the Gregorio Diego Curto collection):[45] Wethey dated this painting to 1643, considering it a donation by the conde duque de Olivares to the Dominican nuns of Loeches, whose convent he had funded. His dating was based on the fact that at this time Philip IV granted Olivares's petition to retire from Court. The composition features three nails with the right foot on top of the left. Frontal and upright, Christ's head tilts to the left, at a slightly greater angle than in Velázquez's depictions. The Saviour's thumbs, on the other hand, are positioned in a very similar manner. The body hangs less, and the head is higher up on the crossbeam. The narrow loincloth is arranged horizontally, with a large section floating out to the left. The titulus reads simply INRI – which, in the only known image, published by Wethey, appears to be repeated three times. The Cross is rustic, made from rounded beams.

b) *Dead Christ on the Cross* (fig. 11) (Madrid, Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando): Wethey

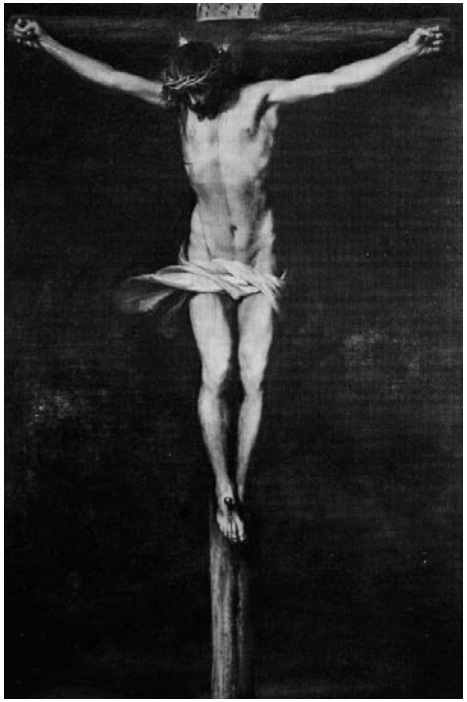




Fig. 10 / Alonso Cano, *Dead Christ on the Cross*, oil on canvas, 248 x 166 cm, Madrid, previously Gregorio Diego Curto Collection.

Fig. 11 / Alonso Cano, *Dead Christ on the Cross*, oil on canvas, 242 x 160 cm, Madrid, Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando.

noted that the painting belonged to Godoy in 1808 and was sent to Paris in 1813, whence it returned in 1815 and was given to the Real Academia.[46] Álvarez Lopera doubted that this was the painting belonging to Godoy (which came from the Discalced Carmelite convent of San Hermenegildo in Madrid), as it was already hanging in the Academia in 1810 when Godoy's paintings and others destined for France were being prepared for removal.[47] He concluded that the painting in fact came from the Benedictine monastery of San Martín in Madrid, citing Ponz,[48] Bosarte,[49] Ceán,[50] and the Conde de Maule[51] who had seen it at the Academia. Wethey dated the work to ca. 1646 in relation to other paintings by Cano – the *Noli me Tangere* in Budapest and *Dead Christ Sustained by an Angel* at the Prado.[52] Álvarez Lopera believed it could have been painted ca. 1640-1643, before the work in Loeches.

It should also be noted that Cano lived in the calle de las Hileras, in front of the Benedictine monastery (his house and the monastery situated, respectively, on blocks 390 and 392 of the *Planimetría*) from September 1641 to June 1644,[53] which tends to support this hypothesis.

The Real Academia composition depicts the four nails. Christ is frontal and vertical, hanging more heavily than in the Loeches version. His head is below the crossbeam as in the painting by Velázquez in San Plácido, which it also resembles in terms of the inclination of the head and placement of the fingers. Both ends of the loincloth drift to the left, partly revealing the rope which holds it up and leaving the body largely uncovered. The titulus features the acronym INRI, with full-stops between each letter and a short line in the stroke of the R.

The Cross has a curved crossbeam and is situated on a small mound with a skull at its foot. The background includes a landscape with a very low horizon, in which buildings can be glimpsed, although these are in ochre, almost reddish, tones, very far from those used by Velázquez in his smaller first version.

c) *Dead Christ on the Cross* (fig. 12) (Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado): loosely dated by the museum to the period 1635-1665, the painting entered the collection in 1998 in lieu of tax from José Palacio Carvajal.[54] It represents the dead Christ, although the wound in his side is hardly visible. The composition has three nails with the right foot placed over the left. The head is only just on the crossbeam, vertically inclined and resplendent with more visible rays than in the Real Academia painting, although the fingers are similarly positioned. The close-fitting loincloth exposes the cord at the right and falls on both sides, disappearing into the surrounding gloom. The Cross is smooth and the lettering of the titulus is similar to the version in the Real Academia. This painting also has a landscape background, lighter than the previous one although still in brownish tones. The presence of two trees, the fine trunks of which cross, is noteworthy, similar to the manner of Annibale Carracci with little leaves of great transparency.

d) *Dead Christ on the Cross* (see fig. 1) (Private Collection): Recently discovered in a Private Collection in Madrid, this work is published here for the first time.

The composition includes four nails, the feet in parallel, and a vertical body in which the right leg is slightly turned inwards. The head is inclined slightly to the viewer's left, beneath the crossbeam and resplendent, similar to the *Christ* by Velázquez formerly in San Plácido. The folded thumbs rest on the second finger of each hand, as in the other works by Cano. The end of the loincloth is more visible on the left side, where the cord is exposed. The Cross is smooth and extends further beneath the ledge than in the Real Academia work. The titulus, with the acronym INRI, is less oblong than the others. Again there is a landscape background, perhaps closer in its chromatic bands and tonality to the small *Christ* by Velázquez, with mountain peaks descending from right to left; on the right there are small golden trees similar to those in the Prado canvas.

e) *Dead Christ on the Cross* (121 x 88 cm.; 1 ½ x 1 *vara*; Granada, Academia de Bellas Artes). This work was dated by Wethey to 1652, that is to say at the beginning of Cano's period in Granada following his departure from court.[55] The composition displays three nails with the right foot placed over the left. The head, resplendent, is inclined slightly to the left and barely rises above the crossbeam. The loincloth covers very little and the ends hang down on both sides. The Cross is smooth with the titulus bearing the acronym. The landscape presents little trees with crossed trunks, resembling the Prado canvas.

Other Crucifixions attributed to Cano that are not by his hand, in my opinion, include the *Living Christ* from the Augustine convent of Corpus Christi in Granada (185 x 122 cm; 2¼ x 1½ *varas*). Dated to 1653-1657, it is probably mentioned by name three times in the convent's accounts and must have been retouched at an early date. [56]

Finally, two sculpted crucifixes by Cano are also relevant to this discussion. The 1692 inventory of the daughter-in-law of the influential Castilian councillor José González, whose portrait Cano painted ca. 1640, mentions a small carved crucifix with an ebony cross, silver ends, a titulus and small stepped ledge made of black pear wood. It is the only documented sculpture from Cano's first period at court.[57]

The so-called *Cristo de Lécaroz* (fig. 13) is of great importance. This is now in the Capuchin convent of San Antonio in Pamplona. Made of wood, it measures 185 x 155 cm (2 ¼ x c. 2 *varas*) although Wethey gave its height as 212 cm.[58] The work was originally placed in the chapel on the epistle side of the Benedictine monastic church of Montserrat in Madrid. It seems that Cano had started it before leaving for Granada in 1652, finishing it in early 1658.[59] The sculpture had entered the Real Academia de San Fernando by 1813, was removed in 1824 on account of the ecclesiastical confiscations, and then returned in 1837. In 1891, having been mistaken for another work of little value, it was sent to the missionary college in Lecároz.[60] In 2002 it was moved to its present home. It features three nails with the right foot resting on top – like all the other examples by Cano with this number of nails – and a loincloth similar to the version in the Academia in Granada. Hanging beneath the crossbeam, the head is inclined as in the work newly presented here, even if the face is somewhat more visible.

It is not easy to date the above-mentioned works by Alonso Cano, excepting the sculpture from Lecároz.



Fig. 12 / Alonso Cano, *Dead Christ on the Cross*, oil on canvas, 130 x 90 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

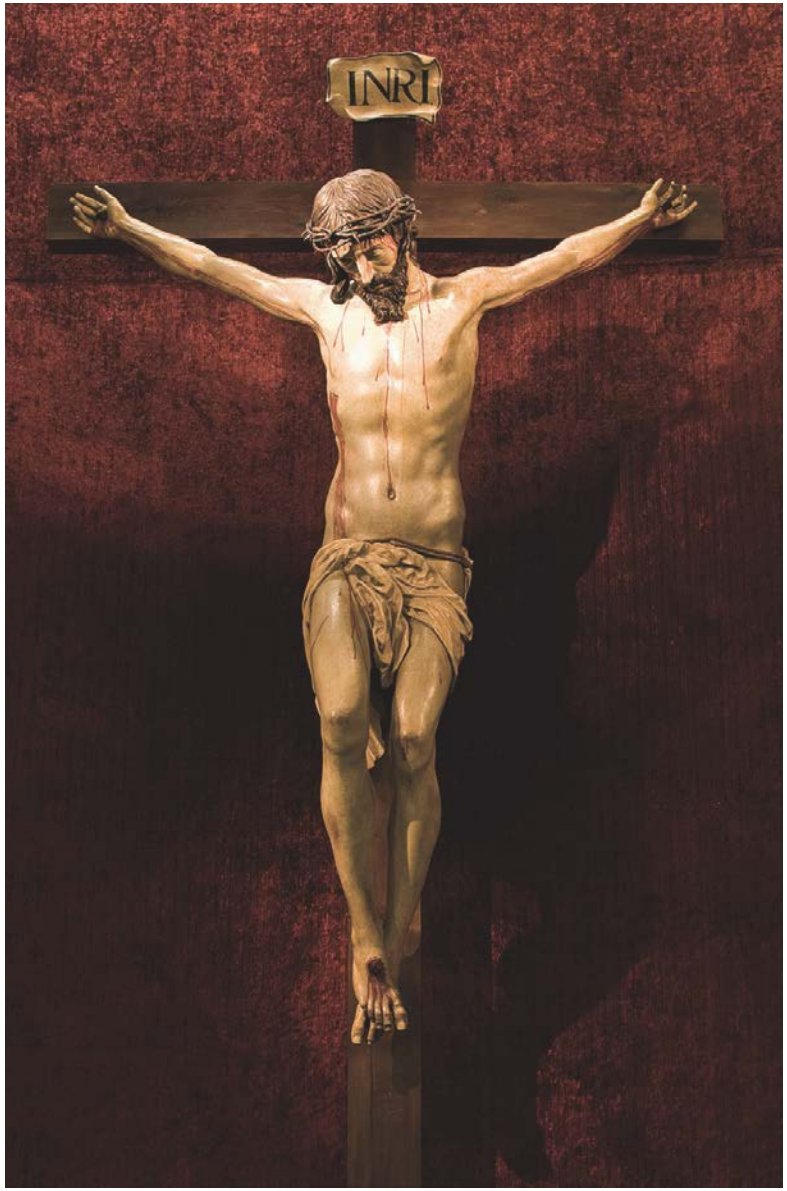


Fig. 13 / Alonso Cano, *Christ of Lecároz*, polychrome wood sculpture, 185 x 155 cm, Pamplona, Capuchin monastery of San Antonio.

The overview provided of Pacheco's Crucifixions, as well as those by Velázquez and Zurbarán, is intended to clarify this issue. No Crucifixions are known from Cano's period in Seville – in which he produced little painting – and the examples by Pacheco are from very different dates, except for the 1637 painting, which Cano could not have known. From the time he arrived in Madrid in 1638, he was in close contact with Velázquez and undoubtedly saw the two examples by this artist discussed above. Following the fire at Buen Retiro in 1640, Velázquez and Cano travelled together through Old Castile in search of paintings to replace those that had been damaged; I date this journey to the final months of 1641 and the first of 1642.[61] As I have proposed, the *Crucifixion* for San Martín (today in Madrid, Real Academia) must have been painted when Cano was a neighbour of the monastery. This narrows its dates to mid-1642 to June 1644, taking into account the above-mentioned trip. The influence of Velázquez's painting of 1631 formerly in San Plácido is evident, despite minor differences in the titulus and movement of the loincloth.

Although it is half a *vara* shorter in height than the San Martín *Dead Christ*, the painting under study here resembles this work very closely. For this reason we are inclined to date it to before the painter's escape to Valencia in June 1644, even if it cannot be discounted that he made it just after his return to court, documented in September 1645. Cano retains the lettering of the acronym on the titulus, but gathers up the loincloth. He brings the feet closer together, like Velázquez, and even the resplendence of the head resembles the latter's composition more closely. The colour and structure of the landscape also recall that in Velázquez's small *Christ* of 1631; the little leaves are similar to those in *Philip IV Hunting Wild Boar* (London, National Gallery), which Velázquez had finished in 1638 for the Torre de la Parada; the little trees foreshadow those depicted by Cano in the Prado and the Academia in Granada canvases.

It is noteworthy that the measurements of the picture presented here (203.7 x 126.2 cm) coincide exactly with a painting of 2 ½ x 1 ½ *varas* listed in the 1726 will of the painter and architect Teodoro Ardemans, which was left to his executor Juan Gregorio de la Fuente.[62] I do not know of any other documentation concerning a *Dead Christ* by Cano with these measurements. Despite this considerable size, it might have been a private commission for a house or oratory. By the time Ardemans was born, the painter had already left court in 1662, returning definitively to Granada, but the work could have been acquired from its first owner at a later date.

It is difficult to date the other examples by Cano featuring three nails. The version which arrived at the Prado in 1998 is close to those discussed above, so it may have been painted in Madrid between 1645 and 1651 – making it earlier than the ones in Granada and the Lecároz sculpture. The most difficult example in this respect is the canvas thought to come from Loeches: if it was commissioned by the conde duque, it would date to his first years in Madrid, but the three nails on a dark background as well as the extended loincloth suggest a later execution and thus complicate the dating.

Cano's Crucifixions – in addition to having the frontality and verticality of those by Velázquez – tend to reduce the stomach in relation to the thoracic cage, a feature clearly seen in the unpublished work studied here. The blood flows in a natural manner, running down from the nails and staining the hands and arms. It streams down the stem of the Cross beneath the ledge, as well as from the wound in the side to the loincloth, staining the inner leg. The face of Christ, with its straight nose, beard and hair falling heavily to the right, resembles the other Crucifixions by Cano, especially the version in the Academia de San Fernando.

I will not enter here into the usual discussion of the drama and emotion, which these works incite. The careful modelling, the realism of the nails and blood, and the solitude evoked by the backgrounds, were clearly moving enough to awaken the sorrow and profound devotion sought by Cano's clients.

NOTES

1. Ángel Aterido Fernández, ed., *Corpus Alonso Cano* (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 2002), no. 8. The citation of documents here will conform to their numbering in the *Corpus* which also provides original sources. "Alonso" is a Castillian variant of "Ildefonso."
2. Aterido Fernández, *Corpus*, no. 339.
3. Aterido Fernández, *Corpus*, no. 14.
4. We wish to draw attention to the common error in dating the contract to September. See our discussion of this matter in José Manuel Cruz Valdovinos, *Velázquez. Vida y obra de un pintor cortesano* (Saragossa: Caja Inmaculada 2011), pp. 23-24.
5. Aterido Fernández, *Corpus*, no. 16.
6. Aterido Fernández, *Corpus*, no. 339, pp. 389, 514.
7. Antonio Palomino, *El Museo pictórico y escala óptica, III. El Parnaso español pintoresco laureado* (1724), ed. Juan A. Ceán y Bermúdez (Madrid: Aguilar, 1947), p. 985.
8. Aterido Fernández, *Corpus*, no. 339.
9. *San Francisco de Borja*, in the Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville.
10. Aterido Fernández, *Corpus*, nos. 184, 185.
11. Gospel according to Saint John, 19, 33-34: "But after they were come to Jesus, when they saw that he was already dead, they did not break his legs. But one of the soldiers with a spear opened his side, and immediately there came out blood and water." (Douay-Rheims Bible.)
12. Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura* (1649), ed. Bonaventura Bassegoda i Hugas (Madrid: Cátedra, 1990).
13. Pacheco, *Arte,* pp. 713-749.
14. "…ha sido el primero que estos días en España ha vuelto a restituir el uso antiguo con algunas imágenes de Cristo, que ha pintado, de cuatro clavos, ajustándose en todo a lo que dicen los escritores antiguos; porque pinta la cruz con cuatro extremos y con el supedáneo en que están clavados los pies juntos. Vése plantada la figura sobre él como si estuviera en pie; el rostro con magestad y decoro, sin torcimiento feo o descompuesto, así, como convenía a la soberana grandeza de Cristo nuestro Señor."
15. Roberto Belarmino (1542-1621) was proclaimed a saint and doctor in the twentieth century. The work to which Pacheco refers is *De septem verbis a Chisto in Cruce prolatis* (1618).
16. "Alberto Durero, diligentísimo, docto y santo artífice, habrá casi cien años que dibuxó un Crucifixo que yo hallé en un libro de cosas de su mano, que fue de nuestro católico Rey Felipo segundo, con cuatro clavos y el supedáneo, bien así como yo los executo."
17. Cruz Valdovinos, *Velázquez*, p. 159.
18. Erwin Panofsky, *Vida y arte de Alberto Durero* (1955), trans. María Luisa Balseiro (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1982), pp. 234-235, figs. 280 & 281. According to Panofsky, the print measures 32 x 22.5 cm.
19. Benito Navarrete Prieto, "Durero y los cuatro clavos," *Boletín del Museo del Prado* 34 (1995): pp. 7-14. The reproduction of the print which Navarrete includes is less precise than the one published by Panofsky which leads one to suppose they are different impressions. Furthermore Panofsky does not cite it. See Cruz Valdovinos, *Velázquez*, p. 159. Now we believe they were the one and the same.
20. "… y nuestro prudentísimo monarca Filipo segundo estimó, grandemente, sus dibuxos. Yo alcancé uno de su mano de un libro que fue de su Majestad, digno de suma veneración,"Pacheco, *Arte*, p. 553; Navarrete Prieto, "Durero," p. 8. Bassegoda, in his comments on Pacheco text, discusses the author's remarks on Dürer's *Apocalypse*, a matter which does not concern our study.
21. Panofsky, *Vida y arte,* fig. 281.
22. Pacheco, *Arte*, p. 36.
23. Enrique Valdivieso and Juan Maria Serrera, *Pintura sevillana del primer tercio del siglo XVII* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1985), p. 18.
24. Pacheco, *Arte*, p. 36.
25. Valdivieso and Serrera, *Pintura sevillana*, p. 39.
26. Valdivieso and Serrera, *Pintura sevillana*, p. 76, no. 134, pl. 22; Enrique Valdivieso and Juan Maria Serrera, *Inventario artístico de Sevilla y su provincia*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1985), II, p. 231, fig. 50. The abbreviated signature is O.F.P. See Juan Luis Ravé Prieto, "*Crucificado expirante*," in *Pacheco. Teórico, artista, maestro,* ed. Luis Méndez Rodríguez, exh. cat. (Seville: Museo de Bellas Artes de Sevilla, 2016), pp. 160-161.
27. Ravé Prieto, "*Crucificado expirante*," notes that the duque de Alcalá, señor del Coronil, gave a Cross to the parish described as "de pincel y plata" (painted and with silver) – which could be this one – and said that the silver was later melted down. This hypothesis does not seem possible in our opinion.
28. Gospel according to Saint John, 19, 19-20: "And Pilate wrote a title also, and he put it upon the Cross. And the writing was: JESUS OF NAZARETH, THE KING OF THE JEWS. This title therefore many of the Jews did read: because the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city: and it was written in Hebrew, in Greek, and in Latin." (Douay-Rheims Bible.)
29. Valdivieso and Serrera, *Pintura sevillana,* p. 77, no. 135, pl. 32; J. Moya Morales, "Cristo crucificado," in Méndez Rodríguez, *Pacheco*, pp. 162-163. The signature is the same initials as in the El Coronil version but the 'F' and 'P' are inside the 'O'. It comes from the Gómez Moreno collection, where it was already located by 1916. The support is a single panel made out of *cedro de Indias* (María del Valme Muñoz Rubio, "Francisco Pacheco: Teoría y práctica," in Méndez Rodríguez, *Pacheco,* p. 54).
30. Valdivieso and Serrera, *Pintura sevillana*, p. 77, no. 136, pl. 33. It was published by Matías Díaz Padrón, "Un nuevo Cristo crucificado de Pacheco," *Archivo Español de Arte* 38 (1965): pp. 128-130. The work was acquired in Paris in 1901 by the ancestors of the above-mentioned owner. It cannot be the painting once belonging to Dean López Cepero at the end of the eighteenth century, as explained below.
31. Valdivieso and Serrera, *Pintura sevillana*, no. 137, cited the López Cepero painting and thought that it could have been the one belonging to López Dóriga. They also included as no. 139 a work in a private collection in Buenos Aires, noting only that it was on canvas and a variant of the one then in the Gómez Moreno collection. There is no doubt that the picture now in the museum in Buenos Aires is the one that had been in the private collection and which belonged to Dean López Cepero. See Teresa Espantoso Rodríguez and María Cristina Serventi, "Un 'Cristo en la cruz' de Francisco Pacheco en el Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes de Buenos Aires," *Boletín del Instituto de Teoría e Historia del Arte Julio E. Payró. Buenos Aires* 7 (1997): pp. 101-105, and María Cristina Serventi, *Pintura española (siglos XVI al XVIII) en el Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes de Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires: Asociación Amigos del MNBA, 2003), p. 129.
32. Gospel according to Saint Matthew, 27, 37: "And they put over his head his cause written: THIS IS JESUS THE KING OF THE JEWS." Gospel according to Saint Luke, 23, 38: "And there was also a superscription written over him in letters of Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew: THIS IS THE KING OF THE JEWS." (Douay-Rheims Bible.)
33. Some explanation is given in Juan Luis Ravé Prieto, "Un nuevo Crucificado de Francisco Pacheco," *Laboratorio de Arte* 5 (1992): pp. 305-316, which refers to the example in El Coronil.
34. Igancio Cano Rivero, "Cristo crucificado," in Méndez Rodríguez, *Pacheco,* pp. 164-165 (with the bibliography given above). This discusses the relations between Pacheco and the Carmelite college of San Alberto in Seville, for which he painted a *San Miguel* also in 1637 (present location unknown) and he included two Carmelites in his *Libro de retratos*. His proposal that the painting comes from the college is reasonable. He suggests that it could be the *Crucifix* which was on the altar according to Ceán Bermúdez.
35. José Manuel Cruz Valdovinos, "Sobre el maestro de Zurbarán y su aprendizaje," *Boletín del Seminario de Arte y Arqueología* 57 (1991): pp. 490-492; José Manuel Cruz Valdovinos, "Zurbarán," in Francisco Calvo Serraller et al., *Veintitrés biografías de pintores* (Madrid: Fundación Amigos del Museo del Prado/Mondadori, 1992), pp. 247-273.
36. In the *Apparition of the Crucifixion of Saint Peter to Saint Peter Nolasco* (Museo Nacional del Prado), signed and dated 1629, which he painted for the convent of the Merced Calzada in Seville, the apostle - still alive - appears with nails on each foot, horizontal arms with his head higher, a loincloth without long ends and a rustic cross.
37. José Milicua, *Crist a la creu amb la Mare de Déu, la Magdalena i sant Joan al peu* en *Zurbarán al Museu Nacional d'art de Catalunya* (Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1988), pp. 90-91, p. 219; Pacheco, *Arte*, pp. 741-742. It is the sixth approbation, dated 29 April 1629, which figured in chapter XVI, the last of the third book.
38. According to Milicua, the titulus was made "sin demasiadas contemplaciones" (without too many complications).
39. This measurement seems to be incorrect. The second figure should be 168 cm.
40. Juan Miguel Serrera, "*Crucificado,*" in *Zurbarán*, exh. cat. (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 1988), pp. 194-196. He thinks that it was on the choir stairs in the convent.
41. See the information provided by the museum. An inscription on the reverse indicates that it belonged to the Marqués de Villafuerte in Seville. It was in the Valdés collection by the twentieth century, and, acquired by Pedro Masaveu, it entered the museum as a donation in lieu of tax. The remains of a date are illegible.
42. The first comes from the Hueto y Lezama-Leguizamón collection and entered in 1996 through the Villaescusa legacy. The second comes from the collection of the Marqués de Almeida in Río de Janeiro; see Milicua, *Crist a la creu*, pp. 88-93, pp. 218-220.
43. Cruz Valdovinos, *Velázquez*, pp. 154-155. I have for a number of years defended Velázquez's authorship on account of the work's technical, iconographic and dramatic characteristics. The similarities to the famous example of the *Dead Christ* reinforce the attribution.
44. Cruz Valdovinos, *Velázquez*, pp. 157-160.
45. Harold E. Wethey, *Alonso Cano: Painter, Sculptor, Architect* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), p. 64, no. 12, pl. 165. Wethey gives its origin as the chapterhouse of the Dominican convent in Loeches (Madrid) and lists its earlier twentieth-century provenance as property of the Marqués de Valverde de la Sierra in 1920-1921; it was at the time of Wethey's publication in the collection of Gregorio Diego Curto who died in 1967; it is possible that it still belongs to his heirs, however, I do not know of anyone who has studied it since Wethey, who examined it in person.
46. Wethey *Alonso Cano,* pp. 63-64, no. 13, plate 104.
47. José Álvarez Lopera, "Cano desconocido. Sobre conjuntos diversos y pinturas desaparecidas," in *Alonso Cano. Espiritualidad y modernidad artística. IV Centenario*, exh. cat. (Granada: Hospital Real de Granada, 2001), pp. 171, 238-239.
48. Antonio Ponz, *Viage de España…*, 13 vols. (Madrid: D. Joachin Ibarra, 1776), V, p. 225: "En el descanso de una escalera que sube al claustro alto está el bello Crucifijo de Alonso Cano, pintura casi del tamaño del natural. Es lástima que no se coloque en mejor sitio." In fact it is life-size.
49. Álvarez Lopera provided the citation, "Bosarte 1793", which did not figure in the general bibliography. See Isidore Bosarte, *Gabinete de lectura española o colección de muchos papeles curiosos de escritores antiguos y modernos de la nación* (Madrid, 1793), p. 38. The Secretary of the Academy points out similarities to the Velázquez from the sacristy of San Plácido.
50. Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las Bellas Artes en España*, 6 vols. (Madrid: En la Imprenta de la Viuda de Ibarra, 1800), I, p. 220, notes that the *Crucifix* had already been moved to one of the chapels.
51. Nicolás de la Cruz y Bahamonde, Conde de Maule, *Viage de España, Francia e Italia…*, 14 vols. (Cadiz: En la Imprenta de D. Manuel Bosch, 1813), XI, p. 31. Álvarez Lopera thought it must have entered before the War of Independence.
52. Wethey, *Alonso Cano,* p. 63. I believe that the first is from before January 1643 and the second from before June 1644; José Manuel Cruz Valdovinos, "Alonso Cano en Madrid," in *Arte y Cultura en la Granada renacentista y barroca; relaciones e influencias*, ed. José Policarpo Cruz, (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2014), pp. 200-201.
53. José Manuel Cruz Valdovinos, "Encargos y clientes de Alonso Cano en la Corte de Felipe IV," in *Alonso Cano. La modernidad del siglo de oro español*, exh. cat. (Madrid: Fundación Santander Central Hispano, 2002), pp. 79; Cruz Valdovinos, "Alonso Cano en Madrid," pp. 195, 200.
54. I have not seen the example sold at Sotheby's in April 1997, which measures 130 x 96 cm and could be the same painting as this one.
55. Wethey, *Alonso Cano,* p. 73, n. 14, pl. 107.
56. J.J. Justicia Segovia, "*Crucificado*," in *Alonso Cano. Espiritualidad,* pp. 239-241.
57. Cruz Valdovinos, "Alonso Cano en Madrid," p. 198.
58. Wethey, *Alonso Cano*, p. 79, n. 96, plate 106. I date it ca. 1650 and do not include it on account of the restorations that have left little of the original work. Wethey probably allowed for the inclusion of a Cross in its height.
59. Cruz Valdovinos, "Alonso Cano en Madrid," p. 220.
60. María Concepción García Gainza, "Sobre el envío del Cristo de Cano a Lecároz," in *Alonso Cano y su época, Actas: Symposium Internacional, Granada, 14 -17 febrero 2002* (Seville: Consejería de Cultura, 2002), pp. 151-159.
61. Cruz Valdovinos, "Alonso Cano en Madrid," pp. 197-198.
62. Aterido Fernández, *Corpus*, no. 514, 19-3-1726: "Otro quadro de dos varas y media de alto y vara y media de ancho de Cristo crucificado, original de Alphonso Cano con marco negro y perfil dorado en mil y quinientos reales de vellón." (Another painting 2 ⅓ *varas* high and 1 ½ wide, of Christ crucified, original work by Alphonso Cano, in a black frame with gilded edge, 1500 reales.) Given the profession and trajectory of the craftsman from Madrid, this attribution should be accepted.

SPANISH TEXT

A propósito de un nuevo *Cristo Crucificado Muerto* de Alonso Cano

JOSÉ MANUEL CRUZ VALDOVINOS

Alonso Cano fue bautizado en la iglesia parroquial de San Ildefonso de Granada – de donde sus padres escogieron el nombre – el día de san José de 1601.[1] Declaró Alonso en 1658 como testigo en la información para la concesión del hábito de la orden de Santiago a Diego Velázquez, que le conocía desde hacía 44 años,[2] lo que indica que se había trasladado a Sevilla ya en 1614; en efecto, su padre está documentado en Granada en 1613 por última vez.[3] Velázquez estaba entonces cumpliendo su aprendizaje con el pintor Francisco Pacheco (1564-1644), que duraba seis años contados a partir del 1 de diciembre de 1610, según el contrato firmado por el padre del aprendiz en 17 de noviembre de 1611 y por el maestro el siguiente 27.[4] El 17 de agosto de 1616, cuando faltaban a Velázquez apenas unos meses para concluir su aprendizaje, Miguel, padre de Alonso, ensamblador y ya vecino de Sevilla, firmó la carta de aprendizaje por la que ponía a su hijo con Pacheco por tiempo de cinco años.[5] Lázaro Díaz del Valle y Antonio Palomino[6] señalaron que solo estuvo con él ocho meses, y el segundo añadió que pasó luego con Juan del Castillo y que aprendió también con Francisco de Herrera el viejo.[7] No suele aceptarse en la actualidad, si bien tardó unos años más de lo común en presentarse al examen y aprobación como maestro pintor de imaginería – que era el título usual para los pintores de figuras –, pues no lo hizo hasta el 12 de abril de 1626.[8] Sin embargo, conocemos una pintura suya fechada en 1624[9] y se casó en enero de 1625 con la viuda María de Figueroa, lo primero en contra de las ordenanzas de pintores sevillanos y lo segundo desacostumbrado antes de alcanzar el título de maestro. No cabe duda de que, además de su aprendizaje de pintor, practicó con su padre el arte de ensamblador o arquitecto de retablos y probablemente rudimentos de escultura con inspiraciones de Juan Martínez Montañés.

Hemos resumido estos aspectos biográficos no tanto por hacer una presentación del artista cuanto por destacar dos hechos principales para nuestro análisis de la obra que comentamos (fig. 1). Cano aprendió con Pacheco, lo mismo que Velázquez, y si hemos de creer al granadino, se conocieron antes de que el sevillano hubiera salido de su obrador y de que Cano hubiera entrado en él. Allí coincidieron cuatro meses de 1616. Su relación no terminó con la aprobación del sevillano en 1617, pues la boda de éste en 1618 con Juana, la hija de Pacheco, explica que nunca se interrumpieron sus lazos con su maestro y su obrador, y, por ende, con Cano, que asistía allí como aprendiz. Tampoco cesó la amistad de ambos pintores cuando Velázquez marchó a la Corte en 1623. Baste recordar que Cano estaba en Sevilla todavía el 13 de julio de 1638 y que la primera noticia sobre su llegada a Madrid, del 16 de agosto siguiente, es que apadrinaba a Inés Manuela, hija de Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo y de Francisca, la hija de Velázquez.[10] Este doble hecho: aprendizaje con Pacheco y amistad con el sevillano, tiene importancia, como expondremos, al analizar y valorar este nuevo Crucificado.

Un aspecto que, desde el punto de vista iconográfico, ha ocupado con insistencia a los estudiosos de la pintura española de la primera mitad del siglo XVII hace ya unas décadas, ha sido el del número de clavos que fijan a Cristo a la cruz. De ello vamos a tratar aquí, pues nos encontramos ante un inédito cuadro de Alonso Cano que responde al modelo llamado "de cuatro clavos", que son una minoría frente a los más comunes de tres clavos donde uno solo atraviesa ambos pies. Entre los pintores que realizaron figuras de Cristo de cuatro clavos se encuentran Pacheco y Velázquez, motivo por el que hemos insistido en destacar su relación con Cano.

Comenzaremos nuestro análisis señalando que nos hallamos ante una figura de Cristo muerto. La exacta verificación de la muerte no depende de que tenga los ojos más o menos cerrados, sino de la herida de su costado, según narra san Juan, testigo presencial[11]. Son pocos los inventarios y autores que aluden a este aspecto, lo que es de lamentar, pues facilitaría las identificaciones. Es fundamental, a nuestro entender, y por eso hemos incluido este dato en el título del cuadro.

Pacheco escribió su *Arte de la Pintura* a lo largo de bastantes años; el manuscrito original se conserva en el Instituto Valencia de Don Juan de Madrid y la impresión primera se hizo en 1649, póstuma por tanto.[12] En los dos capítulos que cierran su texto – XV y XVI del libro tercero – se ocupa de la representación del Crucificado.[13] Titula el XV: "En favor de la pintura de los cuatro clavos con que fue crucificado Cristo nuestro redentor". Está compuesto por sendas cartas a Francisco de Rioja de 1619 y del propio Pacheco de 1620. En el comienzo, Rioja explica que su discurso en defensa de los cuatro clavos ha sido forzoso dedicárselo al pintor "porque lo executa con tanta felicidad en las imágenes que pinta". Inicia luego un largo recorrido por numerosos autores antiguos, varios de ellos santos, con textos latinos y aún griegos en que se referían a los cuatro clavos, y finaliza de nuevo con Pacheco: "…ha sido el primero que estos días en España ha vuelto a restituir el uso antiguo con algunas imágenes de Cristo, que ha pintado, de cuatro clavos, ajustándose en todo a lo que dicen los escritores antiguos; porque pinta la cruz con cuatro extremos y con el supedáneo en que están clavados los pies juntos. Vése plantada la figura sobre él como si estuviera en pie; el rostro con magestad y decoro, sin torcimiento feo o descompuesto, así, como convenía a la soberana grandeza de Cristo nuestro Señor". La respuesta de Pacheco abunda en la posición con nuevos argumentos y citas de más autores, incluido el cardenal jesuita Roberto Belarmino,[14] cuya obra acababa de publicarse en Roma en 1618. Continúa citando imágenes de esculturas y de pintura de varios tiempos en que se representaron los cuatro clavos. Entre las obras contemporáneas, se refiere al pintado por Antonio Mohedano para el doctor Álvaro Pizaño de Palacios, canónigo de Antequera, que se desconoce en la actualidad. Y también al *Cristo de la Clemencia* (catedral de Sevilla) de Montañés (fig. 2) que donó a la cartuja Mateo Vázquez de Leca, arcediano de Carmona, quien exigió en el contrato de 1603 que Cristo estuviera vivo, antes de expirar, con los ojos abiertos y la cabeza inclinada. Pero hay que advertir que, sin embargo de los cuatro clavos, los pies aparecen cruzados y no existe supedáneo, lo que le distancia de muchos ejemplares de Pacheco, Velázquez y Cano. Destaca, por excepcional, el título de la cruz en hebreo, griego y latín, asunto que luego estudiamos.

Del mayor interés es el párrafo que dedica a Durero: "Alberto Durero, diligentísimo, docto y santo artífice, habrá casi cien años que dibuxó un Crucifixo que yo hallé en un libro de cosas de su mano, que fue de nuestro católico Rey Felipo segundo, con cuatro clavos y el supedáneo, bien así como yo los executo". Según comentamos hace unos años,[15] Panofsky señaló que, a partir de un dibujo a pluma de un *Calvario* de 1521, Durero ideó una gran composición de *Crucifixión* solo conocida a través de impresiones póstumas de dos planchas de cobre, la primera, al parecer, grabada por el propio artista pero inconclusa,[16] y la segunda –de la que reproduce un ejemplar – que fecha en 1523. Benito Navarrete trató con detalle la influencia en Pacheco – y después en Velázquez, Cano, Zurbarán y, por excepción, en Goya – de la estampa dureriana de 1523, reproduciendo el ejemplar conservado en el British Museum de Londres. (fig. 3)[17] Navarrete destacó otro párrafo de Pacheco sobre Durero que, al parecer, había pasado inadvertido: "… y nuestro prudentísimo monarca Filipo segundo estimó, grandemente, sus dibuxos. Yo alcancé uno de su mano de un libro que fue de su Majestad, digno de suma veneración",[18] señalando la general admiración de Pacheco por Durero. Por nuestra parte, iremos un paso más allá precisando que el dibujo al que se refiere el sanluqueño debe de ser el que se conserva en el Museo del Louvre (41,3 x 30 cm) (fig. 4) que Panofsky considera consecuencia de la estampa incompleta. En él aparece sólo la figura de Cristo –el Crucifijo citado por Pacheco y no una Crucifixión, que incluye múltiples figuras – y se trata de un dibujo, tal como menciona el tratadista en las dos ocasiones, en vez de una estampa. Cristo está unido por cuatro clavos a la cruz apenas insinuada tras las piernas, lo mismo que sucede con el supedáneo, donde está la fecha de 1523.[19] En la estampa, como en el dibujo, aparece Cristo vivo, pero este punto no interesaba especialmente a Pacheco, sino sólo el número de clavos. Es cierto que, en la estampa, Cristo dirige su mirada a su derecha, donde está la Virgen, y en el dibujo mira al lado contrario, pero hemos de considerarlo normal si el dibujo se inspiró en la plancha y no en la estampa, donde la impresión invertía las posiciones grabadas. Tampoco menciona el tratadista este particular, que no parece que le importe.

Pacheco se refiere en cuatro ocasiones a un viaje que hizo desde Sevilla; estuvo en Córdoba, Toledo, Madrid, el Pardo y el Escorial.[20] Indica que fue en 1611, sin mayores precisiones. Varios autores han propuesto que fuera desde septiembre de 1610 hasta octubre de 1611[21] en tanto Basegoda piensa que tal vez tuvo lugar "hacia la primavera-verano de dicho año".[22] El maestro firma una escritura en Sevilla en 25 de octubre de 1611,[23] por lo que nos mostramos plenamente conformes con Basegoda: Pacheco aprovecharía los meses de bonanza meteorológica para su visita a la Corte con parada en las dos grandes ciudades que se hallaban a su paso.

Nos interesa fijar con la mayor exactitud posible la fecha del viaje, pues conlleva la visión del dibujo de Durero en el Escorial y, en consecuencia, determinaría los cuadros del Crucificado que pintó. El primer ejemplar conocido está firmado y fechado precisamente en ese año de 1611.[24] Cristo está pintado sobre una cruz plana de madera (40,6 x 25,6 cm), se conserva en la sacristía de la iglesia parroquial de Nuestra Señora de la Consolación de El Coronil (Sevilla)(fig. 5) y quizá proceda del extinto convento de carmelitas descalzos, pues el tamaño y características corresponde a las que se hallaban en celdas de monjas y frailes.[25] La figura tiene su pie derecho sobrepuesto al izquierdo, de tres clavos siguiendo la visión de santa Brígida, lo que nos lleva a concluir que está pintado antes de conocer el dibujo del alemán, por tanto, en los primeros meses de 1611. No es óbice que se trate de un Cristo a punto de expirar, como el de Durero, que mire hacia nuestra derecha de manera muy acusada y que la cabeza esté a la misma altura de las manos. En torno a la cabeza hay un resplandor con rayos y el paño cubre

parcialmente, pues a la derecha sólo se ve la soga. El *titulus* lleva la inscripción en hebreo, griego y latín, como lo escribe san Juan, pero parece que no se había planteado todavía la polémica a la que luego nos referiremos, pues carece del inicio HIC EST.[26] El palo inferior de la cruz se prolonga bastante, muy ensangrentado, y bajo los pies de la figura de Cristo y en el extremo hay una calavera volcada.

El conocimiento del dibujo de Durero transformaría en adelante el modelo de Cristo crucificado, ahora muerto, de Pacheco. El primer ejemplar conocido tras el regreso de su viaje es el de la Fundación Rodríguez Acosta de Granada (fig. 6), sobre tabla, de dos tercias de vara por un palmo y jeme (58 x 37,5 cm), firmado y fechado en 1614.[27] Con la misma firma y datado en 1615, también sobre tabla y con medidas similares (50 x 38 cm) se publicó, cuando pertenecía a la colección de Teresa López-Dóriga, otro ejemplar ahora en paradero que desconocemos.[28] Sin fecha pero en todo semejante aunque en lienzo es un tercer ejemplar que se conserva en el Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes de Buenos Aires (fig. 7)(56 x 41 cm; con exactitud dos tercias por media vara), donde se data en 1614/1615 comparando con los precedentes citados. El lienzo fue adquirido por el director Eduardo Schiaffino el 23 de junio de 1906 en Sevilla de José María López Cepero, sobrino biznieto del conocido deán y coleccionista del mismo apellido. En el inventario de 1813 de la colección de López Cepero figuró en el gabinete "un Cristo de Pacheco" (nº 153) y en un catálogo de 1860 (nº 625) se indica que mide un pie y once pulgadas por un pie y cuatro pulgadas (53,3 x 37,2 cm). La pintura ingresó en el Museo en 1995.[29]

La innovación común de estos tres ejemplares es que los pies de Cristo aparecen clavados separadamente y apoyan en un supedáneo, pieza que se fija a la cruz con un fragmento de planta trapezoidal. En esta pieza firma Pacheco los dos primeros Crucificados. Cristo lleva corona de espinas y sobre la cabeza una aureola calada; la cabeza queda a la altura de las manos y se inclina levemente, sin romper la vertical de todo el cuerpo. Su pierna derecha no se extiende con rigidez sino que se curva ligeramente acercando una rodilla a la otra; los pies se separan desde los talones en oblicuo y los dedos sobresalen un poco del supedáneo. El paño se anuda cayendo en vertical junto a los muslos, con más longitud a nuestra derecha, y más corto entre las piernas, de modo que la rotunda verticalidad de la imagen no queda interrumpida. Los tablones de la cruz son planos, como el supedáneo, y, al no verse su final inferior, no da lugar a la colocación de la habitual calavera.

Los títulos de los Crucificados de 1614-1615 presentan la leyenda en hebreo, griego y latín, como ya sucedía en el de El Coronil –bastante borroso en la actualidad–, pero, a diferencia de éste, la inscripción latina comienza por HIC EST antes de IESVS NAZARAENVS/ REX IVDAEORUM. Sigue a san Juan en la triple lengua, pero toma de san Marcos y san Lucas el inicio.[30] Pocos años después, en 1619, Fernando Afán de Rivera y Enríquez, III duque de Alcalá, visitó el obrador de Pacheco y vio un Crucificado de cuatro clavos que alabó, aunque generó una polémica filológica. El duque escribió: "Del título de la cruz de Cristo nuestro Señor" en este mismo año o quizá en 1620, fundamentando su posición a partir de un ejemplar que había visto en la iglesia de Santa Cruz de Roma. Fue contestado por Francisco de Rioja.[31]

Antes de dejar a Pacheco conviene observar que el siguiente ejemplar de Cristo muerto se conserva en colección particular de Madrid, firmado un poco más abajo de los pies de Cristo con las iniciales como en el granadino de 1614, y datado en 1637.[32] Está pintado sobre una cruz plana de madera como el de El Coronil aunque mide 55 x 35 cm (dos tercias por palmo y sexma de vara) como los de 1614 y 1615 y también conserva el HIC EST de los tres últimos en el letrero. La representación es semejante a éstos, pues apenas importa la prolongación de la tabla arriba y en los brazos más allá de la cruz, pero los pies de Cristo, sujetos con cuatro clavos, están cruzados el izquierdo sobre el derecho, al revés que en El Coronil. No se conocen eslabones intermedios en su producción que puedan ilustrar el momento en que el sanluqueño abandonó el modelo de los pies paralelos para adoptar éste, de procedencia miguelangelesca.

Hemos de prestar también atención a las pinturas de Cristo crucificado que hizo Francisco de Zurbarán. Su contrato de aprendizaje por tres años con Pedro Díaz de Villanueva se firmó en Sevilla en 1614 y no es seguro que lo concluyera allí, pues aparece en Llerena en 1617.[33] Es indudable que conoció la doctrina de Pacheco sobre los cuatro clavos y que había visto algunas de sus obras, bien durante su aprendizaje o a su vuelta a Sevilla tras firmar el contrato en enero de 1626 para hacer una larga serie de 21 pinturas para el convento dominico de San Pablo. Al año siguiente está datado el *Cristo crucificado muerto* (The Art Institute, Chicago; 290,3 x 165,5 cm; 3 y ½ x 2 varas), que hizo para la sacristía del mismo convento. La figura es de cuatro clavos con los pies sobre el supedáneo, colocadas en paralelo aunque un poco desviados hacia la derecha.[34] Hace años que Milicua observó que el prior del convento de San Pablo, fray Vicente Durango, fue uno de los hombres doctos que escribieron las aprobaciones del texto de Pacheco sobre los cuatro clavos,[35] por lo que el pintor debió de actuar con toda probabilidad bajo su consejo. En otros aspectos es bastante diferente de los ejemplares de los años 1614 y 1615 de Pacheco: la figura cuelga y la cabeza cae muy inclinada a la vez que el torso, que no sigue el eje vertical; también las piernas giran un poco al lado contrario, obligando a los pies; el paño, muy arrugado, cae largamente al lado izquierdo y no muestra el nudo de Pacheco; la cruz es rústica, el supedáneo una pieza simple, los clavos son numerosos y el título una pieza cuadrada en que no se ve el texto hebreo y donde falta el HIC EST.[36]

Otros ejemplares sucesivos en el tiempo presentan características diferentes, si bien conservan los cuatro clavos. El *Cristo expirante* del Museo de Bellas Artes de Sevilla que procede del convento de capuchinos es también de gran tamaño (255 x 193, que parece error por 168 cm; 3 x 2 varas). Se ha datado al menos desde 1627 a 1640, pero opinamos, con Juan Miguel Serrera[37] que se pintaría poco antes de llegar a la Corte en 1634. La figura levanta la cabeza hacia lo alto inclinándola a su derecha y queda por debajo del travesaño; de esta manera, el torso se ladea un poco en aquella dirección. El paño, muy ampuloso y arrugado, se anuda a nuestra derecha y cuelga por ese lado hasta la altura de la rodilla. El título no tiene el HIC EST. El *Cristo muerto* del Museo de Bellas Artes de Asturias, de tamaño similar a los anteriores (271 x 177 cm; 3 y ¼ x poco más de 2 varas), se data por el Museo en 1638/1640.[38] Desde el punto de vista iconográfico, es muy diferente de los antes mencionados y aun con variantes parece que está más cerca de los ejemplares de Pacheco. La cabeza sigue por debajo del travesaño, muy inclinada pero iniciando un riguroso eje vertical; el paño amplio pero con caída por la izquierda más corta que en los antes citados; los pies, paralelos, sobresalen del supedáneo que se parece a los de Pacheco. El título en las tres lenguas no incluye las dos palabras en cuestión. Por todo lo cual, nos inclinamos a pensar que está pintado hacia 1630, incluso antes que el de los capuchinos sevillanos.

La permanencia de los cuatro clavos en las imágenes de Cristo crucificado que pintó Zurbarán llega hasta fechas avanzadas. El *Cristo muerto con donante* del Prado está fechado en 1640 (244 x 167,5 cm; 3 x 2 varas), y el *Cristo expirante con María, san Juan y la Magdalena* de colección particular de Londres, tiene firma y fecha de 1655 (212 x 163 cm; 2 y ½ x 2 varas).[39] Permanece la mayor parte de sus características iconográficas aunque en el segundo varían el movimiento de la cabeza y los paños respecto al de los capuchinos; la presencia de medias figuras no interfiere en los aspectos formales.

Hemos de mencionar aún las dos figuras de Cristo en la cruz que hizo Velázquez al regreso de su primer viaje a Italia (1629-1630) y se conservan en el Museo del Prado. Estos Crucificados velazqueños pueden ayudar a comprender los de Cano, del mismo modo que los de Pacheco y Zurbarán.

El *Cristo crucificado vivo* (fig. 8) es relativamente pequeño (102 x 57 cm; 1 ¼ x $^{2}/_{3}$ de vara), pero aproximadamente doble que los de Pacheco. No entraremos a fondo en la cuestión de la atribución, negada por muchos autores con los que no estamos de acuerdo.[40] Firmado y fechado D.Velazquez fa/1631, procede del monasterio de bernardas de Madrid que lo donaron al Estado tras la guerra civil y su autenticidad viene respaldada por el hecho de que en el inventario de bienes a la muerte del pintor aparecía en la partida nº 582 "Un Cristo crucificado de vara y cuarta de alto y tres cuartas de ancho," exactamente las de este ejemplar, que podría tratarse de un exvoto tras su feliz regreso y por ello guardado en su poder. Las relaciones con las piezas de su maestro son evidentes. Tiene cuatro clavos con los pies paralelos, la figura conserva una rigurosa verticalidad y el rostro con la mirada hacia lo alto a nuestra izquierda apenas se desvía del eje; tiene resplandor –y no aureola– pero sin rayos en torno a la cabeza; dobla cuatro dedos de cada mano. Se distancia de Pacheco en que es muy colgante y la cabeza queda por debajo del travesaño, el paño es corto y ceñido con nudo en el centro y sin caídas por los lados. La cruz es plana y ofrece la novedad de mostrar vetas y nudos. El título con la leyenda triple ocupa en parte el travesaño para evitar quizá tanto espacio libre; detalle sorprendente es que el pergamino ha empezado a desprenderse y no se ve completo el HIC pero sí el EST, otro punto de contacto con Pacheco que no existe, en cambio, en el supedáneo, que no muestra la pieza trapezoidal; al pie coloca una calavera, como en el ejemplar de El Coronil, aunque no volcada. El aspecto más destacable es el fondo de paisaje con construcciones imprecisas que rememoran Jerusalén, arboleda, vegetación y montañas al fondo, azulado el horizonte y nublado en la mitad superior. Ha extrañado a muchos el paisaje, pero su permanencia en Roma lo justifica y rememora, con sus franjas de color, desde la claridad del primer término a la mayor oscuridad sobre el travesaño, los países de otras obras posteriores.

El *Crucificado muerto* es de gran tamaño (fig. 9) (250 x 170 cm; 3 x 2 varas) como los de Zurbarán; objeto justificado de los mayores elogios, no ha ofrecido nunca dudas sobre su autenticidad. Su ingreso en el convento madrileño de San Plácido –regalado por Jerónimo de Villanueva, protonotario de Aragón y hombre de la mayor confianza del conde duque de Olivares– es objeto de controversia, pero ya expusimos nuestra posición entendiéndolo como acto de reparación de este personaje en 1633 por la desgraciada influencia que había tenido en las desviaciones doctrinales de ese monasterio que provocaron la intervención de la Inquisición, que alcanzó también a Villanueva.[41]

Conviene destacar tanto las similitudes con la obra de 1631 como con las de Pacheco de 1614 y 1615. La figura de Cristo repite la estructura frontal y vertical, pues la cabeza cae sin desviación lateral, los pies, unidos por los talones, apenas se separan, es menos colgante que el ejemplar pequeño, la cabeza, con resplandor, apenas roza el travesaño –menos que lo hacía su maestro– y el doblado de los dedos es similar, como también el supedáneo y los tablones de la cruz, con vetas y nudos. El *titulus* se coloca sobre el extremo superior, como hizo Pacheco, pero prescinde del HIC EST. Los hilos de sangre son numerosos y el fondo oscuro, como en el sanluqueño.

Corresponde, por fin, ocuparnos de Alonso Cano. Aunque se han hecho propuestas cronológicas diversas para los varios ejemplares de Cristo crucificado del granadino, no son definitivas y convendría examinar las obras una a una para destacar sus características.

a) *Cristo crucificado muerto* (fig. 10) (antes colección Gregorio Diego Curto, Madrid).[42] Mide 248 x 166 cm (3 x 2 varas). Wethey lo dató en 1643. Consideró sin dudas que era un regalo del conde duque de Olivares a las dominicas de Loeches, cuyo convento patrocinó y

costeó. De ello deduce que el cuadro ha de ser de la fecha citada, en que Felipe IV accedió gustosamente a su petición de licencia para retirarse de la Corte. Es figura de tres clavos con su pie derecho sobre el otro. Frontal y vertical, su cabeza hacia la izquierda tiene un desvío un poco mayor que el de Velázquez; en cambio, los dedos pulgares de sus manos se colocan sobre los otros de forma muy parecida a la del sevillano. El cuerpo es menos colgante, la cabeza con un ligero resplandor queda más alta sobre el travesaño. El paño se dispone horizontalmente, muy estrecho, pero volando largamente a la izquierda. El *titulus* se reduce a un INRI –que, extrañamente, en la única imagen conocida, la fotografía que publicó Wethey, parece que se repetía tres veces– y la cruz es rústica, de maderos redondeados.

b) *Cristo crucificado muerto* (fig. 11) (Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid). Tiene medidas semejantes al anterior (con pequeña diferencia en las citas, 242 x 160 cm; cerca de 3 x 2 varas). Wethey señaló que la pintura era de Godoy en 1808 y que fue enviado a París en 1813, de donde regresó en 1815 entregándose a la Real Academia.[43] Álvarez Lopera dudó de que se tratara del cuadro de Godoy (que procedería del convento de carmelitas descalzos de San Hermenegildo de Madrid), pues estaba expuesto en la Academia cuando ya, en 1810, las pinturas de Godoy y otras destinadas a Francia estaban preparadas para su traslado;[44] concluye que el cuadro procede del monasterio benedictino de San Martín de Madrid, citando a Ponz,[45] a Bosarte[46] y Ceán[47] y al conde de Maule,[48] que lo vio ya en la Academia. Wethey dató la obra hacia 1646 en relación con otras pinturas de Cano: *Noli me tangere* de Budapest y *Cristo muerto en brazos de un ángel* del Prado.[49] Álvarez Lopera entiende que pudo pintarse hacia 1640/1643, anterior al de Loeches. Por nuestra parte, destacamos que Cano vivió en la calle de las Hileras, frente al monasterio benedictino (respectivamente en las manzanas 390 y 392 de la Planimetría) desde septiembre de 1641 a junio de 1644,[50] algo que apoya esta hipótesis.

La figura es de cuatro clavos, frontal y vertical, más colgante que el de Loeches, pues la cabeza queda por debajo del travesaño como en el de San Plácido, al que se parece también en la inclinación de la cabeza, repitiendo la colocación de los pulgares de las manos. El paño vuela doblemente por la izquierda y deja muy descubierto el cuerpo mostrando en parte la soga que lo sujeta. El título recoge el acrónimo INRI con puntos tras cada letra y un corto trazo en la pata de la R. La cruz es de travesaño curvo, hincada en un pequeño montículo, y a su pie se ve la calavera. Hay que destacar finalmente que el fondo es de paisaje con horizonte muy bajo en que se vislumbran edificaciones, todo en tonos ocres casi enrojecidos, muy alejados de los empleados por Velázquez en su primer ejemplar, incluso en la dirección compositiva, que aquí va de izquierda a derecha.

c) *Cristo crucificado muerto* (fig. 12) (Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, P07718). Ingresó en 1998 como dación en pago de impuestos de José Palacio Carvajal.[51] Mide 130 x 90 cm; poco más de 1 ½ x 1 varas). En el museo lo datan de manera laxa en el periodo 1635-1665. Es una representación de Cristo muerto, aunque apenas sea visible la herida del costado; de tres clavos con el pie derecho sobre el otro. La cabeza se coloca un poco sobre el travesaño, con inclinación vertical y resplandor con rayos más visibles que en el ejemplar de la Real Academia, pero los dedos de las manos tienen posición semejante. El paño ceñido muestra la soga a la derecha y cae por ambos lados en la sombra. La cruz es plana y el letrero del título son semejantes. También en esta obra hay fondo de paisaje, más claro que en el citado, aunque siempre en tonos amarronados, destacando la presencia de dos árboles que cruzan sus finos troncos, como lo empezó a hacer Annibale Carracci, y con hojillas de gran transparencia.

d) *Cristo crucificado muerto* (colección particular) (fig. 1). La obra que sirve de fundamento a este trabajo procede de una colección madrileña de la que no se conocen los datos. Mide 203,7 x 126,2 cm (2 ½ x 1 ½ varas), algo menos que los dos primeros ejemplares canescos citados.

Es de cuatro clavos y pies paralelos, cuerpo vertical en que su pierna derecha se desvía levemente hacia dentro hasta la altura de la rodilla, cabeza un poco inclinada a nuestra izquierda, por debajo del travesaño y resplandor en torno, similar al del Cristo velazqueño de San Plácido. El pulgar de las manos se dobla sobre los otros, como acostumbra el granadino. El paño cae por la izquierda más visible que por la derecha, donde se descubre la soga, pero formando casi un semicírculo. La cruz es plana y se prolonga más que en el ejemplar de la Real Academia por debajo del supedáneo con tres clavos más señalados. El título con el acrónimo INRI es menos apaisado que otros. De nuevo aparece el fondo de paisaje, quizá más cercano en sus franjas cromáticas y tonalidades al del Cristo pequeño de Velázquez, con picos de montaña descendiendo de derecha a izquierda; a la derecha aparecen arbolillos dorados parecidos a los de la pieza del Prado.

e) *Cristo crucificado muerto* (Academia de Bellas Artes, Granada). Mide 121 x 88 cm (1 ½ x 1 vara). Wethey data la obra hacia 1652, es decir, al comienzo del periodo granadino tras el abandono de la Corte.[52]

Es figura de tres clavos con su pie derecho sobre el otro. La cabeza, con resplandor, se inclina un poco a la izquierda y apenas queda sobre el travesaño. El paño cubre poco y cae por ambos lados. La cruz es plana y el título con el acrónimo. Fondo de paisaje y a la izquierda, arbolillos que cruzan sus troncos, como en el ejemplar del Prado.
Otras pinturas que se le han atribuido nos parece que no son de su mano. Incluso el *Cristo vivo* de tres clavos del convento de agustinas recoletas del Corpus Christi de Granada (185 x 122 cm; 2¼ x 1½ varas) datado en 1653/1657 –que probablemente es el que se menciona a su nombre por tres veces en las cuentas[53]– que debió de ser retocado tempranamente.

En último lugar haremos mención de dos Crucificados de talla. En el inventario de bienes de 1692 de la nuera del influyente consejero de Castilla José González, a quien retrató Cano hacia 1640, figura un pequeño Crucificado de talla con cruz de ébano, remates y título de plata y peana escalonada de peral dado de negro. Es la única obra de escultura que se documenta de su primera etapa cortesana.[54]

Gran importancia tiene el llamado *Cristo de Lecároz* (fig. 13), en la actualidad en el convento de capuchinos de San Antonio de Pamplona. De madera, mide 185 x 155 cm (2 ¼ x casi 2 varas) aunque Wethey dio como altura 212 cm.[55] La obra estuvo colocada originariamente en la capilla del lado de la epístola de la iglesia del monasterio benedictino de Montserrat de Madrid y, al parecer, la había iniciado antes de ir a Granada en 1652, quedando concluida a comienzos de 1658.[56] Pasó a la Real Academia de San Fernando, donde se hallaba ya en 1813; fue devuelta en 1824 para volver en 1837 por la desamortización. En 1891, por confusión con otro de poco valor, fue enviado al colegio de misioneros capuchinos de Lecároz.[57] En 2002 fue trasladado a su sede actual. Importa destacar que es de tres clavos con su pie derecho por encima –como los demás ejemplares canescos con este número de clavos– y un paño colocado de manera parecida al de la Academia de Granada. La cabeza se inclina como el que se presenta en este trabajo, si bien con el rostro algo más visible; en la actual disposición, la cabeza cuelga por debajo del travesaño.

No resulta fácil datar las obras citadas de Alonso Cano si exceptuamos la talla de Lecároz. El repaso que hemos hecho de los Crucificados de Pacheco –que es, sin olvidar Durero, el origen–, Velázquez y Zurbarán, pretende aclarar si es posible esta cuestión. No se conoce ningún *Crucificado* de Cano en su etapa sevillana, en que se dedicó poco a la pintura, y los ejemplos de Pacheco son de fechas alejadas a los suyos excepto el de 1637, que no tuvo que conocer. Desde su llegada a Madrid en 1638, mantuvo estrecho contacto con Velázquez y contempló sin duda los dos ejemplares del sevillano que hemos mencionado aquí. Tras el incendio del Buen Retiro en 1640 viajaron juntos por Castilla la Vieja para recoger pinturas que sustituyeran a las deñadas, en un periodo que hemos datado en los últimos meses de 1641 y primeros de 1642.[58] Según hemos propuesto, el *Crucificado* para San Martín (ahora en la Real Academia) hubo de pintarse cuando era vecino del monasterio, lo que restringe su datación desde mediados de 1642 a junio de 1644, teniendo en cuenta el aludido viaje. La influencia de la pintura de San Plácido es clara, sin embargo del diferente letrero y de la agitación del paño; el fondo, en cambio, está más cerca del ejemplar pequeño del sevillano.

Aunque es media vara menor en altura que el de San Martín, el cuadro que nos ocupa está muy cerca del anterior por lo que nos inclinamos a datarlo antes de que el pintor escapara a Valencia en junio de 1644, aunque no puede descartarse que lo hiciera justo tras su regreso a la Corte, que se documenta ya en septiembre de 1645. Conserva Cano el acrónimo en el letrero con el mismo dibujo de letras, pero recoge el paño; une más los pies como Velázquez y hasta el resplandor le es más cercano. El paisaje, por su estructura y color recuerda también en este ejemplar al que sirve de fondo al pequeño Cristo velazqueño de 1631; las hojitas de los árboles se acercan a las de *La tela real* (National Gallery, Londres) que Velázquez había terminado en 1638 para la Torre de la Parada y anuncian los arbolillos de los ejemplares canescos del Prado y de la Academia granadina.

Conviene indicar que las medidas coinciden exactamente con un ejemplar tasado a la muerte del pintor y arquitecto Teodoro Ardemans en 1726 que fue legado a su albacea Juan Gregorio de la Fuente.[59] No conocemos ninguna otra mención documental de un Crucificado de Cano con estas medidas. A pesar de que el tamaño es considerable, pudo ser encargo de un particular para su casa o su oratorio. Ardemans nació cuando el pintor había dejado ya la Corte en 1660, marchando definitivamente a Granada, pero pudo adquirirlo de su primer propietario poco después.

Es difícil datar el resto de los ejemplares de tres clavos de Cano. El que llegó al Prado en 1998 está cerca de los comentados, por lo que pudo pintarse en Madrid en el periodo 1645-1651 y es anterior al de Granada y al de Lecároz. El más confuso en este aspecto es el que se considera procedente de Loeches, pues si fue una obra encargada por el Conde duque sería de sus primeros años en Madrid, pero los tres clavos y sobre todo el fondo oscuro y el paño extendido retrasan la fecha y aumentan la confusión.

Los Crucificados de Cano, además de la frontalidad y verticalidad de los de Velázquez, suelen recoger el vientre respecto a la caja torácica y se marca el ombligo, unas características que se aprecian bien en el cuadro inédito que comentamos. La sangre fluye de forma natural, y desde los clavos mancha manos y brazos, corre de los pies al madero bajo el supedáneo y desde la herida del costado se extiende un reguero que llega al paño y mancha la entrepierna. El rostro de Cristo, de nariz recta, barbado y con un mechón que cae extensamente a su derecha es semejante al de los demás Crucificados pintados por Cano, especialmente al de la Academia.

No vamos a extendernos en las habituales consideraciones acerca del dramatismo y de la emoción que estas obras suscitan. El cuidadoso modelado, la realidad de los clavos y de la sangre que provocan y la soledad que acompaña en el fondo son elementos suficientes para despertar los dolorosos sentimientos y la devoción profunda que los clientes pretendían.

NOTES

1. *Corpvs Alonso Cano* (ed. y coord. Ángel Aterido Fernández), Madrid: Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 2002, (en adelante *Corpvs*), nº 8. Las citas de documentos se harán por el número que tienen en esta obra, donde se menciona la fuente original.
2. *Ibidem*, nº 339.
3. *Ibidem*, nº 14.
4. Advertimos del común error de señalar que el contrato se firmó en septiembre. Véanse nuestras consideraciones al respecto en José Manuel CRUZ VALDOVINOS, *Velázquez. Vida y obra de un pintor cortesano,* Zaragoza: CAI, 2011, pp. 23-24.
5. *Corpvs*, nº 16.
6. *Ibidem*, pp. 389 y 514.
7. Antonio PALOMINO, *El Museo pictórico y escala óptica, III. El Parnaso español pintoresco laureado*, Madrid 1724 (ed. Aguilar, Madrid 1947), p. 985.
8. *Corpvs*, nº 36.
9. *San Francisco de Borja* (Museo de Bellas Artes, Sevilla).
10. *Corpvs*, nºs 184 y 185.
11. *Evangelio según san Juan*, 19, 33-34: "Pero al llegar a Jesús, como le hallaron ya muerto, no le quebraron las piernas, sino que uno de los soldados le atravesó el costado con una lanza, y al instante salió sangre y agua".
12. Francisco PACHECO, *Arte de la Pintura*, (ed., introducción y notas de Bonaventura BASSEGODA I HUGAS), Madrid: Cátedra, 1990.
13. *Ibidem*, pp. 713-749.
14. Roberto Belarmino (1542-1621) fue proclamado santo y doctor en el siglo XX. La obra a que se refiere Pacheco es *De septem verbis a Chisto in Cruce prolatis*.
15. CRUZ VALDOVINOS 2011, *Velázquez…*, *op. cit.*, p. 159.
16. Erwin PANOFSKY, *Vida y arte de Alberto Durero*, Madrid: Alianza Forma, 1982 (traducción a partir de la edición de 1955), pp. 234-235, figs. 280 y 281. Según Panofsky, la estampa mide 32 x 22,5 cm.
17. Benito NAVARRETE PRIETO, «Durero y los cuatro clavos», *Boletín del Museo del Prado*, 34 (1995), pp. 7-14. La reproducción de la estampa que incluye Navarrete es menos precisa que la publicada por Panofsky, por lo que llegamos a pensar que eran diferentes, pues el alemán no citó la sede (CRUZ VALDOVINOS 2011, *op. cit.*, p. 159). Ahora opinamos que es la misma.
18. PACHECO 1990, *op. cit.*, p. 553. NAVARRETE PRIETO, *op. cit.*, p. 8. Bassegoda se ocupa de lo que a continuación refiere Pacheco sobre el *Apocalipsis* de Durero, que no afecta a nuestro estudio.
19. PANOFSKY, *op. cit.*, fig. 281.
20. PACHECO 1990, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
21. Enrique VALDIVIESO y Juan Miguel SERRERA, *Pintura sevillana del primer tercio del siglo XVII,* Madrid: CSIC, 1985, p. 18.
22. PACHECO 1990, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
23. VALDIVIESO y SERRERA, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
24. *Ibidem,* p. 76, nº 134, lám. 22 y VARIOS, *Inventario artístico de Sevilla y su provincia II*, Madrid (Ministerio de Cultura), 1985, p. 231, fig. 50. La firma abreviada es O.F.P. Juan RAVÉ PRIETO, «Crucificado expirante» en *Pacheco. Teórico, artista, maestro* (cat. exp.), Sevilla: Junta de Andalucía, 2016, pp. 160-161.
25. RAVÉ 2016, *op. cit.*, p. 160, señala que el duque de Alcalá, señor del Coronil, donó una cruz "de pincel y plata" a la parroquia, que bien podría ser ésta, y que la plata se fundió con posterioridad. No nos parece posible esta hipótesis.
26. *Evangelio de San Juan*, 19, 19-20: "Redactó Pilato un título y lo puso sobre la cruz; estaba escrito: Jesús Nazareno, rey de los judíos… en hebreo, latín y griego".
27. VALDIVIESO y SERRERA *op. cit.,* p. 77, nº 135, lám. 32. Javier MOYA MORALES, «Cristo crucificado » en *Pacheco…*, 2016, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-163. La firma tiene iniciales como el ejemplar de El Coronil pero la F y la P. van dentro de la O. Procede de la colección Gómez Moreno, donde estaba ya en 1916. El soporte es una sola tabla de cedro de Indias: Mª del Valme MUÑOZ RUBIO, «Francisco Pacheco: Teoría y práctica» en *Pacheco…*, 2016, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
28. VALDIVIESO y SERRERA, *op. cit.,* p. 77, nº 136, lám. 33. Lo dio a conocer Matías DÍAZ PADRÓN, «Un nuevo Cristo crucificado de Pacheco», *Archivo Español de Arte*, XXXVIII (1965), pp. 128-130. La obra fue adquirida en París en 1901 por los antecesores de la propietaria citada. Hay que rechazar la posibilidad de que fuera la pintura que perteneció al deán López Cepero a finales del siglo XVIII, como luego se explica.
29. VALDIVIESO y SERRERA, *op. cit.,* nº 137, citaron el cuadro de López Cepero y pensaron que podía ser el de López Dóriga. También inventariaron con el nº 139 uno de colección particular de Buenos Aires del que solo conocían que era en lienzo y variante del entonces Gómez Moreno. No ofrece duda de que el del museo bonaerense es el que estaba en colección particular y que fue del deán López Cepero. Conviene citar la ficha del museo redactada por Patricia Corsani, además de la siguiente bibliografía: Teresa ESPANTOSO RODRÍGUEZ y María Cristina SERVENTI, «Un "Cristo en la cruz" de Francisco Pacheco en el Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes de Buenos Aires», *Boletín del Instituto de Teoría e Historia del Arte Julio E. Payró. Buenos Aires*, 7 (1997), pp. 101-105; María Cristina SERVENTI, *Pintura española (siglos XVI al XVIII) en el Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes de Buenos Aires*, Buenos Aires: Asociación Amigos del MNBA, 2003, p. 129.
30. *Evangelio de san Mateo*, 27, 37: "Sobre su cabeza pusieron escrita su causa: Este es Jesús, el Rey de los judíos"; *Evangelio de san Lucas*, 23, 38: "Había una inscripción sobre él: Este es el Rey de los judíos".
31. Algunas explicaciones en José Luis RAVÉ PRIETO, «Un nuevo Crucificado de Francisco Pacheco», *Laboratorio de Arte*, 5 (1992), pp. 305-316, que se refiere al ejemplo de El Coronil.
32. Ignacio CANO RIVERO, «Cristo crucificado» en *Pacheco…* 2016, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-165 (con la bibliografía precedente). Expone las relaciones de Pacheco con el colegio carmelita de San Alberto de Sevilla, para el que pintó un *San Miguel* en el mismo 1637 (paradero ignorado) e incluyó a dos carmelitas en su *Libro de retratos*. Es aceptable su propuesta de que esta pintura proceda del Colegio. Señala que podría tratarse del Crucifijo que Ceán Bermúdez citó en la mesa del altar.
33. José Manuel CRUZ VALDOVINOS, «Sobre el maestro de Zurbarán y su aprendizaje», *Boletín del Seminario de Arte y Arqueología*, LVII (1991), pp. 490-492; IDEM, *Zurbarán* en *Veintitrés biografías de pintores,* Madrid: Fundación Amigos Museo Prado, 1992, pp. 247-273.
34. En la *Aparición de San Pedro Crucificado a San Pedro Nolasco* (Museo Nacional del Prado), firmado y datado en 1629, que hizo para el convento de la Merced Calzada de Sevilla, el apóstol –vivo aún– aparece con sendos clavos en los pies separados, los brazos horizontales y la cabeza más alta, el paño sin la larga extensión y la cruz rústica.
35. José MILICUA, *Crist a la creu amb la Mare de Déu, la Magdalena i sant Joan al peu* en *Zurbarán al Museu Nacional d'art de Catalunya*, Barcelona: Generalitat, 1988, pp. 90-91 y 219; PACHECO 1990, *op. cit.*, pp. 741-742. Es la sexta aprobación, datada el 29 de abril de 1629, que figura en el capítulo XVI, último del tercer libro.
36. Según Milicua, el título fue rehecho "sin demasiadas contemplaciones".
37. Juan Miguel SERRERA, *Crucificado* en *Zurbarán*, Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1988, pp. 194-196. Piensa que estaba en la escalera del coro del convento.
38. Véase la información del Museo. Una inscripción al dorso indica que fue del marqués de Villafuerte de Sevilla. Ya en el siglo XX fue de la colección Valdés, y, adquirido por Pedro Masaveu ingresó en el Museo por dación en pago de impuestos. Los restos de una fecha son ilegibles.
39. El primero procede de las colecciones Hueto y Lezama-Leguizamón e ingresó en 1996 mediante el legado Villaescusa. El segundo procede de la colección del marqués de Almeida de Río de Janeiro; MILICUA, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-93 y 218-220.
40. CRUZ VALDOVINOS 2011, *Velázquez…*, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-155. Llevamos muchos años defendiendo la autoría de Velázquez por las características técnicas, iconográficas y dramáticas de la obra. Las similitudes con el famoso ejemplar de *Cristo muerto* refuerzan la atribución.
41. *Ibidem*, pp. 157-160.
42. WETHEY, *op. cit.*, p. 64, nº 12, lám. 165. Indica su origen en la sala capitular del convento de dominicas de Loeches (Madrid) y la propiedad del marqués de Valverde de la Sierra en 1920-1921. A pesar de la fecha del libro figura como propietario Gregorio Diego Curto, que falleció en 1967; es posible que permanezca en poder de sus herederos pero no conocemos que nadie lo haya estudiado desde el autor norteamericano, que alcanzó a verlo.
43. *Ibidem*, pp. 63-64, nº 13, lám. 104.
44. José ÁLVAREZ LOPERA, «Cano desconocido. Sobre conjuntos diversos y pinturas desaparecidas» en *Alonso Cano. Espiritualidad y modernidad artística. IV Centenario*, Granada: Junta de Andalucía, 2001, pp. 171 y 238-239.
45. Antonio PONZ, *Viage de España…*, Madrid: Por D. Joachin Ibarra, 1776, V, 5ª división, p. 225: "En el descanso de una escalera que sube al claustro alto está el bello Crucifijo de Alonso Cano, pintura casi del tamaño del natural. Es lástima que no se coloque en mejor sitio". En realidad es de tamaño natural.
46. Álvarez Lopera citó simplemente "Bosarte 1793", lo que no fue recogido en la bibliografía general de la publicación. Es Isidoro BOSARTE, *Gabinete de lectura española o colección de muchos papeles curiosos de escritores antiguos y modernos de la nación* (1793), p. 38. El secretario de la Academia advierte semejanzas con el de Velázquez de la sacristía de San Plácido.
47. 47 Juan Agustín CEÁN BERMÚDEZ, *Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las Bellas Artes en España*, Madrid: En la Imprenta de la Viuda de Ibarra, 1800, I, p. 220. Señala que el Crucifijo había sido trasladado ya a una capilla de la iglesia.
48. Nicolás de la CRUZ Y BAHAMONDE, Conde de MAULE, *Viage de España, Francia e Italia…*, Cádiz: En la Imprenta de D. Manuel Bosch, 1812, t. XI, p. 31. Álvarez Lopera pensó que debió de ingresar antes de la guerra de la Independencia.
49. WETHEY *op. cit.*, p. 63. Opinamos que la primera es anterior a enero de 1643 y la segunda antes de junio de 1644; José Manuel CRUZ VALDOVINOS, «Alonso Cano en Madrid» en *Arte y Cultura en la Granada renacentista y barroca; relaciones e influencias* (coord. José Policarpo Cruz), Granada: Universidad, 2014, pp. 200-201.
50. José Manuel CRUZ VALDOVINOS, «Encargos y clientes de Alonso Cano en la Corte de Felipe IV» en *Alonso Cano. La modernidad del siglo de oro español*, Madrid: Fundación Santander Central Hispano, 2002, pp. 79 y CRUZ VALDOVINOS 2014, «Alonso Cano en Madrid», *op. cit.*, pp. 195 y 200.
51. No conocemos el ejemplar subastado en Sotheby's en abril de 1997 que media 130 x 96 cm y que podría ser este mismo.
52. WETHEY *op. cit.*, p. 73, nº 14, lám. 107.
53. Juan José JUSTICIA SEGOVIA, *Crucificado* en *Alonso Cano. Espiritualidad ..., op. cit.*, pp. 239-241.
54. CRUZ VALDOVINOS 2014, «Alonso Cano en Madrid», *op. cit.*, p. 198.
55. WETHEY *op. cit.*, p. 79, nº 96, lám. 106. Lo dató hacia 1650 y lo relegó por considerar que las restauraciones habían dejado poco de su estado original. Es probable que su altura incluyera la cruz.
56. CRUZ CRUZ VALDOVINOS 2014, «Alonso Cano en Madrid», *op. cit.*, p. 220.
57. María Concepción GARCÍA GAINZA, «Sobre el envío del Cristo de Cano a Lecároz » en *Alonso Cano y su época*, Granada: Junta de Andalucía, 2002, pp. 151-159.
58. CRUZ VALDOVINOS 2014, «Alonso Cano en Madrid», *op. cit.*, pp.197-198.
59. *Corpvs*, nº 514, 19-3-1726: "Otro quadro de dos varas y media de alto y vara y media de ancho de Cristo crucificado, original de Alphonso Cano con marco negro y perfil dorado en mil y quinientos reales de vellón". Dada la profesión y trayectoria del artífice madrileño, la atribución debe de ser aceptada.

The taste for Paolo Veronese in early Stuart London

PETER HUMFREY



Fig. 1 / Paolo Caliari, called Veronese, *Venus, Mars, and Cupid*, ca. 1580-1585, oil on canvas, 165.2 x 126.5 cm, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland.

In the hierarchy of the Italian painters most admired and sought after by the princely collectors of the seventeenth century, Paolo Veronese was generally accorded a high place: fourth, perhaps, after Raphael, Titian, and Correggio; but among the great Venetians decidedly second only to Titian.[1] The conviction that works by Veronese would be an ornament to even the greatest of art collections was expressed in June 1646 by none other than Philip IV of Spain, in a letter sent to his ambassador in London, Alonso de Cárdenas. In response to the news that the celebrated collection of the former royal favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, was about to be sold – and further, that the even more celebrated collection of Charles I was also likely soon to come on the market – Philip urged Cárdenas to look out for pictures "which might be originals by Titian or Veronese, or other old painters of distinction."[2] Whereas, however, the king was already the owner of by far the greatest collection of Titians in the world, as yet he possessed very few paintings by Veronese. In fact, he possessed one fewer than he had inherited, since on the occasion of Charles's disastrous visit to Madrid in 1623 to woo the Infanta, Philip had actually presented to him as a diplomatic gift one of the rare works by the master to have reached Spain by the early years of the seventeenth century: a *Venus, Mars, and Cupid* (Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland) (fig. 1), previously in the collection of the Duke of Lerma.[3]

Perhaps it now occurred to Philip that this was an opportunity to regain his imprudent gift – as he was successfully to do in the case of another important picture that Charles had taken home with him, Titian's *Charles V with a Hound* (Madrid, Prado).[4] In any case, as he no doubt realized, the upheavals of the Civil War would have provided his agents with plenty of other Veroneses to select. There were good examples not only in the Buckingham and royal collections, but also in the two other most important collections in London, those of the Earl of Arundel and of the Marquess of Hamilton (raised to a dukedom in 1643). On the basis of inventories of these four collections it is possible to calculate that before their dispersal in the 1650s the number of works in London by (or attributed to) Veronese totalled at least sixty – more than anywhere outside Venice. Although as events unfolded, the majority of these were to end up in the hands of Philip's Habsburg cousin, the Holy Roman Emperor – and Philip did not recuperate his *Venus, Mars, and Cupid* – a respectable number did indeed gravitate to Spain.

The main purpose of the present article is to attempt to clarify, as far as is now possible, the identity of these sixty or so works, and to trace the circumstances both of their arrival in London, and of their onward journeys after the Civil War. But in passing, some even more difficult questions will be raised about the taste for Veronese at the courts of Charles I and of his father James I. To some extent, the numbers speak for themselves; yet is there any evidence that the leading collectors deliberately sought out his work – as Philip IV was apparently keen to do? Or was Veronese just another master whose work happened to be available through the newly established diplomatic channels in Venice? And is it possible to discern any differences among the collectors in their appreciation of him?

AN ELIZABETHAN AND A JACOBEAN PRELUDE

Some three decades before the first Venetian paintings, including by Veronese, began to reach London in significant numbers, an inventory of the collection of the Earl of Leicester at Leicester House on the Strand, dated May 1582, records a newly acquired portrait "of Mr Phillipp Sydney when he was a Boye."[5] Although the artist is not named, the picture was almost certainly identical with the portrait of the earl's nephew, the courtier-poet Philip Sidney, which is known to have been painted by Veronese when the sitter visited Venice in the spring of 1574. The nineteen-year-old Sidney had commissioned it as a gift for his mentor and friend Hubert Languet; but when he and his uncle happened to visit Antwerp soon after Languet's death there at the end of 1581, they were able to recover it from his estate. Sidney's premature death in 1586 was followed by that of Leicester in 1588, and thereafter the portrait – which is known to have shown the sitter as looking even younger than his age, and almost certainly in a modest, bust-length format – disappeared.

The loss of the portrait by Veronese of Sidney is much to be regretted, not least because of its historical significance as a very rare instance of the commission by an Elizabethan of a work by a major Italian artist, and as one of the very first Venetian paintings to enter an English collection. Its significance, however, as a precursor to the Veroneses brought to London in the reigns of James and Charles should not be exaggerated. Sidney, although described by Nicholas Hilliard as "a lover of all vertu and cunning"[6] seems, from the way he wrote to Languet ("This day one Paul of Verona has begun my portrait") never to have heard of Veronese before he sat to him. Furthermore, the Leicester inventory of 1582 is typical of its period in naming the sitter, but not the artist. Very striking is the contrast with the Arundel inventory of 1655, which, as will be seen below, lists four portraits by Veronese, three of which were of unknown sitters. The very fact that the Sidney portrait disappeared after 1588 also indicates that it did not catch the eye of the collectors of the next generation, who were in pursuit of Venetian paintings of a quite different type.

More indicative of future developments was an episode of 1613-1615, involving the shipment from Venice of fifteen paintings by major Venetian masters, together with some antique sculptures, to the current favourite of James I, Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset.[7] These works of art had been assembled by the Flemish dealer Daniel Nijs, apparently on the instructions of the English ambassador to Venice, Sir Dudley Carleton, who in turn had been instructed, at the time of his appointment in 1610, to acquire "any ancient Mrpeeces of paintings at a reasonable price," on behalf of the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Salisbury, and of Henry, Prince of Wales. Presumably the group assembled by Nijs was originally intended for one or the other of these, and after they both died in 1612, the paintings were sent by Carleton instead to Somerset, at whose apartments in Whitehall they had arrived by January 1616. But by this time, Somerset had fallen from grace and was imprisoned in the Tower; and by July of the same year, Carleton had succeeded in passing on three of the paintings to Lord Henry Danvers, and the other twelve to Arundel.

A list of the fifteen Venetian paintings destined for Somerset itemizes their subjects and authors: sixteen by Tintoretto, five by Veronese, and one each by Titian, Jacopo Bassano, and Schiavone. While clearly they do not reflect a marked taste for any master in particular, but simply represented works by generally reputable masters that happened to be on the market, the arrival of five paintings by Veronese with mythological or allegorical subjects must have done much to introduce the artist to the London *cognoscenti*. The vagueness of the titles and the lack of recorded dimensions unfortunately make it impossible to identify the two works by him described simply large in scale and as "poetical histories." But the search for the other three – supposedly representing scenes from the life of Hercules – is made possible by their likely reappearance in the Arundel inventory of 1655, and then in a list of Arundel pictures sent to Spain and in subsequent Spanish inventories.

Of the various works by Veronese listed in the Arundel inventory – again without dimensions – only two refer explicitly to Hercules: a "Nascita d'Ercole" and an "Iola & Hercule." But it may be suggested here that the third of Somerset's paintings thought to represent a story of Hercules is one in the Arundel inventory entitled, "Vertu & Vitio,"[8] and that at one point it was interpreted as, and entitled, the *Choice of Hercules*. In 1659 these three paintings are included in a list of works purchased from the collection of the late Countess of Arundel by Cárdenas on behalf of Philip IV's chief minister of the period, Luis de Haro.[9] This time the listing includes dimensions and a note of the number of figures represented, and it becomes clear that the *Birth of Hercules*, which had nine figures and measured





Fig. 2 / Paolo Veronese, *Young Man Between Virtue and Vice*, ca. 1580-1585, oil on canvas, 102 x 153 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

Fig. 3 / Paolo Veronese, *Family of Cain*, ca. 1581-1585, oil on canvas, 105 x 153 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

approximately 125 by 300 cm, was much larger than the other two, which are described as a pair, with only three figures each, and measuring about 100 by 140 cm.[10] Subsequently Haro donated these two to the king, and they are identifiable with the pair of very similar dimensions (102 x 153 cm) now in the Prado, and respectively entitled *Young Man Between Virtue and Vice* and the *Family of Cain* (figs. 2 & 3).[11] In the former, although the youth dressed in a fashionable crimson doublet and hose hardly looks Herculean, it is easy to imagine that Nijs, or whoever compiled the list of Somerset's pictures, could have been reminded of the story of the Choice of Hercules, especially because it apparently formed one of an intended pair. In the latter picture (the real subject of which remains very rare indeed), it would have been natural to identify the couple as Hercules, dressed in a lionskin and holding a club, and his wife Iole – even though he bears no resemblance to the youth in crimson, and the couple are not recorded as having a child.[12]

By contrast, the larger *Birth of Hercules* was initially retained in the Haro family collection, although it is no longer recorded in the collection of Luis's son and heir, Gaspar, and is now lost.[13]

From this it may be concluded that the two paintings now in the Prado, together with the other three Veroneses originally destined for Somerset, were displayed for nearly thirty years in the Picture Gallery of Arundel House on the Strand, from 1616 until the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642. Unless, as seems unlikely, Arundel himself had already acquired another example from another source, these would have been the earliest works by the painter to be seen in London, and would have served as a basic source of reference for other collectors and their advisers. It may be admitted that the Prado pair, modest in scale and composition, are not particularly spectacular by Veronese's standards; nevertheless, the *Virtue and Vice*, with its display of luxurious fabrics and its glimpse of luminous Palladian architecture, may well have done much to whet the appetite among amateurs for more of the same.



Fig. 4 / Peter Paul Rubens, *Portrait of Thomas Howard, 2nd Earl of Arundel*, 1629-1630, oil on canvas, 67 x 54 cm, London, National Gallery.

THE ARUNDEL COLLECTION

Hailed by Horace Walpole as the "Father of Vertu in England," the Earl of Arundel has always been recognized not just as a pioneer, but as one of the most intelligent and discriminating of all British art collectors (fig. 4).[14] His collection was built up over a much longer period than those of his rivals at the courts of James and Charles; he liked to choose carefully, and tended to avoid bulk purchases; and his taste was catholic, extending to drawings and antique sculptures, as well as paintings, and extending to German as well as the much more fashionable Italian art. Unlike Charles, Buckingham, and Hamilton, none of whom went to Italy, Arundel had visited Venice and the Veneto, and he clearly shared the general admiration for the Venetian contemporaries of the architect he admired above all, Andrea Palladio. On the other hand, unlike the other three, Arundel never went to Spain, where the work of Titian made such an overwhelming impression not only on the future king, but also on his companions, Buckingham and Hamilton, during the ill-fated visit of 1623. To judge from the Arundel inventory of 1655, Titian and Veronese were just two of a number of artists whose work the earl sought to acquire during a collecting career of at least thirty years.

The inventory, which dates from nine years after Arundel's death in exile in Padua in 1646, lists eighteen works by, or attributed to Veronese – or rather twenty-five, if four paintings of *The Seasons* and five designs for tapestries are counted individually. In the absence of any proper record of the chronology of the earl's acquisitions – it is not known, for example, what, if any, paintings he might have acquired during his visits to the Veneto in 1613, 1614, and 1645-1646 – this document provides by far the fullest source of information for his interest in the artist. Otherwise – apart from his purchase of the Somerset pictures in 1616 – the documentation consists essentially of only two items. One is the record of the visit by the Dutch painter Joachim Sandrart to Arundel House in 1627, in which he makes tantalizing mention of portraits "by Raphael of Urbino, by Leonardo da Vinci, by Titian, Tintoretto and Paul Veronese" on display in the Long Gallery – but without specifying what these works were.[15] The other principal document regarding Veronese is a passing comment in the *Voyage through Italy* of 1670 by Richard Lassels to the effect that Arundel had once offered two thousand pistols for the magnificent *Martyrdom of Saint George* in the church of San Giorgio in Braida in the painter's native city of Verona.[16] Since Arundel's agent William Petty is known to have been in Verona in October 1637, it has been suggested that the offer was made on this occasion – and that furthermore, since so tall a work would hardly have fitted comfortably into his Long Gallery, Arundel wished to present it to Saint George's Chapel at Windsor Castle, the seat of the Order of the Garter.[17] Certainly, the acquisition of a large and splendid celebration of the patron saint of England would have been symbolically a highly appropriate one by the Earl Marshal, quite independent of any particular taste for Veronese. The offer, however, was evidently not accepted by the canons of San Giorgio, and the altarpiece remains in place to this day.

TABLE I Veronese in the Arundel Collection

Title in 1655 inventory (Cust and Cox, 1911, pp. 282-286, 323-324)	Destination post-1655	Present whereabouts
1. ritratto di gentildonna		
2. altro ritratto di gentildonna		
3. Assentione di N^{r} Sig^{re}	Imstenraedt. Cologne	Olomouc (fig. 7)
4. St Helena	De Flines, Amsterdam	NG, London (fig. 6)
5. ritratto di gentilhomo	Haro, Madrid (?)	
6. ritratto di donna		
7. ritratto di homo vecchio		
8. Anunciata	Haro, Madrid	
9. Nascita d'Ercole	Haro, Madrid	
10. quarto stagioni 4 pezzi	Haro, Madrid	
11. Le tre Re	Haro, Madrid	
12. Iola & Hercule	Haro/ Philip IV	Prado (fig. 3)
13. Vertu & Vitio	Haro/ Philip IV	Prado (fig. 2)
14. ritratto di Paulo Veronese		
15. Venus et Cupido		
16. 5 pezzi fatto per tapesseria		
17. il Centurione grande	Haro/ Philip IV	Prado (fig. 5)
18. il Centurione piccolo		



Fig. 5 / Paolo Veronese, *Christ and the Centurion*, ca. 1570, oil on canvas, 192 x 297 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

The inventory of 1655 consists of a list of paintings from the Arundel collection sold in Amsterdam following the death of the Earl's widow there the previous year. Although by this date some of the collection had already been dispersed, the total of eighteen (or twenty-five) paintings by Veronese listed in Table I was roughly equal to that owned by Buckingham, as was roughly also their overall quality. The six portraits – three male and three female (I. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 14) – are the hardest works to trace, especially since in only one case (a supposed self-portrait) is the sitter named. The list of works acquired from the Arundel collection by Cárdenas for Haro, however, itemizes another male portrait, in full length, by then identified as Marcantonio Colonna[18] – and this presumably corresponds to no. 5 on the Table ("*ritratto di gentilhomo*"). Colonna (1535-1584) was a personage well known in Spain, as a military ally in the wars against the Turks and as viceroy of Spanish Sicily, and he visited Venice in 1570 immediately before the Battle of Lepanto. On the other hand, there is no record that he sat to Veronese, and it may well be that the identification of him as the sitter was a matter of fantasy. In any case, the portrait was soon to disappear from inventories of the Haro family collection.

More importantly, as can be seen from Table I, Luis de Haro was unquestionably the recipient of the cream of Veronese's subject pictures in the Arundel collection. In addition to the three "Hercules" paintings already discussed (I.9, 12, 13), Cárdenas bought for him at least two large narrative paintings measuring nearly two by three metres – an *Annunciation* and a *Christ and the Centurion* (nos. I.8, 17), together with the *Four Seasons* (no. 10), and a somewhat smaller *Adoration of the Magi* (I.11).[19] Of all these, the *Christ and the Centurion* is the only one now definitely recognizable, in the painting of ca. 1570-1572 now in the Prado (fig. 5), which, like two of the "Hercules" paintings, Haro donated to the king.[20] This noble masterpiece is surely exactly the kind of work that Philip had in mind when in 1646 he asked Cárdenas to look out for paintings by Veronese; and perhaps equally impressive was the now lost *Annunciation*, which according to a Haro inventory of 1689 showed the holy figures complemented by an architectural foreground with four columns, and a background of cypress trees.[21] The same inventory mentions that the *Adoration of the Magi* contained one of Veronese's trademark figures, "a page-boy dressed in white."[22]



Fig. 6 / Paolo Veronese, *Vision of Saint Helena*, ca. 1570, oil on canvas, 197.5 x 115.6 cm, London, National Gallery.

Fig. 7 / Paolo Veronese, *Group of Apostles* (fragment of an *Ascension*), ca. 1575, oil on canvas, 170 x 178 cm, Olomouc, Archbishop's Palace.

Of all these works, the *Christ and the Centurion* is also of special interest because of its provenance. It is generally accepted that it is identical with a painting of this subject recorded by Carlo Ridolfi in his *Life of Veronese*, first published in 1646, in the Contarini palace in Padua.[23] Ridolfi records that the family owned no less than twelve works by the painter, which were perhaps all commissioned by their sixteenth-century forebears; and in support of the identification of this version of the *Centurion* with the Arundel-Haro picture is the fact that, surely not coincidentally, five of the other Contarini Veroneses – the *Four Seasons* and the *Vision of Saint Helena* – likewise correspond to items in the 1655 inventory (I.10 and 4). The implications of these identifications seem, however, not to have been considered. If Ridolfi recorded these six works in the possession of the Contarini family in 1646, how was it possible that they could have passed into the hands of Arundel, who died in October of that very year? In fact, however, Ridolfi uses the word "*erano*" in relation to the Contarini pictures – implying that they were formerly in the palace – and it may be that Arundel acquired the pictures soon after his arrival in Padua to settle there in the first half of 1645. By this late date he was ailing and short of money, and he and his wife had already begun to sell off parts of their collection; but perhaps the opportunity to acquire six Veroneses, at least two of which were of outstanding quality, was too tempting to resist. In that case, the paintings are likely to have remained with him in his villa in Padua until his death, and then to have been sent to his widow in Amsterdam. If so, it follows that they can never have formed part of his collection in London.

Unlike the *Christ and the Centurion* and the *Four Seasons*, the *Vision of Saint Helena* (fig. 6) was not acquired by Cárdenas, but remained for another generation in Amsterdam, where it is recorded – probably by 1671 and certainly by 1681 – in the house of the Italophile collector Philips De Flines.[24] Otherwise, the fate of only one of Arundel's Veroneses is recorded: the "*Assentione di Nr Sigre*" (I.3), which formed part of the residue of the collection acquired in 1662 by the brothers Franz and Bernhard von Imstenraedt of Cologne, and which was sold on by them to the Prince-Bishop of Olmütz (Olomouc) in 1673.[25] Until recently in Prague but now back at Olomouc, this painting represents just a group of apostles (fig. 7); but it has been recognized as the lower half of an altarpiece of the *Ascension*, painted by Veronese for the Capodivacca chapel in the church of San Francesco Grande in Padua.[26] According to an inscription on the altarpiece, which remains in the church, a new lower half for Veronese's upper half was supplied in 1625 by the painter Pietro Damini, but it remains unclear when and under what circumstances the original lower half was removed. On the basis of a comment by Richard Symonds, writing in 1652, Horace Walpole thought that Arundel himself was responsible for commissioning this act of vandalism;[27] it seems more likely, however, that the vandal acted speculatively, and that Arundel, while realizing that the fragment had been stolen from the church, acquired it through a middleman. In that case, it is perhaps more likely that he bought it when visiting Padua in 1613 or 1614, than that he authorized its purchase subsequently at long range.[28]



Of the remaining works in the 1655 inventory, the "*Venus et Cupido*" (I.15) and the various portraits are described too generically to be identifiable. It is perhaps worth speculating, however, whether the "*Centurione piccolo*" (I.18) is identical with the version of the subject now in Kansas City – which is indeed very similar in composition to the "*Centurione grande*" in the Prado, but somewhat smaller in scale.[29]

The Imstenraedt brothers, who bought the *Ascension* fragment, were the nephews of none other than Everard Jabach, the wealthy banker and collector who is known to have kept a close eye on the sales of English collections after the Civil War, and who subsequently sold some of the spoils to Cardinal Mazarin and Louis XIV. Considering the avid taste for the painter among French collectors, it is surprising that none of the works by Veronese that came to France in the 1650s and 1660s, either through Jabach or from any other source, were from the Arundel Collection or indeed, from any other English collection.[30] Perhaps this was simply because French collectors, and most particularly Louis, realized that they could achieve better results by turning directly to the original source of supply: Venice itself. Thus it was that in 1664 the French crown acquired the *Supper in the House of Simon* (still at Versailles), previously in the convent of the Servi – a painting by Veronese more monumental in scale and more spectacular than any that had been seen in London in the preceding decades, and one that was to inspire Louis to pursue the even larger and even more spectacular *Wedding Feast at Cana*.[31]



Fig. 8 / Peter Paul Rubens, *Portrait of George Villiers*, the 1st Duke of Buckingham, ca. 1625, oil on panel, 60.9 x 47.3 cm, Glasgow, Pollok House.

THE BUCKINGHAM COLLECTION

In his activity as a collector, as well as in his flamboyant personality and meteoric political career, the 1st Duke of Buckingham has always provided a striking contrast with his rival Arundel (fig. 8).[32] The favourite first of James and then of Charles, Buckingham began to collect seriously only about ten years before he was assassinated in 1628; yet in this brief decade he succeeded in amassing an astonishing total of more than three hundred paintings. He had less interest in sculpture and none in drawings, and his preferred painters were above all the Venetians, and also honorary Venetians, such as Rubens. At the same time, his aesthetic preferences were determined much less by any refined connoisseurship than by conformity to fashion, and by a desire to impress the king and other courtiers. In forming his collection he benefited greatly from the expertise of his agent and curator Balthazar Gerbier, who made several shopping expeditions on his behalf to the continent, and who was apparently free to spend from Buckingham's generous purse as he saw fit.[33] On the very first of these trips, in 1619, Gerbier travelled to Antwerp to negotiate the purchase of a group of no less than eleven paintings by Veronese from the collection of the duke of Aarschot. The owner had died in 1612, and soon afterwards Somerset and Arundel had both been alerted to the probability that the collection was to be sold, but neither had seized the opportunity.[34] Two years after Buckingham had taken possession of his haul, in 1621, Gerbier moved on to Italy, and while in Venice he secured what was to be the jewel in the crown of the Buckingham collection: Titian's great *Ecce Homo* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum). Although an account for his purchases on this occasion does not include anything by Veronese,[35] it is clear that the painter's work remained a desideratum for the collection, and that during the course of the 1620s – although under circumstances unfortunately unknown – the Aarschot group was to be complemented by some further ten examples.

Of the two known inventories of the Buckingham collection, the earlier, dating from 1635, records the works that were still kept, seven years after his death, at his residence of York House.[36] They are listed by artist and subject, and are arranged by room. The later inventory, dating from 1650, was compiled as a list of works to be sent for sale in Antwerp, and this time they are arranged by artist, and their dimensions are provided.[37] The 1635 list includes twenty paintings by Veronese, plus a *Mars, Venus, and Cupid* with an interestingly refined attribution to "Benedetto Veronese"– in other words, Paolo's brother and long-time assistant Benedetto Caliari (Table II.8). Not included in the 1635 inventory is a *Leda and the Swan* (II.23)(fig. 9), because in the previous year the duke's widow had given it to the king in exchange for a work by Fetti.[38] Also missing is a *Flight into Egypt* (or perhaps a *Rest on the Flight*) (II.22), which is included in the inventory of the Aarschot collection,[39] and which therefore was almost certainly bought with the others in 1619, but which may have been damaged in transit, or given away, or excluded for some other reason from the collection before 1635. Dominating the list of works by Veronese in both inventories are the ten other paintings from the Aarschot collection, all with subjects drawn from the Old or New Testaments (II.4,10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20).[40]

TABLE II Veronese in the Buckingham Collection

Title in 1635 inventory (Davies, 1906-1907, pp. 379-81)	Number in 1650 inventory (Fairfax, 1758, pp. 6-8)	Present whereabouts
1. An Italian Lady at length	1	
2. The Poland Ambassador at length	(p. 11 no. 11, as Tintoretto)	
3. The 3 wise men offering	--	
4. The Anointing	12	KHM, Vienna inv. 140 (fig. 11)
5. Our Saviour Washing his Apostles' Feet	11	Prague Castle (fig. 10)
6. Two other Evangelists	--	
7. St Jerome	--	
8. Mars and Venus (Benedetto Veronese)	(p. 8)	
9. St John	--	
10. Abraham's Servt and Rebecca	5	NGA, Washington
11. Venus and Adonis liveing	--	
12. The Samaritan Woman and our Saviour	6	KHM, Vienna inv. 19
13. The woman found in adultery	9	KHM, Vienna inv. 15
14. The Centurion and our Saviour Christ	2	KHM, Vienna inv. 3675
15. The Birth of our Saviour Christ	7	Prague Castle
16. St John Baptising our Saviour Christ	--	
17. Susanna and the two Elders	3	KHM, Vienna inv. 3676
18. Agar and Ishmael	8	KHM, Vienna inv. 3673
19. Lott and his two Disciples	4	KHM, Vienna inv. 3672
20. King Assuerus and Queen Hester	10	KHM, Vienna inv. 3677 (fig. 13)
Not in 1635 inventory		
21. Italian lady sitting on chair	13	
22. Flight into Egypt	--	
23. Leda and the Swan	--	Ajaccio (fig. 9)

In contrast with so many of the Veroneses recorded in inventories of the period, all ten of these paintings are extant and recognizable, thanks to the fact that the greater part of the Buckingham collection was bought en bloc by the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, on behalf of his brother, the Emperor Ferdinand III. Of the ten, eight are now in Vienna and one in Washington, while the tenth remains in Prague, the former imperial city for which it was destined by the archduke.

The task of identifying the non-Aarschot Veroneses is more problematic, since most of those included in 1635 (II.1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 11, 16, 21) had disappeared by 1650. One of these, however, an *Adoration of the Magi*, is perhaps identifiable with the picture later recorded in the Arundel collection (I.11; see above), before it was sent to Spain.[41] Another, Benedetto's *Mars, Venus, and Cupid* (II.7) appears on the 1650 list, but was retained by Buckingham's son, the 2nd Duke, instead of being sold to Leopold Wilhelm.[42] A third, described in the 1635 inventory as "The Poland Ambassador at length" by "Paolo Veneziano" is almost certainly identical with "The picture of a Russian ambassador sitting," which by 1650 had been reattributed to Tintoretto.[43] And a fourth, the *Washing of the Disciples' Feet* (II.5) (fig. 10), which is often, but probably incorrectly thought to have been one of the Aarschot group,[44] was, nevertheless, included in the sale to Leopold Wilhelm, and, like the *Nativity* (or rather, *Adoration of the Shepherds*), it remains in Prague.

Surprisingly, perhaps, the Buckingham Veroneses included very few mythological subjects – the two exceptions being the highly erotic *Leda* (II.23) and a mysterious *Venus and Adonis* (II.11) – as well as Benedetto's *Mars, Venus, and Cupid*. As in the Arundel inventory, the sitters of the three portraits are not named - even though one of them, a full-length "Italian lady" (II.1), was of the very grand format of six foot three inches high. Of the ten extant Aarschot pictures, the *Anointing of David* (II.4) (fig. 11) stands apart from the others for its larger scale and more complex composition, and especially for its much higher quality.[45] Probably dating from the artist's early career in his native Verona, this outstandingly beautiful painting certainly represents one of the finest works by Veronese to reach England before the arrival of the Orléans collection at the end of the eighteenth century – especially if, as argued above, Arundel's *Christ and the Centurion* never actually came to London. By comparison, the other nine are generally agreed to be late works executed with a considerable degree of workshop collaboration, and for the most part (including, for example, the *Centurion*, no. I.14) they represent simplified variants of existing compositions. Yet they, too, are of an impressive scale, and display a typically Veronesian repertoire of noble classicizing architecture, landscape, luxurious fabrics, exotic costumes, and animals; and cumulatively they must have done much to enhance the visual splendour of the Picture Gallery at York House. Gerbier was clearly proud of his purchase, and writing to his patron from







Fig. 9 / Paolo Veronese, ca. 1580, *Leda and the Swan*, oil on canvas, 113 x 94.5 cm, Ajaccio, Musée Fesch.

Fig. 10 / Paolo Veronese (and workshop?), *Washing of Disciples' Feet*, ca. 1580s, oil on canvas, 139 x 283 cm, Prague, Prague Castle.

Fig. 11 / Paolo Veronese, *Anointing of David*, ca. 1550, oil on canvas, 364 x 173 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Boulogne in November 1624, Gerbier urged him, for the sake above all of presenting his Veroneses to the best possible effect, to "dress" the hitherto bare walls of the room, as was the practice in the mansions of Paris.[46] It may be noted that in 1635, and so probably already in 1624, eight of the nine in the homogenous group of Aarschot pictures were hung together in the showpiece space of the Gallery.

Buckingham no doubt shared Gerbier's obvious enthusiasm for Veronese; indeed, this may in part account for his patronage of Orazio Gentileschi, whom he may have regarded as a modern reincarnation of Veronese on account of his light, cool colour range and shimmering surfaces.[47] In any case, earlier in the same year – perhaps following a suggestion from his agent – he sent a presumptuous message to the Venetian government by way of its ambassador in London: "The Duke of Buckingham desireth by any means possible to have certain pictures, made by Paul Veronese, that are in a certain room or passage towards the great library in the palace of St Mark at Venice."[48] The description of the site is garbled, probably as a result of being sent through more than one intermediary, but it almost certainly refers to Veronese's three large roundels on the ceiling of Sansovino's Library, which Gerbier must have admired on his visit to Venice in 1621 and thought would look very well on a ceiling at York House. But although the ambassador pointed out to his government that Buckingham was a highly influential personage, and





Fig. 12 / Anthony van Dyck, *Continence of Scipio*, 1620-1621, oil on canvas, 183 x 232.5 cm, Oxford, Christ Church Picture Gallery.

Fig. 13 / Workshop of Veronese, ca. 1585, *Esther and Ahasuerus*, oil on canvas, 141 x 289 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Fig. 14 / Anthony van Dyck, *Charles I in Three Positions*, 1635-1636, oil on canvas, 84.4 x 99.4 cm, London, The Royal Collection Trust.

that there could be some political advantage in acceding to his request, the government very properly refused it.

Perhaps it was the failure of this initiative that gave Buckingham the idea of commissioning a ceiling roundel for York House from Rubens – who would also have known those by Veronese at first hand – when he met him in Paris in the following year, 1625.[49] In any case, when Rubens came to London in the year after the duke's death, he stayed in Gerbier's apartments in the house and was deeply impressed by the collection, writing to his antiquarian friend Peiresc that he "had never seen such a huge quantity of excellent paintings by first-class masters as in the royal palace and in the house of the late Duke of Buckingham."[50] Nine years earlier, the young Van Dyck clearly also had access to the collection – even though it was not yet installed at York House. During his first, brief visit to London in the winter of 1620-1621, the painter executed at least one major commission for (or on behalf of) Buckingham: the *Continence of Scipio* (Oxford, Christ Church) (fig. 12). As is only to be expected, Van Dyck's main source of inspiration in this work was Rubens, both in its pictorial handling and in the indebtedness of the composition to a recent version of the same subject by the elder master;[51] yet it is arguable that at this moment of Van Dyck's earliest encounter with the art of Veronese, the *Scipio* also pays homage to the recently acquired group from the Aarschot collection. Although there is no literal quotation, the silvery colour scheme and the show of sumptuous silks and brocades are generically Veronesian, while the frieze-like foreground composition, the white background architecture, and the placing of the principal male figure all seem to reflect similar scenes by Veronese – and perhaps in particular, Buckingham's *Esther and Ahasuerus* (II.20) (fig. 13). Furthermore, Van Dyck's preparatory study (Louvre) shows a vertical division of the scene into three by tall, straight columns, as in the *Susannah and the Elders* (II.7), as well as the characteristically Veronesian motif of the halberds silhouetted against the sky; the finished work resembles the *Rebecca* (no. II.10) in showing a juxtaposition of a pallid heroine with an African servant; and details such as the similarly placed architectural fragment in the left foreground, and the similarly elaborate silver ewer, echo similar details in the *Anointing of David* (II.4). This was to be the prelude for Van Dyck's further and closer engagement with the art of Veronese during his subsequent stay in Italy (1621-1627).[52]

Because of losses, difficulties of identification, and uncertainties of chronology, it is not easy to make a direct comparison between the group of Veroneses displayed at York House with that less than a mile to the east at Arundel House. But on the whole, it is probably true to say that the Buckingham pictures made a bigger visual splash, and had a more productive impact – not only on Van Dyck, but also on other collectors, notably Hamilton.



THE COLLECTION OF CHARLES I

In his letter from London to Peiresc in August 1629 Rubens expressed enthusiasm not just for the Buckingham collection, but also for the royal collection, which had just been immeasurably enriched by the arrival of a substantial number of pictures from the Gonzaga collection in Mantua, and which by now must have totalled more than one thousand. Before his accession in 1625 Charles (fig. 14) already enjoyed a reputation for his love of painting and had acquired some important examples, notably on the Spanish trip of 1623; and as king he benefited further from a number of diplomatic gifts, from foreign states, and from his own courtiers.[53] But the nucleus of his celebrated collection was always to remain the purchase from Mantua, in terms both of sheer quantity and of individual masterpieces – and fortunately for his particular love of Titian, these included several outstanding examples by the great Venetian. Veronese, however, had never been employed by the Gonzaga court, nor had his works been particularly collected there; this, more than any lack of interest by Charles, is certainly the main reason for the rather small number of works by the painter in the royal collection – especially as compared with those in the collections of Arundel and Buckingham.

The two major documents recording the contents of Charles's collection are provided by the impressively detailed catalogue compiled by Abraham van der Doort in about 1639, and by the records of the sales of the collection after the king's execution in January 1649.[54] Although both of these documents are incomplete, and the works they itemize only partly match up, together they confirm that Charles owned only five paintings by Veronese (Table III), to which may be added a misattribution and a probable copy.[55] Of the definite works, two – both of considerable quality – have already been mentioned above: the *Mars, Venus, and Cupid*, now in Edinburgh (III.6) (see fig. 1), which Charles brought back with him from Spain; and the *Leda* (III.3), which the Duchess of Buckingham gave Charles in part exchange for a religious picture by Fetti.

TABLE III Veronese in the Collection of Charles I

	Van der Doort inventory (Millar, 1958-1960)	Commonwealth Sale (Millar, 1970-1972)	Present whereabouts
1. *Allegorical Figure of Faith*	p. 47	--	
2. *Portrait of a Man in Armour*	p. 48	p. 269	
3. *Leda and the Swan*	p. 59	p. 186	Ajaccio (fig. 9)
4. *Finding of Moses*	p. 78	p. 262	Prado (fig. 15)
5. *Mars, Venus, and Cupid*	--	p. 205	Edinburgh (fig. 1)



Fig. 15 / Paolo Veronese, *Finding of Moses*, ca. 1581-1582, oil on canvas, 57 x 43 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

Both of these mythologies have a strong erotic content, and the fact that as part of the exchange of 1634 Charles also acquired a *Venus Disrobing* after Titian suggests that in these instances, at least, any aesthetic taste for Veronese may have been combined with one that was more sensual.[56]

Two of Charles's other Veroneses, an *Allegorical Figure of Faith* and a *Portrait of a Man in Armour* (III.1 and 2), are described quite circumstantially by Van der Doort, and do not correspond to any extant work by the artist.[57] The *Faith* formed part of a group of twenty-three pictures acquired from the dealer William Frizell in 1637, together with a *Diana and Actaeon* attributed to Veronese,[58] but about which Van der Doort already had some doubts – justifiably, since it is almost certainly identical with a decidedly weak picture in the style of Schiavone, which was recovered for the royal collection by Charles II in 1660.[59] Perhaps similarly, neither the *Faith* nor the portrait were by Veronese at all. Of equally dubious status was a large mythology recorded in a memorandum of pictures formerly in the royal collection, sent by Alonso de Cárdenas to Haro in 1654. The ambassador commented to the minister that this work was on sale as an original, with the high valuation of 800 ducats, but that professional artists he had consulted thought that it was a copy.[60] Subsequently, no more was heard of the picture.

By contrast, a painting that Cárdenas did send to Spain is not only the most beautiful of Charles's Veroneses, but is arguably the most beautiful of any of the artist's works that came to England in this period: the *Finding of Moses*, now in the Prado (III.4) (fig. 15).[61] Executed on a scale that requires intimate viewing (50 x 43 cm), with a delicacy and vibrancy of touch that anticipates the *fêtes galantes* of Watteau, this is surely a work that reflects the aspect of Charles as a refined connoisseur rather than as a powerful ruler. Specialists on Veronese have been slow to catch up with the fact that it was demonstrated more than thirty years ago that Cárdenas bought this picture for Haro – and ultimately for Philip IV – at the Commonwealth sale at Somerset House in 1650.[62] It is presumably therefore identical with the one of this subject, in which there were "eleven little intire figures," listed in the Van der Doort catalogue – despite the fact that the dimensions are here given as one foot three square (38 cm square), and it is described as "painted upon a thinn paisted board" rather than on canvas.[63] Perhaps this board was not in fact the pictorial support, and its existence can be explained by the fact that in Charles's collection the painting was framed back-to-back with an *Annunciation to the Shepherds* by Bassano. In any case, this arrangement was only a temporary one, and at the Commonwealth sale the two paintings were sold separately.[64] Van der Doort also notes that the Veronese was bought from "Daniell Neece at Venice"; and although it was Nijs who brokered the bulk sale of the Gonzaga pictures, these are consistently designated as a "Mantua peeces" in the catalogue, and this different designation implies that Charles bought the *Moses* from him under a separate deal.[65]

Although Charles's Veroneses were few in number compared with those of Arundel and Buckingham (and also of those of Hamilton), and the three recognizable ones are all relatively unimposing in scale, it may be observed that these are also of high quality – and also that they were not acquired as part of bulk purchases.



Fig. 16 / Workshop of Veronese, *Esther and Ahasuerus*, ca. 1580s, oil on canvas, 208 x 284 cm, Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.



Fig. 17 / Anthony van Dyck, *Cupid and Psyche*, 1639-1640, oil on canvas, 200.2 x 192.6 cm, London, The Royal Collection Trust.

All three, in fact, were carefully selected: the *Mars, Venus, and Cupid* by Charles himself, no doubt from many other possible treasures in the Lerma collection; the *Leda*, again by Charles, from other candidates for an exchange in the Buckingham collection; and the *Moses* by Nijs, who would certainly have recognized its quality, and chose it specially for the king. Given these circumstances – and given Charles's known love of Titian and of Venetian painting in general – it is hard to know what to make of a now often quoted remark by Basil, Lord Feilding in a letter of May 1637 to his brother-in-law, the marquess of Hamilton. At the time Feilding was the English ambassador to Venice, and like his predecessors Wotton, Carleton, and Wake, combined his diplomatic duties with an active search for pictures to send back to London – notably to Hamilton, on behalf of the king. In this letter Feilding makes one of the most explicit of all known references to Charles's aesthetic taste: "I have seen 4 large pieces by Veronese, wch will hardly be bought for 1300 Duckettts but they are of his best manner, though that I heare is not verie acceptable to the King and therefore is not much esteem'd by your lordship."[66] Especially since it has been convincingly suggested that these four large paintings were none other than the four masterpieces then in Palazzo Cuccina (now Dresden Gemäldegalerie),[67] it is difficult to imagine that they would not have been very acceptable indeed to Charles if they had been presented to him, and therefore also to imagine why Feilding drew Hamilton's attention to them, while at the same time expressing diffidence about their acceptability to either collector. In this connection, however, it may be noted that in March of the previous year Feilding had sent Hamilton a large and complex, but rather weak *Esther before Ahasuerus* (fig. 16) – and if on its arrival in London Charles's reaction had been less than enthusiastic, Feilding was perhaps now inclined to be cautious about offering any more works that the king might consider to be below the artist's best.

Whatever Charles's own attitude to Veronese, there can be little doubt that he was greatly admired by several of the leading painters at his court. Most conspicuously of all, and as has often been pointed out, the magnificent glorification of the Stuart dynasty by Rubens on the Whitehall ceiling is deeply indebted to Veronese's ceiling in the church of San Sebastiano in Venice – both in its overall design and in the composition of the individual canvases. But Orazio Gentileschi, too, unmistakably pays homage to Veronese in his two versions of the *Finding of Moses* (Private Collection, Prado),[68] more generally in the shimmer of light-toned silks and the feathery trees, but perhaps in particular – despite the great difference of scale – to Charles's own picture of the same subject. And finally, although it is usually the influence of Titian that is mentioned in connection with Van Dyck's sensuous late mythology, *Cupid and Psyche* (Royal Collection) (fig. 17), the decorative elegance and the silvery colours, as already twenty years earlier in the *Continence of Scipio*, arguably make it even more reminiscent of Veronese.



Fig. 18 / Daniel Mytens, James Hamilton (1606-1649), 1st Duke of Hamilton, 1629, oil on canvas, 221 x 139.7 cm, Edinburgh, Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

Fig. 19 / Paolo Veronese, *Venus and Adonis*, ca. 1585, oil on canvas, 68 x 52 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

THE HAMILTON COLLECTION

The other great collector of Charles I' s reign, the 3rd Marquess of Hamilton (created 1st Duke in 1643) (fig. 18), did not begin his collecting career until 1636 – despite the fact that in the previous reign his father, the 2nd Marquess, had put together a very respectable group of pictures, which included a now untraced *Agony in the Garden* by Veronese.[69] A golden opportunity for the politically highly-ambitious Hamilton to assemble an outstanding collection of predominantly Venetian paintings, and to thereby gain the favour of the king, came in 1634, when his brother-in-law was appointed ambassador to Venice.[70] The moment was also opportune in the sense that an economic downturn meant that a number of Venetian families and collectors were now feeling more obliged than previously to sell.[71] In March 1636 Feilding sent Hamilton a list of thirty-five paintings currently on the market, including three by Veronese, one of which, heading the list, was the above-mentioned *Esther before Ahasuerus*, which he noted "hath twenty-five figures", and which Hamilton duly bought.[72] But two years later, following protracted negotiations, he secured a much greater prize: almost the entire collection, consisting of more than two hundred paintings, of the merchant and very refined connoisseur Bartolomeo della Nave.[73] Eleven of these were by Veronese (Table IV); and although as part of a bulk purchase Hamilton did not deliberately choose them, his correspondence suggests that he was much more interested in the painter than the king seemed to be. In particular, in response to the letter from Feilding of May 1637, Hamilton admits that the four canvases would be overpriced if they were not very large and of excellent quality, but asks for further information about their scale, the number of figures they contained, and also wonders whether the asking price of 1300 ducats could be reduced.[74]

If the canvases in question were indeed the stellar Cuccina pictures, Hamilton was quite right to make further enquiries; and perhaps if his career as a collector had not been curtailed by the deepening political crisis at home, he might have eventually secured them. Even so, this episode suggests that he would have taken particular satisfaction with the eleven Della Nave Veroneses, six of which were narrative scenes from the Old and New Testaments – resembling smaller versions of the Buckingham series – and two, representing *Venus and Adonis* (fig. 19) and *Hercules and Deianira*, were mythologies. His enjoyment of them, however, was to be short-lived. Only three years after the Della Nave haul reached his house in Chelsea in 1639, the Civil War erupted; and when he left the capital to take up arms for the king, his collection was confiscated by Parliament. In March 1649, five weeks after the execution of his royal master, Hamilton suffered the same fate.

Less than a month later, the entire Hamilton collection had been bought by the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in Brussels – and after his death in 1662 it went, unlike the Buckingham pictures, not to Prague but Vienna. This direct continuity of ownership from Della Nave to Hamilton, Leopold Wilhelm and the Austrian Emperors, and the survival of at least one inventory from each collection, make the identification of all thirteen of the Veroneses on Table IV entirely unproblematic: apart from a now lost *Flagellation* (IV.4), and the *Esther* (IV.12), which was sent to Florence in 1792 as part of an exchange, all of them are now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.[75]



TABLE IV Veronese in the Hamilton Collection

Title in Della Nave list, ca. 1634 (Waterhouse, 1952, pp. 16-17)	Hamilton inventory, 1649 (Garas, 1967, pp. 76, 78)	Present whereabouts
1. Resurrection of the Widows Son of Nayme	85	KHM, Vienna inv. 52
2. Adam and Eve with their children	75	KHM, Vienna inv. 1514
3. Sacrifice of Abraham	79	KHM, Vienna inv. 3825
4. Scourging of Our Lord	76	Ex-Vienna, lost
5. Visit of the Wise men	77	KHM, Vienna inv. 1515
6. Resurrection of Christ	78	KHM, Vienna inv. 1542
7. St Sebastian	86	KHM, Vienna inv. 1538
8. St John Baptist	80	KHM, Vienna inv. 1545
9. Our Lady with 6 figures	81	KHM, Vienna inv. 50
10. Venus and Adonis and Cupid	82	KHM, Vienna inv. 1527 (fig. 19)
11. Adonis or Hercules and Dianira	83	KHM, Vienna inv. 1525
Not Della Nave		
12. Esther before Ahasuerus	84	Uffizi (fig. 16)
13. Mystic Marriage of St Catherine	--*	KHM, Vienna inv. 1529

* Not included in the 1649 inventory, but listed in 1642/1643 inventory, 21st case ("The virgin Mary Christ 1 other Virenes") (Garas, 1967, p. 72).

Even the lost *Flagellation* is known from an etching after Teniers for the *Theatrum Pictorium* volume of 1660, and several of the canvases feature prominently in Teniers's various painted views of *The Picture Gallery of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm*. Despite the prestige they apparently enjoyed when in the possession of the archduke, the Hamilton Veroneses with religious subjects are not nowadays regarded as of very high quality. The *Esther*, although in composition and colour range closely resembling several of the master's most celebrated works of the 1550s and 1560s, is somewhat mechanical in its re-use of motifs (notably the dog, repeated from the San Sebastiano ceiling) and in its handling; while the biblical stories likewise seem to be workshop pictures, although dating from rather later.[76] Several degrees feebler in quality are the two *Madonnas and Saints* (IV.9, 13). Only the paired mythologies (IV.10, 11), each scarcely larger than Charles's little *Finding of Moses*,[77] reveal the artist at his poetic best: in both, the lovers are enveloped in a highly atmospheric woodland setting, evoked with fitful lighting and expressively broken brushwork.

Apart from those recorded in the four great collections discussed above, very few other paintings by Veronese appear to have reached early Stuart England. None, for example, are included in the lists of works owned by the 4th Earl of Pembroke, or by the 10th Earl of Northumberland.[78] On the other hand, in 1651, another Spanish envoy in London, the Count of Fuensaldaña, sent to Haro a batch of forty-four paintings, including eight attributed to Veronese, from a variety of dispersed English collections.[79] Although their provenances are unfortunately unnamed, five of the Veroneses can still be identified. They include three that were given to Philip IV, and which are now in the Prado: the *Sacrifice of Abraham* (fig. 20); the *Penitent Saint Mary Magdalene*; and the *Wedding Feast at Cana* (a studio work, perhaps by the master's nephew Alvise dal Friso). Two others, a *Mary Magdalene in the Desert* and a *Susannah and the Elders*, apparently always intended as a pair, are identifiable with paintings now in the Doria collection in Genoa. Apart, perhaps from the *Feast at Cana*, these are all works of remarkable quality, and the same may have been even more true of a sixth painting, an *Ecce Homo*. This has now disappeared, but it was described in Fuensaldaña's list as "one of the best works ever painted by Veronese," and by 1667 it was hanging in very distinguished company in the sacristy of the Escorial.[80]



Fig. 20 / Paolo Veronese, *Sacrifice of Abraham*, ca. 1580s, oil on canvas, 129 x 95 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

From all this it may be concluded that while many of the sixty or so paintings by Veronese brought to England in the decades before the Civil War were run-of-the-mill productions, a significant minority was of very high quality indeed. But only one of them – the *Venus, Mars, and Cupid* brought back by Charles from Spain in 1623 – was (presumably) not re-exported;[81] and at most two others were ever to return.[82] The next century and a half was to be a fallow period in the history of the appreciation of Veronese in Britain. In striking contrast to the very high reputation he enjoyed in Italy, and even more in France in the later seventeenth and earlier eighteenth centuries,[83] British collectors remained largely indifferent to Veronese, while critics such as Richardson and Reynolds were downright disapproving. Only from about the 1770s, and especially following the exhibition and sale of the Orléans collection in London in 1798-1799 – a collection astonishingly rich in major works by the painter – was there a revival of the taste for Veronese that had existed in the days of King Charles.

NOTES

1. I am grateful to Jeremy Wood and to Paul Joannides for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper. For a sketch of the sixteenth-century painters whose work was most keenly sought by seventeenth-century collectors, see Francis Haskell, *The King's Pictures. The Formation and Dispersal of the Collections of Charles I and his Courtiers* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013), pp. 33-47. A brief survey of Veronese in collections in early seventeenth-century London is provided by Klara Garas, "Veronese e il collezionismo del nord nel XVI-XVII secolo," in *Nuovi studi su Paolo Veronese,* ed. Massimo Gemin (Venice: Arsenale Editrice, 1990), pp. 16-24 (pp. 20-22).
2. "que sean originales de Ticiano, Pablo Veronese o oltras pinturas antiguas de opinion." See Albert J. Loomie, "New Light on the Spanish Ambassador's Purchases from Charles I's Collection 1649-53," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 52 (1989): pp. 258-259. In a comparable episode a decade earlier, the papal nephew Cardinal Francesco Barberini had the papal nuncio to Venice look out for paintings by Veronese to buy for him. In a letter to the Cardinal of July 1632, the nuncio's secretary, Giovanni Antonio Massani, wrote that the artist's works had become almost as much in demand on the Venetian market as those of Titian: see William Barcham and Catherine Puglisi, "Paolo Veronese e la Roma dei Barberini," *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte* 25 (2001): p. 86.
3. For this episode, see Sarah W. Schroth, "Charles I, the duque de Lerma and Veronese's Edinburgh *Mars and Venus*," *Burlington Magazine* 139 (1997): pp. 548-550; see also Jonathan Brown, "*Mars and Venus*," in *The Sale of the Century. Artistic Relations between Spain and Great Britain, 1604-1655*, eds. Jonathan Brown and John Elliott (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 190-191, no. 23. Schroth points out that the Lerma collection possessed a number of copies after Veronese, but only one other original, an unidentified *Four Seasons*. In addition, the Spanish royal collection possessed the *Annunciation*, commissioned by Philip II as part of the *retablo* for the high altar of the Escorial.
4. See Jonathan Brown, "*Portrait of Charles V with Hound*," in Brown, Elliot, *Sale of the Century*, pp. 188-189, no. 22.
5. See Elizabeth Goldring, "A Portrait of Sir Philip Sidney by Veronese at Leicester House, London," *Burlington Magazine* 154 (2012): pp. 548-554. Earlier discussions of the lost portrait of Sidney by Veronese include David Rosand, "Dialogues and Apologies: Sidney and Venice," *Studies in Philology* 88 (1991): pp. 236-249; and Roger Kuin, "New Light on the Veronese Portrait of Sir Philip Sidney," *Sidney Newsletter & Journal* 14 (1997): pp. 19-43.
6. Quoted by Hilary Maddicott, "A Collection of the Interregnum Period. Philip, Lord Viscount Lisle, and his Purchases from the 'Late King's Goods', 1649-1660," *Journal of the History of Collections* 11 (1999): p. 2.
7. For this episode, see Timothy Wilks, "The Picture Collection of Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset (1587-1645) Reconsidered," *Journal of the History of Collections* I (1989): pp. 167-177; Albert R. Braunmuller, "Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, as Collector and Patron," in *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court,* ed. Lindy Levy Peck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 230-250; Jonathan Brown, *Kings and Connoisseurs: Collecting Art in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 19; Robert Hill, "The Ambassador as Art Agent: Sir Dudley Carleton and Jacobean Collecting," in *The Evolution of English Collecting The Reception of Italian Art in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, ed. Edward Chaney (New Haven and London: Yale University Press), 2003, pp. 241-255; Christina M. Anderson, *The Flemish Merchant of Venice: Daniel Nijs and the Sale of the Gonzaga Art Collection* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015), pp. 81-89.
8. For the Arundel inventory, see Lionel Cust and Mary L. Cox, "Notes on the Collections Formed by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, K.G.," *Burlington Magazine* 19 (1911): pp. 278-286, 323-325; the three "Hercules" paintings are listed on p. 286. See also Mary Hervey, *The Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), pp. 473-500 (with the Veroneses listed on p. 490).
9. See Brown, Elliot, *Sale of the Century*, pp. 292-293.
10. The *Birth* is described as: "otro cuadro en tela del Naçimiento de Hércules, en que ay 9 figuras, de mano del dicho Veronés, de vara y media de alto y tres y media de ancho." The other two are described as: "dos quadros de un tamaõ, en tela, uno de Hércules y otro de la uirtud y el uicio, con tres figuras en cada uno menores que al natural, de mano de dicho Veronés, de vara y sesma de alto y uara $^{2}/_{3}$ de alto (*sic*)"; Brown, Elliot, *Sale of the Century*, 2002, p. 293. A *vara* was equivalent to ca. 84 cm.
11. For these two works, see Terisio Pignatti and Filippo Pedrocco, *Veronese*, 2 vols. (Milan: Electa, 1995), II, pp. 428, 482-483. Here, conventionally, the *Virtue and Vice* is identified with a work recorded by Ridolfi in the palace of Giovanni Battista Sanudo in Venice shortly before 1646: see Carlo Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell'arte* (1648), ed. Detlev von Hadeln, 2 vols. (Berlin: G. Grote, 1914-1924), I, p. 338. Indeed, the description corresponds closely, and it is theoretically possible that the Sanudo picture could have been briefly in the Arundel collection before being acquired by Cárdenas for Haro. But Ridolfi makes no mention of any pendant representation of a *Family of Cain*, and on balance it seems more likely that the Prado pair is identical rather with two of the "Hercules" paintings sent to England in 1613. The Sanudo picture was presumably, then, another version of the same composition.
12. All this leaves open the question of whether, if the present titles of the two paintings are correct, and if neither has anything to do with Hercules, they were originally painted as pendants.
13. See the inventories of Gaspar de Haro of 1682-1683 and 1689 published in Marcus Burke and Peter Cherry, *Collections of Paintings in Madrid, 1601-1755*, 2 vols. (Los Angeles: The Getty Institute, 1997), I, pp. 726-786, doc. 109, and pp. 830-877, doc. 115.
14. For Arundel as a collector, see Hervey, *Life, Correspondence and Collections*; and David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985); Jonathan Brown, *Kings and Connoisseurs. Collecting Art in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 17-22; Haskell, *The King's Pictures*, p. 16.
15. For Sandrart's visit to Arundel House, see Hervey, *Life, Correspondence and Collections*, pp. 255-256. The term he used for these works was "Contraëte": in other words, they were certainly portraits and not paintings in general.
16. Richard Lassels, *Voyage or a Complete Journey through Italy* (Paris, 1670), p. 437.
17. Howarth, *Lord Arundel*, p. 142.
18. "un retrato intero en lienzo de Marco Antonio Colona de mano de Paolo Veronẽs"; Brown, Elliot, *Sale of the Century*, p. 293.
19. In a memorandum by Cárdenas of April 1659 the dimensions of the *Centurion* are given as 2 ¼ by 3 ¼ *vara*; the *Four Seasons* as 2 ½ by 1 $^{2}/_{3}$ *vara* each; and the *Adoration of the Magi* as more than a *vara* high by more than two wide; Brown, Elliot, *Sale of the Century*, pp. 292-293. The *Annunciation* is not listed in this document, but in the inventory of Gaspar de Haro of 1651-1653, its dimensions are given as 2 ¼ by 3 *vara*, and in that of 1689 as 2 by 3 $^{2}/_{3}$ *vara*; Burke, Cherry, *Paintings in Madrid*, I, p. 472, doc. 49, and p. 844, doc. 115.
20. For the Prado *Christ and the Centurion* (192 x 297 cm), see Pignatti, Pedrocco, *Veronese*, I, pp. 282-283; Matilde Miquel Joan, "*Christ and the Centurion*," in Brown, Elliot, *Sale of the Century*, pp. 272-273, no. 62.

21 "Un quadro de la Anunziazion de nra sra Con el Angel quarto Colunas y un pais con zipreses original de Pablo Verones"; Burke and Cherry, *Paintings in Madrid*, I, p. 844, doc. 115.

22. Burke, Cherry, *Paintings in Madrid*, I, p. 851, doc. 115.
23. Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie*, I, p. 318.
24. See Nicholas Penny, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth-Century Italian Paintings, Volume I: Venice 1540-1600* (London: The National Gallery, 2008), pp. 391-392. The author expresses some uncertainty about whether the National Gallery *Saint Helena* is identical to the one in the Contarini collection, and leaves open the possibility that the Arundel version may be that listed in the collection of Rubens in 1640. Yet there is no particular reason to link the Arundel and the Rubens versions, whereas the very fact that Arundel clearly did acquire the *Christ and the Centurion* and the *Four Seasons* from the Contarini collection makes it highly probable that he also bought the *Saint Helena* from there at the same time. Presumably the engraving by Lucas Vorsterman dates from the period when the picture was owned by the Countess, between 1646 and 1654, and the drawing by Jan de Bisschop was made when it was in the possession of Philips de Flines in Amsterdam (by 1671, when De Bisschop died). See Amy E. Golhany, "Jan de Bisschop's *St Helena* after Veronese," *Master Drawings* 29 (1981): pp. 25-27.
25. For the Imstenraedt collection, see Fritz Grossmann, "Notes on the Arundel and Imstenraedt Collections," *Burlington Magazine* 84 (1944): pp. 151-155, 173-176; Henry Ley, "The Imstenraedt Collection," *Apollo* 94 (1971): pp. 50-59.
26. See Eduard Safarik, "Un capolavoro di Paolo Veronese alla Galleria Nazionale di Praga," *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte* 6 (1968): pp. 81-110; Pignatti, Pedrocco, *Veronese*, II, pp. 330-331.
27. Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, ed. Ralph Wornum, 3 vols. (London: Chatto and Windus, 1876), I, p. 293, n. 3: "Old Earl fece rubare pezzo di quell quadro di Veronese a Padova, but it was spoiled, says Mr Jer. Lanier."
28. He cannot, however, have bought it in Padua in 1645-1646, since Symonds clearly implies that it was seen in London by Jerome Lanier, uncle of the king's agent Nicolas (see previous note).
29. For this work (142 x 208 cm), the early provenance of which is unknown, see Pignatti, Pedrocco, *Veronese*, II, pp. 511-512.
30. For an overview of the taste for Veronese in France, see Jean Habert, "Le goût pour la peinture de Véronèse en France à l'époque classique," in *Venice & Paris 1500-1700. La peinture vénitienne de la Renaissance et sa réception en France*, ed. Michel Hochmann (Geneva: Droz, 2011), pp. 299-348. The author lists six Veroneses acquired by Louis XIV from Jabach in 1662, but none of them had English provenances.
31. Although the *Feast at Cana* (Louvre) was not brought to Paris until 1798, Louis XIV was already attempting to buy it, together with the *Family of Darius before Alexander* (London, National Gallery), in 1663-1664. See Habert, "Le goût," p. 311.
32. For Buckingham as a collector, see Lita-Rose Betcherman, "The York House Collection and its Keeper," *Apollo* 92 (1979): pp. 250-259; Brown, *Kings and Connoisseurs*, pp. 23-33; Philip McEvansoneya, "Italian Paintings in the Buckingham Collection," in Chaney, *The Evolution of English Collecting*, pp. 315-336, with references; Haskell, *The King's Pictures*, pp. 16-20.
33. For Gerbier, see I. G. Philip, "Balthazar Gerbier and the Duke of Buckingham's Pictures," *Burlington Magazine* 99 (1957): pp. 155-156; Betcherman, "The York House Collection"; Haskell, *The King's Pictures*, pp. 5-6.
34. See Philip McEvansoneya, "Some Documents Concerning the Patronage and Collections of the Duke of Buckingham," *Rutgers Art Review* 8 (1987): p. 29, n. 18.
35. See the list in Philip, "Balthazar Gerbier". Nor is anything by Veronese included in a list of Venetian paintings acquired for Buckingham in Venice in 1626 by the English ambassador of the period: see Susan Bracken and Robert Hill, "Sir Isaac Wake, Venice and Art Collecting in early Stuart England. A New Document," *Journal of the History of Collections* 24 (2012): pp. 183-198.
36. For the 1635 inventory, see Randall Davies, "An Inventory of the Duke of Buckingham's Pictures, etc, at York House in 1635," *Burlington Magazine* 10 (1906-1907): pp. 376-382.
37. For the 1650 inventory, see Brian Fairfax, *A Catalogue of the Curious Collection of Pictures of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham* (London: W. Bathoe, 1758). For the circumstances of the compilation of the inventory, see Philip McEvansoneya, "The Sequestration and Dispersal of the Buckingham Collection," *Journal of the History of Collections* 8 (1996): pp. 133-154.
38. Abraham van der Doort's inventory of Charles's collection of ca. 1639 lists a "Leda on a white bed, with a white swan holding her right hand, under a purple curtain", and notes that it had been acquired from the Duchess of Buckingham in exchange for "a Mantua picture". This was Fetti's *Vision of Saint Peter* (now lost), and the exchange took place in 1634; see Oliver Millar, "Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue of the Collection of Charles I," *The Walpole Society* 37 (1958-1960): pp. 59, 190. The dimensions are given as 3 foot 10 inches by 3 foot 2 inches (ca. 116.8 x 96.5 cm), which are very close to those of the painting in Ajaccio (121 x 100 cm). The first definite record of the latter dates from no earlier than the mid-nineteenth century: see *Splendeur de Venise 1500-1600. Peintures et Dessins des Collections Publiques Françaises*, exh. cat. (Bordeaux and Caen: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Bordeaux and Musée des Beaux-Arts de Caen, 2005), p. 262. It accordingly seems reasonable to identify it with the Buckingham-Charles I picture, and then with the one in the Orléans and Stafford collections: see Peter Humfrey, "Veronese in the Collection of the 2nd Marquess of Stafford in Early Nineteenth-Century London," in *Paolo Veronese. Giornate di Studio*, eds. Bernard Aikema, Thomas Dalla Costa and Paola Marini (Venice: Lineadacqua editore, 2016), pp. 125-135 (pp. 129-130). The picture is judged to be of workshop quality by Pignatti, Pedrocco, *Veronese*, II, p. 504, no. A1, but this assessment seems unduly severe.
39. For the Veroneses listed in the Aarschot inventory, see Alexandre Pinchart, "La collection de Charles de Croy, duc d'Arschot, dans son château de Beaumont," *Archives des Arts, Sciences et Lettres* 1 (1860): pp. 163-164. No. 47, entitled "La Vierge Marie fuyant en Égipte", was presumably a variant of several extant versions of the subject of the Rest on the Flight by the late Veronese.
40. For this series of pictures, see Pignatti, Pedrocco, *Veronese*, II, pp. 466-472. For the circumstances of the acquisition of the Buckingham pictures by Leopold Wilhelm on behalf of the emperor, see Klara Garas, "Die Sammlung Buckingham und die kaiserliche Galerie," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 40 (1987): pp. 111-121. For further discussions of the Aarschot group and of their iconographical programme, see Beverly Louise Brown, "The so-called Duke of Buckingham series," in Gemin, *Nuovi Studi su Paolo Veronese*, pp. 231-240; and Friderike Klauner, "Zu Veroneses Buckingham-Serie," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte,* 44 (1991): pp. 107-119.
41. Although Arundel and Buckingham were not on friendly terms, it cannot be excluded that Arundel might sometimes have made an offer for a picture that the duke – or perhaps, more likely his widow – could not refuse.
42. See McEvansoneya, "The Sequestration and Dispersal," p. 143.
43. Fairfax, *Catalogue of the Curious Collection*, p. 10.
44. The *Washing of the Feet* is recorded in 1650 with the same dimensions as those of the Aarschot pictures (except for the *Anointing of David*). It is not, however, listed in the Aarschot inventory (for which see above, note 39), and as pointed out by Klauner, "Zu Veroneses," p. 110, its proportions were originally somewhat different: ca. 30 cm less in width, but rather taller. This alteration of format presumably took place while the painting was in the possession of Buckingham or his estate.
45. For the *Anointing*, see Pignatti, Pedrocco, *Veronese*, I, pp. 80-82.
46. "Je supplie que vos. Exc. voye les chambres de cést Esvecque de Paris, et icelle voira en quell bel ordre les tableaux sont acommodéz & comment tout est riche. Et pour la mor de Paolo Veronnese, qu'il plaise à vos. Exc. d'abiller les murailles de la gallerie: povres murailles blanches, elle moureront de froid cést hiver!" See Godfrey Goodman, *The Court of King James the First*, 2 vols. (London: Richard Bentley, 1839), II, p. 343.
47. See Jeremy Wood, "Orazio Gentileschi and Some Netherlandish Artists in London: the Patronage of the Duke of Buckingham, Charles I and Henrietta Maria," *Simiolus* 28 (2000-2001): pp. 103, 111-113.
48. *Calendar of State Papers,* Venice, vol. 18 (1623-1625), ed. Allen B. Hinds (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1912), p. 258. The message is usually interpreted as referring to a room in the Doge's Palace, but McEvansoneya, "Documents Concerning the Patronage and Collections," pp. 29, 34 (see also McEvansoneya, "Italian Paintings in the Buckingham Collection," p. 321 and p. 335, n. 21) was surely correct to infer that Buckingham's request was for Veronese's paintings still in place on the Library ceiling.

49 For Rubens's ceiling canvas for York House (destroyed by fire at Osterley House, 1949), see Gregory Martin, "Rubens and Buckingham's 'fayrie ile'," *Burlington Magazine* 108 (1966): pp. 613-618.

50. "Confesso che per conto di pitture excellenti delle mani de maestri della prima classe, non ho giamai veduto una si gran massa insieme, come nella casa real e del gia ducca di Buckingam." Charles Ruelens and Max Rooses, eds., *Correspondance de Rubens et documents épistolaires concernant sa vie et ses oeuvres*, 6 vols. (Antwerp: Veuve de Backer, 1887-1907), V, p. 152.
51. For the borrowing from Rubens, as well as for the

problem of the commission in general, see Jeremy Wood, "Van Dyck's Pictures for the Duke of Buckingham. The Elephant in the Carpet and the Dead Tree with Ivy," *Apollo* 136 (1992): pp. 37-47.

52. See Bert W. Meijer, "Per la fortuna di Paolo Veronese fino al 1664," in *Veronese e Verona*, ed. Sergio Marinelli (Verona: Distribuzione Edizioni Valdonega, 1988), pp. 112-115.
53. For surveys of Charles I's collection of paintings, see Francis Haskell, "Charles I's Collection of Pictures," in *The Late King's Goods*, ed. Arthur MacGregor (London and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 203-231; Brown, *Kings and Connoisseurs*, pp. 33-47; Lucy Whitaker and Martin Clayton, *The Art of Italy in the Royal Collection: Renaissance and Baroque*, exh. cat. (London: The Royal Collection, 2007), pp. 17-30; Haskell, *The King's Pictures*.
54. See Millar, "Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue"; Oliver Millar, "The Inventories and Valuations of the King's Goods 1649-1651," *Walpole Society* 43 (1970-1972).
55. According to Pierre-Jean Mariette in his *Recueil d'Estampes d'après les plus Beaux Tableaux…*(Paris: L'imprimerie royale, 1742), no. 69, Veronese's *Pietà*, then in the Crozat collection and now in the Hermitage, was previously in the collection of Charles I. There is indeed a gap in its provenance between its presence in Venice in 1582 and in the Liancourt collection in Paris in 1664; see Marco Boschini, *Le Minere della Pittura* (Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1664), pp. 221-222, but there is no record of it either in the Van der Doort catalogue or in the Commonwealth sale.
56. For the *Venus Disrobing*, still in the Royal Collection, see John Shearman, *The Early Italian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 274-275 (as "Partial copy after Titian").
57. "Item the Picture of ffaith in a white habbit wth a Communion Cupp in her raecht hand and in the sam arme also houding te Cross"; "Item the Venician Capteyne in armoure houding a yallowe Scarfe in his right hand and with his left hand leaning uppon a pillar houlding a handkercher"; see Millar, "Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue," pp. 47-48, 204.
58. See Brian Reade, "William Frizell and the Royal Collection," *Burlington Magazine* 59 (1947): pp. 70-75.
59. See Shearman, *Early Italian Pictures*, p. 275 (as "Partial copy after Titian").
60. Document in Brown and Elliot, *Sale of the Century*, p. 285.
61. Pignatti, Pedrocco, *Veronese*, II, pp. 394-5. It has often been suggested that the Prado picture corresponds to one recorded by Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie*, I, p. 319, in the Della Torre collection in Verona, but there is no good reason for such an identification.
62. Loomie, "New Light on the Spanish Ambassador's Purchases," p. 263, n. 23. The reference was noted by Brown, *Kings and Connoisseurs*, p. 79, and by Matilde Miquel Joan "*Finding of Moses*," in Brown, Elliot, *Sale of the Century*, 2002, p. 240, no. 43; but there is no mention of it, for example, in the entries on the work in the catalogues of the recent Veronese exhibitions in London and Verona.
63. Millar, "Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue," p. 78.
64. Millar, "Inventories and Valuations," pp. 262 and 266 respectively. In another record, dated 2 April 1650, a *Finding of Moses* by Veronese from the royal collection was sold to the painter Lely, see Millar, "Inventories and Valuations," p. 65; but there is no other record of a possible second version of the subject owned by the king.
65. Anderson, *Daniel Nijs*, p. 136. From this it may be concluded that the picture was not identical with a *Finding of Moses* by Veronese earlier recorded in the Gonzaga collection: for which see Alessandro Luzio, *La Galleria dei Gonzaga venduta all'Inghilterra nel 1627-1628* (Milan: L. F. Cogliati, 1913), p. 92.
66. See Paul Shakeshaft, "'Too much bewiched with thoes intysing things': the Letters of James, first Marquis of Hamilton and Basil, Viscount Feilding, Concerning Collecting in Venice 1635-1639," *Burlington Magazine* 127 (1986): p. 124. In his reply Hamilton confirms Feilding's impression of Charles's taste, but still wants him to pursue the four canvases: "As for those 4 Large peeises of poulo Veronese, if they be no extraordinarie greatt and of his best manner they ar excessif deire, he being a master not verie much estimed by the King and so consequently by folk eales yeitt I woold intreatt you to send me word how bige they ar and how mani figoures ar in them and their lowest pryse."
67. Shakeshaft, "Letters of James, first Marquis of Hamilton," p. 124.
68. Wood, "Orazio Gentileschi," pp. 106-107, and Haskell, *The King's Pictures*, p. 211, have both discerned Veronesian echoes in Gentileschi's Prado painting.
69. "Christ in a gardin of Paulus de veronese". The 2nd Marquess had been to Venice and may have bought his Venetian pictures there with the help of Wotton or Carleton; see Philip McEvansoneya, "An Unpublished Inventory of the Hamilton Collection in the 1620s and the Duke of Buckingham's Pictures," *Burlington Magazine* 134 (1992): pp. 524-526.
70. For the 3rd Marquess as a collector, see Ellis K. Waterhouse, "Paintings from Venice for Seventeenth-Century England: Some Records of a Forgotten Transaction," *Italian Studies* 7 (1952): pp. 1-23; Klara Garas, "Die Entstehung der Galerie des Erzherzogs Leopold Wilhelm," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 27 (1967): pp. 39-80; Shakeshaft, "Letters of James, first Marquis of Hamilton"; Brown, *Kings and Connoisseurs*, pp. 49-57; Haskell, *The King's Pictures*, pp. 23-7.
71. See Shakeshaft, "Letters of James, first Marquis of Hamilton," with a detailed analysis of the Hamilton-Feilding correspondence.
72. Shakeshaft, "Letters of James, first Marquis of Hamilton," Appendix II, pp. 131-132.
73. For Della Nave and his collection, see Rosella Lauber, "Bartolomeo dalla Nave," in *Il Collezionismo d'arte a Venezia: il Seicento*, eds. Stefania Mason and Linda Borean (Venice: Marsilio, 2007), pp. 258-261. In his Life of Veronese of 1646, Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie*, I, p. 336, provided a list of the works by him that Feilding had sent to London, mostly but not all from the Della Nave collection.
74. See above, note 66.
75. For the exchange of 1792, see Luciano Berti, "Profilo di storia degli Uffizi," in *Gli Uffizi: catalogo generale*, eds. Luciano Berti, Caterina Caneva, and Alia Ferrari (Florence: Centro Di, 1979), p. 32. For the biblical series, see Hans H. Aurenhammer, "'Quadri numero sette esistenti nella sagrestia de San Giacomo della Zueca fatti per mano del q. Paolo Veronese.' Zur Provenienz und ursprünglichen Bestimmung einiger Bilder Veroneses und seiner Werkstatt im Wiener Kunsthistorischen Museum," *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien* I (1999): pp. 151-187.
76. For the *Esther*, see Pignatti, Pedrocco, *Veronese*, II, pp. 509-510. Not all the ex-Hamilton Veroneses are catalogued in this standard monograph, but for some of the other religious works see pp. 483-484, 525-526.
77. 68 x 52 cm each. See Pignatti, Pedrocco, *Veronese*, II, pp. 388-390.
78. These two collections, housed in the Strand on either side of York House, are both described by Richard Symonds in 1652. See respectively Mary Beal, *A Study of Richard Symonds: His Italian Notebooks and their Relevance to Seventeenth-Century Painting Techniques* (London and New York: Garland, 1984), p. 313; and Jeremy Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland: Taste and Collecting in Stuart England," in *Van Dyck 350*, *Studies in the History of Art* 46, eds. Susan J. Barnes and Arthur K. Wheelock (Washington, DC: The National Gallery of Art, 1994), p. 303.
79. See W. Alexander Vergara, "The Count of Fuensaldaña and David Teniers: Their Purchases in London after the Civil War," *Burlington Magazine* 131 (1989): pp. 127-132. For the five recognizable Veroneses, see Pignatti, Pedrocco, *Veronese*, II, pp. 366, 455-457, 488-489; Brown, Elliot, *Sale of the Century*, pp. 240-241, pp. 262-265.
80. Vergara, "The Count of Fuensaldaña," p. 132, no. 44; Brown, Elliot, *Sale of the Century*, p. 295.
81. After it was sold at the Commonwealth sale in 1650, the whereabouts of the picture are unknown until 1761, when it is recorded in the collection of Sampson Gideon at Belvedere House, Kent. It cannot be excluded, therefore, that in the interim it went abroad.
82. Namely Arundel's *Saint Helena* (if indeed it was ever in his collection in London); and the Buckingham-Charles *Leda*, which returned in the 1790s with the Orléans collection, but which was later sold back to France (see above, note 38). It is last recorded in England in the Sir Harry Englefield sale, Christie's, 18 March 1823, lot 69.
83. See various essays in Jürg Meyer zur Capellen and Bernd Roeck, eds., Paolo Veronese. *Fortuna Critica und Künstlerisches Nachleben* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1990); Habert, "Le goût"; Linda Borean, "Paolo Veronese Revisited. Art Collecting and Connoisseurship in Eighteenth-Century Venice," in *The Enduring Legacy of Venetian Renaissance Art*, ed. Andaleeb Badiee Banta (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 89-101, with references.





Fig. 1 / Master of Saint George and the Princess, *Saint George and the Princess*, tempera on panel, 90 x 58.5 x 2.3 cm, Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya.

Rediscovering the Master of the Saint George and the Princess: new paintings

ALBERTO VELASCO GONZÀLEZ

The Master of Saint George and the Princess is one of the most enigmatic figures of Late Gothic painting in the Crown of Aragon. The present article will present a number of unpublished paintings by this master (some of which have only recently appeared on the market), as well as other works which are better known but not as yet attributed to him.[1] Although the location of his workshop is not known, it can be assumed that this must have been Saragossa, the capital of Aragon. He is known to have worked on one occasion for the monastery of San Pedro de Siresa (Huesca), located in the Pyrenees, as well as for the Cabrera family, an important lineage originating in Catalonia; it was for this family that he produced the *Altarpiece of Saint George and the Princess* (fig. 1), the work from which his current appellation derives. Only one section of this altarpiece is conserved in the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya. Other sections, which were destroyed in a fire in 1945 at the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin, are known only from photographs. Lastly, he is recognized as the author of a small panel of the *Prophet Daniel*, today kept in the Museo del Prado.

It is perhaps surprising that a painter about whom so little is known and by whom so few works are conserved can be considered one of the main representatives of Late Gothic in the Crown of Aragon. This question will be answered in the following pages by means of an outline of the historiography about – and mythification of – the painter, and of the incorporation into his catalogue of a series of new works. Some of these paintings are unpublished and have not until now been related to the author of the *Altarpiece of Saint George and the Princess*. Others, although published, have not been included in the artist's catalogue. In other words, this essay will focus on works that have so far received little attention and which have been linked in general terms to other painters from the same environment. The resulting expansion of the oeuvre of the Master of Saint George and the Princess clarifies our view of this figure and provides a better understanding of his trajectory and relevance.

FROM JAUME HUGUET TO THE MASTER OF SAINT GEORGE AND THE PRINCESS

On 11 July 1923 the Junta de Museus de Barcelona gave the collector Emili Cabot (1854-1924) a sixteenth-century Catalan glazed and enamelled jar and 20,000 pesetas, and in return received a fifteenth-century painting representating *Saint George and the Princess* (Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, inv. 15868.90 x 58.5 x 2.3 cm) (see fig. 1). The painting was attributed at that time to the Catalan painter Jaume Huguet (doc. 1412-1492), and until then had been the property of the collector.[2] This was an unusual operation that can only be understood in the context of a very specific moment in Catalan collecting at the beginning of the twentieth century. On the one hand, Huguet was beginning to be seen as the great Catalan painter of the fifteenth century, a period which was itself causing a sensation among the Catalan cultural elite.[3] On the other, Catalan enamelled glassware of the sixteenth century, of great beauty and technical perfection, were especially valued by Catalan and foreign collectors. The jar in question had been for sale in Paris, and the Junta de Museus acquired it from





Figs. 2a & 2b / Master of Saint George and the Princess, *Saint John the Baptist and Donor, Saint Louis of Toulouse and Donor,* formerly in Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum.

Fig. 3 / Master of Saint George and the Princess, *Saint Peter and Saint John the Evangelist, Saint Paul and Saint James,* formerly in Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum.



the antiquarian who had bought it in order to satisfy Cabot's desire to own it. In return Cabot gave the Junta de Museus a Gothic painting which possessed its own critical fortune in erudite Barcelona circles,[4] fulfilling the needs of an organization that had a policy of acquisitions particularly focused on great works of medieval Catalan art.

The painting continued to gain prestige among specialists and came to be seen as especially representative of the work of Jaume Huguet. This was further enhanced by the work's theme, a popular legend in the Crown of Aragon, and its dedication to the patron saint of Catalonia. The peculiar aesthetics of the work also attracted attention, with its unfinished appearance and the contrasting heads of figures creating a melancholy mood; in addition the subject of a medieval knight and a princess recalled a glorious era for Catalonia, an era of chivalric deeds and courtly love. These factors helped to create an almost mythical aura about the panel, making it one of the most widely-reproduced works of Catalan Gothic painting and considered one of the most representative,[5] for example at the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya where it has iconic status. The historiographic fortune of the work has also been exceptional, and it is one of few Hispanic works that has its own monograph analyzing it from different points of view.[6]

The *Saint George and the Princess* is a panel from an altarpiece broken up in the nineteenth century. As noted above, other sections survived in the Kaiser Friederich Museum in Berlin until the Second World War when they were destroyed by fire along with the rest of the museum. The origin of the ensemble is unknown, but there was from an early date speculation that it may have been of Aragonese provenance, based on similarities with the works of such painters as Martín de Soria, as well as a tradition that it came from the area of Roda de Isábena (Huesca).[7] The relationship between the panel from Barcelona and those from Berlin was proposed by Émile Bertaux, just as it was being attributed to Jaume Huguet, and it was considered that the three panels could have formed a triptych.[8] The sections in Berlin showed the donors of the altarpiece, a man and a woman reminiscent of Van Eyck, together with Saint John the Baptist and Saint Louis of Toulouse, respectively (figs. 2a & 2b).[9] On the back of the panel of the male donor were Saints Peter and John the Evangelist, and of the female donor, Saints Paul and James, both sets of figures painted in grisaille (fig. 3).[10]

In the monograph that Benjamin Rowland dedicated to Huguet in 1932, both the *Saint George and the Princess* and the panels from Berlin were definitively given to this Catalan painter.[11] However, it was only with the monograph that Josep Gudiol Ricart and Joan Ainaud de Lasarte dedicated to the master in 1948 that the panels were more widely accepted as a fundamental part of Huguet's ouvre.

Indeed, the *Altarpiece of Saint George and the Princess* became the central work of the painter's Aragonese period, with a series of other paintings from Aragon grouped around it. Nevertheless, recent literature on this group has established that they are in fact by different masters.[12]

Jaume Huguet's putative journey to Aragon not only added novelty to the artist's historiography, it also influenced the study of Aragonese painting in the following decades.[13] Formal relations between Aragonese and Catalan Late Gothic painting attracted a great deal of attention, although it is now clear that a mistaken – or at least poorly focused – interpretative paradigm prevailed. Huguet was thus was considered to have exerted a decisive influence over a large group of painters active in Saragossa and Huesca through the works he produced in Aragon. This led to his "canonization" as both the main Catalan painter of the second half of the fifteenth century and a leading light amongst a large proportion of the painters active in Aragon.

Today this hypothesis is no longer accepted. Huguet's influence over such painters as Pere García de Benavarri, Tomás Giner, the Zahortiga brothers (Martín and Nicolás), Martín de Soria, Bernardo de Arás, the Master of Belmonte, and the Master of Morata or Juan de la Abadía, has been relativized. The similitudes of their work to that of the great Catalan master is explained by means of other factors. These artists, whose paintings are relatively homogenous from a stylistic point of view, were grouped together as part of the "naturalist current or style" or as "followers of Jaume Huguet in Aragon". They were differentiated from a second set of painters aligned with Bartolomé Bermejo, including Martín Bernat, Miguel Ximénez, and Pedro Díaz de Oviedo, identified as part of the "Flemish or Hispano-Flemish current". A third group – in fact, an amalgamation of the other two – has also appeared in the literature, represented by painters from Calatayud including Juan Rius and Domingo Ram.[14]

It was Chandler Rathfon Post who in 1938, and more forcefully in 1941, first suggested that the *Altarpiece of Saint George and the Princess* was not the work of Jaume Huguet, but of an Aragonese painter connected stylistically with the Catalan context. Post mistakenly attributed it to Martín de Soria, a painter documented in Saragossa between 1449 and 1487.[15] Although this proposal was not quite right – and was not followed up for many years – the Harvard professor deserves recognition for having intuited the Aragonese origin of the master. It was not until 1991 that Joan Sureda followed the path opened up by Post, proposing to remove the Aragonese works and the *Altarpiece of Saint George and the Princess* from Huguet's catalogue.[16] Nevertheless, the monograph dedicated by Sureda to the artist in 1994 continued to list the altarpiece within the master's works, based on a putative trip to Italy.[17] The previous year, Joan Ainaud de Lasarte's catalogue entry for the panel in the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya's exhibition dedicated to Jaume Huguet had defended the traditional attribution, although he had expressed a slight hesitation and pointed tentatively towards Martín de Soria.[18]

More recently, there has been increasing agreement that the work should be attributed to the Master of Saint George and the Princess, an artist who, little by little, is being recognized as one of the key figures of Aragonese painting in the second half of the fifteenth century.[19] This master's ability to capture subtle detail and depict emotion distiguished him from his contemporaries. Rosa Alcoy in 2003 was the first art historian to separate the painting decisively from the production of Jaume Huguet and associate it instead with the Master of Saint George and the Princess.[20] Nonetheless, Alcoy did this in a very confusing way, appearing to merge his personality with that of the Master of Alloza to whom are attributed two panels of the *Annunciation* and the *Epiphany* from the church of Alloza (Teruel), today in the Museo de Zaragoza, as well as a painting on cloth (*sarga*) of the *Virgin and the Custodian Angel* from the Saragossan monastery of the Holy Sepulchre (also in the city's museum).[21] In her book on the painting (published a few months after her original catalogue entry on Huguet), Alcoy comments that the works of the Master of Saint George and the Princess and those attributed to the Master of Alloza, must be placed "… under the same star, possibly that of a master who led an important workshop in Aragon;"[22] elsewhere in the book, however, she underlines "the need to distinguish between both painters," especially when referring to the author of a *Prophet* at the Museo del Prado whom she relates to the Master of Alloza.[23] Perhaps as a result of this confusion, some authors have continued to maintain the traditional attribution of the *Saint George and the Princess* to Jaume Huguet.[24] It is argued in the present article that both the Prado *Prophet* and the *Saint George and the Princess* are by the same artist who is not, however, the same person as the painter of the Alloza panels and the *sarga* from the monastery



Fig. 4 / Master of Saint George and the Princess, *Prophet Daniel,* 30 x 26 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

of the Holy Sepulchre of Saragossa.[25] There is no doubt that the two artists in question were responsible for different workshops, even if they were stylistically connected through a shared geographic and temporal enviroment.[26]

Alcoy made it clear in 1993 that the panels from Alloza and the *sarga* of the monastery of the Holy Sepulchre were the work of a painter familiar with the pictorial culture of Barcelona led by Jaume Huguet, although without relating these paintings to the panel of *Saint George and the Princess*. Searching for the identity of the Master of Alloza, Alcoy proposed Bernat Ortoneda, the son of the Tarragona painter Pascual Ortoneda. Pascual is documented in Aragon from 1423, and Bernat – who trained in Catalonia, having entered Bernat Martorell's workshop in 1446 – corresponds to the profile of a painter active in Aragon and familiar with the art of Jaume Huguet. In Alcoy's opinion, Bernat Ortoneda was the ideal candidate for the identity behind the Master of Alloza, since he was documented in Aragon between 1458 and 1489.[27] Later, when she expanded the works attributed to Master of Saint George and the Princess, "Bernat Ortoneda" also became a possible name to be identified with this anonymous master.[28] Her suggestion remains hypothetical, and for this reason it seems prudent to continue to refer to our principal subject as the Master of Saint George and the Princess.

The present author concurs with the view that the Master of Saint George and the Princess was of Aragonese origin. The lack of evidence for Huguet having visited Aragon, the removal of the *Saint George and the Princess* from his catalogue, and other arguments in the literature indicate that the genesis and implantation of the Flemish model in Aragon came about through a juxtaposition of agents and causes rather than through the powerful influence of a single painter who dominated the artistic scene in both Catalonia and Aragon. Moreover, it is likely that Huguet's influence reached Aragon after his success in Catalonia, probably not before 1455.[29] By that time there were already painters in Aragon experimenting with the new Flemish forms, especially in the circle of Blasco de Grañén and Archbishop Dalmau de Mur.[30] The Master of Saint George and the Princess appeared on the scene shortly afterwards.

NEW WORKS

Excluding the works of the Master of Alloza, only two additional paintings have been attributed to the author of the *Altarpiece of Saint George and the Princess*: a small panel of the *Prophet Daniel* preserved in the Museo del Prado (30 x 26 cm) (fig. 4),[31] formerly related to Huguet's Aragonese phase; and a set of two panels of *Saint John the Baptist* and *Saint James* preserved in the church of the monastery of San Pedro de Siresa (Huesca) (figs. 5a & 5b).[32] It is significant that the two panels in Siresa remain in situ, as this supports the argument for the Aragonese origin of their author.





Figs. 5a & 5b / Master of Saint George and the Princess, *Saint John the Baptist, Saint James*, Siresa (Huesca), monastery of Saint Peter.

Stylistic analysis shows that the *Altarpiece of Saint George and the Princess*, the two panels from Siresa, and the head of Daniel in the Museo del Prado form a homogenous group.[33] The present article proposes to add to this catalogue six more paintings, some of which have appeared on the market in the last few years. The first of these paintings was recently auctioned at Christie's (New York) and represents the *Betrayal of Christ* (fig. 6).[34] This panel formerly belonged to the Vilallonga Collection in Barcelona, where it was seen by Post who attributed it to the Morata Master.[35] The work shows the moment of Christ's arrest while praying in the Garden of Gethsemane, following the canonical accounts (John, 18: 1-12; Mark, 14: 43-52; Matthew, 26: 47-66; Luke, 22: 47-53) in which Judas kissed and embraced him. A motley group of soldiers, wearing mail and silver helmets, make up the retinue tasked with carrying out the arrest, this action indicated by the gestures of two soldiers who grab Christ by the arm. In the foreground left is Saint Peter who has already cut off the ear of Malchus, the servant of the High Priest who collaborated in the arrest (although here Malchus also appears dressed as a soldier). At the same time, Christ is represented performing the miracle described in the scriptures, when he heals the wounded ear which nevertheless still bleeds in the painting. The figures of Christ and Peter have gilded and embossed gesso concentric haloes as is common in Aragonese painting of the Late Gothic period.[36]



Fig. 6 / Master of Saint George and the Princess, *Betrayal of Christ*, 98.1 x 67.7 cm, Private Collection.

The format of the panel, its measurements, and its carpentry indicate that it was one of the *cases* in the predella of a retable, of which this seems to be, for the time being, the only extant element. Based on the panel's theme, the predella must have been dedicated to the Passion. The panel is in good condition, with its original gilded carpentry, which nevertheless presents some losses. The woodwork incorporates architectural motifs common during the Late Gothic period, with two pinnacles flanking the panel and a three-lobed arch topped with a *florón* emerging from it, with fronds on its outer profile. The intrados of the arch is polylobulated, while the area of the extrados has been decorated with a continuous frieze of flamboyant tracery.

The painting perfectly accords with the style of the author of *Saint George and the Princess* in the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya. The painter's chromatic treatment of faces is unusual, with a yellowish tone that has no doubt increased with time. That of Christ, however, is more greyish, very much in line with the *Saint Sebastian* preserved in Gaasbeek Castle (Belgium), discussed further below. This peculiar approach to the chromatic range of certain faces should thus be added to what little we know of the painter from a technical point of view. The style, on the other hand, is similar to that of the few works known to date by the master. Thus, the face of the soldier who holds the right arm of Christ is concomitant with Daniel in the Museo del Prado and Saint George in Barcelona.



His beard – ethereal and delicate, the disheveled hair rendered with glazes – is very similar to that of Saint John the Baptist in Siresa. All the figures present the same melancholy look, with half-opened eyes and white eyeballs which contrast with light brown irises and black pupils. The same type of relationship applies to noses, lips, eyebrows, and earlobes which are again resolved in a similar manner. In some cases even the shading at the level of the cheekbones is identical to that in the Prado panel.

Another work that can be added to the catalogue is a second unpublished painting on the same theme, the *Betrayal of Christ* (fig. 7). At the time of writing, this panel was on the market in Madrid (José Alavedra, Galería Bernat), having come from a German collection. It presents only the left part of the composition, with Saint Peter raising his arm, sword in hand, preparing to cut off Malchus's ear, the latter lying on his hands and knees on the ground, and three soldiers standing in the background. One of them carries a lantern in his hand, while another shows a shield bearing the heraldic gold and gules of Aragon. In the upper part of the fragment there are important remains of the original gold ground with reliefs of vegetal motifs made from embossed and gilded stucco as well as carefully-executed punching. The nimbus of Saint Peter, articulated from concentric semi-circles similar to those we have seen previously, is also executed by means of embossed gesso reliefwork.

The fragment is composed of four conifer boards laid horizontally, indicating that it almost certainly comes from a predella. Remains of gesso and hemp fibres applied to counteract the contractions and expansions of the wood are visible on the reverse. The use of wedges in the joins between the boards – again to avoid damage from movement of the wood – is also evident. These wedges, like the aforementioned gesso and fibre preparation, were not intended to eliminate movement completely, but instead to ensure that it did not damage the polychrome surface.[37]

The style, once again, identifies the painting as a new work by the Master of Saint George and the Princess. The faces of the soldiers are directly related to the *Prophet Daniel* in the Museo del Prado, with noses typical of the painter. Peter's gaze, likewise, is characterized by the same melancholy look described above relating to the depiction of half-opened eyes. Parallels can also be made with the *Saint George and the Princess* in this respect and in the treatment of the

mouths, painted schematically in a soft carmine tone, with the lips separated by a simple black line. In some of the faces, the painter has added light touches of white also found in the prophet in the Prado, the panels in Siresa, and in other paintings that we will discuss below.

Saint Peter's beard has been painted in a similar way to that of Saint John the Baptist in San Pedro de Siresa, the many tiny brushstrokes making it appear sparse. The ear is treated analogously to that of the Archangel Gabriel in an *Annunciation* discussed below. In addition to this, a small compositional detail should be noted: the circular shield that Malchus holds with his left hand and rests on the ground, a solution identical (even in terms of the morphology of the shield itself) to that in the *Betrayal* auctioned at Christie's. Malchus's face also repeats the caricatural and expressive features found in some of the soldiers in the panel sold by Christie's, for example, the upturned nose and protruding eyes reinforcing the negative portrayal of this figure.

Further works can be added to this group. Among these are an additional two panels (each measuring 59.5 x 36.5 cm) of the Virgin Mary and Archangel Gabriel which together comprise an *Annunciation*. These panels were acquired some years ago by the Government of Aragon and are today in the Museo de Zaragoza (figs. 8a & 8b). They were auctioned in December 2009 in Barcelona (Balclis, lot number 1018), listed in the catalogue as the work of an anonymous Aragonese painter ca. 1460 in the circle of Arnau de Castellnou. Until then the panels had only been known through old photographs[38] and were described as belonging to the collection of the painter Marian Espinal (1897-1974).[39] Surprisingly, the literature has paid little attention to these works other than several brief mentions.[40] The paintings were included in the doctoral thesis of Guadaira Macías (2013), in which the author affirmed that despite similarities with the Master of Saint George and the Princess, the panels could not be attributed to this painter. Instead, Macías suggested – albeit in an equivocal manner – that they could be placed in the orbit of Bernardo de Arás.[41]





Fig. 7 / Master of Saint George and the Princess, *Betrayal of Christ* (fragment), 56.5 x 19 x 2.5 cm, Madrid, Galería Bernat.

Figs. 8a & 8b / Master of Saint George and the Princess, *Annunciation,* 59.5 x 36.5 cm, Saragossa, Museo de Zaragoza.

In the first panel, the Virgin appears before a lectern on which rests a book. Resting her left hand on the lectern, she greets the Archangel Gabriel with her other hand. To the left of the viewer, a large jug with white lilies and the letters alpha and omega recall her virginal purity. In the second panel, Gabriel holds a phylactery which bears no inscription. Both figures wear tunics and mantles of pink and light blue tones, treated with a certain delicacy. Gabriel looks straight ahead, while Mary, interrupted from her reading, turns her head in surprise at the angel's arrival. Unusually, the episode does not take place in a defined interior space. Instead the two figures, the jug, and the lectern float against a gold background that gives a supernatural aura to the episode. This is so pronounced in the case of the archangel that he appears to levitate. The decoration of the panels includes embossed and gilded gesso used to depict the concentric forms of the haloes, the borders of the mantles, and the cuffs of Gabriel's tunic.

Macías points out some additions and repainting on the bottom of both panels, although these do not affect the faces of the figures.[42] The additions are best understood when the two panels are viewed side by side (where they meet there is a kind of triangular shape representing these restorations). It is clear that these modifications were not made on additional wood inserts, since the original support – two pinewood wood boards – is visible on the reverse in its original state.[43] In other words, the addition – comprising the lower part of the tunics of both characters and an important part of the gilding – was made directly on the original support.

This strange situation forces us to make allowances for a series of unusual characteristics presented by the panels. The first of these is the gold background on which the figures, the jug, and the lectern are painted. As noted above, this background replaces the usual location of the Annunciation within a domestic interior, and gives the panels a manifest unreality. Nevertheless, the solution is not strange in the context of works attributed to our painter, since it also occurs in the small panel of *Daniel* in the Museo del Prado, where the head appears to be almost stuck onto the gold leaf background. It is also striking that the gilded surface of the panel of the archangel includes punched vegetal motifs, whereas the panel with the Virgin Mary does not. The resulting effect is strange, not only because one panel includes punchwork and the other does not, but also because the punching is very summary and schematic, executed without the detail and definition that a work of this type required.

To my knowledge, there are no works with similar technical characteristics from this period in the Crown of Aragon. This is clearly because these paintings present an anomaly: the panels were never finished. According to the technique of *estofado* commonly practiced at that time, it was unnecessary to make the outlines of punched shapes very precise as any lack of definition would be disguised by the final layer of polychromy.[44] Given that the interiors of the punched shapes in the background of the Gabriel panel are not polychromed, it is obvious that the master did not complete the decoration of the panel.

In my opinion, there is a second detail that shows that the fragments were unfinished. This is the blank phylactery held by Gabriel (which normally would present the angelic salutation: "Ave Maria gratia plena Dominus tecum ..."). On the other hand, at the edges of this phylactery there is a vegetal decoration painted in red. This begs the question of why the painter did not finish the work, which is difficult to answer, as there is no doubt that the fragments were mounted in the altarpiece to which they belonged. It is more challenging to specify when the modifications were made, although everything indicates that these were undertaken when the panels entered the art market, in order to give them a more finished and saleable appearance.[45] If this is so, it would be reasonable to suppose that the original support is found underneath the repainting, and that in the triangular zone marked by the additions, some type of structural element of the altarpiece is missing. This hypothesis coincides with what was affirmed at the time by Macías,[46] who supposed that originally these fragments did not occupy the side *calles* of the altarpiece, but were located in the interstices at the top of the retable, as in the *Altarpiece of the Epiphany* of the Museu Episcopal de Vic attributed to Huguet.[47] This would explain the fact that the triangular zone of the lower part had been left undecorated.

In any case, the faces of Mary and Gabriel leave no doubt as to the attribution of these paintings (figs. 9a & 9b). They are clearly the work of the Master of Saint George and the Princess. We see the peculiar treatment of the faces, with the self-absorbed looks so characteristic of the master. The half-opened eyes again feature white eyeballs with brown spots for the iris and contrasting black pupils. We also detect the slight white brushstrokes that produce brightness on the nose, cheekbones and chin, as in the fragmentary *Betrayal of Christ*, and these recur in a *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* analyzed below.



Figs. 9a & 9b / Master of Saint George and the Princess, *Annunciation* (details), Saragossa, Museo de Zaragoza.



Fig. 10 / Master of Saint George and the Princess, *Saint Sebastian*, Gaasbeek (Lennik, Belgium), Gaasbeek Castle.

The treatment of the hair is again characteristic of the painter, emphasizing Gabriel's loose brown mane tinged with darker tones as in the *Prophet Daniel* in the Museo del Prado, the *Saint James* in Siresa, and the no-longer-extant *Saint Paul* from Berlin. Eyebrows, lips and profiles also match those in the works mentioned above. Thus, although the panel of *Saint George and the Princess* is better finished, the faces of the archangel and Mary closely resemble those in the master's eponymous painting. The concomitances with this work are evident, not only in the aspects already indicated, but also in the configuration of the heads and their orientation. Moreover, the archangel's face faithfully replicates the characteristics of the face of the donor accompanying Saint John the Baptist in one of the missing panels from the Kaiser Friederich Museum in Berlin.

Another work that can be attributed to the Master of Saint George and the Princess is a panel of *Saint Sebastian* today in Gaasbeek Castle (Lennik, Belgium) (fig. 10). This panel was published by Post who linked it (with a certain amount of equivocation) to Martín de Soria, noting that the stylemes on the saint's face were the same as those of the male donor of the panel in Berlin.[48] The painting is of exceptional quality and stands out as one of the best works by the Master of Saint George and the Princess. The saint is portrayed in full length, wearing olive green *calzas* (a type of trousers) as well as a carmine tunic bordered with ermine. Above the figure there is a luxurious layer of gold with floral decorations made in *estofado* which imitates contemporary silk fabrics. In his hands he holds a bow and an arrow, his most usual iconographical attributes, rendered in embossed and gilded gesso. This technique was also used in the gold background, for the spurs on the saint's boots, and for some of the elements of the sheath that hangs from his belt. The halo also features embossed gesso with concentric shapes very close to those of the paintings previously analyzed. Saint Sebastian appears here in a more or less credible space, standing on a distinctive tiled floor and before a majestic wooden throne.

The overall result is very effective. The saint appears as a true medieval knight with spurs like those of the donor in the *Altarpiece of Saint George and the Princess*. His status is evident from his clothing, as well as from the golden cape and ermine cuffs of his tunic. He is the archetypal fifteenth-century nobleman. This type of representation was a successful model in Aragonese lands during the Late Gothic period, also seen in some works by the painter Martín Bernat (doc. 1450-1505) such as the *Saint Sebastian* from the church of Piedratajada (Saragossa), today preserved in the Museo Diocesano de Jaca; in another work formerly conserved in the collection of Dámaso Escudero de Corella;[49] and in an anonymous painting which was many years ago in the Esteve Collection (Barcelona).[50]

Stylistically, the face of the saint exhibits many of the details discussed above. Two of the clearest parallels are with Saint Peter and with the soldier who holds Christ by his right arm in the *Betrayal* auctioned at Christie's. The *Saint Sebastian* also shares with that work the curious chromatic treatment of unrealistic and dingy skin-tones, which in the case of the panel in Gaasbeek are greyish. The facial features of the *Saint Sebastian* in Gaasbeek are furthermore concomitant with those of Saint John the Baptist and Saint Peter formerly in Berlin. Sebastian's face is also not far from that of *Saint John the Baptist* in Siresa, although the latter is a work of less quality. In short, the face of the figure in Gaasbeek is a type similar to that of Saint George in Barcelona and of the prophet at the Prado, with whom it shares, additionally, the same-shaped ear which in Gaasbeek is half hidden by the saint's hair. This detail also appears in *Saint John the Baptist* in the monastery of Siresa, and is a constant in the works of the painter.

Another outstanding work presented here is a *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* preserved in the Museu Maricel de Sitges (Barcelona) (fig. 11). It is a little known painting which has sometimes been related to the Master of Belmonte,[51] a painter active in the Calatayud area in the second half of the fifteenth century. My recent revision of the oeuvre of that master has led me to discard such an attribution.[52] Instead, this panel seems to me to be one of the most interesting works by the Master of Saint George and the Princess. Although nothing is known of its provenance, an Aragonese origin seems beyond doubt not only on the basis of its formal characteristics, but also on account of the fact that it belonged to the collection of Jesús Pérez Rosales which included numerous Gothic paintings from Aragon.[53]

The painting has a horizontal composition and format, meaning that it is likely to have been the main compartment of a predella. Mary presides over the composition, holding in her lap the dead Christ. The Virgin's affliction is evident from her facial expression



Fig. 11 / Master of Saint George and the Princess, *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, 56 x 80 cm, Sitges (Barcelona), Museu Maricel.

Fig. 12 / Master of Saint George and the Princess, *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* (detail), Sitges (Barcelona), Museu Maricel.

Fig. 13 / Master of Saint George and the Princess, *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* (detail), Sitges (Barcelona), Museu Maricel.

as well as from the way she holds the bloodied wrist of her Son; it is further emphasized by a symbolic dagger stuck in her breast. The body of Christ is arranged diagonally, with his back slightly raised so that Mary supports it with her right hand (which is not visible). Christ's body is naked, although a delicate veil of transparent gauze, of great visual effect, covers his pubis and part of his legs. He does not rest directly on Mary's blue mantle but on a white shroud held at the edges by Saint John the Evangelist and the Magdalene. In the background are other figures common to pictorial representations of the episode. Two of them are Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, who hold a hammer and pincers, underlining their role in taking Jesus down from the Cross. They have polygonal haloes as conventional in representations of characters of the Old Law. The remaining two figures are female and can be identified with two Marys or "Holy Women", normally identified as Mary Salome and Mary Cleopas.

The figures are represented in the foreground, occupying a large part of the composition and leaving little space for the representation of Golgotha. On the right side, a landscape is suggested through a few geographical features. The horizon is quite high so that the sky, with a brown, twilight hue, sits a little more than half way up the panel. The upper section has been rendered with many little diagonal lines, as in the *Saint George and the Princess*.

From the point of view of decoration, one of the details that draws the viewer's attention is the prominence of the haloes which occupy a large part of the pictorial surface. Their presence is so overwhelming that they almost obscure the Cross from which Christ has been taken down. All (except those of Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus) are based on concentric forms. They are the result of the same procedure already described in embossed and gesso gilded with gold metal leaf. This technique has also been used in smaller details such as in the pommel of the dagger stuck into Mary's chest, in the pincers and hammer, and in the nail that still remains in one of the arms of the Cross. The chromatic range used is typical of the Master of Saint George and the Princess, for example in the red and green tones of the characters' clothing. The green reproduces the colour of Saint Sebastian's *calzas* in Gaasbeek, while the red recalls Saint George's bonnet in the Barcelona panel and the garment of the *Prophet Daniel* in the Museo del Prado.

One of the most remarkable aspects of this painting is its repertoire of faces (fig. 12). Some are to be found in other works by the painter, such as that of the male figure holding the pincers which recalls *Saint Sebastian*





in Gaasbeek, and the soldier to the right of Christ in the *Betrayal* auctioned at Christie's. The figure's nose and mouth, in addition, recur in the prophet in the Prado. The prominent and thick beard, with its loose, individually depicted hairs, has been painted in the same way as that of Saint James in one of the panels in Siresa, and of Saint Paul formerly preserved in the Kaiser Friederich Museum in Berlin. The face of Saint John the Evangelist is very similar to that of Gabriel in the *Annunciation* of the Museo de Zaragoza, while that of the male figure holding the hammer (fig. 13) finds a good parallel in the Saint Louis of Toulouse from Berlin. The latter presents a completely uncovered ear, with a very wide auditory canal, identical to that of the aforementioned Saint Paul and those of the donors of the altarpiece of *Saint George and the Princess*. The face of Christ, in turn, resembles that of the Saint John the Baptist formerly in Berlin, especially in the treatment of facial features.

The female faces, on the other hand, have fewer parallels in the works already attributed to the master. Neither the Princess from the Barcelona panel, nor the female donor formerly conserved in Berlin, resemble the women represented here, apart from very obvious coincidences of style. The clearest parallels are found with the Virgin of the *Annunciation* in the Museo de Zaragoza which shows some similarities to both the Magdalene and Mary who puts her finger to her mouth in the painting from Sitges (fig. 13). The Magdalene's long hair is, for example, similar to that of the Virgin Annunciate in Saragossa.

Another habitual characteristic of the painter that can be detected in the Sitges *Lamentation* is the use of slight touches of white color in certain parts of the faces, such as the nose, lacrimal area, and other parts of the face. This technique is used to create highlights, as in the *Daniel* in the Museo del Prado, the *Annunciation* in the Museo de Zaragoza, the panels in Siresa, and the *Betrayal of Christ* on the market in Madrid.

The last of the works presented in this article is a small panel (39 x 27 cm), with its original frame, depicting *Saint Bernard of Clairvaux and Saint Benedict Flanking the Pietà* (fig. 14). Based on its small size and iconography, it is likely to have been intended for private devotion. It is preserved in the Fundación Francisco Godia (Barcelona), and was studied by the present author a few years ago.[54] Until that time this understudied little work, had been related to Arnau de Castellnou,[55]

one of the authors of the altarpiece of the hermitage of the Coronation of Erla (Saragossa) – nowadays in the parish church in the same village, next to Tomás Giner. In a previous study of the work I proposed its attribution to Huguet's "Aragonese circle," although I have since rejected the link to the altarpiece in Erla due to the scarcity of knowledge about Castellnou's activity apart from his work on the said altarpiece.

As already noted, the painting is of reduced dimensions and was not part of an altarpiece. The theme represented is suited to private devotion, presenting Mary's anguish expressed through the dagger stuck in her chest as in the *Lamentation* from Sitges. In her lap lies the inert body of Christ, bloodied and with the marks of the Crucifixion clearly visible. On the crossbeam of the Cross we find the *Arma Christi*, reinforcing the relationship of this painting with the Passion. It is a work of highly emotional content, related to the spirituality preached by *Devotio Moderna* on the basis of texts like the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* of Pseudo-Bonaventure. This type of representation sought to inspire the most profound feelings of religious faith, encouraging the viewer to empathize with the pain experienced by both the Virgin and Christ.

Mother and Son are accompanied by Saints Benedict of Nursia and Bernard of Clairvaux, the founder of the Benedictine Order and figurehead of the Cistercians, each identified by an inscription in the lower part of the panel. They kneel holding croziers that identify them as abbots of their respective communities. As saints revered for their great spirituality, their presence reinforces what is expressed above.

Decoratively, the painting stands out on account of the abundant use of gold leaf which gives it a radiance and otherwordly atmosphere. The frame, background and haloes of Mary, Benedict, and Bernard, made from embossed gesso with punchwork motifs on the insides, are all gilded, as is the halo of Christ, which is configured from rays. The same technique has been used for the croziers of the saints, and – as we have seen in the *Lamentation* from the Museu Maricel in Sitges – for the nails that still remain on the crossbeam of the Cross, as well as for another on the ground on top of Mary's mantle.

Despite the reduced format, which requires subtle changes in the configuration of the characters, the style of this *Pietà* with saints refers directly to the Master of Saint George and the Princess. The head of Mary, covered with a toque and mantle, follows the model of the *Lamentation* from Sitges, where we also find the detail of the dagger stuck in the chest of the Virgin. Mary raises her left hand, with fine and stylized fingers, in a manner similar to that in the *Annunciation* from Saragossa.

The self-absorbed glances, with half-opened eyes and subtle colouring, are those of the master, as is the treatment of mouths and noses. Together these features create a facial type very similar to those discussed over the course of this article. This especially applies to Saint Benedict who closely resembles the figure of Mary on the left side of the Sitges *Lamentation* and the Virgin Annunciate in the Museo de Zaragoza, as well as Gabriel (although the similarity between the saint and the archangel is not so direct). The position of the heads and the downcast gaze of both saints also reappear in the Saint Peter in the fragmentary panel on the art market in Madrid, and in the Saint James in the monastery of Siresa.

The faces of the figures in this small painting are less carefully executed and finished than those by the same painter in his larger-scale works. This is no doubt due to the different technical requirements of working on big altarpieces, versus producing paintings for private devotion which could be sold by the master "on spec" directly from his workshop as a source of extra income. However, with a few examples of the latter preserved in the Crown of Aragon (such as a few triptychs), it is evident that the Master of Saint George and the Princess also dedicated himself to the realization and sale of these kinds of modest works for private clients.

Finally, mention should be made of a panel from the parish church of Tosos (Saragossa) which has not been seen for years and is known only through an old publication.[36] The present author has certain doubts about this panel. It depicts Saints Fabian and Sebastian, and it is clear from a photograph published in 1967 that it had by then been completely repainted, distorting its original style. Despite this, the faces of both figures relate directly to the Master of the Saint George and the Princess, especially comparing Saint Fabian's face with Saint George's in the painting that gives the master his "name". Further research into this matter – including a physical analysis of the work – is necessary, but the painting was sold after 1967 and is no longer preserved in Tosos. Scholars will have to hope for its appearance on the art market in order to confirm if it is a new work by the painter whose oeuvre has been examined and expanded in this article.



Fig. 14 / Master of Saint George and the Princess, *Saint Bernard of Clairvaux and Saint Benedict Flanking the Pietà*, 39 x 27 cm, Barcelona, Fundación Francisco Godia.

NOTES

1. This article has received support from the research project "Expresividad, sentimiento y emoción (siglos XII-XV)" (Ministry of Economy, Industry and Competitiveness, Spanish Government, ref. HAR2016-75028-P, Universitat de Lleida, senior researcher: Dr. Flocel Sabate).
2. Joaquim Folch i Torres, "El retaule de Sant Jordi, de Jaume Huguet, al museu de la Ciutadella," *Gaseta de les Arts* 3 (1924): pp. 1-3; Laia Alsina, "Francesc Miquel i Badia (Barcelona 1840-1899): crític, tractadista i col·leccionista d'art," (PhD diss., Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2015), pp. 339 and 409-410.
3. For a discussion of the phenomenon of the collecting of Gothic painting in Catalonia, see Alberto Velasco, "L'exposició retrospectiva de Barcelona de 1867 i els inicis del col·leccionisme de pintura gòtica a Catalunya," *Lambard. Estudis d'art medieval* 22 (2012): pp. 9-65; Bonaventura Bassegoda, "L'apreciació de l'art medieval a les primeres col·leccions catalanes," in *Mercat de l'art, col·leccionisme i museus. Episodis sobre el patrimoni artístic a Catalunya als segles XIX i XX*, eds. Bonaventura Bassegoda and Ignasi Domènech (Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2014), pp. 25-50.
4. The work had been cited briefly, without being reproduced, in a Barcelona guidebook in 1884: Josep Roca, *Barcelona en la mano: guía de Barcelona y sus alrededores* (Barcelona: E. López., 1884), p. 197. It was not until 1909 that it was attributed to Huguet by Émile Bertaux, "Das Katalanische Sankt-Georg Trptychon aus der Werkstatt des Jaime Huguet," *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen* 30 (1909): pp. 187-192.
5. In the words of Rosa Alcoy, "La taula de *Sant Jordi i la Princesa* és una d'aquelles obres d'art que, transcendint la seva evidència immediata, el seu estat fragmentari i les seves debilitats, ha esdevingut un objecte pictòric de culte. Hem d'acceptar, doncs, que enfrontem un producte rar i carismàtic, amb una inèrcia pròpia, que la modernitat que arrela als inicis del segle XX ha anat convertint en un veritable símbol, sostingut sovint com una de les banderes de la pintura catalana" (The panel of *Saint George and the Princess* is one of those works of art that, transcending their immediate evidence, their fragmentary state and their weaknesses, has become a cult painting object. We have to accept, then, that we face a rare and charismatic product, with its own inertia, that with the advent of modern times in the early twentieth century has become a true symbol, often held up as one of the flags of Catalan painting). See Rosa Alcoy, "Jaume Huguet*. Sant Jordi i la princesa," in *La pintura gòtica hispanoflamenca. Bartolomé Bermejo i la seva època*, exh. cat. (Barcelona and Bilbao: Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao, 2003), p. 312.
6. Rosa Alcoy, *San Jorge y la Princesa. Diálogos de la pintura del siglo XV en Cataluña y Aragón* (Barcelona: Publicacions i Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 2003).
7. Chandler Rathfon Post, *The Aragonese School in the Late Middle Ages: A History of Spanish Painting*, 14 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1941), VIII, pp. 336-352, mentions on p. 345 the "vague tradition" that placed its origins in this town in Huesca. An earlier mistaken tradition claimed it was from Valencia. See Francesc Quílez, "La història del col·leccionisme públic a la Barcelona vuitcentista," in *Col·leccionistes, col·leccions i museus. Episodis de the història del patrimoni artístic de Catalunya*, eds. Bonaventura Bassegoda and Ignasi Domènech (Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2007), p. 57, note 106.
8. Bertaux, "Das Katalanische Sankt-Georg," pp. 187-192.
9. On the identification of the donors, see Francesc Ruiz Quesada, "Consideracions sobre el *Sant Jordi i la princesa* i els seus donants," in *Jaume Huguet. 500 anys*, exh. cat. (Barcelona: Departament de Cultura, Generalitat de Catalunya, 1993), pp. 104-108; Alcoy, *San Jorge*, pp. 77-122; Joan Valero, "La promoció artística femenina dins del llinatge dels Cabrera a l'època baixmedieval," *Lambard. Estudis d'art medieval* 25 (2013-2014): pp. 93-105, where a number of interesting questions, apart from the identity of the donors, are analyzed.
10. The use of grisaille is significant since the first documented altarpiece in the Hispanic kingdoms where this technique was used was made in Saragossa. This altarpiece decorates the chapel of the ancient City Council, which combined painting and sculpture and was commissioned from the sculptor Pere Joan in 1443. On this altarpiece, see Alberto Velasco Gonzàlez, "'Para que sus deliberaciones y consejos no vayan herrados sino acertados.' Gonzalo de la Caballería y el retablo de la capilla del Concejo de Zaragoza (1443)," *Tvriaso* 22 (2014-2015): pp. 295-340. The grisaille images of Saint John the Evangelist and Saint James are only fragmentary since the panels have been sawed off at the top. Hence, the identification of the second saint is complex. On the reverse side of the Saint George and the Princess compartment there is a representation of an heraldic emblem related to the Cabrera family.
11. Benjamin Rowland, *Jaume Huguet. A Study of Late Gothic Painting in Catalonia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1932), pp. 154-159.
12. Josep Gudiol Ricart and Joan Ainaud de Lasarte, *Huguet* (Barcelona: Instituto Amatller de Arte Hispánico, 1948), pp. 34-50. See the studies of the works included in this debate in *Jaume Huguet. 500 anys*, pp. 222-239 and 246-249.
13. See, for instance, Josep Gudiol, *Pintura medieval en Aragón* (Saragossa: Institución "Fernando el Católico", 1971); Fabián Mañas, *Pintura gótica aragonesa* (Saragossa: Guara Editorial, 1979).
14. These approaches appear, e.g., in Gudiol and Ainaud, *Huguet*; Josep Gudiol, *Pintura Gòtica* (*Ars Hispaniae*, vol. IX) (Madrid: Plus Ultra, 1955); José Camón Aznar, *Pintura Medieval Española* (*Summa Artis*, vol. XXII) (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1966); María del Carmen Lacarra, *Primitivos aragoneses en el Museo Provincial de Saragossa* (Saragossa: Institución "Fernando el Católico", 1970); Gudiol, *Pintura Medieval*; Mañas, *Pintura gótica*.
15. Chandler Rathfon Post, *The Catalan School in the Late Middle Ages. A History of Spanish Painting*, vol. VII (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938), pp. 170-171; Post, *The Aragonese School*, pp. 337-352.
16. Joan Sureda, "Problemes entorn a Jaume Huguet: proposta d'un nou catàleg," *Cultura* 511 (1991): pp. 11-14.
17. Joan Sureda, *Un cert Jaume Huguet, el capvespre d'un somni* (Barcelona: Lunwerg, 1994), pp. 87-89.
18. Joan Ainaud de Lasarte, "Sant Jordi i la Princesa," in *Jaume Huguet. 500 anys*, pp. 224-227.
19. One of the most recent works about the artist is the PhD of Guadaira Macías, "La pintura aragonesa de la segona meitat del segle XV relacionada amb l'escola catalana: dues vies creatives a examen", (PhD diss., Universitat de Barcelona, 2013), pp. 171-215.
20. Alcoy, "Jaume Huguet*," pp. 312-317. It is curious to see that in this catalogue entry Alcoy presents some arguments regarding the new attribution that were not shared by the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, the organizing institution of the exhibition. Since the museum was reluctant to withdraw the attribution to Huguet, the entry was headed with the name of Huguet accompanied by an asterisk and an annotation where the discrepancies between the author and the institution were manifest. Alcoy developed her theses in much more depth in the book published the following year (Alcoy, *San Jorge*).
21. On these works, see María del Carmen Lacarra, "Anunciació i Epifania. Dos compartiments de retaule," in *Jaume Huguet. 500 anys*, pp. 228-231; Joan Sureda, "Sarja de la Mare de Déu i l'àngel custodi," in *Jaume Huguet. 500 anys*, pp. 232-235; María del Carmen Lacarra, "La qüestió aragonesa de Jaume Huguet," in *L'art gòtic a Catalunya. Pintura. III. Darreres manifestacions* (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2006), pp. 147-149.
22. "... bajo un mismo halo, posiblemente el de un maestro que debió dirigir un importante taller en tierras aragonesas." See Alcoy, *San Jorge*, p. 157.
23. "…la necesidad de distinguir entre ambos pintores." See Alcoy, *San Jorge*, pp. 156-157.
24. Joan Sureda, "Jaume Huguet i l'eixir de la dignitat humana," in *L'art gòtic a Catalunya. Pintura. III. Darreres manifestacions* (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2006), p. 90; Eva March, "Jaume Huguet", in *L'art gòtic a Catalunya. Pintura. III. Darreres manifestacions* (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2006), pp. 97-102.
25. There is sufficient stylistic evidence to differentiate between, on the one hand, the painter of the Alloza panels and the cloth from the monastery of the Holy Sepulchre of Saragossa, and, on the other, the author of the altarpiece of *Saint George and the Princess*, although this is beyond the scope of the present article.
26. In her PhD, Guadaira Macías also distinguishes between the one and the other painter. See Macías, "La pintura aragonesa."
27. Rosa Alcoy, "Un proemi a Jaume Huguet. Reflexions sobre la pintura en l'àrea tarragonina entre el 1412 i el 1448," in *Jaume Huguet. 500 anys*, p. 47.
28. Thus, in the last study Alcoy has made of the panel of *Saint George and the Princess*, the authorship is given to "Bernat Ortoneda (?)". See Rosa Alcoy, *Pintura catalana. El gòtic* (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2017), pp. 372-373.
29. It is possible that certain aspects of the art of the great Catalan master reached Aragon later on. There is a documentary reference supporting this in the journey that Martín Bernat and Miguel Ximénez made to Barcelona in 1489 to examine the altarpiece that Jaume Huguet had made in the church of Sant Agustí el Vell, of which there are some panels in the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya. They were sent there, however, to familiarize themselves with a rather exceptional iconographic cycle, as they had been commissioned to produce an altarpiece dedicated to the same saint for the church of San Agustín in Saragossa. See Manuel Serrano Sanz, "Documentos relativos a la pintura en Aragón durante el siglo XV," *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 31 (1914): pp. 448-451, doc. VII. About the surviving panels from the altarpiece in Barcelona, see Francesc Ruiz, "El retaule de sant Agustí de Jaume Huguet. Un referent singular en l'art pictòric català del darrer quatre-cents," *Quaderns de Vilaniu* 37 (2000): pp. 3-40.
30. See Alberto Velasco, "'Pintura tardogòtica a l'Aragó i Catalunya: Pere Garcia de Benavarri," (PhD diss., Universitat de Lleida, 2015), pp. 83-103; Alberto Velasco, "'Some questions about the Flemish model in Aragonese painting (1440-1500)," forthcoming.
31. Joan Molina, "Atribuido a Jaume Huguet. El profeta Daniel," in *Cataluña medieval*, exh. cat. (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1992), pp. 294-295; Milagros Guardia, "Cap del profeta Daniel," in *Jaume Huguet. 500 anys*, pp. 222-223.
32. These paintings now are part of a fictitious set remodelled in all probability in the seventeenth century. The attribution has been defended by Guadaira Macías, "Noves aportacions al catàleg de dos mestres aragonesos anònims. El Mestre de Sant Jordi i la princesa i el Mestre de Sant Bartomeu," *Butlletí del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya* 11 (2010): pp. 38-40, figs. 4-5. Previously, I related them to the circle of Miguel Ximénez or to Arnau de Castellnou de Navailles, thinking that the latter could be one of the leading candidates to be the Master of Saint George and the Princess, although we did not present the argument in detail. See Alberto Velasco, "Revisant Pere Garcia de Benavarri. Noves precisions a l'etapa saragossana," *Locus Amoenus* 8 (2005-2006): p. 85.
33. Rosa Alcoy defends the attribution of the prophet in the Museo del Prado to the Master of Alloza, a proposal with which I do not agree (Alcoy, *San Jorge*, p. 155). On the other hand, the prophet has evident analogies with a counterpart on the *guardapolvo* of the altarpiece in Ejea de los Caballeros (illustrated in María del Carmen Lacarra, *Blasco de Grañén, pintor de retablos (1422-1459)* (Saragossa: Institución "Fernando el Católico", 2004), p. 85, fig. 35), which certainly shows that the painter exists within the same figurative culture as Martín de Soria (Alcoy, *San Jorge*, p. 176), the author of this part of the altarpiece in Ejea.
34. Christie's *Old Master Pictures Sale*, New York, 31 October 2017, lot 4, with an attribution to the Master of Morata. According to the auction house, the panel came from a collection in Florida.
35. Post, *The Aragonese School*, p. 407, fig. 186. A photograph of the work is kept at the Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic in Barcelona (negative number Mas C-3332), and was taken when it was part of the Vilallonga Collection. It is also published in Ana Galilea, *La pintura gótica española en el Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao* (Bilbao: Museu de Bellas Artes de Bilbao, 1995), p. 174, fig. 98, where the author notes that it had been on the art market in Paris. Also see Macías, "La pintura aragonesa," pp. 435-436, fig. 332, where she lists it in "la pintura sorgida de l'entorn de Calatayud i Daroca a la segona meitat del segle XV" (the painting developed in the surroundings of Calatayud and Daroca in the second half of the fifteenth century), without detailing any specific attribution.
36. Stefanos Kroustallis, Marisa Gómez González, Matilde Miquel Juan, Rocío Bruquetas Galán and Olga Pérez Monzón, "Gilding in Spanish panel painting from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* (2016): pp. 1-31, accessed 1 December 2017, DOI: 10.1080/17546559.2016.1230273. See also Alberto Velasco, *Virgin and Child with Musician Angels. The Master of Belmonte and Late Gothic Aragonese Painting* (Buenos Aires: Jaime Eguiguren, 2017), pp. 94-155.
37. Tamara A. González and Consuelo Dalmau, "Las cuñas de madera en la pintura sobre tabla: presencia y procedencia," in *Afilando el pincel, dibujando la voz. Prácticas pictóricas góticas*, eds. Matilde Miquel, Olga Pérez, and Pilar Martínez (Madrid: Ediciones Complutense, 2017), pp. 15-30.
38. Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic in Barcelona, negative number: Espinal 41.
39. For this collector, see Bonaventura Bassegoda, "Marian Espinal (1897-1974). Pintor y coleccionista," in *Nuevas contribuciones en torno al mundo del coleccionismo de arte hispánico en los siglos XIX y XX*, eds. Immaculada Socias and Dimitra Gkozgkou (Gijón: Trea, 2013), pp. 53-62.
40. The first mention is in Galilea, *La pintura gótica*, p. 170, where it appears as the work of an anonymous Aragonese painter. See also Alcoy, *San Jorge*, p. 147, n. 214, but here she only establishes an iconographic parallel with one of the panels in Alloza, without any comments about style. Another reference is in Macías, "Noves aportacions," p. 60, n. 58, also without any concrete attribution.
41. On Bernardo de Arás, see Didier Martens, "Una huella de Rogier van der Weyden en la obra de Bernart d'Aras, 'pintor vecino de la ciudat de Huesca'," *Archivo Español de Arte* 81 (2008): pp. 1-18; Macías, "La pintura aragonesa," pp. 200-211, figs. 151-156. Taking into account the scarce catalogue of works given to this painter, I take this opportunity to add a *Lamentation Before the Dead Christ* recently auctioned in Paris (Cornette de Saint Cyr maison de ventes, *Collection Marie Laforet: Dessins et Tableaux Anciens - Sculptures Ethnographie - Mobiliers et Objets d'Art*, 28 November 2017, lot number 451, 86 x 66 cm, attributed to the circle of Jaume Huguet), and also a *Resurrection* on the art market in Barcelona (Galeria Bernat, 74 x 62 cm).
42. Macías, "La pintura aragonesa", p. 210. In addition to the additions that pointed out by Macías, I note some strips of wood added to the panels at the sides and top; these are clearly detectable both on the front and on the back.
43. The joins were filled with wooden wedges, as can be seen on the back of one of the panels.
44. The gilded background was one of the techniques Hispanic painters of the late Middle Ages used most often to convey magnificence. In the Crown of Aragon, its use continued during the late Gothic period, even when large landscape backgrounds started to become popular following Flemish models. Fascination with gold's visual effects and suggestion of wealth often led to its prevailing over the representation of nature which was not part of the local tradition. This went hand in hand with a techniques enabling the use gold to create contrasts, plays of light, and perception of relief and depth. See the numerous examples quoted in Velasco, *Virgin and Child*, p. 94 and ff.
45. It is plausible that at that time the strips of wood and gold frames were added.
46. Macías, "La pintura aragonesa," p. 210.
47. Rosa Alcoy, "Retaule de l'Epifani," in *Jaume Huguet. 500 anys*, pp. 202-205.
48. Post, *The Aragonese School*, pp. 372 and 376, fig. 167. In a more recent publication, it is linked to an anonymous Spaniard from the sixteenth century. See Herman Vandormael, *Château de Gaasbeek*, (Brussels: Credit Communal, 1988): pp. 107-108. The panel is not in its original frame.
49. Nuria Ortiz, "Martín Bernat. Saint Sebastian," *Spanish Painting* (Madrid: Coll & Cortés Fine Arts, 2012): pp. 26-35. Strangely, Ortiz did not include this painting in her monograph dedicated to the painter. See Nuria Ortiz, *Martín Bernat, pintor de retablos, documentado en Zaragoza entre 1450 y 1505*, (Saragossa: Institución "Fernando el Católico", 2013).

50. Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic de Barcelona, negative number: Movil Weissberger 36.
51. Elisenda Casanova, "La presencia aragonesa en el patrimonio de los museos de Sitges," *Artigrama* 20 (2005): p. 62, figs. 21-22.
52. On the Master of Belmonte, see Velasco, *Virgin and Child*.
53. Many of them were provided by the antiquarian Josep Bardolet, who had travelled widely through Aragon buying medieval art since before the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and continued to do so during the postwar period. See Vinyet Panyella, "La col·lecció Pérez Rosales, un capítol de la història dels museus de Sitges," in *Antiquaris, experts, col·leccionistes i museus. El comerç, l'estudi i la salvaguarda de l'art a la Catalunya del segle XX*, eds. Bonaventura Bassegoda and Ignasi Domènech (Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2013), pp. 177-205.
54. Alberto Velasco, "Anònim aragonés. Pietat amb Sant Benet i Sant Bernat," in *La col·lecció. Fundación Francisco Godia* (Barcelona: Fundación Francisco Godia, 2008), pp. 98-99.
55. Luis Monreal, *El Conventet IV: colección de pintura antigua* (Barcelona: Francisco Godia, 1978), pp. 70-71, no. 15; *Románico y Gótico de la colección Francisco Godia*, eds. Sara Puig and Mercè Obón (Barcelona: Fundación Francisco Godia, 2001), p. 89, no. 40; Mercè Obón, ed., *Coleccionar arte. Obras de la Fundación Francisco Godia* (Sevilla: Junta de Andalucía, 2014), pp. 44-45, no. 6.
56. Prudencia Giménez, Margarita Díaz, and María del Carmen Nachón, "El Retablo de Tosos (Un retablo inédito)," *Universidad de Zaragoza: Cuadernos de Filosofía y Letras 1* (1967): pp. 29-31, fig. 24.



SPANISH TEXT

Redescubriendo al Maestro del San Jorge y la Princesa: nuevas obras

ALBERTO VELASCO GONZÀLEZ

El Maestro de San Jorge y la Princesa es una de las figuras más enigmáticas de la pintura del tardogótico en la Corona de Aragón. En el presente artículo presentaremos una serie de pinturas inéditas de este maestro (algunas de las cuales han aparecido recientemente en el mercado), así como otras conocidas pero aún no atribuidas a él.[1] Poco sabemos del pintor. Ni siquiera su nombre. Ni la ciudad desde la que debió trabajar, aunque cabe suponer que debió ser Zaragoza, la capital de Aragón. Sí sabemos, en cambio, que realizó uno de sus encargos para el monasterio de San Pedro de Siresa (Huesca), ubicado en pleno Pirineo. Conocemos también que trabajó para la familia Cabrera, un importante linaje con orígenes en Cataluña. Para un miembro de dicha estirpe realizó la obra que da nombre al pintor, el retablo de San Jorge y la Princesa, del que solamente conservamos un compartimento en el Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya (fig. 1), aunque conocemos otros a través de fotografías que fueron pasto de la llamas en un incendio acontecido en 1945 en el Kaiser Friedrich Museum de Berlín. Y, finalmente, sabemos que el Maestro de San Jorge y la Princesa es el autor de una tabla de pequeñas dimensiones con la imagen del profeta Daniel, hoy custodiada en el Museo del Prado. A partir de ahí, poco más. O mejor dicho, nada más.

El lector se preguntará cómo un pintor de quien se sabe tan poco y del que se conservan escasas obras puede considerarse uno de los principales representantes del último gótico en la Corona de Aragón. Es una muy buena pregunta que intentaremos responder en las páginas que siguen. Y lo haremos a través de un breve recorrido por el proceso historiográfico que ha llevado a ello, el cual no se encuentra exento de una cierta mitificación del pintor y de la célebre tabla que le dio nombre. Además, con la aportación que presentamos pretendemos sumarnos al debate sobre el maestro incorporando una serie de nuevas obras a su catálogo. Algunas de ellas son completamente inéditas, nunca hasta ahora relacionadas con el autor del retablo de San Jorge y la Princesa. Otras, a pesar de haberse publicado, tampoco se habían incluído en el catálogo de dicho artista. En otras palabras, este ensayo se centrará en trabajos que hasta ahora han recibido poca atención y que han sido vinculados en términos generales a otros pintores del mismo entorno. Así las cosas, el acrecentamiento resultante del catálogo de obras del Maestro de San Jorge y la Princesa aclarará nuestra visión de su figura y proporcionará una mejor comprensión de su trayectoria y relevancia.

De Jaime Huguet al Maestro de San Jorge y la Princesa

El 11 de julio de 1923 la Junta de Museos de Barcelona cedió al coleccionista Emili Cabot (1854-1924) un jarra catalana de vidrio esmaltado del siglo XVI y 20.000 pesetas, y a cambio la institución recibió una tabla pintada del siglo XV con la representación de San Jorge y la Princesa (Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, inv. 15868) (fig. 1). La pintura se atribuia en ese momento al pintor Jaume Huguet (doc. 1412-1492), y hasta ese momento había sido propiedad del coleccionista.[2] Se trata de una operación insólita que debe entenderse en un momento muy concreto del coleccionismo catalán de inicios del siglo XX. Por un lado, Huguet se estaba configurando en la historiografía como el gran pintor catalán del siglo XV, en el marco de un fenómeno cultural donde la época medieval causaba sensación entre las élites culturales catalanas.[3] Del otro, los vidrios esmaltados catalanes del siglo XVI, de gran belleza y perfección técnica, eran especialmente valorados por coleccionistas catalanes y extranjeros, y Cabot era uno de ellos. La jarra en cuestión había salido a la venta en París, y la Junta de Museos la adquirió al anticuario que la había comprado para así poder satisfacer el afán de posesión de Cabot. Este último, por su parte, entregaba a la Junta una pintura gótica con una cierta fortuna entre los círculos eruditos barceloneses del momento,[4] y que colmaba los deseos de un organismo que tenía una política de adquisiciones especialmente focalizada a la adquisición de grandes obras del arte medieval catalán.

Con el paso del tiempo, la tabla fue ganando prestigio entre los especialistas y se convirtió en una obra especialmente representativa de Jaume Huguet. Tanto el tema, basado en una leyenda muy difundida popularmente en la Corona de Aragón, como la dedicación al santo patrón de Cataluña, así lo fomentaron. Lo acabó de adobar la peculiar estética de la obra, con esa apariencia inacabada donde contrastan las dos cabezas de los personajes, que se funden en una melancólica mirada que suena a despedida antes de la batalla, o a premio después de ella. Un caballero medieval y una princesa. La viva imagen de una época gloriosa en tierras catalanas y de buena parte de lo que representaba para algunos el período medieval: lo caballeresco y el amor cortés. La particular percepción que se tenía de la obra ayudó a que sobre la tabla se creáse una aura casi mítica que la convirtió en una de las obras más difundidas, reproducidas y representativas de la pintura gótica catalana.[5] Y qué duda cabe, en uno de los iconos del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya. Su fortuna historiográfica ha sido excepcional, y debe remarcarse que es una de las pocas pinturas hispanas que tienen un libro monográfico para ella sola, un trabajo que la analiza desde diferentes puntos de vista.[6]

El San Jorge y la Princesa es el compartimento principal de un retablo fragmentado en el siglo XIX y del que sobrevivieron otros compartimentos en el Museo Kaiser Friederich de Berlín hasta 1945, cuando fueron destruidos por un incendio que afectó el museo. Se desconoce la procedencia del conjunto, pero en el pasado se especulaba con un origen aragonés por las similitudes con obras de pintores como Martín de Soria, y por una tradición del mercado de antigüedades que decía que procedía del área de Roda de Isábena (Huesca).[7] La relación entre la tabla de Barcelona y las de Berlín fue propuesta por Bertaux, justo en el momento de atribuirlas a Jaume Huguet, y consideró que las tres podían haber formado parte de un tríptico.[8] Los dos compartimentos de Berlín mostraban a los donantes de la obra, un hombre y una mujer de ecos eyckianos, junto a San Juan Bautista y San Luis de Toulouse, respectivamente (fig. 2).[9] En el reverso, San Pedro y San Juan Evangelista, en el primero; y San Pablo y Santiago o San Juan Bautista, en el segundo, todos ellos en grisalla (fig. 3).[10]

En la monografía que Benjamin Rowland dedicó a Huguet en 1932, la tabla con el San Jorge y la Princesa, así como las de Berlín, ya se presentaban de forma definitiva como parte del catálogo del pintor catalán.[11] Con todo, la consolidación de esos fragmentos de retablo como obra fundamental del catálogo de Huguet llegó con la monografía que Josep Gudiol Ricart y Joan Ainaud de Lasarte dedicaron al maestro en 1948, libro en que el retablo del San Jorge y la Princesa pasó a ser el eje central del período aragonés del pintor, con una serie de otras pinturas agrupadas a su alrededor. Sin embargo, la literatura reciente sobre este grupo de trabajos ha establecido que fueron realizados por distintos maestros.[12]

El periplo aragonés de Jaume Huguet era una novedad en la historiografía del artista, y su formulación condicionó el estudio de la pintura aragonesa en las décadas siguientes. [13] Las relaciones formales entre la pintura aragonesa y catalana del tardogótico han llamado la atención de los especialistas desde hace tiempo, aunque debe decirse que durante buena parte del siglo XX prevaleció un paradigma interpretativo equivocado – o al menos mal enfocado. De esta forma, se consideró que Huguet influyó decisivamente en un nutrido grupo de pintores activos en Zaragoza y Huesca a través de las obras que realizó en Aragón. Esto le llevó casi a ser historiográficamente canonizado, pues se le presentó en el eje principal de la pintura en Cataluña en la segunda mitad del siglo XV, y se ubicó bajo su influencia a una gran proporción de los pintores activos en Aragón en esa época. Como podemos ver, la propuesta no solo implicaba atribuir una serie de obras a Huguet, sino que suponía suponer que una buena parte de la pintura aragonesa de la segunda mitad del siglo XV dependía de él.

Hoy en día, esta hipótesis ha quedado en el camino y, por tanto, debe relativizarse la influencia de Huguet sobre pintores como Pere García de Benavarri, Tomás Giner, los hermanos Zahortiga (Martín y Nicolás), Martín de Soria, Bernardo de Arás, los Maestros de Belmonte y Morata, o Juan de la Abadía, ya que las similitudes de su trabajo con el del gran maestro catalán deben ser explicadas por otras vías. Este grupo de artistas, relativamente homogéneo desde el punto de vista estilístico, se agrupó bajo denominaciones como la de "corriente o estilo naturalista" o "seguidores de Jaume Huguet en Aragón". Se diferenciaron, además, de un segundo grupo formado por pintores alineados con el arte de Bartolomé Bermejo y las propuestas de influencia nórdica, como Martín Bernat, Miguel Ximénez o Pedro Díaz de Oviedo, que fueron incluidos dentro de la corriente hispanoflamenca. Un tercer grupo – en realidad, una amalgama de los otros dos – apareció en la historiografía, representado por pintores de Calatayud como Juan Rius o Domingo Ram.[14]

Pero el tiempo acabó poniendo todo en su sitio y, finalmente, se demostró lo que ya había supuesto Post en 1938, y afirmado con más contundencia en 1941: que el retablo de San Jorge y la Princesa no era obra de Jaume Huguet, sino de un pintor aragonés conectado estilísticamente, eso sí, con el contexto catalán. El especialista norteamericano la atribuyó equívocamente a Martín de Soria, un maestro documentado en Zaragoza entre 1449 y 1487.[15] Hay que reconocer que su propuesta no tuvo seguimiento en años sucesivos, pero aunque no acertase del todo, al profesor de Harvard hay que reconocerle el mérito de haber intuido el origen aragonés del pintor. Quien retomó la senda de Post fue Joan Sureda, que en 1991 propuso retirar del catálogo de Huguet las obras aragonesas y el retablo del San Jorge y la Princesa.[16] Con todo, en la monografía que dedicó al artista en 1994 prefirió mantener esta última entre los trabajos del maestro, en base a un supuesto viaje italiano.[17] El año anterior, Joan Ainaud de Lasarte

fue el encargado de redactar la ficha catalográfica de la tabla del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya en el catálogo de exposición dedicado a Jaume Huguet, donde todavía defendía la autoría tradicional, aunque ya manifestando ligeras vacilaciones que apuntaban hacia Martín de Soria.[18]

Más recientemente, ha habido un acuerdo creciente acerca de la atribución de la obra al Maestro del San Jorge y la Princesa, que poco a poco se está desvelando como uno de los personajes sobre los cuales pivotó la pintura aragonesa de la segunda mitad del siglo XV.[19] Se trata de un maestro que muestra sutileza en la captura de determinados detalles y una cierta habilidad en la representación de la emotividad, un aspecto que lo hace destacar entre sus contemporáneos. Fue Rosa Alcoy quien, después de las dudas expresadas anteriormente por otros especialistas, decidió separar la tabla de la producción de Jaume Huguet y asociarla de manera definitiva a dicho pintor.[20] Con todo, a nuestro parecer, Alcoy lo efectuó de forma confusa, puesto que en determinados momentos parece fusionar su personalidad con la del Maestro de Alloza, un autor a quien se atribuyen dos tablas con la Anunciación y la Epifanía procedentes de la iglesia de Alloza (Teruel), hoy en el Museo de Zaragoza; y una sarja con la Virgen y el Ángel Custodio del mismo museo zaragozano.[21] En su libro sobre la tabla del San Jorge y la Princesa (publicado unos meses después de una ficha de catálogo previa), Alcoy comenta que las obras de su autor y las atribuidas al Maestro de Alloza deben colocarse "(…) bajo un mismo halo, posiblemente el de un maestro que debió dirigir un importante taller en tierras aragonesas."[22] En otras partes del libro, sin embargo, Alcoy subraya "la necesidad de distinguir entre ambos pintores", especialmente cuando se refiere al autor de un Profeta conservado en el Museo del Prado que ella relaciona con el Maestro de Alloza.[23] Quizás com resultado de esta confusión, otros autores prefirieron seguir con la atribución tradicional a Huguet.[24] Sea como sea, nuestra posición es que tanto el Profeta del Museo del Prado como el de San Jorge y la Princesa son del mismo artista, un pintor que cabe diferenciar del que realizó los paneles de Alloza y la sarga del monasterio del Santo Sepulcro de Zaragoza.[25] No hay duda de que ambos fueron responsables de diferentes talleres, y si se hallan estilísticamente conectados es porque compartieron un mismo entorno geográfico y temporal.[26]

Alcoy dejó en claro en 1993 que los paneles de Alloza y la sarga del monasterio del Santo Sepulcro en Zaragoza eran obra de un pintor familiarizado con el entorno pictórico de Barcelona liderado por Jaume Huguet, aunque sin relacionar estas pinturas con el panel de San Jorge y la Princesa. Buscando la identidad del Maestro de Alloza, Alcoy propuso a Bernat Ortoneda, hijo del pintor de Tarragona Pascual Ortoneda. Pascual está documentado en Aragón desde 1423, y Bernat – quien se formó en Cataluña, habiendo ingresado en el taller de Bernat Martorell en 1446 – responde al perfil de pintor activo en Aragón que conocía el arte de Jaume Huguet. En opinión de Alcoy, Bernat Ortoneda era el candidato ideal para descubrir la identidad del Maestro de Alloza, ya que se encuentra documentado en Aragón entre 1458 y 1489.[27] Más tarde, cuando agregó al grupo las obras atribuidas al Maestro del San Jorge y la Princesa, el nombre de "Bernat Ortoneda" se incorporó también como una posibilidad para el de este otro maestro anónimo.[28] En cualquier caso, se trata de una simple hipótesis y, por tanto, continuaremos refiriéndonos a nuestro tema principal como el Maestro de San Jorge y la Princesa.

El autor del presente artículo coincide con aquellos que han defendido que el Maestro del San Jorge y la Princesa era alguien de origen aragonés. Además, la falta de evidencias de que Huguet visitase Aragón, la eliminación del San Jorge y la Princesa de su catálogo, y otros argumentos expuestos por la historiografía, indican que la génesis e implantación del modelo flamenco en tierras aragonesas se produjo a través de una yuxtaposición de agentes y causas, más que a través de la poderosa influencia de un solo pintor que dominó la escena artística tanto en Cataluña como en Aragón. En este sentido, es probable que la influencia de Huguet llegase a Aragón después de su éxito en Cataluña, probablemente no antes de 1455,[29] pero para entonces ya había pintores en Aragón experimentando con las nuevas formas flamencas, especialmente en el círculo de Blasco de Grañén y el Arzobispo Dalmau de Mur.[30] El Maestro de San Jorge y la Princesa apareció en la escena poco después.

Nuevas obras

Hasta el momento, y diferenciándolo del autor de las tablas de Alloza, al autor del retablo del San Jorge y la Princesa solamente se le atribuían solamente dos obras más, una pequeña tabla conservada en el Museo Nacional del Prado con la representación del profeta Daniel (inv. P02683) (fig. 4),[31] relacionada de antiguo con la fase aragonesa de Huguet; y un conjunto de dos tablas con San Juan Bautista y San Jaime aun hoy conservadas en la iglesia del monasterio de San Pedro de Siresa (Huesca), de atribución reciente (fig. 5).[32] Es importante apuntar que el hecho que las dos tablas de Siresa se conserven en el lugar para el cual fueron pintadas es un argumento importante a la hora de justificar el origen aragonés de su autor.

El análisis estilístico muestra que la obra que da nombre al pintor y los dos paneles de Siresa, junto con la cabeza de profeta en el Museo del Prado, forman un grupo homogéneo.[33] Este exiguo catálago de obras hoy lo incrementamos con seis obras más, algunas de las cuales han aparecido en comercio en fecha reciente. La primera de dichas tablas es una tabla subastada recientemente en Christie's (New York), con la representación del Beso de Judas (fig. 6).[34] La tabla se conservó antiguamente en la colección Vilallonga de Barcelona, donde fue vista por Post, que la atribuyó al Maestro de Morata.[35] La escena muestra el momento en que Jesus es apresado mientras reza en el Huerto de los Olivos. Lo representado se ajusta perfectamente al relato canónico (Juan, 18, 1-12; Marcos, 14, 43-52; Mateo, 26, 47-66; Lucas, 22, 47-53), con Judas besando a Cristo en rostro y disponiéndo sus manos sobre los hombros del Hijo de Dios. Un abigarrado grupo de soldados integran el séquito que ejecutará el prendimiento, que se materializa en el gesto de dos ellos, cada uno de los cuales agarra a Jesús por el brazo. Todos ellos lucen indumentaria militar, con cotas de malla y yelmos plateados. En la parte izquierda de primer término, como es habitual, se ha representado a San Pedro, que ya ha cortado la oreja de Malco, el sirviente del Sumo Sacerdote que colaboró en el arresto – aunque aquí aparece también vestido de soldado. Jesús, con todo, vemos que se encuentra realizando el milagro del que nos hablan las escrituras, el de la sanación de la oreja herida, todavía sangrante en la pintura. Jesús y Pedro lucen nimbos de formas concéntricas realizados con la técnica del yeso embutido y dorado con hoja metálica (pan de oro), muy habitual en la pintura del tardogótico en la Corona de Aragón.[36]

El formato del compartimento, sus medidas y el trabajo de carpintería seguramente indican que se trataba de una de las diferentes escenas que debían integrar la predela de un retablo, del cual este parece ser, de momento, el único testimonio conservado. La temática indica que dicha predela debió estar dedicada a la Pasión. La obra se conserva en buen estado de conservación, con su carpintería dorada original, que presenta algunas pérdidas. El trabajo de la madera muestra los motivos de filiación arquitectónica habituales en el tardogótico aragonés, con dos pináculos flanqueando el compartimento de los cuales surjen un arco trilobulado con frondas en su perfil exterior y que se remata con un florón. El intradós del arco es polilobulado, mientras que en la zona del extradós se ha decorado con un friso contínuo de tracería flamígera.

La obra se ajusta perfectamente al estilo del autor del San Jorge y la Princesa del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya. Destaca, con todo, el curioso tratamiento cromático que el pintor ha concedido a los rostros, con un tono amarillento que seguramente se ha acrecentado por el paso del tiempo. El de Jesús, en cambio, es más grisáceo, muy en la línia del que veremos más adelante en un San Sebastián conservado en el castillo de Gaasbeek (Bélgica). Esta peculiar manera de abordar el cromatismo de ciertos rostros será necesario incorporarla a lo poco que sabemos a día de hoy del pintor desde el punto de vista técnico. El estilo, en cambio, apunta hacia las pocas obras conocidas hasta hoy del maestro. Así, el rostro del soldado que sujeta el brazo derecho de Cristo es absolutamente concomitante con el profeta Daniel del Museo del Prado o con el del San Jorge en Barcelona. Su barba, etérea y delicada, de pelo revuelto resuleto a través de veladuras, es muy similar a la que luce el San Juan Bautista de Siresa. En líneas generales, todos los personajes presentan esas miradas melancólicas de ojos entreabiertos que encontramos en las dos obras hasta hoy atribuidas al pintor, donde sobre el globo ocular blanco destaca la niña de marrón claro sobre y la pupila negra. Lo mismo podemos decir de la forma en que se resuelven narices, labios, cejas o lóbulos de las orejas. Hallamos en algunas de esas caras incluso el mismo sombreado a la altura de los pómulos que encontramos en el profeta del museo madrileño.

Curiosamente, últimamente ha aparecido una segunda obra inédita del Maestro del San Jorge y la Princesa con el mismo tema, aunque fragmentaria (fig. 7). Actualmente se encuentra en comercio en Madrid (José Alavedra, Galería Bernat), después de haber pasado por una colección alemana. Únicamente conserva la parte izquierda de la composición, con San Pedro alzando el brazo, machete en mano, disponiéndose a cortarle la oreja a Malco, que yace a cuatro patas en el suelo, y tres soldados en la parte posterior. Uno de ellos porta un farolillo en la mano, mientras que otro lleva un escudo con los esmaltes de oro y gules de Aragón. Se intuye la vegetación que acostumbra a aparecer en este tipo de episodios. En la parte superior se conservan importantes restos del fondo dorado lucía el compartimento en origen, con motivos vegetales en relieve realizados con yeso embutido, y un picado muy minucioso efectuado a punzón. El procedimiento técnico del embutido aparece también en el nimbo de san Pedro, que se articula a partir de formas concéntricas similares a las que hemos visto en la otra tabla con el mismo tema anteriormente analizada.

Morfológicamente, el compartimento está integrado por cuatro tableros de madera de conífera que disponen horizontalmente, lo que seguramente indica que se trataba de un compartimento de predela. En la parte posterior todavía se conservan restos de la preparación de yeso y estopa que se aplicó para contrarestar las contracciones y dilataciones de la madera. Se detecta también el uso de cuñas en las juntas de los diferentes tableros, las cuales también tenían la misión de evitar los daños producidos por los movimientos de la madera. Dichas cuñas, al igual que la preparación de yeso y estopa mencionada, no pretendían anular los movimientos, sino favorecer que los mismos no produjesen daños en la superficie polícroma.[37]

El estilo, nuevamente, revela que nos hallamos ante una nueva obra del Maestro de San Jorge y la Princesa. Los rostros de los soldados se hallan directamente emparentados con el profeta Daniel del Museo del Prado, y muestran las características narices del pintor. Su mirada, igualmente, luce esa melancolía que el pintor consigue con la representación de los ojos entreabiertos. Los paralelos pueden extrapolarse a la tabla con el San Jorge y la Princesa en aspectos como los señalados, o como el tratamiento de las bocas, pintadas esquemáticamente a partir de un tono carmín suave, con los labios separados por una línea negra muy simple. Detectamos también en algunos rostros, como el de Pedro, los ligeros toques de color blanco

que hallamos en el profeta del Museo del Prado, las tablas de Siresa, o en otras tablas que estudiaremos más adelante.

La barba de Pedro se ha resuelto de forma similar a la del San Juan Evangelista en San Pedro de Siresa, esto es, a través de una multitud de puntos para que parezca poco espesa. Y la oreja, además, muestra un tratamiento análogo al que vemos en el arcángel Gabriel de una Anunciación que analizaremos a continuación. A todo ello debemos añadir un detalle compositivo que es ni mucho menos baladí. Se trata del pequeño escudo circular que Malco sostiene con su mano izquierda y que apoya en el suelo, una solución que hallamos de manera indéntica en la tabla subastada en Christie's. El mimetismo se repite incluso en la morfología del propio escudo. El rostro de Malco, además, repite las facciones caricaturizadas y expresionistas que encontramos en los de algunos soldados de la tabla subastada en Christie's, repitiéndose la nariz respingona y los ojos saltones que refuerzan el carácter negativo de los personajes.

Otras obras deben agregarse a este grupo de pinturas. Me refiero a dos compartimentos de retablo (cada uno de 59,5 x 36,5 cm) que representan la Anunciación, adquiridos hace algunos años por el Gobierno de Aragón, y hoy en día custodiados en el Museo de Zaragoza (fig. 8). Fueron subastados en diciembre de 2009 en Barcelona (Balclis, lote 1018), y aparecieron en el catálogo como obra de un pintor anónimo aragonés de hacia 1460, del círculo de Arnau de Castellnou. En ese momento, las tablas solo se conocían a través de fotografías en el Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic de Barcelona[38], donde figuran como pertenecientes a la colección del pintor Marian Espinal (1897-1974).[39] Sorprendentemente, la historiografía casi no les había prestado atención, excepto dos menciones breves, ambas recientes.[40] Las pinturas también fueron incluidas en la tesis doctoral de Guadaira Macías (2013), donde la autora afirmó que, aunque las similitudes con el Maestro del San Jorge y la Princesa eran evidentes, las tablas no podían atribuirse a dicho autor. Por el contrario y, en nuestra opinión, de forma equívoca, la autora afirmó que se podían situar en la órbita de Bernardo de Arás.[41]

Ambas tablas muestran a los protagonistas de la Anunciación, la Virgen María y el arcángel Gabriel. Ella aparece ante un facistol sobre el que reposa un libro y donde dispone su mano izquierda, mientras con la otra saluda al arcángel. A la izquierda del espectador, un gran jarro con lirios blancos con las letras alfa y omega recuerda la pureza virginal de María. Gabriel sostiene en sus manos un filacterio donde no hallamos ninguna inscripción. Ambos personajes lucen túnica y manto de tonos rosáceos y azulados claros, tratados con una cierta exquisitez. Gabriel mira al frente, mientras María, que se encontraba leyendo, parece sorprenderse por la visita angélica y gira su cabeza para dirigir la mirada a Gabriel y corresponderle con el saludo. El episodio no transcurre en un interior definido, a diferencia de lo que es habitual. Las dos figuras, el jarro y el facistol aparecen añadidas sobre un fondo dorado que atorga naturaleza sobrenatural al episodio. Ese fondo, además, hace que personajes y objetos aparezcan flotando en el aire, sensación que se acrecenta en el caso del arcángel, que parece levitar. La decoración de los compartimentos se complementa con el uso del yeso embutido y dorado, que hallamos en los nimbos a base de formas concéntricas, en los ribetes de los mantos, y en los puños de la túnica de Gabriel.

Macías señaló unos añadidos y repintes en la parte inferior de ambas tablas que, con todo, no afectan a los rostros de los personajes.[42] El añadido se aprecia perfectamente si juntamos las dos tablas, con lo que en la parte interior se nos dibuja una especie de forma triangular. Con todo, estas modificaciones no se efectuaron sobre añadidos de madera que se adhirieron a los tableros originales, ya que en el reverso de ambos compartimentos se detecta perfectamente que el soporte original – dos tableros de madera conífera – se encuentran en su estado original.[43] Por tanto, lo que se añadió – básicamente la parte baja de las túnicas de ambos personajes y una buena zona de dorado – , se hizo sobre el soporte original.

Esta extraña situación nos obliga a analizar con un cierto detalle una serie de características poco habituales que presentan las tablas. La primera de ellas es el fondo dorado sobre el que se recortan las figuras, la jarra y el facistol. Efectuado con lámina metálica de oro, dicho fondo substituye a la habitual localización de personajes y objetos de la Anunciación en un interior, y confiere a las tablas una irrealidad manifiesta. La solución, con todo, no es extraña en la producción de nuestro pintor, ya que la hallamos también en la pequeña tabla con el profeta Daniel del Museo del Prado, donde vemos que la cabeza se recorta sobre un fondo con placha metálica. Lo que sí llama la atención es que la tabla del arcángel presente en el fondo una serie de motivos efectuados a punzón que reproducen motivos vegetales, mientras que el compartimento con la Virgen María no los muestra. El efecto resultante es extraño, no solamente por el hecho que una tabla lo presente y la otra no, sino por la apariencia física del mismo. El punzonado es excesivamente sumario y esquemático, pues no está resuelto con el detallismo y la definición que requería un trabajo de ese tipo.

Analizando técnicamente ese trabajo técnico en su globalidad, rápidamente se advierte que no hallamos resultados semejantes en toda la Corona de Aragón. Y no los hallamos porque nos encontramos ante una anomalía. Más que una anomalía, de lo que se trata, en realidad, es que las tablas que no fueron terminadas. Salta a la vista que el maestro no ultimó la decoración del fondo, ya que todo el interior de las formas que dibujan los punzonados debían policromarse siguiendo la técnica del estofado, como era habitual en aquel momento.[44] El procedimiento técnico de ese tipo de decoración implicaba dibujar esas formas con el punzón, ya

fuese efectuando un picado o con un simple dibujo inciso. No era necesario efectuar el dibujo de manera muy precisa, ya que esa indefinición se disimularía con la aplicación final de la pintura. Todo ello explica el acabado un tanto burdo que hallamos en la tabla del arcángel Gabriel.

En nuestra opinión, hay un segundo detalle que demuestra que las tablas no se finalizaron. Nos referimos al filacterio sin inscripción que sujeta el arcángel Gabriel, que no presenta en su interior el habitual texto de la salutación angélica: "Ave Maria gratia plena Dominus tecum…". En cambio, en los extremos apreciamos una decoración vegetal pintada en color rojo. Todo ello nos obliga a preguntarnos porqué el pintor no acabó su trabajo. Es difícil dar una respuesta a esta cuestión, pero de lo que hay ninguna duda es de que las tablas llegaron a montarse en el retablo al que pertenecían. Más difícil es precisar cuando se añadió lo señalado más arriba, aunque todo indica que fue a raíz de que las tablas entrasen en el mercado de arte, y que se buscó otorgar a las tablas una apariencia más acabada y comercial.[45] De ser esto así, cabría suponer que debajo de lo añadido se encuentra el soporte original, y que en esa zona triangular que marcan los añadidos debía acoplarse algun tipo de elemento estructural del retablo. Esta hipótesis entronca con lo afirmado en su momento por Guadaira Macías,[46] que supuso que en origen estos compartimentos no ocupasen espacios de las calles laterales del retablo, sino que en realidad se ubicasen en los intersticios ubicados justo por encima del remate del conjunto, como vemos en el retablo de la Epifanía del Museu Episcopal de Vic atribuido a Huguet.[47] Esta posibilidad ligaría con el hecho que la zona triangular de la parte baja quedase sin decorar.

En cualquier caso, los rostros de María y Gabriel no dejan ningún tipo de dudas en cuanto a la atribución de las tablas (fig. 9). Se trata, claramente, del Maestro de San Jorge y la Princesa. Nuevamente vemos ese tratamiento tan peculiar de los rostros, con las miradas ensimismadas tan características. Los ojos entreabiertos se configuran con un empaste blanco que resuelve el globo ocular, y una mancha marrón para la niña, sobre la cual contrasta el negro de la pupila. Detectamos igualmente las ligeras pinceladas blancas que producen brillos en nariz, pómulos y barbilla, como hemos visto en el Prendimiento de Cristo fragmentario, y que nuevamente hallaremos en una Lamentación ante el Cristo muerto que analizaremos a continuación.

El tratamiento del cabello vuelve a ser el habitual del pintor, destacando la melena suelta y castaña de Gabriel, que se matiza con la introducción de tonos más oscuros, como vemos en el profeta del Museo del Prado, el San Jaime de Siresa o en el San Pablo de las tablas desaparecidas de Berlín. Cejas, labios y perfiles en general coinciden plenamente con los trabajos mencionados anteriormente. Por lo tanto, aunque se aprecia un mejor acabado en el panel del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, vemos que las caras del arcángel y María se parecen mucho a las de San Jorge y la Princesa. Las concomitancias con la obra principal del grupo son muy evidentes, no solo en los aspectos señalados, sino en la misma configuración de las cabezas, su orientación y el efecto final resultante. Además, la cara del arcángel reproduce fielmente las características del rostro del donante que aparece junto a San Juan Bautista en uno de los compartimentos desaparecidos del Museo Kaiser Friederich de Berlín.

Otra de las obras que se pueden atribuir fácilmente al pintor es un panel con la imagen de San Sebastián hoy en día en el Castillo de Gaasbeek (Lennik, Bélgica) (fig. 10). Se trata de un trabajo publicado en su día por Post, quien lo relacionó (no sin dudas) con Martín de Soria, señalando que los estilemas de la cara del personaje eran los mismos que los del donante masculino del panel en Berlín.[48] La tabla muestra un resultado plástico realmente excepcional y se erige como uno de los mejores trabajos del Maestro del San Jorge y la Princesa. El santo aparece representado de cuerpo entero y luce unas calzas verde oliva, además de una túnica carmín rematada con un ribete inferior de armiño. Por encima, presenta una lujosa capa dorada con decoraciones vegetales realizadas con la técnica del estofado, que imita los tejidos de seda contemporáneos. En sus manos sostiene el arco y una flecha, sus atributos iconográficos más habituales, que fueron realizados con la técnica del yeso embutido y dorado. Dicha técnica también se utilizó para realizar el fondo dorado que aparece en los laterales y la parte superior, las espuelas que luce el santo en los pies, o en algunos de los elementos de la funda de espada que cuelga de su cinto. Con embutido dorado se realizó también el nimbo, de formas concéntricas absolutamente semejantes a las de las obras hasta ahora analizadas. La figura aparece ubicado en un espacio más o menos creíble donde destaca un pavimento de baldosas cerámicas y, sobretodo, el majestuoso trono de madera ante el cual se ubica la figura.

El resultado general conseguido con la repesentación es muy efectista. San Sebastian aparece como un auténtico caballero medieval que, incluso, lleva espuelas de rueda, como el donante del retablo de San Jorge y la Princesa. El lujo de la indumentaria y su clase social se hace evidente en ese detalle, y también en el de la capa dorada y los remates de armiño de la túnica. Es la viva imagen de un noble cuatrocentista. Este tipo de representación del santo ataviado lujosamente responde a un modelo que gozó de un cierto éxito en tierras aragonesas durante la segunda mitad del siglo XV, como vemos en algunas obras del pintor Martín Bernat (doc. 1450-1505), entre ellas, el San Sebastián procedente de la iglesia de Piedratajada (Zaragoza), hoy conservado en el Museo Diocesano de Jaca, o la antiguamente conservada en la colección de Dámaso Escudero de Corella;[49] o en una tabla de autor anónimo conservada antiguamente en la colección Esteve (Barcelona).[50]

Estilísticamente, el rostro del santo comparte muchos de los detalles que hemos venido comentando. Dos de los paralelos más claros los hallamos en el San Pedro y en el soldado que sujeta a Cristo por su brazo derecho en la tabla subastada en Christie's. Con esta obra, el San Sebastián comparte, además, ese curioso tratamiento cromático de las carnaciones de color apagado y poco realista, que en el caso de la tabla conservada en Gaasbeek es de color grisáceo, y que vemos también en las manos del santo. A parte de estos paralelos, las facciones del San Sebastián de Gaasbeek són absolutamente concomitantes con las del San Juan Bautista o el San Pedro de las tablas de Berlín. Su semblante no se halla lejos tampoco del que muestra el San Juan Bautista de Siresa, aunque en este último caso el resultado final sea de menos calidad. En suma, se trata de un tipo de rostro semejante al del San Jorge de Barcelona, o al del profeta del Museo del Prado, con quien comparte, además, la misma solución a la hora de resolver la oreja, que queda medio escondida entre los cabellos y de la que solo se intuye una parte. Este detalle aparece también en el San Juan Bautista de Siresa, y es una constante en las obras del pintor.

Otra de las obras más destacadas que presentamos en este trabajo es una Lamentación ante el Cristo muerto conservada en el Museu Maricel de Sitges (Barcelona) (fig. 11). Se trata de una tabla poco conocida, y que en alguna ocasión se la relacionó con el Maestro de Belmonte,[51] un pintor activo en la zona de Calatayud en la segunda mitad del siglo XV. La revisión reciente que hemos efectuado de las obras de dicho maestro nos ha llevado a descartar tal atribución.[52] Hoy, en cambio, presentamos la tabla como uno de los trabajos más interesantes del Maestro de San Jorge y la Princesa. A pesar que desconocemos su procedencia, su origen aragonés parece fuera de toda duda no sólo por la atribución que proponemos, sino también por el hecho que perteneciese a la colección de Jesús Pérez Rosales, quien atesoró numerosas pinturas góticas con ese origen.[53]

El compartimento es de formato apaisado. Por lo que es muy posible fuese el compartimento prinicipal deuna predela de retablo. María preside la composición, sujetando en su regazo al Hijo de Dios, que yace muerto. El gesto de aflicción de la Madre es evidente en su rostro, aunque también lo detectamos en la forma como sujeta la muñeca del débil y ensangrentado brazo de su Hijo. El dolor se hace completamente evidente también con el puñal que se clava en el pecho de la Virgen. El cuerpo de Cristo, se dispone de forma diagonal, con la espalda ligeramente erguida debido a que María parece incorporarlo con su mano derecha, que no está a la vista. Va completamente desnudo, aunque un delicado velo de gasa transparente, de gran efecto visual, le cubre el pubis y algo de las piernas. El yacente no reposa directamente sobre el manto azul de María, sino que lo hace sobre un sudario blanco que sostienen por las puntas San Juan Evangelista y la Magdalena. En segundo plano se situan el resto de personajes, los habituales en las representaciones pictóricas del episodio. Dos de ellos son José de Arimatea y Nicodemo, que sostienen herramientas en sus manos – un martillo y unas tenazas – para señalar que fueron los que desclavaron a Jesús de la cruz. Para distinguirlos, se les representó con el nimbo poligonal, que los identifica como personajes de la Antigua Ley. Las dos figuras restantes, femeninas, cabe identificarlas con dos Marías o Santas Mujeres, normalmente identificadas con Maria Salomé y María Cleofás.

Los personajes aparecen representados en primerísimo plano, ocupando buena parte de la composición y dejando poco espacio para la representación del entorno geográfico del Gólgota. Solamente intuimos algo de paisaje en la parte derecha, donde aparecen unos accidentes geográficos. La línea de horizonte es bastante elevada, y de ahí que el cielo, de tonalidad marronosa y crepuscular, se situe a poco más de media altura. La parte superior del mismo se ha resuleto a partir de un rayado en diagonal como el que vemos en la tabla con el San Jorge y la Princesa.

Decorativamente, uno de los detalles que llama más la atención es el gran protagonismo de los nimbos que lucen todos los personajes, pues ocupan buena parte de la superfície pictórica. Su presencia es tan apabullante que casi no dejan ver la cruz de la cual se ha desclavado a Cristo. Todos son a base de formas concéntricas, exceptuando los de José de Arimatea y Nicodemo, como ya hemos visto. Técnicamente se han resuleto siguiendo el procedimiento ya descrito de yeso embutido y dorado con lámina metálica de oro, que también se utilizó en detalles menos relevantes, como en el pomo de la espada que se clava en el pecho de María, en las tenazas y el martillo o en el clavo que todavía permanece en uno de los brazos de la cruz. La gama cromática utilizada es la propia del Maestro de San Jorge y la Princesa, como vemos en los tonos rojizos y verdes de la indumentaria de los personajes. El verde, por ejemplo, reproduce el color de las calzas del San Sebastian conservado en Gaasbeek, mientras que el rojo recuerda al del bonete del San Jorge en la tabla de Barcelona, o al del manto del profeta Daniel del Museo del Prado.

Uno de los aspectos más destacables de la pintura es el repertorio de rostros que presenta (fig. 12). Aparecen algunos que reencontramos en diversas obras del pintor, como el del personaje que sostiene las tenazas, que recuerda al San Sebastian de Gaasbeek, o al soldado de la derecha de Cristo en el Prendimiento subastado en Christie's. Su nariz y su boca, además, las reencontramos en el profeta del Museo del Prado. La prominente y espesa barba, técnicamente, se ha trabajado de la misma manera que la del Santiago en una de las dos tablas de Siresa, o en el San Pablo antiguamente conservado en el Kaiser Friederich Museum de Berlín, esto es, con cabellos sueltos y individualizados. La cara de San Juan Evangelista es muy similar a la del arcángel Gabriel de la Anunciación del Museo de Zaragoza, mientras que la del personaje que sostiene el martillo, encuentra un buen paralelo en el San Luis de Tolosa de Berlín. Esta figura presenta una oreja completamente descubierta, de pavellón auditico muy amplio, idéntica a la del San Pablo mencionado y a las de los donantes del retablo de San Jorge y la Princesa. El rostro de Cristo, a su vez, se asemeja al San Juan Bautista también de Berlín, especialmente en tratamiento de las facciones.

Entre los rostros sin tantos paralelos entre las obras conocidas del pintor, cabe destacar los femeninos. Ni la Princesa de la tabla de Barcelona, ni la donante femenina antiguamente conservada en Berlín se asemejan a las mujeres aquí representadas, más allá de las coincidencias de estilo que puedan detectarse a la hora de resolver las facciones. Los paralelos más claros los hallamos en la Virgen de la Anunciación del Museo de Zaragoza, que guarda algunas semejanzas con la Magdalena y con la María que se lleva el dedo a la boca en la tabla de Sitges (fig. 13). En el caso de la primera, vemos que el tratamiento de su larga melena es similar al que vemos en la tabla de Zaragoza.

Otra de las características habituales del pintor que detectamos en la Lamentación de Sitges viene dada por los ligeros toques de color blanco que el maestro aplica en determinadas partes de los rostros, como la nariz, la zona del lagrimal, o en otras partes de la cara, una técnica con la que buscaba resaltar algunos brillos, y que hemos visto en el profeta Daniel del Museo del Prado, la Anunciación del Museo de Zaragoza, las tablas de Siresa, o el Prendimiento de Cristo que se halla en comercio en Madrid.

La última de las obras que presentamos en este trabajo es una pequeña tabla, con su marco original, que representa a San Bernardo de Claraval y San Benito flanqueando a la Piedad Cristo de los Dolores (fig. 14). Se conserva en la Fundación Godia de Barcelona, y pudimos estudiarla hace unos años.[54] Hasta ese momento la tabla, de escasa bibliografia, se había relacionado con Arnau de Castellnou,[55] uno de los autores del retablo de la ermita de la Coronación de Erla (Zaragoza) – hoy en día en la iglesia parroquial del mismo pueblo – , junto a Tomás Giner (*circa* 1466). En esta publicación previa propusimos su vinculación con el "círculo aragonés" de Huguet, aunque rechazamos los vínculos con el retablo de Erla por lo espinoso del asunto y el poco conocimiento que se tiene de lo que realizó Castellnou, a parte de su trabajo en dicho retablo. Hoy, gracias al incremento del catálogo de obras del Maestro de San Jorge y la Princesa, nos decantamos por atribuirle la tabla de la Fundación Godia.

La tabla es de dimensiones muy reducidas y no formaba parte de ningún retablo. Se trata de una obra de devoción privada, destinada a reforzar la piedad intimista de algún fiel, que la debió disponer en el interior de su domicilio particular. El tema representado es ideal para este tipo de práctica religiosa, pues nos muestra a María en su pleno dolor, con la espada clavada en el pecho de la misma forma que hemos visto en la Lamentación de Sitges. En su regazo yace el cuerpo inerte de su Hijo, ensangrentado y con las marcas de la crucifixión bien visibles. En el travesaño de la crux, resposan los *Arma Christi*, que refuerzan el contenido pasional de la pintura. Se trata de una obra de alto contenido emocional y emotivo, afín a la espiritualidad propuesta por la *devotio moderna* que hallaba textos de apoyo en obras como las *Meditationes Vitae Christi* del Pseudo-Buenaventura. Este tipo de representaciones buscaban despertar los sentimientos religiosos más íntimos de los fieles, sobretodo aquellos que le permitiesen experimentar de forma empática el dolor de María al perder a su Hijo, o el que padeció Jesús durante la Pasión.

Madre e Hijo se hallan acompañados, de forma extemporánea, por dos importantes santos y abogados espirituales, San Benito de Nursia y San Bernardo de Claraval, el fundador de la orden benedictina y el principal representante de los cistercienses, ambos identificados por sendas inscripciones en la parte baja. Aparecen arrodillados y sostienen sendos báculos que les identifican como abades de sus respectivas comunidades. Su presencia no hace más que reforzar lo expresado más arriba, pues se trata de dos santos especialmente recordados por su gran espiritualidad pasional.

La tabla, decorativamente, destaca por la importante presencia de los dorados, que lo otorgaban fulgor y presencia. Los hallamos en todo el marco, en los nimbos y en el fondo. El yeso embutido aparece en los nimbos concéntricos de María, Benito y Bernardo, que en su interior muestran motivos punzonados; y también en el de Jesús, que se ha configurado a partir de un haz de rayos. Con la misma técnica se realizaron los báculos que portan los dos santos, y al igual que hemos visto en la Lamentación de Sitges, también los clavos que aún permanecen en el travesaño de la cruz, así como el que aparece en el suelo, sobre el manto de María.

A pesar del formato reducido, que implica cambios sensibles en la configuración de los personajes, el estilo de la obra remite directamente al Maestro de San Jorge y la Princesa. La cabeza de Maria, cubierta con la toca y el manto de forma similar, sigue el modelo que hemos visto en la Lamentación del Museu Maricel de Sitges, donde también hallamos el detalle de la espada que atraviesa el pecho de la Virgen. La Virgen levanta su mano izquierda de manera similar a como lo hace en la Anunciación del Museo de Zaragoza. Se trata de manos configuradas plásticamente de manera similar, con finos y estilizados dedos.

Las miradas ensimismadas de ojos entreabiertos, conseguidas con una sutil mancha blanca y otra de color marrón y negro, son las propias del maestro, así como la manera de tratar bocas y narices. Estos detalles configuran un tipo de rostros muy característicos que entroncan con los hasta ahora vistos. Lo apreciamos claramente en el de San Benito, que se asemeja por completo con la María que aparece en el extremo izquierdo de la Lamentación de Sitges, y con el arcángel Gabriel de las tablas del Museo de Zaragoza, aunque en este caso el vínculo es menos intenso. El rostro de San Benito, por su parte, encuentra un paralelo perfecto en la María que se lleva

el dedo a la boca también en la tabla con la Lamentación, y en la Virgen de la Anunciación del museo zaragozano. La posición de la cabeza y la mirada cabizbaja de ambos santos la reencontramos, por su parte, en el San Pedro que se dispone a cortar la oreja de Malco en la tabla que se encuentra en comercio en Madrid, o en el Santiago de la iglesia de Siresa.

En líneas generales, los rostros de los personajes de la pequeña tabla de la Fundación Francisco Godia muestran un acabado menos perfeccionista y más apresurado que los que el pintor realizaba en obras de mayor formato. Ello se debe a la naturaleza distinta del tipo de trabajo, ya que mientras los retablos para iglesias eran encargos que requerían acabados más precisos por sus dimenciones y la exigencia de los cleintes en los contratos, las pinturas de devoción privada eran pinturas que el maestro debió comercializar directamente desde su taller y que realizaba como trabajos de tipo nutritivo o alimenticio. Sea como sea, en la Corona de Aragón se han conservado escasas muestras de este tipo de realizaciones, exceptuando algunos trípticos, cosa que nos indica que el Maestro de San Jorge y la Princesa también se dedicó a la realización y venta de obras más modestas para clientes particulares que las destinaban a las estancias de sus residencias.

Finalmente, es necesario mencionar un compartimento de retablo conservado hace años en la iglesia parroquial de Tosos (Zaragoza), y que solo conocemos a través de una publicación antigua.[56] Nos hallamos ante una pintura que genera más dudas. Representaba a los santos Fabián y Sebastián y, como se ve en una fotografía publicada en 1967, había sido completamente repintada, distorsionándose así su estilo original. A pesar de esto, los rostros permiten que la obra sea atribuida al Maestro del San Jorge y la Princesa, especialmente si comparamos la cara de san Fabián con la de san Jorge. Para certificarlo sería necesario efectuar un análisis físico de la obra, pero lamentable, parece que fue vendida después de 1967 y hoy ya no se conserva en Tosos. Cabrá esperar a que aparezca nuevamente a la venta para poder estudiarla con detalle y, así, poder confirmar si se trata de una nueva obra del pintor que hemos tratado en este artículo.

NOTES

1. Este artículo ha recibido el apoyo científico del proyecto de investigación "Expresividad, sentimiento y emoción (siglos XII-XV)" (Ministerio de Economía, Industria y Competitividad, Gobierno de España, ref. HAR2016-75028-P, Universitat de Lleida, investigador principal: Dr. Flocel Sabate).

2. Joaquim Folch i Torres, "El retaule de Sant Jordi, de Jaume Huguet, al museu de la Ciutadella", *Gaseta de les Arts* 3 (1924), pp. 1-3; Laia Alsina, "Francesc Miquel i Badia (Barcelona 1840-1899): crític, tractadista i col·leccionista d'art" (tesis doctoral, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2015), p. 339 y 409-410.
3. Una aproximación al fenómeno del coleccionismo de pintura gótica en Cataluña en Alberto Velasco, "L'exposició retrospectiva de Barcelona de 1867 i els inicis del col·leccionisme de pintura gòtica a Catalunya", *Lambard. Estudis d'art medieval* XXII (2012), pp. 9-65. Cfr. Bonaventura Bassegoda, "L'apreciació de l'art medieval a les primeres col·leccions catalanes", en *Mercat de l'art, col·leccionisme i museus. Episodis sobre el patrimoni artístic a Catalunya als segles XIX i XX*, eds. Bonaventura Bassegoda e Ignasi Domènech (Bellaterra [y otras]: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona [y otras], 2014), pp. 25-50.
4. La obra se había citado escuetamente, sin reproducirse, en una publicación local barcelonesa en 1884: Josep Roca, *Barcelona en la mano: guía de Barcelona y sus alrededores* (Barcelona: E. López, 1884), p. 197). No fue hasta 1909 que se relacionó con Huguet: Émile Bertaux, "Das Katalanische Sankt-Georg Trptychon aus der Werkstatt des Jaime Huguet", *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen* XXX (1909), pp. 187-192).
5. En palabras de Rosa Alcoy: "La taula de *Sant Jordi i la Princesa* és una d'aquelles obres d'art que, transcendint la seva evidència immediata, el seu estat fragmentari i les seves debilitats, ha esdevingut un objecte pictòric de culte. Hem d'acceptar, doncs, que enfrontem un producte rar i carismàtic, amb una inèrcia pròpia, que la modernitat que arrela als inicis del segle XX ha anat convertint en un veritable símbol, sostingut sovint com una de les banderes de la pintura catalana" (Rosa Alcoy, "Jaume Huguet®. Sant Jordi i la princesa", en *La pintura gòtica hispanoflamenca. Bartolomé Bermejo i la seva època*, cat. exp. (Barcelona-Bilbao: Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao, 2003), p. 312.
6. Rosa Alcoy, *San Jorge y la Princesa. Diálogos de la pintura del siglo XV en Cataluña y Aragón* (Barcelona: Publicacions i Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 2003).
7. Chandler Rathfon Post, *The Aragonese School in the Late Middle Ages* (A *History of Spanish Painting*, vol. VIII) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1941), pp. 336-352, con mención en la p. 345 de la "vague tradition" que situaba su origen en esta localidad de Huesca. Una equívoca tradición anterior apuntaba que procedía de Valencia. Véase Francesc Quílez, "La història del col·leccionisme públic a la Barcelona vuitcentista", en *Col·leccionistes, col·leccions i museus. Episodis de the història del patrimoni artístic de Catalunya*, eds. Bonaventura Bassegoda e Ignasi Domènech (Bellaterra [y otras]: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona [y otras], 2007), p. 57, nota 106.
8. Bertaux, "Das Katalanische," pp. 187-192.
9. Sobre la identificación de los donantes, véase Francesc Ruiz Quesada, "Consideracions sobre el *Sant Jordi i la princesa* i els seus donants", en *Jaume Huguet. 500 anys*, cat. exp. (Barcelona: Departament de Cultura, Generalitat de Catalunya, 1993), pp. 104-108; Alcoy, *San Jorge*, pp. 77-122; Joan Valero, "La promoció artística femenina dins del llinatge dels Cabrera a l'època baixmedieval", *Lambard. Estudis d'art medieval* XXV (2013-2014), pp. 93-105, donde a parte de la identidad de los promotores se analizan otras interesantes cuestiones relativas a la obra.
10. El uso de la grisalla es un tema a tener en cuenta, ya que la primera obra documentada en los reinos hispanos donde se utilizó dicha técnica se pintó, precisamente, en Zaragoza. Nos referimos al desaparecido retablo de la capilla de la Casa de la Ciudad, que combinaba pintura y escultura y fue contratado por el escultor Pere Joan en 1443. Sobre dicho retablo, véase Alberto Velasco Gonzàlez, "«Para que sus deliberaciones y consejos no vayan" herrados sino acertados». Gonzalo de la Caballería y el retablo de la capilla del Concejo de Zaragoza (1443)", *Ter.iraso* XXII (2014-2015), pp. 295-340. Las imágenes en grisalla de San Juan Evangelista y Santiago o San Juan Bautista se conservaban muy fragmentariamente puesto que las tablas habían sido serradas por la parte superior. De ahí que la representación del segundo santo sea compleja. En el reverso de la tabla del San Jorge y la Princesa, en cambio, encontramos la representación de un emblema heráldico relacionado con la familia Cabrera.
11. Benjamin Rowland, *Jaume Huguet. A Study of Late Gothic Painting in Catalonia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1932), pp. 154-159.
12. Josep Gudiol Ricart y Joan Ainaud De Lasarte, *Huguet* (Barcelona: Instituto Amatller de Arte Hispánico, 1948), p. 34-50. Véanse los estudios de las obras incluidas en dicha problemática en *Jaume Huguet. 500 anys*, cat. exp. (Barcelona: Departament de Cultura, Generalitat de Catalunya, 1993), pp. 222-239 and 246-249.
13. Véase, por ejemplo, Josep Gudiol, *Pintura medieval en Aragón* (Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico", 1971), and also Fabián Mañas, *Pintura gótica aragonesa* (Zaragoza: Guara Editorial, 1979).
14. Entre otras publicaciones, estas aproximaciones aparecen en Gudiol y Ainaud, *Huguet*; Josep Gudiol, *Pintura Gótica* (*Ars Hispaniae*, vol. IX) (Madrid: Plus Ultra, 1955); José Camón Aznar, *Pintura Medieval Española* (*Summa Artis*, vol. XXII) (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1966); María del Carmen Lacarra, *Primitivos aragoneses en el Museo Provincial de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico", 1970); Gudiol, *Pintura Medieval*; Mañas, *Pintura gótica*.
15. Chandler Rathfon Post, *The Catalan School in the Late Middle Ages* (A *History of Spanish Painting*, vol. VII) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938), pp. 170-171; Post, *The Aragonese*, pp. 337-352.
16. Joan Sureda, "Problemes entorn a Jaume Huguet: proposta d'un nou catàleg", *Cultura* 511 (1991), pp. 11-14.
17. Joan Sureda, *Un cert Jaume Huguet, el capvespre d'un somni* (Barcelona: Lunwerg, 1994), pp. 87-89.
18. Joan Ainaud de Lasarte, "Sant Jordi i la Princesa", en *Jaume Huguet. 500 anys*, cat. exp. (Barcelona: Departament de Cultura, Generalitat de Catalunya, 1993), pp. 224-227.
19. Una de las últimas aportaciones sobre el artista es la tesis doctoral de Guadaira Macías, "La pintura aragonesa de la segona meitat del segle XV relacionada amb l'escola catalana: dues vies creatives a examen", (tesis doctoral, Universitat de Barcelona, 2013), pp. 171-215.
20. Alcoy, "Jaume Huguet," pp. 312-317. Es curioso ver que en esta publicación Alcoy expuso unos argumentos en cuanto a la nueva atribución que no eran compartidos por el Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, institución organizadora de la exposición que dio origen a la publicación en cuestión. Puesto que el museo se resistía a retirar la atribución a Huguet, la ficha se encabezó con el nombre de dicho artista acompañado de un asterisco, donde se manifestaban las discrepancias entre la autora y la institución. Alcoy desarrolló sus tesis con mucha más profundidad en el libro publicado justo al año siguiente (Alcoy, *San Jorge*).
21. Sobre estas obras, véase María del Carmen Lacarra, "Anunciació i Epifania. Dos compartiments de retaule", en *Jaume Huguet. 500 anys*, cat. exp. (Barcelona: Departament de Cultura, Generalitat de Catalunya, 1993), pp. 228-231; Joan Sureda, "Sarja de la Mare de Déu i l'àngel custodi", en *Jaume Huguet. 500 anys*, cat. exp. (Barcelona: Departament de Cultura, Generalitat de Catalunya, 1993), pp. 232-235; María del Carmen Lacarra, "La qüestió aragonesa de Jaume Huguet", en *L'art gòtic a Catalunya. Pintura. III. Darreres manifestacions* (Barcelona, Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2006), pp. 147-149.
22. Alcoy, *San Jorge*, p. 157.
23. Véase Alcoy, *San Jorge*, p. 156-157.
24. Joan Sureda, "Jaume Huguet i l'eixir de la dignitat humana", en *L'art gòtic a Catalunya. Pintura. III. Darreres manifestacions* (Barcelona, Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2006), p. 90; Eva March, "Jaume Huguet", en *L'art gòtic a Catalunya. Pintura. III. Darreres manifestacions* (Barcelona, Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2006), pp. 97-102.
25. Aunque no podemos desarrollar la propuesta por falta de espacio, en nuestran opinión, existen evidencias estilísticas suficientes para diferenciar entre el pintor que realizó las tablas de Alloza, y el autor del retablo de San Jorge y la Princesa.
26. En su tesis doctoral, Guadaira Macías también

NOTES

distingue entre uno y otro. Véase Macías, "La pintura aragonesa", *passim*.

27. Rosa Alcoy "Un proemi a Jaume Huguet. Reflexions sobre la pintura en l'àrea tarragonina entre el 1412 i el 1448", en *Jaume Huguet. 500 anys*, cat. exp. (Barcelona: Departament de Cultura, Generalitat de Catalunya, 1993), p. 47.
28. En la última aproximación que Alcoy ha hecho a la tabla del San Jorge y la Princesa la autoría que aparece referenciada es "Bernat Ortoneda (?)". Véase Rosa Alcoy, *Pintura catalana. El gòtic* (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2017), pp. 372-373.
29. Sin embargo, no podemos descartar que aspectos específicos del arte del gran maestro catalán llegasen a Aragón más tarde, pues hay una referencia documental que respalda. Nos referimos al viaje que Martín Bernat y Miguel Ximénez hicieron a Barcelona en 1489 para examinar el retablo que Jaume Huguet había pintado en la iglesia de Sant Agustí el Vell, del que se conservan algunos paneles en el Museo Nacional de Arte de Cataluña. Con todo, fueron enviados allí para familiarizarse con un ciclo iconográfico bastante excepcional, ya que les habían encargado hacer un retablo dedicado al mismo santo para la iglesia de San Agustín en Zaragoza. Véase Manuel Serrano Sanz, "Documentos relativos a la pintura en Aragón durante el siglo XV", *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* XXXI (1914), pp. 448-451, doc. VII. Sobre las tablas supervivientes del retablo de Barcelona, véase Francesc Ruiz, "El retaule de sant Agustí de Jaume Huguet. Un referente singular en l'art pictòric català del darrer quatre-cents", *Quaderns de Vilaniu* 37 (2000), pp. 3-40.
30. Véase Alberto Velasco, "Pintura tardogòtica a l'Aragó i Catalunya: Pere Garcia de Benavarri", (tesis doctoral, Universitat de Lleida, 2015), pp. 83-103; Alberto Velasco, "Some questions about the Flemish model in Aragonese painting (1440-1500)", en prensa.
31. Joan Molina, "Atribuido a Jaume Huguet. El profeta Daniel", en *Cataluña medieval*, cat. exp. (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1992), pp. 294-295; Milagros Guardia, "Cap del profeta Daniel", en *Jaume Huguet. 500 anys*, cat. exp. (Barcelona: Departament de Cultura, Generalitat de Catalunya, 1993), pp. 222-223.
32. Estas pinturas hoy en día son parte de un conjunto ficticio remodelado con toda probabilidad en el siglo XVII. La atribución ha sido defendida por Guadaira Macías, "Noves aportacions al catàleg de dos mestres aragonesos anònims. El Mestre de Sant Jordi i la princesa i el Mestre de Sant Bartomeu", *Butlletí del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya* 11 (2010), pp. 38-40, figs. 4-5. Personalmente, los relacionamos en su momento con el círculo de Miguel Ximénez o, mejor, Arnau de Castellnou de Navailles, y lo hicimos pensando que este último podría ser uno de los principales candidatos para ser el Maestro de San Jorge y la Princesa, aunque no presentamos los argumentos con el debido detalle. Véase Alberto Velasco, "Revisant Pere Garcia de Benavarri. Noves precisions a l'etapa saragossana ", *Locus Amoenus* 8 (2005-2006), p. 85.
33. Rosa Alcoy defiende la atribución del profeta del Museo del Prado al Maestro de Alloza, propuesta con la que no estamos de acuerdo (Alcoy, *San Jorge*, p 155), pues se trata de un pintor distinto. Por otro lado, el profeta muestra analogías evidentes con un fragmento de guardapolvo del retablo de Ejea de los Caballeros (reproducido en María del Carmen Lacarra, *Blasco de Grañén, pintor de retablos (1422-1459)* [Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico", 2004], p. 85, fig. 35, lo que pone de manifiesto que nuestro pintor pertenece a la misma cultura figurativa que Martín de Soria (Alcoy, *San Jorge*, p. 176), a quien debe atribuirse esa parte del retablo de Ejea.
34. Subasta *Old Masters* del 31 de octubre de 2017, lote 4, con atribución al Maestro de Morata. Según la casa de subastas, la tabla procedía de una colección de Florida (Estados Unidos).
35. Post, *The Aragonese*, p. 407, fig. 186. Se conserva una fotografía de la obra en el Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic de Barcelona (cliché Mas C-3332), que fue tomada cuando formaba parte de la colección Vilallonga. También la publicó Ana Galilea Antón, *La pintura gótica española en el Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao* (Bilbao: Museu de Bellas Artes de Bilbao, 1995), p. 174, fig. 98, comentado que había pasado por el mercado de arte de París. Véase también Macías, "La pintura aragonesa", pp. 435-436, fig. 332, que la situa entre "la pintura sorgida de l'entorn de Calatayud i Daroca a la segona meitat del segle XV", sin especificar ninguna atribución concreta.
36. Stefanos Kroustallis, Marisa Gómez González, Matilde Miquel Juan, Rocío Bruquetas Galán y Olga Pérez Monzón, "Gilding in Spanish panel painting from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries", *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, 2016, pp. 1-31, consulta: 1 December 2017, DOI: 10.1080/17546559.2016.1230273. Véase también Alberto Velasco, *Virgin and Child with Musician Angels. The Master of Belmonte and Late Gothic Aragonese Painting* (Buenos Aires: Jaime Eguigurem 2017), pp. 94-155.
37. Tamara Alba González y Consuelo Dalmau, "Las cuñas de madera en la pintura sobre tabla: presencia y procedencia", en *Afilando el pincel, dibujando la voz. Prácticas pictóricas góticas*, eds. Matilde Miquel, Olga Pérez y Pilar Martínez (Madrid: Ediciones Complutense, 2017), pp. 15-30.
38. Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic in Barcelona, negative number: Espinal 41.
39. Sobre este coleccionista, véase Bonaventura Bassegoda, "Marian Espinal (1897-1974). Pintor y coleccionista", en *Nuevas contribuciones en torno al mundo del coleccionismo de arte hispánico en los siglos XIX y XX*, eds. Immaculada Socias y Dimitra Gkozgkou (Gijón: Trea, 2013), pp. 53-62.
40. La primera mención en Alcoy, *San Jorge*, p. 147, n. 214, pero solo para establecer un paralelismo iconográfico con uno de los paneles en Alloza, y sin ningún comentario a nivel estilístico. La segunda referencia en Macías, "Noves aportacions", p. 60, nota 58, donde tampoco hallamos ningún tipo de análisis estilístico o atribución.
41. Sobre Bernardo de Arás, véase Didier Martens, "Una huella de Rogier van der Weyden en la obra de Bernart d'Aras, <pintor vecino de la ciudat de Huesca>", *Archivo Español de Arte* LXXXI, 321 (2008), pp. 1-18, Macías, "La pintura aragonesa", pp. 200-211, figs. 151-156. A la vista del escaso catálogo de obras conocido del pintor, aprovechamos la ocasión para añadir una Lamentación ante el Cristo muerto subastada recientemente en París (Cornette de Saint Cyr maison de ventes, *Collection Marie Laforet: Dessins et Tableaux Anciens - Sculptures Ethnographie - Mobiliers et Objets d'Art*, 28th november 2017, lote núm. 451, 86 x 66 cm, atribuida al círculo de Jaume Huguet), así como una Resurrección en el mercado de arte de Barcelona (Galeria Bernat, 74 x 62 cm).
42. Macías, "La pintura aragonesa", p. 210. A parte de lo apuntado por Macías, hacemos notar que a las tablas se les añadieron unos listones en los laterales y la parte superior, que son perfectamente detectables tanto en el anverso como en el reverso.
43. Las juntas de unión de los cuales se rellenaron con las cuñas de madera mencionadas más arriba, tal como podemos en el reverso de una de las tablas.
44. Entre los pintores hispanos de finales de la Edad Media, el fondo dorado fue una de las técnicas más recurrentes para transmitir magnificencia a sus obras. En la Corona de Aragón su uso continuó durante el período tardogótico, incluso cuando los grandes fondos del paisaje comenzaron a predominar debido a la adopción del modelo flamenco. Esto se debió a la fascinación que el oro causaba entre los promotores, debido a su gran efecto visual y a la sensación de riqueza que proporcionaba; por lo tanto, en innumerables ocasiones prevaleció sobre la representación de puntos de vista de la naturaleza que tenían poco que ver con la tradición autóctona. Asimismo, los artistas favorecieron su uso continuo gracias a una serie de medios técnicos destinados a crear contrastes, juegos de luces, así como a la percepción de relieve y profundidad. Véanse los numerosos ejemplos que se citan en Velasco, *Virgin and Child*, p. 94 y siguientes.
45. Es posible que en ese momento se añadiesen los listones mencionados y las molduras doradas que actualmente enmarcan ambos compartimentos.
46. Macías, "La pintura aragonesa", p. 210.
47. Rosa Alcoy, "Retaule de l'Epifania", en *Jaume Huguet. 500 anys*, cat. exp. (Barcelona: Departament de Cultura, Generalitat de Catalunya, 1993), pp. 202-205.
48. Post, *The Aragonese*, p. 372 y 376, fig. 167. En una publicación más reciente se ha relacionado con un pintor anónimo hispano del siglo XVI. Ver Herman Vandormael, *Château de Gaasbeek*, (Brussels: Credit Communal, 1988), pp. 107-108, con reproducción a color. La tabla se presenta actualmente con un marco no original.
49. Nuria Ortiz Valero, "Martín Bernat. Saint Sebastian", *Spanish Painting* (Madrid: Coll & Cortés Fine Arts, 2012), pp. 26-35. Extrañamente, Ortiz no incluyó la tabla de Piedratajada en su monografía dedicada al pintor. See Nuria Ortiz Valero, *Martín Bernat, pintor de retablos, documentado en Zaragoza entre 1450 y 1505*, (Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico", 2013).
50. Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic de Barcelona, cliché Movil Weissberger 36.
51. Elisenda Casanova, "La presencia aragonesa en el patrimonio de los museos de Sitges", *Artigrama* 20 (2005), p. 62, figs. 21-22.
52. Sobre el Maestro de Belmonte, véase Velasco, *Virgin and Child*, *passim*.
53. Muchas de ellas le fueron proporcionadas por el anticuario Josep Bardolet, quien se movía con soltura por tierras aragonesas comprando arte medieval desde antes de la Guerra Civil española (1936-1939) y todavía durante la posguerra. Véase Vinyet Panyella, "La col·lecció Pérez Rosales, un capítol de la història dels museus de Sitges", en *Antiquaris, experts, col·leccionistes i museus. El començ, l'estudi i la salvaguarda de l'art a la Catalunya del segle XX*, eds. Bonaventura Bassegoda e Ignasi Domènech (Bellaterra [y otras]: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona [y otras], 2013), pp. 177-205.
54. Alberto Velasco, "Anònim aragonés. Pietat amb Sant Benet i Sant Bernat", en *La col·lecció. Fundación Francisco Godia* (Barcelona: Fundación Francisco Godia, 2008), pp. 98-99.
55. Luis Monreal, *El Conventet IV: colección de pintura antigua* (Barcelona: Francisco Godia, 1978), pp. 70-71, cat. 15; *Románico y Gótico de la colección Francisco Godia*, coord. Sara Puig y Mercè Obón (Barcelona: Fundación Francisco Godia, 2001), p. 89, cat. 40; *Coleccionar arte. Obras de la Fundación Francisco Godia*, dir. Mercè Obón (Sevilla: Junta de Andalucía, 2014), pp. 44-45, cat. núm. 6.
56. Prudencia Giménez, Margarita Díaz y María del Carmen Nachón, *El Retablo de Tosos (Un retablo inédito)* (Zaragoza: Cuadernos de Filosofía y Letras, series 1, num. 60, 1967), pp. 29-31, fig. 24.

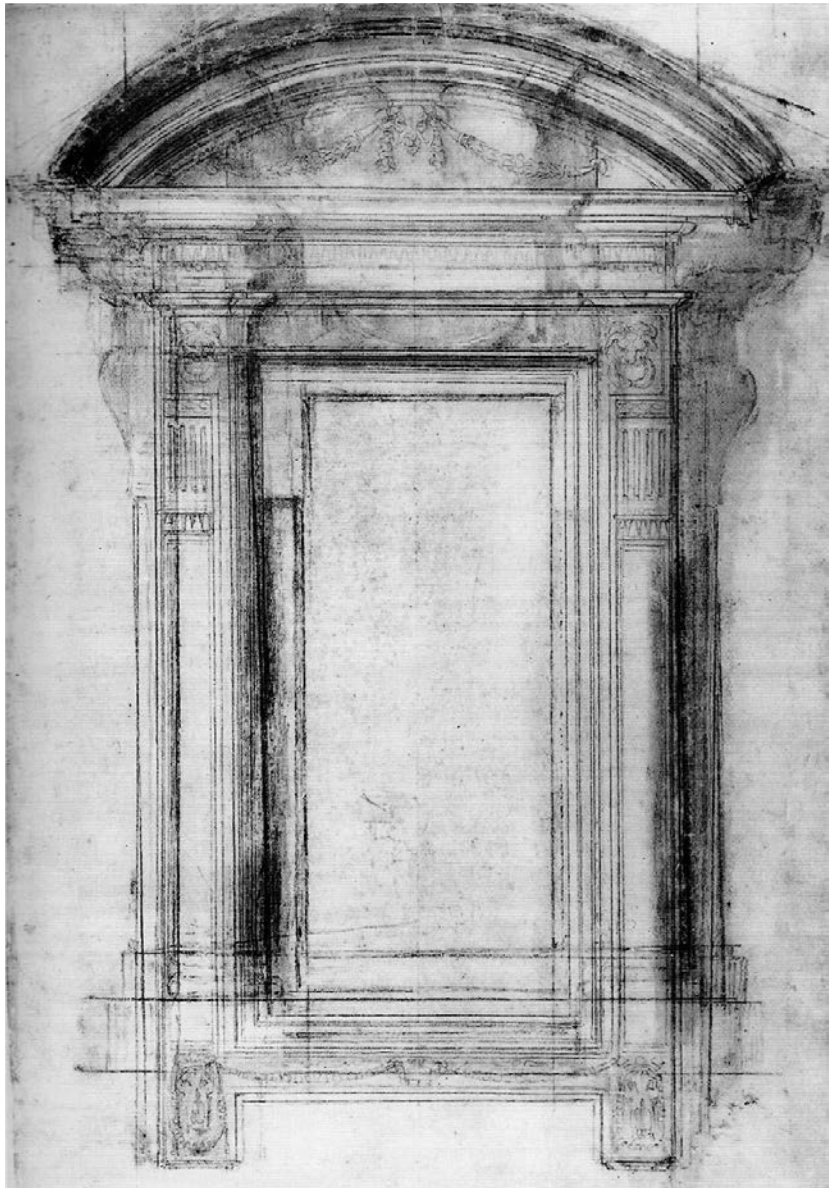


Fig. 1 / Michelangelo, *Study for a Door*, ca. 1548 and ca. 1560, black chalk, reworked with brown wash and lead-white gouache, reworked again with black chalk, 41.9 x 28.7 cm, Oxford, The Ashmolean Museum.

Reworking and erasure in two drawings by the aged Michelangelo

PAUL JOANNIDES

In an impeccably documented and visually perceptive article of 1993, Andrew Morrogh established that Michelangelo's detailed involvement with the Palazzo dei Conservatori began later – ca. 1560 – than had previously been assumed and continued later. In the course of his discussion he demonstrated that two drawings (figs. 1 & 2), previously placed in the late 1540s and assumed to be preparatory for windows and doors in Palazzo Farnese, could instead be connected with two doors in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, and concluded that they should be dated accordingly.[1] However, although the drawings were largely executed in that combination of thick chalk lines, loosely handled brown wash and lavishly applied body colour characteristic of Michelangelo around 1560, the initial line work – and the inscription in the tablet on one (see fig. 2) – supported the earlier date when Michelangelo's hand was firmer and his line-work thinner. Thanks to a sheet of drawings that came to light only in 1998, it became clear that both views of the purpose and dating of these drawings were correct: Michelangelo indeed made them in the later 1540s with Palazzo Farnese in mind, but reworked both of them a dozen years later for the Capitoline scheme.[2]

The recto of this sheet (fig. 3), in the Fogg Museum of Art, copies one of the Ashmolean drawings (see fig. 1) in its original state.[3] It is the same size as, and was probably traced from, the original and must have been made between ca. 1548 and ca. 1560. One might assume that an assistant of Michelangelo wished to record the original architectural concept before the master submerged it, but this cannot have been the only reason for, on the verso (fig. 4), is a copy of the left arm sketched by Michelangelo on the verso of the original (fig. 5), a superfluous element if the copyist's priority was the architectural study. The Fogg sheet is, in fact, a facsimile of the Oxford sheet before Michelangelo reworked the recto and added sketches for the drum of Saint Peter's to the verso. The creation of such a facsimile perhaps implies that the draughtsman wanted to create a corpus of copies; its exactness suggests deep reverence for the master's graphic production.

It is well known that several sheets by Michelangelo carry drawings of different dates on recto and verso, and it seems that he sometimes looked to old visual ideas for inspiration.[4] But reworking earlier drawings seems to have been a feature only of his final years. The Fogg sheet also demonstrates that Michelangelo allowed another draughtsman to record his work. This draughtsman cannot securely be identified, but the most likely candidate in the present case is Tiberio Calcagni (1532-1565) on whom the aged Michelangelo placed great reliance: it was Tiberio who made the fair copy of Michelangelo's final plan for San Giovanni dei Fiorentini.

That some of Michelangelo's figure drawings were made available to other artists has long been appreciated: copies exist by Giulio Clovio, Alessandro Allori, and perhaps Marcello Venusti. Most frequently copied were the highly finished presentation drawings that Michelangelo made in the 1530s. But it can now be shown that Michelangelo allowed another draughtsman to copy a late figural composition and

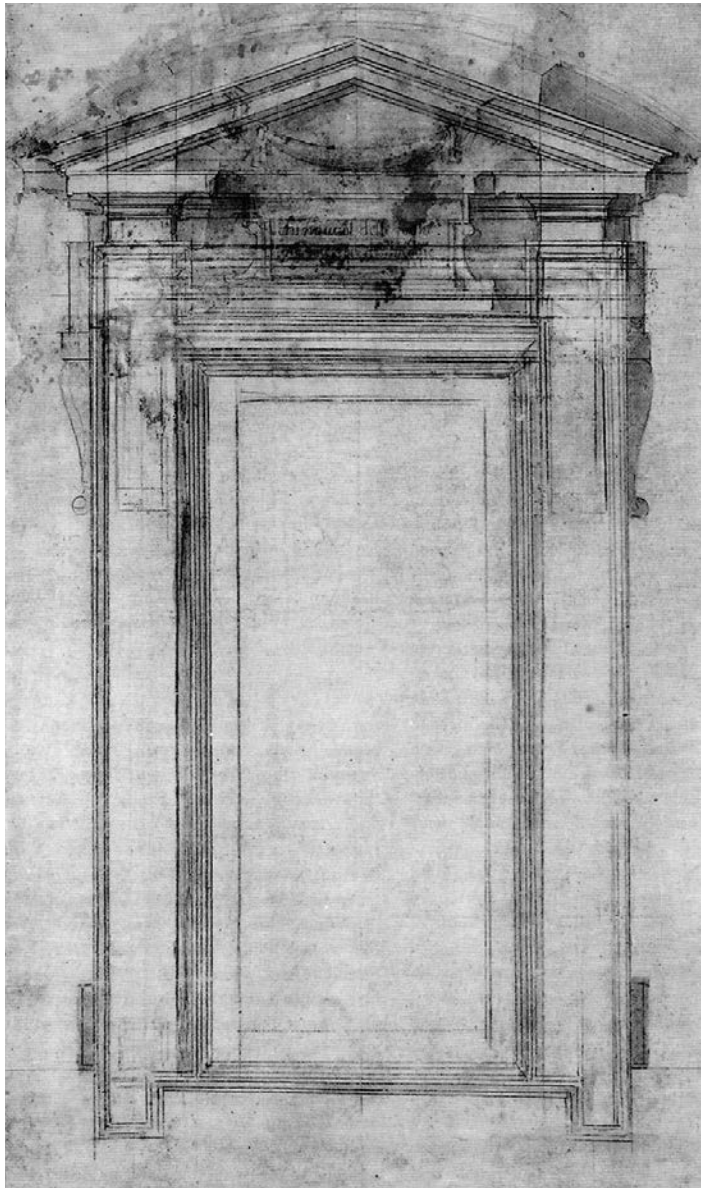
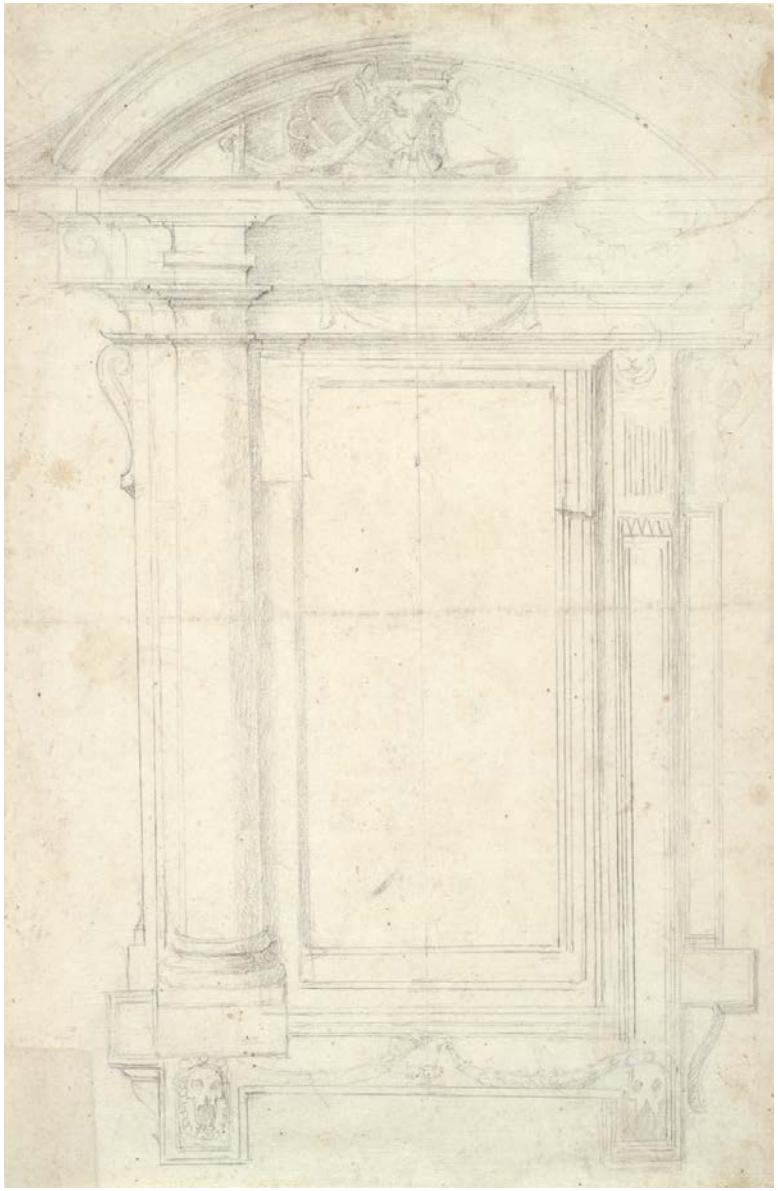


Fig. 2 / Michelangelo, *Study for a Door*, ca. 1548 and ca. 1560, black chalk, reworked with brown wash and lead-white gouache, reworked again in black chalk, 41.2 x 25.9 cm, Oxford, The Ashmolean Museum.

Fig. 3 / Unidentified draughtsman (Tiberio Calcagni?) after Michelangelo, *Study for a Door*, ca. 1548-1560, black chalk, 39.6 x 25.7 cm, Cambridge, MA, The Fogg Museum of Art.



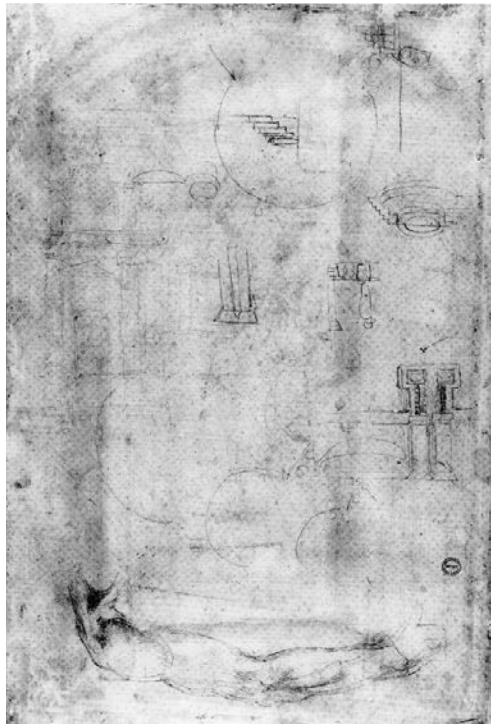




Fig. 4 / Unidentified draughtsman (Tiberio Calcagni?) after Michelangelo, *Study of a Left Arm* (verso of fig. 3), ca. 1548-1560, Cambridge, MA, The Fogg Museum of Art.

Fig. 5 / Michelangelo, *Studies of a Left Arm, the Drum of Saint Peter's, and Other Architectural Sketches,* (verso of fig. 1), ca. 1548-1560, Oxford, The Ashmolean Museum.

moreover, a figural composition that he subsequently reworked. This previously unknown drawing (fig. 6), whose owner kindly allowed me to examine and reproduce it, is made on paper bearing a watermark of a Fleur de Lys in a double circle, reasonably close to, but not identical with, Briquet 7125 (Vicenza 1577). It represents *Christ on the Cross Between Mary and Saint John* and is the same size as, and was obviously copied from, a famous drawing in the Royal Collection, one of those painful spiritual exercises that Michelangelo undertook towards the end of his life (fig. 7).[5] The copy makes it clear that the Saviour's form on the Windsor *Christ on the Cross* was originally like that in the new drawing, but that it was then erased and new possibilities superimposed, never finally to be resolved. This copy is similar to that in the Fogg in showing the earlier state of a drawing that Michelangelo later decided to rework.

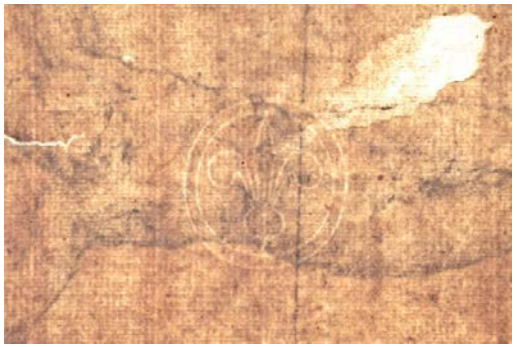
The new drawing bears two scales, not found on the Windsor original, presumably geared to a projected enlargement of the composition. One, comprising two short horizontals about 5 cm apart, is at the left edge, level with the Virgin's knee; the other, on the left side of the Cross's upright, consists of two small crosses, in which the horizontal is favoured, about 4.5 cm apart. Between them is a faint inscription which can be read either as *16* or as *1b*. A simple number has no apparent sense in this context, but if we read *1b* or 1 *braccia*, the size of the enlargement would be enormous. It is more probable that *1b* should be interpreted rather as 1 *balmo*, a phonetic spelling of *palmo* found also on a drawing of ca. 1560 by Michelangelo in Haarlem.[6] Perhaps the copyist planned to execute an altarpiece to this design: if so, it might lend credence to a suggestion made by Alessandro Nova with reference to another *Crucifixion* drawing by Michelangelo, that he was



Fig. 6 / Unidentified draughtsman after Michelangelo, *Christ on the Cross Between the Virgin and Saint John*, ca. 1555-1560, black chalk, 37.9 x 22 cm, Private Collection.









Figs. 6 a, b, c & d / Unidentified draughtsman after Michelangelo, *Christ on the Cross Between the Virgin and Saint John* (details), ca. 1555-1560, black chalk, 37.9 x 22 cm, Private Collection.

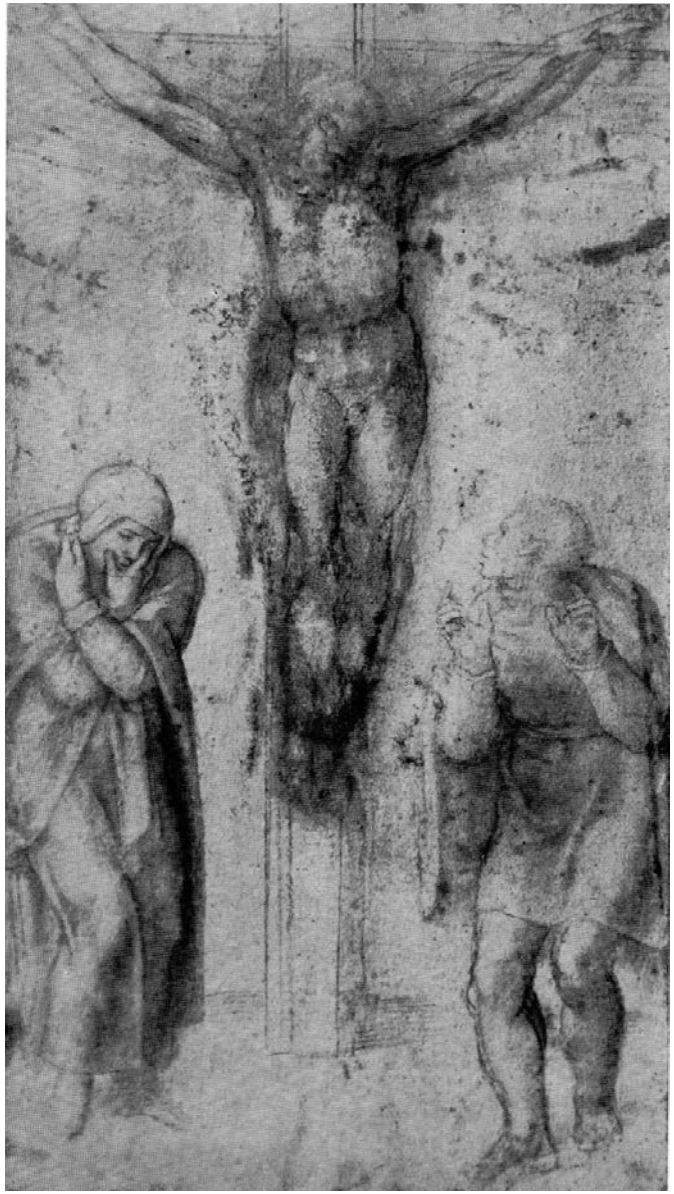


Fig. 7 / Michelangelo, *Christ on the Cross Between the Virgin and Saint John*, ca. 1555 and ca. 1560, black chalk and body-colour, 38.2 x 21 cm, Windsor Castle, The Royal Collection.

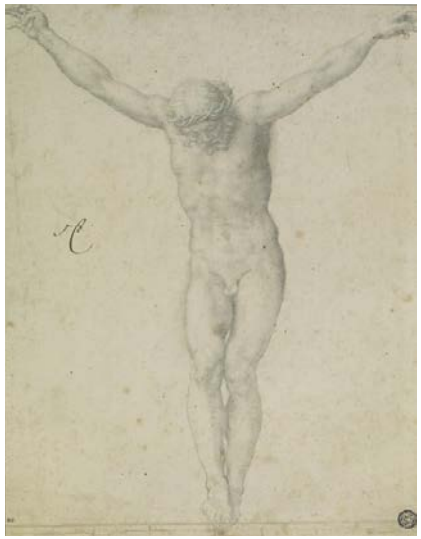




Fig. 8 / Unidentified draughtsman after Michelangelo, *Christ on the Cross*, black chalk, 29.2 x 22.7 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques.

Fig. 9 / Unidentified draughtsman after Michelangelo, *Christ on the Cross*, black chalk, 37.6 x 24.5 cm, Present whereabouts unknown.

planning a painting of the subject as an altarpiece for the Capella Paolina to be executed by another, perhaps Marcello Venusti.[7]

The appearance of this copy, of considerable interest in itself, compels me to correct an error in my catalogue of drawings by and after Michelangelo in the Louvre. In discussing a drawing of the *Crucified Christ* (fig. 8) as an isolated figure, I dated it to the 1540s and assumed it to be complete; Charles de Tolnay had reached a similar conclusion, so I was at least in good company.[8] Now, however, it has become clear that this and a second, virtually identical, drawing – long known from an outline engraving by Landon, but which reappeared only in 2006 (fig. 9) – are both partial copies from the Windsor drawing before Michelangelo erased the figure of Christ.[9] The two copies seem to be by the same hand, that of Giulio Clovio, although I have not been able to compare them directly. Their existence demonstrates that, in addition to making full replicas, copyists were allowed to extract single figures.

Giulio's copies (see figs. 8 & 9) show Christ's forms in higher definition than one would expect from an original by Michelangelo of ca. 1550-1560, and it is likely that he sharpened them. The same is true of the new drawing, in which Saint John and the Virgin are also drawn with considerably greater precision than those figures on the Windsor original, which Michelangelo did not re-model. It follows, as a general principle, that we must be careful in estimating the date of an original from a copy: we are so accustomed to seeing near-facsimiles of Michelangelo's most highly finished drawings that we may be too ready to accept the accuracy of copies made after drawings that Michelangelo brought to a lesser degree of finish.





Fig. 10 / Unidentified draughtsman after Michelangelo, *Saint John*, ca. 1555-1560, 25.2 x 10.3 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques.

Fig. 11 / Michelangelo, *Saint John*, ca. 1555, black chalk, 25 x 18.2 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques.

Who made the new drawing? Particularly evident in the figure of Saint John, and a little less so in the Virgin, is a distinctive type of curvilinear hatching. It might be by the same hand – Clovio's – as the copies of the isolated *Christ* (see figs. 8 & 9); but, in those drawings hatching has been carefully fused by stumping, and I do not think a common authorship can be established with any security. However, another drawing in the Louvre (fig. 10), a copy after a study of *Saint John* by Michelangelo also in the Louvre (fig. 11), shows hatching of the same curvilinear kind and can fairly be claimed to be by the same hand as the *Crucifixion* copy.[10] In my *Inventaire* I tentatively suggested Clovio as the author both of fig. 11 and the companion copy of the *Virgin* (black chalk, 24.8 x 13.4 cm), the original of which is also in the Louvre (black chalk, 23 x 10 cm), but noted that an alternative candidate might be Marcello Venusti, whose authorship had been sustained by Georg W. Kamp, and which is also now favoured by Andrea Donati.[11] I think that the matter remains open: I would not insist on Clovio and Venusti may well be the correct answer, however, among the very few independent drawings by Venusti that can be identified with any conviction, none offer unequivocal support for the attribution to him of these black chalk copy drawings after Michelangelo.

NOTES

1. Andrew Morrogh, "'The Palace of the Roman People': Michelangelo at the Palazzo dei Conservatori," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Biblioteca Hertziana* 29 (1994): pp. 129-186. The drawings are Ashmolean Museum, inv. 1846.78 and inv. 1846.79.
2. Paul Joannides, *The Drawings of Michelangelo and his Followers in the Ashmolean Museum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 264-276, nos. 55 and 56; Charles de Tolnay, *Corpus dei disegni di Michelangelo*, 4 vols. (Novara: Istituto geografico De Agostini, 1975-1980), IV, nos. 589 and 605.
3. Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge, MA, inv. 1998.194, first discussed in Joannides, *Drawings of Michelangelo*, pp. 266-268.
4. For example his study for the statue of *Victory* is on the verso of a drawing made for the *Battle of Cascina* some twenty years earlier: De Tolnay, *Corpus*, I, no. 50.
5. Royal Collection, Windsor, inv. 12775; Arthur E. Popham and Johannes Wilde, *The Drawings of the 15th and 16th Centuries in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle* (London: Phaidon Press, 1949), no. 436; De Tolnay, *Corpus*, III, no. 418.
6. Carel van Tuyll van Serooskerken, *The Italian Drawings of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries in the Teyler Museum* (Haarlem, Ghent, and Doornspijk: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, and Davaco, 2000), pp. 140-144, no. 67; De Tolnay, *Corpus*, I, no. 50.
7. The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, inv. 1846.89, Joannides, *Drawings of Michelangelo*, pp. 276-280, no. 57; De Tolnay, *Corpus*, III, no. 415; Alessandro Nova, "Hat Michelangelo ein Altarbild für die Cappella Paolina geplant?" in *Michelangelo als Zeichner, Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums Wien, Albertina-Museum, 19-20 November, 2010*, eds. Claudia Echinger-Maurach, Achim Gnann, and Joachim Poeschke (Münster: Rhema, 2013), pp. 365-391.
8. Musée du Louvre, inv. 843; Paul Joannides, *Michel-Ange, elèves, copistes* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2003), pp. 234-235, no. 88; De Tolnay, *Corpus*, III, pp. 66-67.
9. Christie's, New York, 24 January 2006, lot 10; Joannides, *Michel-Ange*, pp. 234-235, under no. 88.
10. Joannides, *Michel-Ange*, pp. 265-266, no. 126, and pp. 176-178, no. 40. For the other two Louvre drawings (inv. 698 and inv. 720) see also De Tolnay, *Corpus*, III, nos. 413 and 412.
11. Georg W. Kamp, *Marcello Venusti, Religiose Kunst im Umfeld Michelangelos*, *Deutsche Hochschule Schriften*, 495 (Egelsbach: Hänsel-Hohenhausen, 1993), p. 128, nos. 44 and 45; Dr. Donati's view was expressed to me orally.



Fig. 1 / Tomb of Constanza de Castilla, 1464-1478, Madrid, National Archaeological Museum.

Enbíes tu graçia e acreçientes sus virtudes. Female power, virtue, and the *Querelle des femmes* in Constanza de Castilla's tomb

DIANA LUCIA GÓMEZ-CHACÓN

Despite its historical and artistic significance, the female Dominican convent of Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid, founded in 1219, was demolished in 1869.[1] Some of the works of art it contained, such as the so-called *Madona de Madrid*, are now housed in a new convent constructed on the site of the old one, while other objects – including the tomb of its prioress, Constanza de Castilla, originally located in the conventual choir (fig. 1) – were transferred to the National Archaeological Museum of Madrid. In the present paper I will briefly examine Constanza's priorate, with a special focus on the privileges she enjoyed thanks to her royal lineage, as well as her artistic and pioneering spiritual, political and social interests. All were partly expressed in her exceptional sepulchre, worthy of a wise woman ahead of her time.

SISTER CONSTANZA DE CASTILLA, AN UNCONVENTIONAL PRIORESS

Constanza de Castilla (before 1405-1478) was granddaughter of the deposed King Peter I of Castile (1350-1369) and Juana de Castro. She is first recorded in 1416 under the protection of Queen Catherine of Lancaster (1373-1418), her beloved cousin, for whose soul she prays in her *Book of Devotions* (*Devocionario*), written between 1465 and 1478.[2] Although she is likely to have tried first to enter the Dominican convent of Santo Domingo el Real de Toledo, she would ultimately move to Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid. This decision, which caused a thirty-year legal battle with the Toledan convent, was probably motivated by both family strategy and Sister Constanza's desire to be near Catherine of Lancaster and her cousin's son, King John II of Castile (1406-1454).[3]

In 1416, probably soon after her arrival in Madrid, Constanza de Castilla is documented as prioress of Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid.[4] She remained in that position for fifty years, a long period of time during which the conventual Chapter's decision-making power is likely to have been reduced to a minimum.[5] In 1444, she also eliminated the figure of the prior, a position held since the foundation of the female branch of the Order of Saint Dominic by a Dominican friar, whose main responsibility was the *cura monialium*, the nuns' spiritual well-being. Constanza and her sisters no longer needed a prior, as the prioress had obtained, for herself and for the rest of the sisters, the licence to appoint their own confessors as well as the convent's estate manager. Although a prior was again elected in Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid in 1474, only 10 years after the end of Constanza de Castilla's priorate, his power was no doubt significantly diminished.[6]

Under Sister Constanza's administration, the Madrid convent experienced progressive gentrification and privatization, with the admission and religious profession of several women who were members of powerful Castilian lineages, such as the Villena-Lunas, the Mendozas and, especially, the Castillas.[7] Throughout her long tenure as prioress, Constanza de Castilla not only renewed Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid's religious community, but also remodelled the architectural complex, paying particular attention to her own rooms.[8] It is possible that these architectural changes were carried out to cope with the increase in size of the religious community as well as reflecting the prioress's desire to dignify the building.

Constanza's quarters, located above the wine cellar, included a private portal, a cloister, a kitchen and a garden.[9]

Her expenditure was so great that the prioress was subject to an audit instigated by the archbishopric of Toledo, but, as on other occasions, Constanza was protected by the Crown. The inspection was immediately frustrated in 1454 by Lope de Barrientos, royal confessor, bishop of Cuenca, auditor of the Royal Audience, member of the Royal Council, High Chancellor of Prince Henry and former prior of Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid,[10] who duly approved Constanza's major financial expenditures.[11] As a consequence, the Madrid convent obtained independence from Toledo's archbishop.[12]

The first concessions granted to Constanza de Castilla date from 1419, indicating that she enjoyed a privileged position from the beginning of her priorate.[13] Throughout her tenure Sister Constanza was for example exempted from any ecclesiastical sentence and even excommunication.[14] She was also permitted to build her own palace inside the enclosure, hear Mass from her room, choose her confessor, leave the convent whenever she needed or wanted to, and she had at her service three *dueñas* (María González, Isabel Rodríguez and Catalina de Castilla), two laywomen and a nun (*clériga*), who were excused from obligations of the Order of Friars Preachers. She also had a personal servant (Juana Martínez), a chaplain (Juan de Iniesta), and other servants that lived above her quarters. She enjoyed lunch in her own room, accompanied by three or four other nuns (*dueñas*); she used linen sheets and clothes; she did not wear the veil as it bothered her; her family members could visit her freely; her female relatives (*parientas*), even those who were pregnant, could eat or sleep in her chamber; her letters could not be intercepted; and she was excused from attending choir, refectory and sleeping in the dormitory.[15]

The private institution that Constanza de Castilla created at the convent of Santo Domingo el Real in Madrid enabled her to promote her own lineage. Her main concerns were to recover and legitimize King Peter I of Castile's legacy,[16] and to establish the prestige of the Castilla family in the Castilian kingdom.[17] Constanza thus ordered a family pantheon to be built in the main chapel of the Dominican church,[18] construction of which was completed in 1444.[19] In 1446, she obtained authorization from John II to transfer to the convent the remains of her father (the *infante* Juan), of three of her brothers who died during childhood,[20] and of her grandfather, Peter I of Castile who was until then interred in oblivion in Puebla de Alcocer (Badajoz).[21] This initiative was interpreted as the definitive reconciliation between the Trastamara and *petrista* branches of the ruling house of Castile.[22] Desire for political reconciliation may have motivated the exceptional double patronage of the royal chapel; so although John II founded the chapel – in response to his aunt's "contemplation and constant supplication,"[23] so that its officials would pray for his relatives' souls[24] – and financed the construction of the tombs,[25] Constanza de Castilla was appointed as the chapel's patron.[26] She was, thus, responsible for choosing the chapel's officials,[27] and she wrote the chapel's second, and definitive, constitution, dated 5 November 1464.[28]

CONSTANZA DE CASTILLA'S TOMB

The extraordinary simplicity of the tombs of several Castilian Dominican prioresses belonging to the female branch of the Order of Preachers reveals the exceptionality of Constanza's sepulchre.[29] The choir of the convent of Santo Domingo el Real of Toledo houses the body of Teresa de Ayala, prioress between 1403 and 1424, who chose a humble tombstone as her funerary monument.[30] The remains of Sister Leonor de Castilla, who is documented as the prioress of the convent of Sancti Spiritus in Toro (Zamora), also rest under a tombstone in the nuns' choir.



Fig. 2 / C. Pizarro and E. Ancelet, Tomb of Constanza de Castilla, Madrid, *Museo Español de Antigüedades*, 1875.

Constanza de Castilla also located her tomb in her convent's choir. However, in an apparent break with Dominican practices, she did not opt for a simple tombstone. On the contrary, Constanza chose a monumental alabaster tomb, which was placed in an arcosolium. This decision, which may have been motivated by the prioress's desire to leave behind an idealized image of herself, would serve as the model for the rest of the nuns over the course of centuries. At the same time, the coat of arms of the Castilla lineage and her epitaph (fig. 2) reminded beholders of Constanza's royal ancestry:

> Here lies buried / the very noble and very religious lady / doña Constanza de Castilla / daughter of the *infante* don Juan / granddaughter of King Pedro / She was a nun in this house / and prioress for many years / She died in 1478.[31]

The idealized, recumbent statue of Constanza with her eyes closed, slightly larger than life-size, is mourned and guarded by two praying female figures without veils (figs. 3 & 4). Constanza is dressed in the Dominican habit and wears a rosary around her neck. She also holds a closed book (19.6 x 15 x 4.5 cm), kept inside a chemise binding, which has been identified both as the Order's constitutional document and her own book of devotions.[32] It could not, however, be the latter because, as Ángela Franco Mata has indicated, Constanza's book (11.7 x 11.3 cm) is much smaller than the one represented on her tomb.[33] The tomb base is decorated with the coat of arms of the Castilla lineage,[34] held by two angels and flanked by the allegorical figures of four virtues (two on each side): *Prudence*, identified by an inscription beneath; *Faith*, who carries a Cross; *Hope*, who looks out expectantly, with the palm of her right hand raised,[35] and *Temperance*, pouring water into wine (figs. 5-8).[36]





Figs. 3 and 4 / Unveiled praying female figures, Tomb of Constanza de Castilla, 1464-1478, marble, Madrid, National Archaeological Museum.



Fig. 5 / *Prudence*, Tomb of Constanza de Castilla, 1464-1478, marble, Madrid, National Archaeological Museum.



Fig. 6 / *Faith*, Tomb of Constanza de Castilla, 1464-1478, marble, Madrid, National Archaeological Museum.



Fig. 7 / *Hope*, Tomb of Constanza de Castilla, 1464-1478, marble, Madrid, National Archaeological Museum.



Fig. 8 / *Temperance*, Tomb of Constanza de Castilla, 1464-1478, marble, Madrid, National Archaeological Museum.

According to Ángela Franco Mata, the prioress's tomb was most likely built between 1490 and 1500, that is to say, after Constanza de Castilla's death.[37] Nevertheless, José María Azcárate attributed the tomb to the school of Egas Cueman, linking it to the sepulchre of Inés de Ayala (died 1453), currently located in the main chapel of the church of Santa Isabel in Toledo.[38] This hypothesis has also been supported by Sonia Morales Cano.[39]

It should be remembered, as noted above, that Constanza de Castilla promoted the foundation of a royal chapel in Santo Domingo el Real in Madrid where the tomb of Peter I of Castile was originally located. His praying effigy is currently preserved next to his granddaughter's tomb in the Archaeological Museum of Madrid (fig. 9). This funerary sculpture has been dated to 1446, 1504 and more broadly, to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, as David Chao Castro and David Nogales Rincón have pointed out, the funerary sculpture of Peter I was likely executed between 1446 and 1464:[40] in the royal chapel's constitution, Constanza de Castilla indicates that she paid for both the transfer of her grandfather's remains and the creation of his funerary monument. Peter I of Castile's effigy must therefore have been finished by 1464.[41]

For this reason, it would not be farfetched to think that Constanza de Castilla perhaps commissioned her own tomb once this funerary effigy was completed, that is to say, between 1464 and her death in 1478. Indeed, as María del Pilar Rábade Obradó has noted, in 1464 Constanza de Castilla seemed to fear the proximity of her own death, perhaps due to ill health, as in that year she not only finished writing the constitutional document of her convent's royal chapel, but retired from the position of prioress after a fifty-year tenure, keeping herself discreetly in the background from that moment onwards.[42]

The iconographic layout of Constanza de Castilla's sepulchre is similar to that of the tomb of the Condestable de Castilla, Álvaro de Luna, in the chapel of Saint James in the Toledo Cathedral, dated around 1489 and made by "*Sevastian de Toledo, entallador de ymagineria*". Furthermore, the tombs of Álvaro de Luna, Constanza de Castilla and Alfonso Carrillo de Acuña have been related, from a stylistic point of view, to the workshop of this Sebastián de Toledo.[43] However, while various scholars identify Sebastián de Almonacid as a sculptor trained in Egas Cueman's workshop, according to others, Sebastián de Toledo and Sebastián de Almonacid were two different people. A precise and complete catalogue of works by Sebastián de Toledo and/or Sebastián de Almonacid awaits publication.[44]

In the *Condestable*'s tomb, Álvaro de Luna's coats of arms are also flanked by allegorical representations of virtues, replaced by apostles on his second wife's tomb, a detail to which I will return later. Matilde Miquel Juan and Olga Pérez Monzón have noted traces of simulated brocade fabric under Álvaro de Luna's recumbent statue, no doubt specified by his daughter, María de Luna, who commissioned her parents' tombs. According to the above-mentioned authors, this textile element would have simulated the lit de parade commonly used in funeral ceremonies.[45] Curiously, this same textile detail is present in Constanza de Castilla's tomb (fig. 10). It may, therefore, be that the inferior quality of Sister Constanza's sepulchre is due to the fact that it was one of the first tombs made by Sebastián de Toledo, repeated and improved upon in future works.

CONSTANZA DE CASTILLA, A WOMAN, AND YET VIRTUOUS

Manuel Núñez Rodríguez has interpreted the inclusion of four virtues in the iconography of Constanza's tomb as a panegyric to her moral perfection in the battle against death, as well as a summary of the Order of Preachers' spiritual aspirations.[46] As I will argue below, however, these sculpted allegories may in fact relate to Constanza's gender (figs. 5-8).



Fig. 9 / Effigy of King Peter I of Castile, 1446-1464, marble, Madrid, National Archaeological Museum.

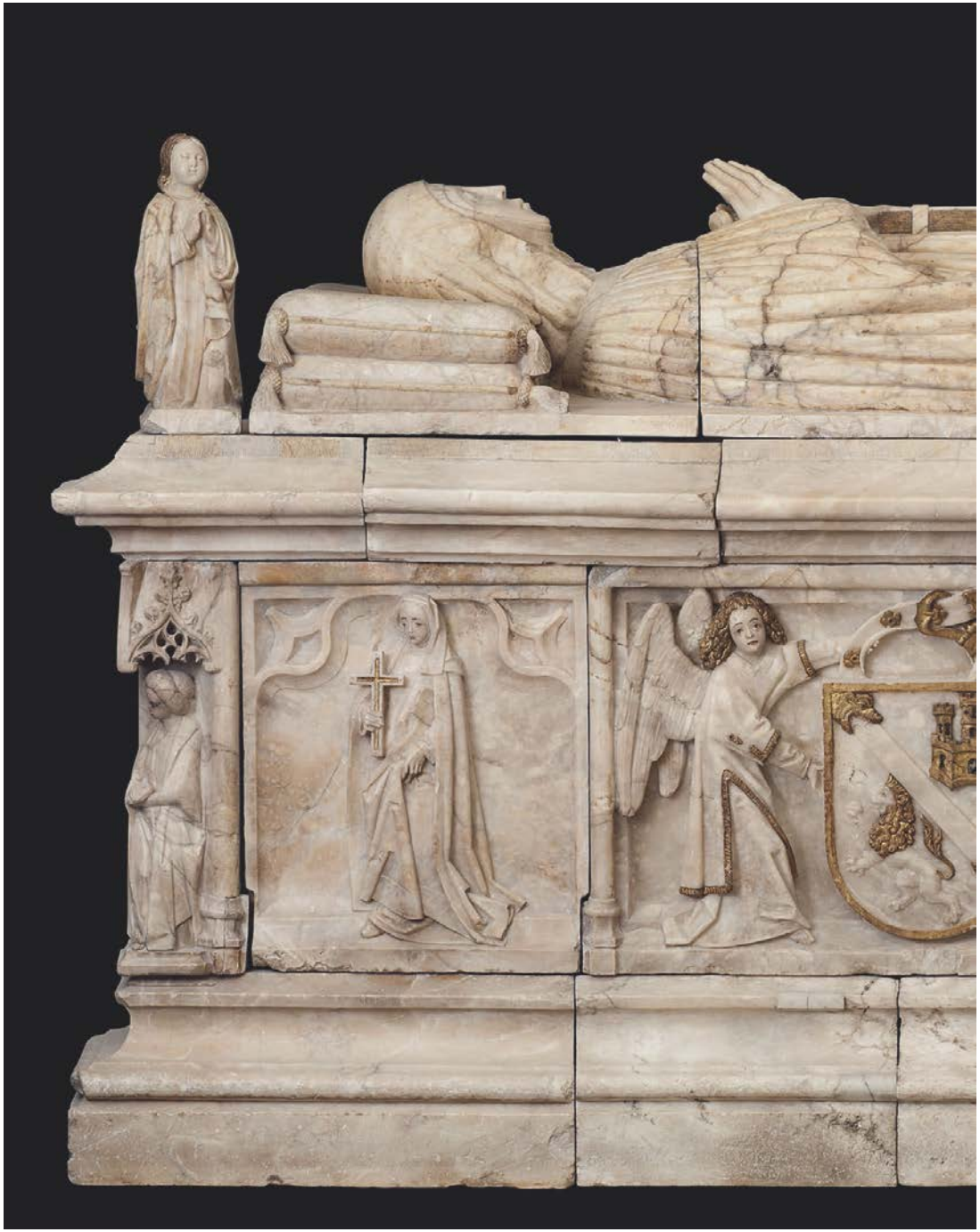


Fig. 10 / Effigy of Constanza de Castilla (detail), Tomb of Constanza de Castilla, 1464-1478, marble, Madrid, National Archaeological Museum.

It was not unusual in Castile, during the second half of the fifteenth century, for sepulchres and other monuments to be decorated with these allegories.[47] Representations of virtues were carved on the tombs of John II of Castile and his second wife, Elisabeth of Portugal, in the charterhouse of Miraflores outside Burgos (1489-1493); on the tomb of Álvaro de Luna in the chapel of Saint James in Toledo Cathedral (1489); and on the tomb of Alfonso Carrillo de Acuña, in the Magistral of Alcalá de Henares (1482-1489).[48]

A comparison of these sepulchres and that of Constanza de Castilla demonstrates, once more, the singularity of the prioress's tomb, which was probably sculpted between 1464 and 1478, in other words before the others. This fact once more highlights the pioneering nature of her monument, and reflects the ambitions of a powerful royal abbess such as Constanza de Castilla.

The royal sepulchre of Miraflores was conceived to contain the remains of John II and his second wife. The virtues that decorate the sepulchre refer to both sovereigns as representatives of royal power, and not Elisabeth of Portugal per se. With regard to the tombs of Álvaro de Luna and Alfonso Carrillo de Acuña, it should be noted that both belong to men. Indeed, as has already been indicated, the sepulchre of Álvaro de Luna's second wife, Juana Pimentel, located next to that of her husband, features a similar decorative scheme, but on this occasion the virtues have been replaced by eight apostles.[49] The sepulchre of Constanza de Castilla was possibly one of the first female Castilian tombs decorated with virtues, an iconographic and literary theme that seems to have originally been mainly masculine.[50] This would not have posed a major problem to Sister Constanza when designing her tomb's iconography. In fact, she may have been encouraged by the discourse of certain Castilian courtesan writers[51] who, during the mid-fifteenth century, defended female virtue, in contrast to others whose message was misogynistic.[52]

Two of these treatises in defence of women were written by Álvaro de Luna and Diego de Valera, both clearly influenced by Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus* (ca. 1361),[53] in which women are considered virtuous when behaving as men.[54] This should come as no surprise: in several letters, Saint Catherine of Siena, whom Constanza de Castilla mentions in her *Book of Devotions*,[55] recommends that her recipients aspire to the same ideals of love of God and virtues as men.[56]

In his *Libro de las claras e virtuosas mugeres* (1446) Álvaro de Luna is unequivocal in his defence of gender equality: "as for virtue and the goal for which they are raised, men as well as women, are both equal."[57] The *Condestable* says that he wrote this because "it seemed inhuman that so many works of virtue and examples of kindness found in women's lineage were silenced and buried in the darkness of oblivion."[58] Diego de Valera, who dedicated his *Tratado en defensa de virtuosas mugeres* (ca. 1444) to Mary of Aragon (died 1445), the first wife of John II of Castile,[59] states that virtue is practiced "by both women and men."[60] Likewise, Brother Martín de Córdoba, in his *Jardín de nobles doncellas* (1467-1476), claims that the pain he feels because of Prince Alphonse's premature death is eased when he contemplates his sister Elisabeth's flourishing virtues.[61]

Constanza's sepulchre could thus be seen as an artistic expression of the so-called *Querelle des femmes*, which has been described as "the vehicle through which most early feminist thinking evolved."[62] This debate was carried on mostly by "the female members of a distinctively modern, literate class,"[63] a class to which Constanza de Castilla and her noble sisters belonged. As María del Mar Graña Cid has claimed, it is important to highlight the existence of a "feminine Humanism" at the end of the Middle Ages, promoted by privileged and literate women who became involved in the creation of important literary and artistic works.[64]

Female monasteries and convents, such as Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid, would have offered an ideal architectural and spiritual environment for the establishment and development of this new intellectual trend, which continued into the Renaissance period.

Constanza de Castilla has thus been compared to other late-medieval/early modern female religious writers in this current of "feminine Humanism", who seem to have followed in Christine de Pizan's (died ca. 1430) footsteps, such as Sister Teresa de Cartagena (1425-?), and, especially, Sister Isabel de Villena (died 1490),[65] with whom Constanza de Castilla had many things in common. Both Teresa de Cartagena and Isabel de Villena shared family ties with the Trastamara dynasty, and therefore became the monarchs' *protégées*. Considered two of the most important Hispanic female writers of the second half of the fifteenth century, both showed a special interest in artistic patronage and were responsible for major building renovations at their respective convents.[66]

Most likely due to a lack of space, Sister Constanza de Castilla was forced to choose just four of the seven virtues to decorate her tomb. *Faith* and *Hope* flank the Castilla coat of arms, while *Prudence* and *Temperance* are relegated to the corners at the tomb base. In her *Book of Devotions*, Sister Constanza implores Christ: "Give me hope fulfilled in You so that I die confessing Your Faith;"[67] a few lines later she continues: "Oh, Holy Cross, for You I beg mercy from He who was crucified on You, so that He may give You to me as a shield between me and my enemies at the time of my death, when they will try to accuse me of faults and take with them my soul to where there is no redemption."[68]

Prudence and *Temperance,* as cardinal virtues, decorate the corners whereas the front is reserved for theological virtues. In his *Doctrinal de príncipes* (1475-1476), Diego de Valera defines cardinal virtues, "as the door or entrance for all the others."[69] Thus, Juan Rodríguez del Padrón refers to the cardinal virtues when defending women. In his *Triunfo de las donas* (1439-1441), he claims that while women embody *Prudence* and *Temperance* – precisely the two cardinal virtues that Constanza included in her tomb's decoration – men embody capital vices such as greed and envy.[70] Aristotle considered Prudence to be an intellectual virtue, obtained through study; hence, its presence on Sister Constanza's sepulchre presents her as a wise and learned woman. The demand for women's education was one of the main pillars of the *Querelle des femmes*.[71] In her *Admiración operum Dey* (ca. 1478), Teresa de Cartagena alludes to the expectations raised by the writers.[72] On the other hand, during the second half of the fifteenth century, Temperance, fostered by mendicant orders, was intimately linked to Observance, representing the renunciation of earthly pleasures and the moderate use of speech.[73]

CONCLUSION

Constanza de Castilla seems to have been a woman ahead of her time, harbouring devotional, intellectual, social and political interests that had been reserved, until then, for men. Thanks to her status as a royal *protégée* she occupied a privileged position inside the convent, and this allowed her to remain in her priorate for fifty long years and to enjoy unprecedented freedom for a cloistered, contemplative nun.

With the commission of her own tomb, originally located in the convents' choir, reserved for the nuns, Constanza de Castilla bequeathed an important and timeless message to her sisters in religion. Constanza is represented lying on her lit de parade, shrouded in the Dominican habit in which she was probably buried. The base of her tomb is decorated with the coat of arms of the Castilla family, to which she belonged, as well four virtues, iconography generally reserved for men. The presence of these four allegories

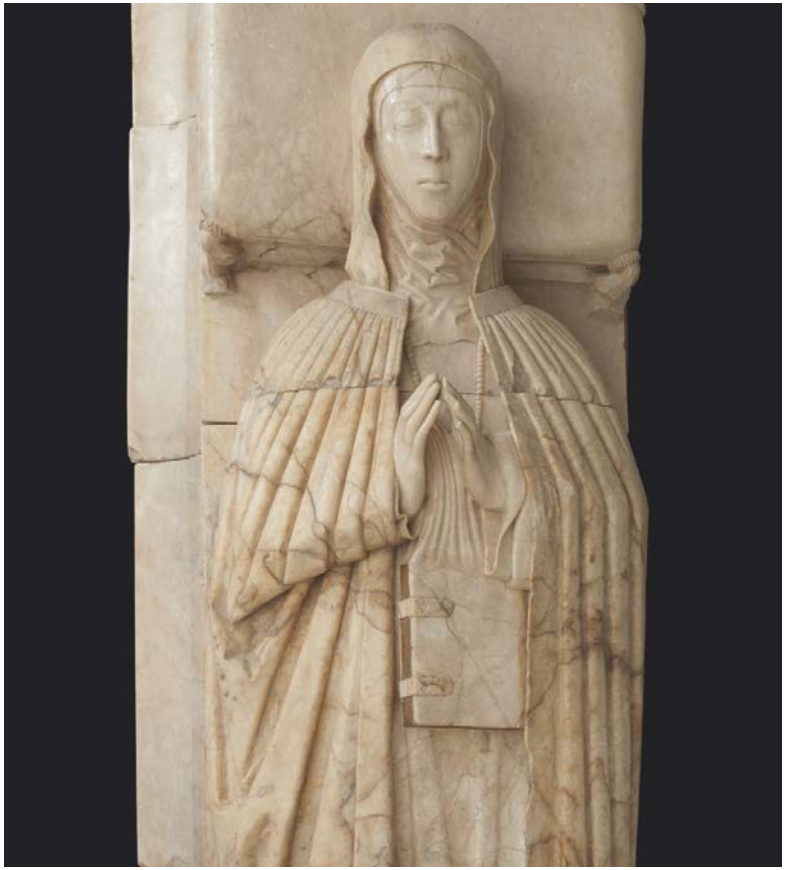


Fig. 11 / Effigy of Constanza de Castilla (detail), Tomb of Constanza de Castilla, 1464-1478, marble, Madrid, National Archaeological Museum.

transformed Constanza's sepulchre into a statement of intent, asserting the virtuous condition of women at a time when equality between men and women was a matter of debate in Castilian courtesan environments. Indeed, her *Book of Devotions*, shows special concern for the nuns' virtues rather than for the health of their souls. She even implores Christ: "I beg you to send your grace to all of the nuns in this convent, and to increase their virtues."[74] After all, virtues would equate them with men and would, therefore, make them wise, independent, and, finally, free to make their own decisions.

NOTES

1. This paper is published in the framework of the research project "HAR2017-82170-P Promoción artística y cultura cortesana en Castilla durante los reinados de Juan II y Enrique IV (1405-1474)". Juan Ramón Romero Fernández-Pacheco, *Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid. Ordenación económica de un señorío conventual durante la baja edad media (1219-1530)* (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban, 2007), p. 172.
2. Luis Alonso Getino, "Centenario y Cartulario de nuestra Comunidad," *Ciencia Tomista* 59 (1919): pp. 131-132; Manuel Núñez Rodríguez, "El sepulcro de doña Constanza de Castilla. Su valor memorial y su función anagógica," *Archivo Español de Arte* 245 (1989): p. 47; Ángela Franco Mata, *Museo Arqueológico Nacional. Catálogo de la escultura gótica* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura. Dirección General de Bellas Artes y Archivos, 1993), p. 109; Ángela Muñoz Fernández, *Acciones e intenciones de mujeres en la vida religiosa de los siglos XV y XVI* (Madrid: Dirección General de la Mujer, 1995), p. 127; Ronald E. Surtz, "Las *oras de los clavos* de Constanza de Castilla," in *Caballeros, monjas y maestros en la Edad Media. Actas de las V Jornadas Medievales*, eds. Lillian von der Walde Moheno, Concepción Company Company, and Aurelio González (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1996), p. 158; Constanza de Castilla, *Book of Devotions. Libro de Devociones y Oficios*, ed. Constance L. Wilkins (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1998), p. 31; María Estela González de Fauve and Isabel J. Las Heras, "Los cargos eclesiásticos y religiosos como estrategia de recuperación del poder de los descendientes de Pedro I de Castilla," *En la España Medieval* 24 (2001): p. 244; María del Pilar Rábade Obradó, "Religiosidad y memoria política: las constituciones de la capilla de Pedro I en Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid (1464)," *En la España Medieval* 26 (2003): p. 230; Romero Fernández-Pacheco, *Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid*, p. 124; María del Mar Cortés Timoner, ed., *Constanza de Castilla. Selección de textos del Devocionario de sor Constanza de Castilla* (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2015), p. 42.
3. Muñoz Fernández, *Acciones e intenciones de mujeres*, p. 127.
4. Alonso Getino, "Centenario y Cartulario de nuestra Comunidad," pp. 130-131; Franco Mata, *Museo Arqueológico Nacional*, p. 109; González de Fauve and Las Heras, "Los cargos eclesiásticos y religiosos," p. 244; Rábade Obradó, "Religiosidad y memoria política," p. 230; Romero Fernández-Pacheco, *Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid*, pp. 118, 201, and 337.
5. A similar situation took place during the priorates of other powerful nuns, such as Sisters Sol (1247, 1249, 1252, 1256 and 1263), Leocadia (1266, 1272, 1273, 1283, 1284, 1285 and 1287), Urraca Díaz (1294 and 1297), and Sister Urraca Sánchez (1363): Romero Fernández-Pacheco, *Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid*, pp. 117, 120, and 121.
6. Romero Fernández-Pacheco, *Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid*, pp. 122 and 258.
7. Romero Fernández-Pacheco, *Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid*, pp. 112, 120, 124-125, and 437.
8. González de Fauve and Las Heras, "Los cargos eclesiásticos y religiosos," p. 245; Rábade Obradó, "Religiosidad y memoria política," pp. 230-231.
9. Romero Fernández-Pacheco, *Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid*, pp. 167, 253, and 491.
10. Constanza de Castilla and Lope de Barrientos were old acquaintances, as Brother Lope had been prior of Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid in 1431, during Constanza's priorate: Romero Fernández-Pacheco, *Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid*, p. 128.
11. Alonso Getino, "Centenario y Cartulario de nuestra Comunidad," p. 137; Romero Fernández-Pacheco, *Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid*, pp. 167 and 256.
12. Romero Fernández-Pacheco, *Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid*, p. 256.
13. Núñez Rodríguez, "El sepulcro de doña Constanza de Castilla," p. 130.
14. Romero Fernández-Pacheco, *Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid*, p. 122.
15. González de Fauve and Las Heras, "Los cargos eclesiásticos y religioso," p. 244; Rábade Obradó, "Religiosidad y memoria política," p. 230; Romero Fernández-Pacheco, *Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid*, pp. 123-124; David Nogales Rincón, "La representación religiosa de la monarquía castellano-leonesa: la capilla real (1252-1504)" (PhD diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2009) II, p. 1484.
16. "Evidentemente, la decisión de instalar la sepultura de Pedro I en la capilla mayor de la iglesia del convento respondía al deseo de la priora de reivindicar la memoria de su abuelo, estaba claramente imbricada en la estrategia de recuperación del prestigio del linaje, algo que tal vez solo era posible si los restos de Pedro I eran ubicados en un lugar adecuado, donde pudieran realizarse los ritos necesarios para garantizar la salvación de su alma, pero también donde pudiera mantenerse viva su memoria; una memoria desprovista de las connotaciones negativas de antaño, gracias a las nuevas circunstancias propiciadas por la entronización de Juan II, por cuyas venas, al fin y al cabo, también corría la sangre del desafortunado soberano. Así, y gracias a la capilla funeraria impulsada por su nieta, Pedro I se hacía otra vez presente entre los vivos, y esa presencia, de alguna forma, contribuía a consolidar la situación de aquellos de sus descendientes que, a través del apellido Castilla, se empeñaban en alcanzar la posición que creían merecer en función del linaje de que procedían": Rábade Obradó, "Religiosidad y memoria política," pp. 232-233.
17. González de Fauve and Las Heras, "Los cargos eclesiásticos y religiosos," p. 245; Nogales Rincón, "La representación religiosa de la monarquía," II, pp. 1549-1552; Covadonga Valdaliso Casanova, "La problemática de la autoría femenina en la Edad Media: una lectura política en la Castilla de la primera mitad del siglo XV," in *Las mujeres en la Edad Media*, eds. Mª Isabel del Val Valdivieso, and Juan Francisco Jiménez Alcázar (Murcia-Lorca: Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales-Editum, 2013), pp. 383-391, p. 387.
18. "Que la dicha capilla del dicho señor Rey don Pedro fuese servida contynua e perpetuamente en el dicho monesterio de Santo Domingo el Real de la dicha villa de Madrid, en el altar mayor del dicho monesterio, donde están puestos e sepultados los huesos del dicho señor Rey don Pedro, ençima de los quales está la su imagen e vulto de alabastro": Rábade Obradó, "Religiosidad y memoria política," p. 248.
19. Nogales Rincón, "La representación religiosa de la monarquía," II, pp. 1487 and 1488.
20. González de Fauve and Las Heras, "Los cargos eclesiásticos y religiosos," p. 245; Nogales Rincón, "La representación religiosa de la monarquía," II, pp. 1485-1486 and 1492.
21. "Señores capellán mayor e capellanes, asy rreligiosos e clérigos, ya sabédes commo la muerte es general. Yo espero salir de esta presente vida quando a nuestro señor plaserá. Conosçiendo que soy grand pecadora, e syn virtudes e syn meritos, yo vos pido de mucha gracia que por rreverencia de nuestro señor, des que sea mi fyn, ayades memorya de los trabajo e gastos que yo he pasado, ansy en faser esas pocas guarniciones de ornamentos que pertenesçen al servicio de la dicha capilla, e ganar el previllejo, el más fuerte que yo pude, lo qual todo con buena voluntad lo pongo en vuestras manos, e por vuestra propia virtud vos plega de aver memorya de mi ánima e de las ánimas de mi señor mi padre e de mi señora mi madre en vuestros sacrifiçios, lo qual dexo a vuestra ordenança": Rábade Obradó, "Religiosidad y memoria política," pp. 232 and 260; Nogales Rincón, "La representación religiosa de la monarquía," II, pp. 1482, 1484-1485, and 1511-1514; David Chao Castro, "La estatua sepulcral de Pedro I: ¿la importación de un modelo transpirenaico?," in *El intercambio artístico entre los reinos hispanos y las cortes europeas en la Baja Edad Media*, eds. Concepción Cosmen Alonso, María Victoria Herráez Ortega, and María Pellón Gómez-Calcerrada (Leon: Universidad de León, 2009), pp. 104-105.
22. The *petristas* were the partisans of King Peter I of Castile, even after his death: Núñez Rodríguez, "El sepulcro de doña Constanza de Castilla," p. 50; González de Fauve and Las Heras, "Los cargos eclesiásticos y religiosos," p. 245; Rábade Obradó, "Religiosidad y memoria política," p. 229; Nogales Rincón, "La representación religiosa de la monarquía," II, p. 1553.
23. Rábade Obradó, "Religiosidad y memoria política," pp. 234 and 247: "*contemplacion e ynstante suplicaçion.*"
24. Rábade Obradó, "Religiosidad y memoria política," pp. 241 and 247: "por las ánimas del dicho señor Rey don Pedro, e suya, e de la señora Reyna doña Catalina, su madre, e de la señora Reyna Doña María, su muger."
25. Gaspar Barreiros, *Corografia de algunos lugares*, in *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal. Desde los tiempos más remotos hasta comienzos del siglo XX*, ed. José García Mercadal, 6 vols. (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1999), II, p. 154; Nogales Rincón, "La representación religiosa de la monarquía," II, p. 1489.
26. "E después del finamiento del dicho señor Rey don Juan, el muy alto, e muy poderoso, e muy excelente, triunfante e virtuoso señor Rey don Enrrique, terçero [sic], su fijo, a ynstançia e devota suplicación de la dicha señora priora, patrona de la dicha capilla": Rábade Obradó, "Religiosidad y memoria política," pp. 247, 248, 255, and 259. As David Nogales Rincón has pointed out, "posiblemente el cargo de patrona efectiva que doña Constanza de Castilla tenía respecto de la capilla habría que ponerlo más en relación con la personalidad emprendedora de la priora y las demandas que esta realiza a los reyes que con las excepcionales circunstancias de su fundación o con la condición de doña Constanza como nieta de Pedro I": Nogales Rincón, "La representación religiosa de la monarquía," II, pp. 1514-1516.
27. "Bien sabedes commo yo tengo liçençia e facultad del dicho señor Rey, que está asentada en sus libros de lo salvado, para que yo pueda nombrar e elegir, e nombre e elija, para en la capilla del señor Rey don Pedro, que santa gloria aya, que es en el dicho monesterio, un capellán mayor, e otros tres capellanes, e dos guardas, e un sacristán, e que el dicho capellán, e capellanes, e guardas, e sacristán que yo así eligiere e nonbrare, guarden e fagan guardar todo lo que yo ordenare, e mandare, e dexare ordenado para después de mis días, so las penas contenidas en la ordenança e constituçion que yo dexare fecha e establesçida": María del Pilar Rábade Obradó, "Religiosidad y memoria política," p. 246.
28. María del Pilar Rábade Obradó, "Religiosidad y memoria política," pp. 233 and 238; Nogales Rincón, "La representación religiosa de la monarquía," II, p. 1513.
29. "Doña Constanza lograría conformar una verdadera capilla funeraria dinástica para los Castilla, reivindicativa incluso de su propia ascendencia regia […] al tiempo que parece retomar la tradición leonesa-castellana en cuanto al papel desempeñado por infantas-prioras en la fundación, mantenimiento y cuidado de capillas regias ubicadas en sus monasterios y conventos. Estos y otros parámetros […] tuvieron asimismo que condicionar, necesariamente, el soberbio sepulcro de la propia priora doña Constanza, sin parangón en la Castilla del momento para una mujer de su condición": Chao Castro, *"La estatua sepulcral de Pedro I*," p. 107.
30. Verardo García Rey, "La famosa priora doña Teresa de Ayala (su correspondencia íntima con los monarcas de su tiempo)," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 96 (1930): pp. 693 and 710; Sonia Morales Cano, "La escultura funeraria gótica en la provincia de Toledo," *Anales de Historia del Arte* (extraordinary volume 2011): p. 356.
31. "AQUÍ YACE SEPULTADA / LA MUI NOBLE Y MUI RELIGIOSA SEÑORA / DOÑA CONSTANZA DE CASTILLA / HIJA DEL INFANTE DON JUAN/NIETA DEL REY DON PEDRO / FUE MONJA PROFESA DE ESTA CASA/I PRIORA EN ELLA MUCHOS AÑOS / MURIÓ AÑO DE CUATROCIENTOS Y SETENTA Y OCHO": Franco Mata, *Museo Arqueológico Nacional*, p. 111.
32. Núñez Rodríguez, "El sepulcro de doña Constanza de Castilla," pp. 56, and 58-59; Rubén Espada, *Sepulcro de Constanza de Castilla* (Madrid: Museo Arqueológico Nacional, 2010), p. 1.
33. Espada, *Sepulcro de Constanza*, p. 1.
34. "De gules de sinople y de plata terciado en banda con un filete en lo alto de la misma, engolada en dos cabezas de dragón de oro movientes en los ángulos y acompañada de jefe de castillo de los mismos, donjonado, adjurado de azur y en punta de un león de púrpura": Ángela Franco Mata, *Museo Arqueológico Nacional. Catálogo de la escultura gótica*, (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura. Dirección General de Bellas Artes y Archivos, 1993), p. 110.
35. Carlos Miranda García has highlighted the singularity of this image: "siguiendo un modelo poco frecuente, como es representar la Virtud con los ojos muy abiertos, anhelantes, y mostrando la palma de su mano derecha hacia abajo". This same iconography is found in the sixteenth-century tombs of Martín García and María Rodríguez; Carlos Miranda García, "Las virtudes en la escultura castellana del siglo XV. Iconografía y focos de influencia," *Antigvaria. Antigüedades, arte y coleccionismo* 62 (1989): p. 34 and n. 6.
36. Núñez Rodríguez, "El sepulcro de doña Constanza de Castilla," p. 51.
37. Franco Mata, *Museo Arqueológico Nacional*, p. 109.
38. José María Azcárate, Manuel Fernández Álvarez, and Antonio López Gómez, *Castilla-La Nueva*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Fundación Juan March, 1982), I, p. 1888.
39. Sonia Morales Cano, *Moradas para la eternidad. La escultura funeraria gótica toledana* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2012), pp. 122-123; Sonia Morales Cano, *Escultura funeraria gótica. Castilla-La Mancha* (Madrid: Sílex, 2017), p. 163. According to Teresa Pérez Higuera, the two praying figures in Constanza de Castilla's tomb would be similar to the two missing angels from the sepulchre of Bishop Gonzalo de Illescas, in the cloister of the monastery of Guadalupe (Cáceres), completed in 1460: Teresa Pérez Higuera, "El foco toledano y su entorno," in *Actas del Congreso Internacional sobre Gil Siloe y la Escultura de su época, Burgos 13-16 octubre de 1999* (Burgos: Caja de Burgos, Universidad de Burgos, 2001), pp. 263-286, 264 and 266.
40. Chao Castro, "La estatua sepulcral de Pedro I," p. 112. Nogales Rincón, "La representación religiosa de la monarquía," II, p. 1494.
41. Nogales Rincón, "La representación religiosa de la monarquía," II, pp. 1493-1496.
42. "Es muy significativo que se promulgaran ya avanzado el año 1464 [las constituciones de la capilla real], pues unos meses después Constanza dejó de ser la priora del convento, pasando a un discreto segundo plano, situación en la que permaneció hasta su fallecimiento, unos años después. Es como si, presintiendo una muerte ya no muy lejana, la anciana priora pretendiera atar todos los cabos de una fundación en la que había puesto un gran empeño": Rábade Obradó, "Religiosidad y memoria política," p. 234.
43. Juan Nicolau Castro, "Las tumbas de don García Osorio y doña María de Perea procedentes de la desaparecida iglesia de San Pedro de Ocaña y conservadas en el Victoria and Albert Museum de Londres," in *Libro homenaje a Rafael Sancho de San Román* (Toledo: Real Academia de Bellas Artes y Ciencias Históricas de Toledo, 2006), pp. 264-265; Morales Cano, *Símbolos, formas y espacio de la escultura gótica funeraria en Castilla-La Mancha: Toledo*, 2 vols. (Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2010), I, p. 225.
44. Patrick Lenaghan, "Commemorating a Real Bastard: the Chapel of Alvaro de Luna," in *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, eds. Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo and Carol Stamatis Pendergast (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 129-153, p. 130; Teresa Pérez Higuera, "El foco toledano y su entorno," pp. 282- 283. For a brief approach to the discussion regarding the identity of Sebastián de Toledo/Sebastián de Almonacid see Javier Martínez de Aguirre, "La obra del escultor Sebastián de Almonacid en Sevilla (1509-1510)," *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 58 (1992): pp. 315-317.
45. Matilde Miquel Juan and Olga Pérez Monzón, "Entre imaginería, brocados, colores, pinceles y el arte nuevo. Patronato artístico femenino de María de Luna y la memoria paterna," *e-Spania. Revue interdisciplinaire d'études hispaniques médiévales et modernes* 24 (2016): p. 24.
46. Núñez Rodríguez, "El sepulcro de doña Constanza de Castilla," p. 51.
47. Miranda García, "Las virtudes en la escultura castellana del siglo XV. Iconografía y focos de influencia," pp. 32-36.
48. García, "Las virtudes en la escultura castellana," p. 32.
49. Joaquín Yarza Luaces, *La nobleza ante el rey. Los grandes linajes castellanos y el arte en el siglo XV* (Madrid: El Viso, 2003), pp. 134-135; Morales Cano, *Moradas para la eternidad*, p. 72.
50. "Los denigradores del sexo femenino contaban con el respaldo del magisterio teológico; entre los Padres de la Iglesia, figuras como Ambrosio y Jerónimo habían considerado que todas las virtudes asociadas con la salvación…eran característicamente masculinas": Mercedes Pampín Barral, "Las virtudes cardinales en el *Triunfo de las donas* de Juan Rodríguez del Padrón (I)", in *Actas del IX Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval (A Coruña, 18-22 de septiembre de 2001)*, eds. Mercedes Pampín Barral and Carmen Parrilla García, 3 vols. (La Coruña: Universidade da Coruña, 2005), III, p. 267.

51. "En el debate que se estaba produciendo en la corte de Juan II de Castilla el concepto de la mujer incluía la virtud entre las categorías que la definían": Pampín Barral, "Las virtudes cardinales," p. 265.
52. Diana Pelaz Flores, "'A la más virtuosa de las mujeres.' La reina María de Aragón (1420-1445) como impulsora de las letras en la Corona de Castilla," *Hispania* LXXIV 247 (2014): pp. 336-337; Ana Vargas Martínez, *La Querella de las Mujeres. Tratados hispánicos en defensa de las mujeres (siglo XV)* (Madrid: Editorial Fundamentos, 2016), pp. 68-75, 247-254.
53. Fernando Gómez Redondo, *Historia de la prosa medieval castellana. III. Los orígenes del Humanismo. El marco cultural de Enrique III y Juan II* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2002), p. 3221; Jesús D. Rodríguez Velasco, "Autoglosa: Diego de Valera y su 'Tratado en defensa de virtuosas mujeres'," *Romance philology* LXI 1 (2007): p. 28.
54. Erica N. Maier, *Los tratados en defensa de las mujeres virtuosas en la Castilla medieval: textos y contextos* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia, 2002), p. 29.
55. Constanza de Castilla, *Book of Devotions*, p. 7.
56. Javier Sesé, "El ideal femenino en las cartas de santa Catalina de Siena," *Anuario Filosófico* 26 (1993): pp. 639, 646.
57. "quanto a la virtud e al fin porque son criados, así el varón como la muger, amos a dos son yguales," Álvaro de Luna, *Libro de las claras e virtuosas mugeres*, ed. Manuel Castillo (Madrid-Toledo: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Rafael G. Menor, 1908), preámbulo III, p. 25; Álvaro de Luna, *Libro de las virtuosas e claras mujeres*, ed. Julio Vélez-Sainz (Madrid: Cátedra, 2009), preámbulo III, p. 150.
58. "inumana cosa nos paresció de sofrir que tantas obras de virtud e exemplos de bondad fallados en el linage de las mugeres fuesen callados é enterrados en las escuras tiniebras de olvidança," Luna, *Libro de las claras e virtuosas mugeres*, p. 20; Luna, *Libro de las virtuosas e claras mujeres*, ed. Vélez-Sainz, proemio, p. 138; Vargas Martínez, *La Querellas de las Mujeres*, pp. 140-145.
59. Diego de Valera, *Tratado en Defensa de las Virtuosas Mujeres* (Madrid: El Archipiélago, 1983), p. 49; Gómez Redondo, *Historia de la prosa medieval castellana. III*, pp. 3220, 3222, 3256; Eric Bousmar, "Le 'Triunfo de las donas' et la cour de Bourgogne (1460). Contexte et réception d'une traduction," in *Diplomates, voyageurs, artistes, marchands entre pays bourguignons et Espagne aux XVe et XVIe siècles*, ed. Jean-Marie Cauchies (Neuchâtel: Publications du Centre Européen d'Etudes Bourguignonnes XIVe-XVIe siècle, 2010), p. 33; Jesús D. Rodríguez Velasco, "Autoglosa," p. 28; Ana Vargas Martínez, "Sobre los discursos políticos a favor de las mujeres (El Triunfo de las donas de Juan Rodríguez de la Cámara)," *Arenal* 20 (2013): pp. 266, 270-275.
60. "por las mugeres como por los varones," Valera, *Tratado en Defensa de las Virtuosas Mujeres*, p. 53.
61. Alfredo Alvar, "La educación de Isabel la Católica," *Torre de los Lujanes. Boletín de la Real Sociedad Económica Matritense de Amigos del País* 48 (2002): p. 227; Vargas Martínez, *La Querella de las Mujeres*, pp. 158, 161 and 163.
62. Joan Kelly-Gadol, "Early Feminist Theory and the Querelle des Femmes, 1400-1789," in *Women, History and Theory. The Essays of Joan Kelly* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 65-66; Ana Vargas Martínez, "'La Ciudad de las Damas' de Christine de Pizan: obra clave de la Querella de las Mujeres," in *La Querella de las mujeres I. Análisis de textos*, ed. Cristina Segura Graiño (Madrid: Al Mudayna, 2009), pp. 21-22.
63. Joan Kelly-Gadol, "Early Feminist Theory," pp. 69, 79.
64. María del Mar Graña Cid, "Fundaciones conventuales femeninas y Querellas de las Mujeres en la ciudad del siglo XV," *Lusitania Sacra* 31 (2015): pp. 74, 104-105.
65. María del Mar Graña Cid, "Sor Isabel de Villena (1430-1490) y el rostro femenino del cristianismo," in *Las mujeres en el cristianismo. Once calas en la historia. II Seminario "Textos para un Milenio" (Madrid, 30 de noviembre, 1 y 2 de diciembre de 2011)*, eds. María Jesús Fernández Cordero and Henar Pizarro Llorente (Santander: Sal Terrae, 2012), pp. 63-68; Ana Vargas Martínez, "Isabel de Villena of the Convent of the Clares, Valencia, Spain: A Feminist Abbess?" in *The World of St. Francis of Assisi* (Siena: Betti Editrice, 2017), pp. 195-202.
66. "It was Villena in fact who transformed the Holy Trinity into the bright gem of late Gothic architecture that it is today": Rosanna Cantavella, "Intellectual, Contemplative, Administrator: Isabel de Villena and the Vindication of Women," in *A Companion to Spanish Women's Studies*, ed. Xon de Ros & Geraldine Hazbun (Woodbridge: Tamesis Books, 2011), p. 99.
67. "e me des esperança en ti cunplida por que yo muera confesando tu fe," Constanza de Castilla, *Book of Devotions*, p. 28.
68. "O cruz santa, por ti pido merçed a Aquel que en ti fue crucificado que te me dé a la ora de mi muerte por escudo entre mí e mis enemigos quando afincadamente acusarán mis culpas e querrán rebatar mi ánima por me levar consigo adonde no ay redempçión," Constanza de Castilla, *Book of Devotions*, p. 29.
69. "porta o entrada para todas las otras," Pampín Barral, "Las virtudes cardinales en el Triunfo de las donas," p. 267.
70. Pampín Barral, "Las virtudes cardinales en el Triunfo de las donas," pp. 267, 272; Juan Rodríguez del Padrón, *Triunfo de las donas / The Triumph of Ladies*, ed. Emily C. Francomano (New York: The University of Iowa Libraries, 2016), pp. 50, 60; Vargas Martínez, "Sobre los discursos políticos a favor de las mujeres," p. 275; Vargas Martínez, *La Querella de las mujeres*, pp. 128-129.
71. Pampín Barral, "Las virtudes cardinales en el Triunfo de las donas," p. 273; Susan G. Bell, "Christine de Pizan (1364-1430): Humanism and the Problem of a Studious Woman," *Feminist Studies* 3 (1976): pp. 173-184; Vargas Martínez, "Sobre los discursos políticos a favor de las mujeres," pp. 281-282; Vargas Martínez, *La Querella de las Mujeres*, pp. 267-283.
72. "Asý que, muy venturosa señora, no me paresçe c'ay otra causa deste maravillar que los prudentes varones se maravillan […]: no ser vsado en el estado fimíneo este acto de conponer libros e tractados, ca todas las cosas nuevas o no acostumbradas syenpre causan admiración": Pampín Barral, "Las virtudes cardinales en el Triunfo de las donas," p. 274, n. 35; Mónica Bolufer and Montserrat Cabré, "La querelle des femmes en Espagne: bilan sur l'histoire d'un débat (1400-1800)," in *Revisiter la «querelle des femmes». Discours sur l'égalité/inégalité des sexes en Europe, de 1400 aux lendemains de la Révolution*, ed. Armel Dubois-Nayt, Marie-Élisabeth Henneau, and Rotraud von Kulessa (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2015), p. 36; Vargas Martínez, *La Querella de las Mujeres*, p. 169.
73. Pampín Barral, "Las virtudes cardinales en el Triunfo de las donas," p. 278.
74. "Te suplico que enbíes tu graçia sobre todas las dueñas de este monesterio, e acreçientes sus virtudes," Constanza de Castilla, *Book of Devotions*, p. 35; Cortés Timoner, *Constanza de Castilla*, p. 113.





Fig. 1 / Pedro Orrente, *Adoration of the Magi*, oil on copper, 86 x 68.5 cm, acquired from Colnaghi in 2017 by a Private Collector.

Pedro Orrente, the Spanish Bassano, as a painter on copper

JOSÉ GÓMEZ FRECHINA

The recent discovery of two previously unpublished works by Pedro Orrente, the *Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 1) and *Adoration of the Shepherds* (fig. 2), represents a significant contribution to our understanding of this artist's corpus and career. The paintings are exceptional in being the first identified works by Orrente executed on copper. They rank amongst very few extant examples of paintings on this support in early seventeenth-century Spain and are also of considerable size for works of this kind. According to his contemporary, Jusepe Martínez, Orrente spent an extended period training with Leandro Bassano in Venice, where he is likely to have learnt the practice of painting on copper. This practice was probably developed by sixteenth-century Italian artists following the lead of Sebastiano del Piombo in experimenting with supports perceived to be more durable than wood or canvas.[1] Several extant paintings relate to the newly discovered *Adorations*, both by Orrente himself and by other artists working in Valencia around the time of his settlement there ca. 1630. These works indicate the success and popularity of Orrente's compositions.

Pedro Orrente, who was born in the city of Murcia – where he was baptised in the church of Santa Catalina on 18 April 1580 – contributed to the rise and dissemination of naturalism in Castile and particularly in Valencia.[2] His initial training probably took place in his native city, although the first documentary reference to Orrente dates from 11 September 1600, when he was contracted in Toledo to execute paintings for an altarpiece for the small church of the Virgen del Saz in the town of Guadarrama.[3] According to various sources he travelled to northern Italy to study with Leandro Bassano. Both Palomino and Jusepe Martínez mention this period of study in Venice. The latter, in his *Discursos practicables del Nobilísimo Arte de la Pintura*, describes how Orrente, presumably a fully formed artist by the time of his arrival in Italy, assimilated some of Bassano's features, but not all: "while Bassano devoted himself more to painting half-length figures, our Orrente used a larger scale, in which he revealed his great spirit; and while Bassano was so excellent and superior in painting animals, our Pedro Orrente was no less so."[4]

Orrente's time in Italy came to define his artistic legacy in the canon of Spanish art and is referred to by several other contemporary and subsequent writers on art. Pacheco, in a chapter entitled "De la pintura de animales i aves, pescaderías i bodegones, i de la ingeniosa invención de los Retratos del Natural," in his *Arte de la Pintura* (1649), praised Orrente's ability as a painter of animals, again comparing, but also differentiating, his work from that of his Venetian master:

> Although he differs from Bassano's manner and paints in his own way which is celebrated, for being equally natural... it has been of benefit not just to him but to many Painters who live off copies of his work, making use of fine landscapes in the Italian manner and very natural...[5]

Likewise the painter and writer on art José García Hidalgo (1645-1717) praised Orrente in his *Principios para estudiar el arte de la Pintura* (1691), relating him to the Venetian artist, calling him "a second Bassano



Fig. 2 / Pedro Orrente, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, oil on copper, 86 x 68.5 cm, acquired from Colnaghi in 2017 by a Private Collector.

and a leading draughtsman and history painter in his judgement and daring."[6]

Further links to Italy are suggested by Orrente's association with the Tuscan painter Angelo Nardi (1584-1664). The two men probably overlapped in Venice, and Nardi subsequently arrived in Spain in 1607, the year in which Orrente is documented as back in Murcia. A document of 31 January 1612 connects the two men and shows Nardi acting on Orrente's behalf in the retrieval of a painting for which payment had evidently not been received.[7] An earlier document dated 27 August 1605 also provides evidence of Orrente's presence in Italy, as recounted by the writers quoted above. This document authorizes in Venice a certain Gasparo Manart from Rome to collect a sum of money from the artist based on a letter of exchange signed in Alicante on 25 October 1602 before Giovanni Battista Paravicino.[8] It seems likely that Orrente departed for Italy shortly after this in 1602, and it is possible that he stopped in Rome before moving on to the workshop of Leandro Bassano in Venice.



Fig. 3 / Anonymous artist after Antonio Allegri, called Correggio, *Magdalene Reading*, oil on copper, 27 x 37 cm, Sold by Bonham's in 2011 (original painting formerly in Dresden).

Orrente's time in Italy, and in particular in the Venetian workshop of Bassano, explains the artist's exploitation of copper as a support in the newly discovered *Adoration of the Magi* (see fig. 1) and *Adoration of the Shepherds* (see fig. 2). The use of copper supports became popular throughout Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries following the probable development of the technique in Italy around the 1520s, although the earliest extant examples are a bit later.[9] Vasari credits the invention to Sebastiano del Piombo, who, he claims, "showed how to work on silver, copper, tin and other metals." In fact no works by the artist on the material survive.[10] Nevertheless, Sebastiano's invention of painting on stone supports may have inspired artists to experiment with other materials perceived to be more durable than wood or canvas. The use of copper as a support probably also relates to developments in print-making and the experiments in etching of painters like Parmigianino, by whom there is at least one documented (though untraced) work on copper.[11]

Because of collaboration between printers and painters, copper plates would have been widely available, easy to prepare, and durable, smooth alternatives to wood and canvas. Artists found paint easy to manipulate on the metallic surface, the rigidity of which made the depiction of fine detail possible, and its non-absorbent property meant that paint retained its saturation.[12] A *Magdalene Reading*, painted on copper ca. 1530, was traditionally attributed to Correggio and survived in the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden until the Second World War (fig. 3).[13] By the 1560s, Vasari himself, along with Allori and Bronzino – working for Francesco I de'Medici in Florence – all favoured copper. Paintings on copper were prized in collectors' cabinets for their jewel-like surfaces, and the practice soon spread to northern Europe via artists such as Peter Paul Rubens and Adam Elsheimer.



Fig. 4 / Leandro Bassano, *Last Judgement*, ca. 1596-1605, oil on copper, 69.9 x 49.5 cm, Birmingham, AL, Birmingham Museum of Art.

Fig. 5 / Pedro Orrente, *Saint Sebastian*, ca. 1616, oil on canvas, 306 x 219 cm, Valencia Cathedral.



Although Martínez focuses on Leandro Bassano as a portraitist, he was, by the time of Orrente's arrival, also one of the most famous artists in Venice, having been knighted by the doge around 1595. As a result he received several private and public commissions, among them a *Last Judgement* painted on copper and now in Birmingham, Alabama (fig. 4).[14] Generally dated 1596-1605, this work includes a portrait of Doge Marino Grimani, who may have been the patron; Orrente might have been in Bassano's studio at time of this important commission, and his devotional images on copper may have been inspired by it.

By 22 September 1607 Orrente is documented back in Spain.[15] Martínez cites his success at court in Madrid where he was celebrated for depicting subjects from "the Old and New Testament, including in them landscapes with the figures so well combined that few equalled him in this genre."[16] After a few years in Madrid, he must have returned to his native Murcia, where he is documented in 1612, the year of his father's death. Around this time he executed a *Blessing of Jacob* (Contini Bonacossi Collection).[17] Shortly after this, in 1614, he painted a *Saint Sebastian*, now in Valencia Cathedral (fig. 5).[18] And in 1617, by then in Toledo, he was commissioned by Cardinal Sandoval to paint a *Miracle of Saint Leocadia* for the city's cathedral (fig. 6). For several years thereafter, Orrente continued to move between Murcia and Toledo, and documents associate him with fellow artists including Alejandro de Loarte, Eugenio Cajés, and El Greco's son, Jorge Manuel Theotocópuli. Recent archival research has illustrated that Orrente was in Valencia by 1632, and that he largely remained there until his death in 1645.[19] In Valencia, he produced numerous altarpieces and paintings of biblical series, influencing a younger generation of artists including Juan Ribalta, Vicente Castelló, Jerónimo Jacinto de Espinosa, Mateo Gilarte, Pablo Pontons, Esteve March, and Cristóbal García Salmerón.



Fig. 6 / Pedro Orrente, *Miracle of Saint Leocadia*, 1617, oil on canvas, 250 x 300 cm, Toledo Cathederal.



Fig. 7 / Juan Ribalta, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, ca. 1620, oil on copper, 15 x 29.5 cm, Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao.

Although in many ways inspired by his time with Bassano in Venice, the newly discovered *Adorations* (see figs. 1 & 2) were probably painted shortly before the artist's permanent settlement in Valencia. As has been observed, the paintings are remarkable not only for their support, but also for their size (86 x 68.5 cm each). In the context of Spanish painting of the first half of the seventeenth century, works on copper are uncommon; works on this scale are an extreme rarity. In their text on the artist, Diego Angulo and Alfonso Pérez Sánchez referred to an *Adoration of the Magi* on copper belonging to the Marchioness of Agüero in Madrid, but without providing the dimensions.[20] Presumably this was executed on the smaller scale of most works on this medium.

In Spain, small paintings on metal supports, known as *láminas*, were often used in the decoration of oratories.[21] Although they were highly valued at court, works on copper in Spanish collections generally came from Italy and Flanders. A recent article by Peter Cherry on an *Adoration of the Shepherds* on copper now in the Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao (fig. 7) highlights the dearth of paintings on metal produced by artists in Valencia.[22] The work in Bilbao, painted by Juan de Ribalta around 1620, is one of very few Valencian works on copper discovered by Cherry (along with those documented by Juan's father, Francisco), and it is the only one known to have survived. Cherry notes that the casting of the scene as a "real event" is similar to Orrente's Bassano-like, rustic treatment of biblical subjects. This is confirmed by compositional similarities in the *Adoration of the Shepherds* by Orrente presented here: both paintings feature the subject entering from the left to find the Holy Family by a shed with a pitched wooden roof set in a deep landscape. The figure of the shepherd with a lamb slung across his shoulders in the Ribalta, furthermore, recalls the figure on the far left in the Orrente. Orrente was Francisco's rival in Valencia, and the relationship between Juan and Orrente's works, not only compositionally but also in terms of support is an interesting reflection of how artistic practice developed in the local context.







Fig. 8 / Jacopo Bassano, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1568, oil on canvas, 240 x 151 cm, Bassano, Museo Civico.

Fig. 9 / Pedro Orrente, *Birth of Christ* from the altarpiece of the *Conception*, oil on canvas, 149 x 84 cm, Murcia, Museo de Bellas Artes.

Fig. 10 / Paolo Veronese, *Adoration of the Magi*, 1573, oil on canvas, 355.6 x 320 cm, London, National Gallery.

The paintings presented here, of extremely high quality and chromatic richness, are clearly indebted to Venetian painting, not only to the work of Leandro Bassano, but also of Titian, Tintoretto and Veronese. Both paintings make use of an open, horizontal composition with a paired setting of architectural fragments reused with wooden beams to create an improvised shelter. In the scene of the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, the seated Virgin, who holds up with both hands the white cloth that emphasizes the nudity of the Divine Infant, derives from Bassanesque models, like Jacopo Bassano's *Adoration of the Shepherds* altarpiece now in Museo Civico Bassano (fig. 8). A similar Virgin appears in Orrente's *Birth of Christ* from the altarpiece of the *Conception* for the Franciscan monastery of the Concepción, now in the Museo de Bellas Artes de Murcia (fig. 9). Next to the manger, which has two chickens underneath it, is a shepherd kneeling in adoration. He has a traditional satchel on his back, a knife in his belt, and he shows the soles of his bare feet. Another shepherd wearing a red cap has a lamb on his shoulders, while beside him a woman holds a wicker basket with swaddling clothes for the new-born child. The standing Saint Joseph, also wearing a hat, is shown leaning on a stick. As in all of Orrente's depictions of this episode, the ox and ass are present, reflecting his fame as a painter of animals. At the top of the composition is a cloud of glory in which child angels hold a scroll with the text of the hymn "*Gloria in excelsis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.*" At the upper left, the angel announces to the shepherds the good news of the Saviour's birth.

The exotic, decorative elements characterizing the companion to this panel, the *Adoration of the Magi*, recall the pictorial language of Paolo Caliari (1528-1588), known as Veronese. This artist's two magnificent, monumental altarpieces depicting the subject, one formerly in Venice but now in the National Gallery (fig. 10), and one still in situ in Vicenza, might have been seen by Orrente during his Venetian sojourn. Like Veronese's Holy Family, Orrente's sacred group is set within classical ruins that have been transformed into a rustic shelter, where



they receive the homage and adoration of the kings and their retinue. The star that guided them from the Orient is visible above the makeshift structure at the top left. The naked Christ Child sits on the lap of the Virgin, who is seated on a rock, while Saint Joseph – once again leaning on a stick – stands behind Mary. In the foreground, the kneeling Melchior, his head uncovered and with a long white beard, looks towards the Christ Child. Two pages hold up his ornate brocade mantle. In general, the figures' clothing reveals the type of broken folds typical of Orrente.

These two paintings on copper relate compositionally, with almost no variants, to two canvases by Orrente produced for his altarpiece (fig. 11) in the parish church of the Asunción in Yeste (Albacete): the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (fig. 12) and the *Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 13). The upper register of the altarpiece is dated 1628, while the bottom, forming a kind of a predella, is comprised of busts of *Saint Peter* and *Saint James the Apostle*. The two canvases for Yeste were undoubtedly executed close to 1629 when Orrente painted the principal altarpiece and the lateral altarpieces for the town's Franciscan monastery, established following the arrival of the Discalced Franciscans in 1618.

In the *Adoration of the Shepherds* in Yeste – which occupies the second tier of the altarpiece – the composition is reduced at the bottom compared to the present version on copper.

Fig. 11 / Pedro Orrente, altarpiece of the *Epiphany*, 1628-1629, Yeste, church of the Asunción.

Fig. 12 / Pedro Orrente, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1628, oil on canvas, 190 x 124 cm, Yeste, church of the Asunción.

Fig. 13 / Pedro Orrente, *Adoration of the Magi*, 1629, oil on canvas, 222 x 152 cm, Yeste, church of the Asunción.





The canvas is also painted in an earthier palette, and the kneeling shepherd has brown rather than grey hair. The success enjoyed by Orrente's composition is indicated by the existence of a smaller version on canvas (117 x 82 cm) on loan from a Private Collection to the Museo Etnográfico in Zamora,[23] which also follows the present version on copper very closely. The stylistic characteristics of the Zamora version suggest that it is by a follower of Orrente, rather than the master himself. In turn, the Yeste *Adoration of the Magi* is almost identical to the version on copper, aside from the use of a darker palette and a different, more schematic pattern of Melchior's mantle. Orrente would again make use of the Yeste compositions, albeit with some slight variations, in two canvases now in the church of San Sebastián in Salamanca and formerly in the church of San Bartolomé in that city: a signed *Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 14) and an *Adoration of the Shepherds*.

Mention should also be made of an autograph replica of the *Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 15) in the sacristy of Toledo Cathedral. The mantle of the king kneeling before the Christ Child bears the same pattern as that in the copper panel and differs from the Yeste version, which has a simpler decoration. The bearded man on a white horse is different to the figure in both the versions on copper and those in Yeste and Salamanca. He supports a bridle with his left arm while stretching out his right to point to the Christ Child. The Toledo *Adoration of the Magi*, for which Orrente was paid 3,350 *reales* in 1630, forms a pendant to an *Adoration of the Shepherds* that has a different composition to the model under discussion here.

Enrique Valdivieso attributed to Orrente an *Adoration of the Magi* and an *Adoration of the Shepherds* incorporated into the *Altarpiece of Nuestra Señora de la Antigua* in the church of Santa María la Coronada in Medina Sidonia (Cadiz);[24] previously this was given incorrectly to Zurbarán or his school.[25] The *Adoration of the Magi*, which is in horizontal format, is a replica with variants of the composition examined here. The Medina Sidonia canvas should be considered a work by the artist's studio. In contrast, its pair, the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, is undoubtedly an autograph work by Jerónimo Jacinto de Espinosa (1600-1667). The same altarpiece includes two further Valencian canvases depicting apostles – painted by the Valencian artist Miguel March (ca. 1633-1670) – which are clearly indebted to José de Ribera's apostles and philosophers.

Following his return from Italy, Orrente was a celebrated and influential artist who not only worked for preeminent patrons, but was also a well-regarded member of the Inquisition.[26] The emergence of these two Adorations sheds light on a previously unrecognized aspect of this important artist's work and presents critical new evidence for understanding the development of and demand for works executed on copper in Valencia in the early seventeenth century. While the precise chronology of the various versions of the Adoration compositions is impossible to determine at this stage, the considerable number of variants must reflect the popularity of Orrente's treatment of the subject. Could this in part stem from the originals having been painted on a rare and novel support, which rendered a jewel-like, enamel effect to Orrente's exquisite depiction of surface detail?





Fig. 14 / Pedro Orrente, *Adoration of the Magi*, oil on canvas, 170 x 130 cm, Salamanca, Church of San Bartolomé.

Fig. 15 / Pedro Orrente, *Adoration of the Magi*, oil on canvas, 175 x 120 cm, Toledo, Sacristy of Toledo Cathedral.

NOTES

1. See Jill Dunkerton, Susan Foister, and Nicholas Penny, *Dürer to Veronese* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 276-277.
2. His baptism certificate provides the names of his parents: Jaime Orrente, of French origin, born in Marseille and a merchant by trade, and Isabel Jumilla. See José Crisant López Jiménez, "Hallazgo de las partidas de bautismo de Orrente y Villacis," *Archivo de Arte Valenciano* (1961): pp. 74-79.
3. Diego Angulo Iñiguez and Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, *Historia de la pintura española. Escuela toledana de la primera mitad del siglo XVII* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Diego Velázquez, 1972) p. 228.
4. "...aunque el Bassano se ejercitó más en hacer figuras medianas, nuestro Orrente tomó la manera mayor en que dio a conocer su grande espíritu. Y, aunque el Bassano fue tan excelente y superior en hacer animales, no fue menos nuestro Pedro Orrente." Jusepe Martínez, *Discursos practicables del nobilísimo arte de la pintura* (Madrid: Real Academia San Fernando, 1866), p. 454, and the more recent edition Jusepe Martínez, *Discursos practicables del nobilísimo arte de la pintura*, ed. María Elena Manrique Ara (Madrid: Cátedra, 2006), p. 268.
5. "...aunque se diferencia en el modo del Basan y hace manera suya conocida por el mesmo natural... pues ha sido provechoso no sólo a sí, pero a muchos pintores que se sustentan con sus copias," Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura* (1649), ed. Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, 2 vols. (Madrid: Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, 1956), II, p. 134, and the more recent Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura* (1649), ed. Bonaventura Bassegoda i Hugas (Madrid: Cátedra, 1990), p. 517.
6. "...segundo Bazán y primer dibujante e historiador en los aciertos y valentía;" Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, *Fuentes literarias para la historia del arte español*, 5 vols. (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1934), III, p. 107.
7. The artist authorizes the Tuscan artist, resident at the court in Madrid, either to retrieve a painting of Saint Catherine from the Madrid silversmith Pedro Pérez de Carrión, or to charge him its value of 20 *ducados*. Manuel Muñoz Barberan, *Pedro Orrente (Nuevos documentos murcianos)* (Murcia: Impresor Belmar, 1981), pp. 6-7.
8. Wilfrid Brulez, *Merchands flamands a Venise*, 2 vols. *(1568-1605)* (Brussels and Rome: Academia Belgica, 1965), I, p. 558; Miguel Falomir Faus, *Los Bassano en la España del Siglo de Oro*, exh. cat. (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2001), pp. 40-41.
9. Joyce Hill Stoner and Rebecca Rushfield, eds., *Conservation of Easel Paintings* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1995), p. 100. Also see Edgar Peters Bowron, "A Brief History of European Oil Paintings on Copper 1560-1775," in *Copper as Canvas: Two Centuries of Masterpiece Paintings on Copper 1575-1775*, ed. Michael K. Komanecky (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 25.
10. Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori italiani* (1550 and 1568), ed. William Gaunt, 4 vols. (London: Everyman's Library, 1963), III, p. 118.
11. See Dunkerton, Foister, Penny, *Dürer to Veronese*, p. 276, and David Ekserdjian, *Parmigianino,* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 150, who suggests the work, listed in the Baiardo inventory, might be the *Portrait of a Bearded Man* now in a Private Collection.
12. Isabel Horovitz, "Paintings on Copper: A Brief Overview of their Conception, Creation and Conservation," in *Paintings on Copper and Other Metal Plates: Production, Degradation and Conservation Issues*, eds. Laura Fuster Lopez, Inmaculada Chulia Blanco, M. Francisca Sarrio Martin, M. Luisa Vazquez de Agredos Pascual, Leslie Carlyls, and Jorgen Wadum (Valencia: University of Valencia, 2017), pp. 18-19.
13. David Ekserdjian, *Correggio* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 175.
14. For this painting, which is very similar to one in the National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, see Michiaki Koshikawa, *Kokuritsu-Seiyō-Bijutsukan, Tokio* 34 (2000-2001): pp. 16-19, and Chiyo Ishikawa, Marylin Perry, and Edgar Peters Bowron, *A Gift to America: Masterpieces from the Samuel H. Kress Collection,* exh. cat. (Raleigh, Houston, Seattle, and San Francisco: the North Carolina Museum of Art, the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, the Seattle Arts Museum, and the Fine Arts Museum, San Francisco, 1994), pp. 90-95, no. 7.
15. Muñoz Barberan, *Pedro Orrente*, p. 6.
16. ".. historias del testamento viejo y nuevo, y en ellos accomodando países con tal unión a las figuras que en este género pocos le igualaron." Martínez, *Discursos practicables*, p. 454.
17. For this work see Roberto Longhi and Augusto L. Mayer, *Gli antichi pittori spagnoli dalla collezione Contini-Bonacossi*, exh. cat. (Rome: Villa Giulia, 1930), pp. 34-35, no. 52, ill. 45.
18. Originally thought to have been painted in Valencia in 1616, it was in fact purchased in in 1614 by María Diez de Covarrubias, widow of the vice-chancellor of the Council of Aragon, Diego de Covarrubias, from the Marquis of Caracena. See Maria José López Azorín, "En defensa de los acuerdos artísticos: un proceso entre pinturas en Valencia promovido por Joan Sariñena", in *In sapientia libertas. Escritos en homenaje al profesor Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez* (Madrid and Seville: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2007), pp. 263-267.
19. He was buried in the parish church of San Martín. See Maria José López Azorín, *Documentos para la historia de la pintura valenciana en el siglo XVII* (Madrid: Fundación de apoyo a la Historia del Arte Hispánico, 2006), pp. 68-72.
20. Angulo Iñiguez and Pérez Sánchez, *Historia de la pintura española*, p. 308.
21. Peter Cherry, "Juan de Ribalta's *The Adoration of the Shepherds*," *Boletín Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao* 4 (2009): p. 8.
22. Cherry, "Juan de Ribalta," pp. 8-9.
23. Carlos Piñel Sánchez, "El pintor Pedro de Orrente en una colección particular de Zamora" in *Sic non vobis: Colección de estudios en honor de Florián Ferrero*, ed. José Lusis Hernández Luis, (Zamora: UNED, 2015), pp. 509-522.
24. Enrique Valdivieso, "Dos nuevas pinturas de Pedro Orrente," *Laboratorio de Arte* 5 (1993): pp. 353-356.
25. Enrique Romero de Torres, *Catálogo monumental de la provincia de Cádiz* (Madrid: Ministerio de Instrucción Pública y Bellas, 1934), p. 447.
26. José Luis Morales y Marín, *El pintor Pedro Orrente familiar del Santo Oficio* (Madrid: Aula Universitaria, 1977), unpaginated, and Sánchez Cantón, *Fuentes literarias*, II, pp. 367-368.



SPANISH TEXT

Dos incorporaciones nuevas al corpus pictórico de Pedro Orrente[1]

JOSÉ GÓMEZ FRECHINA

Pedro Orrente, nacido en la ciudad de Murcia donde fue bautizado en la iglesia de Santa Catalina el 18 de abril de 1580, contribuyó a la formación y difusión del naturalismo en Castilla y, especialmente, en Valencia. La formación inicial de Orrente debió quizá desarrollarse en su ciudad natal.

En la partida de bautismo del pintor se da cuenta de sus padres: Jaime Orrente, de origen francés, nacido en Marsella y de oficio comerciante, e Isabel Jumilla[2] .

Jusepe Martínez, pintor de Felipe IV y tratadista, al igual que Palomino remite a la formación veneciana de Orrente en sus *Discursos practicables del Nobilísimo Arte de la Pintura*: "Al cabo de algunos años llegó a esta misma ciudad (Valencia) un pintor de grande ingenio, que se llamó Pedro Orrente; dicen que fue natural de Murcia, estuvo en Italia mucho tiempo y en Venecia, doctrinose lo más con Leandro Basán, donde con sumo estudio cogió su manera de obrar, que aunque el Basán se ejercitó más en hacer figuras medianas, nuestro Orrente tomó la manera mayor, en que dio a conocer su grande espíritu; y aunque el Basano fue tan excelente y superior en hacer animales, no fue menos nuestro Pedro Orrente"[3] .

El propio Jusepe Martínez nos habla de sus viajes y de la realización de series del Antiguo Testamento: "En España, y en particular en Madrid, hizo emulación a los mejores pintores de aquella corte, no quedando menos celebrado que los demás; hizo muchas obras, y en particular cuadros para adornos de piezas de grandes señores, como historias del Testamento Viejo y Nuevo, y en ellos acomodando países con tal unión en las figuras, que en este género pocos le igualaron. Tuvo algunos discípulos, que, aunque buenos, no llegaron a la raya que él llegó: fue hombre de mucha estimación; tratóse con toda grandeza y ganó muchos ducados; fue muy vario en mudar tierras; al cabo de algunos años tomó por patria a Valencia, donde vivió algunos años con grande reputación y muy estimado"[4].

Francisco Pacheco en su Arte de la Pintura (1649) alaba la capacidad del pintor murciano como pintor de animales en su capítulo: *De la pintura de animales i aves, pescaderías i bodegones, i de la ingeniosa invención de los Retratos del Natural*: "Este genero de pintura a acreditado en España nuestro Pedro Rente; aunque se diferencia en el modo de Basan i haze manera suya conocida, por el mesmo natural, con nueva alabança i gloria, pues a sido provechoso no solo a sí, pero a muchos Pintores que se sustentan con sus copias, usando de valientes países a lo italiano i mui naturales…"[5].

El pintor y tratadista José García Hidalgo nacido en Villena (Alicante) el mismo año en que fallece Orrente y muerto en Madrid en 1717 citaba tras pasar por Roma y regresar a Valencia a Orrente con elogio en sus *Principios para estudiar el arte de la Pintura* (1691): "El natural cariño y conveniencia de mi salud, me restituyeron a mi Patria, y desembarcado en Alicante, pasé a ver la hermosa y amena ciudad de Valencia, donde asenté lo deambulativo de mi natural y satisfice lo curioso de mi afición, viendo obras de tan grandes artífices como del célebre español Pedro Orrente, segundo Bazán y primer dibujante e historiador en los aciertos y valentía; y el diestro Francisco Ribalta, Corezo Español; y no menos lo fue, aunque con más valentía; Juan Ribalta, su hijo, a quien la temprana muerte cortó los más altos vuelos que jamas se veron en otro; y un Juanes, segundo Rafael en la misma escuela, pasmo de su tiempo en todas las partes que a la especulativa y corrección y hermosa conducción convienen"[6].

La primera noticia referente a Orrente como pintor se retrotrae al 11 de septiembre de 1600 en que contrata en Toledo las pinturas de un retablo para la ermita de la Virgen del Saz en la villa de Guadarrama[7].

Un documento con fecha 27 agosto de 1605 ha permitido verificar la andanza italiana del pintor murciano señalada por los tratadistas españoles. Otorgó en Venecia un poder a Gasparo Manart, de Roma, para el cobro de una cantidad a cuenta de una carta de cambio firmada en Alicante el 25 de octubre de 1602 ante Giovanni Battista Paravicino[8] .

La partida del joven Orrente hacia la península itálica a fines de 1602, su posible paso por Roma y su posterior estancia en Venecia explican el estilo que ofrecen sus obras y el conocimiento cierto de las pinturas de Leandro da Ponte (Bassano del Grappa 1557 – Venecia, 1622), más conocido como Bassano por su lugar de nacimiento.

La estancia del pintor toscano Angelo Nardi (Vaglia de Mugello, 1584 – Madrid, 1664) en Venecia desde 1600 y su posterior presencia a partir de 1607 en España seguramente no fue ajena a Pedro Orrente que se documenta ya en Murcia en 1607. Con fecha 22 de septiembre de 1607 hay una carta de servicio y soldada de Lucía Hernández que acomoda con Pedro Orrente, vecino de esta ciudad, por tiempo de un año y por doce ducados, uno por cada mes "porque os he de servir de guisar de comer y hacer roscadas y coser y remendar lo necesario y acudir a la cría de la seda si la criare el dicho Pedro Orrente, de forma que sirva en todo aquello que bueno y honesto sea"[9] .

Del trato de Orrente y Nardi da fe una carta de poder con fecha 31 de enero de 1612 al pintor toscano residente en la corte madrileña para que rescate de Pedro Pérez de Carrión, platero de Madrid, un cuadro de Santa Catalina o que le cobre su precio de veinte ducados[10].

José Luis Morales y Marín documentó que Orrente fue familiar del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en Murcia[11] . Las negociaciones entre el Tribunal Supremo y el de Murcia se iniciaron en 1624 y se alargaron hasta el 28 de febrero de 1633 en que Orrente obtuvo el fallo afirmativo a la concesión de la familiatura.

La condición de familiar del Santo Oficio ya fue señalada por Lázaro Díaz del Valle en la breve semblanza que dedica a Orrente y que después sería aprovechada por Palomino: natural de Murcia familiar del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición, pintor insigne, estuvo en esta villa de Madrid y en ella hizo famosas obras, y en el Buen Retiro hay muchas pinturas de su mano que se recogieron por orden del Conde Duque de Olivares Don Gaspar de Guzman primer ministro del Rey N.S.D. Felipe 4 para adorno de aquel palacio. Hizo asi mismo en su patria muchas e insignes obras y en particular el retablo de N.Sª de la Concepción en la iglesia de su advocación y un cuadro de un Pastor bueno en la portería de S. Francisco de la ciudad de Murcia y otro retablo en la Murta de religiosos de la orden de S. Gerónimo de diferentes historias de Cristo y de N. Sª y también pintó en la ciudad de Valencia un martirio de Santiago el menor siguiendo la escuela veneciana imitando al Basano. Fue grande dibujante y colorista. Falleció dejando gran fama cerca de los años de 1644"[12].

Hoy sabemos que el San Sebastián de Orrente de la catedral de Valencia no fue realizado por el pintor en la ciudad del Turia en 1616 si no que fue comprado en Murcia en 1614 al marqués de Caracena por doña María Díez de Covarrubias, viuda del vicecanciller del Consejo de Aragón don Diego de Covarrubias[13].

Conocido pues como el "Bassano español", Orrente aparece documentado en Murcia en 1612, año en que muere su padre, firma un cuadro de la *Bendición de Jacob* en la colección Contini Bonacossi y en que contrae matrimonio con María Matamoros. En 1617, ya en Toledo, Orrente cobró el cuadro del *Milagro de santa Leocadia* para la catedral pintado por orden del cardenal Sandoval. Sus idas y venidas desde Murcia a Toledo se suceden. Diversas noticias lo relacionan con otros compañeros de oficio: Alejandro de Loarte, Eugenio Cajés y con el hijo del Greco, Jorge Manuel Theothocópuli.

Últimas investigaciones de archivo adelantan a 1632 el retorno de Orrente a Valencia donde al parecer residió con algún intervalo en Murcia hasta su muerte en 1645, siendo enterrado en la parroquia de San Martín[14]. La impronta orrentiana en Valencia, donde dejo numerosos cuadros de altar y series de temática bíblica, se deja ver en obras de Juan Ribalta, Vicente Castelló o Jerónimo Jacinto de Espinosa y marcó significativamente la formación de otros pintores como Mateo Gilarte, Pablo Pontons, Esteve March o Cristóbal García Salmerón.

La *Adoración de los Reyes* (Fig. 1) y la *Adoración de los Pastores* (Fig. 2), pinturas inéditas de Pedro Orrente, propiedad de Colnaghi y objeto de investigación en este estudio, aportan una novedad significativa al corpus de obras autógrafas del pintor murciano ya que son los dos primeros cobres que se dan a conocer. Cabe señalar por su rareza el inusual tamaño de los mismos (86 x 68,5 cm, cada uno) en el conjunto de la pintura española de la primera mitad del siglo XVII. Angulo y Pérez Sánchez citan en su estudio sobre Pedro Orrente una *Adoración de los Reyes* en cobre propiedad de la Marquesa de Agüero en Madrid sin citar medidas[15].

Los dos cobres compañeros, de gran calidad y variada paleta cromática, presentan claros débitos con la pintura veneciana especialmente con Leandro Bassano, así como el conocimiento de la producción pictórica de Tiziano, Tintoretto y Veronés.

Ambas pinturas ofrecen una composición vertical al abierto con una escenografía pareja formada por restos arquitectónicos reaprovechados con vigas de madera para improvisar un cobertizo.

La Virgen sentada sujetando con ambas manos el lienzo blanco que muestra la desnudez del Divino Infante es una derivación del obrador de los Bassano. De forma parecida lo trata también Orrente en el *Nacimiento* del retablo de la Concepción del convento franciscano de la Concepción, actualmente en el Museo de Bellas Artes de Murcia.

Junto al pesebre, a cuyos pies descansan dos gallinas, aparece postrado de rodillas en adoración un pastor con morral a la espalda y cuchillo al cinto, ofreciendo las plantas desnudas de ambos pies. Otro pastor cubierto con gorro rojo porta a sus hombros un cordero y a su lado una mujer sujeta un cesto de mimbre con paños y fajas para el recién nacido. San José en pie cubierto con sombrero descansa apoyado sobre un cayado. Como en todas las composiciones de Orrente de este asunto no faltan el buey y el asno que reflejan su fama como pintor animalista.

En alto, un rompimiento de gloria con ángeles niños sosteniendo una filactería con el himno: Gloria in excelsis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis. En el lado superior izquierdo, se escenifica el anuncio a los pastores de la buena nueva del nacimiento del Salvador.

El cobre compañero de la *Adoración de los Reyes* recuerda por sus notas exóticas y decorativas al universo personal de Paolo Caliari (Verona, 1528 – Venecia, 1588) también conocido como Paolo Veronese. Protegidos en las ruinas de un edificio clásico, la Sagrada Familia recibe el homenaje y adoración de los Reyes y su cortejo. En alto, la estrella que guió a los Reyes desde Oriente. El Niño Jesús desnudo descansa en el regazo de la Virgen que aparece sentada sobre una roca. San José, en pie, se sitúa por detrás de María apoyando su cuerpo en un bastón.

Melchor en primer termino hincado de rodillas con la cabeza descubierta y su larga barba blanca dirige su mirada al Divino Infante. Dos pajes sujetan la ornada capa de brocado del rey mago. Las indumentarias de los personajes ofrecen el típico juego de pliegues quebrados de Orrente.

Las dos pinturas objeto de este estudio siguen con apenas variantes dos lienzos firmados por Pedro Orrente en un retablo (Fig. 3) de la parroquia de la Asunción de Yeste (Albacete): *Adoración de los pastores* (lienzo, 190 x 124 cm; Fig. 4) y *Adoración de los Reyes* (lienzo, 222 x 152 cm; Fig. 5). En la parte superior de la mazonería del retablo aparece la fecha de 1628 y en la base a modo de banco los bustos de *San Pedro* y *Santiago apóstol*.

Estos dos lienzos de Yeste seguramente corresponden a una fecha próxima a 1629 cuando Orrente pintó el retablo mayor y colaterales del convento de franciscanos de la villa de Yeste. Los franciscanos descalzos se establecieron en esta población de la provincia de Albacete en 1618.

La *Adoración de los pastores* de Yeste, que ocupa el segundo cuerpo del retablo, aparece la composición cortada en la parte baja en comparación con la que ofrece el cobre. Otros cambios son una gama de color más terrosa y la cabellera morena del pastor postrado en hinojos que en el cobre se muestra canosa.

Buena nota de la fortuna de la composición de la Adoración de los Pastores de Orrente es un lienzo (117 x 82 cm) cedido por una colección particular al Museo Etnográfico de Zamora[16] que sigue puntualmente la pintura sobre cobre de Colnaghi. La pintura de Zamora a juzgar por sus características estilísticas es de un seguidor de Orrente.

La *Adoración de los Reyes* de Yeste sigue con apenas cambios la composición del cobre ofreciendo también una gama terrosa y oscura y un diseño diferente y más esquemático en la capa de Melchor.

Orrente volvió a pintar las mismas composiciones de la población de Yeste con pequeños cambios en dos lienzos conservados en la iglesia de San Sebastián de Salamanca, procedentes de la iglesia salmántina de San Bartolomé: una *Adoración de los Reyes* (170 x 130 cm) firmada por Orrente y una *Adoración de los pastores* (170 x 130 cm).

Cabe mencionar también la réplica autógrafa de Orrente de la *Adoración de los Reyes* (175 x 120 cm; Fig. 6) custodiada en la sacristía de la catedral de Toledo que ofrece la misma decoración en el manto del rey postrado ante el Divino Infante que nuestro cobre y a diferencia del de Yeste que la decoración del manto es más simple. El hombre barbado que monta el corcel blanco presenta un cambio respecto a las composiciones del cobre, de Yeste y de Salamanca. Sujeta la brida con su brazo izquierdo y alarga su brazo derecho señalando al Niño Jesús.

Esta *Adoración de los Reyes* de Toledo por la que se le pagó 3350 reales a Orrente en 1630 está hermanada con una *Adoración de los pastores* pero que sigue una composición diversa a la que aquí presentamos.

Enrique Valdivieso[17] dio a conocer una *Adoración de los Magos* y una *Adoración de los Pastores* como obras de Pedro Orrente en el retablo de Nuestra Señora de la Antigua en la Iglesia de Santa María la Coronada en Medina Sidonia (Cádiz) que tenían una atribución incorrecta a Zurbaran o de su escuela[18] . La *Adoración de los Reyes* con formato horizontal es réplica con variantes de la composición orrentiana que aquí estudiamos. Este lienzo de Medina Sidonia debe considerarse como obra del taller de Orrente. En cambio el lienzo compañero de la *Adoración de los pastores* es obra autógrafa sin duda de Jerónimo Jacinto de Espinosa (Cocentaina, Alicante, 1600 – Valencia, 1667). En el mismo retablo hay dos lienzos valencianos más con dos ápostoles que son obra del pintor valenciano Miguel March (Valencia, ca.1633-1670) con débitos claros a los apóstoles y filósofos de José de Ribera.

NOTAS

1. Versión original del artículo, antes de revisión y traducción.
2. J.C. López Jiménez, "Hallazgo de las partidas de bautismo de Orrente y Villacis" in *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, Valencia, 1961, pp. 74-79.
3. J. Martínez, *Discursos practicables del Nobilísimo Arte de la Pintura*, Madrid, Real Academia de San Fernando, 1866, p. 454.
4. Ibid., p. 454.
5. F. Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, preliminar, notas e índices E.J. Sánchez Cantón, Madrid, Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, 1956, tomo II, p. 134.
6. F. J. Sánchez Cantón, *Fuentes literarias para la Historia del Arte Español*, Madrid, 1934, tomo III, p. 107.
7. D. Angulo Iñiguez y A.E. Pérez Sánchez, *Historia de la Pintura Española. Escuela toledana de la primera mitad del siglo XVII*, Madrid, Instituto Diego Velázquez, 1972, p.228.
8. W. Brulez, *Merchands flamands a Venise I (1568-1605)*, Bruselas-Roma, 1965, p. 558 y M. Falomir Faus, *Los Bassano en la España del siglo de Oro*, catálogo exposición Museo Nacional del Prado, 2001, pp. 40-41.
9. M. Muñoz Barberan, *Pedro Orrente (Nuevos documentos murcianos)*, Murcia, 1981, p. 6.
10. Ibid., p. 6-7.
11. J. L. Morales y Marín, *El pintor Pedro Orrente familiar del Santo Oficio*, Aula Universitaria, Madrid, 1977, s/p.
12. F. J. Sánchez Cantón, *Fuentes literarias para la Historia del Arte Español*, Madrid, 1933, tomo II, pp. 367-368.
13. M. J. López Azorín, "En defensa de los acuerdos artísticos: un proceso entre pinturas en Valencia promovido por Joan Sariñena", in *In Sapientia Libertas. Escritos en homenaje al profesor Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez*, Madrid/Sevilla, Museo Nacional del Prado / Fundación Focus-Abengoa, 2007, pp. 263-267.
14. M. J. López Azorín, *Documentos para la Historia de la Pintura Valenciana en el siglo XVII*, Madrid, Fundación de Apoyo a la Historia del Arte Hispánico, 2006, pp. 68-72.
15. D. Angulo Iñiguez y A.E. Pérez Sánchez, *Historia de la Pintura Española. Escuela toledana de la primera mitad del siglo XVII*, Madrid, Instituto Diego Velázquez, 1972, p. 308.
16. C. Piñel Sánchez, "El pintor Pedro de Orrente en una colección particular de Zamora" in *Colección de Estudios en Honor de Florián Ferrero* (José Luis Hernández Luis, ed.), Zamora, 2015, pp.509-522.
17. E. Valdivieso, "Dos nuevas pinturas de Pedro Orrente", in Laboratorio de Arte 5, 1993, pp. 353-356.
18. E. Romero de Torres, *Catálogo monumental de la provincia de Cádiz*, 1934, p.447.

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***Enbies tu graçia e acreçientes sus virtudes*. Female power, virtue and the *Querelle des femmes* in Constanza de Castilla's tomb**
Madrid
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Pedro Orrente, the Spanish Bassano, as a painter on copper
Bilbao
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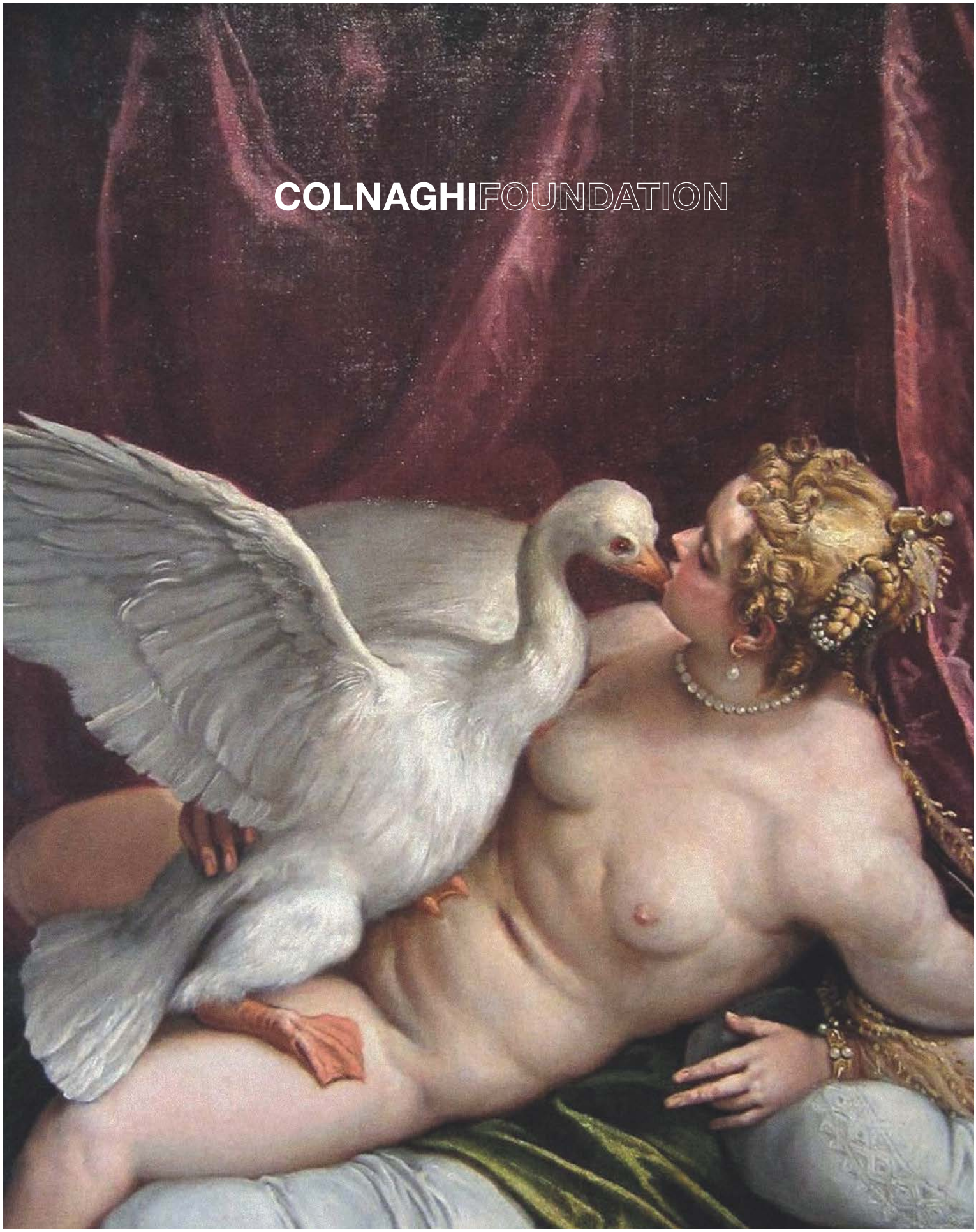
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